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SOCIAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

The Social Transformations We Live in:
Between Cohesion and Fragmentation

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Keynote speakers

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BOOKLET OF ABSTRACTS

17:30-19:30 Parallel Session 1a: **Democracy, Voting and Discourses**

Tadeusz Szawiel *The populist right parties voter: predictors of voting for populist right parties in EU countries*

KEYWORDS: Populist right parties, voting behavior, European Union, social bases of politics

ABSTRACT: The paper will follow up two problems: the social characteristics of voters who identify themselves as „far-right" and vote for radical right (populist) parties. Secondly, the factors that are conducive (or are good predictors) to voting for radical right populist parties in distinction to all others. Beginning with H. Kitschelt's (1997) and P. Norris' (2005) seminal works we know that social bases, i.e. changes in social structure and economy are not sufficient conditions for the appearance and stability of populist right parties. The analyses in this paper will concentrate on 5 types of factors. In designing different models of logistic regression it will be shown to what degree 1) social and demographic factors, 2) attitudes toward immigration, 3) attitudes toward EU, 4) satisfaction with institutional performance, and 5) ideological factors, contribute to casting a vote for populist right parties. The analysis will include 11 Western European democracies (Austria, Sweden Finland, Norway, Netherland, Denmark, Belgium, United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Italy) and 3 Central European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland). The analyses will be based on the two cumulative ESS data sets (2010-2012 and 2016), which enables to trace possible dynamics. A more detailed analysis of the Polish case will include mainstream right party (PiS – Law and Justice) and : Congress of the New Right (J. Korwin_Mikke), which got 7,2% of votes in 2014 EP election (data: April-December 2014, CBOS); Kukiz '15 movement, which got 9% of votes in 2015 national election; Freedom J. Korwin-Mikke (2016-2018). The analysis will be based on recent national surveys (CBOS: 2015-2016, 2016-2018).

Dadiana Chiran *Rationality and cultural effects in party preference in CEEC's: contingency on retrospective economic evaluation and cultural effects of party agenda setting*

KEYWORDS: economic voting, cultural voting, MLM, CEE, Balkans, Political Parties,

ABSTRACT: The article proposes the approach of party preference in CEEC's and the Balkans (as different from western Europe) from the perspective of I) rational choice as Modus Operandi for the economic voting patterns and ii) cultural effects, a judgment heuristic M.O. based on the association mechanisms of David Hume, Amos Tversky, Daniel

Kahneman that produces cognitive ease during decision-making. The article proposes the analysis of party vote share changes, observed between 1990 – 2016, using cross-sectional a MultiLevelModel (MLM) with level 1 - party predictors – nested in level 2 (country predictors). Two research questions are explored, namely to what extent socio-economic circumstances determine party preference (lifespan of parties measured in change of vote-share over multiple election cycles) and which socio-economic circumstances determine emergence or demise of political parties during electoral cycles? and did cultural effects at level 2 increased over time hence affecting party preference more substantially than economic voting?

Marina Makarova   *The Discourse of Anti-corruption Civil Society in Russia*

KEYWORDS: corruption, anticorruption civil society, nongovernment organizations, critical discourse analysis, discourse.

ABSTRACT: Anti-corruption civil society (ACS) is defined as non-governmental actor on the global, national, and local level that is engaged in anticorruption activity. It is the main agent of fighting corruption around the world, especially on the international level. For the classification of ACS we will consider the three models of an NGO (Holloway, Moroff & Schmidt-Pfister): (1) state-linked civil society that is created or absorbed by the state institutes or ruling parties; (2) traditional "bottom-up" model of "domestic" civil society, "craftsmen" (Sampson); and (3) international civil society as the main provider of anticorruption policy around the world. The main objectives of this paper is finding out the main forms of Russian anticorruption civil society self-presenting through the content-analysis and critical discourse analysis of materials belonged to three main anticorruption civil society agents: the 'semi-official' network "The All-Russia People's Front" (APF); the 'protest' "Anti-corruption Foundation" (ACF), and international chapter of "TI-Russia" (TI). The 535 web-documents that present the main organizations' activities and anti-corruption investigations from 2015 to 2018 have been analyzed. On the first stage, the content analysis of 455 anti-corruption investigations have been conducted. The majority of agents of corruption in APF' investigations are the regional authorities and state enterprises; in TI' investigations – the regional authorities, and federal authorities and people connected with them. The most popular kind of corruption highlighted by all three organizations is dishonest public procurement. ACF and TI also pay attention to misappropriation of property and money, and public officials' hidden incomes, or secret real estate.

On the second stage, the critical discourse analysis of the whole corpus of documents has been used. All of three models of ACS exist in Russia, but their balance is asymmetric because of different relations with the state that presents itself as a main anti-corruption actor, and in general rarely responds to civil society's requests, and publications. At the same time, the necessity of civil society support is emphasized by the state. However, the

'constructive' and 'patriotic' civil society, such as APF, is meant in this case. The other organizations' activity is limited. TI emphasizes on professionalism and political independency; ACF plays an important role in raising public awareness about grand corruption in Russia; at the same time, political ambitions and protest activity make this organization 'undesirable' for the state. The discourse of ACS in Russia presents social context of asymmetric distribution of power and state control of civil society.

Loktionova Dinara   *Public budget: Direct democracy's tool in action?*

KEYWORDS: "public budget" program, participatory budget, participation, decentralization, democracy

ABSTRACT: Ukrainian legislation guarantees a wide range of citizens's participation and communication forms with local authorities. The problem of local democracy development in Ukraine lies in the successful practice of these forms. Among the wide range of participation diverse forms that we want to focus on is the ""public budget"" program.

The process of decentralization in Ukraine contributed not only to redistribution of powers and resources, but also became a definite start of the community's involvement in making managerial decisions. The themes of projects submitted to the public budget can be considered a barometer of local issues. In 2017 this is: landscaping and infrastructure (20%), sports (18%) and education (17%). In this case, among the wide range of forms of public participation, the program ""public budget"" is preferred by only 3,4% of the Mykolayiv city (Ukraine) inhabitants. More than a third of the population (37%) do not know at all that there is a ""public budget"" program in Mykolayiv, 40% - heard a little and only 22,3% know about it.

Today, the ""public budget"" program is one of the most promising innovations that the ""New York Times"" called ""revolutionary civic activity"". We understand that well-implemented public budget can lead to an increase the citizens level involvement in the field of urban policy, mutual understanding and sustainable development of the territory. In the society was dominated the idea that the ""public budget"" program could ""revitalize"" democracy and establish social justice.

Further world practice has shown that this proved to be a rather difficult task. In Guardian's (2011) article, Anita Pati referred to Kevin Curley, who said that despite the enthusiasm about the participation budget, most of the projects presented concern improvement of infrastructure facilities and hardly touches on the major problems facing the local population.

Thus, in order for the ""public budget"" program to become a sustainable path to a new type of city policy in Ukraine and the so-called ""window of opportunity"", the following aspects should be taken into account:

1. inhabitant's civil activity of a certain territory taking into account their national and cultural peculiarities;

2. presence of an active and permanent public organizations network / movements / associations with strong social connections and a high level

of social capital within these groups;

3. construction of an information campaign and communication channels taking into account the peculiarities of the territorial community development.

17:30-19:30   Parallel Session 1b: **Crossing Borders and Boundaries I.**

Tamara Besednjak Valič
Erika Džajić Uršič

Addressing economic fragmentation in regional tourism and gambling tourism: modelling new forms of tourism development

KEYWORDS: Tourism, gambling, modeling, multi-attribute decision-making, evaluation

ABSTRACT: Tourism is being one of the most vibrant sectors as of today. The trend in development is going from slow withdrawal from mass tourism to growing demand for small scale local, costumer tailored travel experience. The main question at this stage is in balancing two main tourism development models: the mass tourism connected to gambling on one hand and costumer oriented local experience. How should policy makers proceed in shaping the development of policies supporting both models? We discuss two case studies, proposed to build a qualitative multi-criteria decision model for evaluation of appropriateness of development of two new models encompassing the two mentioned. The data collection of the study is based on a mixed methods approach, conducted by method of triangulation to ensure the validity of the study. The main approach includes the use of qualitative method of multi-attribute decision-making software tool that is being able to "translate strategy into action". The models can be used to evaluate other future prospective.

Dorota Mroczkowska,
Margorzata Kubacka

Border Crossing, Border Sustaining and Border Creation: The Example of Institutional And Everyday Practices In Three Types Of Organizations In Poland

KEYWORDS: Boundary and border theory, work-life dynamics, Poland

ABSTRACT: Nowadays we are facing great changes of work-family dynamics in Poland. On the one hand, we encounter corporate policies of work-life-balance which main focus seems to be on regulating the spheres of private life in the name of increasing productivity of employees, controlling them and facilitate the management of crucial part of their existence. On the other hand, the complexity of work-life dynamics in everyday life hardly corresponds with some top-down implemented policies. The interminable process of the transformations of boundaries between work and life shows how fragmented and incohesive is the world we live in. Corporate policies cannot handle these complexities and are

becoming obsolete very quickly. Thus, fast changes of social reality combined with the demands of maintaining balance create the need to seek new strategies of coping with and managing this hybridised, complex and unpredictable conjuncture.

The main purposes of our presentation are: (1) to conduct a critical analysis of the concept of WLB and (2) to propose a research model that takes into account new topics and groups (3) to present main findings from our qualitative research study based on 4 maximum variation cases. In our presentation we will discuss (1) work-family border theory (Clark, 2000) and boundary theory (Ashforth, Kreiner&Fugate, 2000) as best suited to the studies of work-family linkages; (2) important characteristics and properties which have not been taken into account or have been consciously excluded from the dominant discourse of work and non-work facets of life in Poland.

Svitlana Buko

Cross-border cooperation of small and medium businesses (SMEs): business characteristics, regional perceptions and the probability of success on the Italian-Slovenian border.

KEYWORDS: cross-border cooperation, SMEs, business, innovation.

ABSTRACT: The goal of the research project was to identify and evaluate factors of successful cross-border business services on the Italian-Slovenian border. Researcher focused on the small and medium profitable businesses (SMEs) as independent economic actors striving to make profits, and innovative entrepreneurial solutions carried out by the business owners-leaders in the region. Generally, border regions have specific characteristics of socio-economic conditions linked to the peculiarities of economic continuities and unique set up with quality and flow of human capital. This research is focused specifically on the 199 km of current Italian-Slovenian border in the heart of Europe, former frontier line of western capitalistic democracies and socialist word, often referred to the southern part of the "iron curtain" with tangled uneasy historical heritage stories and truths of Italian-Yugoslavian border in the past, yet single EU space since 2004. Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with Italian and Slovenian business leaders. Qualitative research methodology helped delineate types of SMEs operations in cross-border settings, and register current perceptions of business owners about a) keys to cross-border business success, and b) red-flags related to the daily intercultural cross-border encounters linked to the historically contested memories of the past. Different types of cooperation formats are analyzed, including customer relations, supplier relations, and HRM strategies for qualified human resources in the border settings. Data helps delineate different stages of the transformation of perceptions of business leaders linked to the local

historical milestones of the region, linguistic pre-conceptions, and operational entrepreneurial aspects impacted by the global market trends. Narratives offer a retrospect into the past economic systems (Italy vs. socialist Yugoslavia), transformation of the business practices with EU-related border laws changes, as well as new challenges of the present business environment in the area. Practical recommendations of the respondents help determine which business characteristics and regional perceptions influence the probability of successful cooperation. Research findings contribute to the existing cross-border cooperation literature by demonstrating case studies of how SMEs leverage increasing returns by employing cohesive innovative solutions (to suppliers, customers and staff), and giving a new dimension to the concept of cross-border cooperation in this part of the European Union.

Friday, 21 September

11:00-13:00 Parallel Session 2a: **Social Morphogenesis**

Marju Lauristin, *Morphogenetic analysis of social transformation: the Estonian case*
Peeter Vihalemm

KEYWORDS: post-communist transformation, morphogenetic analysis, factors and mechanisms, Estonian case
ABSTRACT: The inspiring new efforts to elaborate an overwhelming model of transformation processes is offered by Margaret Archer in her theory of social morphogenesis (Archer, 2013). In the present paper we present the attempt to reconsider results of our previous research with the help of Archer's model of social morphogenesis. We use the Estonian case as an example how the paradigm of morphogenetic analysis could be applied for exploration of the social and cultural mechanisms which had affected the post-communist transformations in the Eastern and Central Europe. The successful transformation of previous totalitarian societies has been possible only in the case of completed cycle of morphogenesis, when, supported by favourable cultural and structural preconditions, social interactions created the positive feedback to the process of changes, which have been leading to cultural or structural elaborations in the whole social system. In the opposite case of social morphostasis, the unfavourable structural and cultural conditions and/or the failure of cultural and social interactions could create negative feedback, which would block the whole process of structural changes. In this case, without elaborating new cultural or structural conditions only reproduction of the past structures is favoured. We analyse structural reforms, technological developments, as well social and cultural interactions in Estonia, which had produced positive or negative (external or internal) feedback during different periods of transformation. This allows us to distinguish five 'morphogenetic cycles' in transformations of

Estonian society since 1988 to present days.

Triin Vihalemm,
Marju Lauristin

Personal Time Use Capability as a Social Transformation Mechanism

KEYWORDS: social acceleration, post-Soviet transition, transformation society

ABSTRACT: Hartmut Rosa and other authors of social acceleration theory consider speeding up and slowing down to be important aspects of constitution mechanisms of social order.

The authors conceptualise peoples' use and their perceptions about time-bound social relationships as a hybrid, empirically measurable indicator of societal transformation. Based on an empirical survey carried out in Estonia in 2014, the authors discuss how peoples' time use strategies and socio-economic resources are related, and the meaning of time use as a symbol of stratification and a reason for interest mobilization. Inspired by Marian Preda's concept of individual time capital, the authors introduce a model for the empirical measurement of personal time use capability. The model describes a) the existence of resources and the desire and skills to use/convert them in order to achieve the best condition and maintenance of the resources, and b) how richly and multifariously people can obtain rewards for the time they spend in various activities.

The authors explain how the capability of converting individual time capital differentiates social groups in the Estonian transformation society. Besides such traditional capitals as wealth and education, the technological capabilities possessed by young people and the networking capacities possessed by older people appear to be easily convertible and supported agencies.The authors discuss the future prospects of the use of time as a symbol of life quality in the transformative processes in Estonia and beyond."

Zaheer Ali

Religion as a force of change: An exploratory study of how systematic Islamization of Pakistan impacted its religious minorities

KEYWORDS: human rights, social history, religious discrimination, social segregation, identity construction and transformation

ABSTRACT: Pakistan emerged as an Islamic nation-state in 1947, following the collapse of British colonialism in the Indian-sub continent. Although the new nation was intended as a special home for the muslim population living in the then British India; the country's founders sought to ensure that its constitution would embed values of religious tolerance, freedom of belief and religious practice (Mahumd, 1995). This was an important gesture for religious minorities who found themselves on the Pakistani side of the border. By drawing upon original empirical mixed-methods research, this paper seeks to promote theoretical and empirical understandings in relation to the everyday life experiences of religious minorities in Islamic republic of Pakistan. Through a content analysis of

key educational/historical texts, and qualitative ethnographic in-depth interviews with families from religious minorities (n=36, comprising Hindus and Sikhs), the paper helps shed light on contemporary Pakistani society. This research is first of its kind to adopt an intergenerational approach in which three generations from a single family i.e. young 18-25, young adult 25-40, older 40 onwards, were interviewed in order to construct a social history map of the evolution of Pakistani society from a secular to a hardcore Islamic state through their eyes and its impact on their everyday life practices.

Extensive ethnographic fieldwork for this PhD project was conducted in Pakistan between August 2017-January 2018. The initial findings/expressions indicate a strong feeling of alienation and identity crisis among Hindu and Sikh community from mainstream Pakistani society strengthened by various discriminatory laws passed by the government of Pakistan. Other related Interview findings reveal the everyday struggles of minority groups in surviving religious domination, repression and discrimination. Furthermore, the author provides an important insight into the utility of the notion of cultural hegemony to understand religious domination and ideological transformation.

Zenonas Norkus *Theorizing Modern Social Restorations: a Comparison of Social and Ecological Restorations*

KEYWORDS: social revolutions; social restorations; ecological restorations; post-communist restorations; successful restorations; failed restorations

ABSTRACT: We are accustomed to think about the social transformation in terms of the dichotomy between revolution and reform. This paper provides the theoretical outline of the restoration as specific pattern of social transformation. While social revolutions claim innovative discontinuity, negate the past and break with status quo of a social macro-system, social restorations unmake the state of social macro-system established by revolution, and establish continuity with the status quo ante revolution, re-affirming pre-revolutionary past. Self-conscious innovation is distinguishing feature of modernity, while pre-modern innovators conceived themselves as restorers of tradition. Therefore, we limit the scope of our discussion to modern restorations, considering French revolution 1789 as first modern revolution.

There is huge body of comparative historical and sociological work on modern revolutions. However, there is nothing like that on restorations, although two from three "great" modern social revolutions, famously compared by Theda Skocpol in "States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Social Revolutions in Russia, France and China" (1979) ended with restorations. Main reason may be still prevalent positive value loading of "revolution" as "progressive change", while "restoration" has odium of "reactionary regime doomed to fail". However, some revolutions (e.g. Nazi revolution in Germany 1933) can

be reactionary, while some restorations may be progressive, including post-communist restorations of capitalism, of democracy and of national states. Avoiding such value loaded terminology, we can differentiate between successful and unsuccessful restorations and look for empirical measures of the restoration success, allowing for cross-time comparisons of the performance of a social system after and before restoration, after restoration and before revolution.

Supplementing or extending sociology of social revolutions with the sociology of social restorations, we may proceed by comparing specific cases of modern restorations (e.g. restorations in France, Italy, Spain and other parts of Napoleonic empire and post-communist restorations in former Soviet empire). In this paper we explore the fecundity of another strategy to forge the conceptual framework for comparative research on social restorations: by screening, selecting and transferring of relevant ideas from the restoration ecology, which is new subfield of ecology aiming to provide the scientific grounding to the management and repair of damaged ecological systems (ecosystems) or biotic communities. Ecological restoration involves returning a biotic community to its original condition of biological diversity and integrity, which may be deem as ecological equivalents of sociological categories of fragmentation and cohesion

**Tea Golob,
Matej Makarovič**

Transformations of Reflexivity in Slovenia: Measurement, Change and Social Contexts

ABSTRACT: The paper deploys a concept of reflexivity as brought into sociology by Margaret Archer into the examination of the Slovenian general population. It upgrades Archer's existing ICONI model by adding the dimensions of intensity and of the concurrent practice of those modes within inner dialogue. It confirms reflexivity changes from the older to the younger generations and demonstrates a clear relationship between reflexivity as an individual feature and macro-level structural settings. It also confirms a visible relationship between inner dialogue and the structural change towards a morphogenetic late modern society. However, it also contributes to some of the critics of Archer's work, while showing the clear impact of the individual's background and her/his position in the social structure. While exploring the general national population, the article adds a diachronic element to the existing empirical research on reflexivity – in terms of inter-generational perspective. While considering the structural and semantic dimensions of the social environment, and the contemporary inconsistencies between them, it alludes to the importance of linking fractured reflexivity to the challenges women are facing nowadays.

11:00-13:00   Parallel Session 2b: **Crossing Borders and Boundaries** II.

Jessie Dong

Mapping the Integration of Refugees through Space and Time: A Study on Refugee Walking Tours in Berlin

KEYWORDS: migration, refugees, integration, temporality, space
ABSTRACT: The focus of my research is a walking tour led by Refugee Voices Tours (http://refugeevoicestours.org). Their tour takes participants to historic monuments in Berlin (e.g. Checkpoint Charlie, The Topography of Terror) in order to draw parallels between the experiences of Syrians today and Germans in the past. I draw on Claude Levi-Strauss' concept of 'reversible' and 'irreversible' time in order to demonstrate how considerations of the past (i.e. lessens learned from history) and future (i.e. the inevitability of cultural diversity) inform present-day decisions. As such, time is no longer unidirectional and becomes 'reversible'. I also draw upon Bruno Latour's concept of actor-network theory in order to demonstrate how divisions in space are rendered obsolete once one recognises the interconnectivity of disparate human experiences, a phenomenon that is replicated in the walking tour.

Irena Veljanova

Medicalised borders: Exploring the role of the medical profession as agents of border control in contemporary Australia

KEYWORDS: migration, health discrimination, Australia
ABSTRACT: Intellectual, public and applied debates related to health and disability discrimination practices in the implementation of Australian Immigration Laws have come to the forefront in the last two decades (JSCM 2010). Currently, '[a]ll permanent, provisional and certain temporary visa applicants are required to undergo health examinations as part of the visa application process to determine if they meet the health requirement' (DIBP 2016: approx. screen 1). This positions the medical profession as a key agent in enabling the visa application processes and locates the 'border protection' within the medical establishments. The medical profession is not the ultimate decision maker, but it informs migration health requirement (MHR) assessments against the Public Interest Criteria (PIC) framework outlined in Migration Regulations of 1994 (S 4, P 1, Article 4005). This framework does not favour aspiring migrants that may be deemed as 'a burden' to the health and community expenditure, as well as, a 'threat' to the access for an Australian citizen to health care and community services. Drawing from a pilot qualitative study into the discriminatory aspects of the MHR in Australia, this paper focuses on the role of the medical profession as agents of border control in contemporary Australia. Drawing from the preliminary findings from interviews conducted with individuals, aspiring migrants, with disability and their family members, this paper will argue that

contrary to their professional ethics and values, the medical profession may find itself as enabler of discriminatory practices based on disability and/or diseasement when met at the border frontier.

Note: A version of this paper was first presented at The 18th Nordic Migration Conference 2016, Norway.

Natalia Chrobak

Migration of Ukrainians to Poland: Who, Where, How - immigration law and economics

KEYWORDS: migration, migrants, Ukraine, Poland, long-term migrations, Polish immigration law

ABSTRACT: The present aims to analyze several aspects of economic migration from Ukraine to Poland in the context of the last 10 years. It looks how the changes of migration policy in Poland and UE impacted the dynamics of migration to Poland, which has been for a long time one of the most popular destinations for Ukrainians. Back in 2014, an increase number of Ukrainians who migrated to Russia was observed, although no similar increase was recorded for EU countries (excluding Poland). In 2014, Polish consular services issued over 556,500 visas to Ukrainian citizens. Since 15 September 2012, Ukrainians no longer have to pay for national visas if they intend to stay in Poland for between 3 months and 1 year.1 Since July 2009, the Agreement on Local Border Traffic between Poland and Ukraine has been in force. Based on this agreement, Ukrainian nationals residing in the border zone – the area extending 30 km from the border – do not need visas, but only local border traffic permits entitling them to multiple crossings of the Polish border. The number of border crossings by Ukrainian citizens under a local border traffic agreement has been increasing each year (13 to 40% depending on year). It amounted to 10,734,959 in 2015. My purpose is to present how migration law in Poland affects migratory waves.

Marta Cobel-Tokarska, Marcin Dębicki

Refugees unwelcome. Poles challenged by the immigration crisis (against a background of other Central European societies)

KEYWORDS: refugees, immigration crisis, attitudes, Poland, Central Europe..

TITLE: Our paper refers to the issue of Poles' attitudes towards the reception of refugees in Poland. This problem has been drawing people's attention for some time and is expected to do so in the foreseeable future. We are going to deal with this problem by discussing three questions. We start from giving an outline of how the issue had been approached to in Poland before the immigration began in 2015 and how these attitudes have changed since then. This

part of the paper is based on the results of nation-wide surveys (conducted on a representative random sample of Poles; face-to-face CAPI); among other things, this is going to show us how people change their minds when faced with the real thing and not abstract (theoretical) interview questions. Then we will make an attempt at explaining these results by writing them into a range of arguments derived from different theoretical backgrounds. Finally, we would like to set this picture together with how this issue looks like among other Central European societies (Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians) so that we could formulate an overall conclusion including also their, i.e. Central European, perspective.

15:00-17:00   Parallel Session 3a: **Political Culture and Power**

Janja Mikulan Kildi   *Fragmentation of security provision as a tool to remain in power: case study of Lebanon*

KEYWORDS: fragmentation, power sharing, security governance, SRA, Lebanon, interviews.

ABSTRACT: The aim of the paper is to portray how the fragmentation of security provision serves to political elites as a tool to remain in power on the case of Lebanon. In Lebanon the confessional predetermination of state power among many sects, each having veto power over public decisions, undermined the realization of a functional and strong government system (Salamey 2009). We will use the case study of Lebanese security governance to portray how power sharing affects the security sector and how security is used as a tool for preserving the political order in Lebanon. This is particularly interesting country to examine since it is perceived as one of the most liberal polities in the Arab world on one hand, however on the other the Lebanese state and its security forces have struggled with cycles of internal violence and foreign intervention since it foundation (Geha and Reeve 2015). Our paper seeks to portray the relationship between the state and non-state actors in the area of security, and the effects of interplay between the existing political model (power-sharing) and security governance. In order to explore such processes we will apply Strategic-relational approach (SRA) that will allow us to threat social phenomena in terms of social relations. Such approach is particularly important at a time when arguments for a more comprehensive classification of states in the MENA are being reinforced, especially due to the emergence of non-state actors, who are especially prevalent throughout the region due to many

governments inability to provide basic functions to their population. These actors have replaced the state in many ways, but this has not necessarily meant state collapse (Schwarz and de Corral 2011). Our methodology consists of content analysis of various documents and semi-structured interviews conducted with Lebanese security, state and civil-society actors.

Petra Kleindienst   *Integrating the human dignity concept into the educational process*

KEYWORDS: human dignity, political culture, education, schools, political socialisation, Slovenia, California.

ABSTRACT: This paper builds on the assumption that, as a basis of a democratic political culture, the concept of human dignity needs to be promoted and strengthened, especially among the young. The period of youth is crucial for the forming of the values, beliefs and orientations that guide people in later life. In this regard, we focus on promoting and strengthening the concept of human dignity via the function of educational institutions as typical agents of political socialisation. We emphasise the process of secondary political socialisation in which schools play a key role. More specifically, we explore the role of schools in determining individual values and pragmatic implementation of the human dignity concept. The paper reveals the ways schools influence young people's understanding and awareness of the relevance of the concept of human dignity.

To this end, the results of empirical research into the levels, methods and effects of integrating human dignity into the educational process are presented. The empirical research is based on two case studies: California and Slovenia. The research results show: how students understand the concept of human dignity; what relevance students attribute to human dignity; and students' interest in the topic. In doing so, we also indicate whether the identified student knowledge concerning human dignity and regarding it as relevant is due to this concept's integration into the educational process or possibly to other factors. The research results imply that schools have a greater influence on understanding of the human dignity concept than on students' awareness of the concept's relevance. The latter is the outcome of several interwoven factors

Anna Turner,   *Online Surveillance in Everyday Life - do we really care? Google Big*
Marcin W. Zielinski   *Data in European perspective.*

KEYWORDS: surveillance, privacy, data protection, public attitudes,

post-communist countries

ABSTRACT: When Edward Snowden, the computer analyst and whistle blower, shared revelations regarding top-secret US National Security Agency documents it was not a surprise but rather a confirmation that we live in a surveillance culture. The materials were initially published by The Guardian and The Washington Post in June 2013 but soon after were shared across social media and other international media channels - revealing the scandal of the global mass surveillance programme, violations of data privacy, lack of data protection and as a result highlighting the importance of legal regulation. Since then the topics of privacy and surveillance continued to gain media attention but it remains questionable as to whether this has altered the patterns and habits of our online behaviour and raised concern regarding data security and protection awareness. Was this just another news story or did it have a greater significance and effect on citizens? What interests us most? Is it Edward Snowden - the celebrity and media figure, or is it the topics - such as the need for law regulations, surveillance and data security – that he discusses?. My research focuses on Europe where two perspectives meet, on one side Western European countries for which Snowden's revelations were a sobering wake-up call, directly accusing democratic authorities of denying their main values and undermining one of the most fundamental human rights - the right to privacy and on the other post-communist countries, which were under surveillance for years. These contradictive experience suggest we might expect differences in the way Snowden's disclosures were perceived.

In a cross-national longitudinal study, covering 30 European countries (including 12 post-communist), from April 2013 to March 2015, we have examined the immediate and longer-term effects on Google search behaviours indicating public interest in the topics closely related to surveillance, privacy and data protection. Over 30.000 search terms were chosen and analysed. The results of the study will be presented during the conference.

**Matevž Tomšič,
Petra Kleindienst**

Political elites and post-communist transitional justice

KEYWORDS: **elites, transitional justice, democratisation, Central and Eastern Europe**

ABSTRACT: According to the theory of democratic elitism, elite settlement in the form of agreement between key factions of political elite is perceived as the main condition of stabilisation of democracy. In the case of countries from Central and Eastern

Europe, this applies especially between reformed part of communist elite and newly-formed opposition. On this basis, consensual type of political elite can develop. Elite settlement and basic value consensus are strongly related to the process of achieving transitional justice in societies that have been severely traumatised by events in recent history, particularly by malfunctions and injustices, committed by former regimes.

Former communist countries differ with regard to the state of transitional justice they achieved. In many of them, this process of its establishment did not progressed very far. This holds also country like Slovenia which is by many observers perceived as one of transitional 'success stories' (the reconciliation here was achieved only on declarative level). The main reason for this lies in strong ideological polarisation and hegemony of one elite faction.

The goals of the paper are: 1.) determining reconciliation as part of the process of democratic consolidation; 2.) analysis of the role of political elite as generator or inhibitor of transitional justice; 3.) discussing situation in post-communist countries – particularly in war-torn former Yugoslavia. In the context of the mechanisms of transitional justice, the authors will focus on the process of national reconciliation. The main aim of reconciliation is establishment of understanding and respect among different social groups through mutual acknowledgement of past iniquities (truth-seeking, i.e. finding data on event, their causes and consequences). Recognition of undemocratic and oppressive character of former communist regime is precondition for reconciliation. Reconciliation is mostly informal and evolutionary process which cannot be introduced by decree. The authors claim that failed process of establishment of transitional justice is in predominant part caused by political elite's (mis)conduct.

15:00-17:00   Parallel Session 3b: **Social Inequality and Mobility**

Andrej Raspor, Andrej Šumer,
Darko Lacmanović, Bojan Macuh

Contextualizing successful aging: Role of retired societies in Slovenia

KEYWORDS: retired societies, aging, old age, pensioners, leisure activities, Slovenia

ABSTRACT: Research background: The Slovenian population is getting older. Different challenges are associated with aging, as today's elderly are more mentally and physically active. For today's elderly, it is even more characteristic that leisure activities are often limited. Sometimes

this is a consequence of financial capacity, as well as health or their movement abilities. Staying at home environment allows for greater opportunities and involvement in leisure activities, especially if you are active in retirement societies.

Purpose: The purpose of the research was to determine the positions of the management of retired societies on the offer and the interest of elderly for participation in leisure activities.

Methods of approach: A desk and field survey was used. In addition to the literature study, statistical data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia were analyzed. In order to obtain positions, we conducted a field survey of Slovene retired societies. 200 of 590 Slovenian societies participated in the survey. Therritorial representation is ensured. The survey was conducted from 15 April to 15 June 2018. Statistical analysis of survey data was performed with SPSS software, which helped us to conduct univariate, bivariate and multivariate analysis (comparison of averages and proportions, Pearson's correlation coefficient). Conclusions and summaries were formed by using methods of analysis, synthesis, compilation and comparison.

Results: We found that retired societies organize leisure activities, and the elderly are interested in them. Given the trends in natural movement and the prolongation of the old age and the growing number of active elderly population, this need will be even more pronounced in the future.

Conclusions: The providers' programmes will also have to adapt to the elderly who want active aging and can afford this leisure activities. Transport, hotel and other infrastructure will have to be adapted accordingly

Arkadiusz Peisert

Incarceration of Poverty in Poland as an Unforeseen Result of the Play of Interests

KEYWORDS: probation office, incarceration, penalization of poverty, restorative justice, petty ofences, problem-solving justice

ABSTRACT: This study is based on the evaluation of Restorative Justice Centres (Polish: Centra Sprawiedliwoslci Naprawczej) conducted between July and November 2015. The research concerned petty offences and less serious criminal offences, which form the majority of cases handled by Polish courts.

Penal policy is distant from the domain of market economy and seems not to be affected by the phenomena which liberal economists refer to as the 'invisible hand of the market'. However, on closer examination, the results of the present study indicate that also this sphere is characterised by crisscrossing interests of public prosecutors, defendants, courts and court staff. The interplay between these intersecting interests produces a particular state of balance which, however, involves unforeseen consequences (in the Mertonian sense of the term) for the actors of the system and society as a whole. The intersecting interests of these actors shape a certain game between

them (Crozier and Friedberg 1980), one that enables them to meet their ambitions, but at the same time generates externalities for the system and the actors. Finally, Poland is on the top of the incarceration rate ranking among EU-countries . As a result, the outcome increases the fragmentation of the society (the minority of the""punished"" and the rest to be secured) rather than supports social cohesion.

Elena Danilova *Zero- or variable-sum models of social inequality and transformative change in Russia and China*

KEYWORDS: social inequality transformations Russia China
ABSTRACTS: The paper aims at comparing social inequality in Russia and China and what implications it has in regards to social and political transformations. The investigations show that although people in Russia and China have broadly egalitarian attitudes, there are significant differences in the way in which Russians and Chinese perceive the current system of distribution. Attitudes to social inequality are much more complicated than a direct link with objective social situation would suggest. Models of zero- or variable sum are differently applicable to Russia and China and relate not only to the actual incomes but also powerfully affected by subjective assessments of distributive system.
The experience of the two countries shows that economic successes do not necessarily lead to political modernisation. In neither case is a movement to democracy apparent. One of the hypotheses is that in Russia the unsatisfactory economic development indicators, the chaos and sudden increase in social differentiation during the 1990s led directly to a situation in the 2000s in which the majority of the population began to seek authoritarian forms of government. In China, over the same period, economic achievements have served as the basic source of legitimacy of an authoritarian regime that had already existed for many years.
The paper argues that behind a tendency towards the convergence of political regimes in two countries at present times there are different patterns of legitimacy based not only on economic achievements but also on population attitudes, which the ruling elites use in seeking to strengthen their monopoly.

17:30-19:30   Parallel Session 4a: **Children, Youth and Education**

Mateja Rek *Teaching preschool children to be media literate: the case of Slovene kindergartens*

KEYWORDS: media literacy, media education, preschool children, preschool teacher, early childhood education
ABSTRACT: Mass media have become a daily fixture in people's lives. They became indispensable tools of communication, lever of spreading ideas, formation of concepts about the world, life styles and

behavioural patterns. The heavier the use and impact of mass media consumption in societies, the more important it becomes also in the framework of formal education system to identify and develop knowledge, competences and skills required to use them in a meaningful manner. Media are also increasingly an integral part of young children's every day, which creates numerous issues regarding the impact of media on preschool children. First couple of years of life are especially crucial for children's development. Observing and understanding media use patterns of children and the environment they are being raised in during this period (family, kindergarten or other forms of day care, broader society etc.) and researching the effects of media use on various aspects of children's lives (health, social aspects, consumption etc.) may offer us further understanding and guidelines about adequate media education for this age group.

The aim of this contribution is to present recent findings on media education of preschool children enrolled in Slovene kindergartens to better understand how preschool teachers in Slovenia assess their capacity to work with media and their media literacy level, which media they use and how the media education is conducted in preschool children's groups. Curriculum for Kindergartens in Slovenia does set goals to be followed in educating preschool children on media related topics. They are not just goals that refer to skills of how to use various media, but also to activities that would promote reflexivity and some skills of media massage creation. We show, that even though the concept of media literacy is partly integrated into formal preschool educational system, actual implementation and delivery of media education is still fragmented and inconsistent and is dependent on interest and motivation of individual teacher. While increasing integration of media literacy and awareness-raising in school education is positive, universal coverage of all children and parents and consistency across schools remain significant challenges.

Jan Klusáček

The reversal of the gender gap in education and thoughts about breaking up

KEYWORDS: hypogamy, marital stability, separation thoughts
ABSTRACT: Since the 1990s, there has been a significant expansion of female participation in higher education in North American and Western European countries. The reversion of the gender gap in education has led to decrease of marriages in which husbands have more education than their wives (female hypergamy) and an increase of marriages in which wives have more education than their husbands (female hypogamy). Several studies showed that there is a negative association between female educational hypogamy and marital stability, the downward marriage of women increases the possibility of divorce.
We can see the same transformation in higher education in the Czech

Republic. The gender gap in education has declined and eventually turned around for more educated women aged 25-29 years. In the Czech Republic, there is a shortage of highly educated men in current pre-marital cohorts (60 % of graduates in 2016 were women). Nobody studied the effect of the reversal of the gender gap in education on the marital stability in the Czech Republic yet.

There is no data on marital dissolution available, but there is a question measuring separation thoughts in Czech Household Panel Survey. Some studies found that thoughts of marital dissolution are the strong predictor of divorce. Analysis of the association between female educational hypogamy and separation thoughts can provide important insight into the relationship between female educational hypogamy and marital stability. The aim of this study is to test a connection between female educational hypogamy and thoughts about breaking up.

The main explanatory variable (difference in the years of education between partners) was significantly associated with thoughts about breaking up the relationship for men. This is in accordance with the theory that men can feel endangered by wives' educational advantage. The Czech Republic get through an accelerated version of the demographic trends known from the Western countries after regime change in 1989. Family changes associated with the second demographic transition has occurred, but values on gender roles remained conservative. There is a possibility that Czech context is not friendly for female educational hypogamy because of lack of egalitarian norms, husbands can feel insecure about their role in their household.

Krystyna Ewa Siellawa-Kolbowska

Young generations and/for social cohesion (or fragmentation?): Case Poland

KEYWORDS: generation, youth, social identities of youth, social capital, Polish society

ABSTRACT: It is many reasons it is interesting to track generational cohorts in both in one country and comparing them in different societies. The notion generation, ""collective"" by its very nature is still adequate to the description of the individualized societies of modernity (Bauman, Carlson, Inglehart, Szafraniec, Twenge).

According to Mannheim, the generation consists of members of society born at a similar time, which combine the social and cultural conditions of their childhood and youth. But today, these social and cultural conditions of childhood and youth transform fast and we have to change also our understanding of what defines a generation.

Objective of my empirical analyse is to track attitudes and declared behaviors in young cohorts and show dynamic of generations of young Poles. Paper will be grounded primarily empiracally, but also it will refer to the theory and concept of generations as a way of describing societies. My main source of polish data is a dynamic youth' study,

implemented, in Poland, by CBOS, on average every four years, since 1992 (the last measurement in December 2016). An additional source will be statistical data (eg. collected by the Central Statistical Office (GUS))

Topic questions:

How many young generations can be shown in Poland over last 30 years?, Do we have „Gen Z" in Poland?

Did the generational identities of Polish youth change after 1989?

Whether Polish youth is one of the actors for the change of character of social capital in Poland (from bonding capital to bridging capital, as more conducive to social cohesion)?

The inspiration for my analyse was research report Generation Z 2025: The Final Generation (Sparks and Honey, 2015). Authors of the report write about american youngsters: "Growing up in the shadow of global meltdowns, generation Z   are used to instability. Drawn to perpetual reinvention Gen Z will explore non-linear overlapping paths of education and work. The majority of Gen Z expect to have multiple careers before they hit 30. (...) They will live in their own algorithm, becoming experts in the obscure with carefully curated digital personas." The watchful eyes of American researchers looked for and found of next generation, I want to try it too on polish data.

Natalia Orekhovskaya   *Youth in the Global World*

KEYWORDS: globalization, youth, integration, national identity, Internet, world Outlook transformation

ABSTRACT: Increasingly, we are faced with the use of the term ""globalization"", the main parameters of which are the following interdependence: economic, political, information, globalization of communication, cultural globalization, interdependence in terms of security, the community of environmental threats. A number of researchers write about Americanization, Europeanization of culture, believes that Western culture with its economic rationality begins to dominate in many countries. As a result of this process, a globalist worldview is emerging, with young people around the world experiencing it more actively than other demographic groups.

To find out the answer to the question of what young people themselves think about globalization, as it is estimated, the author conducted a number of studies. The author used two methods-group interviews (focus group, N-3) and in-depth interviews with students of Moscow universities (N-17). The age of respondents was 17-23 years. Our respondents found it difficult to define what they understood by globalization. A typical answer was: ""Globalization is the expansion of borders, common economic ties, a common system of calculations."" To the question what, in their opinion, globalization is most evident, the vast majority identified information technology and the use of English as the language of international communication. Almost half of

the respondents use English every day to communicate in social networks, search for information on the Internet, to prepare educational tasks.

We can say that young people use the Internet almost totally. Our respondents are taken for granted the increasing penetration of the Internet into their daily and professional life.

When asked about the threat of loss of national identity, the majority of respondents answered that it does not scare them. Here is the opinion of the young man: ""I'm not afraid to stop being Russian. Most importantly for me the lack of boundaries and any limitations. Now in youth environment even between musical subcultures erased framework. We have become more relaxed and tolerant of those who listen to other music."" This position prompted the researcher to question what becomes a unifying factor for young people. The resulting answer is shocking - ""the opportunity to confront the older generation, to which there is no trust, no authority.""

We are particularly alarmed by the answers we have received to the questions concerning the definition of Patriotic sentiments. Young people say that they "" have nothing to be proud of in the modern history of Russia. But what I'm talking about ""adults"" - the Victory, the cosmos – it's been too long"". The vast majority of respondents participated in events dedicated to the Victory Day celebration held in schools, not on the inner conviction, but on the ""need for participation"". For today's young people landmarks, ""heroes"" are those who were able to earn. And to earn, having embodied the ideas"".

Thus, the main challenge of globalization is to change the consciousness of Russian youth. These trends are manifested primarily in the transformation of Russian society, which changes the basic value orientation and attitudes of young Russians. In the context of globalization, new guidelines are being formed, including in the field of education, which are becoming international in nature. These are the challenges that globalization poses to all countries involved in this process.

**Veronika Kalmus,
Mai Beilmann,
Jakub Macek,
Alena Macková,
Jan Šerek**

Youth in the Kaleidoscope: Civic Participation Types in Estonia and the Czech Republic

ABSTRACT: Increasingly, we are faced with the use of the term ""globalization"", the main parameters of which are the following interdependence: economic, political, information, globalization of communication, cultural globalization, interdependence in terms of security, the community of environmental threats. A number of researchers write about Americanization, Europeanization of culture, believes that Western culture with its economic rationality begins to

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process.

17:30-19:30   Parallel Session 4b: **Questioning European Integration**

Elaine Moriarty   *European mobility rights and national welfare states' protectionism: the end of the European project*?

KEYWORDS: European mobility rights, EU social security coordination, national welfare state transformation, Brexit,
ABSTRACT: The 2004 EU Directive on Free Movement extended the right to free movement and residence in the EU from the free movement of workers to the free movement of persons. Europeans today can travel, work, study, access and transfer their social welfare protections across the EU, no longer bound by residence or work permits and regardless of nationality. Having witnessed increased EU integration since the 1990s, individual EU member states have increasingly expressed concerns about 'legitimate means of movement'. A disconnect between the perceived legitimacy of the social-security system understood as based on solidarity with one's own community and the entitlement of mobile European nationals to social protection in their place of residence regardless of their sense of belonging.
This paper examines the formal transfer of welfare benefits from the UK and Ireland to other EU member states drawing from Department of Social Protection (Ireland) and Department of Work and Pensions (England and Wales) records on social welfare transfers 2000–2010. It analyses UK and Irish welfare policy adjustments since 2004 along with the EU's interventions in relation to such adjustment policies.
The study highlights an increasing focus by the political framework of the European Union on protecting the individual rights of European nationals in a unified labour market. It also reveals national welfare systems attempts to qualify EU social rights with the introduction of a series of social-policy adjustments based on residency during the 2000s, particularly attempts to 'adjust' access to what often continues to be deemed 'national' entitlements and finally the ultimate response, the UK's withdrawal from the European Union.

Krzysztof Kosela   *Fragmentation of Polish society reflected in social identifications – the analysis of 20-year trends*

KEYWORDS: social identifications, measurement, semi-periphery, cultural wars
ABSTRACT: The fractures observed in today's Polish society seem similarly profound as those in eighties i.e. forty years ago. One party of important cleavage would rather drift in the ""mainstream of European policy"" while their opponents endorse the strengthening the nation state and change the status of Poland from the semi-periphery of the

Western Europe. The classification of societies on a center, a semi-periphery and periphery of the world system overlaps with the division described in terms of preferred morals. A clear improvement of Poland's place on the economic map accompanied with faint change in the Poles' attitudes brought about the new meaning of 'a relationship with Europe'.

The measurement of social identification turns out to be an apt tool for diagnosing the preferences of the society in situation where the commitment to integrate collides with the will to build up the cohesion of national political community. An assessment of the relative strength of rival parties in the past and present is an aim of identifications' measurement. The quantitative questionnaire procedure was carried out in May 2018. It was the sixth measurement since 1998, as earlier measurements on representative samples of adult Polish residents took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014. The measurement procedure comes from the sorting and ranking of terms that people use to describe their own belongings i.e. communities to which respondents use the pronoun 'we'. These empirical results are aptly showing what affiliations locate the adult inhabitants of Poland in the center or on the outskirts of society. The cohort analysis informs about the accuracy of contentions concerning generational splits of Poland's population.

The depth of societal cleavages pertaining to ongoing public discussions can be assessed because the list of sorted and ranked names of communities was supplemented by the few which have gained meaning in the last decade. The self-identification ""I am an opponent of Good Change"" discerns respondents who accept the semi-peripheral status of Poland towards the European center. Similar meanings have choices ""I am an European"" and ""I am an antagonist of the Church"". People choosing for themselves the identification ""I am a nationalist"" or ""I am a heir of the Old Republic"" [Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth] are not satisfied with the Poland's status of semi-periphery and oppose the modernization of morals.

Nicolae Pepene, Florin Nechita, Catalina Ionela

Interpreting Recent Past Becomes a Cohesive Strategy for Central and Eastern European cities

KEYWORDS: urban identity, post-socialist city, cultural citizenship, collective memory

ABSTRACT: In an interconnected society, spaces are no longer partitioning fixed national territories, they instead become "flows" of images, symbols, interactions, experiences, goods, capital and technologies. This implies an identity that is less space-bound yet more meaning-bound. Hence, networks of collective memory can act as sources of identity-bridging. Starting from the premise that some Central and Eastern Europe cities received Stalin-derived names for various periods of time during the communist regime, the question addressed in this paper is how an international intra-curricular educational project can deepen the understanding of the influence of Stalinist ideology on their

collective identity across five post-communist cities (Brasov, Varna, Dunaújváros, Katowice, Kuçovë). The innovative and interactive approach of the past led to the building of knowledge-networks of East European cities with implications for the EU identity and cultural citizenship. The tactic of giving Stalin`s name to the cities was part of a strategy to stalinize urban identities, by changing the names of streets, factories, public squares and parks, or by erecting statues and monuments. The activities in the project were intended to gather memories from citizens who guard artefacts and memorabilia from the 50ies, to share oral histories, facilitate inter-generational and inter-cultural interactions, unfold personal recollections and disseminate the results through museum exhibitions and public events. Our findings have broad implications for EU identity and cultural citizenship of the Central and Eastern European cities and their inhabitants.

Tomáš Kostelecký
Why Czechs are one of the most euro-sceptical nations within the European Union? In search for an explanation.

KEYWORDS: Czech Republic, Europen Union, convergence, euroscepticism

ABSTRACT: The recent public opinion surveys shows that Czechs are one of the most euro-sceptical nations within the European Union. If there was any referendum about whether to remain or to leave the EU in the Czech Republic the probability of Czexit would be very high. Why it is so is not particularly clear. The Czech Republic was for a long time considered as one of the examples of successful transformation from authoritarian regime with a planned economy towards liberal democracy with market economy of West European style. Thus, the euro-scepticism of Czechs cannot be easily explained as a consequence of the failure of transformation process. The paper therefore seeks to examine other potential reasons for sceptical opinions of Czechs towards the European Union. The three potential underlying factors of euro-scepticism are examined – 1) the discrepancy between the early 1990's optimistic expectations and reality of the societal transformation, 2) the role of Czech politicians and media and their dealing with/reactions to Great Recession, the European debt crisis, the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis, and the European refugee crisis, and 3) the popular reaction vis-à-vis actual discontinuation of the convergence process between the Czech society and relevant reference societies in Western Europe. The basic (macro)economic indicators and the data from public opinion surveys are used as the main source of information.

Saturday, 22 September

9:00-11:00   Parallel Session 5a: **Social Fragmentation**

Huidi Ma

Can "The Belt and Road" Suffice for the Integrating the Fragmented World?

KEYWORDS: The Belt and Road, Cooperation and win-win, the deep reasons for the fragmented world   "

ABSTRACT: "The Belt and Road" (B&R) was the cooperation initiative of China's President Xi Jinping's "New Silk Road Economic Belt" and "21st Century Maritime Silk Road" in 2013. It aims at relying on the existing bilateral and multilateral mechanisms of China and other countries to carry out a form of regional cooperation or economic partnerships with countries along the route to jointly build a community of interests, common interests, community of political mutual trust, economic integration, cultural inclusion and responsibility community.

According to the Data provided by the Chinese Government: since the "Belt and Road" economic zone opened, have applied for accession by 71 countries and 3000 projects were approved. It has passed through 16 countries in Central and Eastern Europe by the end of 2017: (Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Macedonia). By the end of 2017, 3271 trains were running between China and Europe with 57 lines, and opening cities in China's domestic reached 35 starting stations, for connecting 34 European cities in 12 countries. Would this ""Cooperation Initiative"" really achieve the purpose of win-win cooperation, economic mutual benefit, political mutual trust and cultural integration? As far as progress is concerned, the participating countries are full of expectations for economic mutual benefit. However, the suspicion, and even the voice of opposition, has also risen in some participating countries. Therefore, as a scholar, we must rationally consider some problems, such as: how to assess the role of "B&R "in globalization and free trade? how to look upon the bridging effect of "B&R "on the fragmented world? how to improve the cooperative mechanism of ""B&R ""and so on. But what are the deep reasons for the fragmented world? And what force can be relied on to solve the fragmented world? This paper will explore these issues from an interdisciplinary perspective and also hope to learn from the insights of European scholars.

Uroš Šuvakovic

Fragmentation and cohesion as two faces of globalism

KEYWORDS: fragmentation, cohesion, globalism, the South-West Balkans

ABSTRACT: Relying on theses of Marx and Engels presented in the Manifest of Communist Party, denoting 170 years this year, that "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable

prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify", i.e. on Bauman's idea about "fluidal modernity", the author tries to indicate the confronted at first glance processes of globalism in the region of the South-West Balkans. On one hand, there are fragmentation processes: starting from the breakup of Yugoslavia in the nineties of the 20th century, through the secession of Kosovo and attempts of federalization of Macedonia, while on the other hand the integration processes of the region are stimulated through the NATO and the EU. It is actually fragmentation in function of cohesion. If war today is "promotion of global free trade by other means" (Bauman), then it is clear that it has become the mean for elimination, if necessary, of all other obstacles, especially the territorial, for the "cosmopolitan character of production" (Marx-Engels) that is almost reached today. Hence fragmentation – in order to diminish as much as possible the resistance to the world neoliberal model – therefore cohesion is also performed, the unification of the world neoliberal market, where the minority of the rich exploit natural resources of the poor in order the rich to become richer and the poor to remain where they already are. Beck has called this "imperialism of the world market" – the globalism. The South-West Balkans is just one of the regions of the world periphery where the strategy of the market fundamentalism is implemented. We shall try to argue this conclusion on basis of the series of

Agnieszka Kolasa-Nowak

Fragmented society or fragmented picture? Polish society in recent sociological studies

KEYWORDS: Polish society, fragmentation, sociological diagnoses
ABSTRACT: During decades of post-communist transformation Polish sociologists had been stressing the need of necessary cohesion in a society undergoing fundamental changes. While diagnosing new social divisions they were projecting the target status of Polish society: modernized, Western-oriented, consistent and well-integrated. At the same time they were involved in revealing such unfavorable social phenomena as growing inequalities, lack of solidarity, weakening of social bonds, low level of social capital and lack of civil society.
In last couple of years new processes of social fragmentation are emerging, deepening the earlier problems with social cohesion. Growing migration rate, deepening political divisions, the rupture in public discourse and the distortions of public sphere are the problems of contemporary Polish society.
My paper will discuss two interrelated issues. One is about the manifestations and forms of fragmentation in Polish society today and new sources of the lack of cohesion. The other question is

whether there is a comprehensive picture emerging from sociological interpretations. Researchers are concentrated on fragments, aspects, niches. Professional specialization closes scientists in their narrow sub-fields. The interest in microsociology of everyday life does not enable a holistic look either. So unlike the diagnoses of transformation contemporary analyses avoid general problems. I will also try to point those sociological areas where the generalizing view has survived.

Lia Tsuladze

Politicizing Civic Activism: Exclusion, Division and Fight for the Right to the City in Georgia

KEYWORDS: Civic activism, environmental decision-making, exclusion, politicization, Georgia.

ABSTRACT: The paper discusses the emergence of policy-oriented civic activism in Georgia within the last decade based on the example of environmental activism. The author analyzes two recent cases of environmental civic participation in the capital city of Tbilisi. She describes environmental activists' resistance to what they call "the creeping occupation of public space" and their fight for "the right to the city" (Harvey 2008), as well as the former and current authorities' strategies to challenge their activism. The findings are based on qualitative research through combing the following methods: The analysis of Local Self-Government Code of Georgia to assess the legislative openness to public involvement in local governance, content analysis of all related articles on the two cases from selected online media, and finally, four focus group discussions: two of them with the activists who initiated and were most actively involved in the protest, as well as two focus groups with the local self-government authorities (the former and current ones) directly responsible for the official decisions related to the abovementioned two cases.

The evidence shows that although these cases are characterized by distinct lifecycles and levels of policy success, they still point to the same challenge to environmental civic participation in Georgia, which results from the government officials' exclusion of outside actors from decision-making processes, using the strategy of politicizing civic activism and labeling activists as politically biased to discredit them in the eyes of wider society. This strategy becomes especially important for the authorities because environmental activism has gained a regular character and activists have started applying innovative strategies of policy advocacy that attract public attention and are widely discussed in Georgian media. Thus, the presented cases show that despite the public's growing readiness to participate in the environmental decision-making, the state does not seem ready to support democracy from below.

9:00-11:00 Parallel Session 5b: **Post-communist Issues**

Borut Roncevic

Activators, Voyeurs, Fellow Travellers and Marginals: The Role of Sociology in Eastern European Transformations

KEYWORDS: sociology; social transformations; Eastern Europe
ABSTRACT: The role of sociology in the processes of post-socialist transformations remains curiously under-researched, if not completely overlooked. This lack of self-reflection of sociology is somewhat surprising, since East European transformation was and continues to be the subject of immense research interest. Consequently, we have relatively little structured and reliable information about the role of sociology in steering post-socialist transformations. In this presentation, I will reflect on this topic, analyzing both the role of sociology as a science and specific expertise, as well as the impact of sociologists through their different professional roles: as academics, educators, public intellectuals, experts or politicians. The presentation will be based on 20 national case studies from Eastern Europe. This empirical foundation enables us to reveal various types of the role of sociology and the impact of geopolitical, economic and social circumstances on the changing role of sociology.

Victor Cepoi

Moldovan post-socialist transformation: the (un)successfulness of sociology

KEYWORDS: post-social transformations, cultural political economy, sociology, Moldova
ABSTRACT: The redesign of the geographical boundaries in Eastern Europe, triggered changes in the (new) emerged countries. The new realities imply social, economic, and political relations and identities. Moreover, it can be viewed as a dynamic process, where the order is created rather than inherited. The importance of Cultural Political Economy (CPE) lies on the evolutionary mechanisms of social systems in the analysis of path-dependent and path-creative semiotic and extra-semiotic aspects of political and economic systems. It involves the exploration of the semiotic and extra-semiotic mechanisms, which are involved in the selection and consolidation of the dominance/hegemony of some meanings systems and ideologies over others.
The post-socialist transformation intended to change the existing imaginaries and offer a re-invention of the social, economic and political imaginaries. As a result, one can ask what are the forces that shape the new imaginaries? In order to answer this question, within this research the focus is on the case of Moldova, and the role of sociology during the early stages of the new created state in the

framework of Cultural Political Economy. Additionally, this research is the first attempt to understand the role of the Moldovan sociology in the framework of the post-socialist transformation. In order to get these insights, the research focuses on the in-depth analysis of the interviews conducted with Moldovan sociologists. The analysis emphasizes that Sociology had the opportunity to lead the change within the Moldovan society by shaping the dominant discourses. Nevertheless, its role in the post-socialist transformation was shattered due to its inexistence, or at least its underdevelopment in the Moldovan society.

Miroslawa Grabowska   *Post-communist cleavage revisited*

KEYWORS: Post-communism, socio-political cleavage, political parties

ABSTRACT: The post-communist cleavage is understood (after Lipset and Rokkan, and Bartolini and Mair) as a division – at the level of (a) social structure, (b) social values and attitudes and (c) institutions i.e. political parties representing social groups – generated by the fall of communism. The cleavage in Poland will be analyzed. However, I think that the cleavage should take shape in all countries emerging from communism. And indeed in the majority of post-communist countries it did, developing in the 90s (the most pronounced and lasting in Hungary). The post-communist cleavage defines two sides: a post-communist side and a side of anti- or non-communist opposition (in Poland "Solidarity" and post-solidarity parties).In Poland until the 2001-2005 parliament term one can speak about the existence of post-communist cleavage and its two sides: post-communist and "Solidarity" (then post-solidarity parties). This is substantiated by the condition of political parties after 1989, electoral behavior, social and ideological identities and religious belief of the parties' electorates.The chances for persistence of the cleavage depend not only on social values and attitudes supporting them, but also on active interest in supporting the cleavage by political and social actors – in this case political parties.But after 2005 in Poland: (a) The heir to the communist party – SLD (Democratic Left Alliance) was not interested in maintaining the cleavage – it was not in its political interest (leaving the "ghetto", expanding the potential electorate). Instead SLD blurred it, questioned its validity, and even its very existence. (b) The "Solidarity" and post-solidarity side of the cleavage did not want to support it, and even when it was interested in maintaining the cleavage, it did so ineptly.As a result the year 2005 marked a significant weakening of the post-communist cleavage for two reasons. One side of the post-communist cleavage broke down – electoral support for SLD decreased dramatically, and it eventually splintered. On the other hand, the post-solidarity side, always diversified, organized into two parties: PO (Civic Platform) and PiS

(Law and Justice). Both parties were supposed to form a coalition after the 2005 election. They not only did not do so, but instead began to vigorously fight each other. There are historical analogies: the split of the workers' movement into the social-democratic and communist ones, and – on the level of a country – the split of the Irish independence movement into the pro-treaty and anti-treaty party (Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil).The fortunes of the post-communist cleavage in the years after 2005 will be analyzed from the theoretical point of view and on the empirical level.