

Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia

Edited by
Predrag Cvetičanin

Centre for Empirical Cultural Studies of South-East Europe

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Reviewers

Prof. Dragan Žunić, PhD

Prof. Smiljka Tomanović, PhD

Prof. Branimir Stojković, Ph.D

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INTRODUCTION

The idea to introduce the other types of capital (in addition to economic) into an examination of the structure and functioning of the social world is one of the important moves in the conception of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu differentiates between four basic types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital, and in his later work he speaks of field-specific types of capital, such as academic capital, political capital or technical capital. According to Bourdieu, the social world is “accumulated history” and precisely because accumulated resources (capitals) in their objective and embodied forms show a tendency to act as objective forces, not everything is equally possible or impossible in the social world.

Our study “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” focuses on the investigation of the structure of the distribution of various types and sub-types of capital - which represent the immanent structure of society in Serbia - and of the strategies of individuals and social groups based on different combinations of these resources. In this study we were particularly interested in studying the use of social and cultural resources in shaping strategies of individuals in everyday life and the social and symbolic struggles of their holders, who are trying to introduce different types of closure/exclusion mechanisms based on those capitals which work best to their advantage.

The idea of cultural capital, which Bourdieu first presented in his early works written with Jean-Claude Passeron, “The Inheritors” [1964 (1979)] and “Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture [1970 (1977)], following the publication of “Distinction” [1979] in English (1984)], ‘exploded’ in the scientific world (in particular in the United States). From the mid-1980s until the present, there has been a proliferation of research and theoretical debate on cultural capital more on which can be learned from these excellent overviews: [(Lamont & Lareau: 1988); (Lareau & Weininger: 2003), (Bennett and Silva 2011); (Prieur and Savage 2011)]

When it comes to Serbia, the study of cultural participation was particularly intensive in the late 1960s and early 1970s [eg. (Popov: 1969), (Nemanjić: 1970), (Nemanjić: 1971), (Dragojević: 1974); (Pešić: 1977)]. There were also important studies in the 1980s and 1990s which dealt with the issue in a theoretical and empirical way [(Pantić: 1980); (Pantić: 1981); (Nemanjić: 1981); (Božović: 1991); (Nemanjić: 1991), (Prica: 1991),

(Dragičević-Šešić:1993; 1994; 1998), (Žunić:1994), (Petrović:1996), (Marić:1998). But a revival of interest in studying social and political aspects of cultural participation came in the 2000s, [eg. (Jovanović at al: 2002), (Lazar at al: 2002; 2004), (Kronja: 2001; 2004), (Mrđa: 2010)]. We should also add our studies to the list: “Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia” (Cvetičanin: 2007); “Cultural patterns and everyday life in Serbia after 2000” (Spasić, 2010); “Cultural Practices of Citizens of Serbia” (Cvetičanin & Milankov: 2011).

On the other hand, the concept of social capital even transcended the boundaries of the academic sphere. In particular, due to the work of Robert Putnam, social capital became a topic dealt with by policy makers and media reports. A contributory factor has certainly been that, in the case of the scientific conception of the concept of social capital, in addition to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu:1980; 1981; 1986), there were important independent contributions by James Coleman [(Coleman: 1961; 1988; 1990)] and Robert Putnam [(Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti:1993); (Putnam:1995; 2000)]. Numerous other authors have made a significant impact in the theoretical extrapolation of and research into the nature of social capital [eg. (Granovetter:1973; 1983); (Portes: 1998); (della Porta: 1999); (Lin: 1999; 2000); (Portes & Landolt: 2000); (Fine : 2001)].

Of particular importance for our study have been several studies dealing with the place and role of social capital in the societies of Eastern Europe [eg. (Ledeneva:1998; 2006); (Völker & Flap: 1999); (Clark: 2000); (Rose: 2001)]. This marked interest for research into social capital in former socialist societies is linked to the significance which social capital has for the functioning of these societies and social differentiation within them. Bourdieu himself, in the paper “The ‘Soviet’ Variant and Political Capital” [Bourdieu:1998], indicates that social space in socialist societies was based on principles of differentiation different from those in developed capitalist societies. Instead of the key importance of economic and cultural capital, in socialist (and some post-socialist) societies, the political type of social capital appears as the main principle of differentiation.

In Serbia in the 2000s social capital became one of the most popular topics of study. Valuable reports on this line of research can be found, for example, in the work of Smiljka Tomanović [(Tomanović: 1997; 2004; 2006; 2008; 2010); Marija Babović (Babović:2005), Slobodan Miladinović (Miladinović:2006); Ljubinko Pušić (Pušić:2006); Nataša Golubović (Golubović 2007; 2008); Mina Petrović (Petrović: 2008), Vesna Pešić (2009), Mirjana Bobić (Bobić: 2009); Valentina Sokolovska and Marko Škorić (Sokolovska and Škorić (ed): 2011) and Suzana Ignjatović (2011)]

The goals of our research project “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” have been: a) to ascertain how different classes and social groups in Serbia differ in terms of resources (economic and, in particular, social and cultural capital) on the basis of survey data; b) to reconstruct the strategies which the citizens of Serbia use in everyday life (relying on a combination of resources available to them) – principally on the basis of data collected through in-depth interviews and focus groups; and c) to analyze the social and symbolic struggles of the holders of different types of capital in everyday life in Serbian society and at the institutional level – on the basis of focus groups, interviews and analyses of secondary sources.

A telephone survey within the project “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” has been designed as a national proportional stratified probability sample of 2000 respondents. Data on the population were taken over from official statistical publications: “*Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 2002. Prvi rezultati popisa po opštinama i naseljima Republike Srbije*”, (Beograd, 2003, Savezni zavod za statistiku i Republički zavod za statistiku Srbije). The sample frame was made of people who were of age, permanent residents of Serbia, available at the time of the survey and able to provide answers to the questions in the survey. The survey took place in two waves (October to December 2010 and February to March 2011). The number of respondents who took part was 889, which is in accordance with the usual response rate (44.5%) for telephone surveys. A standardized questionnaire with 31 questions was used in the survey and required about 15 minutes for its realization. The questionnaire included nine questions intended for the identification of embodied, institutionalized and objectified cultural capital, six questions on economic capital and three questions for establishing social capital available to respondents. The remaining 13 questions were used to gather standard socio-demographic data such as gender, ages, place of birth, parents’ occupations, respondents’ occupation, etc.

Respondents’ socio-demographic data are given in Tables 1 – 4 below.

Table 1. Respondent gender

Gender	No	%
Female	502	56.5%
Male	387	43.5%
Total	889	100%

Table 2A. Respondent age (mean and standard deviation)

Respondent age	No	Mean	St.deviation
sample Serbia 2010	889	46.11	16.95

Table 2B. Respondent groups according to age

Respondent groups according to age	No	%	valid %
from 18 to 30 years of age	206	23.2%	23.2%
from 31 to 45 years of age	235	26.4%	26.5%
from 46 to 65 years of age	322	36.2%	36.3%
over 65 years of age	125	14.1%	14.1%
no data	1	0.1%	100%
total	889	100%	

Table 3. Highest educational level

Educational level	No	%
No elementary school	8	0.9%
Incomplete elementary school	35	3.9%
Elementary school	104	11.7%
Vocational secondary school	433	48.7%
Gymnasium	68	7.6%
Two/three-year college	82	9.2%
University	143	16.1%
Master's degree/specialization	15	1.7%
Doctorate	1	0.1%
total	889	100%

Table 4. Respondent nationality

Nationality	No	%
Serbs	803	90.3%
Hungarians	23	2.6%
Croats	12	1.3%
Bosniaks	11	1.2%
Other	33	3.8%
No data	7	0.8%
Total	889	100%

Data from the survey were used for the reconstruction of social space and field of cultural practices in Serbia – that is, of social structure conceived of in a particular way and structure of patterns of cultural practices in Serbia. In other words, we attempted to put together a puzzle of different types and sub-types of capital (social

space), which represent a set of constraints and opportunities that determine the chances for success the social practices of individuals and groups have in a particular society. Further, we wished to identify the basic dimensions (cultural map) which determine the use of cultural resources for the construction of strategies of action (culture understood as a cultural repertoire or a tool-kit – Swider: 1986). In this way, a social and cultural framework in which it was possible to investigate the strategies of individuals and social groups was obtained.

In keeping with a general Bourdieusian approach, for the reconstruction of social space and the cultural map of Serbia in this study we employed multiple correspondence analysis, or MCA (Lebart et al., 1984 ; Greenacre, 2007; Le Roux et al., 2008; Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010). This is the method made famous by Bourdieu in his seminal work “Distinction”, developed by a group of French mathematicians and statisticians led by J-P Benzecri. The starting premise of this school, known as geometric data analysis is that it is not acceptable to create a priori presumptions about the nature of the data which are analyzed (for example, their division into independent and dependent variables). The idea is that data should be given the opportunity to “speak for themselves”. Therefore, MCA is conceived of as an inductive, exploratory technique with the main goal of identifying hidden structures within the data. In this it is similar to factorial analysis – especially the extraction method known as Principal Components Analysis. However, with the introduction of so-called passive or supplementary variables it can, as well, be used for explanative purposes.

In the data analysis performed by MCA two types of variables are used: active variables, the inter-relations of which constitute the map and the supplementary or passive variables which are projected on top of the active variables and do not change relations within the map, indicating instead relations to active variables. MCA presents its results in two outputs: so-called “clouds of modalities”, which reveal spatial relations between variables and so-called “clouds of individuals”, within which it becomes possible to see the position of individuals in these same maps according to certain characteristics (gender, age, education, occupational group, etc.).

There are two approaches in the application of MCA, known as the “social space” and the “reciprocal” approach (see Lebart et al: 1984). In the first instance, indicators of capital (economic capital, social capital, cultural capital) are used as active variables for construction of the space, and then supplementary variables of cultural practices, material consumption, political preferences, etc. are projected on top of them. In the reciprocal approach, when studying cultural phenomena, indicators of cultural practices or lifestyles are used as active variables, then socio-demographic variables are added to these maps as supplementary variables. In the chapters to follow we have relied on both these approaches.

For the analysis of the data collected in the survey, that is, the reconstruction of social space and the cultural map of Serbia, we used SPAD 7.3. What the use of this software makes possible is that in social space (and cultural map) constructed in this manner, typical individuals could be located (representatives of certain social groups or types of cultural practices from the survey) and it is with them that we undertook in-depth interviews. This made it possible to check the results of our statistical analyses of the data obtained by means of the survey; identify strategies which people in these societies use in their everyday lives and institutional arenas; as well as reconstruct their doxic experiences (that is, what is taken for granted in social life).

Among the survey respondents, using possibilities provided by the software SPAD 7.3. we extrapolated 75 respondents, of whom 25 agreed to be interviewed. Among them were eight men and seventeen women; nine respondents were under the age of 30, two between the age of 31 and 45, 19 between the age of 45 and 65, and two were older than 65. Among those interviewed there were eight respondents from Belgrade, four from Novi Sad, three from Niš, and two each from Subotica, Zemun, Leskovac and Vranje and one respondent each from Pančevo and Bački Petrovac. The largest number of those interviewed had a secondary education (18), five had a university education, one respondent did not attend school, one only had an elementary education. Among those interviewed there were two housewives, six female workers in the services industry, four construction workers, one small entrepreneur, three accountants, one nurse, three students and five experts from the humanities (see Table 5).

The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and one hour. We asked questions aimed at enabling us to learn the strategies which these individuals relied on in the area of education (how they were educated and how their children are/were educated), the area of the labor market (how they found employment), in health care (where and how they get access to health care), strategies in the marriage market (how they got married) and friendship strategies (with whom and why they are friends). Of course, the concept and term “strategy” was not mentioned in the course of the interviews; instead, respondents were invited to provide in plain language answers to simple questions about their experiences in these areas of everyday life. The respondents were given the opportunity to freely introduce other topics, and a number of additional questions was prepared, using which they were steered back to the topics of the interview. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed.

Eight focus group discussions were organized during March 2011, in four Serbian cities and towns (Novi Sad, Belgrade, Niš, and Novi Pazar, to reflect regional variety). In each of the cities, two groups were set up, one consisting of people with secondary education or less, the other of participants with college degrees and higher education.

Table 5. Selected respondents

Respondent No	Gender	Age	Place of residence	Education	Occupation
Respondent No 5	female	52	Leskovac	Elementary	homemaker
Respondent No 20	female	71	Leskovac	High-school	accountant (retired)
Respondent No 236	female	38	Pančevo	High-school	salesperson
Respondent No 366	female	48	Subotica	High-school	salesperson
Respondent No 376	female	29	Subotica	BA	humanities expert (translator)
Respondent No 388	male	53	Novi Sad	High-school	student of Art History
Respondent No 395	female	25	Belgrade	High-school	hairstresser
Respondent No 414	female	57	Belgrade	BA	economist (former chief of staff in a state institution)
Respondent No 425	male	56	Belgrade	High-school	taxi driver
Respondent No 444	male	24	Belgrade	High-school	student (father expert in the humanities)
Respondent No 466	female	52	Belgrade	BA	expert in the humanities
Respondent No 469	female	59	Belgrade	High-school	nurse (retired)
Respondent No 477	female	28	Novi Sad	High-school	salesperson
Respondent No 487	female	52	Zemun	High-school	qualified worker
Respondent No 501	male	39	Novi sad	High-school	electrician
Respondent No 517	female	47	Belgrade	College	accountant
Respondent No 533	female	69	Novi Sad	Didn't go to school	homemaker
Respondent No 552	female	46	Bački Petrovac	High-school	accountant
Respondent No 576	male	29	Belgrade	BA	psychologist (teaching assistant at the University)
Respondent No 582	male	22	Zemun	High-school	student (father engineer working in a gambling establishment)
Respondent No 684	male	21	Niš	High-school	student (father physician)
Respondent No 694	female	48	Niš	High-school	administrative worker
Respondent No 699	female	46	Niš	BA	physician
Respondent No 713	male	27	Vranje	Gymnasium	unemployed (his father owns a store)
Respondent No 716	male	29	Vranje	High-school	working in local radio

The number of participants was 5-9 per group, 57 altogether (30 men and 27 women). They had a variety of social backgrounds, professional experiences and personal situations. Most of them were aged 30 to 50 (please see table 6).

Table 6. Focus groups participants by gender and education

	Female	Male	Secondary or less	College and more
Niš	7	9	8 (5 male, 3 female)	8 (4 male, 4 female)
Novi Pazar	5	7	5 (3 male, 2 female)	7 (4 male, 3 female)
Belgrade	10	7	8 (2 male, 6 female)	9 (5 male, 4 female)
Novi Sad	5	7	5 (3 male, 2 female)	7 (4 male, 3 female)
Total	27	30	26 secondary or less	31 college and more

The sessions, lasting 1.5-2 hours, were moderated by members of the research team and, in two cases, a guest psychologist. The focus groups were audio- and video-taped and the analyses were conducted on the basis of these data.

It was our assumption that the focus groups might provide material on the basis of which “classification struggles” in Serbia could be studied, to examine the ways in which lines separating social groups are drawn in today’s Serbia – what these boundaries are based on, how rigid they are; where our participants place themselves; and who is seen as the opponent, as the one “unlike us”, the “Other”.

Focus group guide included questions such as (not all of them were actually asked, but used according to the situation):

- ◆ What is valued in Serbia today? And what ought to be valued, in your opinion?
- ◆ Who is well off today? Who are people who are satisfied in the present circumstances? What are they like? Do you know such people?
- ◆ What is the recipe for success in Serbia? What is success, after all? Is it defined in the same way here as in other countries, or not?
- ◆ What are you ready to do in order to achieve your goals? And what is it that you’d never do?
- ◆ What have been the main obstacles in your own pursuit of life goals? And what has helped you?
- ◆ What sort of people you feel to be “your kind of folks”? What are their characteristics? Why do you feel close to them?
- ◆ What sort of people you’d never cooperate with? What do you do if you’re forced to deal with them?

- ◆ What sort of people you'd never socialize with? What are these people like? What is it that bothers you the most in them?
- ◆ What sort of people you feel superior to? And inferior? Why?
- ◆ In today's Serbia, how should kids be brought up? What is it that they should be taught? If you have kids, who should be their role model, and why?
- ◆ How would EU accession affect life in Serbia, in your opinion? What would its benefits and costs be?

Although our analyses are in general in line with the Bourdieusian approach, in these analysis class is no longer treated as the universal explicative principle (as in Bourdieu's work). Instead, the analysis begins with the identification of the basic dimensions of social space and the main axis of the field of cultural practices (i.e. the social and cultural framework of the action). In the second step the location of agents and social groups in social space and cultural map are determined in order to discern the different combinations of types and sub-types of capital which the agents/groups have at their disposal. The data from the interviews and focus groups then gave us insight into their actual practices and attitudes. In the final step these practices and attitudes were related to the interplay between the actual combination of resources at agents' disposal and their embodied habituses (having in mind their gender, age, national, and religious determinations as well) and to the practices which stand opposed to them in the social space and the field of cultural practices.

Six papers have been included in this monograph, written by members of the project team "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia". Although this is a single study, in the book the format in which the papers were originally written has been retained. Following these brief introductory remarks, there is a theoretical introduction should make pursuing the papers easier for the reader who is not overly familiar with Bourdieusian theory. The specificities of Bourdieu's theory of practice are presented in it and its basic concepts briefly introduced: habitus, capitals and fields. At the end of this text a brief overview of Bourdieu's conception of social class is also presented.

In the paper "Social Space in Serbia", written by Cvetičanin, Nedeljković and Krstić, reconstruction of social space in Serbia is undertaken based on the data from two survey studies "Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia" (2005) and "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia" (2010). As the study of social space represents exploration of social structure in one society, this type of investigation represents a framework for understanding the results of all other analyses.

In the texts and studies based on data from the 2005 research (Cvetičanin and Popescu: 2011; Cvetičanin 2007), differences were already indicated in terms of how

social space in Serbia is conceptualized in relation to Bourdieu's research. It was suggested that, taking into consideration the role which social capital has in generating social inequalities in socialist and post-socialist societies, it should be taken into consideration in the construction of social space in these societies. Moreover, two types of social capital (political social capital and social capital of solidarity) and two types of cultural capital (global and local cultural capital) were identified as active in the generation of social differences and as the basis for their grouping, so their indicators were included as active variables in the construction of social space in Serbia. In social space constructed this way, instead of a simple predominance of economic or cultural capital in the corpus of resources at the agents' disposal (the principle of composition of capital on the basis of which Bourdieu distinguishes class fractions within classes) "regions" of social space appear which are determined by different combinations of types and sub-types of capital.

Unlike the results obtained in 2005, the basic distinction in social space in Serbia constructed with the variables from 2010 study is that between parts of space in which primarily indicators of cultural capital are distributed and those in which indicators of social capital dominate. Moreover, in social space in Serbia in 2010 there is a bifurcation of the indicators of economic capital. High modalities of income indicators go along with maximal modalities of indicators of cultural capital, while, on the other hand, with ultimate values of modalities of social capital go high indicators of ownership, in particular, ownership of large apartments/houses. Therefore, while the basic axis of social space in both studies (as in Bourdieu's work) remains total volume of capital, the principle of capital composition in our studies differs from Bourdieu's, leading to a different conceptualization of social structure in Serbia (in relation to French society at the end of the 1970s).

A continuation of these analyses can be found in the paper "The Cultural Map of Serbia or Reconstruction of the Field of Cultural Practices in Serbia" by Cvetičanin, Nedeljković and Krstić. The authors' aim in this paper was to identify the main dimensions of the cultural map of Serbia, to discern the basic types of cultural practices and to consider the relationship between types of cultural practices and the socio-demographic characteristics of their carriers (gender, age, educational group, occupational group, etc). In this way insight is gained into which cultural resources are available to actors in constructing their strategies of action.

This paper also compares results obtained from the survey studies from 2005 and 2010. The study from 2005 showed that three basic axes structure the field of cultural practices in Serbia: the central axis, the poles of which are global and local culture, the secondary axis at the poles of which are traditional culture and contemporary popu-

lar culture, and the third axis which discriminates between omnivore and univore cultural practices. Further, in the cross-section of these axes, seven types of cultural practices are formed: 1) traditional elite cultural practices; 2) contemporary global cultural practices; 3) traditional folklore cultural practices; 4) neo-folklore cultural practices and three types of omnivores. In this article omnivores are treated as those who “cross” symbolic boundaries in a society, in this case, Serbian society. Cultural practices which characterize the crossing of boundaries between traditional (elite) and popular culture have been marked as 5) “elite omnivore”. Those who in their practices cross the boundary between local and global culture have been labeled 6) “rurban omnivores”. Finally, there is a type of cultural practices which is characterized by crossing both of these cultural boundaries, which was termed 7) “conformist omnivores”.

The results based on the 2010 survey data are more ambiguous. As the main opposition in the field of cultural practices appears the opposition between cultural disengagement and cultural engagement, although present along this axis are also traces of the opposition between local and global culture. The meaning of the second axis is also ambivalent. On the one hand, the opposition between traditional culture and contemporary popular culture is present. On the other hand, a contrast between omnivore and univore which made up the third dimension of the cultural map of Serbia from 2005 cultural practices is also visible.

However, in both cases, when indicators of socio-demographic factors (age, education, occupation, income, wealth, place of residence) were projected as supplementary variables in the cultural maps thus constructed, their distribution showed close links to certain types of cultural practices. This indicates that the cultural practices of citizens of Serbia are also socially structured and that different cultural resources are available to different social groups.

The paper “Strategies and Tactics in Everyday-Life in Serbia” by Gavrilović, Cvetičanin and Spasić is based primarily on the analysis of semi-structured interviews. In the introductory section the thesis that in theory (de Certeau: 1988) strongly opposed concepts of strategies and tactics – in the social practices of actors in Serbia seem to be more like ends of a continuum. By analyzing the statements of interviewed respondents about their behaviors in the fields of education, health care, the labor market, marriage market and in friendship, four groups of strategies were identified that are used by individuals in Serbian society: 1) individualistic reactive strategies; 2) collectivistic reactive strategies; 3) individualistic active strategies; and 4) collectivistic active strategies.

Individualistic reactive strategies are characteristic of individuals/families which have a low level of all capitals. In relation to life’s challenges they react with whatever

is available at the time, and the social circumstances which surround them seem to be natural givens to them, something in the shaping of which they believe themselves to have no influence. In the continuum of which strategies and tactics are the poles (in de Certeau's sense), these would be an example of tactics.

Collectivistic reactive strategies are typical of individuals/families which have an average level of capital, and who face life's everyday challenges relying mainly on social capital of solidarity (help from parents, siblings, cousins, *kumovi*¹, neighbors, people from the same region...). These social networks are based on primary social ties and they are not used strategically to maintain and generate power, but in order to deflect some of "destiny's attacks". These respondents explain their own position in society as a product of the lesser power of their own social networks (own social capital) in relation to the social networks of others (whose "connections" are stronger) and their own morality which does not allow them to use means which others (who occupy higher social positions) use. This approach would on the continuum from strategy to tactics also be closer to the tactics pole.

Individualistic active strategies characterize individuals/families who have above-average overall volume of capital and especially who possess considerable cultural capital in its institutionalized form (education). They place emphasis on formal and informal education and constant work on acquiring new knowledge and skills. A second important element is an active orientation towards securing work, improving living conditions, which are felt to be something prone to change in relation to one's own activities. Here we can speak of the building of business and life careers, with actors relying on their own strengths in the process – knowledge and their own activity. For these individuals it is characteristic that they favor a meritocratic approach and stand opposed to the use of political social capital (interest networks, connections, acquaintances) in the acquisition of social standing. On the continuum between strategies and tactics, this approach is closer to the pole of strategies.

Collectivistic active strategies are characteristic of individuals/families who have above average overall volume of capital, but who in their activities primarily rely on political social capital – interest-oriented social networks the basic function of which is the generation and maintenance of power. A strategic approach to using social capital is characteristic of these individuals/families in the building of their own careers (membership in political parties, professional associations, social clubs – such as the Rotary Club or membership in informal clans in the workplace and in public life). Social life is here

¹ In Serbian culture *kumstvo* is considered a significant social bond. One's *kum* appears as the witness at one's wedding, but *kumovi* also later baptize the couple's children. Traditionally, *kumstvo* was passed on in families from generation to generation, sometimes for hundreds of years. Today *kumovi* are mainly chosen from among one's close friends and mark a chosen tie which becomes similar to a familial tie.

seen as something that can be changed by one's own actions, and one's own behavior is justified by the structure of Serbian society, in which only through one's own effort and work (without the assistance of political connections, clan support...) nothing can be achieved. This way of acting would also be closer to the pole of life strategies.

Analyses in this text also show that types of strategies are located in different "regions" of social space and the cultural map of Serbia, indicating that there is a connection between types of resources available to actors and types of strategies which they apply in their social lives.

The revival of religion in post-socialist societies leads to question of the significance of social networks, which are established in religious communities, at the level of social community and the strategies of individual action. In the article "Religious practices as a source of social capital in transitional Serbia" by Gavrilović and Jovanović, the focus is on the specific use of religion for creating social capital. Their study was guided by two research questions: the first one about the role of religion in the development of "moral density" of the civil society and the second which queries whether it is possible to use religion in Serbia to generate social capital. Analyses which connect these two phenomena indicate that religion may indeed have the function of securing the integration of modern society by developing the necessary humane character of the civil society, and teaching people to work for the general good. On the other hand, the data from the several research data sets implies a very limited use of religion as a source of social capital.

The results obtained on the basis of research in Serbia reveal that religion does not have an overly large role in generating social capital. If the role of religion in the creation of social capital in Serbia is conceived in Bourdieu's terms, the results show that belonging to religious communities is not used as part of life strategies, that is, that religion is expected to solve spiritual and not social problems. If, on the other hand, the analysis relies on Putnam's concept of social capital embodied in norms, networks, and trust, the same results can be observed: social networks are not created on the basis of belonging to the same religion, confession or religious organization.

The chapter by Ivana Spasić and Ana Birešev "Social Classifications in Serbia Today between Morality and Politics" is based on focus-group interviews. It presents the contours of the dynamic field of competing scales of evaluation – of people, social groups, and practices – operating in contemporary Serbia and shaping social inclusion and exclusion. The theoretical framework rests on Bourdieu's notion of classification struggles, complemented with Michele Lamont's idea of "boundary work" and Boltanski and Thevenot's "economies of worth". These tools are employed to examine the ways in which lines separating social groups are drawn in today's Serbia – what these

boundaries are based on, how rigid they are; where our participants place themselves; and who is seen as the opponent, as the one “unlike us” - the “Other”.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, it is expected that various social groups endowed with differential (kinds and quantities of) capitals will promote those criteria of worth – the “principle of domination” – that best suit their interests, and that a symbolic struggle will be taking place between these different positions. However, data analysis has shown that classification struggles of this pure type did not unfold in focus group discussions. Instead, the level of consensus was considerable, and morality turned out to be a much more salient issue. In drawing boundaries between social groups objective social criteria, in the sense of capitals, were rarely invoked, while criteria of morality and personal traits predominated.

Talking about social “Others”, those seen as negative and undesirable fellows, the single most often cited group was politicians, followed by tycoons and showbiz stars. In some cases, “Others” were defined by ideological criteria: extreme rightists, fascists, religious fundamentalists. On the other side, people appreciated positively were described in similarly moralized and psychologized terms. The only capital that was mentioned separately as a relevant asset in judging people was “culture”, in the form of education, intellectual status, or urbanity.

The conclusion is that the way participants discussed possible scales of evaluation, especially when contrasting what “is” and what “should be” (which most often coincided with what they claimed to be their opinion, too) points to a profound crisis of legitimacy of current social hierarchies in Serbia.

Also, a consequence of the importance of moral critique in describing the situation in Serbian society was a tendency to view almost all kinds of worldly success (wealth, career, fame, political power, ambition) as suspect, since being “up” on the social ladder is associated with moral depravity and corruption of character. This attitude, as widespread and naturalized as it is, may point to a tendency toward passivity and pessimism in social practice. In addition, thorough discrediting and mistrust of politicians and politics as a specialized activity does not facilitate civic action and mobilization of citizens within political sphere to promote alternative, better political projects.

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BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF PRACTICE

Bourdieu's substantive theory represents a theory of practice. If the focus on practical social life (social interaction, everyday life, social behavior) does not represent an innovation in sociology, then the attempt to construct a theoretical model of social practice certainly does.

There are three basic characteristics of social practice on which Bourdieu builds his model. The first is that practice takes place in time and space. Although this appears to be a self-evident truth at first glance, this fact for Bourdieu represents a reason to replace the structuralist model of social behavior as following rules – by a model of strategies and strategic behavior. According to Bourdieu, science, by which he primarily means structuralist anthropology, works with a concept of time which is not the time of the practice itself. Scientists, standing outside the immediate practical activity, forget that actors have no insight into the whole of the circumstances under which they act, nor into what their action will result in. Most importantly, they lose sight of the fact that actors in their practice use tempo as a strategic resource – moving through limitations and opportunities which open and close in time – sometimes procrastinations, sometimes stopping, sometimes speeding up action. Timeless, formalized models of structuralism cannot encompass this crucial, temporal feature of social practice.

The other crucial characteristic of social practice is that it is not led by consciousness, but by a “practical feeling” or a “practical logic”. According to Bourdieu there are two aspects of this practical logic. One is facing up to the “immanent necessity of the social world”. According to Richard Jenkins (Jenkins: 1992), the meaning of this syntagm in Bourdieu's conception is threefold. On the one hand it indicates a standpoint close to the Marxist one, according to which people create history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing. On the other hand, this necessity is not only external, since actors do not confront only social circumstances, but are a part of them. Within these circumstances they have formed themselves, acquired competences and developed their social identity. This leads to the third meaning of the syntagm. Precisely because this reality

defines who they are, individuals cannot consider social reality as arbitrary; instead, they accept it as a given which cannot be different. This acceptance of social reality as a “given” is termed by Bourdieu as “doxa” or “doxic experience” and in his theory of practice it represents an important premise for the unimpeded course of social life.

The second aspect of practical logic is fluidity and its improvisational character. When the complexity and variety of the social world is considered, it becomes clear that it is not led by rules, instructions or normative models. As in sports, the skill at playing does not depend on knowledge of rules or conscious consideration of every move, but on a “feeling” for the game, so our making our way through life depends on practical logic which knows (although it knows not how it knows) what the next move is. At the same time, Bourdieu emphasizes that this is not about individuals choosing to improvise in social life, but simply that no other model of behavior is realistic.

Although social practices are not entirely led by conscious calculation, this does not mean that they are without a purpose. According to Bourdieu, all human behavior (even that which prides itself on being “disinterested” and acquires symbolic capital as a result) is interest-oriented. This is the third defining feature of social practices. People follow their interests using different strategies based on a practical feeling or practical logic. In this replacement of rules by strategies Bourdieu offers a model of behavior which is neither entirely conscious nor unconscious, but involves a process of learning through experience, improving “practical logic” and forming dispositions for action which begins in earliest childhood and continues throughout life.

In one of his most important works, “Distinction”, Bourdieu gives a pseudo-scientific formula which portrays the process of practice generation and summarizes the key concepts of his theory. According to this formula, practices are the product of habitus and capital as these are expressed in social fields $[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practices}$. The formula itself has been the object of much controversy, but we will use it as a guide for considering the meaning of the key concepts of Bourdieu’s theory, which are necessary for understanding his theory of practice.

HABITUS

The concept of habitus¹ represents an expression of Bourdieu’s attempt to overcome the one-sidedness of structuralism and emphasize the importance of agents’ actions in social life. According to Bourdieu, structuralist explanations of social phenomena

¹ Habitus is a Latin word which originally meant a usual or typical state or appearance of something, especially the body. Bourdieu found the inspiration for conceiving his own concept of habitus in the work of Erwin Panofsky “Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism”. According to Jenkins, the term appears, with a meaning different from that given it by Bourdieu, in the work of G.W.F. Hegel, Husserl, Weber, Durheim and Mauss.

which are reflected in the discovery of deep structural rules which regulate individuals' behavior ("behind their backs") at most represent simplified explanations. The reason is that structures "do not exist and are not realized except in the system of agents' dispositions".

In his early studies, Bourdieu determines the concept of habitus as "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems." [Bourdieu:1966].²

In his mature works, like "Distinction" and in "The Logic of Practice", Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends, or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." (Bourdieu: 1980).³

In all these definitions habitus is represented as a set of permanent dispositions through which a connection is established between social structures which structure them (habitus as "structured structure") and social practices which are produced by habitus (habitus as "structuring structure"). Further, habitus patterns are transferrable from one social field to another, ensuring "stylistic" unity in people's behavior and making possible the existence of homologous characteristics of social fields.

In early conceptualizations of habitus, in order to better explicate its meaning, Bourdieu often used analogies with linguistic theories. For instance, he used de Saussure's distinction between speech and language ("*parole*" and "*langue*") to describe habitus as a kind of deep structure – a cultural grammar – of social action. Alternatively, he referred to his conception as "generative structuralism" analogous to Noam Chomsky's "generative grammar". The idea was that just as grammar organizes speech, the structures of habitus can generate an infinite number of possible practices. However, unlike the ideas of de Saussure and Chomsky, habitus is not an inborn trait. It results mainly from early, class-specific experiences of socialization which take place within the family and peer groups.

In his later work, Bourdieu increasingly abandoned analogies with linguistics and emphasized the embodied character of habitus. According to Bourdieu, the body is

2 Pierre Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project", published in "Knowledge and Control: New Directions for Sociology of Education" editor M.F.D.Young, London, Collier-MacMillan, 1971, pp. 161-188. Similarly, in "Algeria 1960", Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices" [Bourdieu: 1977].

3 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Logic of Practice", Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990.

a mnemonic device on which from earliest childhood in the course of socialization practical taxonomies of habitus and the bases of the culture of a society are encoded. The embodiedness of habitus is an important basis for the permanence of dispositions which make it up. The fact that they are acquired in the earliest years, that they are the result of accommodation to objective conditions of existence, their pre-reflexive nature and their “encodedness” in the body make habitus in Bourdieu’s conception impervious to change.

An important feature of habitus is also its transferability: the possibility for dispositions to produce practices in different social fields and generate the most varied social practices while maintaining a unique style. Bourdieu occasionally uses the analogy of handwriting, which maintains its basic features regardless of what is used to write with or what is written on. This ability to transfer form one social sphere to another enables Bourdieu to identify similar styles of action in completely different areas. As the phenomenon of taste is the most striking example of the expression of the unity of habitus, perhaps the best example of Bourdieu’s use of the term can be found in “Distinction”: in his shared “generative formula” for preferences in the arts, dress, food, home decoration, choice of sport, etc.

According to Bourdieu, the point of introducing habitus was to overcome objectivism which understands social action to be a mechanical reaction to external stimuli (as if the actor did not exist) or subjectivism, which understands action to be an expression of the conscious intent of the actor (as if the social environment did not exist). In the “An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology”,⁴ Bourdieu claims that “The notion of habitus accounts for the fact that social agents are neither particles of matter determined by external causes, nor little monads guided solely by internal reasons, executing a sort of perfectly rational internal program of action” [Bourdieu & Wacquant: 1992: 136].

Instead of these polarities, in the concepts of habitus and strategy, Bourdieu offers a practical, pre-reflexive theory of action in which habitus, a system of internalized dispositions, under conditions specific to social fields, produces social practices. The “sociability” of this conception is reflected in the fact that habitus is shaped primarily by the social circumstances in which it is formed. Room for actors and their actions is ensured by the fact that social practices are led by the “practical logic” of habitus and the fact that actors are “strategic improvisers” who act on the basis of internalized dispositions, taking into account the opportunities and limitations which appear in various situations. As “structured structure”, habitus produces social behaviors which exhibit statistical regularities although they are not the product of obedience to rules,

4 Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J. D. Wacquant, “An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology”, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

norms or calculations of interest and are, at the same time, flexible enough to respond to constant changes in the environment. This represents Bourdieu's answer to one of the key questions which motivated him to formulate a theory of practice.⁵

According to Schwarz (Swartz: 1997), Bourdieu's idea of strategies (based on habitus dispositions) does not suggest that social action takes place outside a normative framework. It is more the case that it indicates that uncertainty is present even in normatively clearly defined situations and that social actions takes place in time, so social actors do not have the possibility of seeing the consequences of their immediate actions. Whether actors will choose to follow rules or prescribed rituals depends primarily on their interests.⁶

Therefore, the fact that Bourdieu's theory ascribes a key role in the production of social practices to habitus does not exclude behaviors based on rational calculation of interest, nor behaviors which obey the rules from social life. According to E. Weininger (Weininger: 2005), these are treated in Bourdieu's conception as "derivative forms of practice" for which it is more likely that they will appear is the habitus encounters an environment which is different from the circumstances under which it was formed.

A general rule is that the more the situations in which action takes place are ritualized and codified or the more they carry with them a threat to material interests or a threat of violence, the more the habitus will retreat before behavior led by rules or even rational calculation. Extremely ritualized situations decrease the possibility of strategic actions (although they cannot prevent it), while social behaviors in which ritual does not rule open up space for innovation in habitus. Similarly, experiences of crisis are conducive to extremely rational consideration of possible options of action. In circumstances of everyday life, however, our actions are led by the practical logic of habitus.

CAPITALS

Bourdieu expands the idea of capital to all resources – material, social, cultural and symbolic and indicates that individuals and groups, in the attempt to maintain or improve their position in the social hierarchy, use all of these resources (not only economic resources).

5 In the collection of essays "In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology" Bourdieu writes: "I can say that all my thinking started from this point: how can behavior be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" [Bourdieu: 1990:65].

6 It is interesting that the lexicon of "strategies" and "interests" was used by a number of Bourdieu's critics to accuse him of a utilitarian orientation, which he himself strongly criticized. The misunderstanding, so to say, resulted from Bourdieu's understanding that there were several types of interest (in addition to economic) and from his understanding of strategic behavior as based on pre-reflexive action of habitus, not from rational calculation how to maximize (economic) interests.

Bourdieu was not the first nor the only theoretician who used the economic metaphor of “capital” for studying non-economic sources of power. There is the theory of “human capital” which was formulated by Gary Becker (Becker: 1964) and which preceded Bourdieu’s conception of cultural capital. Of the better known ones there is also the understanding of “moral capital” of Barton Clark (Clark: 1973) and “social capital” of James Coleman (Coleman: 1988) and Robert Putnam (Putnam: 1995). Similarities to Bourdieu’s standpoint and conception of these theoreticians are reflected in the acceptance of the key premise that all forms of social activity are interest-oriented.⁷

In almost all other aspects of Bourdieu’s understanding differs from that of other theoreticians of capital. First, he creates a coherent theoretical system of different forms of capital and their interrelations and conversions which is immediately linked to other key terms in his theory (habitus, field and classes) and which makes possible an alternative view of the basic objects of study of sociology (such as the system of social stratification and social mobility).

Further, unlike other theoreticians who use the metaphor of “capital”, Bourdieu uses this term to emphasize the power dimension – Bourdieu views resources as capital when they are involved in “social relations of power”, that is, when, as valuable resources, they become the object of social struggles.

Bourdieu likewise does not share the anthropological premises of rational choice theories to which other proponents of these conceptions belong. Instead of focusing, as they do, on individual, group or social gains which result from investing in particular types of resources (human, cultural or social), the focus of Bourdieu’s analyses is the contribution which the use of different groups of capital gives to the maintenance of the class structure of society. Bourdieu’s actors also develop strategies, but their strategies are not conscious attempts to maximize gain under conditions of limited resources. The strategies which are led by habitus are practical, pre-reflexive and represent the result of the meeting of dispositions, volume and types of accumulated capitals and features of the fields in which action takes place.

In the important essay which deals with this topic “Forms of capital” [Bourdieu: 1986], Bourdieu writes that capital appears in three main guises: as economic capital, which can be directly converted into money and can be institutionalized in the form of ownership rights; cultural capital, which can under certain circumstances be converted into economic capital and which can be institutionalized in the form

7 More precisely, this is an apparent similarity because, as we have already seen, Bourdieu considers material interest, as narrowly defined in rational choice theories, just one of many interests. According to Bourdieu, all interests are historical and cultural constructions and the way they are conceptualized is an object of struggle, not an anthropological constant, and there are as many interests as there are values which should be maximized.

of educational qualifications; social capital, which is made up of the system of social ties and which can be converted, under certain circumstances, into economic capital and can be institutionalized in the form of status titles. In his other works, Bourdieu speaks of a fourth generic form of capital: symbolic capital, which is closest to the concept of prestige and which has the function of legitimizing other forms of capital.⁸

CULTURAL CAPITAL

The concept of cultural capital was developed by Bourdieu within his research of the educational system in France. He used it to explain the unequal success of schoolchildren who come from different classes and also to explain differences in the success of children from similar social backgrounds, but whose parents have different educational levels. In research undertaken by J-C. Passeron, schools were revealed not to be socially neutral institutions; instead, their programs and evaluation practices were based on the culture of the dominant classes. Children coming from these families – although not favored – are at an advantage because activities are conducted in a terrain familiar to them. On the other hand, children from working class families must acquire these cultural (linguistic, social) codes and school material in a parallel fashion. Even when they succeed, they rarely achieve this with the ease which characterizes students socialized in this culture. Paradoxically, Bourdieu and Passeron noticed that in educational institutions knowledge acquired in them is not highly valued – instead – it is treated as “school or nerd knowledge”. What is highly valued is “brilliance” (style, naturalness, ease) in the manipulation of cultural symbols and school material, abilities which are not taught in school and which cannot be learned. By treating cultural ability which children from the dominant classes have acquired in their families from the earliest age as innate ability, this “legacy” is legitimized and through school diplomas converted into the institutionalized form of (cultural) capital.

Later use of the term cultural capital goes beyond the educational system and includes different forms of culturally specific competences (ability for aesthetic liking and judgment, linguistic ability, correct pronunciation, knowledge of cultural symbols, history of art, playing musical instruments and knowledge of the use of certain machines, such as the computer, ownership of cultural goods (e.g. art work) and acquired school and academic diplomas which can bring “profit” in various segments of social life (including the labor market and marriage “market”).

8 This is what differentiates symbolic capital from other types of capital and is the reason why it is often termed denied capital. Symbolic capital is not capital based on any specific type of resource (such as other generic forms) – but capital which results from the transformation of these forms of capital.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital appears in three basic forms: embodied form, objectivized form and institutionalized form. In its embodied form, which is, according to Bourdieu, its fundamental guise, cultural capital represents a set of cultivated dispositions acquired in the course of the process of socialization. Precisely because it is linked to the body, this form of cultural capital cannot be accumulated via the capacities of its individual carrier and declines and dies together with the carrier. For the same reason, the acquisition of cultural capital in this form represents a process (Bourdieu likens it to building up muscle mass or getting a tan) which it is impossible for someone other than the carrier to perform.

On the other hand, the accumulation of embodied capital requires “pedagogic action” – the investment of time in the shaping of dispositions of a child on the part of parents, other family members and hired professionals. The link between economic and cultural capital and also the class nature of cultural capital result from the fact that members of all classes do not have equal possibility to “invest time” necessary for the acquisition of cultural capital. On the one hand, class membership determines time when the process of transmission and accumulation of cultural knowledge begins – the borderline case being full biologically available time. On the other hand, this determines the volume of time which parents (and especially mothers) can invest in the cultivation of children’s dispositions. Thirdly, it limits time which families can provide their members with for education purposes over the minimal limit sufficient for entering the labor market. Therefore, according to Bourdieu, in class societies, different experiences with economic necessity turn into cultural differences. In the other direction, the link between economic and cultural capital is reflected in the fact that embodied cultural capital can be “paid off” in the educational market and later in the labor market.

According to Bourdieu, the inheritance of cultural capital in its embodied form is the best hidden form of inheritance. It gains in importance in that in the system of reproduction of strategies the more direct forms of inheritance are more carefully controlled. For the same reason cultural capital, the social conditions of the transfer and acquisition of which are hidden, is predisposed to function as symbolic capital – that is, not to be recognized as capital, but as legitimate competence, especially in markets in which economic capital cannot directly bring “profit”.

Cultural capital in its objectivized form includes material objects and media – such as paintings, books, sculptures, monuments, instruments or machines which are used for cultural consumption. These material objects (such as valuable paintings or sculptures) can be viewed as part of someone’s economic capital, while their features as carriers of cultural capital can be understood only through the link with cultural capital in its embodied form. The reason is that the consumption of cultural/symbolic

goods takes place only through the understanding of their meaning, for which it is necessary to possess an appropriate habitus, that is patterns of understanding and liking.

The world of objectivized cultural capital, although the product of historical action, appears as an autonomous, coherent universe which has its own laws and which extends beyond the individual will of those who created it or those who enjoy its creations. Bourdieu however warns that objectivized cultural capital becomes symbolically and materially active only to the extent that it is used as an investment and weapon in struggles in the field of cultural production and in social space (the field of social classes).

The third guise in which cultural capital appears is the institutionalized guise. The institutionalization of cultural capital in the form of academic diplomas represents a way to neutralize some of the features of embodied cultural capital, primarily those which concern its bodily basis and biological limitations of its carriers. It also crucially distinguishes between the cultural capital of autodidacts and the academically sanctioned cultural capital which is formally independent of its carrier. Institutionalization opens up presuppositions for the conversion of economic and cultural capital through the guarantee of the monetary value of academic cultural capital, as well as the development of strategies of investment (economic capital) in education (cultural capital) of one's offspring.

The development of the system of higher education and the role it plays in developed societies in the allocation of individuals to different positions in the social hierarchy, as well as the development of an autonomous world of objectivized cultural capital, represent for Bourdieu one of the most important trends in the contemporary world and the unequal distribution of cultural capital (in all its guises), one of the key dimensions of social inequality in today's societies.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital, according to Bourdieu, represents "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable networks of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu: 1986), which provide all its members the support of collectively owned capital. Therefore the volume of someone's social capital depends on the size of their network of ties which s/he can effectively mobilize and also on the volume (economic, cultural, symbolic) capital owned by members of this network. This further indicates that although social capital cannot be reduced to other forms of capital, its efficacy is never independent of them.

Bourdieu emphasizes that the existence of a network of ties is not natural, not even a social given which is established once and for all; instead, it presupposes a constant

effort of institutionalization. In other words, social networks represent the product of individual and group strategies with the (conscious or unconscious) aim to transform accidental relations (in the neighborhood, at work, or family relations...) into relations of permanent obligation based on gratitude, respect and friendship, which could be of use (in the long or short term).

The reproduction of social capital therefore presupposes a constant chain of social exchange and investment of time, energy and economic capital, but also the possession of a special ability – to create and use ties – which is, at the same time, an integral part of this capital. Through the exchange of goods and services, according to Bourdieu, mutual recognition, acceptance of membership in the group is established and in this way social groups are reproduced.

There are several points in Bourdieu's opus where it is possible to find the statement that capital is a kind of "energy of social physics": that capital exists in many guises, just as energy does, and that it can be transformed (converted) under certain conditions from one form into another. This conceptualization suggests that all forms of capital are of equal importance and that none has theoretical priority. Bourdieu even quotes Bertrand Russell, for whom power was analogous to energy, that power exists in many forms, that no form is more fundamental than the others, nor is any independent of the others.

The analogy goes a step further as Bourdieu claims that, in accordance with the principle which is equivalent to the principle of energy maintenance, profits in one area are necessarily paid for by expenses in other areas (so that in the general economy of practices the concept of "loss" is meaningless). As the "universal equivalent and measure of all equivalences" Bourdieu sees work hours (understood in the most general sense). That in conversions of capital social energy is maintained can be seen if work hours accumulated in some other form of capital and work hours spent in the transformation of one form of capital into another are taken into account.⁹

Elsewhere, however, Bourdieu gives conceptual primacy to economic capital. In "Forms of capital" he explicitly states that economic capital is "at the root of all other types of capital", underscoring that it must also be taken into account other types

9 As we have seen the conversion of economic capital into social capital presupposes "work hours" – commitment to the nurturing of social contacts, attention given to members of the network, gradual building of mutual respect, friendship and mutual obligations. If from a purely economic standpoint this seems a waste of time, from the standpoint of the logic of social exchange this is a sure investment which will bring profit in time. Similarly, the best measure of the transformation of economic into cultural capital is the time invested in acquiring it. This time, as we have shown, is only indirectly related to owning economic capital, which enables parents to devote time to their children themselves or to hire experts for "pedagogical action". Finally, to provide their children with an adequate education – both in terms of length and in terms of the prestige of the academic institutions which their offspring attend.

of capital produce their specific effects precisely to the degree that they are able to conceal (even from its carriers and users) that economic capital is what they are founded on.¹⁰ This, hence, points to an important feature of social exchange: unlike the cynical transparency of economic exchange, it necessarily includes misrecognition (*méconnaissance*) on the part of even immediate actors.

Choice of strategy in the reproduction of capital (and position in social space) mostly depends on the assessment of the “costs” of the conversion and the dangers of losing capital in the course of conversion. Different types of capital differ in how easily transferrable they are: with greater or lesser losses or with greater or lesser concealment of the nature of the capital in question. According to Bourdieu, in these transactions degree of loss of capital is inversely proportional to the degree of its concealment: everything that enables the economic aspect of capital to be concealed increases the danger of loss of capital (especially in intergenerational transfer).

For example, a refusal to act in a calculated manner in social exchanges which produce social capital incorporates the risk that those who have participated in such exchanges will try to appear ingenuous when the time for counter-services comes and reveal themselves to be ungrateful. Similarly, a high degree of concealment of the nature of capital in the case of transfer of cultural capital carries with it the risk of losing capital (because the profit to be gained later in the labor market and in the marriage market is not automatic), but also of the unfavorable fact that academic qualifications are not transferrable (unlike, for example, hereditary titles as a form of social capital), nor can they be exchanged (like, for example, stocks).

However, regardless of these dangers, when the basic mechanism of immediate transfer of wealth is jeopardized or placed under (tax) control of the state, the dominant classes are forced to adopt different (more concealed) mechanisms of inheritance, even at the cost of loss of some part of capital. The greater the obstacles which “stymie” the official mechanism of transfer of economic capital in the contemporary world, the greater the importance of inheritance of cultural capital in the reproduction of the social structure. This role is in particular realized through the increasing importance of education and educational diplomas as a new important source of differentiation in contemporary societies.

¹⁰ According to him we cannot understand the functioning of capitals, their conversion and the law of conservation if two equally partial views of social relations are not overcome. On the one hand, “economism” recognizes only capital in its economic form and is not able to conceive what is the basis for the successful action of other types of capital and, on the other hand, “semiologism” (in sociology in the form of structuralism, symbolic interactionism or ethnomethodology) which reduce social relations to communication phenomena and exclude power relations from consideration.

FIELDS

The concept of fields (*champs*) gradually gained significance in Bourdieusian sociology. While the analysis in his early, anthropological papers was undertaken almost exclusively through the concepts of practice and habitus, in his later papers the concept of fields takes on a central role. Although from his earliest work Bourdieu insisted that practices are not the indirect product of habitus, but the meeting of habitus with social structures, only since the late 1970s does Bourdieu's vision of social structures gain its physiognomy through the concept of the field.

Bourdieu sees contemporary societies as made up of a number of relatively autonomous, but structurally homologous social fields in which production, exchange and consumption of different types of material and cultural resources takes place. The fields represent relatively autonomous social micro-universes, social areas of objective relations in which logic and necessity rule which are specific and irreducible to those which rule in other fields.¹¹

Bourdieu states that a field “may be defined as a network, of a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to the other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc).” [Bourdieu & Wacquant: 1992: 97]

To think in terms of fields means, according to Bourdieu, to think rationally. He forwards that to the social world an altered Hegelian formula applies: that what is real is what is relational. What exists, according to Bourdieu, in the social world are relations – not interactions or intersubjective ties, but objective relations which exist independently of the individual consciousness or will of actors. Bourdieu, unlike Weber, and similarly to, for example, Marx, makes a distinction between objective (structural) relations which are invisible and which are constantly active and effective relations or interactions which are realized through current action. According to him, the structure of fields – understood as a space of objective relations between positions which social actors (individuals, groups, institutions) take on the basis of ownership of volume and types of capital – is different from current, more or less permanent, social networks through which it is manifest (and the possibility of the existence of which it determines). Bourdieu emphasizes that positions in a field are

¹¹ Bourdieu states that there are as many fields as there are types of interest (and vice versa), hence he speaks of an economic field, administrative field, academic field, religious field, artistic field, journalistic field, etc.

determined on the basis of unequal distribution of capital, not on the basis of the individual characteristics of those who occupy them.

The fields are force fields. One of the many analogies which Bourdieu uses is that of a magnetic field in which invisible forces are at work, the action of which can be noticed through the effects they have on objects within their range in the field. But, unlike these, the forces which are active in social fields are not independent of actors. The fields are fields of struggle, fields of play and they represent an opposition to the structuralist understanding of social structures in which the action of actors is reduced to simple embodiment of structural relations. The structure and dynamics of fields, in other words, the configuration of forces in the fields, determine the volume and type of capital characteristic of particular positions in the field. But the outcomes of struggles do not depend solely on the capital actors have at their disposal, but on the skill with which they fight in the field as well.¹²

But players/actors in the field do not struggle solely to increase or maintain volume of capital in accordance to the rules of the game which apply to the field. They may also struggle to change the rules of the game (partially or completely). Their struggle can, for example, be aimed at changing the exchange value (conversion rate) of one type of capital for another or the discrediting of a form of capital which is available to their opponents in the field (for example, economic capital in the artistic field). It might even be possible to say that the most important struggles in the field are precisely those that are waged around enforcing a principle of hierarchy which then works in favor of a certain a group of actors.

According to Bourdieu there are a number of general structural characteristics of fields. Fields are, above all, arenas for struggles organized around specific forms of capital: economic, cultural, scientific or religious, hence we can talk of an economic field, a cultural field, religious field, etc. Actors in these fields, as we have seen, on the basis of ownership of total volume of capital and types of capital, struggle to maintain or improve their position in the field. This improvement can be manifest not only in increased volume of capital, but also in successful conversion of capital or in success in redefining what the most valuable resources (capitals) in the field are.

Secondly, fields are structured social spaces in which struggles are waged between actors who occupy dominant positions and those who occupy subordinate positions (on the basis of ownership of a particular type of capital or volume of capital). The features of each element (individual, group, organization or institution) in the field result from their relations with all other elements. According to Bourdieu, the main

12 In one of numerous comparisons to games, Bourdieu states that the success of practices, as in card games, depends on the cards dealt as much as on the skill of the players.

opposition in the fields appears between established actors who have a certain degree of monopoly over the definition and distribution of capital and those who are just taking their positions in the field and who aim to usurp these privileges. Therefore, established actors follow conservative strategies, while their “challengers” choose subversive strategies. Bourdieu generally speaking sees these conflicts (not only in the religious field) as a conflict between those who defend “orthodoxy” and those who support “heresy/heterodoxy”.

Bourdieu distinguishes between three groups of strategies: conservative, successive and subversive. Conservative strategies are applied by those who are in dominant positions in the field. Successive strategies are attempts to, by following the rules of the game, arrive at dominant positions. Subversive strategies are applied by those who cannot expect an improvement in their position from the “game” as it is played according to current rules, hence these strategies call for contesting the legitimacy of dominant groups to define standards which apply in the field.

The third general characteristic of fields is that those who struggle within them accept them as non-problematic, self-evident givens. Those who occupy dominant positions in fields and those who are in subordinate positions share a silent acceptance of the field, their role in it and the rules of engagement. Bourdieu terms this attitude “doxa”. The concept of doxa is, apart from *Lebenswelt*, in the image of which it was formed, also close to the Durkheimian concept of “collective consciousness”, except that doxa is specific to each individual field and does not represent a system of beliefs characteristic of an entire society.¹³ All participants in the struggle in the fields share the conviction that the stakes for which they fight are valuable and that the maintenance of the fields themselves is important (although they differ in terms of who and on the basis of which principles should play the decisive role). This acceptance of the value of the game is termed *illusio* by Bourdieu, really a more precise definition of his concept of interest.¹⁴ From this acceptance of fields results the acceptance among all actors in the field as some forms of struggle as legitimate and others as unacceptable in a given field (for example, the contestation of someone’s objectivity in the scientific

13 “Doxa” which actors in the field accept as a given, without realizing the arbitrary character of the social worlds to which they belong, the fields in which they struggle and the rewards which they struggle over, according to Bourdieu contributes to a misrecognition of relations of power and contributes to the reproduction of the social order.

14 In “An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology” Bourdieu forwards that he sees the concept of interest not only as opposite to the concept of disinterestedness, but primarily as opposite to the concept of indifference. Bourdieu compares this state with ataraxia, the state of lack of concern in stoics. *Illusio* or interest conversely is the term for a state of investing in the game, a state in which the game has you “interested” – acknowledgement that what is happening in the field is significant, that the stakes are important and worth the effort.

field is considered legitimate, while giving offense and arguments that turn physical are considered incongruous to the field).

The fourth general feature of fields is that they are structured mainly by their own internal mechanisms so that external influence on actors in a particular field is never direct but are always mediated by specific forms and forces active in the field. The more autonomous a field is, the more able it is to impose its own logic of functioning, the more important the restructuring of external influence is (this differs from field to field depending on each field's specific history). From this, according to Schwartz (Schwartz: 1997), follows a fundamental methodological principle according to which internal analysis of a field always takes primacy over external influence.¹⁵

That systems of relations between positions in the field are not determined by characteristics of the individual actors who occupy them is the fifth general feature of fields. According to Bourdieu, this reminds us that the real object of the social sciences are not individuals – even though it is not possible to construct a field except on the basis of information about actors in the field (individuals, groups or institutions) – but that fields of objective relations among them must be the focus of research operations.

Finally, the sixth general feature of fields is that between fields, despite their relative autonomy, there are structural and functional homologies. According to Bourdieu, homologies should be thought of as “similarities within differences”. They are manifest in that the fields develop isomorphic features: in every field there are dominant and subordinate positions, struggles are waged in them in the course of which usurpation of position or expulsion is the goal, in every field there are mechanisms of reproduction, etc. At the same time Bourdieu emphasizes that these shared characteristics take on a specific, irreducible form in each field.

Analysis through the concept of field can be seen as Bourdieu's version of institutional analysis.¹⁶ Bourdieu sees the concept of fields as different from the concept of institution and as superior to it in two respects. On the one hand, fields foreground the conflictual nature of social life, while the existence and engagement of institutions is based on the idea of social consensus. On the other hand, analysis through the concept of fields is possible even in those areas in which practices are not institutionalized and where the boundaries of individual fields are less than clear.

The reason to refuse to define boundaries of fields *a priori* lies for Bourdieu in that this is frequently the issue over which struggles are waged (for example, in literary or

15 For example, the influence of class origins of a particular artist on his/her work is not direct, but it is translated and realized in accordance with the internal logic of the artistic field.

16 In some fields (such as education or the legal field) there is overlap between field and institutions. In other cases, fields can be inter-institutional or intra-institutional and institutions may even take on the role of actors in a field.

artistic fields). According to Bourdieu, the issue of field boundaries can be resolved only through empirical research. As the field is a social space in which its effects are felt, where the effects of the field cease, that is, where capitals specific to a particular field cease to be effective, lie the fields borders.¹⁷

The field of power has a key place in Bourdieu's analyses. This concept in his conception has a dual meaning. On the one hand, the field of power represents some kind of meta-field which functions as an organizing principle in all fields. Apart from this meaning, Bourdieu in his later work uses the term to indicate a dominant class. In this way he emphasizes that this is a relational construct – a part of the field of social classes and or social space – not a particular group of people.

In Bourdieu's understanding of the social world, conflict plays a key role. In this world conflicts are waged around and with the use of material and symbolic resources. As has already been noted, a feature of contemporary societies is that in them cultural resources are beginning to function as an important source of power and social differentiation, in other words, as capital. According to Bourdieu, two key capitals and two principles of differentiation in developed contemporary societies are economic capital (which represents the "dominant principle of hierarchy") and cultural capital (which Bourdieu determines to be "the secondary principle of hierarchy"). The opposition between these two types of capital determines relations in the field of power. Actors in fields (individuals, families, groups, organizations and institutions) in the struggles to maintain or improve their own position rely mainly on one or the other type of capital. In 19th century France, Bourdieu identified this opposition as the opposition between the bourgeoisie and artists, but in effect the field of power is viewed as a trans-historic structure in which temporal (currently, economic capital and spiritual (currently, cultural capital) forces collide.

Depending on their proximity to the economic or cultural axis of the field of power the remaining social fields are distributed. For example, the economic field is found on the economic pole of the field of power – opposite the artistic field, while the administrative and university field lie between them. The legal field is closer to the economic, while the religious field, in which struggles are waged for non-economic legitimacy – is close to the artistic field. The journalistic field is located in the proximity of the political field and the administrative field, which means that journalism careers depend much more on political and bureaucratic influence than on, for example, artistic.

¹⁷ The actual method of reconstructing fields is compared to hermeneutic circles. In order to construct a field we need to know which capitals are operative in it, while the construction of specific forms of capital presupposes knowledge of the specific logic of a field. Therefore, in reconstructing a field we move from capital to field and vice versa, until this space of social forces is located.

BOURDIEU'S UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL CLASSES

The majority of those familiar with Bourdieu's work agree that his conception of class stems from an early paper "Class situation and class position", published in 1966. This paper has two main themes which later became the backbone of some of his seminal works: the differentiation between class situation and class position and the relation between class and status groups.

Bourdieu starts from the premise that social classes are in part determined by the material circumstances of the existence of their members and the type of work which members undertake. This is termed class situation. But, classes are, Bourdieu insists, also determined by their position in historically defined social structure and relations which are established with other constitutive parts of this structure. Aspects of social class which can be understood on the basis of their relations with other classes are termed class position. Therefore, Bourdieu postulates a duality of explicative principles (features and behavior of class members are determined by their class situation and class position), hence explanations of class features on the basis of economic factors is considered necessary, but not sufficient.

At the same time, Bourdieu indicates that class situation and class position are not independent one of the other, so that the degree to which classes are determined by their situation, that is, by their position, is variable, not only in different societies but for different classes within the same society. According to Bourdieu, class situation is the key determinant of the degree of influence which class position has. The less classes are able to control the conditions of their existence, that is, the more they are exposed to material deprivation, the more directly their practices and their beliefs will be conditioned by the class situation. Those classes which have at their disposal resources which make it possible to keep material necessity at bay, the more strongly they are determined by their class position, that is, their relations to other classes.

This early understanding of classes is made even more complex by the introduction of the thesis, later made famous by the success of "Distinction", that classes and status groups are not different types of social collectivities which result from different stratificational mechanisms, but (contrary to illusion and to Weber) two aspects of the same phenomenon. Bourdieu interprets the Weberian distinction between class and status as the difference between the material and symbolic aspect of class – statuses are, according to him, really "disguised" or "unrecognized" classes. He states: "everything seems to indicate that Weber opposes class and status group as two types of real unities which would come together more or less frequently according to the type of society...;[however,] to give Weberian analyses all of their force and impact, it is necessary to see them instead as nominal unities...which are always the result of a

choice to accent the economic aspect or the symbolic aspect—aspects which always coexist in the same reality... (Bourdieu 1966, pp. 212-213).¹⁸ The result of such an understanding is that class analysis cannot be reduced to the analysis of economic relations, but that it must necessarily include an analysis of symbolic relations.

The development of Bourdieu's understanding of class progressed from a more substantialist conception, through the formulation of the relational concept of class position, to the model of social space.

Social space itself is constructed along three orthogonal axes. In this three-dimensional space, according to Bourdieu, occupational groups are distributed in accordance with three parameters – total volume of capital, composition of capital and change in these two characteristics over time, which Bourdieu terms the social trajectory.

Along the first and most important axis members of occupational groups are distributed on the basis of total volume of different capitals. According to Bourdieu, someone's class position is determined by the position the person has on this axis (which is represented vertically on maps of social space). In studies undertaken in France, concentrated in the upper part of social space (on the basis of total volume of economic and cultural capital) are industrialists, managers in the private sector, and university professors. Therefore Bourdieu names them the "dominant class" or "bourgeoisie". Grouped on the opposite pole of this axis are manual laborers and farmers whose total volume of capital is relatively small. Bourdieu terms them the "working class" or "popular classes". Between them, in relation to total volume of capital, in the middle of social space are small entrepreneurs, clerks, teachers, whom Bourdieu collectively terms the "petty bourgeoisie".

The second axis – composition of capital – which is positioned horizontally on Bourdieu's maps of social space, defines the difference between class fractions. According to Bourdieu, classes are internally differentiated depending on dominance of economic or cultural capital in the total volume of capital. Hence, for example, in the dominant class we can distinguish the class fraction which primarily relies on its cultural capital, but which is not rich in economic capital (university professors and artists). On the other hand, there are industrialists and other large employers who have at their disposal large amounts of economic capital, but whose cultural capital is of a lesser volume. Between the two poles are members of the "professions" (lawyers, physicians, managers) whose structure of capital (economic and cultural) is in balance. Similarly, among the petty bourgeoisie it is possible to distinguish between small entrepreneurs, who possess mainly economic capital, and teachers, whose main resource is cultural capital. The position between them is occupied by clerks and technicians.

18 Cited according to Elliot B. Weininger "Foundations of Pierre Bourdieu's Class Analysis" (2005), pp. 122

Representatives of different occupational groups are differentiated along a third axis as well – the social trajectory – which represents the introduction of a time dimension into an otherwise synchronous analysis. Social trajectory is constructed on the basis of data on changes in volume and composition of capital over time – usually in the course of three generations of a family. In this way the possibility opens up for studying various types of social mobility. In addition to ascending and descending (vertical) social mobility, it is possible to track *horizontal* or *transversal* mobility, by which change of type of resource on which social groups rely in social struggles. Bourdieu termed this type of mobility whereby social groups change the composition of capital at their disposal “conversion” of capital. But within vertical mobility it is also possible to differentiate *intra-class* social mobility, which takes place within the same fields and on the basis of accumulation of the same types of capital (as, for example, when children of teachers become university professors) or *interclass* social mobility, which involves change of both volume and composition of capital (as, for example, when small entrepreneurs invest in the education of their children, instead of having them inherit the family business).

Although features which relate to capitals they have at their disposal – their volume, composition and social trajectory – make up the core of his understanding of class, in addition to these, according to Bourdieu, the concept of class also encompasses so-called secondary characteristics. These would be demographic variables such as gender, age and place of residence (ethnicity and race are mentioned in passing, but they do not play a more prominent role in his analyses of French society). According to Bourdieu, although there appears to be no connection between occupation and demographic characteristics, very often a significant presence of women (“women’s occupations”), younger or older people (“old people’s occupations”) in a particular occupation determines its position in the class structure. Therefore, according to Bourdieu, it is not sufficient to consider only how demographic characteristics modify the influence of class on social practice, but to include them in the very definition of class.

However, classes are not simply aggregates of different primary and secondary characteristics. In “Distinction”, Bourdieu states: “social class is not defined by a property (not even the most determinant one, such as volume and composition of capital), nor by a collection of properties (of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin...) nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (position in the relations of production) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices” [(Bourdieu: 1984:106).

According to Weininger (Weininger: 2002), Bourdieu uses this approach to reformulate the structuralist axiom of structural causality. Its empirical character is manifest in the refusal to define a set of elements which have a determining influence *a priori*. Weininger emphasizes that social structure, as understood by Bourdieu, represents an empirical system of mutually acting heterogeneous factors. This includes primary characteristics (which relate to capital) and secondary characteristics (mainly demographic) which have a causal role only through mutual action – so that the effect of any one particular characteristic is mediated by the action of the others. According to him, that is what Bourdieu means when he says that in the social sciences “linear thinking” needs to cease and when he protests against “the false independence of so-called independent variables”. However, according to Weininger, what must be noted, and what is obvious from their name, is that according to Bourdieu volume and composition of capital (primary characteristics), although they are never realized independently of gender, age or place of residence (secondary characteristics), have a greater causal power. Factors relating to capitals, in Bourdieu’s conception of class, have the greatest power of determination.

Finally, it must be pointed out that in Bourdieu’s understanding of class as an explicative principle is that the causal power of any factor not only depends on the other factors which enter into the composition of class, but also depends on the context, namely, the field in which practices take place. In different fields we find operative different capitals and different subgroups of basic capitals, so that the power which actors have in specific fields mainly depends on them, and only to a lesser extent on wealth in other types of capital.

Weininger indicates that in this way, presupposing the existence of a unitary causal system which depending on circumstances activates different combinations of active factors, Bourdieu ensures flexibility which enables him to claim that various social practices are amenable to complex, yet simple explanation and that class represents a universal explanatory principle.

It must further be emphasized that classes are constructed in social space are only “objective classes”, which Bourdieu also terms “logical classes” or “classes-on-paper”. In the paper “Social Space and the Genesis of Groups”.¹⁹ Bourdieu states: “On the basis of knowledge of the space of positions, one can separate out classes, in the logical sense of the word, i.e., sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and subjected to similar conditionings, have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interests and therefore of producing similar practices

19 Pierre Bourdieu (1985), The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups, *Theory and Society*, vol. 14, no. 6 pp. 723-744.

and adopting similar stances (...). It is not really a class, an actual class, in the sense of a group, a group mobilized for struggle; at most, it might be called a probable class, inasmuch as it is a set of agents that will present fewer hindrances to efforts at mobilization than any other set of agents.” (Bourdieu: 1985: 725).

Weininger stresses that in Bourdieu’s theory the relation of class structure and the forming of classes is causal, but also conditional. The class structure of objective (nominal) classes in part determines the creation of subjective (real) classes. What is necessary for “classes-on-paper” to be translated into real classes is the political activity of mobilization, but its chances of success are greater if among potential members of classes there exists objective proximity in social space.

Moreover, the forming of real classes is just one of many options, but it is not impossible that other types of groups should form, for example, ethnic, age or gender. Bourdieu insists that the social world can be constructed in different ways, but in his opinion grouping based on the distribution of basic capitals is more stable and long-lasting than any other form of grouping.²⁰

The aspect of Bourdieu’s theory which speaks of translating “nominal” into “real” classes is one of the most interesting and least noted aspects of Bourdieu’s theory. It indicates the significance of the analysis of cultural practices and lifestyles within Bourdieu’s conception.

Considering that in his conception social space is constituted through three continuous axes (total volume of capital, composition of capital and their change over time), this, by definition, presupposes lack of internal boundaries in this space and the impossibility of determining boundaries between classes *a priori*.²¹ The introduction of boundaries into continuous social space – and in this way dividing groups of actors from others and forming social collectivities – is the function of social practices, in particular practices which make up lifestyles.

Namely, according to Bourdieu, in contemporary society social collectivities (and classes) are formed primarily in the sphere of consumption. Hence, lifestyles are not only an expression of patterns of perception, liking and action which make up

20 “To speak of a social space means that one cannot group just *anyone* with *anyone* while ignoring the fundamental differences, particularly economic and cultural ones. But this never entirely excludes the possibility of organizing agents in accordance with other principles of division ethnic or national ones, for example.” (Bourdieu: 1985: 726)

21 This distinguishes Bourdieu’s conception of class on the one hand from all other forms of class analysis which, by definition, are established as “relational conceptions” and brings it closer to stratificational (gradational) models in which social inequalities (in relation to certain criteria) are seen as distributed along a continuous, continuing scale. But as pointed out by Schwarz, Bourdieu’s conception, on the other hand, is crucially different from these as well: in its multidimensionality and its understanding of the uniqueness, not multifacetedness, of the stratification order and in opening up possibilities for analysis of types of social mobility (conversion of capital) unknown to them, especially by postulating the types of conflicts they ignore.

habitus, but constitution of one's lifestyle is followed by differentiation in relation to other lifestyles - sometimes even their rejection (music, manners, dress, food, etc). This is then transferred to social actors who are carriers of these lifestyles. Therefore, individuals through practices of everyday consumption at once – unconsciously, at the pre-reflexive level – classify themselves and others as similar or dissimilar. It is precisely through this process of classification of others and self-classification and on the basis of experiences of similarity- or difference-based inclusion or exclusion that social collectivities (including classes) are formed and this primarily by establishing symbolic boundaries between them.

Not all social actors have equal influence on the processes of mutual categorization and classification. The symbolic strength of certain lifestyles and their carriers grows depending on their proximity to or distance from “legitimate culture”. By this those cultural elements which are universally acknowledged in a society as being “valuable” or “exceptional” and which have taken on the status of canon are designated. What is of particular importance is that among different practices and lifestyles – depending on their distance from legitimate culture – hierarchical relations are established by which the social classification which is carried out on the basis of lifestyle transforms into the social distribution of honor or status in the Weberian sense.²²

According to Bourdieu, individuals perceive other actors primarily through the veil of symbolic practices – through lifestyles and other status determinants – mistakenly perceiving the real basis of these practices enabled by the ownership of a particular volume and composition of capital and types of habitus which accompany them. What, however, remains as a fact is that the key, irreplaceable role in the “distribution” of social space, in the constituting and differentiation of classes in Bourdieu's conception is played by activities of actors, their social practices.

Once established through “antagonistic” practices of consumption, in the form of “primitive classification”, collectivities on the road to objectivization pass through three additional phases. In the second, collectivities are named, codified and in this way rise to the level of discourses. In the third phase, the establishment of “objective” social classifications (as is done, for example, by educational institutions – between those who have completed a particular level of education and those who have not). The highest level of objectivization is reached when collectivities become part of the official classifications which are written down in laws. Paraphrasing Weber, Bourdieu

22 These classifications are not random, nor are they separate from positions which actors occupy in social space. As the degree of similarity and difference between habitus of actors is caused by their positions in social space - despite the fact that actors have the freedom to constitute collectivities according to their perception of similarity and difference - not all classification frameworks have equal chances to become socially recognized.

defines the state on the basis of its monopoly over “legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence in a particular territory”, pointing to the right of the state to impose principles of classification which have binding strength.

We have already mentioned that Bourdieu’s class conception is different from stratification models, among other things in that it enables the questioning of social conflicts which they ignore. But it opens up an area of study of social conflict and class struggles which otherwise does not appear in class conceptions of social inequalities: classification struggles and intra-class struggles within fields of power for establishing the dominant principle of domination.

In addition to organized, collective forms of class struggle, Bourdieu sees forms of class struggle also in everyday attempts by individuals, families and social groups to improve or maintain their position in the stratification order. Bourdieu devoted equal attention to the study of struggles aimed at acquiring material resources, as well as struggles for imposing one’s own representations of the social world as the dominant ones. The struggle to define what it is that should be valued in fields and how positions within them should be viewed is, according to Bourdieu, no less important than the struggle over goods waged in the fields.

Although a familiar point in considerations of Bourdieu’s class analysis is the insight that in his conception the analyses of economic and symbolic aspects of class are inseparable and only on the basis of these insights can the contribution of symbolic dimensions to the constitution of classes be fully understood. The acknowledgement of symbolic aspects of material and cultural consumption makes possible the analysis of “classification struggles” for which Bourdieu claims they represent “the forgotten dimension of class struggle”.

Classification struggles are ultimately waged in order to impose one’s own system of classification as the dominant one. Success in this struggle to impose one’s own classification framework to others is represented by its universal acceptance – through which it acquires symbolic capital (prestige, reputation), that is, comes to be perceived as legitimate.

As legitimate culture represents the center around which classification struggles are waged, it is no wonder that it is precisely the question of what enters into legitimate culture that is the object of the most ferocious struggles. However, according to Bourdieu, in these struggles it is mainly fractions of the dominant class (the bourgeoisie) who participate, with the occasional participation of one of the fractions of the petty bourgeoisie. The working class does not possess sufficient cultural resources to participate; instead, it mostly serves as a negative reference point in relation to which legitimate cultural practices are defined. The mechanism of struggle of which

Bourdieu speaks is already familiar from earlier sociological literature (T. Veblen and G. Simmel), but Bourdieu terms it a “trickle-down effect”. In constant competition to own objects and apply practices which ensure distinction in relation to others, cultural objects and practices which at first characterize members of the dominant class or one of its fractions trickle down social space over time. In equal measure in which they become popularized, their previous carriers distance themselves from them and attempt to find new practices and objects which will assist them in displaying the exclusivity of their taste.

The second form of class struggle which rarely appears in other types of class analysis is the struggle of class fractions within the dominant class for imposing their own resource as key for the whole of society. In a later phase Bourdieu replaced the term dominant or ruling class with the term “field of power”, which he used to name a part of social space in which members of those occupational groups characterized by large total volume of capital. As has already been mentioned, within the field of power members of different occupational groups are positioned depending on the composition of capital at their disposal and which they can activate in social struggles. Positioned at one pole are those who rely primarily on economic capital (representatives of large capital, managers in private and public companies), on the other pole those whose main resource is cultural capital (experts, university professors, artists). As members of the dominant class have available a large volume of both types of capital, struggles between these class fractions is not aimed at monopolization of capital, but on establishing the primacy of one type of capital over the other. Or, in Bourdieusian terminology, the struggle is over establishing the “dominant principle of domination”.

This struggle also has a symbolic dimension as the establishment of the domination of one type of capital is also the acknowledgement of its legitimacy. The results of such struggles (in the form of temporary compromises between class fractions) lead to the establishing of exchange value between different types of capital, which influences not only the position of class fractions within the positions of power, but also the functioning of all social fields and the whole of society.

Once again, at the end of this brief overview of Bourdieu’s conception, let us return to the question of whether social groups which unify primary characteristics (economic, social and cultural capital) and secondary characteristics (gender, age, place of residence) in ever changing inter-relations can be considered classes. In relation to this, there are two positions. On the one hand Rogers Brubaker (Brubaker:1985) believes that marking a set of social determinants the influence of which on practices is conditioned by the structure of relations among the classes is the result of a completely arbitrary decision. According to him, in Bourdieu’s sociology the term class is

nothing but a metaphor for a total set of social determinants. Opposed to this is the standpoint of Elliot Weininger. Weininger notes that in considering this question we must return to the question of relations towards experiences with life's necessities which shape habitus or the question of class situation. What distinguishes classes in Bourdieu's conception in the first instance - and due to what volume and composition of capital are ascribed causal primacy in the system of components which constitute them is their "asymmetric experience" in relation to life's necessities. Members of different classes differ primarily in whether and to what extent they can keep the necessities of everyday life "at bay" – that is what is paramount in determining their habitus and what then finds its expression in their other actions in society and their perception of the social world. That is what, according to Weininger, makes them classes.

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SOCIAL SPACE IN SERBIA

The conception of social space, which Bourdieu also refers to as “the field of social classes”, is characteristic of the mature phase in Bourdieu’s sociology. Social space represent a model of spatial conception of the social structure which, as is the case with other fields, stand for “quasi-reality” which exists independently of those who are positioned within it. This structure of objective positions results from the combination of the most important powers and resources in a social formation – of economic capital, cultural capital and social capital – and their evolution through time.

As is well known, Bourdieu expands the conception of capital to several resources – material, social, cultural and symbolic - and indicates that individuals and groups, in the attempt to maintain or improve their positions in the social order, rely on all of these resources (not only economic ones). Moreover, he emphasizes that it is not possible to understand the structure and functioning of the social world, if the concept of capital in all of its forms is not introduced into the analysis, not only in the form that is known to economic theory.

According to Bourdieu, the social world is “accumulated history” and precisely because accumulated resources (capitals) in their objective and embodied forms show a tendency to act as objective forces, not everything is equally possible or impossible in the social world. The structure and distribution of different types and sub-types of capital at a given moment in time represent, for Bourdieu, the immanent structure of the social world inscribed into the reality of the world itself, determining chances of success for social practices.

The study of social space in Serbia represents explorative research of social structure in Serbia (conceived of in a particular way) and the general framework for analysis of social action and social grouping in Serbian society. As any account on socio-economic change, transition and development in Serbian society must begin with a conception of its current social structure, this type of investigation represents a framework for understanding the results of all other (economic, political, cultural) analyses.

In the project “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” this analysis enabled us to ascertain how different social groups in Serbia differ in terms of resources (economic and, in particular, social and cultural capital); and served as a background in our attempt to reconstruct the strategies which the citizens of Serbia use in everyday life (relying on a combination of resources available to them), and in our analysis of social and symbolic struggles between the holders of different types of capital in everyday life in Serbian society.

SOCIAL SPACE IN SERBIA (IN 2005)

In the paper “The Art of Making Classes in Serbia – Another Particular Case of the Possible” (Cvetičanin & Popescu, 2011) based on data from the survey “Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia” (2005), the results of constructing social space in Serbia were presented. In the article, it was suggested that, taking into consideration the role which social capital has in generating social inequalities in socialist and post-socialist societies, it should be taken into consideration in the construction of social space in these societies.

Moreover, the argument was put forward that neither social capital nor cultural capital should be treated as a single resource and exclusively in terms of quantity, that is, volume of a particular capital, as Bourdieu does. It was demonstrated that quality (different types) of social and cultural capital can be used in the construction of social space.

TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN SERBIA

Two types of social networks in Serbia that may be used as social capital were identified: *political social capital* (mainly impersonal and instrumental) and *social capital of solidarity* (which, in addition to being instrumental, has important expressive and emotional function). Social networks represent *political social capital* when they link people whose control over access to public resources (goods and services) enables them to use these resources to satisfy the private needs of other members of these networks and in this way accumulate power (and acquire access to the resources they do not control). The sum of these networks represents the parallel, informal structure of power in Serbian society. These positions of control over access to public resources are located in the political sphere proper (politicians, representatives of the local, regional, national governments), but they can also be positions of authority in firms and public institutions (e.g., CEO's, deans, military generals), or positions of experts in public institutions (e.g., doctors, judges, university professors). In principle, anyone who has control over access to public resources, no matter how small the advantage conferred, possesses political social capital in some amount.

In contrast, the *social capital of solidarity* is based on the existence of “primary ties”, social networks of solidarity among neighbors, friends, relatives, or “countrymen” who

can pitch in to help with money, goods, services or emotional support. The emotional and expressive function of these social networks is as crucial as the instrumental one. Importantly, however, these social networks can also be used as capital¹. Unlike political social capital, which requires a trade-off in the form of access to previously unavailable resources, the basis for requesting favors by virtue of social capital of solidarity rests precisely in claiming “primary ties”, that is, being a relative, friend, or a neighbor.

TYPES OF CULTURAL CAPITAL IN SERBIA

A second important group of resources that shape social space in Serbia is cultural capital. In the paper “Struggles on Symbolic Boundaries” (Cveticanin & Popescu, 2009), it was demonstrated that two main oppositions structure the field of cultural practices in Serbia: the opposition between local and global culture, and the opposition between traditional culture and contemporary, popular culture.

In contrast to the French society described by Bourdieu’s works, in Serbia the main opposition in the field of lifestyles is not between elite and popular culture and highbrow culture does not automatically entail a claim to be the legitimate culture. In Serbia, the main opposition is between global and local culture and it enables the formation of two types of cultural capital - local cultural capital and global cultural capital - whose proponents struggle to promote their cultural resources as legitimate.

CONSTRUCTING SOCIAL SPACE IN SERBIA (2005)

We constructed social space in Serbia using indicators of these two types of cultural and social capital and of economic capital as active variables. Economic capital was operationalized with five indicators, cultural capital with four and social capital with three indicators (please see Cvetičanin & Popescu, 2011 pp. 451-452).

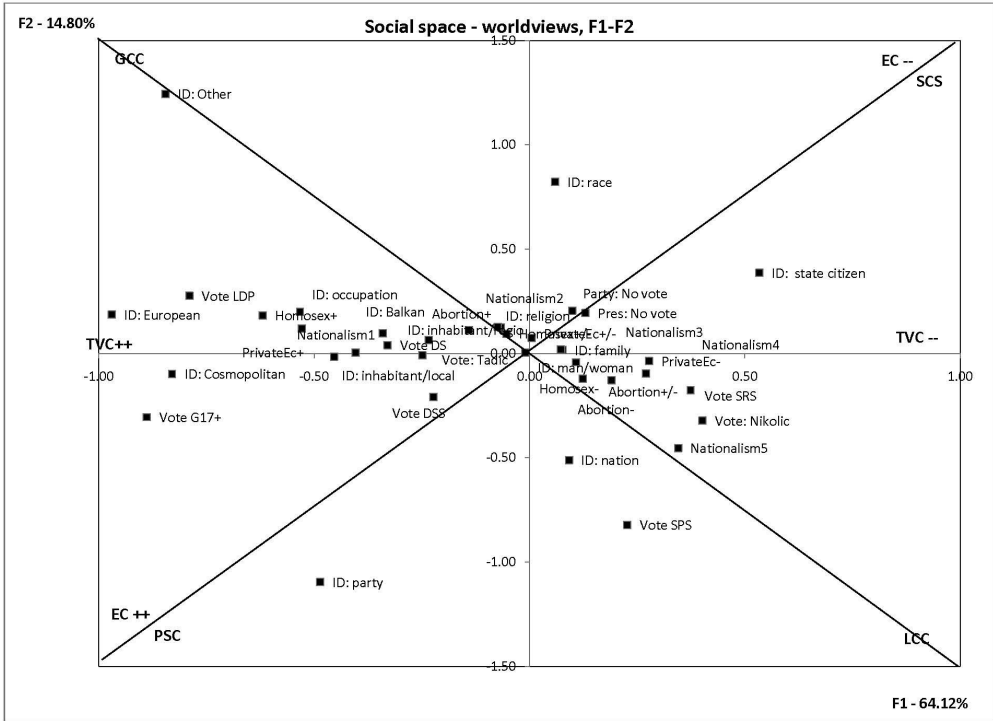
Multiple correspondence analysis has identified five axes which together explain 85.24% of the variance. *Axis 1*, which explains the greatest part of the total variance (62.11%) just as in Bourdieu’s model, expresses the *total volume of capital*. As illustrated in Figure 1, axis 1 distinguishes between high total volume of capital (marked TVC++) and low total volume of capital (marked TVC--). *Axis 2*, which explains 10.34% of the variance, represents the dimension of the *composition of capital*, which is in our paper conceived of differently than in the work of Pierre Bourdieu. It was revealed that, on the one hand, the basic opposition which we identified in the field of cultural practices in Serbia – that between global and local culture – plays an important role in the constitution of social space. On the other hand, indicators of two types of social capital have been ordered along the axis which divides large volume of economic capital (accompanied by indicators of political social capital) and small volume of economic capital (accompanied by indicators of possession of social capital of solidarity).

¹ That is to bring benefits to someone, while bringing disadvantages to someone else.

The results of the above analyses suggest that these different types (qualities) of capitals can be used in the construction of social space. This transforms social space into a complex jigsaw puzzle - the elements of which are, in addition to range of economic capital, “local cultural capital”, “global cultural capital”, “social capital of solidarity” and “political social capital”. Our map of social space thus constructed indicates the existence of different bases (resources) for social grouping in Serbia and different strategies available to these groups.

In a map thus constructed, we projected, as supplementary variables, indicators of material and cultural consumption, identity, worldview and political preferences. The results unequivocally indicate a strong “gravitational pull” of social space. In these maps it is easy to see that the endless variety of social and cultural practices, although it cannot be reduced to social conditioning, is not at all random – the result of coincidence or the will and willful self-shaping of the individual – instead, certain cultural styles, tastes, types of material consumption, certain identities and political preferences are simply more likely in certain parts of social space than in others (for a detailed account, please, see Cvetičanin & Popescu: 2011 – pp 459-460)

Figure 2. Projection of supplementary variables (identities, world-views, political preferences) into social space (2005)



Finally, in the social space constructed this way indicators of four social classes were projected: of farmers, workers, middle class and upper classes². In the “clouds of individuals” the program³ drew concentration ellipses in which 88% of individuals who belong to these groups are positioned (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010; Le Roux et al., 2008). The ordering of dimensions on the map remained the same – the left pole of the horizontal axis (Axis 1) is the pole of large total volume of capital, the right pole of small total volume of capital. In the upper left quadrant there are indicators of global cultural capital, in the lower right quadrant indicators of local cultural capital. In the lower right quadrant indicators of high values of economic capital and indicators of political social capital are found, while in the upper left quadrant are modalities of low economic capital and indicators of social capital of solidarity.

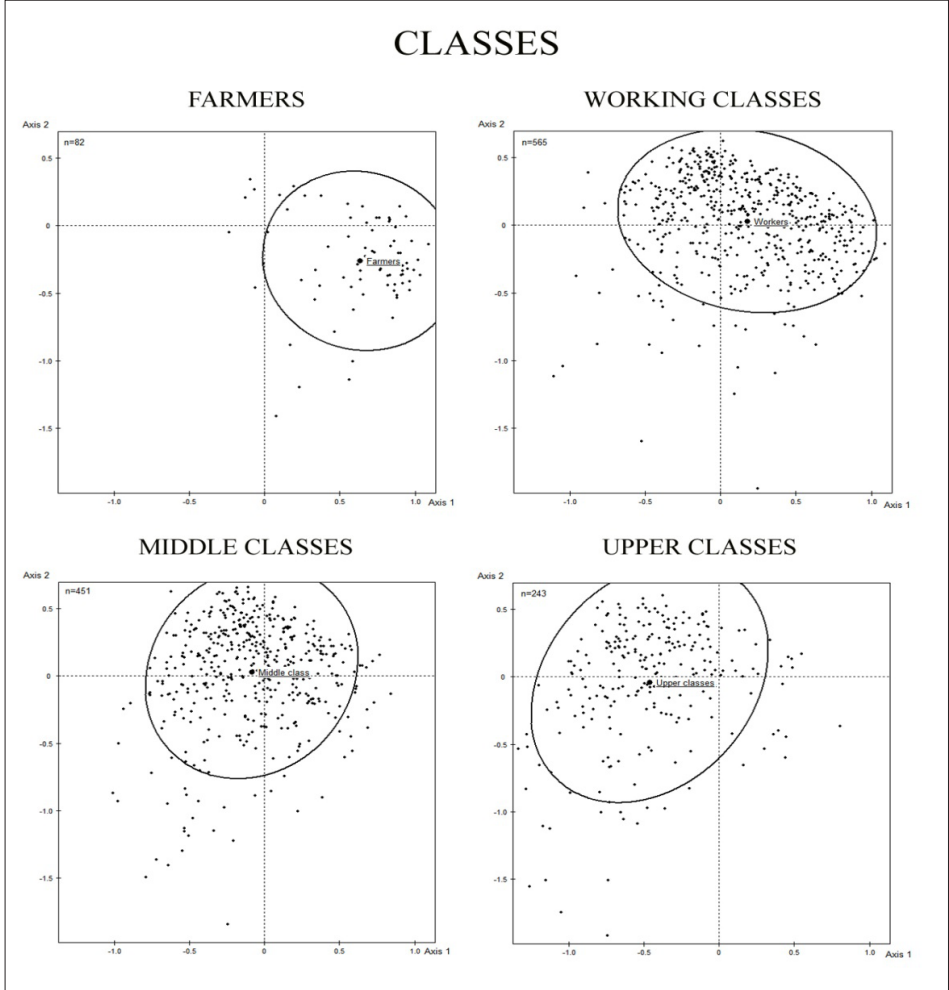
As can be seen in Figure 3, farmers take up a part of social space characterized by low overall volume of capital, low level of economic capital, social capital of solidarity and local cultural capital (these are also the resources which are available to them in conceiving their strategies). Workers are grouped in the area characterized by similar dimensions as farmers. The only difference is that the theoretical class of workers is divided on the basis of whether they hold local or global cultural capital. The middle classes are located in the center of social space which is characterized by average level of overall volume of capital, average level of economic capital and the division between owning political social capital and social capital of solidarity, that is, between global and local cultural capital.⁴ Finally, the upper classes are mainly grouped on the left side of social space characterized by high overall volume of capital, high volume of economic capital, political social capital and global cultural capital (these are the resources on which they base their strategies).

2 Previously the original scale with 27 occupational groups was grouped into nine basic groups of occupations, taking care to ensure participants who belong to them had approximately identical educational levels, income, similar working conditions, as well what the basic resources on which they rely in their work and life strategies are. The nine groups are: 1) farmers; 2) unqualified and semi-qualified workers; 3) qualified and highly qualified workers; 4) lower experts; 5) clerks and lower managers; 6) small entrepreneurs and the self-employed; 7) experts; 8) large employers; 9) professional politicians, managers of state companies, high ranking police and army officers. The analyses showed that these occupational groups inhabit different parts of social space and that based on proximity in social space they can be grouped into four „theoretical“ social classes (please, see Cvetičanin & Popescu: 2011: 463-465)

3 For MCA we used SPAD 7.3.

4 This division is also a possible source of ambivalent attitudes of the middle classes in the entire list of questions (related to political attitudes, worldview and identity determinants).

Figure 3. Four theoretical classes in Serbia: central points and concentration ellipses in clouds of individuals in social space (2005)



SOCIAL SPACE IN SERBIA (IN 2010)

The data collected within the project “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” enabled us to construct the social space in Serbia in 2010, to test some of the conclusions reached in our previous papers and to further the analysis in certain respects. The research has been designed as a telephone survey on a national proportional sample of 2000 respondents. The number of respondents who took part was 889, which is in accordance with the usual response rate (44.5%) for telephone surveys. The first step was to assess how many axes we need to interpret. In order to do that the percentage of variance (inertia) explained by each axis is considered. The first 5 dimensions are sufficient to explain the variance in the data (87.59% cumulative variance). The first axis explains the most variance (57.59%), the second one 13.7%, whereas each of the remaining axes explains less than 10% but more than 1% of the variance.

Table 1 shows the eigenvalues and variances explained by the first 5 axes.

Table 1. Eigenvalues, raw and modified inertia for the first five axes

Axes	1	2	3	4	5
Eigenvalues (λ)	0.2810	0.1869	0.1589	0.1535	0.1484
Raw inertia	10.69%	7.11%	6.04%	5.84%	5.65%
Modified inertia	57.59%	13.70%	6.46%	5.38%	4.45%

Considering the limitations imposed by the telephone survey, we had at our disposal a smaller range of variables in constructing social space and a smaller number of their modalities compared to the research from 2005.

We operationalized economic capital with four indicators: (1) average monthly income of the respondent's family per family member; (2) size of respondent's dwelling (if owner); (3) size of respondent's summer house/cottage (if any); (4) the value of the respondent's car (if any). Cultural capital was operationalized using three indicators: (1) respondent education; (2) respondent mother's education; (3) respondent father's education. We relied on two indicators of social capital. The first represents political-social capital in narrow sense: (1) respondent's membership in a political party; and second one was showing (2) whether the respondent had access to informal networks for favor exchange in public institutions. In total, we used 17 modalities of economic capital, 12 modalities of cultural and 5 modalities of social capital as active variables.

What can be seen in the constructed social space (see Figure 4) is that Axis 1, which explains 58 % of the variance, stretches between maximum capital values on the left [per capita household income of over 250 EUR ($I > 250$ EUR); ownership of an automobile the value of which exceeds 5000 EUR ($CAR > 5000$ EUR); ownership

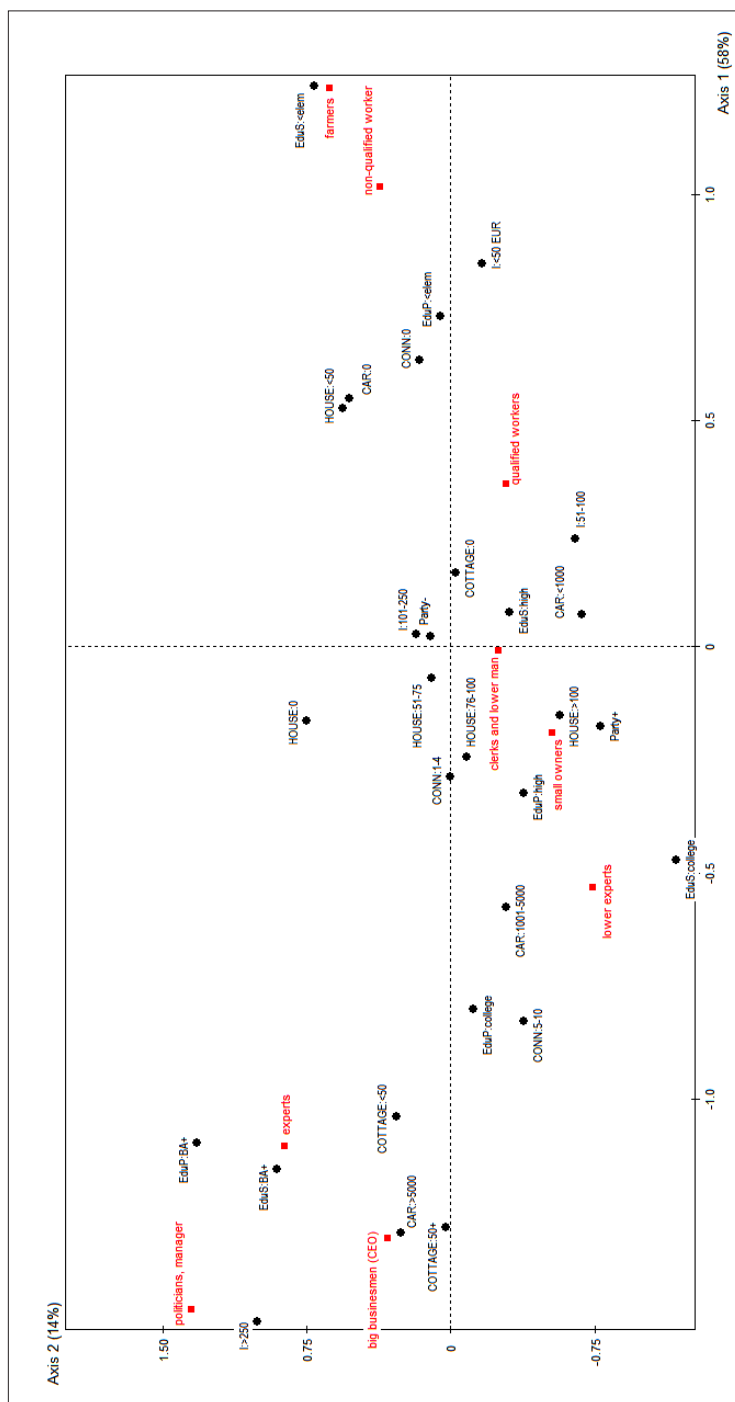
of a weekend house larger than 50 m² (COTTAGE 50+); highest educational level of the father (EduP BA+) and of the respondent (EduS BA+) and a large number of informal ties in public institutions (CONN 5 – 10)]. The only maximal modality of capital which is not positioned on the pole itself, although is on the left side of the map, is ownership of a house/apartment larger than 100 m² (HOUSE>100 m²); instead, it is located close to the center of the map. On the right side of the map, one finds mainly minimal modalities of the indicators employed [per capita household income of less than 50 EUR (I<50 EUR); no automobile (CAR0); apartment/house smaller than 50 m² (HOUSE<50 m²); elementary or lower education of the father and the respondent (EduP-elem.) & (EduS elemen.) and lack of ties in public institutions (Conn 0)]. On the basis of these indices we can conclude that, as in other maps of social space, Axis 1 represents the total volume of capital and therefore, as in Bourdieu's model, the axis along which social classes are differentiated.

Axis 2, which explains 14% of the variance, according to Bourdieu represents the dimension of capital composition. What is different from the map of social space based on the 2005 survey data and what is probably one of the most interesting result of this analysis is that in the map of social space (in 2010) Axis 2 separates the indicators of cultural capital (in the upper regions of the map) and of social capital (in the lower regions). The second difference in comparison with the 2005 research is bifurcation of the indicators of economic capital. High modalities of income indicators go along with maximal modalities of indicators of cultural capital while, on the other hand, with ultimate values of modalities of social capital we have high indicators of ownership, in particular, ownership of large apartments/houses.

When we projected, as supplementary variables, indicators of nine occupational groups, it emerged that in the left end of the map, where one finds concentrated highest values of capital, grouped indices of professional politicians, managers in public companies, high ranking army and police officers, owners of large companies and experts are also present. On the other side of the map, which is characterized by smaller total range of capital, farmers and manual laborers are located. At the bottom of the left side of the map, where social capital appears as dominant (close to the map origin), the points of lower ranking experts, clerks and representatives of lower management and small entrepreneurs are located. On the right side, very close by, there is a presence of skilled workers. This also gives us an overview of the composition of resources on which representatives of particular occupational groups rely.

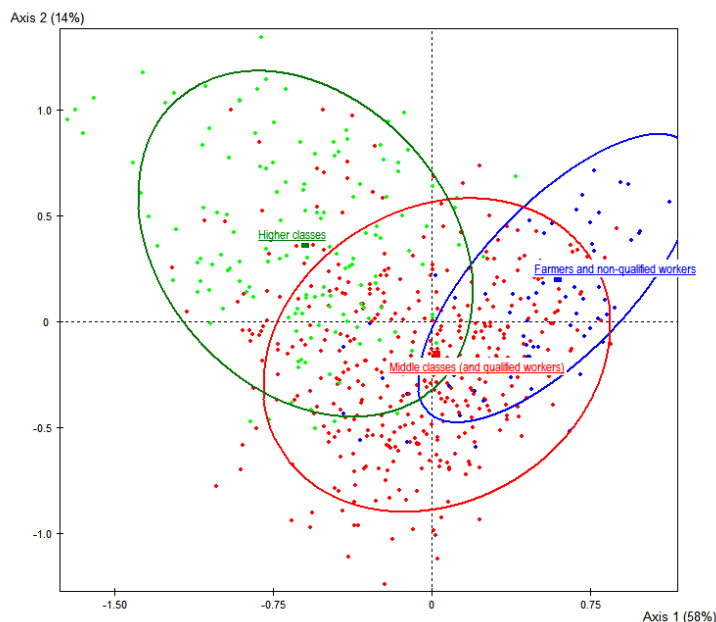
When the distribution of occupational groups is viewed in the other main output of the MCA (in the "cloud of individuals"), it becomes even clearer that occupations are linked into three groupings: farmers and unskilled workers (blue ellipse), skilled workers, lower experts, clerks and small entrepreneurs (red ellipse), and professional politicians, owners of large companies and experts (green ellipse). In other words

Figure 4. Map of social space 2010 (Axis 1 & 2)



unlike the differentiation between four social classes, which was based on the results of analyses from 2005, the results of the analysis of the data from the 2010 survey indicate the differentiation between three theoretical classes in Serbia:

Figure 5. Three social classes in cloud of individuals



In the final step of our analysis, onto social space constructed in the above manner, we projected as supplementary variables indicators of cultural practices and additional variables on social capital. We used 22 variables as indicators of cultural practices: thirteen indicators of taste, eight indicators of cultural habits and one indicator of ownership of cultural goods. For indicators of social capital we used answers to the questions “do people approach respondents asking for help and who asks them for help” (with 11 pre-defined options)

Figure 6 shows the projection of indicators of cultural practices in social space.⁵ The diagonal which crosscuts the upper left-hand corner, passes through the center of the map and ends in the lower right-hand corner is the same diagonal which we also noted on Figure 2, the poles of which are global cultural capital and local cultural capital. In the upper left-hand corner of social space where the high classes are located we find also indices of traditional elite taste, a liking of opera and classical music [(Top-era+), (Tclass+)] and global urban taste linked to rap, techno and heavy metal [(Trap+),

⁵ In order for the distribution of indicators of cultural practices to be visible from the map of social space we have deleted some modalities of active variables, but in the analysis their order identical to that in Figure 4 is assumed.

(Ttchno+), (Thvymtl+)]. In the central section of social space, where the middle classes are positioned, indices of conformist taste are located - easy listening and pop music [(Teasy+), (Tpop+)] and an ambivalent relationship with global cultural forms on the one hand [(Tclass+/-), (Trock+/-)] and local cultural forms on the other [(Tnewfolk+/-), (Tturbo+/-)]. Finally, in the upper right-hand corner of social space the rejection of traditional and contemporary global forms [(Tclass-), (Trock-), (Tpop-)] is accompanied by indices of traditional folklore taste and neo-folklore taste [(Tnewfolk+), (Tturbo+)].

Graph 7 shows the projection of supplementary indicators of social capital across social space. Respondents' answers to the two questions relating to giving mutual aid in everyday life were used as modalities. The first question was whether respondents are asked for help,⁶ and the second whether particular profiles of people with whom they are in contact request their assistance.⁷

Responses to the first question are positioned from left to right – from the modality “yes, always” (MHELP+++), through the modality “yes, sometimes” (MHELP++) and “yes, but rarely” (MHELP+), to the final point “never” (MHELPo). What surprised us is that the results of the analysis point out to the conclusion that the poorest (in all types of capital) rarely ask others for help. Likewise, those with the highest total volume of capital also rarely request assistance from others. From the results of our preliminary analysis can be concluded that mutual assistance is a practice most common among the members of the middle classes. It should be noted that, in accordance with the composition of capital which we have noted in this constructed social space, indicators of social capital are almost entirely concentrated in the lower regions of the map (the social capital pole).

What should also be noted is that, in accordance with what could have been expected, respondents in that part of the map closer to the pole of low total volume of capital receive more requests for assistance from relatives (Relat++), neighbors (Neigh++) and members of their religious communities (Relig++). On the other hand, respondents who are closer to the pole with high total volume of capital are more frequently approached by colleagues (Coll++), business friends (Bus++), friends from school (School++). Somewhere in the middle are acquaintances (Acquint++) and their party colleagues (PartyC++)

Although it was not possible to obtain enough indices to enable us to identify domains of the action of “political social capital” and “social capital of solidarity”, traces of these specific types of social capital can be glimpsed in these findings.

6 With the modalities: 1) yes, always; 2) yes, sometimes; 3) yes, but rarely; 4) never.

7 The respondents were asked whether they receive requests for assistance from: 1) cousins; 2) “*kumovi*” (godfathers/godsons); 3) countrymen; 4) neighbors; 5) neighborhood friends; 6) friends from school; 7) colleagues from work; 8) business friends (outside their company/institution); 9) members of the party to which they belong; 10) members of their religious community; 11) acquaintances who have done them a favor. The final option was left open, so that respondents could provide answers themselves as to who else requested help from them. The offered modalities were (1) often; (2) sometimes; (3) never.

Figure 6. Projection of indicators of cultural practices in social space (2010)

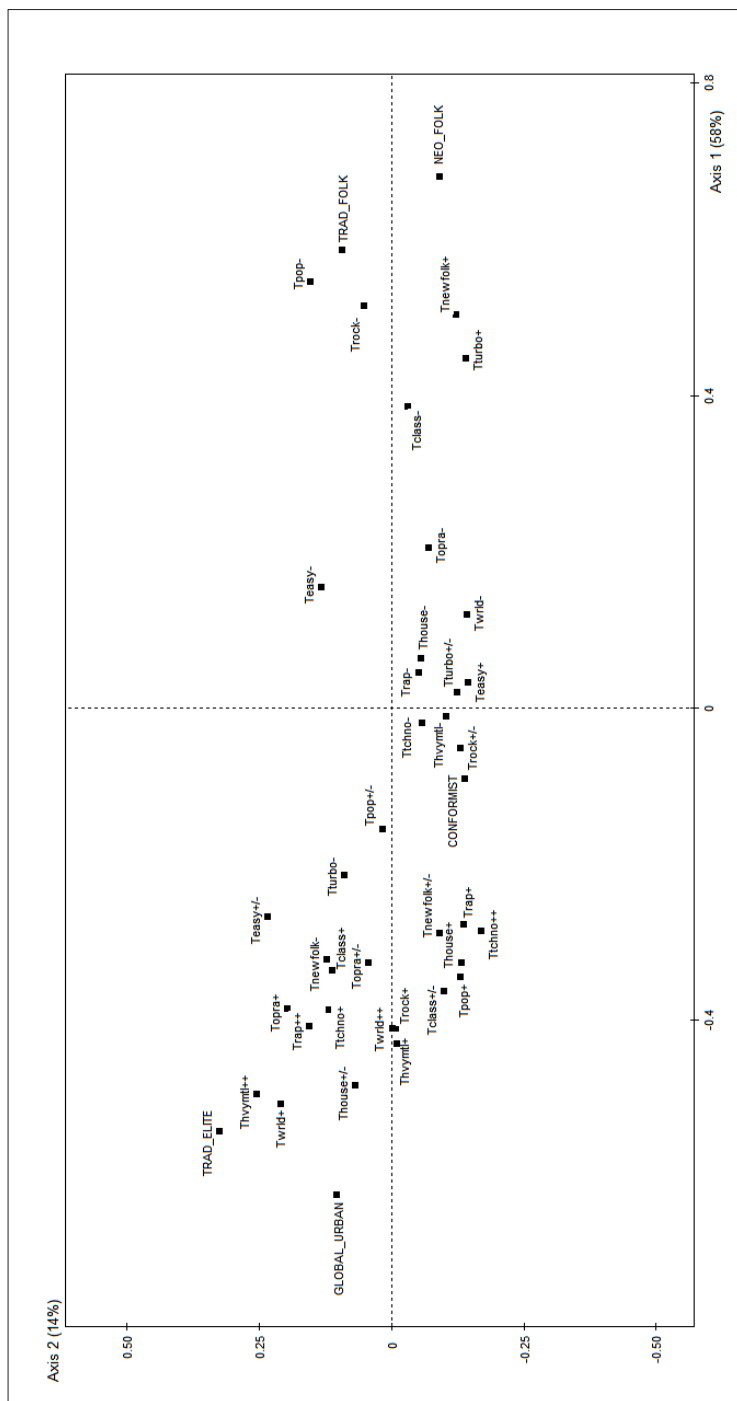
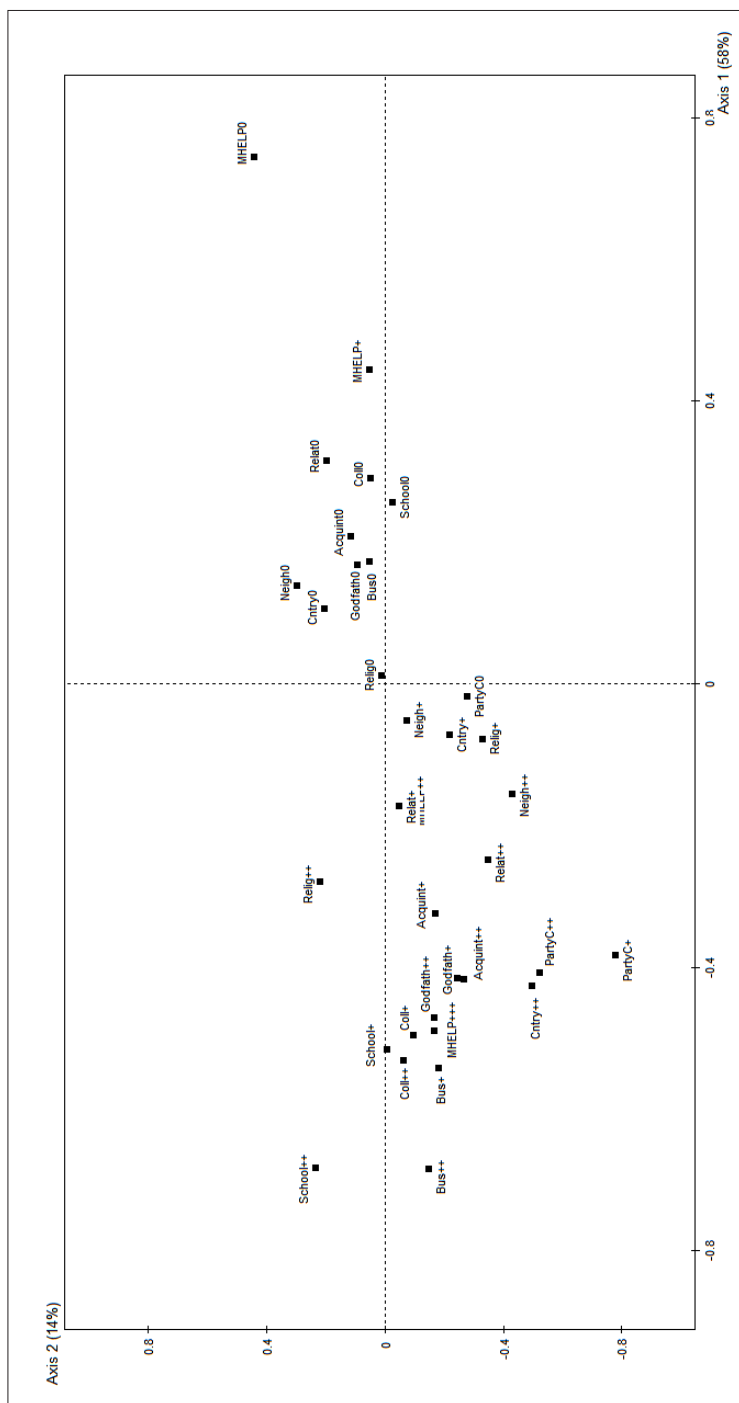


Figure 7. Projection of indicators of social capital in social space (2010)



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we will point out some basic differences and similarities in the results of the analyses of social space based on data from 2005 and 2010.

Key differences in the construction of social space in Serbia are reflected in that the results indicate different ways of conceiving the composition of capital. In both cases Axis 1, like in Bourdieu's model, represents the total volume of capital of respondents, with the highest values of all types of capital grouped in the left part of the map, and minimal values on the right. On the other hand, the results of the analyses on the basis of data from 2005 present social space in Serbia as a complex social puzzle in which influence of many different "powers and resources" can be spotted: the influence of economic factors (indicators of volume of economic capital), cultural factors (indicators of local and global cultural capital), the influence of formal authority (indicators of political positioning) and informal powers (indicators of social capital of solidarity and political social capital). Thus conceived, social space consists of regions defined, in addition to overall volume of capital and volume of economic capital by different types of cultural capital and social capital. Within it, in the attempt to explain social practices, different combinations of capital and subtypes of capital characteristic for particular areas of social space are used.

On the other hand, the results of the 2010 analysis indicate that Axis 2 (composition of capital axis) does not separate indicators of economic capital and cultural capital (as in Bourdieu's conception), nor does it clearly make a distinction between different types of social capital and cultural capital either (as in the 2005 study). Instead, the map of social space from 2010 plainly shows a differentiation of indicators of cultural capital (in the upper regions of the map) and of social capital (in the lower regions of the map). Further, there is a bifurcation of indicators of economic capital. High values of indicators of cultural capital are followed by high indicators of respondent income (in the upper part of the map), and in that part of the map where high values of social capital indices are located, high indicators of affluence/ownership of respondents are also located (house/apartment).

The difference in the results of the two studies is also reflected in the division of occupational groups into social classes. Unlike the four-class model which we constructed in our research in 2005, the data from this study indicate a three-fold division between social classes in Serbia.

When indicators of cultural practices and indicators of the existence and use of social networks were projected into social space (based on the 2010 data), it was revealed that cultural and economic capital represent key resources of two fractions

of the higher social classes, while the middle class in particular makes use of social capital in its strategies.

On the other hand, basic similarities and also the main results of our analyses of social space in Serbia are that practices of social actors are not random, but socially structured i.e. that certain types of strategies and everyday practices are more likely in some parts of social space than in others. Secondly, that everyday practices and attitudes are shaped by types of resources (capital) which are available to social actors. Finally, that social strategies and practices are relational – that they are established and defined in relations of cooperation and struggle with Others – those who are in social space (the field of social classes) positioned in other parts of the space. These three tenets have led our further research into social and cultural capital as active forces in Serbian society.

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THE CULTURAL MAP OF SERBIA OR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRACTICES IN SERBIA

In the second step of researching the context of social action in Serbian society a cultural map of Serbia or field of cultural practices was constructed. As we already mentioned, there are two approaches to the application of Multiple Correspondence Analysis in studying the social and cultural structure of a society: the “social space” approach and the “cultural map” approach (or “reciprocal approach”). In the former, indicators of capital (economic capital, social capital, cultural capital) are used as active variables for the construction of social space. Subsequently, supplementary or passive variables are projected: indicators of cultural practices, material consumption, political preferences, etc., which do not change the relations of active variables (the constructed social space). This makes it possible to explore the connections between the structure of social space and different forms of social action and attitudes. On the other hand, in the reciprocal approach, indicators of cultural practices or lifestyle indicators are used as active variables, while socio-demographic variables are added to these maps as supplementary variables.

In the previous section, we have reconstructed the social structure of Serbian society and then explored how it affects social groupings and social action of members of different social groups. In this text our aim is to identify the main dimensions of the cultural map of Serbia and consider the relationship between types of cultural practices and the socio-demographic characteristics of their carriers (gender, age, educational group, occupational group, etc).

A cultural map represents the visualization of patterns of cultural practices in a society. Working within the tradition of “theories of practice”, exemplified by authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Bruno Latour, Charles Taylor and Theodor Schatzki, in this article cultural practices have been considered as routinized

forms of behavior which consist of a large number of elements which are indissolubly interrelated (bodily activities, mental activities, ways of using things, prereflexive knowledge, skills, motivation, etc). As stated by A. Reckwitz in "Toward a Theory of Social Practices. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing"; "A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of others, etc. – forms so to speak a 'block' whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements" (Reckwitz: 2002: 249 – 250). In this indissoluble unity of cultural practices, we have considered five of their aspects: 1) cultural needs (the potential aspect of cultural participation); 2) cultural habits (actual cultural participation); 3) taste (aesthetic preferences); 4) knowledge of culture; 5) ownership of cultural goods (books, paintings, sculptures, cultural equipment).

In this text we have relied on data from the study "Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia" (2005) and the study "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia" (2010). The first study was based on national proportional stratified multistage random probability sample with face-to-face interviews with 1364 respondents (there were 1485 respondents in the sample, hence the realization percentage was 91,9%). The second study was conceived of as a telephone survey with a national proportional stratified random sample of 2000 respondents, of whom 889 were surveyed (response rate 44,5%).

The results of the construction of the field of cultural practices from 2005 are presented first – the main dimensions of the cultural map of Serbia, types of cultural practices which are constituted under the influence of these "forces" and their relation to age groups, educational groups and groups based on wealth and income. Then the results of the reconstruction of the cultural map of Serbia on the basis of the telephone survey from 2010 are shown (the study "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia"). In the final part of the text a comparison of the results of the two studies is presented, including similarities and differences between them and, finally, implications for further analyses within this study are considered.

CULTURAL MAP OF SERBIA (2005)

In the construction of the field of cultural practices in Serbia indicators of cultural needs, cultural habits, tastes, knowledge and ownership of cultural goods and objects were used in 129 modalities. Additional, socio-demographic data were then projected on a map thus constructed, data such as gender, education, age, income and wealth of respondents.

As always in the application of Multiple Correspondence Analysis, the first task is to identify the axis which structure the space constructed. In order to assess how many axes need to be interpreted, the percentage of variance (inertia) explained by each axis is considered. The first 6 dimensions are sufficient to explain the variance in the data (89% cumulative variance). The first axis explains the most variance (73%), whereas each of the remaining axes explains less than 10% but more than 1% of the variance. Our discussion of the results refers to the first three axes which together explain 84.25% of variance.

Table 1. Eigenvalues and percentages of inertia:

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Eigenvalue	0.267	0.102	0.078	0.068	0.056	0.052
Inertia (%)	13.326	5.077	3.899	3.402	2.806	2.603
Cumulative %	13.326	18.403	22.302	25.704	28.510	31.113
Adjusted Inertia	0.062	0.006	0.003	0.002	0.001	0.001
Adjusted Inertia (%)	72.999	7.559	3.694	2.475	1.332	1.023
Cumulative %	72.999	80.557	84.252	86.727	88.059	89.082

INTERPRETATION OF THE AXES

According to Benz cri (1992, p. 405), “[i]nterpreting an axis amounts to finding out what is similar, on the one hand, between all the elements figuring on the right of the origin and, on the other hand between all that is written on the left; and expressing with conciseness and precision, the contrast (or opposition) between the two extremes.” To interpret the axes, we retained only the modalities whose contribution is greater than the average contribution (100/129=0.775%).

AXIS 1 ($\lambda_1=0.7299$)

We retained 59 modalities (14 needs, 15 habits, 15 tastes, 13 artist preferences, 2 cultural possessions) which, together, account for 80% of the variance on Axis 1.

As can be seen from Map 1, on the right side of the map (upper right quadrant - I) modalities of inclination towards listening to classical music in free time (LikeClassical+) and visits to theaters, art galleries and museums as favorite ways of passing leisure time (LikeTheatre+ i LikeArtGal+) are concentrated. In terms of cultural habits, on the right side of the map are indicators which show an intense commitment to attending cultural institution programs (GoTheatre++; GoArtGal++; GoLibrary++). Likewise, in this region of the map we also have indicators of passionate readers (Books 8+) and ownership of large home libraries (Library200+). Of the indicators of taste in the upper part of the map are only preferences for listening to classical music (Classic+).

(quadrant I) there are groupings of cultural needs and habits related to participation in programs of traditional cultural institutions (such as the theater, art galleries and museums, symphony orchestras and libraries). Further, among indicators of taste there are those which better exemplify traditional elite art (such as love of classical music). Likewise, in the upper part of the map, on its left (quadrant II), there are indicators of traditional, this time folklore forms – listening to authentic folk music in one's free time and an inclination towards the songs of Lepa Lukić and Predrag Živković-Tozovac.

On the other hand, at the bottom of the map are groupings of mainly indicators connected to participation and taste for contemporary, popular art. In the lower right quadrant (quadrant IV) there are positive modalities of taste linked to rock, jazz, heavy metal, dance/house music and rock bands such as Partibrejkers and Darkvud Dab as the embodiment of this orientation. As well as indicators of cultural habits which show an intense usage of the computer and Internet and attendance at concerts. On the opposite side, also at the bottom of the map (quadrant III) there are modalities of inclination toward newer forms of folk music (new folk and turbo folk) and their stars.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIRST TWO AXES OF THE CULTURAL MAP OF SERBIA

As shown, at the right side of axis 1 there are indicators of cultural practices (cultural habits, needs, knowledge, ownership of cultural goods) which are linked to global cultural forms (traditional and contemporary). On the opposite, left side, mainly indicators of taste which are linked to the local cultural tradition – authentic folk music, new folk and turbo folk, etc. are grouped. It is our assumption that what appears on this side of the map as lack of participation is largely the result of the way the questionnaire was conceived. At the time when the study was formulated in 2005, we still had no clear insight into possible ways of structuring of a field of cultural practices in Serbia. So we followed existing experiences in the study of cultural consumption and asked questions relating only to participation in programs of cultural institutions. Everything that could have represented local cultural practice – celebration of the family patron saint (*slava*), celebrations on the birth and christening of children, leaving for the army, weddings, fairs (*sabori*), visits to restaurants (*kafana*) with live music, where there is singing and dancing folk dances (*kolo*) – all of this was not represented in the questionnaire. Therefore it is not surprising that in the vicinity of the field which represents local culture there are not indicators of participation in activities characteristic of global culture. The situation would have been different if indicators of participation in local cultural forms had been part of the questionnaire.

In spite of this, it seems that the results provide enough basis to conclude that the most significant axis in the field of cultural practices in Serbia is the one which

stretches between the poles of global and local culture. This axis also explains the largest part of the variance (73%) in the field of cultural practices.

What also becomes visible from the results obtained is that along the second axis indicators are grouped depending on whether cultural practices belong to traditional or contemporary popular culture.

The interpretation of indicator groupings and their modalities in the field of cultural practices in Serbia has led us to the conclusion that these two axes, which explain 80% of the variance together and conclusively structure relations in this field, extend between the poles of global and local culture (axis 1) and between traditional and contemporary, popular culture (axis 2).

TYPES OF CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE CITIZENS OF SERBIA

In the cross-section of these “forces” five types of cultural practices are constituted, the contours of which can be seen in Figure 2.

In the upper right corner of the map (quadrant 1) practices are constituted which are shaped by global cultural influences and traditional culture. This type of cultural practices have been termed traditional elite cultural practices and they are characterized by cultural needs and habits linked to programs of cultural institutions (such as theatrical plays, art exhibitions, classical music concerts, etc). This type also includes positive preferences for classical music, as well as being involved in art, intensive reading and ownership of large home libraries (within blue ellipse).

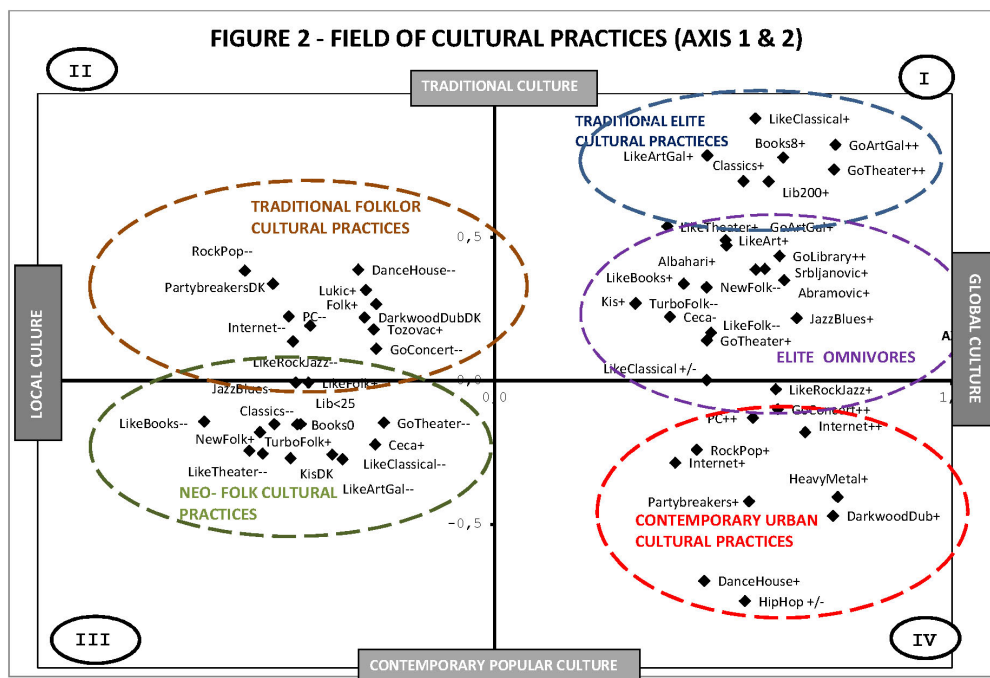
In the lower right corner of the map (quadrant 4) are groupings of modalities of practices near the pole of global culture (on axis 1) and the pole of contemporary popular culture (axis 2). This type has been termed contemporary global cultural practices or urban cultural practices. Characteristic of it are tastes linked to contemporary popular music (rock, heavy metal, techno, dance/house), visits to concerts and intensive use of computer and of the Internet (within red ellipse).

As has already been noted, in the upper left corner are indicators of absence of participation in programs of cultural institutions and taste linked to authentic folk music. Cultural practices organized in this pattern have been termed traditional folklore cultural practices (brown ellipse). Finally, the type of cultural practices which is shaped in the vicinity of the poles of local culture (axis 1) and contemporary popular culture (axis 2) has been termed neo-folklore cultural practices (marked by a dark green ellipse).

Apart from these pure types of cultural practices, between traditional elite cultural practices and contemporary urban cultural practices there is a “mixed” type of “elite omnivores” which breaches the boundary between traditional and popular culture. Their

cultural practices include both visits to theaters, art galleries, concerts of classical music and listening to jazz, rock, blues, passionate use of the Internet and computers (purple ellipse).

What should also be noted is the absence of indicators which indicate ambivalent attitudes towards certain types of leisure (e.g. LikeTheatre +/-); certain types of music (e.g. RockPop +/-) and certain artists and performers (e.g. Ceca +/-); and indicators of average levels of cultural habits (e.g. Books 1-7) or ownership of cultural goods (Library 26 – 199). As a consequence of what is termed the “Guttman effect” or “Oslo effect”, these insufficiently differentiated forms of practices sometimes disappear from the map, in the center of which they should otherwise be found. However, they frequently appear on some other axis which defines the field of cultural practices.

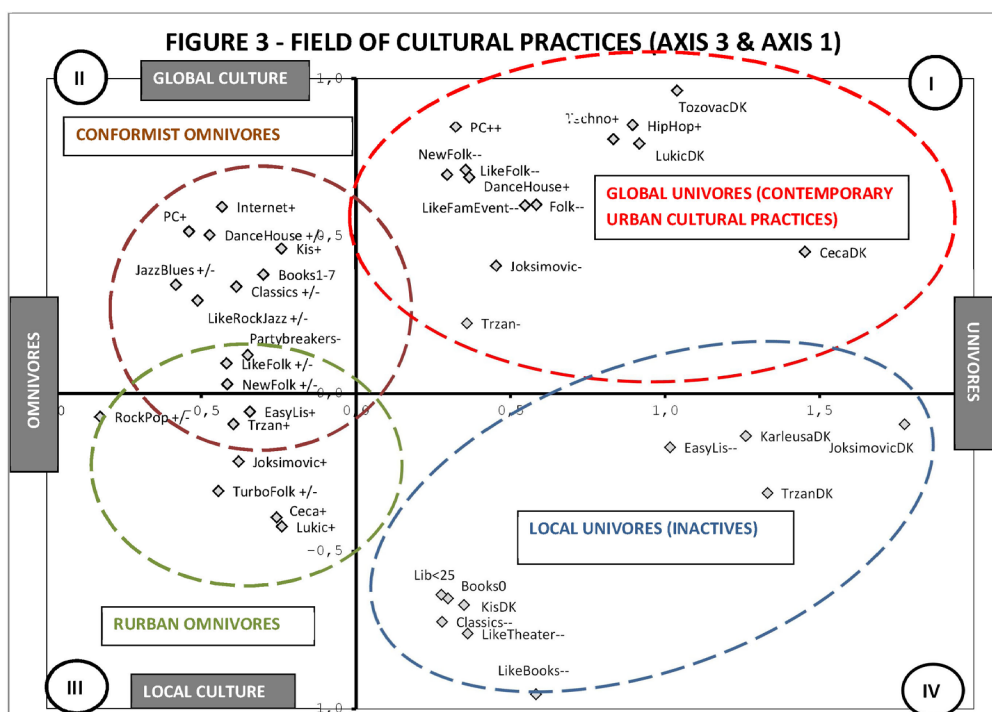


AXIS 3 ($\lambda_3=0.0369$)

We retained 44 modalities that, together, account for 81% of the variance on Axis 3. Figure 3 introduces a third dimension – univorous and omnivorous cultural consumption. Modalities in the first quadrant include the exclusive consumption of contemporary pop culture forms (such as techno, dance/house, hip-hop) and intensive use of computers. The respondents whose cultural practices are concentrated here do not like contemporary folk music and are not familiar with the stars of folk music from earlier

periods (Lepa Lukić and Predrag Živković Tozovac), but they also dislike contemporary representatives of pop production in Serbia (such as Željko Joksimović or Goca Tržan). On the other hand, the modalities grouped in the fourth quadrant were designated as “local univores”, but it would be equally correct to say that they are cultural inactives.

In contrast, on the second pole of axis Z one finds a grouping of modalities which practically cover the entire specter of taste and cultural participation (from classical music to turbo-folk). However, it seems that what dominates these respondents’ cultural preferences (tastes) and cultural participation is a lackadaisical attitude towards culture and cultural activities in their lives. The respondents grouped here like dance/house, jazz and blues, classical music, rock and pop music, (turbo-)folk music, but they have no marked preference for any of these genres; the only exception looks like to be easy listening music. Taking into consideration this variety in taste and cultural participation, we have termed the cultural styles grouped in the second and third quadrant omnivorous – but have made a distinction between global omnivores (those who seem to have a slight preference for jazz, blues and rock, who like Danilo Kiš) and local omnivores, whose preference seems to lean in the direction of Serbian pop production (Joksimović, Tržan) and the stars of folk music in the 1960’s and 1970’s (Lukić, Tozovac), but also in the 1990’s and 2000’s (Ceca Ražnatović).

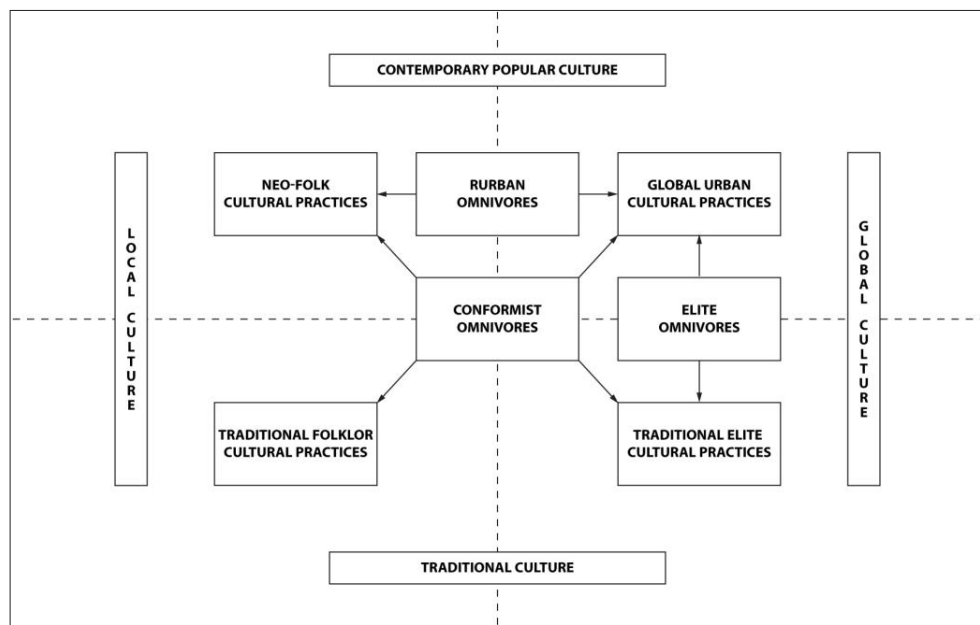


The final result of our analyses of cultural practices in Serbia can be seen in Figure 4. Three basic axes structure the field of cultural practices in Serbia: the central axis, the poles of which are global and local culture, the secondary axis at the poles of which are traditional culture and contemporary popular culture, and the third axis which discriminates between omnivore and univore cultural practices.

In the cross-section of these axes seven types of cultural practices are formed: 1) traditional elite cultural practices which are the product of global and traditional culture; 2) contemporary global cultural practices which are linked to activities and art forms characteristic of popular global culture; 3) traditional folklore cultural practices, which are based on traditional, local cultural forms; 4) neo-folklore cultural practices, which are an expression of contemporary local cultural forms and activities.

In addition to these “pure” types of cultural practices on the cultural map of Serbia three groups of omnivore practices can be noted. We have treated omnivores as those who “cross” symbolic boundaries in a society, in this case, Serbian society. Cultural practices which characterize the crossing of boundaries between traditional and popular culture (in the vicinity of the pole of global culture) have been marked as 5) “elite omnivore”. Those who in their practices cross the boundary between local and global culture (in the vicinity of the pole of traditional culture) have been termed 6) “rurban omnivores”. Finally, we have a type of cultural practices which are characterized by crossing both of these cultural boundaries, these have been termed 7) “conformist omnivores”.

Figure 4.



PROJECTION OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ONTO THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRACTICES IN SERBIA

One of the most significant features of MCA is that in the construction of a field of cultural practices assumptions of their social determinants are not included; instead, patterns are constituted, as are links between them, solely based on data on cultural factors. What this type of analysis does make possible, however, is the projection of socio-demographic variables onto a cultural map constructed this way as “supplementary” variables, in order to establish what is the inter-relation of cultural patterns and social factors. These social factors are applied as a separate “layer” over the cultural map, without changing relations between variables which constitute the map.

As in the field of cultural practices in Serbia over 80% of the variance is explained by the first two axes, we projected socio-demographic variables onto the map which these two axes structure. We projected eight types of socio-demographic variables (education, age, income, wealth, occupation, gender, place of residence and region of residence); the first five exerted a more significant effect. It is a rule that the difference between coordinates of modalities of supplementary (passive) variables is considered to be large, which indicates a stronger influence if it is larger than 1 (in the coordinate system of the map) and smaller if it is lesser than 0.5.

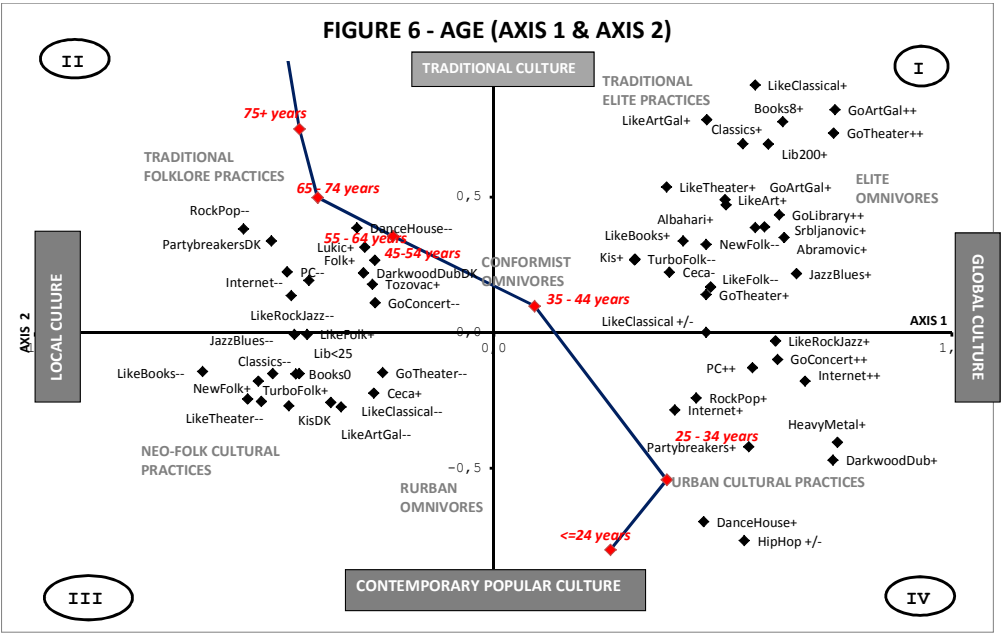
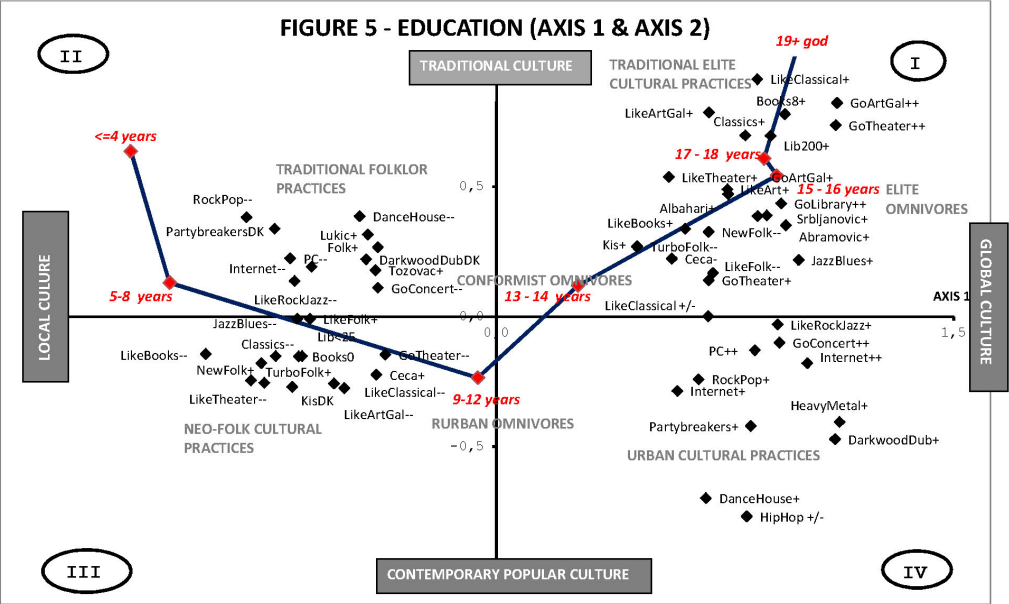
EDUCATION

Education was revealed to have a strong discriminatory effect along both axes: global vs. local culture, and traditional culture vs. contemporary popular culture (see Figure 5). Respondents belonging to the folklore cultural practices are also the least educated – concentrated here are those who either have incomplete elementary education (4 years) or have only completed their elementary education (8 years). Respondents who belong to the cultural practices of urban omnivores and the global urban cultural practices are mainly positioned where the concentration of those with no more than a secondary education (12 years), while the concentration of respondents with 14 or 16 years of education (tertiary education) mostly matches with the group of elite omnivores. Finally, modalities characteristic of the traditional elite cultural practices are located in the same space as respondents with postgraduate degrees - MAs (18 years of education) and PhDs (19+ years of education).

AGE

Like education, age also discriminates strongly along both axes (Figure 6). In areas where the concentration of the oldest respondents (60+ years) is highest, we also find representatives of the traditional folklore cultural practices and the traditional elite cultural practices. Respondents in the 40 to 60 age group are most frequently found

among those belonging to the conformist omnivores and elite omnivores, while respondents aged between 25 and 40 were most frequent among representatives of neo-folk cultural practices and contemporary global urban practices. The youngest ones (<24 years of age) are concentrated in the part of the map which is characterized, in addition to global urban practices, by the cultural practices of urban omnivores.

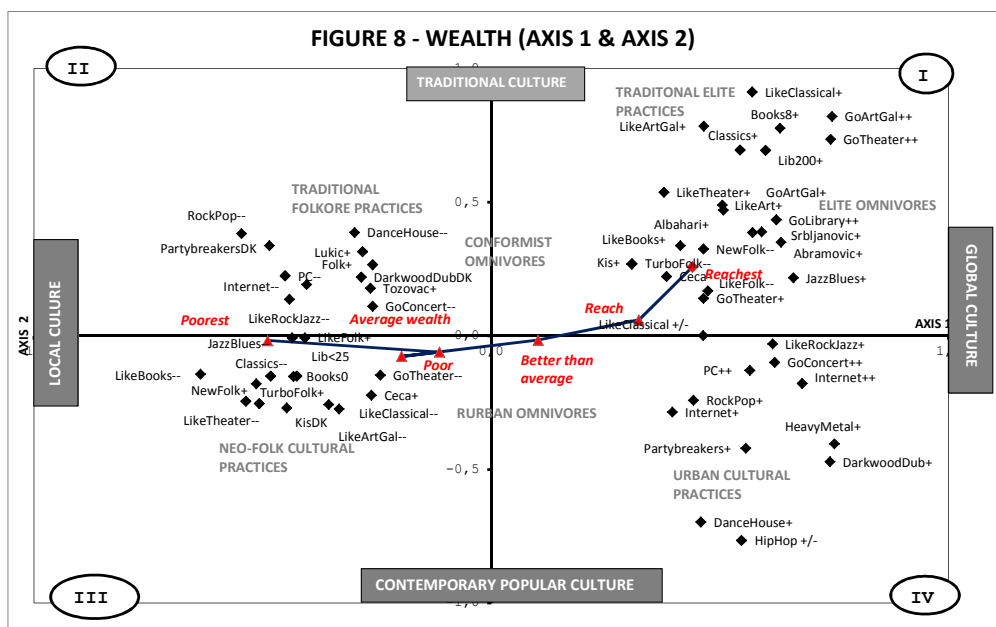
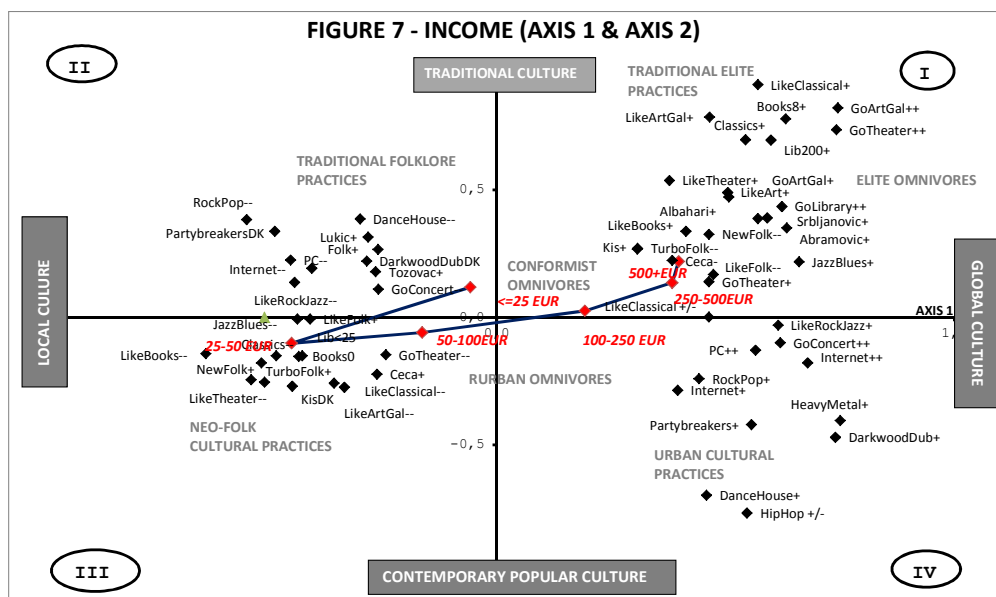


INCOME

As the “composition” of cultural practices includes, in addition to taste, variables of cultural participation, it is to be expected that economic factors (income and wealth) also bisect the field of cultural styles in ways which seem understandable. The results of the analysis show that the influence of income is not linear (see Figure 7). Respondents whose monthly income per member of household were under 25 EUR are equidistant in relation to modalities of traditional folklore cultural practices and practices of conformist omnivores. Among the modalities characteristic of rural cultural practices there are two groups of respondents: those whose income per household member are between 25 and 50 EUR and those whose income per household member are twice as large, from 50 to 100 EUR. Average monthly income per household member between 100 and 250 EUR is concentrated on the border where practices of conformist omnivores, contemporary urban cultural practices and cultural practices of elite omnivores overlap. The modalities characteristic of the cultural practices of elite omnivores are concentrated in the space which overlaps with the points where monthly income per household member are higher than 250 EUR, and in some cases higher than 500 EUR, so that the carriers of these cultural practices are revealed to be the segments of Serbian society which are the strongest earners. What the results of these analyses seem to show is that at the same levels of monthly income several types of cultural practices develop (e.g. traditional folklore cultural practices and practices of conformist omnivores) or cultural practices of conformist omnivores with much higher monthly income (such as that of elite omnivores). That is, they testify that economic factors have only a indirect influence on cultural practices.

WEALTH

As for wealth (Figure 8), operationalized through the overall value of respondents' property (real estate, automobiles and other means of transport, farming machinery), the line which indicates the diffusion of property stretches from the most disadvantaged (who are grouped on the boundary between modalities making up the traditional folklore cultural practices and the neo-folk cultural practices), the underprivileged and those of average means (among the modalities of the rural cultural practices), to those whose wealth is slightly above average (among the modalities of the global urban cultural practices), and, as in the case of income, the wealthy and very wealthy, among the modalities which define the cultural practices of elite omnivores.



The results of the analyses thus far reveal a clearly structured nature of cultural practices. We have seen that the field of cultural practices is organized at the cross-section of three axes, the poles of which are local culture and global culture (axis 1), traditional and contemporary, popular culture (axis 2) and omnivore and univore approaches to culture (axis 3).

At the same time, the distribution of indicators of age, education, occupation of respondents, as well as income and wealth of their families in the cultural map of Serbia shows close links to certain types of cultural practices. This shows that the cultural practices of citizens of Serbia are also socially structured. The main opposition – represents the basis for forming two types of cultural capital (local and global) – the proponents of which are struggling in cultural wars in Serbia for the status of legitimate culture. At the same time, as we have already seen, the cultural differences which are expressed along this central axis represent an important aspect of social differentiation and therefore also of the constituting of classes in Serbia (understood in the Bourdieusian sense).

CULTURAL MAP OF SERBIA (2010)

In the telephone survey “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” a standardized questionnaire with 31 questions was used and it required about 15 minutes for its realization. This time limit, which is a specificity of telephone surveys, resulted in the number of questions we asked respondents being significantly lower than in the previous study. The questionnaire included nine questions intended for the identification of embodied, institutionalized and objectified cultural capital, six questions on economic capital and three questions for establishing social capital available to respondents. The remaining 13 questions were used to gather standard socio-demographic data such as gender, ages, place of birth, parents’ occupations, respondents’ occupation, etc.

As in the previous study, we first used indicators of cultural practices to construct a cultural map of Serbia and establish its basic dimensions. In presenting the cultural map of Serbia in 2010 we have limited our analysis to the interpretation of the first two, most significant axis. Then we projected socio-demographic variables onto it: gender, age, education, occupation, and place of residence.

Table 2. Eigenvalues and percentages of inertia:

Axes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eigenvalues (λ)	0.2911	0.1154	0.1018	0.0830	0.0786	0.0651
Raw inertia	14.67%	5.81%	5.13%	4.18%	3.96%	3.28%
Modified inertia	46.41%	9.49%	7.39%	4.92%	4.41%	3.03%

AXIS 1

As in the case of the results of the previous study, the analysis begins with an analysis of similarities of elements grouped at the poles of the map and their mutual contrasts. As can be seen in Figure 9, on the left side of the map we find concentrated positive modalities of taste for newly composed folk music (Tnewfolk +), turbo-folk (Tturbo+), and authentic folk music (Tfolk+) and near the center of the map, easy-listening music (Teasy+). At the same time in this part of the map modalities are grouped which indicate dislike of classical music (Tclassic -), opera (Topera -), world music (Tworld -), as well as contemporary forms of popular music: rock (Trock -), pop (Tpop -), rap (Trap -), house (Thouse -), techno (Ttechno-) or heavy metal music (Theavy -). Therefore, the cultural map of Serbia from 2010 reveals a grounded opposition between local and global culture which was also noticed in the field of cultural practices in Serbia in 2005.

However, the dominant feature of the cultural map of Serbia from 2010 is that on this side of axis 1 is the absence of any kind of cultural participation in the period of 12 months prior to the survey. Here we find grouped modalities which indicate lack of visits to the theater (Theatre0), art galleries (Gallery0), libraries (Lib0), lack of reading (Book0), no use of computers (PC0), absence of visits to classical music concerts (Classico), rock music concerts (Rock0), and even folk music concerts (Folk0). To this should be added possession of home libraries of fewer than 25 books.

On the other, right side of the cultural map, at the very pole of axis 1 are indicators which reveal, primarily, active cultural participation: very frequent visits to the theater (Theatre++) and art galleries (Gallery++), libraries (Lib++), classical music concerts (Classic++), as well as rock music concerts (Rock++). These are accompanied by passionate book reading modalities (Books8+). Moderate cultural participation in these same domains (e.g. Theatre + or Lib +) are grouped near the center of the map. Here also are located modalities of ownership of large home libraries (Lib200+) and frequent use of computers (PC++).

Of the indicators of taste on the right side of the map are indicators of inclination towards classical music (Tclassic +), opera (Topera +), but also world music (Tworld +), rock (Trock +) and pop music (Tpop +) and negative modalities towards authentic folk music (Tfolk -), new folk music (Tnewfolk -) and turbo-folk (Tturbo -).

Near the center of the map are groupings of ambivalent attitudes towards most music genres. For example, right next to one another are an ambivalent attitude towards rock music (Trock +/-), new folk music (Tnewfolk +/-), pop music (Tpop +/-) and turbo-folk music (Tturbo +/-). In addition, here we find mixed attitudes of

like and dislike towards classical music (Tclassic +/-), opera (Topera +/-) and easy listening music (Teasy +/-). This is accompanied by frequent (Folk+) or very frequent (Folk++) visits to folk music concerts. In the vicinity are indicators of occasionally reading (Books 1-7) and average home libraries (Lib 26-200).

AXIS 2

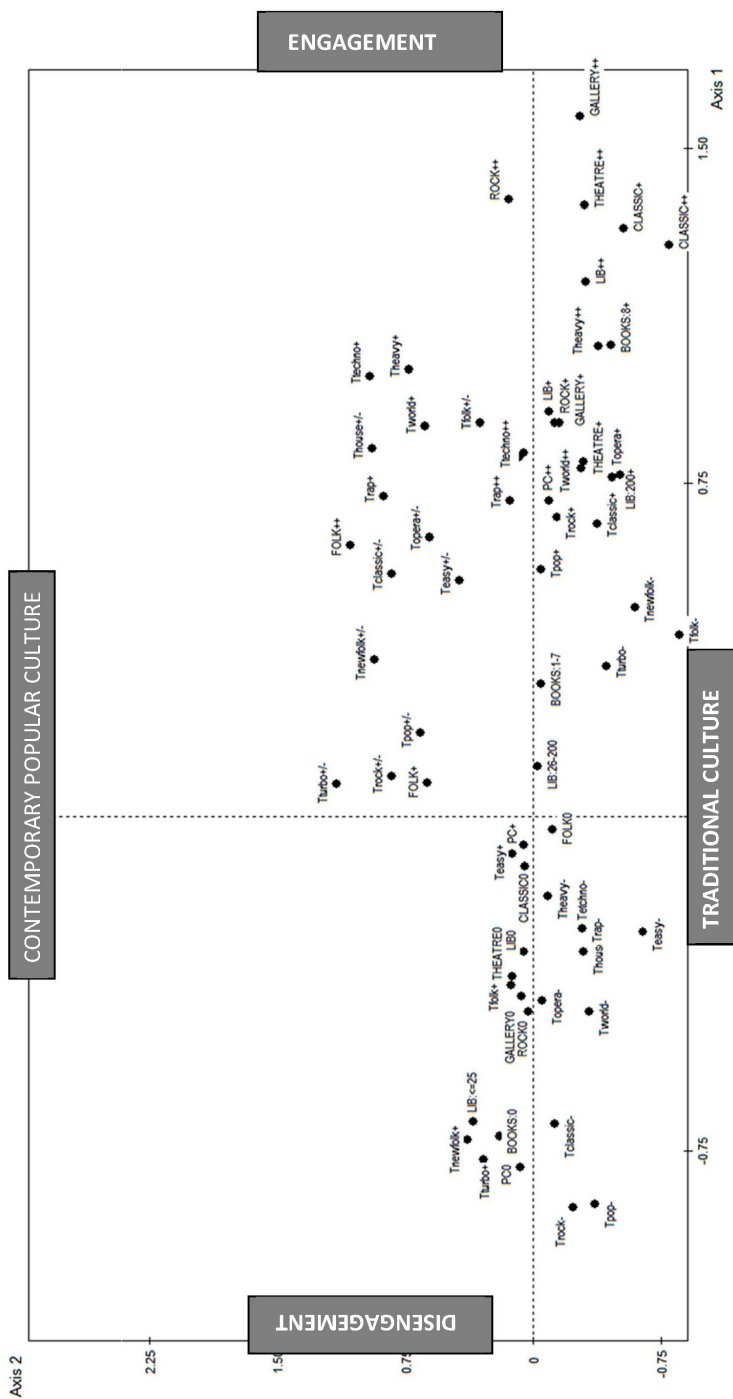
Although, unlike the cultural map of Serbia from 2005, indicators on the map from 2010 are mainly dispersed along Axis 1 - on the second axis, positioned vertically, still certain regularities can be seen in their distribution. In the upper quadrants of the map, on the left and on the right, there are positive modalities in relation to music genres which belong to contemporary music production. On the right side one can find preferences for techno (Ttechno ++ & Ttechno +), rap (Trap ++ & Trap +) or heavy metal music (Theavy +). On the left, however, in the upper quadrant preferences for new folk music (Tnewfolk +) and for turbo-folk (Tturbo +) are located. In the upper regions of the map, especially in the right quadrant, there are concentrated positive modalities of taste in relation to traditional music genres (classical music and opera), as well as intensive cultural participation in the programs of cultural institutions, as has already been discussed.

It should also be noted that along Axis 2 traces of opposition between omnivore and univore cultural practices can be noticed. In the upper regions of the map one finds ambivalent attitudes towards most music genres, with positive attitudes towards genres which belong to global popular culture often accompanied by frequent visits to folk music concerts (omnivores). In the lower part of the map, conversely, there are modalities of clearly expressed preferences – positive or negative attitudes – which are accompanied by a very clear distinction between tastes and activities which in the left upper quadrant belong to local culture and in the right lower quadrant to global culture (univores).

INTERPRETATION OF AXES

On the whole, although with a smaller number of indicators, the cultural map of Serbia from 2010 repeats some of the regularities which we noticed in the previous study. Axis 1 is characterized by opposition between local and global culture, while the opposition between cultural disengagement (on the left side of the map) and cultural engagement (on the right side of the map) is even more pronounced. Likewise, the basic dimensions of axis 2 are no less unambiguous. On the one hand, one can notice a basic opposition between traditional culture and contemporary popular culture (only the poles in relation to the map from 2005 have switched places). On the other hand, an opposition between omnivore (upper regions of the map) and univore cultural practices (lower regions of the map) could be noticed which made up the third dimension of the cultural map of Serbia from 2005 (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Field of cultural practices 2010.



PROJECTION OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ONTO THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRACTICES IN SERBIA (2010)

Onto the cultural map constructed by interrelations of cultural practices (as active variables) we projected in the next step socio-demographic indicators (as supplementary variables). As in the previous case, the aim of this operation was to tease out links between types of cultural practices and belonging to certain gender, age, educational, territorial groups or groups based on occupation or income.

Figures 10 and 11 show meaningful relations between cultural and social variables. As was the case with cultural variables, in the field of cultural practices in Serbia from 2010, socio-demographic indicators are distributed mainly along Axis 1. Close to the pole of cultural disengagement we find indicators of low educational level ($EduS \leq$ elementary), monthly income per household member lower than 50 EUR ($I \leq 50$ EUR) and greater age of respondents (65+). On the other hand, at the pole of cultural engagement there are indicators of generationally youngest groups (18 – 30); highest average monthly income per household member ($I \geq 250$ EUR) and university or higher education ($EduS:BA+$).

What should also be noted in Figure 10 is that indicators of education (green line) discriminate also along the second axis in such a way that modalities of elementary education, secondary education and tertiary education approach the pole of contemporary popular culture (and omnivore practices), while modalities of university and higher education are closer to the pole of traditional, univore culture. Similarly, indicators of income (red line) extend from the top down – monthly income of 50 EUR per household member and between 50 and 100 EUR are closer to the pole of contemporary culture, while monthly income per household member of above 100 EUR (and 20 EUR) to the pole of traditional culture. Conversely, indicators of age (blue line) remain in the vicinity of the center of the map, all the way to indicators of youth (18 – 30) which significantly approach the pole of contemporary popular culture.

Figure 11, on the other hand, shows that indicators of female gender are closer to traditional culture (one of the well-known phenomena in research on cultural participation), while men are closer to the pole of contemporary popular culture. Farmers and manual laborers are located near the pole of cultural disengagement; members of middle class occupation groups are at the center of the map where mainly omnivore cultural practices are located; members of political leadership, large entrepreneurs and experts are located on the side of cultural engagement, and closer to traditional cultural forms. Finally, place of residence also shows a clear regularity in relation to the dimension of cultural disengagement – cultural engagement. Those who live in villages or small towns of less than 10,000 residents are mainly excluded from cultural

Figure 10. Projections in the field of cultural practices 2010.

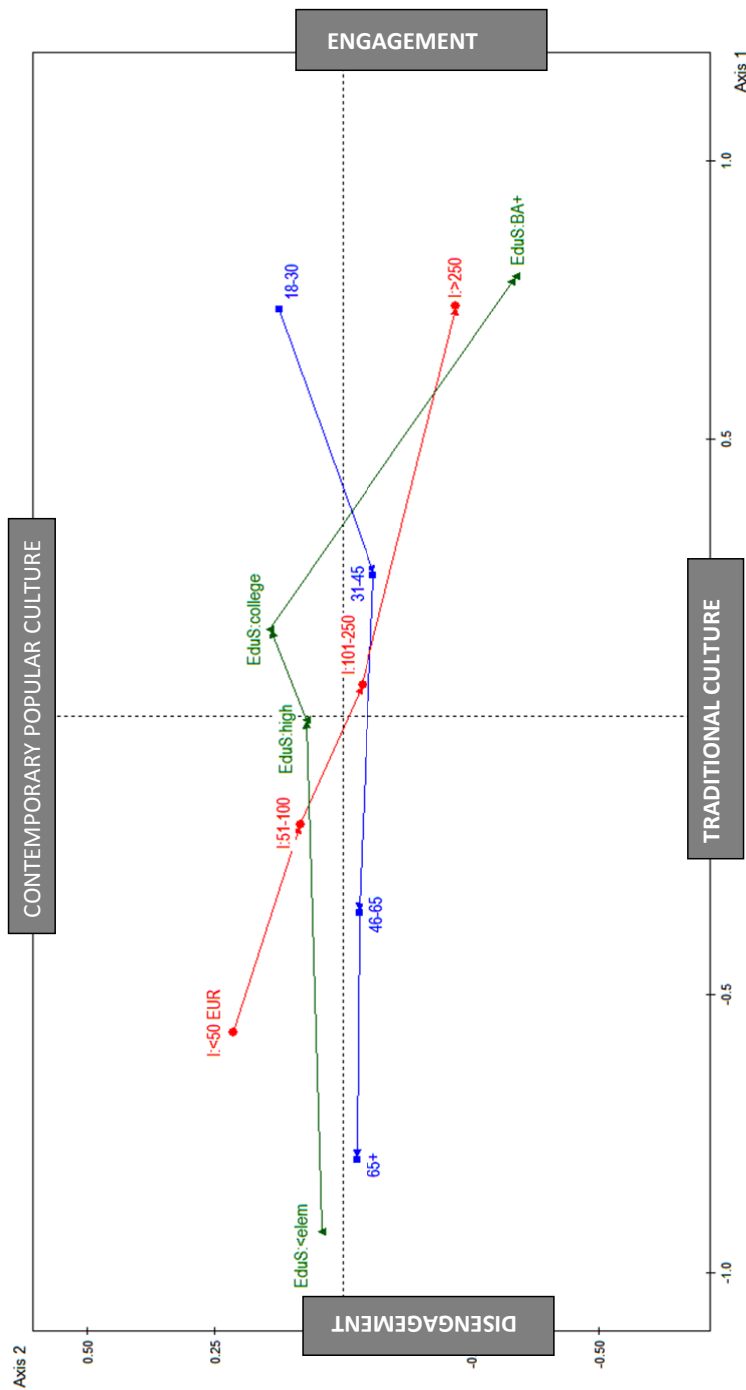
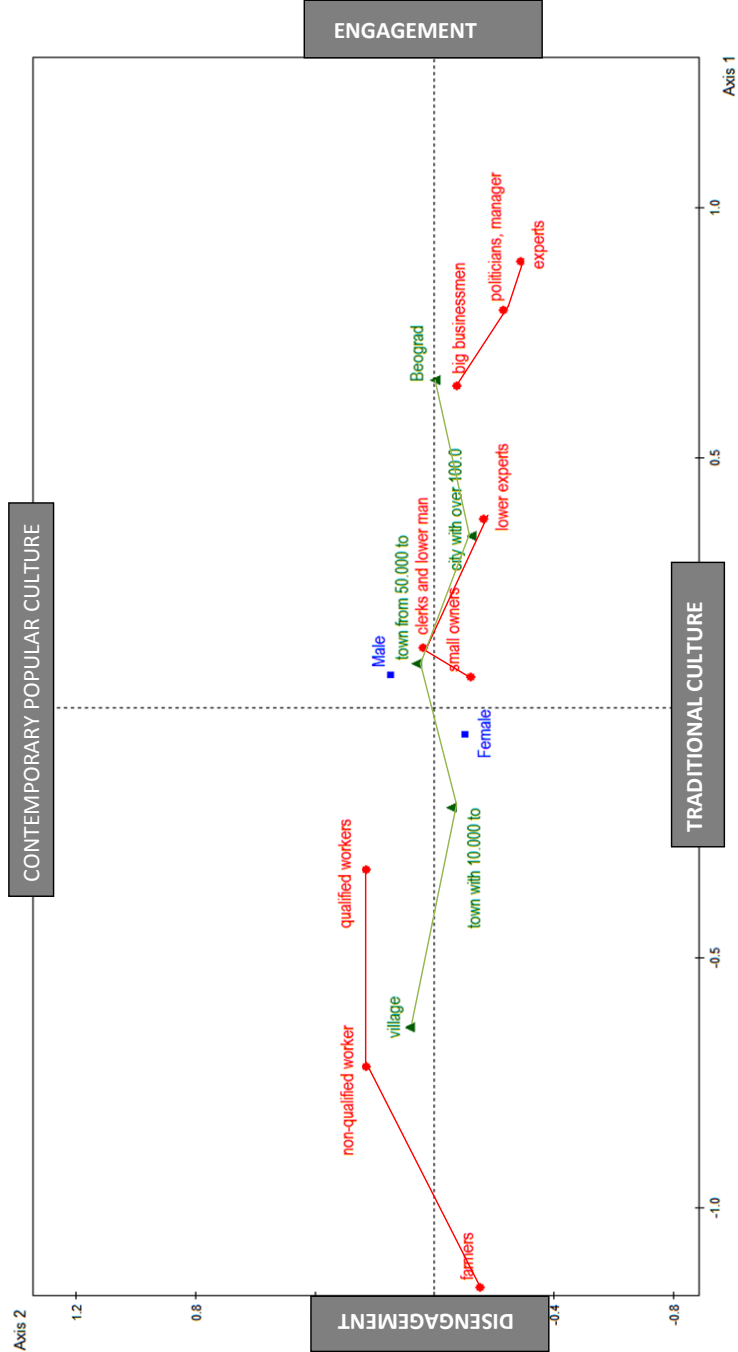


Figure 11. Projections in the field of cultural practices 2010.



life, simply by lack of cultural offerings in their environment. On the other hand, cities of more than 100,000 residents and Belgrade offer significant opportunities for cultural participation.

CONCLUSION

In contemporary social theory three standpoints have emerged regarding the relation of social and cultural stratification, described by T. W. Chan and John H. Goldthorpe as: a) the thesis of homology, b) the thesis of individualization, and c) the thesis of omnivores and univores.

The thesis of homology is put forward in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Herbert Gans. Most simply put, this thesis presupposes a match of social and cultural stratification – those who occupy high social positions consume works of high or elite culture, while those in lower social positions prefer some form of popular (commercial or folk) culture, while in between are numerous social and cultural interlayers. As we have indicated at the beginning of this study, from a Bourdieusian standpoint, the conception of Max Weber – regarding the distinction of classes (someone's market situation) and status (someone's position in the generally accepted hierarchy of social superiority and inferiority which is expressed through lifestyle) and their combination in the most varied (and random) ways, is actually, acceptance of an illusion. According to Bourdieu, there is homology between class structure and status structure, and status should be understood as the symbolic aspect of class structure, which cannot be simply reduced to the economic dimension solely. The instance which mediates between class structure and status structure is what Bourdieu refers to as class habitus, which ensures semantic unity of practices in all fields of consumption, including cultural consumption. Rivalry and conflict between different lifestyles within the status structure are not separate from class conflicts – instead – they represent a form of symbolic struggle between classes.

The thesis of individualization represents the opposite of this understanding. It generally either denies the influence of social structure on shaping cultural practices or it presupposes that this influence existed sometime in the past, but today, in developed, post-industrial societies, it has been lost. Instead of being an expression of position in social stratification and part of stratification struggles, cultural consumption and lifestyles become in contemporary societies a part of the project of "self-realization". According to Chan and Goldthorpe, one can distinguish two versions of this thesis. According to the weaker version, forwarded by, among others, A. Giddens (1991) and U. Beck (1992), the shaping of lifestyles today is influenced by other structural

bases of lifestyles (age, gender, ethnicity, sexual preference), not just class membership. According to the stronger version of the thesis, characteristic of post-modernist standpoints – “habitus has been replaced by freedom” (A. Warde). Lifestyles in post-modern conditions lose all structural conditioning and even internal cohesion. They become “life projects of identity construction” which are formed independently of social location, by random combining and recombining of elements at will.

According to the thesis of omnivores and univores, the homology conception is outdated, but not because cultural practices are losing their social grounding; instead, because new forms of connection are appearing. The cultural consumption of elite social strata is no longer different from the consumption of strata from lower rungs of the social ladder in that elite strata consume elite art, but in that the intensity of their cultural consumption is greater as is the volume of their consumption wider, including works from all levels of culture. This conception can therefore be considered a kind of “middle way” between the theses of homology and individualization. Chan and Goldthorpe indicate that it also can be interpreted in two ways. According to the first version, omnivores are tolerant individuals at heart, who due to their high education and social mobility show openness to other cultural styles and readiness to experiment with them. In this variant, the thesis of omnivores becomes very close to the conception of individualization. However, according to the second interpretation, omnivorousness represents an expression of elite social status which expresses cultural and social superiority in relation to the limited volume of cultural consumption and unidirectional taste of cultural univores. In this, this conception is closer to homology thesis.

Our preliminary results, obtained on the basis of research of Serbian society at the beginning of the 21st century, quite clearly indicate the existence of homology between *forces* which structure social and cultural factors. It bears remembering that transitional movements in the domain of economy and politics, which are accompanied by changes in the system of values, often lead to a confusion of values (even in the sphere of aesthetic values). This is also one of the reasons for the presence of a significant number of omnivores in the field of cultural practices in Serbia. They participate in cultural activities which are usually believed to be incompatible and thus demonstrate the possibility of crossing social and symbolic boundaries. Yet, even in the case of omnivores, their location in social space and on the cultural map of Serbia is quite clearly discernible. This, of course, does not imply that social and cultural action are socially determined, in particular not that the action of members of social groups is uniform. The endless variation in social and cultural practices testifies to the opposite. Our results, however, indicate that the social and cultural action of individuals is not purely a matter of

decision – their life projects of identity building – which is independent of the social and individual resources which stand at their disposal.

One of the important goals of our research has been to ascertain how different classes and social groups in Serbia differ in terms of resources (economic and, in particular, social and cultural capital). The results of the analysis of social space and the field of cultural practices have clearly revealed the differences in the domain of material and cultural consumption and identity, worldview and political attitudes which accompany them.

The question which further analysis needs to answer is whether groups which have different volume and types of resources (capital) available conceive of their strategies of action in everyday life differently and what these strategies are like. This is the question to be considered in the coming chapters.

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STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN EVERYDAY LIFE IN SERBIA

This text refers to the results we reached in our attempt to achieve the second aim of the project: to reconstruct the strategies which the citizens of Serbia use in everyday life – principally on the basis of data collected through in-depth interviews. Our intention is to determine possible existence of different types of life strategies that they apply, as well as the consistency of their uses in different spheres of life.

In Bourdieu's words [Bourdieu: 1977, 1990, 1992, 1998] the concept of strategy imposed itself in the context of resolving concrete ethnological and sociological research problems, above all the strategy of marriage, that is, reproduction. In his attempt to overcome the structuralist understanding of rules and actions as mere performance, he borrowed the concept of strategy from games theory – which rests on the purely intentionalist vision of actor and action – and fit it into an opposite theoretical paradigm. In consequent applications of the concept, Bourdieu played with it and exploited to the maximum “precisely this deliberate and controlled ambiguity”, with the intent to overcome “the conscious/unconscious alternative” and to attempt to analyze “specific forms of consciousness, even reflection, that are built into practice” (Bourdieu 1977: 78).

In Bourdieu's theory, strategies are not rational in the classical sense of the word: for rational reaction, in his opinion, it is necessary to possess a specific minimum of economic and cultural capital, in order to be able to notice “opportunities” which are, formally, offered to everyone. In other words, all categories which rational choice theory takes for granted, such as evaluating chances, anticipation, betting, weighing risk, tendency to invest, access to information, etc, are prone to a differentiated, unequal distribution in society, which makes nonsensical the model offered by this theory (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 124).

In an interview, Bourdieu states that to speak of “strategies of reproduction” – and by this he means the ruling classes – does not mean to ascribe to rational calculation those behaviors through which is expressed the striving of those who are dominant to maintain their position. This simply means to include at the same time a range of conceptually similar practices – in such varied areas as biological reproduction, health care, economy or inheritance – which are objectively organized towards this goal, without being in any way explicitly conceived of or set up with this goal in mind.

Bourdieu uses the language of “strategies” to indicate “concatenations of actions which are objectively aimed at a goal” and which are noticeable in all fields. However, this, as Bourdieu says, should not be misleading: the most efficient strategies, especially in fields where the imperative of disinterestedness rules, are those which spontaneously adapt to the demands of the game in the given field, without explicit intention or calculation, as they are the product of dispositions shaped by the immanent necessity of the field. This again means that the agent is never completely the subject of his/her own practices: this is the domain of dispositions and belief – the two basic preconditions for entering the game (Bourdieu 1997: 166).

Unlike, for example, Habermas’s “universal pragmatics”, Bourdieu’s praxology does not only ground practice on a clearly historical habitus, but rejects a sharp distinction between “communicative” and the “instrumental” action: this distinction does not work in the case of pre-capitalist societies, nor is it ever fully realized even in the most highly developed societies (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 139).

It should be borne in mind that a considerable methodological challenge lies in strategies conceived of thus: they are, above all, a form of practice and practice is in part defined by an immediate, unreflected on, primarily bodily relation to the world: the scientific study of practice most often misses its point because actors are required to reason about practice, “he can’t say what is most important, and that is that the very nature of practice precludes such questions” (Bourdieu 1990). Therefore, in order to reach strategies understood this way it is necessary to create an innovative methodology.

Although the concept of “unconscious strategies” has been called paradoxical, oxymoronic and impossible (especially in: Alexander 1995: 152-157), we believe that it is precisely in this dialectical and insoluble relation between aspects of conscious calculation and decision, on the one hand, and semi-articulated or completely unconscious striving, that the usability of Bourdieu’s concept for the purposes of our research lies. As research include strategies in different areas of life, and the theoretical background is not be informed by rational choice theories, our project differs in important ways from other studies recently published in the region, which have

dealt with socio-economic strategies, or “survival strategies” of families and, to a lesser extent, individuals.

In his theory of everyday “arts de faire”, that is, practices of everyday life, Michel de Certeau (1988 [1980]) takes a determined stand against Bourdieu’s idea that the everyday practices of ordinary people should be approached through the concept of strategies. Moreover, he bases his category of “tactics” on the opposite. Strategies are, according to him, the domain of conscious and powerful actors (property owners, companies, cities, and scientific institutions), which have their “place” in the social landscape, from which they establish calculated relations with other actors: this is political, economic, and scientific rationality. Tactics, on the other hand, are “calculations which do not have their own place”, spatially or institutionally, they “creep onto” another’s terrain. They are based not on space, but on time and crucially depend on making use of “the right time” or “opportunity”. Heterogeneous elements, which are inadvertently provided by the “system” are combined to one’s own advantage. Tactics cannot accumulate, save or capitalize – only to “capture on the fly”. Tactics are the weapon of the weak, disempowered, invisible, subservient, anonymous masses marginal groups and other “anonymous” heroes to whom de Certeau gifts his conception. Actors of tactics are those who “must manipulate events to turn them into opportunities”: “The weak must constantly make use of strengths which are foreign to them” (1988: xix). Similarly to Levi-Strauss’s *bricolage*, tactics link the incompatible, arrange broken fragments, put together new wholes from what is at hand, in particular from fragments which are taken over from official, accepted corpora and put to a new, unplanned for use. This is production without end and without any clear project, but “people must make do with what they have got” (1988: 18).

De Certeau brings his conception into connection with Foucault’s, noticing that both have the aim to notice and analyze “microbial operations which multiply within technocratic structures and turn around their functioning through a myriad of “tactics” fitted into the details of the everyday” (1988: xiv). Foucault’s “operations of the microphysics of power” and his “tactics” are considered by de Certeau to belong to the same *genus proximum*, which he terms “procedures” (1988: 49). Procedures are at their core a thing of conflict, disunity, fragmentedness: “The relation of procedures to fields of power within which they act must lead to a polemical analysis of culture... Culture develops in an atmosphere of tension, often of violence, for which it gives symbolic equilibriums, agreements of compatibility and compromise, all more or less temporary. Tactics of consumption, inventive ways in which the strong abuse the weak, give everyday practices a political dimension” (1988: xvii). De Certeau, however, is not interested in the techniques of discipline but would instead “draw out to the

light of day the hidden forms which are taken on by the fragmented, tactical, amateur creativity of groups and individuals who are caught in the nets of 'discipline'" (1988: xv). In other words, de Certeau focuses on that the absence of which is often held against Foucault: resistance, "anti-discipline" (1988: xv).

When positioned in such a consciously opposite way, "strategies" and "tactics" do appear to be concepts at opposite poles. There is no visible reason, however, why these categories could not be re-conceptualized in the direction of bringing them closer together. For example, there is no reason for strategies to be applied only to powerful actors in such an exclusive way as de Certeau. Further, from the empirical perspective which we represent, and this is the societies of the Western Balkans, about which it is known beforehand that they have in the course of their more recent history experienced repeated and radical discontinuities at different levels of their institutional structure, there is a good basis to assume that life strategies which ordinary people use in these societies approach de Certeau's tactics in their fragmentedness, incoherence, "capturing on the fly", inability (due to objective impossibility) to accumulate, *bricolage* and the like. Therefore, one of the aspects of this study could be a hypothesis of the fruitfulness of thus untried synthesis of Bourdieu's "strategies" and De Certeau's "tactics" into a unified, fundamental concept which is operationalized for the purposes of empirical research.

Starting from the conclusions of the previous phase of research we enter this phase with the following expectations: that practices of social actors are not random, but socially structured i.e. that certain types of strategies and everyday practices are more likely in some parts of social space than in others. Secondly, that strategies and everyday practices are shaped in the interplay of their habituses (where their gender, age, national, religious determinations are taken into consideration as well) and the volume and types of resources (capital) which social agents/groups have at their disposal. Finally, that social strategies and practices are relational – that they are established and defined in relations of cooperation and struggle with Others – those who are in social space positioned in other parts of the space.

On the basis of findings from the first phase of research we can claim that in Serbia, on the basis of different combinations of types of capital available to them, certain groups become recognizable. When markers of occupational groups were projected onto the map, they were grouped into three wholes. As we have seen, where the pole of low total volume of capital is located, we find grouped farmers and unskilled workers. These people have all types of capital at a very low level, so that this fact limits their life opportunities, even their strategies, because it does not open up room to maneuver for the resolution of life's important issues. We assumed that they will mainly rely

on their own strengths, on their friends and relatives who are also from the lower classes, so that the level of exchange within their social networks is very limited and reduced to some smaller favors and to the local level - while jobs, education, health care remain beyond the reach of exchange. We expect likewise that education will not be an important segment of their strategies.

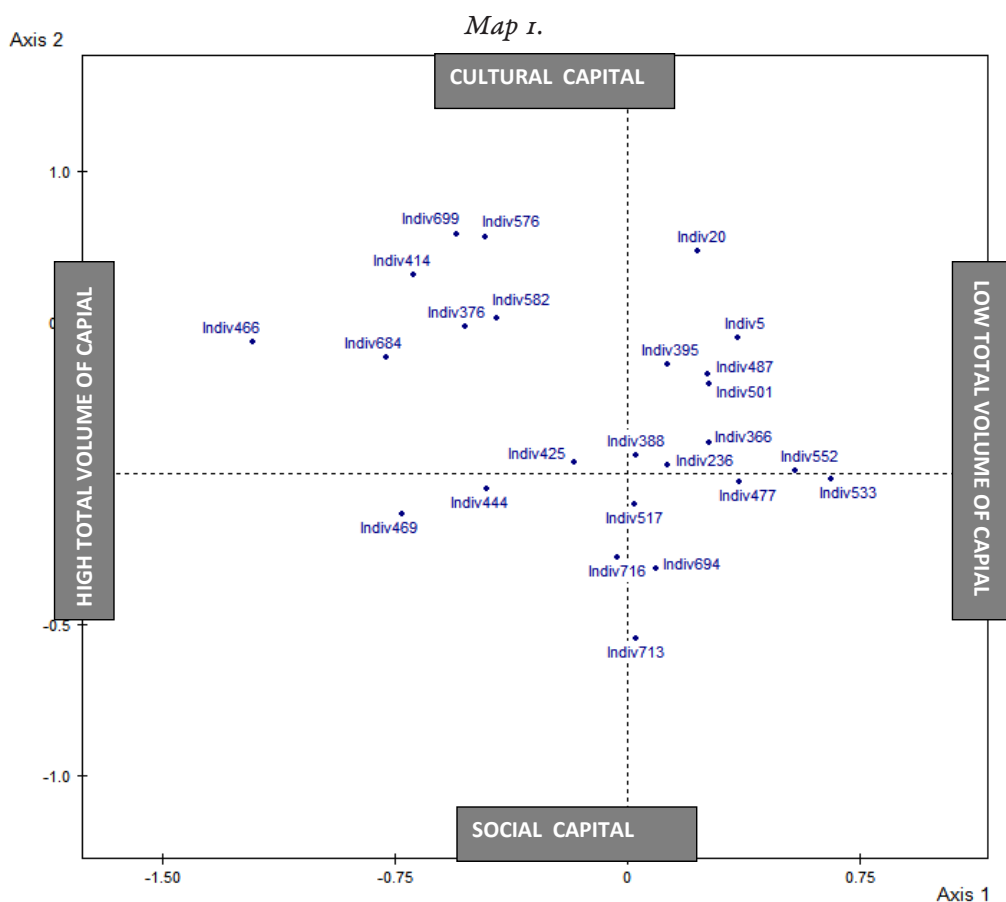
In the central part of the map, left and right of the origin, we find representatives of the middle strata – lower experts, clerks and lower management, small entrepreneurs, but also skilled workers. These groups own all types of capital to a certain degree, and the results of quantitative analyses have shown that social capital in particular is valued and used in these social circles, hence it represents an important resource in their life strategies in all areas of life.

The third group is made up of professional politicians, managers in public companies, high ranking police and army officers, owners of large private companies and experts located near the pole of high total volume of capital. As these groups own a large overall volume of capital, they are on the one hand able to develop different types of social strategies and, on the other, to try, depending on the combinations of capital they have available, to ensure legitimacy for the resources at their disposal in social fields.

SOCIAL PRACTICES IN FIVE SOCIAL AREAS

As we have already mentioned, use of the software SPAD 7.3. enabled us to locate typical individuals in social space and it is with them that we undertook in-depth interviews. Among the survey respondents, using possibilities provided by the software SPAD 7.3. we extrapolated 75 respondents, of whom 25 agreed to be interviewed. Among them were eight men and seventeen women; nine respondents were under the age of 30, two between the age of 31 and 45, 19 between the age of 45 and 65, and two were older than 65. Among those interviewed there were eight respondents from Belgrade, four from Novi Sad, three from Niš, and two each from Subotica, Zemun, Leskovac and Vranje and one respondent each from Pančevo and Bački Petrovac. The largest number of those interviewed had a secondary education (18), five had a university education, one respondent did not attend school, one only had an elementary education. Among those interviewed there were two housewives, six female workers in the services industry, four construction workers, one small entrepreneur, three accountants, one nurse, three students and five experts from the humanities.

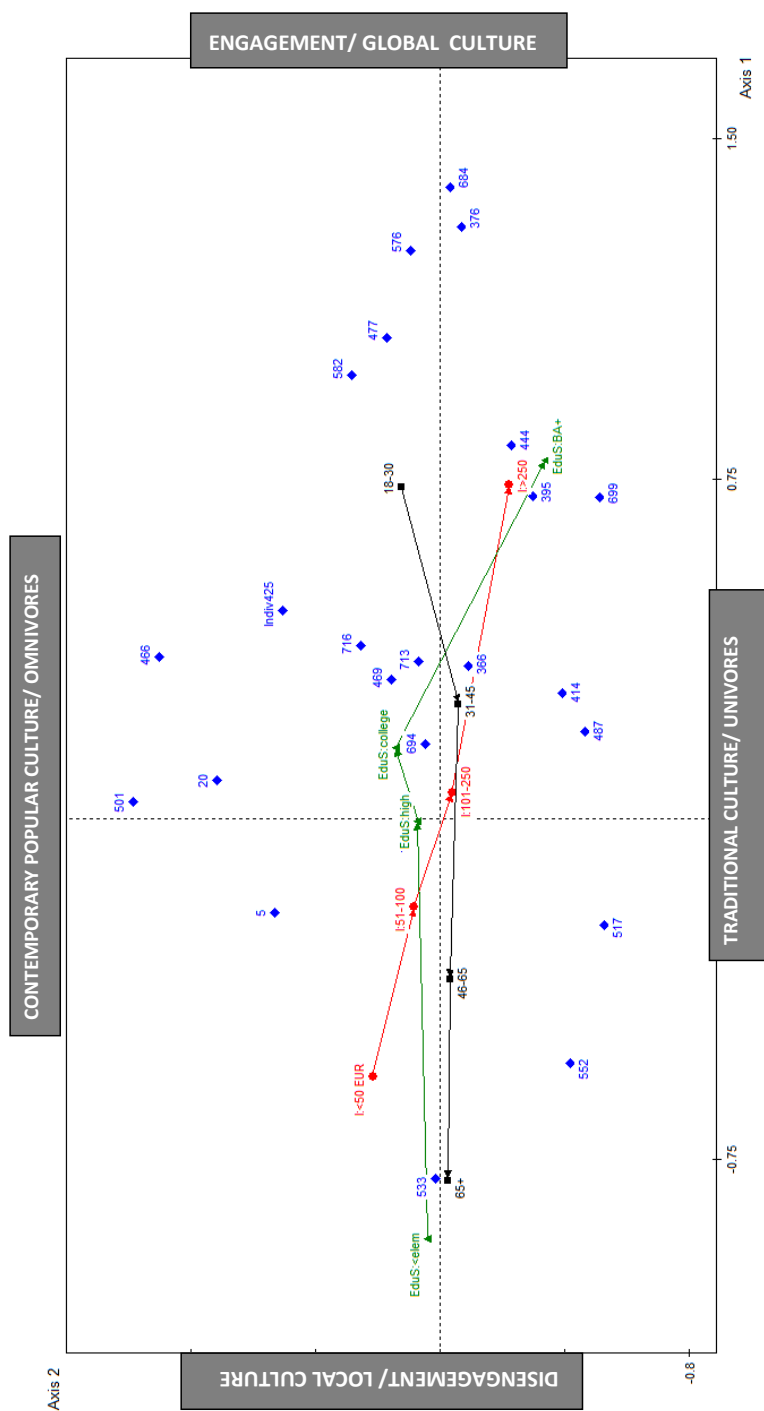
Maps 1 and 2 show the distribution of interviewed respondents in the social space in Serbia (map 1) and in the field of cultural practices in Serbia (map 2)



The results of qualitative analyses have shown us that respondents who are on the right side of social space have available a low overall volume of capital, while the overall volume of capital of respondents located on the left side of social space is high. What is specific to the research from 2010 is that in it in the lower part of social space respondents are concentrated whose basic resource is social capital, while in the upper part of social space we find respondents who have available cultural capital.

The basic dimensions of the cultural map of Serbia (constructed on the basis of data from the 2010 study) indicate that respondents located on the right side of the map are in the vicinity of the pole of cultural engagement, while on the opposite side are those who are culturally disengaged. Along this dimension traces could be found of the opposition which we discovered in our previous study of the field of cultural practices in Serbia (from 2005) - global culture (on the right) and local culture (on the left). As the second

Map 2.



important dimension– Axis 2 – of the cultural map of Serbia is concerned, we have the one the poles of which are contemporary popular culture (on the top of the map) and traditional culture (on its bottom). Similarly to the previous case, respondents located at the top of the map show a preference for omnivore practices (the third dimension in our previous research of the cultural map of Serbia – from 2005), while the respondents who approach the bottom of the map are univore in their cultural practices.

In this way, we got insight into the current resources which respondents have available in shaping their practices.

On the basis of the data from the survey we constructed respondent profiles and gave them to the interviewers to familiarize themselves with the interviewees prior to speaking to them (Several examples follow).

RESPONDENT 20

The respondent was born in 1939 (she is 71 years old). She was born in Leskovac, she is of Serbian nationality, Orthodox confessionality. Her father and mother were born in a village. Her father had a university education and he was a manager in a public company, while her mother had an elementary education and she was a homemaker. The respondent finished vocational economic secondary school and while she was working she also completed a tertiary economics diploma course. She worked as an accountant, she is currently retired. She was married, now she is a widow. Her husband completed a higher education diploma and worked as a highly qualified worker. She currently lives alone in an apartment she owns, 36 to 55 square meters in size, with an average monthly income of between 15,000 and 30,000 dinars. She is not a member of any political party.

Her favorite musical genre is authentic folk music, but she also enjoys listening to old city music. She does not like listening to new folk music nor turbo folk. She enjoys classical music, rock and pop music, but she does not like opera, jazz or blues. In the twelve months prior to the survey she had not attended any of the cultural events offered in the survey. She has a home library of between 50 and 200 books, in the year prior to the survey she had not read a single book. She does not use a computer. Her husband's favorite musical genre was ethnic music.

When asked whether people ask her for help, she responded that they sometimes ask her for help. It is frequently neighbors who ask her for help, sometimes people from her part of the country or people who had once done her a favor. She does not have a 'connection' in any of the public institutions she was asked about.

RESPONDENT 236

The respondent was born in 1972 (39 years old). She was born in Pančevo, she is of Serbian nationality, Catholic. Her father was born in a village, her mother in a small town in Serbia. She father completed elementary school, her mother a vocational secondary school. Both her mother and her father worked as unqualified workers. The respondent completed a vocational secondary school and works as a supermarket salesperson. Her husband completed a higher education diploma and works as a construction technician. They live in a house they own, 76 to 95 square meters in size, with an average monthly income of 30,000 to 50,000 dinars. She is not a member of any political party.

Her favorite musical genre is classical music, but she also enjoys listening to opera. She does not listen to authentic folk music, new folk music, turbo folk, nor old city music. She does not listen to jazz or blues, and emphasizes that most of the new musical genres bother her when she hears them. In the 12 months before the survey she had been once to the library, to the theater, gallery, museum and a pop/rock music concert. She attended sporting events more than 12 times. She has a home library of between 200 and 400 books, and in the year prior to the survey she had read at least one book (1 to 3 books). She uses a computer every day. Her husband's favorite musical genre is pop music.

When asked whether people ask them for help frequently, she responded that they are asked frequently for help. It is often people from work who ask them for help or friends from school, sometimes relatives, neighbors and people who had once done them a favor. They have contacts/'connections' in all the public institutions which we asked about (hospital, post office, municipality, school, court, army...).

RESPONDENT 395

The respondent was born in 1985 (26 years old). She was born in Kruševac, she is of Serbian nationality, an atheist. Her father was born in Kruševac, her mother was born in a village. Her father completed a higher education diploma and works as an engineer, her mother completed a vocational secondary school and works as a salesperson. The respondent has a gymnasium secondary diploma and she is currently on her last year of an art history degree. She works at a hostel to support herself. She is not married and she lives alone, in a rented apartment of between 36 and

55 square meters, with a monthly income of between 15,000 and 30,000 dinars. She is not a member of any political party.

Her favorite musical genre is rock music and she also likes to listen to jazz, blues, pop music and classical music. She does not enjoy turbo folk, old city music, opera, dance/house music, techno music. She is bothered when she hears new folk music, rap and heavy metal music, while she finds authentic folk music, easy listening music and world music acceptable. She has an active cultural life. In the 12 months prior to the survey she had been to the library four to six times, six to twelve times at a cinema, one to three times at the theater, one to three times at a pop/rock concert, six to twelve times at a gallery/museum in the country and six to twelve times at a gallery or museum abroad. She has a small home library (between 26 and 50 books), and in the year prior to the survey she had read eight to twelve books. She uses a computer several times a week.

When asked whether people ask her for help, she responded that sometimes people do. No one asks her for help frequently, and sometimes relatives, neighbors, friends from school, colleagues or business acquaintances ask her for help. She does not have a 'connection' in any of the public institutions mentioned in the survey.

RESPONDENT 466

The respondent was born in 1958 (she is 53 years old). She was born in Belgrade, she is of Serbian nationality, Orthodox. Both her father and her mother were born in a village and both completed vocational secondary schools. Her father worked as a qualified worker, her mother was a home-maker. The respondent completed university and an MA in work safety and works as a sanitation inspector. She is married, her husband completed a vocational secondary school and works in security. They live alone in an apartment they own, 56 to 75 square meters in size, with an average monthly income of between 50,000 and 100,000 dinars. They have a large weekend home, 96 to 130 square meters in size. They have a car valued at between 1500 and 3000 Euros. They are not members of any political party.

Her favorite musical genre is old city music, but she also enjoys authentic folk music, jazz and blues and pop music. She does not like techno and heavy metal music. She says that new folk music and turbo folk do not bother her when she hears them, nor do classical music, opera, rock

and most of the contemporary musical genres. Her husband's favorite musical genre is authentic folk music. In the 12 months prior to the survey she had been to the cinema one to three times and to a kafana with live music, while she did not attend any of the other cultural events/institutions mentioned in the survey. She has a solid home library (201 to 400 books) and in the year prior to the survey she had read between four and seven books. She uses the computer every day.

When asked whether people ask her for help, she responded that they constantly asked her for help. It is often friends from their part of the city that ask for help, sometimes relatives, kumovi, neighbors and colleagues. They have 'connections' in the post office, hospital and court.

RESPONDENT 487

The respondent was born in 1958 (she is 53 years old). She was born in Belgrade, she is of Serbian nationality, Orthodox. Her father was born in Belgrade, her mother in one of the larger cities of the former Yugoslavia. Her father completed university in the field of the humanities and had an expert position, her mother completed a secondary vocational school and worked as an economics technician or accountant. The respondent completed a secondary vocational school and is a foods processing technician. She is currently unemployed. Her husband completed a secondary vocational school, but he also is unemployed. They live in a six-member household, in a house they own, larger than 250 square meters, with an average monthly income of under 15,000 dinars. She is not a member of any political party.

Her favorite musical genre is old city music, but she also enjoys authentic folk music, easy listening music, classical music, opera, jazz, blues and rock. She does not like new folk music, turbo folk nor the majority of contemporary musical genres (with the exception of world music). In the 12 months prior to the survey she had been to the theater one to three times, to a pop/rock concert and to a jazz concert. She has a home library (50 to 200 books), and in the year prior to the survey she had read four to seven books. She uses the computer several times a week.

When asked whether people ask them for help, she responded that people sometimes do, mainly neighbors or friends from their area. They do not have a 'connection' in any of the public institutions mentioned in the survey.

The respondent was born in 1988 (23 years old). He was born in Belgrade, he is of Serbian nationality, Orthodox. Both his father and his mother were born in Belgrade and both completed university, but his father works in a gambling establishment, while his mother is a homemaker. The respondent has a gymnasium secondary diploma and he is currently studying at university. He is not married and lives with his parents, in a rented apartment, 35 to 55 square meters, with a monthly income of between 50,000 and 100,000 dinars. They have a car valued at between 1500 and 3000 Euros. He is in a relationship with a colleague from his faculty who also has a gymnasium diploma. He is not a member of any political party.

His favorite musical genre is dance/house music (as is his partner's). He also enjoys rock music. For folk music, old city music, easy listening music, classical music, jazz, blues, pop, techno, rap, world music and reggae he says that they do not bother him when he hears them (his most common attitude towards music). He does not like new folk music, opera, punk and hard rock/heavy metal, and he is bothered by turbo folk. In the 12 months prior to the survey he had been to the library more than 12 times, more than 12 times to the cinema, one to three times to the theater, one to three times at sporting events, four to six times at a pop/rock concert, four to six times at a gallery/museum in the country and one to three times he had visited cultural monuments and archaeological sites in the country. He has a home library of 50 to 200 books, and in the year prior to the survey he had read more than 12 books. He uses a computer every day.

When asked whether people ask them for help, he responded that people constantly do. It is often friends from his part of town and friends from school who ask for help, sometimes relatives, kumovi, neighbors, and members of his religious community. He has a 'connection' (probably a familial one) in the hospital, court and bank.

The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and one hour. We asked questions aimed at enabling us to learn the strategies which these individuals relied on in five areas: 1) the area of the labor market; 2) the area of education; 3) strategies in health care; 4) strategies in the marriage market; and 5) friendship strategies. Of course, the concept and term "strategy" was not mentioned in the course of the interviews; instead, respondents were invited to provide in plain language answers to simple questions

about their experiences in these areas of everyday life. The respondents were given the opportunity to freely introduce other topics, and a number of additional questions was prepared, using which they were steered back to the topics of the interview. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed.

In the next segment of the paper we have shown the typical topics which came up in the course of the conversations with interviewees in the five areas which were the object of the interviews. Following this, we tried to establish whether a coherent approach to engagement in all (or most) of these areas appeared with individual respondents, which would validate the use of the term strategies for their activities. In the final step we considered whether the strategies thus identified appeared in particular regions of social space and the field of cultural practices in Serbia or whether they were scattered dispersedly across them.

PRACTICES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In terms of the interviews, instructions were given to interviewers for topics to be introduced - in this case the behavior of respondents (and their children) on the labor market - and then respondents to be allowed to speak freely on the topic proposed. A number of sub-questions were prepared which could be used if the conversation "stalled". For the practices in the labor market questions were related to whether respondents were currently employed, where and in which position; if they were not currently employed, then how, if at all, they made an income; what would be the key resource, in their opinion, that makes getting a job possible in Serbian society (an appropriate education, skills (such as computing skills, a driver's licence...), knowledge of foreign languages, connections, membership in political parties, etc; where their first job had been; how long did they wait for their first job; how did they get the job (application, someone's help); whether they had ever lost a job and, if so, how long they had been out of work for; what they did under those circumstances – how did they find employment again (did anyone help them); if they have children, where do they work; if their children are employed, how did they find employment (did anyone help them), and if they have children who are underage, what occupations would they like to see their children working in.

As in no other area, almost without exception, all respondents emphasized the existence of a completely anomic situation in Serbia in which education, academic degrees, knowledge and skills (cultural capital) have little, if any, effect on employment, while the effect of social capital (hiring through political parties or hiring through connections) is crucial, as is direct payment (bribe) to secure employment.

For a number of younger respondents this was reason to leave Serbia as quickly as possible, as in the case of the student of Czech language and literature from Zemun who hopes that immediately on finishing his undergraduate degree in Belgrade, he would be able to enrol in a graduate degree abroad and stay there forever. His father and mother both have a university education – his father is an agricultural engineer, he works in a gambling establishment where he was hired with the help of a friend, while his mother has a degree in molecular biology and biochemistry but she is a homemaker.

In Serbia connections with important people are the only thing that matters when one wants to find a job – connections and nothing else... locksmiths do the jobs which they are not supposed to do, and my father with a degree works in a gambling establishment, because he didn't have contacts... even my aunt who is a PhD was employed by means of connections, if she hadn't had that, she would still be sitting at home and watching TV, I don't know what she would do. In Serbia connections are a must-have if you want to get a decent job... I heard that it is not the same abroad, money is earned based on one's knowledge – that's why I am planning to leave. (Respondent 582, male, age 22, student of Czech language and literature, lives in Zemun)

The exact same experience is described by a retired chief accountant from Leskovac, who lost her husband early and whose only son, after losing his job in a bank in 2000, searched for work without success for six years, only to pass away, leaving his wife and two children without means of financial support. The only difference is that in her statement political parties are designated as the basic channel of employment.

"I think that a diploma is not important today – I mean, it's important for education, everybody has to be educated, but for finding a job it is not... it is important that one has already chosen a particular political party and who is in office, because they get the jobs... and there are no job advertisements, there's nothing and if there is a job advertisement, it is only for the public, but that doesn't mean anything, you can only find a job through a party. Well, my son died, he lost his life, because he didn't belong to any of the political parties... he used to call me from Belgrade to ask me "Mom, who should I vote for?" because he wasn't interested in politics..." (Respondent 20, female, age 71, retired, previously chief accountant, tertiary education, lives in Leskovac)

A young man from Vranje, who has a gymnasium diploma and who has been looking for work without success for eight years, forwards that in Vranje (and in Serbia) there are two ways of finding employment:

“What knowledge, who cares about knowledge... you either know people or you have the cash to pay for it – that’s Vranje. And elsewhere in Serbia the situation is no better”. (Respondent 716, male, 27 years old, unemployed, gymnasium diploma, lives in Vranje)

Indirectly, the situation is described the same way by one of the most educated respondents in our sample, who is a physician with a specialization in microbiology with parasitology. She and her family were completely stunned by the fact that she was able to find a job (“like winning the Lotto”) without her having a connection.

“I work in a company which is not a health care institution, it’s the water works where I conduct microbiological test of the water, so that, in all honesty, there wasn’t much interest. For one position, the call was set up, but for the other it wasn’t, and it’s not to be believed, like winning the Lotto, I got the job... my parents didn’t believe me, I had to show them the contract. And my husband got a job the same way, but he did have a very high average... they all got hired, even those who were not children of university professors. We both got in, we were kind of lucky I’d have to say...” (Respondent 699, female, 46 years old, physician, specialized in microbiology with parasitology, works in the city water works in Niš)

The fact that in our sample respondents ranged in age from 18 to 70 enabled us to gain some insight into how jobs were acquired in previous periods in Serbia – for example, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as well as in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The retired chief accountant we had already quoted talked about her first employment as did the head of the export section of a once large company from Belgrade.

“You know son... it was a long time ago, 1959 was when I began working... you simply went to the factory “Good afternoon, I’ve finished school, here’s the diploma, do you have any work...”, they say “Come in a week’s time, we’ll see if there’s any work or not”, you come and that’s how I started working... that’s how it used to be... well, for managers, now, they must have had applications for managers, most likely”. (Respondent 20, female, age 71, retired chief accountant from Vranje)

My first employment was in a company that dealt with foreign trade. I started at the lowest position and I worked for twenty years, until the company ceased to exist in 1999, when someone bought it, after the bombing and that was the end. I finished university in 1977, I found work in 1979. At the time there were 150 of us unemployed and we applied at all the calls – all the same people – and only those who had connections went

through. Luckily, then there was an obligation to take on trainees – for every ten employees, one trainee – and the company had 140 employees and took on ten trainees. I was in that group. I was a trainee for one year and then I passed a final exam, got a certificate for working in foreign trade. So I had a really nice work career there. When the company went under I transferred to my brother's company... he did me a favor... it's not that he needed a worker, it was just so I wouldn't be unemployed and that I had a secure income. I still work there. (Respondent 414, female, 57 years old, former head of export section, Belgrade)

But even in the existing situation in the 2000s, the position of those without social capital – political or any other connections – is different depending on the degree of cultural capital they have available, something respondents themselves are aware of.

The already quoted young man from Vranje professes himself that his chances of employment would have been greater if he had at least a vocational secondary school diploma.

"Not even those with a vocational secondary school can find any... who's going to take you on with a gymnasium diploma, what can you do. Maybe I could clean something, but, brother, clean!?" (Respondent 716, male, age 27, unemployed, gymnasium diploma, Vranje)

An exceptionally successful, "self-made" young man, (currently a PhD student) - who changed his educational trajectory several times and who is currently employed at a research institute in Belgrade, while also working at a private faculty - without denying the enormous importance of social capital in all strategies in the labor market in Serbia, emphasizes the importance of "knowledge, skills and ability of self-presentation" as well.

Let's not lie about it, people are definitely important... I didn't have a connection for a single one of my jobs, but I did have a recommendation... I had a recommendation for each of these three jobs... it's simply that someone has to recommend you from that sea of people who are looking for work... but from that moment on it's up to you... from that moment on, when you start from what is at the very least a positive position... Someone says "he's good", "he's worth something", that's when it's up to your CV, that's when it's up to your experience, knowledge, self-presentation skills, but I'm afraid that it's both... if I had shown up with just my CV I'm not sure how I would have fared... (Respondent 576, male, 29 years old, psychologist, works at a research institute and teaches at a private faculty, PhD student, lives in Belgrade)

In cases of lack of cultural capital or appropriate cultural capital "roundabout strategies" apply, such as the well-known inheritance of jobs from parents.

My mother was getting ready to retire at that time and then I got into her company the roundabout way... I got in as a cleaner, just so they could hire me. They needed an accountant, so they couldn't hire me as a chemical technician... but they knew that my mother was sick and was getting ready to retire. They took me on as a cleaner and I worked as a cleaner for three months – cleaned offices and then they transferred me – considering that I had a secondary degree – they transferred me to accounting and that's where I stayed. I didn't get another qualification, I learned the job... I don't know why it takes four years of school when I got this accounting down in six months time... (Respondent 487, female, unemployed, chemical technician, 52 years old, Zemun)

PRACTICES IN THE REALM OF EDUCATION

A second important area for which we collected data from respondents was education, specifically their education and the education of their children (if any). As in the previous case, instructions were given for the data collection process which specified that respondents were to be allowed to speak freely on the subject, yet sub-questions were also prepared should respondents stray too far away from the topic. Sub-questions included topics such as: the level and type of school the respondents completed; motivation for enrolment – why they enrolled in that school/faculty (friends, parents, the reputation of the school, closeness, personal choice...); how they performed at school and whether school was easy or difficult; whether respondents or their kids had some special preparations/private lessons/went to private schools and for which subjects; if they did not go to the university, but they wanted to study, what stopped them from doing so; and if they did not have the intention to study at university, what their plan for getting a job was; whether they know some foreign language and if they learnt foreign languages outside school; while they were still at school, if there were any cases of their colleagues finishing school/passing exams by means of using connections (if they are familiar with the cases, they should describe them); if respondents have children, which school their children attend, or which school/faculty their children completed; whether they had some influence concerning their children's choice of school/faculty or not; whether they help their children with anything (which subjects) concerning school and whether their parents helped them with the same.

Although education should be one of the areas in which strategic action is desirable and in which parents should have an important role in directing their children towards profitable, stable or traditional family occupations, the greatest majority of respondents stated that in terms of choice of school the family held back from action (this is

what respondents stated of their parents and those respondents who had children of their own about their own role in choice of school which their children would attend).

We didn't influence her, we thought she would study technology, but she studied languages and unfortunately, she waited for work for four years. For a while she was a substitute English teacher, now she works in Telenor in the call center. That's her decision, we're all different (Respondent 414, female, age 57, former head of export section, Beograd)

Almost 80% of my family works in health care but I wasn't attracted to it, so I went in a completely different direction (Respondent 684, male, age 21, student, lives in Niš)

The highly educated in particular had a surprisingly relaxed attitude when it came to the education of their children (which is probably part of self-presentation of being easygoing, opposite to what is actually expected – that their children will be successful in school and become highly educated).

Everyone was born for something. If my child is a mechanic and happy with that, that's all right by me. If he were a florist, or a PhD, that's up to him, it's important that a person is happy and fulfilled... If you don't like what you do, it's all a waste... There's no shame in working and any job is a job... You should be good at it. (Respondent 376, female, philologist, enrolling in a PhD degree, age 30, lives in Subotica)

As far as members of the middle classes are concerned, even when their children's right to self-determination is respected in terms of their education and life path, a desire is still present for the children to achieve what the parents didn't.

I see how nice it is when children rise high – elementary, secondary, university – what pride that is for a parent. I have no special wishes – as much as they can, as much as they want, but I would like as much as possible (Respondent 236, female, supermarket salesperson, age 38, lives in Pančevo)

It is interesting that the significance of education is best noted by members of working class occupations. A respondent who lives on the periphery of Belgrade, who did not believe that school would be important in his life and who, as he himself states “was schooled through life, through friends, on the street”, when asked what kind of marriage partner he would want to have states that he “wouldn't like her to have only elementary school, at least, as they say, a stronger secondary school, or something more...”.

As for his children, his greatest dream would be for them to finish school:

All the things I missed out on in life, I would make up for all of it if I had children... I wouldn't work eight hour days like I do now, I'd work fifteen hours to put them through school, because I can see times are here when school is tops... Some trades can do well also, but an education is an education... (Respondent 501, male, electrician, age 39, lives in Belgrade)

Among the respondents there were several examples where parents attempted to influence their children's decisions but they, according to their own statements, changed their trajectory at the first opportunity (sometimes imprudently with bad consequences) or simply opposed their parents wishes.

I have an education course in services – I'm a hairdresser. After elementary school, I really wanted to become a preschool teacher and I wanted to enrol in the school. But at my father's request I enrolled in secondary vocational economics school, the tourism stream. Unfortunately, when you're young, you don't think, so I wasn't particularly interested in school. When the time came for me to enroll in years three and four, I didn't want to go to the economics school again, I wanted to go to the sales school, but since they didn't accept me in the first round, in the second round there was room only for hairdressers. And I never wanted to be a hairdresser in my life, I don't even like the work. (Respondent 366, female, age 48, supermarket salesperson, lives in Subotica)

I wasn't under too much pressure, everything was more or less up to me... to be honest, my mother had this unshakeable idea that I should study pharmacy, I don't know why. I rejected that as an idea outright, I honestly think they can't influence me in that respect and they know this themselves and that's never really been an issue (Respondent 395, female, age 25, final year of Art History degree, from Kruševac, lives in Belgrade)

One of the rare exceptions is the rule of one of the respondents who lives in extremely difficult circumstances (both she and her husband are unemployed) has set for her children:

I left it all up to them, whatever they like, but there is one rule: you can enroll in anything you like as long as it's not a gymnasium... That somehow stems from my youth, that you can't do anything with a gymnasium diploma unless you finish university... with a vocational secondary school diploma, you have a way of earning an income... (Respondent broj 487, female, unemployed, chemical technician, age 52, Zemun)

A second exception comes from the 1950s when parents did not grant their daughter's wish to study in a different town, precisely because she was female.

I wanted to be a teacher, but in order to study that I had to go to Pirot or Vranje, and that was too far for a girl... My elder sister liked School of Economics... so in order not to be any difference between the children, I had to go to the same school. But I finished it with flying colours and I never regretted enrolling in that school... (Respondent 20, female, 71 years old, retired chief accountant, Leskovac)

A frequent topic in discussions of education, especially for female respondents, were breaks in their schooling, most often their tertiary studies. In a relatively large number of cases, due to difficult family circumstances, which made it not possible to attend school, but also frequently because of love, marriage and children – their educational ambitions remained unrealized.

Later I enrolled in university, but I didn't finish, I only finished three years. I'm sorry I didn't finish. My mother got sick, she had to retire, I had to continue working instead of her, I couldn't do everything any more, my studies, mother, work... it was one thing and then another... and it was over. (Respondent 487, female, unemployed, chemical technician, age 52, Zemun)

I finished vocational chemical school, then I tried a diploma in tourism, but I started working, then things took their own course... can I say I'm pregnant?... I'd like to continue, but right now my child is most important to me... (Respondent 477, female, age 28, boutique salesperson, lives in Novi Sad)

I enrolled in [a tertiary diploma degree] – but I didn't finish – my first pregnancy, then I gave my husband priority, and when the year was up, I got a job and then I gave up. I studied for a while, I'd only just enrolled, that's why I gave him priority, he'd made more progress. (Respondent 236, female, supermarket salesperson, age 38, lives in Pančevo)

Considering the labor market situation, another topic which appeared frequently in the conversations was a criticism of how knowledge is devalued, but also praise and acquisition of knowledge – for the sake of knowledge itself.

To this day I'm convinced that school is valuable for a person... not only knowledge, but general culture, behavior and all that... it's just something you simply feel. Unfortunately, times are here when school doesn't mean

anything. You can finish university and nothing. How many fantastic children of ours have finished university and they have no jobs. Exceptional experts... exceptionally cultured people, and then someone not from around here shows up, he's a refugee, yes, it's not that I don't sympathize, but he gets the job, he gets the apartment, he's living life, looking down on me, I'm from the city, I grew up here on these streets. (Respondent 366, female, age 48, salesperson in supermarket lives in Subotica)

My daughter had a hundred hobbies... When she was three she was enrolled in a special kindergarten at the University of Stari Grad, then she started ballet classes, after that she attended acting classes in Duško Radović, after acting there was sport, tennis, skiing, everything that she was interested in. Now she doesn't have a hobby, because this editing takes her a lot of time, but she received a lot of extracurricular knowledge... It does not have to pay off, what is important is that she possesses personal culture, and that that can probably be materialized over time... (Respondent 414, female, age 57, former head of export section, Belgrade)

Although discussions of privately owned faculties were not part of our research plan, the question about corruption in education in numerous cases opened up this topic. A significant number of respondents marked privately owned faculties as places where there is corruption, unlike state owned faculties which are, according to them, still of better quality, more respectable, more reliable. It is interesting that this is the exact opposite of the attitude towards state and private clinics – private clinics were judged to be too expensive and unattainable for most, but more efficient and more reliable than state hospitals, which were, in addition, judged to be one of the key loci of corrupt practices in Serbia.

I still don't accept these private faculties, because I believe they only give as much knowledge as they are paid. Our daughter could have studied at a private faculty, there was no problem... we could have paid, but I believe it's much better that she went to a state faculty and received a solid education. She had lectures at the Sorbonne for French, she went to an American camp, so I made it possible for her to get an education, it was stupid then for her to enroll in a private faculty, she had surpassed that in gymnasium. Maybe those faculties will be worth something in ten, twenty years, when they have some experience and tradition... but now, when I see her friends from private faculties, they can fall off a chair, then can't fail an exam. The lecturers probably do give them a lot, but they don't ask for much... (Respondent 414, female, age 57, former head of export section, Belgrade)

You enroll at a private faculty, you have money and you finish easily... that's all legal now, no bribe, you pay for exams and you pass. Now, whether you will know something or not, what you'll do later... (Respondent 694, female, administrative worker, vocational school, age 48)

Not only have I heard, I've seen how exams are paid for at private faculties. I went with a friend to his exam – he brought 500 EUR in an envelope, he said to wait for him and he came out with a seven. He worked all summer in construction to pay for that exam. (Respondent 582, male, age 22, student of Czech language and literature, Zemun)

PRACTICES IN THE AREA OF HEALTH CARE

Although numerous topics had been planned for conversations about practices in the area of health care, the actual conversations focused on the issue of getting treatment in state-owned or privately owned clinics and the question of corruption in health care.

All our respondents mainly get health care in state hospitals, they just give different reasons for it. The majority state that because of the long waiting lists in state hospitals they would prefer to get treatment at private clinics, but they cannot afford to. Dental services are the ones most often received at private clinics, and due to the need for speed, laboratory analyses and specialist examinations are also undertaken at private clinics.

I get treatment in state hospitals, where do I get the money for private ones... I would prefer private ones, one doesn't have to queue for a long time, one seems better in their eyes... but now, I know quite a lot of people, so I don't queue a lot, but who doesn't know they can lose their consciousness while waiting in hospitals. I have acquaintances, thanks to my job I can meet people, but lots of people don't have that opportunity. (Respondent 694, female, administrative worker, secondary vocational school, age 48, lives in Niš)

It is not my attitude that I don't want, but I don't have money for private clinics (Respondent 699, female, 46 years old, physician with a specialization in microbiology with parasitology, works in the water works in Niš)

Respondents whose family members are physicians get treatment in state hospitals because they are spared the unpleasantness which accompanies treatment in them (endless waiting in offices, months of waiting for specialist examinations and surgery, demands to pay bribes...).

I receive my medical treatments in state institutions, because my father and mother, as well as my grandmother and aunt were doctors... in every department we have someone so we just choose who we are going to see. (Respondent 684, male, age 21, student, lives in Niš)

The opinion of this respondent that private clinics are better and the reason why they are better is interesting

Private hospitals are better than state hospitals. Private hospitals are usually opened by doctors who are much better than their colleagues, there are fewer patients in them than in state hospitals because the treatment is more expensive.... And besides all this, there's no bribery in private hospitals, you simply pay for the service...

A number of respondents stated that they receive treatment in state hospitals because these are the same doctors, hence they don't see why they should pay for the services of people they have already paid in the form of obligatory health insurance deducted from their paychecks sometimes for decades. They believe that this type of private practice should not be possible:

I receive my treatments in state hospitals, I don't use the services of private ones... because the same doctors work there... Ok, let's take this for example, it happened to me this morning, my sister had an earache this morning – she is a diabetic – and now she has to take to the institution her booklet for health insurance till 8 o'clock. From 8 to 10 o'clock she has to wait in the waiting room, and she has predetermined time when she has to have breakfast and to take an injection. She is supposed to wait till the doctor arrives, and then he or she has to drink a cup of coffee, then while he or she explains what he or she did the previous day, and she can't finish until 2 o'clock, and she is sick, someone has to be with her... And I went to the health center to ask whether there is otolaryngology, and they said that they don't have, but they also said "I'll give you a business card"... so the woman who gave me a business card gets some money for sending people to the doctor... and my sister called and the doctor will see her tonight in her private clinic. And the doctor we are talking about works in hospital, in the health center and in two private clinics, so she has four jobs... she is at hospital by ten, at ten she is in the health center and tonight she'll see my sister... and my sister paid from her salary for forty years for health insurance, so that she could get a treatment free of charge. (Respondent 20, female, age 71, retired, formerly chief accountant, Leskovac)

This respondent gave us a humorous account of how this petite corruption takes place in Leskovac.

I go to a health center and whenever I come there's a jar of coffee on my doctor's desk and it's always the same type of coffee "Grand" ... and I saw it ... so someone before me brought it... and probably next time I am supposed to bring the same, and then the one who gets in after me, and so on... and I did some checking because I've got my own people there – I asked "Does the doctor get the coffee all the time?", and they say "No, it's her coffee, but you should see it and start bringing it"

Her experiences from the 1970s and 1980s show how the behavior of health care workers changed in insitutions in Serbia.

I took my sister thirty years ago to Military Medical Academy (VMA) due to her thyroid gland... and since there was nothing here we got a referral to Belgrade. They welcomed us... the doctor and the nurse were really pleasant, but the nurse is always more important because she is the first one you see – if the nurse doesn't admit me, I can't get to the doctor. They checked her and the next examination was for three months. But, since we were working at textile factory I bought very nice fabric for a skirt, and my nephew worked at a supermarket so he could buy a kilogram of coffee at a discount. My sister says "you're going to give that, I can't". We went there again after three months and I came in with a parcel and I said "Nurse, pardon me, but in appreciation while you're still alone this is for you" ... She took me out of the office, my sister was scared "now they won't examine me", and the nurse yelled at me outside, but now we have the opposite situation...

In 1990s I was sent to Belgrade to an oncology appointment and I went there and found some connections, there was a nurse there who was from a village near Leskovac. I get there and she says "You'll need me in the future, I know because they sent you here. Where do you work?" and I answered "In a factory for making textile", and she said "Bring me some fabric for my daughter's dress when you come again". I bought it and took it. But then I could do that, I had enough money, and now I can't... and some people say that coffee is not bribery, wait a second, if a give 120 dinars for the coffee, I won't be able to buy any for me.

A significant number of respondents stated that they always take a small gift to doctors even though no one asks them for this.

Nobody asked me to bring anything... maybe I didn't have a treatment of that kind, but a jar of coffee and a carton of juice isn't too much if it helps you to finish something faster. (Respondent 5, female, age 52, homemaker, elementary school, lives in Leskovac)

I always bring a gift when I go see my doctor. It's not asked of me, but it's different... very... that's how they remember you... so they tell you when you should come so you don't have to wait, otherwise for some analyses you have to wait months (Respondent 236, female, supermarket salesperson, age 38, lives in Pančevo)

On the one hand, as respondent 716 from Vranje says, “no one asks you for money outright... they do it more subtly. In some other way... they put off the surgery or something like that... until you get it”.

On the other hand, it seems correct that in a developed practice of corruption in health care a nearly equal role is played by patients themselves.

But the people themselves are to blame... it's always been take this to the doctor, take that to the doctor, we asked for it ourselves... and now when there is a cure and when there is no cure, we blame them... (Respondent 501, male, electrician, age 39, lives in Belgrade)

I think that our people offer too much even when nobody asks them. I also think that they cause all this... they inculcate it into them and just come and say “Doctor, doctor ... and they offer him money... and they themselves put the money into his hands, and after that they slander. (Respondent 694, female, age 48, administrative worker, vocational secondary school, lives in Niš)

PRACTICES RELATED TO MARRIAGE AND FRIENDSHIP

These two areas will be presented together because we have, as might have been expected, instead of receiving responses about life situations which led to marriage and friendship, we received impersonal answers in which an ideology of love and friendship was offered up.

When it comes to marriage we asked respondents whether they were married or in a relationship or whether they had been married/in a long-standing relationship; to state the basic data about the partner (occupation, education, place of birth, hobbies,

if their families maybe knew each other before); how and where they met; if they had some help from both families/relatives (with employment, with providing a home, buying a car, childcare, etc); if they had children, whom they wished their daughters or sons to marry (the desired partner profile).

On the other hand, in relation to friendship, the questions were who were their closest friends (in terms of age, occupation, education, place of residence...); since when they have been friends and how they met (childhood, school, work, neighbors, family friends from before...); whether they have rich and powerful friends or acquaintances among the rich and powerful people (and what the relationships with them were); if they could rely on their friends' help and in which situations (loans, employment, finding connections, etc); If their children were perhaps friends with their friends' children.

In respondents statements there was hardly a marriage that was not made out of love, the desired partners for their children are those who will love and respect them ("everything else will come on its own"), just like there are hardly any friendships in which interest plays a role.

We met at a dance... he saw me, I saw him... it was love at first sight, we fell in love and we've been together ever since (Respondent 5, female, age 52, homemaker, elementary school, lives in Leskovac)

It was a great love – love, love, love – a baby happened, it wasn't planned, marriage, that was the most important thing in my life, school was less important and so... (Respondent 366, female, age 48, supermarket salesperson, lives in Subotica)

An ideal partner for my children would be someone who loves and respects them, everything else will come on its own. (Respondent 469, female, age 60, former nurse, now retired, lives in Smederavska Palanka)

Even the more detailed and realistic descriptions of relationships retain a novel/movie component.

Our families knew each other, this is a village and almost everyone knows one another... First they were all OK with it, but then they saw that we were really like Romeo and Juliet, then they tried to break us up, because we were very young... my parents sent me to Croatia to the seaside for two months, his parents sent him somewhere as well, but no... because we were really, really in love. (Respondent 236, female, age 38, supermarket salesperson, lives in Pančevo)

Similar statements, which indicate lack of a component based on interest, could be heard in terms of how friendships were established.

I don't look at a real friend in terms of money, to me a real friend is someone I can talk to, have a coffee with and who's always there when I need him... I have friends who have money, but they have money for a normal life. They don't have so much money as to be powerful. I wouldn't like to know powerful people, for them to be around me, God forbid! (Respondent 716, male, age 29, qualified worker, vocational high school, lives in Vranje)

With members of the working classes and among the older generations this “disinterestedness” had its basis in reality – the limited number of services they could provide and expect from one another.

I don't expect too much from my friends – I can do and I can expect some small favours – but I don't expect anything big from them or from anyone else. My friends don't have such good posts so that they could help for a job (Respondent 5, female, age 52, homemaker, elementary school, lives in Leskovac)

Only occasionally in respondents answers did control in self-presentation decrease, in relation to some sensitive topics, and everyday life as we know it in Serbia appeared. What is particularly interesting is that this is respondent 414 who, as can be seen from the quotes, was particularly critical in relation to corrupt practices in health care and using connections in education and employment and who praised knowledge for the sake of knowledge and friendship for its intrinsic value.

When I do something for somebody, I don't think that I have done a very big thing, I simply think that it is the way it has to be. I do very different stuff for my best friend and when it is about her I don't feel bad for that. I had a lot of so-called friends for whom I did different favor... I employed and borrowed and everything... and when my daughter was to be employed, all of a sudden all of them turned their backs and went away... but never mind, on the other hand it all equalizes in some way.

All in all, the division between practices in institutional arenas of the labor market, education and health care and everyday practices of friendship and love in respondents' statements follow the traditional distinction between interest/disinterest spheres. Likewise, according to respondents' statements, they have no direct or personal experience of any of the activities which belong to the “darker side” of everyday life in Serbia, these experiences are always presented as being examples of others' experience or others' stories.

FOUR TYPES OF STRATEGIES

What was particularly interesting to us was whether among the practices of respondents in these five areas of social life there is a kind of pattern that would allow us to talk of their life strategies as well as, in the next step, to try to establish if there is a connection between their strategies and their position in social structure in Serbia (social space) and the cultural map of Serbia (the field of cultural practices).

Listening to the interviews and analyzing the transcripts, from the empirical material three types of strategies “emerged” which we have decided to call individualistic reactive strategies, collectivistic reactive strategies, and individualistic active strategies. Although there were no representatives of the fourth type of strategy among our respondents – collectivistic active strategies – not only the pattern of the model, but also our everyday experience speaks in favor of its existence, hence we have included it in the typology in the hope that in time we may find enough empirical material for the analysis of its features.

INDIVIDUALISTIC REACTIVE STRATEGIES

Individualistic reactive strategies are characteristic of individuals/families which have a low level of all capitals. In relation to life's challenges they react with whatever is available at the moment, and the social circumstances which surround them seem to be natural givens to them, something in the shaping of which they believe themselves to have no influence. As they are mainly lacking in social resources, in their social strategies they primarily rely on their individual resources¹ (strength, health, stamina, beauty, resources of threat). Their life situations are mainly characterized by a pressing desire to maintain elementary living conditions, which is endangered by the most varied challenges and an almost interminable privation; their market situation is most often so bad that there are no attempts to direct one's career and replace one's current job with a better one; job changes come about, instead, as a result of job losses; the context of their actions is always highly localized – life, family, friends, goals – all this is limited by the local environment, sometimes even the part of town or village they live in. In the continuum of which strategies and tactics are the poles (in de Certeau's sense), these would be an example of tactics.

Among the respondents interviewed this type of strategy was characteristic of respondents number 5, 487, 501, 533, 552 and 713.

¹ Differences between social and individual resources are reflected in the fact that individual resources cannot be accumulated and cannot be transferred to one's offspring through the social mechanisms of inheritance (only through natural mechanisms, but these are beyond one's control). Representatives of higher social strata use individual resources to the same extent as do members of these social groups, but they are to a large extent intermixed with social resources (economic capital, institutionalized and objectified cultural capital, social capital) so as to not be conspicuous. Only once they are laid bare, separated from social resources, do individual resources become visible.

From the data presented in the table 1 we tried to discern the conditions under which their habituses had been formed:

Table 1.

Respondent no.	Respondent 5	Respondent 487	Respondent 501
Gender	female	female	male
Age	53	53	39
Place of birth	Village near Leskovac	Belgrade	Belgrade
Place of residence	Village near Leskovac	Zemun (Belgrade)	Belgrade
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	Belgrade	do not know
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	one of big ex-Yu cities	village in Serbia
Father's education	Incomplete elementary school	BA	do not know
Mother's education	Incomplete elementary school	Secondary vocational	elementary school
Father's occupation	non-qualified worker	expert	do not know
Mother's occupation	housewife	accountant	Non-qualified worker
Respondent no.	Respondent 533	Respondent 552	Respondent 713
Gender	female	female	male
Age	70	47	28
Place of birth	Small town in ex-Yu republics	village in Serbia	Vranje
Place of residence	Novi Sad	village near Bački Petrovac	Vranje
Nationality	Serbian	Slovakian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Evangelist	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	village in Serbia	Vranje
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	Village in Serbia	Vranje
Father's education	Incomplete elementary school	elementary school	Secondary vocational
Mother's education	did not go school	elementary school	college
Father's occupation	farmer	farmers	owner of a shop
Mother's occupation	farmer	farmers	housewife

What can be learned from the table 1 is that most of the respondent's parents either have elementary education or did not even finish the elementary school. And that most of them were farmers and unqualified workers. The exceptions to this rule are the parents of the respondents 487 and 713. What should also be noted is that the parents of four out of six were born in villages.

Respondent number 487 was born in Belgrade in 1958. Her father was born in Belgrade, got a university degree and had a number of expert occupations, while her mother was born in one of the larger cities of the former Yugoslavia, completed secondary economic school and worked as an accountant. Her parents divorced while she was very young, so that she grew up with her mother and an older brother. She finished a vocational secondary school (food processing) and began studying agriculture, but her mother fell ill and retired, so that the respondent had to leave her studies and begin working. As has already been mentioned, she found employment in the company in which her mother had worked, first working as a cleaner, later being transferred to the accounting department. She lost her job five years ago and as her husband has also been unemployed for the past six years, they live in a six-member household (they have four adult children) with a monthly income below 15,000 dinars (150 EUR).

Asked how they manage to survive with hardly any income, she emphasizes that she is not sure herself and that, for example, that very same day, the day of the interview, their power was to be shut off.

My husband has been collecting papers for social assistance, we need a ton of papers... for nothing, we'll see whether we are going to get it. I feel terrible because our little daughter should start school, she needs books, everything has to be paid, and we don't have money. However, she is a good pupil, so she receives a little scholarship consisting of three thousand dinars – so she can buy something for herself – when she receives it. And sometimes when there is no money in the house she gives it to us – what else can she do – she can't even keep the scholarship for herself.

One of the problems is that they have no one to rely on, apart from their own strength. Their oldest son recently got a job working as security in a supermarket in Zemun, so they hope this will improve their house budget.

My parents are dead. My husband's father has also died, but his mother is a pensioner with a minimal family pension. We don't get anything from anyone... we have to rely on ourselves. I go and clean someone's flat and I earn a little... my husband also goes and does something, since he finished vocational school for electricians, he fixes something about electricity... And when I show up somewhere to apply for a job, they say "sorry, we haven't mentioned the age, but..." so I started to ask about the age limit when I apply for a job... I laughed recently... I called for a job, and I asked about the age limit, and he says "we don't have an age limit but I guess that you're not older than fifty" and I told him "I haven't reached a hundred, but I am close..."

What should be mentioned is that despite this terribly difficult situation, they have managed to put four children through school. Their eldest son has a tertiary diploma in mechanical engineering, their second son finished vocational mechanical school and tried to enroll in a BA in Archaeology, their third son is studying management at a private faculty, which he pays for himself (as a result, he is currently taking a break, as he has no money), while their daughter is in her third year of vocational tourism school (where she receives a stipend as a good student).

I didn't have much time to help them, but I was lucky in that, the three of them, they are one year apart each, so they mostly did everything on their own, studied, worked... Ofcourse, first grade, until they were able to learn what's what and how things are done, I was there, and later they watched one another, copied, learned, worked and that's how it went for years. Later, they helped the girl, their knowledge was fresher than mine... everything that needed to be explained to her, they worked with her.

Respondent 501 was born in Belgrade in 1971. He never met his father, his mother worked as an unqualified worker. He finished secondary vocational electrical school and works as a qualified worker. He used to actively play soccer, but after a bad car accident, he had to give up his sports career. He is not married and lives alone in a small apartment which he owns with a monthly income of between 15000 and 30000 dinars (150 – 300 EUR)

As for family and everything, as they say, I've been making my own way all my life – I have no father, my mother was deaf. I got my schooling for life this way, through friends, on the street, through neighbors, and so on... I listened to any advice I got, but I steered my own course and that's what I'm doing even now

He hopes to marry and have children and we have already quoted him saying his goal is to provide opportunities for his children to get an education. Probably because he was actively involved in soccer, he names the Beckhams as an example of a good marriage.

The woman pulls a lot, the best example according to me are David Beckham and Victoria... she opens up goals and directions, so I hope that could change my life as well...

Respondent number 5 is a homemaker from a village near Leskovac. Her father and mother were born in a village and they began but did not finish elementary school. Her father was an unqualified worker, her mother a homemaker. She herself is a homemaker. She only completed elementary school. Her husband finished a voca-

tional secondary school and works as a driver. They have two daughters, they live in their own home of 75 meters square and their monthly income is between 15000 and 30000 dinars (150 – 300 EUR). Her basic experience is that, apart from themselves, they have no one else to rely on:

I am a housewife and I needed no help with the children. And my parents died very early, my husband's parents were there but they didn't have much time to help. There was no financial help. We built a house in the time when one could do something, so we manage somehow

Respondent 713 is a young man from Vranje, born in 1983. He has a gymnasium diploma and has been looking for work for the past nine years without success. His parents are from Vranje, his father owns a store, his mother is a homemaker. They live in a family home of 130 m², in a six-member household, with a monthly income between 50000 and 100000 dinars (500 EUR - 1000 EUR).

He occasionally helps his father in the store, but we have seen that he assesses his chances of finding work with a gymnasium diploma as being very small under circumstances in which employment depends either on connections or the ability to bribe someone.

To tell you the truth, I've lost all desire to try and to elbow my way... I don't know anyone... if I did by now I'd have a job and a home of my own and everything.

As mentioned, individualistic reactive strategies are based on the use of one's own, above all, natural resources. These respondents are either unemployed or have been laid off or they are working in dead end jobs. Their friends and partners are from their environment and they show no desire to associate with members of the upper classes. Women give precedence to men and they are traditionally socialized in terms of gender roles.

What is a shared feature of these respondents is that they were all “thrust” out into the labor market early on. As their families had available a very low volume of economic capital, the expectation was for them to begin earning as soon as possible, so that no one motivated them to study.

Although they recognize the importance of education in general, they do not place a proportionate value on the significance of knowledge and education in their own lives.

In the analysis we have also come across respondents who possess considerable cultural capital which has been inherited, but due to unfavorable circumstances (parents' divorce) they were left without social and economic capital, so that this

cultural capital (which was not a formal education, but the ownership of a library, habits, tastes) was not of much help in everyday life.

This group of respondents represent themselves as satisfied with their local environment and they have no desire to change it. They clearly recognize the boundaries of their position in relation to THOSE OTHERS (US workers, US the poor, THEY newcomers, THEY tycoons, THEY politicians).

COLLECTIVISTIC REACTIVE STRATEGIES

Collectivistic reactive strategies are typical of individuals/families which have an average level of capital, and who face life's everyday challenges relying mainly on social capital of solidarity (help from parents, siblings, cousins, *kumovi*², neighbors, people from the same region...). These social networks are based on primary social contacts and they are not used strategically to maintain and generate power, but in order to deflect some of "destiny's attacks". They explain their own position in society as a product of the lesser power of their own social networks (own social capital) in relation to the social networks of others (whose "connections" are stronger) and their own morality which does not allow them to use means which others (who occupy higher social positions) use. This approach would on the continuum from strategy to tactics also be closer to the tactics pole.

This type of strategy in our sample is a feature of respondents number 236, 366, 388, 425, 469, 517, 694 and 716.

From data in Table 2 we attempted to read the conditions under which the habits of respondents whose strategies we determined to be collectivistically reactive were formed.

² godfathers/godsons

Table 2.

Respondent no.	Respondent 236	Respondent 366	Respondent 388
Gender	female	female	male
Age	39	49	54
Place of birth	Pančevo	Subotica	small town in ex-Yu
Place of residence	Pančevo	Subotica	Novi Sad
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Catholic	Orthodox	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	Subotica	village in Serbia
Mother's birthplace	small town in Serbia	Subotica	small town in ex-Yu
Father's education	elementary school	Secondary vocational	college
Mother's education	Second. vocational school	Secondary vocational	secondary vocational
Father's occupation	non-qualified worker	Qualified workers	military officer
Mother's occupation	non-qualified worker	Qualified workers	accountant
Respondent no.	Respondent 435	Respondent 469	Respondent 517
Gender	male	female	female
Age	57	60	48
Place of birth	Belgrade	village in Serbia	Novi Sad
Place of residence	Belgrade	Belgrade	Novi Sad
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	village in Serbia	town in Serbia
Mother's birthplace	village in ex-Yu	Village in Serbia	town in Serbia
Father's education	secondary vocational	Secondary vocational	college
Mother's education	secondary vocational	Incomplete elementary school	faculty
Father's occupation	qualified worker	policeman	CEO
Mother's occupation	construction technician	housewife	department manager
Respondent no.	Respondent 694	Respondent 716	
Gender	female	male	
Age	49	30	
Place of birth	Niš	Vranje	
Place of residence	Niš	Vranje	
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox	
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	Vranje	
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	Vranje	
Father's education	secondary vocational	secondary vocational	
Mother's education	elementary school	secondary vocational	
Father's occupation	Small entrepreneur	artist	
Mother's occupation	housewife	housewife	

The dominant type of education of these respondents' parents is secondary vocational education. In terms of occupation, among the parents there are both qualified workers and clerks (police officers and army officers of the lower ranks) and unqualified workers, small entrepreneurs and artists. The exception is respondent 517 whose father completed university and used to be a manager in a large state-owned company, while his mother completed a higher education diploma and was a departmental head in a public institution. What is characteristic of these respondents is that, although their parents were mostly born in villages, the respondents were born and grew up in towns.

Respondent 425 was born in Belgrade in 1954. Both his parents were born in a village, finished secondary vocational schools and worked as qualified workers. He finished gymnasium, started to study at university, worked at a number of jobs, and today works as a taxi driver. His wife finished vocational secondary school and works as a construction technician. They live in a five-member household (they have three children) in their own apartment (75 m²) with a monthly income between 50000 and 100000 dinars (500 – 1000 EUR).

Probably the key characteristic of the interview he gave was the frequent mentioning of friends and acquaintances on whom he can count in situations when he might need to.

I used to work in the city hospital on Zvezdara and whenever I need something, I go there... Wherever I worked, I thought of it as a second home and now I believe I have the right to show up when I need something...

Respondent number 694 was born in Niš in 1962. Her father and mother were born in villages in Serbia. Her father finished a vocational secondary school and had his own business, her mother was a homemaker with an elementary education. The respondent finished a vocational secondary school and works as an administrative worker. She used to be married and has two daughters, but is now divorced. Her children finished secondary art school (which she had wanted to study) and are now in Italy, where they occasionally work and study.

During the marriage they had a lot of help from their parents:

During our marriage, we had help from our parents non-stop, otherwise I don't know how we would have survived... My parents gave us money, his parents gave us food... my father had his own business, so he gave us money, his parents live in a village, so they brought us goods

Her job makes it possible for her to meet a large number of people with whom she exchanges services, she is proud to have grown up in a city and acquired a large number of acquaintances this way:

Maybe there are these parvenus, who don't have any friends, who have recently become well-off, who don't know anyone... I grew up in this city, I know people who have made it everywhere, we have known each other since we were kids... and my father knows his father.... And now someone came from a village and became filthy rich at the time of inflation in 1990s, they don't have that... They are unidentified people and they ID with the money, and I don't have to ID, it is known that I've been here since I was a little child.

Respondent 366 was also born in 1962, in Subotica, as were her parents. Her parents both had vocational secondary education and worked as highly qualified workers. The respondent finished a hairdressing course, but works as a salesperson in a supermarket. She was married, now she is divorced. She has a son who currently works abroad. She lives in an apartment of 65 square meters, which she owns, with a monthly income between 30000 and 50000 dinars (300 EUR - 500 EUR).

When asked who turns to her for help, she responded that people turn to her for help all the time. Frequently it's relatives who need help, sometimes *kumovi*, neighbors, friends from her part of town, friends from school and colleagues from work. She found her jobs through friends and acquaintances.

You know what, you always have to have some connection. But all right, I had this connection, but it was a recommendation. A colleague is working, there's an empty spot, she recommends me to the manager, then they hire me. I really never had, never an opportunity for someone to ask for... maybe I did, but I didn't read between the lines, so I didn't do it. And I myself never even thought that I should... And I would never give, but not because I'm stingy, but simply because this goes against my principles. Absolutely, every one of my colleagues who got me a job I took out for a drink, bought something for the child and paid them back for getting me hired that way, but as for me thinking about giving someone money... never.

She also is proud of her urban pedigree and is hurt by the fact that "newcomers" get the upper hand in the environment in which she has lived her whole life.

How many fantastic children of ours have finished university and they have no jobs. Exceptional experts... exceptionally cultured people, and then someone not from around here shows up, he's a refugee, yes, it's not that I don't sympathize, but he gets the job, he gets the apartment, he's living life, looking down on me, I grew up here on these streets. I'm a city child, excuse me for making a point of it now... and I'm in the situation now to be someone's servant or slave and to depend on someone, that is, for someone who lacks culture to determine my destiny for me, someone who has no education, someone who was lucky to get to that position with, with... a trade... and now I'm supposed to see some kind of authority in him, I try, but for me that's torture, there, that's why, for example, I quit working now

Respondent 716 was born in Vranje in 1981, as were his parents who completed secondary school in the same city. His father was a musician, his mother a homemaker. The respondent finished a vocational secondary school and had a large number of different jobs since then, which he always found through friends. He currently works at a local radio station, likewise owned by a friend.

My first job was roasting coffee, that was owned by a relative, then I fixed parquet floors, a friend called me to do that... I didn't have any jobs in state companies, always it was privately owned businesses... and mainly with friends and acquaintances.

He lives with his wife in an apartment of 45 m² which they own together with a car valued at around 4000 EUR. Their monthly income is between 30000 and 50000 dinars (300 – 500 EUR). His parents and his wife's parents constantly help them – especially financially:

Both for buying the car and for buying the apartment, we had help from both families, we could hardly have done it otherwise...

The collectivistic reactive strategy brings reliance on social networks in all spheres of life. Members of these networks are not the most influential in their own environments, but they can help with hiring, treatment in state hospitals (in the sense of receiving better service, not waiting) or in providing services in other public institutions. Friends from work, theirs or their partners, help them with resolving life's problems, just as they help them. These ties function without financial giving and are based on the exchange of immaterial services. Parents and relatives are here an important factor in solving all of life's questions and this type of social support can be considered a constant of Serbian society. Support from relatives is in this "model of strategy" more pronounced than in any other.

As for their attitude towards education, in this group, at least declaratively, education is very important and they all strongly support the education of their children. The respondent who says of himself that he did not want to finish university, because he is turned towards money, emphasizes with pride that his daughter is a student. The respondent who is a nurse, retired, also says with pride "My daughter has finished, pedagogy, university. My son sociology and anthropology. She works for a Slovenian company, he works at the Faculty of Philosophy". Although they do not believe themselves to be competent enough to direct their children, they give them full support for their education, even when they know an education will not bring them lots of money.

Marriage is, at least in the domain of self-presentation, not considered a "strategic move". For oneself, nor for one's children. When relationships or marriage are spoken

of, what is emphasized is love and compatibility of characters: “The ideal partner for my children is someone who loves and respects them, everything else will come on its own”. Or, they believe that the success of a marriage depends on lucky circumstances: “I don’t interfere in my daughter’s relationships, it’s a lottery”. Respondents mainly talk of the psychological compatibility as an advantage for marriage.

Although women in all groups are veiled with the syntagm “I got pregnant and my child is most important to me”, in this group this approach is most prominent. “The child comes first” is a socially desirable attitude towards children in Serbia, conditioned by cultural and even religious factors, so it is likely that any other response by a woman would be met with disapproval.

Finally, let us point out that in this group the syntagm “say one thing, do another” is possibly most clearly present. In many cases, they rely only on their CV, but a friend helped them. They are alone in their struggle, but they count on their parents. Her brother and sister got jobs through connections, but she didn’t. The difference between self-representation and actual practices is clearly noticeable in their interviews.

INDIVIDUALISTIC ACTIVE STRATEGIES

Individualistic active strategies characterize individuals/families who have above-average overall volume of capital and especially who possess considerable cultural capital in its institutionalized form (education). They place emphasis on formal and informal education and constant work on acquiring new knowledge. A second important element is an active orientation towards securing work, improving living conditions, which are felt to be something prone to change in relation to one’s own activities. Here we can speak of the building of business and life careers, with actors relying on their own strengths in the process – knowledge and their own activity. For these individuals it is characteristic that they favor a meritocratic approach and stand opposed to the use of political social capital (interest networks, connections, acquaintances) in the acquisition of social standing. On the continuum between strategies and tactics, this approach is closer to the pole of strategies.

This type of strategy in our sample is exemplified by respondents number 20, 376, 395, 414, 444, 466, 477, 576, 582, 684 and 699.

As in previous cases, we attempted to gain insight from Table 3 into the conditions of habitus formation among respondents whose strategies we determined to be individualistically active.

Table 3.

Respondent no.	Respondent 20	Respondent 376	Respondent 395
Gender	female	female	female
Age	71	30	26
Place of birth	Leskovac	Subotica	Kruševac
Place of residence	Leskovac	Subotica	Belgrade
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox	atheist
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	Subotica	Kruševac
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	Town in Serbia	village in Serbia
Father's education	faculty (BA)	Secondary vocational	college
Mother's education	elementary school	Faculty (BA)	secondary vocational
Father's occupation	CEO	Construction technician	engineer
Mother's occupation	housewife	Department manager	salesperson
Respondent no.	Respondent 414	Respondent 444	Respondent 466
Gender	female	male	female
Age	58	25	53
Place of birth	town in Serbia	Belgrade	Belgrade
Place of residence	Belgrade	Belgrade	Belgrade
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	Town in Serbia	city in ex-Yu republics	village in Serbia
Mother's birthplace	Town in Serbia	big city abroad	village in Serbia
Father's education	Faculty (BA)	college	secondary vocational
Mother's education	secondary vocational	college	secondary vocational
Father's occupation	banker	lawyer	qualified worker
Mother's occupation	clerk	economist	housewife
Respondent no.	Respondent 477	Respondent 576	Respondent 582
Gender	female	male	male
Age	29	30	23
Place of birth	Novi Sad	Užice	Belgrade
Place of residence	Novi Sad	Belgrade	Belgrade
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	atheist	orthodox
Father's birthplace	village in Serbia	Užice	Belgrade
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	Užice	Belgrade
Father's education	secondary vocational	secondary vocational	Faculty (BA)
Mother's education	secondary vocational	secondary vocational	Faculty (BA)
Father's occupation	qualified worker	construction technician	engineer
Mother's occupation	clerk	construction technician	housewife

Respondent no.	Respondent 684	Respondent 699
Gender	male	female
Age	22	47
Place of birth	Niš	Niš
Place of residence	Niš	Niš
Nationality	Serbian	Serbian
Confession	Orthodox	Orthodox
Father's birthplace	Niš	small town in Serbia
Mother's birthplace	village in Serbia	small town in Serbia
Father's education	Faculty (BA)	Faculty (BA)
Mother's education	Faculty (BA)	Secondary vocational school
Father's occupation	physician	no data
Mother's occupation	physician	no data

In the majority of cases, respondents who epitomize individualistic active strategies, at least one of the parents completed some form of higher education (university or other). Likewise, for the first time, among the parents of these respondents occupations appear such as bankers, lawyers, physicians, engineers. In three cases (respondents 466, 477 and 576), both parents completed secondary vocational schools and were employed as qualified workers. Without exception, all these respondents were born and grew up in cities, and it is also interesting to mention that only in this group did two respondents declare themselves to be atheists.

Respondent 576 was born in Užice, as were his parents, in 1981. His parents had a vocational secondary education and worked as metallurgy technicians. He first finished vocational electrotechnological school in Užice, then got a degree in psychology in Niš. For a time he worked in a public opinion research agency, but he left, dissatisfied with the work. For a while he volunteered at a safe house, from which he moved on to the University in Kosovska Mitrovica. This was occasion for him to enroll in graduate studies at the University of Belgrade. As of last year, he has been working at a scientific institute in Belgrade, he is also engaged at a private faculty in Belgrade.

For each of his jobs he had a recommendation, but these did not come from friends, but from people he had worked with.

That definitely is a favor, I see it that way... but it is interesting that these are not my friends... these are more acquaintances and colleagues and then, little by little, I have to admit, I was glad of it, because [expletive] if he recommends me then probably he thinks that what I do is OK, that I have some knowledge...

Respondent 582 is from Zemun. He was born in 1988. His parents both have university degrees, but his father works in a gambling establishment, his mother is a homemaker. They live in a rented apartment of 55 square meters, with a monthly income of between 50000 and 100000 dinars (500 EUR – 1000 EUR). The respondent studies Czech language and literature and plans on enrolling in a Master's degree abroad.

My father has a degree in agriculture, but he works in a gambling establishment, since he cannot find work, and my mother has a degree in molecular biology and biochemistry and she works at home, cooks, washes... My father used to work in PKB, then for a private business, then in those hardest days in the 1990s he really did all sorts of things – sold toilet paper, worked in a car parts shop, he wasn't ashamed to do anything to feed us, now a friend got him this job in the gambling establishment, he has a good wage, it's nice for him there since he doesn't work at a booth, he works in management... My aunt helps us, she's a professor at the higher school of medicine, she has a nice income in our terms and she helps us when we can't pay bills... My plans are to enroll in a Master's degree if I can and to run away from here... to leave the country of Serbia... to go to the Czech Republic, Austria, just so long as I'm not here...

Respondent number 395 was born in Kruševac in 1985, her parents were also born in the same town, but she lives in Belgrade, where she is studying Art history. She plans to do a Master's degree, but she also plans to change her stream as she isn't particularly happy with the way the Art history department is organized. She is a member of an activist art group in Belgrade. She is not married and she lives alone, in a rented apartment of 40 square meters, with a monthly income between 15000 and 30000 dinars.

First I worked through the Youth exchange, then I worked in the gallery of the Graphics collective, a friend recommended me. I volunteered in the Museum of Contemporary Art, so I gained some knowledge there as well. I currently work in a hostel because I have to make some money, what my parents can send me is not enough...

Respondent number 414 was born in Belgrade in 1953. Her father was a banker and she also got an economics degree and worked as a manager of the export section of a large state-owned company. After the company went under, she got work in her brother's company. She is married and her husband is a mechanical engineer. They live in a three-member household with a monthly income between 50000 and 100000 dinars (500 EUR – 1000 EUR) in an apartment of 70 square meters which they own. They own a car valued at around 5000 EUR. They have an adult daughter who has a degree in philology and works in Telenor's call center.

I was always interested in foreign trade because I spoke foreign languages: English and French and in addition I had studied Russian in elementary school... and that was a great challenge for me. I advanced from a trainee all the way to the manager of foreign trade.

Respondent number 20 was born in Leskovac in 1939. Her parents were born in a village. Her father had a university degree, her mother had only elementary education and was a homemaker. The respondent finished economics secondary vocational school and worked as an accountant. While she worked she also got a diploma in economics and she is currently retired. She was married, now she is widowed. Her son got a degree in economics in Belgrade, worked in Komercijalna banka and lost his job in 2000. He tried to find work without success for six years, then died in 2006, leaving two sons. She currently lives alone in an apartment which she has not bought, 40 meters square, with an average monthly income of 15000 to 30000 dinars (150 EUR – 300 EUR)

I started working right away, one month after I finished secondary school. I did the statistics, but I also did secretarial work. Later I moved to accounting, I got a diploma in economics from Belgrade while I was working, so I was chief accountant. I was respected both by my colleagues and by the management and by the workers... I was active everywhere... A member of the Communist Alliance, I'm proud of that...

Those who are led in life by the strategy we have termed individually active, work on their formal and informal education, choose jobs which suit them, do not balk at changing jobs and acquire an education in another field or at a higher level which leads them to their goal. They find work through recommendations. They choose physicians based on their expertise. Their friends are mainly highly educated as they are, although in the course of the interview they do not emphasize this as important. This life style is present while studying, later at work, and even in retirement with some. Lack of economic capital (for students) does not necessarily have to present an obstacle in achieving their goals, they see their chance in formal education and some of them have succeeded in using education as a channel of social mobility. The retired do not change their active approach to life, despite the fact that retirement means a decrease in available economic capital. In this type of life strategy differences in age as well as gender become negligible. In relation to their groups, these respondents have a practical take on life – things were not brought by fate or God, they are the result of their own actions which are based on realistic assessment.

As we have already indicated, among the respondents selected there were no representatives of dominant groups in Serbian society, hence we could not expect to find any collectivistic active strategies which characterize this group. Our assumption is that collectivistic active strategies will be characteristic of individuals/families who have above average overall volume of capital, but who in their activities primarily rely on political social capital – interest-oriented social networks the basic function of which is the generation and maintenance of power. We also hypothesize that strategic approach to using social capital is characteristic of these individuals/families in the building of their own careers (membership in political parties, professional associations, social clubs – such as the Rotary Club or membership in informal clans in the workplace and in public life). For these agents, social life is seen as something that can be changed by one's own actions, and one's own behavior is justified by the structure of Serbian society, in which only through one's own effort and work (without the assistance of political connections, clan support...) nothing can be achieved. This way of acting would also be closer to the pole of life strategies.

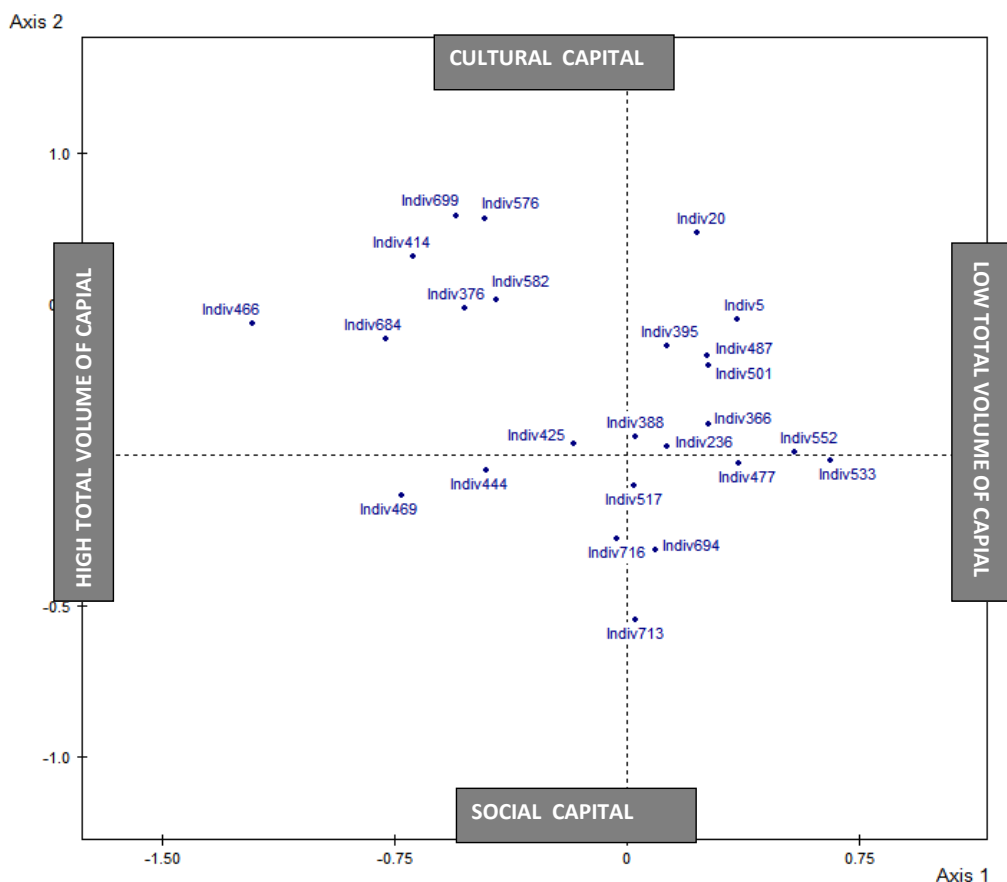
STRATEGIES IN SOCIAL SPACE AND CULTURAL MAP OF SERBIA

The final step in our text relates to the identification of the spatial distribution of respondents - about whom we established that they belong to particular types of strategies - in the social space and in the cultural map of Serbia. What can be noted is that most of the respondents we have listed as having individualistic reactive strategies (respondents no. 5, 487, 501, 533, 552 and 713) are located on the map of social space of Serbia (map 3) near the pole which is characterized by a low overall volume of capital. One exception is respondent 713 from Vranje, whose large family home and solid income from his father's store, move his location in social space towards the regions with more significant volume of capital. The reasons for this are primarily that, considering that this respondent is without income or possessions, his position on the map is recorded mainly based on the position of his parents. The domination of the current circumstances (ownership of a low total level of capital) over habitus should be noticed in the example of the respondent 487, who was born into initially well-off family. The traces of the inherited cultural capital could be seen in her position in the cultural map of Serbia, refined taste and the number of books in her home library, as well as in the fact that she managed to put through school all four of her children, despite the terrifying poverty in which she lives

Respondents who are characterized by collectivistic reactive strategies (respondents no. 236, 366, 388, 425, 469, 517, 694 and 716) are concentrated in the center of the map. They are characterized by an average overall volume of capital, although there are noticeable differences among them in relation to both volume of capital but also the types of capital they have available, while corresponding differences in practices were not noticeable to us.

In this group the exception is respondent 517, whose parents are highly educated and whose father was a manager, while her mother was a departmental manager in a public institution. The respondent completed a higher education economics diploma and works as an accountant, but she does not show any interest in participation in cultural activities, hence on the cultural map of Serbia she is grouped together with respondents who have not completed elementary school.

Map 3.

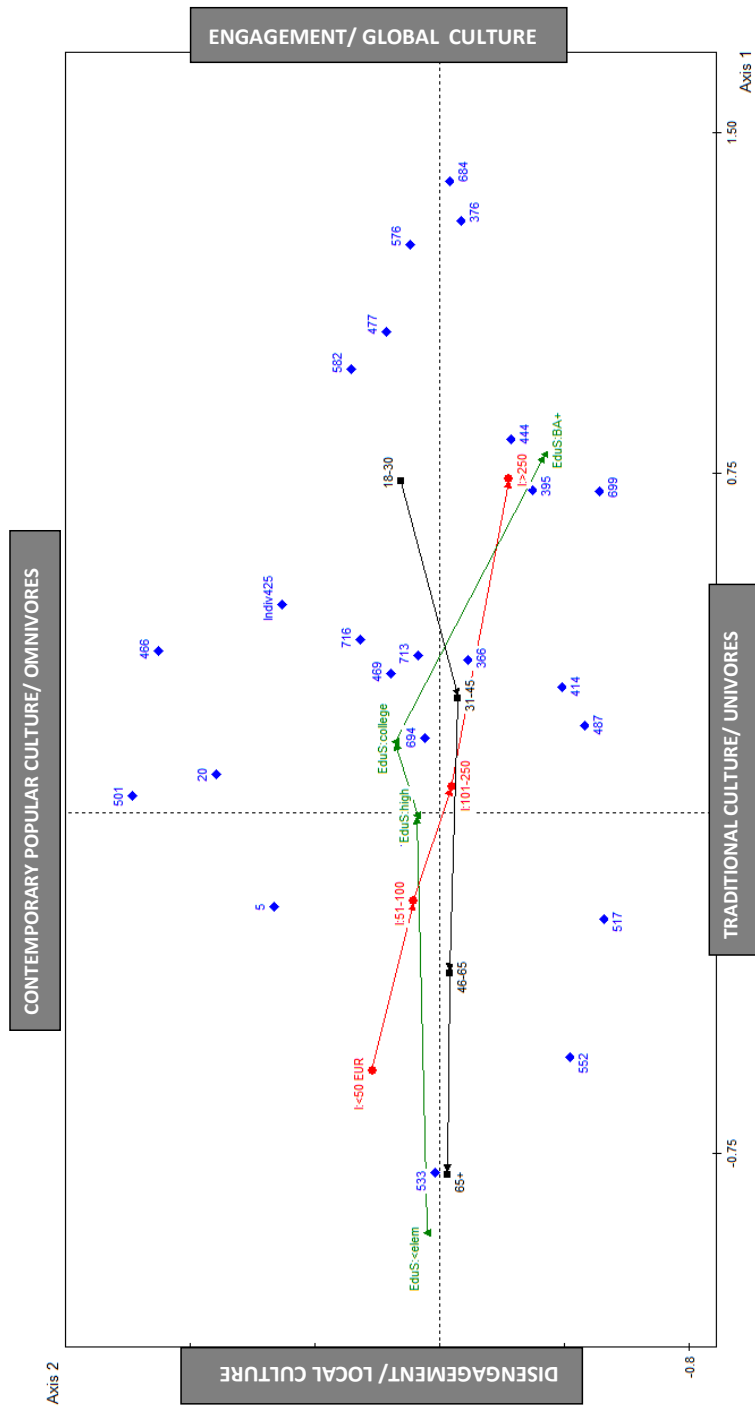


The third group are respondents (no. 20, 376, 395, 414, 444, 466, 477, 576, 582, 684 and 699) whom we have identified as having practices belonging to the group of individualistic active strategies. They are mostly located in the upper left corner of the map – in the region of social space which is defined by large overall volume of capital and a more significant presence of cultural capital.

The exceptions among those who represent this type of strategies are most notable. Differences extend in three main directions. On the one hand, there are respondents for whom habitus dominates their current situation. For example, respondent 20 (a former chief accountant in a textile factory, now a retiree from Leskovac) is one of the poorest, yet also one of the most active respondents. On the other hand, respondents 466 and 587 come from working class families, but they are the best examples of self-made men/women. Although their parents completed secondary vocational schools, respondent 466 completed an MA while working, while respondent 587 is studying towards a PhD and working at a faculty in Belgrade. They ensured their current position in social space on the basis of their own activity. Thirdly, there are respondents for whom it is not possible to establish a connection between their habitus, resources they currently have available and their activist strategies. For example, respondent 395 (a student on the final year of an Art History degree), is neither in terms of her income, nor in terms of her social capital, nor in terms of her current academic achievements, among those who have large volume of capital. Yet, it is a fact that she is financially looking out for herself, that she is questioning the well-trodden paths of education, that she was ready to volunteer in a large number of positions, as well as her engagement in an activist art group clearly position her practices on the active side. Likewise, respondent 444, according to her location in the middle of the map, might be considered a better representative of collectivistic reactive strategies than of those who rely on their individual abilities in the active shaping of their own destiny. Finally, respondent 477 is in social space among those with the lowest overall volume of capital. But her activity in terms of looking for work, readiness to follow her husband, who used to work on Malta, to Slovenia, as well as her love of music, clearly position her attitude towards life among the active strategies. It is difficult to assess what the reasons for these “deviations” might be. We are most comfortable with the belief that these are simply irreducible individual characteristics.

When we consider the distribution of respondents on the cultural map of Serbia (map 4) we can also see certain regularities. On the right side of the map, where the pole of cultural engagement and pole of global culture are located we find respondents 376, 477, 576, 582 and 684. They all belong to the group of those whose strategies are marked as individualistically and active oriented. We should probably add to this

Map 4.



group respondents 395, 444 and 699, who are besides being close to the pole cultural engagement/global culture, also located in the vicinity of the pole of traditional culture/univores (on Axis 2).

On the right side of the cultural map of Serbia, we find respondents 5, 517, 533 and 552. This pole on the basic axis marks cultural disengagement and the pole of local culture. At the same time, these respondents all, except respondent 517, are marked as those whose practices belong to the group of individualistic reactive strategies.

Respondents 20, 425, 466 and 501 are close to the pole of contemporary popular culture/omnivore cultural practices (on Axis 2 of the cultural map of Serbia). They belong to different groups as far as identified strategies in social life are concerned. The remaining respondents are grouped around the center of the map and mainly belong to the group of respondents whose social practices are collectivistic reactive.

The results of the analyses of in-depth interviews are in general in keeping with our expectations which were based on the results of the quantitative study. It has been shown that the practices of the citizens of Serbia are not random, but are largely in line either with the circumstances in which respondents' habituses were formed or with the ownership of different combinations of resources, which can be identified by stratificational research. On the other hand, there was not enough material in the interviews for us to be able to list examples of relational conception of one type of social practice in relation to others. The remaining variations, inconsistencies, illogicalities in opposition to the model forwarded not only require further study, we think that they indicate irreducible individual characteristics, which one must factor into any study of social life.

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RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN TRANSITIONAL SERBIA

PROBLEM

Despite the predictions made by certain theorists, the secularization processes have had a limited effect in the greater part of the world, thus the desecularization, or revitalization of religion, is today present and manifested in various forms. Religion acquires a new social relevance (Habermas) and performs different functions in the modern society.

Such processes have not missed Serbia, where the relation between religion and society is somewhat more specific, since religion had an important function in structuring and legitimizing many conflicts in the previous period. Having in mind that peoples living in Serbia bear the “curse of small differences”, religion has played a role of a significant identifying marker that has separated them and highlighted the differences in situations when other identity indicators have failed to sufficiently emphasize the Us vs. Them division.

The process of retraditionalization – one of whose segments was the revitalization of religion through the return of religion onto the social scene and into private lives of Serbian citizens – was specific for the contemporary Serbian society in the previous period. Studies of religiosity on the territory of Serbia show the growth and intensification of religious practice in comparison to previous periods (Blagojević 2009). However, studies thus far also show that a high level of identification with the religious community is still present in Serbia, along with a significantly lower level of religiosity, and an extremely low level of religious practice (Blagojević 2009, 106; Zrinščak 2008, 34).

The focus in this text is on the specific use of religion as social capital. This function of religion in the modern Serbian society has not been the subject of analysis in sociological literature until now. If religious integration is observed as a traditional

form of social integration, a question is raised whether old forms of social capital are activated as a response to “social failure”, a great number of transitional losers, and weakness of social institutions. Social capital embodied in traditional networks of cooperation represents a substitute for state institutions which are weak (or do not function). On the other hand, a question is posed about the role of religion in the development of “moral density” of the civil society and whether it is possible to use religion in Serbia as this type of social capital. Analyses which connect these two phenomena point out that religion may indeed have the function of securing the integration of the modern society by developing the necessary humane character of the civil society, and teaching people to work for the general good. The Serbian society is multi-religious, and social capital functions within the confessions present in it. One should have in mind that the range of the use of religion as a source of social capital depends on the social teaching¹ of each of the present religious orientations. In such conditions, the use of religion for raising “collective awareness” of the social community can be limited to particular confessions and their internal cohesion.

Another important fact can contribute to better understanding of religion as a source of social capital in Serbia. Research shows that religious organizations, especially the Serbian Orthodox Church, are institutions which enjoy the highest level of trust from the citizens.² Thereat, Serbia is also trying to build a civil, secular society with a specific status of the SOC as traditional and informally most dominant.³

The research on this “type” of social capital in Serbia is relatively scarce. Such analyses of the role of religion in the construction of social capital were conducted in the case of Croatia and they can be used as the basis for comparison (Bahovec et al. 2007). The main questions discussed in this text are: Does the context of presence and functioning of religion in Serbia determine its use as a source of social capital? The influence of religion, as a source of social capital, is frequently associated with the development of the concept of democratic society in the contemporary literature within this field. Is it possible to talk about such use of religion in Serbia?

¹ Thus, for example in Orthodoxy, which is the dominant confession on the territory of Serbia, social teaching either lacks or is significantly less developed (see: Đorđević & Jovanović 2010), and that is reflected on the ability of the Orthodox to “generate” social capital.

² The research conducted in July 2010 on the territory of the Western Balkans showed that the military and church were the institutions most trusted in Serbia since 2008, however, the military took over the first place from the church in the last three years. The trust that the military enjoys increased from 63% to 77%, while at the same time the trust in church decreased from 75% to 66%. The church is followed by the police that enjoys the trust of 59,6% examinees in Serbia, while significantly lower numbers of citizens trust the media (41,6%), the judiciary (38%), and the government (33%). See *Gallup Balkan Monitor* research, pp. 32-3.

³ The 2006 Constitution did not mark the SOC as the only traditional community, enjoying a privileged position, but as sharing that status with six other, also traditional, religious communities.

The data analyzed in this text encompass 2008-2011, and comes from the following researches: “European Values Study” (Serbia 2008), “Cultural Practices of Citizens of Serbia” conducted by the Centre for Study in Cultural Development, “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” conducted by the Centre for Empirical Cultural Studies.

TWO CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: BOURDIEU VS. PUTNAM

Two concepts of defining and interpreting the concept of social capital have crystallized in the theory. According to Bourdieu, “Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu: 1986).

Fukuyama, Coleman, and Putnam (normativists)⁴ represent the other dominant theoretical direction which determines social capital as interiorized social networks, norms, and trust that allow for a spontaneous reliability in the society. Members of a social group interiorize rules and customs, therefore, gaining mutual trust in other members believing that they will respect the same rules of behaviour, which is the essence of the functioning of social capital (Fukuyama 1997; 35). Putnam determines social capital as a force which helps members of a community to achieve collective goals by working together. “Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arises from them” (Putnam 2000, 19). In his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* from 2000, Putnam talks about the decrease in the level of social capital in the US that causes loneliness and alienation. In his later works (*Better Together: Restoring the American Community*, with Lewis M. Feldstein, 2003), he discovers that the force needed to bring back the “moral density” to the modern American society lies precisely in the role of religion.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RELIGION

Putnam considers religion as a very important source of social capital. “Putnam (...) himself has recognized that faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America” (Smidt

⁴ A complex analysis of all these concepts and their points of convergence and divergence would take too much space, therefore, it is presented here in a completely simplified manner.

2003, 2). The relation between social capital and religion is highly complex. Religion can be treated as a segment of integration of the civil society, as one of the actors and organizations, yet it can also be considered as a “traditional way” of social connection when it acts at the level of state and politics (Zrinščak 2005, 82). It is hard to discern when one or the other function of religion is in action based only on the analysis of indicators. Following Casanova’s analyses of deprivatized religion, Croatian sociologist Zrinščak poses a question concerning the possibility of reconciling functional differentiation of modern society and deprivatized religion (Zrinščak 2005, 82). He concludes that the action of religion compatible with the functional differentiation as a modern structural trend is possible at the level of the civil society. Other authors also share such Casanova’s propositions in their texts where they analyze the role of religion as a source of social capital. “Religion is an important source of social capital in many modern societies. Religion as a body of beliefs, values and norms motivates believers to volunteer in community affairs to provide social services such as health care, soup kitchens, education, and helping the poor. Religion also provides a source of common identity to its followers and creates bonds between them. Obviously, religion is only one source of social capital or civic engagement, albeit an important one” (Ugur 2007, 154-5). In this case, religion is recognized as one form which acts among other forms of organization and encourages solidarity in the modern civil society. Furthermore, the importance of religion for social capital in cities is also emphasized. “Religion fosters community in a variety of other ways. Soup kitchens, clothing closets, mission projects are religious activities in support of community. Religious institutions also create and sustain local community development corporations, job training, youth programs, and daycare. In Greater Indianapolis there are countless connections between faith and community. Clearly, religion is an important source of social capital in this city” (Bodenhamer, 1996). Thus, religious organizations encourage volunteering for the general good on the one hand, while instigating altruism through socialization on the other. In his analyses, Putnam has Protestant communities in the US primarily in mind.

Norris and Inglehart analyze the connection between religiosity and social capital in an array of modern societies by analyzing data from the European Values Study. The general impression gained after the insight into the data and the analysis itself is that it is very hard to observe “a regularity in observed irregularities” (Inglehart & Norris 2007). The regularities determined in the analyses show that there is a correlation between attending religious service and volunteering for charity activities. The positive correlation is observed in Protestants, Hinduists, and Judaists, while the negative correlation is noticed only in Orthodox believers. Norris and Inglehart

conclude that belonging to religious organizations goes hand in hand with the engagement in community and democratic participation.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RELIGION IN SERBIA – DATA AND ATTEMPT AT INTERPRETATION

Serbia is very specific when it comes to the presence and functioning of religion. If one says that it is the case of a postsocialist society of “instructed atheism”, Eastern European, mainly Orthodox society, one still does not have all of the relevant data needed to enable a complex analysis of the “religious situation”. Some of the data which follows can contribute to producing a clearer picture.

The data obtained from our research shows that there are 86.7% of Orthodox examinees in the sample. The second largest group consists of Catholics (4.5%), then Muslims (3.1%), and atheists (1.9%). This distribution is mostly in line with the representation in general population.

Despite the high confessional identification (86.7% of examinees declare themselves as Orthodox against 2% of atheists), only 62.1% of examinees declare themselves as religious, while only 18.1% regularly visits religious buildings for prayers and rites. The analysis of data obtained from the World Values Survey (2002, 2005) and European Values Study (2008) research shows that this number of those people who declare themselves as belonging to any confession is stable and that it does not represent the current mood among the believers. All of these results confirm the findings of Blagojević and Zrinščak on the very low percentage of religious participation.

This ratio is much more balanced in Croatia (confessional identification 88.9%, those declared as religious 79.9%, visiting religious buildings for prayers and rites 52.8%), while the situation is somewhat similar to that in Bulgaria (confessional identification 70.0%, those declared as religious 46.7%, visiting religious buildings for prayers and rites 20.2%) (Zrinščak 2008, 33). If similarities and differences are observed, it can be seen that this is the case of postsocialist societies, and the mutual denominator for Bulgaria and Serbia is Orthodoxy.

If we return to the data from our research, we can see that 80% of examinees regularly celebrate religious holidays, while only 8% participates in charity activities of a religious community. Regularly or frequently: 7.5% reads religious literature, 16% fasts, and 17.3% prays.

We could draw a rough conclusion that the presence of traditional religiosity can be clearly seen, even over a small number of indicators, which is characterized by confessional identification connected to ethnic identity and celebration of religious

holidays (where Patron Saint's days are also important), as well as more significant days in one's life, such as weddings, infant baptisms or burials of the deceased.

To make the picture complete, the data that only 17.5% of examinees consider religion important in their lives should be added. The family is in the first place, then comes the job, followed by friends and acquaintances, entertainment, *religion*, politics.

When we look at the data on self-identification, only 1.3% of examinees choose religious identity as the primary identification marker when other identification options are available, for 6.9% of examinees it is the second most important source of identification, while 9.1% of examinees consider religion as the third most important source of identification (after the first two which they consider more important). This data can be interpreted as an indicator of the relatively rare "use" of religious orientation as the first source of personal identity in the situation where this type of identification is observed in the context of other identity options. Religious identification is not one of the most important sources of personal identification in Serbia.

The data on the network of friends that our examinees have shows that in 90% of cases the first, second and third friend belong to the same confession. This means that confessions are mostly closed when it comes to making friendships.

Our examinees testify that people ask them for help all the time in 22% of cases, while occasionally in 52% of cases, but these are the people who are members of their religious community in 2.7% of cases, occasionally in 8.2% of cases. Such data is confirmed by the research of the Centre for Study in Cultural Development and the CECS research. This shows that there is no practice of offering and asking for help when in trouble between members of the same religious group, primarily within the Orthodox community (for which valid conclusions can only be drawn due to the number of examinees). Most frequently it is the friends from their neighbourhoods, neighbours, relatives, and colleagues from work who ask for their help. In the focus group interviews, examinees also emphasize how they most often turn to their friends and relatives when they have problems. Even though the Orthodox are the most numerous group, when we look at other confessions with the percentage of people asking for help in mind, we can see that Protestants are in front, followed by Muslims.

Only 11.2% of people think that they can rely on three members of their own religious community, 6.7% on two, a 1% on ten. It is also interesting that 30.6% of examinees believe that they cannot rely on any one member of their religious community, while 55% of examinees do not even consider asking someone who belongs to the same religious community for help. The connection in the sense of social networks of members of the Orthodox religious community is not specific for relationships within this group.

Special attention should be paid to the data which shows that only 8% of examinees claim that they participate in charity activities of their religious community. This type of activities is exactly what characterizes the practice of religious communities which function at the level of the civil society. When regular visits to temples for prayers and religious rites are related to charity activities, a certain connection between these parameters can be observed. Namely, with the decrease in the level of visits to religious buildings for prayers and rites, the participation in charity activities also decreases (Pearson Chi Square 1579.245, df 9, Sig.000). These findings confirm the connection that Norris and Inglehart point to. However, when it comes to Serbia, it should be noted that both of these parameters are very low.

Focus group interviews show that examinees do not recognize other people of the same religious orientation as similar to themselves in any case, but that they always take other characteristics into consideration, such as material status (class-layer belonging in the narrow sense) or personal traits. One of the cases even showed that someone who at one point started dealing with his or her own religiosity was ostracized from the group of friends! If we consider the data from European Values Study 2008, where only 3.2% of examinees mentioned that they belonged to a religious community when choosing between various types of organizations, a picture of networks that can be established in Serbia on the basis of religious orientation is quite clear. Thereat, only 21.2% of examinees think that religion helps them solve social problems, while spiritual problems (62%) and moral problems (43.1%) are the ones solved with the aid of religion. Even family problems are not solved from the viewpoint of religion to a great extent – 33.5%. Religion in Serbia (above all among the Orthodox) is rather understood as individual ethics and relationship with the higher power, than as a source of social teaching and legitimization of social behaviour, which is in accordance with the fluid social teaching of the SOC where this world is perceived as only a second-class phenomenon.

It is important to mention that the level of activity within the civil society / civil activism is also very low. Only 2.3% of examinees participate in associations which deal with various forms of social care, 4.4% in cultural activities, 5.7% in unions, 2.1% in local community actions, 1.1% in associations for the protection of human rights. The situation is similar with the participation in associations for environment protection, and women or peace movements. No less than 77% of examinees claim that they do not belong to any group or association. In such conditions, the premise about the connection of belonging to a religious community and some other civil association (Norris, Inglehart) does not hold in the Serbian case.

Neighbourhood is considered to be an important institution for accumulation of social capital. When asked who they would not want in their neighbourhoods, the examinees from Serbia single out criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts, mental patients, HIV-positive people, while confession does not belong to the most important markers. Even when it is the case of Muslims (having recent conflicts in mind), or Jews (occasional anti-Semitic messages), they do not occupy a high position on the list of unwanted neighbours.

What should definitely be taken into consideration when studying social capital within religious groups is the structure of the authority inside the religious organization. John A. Coleman says the following on that matter: "A crucial distinction to explain variance in religiosity and the generation of social capital lies in a differentiation between *horizontal* and *vertical* relations of religious authority. For example, some forms of religiosity, such as traditional Catholicism in Italy, remain intensely hierarchical in structure. They foster vertical relations (between bishops and priests and priests and people) of passivity and subordination. (...) Only horizontal authority structures, generally, seem to generate social capital" (Coleman 2003, 36-7). The relations between different level clergy, as well as between clergy and laity in the Serbian Orthodox Church are mostly those of subordination, where an exaggerated condescension is noticeable in religious people when it comes to "church matters". In that sense, there is no basis for creating social capital in the structure of the authority within the church.

Trust is one of the most important parameters of social capital, yet only 11.6% of examinees think that the majority of people in Serbia deserve their trust, while 86.2% of examinees believe that in Serbia one should "have eyes in the back of one's head". Such a low level of trust in other people is probably an indicator that religion does not enhance the feeling of altruism, bonding, and "moral density" in Serbia.

The data from the analyzed research implies a very limited use of religion as a source of social capital in Serbia. Our sample, guided by the structure of general population, offers the most comprehensive picture of Orthodox believers. Some other analysis, with its focus only on minor religious communities, would, perhaps, create a different picture of them. Even though religion is very present in various aspects on the social scene in Serbia, we cannot consider its functioning as a significant source of social capital. If we perceive the role of religion in the creation of social capital in Serbia as Bourdieu does, we can conclude that belonging to religious communities is not used as part of life strategies, that is, religion is expected to solve spiritual, and not social problems.

If, on the other hand, the basis of our analysis is Putnam's concept of social capital embodied in norms, networks, and trust, we can again observe that people in Serbia do not create networks on the basis of belonging to religious organizations, because

we do not count on members of the same religious community in difficult situations, neither do they count on us, even though we are limited by confession in our friendships. Focus group interviews in both Niš (dominantly Orthodox environment) and Novi Pazar (dominantly Muslim environment) show that friends are those we turn to in difficult situations. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that our closest friends belong to our confession, this may implicitly point to the existence of such relationships.

When we talk about Serbia, the first conspicuous impression is that religion at the “level of the civil society”, the aspect present in Western cities, does not support the community. Namely, “Serbian Orthodoxy” does not nurture such forms that are characterized by charity activities and volunteering, and which strengthen the collective awareness of members of a religious community for the general good.

The basic communication within the Orthodox religious community is maintained by visits to Patron Saint’s days and birth, wedding or death rites, which once again points to the “four rite believers”.

The everyday presence of religion in events on the public stage in Serbia belongs to the area of state and politics (Casanova).

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SOCIAL CLASSIFICATIONS IN SERBIA TODAY BETWEEN MORALITY AND POLITICS

STUDYING SOCIAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The study of classification systems social actors use when interpreting social reality and organizing communal life has a long history in sociology. Durkheim's studies of "primitive classification", arguing that patterns of categorization reflect the structure of social groups and reveal the logic of relations within them, stand at its beginning (Durkheim and Mauss 1963; Durkheim 1965).

With his book *Distinction* (1979), Pierre Bourdieu refocused academic attention on the place of classification systems in the constitution of social reality. The Bourdieuan view of society rests on a number of assumptions: society is differentiated along several lines – class, gender, geographic, religious, generational, etc., hence social divisions and hierarchies are multi-dimensional; relations between social groups, as well as between individuals belonging to them, are always relations of power; social relations are conflict-ridden at their core; social struggles are transferred from the space of objective relations between positions taken by individuals and groups into symbolic space, where "magical boundaries" between groups are drawn and their hierarchy established in ways, and through deployment of resources, specific for this particular space; a manifestation of symbolic struggles is precisely *classification struggles*. These involve, on one hand, efforts by collective and individual agents to fight out a higher relative value of the capital they themselves possess, and on the other, conflicts over which criteria of evaluation and ranking of people, capitals, and practices will be sovereign, that is, who (or what) will be established as *the* measure of things social. Contest over the classification system to be adopted in a society, or over the "definition of the legitimate principles of hierarchization" (Bourdieu 1979: 362), are part and parcel of ongoing social struggles. In Bourdieu's perspective, even class

struggle is subsumed under the more general category of struggles for classification, or for the very right to classify.

Bourdieu distinguishes two types of classification struggles. The first, taking place within daily life, proceed spontaneously and without a plan, and generally take a rather crude and personalized form, as quarrels, fights, incidents. They feature the language of insult – curses, gossip, ridicule. The second type of struggles unfold in a deliberate, premeditated fashion, in a public arena and in a more or less institutionalized framework. The protagonists articulate their objectives in a polished, formalized language which indicates that in this case the objective is more generalized – it is to impose a certain way of looking at social reality and of projecting desirable constructions of the latter (Bourdieu 1987: 159–160). A major stake in this type of struggles is the monopoly of official, authorized, and therefore legitimate naming and classifying. Individual and collective agents wielding this right control the “production of common sense” and are in a position to “impose as legitimate those principles of constructing social reality that best suit their social being” (Bourdieu 1997: 223). For this reason, the political field becomes the prime battleground for imposing the “dominant principle of domination”, that is, for installing a particular resource as the most highly valued.

Bourdieu does not presume that the perception, appreciation, evaluation and ranking of others, of their tastes, attitudes, and practices may stem from a normative framework. In his approach, moral principles figure neither as independent supports for social agents constructing their strategies of distinction, nor as stakes in classification struggles. In Bourdieuan terms, “morality” appears in two equally truncated forms. One, as a particularist “morality of interest” of a class or social stratum – an aspiration to legitimize the possession of the specific resource which is the distinctive advantage of that class (“necessity turned virtue”). And two, as the specific “interest of morality”, i.e. as part of the discursive practice of the “ascending petty bourgeoisie” (office clerks, middle-range managers) who, lacking substantial economic or cultural capital, seek to build their symbolic identity and justify status strivings through moral asceticism.

An earlier study of strategies of distinction in post-2000 Serbia (Spasić 2006a), based on interview data collected in 2001/02, suggested that in contemporary Serbian society *morality* plays a prominent role in self-identification, strategies of presentation, definition of Others, and classifications. This belied Bourdieuan insistence on cultural distinction or material wealth as primary bases of symbolic capital and boundary-making, but confirmed the main thrust of another well-known study in social classification – Michèle Lamont’s *Money, Morals, and Manners* (1992). In the Serbian case, however, some additional factors have intervened. Such enhanced “moralizing”

could partly be explained by radical structural transformation and sudden shifts in patterns of social reproduction, which forced ordinary people, in the absence of stable objective evaluative references, to found interpretations of a changed social reality on ethics. The second reason was found in specific political circumstances, such as the nature of Milošević's regime, wars, international isolation and economic sanctions, that resulted in a devaluation of previously held resources, particularly economic and cultural. For many citizens of Serbia personal moral integrity became a resource in the genuine sense of the word – something they sought to preserve, build up, invest in and make sacrifices for, and, not least, something they could control. Thus thanks to specific socioeconomic and political conditions, morality was upgraded into a major organizing principle of identity processes and strategies of distinction.

In the past ten years no research of this kind has been conducted. We decided to use the eight focus group interviews to identify discourses of status differentiation existing in Serbia today, gauge the degree of their clarity and consistence, reconstruct ways in which our participants saw, valued, and ranked themselves and others, as well as the criteria they used in this process. We started from the assumption that the existing discourses are shaped, on one hand, by individual and collective representations of the actual distribution of important resources in the current restructuring of Serbian society and, on the other, by certain moral principles. Hence our two main objectives: first, to analyze classification systems springing up in focus group discussions for the perceptions of the newly emerging structure of social relations; and second, to map normative reference points used in building representations of social reality. These objectives called for two competing but not mutually exclusive theoretical instruments – one is Bourdieu's sociology, whose aspects relevant for our topic have already been presented, and the other is Boltanski's sociology of critical capacity, and in particular the theoretical model of the "economies of worth" he developed with Laurent Thévenot.

For Bourdieu, as we have seen, classifications reflect agents' struggles over symbolic capital, i.e. for the recognition of value of what they "have" and, therefore, what they "are". Consequently, in a society there are as many competing criteria of worth and principles of hierarchizing people, objects, and practices as there are social groups. Visibility, "strength" and legitimacy of each system of classification depends on the "strength" of the social group concerned, i.e. on the position it occupies in the structure of society and its capacity to maintain or improve this position. Since in this perspective orders of value are a stake and result of struggles for symbolic and real power, they are mutually exclusive and do not allow for agreement among actors on which value ought to be dominant.

The sociology of Luc Boltanski (1990) arose precisely in opposition to Bourdieu, attempting to address the latter's shortcomings. Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) model of the economies of worth is based on the observation that there are several "orders of worth" actors rely on and refer to in particular situations. Most frequently, these are situations of confrontation and clash of opinions, which break the routine flow of activities and induce heightened reflexivity. In such moments actors activate the appropriate idea of "worth" and the corresponding principle of qualifying people and objects, in order to grasp what is going on (i.e. the situation they are involved in at the moment) from the perspective of what should be going on (the "typical situation", in Boltanski's terminology). The aim is to find a solution to the dispute and to reach agreement, following predefined rules and principles of just qualification valid for the "typical situation".

This principle presupposes, then, that orders of value, organized around a particular conception of justice, act as normative references of action. They guide actors to follow a conception of worth in their actions, and to appreciate the people involved in a situation from the aspect of "morality", that is, on the basis of how much they embody a given worth, rather than on the basis of their social background, social position, or power. Similarly, it is presumed that the opinions and discourse of social actors when criticizing other people's views and defending their own are shaped by moral principles and a sense of justice, universalizable by definition, rather than particular interests. "Worth" is thus defined as "the way one expresses, embodies, understands, or represents other people (according to modalities that depend on the world under consideration). Worth is thus associated with a capacity for expression in general terms" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006: 132).

For Boltanski and Thévenot, actors possess universal capacity for generalization and they manifest it most clearly when they are urged to judge and justify their appreciation of the relative worth of people and objects. In such situations they build their moral position and develop arguments for justification within the existing normative models or *polities*, theoretical modelizations of normative frameworks derived from a set of classical works in political philosophy. Initially (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006 [1991]), six polities and their corresponding worths were described: the inspired polity, whose constitutive worth is *grace*; domestic polity (*respect*), polity of fame (*reputation*), civic (*collective interest*), market (*price*), and industrial polity (*productivity, efficiency*). In a later work (Boltanski & Chiapello 1999) the emergence of the seventh one is announced – the "polity by project", in which *communication* and *networking* are promoted as new kinds of worth.

Boltanski and Thévenot argue that this philosophical heritage has become an integral part of competences of social actors. It is activated, when necessary, in the form of critical competence which always includes reference to a particular conception of the good. In addition, premises of these theoretical constructions of justice have been translated into “political forms of worth” and built into institutions and apparatuses, which provide real-world support to the actors’ competences.

Contrary to Bourdieu’s approach, the economies of worth model assumes readiness and ability of actors, when engaging in debate with others, to find a solution by reaching consensus about the value that will serve as the measure of worth of people involved, and to subject the attribution of value to the imperative of justification. Underlying this model is the view that actors in so-called “critical moments”, seeking agreement, rise above the constraint of momentary circumstances, as well as above the necessities that otherwise shape their life paths. Agreements that actors reach at such moments are, thus, legitimate – because they may be justified, and because they are universal, i.e. they rest on arguments and normative models that are part of common knowledge, familiar to all, and that all without exception may refer to. In other words, in this perspective agreements are taken seriously, as a confirmation that not all social relations may be discredited as masked relations of power or resulting from pursuit of class interests.¹

CLASSIFICATION WORK IN PRACTICE

Confronting our data, we first took up Bourdieuan “classification struggles” model, complemented with Lamont’s “boundary work”, to examine the ways in which lines separating social groups are drawn in today’s Serbia – what these boundaries are based on, how rigid they are; where our participants place themselves; and who is seen as the opponent, as the one “unlike us”, the “Other”.

The discussions provided a picture whose basic outline was remarkably consistent across focus groups. Its most salient common features concerned the types of social groups being rejected or accepted; how these classifications were justified; and, finally, the connection of social classifications with the assessment of the actual condition of Serbian society.

First, in terms of the negatively defined category of people – or social “Others” – the single most often cited group was *politicians*: in virtually every discussion, if any

¹ In this acknowledgement of a specific normative „surplus“ in human social life, irreducible to relations of power, Boltanski’s position converges with some other recent approaches such as Alexander’s (2006, 2007) culturalist take on social inequalities, and Dubet’s (2009) treatment of discourses of justice deployed by ordinary people. These studies have also inspired the present analysis.

social group was explicitly named as “Others”, it was this one. The terms used to describe politicians were rather extreme: they were said to be “parasites”, “spreading like cancer”, “the ones who’ve destroyed this country” and “inhumane”, who “lack morality” and “don’t have a gram of soul”.

The next, less often mentioned negative group was *tycoons*, followed by *showbiz stars* and *participants in TV reality shows*. In some individual cases, “Others” were defined by ideological criteria: extreme rightists, fascists, religious fundamentalists.

What is most striking at a general level, however, was that in drawing boundaries between social groups, and in their positive or negative evaluation, objective social criteria in the narrow sense were very rarely invoked, while criteria of morality and personal traits by far predominated. While Bourdieu’s or Lamont’s research lead us to expect that one’s fellows will be viewed primarily, or at least to a significant degree, through some objective characteristics that group them in a certain way – in Bourdieuan terms, through their distinctive capitals – in our data judgment by individual, psychological and subjective criteria prevailed, while appreciation itself was expressed mainly in a moral vocabulary. Thus people who are rejected (“the ones I’d never socialize with” or, if possible, not even “cooperate with”) were described as ruthless, mean, selfish, fickle and exploitive.²

“The only type I can’t accept are hypocrites, who say one thing, and think something else, who don’t keep their word, who want to take advantage of me instead of looking at me as their friend.” (sales manager, M, 29, Novi Sad)

“As for me, I’ve broken up many friendships with brutes, with unprincipled people, with those who today tell you one thing, and tomorrow do another.” (dentistry intern, F, Niš)

“I’d never socialize with people lacking morality, who don’t have face, liars.” (kindergarten teacher, F, 27, Novi Pazar)

“I don’t like people who are vulgar, insolent, who are only thinking how to take advantage of you. Who complain all the time.” (cleaner, F, 49, Novi Sad)

² Interestingly, in the discussions, the phrase heard most often and in a variety of discursive contexts, was „trampling upon people“. It cropped up either as „I refuse to trample on other people“ or in the form „they“ – some kind of rejected Others – „trample upon people“ (and therefore I can’t be friends with them). Apparently, this phrase summarizes some kind of reality of living in Serbia today, at least in people’s subjective experience.

Types of people appreciated positively, that is, “my kind of folks”, were described in similarly unsociological and apolitical terms, as the reverse image of the former: honesty and high moral standards were dominant, followed by personal warmth and amiability. Some of the criteria cited were: similar outlooks (“an approach to life like mine”); getting along well (“mutual tolerance”, “good understanding”), positive energy (“people who don’t talk about problems all the time”, “people I can have fun with”); consistency (“people who keep their promises”, “those that don’t change their mind overnight”), loyalty (“who won’t let me down”, “true friends”, “who is honest to me”), personal integrity (“people who are good at their jobs, whatever it is”, “people who are dedicated to something”, “people who build themselves consciously”).

Moreover, it was not just that the Bourdieuan-Lamontian sociological criteria of classification were not dominant, but their relevance was explicitly *denied*: in most focus groups participants stressed that they *did not* select members of their social circle by financial standing, occupation, education, ethnicity, social background, or place of origin.³

“I can always find something, in any person. Whatever the education, school, material status, I can always socialize with people I feel good with. People who like to go out, to the cinema, to the theatre, walking in nature, who like chatting...” (cleaner, F, 49, Novi Sad)

“It doesn’t matter which car they drive, such things don’t matter. What matters is what kind of person it is, that it’s a normal person.” (unemployed technology engineer, M, 40, Novi Sad)

“I don’t divide people in such ways. Here we are Serbs and Bosniaks, Muslims and Orthodox... [What is important is] music, movies, similar interests, similar taste, which doesn’t mean we must have the same level of education.” (journalist, M, 41, Novi Pazar)

“...Interesting, capable of communication, not people who don’t know how to listen to others. Other things don’t matter – profession, status, whatever, that isn’t important to me.” (owner of a small private firm, BA philosopher, M, 48, Belgrade)

³ This is not to say they didn’t see such divisions as existing in the real social world, only that this sort of boundary-making was not part of their self-identity and their strategies of distinction.

In discussing these data, a reservation is in order. When comparing our findings with those of previous studies of social boundary work, methodological differences should not be lost sight of.⁴

It was only in exceptional cases that participants gave social characteristics as criteria to appreciate others and judge their desirability for friendship and professional cooperation. While one (and only one) participant cited religious affiliation as important, several mentioned “education”:

“I wouldn’t socialize with the newly-composed types [novokomponovanimi]. They are uneducated “. (meat seller in a large supermarket chain, M, 49, Belgrade)

“I like to socialize with educated, decent, well-mannered, hardworking people”. (retired highschool teacher, F, 60, Niš)

Attitudes interpretable as cultural distinction emerged in a handful of other instances as well, e.g. in the statement of a young economist that the people he feels closest to are “independent intellectuals”, or in the form of “urban distinction” – a boundary drawn between “us, the Belgraders”, and “them, the newcomers/refugees/peasants”:

“In Belgrade, all these people who have arrived – my parents also came from the country – none of them has adapted to Belgrade. They all try to impose their mentality. And their lack of culture. This is horrible. I was born in Belgrade, this is my town. All those people, from Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo, you name it. But these guys from the province, that’s horror.” (butcher, M, 37, Belgrade)

Perhaps curiously, urbanity as a classifying criterion arose only in Belgrade.⁵

Amongst these few examples of recourse to more strictly sociological principles of classification, we see that they come by no means exclusively from the strata one would expect:

- 4 While Bourdieu and Lamont based their conclusions on individual interviews, where interaction takes place between researcher and interviewee alone, we conducted focus groups, in which the pressure towards presenting socially desirable and morally „pure“ opinions tends to be stronger. When facing other people, whose background one is mostly unfamiliar with, a properly socialized and interactionally competent participant will prefer to skip delicate issues that might hurt the others present and refrain from publicly taking reproachable positions.
- 5 In contrast with a previous study (Spasić 2006b), this kind of boundary was virtually absent in Novi Sad, either as Novi Sad urban distinction or as the more general Vojvodinian regional distinction against „newcomers“ [dodoši]. This is almost certainly related to the fact that both Novi Sad focus groups included several obviously „newcomer“ participants, which made it very difficult for original Vojvodinians to express this sort of distinction, even if they wished to. Here we have a telling example of Goffmanian interactive constraint.

there are professors, but also butchers. Participants with the highest cultural capital and the most impeccable urban pedigree carefully abstained from giving such statements and were generally among the strongest promoters of the view that “such things do not matter”.

In light of the prevalently a-sociological character of the process of qualifying others, perhaps even the singling out of the only two recognizable social groups, with a place in the social space and definite social roles – “politicians” and “tycoons” – could be disputed as a purely social classification. These identification may as well be interpreted, at least in part, as a kind of *metaphorical signifier* not so much for concrete social groups, defined by their specific capitals, as for certain kinds of *practices* which are routinely judged negatively from a moral point of view and which, for a number of reasons, have come to “stick” to these two social groups more than any other.

Judging solely by what people said it was virtually impossible to identify positions in social space from which participants voiced their criticisms of the state, government, oligarchy, etc., so that it is hard to speak of socially-generated and -articulated discursive strategies. Rather, critique was coming from a moral position, whose class correlative is difficult to establish, and which at the same time relied on several ethical supports.

As a matter of fact, in our data no “classification struggles” in Bourdieu’s sense could be found: there was no direct clash between bearers of different capitals over the valuations of these capitals, with each side promoting a higher price for one’s own. When conflicting views of Serbian society did occur, it was in a rather individualized fashion: if we simplify a bit, it pitted “pessimists” against “optimists”, “the complainers” against “the positives”. Actors of these conflicts did not advance as members of some definite social categories, nor could their discourses be derived from their social positions, i.e. capitals they possessed.

WHAT IS “SUCCESS”?

This leads us to the next recurrent feature of discourses of social classification in our focus groups, and this is the connection of description of the social “Other” with the descriptions of social *success* in today’s Serbia. Relatively unexpectedly, or at least, in a marked contrast to available analyses of Western societies, negative qualifications of social types – people one would never choose to spend time with – are virtually the same as the portrait of those who have “made it”, who are “well-off” in present-day Serbia; and their faulty practices, by which these undesired fellow citizens are recognized, equal the answer to the question of “what is valued in Serbia today”.

For the inauguration of such “wrong” values the participants blame the state, system, politicians, the media. They challenge radically what they see as the pervasive

principles of hierarchization in today's Serbia. Normative projections of how society should be additionally confirm the conclusion that, for our participants, the actually operating value scale is not legitimate. It could be put even more sharply: this scale is seen as exactly the opposite of the normative one, like when people say: "What once used to be shameful is nowadays valued" or "It would be easy to put this society in order – just turn everything upside down".

Moreover, success as such becomes all but illegitimate: instead of being a goal that is "normally", self-understandably pursued, almost all kinds of success in life appeared in our discussions morally suspect: be it lots of money, an ambitious professional career, taking up public office, being in a decision-making position, possessing power of any kind, fame (except for sportspeople), or membership in elite social circles. Being rich was especially the target of contemptuous rejection. Very differently from what researchers found in other countries, especially the USA (Lamont 1992; Lamont and Aksartova 2002), the ability to make money was emphatically *not* used as a measure of an individual's integrity and personal strength. Earning a lot of money is here dubious almost in principle, and a kind of modesty – not wanting "too much", being content with "what is enough" – is extolled as value and virtue, and one which does not even have to justify itself. The more the participants stressed how much "money" is what is valued in current Serbian society – "Nowadays, it's bucks first, God is second, mother and father third", as a middle-aged citizen of Novi Pazar put it – the more they also stressed how wrong that is.

We see such an attitude in, for instance, participants' insistence that they personally do not strive for a lot of money, just a "minimum" sufficient for "a decent, normal life":

"With the 24000 dinars I earn, plus some extras, I live fine. All I need is for my fiancée to get a job, that we make a family, have a baby, and to have enough to give this baby to eat, drink, and what to put on. That's enough for me." (sales manager in a small private firm, M, 29, Novi Sad)

"Just a little is necessary for happiness." (museum guard, M, 43, Novi Sad)

"To have a healthy family, that is the basis of everything. You must first be content with yourself, your family, and then you can go on. And you should surround yourself with normal people, spend time with them. ... To go out with friends, go for a drink on weekends. Such things have no price." (salesman, M, 49, Belgrade)

"One doesn't need money to be happy. There is always some choice." (office worker, F, 34, Novi Sad)

Then, in denouncing others who make money over a certain “line” which is considered reasonable or justified:

“Nowadays, those who make more than their family needs are kings. ... I feel sick when I see how much money, how many square meters [in real estate] some people have grabbed. They simply cannot be honest.” (retired educationalist, F, 70, Nis)

Finally, it is often pointed out that lots of money doesn’t really bring happiness but only worries:

“Every time he sits in his big car and puts the key in, he probably thinks, is it going to explode? so I probably wouldn’t say he lives well really” (BA anthropologist, copywriter, F, 33, Belgrade)

“If you ask me, I think those with lots of money, they aren’t happy either. They have tons of worries, to protect all this huge money that they’ve got.” (retired highschool teacher, F, 60, Nis)

“There are people who should be happy, yet they aren’t. They have all they need and still they’re not satisfied. Probably the more one has, the more dissatisfied he is.” (cleaner, Novi Sad)

If some kind of success was allowed, this was mainly the private, profoundly personal and familial “success” in the sense of raising healthy kids, having a good marriage, or a lot of true friends. This kind of accomplishment did not include financial affluence and was generally formulated as something achieved *against* the material side of life. In short, success meant: to survive “these times” while preserving one’s moral and psychological integrity.

POLITICS AS AN IMPASSE

The striking gap between the values deemed legitimate and those seen as prevalent in society gives rise to what we may term “the paradox of social action” in today’s Serbia. This is the idea, often put forward in the discussions, that “people”, as individual persons, are still good and moral and know the right values, but that as soon as they get out of their little private worlds – as soon basically as they begin acting as social agents within social space – through a sort of magical transformation they

start behaving differently. Sometimes, this shift was accounted for in individualist and rather resigned terms, as people themselves changing inexplicably; more often, the explanation was collectivist and institutional: it is the circumstances that force them to behave in a wrong way.

In all focus groups, when asked what is valued the most in our society, participants were quick to point out that they themselves, their families and friends, and generally people they spend time with still hold “the right values”; *yet*, in society at large dominates their opposite, all the “wrong values” and shameful conducts. (Where exactly is this “society” then, one is tempted to ask?) Similarly, all participants stressed that they raised (or planned to raise, or always would) their children in such a way as to instill in them respect for the “right values” (honesty, knowledge, hard work) – *although* “such things do not pay off nowadays” and contrast with messages coming from other socializing influences (media, peer groups, “the street”, general social environment).

“I think there is a discrepancy between theory and practice: in theory, people accept positive values, but I’m not sure how much they apply them in daily life. ... There are creative people here, who want to do something, but very often they find themselves hemmed in, and are forced, to utilize some dirty ways to achieve their goals, even if they personally wouldn’t.”
(architect, PhD student in the USA, M 37, Niš)

“There are very few people here who have succeeded, and those who have, they did it only up to a certain point, and then they stopped, turned to that other side, started some shady dealings. Of the people I know, some initially succeeded following what would also be my recipee, but then continued in the way I’d never do.” (dentistry intern, F, Niš)

“I think that the people, as people, still have the feeling for certain values. But the conditions we live in, the way politicians in power behave, all this has driven people to lose the feeling for such genuine human values.”
(NGO activist, M, 55, Novi Pazar)

This paradox is at times so strongly formulated that it comes close to a sense of social blockade. It has significant implications for the action potentials of Serbian society.⁶ If it is not possible to act at all without sinking into morally dubious conduct, will one choose to act in the first place? If leaving the narrow confines of family and friendly circles implies betraying what one holds dear, isn’t a thorough passivization

6 A very similar finding has been made by other researchers, e.g. Greenberg (2011), Golubović and Jarić (2010), Mihailović et al. (2010).

of citizens an inevitable result? This fits well with the delegitimization of financial and other kinds of worldly success, discussed above; and also with the illegitimacy of political action, taken up in the next section.

Let us first note that, rather unexpectedly, the participants spontaneously divided the period of recent Serbian history at the year 1990 rather than 2000: frequent and routine references to “these twenty years” imply that 1990 is still treated as *the* rupture between the old and the new. And the two-decade period was presented as a more or less unbroken succession of troubles, crises, impoverishment and systemic failures. Only exceptionally⁷ the year 2000 was identified as the beginning of something new. This is quite indicative of the perceptions of the process of “transition” in Serbia thus far. It means that in spite of all the years and so many intervening events, including the hope-inspiring removal of Slobodan Milošević from power in 2000, the notion of “collapse” long noted by students of Serbian society that divides a pre-1990 normalcy from post-1990 abnormalcy is still very much alive.⁸ Furthermore, this telling periodization confirms that “5 October” – the symbol of an unlikely democratic victory of a maturing civil society – never managed to get engraved in collective political memory, mainly due to the mistakes of political elites, and in this way a potentially beneficial democratic capital was forsaken.⁹ The democracy that was supposedly ushered in 2000 was not described in very flattering terms by our respondents: “some things have arrived too suddenly”, we “weren’t mature enough for democracy”, this is just “would-be democracy” or “a distorted picture of democracy”, etc. Such bleak colors, combined with the continuous significance of the year 1990 as the breaking point, suggest one more thing: that real socialism from the period of SFRY remains the only available articulate model of a normal, livable society. It is by now clearly felt to be gone forever, and no respondent really recommended its resuscitation. Yet no other model has emerged in the meantime as something to be realistically fought for. Ideals and utopias may be fantasized about, but they are treated as just that – ideals and utopias far removed from real life.

This predominantly negative judgment of Serbia’s democratic transition can be broadened into an equally negative picture of politics as such. As a specific social sphere and specialized activity, politics as it is in today’s Serbia is thoroughly discredited. It is not perceived as a way to bring about change, to get out of the current situation, almost universally portrayed as extremely bad, even unbearable. Politics is not the place to struggle for the desirable and desired social arrangements.

7 Quite precisely: three times in all.

8 In Jansen (2005) post-1990 abnormalcy is called “the situation”, and in Simić (2009) “the Fall”. The lost and longed for normalcy is also stressed by Greenberg (2011).

9 This was ruefully predicted already in Golubović, Spasić and Pavićević (2003).

First of all, the regular institutional agents in the political field – professional politicians, parties, labor unions – are described in very negative terms, as essentially *unpolitical* actors, focused on pursuing their corporate or naked personal interest, especially of a lucrative kind. They are not seen as representatives of genuine social groups, collective values, or even ideological positions.

“Parties function as interest groups, as criminal syndicates” (psychologist, M, 30, Niš)

“If I saw I can change society through a party, I’d join it. But I don’t.” (journalist, M, 45, Novi Pazar)

Actually, in all the focus groups the short and angry phrase “they’re all the same” was heard, meaning that ostensibly different parties and politicians, although playing the game of mutual distinction, are at heart identical, since they share the same interests, against ordinary people. “They fight when we’re looking at them, they act it out like in a theater, but afterwards they go for a drink and have a good time together, because they are really buddies”, several participants said. A story told by one participant summarizes what many think, expressing in a nutshell this stance of profound alienation from professional politics:

“Recently Velja Ilić and Nenad Čanak [two prominent politicians from the opposite ends of the political spectrum] were guests in a TV talk show, quarrelling about ‘values’. Commenting on this program, Gorčin Stojanović [a well known theater and movie director] was asked, Are these the so-called ‘two Serbias’, one traditional, the other pro-European? He replied, No, they are one Serbia, you and I are another”. (journalist, M, 30, Novi Sad)

Focus group participants never articulated their critical positions in political terms: they used moral ones instead. Political alternatives were not put forward as ways out of the current situation; recognizably political goals were not set as something the society (or at least, the social group a given participant is identifying with) should aspire to. Ironically, it was even claimed that politics was better in times of the single-party, real socialist regime:

“Back then, there were criteria, there were programs, there were values that were agreed upon to be pursued. What is nowadays called politics, has nothing to do with what real politics is about”. (NGO activist, M, 55, Novi Pazar)

Finally, when some kind of oppositional action, or action towards social change, is envisaged at all, it has a strangely apolitical character. It is either purely individual (each of us should work on our personal growth, and then perhaps something will eventually come out of it¹⁰), or, when collective, it is described as a sort of existential rebellion of an undefined “people”:

“Poor, simple folks should rise up. [Treba da ustane kuka i motika.]”
(lawyer, M, 30, Novi Sad)

“We should take up shitty sticks¹¹ and rout those idiots who are now making circus in the Parliament.” (middle-aged skilled worker, M, Niš)

“If the people were smarter, they would pick up bats and clubs.” (economist, M, 32, Novi Pazar)

“We all seem to be quite happy, don’t we, for no one is rebelling?” (museum guard, M 43, Novi Sad)

CRITICAL CAPACITIES: THE USE OF “POLITIES”

In every group, there were participants who tended to provide careful, nuanced answers to the questions, to see a broader picture, to avoid stale phrases. This suggests a reflective critical activity, characterized by distancing from one’s own position in the social structure and rising above socially anchored interests. In this discursive mode, we find more participants with high levels of cultural capital, but by no means only them. If the latter did stand out it was in their tendency to advance this attitude with more verbal articulation and self-confidence. It is here that the social background of statements may perhaps be discerned – in the form rather than content of discourse,

10 For example: „We should try to give a personal contribution, each one of us within our capacities, to find our way, to see how we can and know to realize ourselves. We must not look at things pessimistically and just sit and wait for something to happen. We should turn on our own personal engines and move ourselves and, by the same token, also the society as a whole“ (PE teacher, M, 50, Niš). Or: „Let us not start with attempting to change society, let us first try to make a little bit of space for ourselves, to breathe, to live“ (copywriter, F, 33, Belgrade).

11 This popular, folksy figure of speech, used in several of our discussions, describes what is traditionally seen as the appropriate way of getting rid of a bad government.

in the speakers' demeanor, manner of addressing the moderator and co-participants, and linguistic competence.

There was also another, equally tenuous connection linking participants' discourses to their social fate. People whose subsistence was ensured, and who felt fulfilled professionally, and/or who found some other way to keep up their psychological balance and good mood, tended to be more flexible in discussing the question of wellbeing in today's Serbia. They allowed for a broader range of social roles and positions who could be said to be relatively well off, not just the "bad" ones – tycoons, folk singers, or politicians. For these participants, it was possible to be at once moral and live "well":

"I always view things from the positive side. All the people who have some work, they are well. Like, I know a shoemaker who works excellently, and who is very much esteemed in my neighborhood. So, the effort you make, the work you invest, that keeps you OK". (computer engineer, F, 45, Belgrade)

"In my mind, a person who has faith will succeed, if not today, then tomorrow, or the day after. If they know what they want, they will take the right road, and have problems for sure in the beginning, but after some time, success will come." (PE teacher, M, 50, Niš)

"The issue of wellbeing is an individual matter. A person who is not very secure financially can also be OK." (copywriter, F, 33, Belgrade)

If we refer to Boltanski's politics and their corresponding orders of worth, we may observe that our participants in their critical comments resorted to a number of value repertoires. The "civic polity" was set in motion when participants talked about the necessity for the collective interest (insistence on the general wellbeing, concerns over lack of solidarity) should prevail over the particular (personal interests of the politicians or narrow party interests). The exemption of certain officials, entrepreneurs, or the state itself from legal punishment is especially strongly criticized, and the sense of justice is here expressed as the demand for the rule of law.

The "domestic polity" may be recognized in the salient value of the "family" or "respect", and in the criticism of the penetration of market logic into friendly and familial relations.

The outlines of the "industrial polity" emerged in answers to the question "What ought to be valued?", when participants cited hard work, expertise, efficiency, discipline, commitment. Older participants, who had finished school and acquired their

first professional experiences in socialism, often recalled, when criticizing the actual situation on the labor market and the new working conditions, how it used to be in earlier times, when inequalities were much less pronounced, when one had a stable job, “when you were valued as a worker” (cleaner, F, 49, Novi Sad) and when “the union stood by every worker” (museum guard, M, 43, Novi Sad).

Among the younger generation, however, alongside a generally critical stance, a legitimizing tendency could also be noted. The young were much more ready to justify the new working ethics, even when challenged by the other participants; they defend energetically their attitude to work and its demands. They were proud to be flexible, communicative, proactive, positive, ready to take risks and surprises, keen to prove themselves, they accepted unpaid overtime as normal, and tended to blame themselves for their failures. It is precisely these worths that Boltanski attaches to the “polity by projects”. This new work culture, incidentally, is not at all connected by its proponents to systemic change or EU accession, which suggests it is taken as self-understandable and “natural”.

“As I grow older, I try to blame less and less the circumstances for what is happening to me. For me, key is flexibility to the circumstances of life.”
(copywriter, F, 33, Belgrade)

“These days no one can afford to just work at a job. One must be resourceful, improvise, be ready for many different surprises, and find the best way, for himself and for his boss as well.” (security worker, M, 30, Novi Sad)

“I literally started out from scratch. I began with packing, to manufacturing, to the office. I learned everything step by step, and now I can replace any worker in my company. And I think I achieved this with my own effort, my dedication to this firm.” (sales manager, 29, Novi Sad)

There is (again) a paradox here, referring to two different, but equally frustrating self-positionings of individuals as agents within the social framework. Participants who criticized the actual state of affairs in Serbia articulated desirable visions of society only in contrast to the given, or falling back on the socialist model; as has already been said, no new model of society has crystallized that would be at once desirable and practicable. At the same time, such critically minded respondents felt bogged by the effect of “social blockade” – the social environment was for them mostly an unwelcome world of alien ways, pressing on them and reducing them to powerless, victimized non-agents. On the other hand, respondents whose statements suggested

the possibility of a novel society, where the individual felt better, more free to pursue their ideas and ambitions, with more space given to their agency – such respondents abandoned the language of critique.

CONCLUSION: THE POWER OF DISCOURSE

We hope to have shown in this paper that citizens of Serbia possess significant critical capacities in accounting for the social reality around them. People were using their minds autonomously, and these proved not to be indoctrinated by imposed matrices. Remarkably, no official ideology was readily recognizable in their discourse, be it nationalism, religious orthodoxy, patriarchal submissiveness, or neoliberalism, although all of them are constantly being beamed out of various authoritative instances, such as the media, state officialdom, the Church, or the intellectual elite. None of such ideological positions was readily and uncritically accepted *en bloc* by our research participants; at best, ideologies showed up in unsystematic, often incongruous, bits and pieces. The respondents were highly critical of the society they live in; at the same time though, most of them proved incapable of articulating any new possibility, of “expanding the limits of the possible”, as Bourdieu used to put it when talking about the purposes of politics (Bourdieu 1997: 276-277). There was no clear vision of a different, better social order that would be worth fighting for. Amongst the vague general discontent and moralistic denunciations of money-grabbing manners of today, the closest the respondents got to establishing their own positions with any degree of clarity was, one, recommending the copying of models (allegedly) imposed by the EU, and, two, openly renouncing any hope of social betterment, ever, and withdrawal into embittered pessimism.

In this text, we have not dealt with objective, structural processes going on in society. Far from claiming these are unimportant, we do wish to point out that interpretive action and interactive exchange are an integral part of social reality. Thus, prevalent interpretations and discursive habits in Serbia today obviously contribute to the production of social blockade: pervasive moralism and weak legitimacy of politics are not conducive to formulating and operationalizing innovative political projects, even less to launching collective action. And a viable democracy can hardly do without these.

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