

# 16. САБОР ПОЛИТИКОЛОГА

годишња међународна конференција Удружења за политичке науке Србије

The Serbian Political Science Association (SPSA) Annual International Conference

24 – 25. 9. 2022.

Универзитет у Београду, Факултет политичких наука  
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science

ДРУШТВЕНА ПРАВДА У ПОСТ-КОМУНИСТИЧКИМ ДРУШТВИМА

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES



ОРГАНИЗАТОРИ



Удружење за политичке науке Србије



ФАКУЛТЕТ  
ПОЛИТИЧКИХ  
НАУКА

КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈУ ПОДРЖАЛИ



30 FONDACIJA ZA  
DEMOKRATSKO  
BUDUĆE



Фонд за науку  
Републике Србије



RECLAIM

## Serbian Political Science Association Annual Conference 2022 Social Justice in Post-Communist Societies

Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade  
Address: Jove Ilića 165, Belgrade

### PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

**SATURDAY, September 24, 2022**

Registration of participants, 8.45 - 9.00

**Conference opening: 9.00 – 9.15 (Amphitheatre)**

**Dr Natalija Perišić,**

Vice dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

**Dr Bojan Vranić**

Coordinator of the SPSA Annual Conference 2022

**Keynote Session: 9:15 – 10.45**

**Key challenges for social justice in post-communist societies**

Room: Amphitheatre

Moderator: Bojan Vranić

Dr Dušan Pavlović & Dr Mihail Arandarenko, University of Belgrade

*Egalitarianism and redistribution in Serbia. Political philosophy of egalitarianism and the political economy of redistributive reform in Serbia*

Dr Cirila Toplak, University of Ljubljana

*Meritocracy: A Problem or A Solution to the Post-Socialist Governance Crisis?*

Maja Markovic, Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program Alumna  
*Social policy or vote-buying: Recent cases of Serbia and Montenegro*

Session 1: 11:00 – 12:30

**Panel 1 Economic models of social justice**

Room: 1

Moderator: Dušan Pavlović

Dr Ljubiša R. Mitrović & Dr Dragana Mitrović, University of Niš  
*Socijalna cena strategije neoliberalne tranzicije i kompradorskog upravljanja razvojem – proizvodnja zavisnog društva perifernog kapitalizma*

Dr Aleksandar Milošević, University of Belgrade  
*Nedovršena tranzicija na periferiji Evrope: regionalne ekonomske integracije na Zapadnom Balkanu*

Andrea Matijević, Institute for Political Studies  
*Postsocijalistička transformacija: ekonomski rast i/ili rast ekonomske nejednakosti? Slučaj republika bivše SFRJ*

**Panel 2 Theories of social justice**

Room: 3

Moderator: Predrag Zenović

Dr Zoran Stojiljković, University of Belgrade  
*U traganju za socijalnom pravdom*

Dr Danilo Vuković & Dr Bojan Spajić, University of Belgrade  
*Paralelni normativni i institucionalni poredak: nove osnove strukturnih nejednakosti pred zakonom*

Dr Nikola Beljinac & Dr Ivana Spasić, University of Belgrade  
*Da li je za etnokulturnu pravdu neophodna liberalna država? Osrt na (post) jugoslovensko iskustvo*

**Panel 3 Public Policy and Public Reforms in Croatia**

Room: 2

Moderator: Agatina Petrović

Dr Ana Petek, University of Zagreb  
*Tematska i tehnička dimenzija ciljeva hrvatskih javnih politika*

Dr Marjeta Šinko & Dr Ana Petek, University of Zagreb  
*Rodno osvoještavanje politika: analiza ciljeva hrvatskih javnih politika*

Dr Borna Zgurić & Dr Ana Petek, University of Zagreb  
*Analiza ciljeva hrvatske sigurnosne politike*

**Panel 4 Marxist Heritage and social (in)justices**

Room: 7

Moderator: Marko Simendić

Dr Dragan Simeunović, University of Belgrade

*Politička dimenzija mobinga kao tradicije nasilja u postkomunističkom društvu*

Tijana Perić Diligenski, Institute for Political Studies

*Lustraciona Pravda u postkomunističkom okviru*

Dr Maroje Višić, Libertas International University Zagreb

*Integralni socijalizam Herberta Marcusea*

Pavle Antonijević, International University College of Turin

*Osrt na radničke štrajkove u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji iz ugla teorije građanske neposlušnosti (1958 – 1980)*

Session 2: 12:30 – 14:00

**Panel 5 Green Transformation and Social Justice**

Room: 1

Moderator: Ivan Stanojević

Dr Jelica Stefanović Štambuk, University of Belgrade

*Are there ideas, values, and guideposts of transformative restorative justice in the green energy transition to green hydrogen?*

Strahinja Obrenović, University of Belgrade

*Ukraine and its position on the European Hydrogen Map*

Miljana Djurčević Cucić, University of Belgrade

*The green transition toward social justice – African Union and European Union partnership for hydrogen as a step closer to the most important Zeroes*

Slobodan Popović, University of Belgrade

*Greening China's Foreign Policy – Way forward and its Implications for Global (Energy) Governance*

### **Panel 6 Public Policy and Public Reforms in Serbia**

Room: 2

Moderator: Aleksandar Kovačević

Dr Dejan Milenković, University of Belgrade

*Uticaj novih tendencija u reformi javne uprave na kreiranje politika socijalne pravde*

Dr Veran Stančetić, University of Belgrade

*Javne politike u Srbiji: u službi svih građana ili interesnih grupa?*

Agatina Petrović, University of Belgrade

*Javne politike u sistemu inkluzivnog obrazovanja Republike Srbije*

Nemanja Andjelković, University of Belgrade

*Governing the commons in the context of neoliberal state-building: Lessons from John Dewey*

### **Panel 7: Housing and social justice**

Room: 3

Moderator: Maroje Višić

Dr Snežana Đorđević, University of Belgrade

*Ostvarivost ideala otvorenog i inkluzivnog grada (pravo na grad)*

Dr Mina Petrović, University of Belgrade

*Socijalno stanovanje u neoliberalnom i postkomunističkom kontekstu?*

Dr Bojan Vranić & Ivan Stanojević, University of Belgrade

*Na šta mislimo kada kažemo dostupno stanovanje?*

*Predstavljanje rezultata istraživačkog projekta „Stambeno je političko“*

Marko Aksentijević & Jovana Timotijević, Kolektiv Ministarstvo prostora

*Imam krov nad glavom, ali nema ništa iza mene – tenzije zagovaranja stambenih politika koje nisu zasnovane na privatnom vlasništvu*

### **Panel 8 Political emotions and social (in)justice**

Room: 7

Moderator: Sanja Polić Penavić

Dr Predrag Zenović, University Donja Gorica

*Thinking justice in post-Yugoslav space: redistribution, recognition and transition*

Vuk Vuković, Catalyst Belgrade

*The Model of Philanthropy in the post-Yugoslav Republics: A comparative review*

Xhenis Shehu, University of Bucharest

*Searching for Love in Justice or a Sentimental Inquiry in Political Emotions*

Break: 14:00 – 15:00<sup>1</sup>

**Special session on the Ukrainian Crisis – Western Balkan region**  
perspective: 15:00 – 16:45

Room: Amphitheatre

Speakers:

Dr Ivo Visković, University of Belgrade

Dr Dejan Jović, University of Zagreb

Dr Željko Budimir, University of Banja Luka

Moderator: Milica Kulić

**Book promotion: 17:00 – 18:00**

*Sindikati između rada i kapitala*, M. Višić i M. Atrić (Ur.), Durieux,  
Zagreb

Room: 1

Speakers:

Dr Zoran Stojiljković, University of Belgrade

Dr Snježana Ivčić, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Bojana Bijelović Bosanac, Head of International Department,

Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia

Dr Maroje Višić, editor

Cocktail at the faculty's garden: 18:00 – 19:30

**End of the first day of the conference**

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<sup>1</sup> Lunch and coffee breaks are not covered by the organisers of the conference. All participants are invited to the evening cocktail event entailing drinks and finger food at the faculty's garden at the end of each conference day.

SUNDAY, 25. September

Session 1: 09:00 – 10:45

**Panel 9: Social welfare in the post-communist societies**

Room: 2

Moderator: Violeta Marković

Dr Miloš Bešić, University of Belgrade

*Stratifikacijske i generacijske razlike u prihodima i divergentni obrasci promena u Srbiji*

Dr Snježana Ivčić & Lada Weygand, Organization for Workers' Initiative and Democratisation, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

*Privatizacija hrvatskog zdravstva na primjerima pedijatrije i zdravstvene njege u kući*

Dr Branko Bošković, University Donja Gorica

*Socijalna politika i nejednakosti u Crnoj Gori: Efekti pridruživanja Evropskoj uniji*

**Panel 10 Gender and social justice**

Room: 1

Moderator: Katarina Lončarević

Dr Denisa Kostovicova & Dr Vesna Popovski, London School of Economics

*How women ask parliamentary questions about transitional justice: Evidence from Croatia*

Dr Zlatiborka Popov-Momčinović, University of East Sarajevo

*Political representation of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina: „Nas je više“*

Dr Zorica Mršević, University Business Academy Novi Sad

*Nevidljiva tela – između straha i ambicija*

Jelena Riznić, Institute of Social Sciences

*Od „socijalne države“ do „socijalne majke“: Neoliberalni oblik kapitalističke regulacije i prava žena u Srbiji*

**Panel 11 Digitalisation and work rights**

Room: 3

Moderator: Dejan Pavlović

Dr Mohammad Aslam, Aligarh Muslim University

*Justice in the Age of Artificial Intelligence: Issues and Challenges*

Dr Dmytro Khutkyy, University of Tartu, Estonia  
Dr Khrystyna Kvartsiana, Institute of Innovative Governance,  
Ukraine  
*Digital work rights in the context of digital public services during the  
COVID-19 pandemic in Ukraine*

Aleksandar Kovačević, University of Belgrade  
*Labour conditions on digital platforms – the case study of Serbia*

Session 2: 11:00 – 12:30

**Panel 12 Voting and political representation issues in post-  
communist societies**

Room: 1

Moderator: Nemanja Andjelković

Dr Zoran Lutovac, Institute for Social Sciences  
*Socijalna pravda i populizam u postkomunističkim društvima*

Dr Bojan Baća, University of Gothenburg  
*“Not with a Bang but a Whimper”: Three Acts of Montenegro’s  
Antibureaucratic Revolution*

Dr Dušan Vučićević, University of Belgrade  
Dejan Bursać, Institute for Political Studies  
*Partijsko preduzetništvo kao “smokvin list” za manjinsko predstavljanje na  
izborima u Srbiji*

Dr Vujo Ilić, University of Belgrade  
*Ruralno-urbana polarizacija i demokratsko nazadovanje u Srbiji*

**Panel 13 Border disputes, migrations, and social (in)justice**

Room: 3

Moderator: Strahinja Obrenović

Dr Thomas Bickl, Independent researcher, Belgium  
*The resolution of border disputes in post-communist societies in the  
context of the dissolution of Yugoslavia*

Dr Natalija Perišić, Dr Danica Šantić, Dr Dejan Pavlović, University  
of Belgrade

*Policy Considerations when Facing Asylum Applications Influx*

Dr Tado Jurić, Catholic University of Croatia  
*Corruption as a push factor for emigration from Croatia: Correlation  
between corruption, “state capture” and emigration*

Dr Nevenka Žegarac, Dr Anita Burgund, Violeta Marković,  
University of Belgrade  
*Višestruke i prolongirane trauma - iskustva dece sa nasiljem na zapadnoj  
balkanskoj ruti*

**Panel 14 Media and social justice framing**

Room: 2

Moderator: Ivan Stanojević

Dr Aleksandra Krstić, University of Belgrade  
*Šta sve (ne) možeš u Srbiji kad si novinar: medijski aktivizam kao oblik borbe  
za pravednije društvo u lokalnim zajednicama u Srbiji*



Dr Danka Ninković Slavnić, Dr Ana Milojević, Kristina Milić,  
University of Belgrade

*The position of the judicial system in the media in Serbia*

Dr Smiljana Milinkov & Dr Dinko Gruhonjić, University of Novi  
Sad

*Održivost medija civilnog društva u Srbiji*

Dr Milica Kulić, University of Belgrade

*Upotreba društvenih mreža u tradicionalnim medijima u Srbiji – oružje za  
političku agendu*

#### **Panel 15 Social justice and war legacies**

Room: 5

Moderator: Marko Žilović

Dr Belma Buljubašić & Msc. Jasmin Hasanović, University of  
Sarajevo

*Nepodnošljiva nelagoda (ne)postojanja: etnopolitika i afirmacije  
osporavanja Jugoslovenskog nasljeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini*

Dr Stefan Surlić, University of Belgrade

*Zašto se razgraničenje predstavlja kao rešenje za srpsko-albanski spor?  
Politike granica u postkomunističkom i postkonfliktnom razdoblju*

Dr Sanja Vico, London School of Economics and Political Science  
*Social media, stereotyping, and war legacy*

Session 3: 12:45 – 14:15

#### **Panel 16 Populism and authoritarianism in post-communist context**

Room: 3

Moderator: Stefan Surlić

Dr Natasza Styczyńska, Jagiellonian University

*Populists Euroscepticism in Central and Eastern Europe*

Marko Žilović, University of Belgrade

*At the Juncture of Nation and Market: Explaining the Illiberal Turn of the  
Postcommunist Center-Right in East Central Europe*

Thomas Lazaridis, University of Crete

*Understanding Far-right parties and politics in post-communist  
democracies: methodology challenges and theoretical approaches*

Oliver Kannenberg, Institute for Parliamentary Research (IParl) in  
Berlin

*Lost in Transition – The Case of the German Left Party*

#### **Panel 17 Social Justice and transition in the East European political context**

Room: 2

Moderator: Miljana Djurčević Cucić

Dr Mohd Sajid, Shibli National College

*Changing Paradigms of Social Justice Since the Collapse of Communism  
in Eastern Europe*

Dr Jasminka Simić, Radio-Television of Serbia (RTS)  
*Post-cold War Transition in the Eastern Europe: Need and Perspectives*

Dr Marko Krtolica, University of Skoplje  
*Confronting the Communist Past in Macedonia: New Injustices in the Name of Justice*

Dr. Emilio Çika & Msc. Ilir Hebovija, Mediterranean University of Albania  
*Social justice and the role of the Millennium Development Goals for overcoming socio-economic inequalities in Albania*

**Special event:**

RECLAIM 12:45 – 14:00

Room: 1

Research project

**The Politics of Representation: Performances and Democratic Legitimacy of Representative Claims in Serbia**

(Funded by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia)

*Presentation of research results*

Speakers:

Dr Jelena Lončar, University of Belgrade  
*A Representative Relationship: Moments of Constitution*

Dr Dušan Spasojević, University of Belgrade  
*Local Politics and Representation - Deideologization, Personalization and Informality*

Dr Marko Simendić, University of Belgrade  
*Representation and its Limits: 2020 Protests against Curfew*

Dr Biljana Đorđević, University of Belgrade  
*Gender Equality and/or Anti-gender Discourses: Contentions and Issues in Political Representation of Women in Serbia*

Dr Katarina Lončarević, University of Belgrade  
*Love Is the Law? LGBTQ Rights and Representation, and Anti-gender Discourses in Serbia*

RECLAIMing coffee & cakes (break) 14:00 – 15:00

**Farewell cocktail** at the faculty's garden – 17:30 – 19:00

**Special session on transformations of civic activism and social justice:** 15:00 - 16:15  
Room: 1

Speakers:

Danilo Ćurčić, A11  
Iva Marković, Pravo na vodu/Organizacija za političku ekologiju Polekol  
Jovana Timotijević, Ministarstvo prostora  
Jelena Vasiljević, Rainbow Ignite

Moderator: Biljana Đorđević

**Special event:** 16:30 – 17:30  
Room: 1

**Engaged Democracy Initiative Talks: The challenges of the energy transition and its sustainability in Western Balkans today**

Speakers:

Mirko Popovic, RERI  
Aleksandar Macura, RES Foundation  
Žaklina Živković, Pravo na Vodu/Organizacija za političku ekologiju Polekol  
Samir Lemeš, University of Zenica

Moderator: Gazela Pudar Draško

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### **Instructions for panellists**

Presentations are limited to 13+2 minutes, depending on the number of the participants on the panel. All conference rooms have computers and projectors so panellists may use PowerPoint if they wish.

Working language of the conference is English. Panellists can present BHS language at the panel, in accordance with the moderator, other panel participants and the audience. **Working language for all special events and promotions is BHS.**

Panellists are invited to submit revised conference papers for publication in an edited book with papers from the conference, or in the regional political science journal *Političke perspektive/Political Perspectives*.

**Deadline for the submission of papers is October 31, 2022.**  
Instructions about the submission will follow.