

Manjinski identiteti i društvena integracija

Minority Identities and Social Inclusion



Novi Sad, 2020.

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Manjinski identiteti i društvena integracija

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MANJINSKI IDENTITETI I DRUŠTVENA INTEGRACIJA

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KNJIGA APSTRAKATA

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FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY
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Workshop
30 September 2020
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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Novi Sad
2020

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Program

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10.00 – 10.15 Otvaranje

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- 13.40 – 14.00 **Jelena Đureinović**, Supkulture sećanja? Žrtve iz manjinskih grupa u hegemonim okvirima sećanja u Srbiji
- 14.00 – 14.20 **Karolina Lendak-Kabok**, Konstrukcije identiteta i integracioni obrasci milenijalaca rođenih u mešovitim brakovima u Vojvodini
- 14.20 – 15.00 Pauza za kafu
- 15.00 – 16.00 Okrugli sto: **Društvena integracija i drugost**
Učesnice/i: Smiljana Milinkov, Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj i Dušan Ristić
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Moderator: Karolina Lendák-Kabók
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UVODNA REČ

Poslednjih godina smo u Centralnoj i Istočnoj Evropi svedoci/kinje erodiranja demokratskih vrednosti kroz kontrolu i manipulisanje medijima, nepostojanja nezavisnog sudstva i pokušaja kontrolisanja i oduzimanja autonomije visokobrazovnim institucijama. Od početka 2020. godine ceo svet, pa i Evropsko društvo, suočavalo se i sa nevidljivom silom, virusom COVID-19, koja je po mnogima došla kao odgovor na ljudski nemar prema prirodi. Istorijske činjenice nas uče da društvo, u cilju opstanka, mora da se suoči sa brojnim izazovima tako što će kroz istraživanja doći do novih saznanja i dostignuća. Kako bi istraživanje bilo uspešno i pravično, mora se primeniti i rodno osetljivo znanje. Izraz „rodno osetljivo znanje“ u najširem smislu odnosi se na razumevanje rodni obrazaca i okolnosti pod kojima oni nastaju. Ako se u institucijama koje proizvode znanje, rodna ili bilo koja druga nejednakost održava (na primer, prekomernom zastupljenošću glavnih demografskih grupa, bez uključivanja manjina), može lišiti prirodu proizvedenog znanja svoje dalekosežnosti i slojevitosti. Onaj ko proizvodi i poseduje znanje, ima najviše udela u odabiru društveno-relevantnih tema, načinu istraživanja i pristupu istom. Iz tog razloga, osiguravanje raznolikosti istraživača i istraživačica, kao i manjina, na adekvatan način, predstavlja put ka istraživanjima koja će biti od koristi celom društvu.¹ Centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi danas nije potrebno jednokratno rešenje, već sistematski izgrađena strategija kako bi se izborila sa rodnim nejednakostima, imajući u vidu i strukturalne, kulturne i etničke komponente.

Radionica „Manjinski identiteti i društvena integracija“ je deo projekta „Pravo na prvu šansu“ finansiranog od strane Pokrajinskog sekretarijata za visoko obrazovanje i naučnoistraživačku delatnost koji se realizuje na Filozofskom fakultetu u jednogodišnjem periodu od oktobra 2019. do oktobra 2020. godine. Pomenuti skup je inicijalno trebalo da se održi 4. juna 2020. godine, ali zbog okolnosti izazvanih pandemijom COVID-19, skup se održava 30. septembra iste godine. Svojstvena odlika skupa je što uključuje odlične mlade naučnice i

¹ Tsui, J. (2015). *Is there a systemic gender bias in knowledge production? A look at UK Universities and Think Tanks*. Retrieved from <https://onthinktanks.org/articles/is-there-a-systemic-gender-bias-in-knowledge-production-a-look-at-uk-universities-and-think-tanks/>, pristupljeno 02. 06. 2020. godine.

naučnike iz regiona, koji/e su, istražujući, analizirajući i dokumentujući društveno relevantne pojave, oslanjajući se delom i na sopstvena iskustva, postali/e istaknuti stručnjaci i stručnjakinje iz aktuelnih i relevantnih oblasti društveno-humanističkih nauka. Radovi imaju za cilj da delimično ili u potpunosti daju odgovore na neka od sledećih pitanja:

1. Da li postoji mogućnost za definisanje jedne sveobuhvatne politike tolerancije i kolektivnog zadovoljstva?
2. Da li se traume iz bliske prošlosti mogu ublažiti većom društvenom angažovanošću i naglaskom na studije sećanja?
3. Kako i na koji način možemo sačuvati i negovati različitost bez stvaranja drugosti?

Radovi se mogu podeliti u dva tematska dela. Prvi deo se bavi etničkom i manjinskom pripadnošću sa aspekta državnih institucija i političke perspektive, tražeći optimalne državne konstrukcije pristupom odozgo prema dole. Drugi deo se bavi gorepomenutim pitanjima društvenog konteksta integracije iz antropološke, sociološke i istorijske perspektive koristeći istraživački pristup odozdo prema gore.

Radionica se nakon prezentacije radova nastavlja okruglim stolom na kom će se prodiskutovati društveni kontekst integracije i drugosti iz sociološkog aspekta i iz aspekta medijskih studija.

Relevantnost teme i radova sa ovog skupa dokazuje i to što je nacionalni časopis međunarodnog značaja *Etnoantropološki problemi* prihvatio da posveti temat odabranim radovima nakon recenzije. Temat časopisa će biti ključan rezultat ovog skupa, te će služiti kao pomoćna naučna literatura za studente antropologije, sociologije, medijskih studija, prava, rodnih studija, istorije i političkih nauka, ali i široj naučnoj zajednici kao i kreatorkama/ima politika u Srbiji i u regionu.

Dr Karolina Lendak-Kabok
Organizatorica radionice

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, we have witnessed the erosion of democratic values in Central and Eastern Europe through the control and manipulation of the media, the lack of judicial independence and attempts to control higher education institutions and deprive them of their autonomy. Since the beginning of 2020, the entire world, including the European society, has been facing an invisible force, the COVID-19 virus, which, according to many, came as a response to human negligence towards nature. Historical facts teach us that society, in order to survive, must face numerous challenges by gaining new knowledge and achievements through research. In order for research to be successful and equitable, gender-sensitive knowledge must also be applied. The term "gender-sensitive knowledge" in the broadest sense refers to an understanding of gender patterns and the circumstances under which they arise. If gender or any other inequality is maintained in knowledge-producing institutions (for example, by over-representation of major demographic groups, without the inclusion of minorities), it can deprive the nature of the knowledge produced of its far-reaching and stratified nature. The one who produces and possesses knowledge has the highest share in the selection of socially relevant topics, the manner of research and the approach to the same. For this reason, ensuring the diversity of researchers, as well as minorities, in an adequate way, represents a path to research that will benefit society as a whole.² Central and Eastern Europe today do not need a one-off solution, but a systematically built strategy to deal with gender inequalities, bearing in mind the structural, cultural and ethnic components.

The workshop "Minority Identities and Social Integration" is part of the project "Right to First Chance" funded by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research, which is being implemented at the Faculty of Philosophy in the one-year period from October 2019 to October 2020. The mentioned workshop was initially supposed to be held on 4 June 2020, but due

² Tsui, J. (2015). *Is there a systemic gender bias in knowledge production? A look at UK Universities and Think Tanks*. Retrieved from <https://onthinktanks.org/articles/is-there-a-systemic-gender-bias-in-knowledge-production-a-look-at-uk-universities-and-think-tanks/>, accessed on 2 June 2020.

to the circumstances caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been rescheduled for 30 September of the same year. A particular feature of the workshop is that it involves remarkable young scientists from the region, who, researching, analyzing and documenting socially relevant phenomena, relying in part on their own experiences, have become prominent experts in current and relevant fields of social sciences and humanities. Their papers aim to provide partial or complete answers to some of the following questions:

1. Is there a possibility to define a comprehensive policy of tolerance and collective satisfaction?
2. Can the traumas of the recent past be alleviated by greater social engagement and emphasis on memory studies?
3. How and in what way can we preserve and nurture diversity without creating otherness?

The papers can be divided into two thematic sections. The first section deals with ethnic and minority affiliation from the aspect of state institutions and political perspective, looking for optimal state constructions with a top-down approach. The second part deals with the above-mentioned issues of the social context of integration from an anthropological, sociological and historical perspective using a bottom-up research approach.

After the presentation of the papers, the workshop continues with a round table discussion on the social context of integration and otherness from the sociological aspect and from the aspect of media studies.

The relevance of the topic and papers from this workshop is proved by the fact that the national journal of international significance, *Ethnoanthropological Problems*, has accepted to dedicate a special issue to the papers selected after review. The special issue of the journal will be the key result of this workshop, and it will serve as auxiliary scientific literature for students of anthropology, sociology, media studies, law, gender studies, history and political science, but also for the wider scientific community and policy makers in Serbia and in the region.

Dr. Karolina Lendák-Kabók
Workshop organizer

APSTRAKTI

Katinka Beretka

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Profil slučajeva u praksi Ustavnog suda Republike Hrvatske u oblasti prava nacionalnih manjina, sa posebnim osvrtom na jezička prava „novih“ manjinskih zajednica

Upotreba maternjeg jezika ne samo u privatnom životu nego i u usmenoj i pismenoj komunikaciji sa državnim organima predstavlja neodvojivi deo identiteta svake nacionalne zajednice – bilo većinske, bilo manjinske, i nije sporno da ovaj identitet treba da uživa posebnu zaštitu u svakom pravnom poretku. Ali, težnja ka čuvanju ovog identiteta s obe strane često se manifestuje u formi političkih sukoba unutar društva, koji neretko zahtevaju i pravno rešenje uključivanjem nezavisnih arbitara: sudova.

U periodu od 2000. godine pa do današnjeg dana Ustavni sud Republike Hrvatske se često suočavao sa izazovom da odlučuje o politički osetljivim temama, naročito kada se radilo o potrebi za zaštitom prava, kako tradicionalnih, tako i takozvanih „novih“ manjinskih zajednica – koje su formiranjem novih samostalnih nacionalnih država nastale od nekadašnjih konstitutivnih naroda bivše Jugoslavije. Slučajevi koji se javljaju u praksi suda raznovrsni su, ali se po predmetu pretežno odnose na kulturnu autonomiju, predstavljanje pripadnika nacionalnih manjina u lokalnim, odnosno regionalnim predstavničkim telima i ravnopravnu zastupljenost u javnom sektoru, kao i na (službenu) upotrebu jezika i pisma. Podnosioci ustavnih tužbi, odnosno inicijatori postupaka ocene ustavnosti i zakonitosti opštih pravnih akata vođeni su raznim motivima; a pitanje je da li su ovi motivi bili od uticaja na rad Ustavnog suda, to jest da li je sud prilikom odlučivanja ostao veran svojoj prvobitnoj ulozi da štiti osnovne, bezvremenske vrednosti ustavnog poretka Hrvatske ili se rukovodio programima aktuelne partijske politike.

Pored generalnog predstavljanja pravne regulative manjinskih prava, odnosno nadležnosti Ustavnog suda u Hrvatskoj uz pomoć pravno naučnih metoda u radu se posebno analiziraju slučajevi u vezi jezičkih prava „novih“ manjinskih zajednica, fokusirajući se na argumentaciju „obe strane,“ odnosno Ustavnog suda u toku postupka. Cilj rada je da se preko konkretnih ustavnosudskih predmeta ustanovljava profil prakse Ustavnog suda Hrvatske u oblasti jezičkih prava

nacionalnih manjina, sa posebnim osvrtom na ispitivanje doslednosti suda prilikom odlučivanja u sličnim predmetima.

Ključne reči: Hrvatska, Ustavni sud, nacionalne manjine, jezička prava

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Postsocijalističke nevolje s rodom:

Lezbejski separatizam i rodna opresija na postjugoslovenskom prostoru

Lezbejski marš, održan u Beogradu u aprilu 2015. godine, predstavlja vrhunac lezbejskog separatističkog organizovanja koje se na (post)jugoslovenskom prostoru razvija poslednjih decenija. U ovom se članku pozivam na višestruke empirijske izvore kako bih rekonstruisao taj neuobičajeni događaj i pozicionirao ga, s jedne strane, u kontekst (post)jugoslovenskog feminističkog delovanja, kao i, s druge, u šire tokove aktivističkog angažmana inspirisane angloameričkim borbama za lezbejsku (i GBT) emancipaciju. Posvećujući pažnju kontroverzama koje je Marš izazvao u okviru regionalne aktivističke „zajednice”, ispitujem načine na koje se rodna opresija artikuliše i suzbija nakon propasti jugoslovenskog socijalizma.

Ključne reči: lezbejski separatizam, rodna opresija, socijalizam

Jelena Đureinović

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Supkulture sećanja? Žrtve iz manjinskih grupa u hegemonim okvirima sećanja u Srbiji

Kriza demokratije i rast autoritarizma i populizma kao tendencija u Srbiji tokom poslednjih godina stvorili su još povoljniju političku klimu za širenje revizionističkih narativa o savremenoj istoriji, posebno o Drugom svetskom ratu i ratovima na području bivše Jugoslavije devedesetih godina. Politički

akteri u Srbiji počeli su da ulažu velike napore u politiku sećanja koja glorifikuje srpsku naciju a kriminalizuje druge. Politika sećanja koju promoviše hibridni režim demokratije sa autoritarnim karakteristikama koji je na vlasti u Srbiji od 2012. godine ima niz karakteristika. Prvo, političke elite su započele sa komemoracijama događaja iz ratova devedesetih godina velikih razmera kakve nisu postojale ranije. Drugo, obeležavanja godišnjica obeležava sve jača militarizacija komemorativnih praksi. Vojne parade i drugi prikazi vojne snage Srbije prate veliki broj komemoracija koje slave heroizam i snagu srpske nacije i države u prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Pojavile su se i nove prakse posvećene žrtvama, kao što je putujuća komemoracija Operacije Oluja koju Republika Srpska i Srbija organizuju zajedno. Prilikom ovih obeležavanja, državni zvaničnici prisvajaju narativ o ljudskim pravima i memorijalizaciji i predstavljaju Srbiju kao državu koja pruža ruku pomirenja. Međutim, ovi narativi su ukorenjeni u nacionalističkom diskursu pa je dominantna politika sećanja hibridna koliko i režim koji je sprovodi.

U kontekstu interrelacije između autoritarne demokratije i politike sećanja u savremenoj Srbiji, ovaj rad istražuje poziciju etničkih manjina u hegemonij politici sećanja na oružane sukobe devedesetih godina. Dok se službeni narativi zasnivaju na komemoraciji isključivo srpskih žrtava, postoje lokalni slučajevi gde predstavnici vladajućih stranaka organizuju obeležavanja stradanja državljana Republike Srbije drugih nacionalnosti. Rad preispituje ovaj fenomen koristeći studije slučaja opština Prijepolje i Priboj na primerima obeležavanja otmice u Štrpcima i Sjeverinu.

Ključne reči: hibridna politika sećanja, nacionalistički diskurs, narativi, žrtve, nacionalnosti

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Dvostruke manjine: razumevanje etničkog i religijskog identiteta manjinskih zajednica u Srbiji

Manjinske zajednice u Srbiji se vrlo često posmatraju iz ugla jednog tipa manjinskog identiteta – etničkog. Kada je reč o religijskom identitetu

manjinskih zajednica, još uvek je nedovoljan broj studija i istraživanja posvećenih složenom odnosu između etničkog i religijskog identiteta. Na osnovu višegodišnjih terenskih istraživanja Rumuna koji pripadaju neoprotestantskim zajednicama u Vojvodini, u ovom radu se analiziraju etnički i religijski identitet manjinskih zajednica kroz prizmu koncepta dvostrukih manjina. Polazeći od hipoteze da granice etničkog i religijskog identiteta nisu unapred definisane i statične, analiziraju se narativi prikupljeni u četiri neoprotestantске zajednice. Primer Rumuna neoprotestanata pokazuje kakva je uloga konverzije (preobraćenja) u etničkim i religijskim manjinskim zajednicama, kao i koliko religijski identitet postaje homogenizujući činilac u nadnacionalnim verskim zajednicama.

Ključne reči: dvostruke manjine, religija, Rumuni, Vojvodina

Karolina Lendak-Kabok

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Konstrukcije identiteta i integracioni obrasci milenijalaca rođenih u mešovitim brakovima u Vojvodini

Mešoviti brakovi su već nekoliko decenija često u fokusu socioloških istraživanja, a posebno produktivno bilo je sociološko tretiranje pomenutih brakova u kontekstu razumevanja međugrupnih odnosa. Osnovna pretpostavka koja podvlači ovu liniju istraživanja jeste da je brak i glavni indikator i glavni faktor u konstrukcijama identiteta koji može rezultirati asimilacijom i akulturacijom, ili većim stepenom društvene integracije. Dok su se u prošlosti vršile studije o etnički mešovitim brakovima u Vojvodini, one su se uglavnom zasnivale na javno dostupnim statističkim podacima iz popisa stanovništva.

Cilj rada je da kroz perspektivu intersekcionalnosti istraži koji su glavni pokazatelji konstrukcije identiteta milenijalaca rođenih u mešovitim brakovima, i da li postoji rodna razlika u održavanju karakteristika etničke manjine i prenošenju istih na njihovu decu.

Istraživanje se zasniva na kvalitativnim podacima, i to na devet intervju sa milenijalcima koji su rođeni u etničkom braku (srpsko-mađarski) ili su

odrastajući usvojili dvostruki identitet. Nalazi pokazuju da su na identitet ispitanika i upotrebu jezika manjina uticali: (1) ratovi devedesetih i da je to efekat u Vojvodini; (2) jezik osnovnog i srednjeg obrazovanja; (3) okruženje u kojem su rasli i trenutno žive i (4) nacionalnost partnera. Vreme napetosti devedesetih učinilo je neke od ispitanika etnički traumatizovanim, jer su pretrpeli diskriminaciju na osnovu svoje etničke pripadnosti. Naime, oni koji su obrazovani na većinskom jeziku samo preferiraju da koriste većinski jezik u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji. Za one koji su obrazovani na većinskom jeziku, odvojeno od nacionalnog identiteta, manjinski jezik nema nikakvu emocionalnu funkciju niti je sredstvo pripadnosti manjinskoj grupi, nego isključivo sredstvo komunikacije koje bi se moglo iskoristiti u budućnosti. Ako je okruženje u kojem su ispitanici odrastali opština u kojoj pretežno živi etnička manjina, jezik i identitet etničkih manjina više su sačuvani. Budući da milenijalci za sada u većini slučajeva imaju svoje porodice, ako je njihov partner iz većinske zajednice, nalazi pokazuju da je očuvanje identiteta etničke manjine teže. Rodna analiza pokazala je da i muškarci i žene govore o važnosti očuvanja manjinskog identiteta, ali uglavnom su majke te koje postupaju proaktivno po ovom pitanju. Ključni uticaj istraživanja je konceptualizacija identiteta milenijalaca, rođenih u etnički mešovitim brakovima, kao ranjive grupe, zbog efekata političke turbulencije devedesetih i razumevanje rodni i međugrupnih odnosa a u cilju poboljšanja i održavanja kulturne raznolikosti regiona.

Ključne reči: mešoviti brakovi, etnicitet, rod, milenijalci, identitet, društvena integracija, Vojvodina

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Uticaj političkih stranaka nacionalnih manjina na kulturnu autonomiju u Republici Srbiji

Ambicija autorke je da odgovori na sledeće istraživačko pitanje: u kojoj meri i na koji način političke stranke nacionalnih manjina utiču na kulturnu autonomiju u Srbiji? U nastojanju da odgovori na postavljeno pitanje autorka će se baviti analizom učešća stranaka nacionalnih manjina u formiranju

Nacionalnih saveta, kao organa kulturne autonomije u Srbiji. S obzirom na činjenicu da je u Srbiji dvadeset i tri nacionalne manjine osnovalo svoje nacionalne savete, autorka je odabrala tri manjine koje će biti tema analize u ovom radu: mađarska, bošnjačka i hrvatska. Političke stranke nacionalnih manjina imaju veliku ulogu u procesu integracije, njihova uloga u domenu političke integracije je jasna, međutim uticaj ovih stranaka, kao glavnih generatora interesa nacionalnih manjina, na kulturnu autonomiju, odnosno društvenu integraciju nije u dovoljnoj meri istražen. Cilj rada je da se ispita sledeća tvrdnja: monopolizacija domena kulturne autonomije od strane političkih stranaka ugrožava proces društvene integracije nacionalnih manjina. Kako bi utvrdili karakter uticaja političkih stranaka na rad nacionalnih saveta, u prvom koraku se moraju izdvojiti osnovne odlike modela kulturne autonomije koja se primenjuje u Srbiji. Nakon toga daće se kratak prikaz geneze razvoja i pozicioniranja manjinskih stranaka u političkom sistemu Srbije i, konačno, prikazaće se uticaj manjinskih stranaka na funkcionisanje nacionalnih saveta, i to kroz dva parametra: učešće na izborima za nacionalne savete i način donošenja odluka. Prvi parametar podrazumeva analizu ostvarenih rezultata i teme kampanja. Drugi parametar se odnosi na stepen inkluzivnosti procesa donošenja odluka.

Ključne reči: nacionalne manjine, Nacionalni saveti, kulturna autonomija, političke stranke

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Nečija ili opštenarodna: porođaj u Srbiji

Ženin socijalni, ekonomski i etnički identitet uveliko oblikuje njeno iskustvo rađanja. Ovaj rad se fokusira na mapiranje strategije žena prilikom trudnoće i porođaja u jednom većem gradu u Srbiji. Ovaj rad zasnovan je na osamnaest meseci terenskog rada na temu pružanja zdravstvene nege trudnicama i porodiljama u Srbiji.

Personalizujuće strategije uglavnom se razumeju kao težnja za uspostavljanjem neformalnih odnosa (prijateljstva, poznanstva, izmišljena

srodstva), ali ne i kao strategija uspostavljena kroz formalne odnose unutar potrošačke tržišne prakse (odlazak u privatnu praksu). Ono što pokazuju priče žena sa drugog sprata ovog porodilišta jeste da ove dve strategije – neformalne i tržišne – međusobno povezane.

Žene traže individualne strategije personalizacije u državnim bolnicama da bi se prema njima postupalo kao prema osobi a ne kao porođajnom telu. „Imati nekoga“ je uobičajena briga koju su žene imale kada se približilo vreme za porođaj. Uspeh u ovom poduhvatu trudnicu pretvara iz „ničije“ i „opštenarodne“ u „nečiju“. Međutim, taj uspeh je predodređen postojećim identitetskim položajima žene. Najčešće Romkinje nemaju ni socijalni ni ekonomski kapital da promene svoj položaj u bolnici. One su žene iz „naroda“ („opštenarodne“), njihove sposobnosti da pregovaraju o svom porođajnom iskustvu su ozbiljno ograničene njihovim položajem unutar širih struktura društva. Na njihovo iskustvo duboko utiče institucionalizovani rasizam i strukturalno nasilje.

Ključne reči: trudnoća i porođaj, prakse, institucionalno nasilje, strukturalno nasilje, Srbija

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Mreže u doba transnacionalizma – slučaj Mađara

U fokusu rada je transnacionalizam koji predstavlja popularnu i važnu temu u oblasti društvenih nauka. Mnogi aspekti ovog fenomena su istraženi u mađarskom kontekstu, ali slučaj vojvođanskih Mađara, kao manjinske zajednice, jedinstven je po tome što ona ima vrlo visoku stopu iseljavanja, što može ojačati formiranje transnacionalne mreže u ovoj zajednici. Emigracija Mađara iz Mađarske, Rumunije, Slovačke itd. uglavnom se intenzivirala nakon pristupanja ovih zemalja EU, dok je fenomen emigracije vojvođanskih Mađara bio ukalupljen u kontekst bivše Jugoslavije jer se emigrantski fenomen pojavio već 60-ih.

Istraživanje koje se zasniva na analizi medijskog diskursa s jedne strane i na osnovu kvalitativnih intervju sa druge, može ukazati na razlike koje karakterišu iseljavanje vojvođanskih Mađara i na činjenicu da tu „nema ničeg novog pod suncem“ (iako su percepcije političara prilično različite, poput stigmatizacije migranata).

Pitanja su, u našem slučaju, možemo li govoriti o nastanku transnacionalne mreže, da li zaista ostaje živi odnos sa onima koji ostaju kod kuće i kakav je taj odnos. Pitanje je i u kojoj se političkoj zajednici migranti smatraju članovima, jer se na društvenim medijima i u mađarskoj štampi i oni koji su ostali kod kuće i oni koji su emigrirali, često pojavljuju kao deo često vrlo nacionalističkog mađarskog političkog diskursa, kao pristalice Orbanovog režima, a da pritom ne žive u Mađarskoj. Međutim, ove pojave su samo delimično jedinstvene, mada su jedva bile prisutne pre 1990. godine, ali ne i pre 2010. godine u mađarskom javnom životu u Vojvodini. Ovde je od suštinske važnosti da se analiziraju društveni mediji i tradicionalni mediji, kao i njihov uticaj, na činjenicu da su mnogi vojvođanski Mađari migranti, a čini se da među njima ima ogromne netrpeljivosti prema migrantima, kao i kod onih koji ostaju kod kuće.

Ključne reči: vojvođanski Mađari, transnacionalizam, migracije, socijalni mediji, mreža

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Ostvarivanje društvene kohezije u svetlu politike multikulturalizma prema etnokulturnim manjinama

Problematizacija društvene kohezije karakteriše period savremene ubrzane globalizacije u drugoj polovini XX veka. Složenost i višedimenzionalnost ovog koncepta dodatno su dobile na značaju u uslovima transformišućih procesa globalizacije u svim njenim dimenzijama. Potreba da se ponovo promisli staro pitanje: „Šta je to što nas, kao društvo, drži na okupu?“ i čini da ono „mi“ bude jače od različitih dezintegrišućih faktora i tendencija, veća je nego ikada. U tom smislu, pitanje modela multikulturalizma i njegovih efekata na društvenu

koheziju savremenih društava postaje veoma važno. Kao dominantan model upravljanja etnokulturnim pluralizmom, multikulturalizam je u određenom stepenu prisutan u svim savremenim demokratijama. Na koje efekte ovog modela treba obratiti pažnju, iz perspektive osnaživanja društvene kohezije naših društava? Šta je to što se percipira kao najproblematičnije, u smislu dezintegracionih potencijala, a tiče se primene ovoga modela u normativno-političkom smislu?

Ključne reči: društvena kohezija, multikulturalizam, etnokulturni pluralizam, demokratija, globalizacija

ABSTRACTS

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Cross Section of Cases in the Practice of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia in Field of National Minority Rights, with Special Regard on Linguistic Rights of “New” Minority Groups

Use of mother tongue both in private life and oral-written communication with public bodies is inseparably connected to the identity of every national community – being in majority or minority position – and thus this identity should be particularly protected in each legal system. But both sides’ effort to preserve the status of their language within the society is frequently manifested in the form of political battles that often ask for legal solution, including independent arbitrators: courts.

In the period from 2000 to the present day, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia again and again has been facing the challenge to decide about politically sensitive issues, especially when it was required to protect the rights of traditional and the so-called “new” minority groups – that have arisen out of the former constitutive nations of former Yugoslavia by formation of new independent nation states in the region. The cases in the practice of the Constitutional Court are diverse, but in accordance with their subject matter they predominantly refer to cultural autonomy, delegation of persons belonging to national minorities in local and regional assemblies, proportional representation in public sector and the (official) use of language and script, as well. Persons who file constitutional appeal or initiate review of constitutionality and legality of general legal acts before the Constitutional Court are guided by the most various motives, but the question is whether these motives affect the court’s work, or, in other words, whether the court has remained loyal to its primer function to protect basic, timeless values of the Croatian constitutional order or it has been governed by the programs of actual party politics during decision making.

Besides the presentation of legal regulation of minority rights and competences of the Constitutional Court in general, the paper particularly analyzes the cases in connection with the linguistic rights of the „new” minority groups in Croatia, focusing on argumentation of „both sides” and the

Constitutional Court in the respective proceedings. The goal of the paper is to determine the profile of the Croatian Constitutional Court's practice in field of minority linguistic rights, with special regard to its consistency deciding similar cases.

Keywords: Croatia, constitutional court, national minority, linguistic rights

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Post-Socialist Gender Dilemmas: Lesbian Separatism and Gender Oppression in the Post-Yugoslav Space

The 2015 Belgrade Lesbian March represented the culmination point of the fragile but resilient lesbian separatist thread that has been developing in the (post-)Yugoslav space over the last decades. In this paper I draw upon a variety of empirical sources to reconstruct that gathering and contextualise it both in the history of Yugoslav feminist/lesbian organising as well as in the broader, Anglo-American history of lesbian (and GBT) activist mobilisations. I use the controversies that the March provoked within the activist "community" to engage with the broader issues of how gender-based oppression has been articulated and struggled against in the wake of Yugoslav socialism.

Keywords: lesbian separatism, gender oppression, socialism

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Subcultures of Memory? Victims from Minority Groups in the Hegemonic Frameworks of Memory in Serbia

The crisis of democracy and the growth of authoritarianism and populism as a tendency in Serbia in recent years have created an even more favorable political climate for spreading revisionist narratives about modern history,

especially about World War II and the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Political actors in Serbia have begun to put great effort into a policy of remembrance that glorifies the Serbian nation and criminalizes others. The policy of remembrance promoted by the hybrid regime of democracy with authoritarian characteristics, which has been in power in Serbia since 2012, has a number of characteristics. First, political elites began commemorating the events of the wars of the 1990s on a large scale, unlike ever before. Second, anniversary celebrations are marked by an increasing militarization of commemorative practices. Military parades and other depictions of Serbia's military strength are accompanied by a large number of commemorations that celebrate the heroism and strength of the Serbian nation and state in the past and present. New practices dedicated to the victims have also emerged, such as the traveling commemoration of Operation Storm, organized by Republika Srpska and Serbia together. During these commemorations, state officials appropriate the narrative of human rights and memorialization and present Serbia as a state offering a hand of reconciliation. However, these narratives are rooted in nationalist discourse, so the dominant politics of remembrance is as hybrid as the regime that enforces it.

In the context of the interrelation between authoritarian democracy and the politics of remembrance in contemporary Serbia, this paper explores the position of ethnic minorities in the hegemonic politics of remembrance of the armed conflicts of the 1990s. While the official narratives are based on the commemoration of exclusively Serbian victims, there are local cases where representatives of the ruling parties organize commemorations of the suffering of citizens of the Republic of Serbia of other nationalities. The paper examines this phenomenon using case studies from the municipalities of Prijepolje and Priboj on examples of marking abductions in Štrpci and Sjeverin.

Keywords: hybrid memory policy, nationalist discourse, narratives, victims, nationalities

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Double Minorities: Understanding Ethnic and Religious Identity of Minority Communities in Serbia

In Serbia, minority communities are usually seen from one type of minority identity – the ethnic one. Thus, the lack of research still exists when it comes to the religious identity of minority communities and the complex relationship between ethnic and religious identity. Based on several years of ethnographic fieldwork among neo-Protestant Romanians in Vojvodina, in this paper I analyze ethnic and religious identity of minority communities as double minorities. Starting from the hypothesis that the boundaries of ethnic and religious identity are not predefined and static, I analyze the narratives collected in four neo-Protestant communities. The case study of Romanian neo-Protestants in this paper indicates the role of conversion in ethnic and religious minority communities, but also how religious identity becomes more important in supra-national religious groups.

Keywords: double minorities, religion, Romanians, Vojvodina

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Identity Constructions and Integration Patterns in Ethnic Intermarriage-Born Millennials in Vojvodina

Ethnic intermarriage has been a frequent focus of social research for several decades, especially productive has been the sociological treatment of intermarriage in the context of understanding intergroup relations. The basic assumption underlining this line of research is that intermarriage is both the main indicator of, and a principal factor in identity constructions which might result in assimilation or acculturation or in a higher extent of social integration. While studies were conducted in the past on ethnic intermarriages in the multicultural and multi-ethnic Vojvodina i.e. northern

province of Serbia, they were mostly based on publicly available statistical data analysis from the census.

The goal of the study is, by adopting an intersectional perspective, to investigate what are the main indicators of ethnic intermarriage-born millennials' identity constructions and whether there is a gender-based difference in maintaining the ethnic minority characteristics and passing on to their children.

This study is based on qualitative data, nine in-depth interviews conducted with millennials who were born in ethnic intermarriages (Serbian – Hungarian) or adopted a double identity while growing up. The findings show, that the respondents' identities and minority language use were affected by (1) the 1990's wars and its effect in Vojvodina; (2) the language of the primary and secondary education; (3) the environment they were growing up and currently live in and (4) the ethnicity of their partners. The tension-filled time of the 1990's made some of the respondents ethnically traumatized, as they endured discrimination based on their ethnic background. Namely, those who were educated in the majority language only prefer to use the majority language in their everyday communication. For those who were educated in the majority language, separated from the national identity, it has no emotional function, nor is it a means of belonging to a minority group; it is solely a means of communication which could be capitalized from in the future. If the environment in which the respondents were growing up was predominantly an ethnic minority-inhabited municipality, the ethnic minority language and identity was more preserved. Since the millennials, for now, in most cases have their own families, the findings show that if their partner is from the majority community, the preservation of the ethnic minority identity is more difficult. The gender-sensitive analysis has shown that both men and women narrate about the importance of preserving the ethnic minority identity, but mainly the millennial mothers are stepping out proactively in this matter. The key impact of the study is to conceptualize the ethnic intermarriage-born millennials' identities and social integration patterns, and to understand their gender and intergroup relations in order to uphold the cultural diversity of the region.

Keywords: intermarriages, ethnicity, gender, millenials, identity, social integration, Vojvodina

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The Influence of Political Parties of National Minorities on Cultural Autonomy in the Republic of Serbia

It is the authors' ambition to answer the following question: to what extent do the political parties of national minorities influence the cultural autonomy in Serbia? With the intention of answering the research question, the author analyzes the role of minority parties in the establishment of National Minorities Councils (NMCs). NMCs are the main institutions of cultural autonomy in Serbia. Given that there are twenty-three minority groups who have established their National Minority Council, the author of this paper selected three minority groups as case studies: Hungarians, Bosniaks and Croats. The political parties of national minorities play a major role in the integration process, their role in the field of political integration is clear, however, the influence of these parties, as the main generators of national minority interests, on cultural autonomy and social integration has not been sufficiently explored. The aim of this paper is to examine the following statement: the monopolization of the domain of cultural autonomy by political parties endangers the process of social integration of national minorities. In order to determine the character of the impact of political parties on the work of NMCs, the first step will be to distinguish the main features of the model of cultural autonomy applied in Serbia. The following section will feature a brief overview of minority parties' development with a special emphasis on their position in the political and party system of Serbia. Finally, the impact of minority parties on the functioning of NMCs will be presented, through two parameters: participation in elections for NMCS and decision-making process. The first parameter is dedicated to the analysis of the results and the subjects of the campaigns. The second parameter relates to the degree of inclusiveness of the decision-making process.

Keywords: national minorities, National Councils, cultural autonomy, political parties

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Being No Ones and Being Someone's: Giving Birth in Serbia

Women's social, economic and ethnic background greatly shapes their birthing experience. This paper focuses on mapping out strategies used by women in one Serbian city as they navigated through the public maternal health care system. This paper is based on eighteen months of fieldwork on how maternal care is provided in a large city in Serbia.

Personalizing strategies have been understood generally as seeking to establish "informal relations" (friendships, acquaintances, fictive kinships), and unlike strategies established through consumerist market practices. What the stories of women from the second floor of this Serbian maternity hospital show are that these two strategies are not necessarily separate, but rather interconnected. Women seek out individual strategies of personalizing the public hospital, so they are treated as persons rather than birthing bodies during childbirth. Having someone who is yours (*imati nekog*) is a common concern that women had when their delivery due date approached. Success in this endeavor transforms a pregnant woman from "being no one's" (*ničija*) and being "of the people" (*opštenarodna*) to "being someone's" (*nečija*), but this success is predetermined by one's existing subject positionality. More frequently, Romani women would not have either social or economic capital to change their subject position in the hospital. These were the women "of the people" (*opštenarodne*), their ability to negotiate their birthing experience severely limited by their position in the larger structures of society. Their experience was deeply affected by institutionalized racism and structural violence.

Keywords: maternal care, practices, institutional violence, structural violence, Serbia

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Networks in the Age of Transnationalism - The Hungarian Case

The focus of this paper is transnationalism, which is a popular and important topic in the field of social sciences. Many aspects of this phenomenon have been explored in the Hungarian context, but the case of Vojvodina Hungarians, as a minority community, is unique in that the community has an immensely high emigration rate, which can strengthen the formation of a transnational network in this community. The emigration of Hungarians from Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, etc. intensified after the accession to the EU, while the phenomenon of emigration of Vojvodina Hungarians was molded into the context of the former Yugoslavia, because the emigration phenomenon appeared as early as the 1960s.

The research, based on an analysis of media discourse on the one hand and qualitative interviews on the other, may point to differences in the emigration of Vojvodina Hungarians and the fact that "there is nothing new under the sun" (although politicians' perceptions are quite different, such as stigmatization of migrants).

The questions are, in our case, can we talk about the emergence of a transnational network, does it really remain a living relationship with those who stay at home and what are its forms? The question is also in which political community migrants are considered members, because through social media and following the Hungarian press, those who stay at home and those who emigrate often appear as part of the often very nationalist Hungarian political discourse, as supporters of the Orbán regime, but do not live in Hungary. However, these phenomena are only partially unique, although they were hardly present before 1990, but not before 2010 in Hungarian public life in Vojvodina. Here, it is essential to analyze social media and traditional media, as well as its influence, on the fact that many Hungarians from Vojvodina are migrants, and it seems that there is a huge intolerance among migrants, as well as among those who stay at home.

Keywords: Vojvodina Hungarians, transnationalism, migrations, social media, network

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**Achieving Social Cohesion in the Light of the Policy of Multiculturalism
Towards Ethno-Cultural Minorities**

The problematization of social cohesion characterizes the period of modern, accelerated globalization in the second half of the 20th century. The complexity and multidimensionality of this concept have additionally gained importance in the conditions of transforming processes of globalization in all its dimensions. The need is greater than ever to rethink the old question: "What is it that keeps us together as a society?" and also what makes the "we" stronger than various disintegrating factors and tendencies. In this sense, the question of the model of multiculturalism and its effects on the social cohesion of modern societies becomes especially important. As the dominant model of managing ethnocultural pluralism, multiculturalism is to some extent present in all modern democracies. What effects of this model should we pay attention to, from the perspective of strengthening the social cohesion of our societies? What is perceived as the most problematic, in terms of disintegration potentials, and concerns the application of this model in the normative-political sense?

Keywords: social cohesion, multiculturalism, ethnocultural pluralism, democracy, globalization

BIOGRAFIJE UČESNIKA



Katinka Beretka, je docentkinja na privatnim pravnim fakultetima u Srbiji i gostujući profesor na Fakultetu za pravne i političke studije Univerziteta u Segedinu, Mađarska, drži vežbe iz obaveznih i fakultativnih predmeta kao što su ustavno i upravno pravo, demokratija, autonomije i regionalne samouprave. Teritorijalne i personalne autonomije, vertikalna podela vlasti i jezička prava nacionalnih manjina predstavljaju glavnu temu njenih istraživanja. U periodu između 2010. i 2014. godine bila je pravni savetnik za jezička pitanja u Nacionalnom savetu mađarske nacionalne manjine, odnosno za vreme drugog mandata (2014–2018) bila je izabrana članica samog saveta i njegovog Odbora za službenu upotrebu jezika i pisma. Članica je predsedništva Akademskog saveta Vojvođanskih Mađara (od 2016). Trenutno živi na Paliću sa suprugom i dve ćerke.



Bojan Bilić radi kao istraživač na Univerzitetu u Lisabonu i gostujući predavač na Univerzitetu u Bolonji. Bavi se sociologijom roda i seksualnosti na postjugoslovenskom prostoru. Autor je knjige *Borile smo se za vazduh: (Post)jugoslovenski antiratni aktivizam i njegovo nasleđe* (Jesenski i Turk, Documenta i Kuća ljudskih prava, 2015), urednik zbornika *Preko duge u Evropu: LGBT aktivizam i evropeizacija na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije* (Centar za kvir studije, 2016) i ko-urednik (s Vesnom Janković) zbornika *Opiranje zlu: (Post)jugoslavenski antiratni angažman* (Jesenski i Turk, Documenta i Kuća ljudskih prava, 2015) i *Sestrinstvo i jedinstvo: (Post)jugoslo/avenski lezbe/ijski aktivizam* (s Marijom Radoman, Mediterran Publishing, 2019).



Jelena Đureinović doktorirala je na modernoj i savremenoj istoriji na Justus Liebig Univerzitetu u Giessenu u Nemačkoj, gde je i predavala. Kao gostujuća istraživačica radila je na Nacionalnom univerzitetu Irske u Galwayu, u Centru za studije jugoistočne Evrope na Univerzitetu u Grazu i u Slovenačkoj akademiji nauka i umetnosti. Njene oblasti interesovanja obuhvataju studije sećanja, studije nacionalizma, istoriju Jugoslavije i postjugoslovenski prostor. Njena knjiga „Politika sećanja na Drugi svetski rat u savremenoj Srbiji: Kolaboracija, otpor i

odmazda“ objavljena je u izdavačkoj kući Routledge 2019. godine. Masterirala je studije nacionalizma na Centralnoevropskom univerzitetu u Budimpešti. Trenutno radi kao koordinatorica programa memorijalizacije u Fondu za humanitarno pravo u Beogradu.



Aleksandra Đurić Milovanović – viši naučni saradnik u Balkanološkom institutu SANU u Beogradu. Doktorirala je na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu na odeljenju za etnologiju i antropologiju na temi iz oblasti antropologije religije. Bila je gostujući predavač na University College Cork u Irskoj (2017), saradnik mnogih međunarodnih projekata. Od 2019. godine koordinator je projekta Network for Dialogue, Centra za interreligijski i interkulturni dijalog u Beču. Njena istraživanja usmerena su na manjinske etničke i verske zajednice, interreligijski dijalog i savremene migracije. Objavila je tri monografije, među kojima je i studija *Dvostruke manjine u Srbiji. O posebnostima u religiji i etnicitetu Rumuna u Vojvodini* (Balkanološki institut SANU, 2015). Sa dr Radmilom Radić objavila je zbornik radova *Orthodox Christian Renewal Movements in Eastern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).



Karolina Lendak-Kabok je naučna saradnica, zaposlena kao istraživačica na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu u okviru projekta „Prva šansa“. Prethodno je bila gostujuća istraživačica na Fakultetu društvenih nauka Etveš Lorand Univerziteta u Budimpešti. Fokus njenih istraživanja je položaj žena iz nacionalnih manjina u akademskim krugovima, jezička barijera, mešoviti brakovi, kao i položaj žena u oblastima nauke, tehnologije, inženjerstva i matematike. Objavljuje radove na mađarskom, srpskom i engleskom jeziku. Uredila je knjigu eseja žena iz mađarske nacionalne manjine koje žive u Srbiji *Úvegplafon? srp. „Stakleni plafon?“* (u štampi). Dobila je priznanje „Kristalna kugla“ 2017. godine za izuzetan naučni doprinos mlade naučnice iz mađarske nacionalne manjine u Vojvodini. Godine 2014. dobila je stipendiju Vlade Mađarske „Nacionalna izvrsnost“ i bila je članica trogodišnjeg programa stipendije „Collegium Talentum“ (2013–2016) za nadarene studente. Bila je gostujuća istraživačica na Centralnoevropskom univerzitetu (CEU) u Budimpešti 2015., na Univerzitetu u Sidneju 2016., na Univerzitetu Pariz-Est

Creteil u Parizu 2018. i na Univerzitetu u Lozani takođe 2018. godine. Bila je predavačica po pozivu na Odeljenju za sociologiju na Univerzitetu u Kjotu u martu 2019. Od septembra 2018. do juna 2019. godine učestvovala je u programu doktorske podrške na Odseku za rodne studije CEU u Budimpešti. Udata je i ima troje male dece.



Ksenija Marković radi u Institutu društvenih nauka od 2016. godine i trenutno je na poziciji istraživačice saradnice u Centru za politikološka istraživanja i javno mnjenje. Doktorantkinja je na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu. Na istom fakultetu je završila master studije 2013. godine (tema rada: *Učešće nacionalnih manjina u zakonodavnoj i izvršnoj vlasti u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Hrvatskoj*).

Trenutno radi na izradi doktorske disertacije koja se bavi teorijom političkog predstavljanja i analizom procesa društvene i političke integracije u Srbiji. Pored izučavanja nacionalnih manjina, u svom naučno-istraživačkom radu se bavi i izučavanjem javnih politika, društvenog razvoja i idejama i vrednostima socijalne demokratije. Objavila je više radova u časopisima od nacionalnog značaja i zbornicima radova. Učestvovala je na brojnim međunarodnim i nacionalnim konferencijama. Pre zaposlenja u Institutu društvenih nauka bila je angažovana u Forumu za etničke odnose (2013–2016) na poziciji koordinatorke projekta. Tokom svog rada u Forumu učestvovala je u realizaciji nekoliko istraživanja na temu položaja saveta nacionalnih manjina u Republici Srbiji, analize izbornih kampanja političkih stranaka nacionalnih manjina tokom izbora 2014. i 2016. godine, položaja srpske zajednice na Severu Kosova, praćenja Briselskog dijaloga.



Smiljana Milinkov je završila osnovne studije istorije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu, master studije Novinarstva na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu završava 2010. godine odbranivši master rad na temu „Exit povezuje ljude“. Iste godine upisuje, doktorske studije na ACIMSI Centru za rodne studije Univerziteta u Novom Sadu. Doktorsku disertaciju „Formalno i neformalno

obrazovanje i profesionalni status novinarki u Vojvodini - rodna perspektiva“ odbranila je 14. juna 2016. godine na Univerzitetu u Novom Sadu. U junu 2000. godine počinje da radi kao novinarka na Radiju 021 u Novom Sadu a

paralelno (2001-2002) predaje istoriju u novosadskoj gimnaziji „Svetozar Marković“. Tokom devetogodišnjeg novinarskog rada na Radiju 021 učestvovala je u realizaciji regionalnih projekata i bila članica Savetodavnog odbora medija u okviru izrade Nacionalne strategije za mlade. Na Odseku za medijske studije zaposlena od 2008. godine, kao stručna saradnica, zatim asistentkinja a za docentkinju je izabrana 2017 godine. Autorka je više radova objavljenih u domaćim i međunarodnim časopisima i zbornicima. Učestvovala je na naučnim skupovima u zemlji i u regionu, kao i u istraživanjima o profesionalnom statusu mladih novinara u Vojvodini; medijskoj slici sportistkinja u Vojvodini; medijskom diskursu o siromaštvu i socijalnoj isključenosti u Srbiji; medijskom izveštavanju o procesu pridruživanja Evropskoj uniji, kao i indeksu medijskog klijentelizma. Članica Nezavisnog društva novinara Vojvodine.



Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj je diplomirala (2008), masterirala (2009) i doktorirala (2015) na Odseku za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu. Na istom fakultetu zaposlena je od 2008. godine a od 2016. u zvanju docenta. Kao stipendistkinja Austrijske akademije nauka, u 2017. godini boravila je na Univerzitetu za prirodne resurse u bionauke u Beču, istražujući inter-urbani transfer modela rodno senzitivnog grada u Evropi. Ima više od 10 godina predavačkog i istraživačkog iskustva u oblasti sociologije. Učestvovala je na brojnim projektima i saradivala sa različitim domaćim i međunarodnim organizacijama i institucijama. Koordinatorica je Centra za sociološka istraživanja u Novom Sadu. Članica je Sociološkog društva Srbije i Crne Gore, Sekcije za Feministička istraživanja i kritičke studije maskuliniteta (SEFEM), Internacionalne sociološke asocijacije, sekcije za Sociologiju urbanog i regionalnog razvoja i sekcije Žene u društvu. Govori engleski i nemački jezik.



Ljiljana Pantović je doktorka antropologije i zaposlena je na Institutu za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju. Doktorirala je 2019. godine na Univerzitetu u Pitsburgu, SAD. Osnovne i master studije etnologije i antropologije je završila na Beogradskom univerzitetu a master iz rodni studija na Centralnoevropskom univerzitetu. Naučno-istraživački rad Ljiljane Pantović je fokusiran na proučavanje postsocija-

lističkih zdravstvenih sistema sa posebnim fokusom na konzumerizam, privatizaciju zdravstva i žensko reproduktivno zdravlje. Objavila je nekoliko radova u naučnim časopisima i zbornicima radova i izlagala na više međunarodnih naučnih skupova.



Dušan Ristić, je osnovne (2006.), master (2009.) i doktorske studije (2015.) sociologije završio na Odseku za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, na kojem je zaposlen u zvanju asistenta od 2009. godine, a od 2015. godine u zvanju docenta. Pored nastavnog rada, do sada je bio angažovan kao istraživač u domaćim i međunarodnim naučno-istraživačkim projektima posvećenim istraživanju multikulturalnosti, društvenih promena, digitalizacije, regionalizacije, migracija, rizika, itd. Tokom 2017. godine, boravio na usavršavanju na Univerzitetu u Friburgu u Švajcarskoj, kao dobitnik nagradne stipendije Gresli-Flek. Autor je jedne samostalne monografije – *Granice diskursa* (2018.), ko-autor i priređivač nekoliko knjiga i zbornika radova. Članke i studije iz područja sociologije objavljuje u domaćim i međunarodnim naučnim časopisima.



Đerđ Serbhorvat studirao je diplomirao sociologiju i medijsku sociologiju na Institutu za sociologiju Univerziteta Etveš Lorand. Od 1996. do 1999. godine bio je glavni urednik Novosadskog simpozijuma. Između 1998. i 1999. bio je glavni urednik mađarskog programa Radija 021, a između 1999. i 2001. bio je dopisnik u Budimpešti. U časopisu „Život i književnost” objavljuje od 1997. godine. Između 1998. i 2000. godine njegovi radovi su se pojavili u časopisu *Magyar Hírlap*. Od 2005. do 2008. bio je TV kritičar za *Népszabadság*. Između 1999. i 2001. bio je novinar za *Magyar Naracs*. U periodu od 2003. do 2004. radio je u novosadskom Multiradiju. Od 2007. do 2011. bio je zaposlen u Mađarskom radiju, a od 2008. do 2010. šef odeljenja za analitiku i statistiku. U periodu od 2013. do 2015. bio je urednik *Beszelo.hu*-a. Od 2014. Serbhorvat je istraživač saradnik u Institutu za manjinska istraživanja, Mađarske akademije nauka. Član je uredništva časopisa „Regio”, pomenutog insituta.



Danijela Vuković-Ćalasan je docentkinja na Fakultetu političkih nauka na Univerzitetu Crne Gore. Magistrirala je političke nauke na Univerzitetu u Beogradu i doktorirala političke nauke na Univerzitetu u Beogradu. Predaje kurseve o političkoj teoriji, globalizaciji, etničkoj pripadnosti i etničkoj vezi i političkoj kulturi. Njena naučna polja interesa su etnički i nacionalni odnosi i identiteti, globalizacija i savremene političke teorije, uključujući teoriju i politiku multikulturalizma. Istraživala je na Institutu za politikologiju Bečkog univerziteta. Bila je gostujući profesor u okviru programa ERASMUS + na Univerzitetu Opole u Poljskoj i u okviru istog programa na Univerzitetu Beira Interior, Covilha, Portugal. Vuković Ćalasan je autor monografije i nekoliko naučnih radova.

BIOGRAPHIES



Katinka Beretka, is an associate professor in private law schools in Serbia and a guest lecturer at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, University of Szeged, Hungary, in charge of compulsory and facultative courses like constitutional and administrative law, democracy, autonomies and regional self-governance. Her substantive research in legal science focuses on territorial and non-territorial autonomy, vertical division of power and linguistic rights of national minorities. In the period between 2010 and 2014 she held the position of legal councilor for linguistic issues in the Hungarian National Council in Serbia, and she was elected member of the council and its Committee on Official Use of Language and Script during the second mandate (2014-2018). She is member of the presidency of the Vojvodinian Hungarian Academic Council (since 2016). Currently, Beretka lives with her husband and their two daughters in Palić, located in the North Bačka District.



Bojan Bilić is a psychologist and political sociologist doing research on LGBTQ activisms and anthropology of non-heterosexual sexualities and gender variance in the post-Yugoslav space. He is the author of *We Were Gasping for Air: (Post-)Yugoslav Anti-War Activism and Its Legacy* (2012) and *Building Better Times: Trauma, Violence, and Lesbian Agency in Croatia and Serbia* (2020), editor of *On the Rainbow Way to Europe: LGBT Activism and Europeanisation in the Post-Yugoslav Space* (2016), and co-editor of *Resisting the Evil: (Post-)Yugoslav Anti-War Contention* (with Vesna Janković, 2012), *Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia: Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics* (with Sanja Kajinić, 2016), and *Sisterhood and Unity: Lesbian Activism in the (Post-)Yugoslav Space* (with Marija Radoman, 2019).



Jelena Đureinović holds a PhD in modern and contemporary history from the Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany, where she was a lecturer as well. As a visiting researcher, she has worked at the National University of Ireland in Galway, at the Center for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz and at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Her areas of interest include studies of memory, studies of nationalism, the history of Yugoslavia and the post-Yugoslav space. Her book

"The Politics of Remembrance of the Second World War in Contemporary Serbia: Collaboration, Resistance and Revenge" was published with the Routledge publishing house in 2019. She has a Master's degree in nationalism from the Central European University in Budapest. She is currently working as a coordinator of the memorialization program at the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade.



Aleksandra Đurić Milovanović - senior research associate at the Balkan Institute of SANU in Belgrade. She received her PhD from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, on the topic of anthropology of religion. She has been a guest lecturer at University College Cork in Ireland (2017), a collaborator on many international projects. Since 2019, she has been the coordinator of the Network for Dialogue project, the Center for Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue in Vienna. Her research focuses on minority ethnic and religious communities, interreligious dialogue, and contemporary migration. She has published three monographs, including the study *Double Minorities in Serbia. On the peculiarities of the religion and ethnicity of Romanians in Vojvodina* (Balkan Institute of SANU, 2015). With Dr. Radmila Radić, she published a collection of scientific papers *Orthodox Christian Renewal Movements in Eastern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).



Karolina Lendák-Kabók, PhD is a research associate and works as a researcher at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. Previously, she was an external researcher at ELTE, Faculty of Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary. The focus of her research is the position of ethnic minority women in academia, language barrier, ethnic intermarriages, as well as women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields. She publishes articles in Hungarian, Serbian and English. She edited a book of essays of ethnic minority Hungarian women living in Serbia (forthcoming: *Üvegplafon? – Eng. title: Glass ceiling?*, Forum, Novi Sad). Karolina was awarded the Crystal Ball Award in 2017 for an outstanding scientific contribution of a young Hungarian scholar from Vojvodina. In 2014, she received a "National Excellence" scholarship in Hungary and was part of the Hungarian three-year-long "Collegium Talentum" research

scholarship program (2013 – 2016) for gifted students. She was a visiting researcher at CEU Budapest in 2015, at the University of Sydney in 2016, at the Université Paris-Est Créteil, Paris in 2018 and the University of Lausanne, Switzerland also in 2018. She was an invited speaker at the Sociology Department, Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Japan on March 15th, 2019. From September 2018 until June 2019 she took part in a Doctoral Support Program at the Department of Gender Studies, CEU, Budapest, Hungary. Karolina is married and a mother of three small children.



Ksenija Marković has worked at the Institute of Social Sciences since 2016 and is currently a Research Assistant with the Centre for Politicological Research and Public Opinion. Ksenija Marković's work is focused on the rights and status of national minorities, the politics of integration, public policies, and social democracy. The title of her Master's thesis was "Comparative Review of the Rights, Status and Political

Integration of National Minorities in Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro". She is currently working on her PhD thesis dealing with the theory of political representation and an analysis of social and political integration in Serbia. She has published several papers in journals of national significance and conference proceedings. She has participated in national and international conferences dedicated to multiculturalism and national minorities' rights and status. Prior to engagement at the Institute of Social Sciences, she held the position of Project Coordinator at the Forum of Ethnical Relations (FER). As a member of the FER project team she participated in several researches regarding position and status of Minorities Councils in Republic of Serbia: analysis of election campaigns of political parties of national minorities (elections 2014 and 2016); status of Serbian minority in the north of Kosovo and overview (observing) of the Brussels dialogue.



Smiljana Milinkov completed her undergraduate studies in History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, as well as her master's studies in Journalism at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade in 2010, defending her master's thesis on the topic "Exit connects people". In the same year, she enrolled in doctoral studies at the ACIMSI, Center for Gender Studies at the University of Novi Sad. She

defended her doctoral dissertation titled "Formal and non-formal education and professional status of journalists in Vojvodina - gender perspective" on June 14, 2016, at the University of Novi Sad. In June 2000, she started working as a journalist at Radio 021 in Novi Sad, and, at the same time (2001-2002), she taught history at the Novi Sad high school "Svetozar Markovic". During her nine-year long journalistic work at Radio 021, she participated in the implementation of regional projects and was a member of the Media Advisory Board, which drafted the National Youth Strategy. She has been employed at the Department of Media Studies since 2008, as a research associate, then as an assistant, and was elected as an assistant professor in 2017. She is the author of several papers published in national and international journals and anthologies. She has participated in scientific conferences in the country and the region, as well as in research on the professional status of young journalists in Vojvodina; media image of female athletes in Vojvodina; media discourse on poverty and social exclusion in Serbia; media coverage of the process of joining the European Union, as well as the index of media clientelism. She is a member of the Independent Association of Journalists of Vojvodina.



Ana Pajvančić Cizelj graduated (2008), obtained her master's degree (2009), as well as her PhD (2015) at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. She has been employed at the same faculty since 2008, and as an assistant professor since 2016. In 2017, she won a scholarship from the Austrian Academy of Sciences, during which she was a visiting researcher at the University of Natural Resources in Biosciences in Vienna, researching the inter-urban transfer of the gender-sensitive city model in Europe. She has more than 10 years of teaching and research experience in the field of sociology. She has participated in numerous projects and collaborated with various national and international organizations and institutions. She is the coordinator of the Center for Sociological Research in Novi Sad. She is a member of the Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro, the Section for Feminist Research and Critical Studies of Masculinity (SEFEM), the International Sociological Association, the Section for Sociology of Urban and Regional Development and the Section for Women in Society. She speaks English and German.



Ljiljana Pantović holds a PhD in anthropology and she is employed at the Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade. She received her PhD in 2019 from the University of Pittsburgh, USA. She completed her undergraduate and Master's studies in ethnology and anthropology at the University of Belgrade, and also received a Master's degree in gender studies at the Central

European University. Ljiljana Pantović's research work is focused on the study of post-socialist health systems, with a special focus on consumerism, health privatization and women's reproductive health. She has published several papers in scientific journals and collections of papers, and has presented her work at several international scientific conferences.



Dušan Ristić, completed his undergraduate (2006), master's (2009) and doctoral (2015) studies in sociology at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, where he has been employed as an assistant since 2009, and since 2015 as an assistant professor. In addition to teaching, he has so far been engaged as a researcher in national and international scientific research projects

dedicated to the research of multiculturalism, social change, digitalization, regionalization, migration, risk, etc. During 2017, he attended a training course at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, as the winner of the Gresley-Fleck Award Scholarship. He is the author of an independent monograph - *Boundaries of Discourse* (2018), co-author and editor of several books and collections of papers. He publishes articles and studies in the field of sociology in domestic and international scientific journals.



György Szerbhorváth graduated in sociology and media sociology at the Institute of Sociology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

From 1996 to 1999 he was the editor-in-chief of the Novi Sad Symposium. Between 1998 and 1999 he was the editor-in-chief of the Hungarian program of Radio 021, and between 1999 and 2001 he was a correspondent in

Budapest. He has been publishing in *Life and Literature* since 1997. Between 1998 and 2000, his writings appeared in *Magyar Hírlap*. From 2005 to 2008 he

was a TV critic for Népszabadság. Between 1999 and 2001 he was a journalist for the Hungarian Orange (MaNcs). In 2003-2004 he worked for the Novi Sad Multiradio. From 2007-2011 he was an employee of the Hungarian Radio, in 2008-2010 he was the head of the Analyst and Statistics Department. In 2013-2015 he was the editor of Beszélő.hu. Since 2014, he has been a research assistant at the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the editorial board of the Institute's journal, Regio.



Danijela Vuković-Ćalasan is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Montenegro. She holds a Master's Degree in Political Sciences from the University of Belgrade and a PhD in Political Sciences from the University of Belgrade. She teaches courses on Political Theory, Globalization, Ethnicity, and Ethnic Relation and Political Culture. Her scientific fields of interests are ethnic and national relations and identities, globalization and contemporary political theories, including the theory and politics of multiculturalism. She has done a research at the Political Science Institute, University of Vienna. She has been a visiting professor within ERASMUS+ programme at Opole University, Poland and within the same programme at the *University of Beira Interior, Covilhã, Portugal*. Vuković-Ćalasan is the author of a monograph and several scientific papers.

NOTES

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