

Labor law: A Counter-Proposal

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Serbia's immanent labor law reform which is ensuing this year, threatens to transform the last remnants of the welfare state and social protection elements from labor regulations. These include working age length, pensions rights, working time regulations and overall employment rights and procedures. The rationale behind the stripping-away of former rights lies in an unsustainable austerity-polity approach which has already pushed in the preceding reforms in 2014. In this light, the present paper aims to survey the polity behind present labor reforms and attempt to offer an applicable counter-proposal while taking into account the current economic context of Serbia's workforce. This will be done in two steps: 1) via analyses of previous labor laws and domestic regulations and 2) a point-by-point counter-proposal of the labor law reform draft.

Recommendation time-frame: winter 2017 - spring 2018.

Rationale: Increasing public debate, along with worker's strikes and pressure from foreign-owned companies for yet another reform of the current labor law merits immediate attention if alternative conceptions are to be made viable in a timely manner.

Addressees: Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia, the Left Summit of Serbia, student activists from Belgrade and Novi Sad, general public.

I CONTEXT

Ia) Historical background

After the break-up of Yugoslavia, different successor nation-states took their own paths towards establishing market economy. Its establishment, however, coincided with a new wave of governmental reforms known as the “**Washington consensus**” or more popularly, the “10 commandments” of neoliberalism. These are: 1. fiscal discipline in the form of low budget deficits (to avoid recourse to inflation tax), 2. public expenditure rationalization (include cuts in public expenditure), 3. tax reform to broaden the tax base and cut marginal tax rates (in the form of VAT or value-added tax), 4. financial liberalization 5. competitive exchange rates to induce rapid growth of non-traditional exports, 6. liberalization of trade (through annulling trade barriers and low tariffs), 7. encouraging foreign direct investment 8. privatization of state-owned enterprises, 9. business deregulation and 10. property right enforcement [1].

Apart from Washington based institutions such as the World Bank, these set of reforms were also advocated by the IMF, the European Central Bank and the

European Commission, or what came to be known as the “Troika”. And although the histories of neoliberalism can be traced differently [2], the Washington variant came to be enforced on the European Unions’ “aspiring” peripheries through these institutions. However, it was according to Michel Camdessus, the former head of the IMF, that the IMF itself had been carrying out a “silent revolution” throughout the socialist Balkans already during the eighties, at the time the Washington list was compiled [3]. Without further discussing its origins, one might put into perspective the transition discourses that followed such policies: it was already during the break-up of Yugoslav society that certain neoliberal options were becoming available and this reflects in the **economic rationality behind further economic reforms** [4]. What’s more, given the crucial importance of labor laws in Yugoslavia prior to the break-up (with the “basic organizational unit of labor” as their central tenets along with the existence of social property), the **insistence on labor law reforms** in post-Socialist successor states becomes central.

In this context, the **flexibilization of labor** was to become a precondition to the implementation of the aforementioned reforms. Since they were incompatible with the existence of a stable and well-protected workforce, these reforms necessitated the abrogation of the last vestiges of social protection and welfare state. Done simultaneously across the region, the reforms initiated a long-lasting **race to the bottom**. During its beginning in ex-Yugoslav states previously bent on full employment under their Socialist predecessor [5], this meant exposing the majority of the workforce to untamed market relations for the first time. And, in rapidly changing markets such as those of post-Yugoslav Serbia, this meant the rising inadequacy between the aging ex-self-managed labor force predominantly employed in former state owned industrial enterprises and the slowly emerging labor markets predominantly based on the trade of goods and services. Deindustrialization coupled with outgoing migration (inherited from Yugoslav times) and traditionally high informal employment meant rising unemployment due to the incessant implementation of the aforementioned reforms throughout the nineties and 2000’s. When one takes into account the the first waves of privatization started out already in the nineties and the neoliberal policy reforms continued to be implemented by different governments throughout the 2000’s, Serbia’s uniquely long 30-year-long transition comes to foresight, as do its bitter and lasting social consequences.

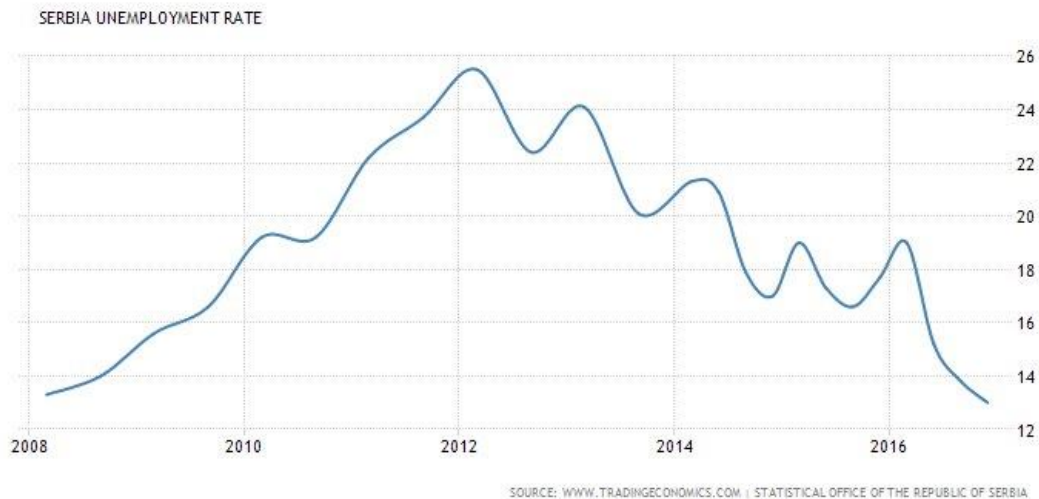
In the graph below **(1.1)** two sets of data are shown: the number of unemployed persons vs the total population of Serbia (excluding Kosovo) from the beginning of 2000’s after the fall of Slobodan Milošević up to the present moment (01.01.2001 - 05.25.2017). Despite constantly declining population (7.6 mil to 7.1 mil in more than 10 years) the number of unemployed persons wildly oscillates due to reforms including privatizations and bankruptcies of former state owned enterprises (most of which where privatized 2001-2004), after which it recovered only to return as the shock wave of Europe’s financial crises slowly set in the form of a credit crunch. Due to Serbia’s largely euronized (indexed or denominated in euros) credit structure, there was a subsequent withdrawal of available commercial credit, most

of which was never invested in the productive sector [6]. The gradual decline of the number of the unemployed after 2013 is surprising given the prohibition of public sector employment which announced precisely in 2013. This can be attributed to a change in measurement techniques whereby the definition of employed persons in the Labor Force Survey (LFS) was extended to include any labor being done or payment received in the week before the statistical measurement [7]. The new ways in which the Republic Statistical Fund began to count flexible labor coincided with the new labor law reforms which were enacted in 2014 and which **legalized formerly illegal means of flexible labor employment**. This means that we can talk of a correlation between precarious labor legislation and a return of “hidden unemployment”.

Graph 1.1:



Thus the unemployment rate (1.2) formed below expresses the aforementioned dynamics only so far. It depicts the years following the crises of 2008 up to the present moment (01.01.2008 - 05.25. 2017) and offers an inadequately optimistic outlook due to the shift in statistical measurement in the years after the crises:



Graph 1.2

The sudden drop in unemployment after the peak of the crises is due to precarious labor being taken as a standard form of employment by the Labor Force Survey described above. According to recent studies, while a 2% decrease in unemployment can be attributed to demographic “brain drain”, the rest relies only on the newly defined surveyed statistics rather than registered (the Republic Statistical Fund uses both, but publishes the surveyed only): “Although there is no data on registered unemployment rates since 2012., they are easy to calculate: in 2016, the surveyed rate of unemployment was 15,3% and the registered one 26,2% while the surveyed employment rate was 45,2%, and the registered one 33,4%.” [8] However, what is obfuscated is not only the quantitative dimension of unemployment, but also its quality.

For, while it is conducted in accordance with the International Labor Organization (ILO) standards, the survey unjustifiably excludes crucial factors such as informal employment, vulnerable employment, underemployment, working time, type of contract or earnings and subjective assessment by the interviewees themselves. Most crucially it lacks any indicator of labor market mobility and transition. Thus any indicators referencing unemployment quality are omitted. The data thus gathered is further presented only in its aggregated form without being disaggregated according to sector, age, status, vocation and education. Ultimately, it is not even present in the usual Eurostat tables. Far from mere errors, all of this results in frivolous political interpretations by the government: the problems which it diagnoses and the remedies which it proposes. Since it is in control of the statistics, it justifies its policies on the grounds of its own interpretations. The entire labor reforms - not only of law and jurisprudence but also of the whole institutional infrastructure including, as we shall see, the higher education sector - are rooted in this. By stating that the main problem of Serbian economy is **the incongruence between the supply of and demand for domestic labor**, the Serbian government

justifies a set of contradictory practices. It *enforces* austerity policy on “surplus” employment, *abandons* active investment to FDI and then *induces* precarious labor laws to bring down unemployment. It does the first in order to cut down on jobs that are “out of sync” with the market (such as certain higher education programs and public sector servants), the second in order to attract FDI and the third so it can counter the first. In practice, this means that employment is cut where interpreted as “unneeded” even when that is not the case: in 2016 new medical doctors were “unneeded” due to low demand for new jobs; low demand for their jobs came from the public employment prohibition; the situation is resolved in their precarious employment anywhere in the spectrum of labor, formal or informal. And their higher education was reformed in order to stop the alleged “hyperproduction” of new doctors [9]. The circle goes on.

What is hidden in such cases is the underemployment that is produced: due to lack of unemployment indicators, it is easy *not to see* that the real problem lies not in the simple number of un/employed doctors or any other laborers. The problem is their allocation and the quality of demand. The majority of employed are high-school educated as opposed to the minority with higher education (57% vs 13%), which is in correspondence rather than contradiction with the education profile of unemployed at the National Employment Service (NES). Thus, strictly speaking, **there is no incongruence between the supply and demand of labor but a lack of demand for qualified jobs** [10]. Contrary to what the government and government's media publish as relevant statistical data, no such problems exist in the labor market and the grounds on which its resolutions are justified appears null, not least, the Labor Law amendments from 2014.

Ib) The 2014 Serbian Labor Law

Since the Labor Law Reform in Serbia was drafted according to a previous Croatian Labor Law reform, which was in turn drafted according to a Slovenian one in the aforementioned “race to the bottom”, we may analyze it as an exemplary neoliberal legal framework for employment regulations for the entire Western Balkans. Previously, the original Serbian Labor Law was changed 3 times: first announced in 1. [Official Gazette RS No. 24 from 15/03/2005](#), amended in 2. [Official Gazette RS No. 61 from 18/07/2005](#), 3. [Official Gazette RS No. 54 from 17/07/2009](#) and 4. [Official Gazette RS No. 32 from 08/04/2013](#). However, only the one from 2014 follows the trend of legalizing precarious labor and in that sense is path-dependent on the Balkan variants of neoliberal policy reforms. Thus, we will focus on this particular law as the analysis of its content can be reproduced to a large extent on previous versions of similar labor laws in different Balkan states.

The main gist of the law is that it **legalized precarious labor** in summer 2014. This labor law reform legalized already existing informal practices in its already poorly protected labor force while simultaneously providing the employer with even more

freedom over the rights of his employees. This can be broken up into several sections:

1. **Labor time allocation.** First, as is unusual for such documents, the Law redefines labor time:
 - a. "Labor time is a chronological period in which the employee is in obligation to carry out labor or be at disposition to carry out labor according to orders given by the employer, at the place where labor is being carried out, in accordance with the law." (**Article 50, point 1**).
 - b. It also introduces a notion of "standby-time" which is not considered labor time: "Time spent while the employee is disposable to carry out labor on the employer's call and to carry out labor where it is needed, whereby the employee is not at the place where his labors are needed, in accordance with the law, is not considered labor time." (**Article 50, point 3**). Note that this can be both night and day.
 - c. It increasingly standardizes flexible labor time (regulated by articles 53-58). While working overtime is limited to working 12 hours a day/48 hours a week, flexible labor time can be re-arranged by the employer during the so-called "redistribution period" up to 13 hours per day and 60 hours a week (Article 57, point 5). Also, "Redistribution of labor time is not considered overtime" (**Article 58**), since it will be compensated by working less during other weeks included in this period without being paid for working overtime. Although such practices have existed prior to neoliberalism, they were considered exceptions demanded by the labor process and not recommended by the labor law. By instituting such practices as standard, the employee working overtime could practically be made to work extra hours without getting paid.
1. **Leisure time allocation:** as similar laws before it, this law regulates daily, weekly, monthly and yearly rest and vacation times by giving the employer full power over their distribution and consumption, providing only minimum of 15-45 minutes of rest a day and flexible vacation periods, all allocated at the discretion of the employer. This means that the employee usually does not know when he will get any rest in the case of the working day or week, and even less the time of his vacation which could be announced as little as seven days ahead of the date it is set to begin. Furthermore, the law states that in exceptional cases it could be announced until the very moment ahead of the rest or vacation (regulated by articles 63-76).
2. **Union representation:** this is mostly defined by what's not in the law. Unlike previous laws, the employer now needs not notifying the employee of whether his social security benefits such as pensions are actually being paid or not. Also, the conditions for determining the representativeness of the unions is sharpened (regulated by articles 218-220).
3. **Termination of working contract:** the employer can terminate an employee's working contract not only due to objective breaches of the contract but also by purely subjective estimation of one's knowledge and

capabilities or obligation fulfillment. This even includes the right of the employer to subjectively assess if the employee can be considered as a **culprit** of a crime regardless of whether he has been legally prosecuted for it or not:

- a. "The employer can terminate the employee's contract if the latter fails to respect work discipline, in case (...) 5) his behavior presents an act of criminal offense made during labor or related to labor, regardless whether any criminal charges have been brought up against his or hers criminal offense." (**Article 179, point 5**). This basically means that an employer can pronounce his employee guilty of any unproven crime and lay him off in an immediate manner.
- b. If the employer explicitly breached his contract by doing so, in the course of dispute the competent court can overrule the employee's plead in case the employer in any way justifies his subjective assessment: "If the court during trial determines that there were grounds for the termination of the employee's contract, but that the employer acted contrary to the regulations of the law which determines the termination of the labor contract, the court will dismiss the request of the employee to get his job back, and will determine in the name of damage repayment a fee to be paid on the behalf of the employee up to six times of his or hers monthly wage." (**Article 191**).
- c. Also, the time for the notification of the termination of the working contract is different for the employer and the employee: whereas the employee needs to notify the employer 15 to 30 days prior to terminating his contract, the employer can lay off any employee without notifying him beforehand (regulated by articles 178 and 179). The time for termination notification is still valid only in one exceptional case whereby the contract is terminated by the employer due to his assessment of the employees' incompetence in which case he has 8 to 30 days to notify him (Article 189). Furthermore, what's missing from the 2014 reform is an article which existed in the original Labor law (Article 178) which regulated the "forced termination" issue whereby the employee himself would quit due to blackmail by the employer so as to avoid the cost of social benefit of laying off his employees. This issue is now not being regulated at all [11].

Due to the above-depicted economic setting, the introduction of flexible or precarious labor represented a complement to the austerity-driven polity following the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008. In its wake, the Serbian government faced two challenges: to rise employment while simultaneously cutting labor costs. Additionally, its monetary policy was limited by an overly euronized credit structure leaving no possibility of external devaluation. By legalizing precarious labor, the new labor law reform gave an impression of an improving employment rate while increasingly subjecting the labor market to foreign investors' demands. At the same time, the law acted as an "ersatz" internal devaluation: through slashing the cost of

labor and its social protection, it had relieved the pressure off the need for a currency devaluation which would sever its ties with the Eurozone.

The content of the present Labor law, however, was not conceived unanimously by state officials and employers. Although actively participating in its creation under the tripartite dialogue, some of the Unions took to the streets over the law's hasty implementation. **Examples of struggle** against the new labor law thus include the initial reactions of the various Trade Union Associations (“Nezavisnost”, “Sloga”, the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia, etc.) which protested over its announcement in the summer of 2014. Along with several small and large left-wing organizations (the latter including the nascent Left Summit of Serbia), the Union-led protests represented one of the most numerous reactions to the laws, albeit without a developed strategy and without much effect. The mandatory government-organized public debates over the law were attended by these organizations (often by force due the government's secrecy over the focal points of the law), but quickly subsided behind close curtains. And although the unions participated in the tripartite dialogue with the employers' associations and the state over the content of the law, the result quickly showed the limits of the dying tripartite solution [12]. Ultimately, the subsequent reaction by the unions was limited to protesting only and failed to provide a lasting strategy against future attempts at labor rights suppression.

II CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

The current law is about to be amended during the end of the 2017 with further social protection being stripped away (e.g. maternal leave and other remnants of former labor rights). Furthermore, **this law opened the gates to profound infrastructural standardization of precarization: agency-led outsourcing** of cheap labor force which predated the law already practices throughout the region, the **shift from welfare to workfare** whereby welfare receivers would have to work-off their benefits, and the introduction of **dual education** whereby part of the specialized young high school students would work in companies for half the minimum wage with no social benefits at all. These laws can be understood as labor law adjustments further regulating its objective: precarization legislation. Thus, apart from its amendment in late 2017, it should come as no surprise that currently three labor-related laws regulating precisely these forms of precarization are awaiting parliamentary approval: 1) Since 2016 the National Assembly (Serbia's Parliament) established a working group drafting a law on agencies for temporary employment which should enter public discussion in June 2017. The law would legalize “leasing” agencies renting workers at low prices and little to no labor rights open to both foreign and domestic demand [13] . Already in practice in Croatia, this law only shifts the competition for lower wages onto the level of the company, firm or enterprise often employing workers from different agencies which can have dramatically different rights and wages for a single job resulting in serious damage to the job's maintenance or execution due to their expendability (for example,

outsourced cleaning or maintaining aircraft safety, public buildings, etc.). 2) Five sectoral laws regulating the entire public sector employment at the beginning of 2018. Once public sector employment prohibition ends, these laws will take over the employment regulations also legalizing both free mandatory internship a.k.a. paid labor with no social benefits and free volunteering a.k.a. mandatory unpaid labor. Both forms would be necessitated for those seeking employment in healthcare, education and any public service thereof [14]. 3) Dual education law: the draft for this law has already been completed and is currently undergoing public discussions while Serbia's Chamber of Commerce and Industry has already announced high school education reorganization for the 2017/2018 academic year [15]. This law is both compatible and incompatible with the Labor law: while it carries on its mission of precarization legislation, it bypasses some of its constraints. For example, while the Labor law (article 25) forbids child labor under the age of 18 without the consent of the child's parents, the Dual education law makes such labor mandatory without the possibility of parents protesting it since it foresees that the labor contract is made between the educational institution and the employer, totally excluding the subjects of labor - children and their caretakers. Also, the Dual education law (article 9) excludes the Labor law as a legal reference since it foresees that "the rights of laboring children are secured exclusively by laws regulating higher education", opening up space for further exploitation without legal protection [16].

The sheer amount of high-speed reforms being implemented requires appropriate statistical tracking. Thus it is important to note that the Ministry of Public Administration and Local Self-Government has announced an implementation of the so-called "eZup" project which will connect six major statistical databases - the statistical analyses provided by the Birth registry, the Ministry of Interior, Pension Fund, National employment office and the aforementioned Central Registry for Mandatory Social Welfare's statistics to include digital tracking of precarious labor [17].

Given the composition and sheer amount of material at hand, any further battle over the law requires careful coordination of available resources. As such, the very way in which the law was developed needs special attention, along with more short-term goals aiming for immediate amelioration of the situation as well as providing the conditions for future resistance.

III PROSPECTS

We began with an analysis of the Washington consensus and how its policies were implemented in the Balkans with a focus on the Serbian case. The Labor law reform was one of its crucial points. However, coming back to the consensus, of the "10 commandments", only 3 relate to foreign policies while the others advocate local austerity: import, export relations and foreign direct investment are the key words here. While Serbia has already cut its previously high exchange rates in early 2017

and already liberalized trade with the Stabilization and Association Agreement which entered force in 2013, the need to attract foreign direct investment still plays a key role in Serbian policy, as well as generally in the Balkans. It is one of the most long-lasting causes of and excuses for labor reforms and austerity in the peripheries of Europe. And given the implementation of the Berlin process during the pause of Eurointegration, the prospective creation of a single Western Balkan market will augment these processes even more.

However, while criticized from both the left and the right, it can be said that the foreign direct investments have not lived up to their name. Foreign direct investments do not “exist”: simply put, most of them return as profit within the country of origin (usually a highly developed country). Although cheap peripheral labor might be used to produce products for multinational companies seated in highly developed countries, it won't “attract” their investments per se. Thus the most widely acclaimed neoliberal chant has a flaw: cheap labor cannot attract foreign investment since capital flows seek high profit rates found mostly in already developed countries. Simply put, it is by far less profitable to sell a Fiat car in Serbia rather than in Italy, although it might be more cheap to produce one. This is why local governments constantly need to create new laws and conditions for foreign investors including privatization laws and subsidies for the purchase of local property, tax-free zones and expedient legal permits including “grace period” wage subsidies neatly coupled with local wage cuts to serve as attractors for capital investment [18]. In that sense, the labor laws are but a consequence of a larger policy approach and the rationale behind them is flawed. **Simply put, low wages don't attract FDI - subsidies do.**

Hence the question why do these policies still drive labor reforms and to answer it we need analyze the scope of the problem deeper. What we are left with is “ritual austerity”: implementing austerity policy universally outside of any necessary or rationally justifiable economic framework. While the peripheral position of Serbia in the European division of labor certainly reproduces the inequalities haunting the peripheral working classes (wage and social protection differences, competitive agency employment), the local labor laws cannot be explained as justified on those grounds. Simply put, Serbia's economy could very well do without any of the labor legislation reforms currently implemented. However, the problems run far deeper: it could be argued that this politico-legal framework unintentionally establishes a new form of “**institutional complementarity**”. The notion of “complementarity” is used in institutional economics (and the Regulation school) to designate: 1) a relationship between institutions where one compensates for another's lack and vice versa; 2) the process of adjustments between different institutions and their co-evolution regardless of a “grand designer” or a master plan. This can effect their efficacy both in a positive and negative way, but can also influence social stability. According to Robert Boyer, “All institutional forms result from social compromises that are then embedded in law, jurisprudence, social norms and conventions. Each of these institutional forms induces some specific behavior of firms, wage earners, banks and so on. At the level of the economy, there is no automatic mechanism that

would ensure their compatibility. Instead, institutional forms continuously adjust and thus co-evolve.” [19] Through trial and error, both market- and politically-induced institutional configurations emerge, creating a system of interdependence beyond the will of any given actor.

The (un)intended consequence of the above-analyzed set of laws (Labor law reform in conjunction with education and public sector reforms) is an institutional system with different sub-systems that can be analyzed through the notion of complementarity. In this sense through institutional complementarity, the practicing of austerity is encouraged in different institutional settings regardless of independent wills of any given actors. **At the level of the Serbian nation-state**, the employers, both domestic and foreign (and also court magistrates, public officials and private managers) will all now have novel powers of decision-making in their respective institutions to enforce unconstrained discipline on the exploitation of labor done by volunteers, interns and precarious semi- or fully-employed workforce. This network of austerity-based institutional infrastructure also shows prospects of further co-evolution: with the dual education sub-system and mandatory public sector volunteering, a steady supply of cheap or free specialized labor is ensured, both offsetting high unemployment rates while increasing competition among workers. Given no possibilities of youth workforce and volunteer or intern unionizing, their possibilities of political resistance and social protection are thus annulled (and need to be so if the formation of such a system is to overcome functional particularism of independent institutions). **At the level of intermestic connections** (regional but trans-national institutional connections) the agency-driven employment governance will likely take-over labor allocation within different sectors of the Balkan economies, as was the case in Slovenia and Croatia to an extent, where such practices already exist. Once legalized, this will further increase competition between the workers and shift the labor-related organizational pressure from the employer onto other corporations (regulation of payment and any remnants of social security). This amounts to the privatization of social security further offsetting the financial cost associated with protections guaranteed by the Labor law, thus increasing its austerity-effects. This dimension of institutional change goes beyond any given nation-state as it basically gives agencies trans-national business opportunities in the Balkans as a whole, while entrusting them labor-allocating powers within single nation-states. The consequence of this institutional network is further social instability. Given the rising inflation and prices of consumer goods in Serbia coupled with such institutional austerity, **the end result becomes the inability of most forms of labor to guarantee the basic reproduction of the available workforce**. And without lines of flight available to workforce in the European Union in the form of labor mobility, the political and economic prospects of Serbia's and Balkan' laboring classes appears null.

This can be understood as the Balkan variant of the mature phase of what Bob Jessop termed “austerity polity”: “a continuing fundamental institutional reorganisation of the relations between the economic and political in capitalist formations. [...] Whereas conjunctural [austerity] policies are found in the pattern of

neoliberal policy adjustment and associated with targeted cuts in specific areas, an enduring politics of austerity is characteristic of neoliberal regime shifts and assumes the form of general fiscal-financial restraint, putting downward pressure on most areas of expenditure, especially discretionary ones.” [20]. **Beyond a simple economic response, the permanent long-term application of austerity alters the institutional and political matrix of society: including the reorganization of parliamentary democracies (shifting to market-focused “disciplinary democracy”) and the disorganization of subaltern classes (precarious workers and minorities, augmented by gender oppression).**

The previously analyzed labor law in the conjunction with other laws gives an overview of how this institutional complementarity might function in what seems to be the emerging Balkan “austerity polity”. As these laws make up only part of the wider institutional infrastructure reforms based on “competitive austerity” polities of particular Balkan states with identical labor laws, their full consequences cannot be overemphasized. At this point, our contention is that any alternative institutional setting would be more sustainable than the present one. However, in terms of thinking how to counter-act such tendencies, one needs to account for the above described wider social reorganization they entail. In that sense it must be clear that **countering their effects goes beyond mere legislative struggles**. As rules governing labor socialization both at the private and public sector, they entail a change in practices relating both to institutional and ideological aspects of the problem. Thus, any counter-proposal must react to them on both levels. In this sense, our offer would be to provide a set of guiding principles for a “counter-complementarity” or **re-configuration of existing resources and present institutional matrices in a way that restores social rights without damaging the economy**. As such, they must function within an actually existing setting. The principles presented here are based on analyses of current Serbian institutional setting and are viable within them without resorting to budget overload.

IV POSITIONS

Short-term - institutional:

- Increasing union rights and membership in both private and public sector
- Creating conditions for precarious workforce unionizing

Short-term - ideological:

- Abandoning the tripartite form of dialogue
- Syndical education

Long-term institutional and ideological:

- re-defining the relationship between education and workforce composition
- re-regulating the social protection of labor rights
- annulment of workfare
- re-activation of self-managed infrastructure

V POLICIES

Short-term - institutional:

- **Increasing union rights and membership in both private and public sector.** Due to syndical pluralism there are today about 24 000 trade unions operating across Serbia. In terms of number this is at the top of European-wide standards, but in terms of effects and employee protection, their strength is null due to marginalization by the labor laws and public policies. In practice, unions are not consulted or are formerly consulted in matters of legislation, while in terms of field activity they are passive or mostly focused on technical issues. Additionally, the biggest unions (e.g. “Nezavisnost” and “Sloga”) are by role close to state policies as they were formed out of the ex-Yugoslav state-integrated unions active in the eighties. A significant heritage from the eighties is the shifting relation between union leaders and workers themselves. According to Jake Lowinger most of the protests in the eighties against the break-up of Yugoslavia did in fact come from the base of the self-managed working class despite union leaders, and were not encouraged by them [21]. The same continues to this day with added problems: political heterogeneity and overall passivity due to non-participation in the public sphere and lack of coordination. There is a need for a political integration outside of the scope of branch unionizing. Also, there exists a great need to penetrate union organizations into the private sector. While it is not legally forbidden, this is in practice looked down upon if not outright prohibited by force and informal pressure. Membership in public sector working classes remains low and hence any organization possibilities are loose. **Remedies/short term: seek out active parts of different unions** and attempt to work with them over their own issues. Sticking to a single union in situation of numerous union organizations with membership problems is counter-productive. Instead, **map possibilities of political integration and cooperation within active sections.** This takes years of work and is not at all a linear process. **Private sector workers** should be addressed by public education and given opportunity to meet with any active unions. **Remedies/long term:** A stable **working group** dedicated to this matter would increase the short-term goal of institutional change, since any possibility of re-activating the political potential of the unions (which they still have as a broad electoral base addressed by the parties) would have to be built from the ground up to counter the effects of labor legislation which will particularize struggles through increased worker competition. This should be done with careful coordination with different left-wing groups since there are different actors already struggling to catch the unions attention. Confusing and mutually exclusive policies should be mapped and avoided. Similar groups already exist in Croatia (Brid) and could be consulted.
- **Creating conditions for precarious workforce unionizing.** First, one needs to look at **precarious workforce composition:** it must be emphasized that the precarious part of the laboring classes is in itself not a single group but comprises and will further comprise freelance workers, public sector

interns and volunteers along with those precariously paid through the new labor law legislation including those employed by agencies for precarious work. Although they are currently supposedly growing in number, especially among the youth, there are little to no prospects of their organizing or unionizing. Hence, while this part of the working class has the most need for rights and social protection, it is by far the most overlooked and are hectically regulated in the Balkans. For example, while in Slovenia the “Zakon o gospodarskih družbah” recognizes self-employment, the Serbian government does not [22]. This reflects the unions which may or may not legally give membership to precarious or self-employed (freelance) workforce. In practice, most of the unions are based on public sector fully employed members and have little resources to do otherwise. **Remedies/long term:** demand **recognition of self-employment** with at least the same rights as those provided by the labor law. Then carry onto already established union working groups as those described in the previous solution with an attempt to **unionize precarious labor** as a whole (groups described here) including semi-employed workers. Given the great need for labor rights by precarious workers, any new political alternative would have to address this part of the working class which is growing in number and disproportionately political represented (or not at all). To do so by way of unionization goes directly against the branch organizational structure of the unions and one might say that in the years ahead overcoming the internal structure of the unions would necessarily have to be one of the urgent political tasks of any left today. There are no short/term options for this, as it requires institutional change of both legislation and union structure. If done, however, the results would yield novel political strength and possibly the return of working class political influence from below. The possibilities for this should be at least researched more in the future.

Short-term - ideological:

- **Abandoning the tripartite form of dialogue and syndical education.** The so-called tripartite dialogue was one of the great breaks that have narrowed the scope of union influence and passivized their activities in the post-Socialist period in the Balkans. It did so by focusing the union's pressure on bureaucratic issues. This came in the form of the Social and Economic Council of the Republic of Serbia as a body comprising representatives of the Serbian Government, representative associations of employers and representative trade unions. It was first established in August 2001 between the Serbian Government, the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia (CATUS), Trade Union Confederation “Nezavisnost” (TUC “Nezavisnost”), Association of Free and Independent Trade Unions and the Serbian Association of Employers (SAE), and was later codified by the Law on the Social and Economic Council of the Republic of Serbia in November 2004 giving it a legal framework for establishment and operation. The Council is made up of 18 members and in the current convocation the Government is represented by six, SAE by six, CATUS by four and TUC “Nezavisnost” by two members [23]. While it sidelined in practice in the years following the Labor

Law of 2014, the tripartite idea still presents a great block for union members self-organizing. The belief that the unions are somehow part of the state and employer's institutional matrix even when they are not receiving any benefits from them, is a major ideological issue in the unions. Here we do not mean beliefs, but schools, lectures and information exchange that is constantly going on within the unions and which could be traced if needed through the unions periodicals, journals and other literary or to an extent, theoretical production. This is one of the heritage from the eighties we mentioned earlier, due to traditional closeness of the unions to the state and party officials. **Remedies/short term:** political discussions and education with union members on the topics of the limits of the tripartite dialogue. Also, cooperating with union periodicals and literary production could be of use for circulating ideas. The goal should be to reach the lowest possible level of the base (in the sense of cooperating not only with official union representatives on upper levels of union structures but to establish contact with different sectors of their base). This should also be used to re-connect the branched division of the unions internally. **Remedies/long term:** Conceiving of alternative ways to address the state and employers outside of the Social and Economic Council such as through a **formation of a pan-union representative body** based on proportional participation and inclusion which would also sideline the discussions and quarrels over the representativeness of particular unions (which are also determined by the state and according to the Labor law).

Long-term institutional and ideological:

- **Re-defining the relationship between education and workforce composition. Activation of youth sections of the unions** (e.g. the “Confederation of the Autonomous Unions of Vojvodina” which has cooperated already with left organizations such as “Gerusija” in the past) and engagement with the student population done via educational groups. These groups should be political in nature with the added significance of theoretical cooperation on critical issues such as dual education which is coordinated with the labor law, as described above. Institutionally, the dual-education-Labor-law axis needs to be reversed as they would eventually only augment their negative effects. Youth employment needs to be regulated by the Labor law, and the Labor law should be amended (below). **Dual education should be opposed** as an all-inclusive institutional matrix applied to the entire education as it will surely create semi-skilled unprotected workforce with no prospects for higher earnings. With no possibilities of social reproduction, this emerging class would fall back on state workfare or self-subsistence pauperizing the population even more. Dual education could, with the consent of its participants, be done where needed as part of secondary education practice, but the enabling law should be opposed. Also, should the law proceed, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Serbia, a non-governmental organization of employers' representatives which already influenced the Labor law, would have a large say over Serbia's education structure, since its operation in the future system of education is guaranteed

and codified by the Law on Dual Education [24]. This should be opposed as it de facto gives a singular non-state subject disproportionate amount of power over public education and even has monopolizing possibilities not suitable even for market oriented education. The existent remnants of **student co-operatives (“Studentske zadruge”)** **should be addressed instead**. They are charged with regulating student employment and could be re-activated and augmented with youth sections of local unions over common goals of student employment protection, should the unions prove capable of handling student membership more actively. This could provide stable inflow of candidates suitable **to enter the student parliaments** who are currently passive or have proven to be more aligned the the state and faculty administration that with the student body that they present. In this way, the future workforce could have a say in its social protection and politically present themselves autonomously, while also entering dialogue with employers as an organized body not susceptible to political or bureaucratic pressures. Local **student movements** which have sprung up in recent years should also be seek out and consulted. The mutually beneficial infrastructure could enforce direct-democratic tendencies and offer much needed education on the true state of affairs in the labor market outside of what is currently depicted to the students by the various employment education workshops traditionally active in the faculties and organized by the parliaments. In this way, an institutional network of future workforce members with levying points of putting political pressures on employers and state administration (including union youth and students) could easily be crafted as a result.

- **Re-regulating the social protection of labor rights and annulment of workfare.** First and foremost, **the Labor law should be amended**. The unemployed precarious workforce, although counted by the statistical institutions mentioned here, is not recognized by the Labor law. Hence, **the Labor law should be extended to regulate any form of labor**, and not only employed labor as it is now. Furthermore, the **definition of labor time should be deleted** along with the notion of standby time in **Article 50**. **Secondary work activities** (stand-by, commuting, mailing at night, i.e. any labor being done during leisure time) **should be re-defined as overwork and compensated appropriately**. **Article 179** which deals with subjective criminal charges should also be amended (its fifth point pertaining to subjective interpretation has been deleted by the Constitutional Court which deemed in opposition to the Constitution, but the rest of it has however been left as it is) [25]: **weaker and stronger employee offences should be distinguished** to prevent immediate terminations for minimal breaches of the labor contract. Also, precarious labor should be minimized in institutions and sectors of the economy where it is not needed: the limit of **short-term agreements should be reduced to 6 months** (from 24 months currently foreseen by the Labor law, while the previous version foresaw 12 months). This should be done in order to offset the tendency to employ short-term labor in sectors (such as science and medicine) and institutions where

precarious labor is not necessary or beneficial to their functioning. Also, the punishments for payment forfeit and other offences made by the employer should be increased so as to counter their occurrence which is regular in Serbian society due and is usually permitted despite labor standards. Also, one needs to counter the shift from welfare to workfare seen in mandatory working-off of social benefits once guaranteed by the state. Given the rising unemployment due to the sheer amount of workforce being laid-off during the two phases of privatization, the neoliberal post-Socialist states such as Serbia resorted to shifting welfare to workfare with mandatory laboring for welfare receivers and the aforementioned legislation of labor precarization. The two processes are two sides of the same coin. However, given that most of the budget is filled via a two-grade (8% and 16%) VAT-taxed consumption without taxing luxury goods, and given the sheer quantity of state subsidies for foreign investors on the level of magnitude of hundreds of millions €/year, it should be noted that any return to welfare will do much to relieve the pressure of the working classes while not significantly affecting the budget. For example, only in 2012 in Serbia there were 14.950 foreign-owned companies with additional 6848 companies co-owned by foreign capital with approximately 8 060 million € of investments [26], the biggest companies of these being Telenor, Gazprom Neft, Phillip Morris, Delhaize, Fiat and VIP mobile. On the other hand, over one-third of all investments made were in fact subsidized: "Subsidies provided to foreign investors over the period from 2006-2016 amount to 439 million euros for a total of 304 signed contracts. The total value of those investments over the same period amounts to 1.6 billion euros." [27] Since most of the foreign investments increased the budget deficit due to focusing largely on non-tradeable goods, it is a question whether the Serbian economy has profited at all from them. By investing in enterprises with a degree of product finalization (e.g. autocables and footwear) which employ mostly precarious workforce which in practice works mostly overtime [28]. Thus, the governments abandonment of active domestic investment and industrial development policy could be said to be not only unnecessary but in fact counterproductive to its own proposed aims. Hence, contrary to such state of affairs, **redirecting losing investments towards working class welfare would in fact save the budget rather than damage it.** Welfare could both be re-legislated permanently and be re-introduced gradually in the form of temporary aid for professions most affected by the crisis such as laid off industrial workers or ex-privatized or bankrupt workers not undergoing social programs envisaged by laws regulating bankruptcy [29]. Thus, **instead of a shift from welfare to workfare we propose a broad policy approach of redirecting state subsidies for foreign investors to welfare previously guaranteed by the Labor law on the minimum level required for worker' reproduction** (indexed in prices relating to consumer goods and the consumer basket rather than minimum wage). This could be coupled with **raising the price of labor per hour** to meet the real needs for workforce reproduction and consequentially return to raising the domestic

aggregate demand. Currently the price of labor per hour is set at 130 RSD and could favorably be set at least to 150 RSD [30].

- **Re-activation of self-managed infrastructure.** Regarding the aforementioned laws on bankruptcy, these were used as a temporary mechanism for forced closure of formerly state socially owned enterprises. In 2014 a list of 188 domestic (mostly industrial) enterprises was compiled by the government Privatization Agency (which operated from 2001-2016). These enterprises were forced to bankrupt regardless of their market success due to dubious estimates by the Agency. Most of their skilled workforce was lost with them, including professional and highly-skilled workers with several decades of experience. Oftentimes, the social programs that covered their dismissal were used to close down the enterprises. An example is the Novi Sad-based “Neobus” bus production facility where it would have been more rational to cover the plant's unsolicited debts created by a foreign owner rather than pay the much higher fee for social programs and abandon the plant and enterprise. Despite the odds, the latter was chosen on a political basis, and its once productive halls are now used as cold storage for “Matijević mesara”, another huge enterprise and meat refining industry [31]. However, some of the bankrupt industrial workers have offered resistance. From the 2014 list, we can take the example of “Petar Drapšin” still mill and former self-managed conglomerate where the remaining workers organized themselves into self-managed communities operating the bankrupt mill. Other factories such as the “Jugoremedija” chemical plant from Zrenjanin, went to become politically active. The famous “Jugoremedija” case predates the 2014-list of bankruptcies and is an example of a decade-long fight against state and private entrepreneurial attempts at closing down a profitable factory which gave novel ideological, political and organizational ways of struggling [32], also giving birth to the formerly mentioned left-wing organization known as the Left Summit of Serbia. In Bosnia, the best example are the “Dita” chemical factory workers in Tuzla whose operation continues to this day, albeit at 2% operational capacity due to horrific working conditions and damaged equipment. The workers from these plants fell within the precarious or unemployed and were discriminated against due to their physical age and working age because of the benefits they may receive if retired within a new employer's enterprise (something which the new Labor law of 2014 also settled by arguing that it would be only the last years spent under the latest employer which would count for their benefits). Although some of these factories such as “Dita” are producing again, their prospects are unforeseeable: before re-investing again, the kick-starting liquidity needed to overhaul their structures and equipment damaged by the bankruptcy and privatization processes is scarcely available. In this sense, they are victims of vicious debt cycles enforced by the Balkan neoliberal austerity policy. However, it is no secret that factories may very well operate outside of private ownership and their existence is a vivid reminder of that. In spite of their attempts of resistance to economic pressures by the austerity policy, the political knowledge and

experience of these collectives makes them significant and distinguished parts of the working class. While their efforts to restore self-management might appear limited, they should not be overlooked. Contrary to commanded privatization (the 8th “commandment” in Washington terms), they prove that ownership is of little to no relation to market efficiency. In this sense they fill a great “epistemological” gap in present day collective organization: the widely-known fact that most of the present day workers and public sector employees suffer individual pressure without significant unionized or collective defense. This reflects on the type of individualistic protests. It also reflects on the failed attempts at their bridging that have in turn made it easier for their own segregation from public life and from preserving social protection. The problem is that, regardless of their attempts at production restoration, the aforementioned examples (“Dita”, “Jugoremedija”, “Petar Drapšin”) were not connected, and helping them through individual charities did not help overcome any of their problems, but merely ameliorated them. In a nutshell, the individualistic resistance seen in the overabundance of non-connected worker's protests rests on a failure to recognize one's own suffering as part of a vast model such as those of privatization. The hope for 'good privatization' drove some successful industry collectives from one failed privatization to another (such as “Jugoremedija” and “Petad Drapšin”). Hence, while it is debatable to what extent can they be aided without full state support or at least without parliamentary pressure at the disposal to the Left, **the ex-Yugoslav self-managed collectives can still be salvaged for both much needed knowledge transmission and archival material.** As for the first, the surviving workers' collectives are remnants from the shareholder-phase of privatization whereby workers could become owners of shares of their plant while keeping their self-managed collective organizational structure. They can be called back within the present setting in both unions and factories with unresolved ownership to overcome the fragmentation of this part of the working class and to narrow the generational gap between them. However, as stated, the body coordinating such efforts lacks and it could very well be adjacent to bodies of working groups mentioned earlier. Thus, rather than helping them through charity donations and such, **their efforts should be expanded or replicated in conjunction with union aid and their youth/student sections.** As for the second, each enterprise hold its own archival records of worker's collectives evolution over time with decisions and economic statistical records. By combining the two, one can hope to re-open the discussion over alternative ownership schemes in the public sphere and to create a counter-discourse to the mainstream privatization-narrative. Unlike in other economies, such discourses were once more than present and their reactivation is a task yet unaddressed. It is in this sense that the heritage of Yugoslav enterprises can be revitalized and revived rather than cast-off as a simple remnant of the past.

[1] Numbered according to John Williamson who coined the term. Note that Williamson later criticized his own policies as a universal remedy for developing countries. However, it was precisely in this sense that they were implemented, as a given model rather than a flexible set of policies. See: Williamson, John (2004), *The Washington Consensus as Policy Prescription for Development*, Institute for International Economics, available at: <https://piie.com/publications/papers/williamson0204.pdf>

[2] We need only mention the Ordoliberal circles in Germany which still influence parts of the CDU (a perspective popularized by Foucault in the *Birth of Biopolitics*, despite its focus on neoliberalism's early XX century roots); the international Swiss based Mont-Pelerin Society (described by Philip Mirowski in his *Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste*) and the aforementioned Washington Consensus - initially designed for developing countries in Latin America and then enforced in the European periphery.

[3] Boughton, M. James (2001), *Silent Revolution: The International Monetary Fund 1979—1989*, Washington: International Monetary Fund, p. 578.

[4] Such as the two waves of privatization: first one had to convert social property to state property and from then on such property would either be offered in shares to the workers (share-holders privatization) or sold to an investor (privatization proper). For this, see: Musić, Goran (2013), *Serbia's Working Class in Transition 1988-2013*, Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe. On the level of the state, there was relegation of former party powers to the levels of the Republics. For this, consult: Centrih, Lev (2014), *The Road to Collapse: The Demise of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia*, Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe.

[5] For more, see: Woodward, Susan (1995) *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945–1990*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[6] More on that see: Matković, Aleksandar (2015), "Čiji su naši dugovi? Evrointegracija i liberalna ideologija", *Novi Plamen* 6 (1-3): 121-127, available at: https://www.academia.edu/12187289/%C4%8Ciji_su_na%C5%A1i_dugovi_evrointegracija_i_liberalna_ideologija

[7] This was done with the establishment of the Central Registry for Mandatory Social Welfare in 2010 which now governs labor statistics and is codified in the Labor Law (article 272a). It began influencing data collected by the Republic Statistical Fund in the years that followed (<http://www.croso.gov.rs/cir/index.php>), causing public controversy over the issue of fictitious rise in overall employment: http://www.danas.rs/ekonomija.4.html?news_id=337612&title=Nezaposlenost+u+Srbiji%3A+Statistika+nije+egzaktna+nauka. There are grounds to believe that this was done in a desperate attempt to reach the EU's goal of 75% employment benchmark by 2020, which was echoed repeatedly in Vučić's recent presidential expose. See: Europe 2020: a European Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth, available

at: <http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf>, and Vučić's expose available at: <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/ovo-je-vucicev-ekspoze-na-68-strana/sxv6byc>

[8] Bradaš, Sarita (2016), *Statistika i dostojanstven rad: kritička analiza političkog tumačenja statistike rada*, Beograd: Fondacija Centra za demokratiju, p. 21., available at <http://www.centaronline.org/sr/dogadjaj/11681/analiza-statistika-i-dostojanstven-rad>

[9] This was done by the Employment and Social Reform Programme. For more info visit: <http://socijalnoukljucivanje.gov.rs/en/employment-and-social-reform-programme-esrp-adopted/>

[10] Most of the employed are of middle level education (57%) and the least are of higher education (13%) which corresponds to the educational structure of unemployment according to the National Employment Service. Broadly speaking, there is no incongruence between the demand and the supply of skills and knowledge. The quality of the higher education provided to the 13% is another matter and should not be confused with the inconsistency between the overall structure of employment and unemployment. Bradaš, Sarita (2016), *Statistika i dostojanstven rad: kritička analiza političkog tumačenja statistike rada*, Beograd: Fondacija Centra za demokratiju, p. 7, available

at <http://www.centaronline.org/sr/dogadjaj/11681/analiza-statistika-i-dostojanstven-rad>

Za najveći broj oglašanih radnih mesta tražena je srednja stručna sprema (60%) pri čemu su se prijavljivali najviše kandidati čije je obrazovanje iznad srednjoškolskog (56%). p. 17.

[11] Articles quoted from the original text of the 2014 Labor Law (In Serbian) can be found here: <https://poslovi.infostud.com/info/saveti/pravnik-odgovara/zakoni/zakonoradu.pdf>. All translation done by the author. For the missing article on forced contract termination, see: See Reljanović, Mario, Ružić, Bojana, Petrović, Aleksandra (2016), *Analiza efekata primene zakona o radu*, Beograd: Fondacija Centar za demokratiju, p. 49-50. (in Serbian), available at: <http://www.centaronline.org/userfiles/files/publikacije/fcd-analiza-efekata-primene-izmena-i-dopuna-zakona-o-radu.pdf>.

[12] Matković, Aleksandar (2014), *Struggling Against Serbia's Labour Law Part 2*, available at: <http://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/struggling-against-serbias-new-labour-law-part-2/>

[13] An overview made by the Confederation of Autonomous Unions of Vojvodina can be found here: <http://www.sssv.rs/pdf/RADNICI-NA-LIZING-VODIC.pdf>

[14] Information published by the Radio-Television Network of Vojvodina (in Serbian): http://www.rtv.rs/sr_lat/politika/novi-zakoni-o-zaposlenima-u-javnom-sektoru-do-1-1-2018.787747.html

[15] Full text of the draft can be found here: <http://www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FINAL-NACRTA-ZAKONA-O-DUALNOM-OBRAZOVANJU-12.05.2017..pdf>. Announcement of Serbia's Chamber of Commerce and Industry can be found here: <https://www.rpkpancevo.com/vesti/aktuelne-vesti/1749-nova-upisna-politika-u-srednje-skole-za-skolsku-2017-18-godinu>.

[16] Full text of the draft can be found here: <http://www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FINAL-NACRTA-ZAKONA-O-DUALNOM-OBRAZOVANJU-12.05.2017..pdf>.

[17] http://www.b92.net/biz/vesti/srbija.php?yyyy=2017&mm=05&dd=26&nav_id=1264716

[18] For an analysis of how the local government conditioned foreign investments, see Radenković, Ivan (2016), *Foreign Direct Investment in Serbia*, Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, available at: http://www.rosalux.rs/sites/default/files/publications/6_Radenkovic_engl_web.pdf

[19] Boyer, Robert, Streeck, Wolfgang, Crouch, Colin, Amable, Bruno, Hall, Peter, Jackson, Gregory (2005), "Dialogue on 'Institutional complementarity' and political economy", *Socio-economic review* 3, 359-382.

[20] Bob Jessop (2015), "Neo-Liberalism, Finance-Dominated Accumulation, and Permanent Austerity: a Cultural Political Economy Perspective", in K. Farnsworth and Z.M. Irving (eds.), *Social Policy in Times of Austerity: Global Economic Crisis and the New Politics of Welfare*, Bristol: Policy Press, 87-112. ISBN: 978-1447319122

[21] On this, see: Lowinger, Jake (2011), *Economic Reform and the "double movement" in Yugoslavia: An analysis of Labor unrest and ethno-nationalism in the 1980s*, Charleston: UMI Dissertation Publishing.

[22] More on the Slovenian law: http://socialna-druzba.si/sd_w1/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Priro%C4%8Dnik-za-samostojne-podjetnike.pdf

[23] Quoted from the Council's web page: http://www.socijalnoekonomskisavet.rs/eng/pocetna_eng.html

[24] "On the grounds of the initiative of the sectoral assembly or otherwise determined needs of the economy, the Serbian Chamber of Commerce and Industry drafts a proposal of the job's description as part of the standard for qualification and sends it to the Ministry competent for the jobs pertaining to education and pedagogy.", Article 5, Dual Education Law, page 3, trans. A. M., original available at: www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FINAL-NACRTA-ZAKONA-O-DUALNOM-OBRAZOVANJU-12.05.2017..pdf

[25] <http://www.pravniportal.com/neustavna-odredba-zakona-o-radu/>

[26] Radenković, Ivan (2016), *Foreign Direct Investment in Serbia*, Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, p. 33

[27] Op. cit, p. 74

[28]. Foreign direct investment is mostly channelled to production with low degrees of product finalization which grossly depends on precarious manual labor in the assembly of auto-cables, foot-ware, knitting of socks, etc. This not only leads to sub-employment, but also causes a short work life of those employed, , who are replaced after exhaustion, poor health or inability to financially support itself due to low wages. Bradaš, Sarita (2016), *Statistika i dostojanstven rad: kritička analiza političkog tumačenja statistike rada*, Beograd: Fondacija Centra za demokratiju, p. 8, available at <http://www.centaronline.org/sr/dogadjaj/11681/analiza-statistika-i-dostojanstven-rad>

[29] Matković, Aleksandar (2015), *Stečaj u službi deindustrijalizacije i privatizacije*, available at: <http://www.masina.rs/?p=1018>

[30] http://www.paragraf.rs/statistika/02_stat_arh.htm

[31] Matković, Aleksandar (2015), *Stečaj u službi deindustrijalizacije i privatizacije*, available at: <http://www.masina.rs/?p=1018>

[32] Such as presenting themselves both as workers (to mobilize pro-Socialist parts of society) and small shareholders (to mobilize pro-market organizations and pressure government officials). More on this in: Musić, Goran (2013), *Serbia's Working Class in Transition 1988-2013*, Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe.

Social State Cluster: Besjan Pesha: Large public companies and unionism

Contextual Analysis

Unions based on large public companies have the potential to restore unionism in the Balkans, as well as readjust unionism in the region. However, the number of large public companies in Southeastern Europe has declined, as they are mainly focused on services such as post offices, radio and television. Large public companies that produce things are even rarer - take for example the mineral resource sector. The Balkan region is rich in underground resources, and while in normal circumstances, this wealth should serve as the foundation of social welfare, with institutions that, through efficient use of resources, collect enough revenue to be redistributed in well-studied ways; this is not the case in the Balkans. Albania will be the focus of this contextual analysis.

Excluding production generated in the hydro-power sector, public companies oriented towards production do not exist in Albania, while contracted private companies providing the use of natural resources do not sufficiently serve the public interest. Albania is the best illustration of an inverse ratio, as major mineral and hydro-power resources bring only few benefits to the societies of the respective countries. The Guardian notes that *"Water is Albania's most important natural resource. At least eight large rivers run through the country, fed by hundreds of smaller streams and total hydro-power resources are estimated at 4500MW."* [1] Albania is among the few countries in the world, along with Norway, to cover domestic electricity needs by hydro-based energy (depending on the situation also with imports). [2] However, it should be emphasized that Albanians, although they live in a country with abundant water resources that allow ample supply of electricity, are relatively supplied with costly electricity exceeding their budgets. [3]

Albania has 15 oil fields that have produced an estimated 50 million tons of oil in years [4] and approximately 437 million tons of underground resources discovered till now [5]. So far, six gas deposits have produced 10 billion cubic meters from 1945 to present and an estimated additional 13 billion cubic meters are yet to be exploited [6]. No Albanian public company produces and trades oil and gas. [7] The country also has 800 million tons of unexploited coal, 69 million tons of copper, and 300 million tons of iron-nickel, and yet no public company produces and trades chromium, copper, iron-nickel, or coal [8]. Unexploited reserves of an estimated 230 million tons of nickel-silicate, 133 million tons of titanium-magnetic, 13 million tons of bauxite, and 500 million tons of rock salt have also been discovered; no public company has taken a chance in facilitating an extraction process [9]. After the fall of communism, private local and foreign companies flocked toward the sector of natural resources exploitation through contracts established in the form of public-private partnerships.

Irresponsible governments accused of corruptive practice in different periods of time have signed contracts that were not in public interest. The most classic

example is the exploitation of the Patos-Marinzë Field, with the wealthiest continental underground oil reserves estimated to consist of around 2 billion barrels. After 13 years of public-private partnerships, the agreement has not yet generated any revenue to contribute to state and local institutions' budgets. Revenues are not used to benefit the residents of what is the continent's largest onshore oil field. By the end of each year, thus coinciding with the parliamentary discussion of the fiscal package and the annual budget, heads of administrative units - who are responsible for running the local government in the natural resource areas - make repeated requests to increase the mineral rent, which depending on the mineral wealth ranges from 4-10% of export declared. Only 25% of the revenues go to the local government.[10] This insufficient income that the local government collects from mineral wealth results in partial coverage and limited services for the citizens in these areas.

The natural resource sector presents an ample opportunity to establish large public company which in general are necessary bases to support unions. A wider public enterprise basis seen as a high concentration of workers with similar work profiles and joint interests creates premises for greater solidarity and unity among them.

The model of ongoing partnerships between private enterprises and post-communist governments in Albania has been unsuccessful. The establishment of a large public company that takes responsibility of all natural resources exploitation not covered by private contractors would offer better wages and working conditions for its employees, and also manage to directly collect higher revenues for the state budget.

The redistribution of these revenues in the form of direct or indirect investment would enhance the population's well-being, provide better services and bring to the public a more entrepreneurial government model closer aligned to the public interest. The existence of a state-owned company can greatly enrich and improve a sector where many domestic and foreign companies have operated in the last two decades, and will also strengthen the possible existence of well-organized unions in the mineral sector. This organization would ideally also aim to impact employment in both the public and private sectors.

What is the reality of unions in Albania today? Nationally, unions are concentrated under two roofs - the Confederation of Unions and the Independent Union. These do not cooperate and both offer have arguably been instrumented for political interests for over more than two decades. In Albania, every time important laws closely related to certain professions and activity spheres are discussed, parliamentary committees, in their hearing phases with interest groups face difficulty in unifying the union stances. These difficulties are often used according to their political interest in the final drafting stage. As a consequence, important laws such as the Status of Oil and Gas Industry Employees, originate as an initiative of a Member of Parliament, later revised by the Council of Ministers, treating it as a government initiative. Rather than originated from the needs of the interest group

in question, i.e., by workers, it was presented as a favor that the Albanian government offered to a large group of employees with potential impact on elections.

The decision-making vision has been short-term in view of the electoral impact of the categories which at first sight helped, while a long-term plan of action was needed to assist the continuous demands of the workers.

From interviews with experts and legal advisors [11] in the Albanian Parliament, we are informed that proposals from unions often face significant deficiencies in writing and legal reasoning, and are presented as unattainable drafts which remain locked in parliamentary discussion archives for years. The mineral employee status draft, for example, has been archived for two decades. We believe that this comes for several reasons: the low concentration of expertise in processing these applications, the lack of coordination in required levels between different unions with the same interests, and background interference by political or economic interests. Another element noticed is the complete lack of union activity in the private sector, which makes the unionism roundup in Albania highly problematic.

In 2015, Stephan Poucchet, General Director of the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), published an analysis on the issue whether trade unions are in crisis or not. He found that

“For a better understanding, it is necessary to analyze the three pillars of trade unionism and their interactions. The first aforementioned such pillar is membership size: the unions’ artillery power, so to speak. The second is formed by the institutions that enable collectively agreed gains (whether national or sectorial and including minimum wage provisions) to be extended to as large a section of the workforce as possible. The third pillar, finally, consists of the links between trade unions and political parties.” [12]

Mr. Poucchet had in mind the level of organization in the European Union countries, but each column can be used as a thermometer of the Albanian context of unionization.

- Participation dimension: The power of participation in trade unions is unknown from the numerical aspect. Even in official publications from various unions, membership numbers are not disclosed. The lowest concentration – analyzing the trends which Poucchet refers to – lead us to believe that many of them are sliding towards extinction. If we compare the membership data declared by the major political parties in the country in recent decades, they indicate a growing trend. Meanwhile, unions are just about staying afloat.
- The second issue relates to government enterprises, which cover as many employees as possible with collective contracts and benefits. This applies to Central and Eastern European countries, albeit with a slowing trend, especially after the crisis in neighboring Greece. Low levels of it can also be observed in Albania, mainly due to the lack of big public companies as a potentially healthier possibility to recover unionism.

- A third issue refers to the connection unions have with political parties, including those that because of their ideological orientation can be expected to maintain a stable relationship with the unions. As has been mentioned above, the limits within these relations developing in Albania lie within the framework of the instrumentation of one party to serve another.

Do we have to provide a concise plan for these issues and remain exclusively focused on the country level? No and no. It is necessary to foster “the readjustment of unionization in the region with Western models” to refer to an article of Vasco Pedrina [13] of Social Europe. Taking an international point of view, Pedrina says that we must also – at least at the continental level – formulate our demands and the measures to achieve them, so as to win the hearts and minds of workers in a dynamic process of mobilization. To further emphasize the international character of the need to recover unionism, Pedrina states: *“The question of power must be a factor of our foremost concern: the power that is slipping away from nation states and trade unions must be regained by our movement at the continental and global levels.”* Such leverage will also serve to strengthen the influence we can exert on international organizations like the United Nations (UN), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, etc. Thus because the trends in terms of global markets are no longer nationalist, but globalist, the necessary approach in the Albanian and regional case must be the one suggested by Pedrina. The recovery of Albanian unionism is closely linked to the reappearance of a big public operator in the economic sphere. Creating a model company, i.e. representing an influential model for the society organization of its employees, can rebuild the foundations for unions by influencing and absorbing members in the public as well as the private sector.

- **Our position**

The existence of large public companies oriented towards production constitutes a prerequisite for the recovery of unionism in the country. A shift towards “big government” is required. The public sector should manage natural resources unexploited by the private sector. Big public organizations constitute a foundation for a larger organization. In such an environment it is possible to find the right climate and conditions for internal organization. The recovery of Albanian unionism is closely linked to the revival of big public operators in the economic sector. The numerical aspect, as we saw in contextual analysis, has a crucial significance in its ability to influence public policies. A public sector existence that gathers a large number of employees with similar profiles increases the concentration of workers with common interests.

There is a correlation between the sizes of the public sector in the West, whether for civil servants or other employees, with the spirit of union vitality [14]. Currently, unfair competition, high unemployment, and fewer legal mechanisms hinder the intra-organization of workers in the Albanian private sector. The difficulty becomes sensitive if the union demands had a financial effect on entrepreneurs' budgets. Given the conditions explained in the contextual analysis, the public sector remains the only essential starting point for rooting trade union spirit in the country.

The economic model on which the sector of natural resources exploitation is set up to serve the public interest must be totally transformed. We articulated above the idea of a public organization contrasted to other operators in the market, which would have an advantage through the prioritization of public interest. It is also worth noting the need of a union model. This organism should change obsolete forms which have misused and instrumented by political and economic interests. The new model of unionism should also dissolve boundaries and inter-sectorial barriers. Cores of organizations under the public sector should be seen as free of entry barriers for private sector employees.

It is important to stress that in our view, a new model of unionism in Albania and the region must be attributed an international dimension. The region is full of potentials for cooperation, exchange of experiences, and union liaison. Big organizations oriented at production are influenced by the dynamics of international stock market, making the globalist dimension inevitable. Internationalizing the character of the new Albanian union model would put at its disposal the entirety of expertise, knowledge, and practices of international unions by linking up with international unions.

By our judgment, the legal framework that defines the activity of trade unions should be rewritten at the service of creating spaces for the conception of a new union model. But changing the legal framework, without changing working conditions and environment, is not enough. The climate for trade unions should be improved and governments must become more entrepreneurial in collective coverage through collective contracts of as many employees as possible. A new model means dismantling the previous instrumentalist cooperation model between trade unions and political parties. The new relationship between political parties and trade unions in Albania must be founded on common interests and the notion that serving public interest can heal the political scene and civil society. The new union model membership, after the dissolution of intersectional borders, grows in both the public and private sectors.

- **POLICY SECTION**

- **Issue:**

- Albania's economic model does not favor trade union organizations. Albania's economic model is dominated by the private sector in production-oriented organizations. The public sector does not have access to the country's natural resources, the most lucrative potential in the Albanian economy. The public sector suffers from a lack of big public organizations. Public organizations operating in the market are focused on services, as well as small, fragmented and bureaucratized. The lack of large public organizations deprives the trade union spirit from a suitable field of activity.
- The legal basis must be updated. The law no. 7516, dated 10.7.1991, "On trade unions", amended in 1992, does not fully respond to current economic dynamics.

- **Recommendation:**
- The Albanian government possesses competences for a reorientation of the country's economy, which should consist in a shift in the economic model towards “larger government”. Due to the lack of legal spaces to break up PPP contracts with current beneficiaries of the natural resource sector, coverage through a public organization for all remaining unused resources is needed.
- In accordance with the Constitution and Parliamentary Regulations, legislative initiatives can be taken by 20,000 voters (targeting the public), a deputy (targeting the Parliament), and the Council of Ministers (targeting the Government). In terms of the global market and the continuous impact that global market dynamics have on national economy models, the new law should reflect the **necessity to include interconnection** with international unions in Albanian ones. The new model of trade unions should be outlined within a new union law.
- **Rationale:**
- Increasing public sector role in the economy. Increasing employment numbers in the public sector. More responsible and direct use of the country's resources to public interest priority.
- Inclusion of trade union activity within a new law. Increasing international cooperation between trade unions. Unions based on public and private organizations' employment.
- **Targets:**
- Increasing employee numbers in the public sector. Increasing revenues collected from the exploitation of natural resources and a better redistribution of these revenues.
- Legal initiatives by the unions themselves on issues of their interest, continuous improvement of working conditions and collective contract coverage extension.

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Economy Cluster:

Borisa Mraović: Cooperative structures & Structural reforms for the people?

The context

Competition is considered to be the primary engine of capitalism: a multiplicity of agents strive to outperform each other in the free market enabled by free trade. This induces innovation and change, moves capitalism forward, secures its stability and brings supposed benefits, and the only thing one should do is to develop comparative advantages and raise competitiveness under all terms. More than 40 years ago, Michel Aglietta, commented on how neo-classical economics & which holds this idea on competition and market & works as both totalizing, guarded toward one general theoretical goal (of general equilibrium) and as totalitarian because it & excludes from its ambit economic phenomena identified from observation of real practices as imperfections rather than dialectically transforming its concepts by incorporating a more concrete content into them.&[1]

The doctrine stood then as well as now despite the fact that the whole paradigm is riddled with myths and shaky assumptions, such as for example the ideal & perfect competition& enabled by market efficiency and based on the assumption of perfect knowledge which is used to make optimal economic decisions.[2] In reality, this assumption is fictitious and does not exist in real economic relationships where different externalities and relational factors operate besides competition. In real world economics, information is & costly, incomplete, unbalanced and organized in structures that are far from being exclusively markets& and this results in & asymmetries in terms of influence giving some economic operators power over others.&[3] We all do compete but the competition runs in several leagues with very narrow access rules and transfer channels. There is also a world of & actually existing& monopolies, oligopolies, cartels, powerful states and internationals but also of acquisitions, mergers, as well as financialization of value, especially corporate value, etc.[4] Here we find cooperation at the basis of capitalism: cooperative economic and political actions of power actors skew the assumed market relationship of equality and shape patterns of surplus flow that feed upon and at the same time reproduce structures of unevenly developed world.[5]

Cooperative economic integration exists at all times. As an explicitly economic institution for production cooperation have historically been conceptualized differently. The most common idea at present is that of production cooperatives. While such cooperatives remain a valuable agenda the obvious problem is that even if, at the production unit level, cooperation is a guiding principle, once it enters the markets its forces will confine it to profit-making operations and subsume it under internationalized competitive or monopolistic conditions of inclusion in the markets. This is especially relevant if the inclusion is highly competitive, and these are the most likely conditions of inclusion across the so-called & periphery&.

The process of dismantling European socialist block from the end of the 20th century, as well as the system of ideas based on which it was erected, meant the gradual, slower or faster, implementation of & there

is no alternative argument (TINA) in its most blunt and immediately practical totalitarian dimension: nobody had any other idea that might compete with the ruling paradigm which has already deeply penetrated the Europe and the world. The great depression of 2007 revealed deep structural contradictions of the contemporary globalized capitalism some of which are proving to be dangerous for the overall sustainability of human civilization.[6] Recovery only deepened the problem. There was a general recognition among experts that their theory and knowledge on economic behavior was of no help for understanding the dynamic of the crisis as well as the possible responses. The dynamic of the recovery in the USA for example, has increased the income for the top 1% by 11.6% while bottom 99% incomes grew only by 0.2%.[7] In this way those at the top captured over 93% of income gains in the first year of recovery. A similar rise of inequality and enormous concentration of wealth is seen at the global level (with large geographical disparities). Despite the recognition of the theory's failure, the whole design remained intact, and the designers and deciders, in a clear totalitarian manner, went on as nothing happened. Similar to those in Yugoslavia in the 1990s, they did not see what else they could do but to pursue the toolkit the decision makers and policy designers were accustomed to under the banners and slogans they already knew and held to represent a coherent epistemology.[7]

This seemingly insurmountable and inevitable horizon of capitalism meant that practical attempts (policies, measures, normative interventions, agreements, etc.) aimed at responding to the destructive effect of cyclic motions of capital, remained aimed at regulating and limiting the effects of these motions rather than starting other motions. The most recent expansion of capitalism, where state-market dependencies are increasingly working against states, which are still the principal regulators, have severely limited the impact as well as the horizon of regulative action. Thus, the structural reforms in the sense we know them, imply regulating with the goal to provide enabling the conditions, if not stimulus, to capitalist actions (nominally of both small and large capitalists) i.e. deregulating. If you are a dependent economy - legally running on foreign capital and organized primarily in low value-added sector, whose idea of development is conceived largely on the idea of foreign investments, it is likely that you will be involved in extractive operation regardless of what are the real intentions of state leaders. Of course, you can be employed under decent conditions and pay if you are a mid-managerial stuff or a highly skilled worker in an IT company. However, it is much more likely to be among the mass of workers who work under degrading and brutally exploitative conditions.[8]

Whether we are just buying time on the brink of a serious break[9] or we are in front of the new sequence is too early to tell. To put it bluntly, if we want to talk about changing these conditions we must talk about abandoning capitalism, and moving past it in terms of changing the way we organize the basic functioning of societies. This means employing not only analytic and synthetic but also a bit of utopian thinking.[10] Based on this conviction and the described context we present some transitional demands.

Positions (Demands)

Work, of all kinds, organized by profit motive works for centralization of benefits and limits work inclusion. We need the work of everyone for the general benefit of all. Efficiency and cost-benefit analysis is the generalized logic of not only business but also of everyday. This is why we need to abandon the idea of efficiency.

Competition is a real relationship and can be valuable to overall social adaptation and development. We need to pursue the de-commodification of competition and the socialization of its effects.

All that is produced and that have been produced is the result of social labor and is thus a collective value. Thus, we need universal shareholding.

Time, organization of time, and organized time work as a basic logic of commodification. We need efforts aimed at de-commodification and recalibration of time.

Policies

In order to answer these demands, several broad steps may be considered.

Alternative accounting, burden systems, and solidarity production spheres. Growth does not necessarily bring social development or relief for those at the economic bottom. It operates under the conditions of variable exploitation and does not express the dynamic which is fundamental for new left politics which is the reality of the 'laborers' employed in a wage relationship or not. Empirical data shows that we are witnessing \diamond non-inclusive growth \diamond [11] which has only brought additional disparities across income classes. We need new measures to capture what is going on in regard to the social welfare function[12] and the answer to the question if this function can grow irrespective of the GDP. In practical terms this means considering the possibility of expanding social structures with productive value which is separately governed, deposited, and allocated and in a fully transparent, digitized manner (i.e. common international public works, structures for international cooperative production of social welfare) but also systems of classifications (such as stratified consumption classifications which will define necessary social returns through consensually imposed burdens on individuals and legal entities).[13]

Popular needs provision and the recalibration of needs. Any measures should focus on real socially constituted needs and how they are economically met. What we think of as \diamond managing the economy \diamond then has to focus on sustaining and providing fulfilment of socially necessary needs rather than on growth or accumulation.[14] Markets, oriented toward eternal expansion, coordinated by price mechanism where provision is allocated in accordance to the available offer and the ability to pay, have appeared as the answer to the question of needs provision in all areas of provision. In reality, a majority of states combines institutions which allocate certain provisions through market and others through centralized mechanism. An alternative is to look at actions over governing common goods a.k.a. the commons, when there is a need for a certain provision. The left should principally establish two things: a) the commons are what we can tactically make of them; if there is a common commitment then whatever resource in social use can be considered and governed as a common resource and in an agreed formal-informal relationship, and b) there is an inescapable necessity of both horizontal and vertical integration.

Cooperative social and technological innovation, civic-public cooperatives, and open cooperatives. Markets and state apparatus form a unity of law, enforcement, and operate as real and fictitious cycles of production and exchange. Many markets articulate as transnational relationships and have a distinct geographical distribution. It is in this way that states deal with transnational forces. Due to current market integration and state action, conditions of integration especially in peripheral and dependent economies, but increasingly also in developed ones, are limited and have limited impact over the effects of trans-state dynamics, while these effects are increasingly endangering external conditions of any market exchange.[15] This is why new capacities for action and productive operations must be sought. This is to be achieved through the experimentation with cooperative arrangements of public forces, knowledge and resources and community and collective resources. In this way, alternative organizational solutions must be sought in social, political, and technological innovation in the areas of cooperative logic and resource pooling on national and international scales.

Reorganizing the realm of value. Ways to reorganize the way value is expressed, articulated, and made socially operable should be sought. This means answering the question of how to establish the value of common resources and public system provision that is not expressed in the value-price terms of commodity logic. For this, new assumptions should be placed in the economic foundations of our societies including the rearrangement of the ~~mythical~~ role of ~~finance~~ in contemporary societies.[16] This may mean assuming abundance and focusing of expanding rationality of distribution while also engineering scarcity in particular productive spaces under the principle that may be provisionally called ~~communal luxury~~[17] established through labor and technological means. Value space and production may be transformed through the structural changes in the ways it is created and distributed. This means pushing for inclusion models which enable shareholding for everybody wherever the production is in reality already socialized.[18]

Progressive reorganization of the lifetime-worktime relationship. Time organization of labor should be restructured through general societal consensus. It should mean progressive reduction in overall working hours through an increased amount of solidarity work and socialized production forces. Productive work and the division of labor as such are to be redefined and re-weighted. Work contribution to the reproduction of social system would be required from everybody through a system of solidarity production structures which are to be established as an international coordinating and planning structure. Surpluses that are created through such realization would be accounted in the separate global accounting system in something we may call solidarity currency which would be disposed through cooperative and democratic planning. Excessive work that may come as a result of personal desire may be channeled through special institutions for social, technological, and organizational innovations.

[1] Michael Aglietta, A Theory of the Capitalist Regulation: The US Experience, (London and New York: Verso, [1979] 2015), 10.

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[3] Aglietta, *A Theory of the Capitalist Regulation*, 390.

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[5] In the words of detective Jimmy McNulty, "the game is rigged". See and watch "The Wire". According to some, one major force behind the economic and social restructuring of the 70s and 80s was a cooperative action on the side of capitalist class.

[6] David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.); see also: Wark McKenzie, *Molecular Red: Theory for the Anthropocene*, (London and New York: Verso, 2017).

[7] See: Blyth, *Austerity*.

[8] This is a situation known well in the region. Throughout Activist Fora gatherings we heard number of stories. For example see. Saša Dragojlo "What Is the Real Price of Geox Shoes?" Mašina "Production of social critique, March 16 (2017). At: <http://www.masina.rs/eng/real-price-geox-shoes/> [accessed on: 12.04.2017];

[9] Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: The delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*, (London and New York: Verso, 2014).

[10] In a very stimulating recent discussion Fredric Jameson presents the utopic case for a "Universal army" as an organizing signifier for the post-capitalist world. See: Fredric Jameson, *An American Utopia: Dual Power and the Universal Army*, (London and New York: Verso, 2016).

[11] Michel Aglietta, *America's Slowdown*, *New Left Review* 100, (2016) pp.119-129.

[12] There are already attempts to develop this approach notably in the Inclusive Wealth index see. UNU-IHDP and UNEP *Inclusive Wealth Report 2014. Measuring progress toward sustainability*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[13] Recent proposal on behalf of DiEM25 proposes "The digital public payment system"; see: DiEM25's *European New Deal: a summary*. For the moment this seems to be the most ambitious and innovative economic program that have appeared, though focused primarily on EU structure; info available at: <https://diem25.org/end/>. Full text at: <https://diem25.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/European-New-Deal-Complete-Policy-Paper.pdf>

[14] Stimulating discussion can be found in Toni Prug, *Hacking the economy and the state: Towards an egalitarian and participatory conception of production and allocation*. (PhD Thesis, Queen Mary University, 2014). Available somewhere on the Internet.

[15] What are labour laws if not the attempts to partly de-commodify labour and the way it is caught in the commodity sphere?

[16] Recent takes on the particular role and status of finance in contemporary economic governance argue "that it is necessary to drop the traditional assumption that the banking system's major role is to provide credit to finance tangible capital investment in new means of

production. Banks mainly finance the purchase and transfer of property and financial assets already in place.❖; see: Dirk Bezemer and Michael Hudson, ❖Finance Is Not the Economy❖, at:

<http://evonomics.com/finance-is-not-the-economy-bezemer-hudson/>

[17] See: Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London and New York: Verso, 2016).

[18] Said DiEM❖s proposal introduces what they call ❖universal basic dividend which encapsulates the following three propositions: taxes cannot be a legitimate source of financing for such schemes; the rise of machines must be embraced; and a basic unearned payment is a contributor to basic freedom. But if the scheme is not funded by taxation, how should it be funded? The answer is: From the returns to capital.❖ This means dissolving a common myth that ❖capital is created by capitalists who then have a right to its returns. This was never true. It is far less so today. Every time one of us looks something up on Google, she or he contributes to Google❖s capital. Yet it is only Google❖s shareholders that have a right to claim the returns to this, largely socially produced, capital. Moreover, automation, digitisation and the role played in capital formation by government grants and community contributions to the stock of knowledge make it impossible to know which part of a corporation❖s capital was created by its owners and which by the public at large.❖ Policy wise, they propose a creation of the institution they term "Commons Capital Depository, with the associated dividends funding a universal basic dividend (UBD)."See: DiEM25❖s European New Deal: a summary, 23-24.

Democracy Cluster: Filip Balunovic: “Looking towards the grassroots: The Left and Democratization”

- CONTEXT : “Kein Experimente”: Stability of Catastrophe

The situation for the left in the last decade is in many respects a peculiar one and historically unprecedented. The great economic crisis had astonishing social consequences at the global level, while no relevant political actor could have claimed not to be directly responsible for its occurrence. In other words, the left has found itself in the paradoxical position of nominally representing the weaker, the marginalized, the poor – while at the same time being among the key political actors in bringing about the condition of social and economic catastrophe for the social groups whose interests it is meant to defend. As a reaction to the crisis, the system of national and international governance, of both left and right had to give up most of the legacy of political liberalism and, most strikingly, was stripped naked to the anti-democratic tendency of the political mainstream. The ideology of neo-classical economic liberalism which had dominated most of the planet almost three decades prior to the biggest economic crisis the world has ever seen, had to remove the democratic facade which could have threatened its subsistence in the times of recovery from crisis.

The suggested road of the mainstream left (similarly to the mainstream right) after 2007/8 might be illustrated as follows: “no experiments[1] – stability and rational behavior is what is needed.” Suspension of economic rights, and austerity measures came to be the main pillars of the mainstream’s strategy for emerging from the crisis. This political logic and its supporting policies, however, produced an increase of unemployment and the downturn of purchasing power of the “middle class”. The middle class was pushed towards the lower class in terms of wealth, whereas the working class was pushed towards or even over the edge of pure subsistence. Socially speaking, the number of marginalized people has increased, as well as the number of those who flipped to the other side of the margins and became a sort of “underclass”. [2] The success of the package of policies, also supported by the mainstream left, was measured nonetheless, from the perspective of macro-economic data – which always hides the perspective of those who suffer. [3] Instead of warning of the misleading character of parameters, saying nothing about the impoverished middle and working class, the left has joined the non-critical position. The mainstream left thereby neglected the words of Zygmunt Bauman:

Just as the carrying power of a bridge is measured by the strength of its weakest pillar and grows together with that strength, the confidence and the resourcefulness of a society is measured by the security and resourcefulness of its weakest section and grows as they grow.[4]

Critical thinking had been abandoned long ago by the mainstream left. Nevertheless, never before the crisis had this replacement of critical knowledge with quasi-scientific expertise coming from “apolitical” technocrats of various kinds produced such an obvious image of democratic deficit. Soon, it became evident that the

“specialized knowledge” upon which political actors relied, served as a supplement to *practical knowledge of how to turn rules of the political game to their advantage*.^[5]

As social opposition to this sort of “crisis management” grew, the strategies of political actors on the left initially went in two directions. I suggest the following classification: a) Left reformism through parliamentary endeavors; and b) “Obsessive rejection” coming from the non-parliamentary (or anti-parliamentary) radical groups. However, within each of these general groups, some shifts have taken place more recently. Some of them are embodied in: a) new “movement parties” such as Podemos (and to an extent Syriza) which have introduced some novelties with respect to the way in which the left parties act in parliaments and b) non-parliamentary grassroots movements, which have come up with some innovative political practices and ideas (such as participatory budgets or forms of organization such as plenums) while not falling into the trap of the “left sectarianism” and/or “obsessive rejection”. The novelty of dealing with the democratic deficit is twofold: on the one hand, the new ideas developed by social movements and various social actors indeed allow us to come up with some innovative suggestions on how to deal with degradation of democratic practices and institutions; whereas on the other, a new mechanism of intersection and collaboration between the social and political spheres has been introduced.

The common denominator of this twofold novelty with respect to the new (radical) democratic politics is embodied in the idea that “knowing” social and political reality, as well as the insights based on which actors learn about their position within the complex network of social and political relations, should come from the “ground up”.^[6] This new “fantasy” coming from the bottom up came as a reaction to the external trauma which has shown the lack of ability of the mainstream political actors to deal with it within democratic principles. As the right to the radical choice is not recognized in liberal societies,^[7] and the “right” to the revolution or radical act thus appears conceptually impossible,^[8] the only available option was to conquer the space for radical emancipation. This process has been run by the two above-indicated actors. Our task here is to map the ideas for democratization coming from the grassroots and those movement – parties which tried to recreate the ever-closer relationship between social (ideal) and political spheres.

- POSITIONS: Error 404: Democracy Not Found

Positions of the left, with respect to the above indicated problem of un-democratization of political and institutional decision-making and functioning more generally, are supposed to be built upon demands from below. These demands, coming from every corner of the world, are insights to coming up with positions and defining the “normative core” of this paper. Among the five positions, three come from movements and movement-parties from abroad and two from recent protests in the region:

- We are the 99% - against the domination of the elites

- Real democracy now! – for popular participation of the constituency in political and decision making process
- Democracy is not reducible to voting (“I vote, You vote, She/he votes, We vote, You vote, They steal”)
- The right to the city: The use of common spaces and urban planning should be the matter of democratic debate and decision – not the interest of capital and the elites
- “One world one struggle” – Lack of democracy isn’t a national issue and should be addressed and fought internationally and the key word with that respect is solidarity

- POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: Breaking the Illusory Reality

“How to explain that actors tend to reproduce the power structures to which they are exposed? It is easy to explain why this holds for those having power (it serves their interest), yet a paradox for explaining the social action of those who suffer from these power relations; the powerless paradoxically reproduce “the rules of the game” by playing the game, while creating an illusory representation of this reality. Social movement then can be considered as a form of collective action that breaks the illusory reality and its institutional supports, based on turning upside down the rules of the game played in a social situation.”[9]

The immediate normative position or a group of political demands that emerges from this conceptual insight by Klaus Eder goes into direction of challenging the hegemony of an ideological apparatus which is understood here as a mechanism which “prevents the agents of society from correctly perceiving their true situation and real interests.”[10] The counter-attack from below for democratization and social and economic justice (contra the elites who have detached themselves from their constituency) was compounded into certain demands which I will “translate” into direct policy recommendations.

- **“We are the 99%”**: This issue was framed by the Occupy movement from the US and, to quote Fredric Jameson, “if they had done nothing else but that, it would’ve been a really decisive blow since it reorganized the entire language, previous discussions and identity politics itself.”[11] The audience for this type of messages is as large as the 99% of people who stand opposed to the one percent of the most privileged political and economic elite. Concrete policy recommendations in this respect are:
 - **TRANSPARENCY**: Legally and practically enforced transparency of information upon which the greatest majority of people can rely when developing plausible democratic counterweight to oligarchic rule
 - **REGULATION**: Strict regulation preventing monopolies and financial markets from deepening social and economic diversification which blocks democracy from achieving its full

potential and protects the “one percent” vis-à-vis democratic principles

- CULTURE: Maximal increase of expenditures for culture and challenging the logic of measuring social value almost exclusively through material wealth – and thus fighting the “one percent” also ethically
- **‘Real democracy now’ (Spain):** This demand calls for reconquering the political sphere, bringing it back to citizens as political subjects and not only passive objects of political messages coming from the top down. It is addressed to the elites whose privileged positions came from the constituency and not a divine predestined source. With that respect, the policy recommendations should go into direction of:
 - LOCALIZATION: Making smaller political units which can more effectively practice democracy and posing a strict distinction between local and national level political actors. The national level would be able to legitimize itself on the basis of capability to balance plurality of interests of local communities (not leaders).
 - AWARENESS: Every citizen should be allowed to spend one hour per day in getting information about public affairs in their local/national polity. Once per week, an additional half hour should be dedicated to international affairs. Twice per month, local assemblies should gather and discuss topics of common interest. This time should be a part of work and not considered rest or leisure hours.
 - COORDINATION: Local and national bodies of representation should meet four times per year, discuss and coordinate the relevant public issues (for different levels of governance). Association of local assemblies should meet likewise four times per year before the meeting with the national level authorities. Representatives of local assemblies should rotate each time.
 - **Democracy is not reducible to voting:** This claim is concerned with the so called “minimalist” understanding of democracy which, again, passivizes political subjectivity of community members. This phenomenon should be tackled through the following policy recommendations:
 - INITIATIVES: Supporting local initiatives doesn’t only mean supporting those whose knowledge on local issues makes them more competent for addressing certain problems in a certain way. It also means the prevention of populist and anti-democratic politics at the national level. This recommendation should be addressed to the wider membership of national polities. The push for this kind of democratic practice in

between the two electoral cycles should come from the democratically oriented national government.

- INNOVATION: Hereby I refer not to technological innovations, but innovations in democratic institutions such as plenums and forms of dialogue such as deliberations. This can be defined as a freedom of choosing the type of organization of local assemblies and flourishing of democratic practices not related to voting.
 - EDUCATION: When talking about democracy, one doesn't only talk about politics. No democratic polity is possible without a democratic society and this is why the principles of democratic social relations, everyday communication, and informal decision-making should be interiorized through (early) education (possibly through workshops).
- **The right to the city**: Expropriation of common spaces has become one of the most visible indicators of the powerlessness of democracy vis-à-vis the power of capital. Among possible policy recommendations for addressing this problematic, I offer:
- DEMOCRACY BEFORE CAPITAL: No decision on big infrastructural or other projects which includes privatization of common spaces can be made without direct involvement of the local assembly which is directly affected by such projects. A two-thirds majority of independent political subjects and members of this assembly is necessary for any decision to be passed.
 - PUBLIC DISCUSSION: Before any violation of the commonness of certain space, a public debate should be held so that people who eventually decide on whether or not a certain project is in accordance with their interest, can decide on the basis of arguments, pros and cons – without any additional pressure.
 - PEOPLE BEFORE THE NATION: No decision can be passed without the consent of the people whose lives are directly affected by it. No “national interest” can be considered to be a source of legitimation, before the green light is given by the people themselves.
- **“One world one struggle”**: The last field of policy recommendations is the one without which no true democracy can be established. More specifically, we are talking about the following recommendations:
- SOLIDARITY: Apart from the social sphere of thorough education, free media and other means of public communication, solidarity should be put on the top of values of a polity which seeks to be democratic. This is why solidarity must be the keyword of a democratic constitution of a polity that is inclusive and just.

- INTERNATIONALISM: Free association of local assemblies with similar assemblies from other countries should be encouraged. This not only spreads international solidarity and minimizes chances for development of xenophobia and exclusivist politics, but likewise increases the likelihood that cases of anti-democratic experiences of one country may be prevented from spreading to others.
- SUPRANATIONAL DEMOCRACY: Supranational governance at the level of political systems such as the European Union is a contemporary reality. Governing such complex structures is ever more challenging for democratic principles. Even though changing the mode of decision-making at this level should follow changes at national and local levels of European states, democracy at the European level nonetheless remains crucial for sustainability of national and local democracies.

[1] This expression is well known from the 1957 when the German CDU and the chancellor Adenauer ran the campaign under the slogan “keine experimente”. The slogan was built upon the enthusiasm due to economic development, the last prisoner released from the East Germany and overall optimism with respect to the future – exactly the opposite from the situation of 2007/8. See: Dittberner, Jurgen, *Grosse Koalition: Politische Kultur in Deutschland*, Logos, 2006.34.

[2] When referring to the space “out of margins”, I refer to the space to which the class labeled by Zygmunt Bauman as “underclass” belongs. This is to say, that the term “underclass” “*belongs to the imagery of a society which is not all embracing and comprehensive, which is smaller than the sum of its parts*”, see: Bauman, Zygmunt, *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*, England: Open University Press, 1998. 66.

[3] Hereby I won’t be going in – depth into the Marxian perspective which had been abandoned long before on the mainstream left. Instead, I’m referring to the non-Marxian social democratic “rights – based” economic and social justice. Just as a reminder, I should mention that Marx thought of the proletariat, as being *born of the most universalized suffering in human history, which has a universal character because of its universal sufferings and lays no claim to any particular right, because it is the object of no particular injustice, but of injustice in general*. See: Amato, A. Joseph, *Victims and Values: A History and Theory of Suffering*, Greenwood Press, 1990.116.

[4] Bauman, Zygmunt, *Living On Borrowed Time*, Polity Press, 2010.42.

[5] Henning, Christoph, *Philosophy after Marx*, Haymarket Books, 2015.42.

[6] See for instance: Choudry, Aziz and Kapoor, Dip, *Learning from the Ground Up*, Palgrave, 2010.

[7] The lesson comes from Lenin and gets repeated by Slavoj Žižek. See: Bojanic, Petar and Klepec, Petar, *Sta je ustvari radikalno*, Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2009.108.

[8] *Ibid.* 259

[9] Eder, Claus, *Social Movements in Social Theory*; in: Della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Blackwell Publishing, 2006.38.

[10] Guess, Raymond, *The Idea of Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.3.

[11] See: Jameson, Fredric, People are saying “this is a new fascism” and my answer is – not yet, LeftEast, 4.11.2016 <http://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/fredric-jameson-fascism-not-yet-there/>

Resources - Communicating the Left Movement - Ines Bulajić

The activist left movement often struggles to keep up with the dynamic developments of public relations and communication techniques, and come up with a relevant and up-to-date communication strategy. A major part of the issue reminds of the proverbial “baby and the dirty water”. Dismissing the “society of the spectacle” (the branding, mass media, pop culture, etc.) as ideologically dangerous, the activists throw away the advantages and benefits of the communication and PR tools that could be used to reach the wider public. Consequently, they fail to convey the leftist ideas and values, and remain isolated in their own “filter bubble”, preaching to the choir instead of increasing the number of the supporters and sympathizers.

There are several narratives regarding communication of the left movement that need to be observed:

- *There is no clear picture what is left today:* Political parties in the region declaring themselves left by rule belong to the center at best (social-democrats, liberals), never truly subverting the capitalist status quo. Also, left movements of today are often organized through NGO sector which is usually seen as neo-liberal product/platform.
- *Left movement faces stigmatization; socialism is often being misperceived as totalitarianism.* This is the narrative that is present in the media and general public where the socialism heritage is being demonized.
- *Left sometimes has difficulties to communicate complex theoretical insights to broader public.* Left theorists often use the theoretical language that sounds too obscure to the “uninitiated” in the jargon, limiting themselves to a relatively small self-selected group of like-minded persons.
- *The left activists often fail to realize that successful communication work – just like any other work – implies a functional division of working tasks.* This results in a messy communication, and lack of visibility or bad image/reputation of left collectives in the eyes of the broader public.
- *Non-usage of branding techniques.* Social movements often avoid the possibility of branding, vilifying it as a neo-liberal affair, forgetting a rich historical tradition of the leftist “trademarks”, symbols, slogans, and visuals that served as the leftist brands even before the word was invented.

- *Left is prone to bad timing.* The activist often does not only seize the (political) moment to act, but also to communicate the reasons for their actions.
- *Non-understanding of the digital communication concept-* Traditional social movements tend to rely on hierarchy, charismatic leaders, and professional experts, while collective behavior in the digital space is more horizontal and interconnected. Digital peer-to-peer networks broaden the traditional public sphere which sometimes can be misleading for the leftists.
- *The left movement sometimes have issues in framing the content-* Only a small number of left movements shape public relations messages that include all of the three core framing tasks—diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Overall, the activist organizations do not optimize the use of core framing processes in their communication, which limits the leftists' effectiveness at creating support and transforming that support into action.
- *The left activists cannot count on sympathetic media coverage by default, as they are often discredited as a threat for the social and national security.* and even *violent and with the help of one-dimensional and distorted reports.* Mainstream media have proved prone to framing left-wing activism as the acts of violent rioters looting the streets, marking the activists as well paid by the foreign civil society actors to promote their interests.
- *The movement establishes good communication platform and channels for digitally networked action (for example protests) but does not maintain it.* Platforms and channels that became massive and mobilized people to action after the completion of certain action are not being used in the proper way, sometimes they are not being used at all.
- *The left remains unattentive for the ways in which gender and other identity traits factor in communication.* The fact that the identity politics (rightfully) gained the bad reputation on the left, does not mean that left should diminish the importance of the identity issues altogether. For example, there is no doubt that communication is significantly influenced by gender: for all their integral role in carrying out the movement, the women more often than not acknowledged as the movement promoters.

In regard to this, we can suggest to the leftist activists:

- *To understand that there are many segments of public* – what are their needs, how they get informed, what left movement can do for them
- *To go digital, adopting the digital practices-* Digital media have provided activists an opportunity to get their message out, quickly reach a critical mass, and mobilize public around a formidable campaign, but only by effective usage of digital tools and language

- *To acknowledge the importance of gender and other identities* - The left movements has to be democratized from within, where the women should be recognized as equally important promoters of the ideas and accordingly promoted as leaders.
- *To learn how to properly and promptly respond to a certain situation.* Careful monitoring of political and social contexts and different framing and agenda-setting of certain media can help the left in planning communication efforts.
- *To develop framing devices such as catchphrases, depictions (general description, testimony, and statistics), exemplars, metaphors, and visual images.* The left activist organizations are not optimally framing the messages to increase awareness, motivation, and supportive behaviors among public. The future research has to be done via other communication vehicles to further explore framing and its relationship to public relations efforts of the left movements.
- *To avoid being elitist, and be more people-oriented instead.* Left should remain open to the possibility that important attitudes and insights can be explained with the simpler phraseology and language in order to convey intended meaning accurately to the public. Left has to learn how to adapt complex messages to different target public in different situations.

The alternative narrative is supported by positive practices from the region as the example of Beli Preletačević, an alter-ego of 25 year old communications student Luka Maksimović, independent presidential candidate in 2017 elections in Serbia. Beli was offered as the opportunity to act more politically than simply by voting for another opposition candidates. Performance, as the important part of activism can also be used efficiently, as the additional tool to bring the attention of the public to the promotion of the ideas. „Taking performatic actions seriously, even if their longterm results cannot be immediately discerned, allows us to explore contemporary political subjectivities (not all necessarily progressive in their ends) and the ways in which the relationship between human action and politics is being redefined in postcolonial, neoliberal, and neoconservative contexts with overlapping systems and legacies of oppression and resistance.“[1]

Digital communication, especially social media offer new opportunities and risks for the left movement. In regard to that, the anthropologist Todd Wolfson defines the term Cyber Left, which he analytically describes as “the way activists have employed communication tools” and “the novel set of processes and practices within twenty-first-century social resistance that are engendered by new technologies”. Social media can create the widespread awareness that leads to coverage by mainstream media. The Cyber Left can better be defined as a specific ideological discourse that claims that digital media use is embedded into the practice of grassroots democracy in social movements; argues such media make struggles more effective and movements participatory; and neglects the actual resource limits, power structures, and political economy that protest movements inevitably face in capitalist society.

b) Positions:

- ***Go digital, speak digital!***

Digital media challenge conventional understanding of the movements in general, including the left ones. They deconstruct the term „collective action“, social movements and their capacity to effect change. Collective becomes changeable concept, a process rather than a finished product. Second, digital media places communication and content at the centre, where various communication processes of negotiation, persuasion and claim-making are being exercised.

target groups: social movements

- ***Be smart and keep it simple!***

The phraseology and language should not be too complex and should adapt to the certain situation, public, channel and communicator itself.

target groups: broader public, mainstream and alternative media, decision-makers, political parties, social movements

- ***Left is right, left is cool!***

Left movement should be presented as the more attractive, inviting, approachable and people-oriented. It is needed that the movement redefines itself, offering its values to everyone, as the left paradigm says.

target groups: broader public, mainstream and alternative media, decision-makers, political parties, social movements

- ***See and act!***

Prompt reactions on the issues should be encouraged, but are possible only when we monitor the context properly and regularly and already can collect individual responses by giving them the collective voice and action.

target groups: broader public, mainstream and alternative media, decision-makers, political parties, social movements

- ***Always communicate!***

Concepts of strategic communications and branding should be taken into consideration and not rejected from the beginning as the neo-liberal concepts.

target groups: broader public, mainstream and alternative media, decision-makers, political parties, social movements

Policies

POSITION: *Go digital, speak digital!*

Issue: Coordination of using digital communication channels and traditional ones in communicating of the left movement

Recommendation: Left movements should combine the possibilities offered by digital media, the creation of “weak” Internet ties with on-the-ground action that builds “strong” ties among mobilized participants. Digital media should be used as a new way of constantly and effectively re-invigorating and re-democratizing of the left movement organizations that may have become too authoritarian, bound by inertia, or non-collaborative.

Rationale: Willingness to use digital media, in coordination with the real actions will strengthen the left movement.

Targets: Facebook live usage as the support of the actions on the ground, as well as usage of the other tools digital media offer.

POSITION: *Sound smart and make it simple!*

Issue:

Recommendation:

Rationale:

Targets:

[1] Performance, politics and protests, Marcela A. Fuentes, Northwestern University, Duke University Press, <http://scalar.usc.edu/nehvectors/wips/performance-politics-and-protest>

Resource Cluster:

Iva Marković, Alma Midžić, Predrag Momčilović

The Commodification of Natural Resources In South-East European Region

I CONTEXT

Neoliberal globalization, hand in hand with inherently extractivist and exploitative capitalism, has been dependent on the commodification and privatization of public and common goods, especially in its formerly socialist periphery and semi-periphery. The failures and downfalls of different forms of socialism around the SEE region are followed by the so-called transition period. After the privatization of industry was completed, the focus of capital moved towards public services as well as natural resources turning everything into a commodity in market oriented economies. Additionally pressured by public debt, dissolution of the social services with weak democratic institutions (and innovations!), free access to natural resources, their products and services, necessary for both social and biological sustainability, are coming under threat.

Commodification is a process that transforms objects previously not meant for exchange and market, into commodities – goods, services, or people themselves that obtain an exchange value and that could be traded. In its economic essence, it means assigning exchange-value to an object or service that previously had only use-value. Transforming a natural resource into a commodity that can be bought or sold on the market is very problematic because their money-value can be priceless or worthless, since they are both necessary to sustain life itself, but also given by the nature, produced, and found (sometimes in abundance) outside of human economy. Commodified, a resource's price is set only by the market, i.e. supply-demand simple combinatorics, and not by needs-based regulation.

Natural resources that we refer to in this paper are objects and phenomena that are naturally occurring, not created by human labor, and used as a raw material/system, before full alteration into goods and commercial products. This includes material such as different kinds of water, soil, air, and phenomena such as flora, fauna, geological features, ecosystems, biodiversity, and others not directly created by man.

The main arguments for the commodification and privatization of natural resources are based on the idea that by subjecting them to the market mechanisms, the **efficiency of their exploitation** will be increased and their monetary value can be named and calculated which will lead to greater protection. As a simple example for this some scholars refer to state-owned elephants, which are on the verge of extinction, contrasted to privately owned livestock which has market value and thrives in numbers. The most famous paper following this discourse, “The Tragedy of the Commons,”[1] tells how common (or public) ownership, due to the struggle of

individuals for the profit, will ultimately become devastated and exhausted, while private ones are durably protected by their owner's interest for permanent profit rates. The idea behind improved efficiency of the private ownership and market management in the natural resources sector is only relevant if we narrow the evaluation of the results through profit making, and neglect common needs and social sustainability, that means equality, life quality and responsibility for the wellbeing of the future generations.

The rights-based approach of the United Nations on certain natural resources has not given desired results, but has provided basis for popular demands, such as "access to water is a human right." [2] Within the European Union, a rights-based European Citizens Initiative called on the Commission to ensure that all EU citizens enjoy the right to water and sanitation, and to exclude water supply and management of water resources from internal market rules and liberalization. [3] Meanwhile other natural resources are still regarded as a commodity, and even if kept under public ownership, the governance is under pressure of the market and profit based economical models, just as similar as private property. The transformation of natural common goods into a commodity is merely the introduction into a process that ends with privatization, and the right-based approach here conflicts with the right to ownership.

The **austerity measures** imposed by the financial institutions such as the famous Troika [4] have huge contribution to the commodification of natural resources in the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery of Europe. Under the pressures of foreign public debt, natural goods are becoming an easy target to become currency for paying off the debts. These kinds of solutions are not only dangerous for the economy of the states, but due to austerity, competent public institutions are neglecting the maintenance of the natural wealth (such as waters, forests, coasts, soil, etc.), which is largely dependent on them, and this decreases quality of life of the inhabitants. In this conflict of allegedly equally important public interests (for example - paying off the debt or keeping water sovereignty) private companies are offering their services to replace public ones. These are the process and models known as outsourcing, concession, public-private partnerships, or simple privatization, and they must satisfy the profit interest of the private company whilst the public partner is the one to ensure the service is provided to citizens, and takes the risks.

Liberalization of the market opens doors for global capital to extract benefits from the local natural resources. In the context of poor regulation and even worse implementation of the legislation, there is no incentive for the multinational companies to compensate (for what they extract) the local community, let alone calculate the interests of future generations and environmental balance into their costs. Furthermore, the main mechanism for attracting foreign direct investments, presented as the only solution for raging unemployment in the region, is relying on offering public resources underprice. This is directly both damaging to the budget and devastating to resources.

The privatization and commodification of natural resources result in **inadequate accessibility** of basic means of social reproduction. Benefits and services, such as clean water, fertile soil, beaches, lakes, mountain landscapes that were once public, become exclusion lines of society when they become private ownership. Whether they are available only for the elite (beaches, ski resorts) or for the majority of the citizens (bottled water, crops, wood...) they are not managed in the common interest and according to common needs, and are acknowledged merely for their exchange-value.

The communities that based their livelihood directly on the low-impact exploitation of the public or common resources (shepherds, gatherers, small-scale farmers, fishermen..) are forced to migrate off the land, towards industry or any kind of employment opportunity, selling their labor power in order to attain means to support themselves, eventually paying for the resources they once used free of charge, due to privatization and exclusion of the resource. This process of downward social mobility is called **proletarianization** and is often seen in what's left of the rural communities across the region.

Examples of struggles against commodification and privatization of natural resources can be found all across South-East Europe. Privatization has significantly lowered the quality of life for most inhabitants, creating additional environmental problems, from deforestation in Romania, an inaccessible coastline in Turkey, to privatized geothermal springs in Serbia, and attempts for water system privatization in Bosnia. Common demands for these struggles are: bringing back the resources to the community and more democratic management. From the examples of the struggle for the water recommunization or remunicipalization, we see that public outsourcing drinking water management has not improved the services, has not included more users, but has boosted the price rise. Privatization and concession of oil in Albania brought ecological disaster, without increasing employment or profit.[5] From Rosia Montana to Chalkidiki, exploitation of minerals is followed by the corruption of the public institutions and arrogance and irresponsibility of the multinational companies. The struggle against the project in Rosia Montana brought to the streets largest protests in post-socialist history of Romania.[6] In Slovenia, clean water has been protected within the Constitution as a fundamental right for all. This success was an outcome of long years of both non-parliamentary and parliamentary struggles, until the constitutional change was pushed by the left and adopted unanimously in the Parliament.[7]

II POSITIONS

Considering everything that has been presented previously, the democratic left oriented position regarding the issue can be framed as:

- Urgent salvage of the natural, especially non-renewable resources

- Termination of commodification and privatization of nature
- Reclaiming community/democratic/public management over natural resources
- Ensuring fair and equal distribution of the benefits produced by exploiting natural resources and responsibility for the damage
- Enabling free of charge access to the nature's goods and services

Examples for the slogans:

- Nature/water/forest/land is not for sale!
- Right to nature for all!
- A price on water is a price on life!
- Nature's goods are common goods!
- Stop extracting, start listening!
- Leave some nature for the future; leave some future for nature!

III POLICIES

The issue of natural resources commodification may be too broad for specific policies that would be suitable for successful implementation in all of the countries and communities of the region. If we had a chance to tackle, for example, privatized drinking water springs separately from deforestation and logging problems, analysis would result in more concrete steps towards achieving sustainability. Another peculiarity of this topic is that natural resources as such exist in a context of ecosystems - regional and even global metabolisms, disregarding political borders and therefore are inherently an international or “pan-national” issue and should be addressed accordingly. Nevertheless here are some guidelines for more specific policies that would lead to implementation of above mentioned positions:

International/regional agreement on not using specific resources as commodities. This request should be aimed at the governments of the region, but should be initiated bottom-up with the help of civil society. It should prevent the simple shift of the natural resources industry from one country to another that would have almost the same environmental effects on inhabitants. A practical example is a treaty that prevents buying and selling water springs from one country by the actors from another, regardless of them being public or private. The idea behind it is to overcome “not in my backyard”-ism (NIMBYism) and move towards a “not in anyone's backyard” ideology. This can also lead to broader cooperation within the region that would be valuable for holistic sustainability as well.

Institutionalization of the commons. Natural resources should be governed as the commons and they should be given legal framework as such. It is necessary to have

innovative democratic institutions that would regulate the commons so that both responsibility and benefits of their usage is fairly and equally distributed. The idea behind this is a progressive acknowledgement of common nature of the natural resources, without mystifying them. Alternatively to the current dichotomy between centralized state and deregulated private natural resources, concept of the commons tackles both collective ownership and democratic management. This requires targeting different levels - for example, the constitutional court, city/local governments, ombudsman and supranational such as European Charter of the Commons.

A national, independent agency for evaluating complex value of the natural resources and regulating integral management. The role of the state through its institutions is indispensable in guaranteeing sustainable consumption and equal distribution of the benefits from natural resources. The main resource for this is competent expertise that should be kept outside of the pressures of the market, thus public. Over-simplification and one-dimensional projection of the natural resources as mentioned above in the contextual analysis of commodification creates chain of problems that are hard to grasp post festum, when the resource is already destroyed and the damaged ecological balance is threatening to overrun into social crisis. Other than general public advocating, direct lobbying of the political parties to push for this institution can be useful, although results may come with compromises. The one compromise in this case that cannot be made, for the sake of the very substance of this kind of institution, is with non-competence and private interests. Additionally to the familiar modus of the institutions, directly affected local communities should have a say in the agency assessment of natural resource management.

Promoting local democratic management and cooperatives. Cooperatives and self-management are not unfamiliar to the region, especially in the former Yugoslav republics.[8] Following the practice that virtually puts the workers and users in the driver's seat, can facilitate the shift of the production model's focus from consumerism towards tackling common needs that the community democratically agreed upon. Ostrom[9] proposes eight principles for managing a commons and three most relevant for this topic are: to match rules governing use of common goods to local needs and conditions, to ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying the rules and to make sure the rule-making rights of community members are respected by outside authorities. Even though this requires certain openness from the centralized governments and institutions, they cannot be the one initiating and controlling the process. The change has to be designed from the inside of the local community/city/municipality/regional structures.

Free use of knowledge and sustainable technologies. There is an urgency to truly maximize the efficiency, safety, and sustainability in exploiting the natural resources. This can only be achieved by also decommodifying the knowledge and technology and raising the capacities for innovation. From energy, to food and water

supply problems, the solution may be in the free flow of new ideas, traditional knowledge, and progressive technology. These should be stirred and connected, not broken into pieces that need to be paid for individually, or put in the competition with each other instead of cooperation for the benefit of all.

[1] Hardin G. (1968) „The Tragedy of the Commons“

[2] http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/human_right_to_water.shtml

[3] http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/water-drink/information_en.html

[4] Troika consists of the [European Commission](#) (EC), the [European Central Bank](#) (ECB) and the [International Monetary Fund](#) (IMF).

[5] <http://www.bilten.org/?p=6618>

[6] <https://www.rosiamontana.org>

[7] <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/nov/18/slovenia-adds-water-to-constitution-as-fundamental-right-for-all>

[8] <http://sdonline.org/57/workers-councils-in-yugoslavia-successes-and-failures/>

[9] <http://www.onthecommons.org/magazine/elinor-ostroms-8-principles-managing-commons>

Democracy Cluster:

Ivan Stefanovski: Enhancing the Relationship between Leftist Political Parties and Political Movements from the Left

Context:

Theory has vastly reflected on the relationship between political parties (PP) and social movements (SM). Before focusing on the dynamics between these two sets of actors, we should firstly define them. The most commonly used definitions of PP are summarized in Giovanni Sartori's seminal piece *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (1976) which provides the minimal definition for PP: "A party is any political group that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office" (Ibid, p. 57). On the other hand, a very straightforward definition of SM is provided by della Porta and Diani who speak of them as "distinct social processes, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, are linked by dense informal networks and share a distinct collective identity" (della Porta and Diani 2006, p. 20). Another important definition is introduced by Tilly and Tarrow, who define SM as a "sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions and solidarities that sustain these activities" (Tilly and Tarrow 2015, p. 11).

From a historical perspective, we have witnessed numerous collaborations between social movements and political parties, some traditional to a certain extent. We can build on the example of the USA, where Democrats have historically closely collaborated with leftist, pro-minority, and labor movements, while the Republicans have tended to opt for the ideological base consisting of morally and religiously conservative groups (Goldstone 2003, p. 23). Moving to the region of our interest, where post-communist societies began to democratize by the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s, social movements played a significant role both in the democratization process and in governance. Federal Czechoslovakia was characterized by the ruling of post-communist revolutionary parties before its dissolution (Glenn 2003, pp. 147-148), while the democratization movement in Bulgaria after the demise of Todor Zhivkov congealed with numerous supporters, creating the united democratic opposition (UDF), which subsequently entered the electoral arena and paved the way for one of its leaders, Zhelyu Zhelev, to become the first democratic president of Bulgaria (Zankina 2010, Rossi, 2012).

Contemporary theoretical and empirical analysis devotes space to numerous concepts such as movement-parties (Kitschelt 2006, della Porta et al. 2017), movements in parties (Draege, Chironi and della Porta 2016), and movements and parties (Goldstone 2003). We focus on the third concept of movements and parties, aiming at discovering mechanisms which would lead to further cooperation, localizing and focalizing on leftists SM and PP in Southeast Europe.

Regarding cooperation between these two specific types of actors in the political sphere, we turn towards recent works which provide a certain level of generalizability. Della Porta and her co-authors highlight the cooperation between ideologically convergent SM and party families, aligning through overlapping membership, joint

participation in various forms of contentious activities, as well as mutual funding (della Porta et al., 2017). We have witnessed similar processes in Southeast Europe on several occasions: when the Bulgarian Greens supported the anti-monopoly (winter protests) in early 2013, and when numerous Macedonian political parties with socialist, democratic, and liberal backgrounds joined the "Citizens for Macedonia" (CfM) platform, aligning with numerous civil society representatives in order to protect the constitutional order and ensure protection of basic human rights and freedoms. This latter example falls under what Daniela Piccio refers to as "members' cumulative involvement" and "identity coherence" (Piccio 2016). As Beckwith and Norris infer, political participation in the realms of SM and PP is more cumulative than substantive (Beckwith 2000 and Norris 2002). Furthermore, Kriesi (1993) and Rucht (2004) show that in order for social movements to influence political parties, a certain identical overlap must exist, while parties are much more open toward movements whose ideological and cultural identities are more coherent.

An occurrence which seems to be missing in the region under analysis, and which is common for Western European societies, is a more vivid and straightforward cooperation between leftist SM and PP from the Left. Della Porta and Kriesi highlight the traditional alliance between leftist parties and progressive social movements (della Porta 1996, Kriesi et al 1995, Kriesi 1989). Della Porta also reflects on three issues characterizing the fluctuating relationship between the movements and parties from the Left, based on previous research conducted by Kriesi: the political cleavage and the party divisions within the traditional Left, where the Left-Right cleavage delayed the development of new social movements, and the hypothesis that where the Left has been divided, communist parties have often sided with movements apart from much internal tension; The tendency of leftist PP to support protest activities has been linked to electoral instability, highlighting the importance of gaining more new votes; Alliances between SM and PP from the Left are much easier to be formed when the Left is in opposition (della Porta 2013, p. 958). Some of these characteristics are applicable to the region of Southeast Europe, while others should be disregarded.

Building on the main theoretical arguments, as well as on recent regional developments, we aim to empirically reconstruct contemporary cases, which have shaped regional practices. The above mentioned CfM movement, a joint effort of mobilization between more than 70 NGOs, 15 political parties dominantly positioned on the center-left side of the political spectrum and thousands of individuals, awakened the decades-long dormant and under-utilized cooperation between movements and parties. Engaging in mechanisms of brokerage, diffusion, and coordinated action, they triggered processes of policy change, dominantly in the realm of rule of law and protection of human rights and freedoms. This platform materialized on the combination of overwhelming grievances of multiple collective actors in Macedonian society ranging from angered students, deprived part-time freelancers, repressed NGO's and fatigued political opposition continuously challenged in the electoral arena. Engaging into extensive negotiations regarding the central grievances, the framing and the repertoires of contention, the platform played the role of an umbrella network encompassing multiple identities and shaping them in a counterweight to Gruevski's hybrid regime. The identity-sharing,

compromise-making, and focus on a common target enabled the collective actors to sustain in exerting prolonged pressure over the government which resulted in sustainable gains for all involved actors. This model of cooperation could be found useful in many countries in the region, especially where the center-left mainstream parties are in prolonged opposition (e.g. Serbia or Bulgaria).

On the contrary, lack of communication, failure to make compromises, and ideological and identity incompatibility failed to produce stronger ties between leftist parties, and collective actors mobilizing on socio-economic and democratic issues in several countries of Southeast Europe. The examples are numerous. A detached social democratic party in power in BiH, fiercely opposed the citizens unrest in early 2014, creating an opponent instead of facilitating the citizen needs. A dissonant center-left and liberal opposition in Serbia and a rather scattered and inconsistent movement structure facilitated the illiberal ruling of the declared center-right in Serbia. The Macedonian social democrats and several leftist movements and organizations face years-long problems in order to establish a dialogue regarding welfare rights and the position of the workers.

These remarks foster the need for definition of mechanisms and modalities for future cooperation between PP and SM from the Left in Southeast Europe, which will be relatively generalizable and applicable to a higher number of societies, and will improve the long-term closeness and proximity, the cumulative involvement of the members, as well as identity coherence of the two sets of actors.

The positions:

◆We are two sides of the same coin!◆: Although the two sets of political actors seem very different, the ideological base and the overlapping membership are quite similar. Baby steps from both sides, in the sense of more intensive communication and compromise regarding certain policy issues, would bridge the current gap between the two entities;




Parties to movements: ◆Help us! We need you!◆: Taking into consideration the ideological crisis of the center left throughout Europe, political parties need fresh ideas coming from outside the official party structure. They need leftist SM to provide them with ideas, to show them the terrain they are unfamiliar with, to share the movements◆ positions with the party members and party leadership, and to provide them with expertise;

Movements to parties: ◆Listen to us!◆: Bearing the existing distance between leftist PP and SM in Southeast Europe, the first can contribute by implementing the claims/demands (in certain cases even concrete policy proposals) of the latter. Both sides should establish a constant dialogue (opening the channels of communication). Furthermore, PP, as a more powerful actor in the political arena, should respect the individual identities of the SM and prevent blending/melting into their own structures.

◆A common opponent◆: In many Southeast European countries (e.g. B&H, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia) illiberal democracy is on the rise, fostering ground for emerging of stronger nationalism, xenophobia and

mutual distrust. Joining forces between the two sets of actors can improve the positions of both groups in enhancing their power in the struggle for democracy and protection of human rights.

Recommendations:

- Intensifying communication between leftist SM and PP in Southeast Europe. This recommendation addresses both SM and PP. The actors should engage in creation of joint working groups, preferably issue-driven in order to match representatives with similar interests and knowledge. This would bridge the communication gap between the two sides;
- Compromising on convergent policy issues. The suggestion, once again, targets both groups. Both SM and PP would jointly contribute to drafting policy proposals which touch upon ideologically coherent topics (e.g. social welfare, social justice, protection of refugees, battling xenophobia etc.). This activity contributes toward increasing the identity coherence of the two sets of actors;
- Refreshing party ideology. This proposal refers to the two sets of actors. PP should open up towards policy suggestions by SM in order to enable fresh ideas to enter their organizations which will result in constant influx of proposals keeping the organization updated. On the other hand, SM should not a priori label PP as closed, isolated and solely interest driven, but leave open space for deeper ideological cooperation. The final result will be more open and society-driven leftist PP;
- Expanding the rank and file. The main addressee of this recommendation are the PP in the region which tend to be closed and clientelistic organizations. Apart from the fresh ideas and ideological contributions, SM can also provide a sufficient level of expertise. Movements often specialize in issues they treat as condition sine qua non for their existence and constant presence in the public sphere. Their close ties to specialized NGOs can provide sufficient experience that sometimes PP lack;
- Exploiting the policy arena. This recommendation is exclusively designed to target PP. When in power, leftist PP can use the easy access to the policy arena in order to accommodate claims/demands by SM. This will strengthen the mutual trust and send a message in the public sphere that both types of organizations are closely collaborating regarding ideologically convergent issues. Furthermore, PP should seize the opportunity while in power, to contribute towards opening of the electoral arena by introducing amendments to electoral legislation which will result with a more open and participative political systems. Concrete policy proposals which could enable this process are liberalizing rules for candidate registration, opting for a more inclusive electoral model (e.g. proportional representation with open lists where the whole territory of the country is one electoral unit), lowering the threshold (where existent);
- Mutual respect. This suggestion targets both sets of actors. Such as PP which are stronger and more powerful entities in the political system need to respect the individuality and particularity of each leftist SM and prevent blending into the party structure, the movements need to understand the unprincipled compromises which sometimes PP are forced to agree with, when engaged in large ideologically inconsistent coalitions. Thus, no inference should be made that both groups should support policies and actions which are contrary to their core values and beliefs;
- Shared resources. This proposal refers to the two types of actors. Following the members cumulative involvement principle, it is not

supposed to be difficult to build-upon the existing overlap of membership. What PP and SM should restrain from is discouraging their members to participate in collective actions organized by the other groups. Furthermore, both the leadership of the PP, and the more visible members of the SM should aim towards organization of joint activities and exchange of other types of resources, in order to maximize the ♦power of numbers♦. For example, political parties can even include more renowned and visible movement activists on their party lists, especially on local level, where a lot of grassroots organizations are recognized for their good work and tangible impact. Vice versa, members of PP leadership can contribute to the cause of certain SM by visible participation, addressing the public during rallies and marches, as well as issuing public recognition;

- Introducing primaries and fostering direct intra-party democracy. The recommendation addresses the PP, since SM are informal horizontal networks inclined towards deliberative democracy. Introducing primaries and other forms of direct voting contributes towards a higher level of intra-party democracy which later indirectly reflects wider in society. The direct elections for presidents in the SDP BiH and SDP Croatia are good examples which other leftist parties could adopt.

- Aligning against illiberal democracy. With special emphasis on the region, both sets of actors should reach a consensus regarding creation of political platforms/political manifestos endorsing freedom, liberty, multicultural and multi-confessional societies, protection of human rights and freedoms, as well as rule of law, in order to preserve and protect the socialist and democratic values which are in continuously in decline in the region of Southeast Europe.

Democracy - Transnationalization of Social and Political Movements in SEE: Networking for Success - Ivan Stefanovski

Working Title: Transnationalization of Social and Political Movements in Southeast Europe: Networking for Success

The Context:

The last contentious decade in Southeast Europe has contributed towards the creation of many formal and informal networks of activists which have created their own specific legacy and modular means of contention. Numerous regional examples can be derived initiating from the plenums in B&H, as citizens' fora implementing deliberative democracy and horizontal decision-making, the several initiatives and social movements in Macedonia – “Ajde”, “Protestiram”, “Zasluzhuvame Podobro” – some of them originating, or evolving from, the “Citizens for Macedonia” platform, circling with movement-parties like DEMOS in Romania which have already prepared to enter the electoral arena. All these particular types of formal and informal networks fit perfectly in della Porta and Diani's definition of social movements as social networks. The two renowned authors define this concept as “distinct social processes, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, are linked by dense informal networks and share a distinct collective identity” (della Porta and Diani 2006, p. 20).

This position paper aims at achieving several goals: to define transnationalization of social and political movements globally; to mirror and contextualize this conceptualization in South Eastern European countries; to differentiate between “success” and “failure” (“gains and losses”) of social movements in order to further discusses transnationalization of “success stories”, and lastly, the most important goal, to look at possibilities for development of tools and mechanisms which will eventually lead towards enhanced cooperation of social movements in the region under analysis. All these concepts and definitions are strengthened both with contemporary examples from the region, as well as international events such as the world social forums, European social forums and other global contentious events. The transnationalization of social movements is defined by Dieter Rucht as “an action system comprised of mobilized networks of individuals, groups and organizations which, based on shared collective identity, attempt to achieve or prevent social change, predominantly by means of collective protest.” (della Porta and Rucht 2009, p. 207). The first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre which took place in 2001, as well as the first European Social Forum held in Florence one year

later, set the stage for organized, and to a certain extent structured, meeting of anti-globalization oriented NGOs, trade unions, social movements and other networks which campaigned for international causes (della Porta et al. 2006). From a localized perspective, similar organized and coordinated campaigns can be set up between formal and informal networks in Southeast Europe, tackling burning regional issues such as corruption, nationalism, authoritarian ruling and other social constructs which are negatively addressed by challengers coming from the Left. The transnational aspect could refer to various dimensions of a movement, such as issues, targets, mobilization, and organization. One could name a social movement transnational when it is composed of “closely interrelated groups and organizations that belong to more than one country” (della Porta and Rucht 2009, p. 207). Furthermore, della Porta and her coauthors define *global social movements* as “supranational networks of actors that define their causes as global and organize protest campaigns that involve more than one state” (della Porta et al. 2006, p. 18). In regards to the regional context of our study, political and social movements from the Left coming from South Eastern European countries can climb down on the ladder of mobilization and act regionally, furthermore opening space for prospective global mobilization. Lastly, when dealing with the concept of transnationalization, one should stress Rucht’s typology which recognizes two types of transnational coordination between groups: “1) Horizontal coordination between groups from different countries: each group keeps its full organizational autonomy and none dominates the others; 2) Vertical and horizontal coordination – national groups not only coordinate directly, but do so through an international body which has some say and, therefore, is not just a node of communication” (della Porta and Rucht 2009, p. 208). In the case of the region under analysis, both types of transnational coordination seem feasible.

When we discuss the success and failure of social movements, we must commence with the seminal piece of William Gamson, who had set the stage for these concepts more than 40 years ago. What Jenkins calls a relatively elementary analysis of success and failure of more than 50 randomly chosen social movements in the USA, within a time span of around 150 years (Jenkins 1983, p. 543), established a categorization in order to gradually distinguish between success and failure of social movements. Gamson measured success by two dimensions: the provision of tangible benefits that meet goals established by the movement organizations, and the formal acceptance of the movement organization by its main antagonist as a valid representative of a legitimate set of interests (Gamson 1975). Movement outcomes fall into four categories: full success; cooptation (acceptance but no benefits); preemption (benefits but no acceptance); and failure. (Jenkins 1983, p. 543). Within our regional context, this categorization also fits with some contemporary political mobilizations, resembling almost all categories but full success, mainly because full success is never easy to be both defined and achieved. A label of conglomerate between cooptation and preemption can be attached to the Citizens for Macedonia movement, as well as to the ongoing Serbian mobilization protecting the extensive urbanization of the Belgrade waterfront. Similar description can be used to define the anti-monopoly winter protests which transformed into anti-systemic and anti-governmental mobilizations against the Borisov government in early 2013. What

was described as a failure by the main protagonists themselves, although seriously contested by the wider academic community dealing with social movement studies, were the protests which flared throughout B&H during late winter and early spring of 2014. The inability of the literature to clearly distinguish between success and failure extended the debate into one dealing with social movement outcomes, agreeing around a classification of three general types of outcomes: political, biographical and cultural (Giugni et al. 1999; Bosi, Giugni and Uba 2015). The political outcomes of recent mobilizations in Southeast Europe, and the means of transfer of the positive ones, is what this work is interested in. The enactment of the Law on the SPO in Macedonia, which set the stage for further prosecution of high ranking Macedonian politicians, is a positive example of a policy outcome, as a subtype of political social movements' outcome, which is worth sharing among activist networks in the region. On the other hand, the inability of the BH protesters to access the policy arena on federal and state level in B&H is worth discussing transnationally, mainly in order to depict the wrong steps in strategy, paving the way for future mobilizations not to make the same mistakes. Within a specific country, one can assess the outcomes of two initiatives structured by similar individual and collective actors in Macedonia – “Ajde” and “Zasluzhuvame Podobro”, in order to understand the difference in success, with the first initiative being much more successful in comparison with the latter. Some contemporary social movement scholarship operates with the wording of gains and losses (Jasper, forthcoming), in order to measure tradeoffs of mobilization. Still, this work needs more refining in order to be tested on practical examples in the region. Lastly, when we discuss tools and mechanisms which could be transposed among activists networks, it is primarily referred to the particular repertoires of contention which could/should be borrowed between activists in the region. Repertoires of contention (action) are, as della Porta highlights, “what people know they can do when they want to oppose a public decision they consider unjust or threatening” (della Porta 2013, p. 1081). Tilly and Tarrow, on the other hand, point to the limits of the concept, speaking of “limited arrays of known, feasible ways to make collective claims – that also limit possible forms of contention in any regime” (Tilly and Tarrow 2015, p. 231). Numerous regional examples will follow throughout the positions and the recommendations.

The Positions:

Defining the issues of transnationalization in Southeast Europe: The social and political movements from the region must define the common regional issues at stake in order to closely cooperate on supranational level. Taking into consideration the current burning issues in the region, these formal and informal networks are likely to transnationalize the following issues: rule of law, violation of basic human rights, authoritarian rule, as well as ecological and urban misconducts by the governments;

Differentiating between “success and failure” and assessing the outcomes: The involved national actors should reach an agreement regarding the “internal definition” of which campaigns will be labeled as successful, and which will be described conversely. Creating an array of mutually agreed indicators might

objectivize this rather difficult activity. Furthermore, once the outcomes of the recently completed campaigns are assessed, it is much easier to move forward in terms of a mutual regional strategy;

Creating viable and functional regional networks: In order for the transnationalization to be feasible, a long-lasting and stable regional network of SM actors should be agreed upon. This general network which will guarantee continuous flow of information can provide an impetus for creating several sub-networks through which issue-driven actors can communicate certain peculiarities closely connected to their field of work;

Choosing the feasible and mutually acceptable repertoires of contention: The regional actors are entitled to bring a strategic decision regarding the repertoires of contention which will enable them to channel their claims. It might be considered that the actions will be modular (widely recognized, repetitive and accepted), as well as remaining in the realm of legality, but also with a considerable level of disruptiveness (where and when possible).

The Recommendations:

Creating international inter-movement groups which will define the key transnational issues: The definition of key issues, some of them mentioned in the positions, must be defined jointly. The first step towards definition of the issues is the creation of a national formal/informal network which will initially reach a consensus regarding the key issues which should be internationalized. Furthermore, all the national networks from the region will coordinate in order to reach the final decision regarding the key issues around which the leftist social and political movements in Southeast Europe should jointly mobilize. It is clear that these issues will be revisited and discussed taking into consideration the political developments and the regional context;

Highlighting importance: All actors involved in the negotiation process defining the issues, should always take into consideration the urgency of particular issues which have kept the region in turmoil for decades. The high level of nationalism, as well as the deteriorating democratic capacities of societies are likely to top the table of importance. Regarding the socio-economic issues, the high level of inequality and the unfair privatization of previously state-owned companies should also be in the center of the movements' attention;

Revisiting recent contentious history: In order to differentiate between "success" and "failure", social movements from the region should revisit recent campaigns which had ended and assess the outcomes. Once they have agreed over a certain mobilization campaign, it is easier to learn from the previous mistakes and avoid them in the future tailoring new strategies. For example, the successful campaigning of the "Citizens for Macedonia" and the ability both to reach the policy arena, but also to facilitate the implementation of the desired legislation, shows that coalescing with political parties in the political system, as well as with other "friends" in the political environment, increases the chances of "success" and "gains";

Creating the "checklist": Inserting objectivity while assessing "success" and "failure" increases the mutual trust between the transnational actors. Although social movements are usually comprised of multiple strands which have different goals,

identities and perceptions, the outcomes, or at least some facts deriving from the outcomes, can be objectified. For example, there is a consensus among BH activists that the plenums during the 2014 protests produced thousands of demands, many of which were far from realistic. Numerous challengers have noted that having grouped and channeled the claims in a more tangible manner, would have increased the probability for success;

Horizontal and vertical coordination: The previous rows already described the two theoretical models of transnational coordination developed by Rucht. The regional actors should engage both into horizontal and vertical coordination in order to strengthen the transnational regional ties. Still, balancing between hierarchy and deliberation, social movement actors must define their goals in the swiftest manner possible. Apart from the “central” network for cooperation, issue driven actors should also engage into creation of sub-networks which can thoroughly deal with certain burning issues. This focalized approach can easily result with concrete proposals for regional transnationalization;

The connective action facilitating cooperation: The concept of “connective action”, finding its inspiration in the traditional collective action theories, highly developed in the last decade with the emergence of the internet as a basic tool for connectivity. The Arab Spring, the Indignados movement, as well as the Occupy movement in the USA depicted the real strength of online mobilization. In the case of the regional actors in Southeast Europe which face scarce resources, using the internet as a main tool for building platforms of cooperation, is one of the main and cheapest options. Creating blogs, websites and other information hubs can facilitate the exchange of information and the coordination between the regional actors;

Agreeing on the regional repertoires: Once the main regional issues have been detected, the regional challengers must move forward in creating strategies to channel their claims forward towards their respective targets. When transnational mobilizations are organized, the movement actors should be able to achieve a certain level of uniformity and coordination in order to send a stronger regional message. The actions must be coordinated both regarding type and temporally. Launching a series of protests marches throughout the regional capital in one single day and at the same time, would send a very strong message of unity and determination towards the targets;

Defining the modularity, legality and level of disruptiveness: The wider public, the targets, but especially the movement actors are fond of the modular quality of repertoires, which infers that they are being used by a variety of actors for achieving a variety of objectives. This points to the directions of marches, occupations, flash mobs and petitions. On the other hand, the transnational actors must have a clear standpoint regarding the legality and the level of violence introduced during the contentious activities. The legality is an issue which might be overcome, but the level of violence should be kept minimal, mainly because it triggers a fierce repressive response by the states as most common targets. Furthermore, the regional actors might want to restrain from extremely disruptive tactics such as the several self-immolations which were noted in Bulgaria during the 2013 winter protests.

Social State - Transformation of Education - Marija Jakovljević

See also following papers:

*for putting education into context - economical/political, cultural and also for gender perspectives, look at:

Labor law: A Counter-Proposal (Aleksandar Matković)

Gender Equality and the Labour Market (Elena B. Stavrevska)

Re-Commoning Culture (Aida Kalender) tbd

*for understanding targeted groups of this paper look at:

Youth Inclusion (Dafina Peci)

Trade Unions: Democracy at workplace but also inside the organization: unions as a movement (Eyup Özer)

A) The context :

MAINSTREAM ARGUMENTS

As the state is changing through political and economical transformations, the field of education i.e. educational system is changing as well. These changes are being implemented by various actors: international institutions imposing agendas in line with European labor market needs (usually as part of accession process to EU), right-wing governments pursuing their nationalistic/right agendas, different non-state actors that have real political influences (e.g. religious institutions). As the role of the state (as an education-provider) changed, so did the perceptions and expectations on education when it comes to the relevant decision-making bodies and institutions. In the context of neoliberal capitalism, the role of the educational institutions is being less associated with overall benefits for individuals as well for the society in general, via development of critical thinking, or researching of the topics of common interest, and more connected to the ideas of private (individual) well-being and servicing of the market.

Responsibility for the educational process and its quality and sustainability has to a large extent been transferred to each educational institution individually. Investment in public education is dramatically decreased compared to the socialist era (primary schools are now being closed or reduced in small places, not enough money is being allocated to maintenance of existing educational infrastructure, etc). On the other hand, decision makers are telling us that we need to increase our competitiveness by raising level of education in the general population. More young

people are entering university and more older people are being involved in different life-long learning programs. At the same time the costs of education are constantly increasing. As a result we have a higher educated population that faces unemployment in a situation of de-industrialization and precarization.

Simultaneously, socially vulnerable groups are still being marginalized in the field of education (persons with disabilities, Roma people, people from lower classes, etc). States are constantly introducing strategies targeting different marginalized groups in order “to increase their educational chances and outcomes”, but since they are dealing with symptoms and neglecting the broader political and socio-economic picture all those measures failed to produce results and often perpetuate the situation. In addition, current national educational systems are fostering individualistic values like competitiveness instead of solidarity and responsibility.

Most frequent mainstream arguments about education:

1. Objectivity: Education provides us with “facts”
2. In line with public interest: Education makes “good citizens”
3. Liberalization and decentralization: Opening private higher education institutions in smaller city centers makes it accessible to broader population, breaks the monopoly of dominant state universities and induces increase in quality
4. Becoming competitive and meeting the needs of the labor market: We need a higher educated population population educated in accordance with the needs of the market; there is discrepancy between qualifications of the working population and employers’ needs (employers cannot find people with suitable qualifications)
5. Advantages of using new technologies: Distance learning is additional option for making education cheaper and more accessible
6. Keeping the population up to date with educational trends and self-development: Life-long learning is a model of constant self-improvement and market adaptation
7. Causes of discontent: Existing educational system is outdated and educators (teachers, professors, assistants) are not following world trends (using new learning tools and resources, following newest achievements in their field, combine different learning methods and techniques, focusing on the knowledge that is needed on the market, etc).
8. Dual education will enable students to meet the needs of their future employers and find a job easier.

DECONSTRUCTION

1. Education, as part of an ideological apparatus, is necessarily ideologically biased: in a station of ruling right ideologies some of the main problems in education are historical revisionism, patriarchal perspective, outdated approaches...

2. Involvement of religious institutions into education, re-traditionalization, orientation towards right-wing values, especially in subjects like citizen education and history, are some of the factors that are contributing in making “good” i.e. obedient citizens. It is related to self-perception (e.g. reproduction or redefinition of patriarchal gender-based self-perceptions and roles in society).

From the side of educational methodologies, existing approaches are not fostering solidarity and orientation on the community well-being. Instead of the ex-cathedra approach to teaching dominant in the region, education needs to become more participatory, including the practice of democratic learning in the classroom, a teaching content linked to the community situation and socio-economic challenges as well as the encouragement of more involvement in different progressive community initiatives.

3. The value of “education for all” is being perverted through the proliferation of private faculties, the introduction of fees and the boosting entering quotas in order to gain more profit. This situation also leads to an inflationary production of certificates and degrees. The quality standards are also lowering because of the overall deficit of HE professors - significant number of the them already work at several institutions at the same time (as visiting professors or in some other arrangement). Since they do not have enough time to cover all faculties, those in smaller cities are subsequently not a priority. - ~~and an inflationary production of certificates and degrees.~~

~~4. In reality we are facing a stark unemployment rate among the highly educated population, since the Balkan countries are severely de-industrialized and do not have enough “new industries” — contrary to the mainstream narrative about the discrepancy between qualifications of the working population and employers’ needs, the truth is that there are more people with higher education than adequate positions available.~~

~~This also results in a waste of financial resources (both for the state and for families/individuals) when educated people cannot find proper working positions. One of the main consequences of the rising pool of people with similar qualifications is the lowering of wages. Since there are more highly educated people than available positions, highly educated people often work in jobs they are over-qualified for (under-employment) and need to have several jobs at the same time.~~

4. In reality, we are facing a stark unemployment rate in general population. Unemployment rates for Balkan countries in 2017. are for example: Bosnia and Herzegovina 40.06, Kosovo 32.90 (data from Dec 2015), Macedonia 22.9, Greece 22.5, Montenegro 22.09, Serbia 14.6, Albania 14.5, Croatia 13.2, Turkey 12.6, with only Romania and Bulgaria having significantly lower rates than the rest of the Balkan area (5.3 and 7.6).[1] With a main job opening strategy for governments all across the Balkans being attracting more foreign investments, via wage reductions, reductions in labor rights and large subsidies by the state, it is clear that “the needs of the market” are unsteady, not possible to predict in the long run and, finally, more often associated with the need for the cheap labor force.

Among graduate population, the unemployment rate in Western Balkans is higher than in EU countries, in average (WB: 16.2, EU: 5.6) with rates such as: Albania 17.2, Bosnia and Hercegovina 18.4, Kosovo 14.7, FYR Macedonia 21.4, Montenegro 10.3 Serbia 15, in 2016. for example.[2]

*Here is important to have in mind that depending on methodological approach statistics usually hide significant number of unemployed population since those data are used by governments to justify their measures. Eventhough statistics on national level are being synchronized with international standard it still doesn't mean that they are showing real picture and there are ongoing discussions about used methodology and interpretations of the data.

Since the Balkan countries are severely de-industrialized and do not have enough “new industries” – contrary to the mainstream narrative about the discrepancy between qualifications of the working population and employers’ needs, the truth is that there are more people with higher education than adequate positions available. This also results in a waste of financial resources (both for the state and for families/individuals) when educated people cannot find proper working positions. One of the main consequences of the rising pool of people with similar qualifications is the lowering of wages. Since there are more highly educated people than available positions, highly educated people often work in jobs they are over-qualified for (under-employment) and need to have several jobs at the same time.

[1] Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/unemployment-rate?continent=europe>

[2] Source: https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/2016-higher-education-labour-market-balkans_en.pdf

5. Firstly, those new technologies are not available to all. Lot of those who are using new technologies are not familiar with online educational options. Also, not having the experience of studying at university and being part of a university community can be a disadvantage that has a negative impact on student's perceptions, motivation and ability to get involved in different progressive initiatives occurring at universities and in the community.

6. ~~Life-long learning is promoted in context of catching up with “new” skills and knowledge in order to gain more qualifications which will supposedly make it easier for person to find a job. It is not about self improvement according to one's needs, talents and preferences—it's all about fitting to the labor market. Consequently this concept is mostly focused on profitable knowledge. The programs that are~~

conducted as a part of labor policies usually don't function, since they are not tailored according to people's needs and wishes, – for example, people are often forced to attend different courses in order to stay on the evidence of Bureau of Employment and that's why the existing approach is artificial, not taking into account real needs of program beneficiaries (need for self-improvement according to one's interests and capacities), they waste people's time and money and do not improve their self-esteem. Those who really want to learn new things or improve their knowledge in numerous cases need to pay for it – not all people who want to learn different things have resources for it (e.g. in Serbia only around 10% of youth is engaged in different non formal education programs which is often perceived as an investment in the future employment and not just motivated to develop one's talents and interests).

6. Even though life-long learning is promoted as a concept for both personal development and market adaptation, it seems that at least in the peripheral countries with high unemployment rates it is mostly advertised as a concept of catching up with “new” skills and knowledge in order to gain more (rarely) or different (often) qualifications which will supposedly make it easier for person to find a job. The personal dimension is almost unexisting - It is not about self-improvement according to one's needs, talents and preferences - it's all about fitting to the constantly changing labor market. Consequently this concept is mostly focused on profitable knowledge.

This can be seen more clearly when LLL is implemented as a part of labor policies for combating unemployment. State run institutions such as Bureaus of Employment offer courses to the people registered as job seekers, which are mandatory if one wants to stay on the evidence and keep other social benefits (healthcare, for example). These courses are not tailored according to people's needs and wishes, nor personalized in accordance with their background or ideas for future personal or professional development, but generic courses such as basic language computer courses, making the whole approach artificial. Not only the needs of program beneficiaries such as the need for self-improvement, self-realization according to one's interests and capacities, are not taken into account, but these programs often don't actually achieve even its primary function – employing people.

Other, profitable, institutions, also offer similar courses, but not for free. Those who really want to learn new things or improve their knowledge in numerous cases need to pay for it - not all people who want to learn different things have resources for it (e.g. in Serbia only around 10% of youth is engaged in different non formal education programs which is often perceived as an investment in the future employment and not just motivated to develop one's talents and interests).

7. Although educators really need constant self-improvement and have to keep up to date with the achievements in their field, the main precondition is providing more funds for the educational system (including opening new positions for full-time teachers/professors, investing in additional education of staff, changes in the structure of work obligations in order to leave more time for the staff to focus on

learning about new methods etc.) and dismantling existing structures within academia and educational system that are connected to political parties.

8. This is a case of copy-pasting policy/model from one context to another without taking into account all differences and implications. In a context without strong trade unions who can defend decent level of wages, where the labor law is set in favor of employers and not employees, where there is a large pool of unemployed people willing to take any job and where the state is doing nothing to protect workers' right this measure means only further devastation of working conditions and rights. The students will work for sub-minimal wages, which will motivate employers to fire regular workers where possible and only temporarily hire students in dual education who will work for less. It shapes their further expectations about working conditions and rights and makes them vulnerable since they are not in the position to organize and demand better working conditions. It is a good thing to have practical experience, but if that is not regulated in favor of students-workers it only results in more exploitation and long-term damages to working rights. Education is not only about learning for the future job, but firstly it should contribute to development of persons's talents and interests which are not market oriented.

EMPIRICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Sometimes governments involve (progressive) actors from the civic sector to jointly prepare some learning programs/materials (e.g. about violence prevention) or else educational institutions (usually primary and high schools in bigger cities) are open for projects conducted by CSOs (e.g. artistic workshops, educations about ecology, health, human rights, etc). But if that content goes against mainstream values (nationalism, religiousness, etc) it often gets modified or even censored and banned. Leftist actors in the civic sector still face huge problems when seeking to address taboo topics in education. These are definitely spaces requiring further interventions.

On the other hand, youth involvement in different extracurricular activities and engagement in different NGO-initiatives show that young people are looking for different educational contents and also for opportunities to be active in the community. Although the percentages of the youth involved in those activities is not high, they can be a good starting point for inducing a change in narratives among the young population by using different methodology for different age groups (in consultation with pedagogues and andragogists).

There are always teachers and professors who are enthusiasts and who are oriented towards their students. Progressive activists that are working/used to work in education can make a significant impact on the micro level.

In a situation where the educational community is fragmented, self-oriented, and rarely in touch with the broader community, the *Academic solidarity* union in Croatia can be a good example of connecting different actors in the field (students, professors, scientists). It also shows how old forms of organizing can be “updated” and scaled up to be more inclusive and effective.

The crucial thing to understand is that educational policies always need to be analyzed together with labor policies. It is important that formal education prepares people for their future occupation, but it doesn't mean that educational institutions and programs need to be focused just on what market needs. If education doesn't enable people to understand complexity of the society, to actively participate in democratic processes and to critically think about their position, then it all comes down to making cheap skilled labor force and obedient citizens.

RELATIONS

Inputs into the educational system are coming from the state, private sector (e.g. Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Serbia is shaping new law on dual education in high schools and will be in charged to monitor its implementation if the new law passes) and to smaller extent from civic sector.

Those that are coming from the civil sector are often tied to donations cycles, hence their sustainability is questionable. There are not so many projects that are intervening in the educational system on the regional level (e.g. prevention of gender-based violence among youth in high schools conducted by CARE Balkans and its local partner organizations). If they are not backed up with some strong political actor, if there is no good will from the side of the ruling structures, it is very easy to stop or even delete progressive contribution from the civil sector (e.g. introduction of learning packages about prevention of sexual violence on children that was in Serbia created by experts from civic sector in cooperation with the Ministry of education and then withdrawn when right-wing actors created drama in the public with misleading interpretation of its content).

All in all, changes that are being conducted by government are mostly based on the interest of private capital/private sector and hence lack in democracy. Some measures are being copy/pasted from developed to under-developed contexts which can result in further decrease of educational and career chances for young population (e.g. introduction of dual education in Serbia). Public hearings on new laws are not really meant to take into account inputs from interested public, especially in situation when elections have passed and there are very few mechanisms for making pressure on decision makers.

New policies also promised more opportunities for mobility of students. While in secondary education is usually up to schools to make partnerships and organize exchanges which can be expensive, on tertiary level it was promoted as one of the

main benefits of Bologna system. Exchanges of students on the regional level is still limited in its scope.

Even though European Commission reports growth in student mobility since the start of Erasmus programme[1], students' exchange is still limited in its scope mostly because of different kinds of problems exchange students experience. As presented in a report[2] done by European Students' Union, biggest obstacles for students wanting to be a part of a mobility programme are financial reasons, lower socio-economic background, lack of necessary information, visa issues, lack of support regarding healthcare and other social services, problems regarding full recognition of degrees, qualifications and credits completed abroad etc.

[1]

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/repository/education/library/statistics/erasmus-plus-facts-figures_en.pdf

[2] <https://www.esu-online.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BWSE-2015-online.pdf>

National cooperation of workers in education is poor or non-existing. International cooperation mostly consists of intellectual niches: scientific seminars/conferences/exchanges with small or non-existing impact on the broader educational community.

Although the changes in the field of education are mostly international at its core (globally present neo-liberal dynamics), students and educators are lacking channels for continuous international response (probably the main reach were students' international anti-Bologna protests).

B) The Positions

Publicly funded education for all!

Governments have to stop austerity measures and relocate more funds for public sector, among it for publicly funded education on all levels (primary, secondary, tertiary). This is the only way to ensure that all children and young people have access to the education.

Target groups: governments

Support educational workers!

All those who are working in the educational sector need to have proper working environment (equipped classrooms, funds for their teaching activities, etc), ensured decent level of working rights and social protection and opportunities to continuously improve their skills and knowledge (access to newest educational materials and tools, educational opportunities to learn about new methodologies of teaching, places to network with their colleagues etc).

Additionally, those who are working in the schools, faculties, related institutes and ministries need to have means to communicate, organize, defend their interests and interests of students and work together. Exchange of experiences and joint discussion are the key for establishing functional educational sector.

Target groups: trade unions of educational workers, governments

Update curricula!

Curricula need to foster progressive values, critical thinking, non-violence and understanding. In order to achieve that, the narrative of historical revisionism needs to be dismantled, and instead of centrism to dominant religions student should gain knowledge about all religions. Instead of providing "facts" and interpretations, students should learn about processes like social struggles, women, minority, LGBT and human rights in general. Additionally, in order to develop a sense of responsibility towards the individual and the community, education needs to break taboos and offer knowledge about personal health (including the introduction of sexual education and reproductive rights) as well as providing students with practical skills to respond to critical situations (first aid, defense from natural disasters, etc). Beside knowledge and skills, students need to be provided with tools for their further development - that's why we need special focus on introducing new technologies in education and train educators and students to use them effectively. The key is to be sensitive to the context - not just copy/paste models from another countries, but to develop model that is suitable for given context and that is in best interest of students - in line with public interest.

Target groups: ministry of education, CSOs engaged in educational reforms, trade unions of educational workers

Learn democracy!

Rigid learning methods are not suited for new generations and democratic society we want to build. It is not just important what are we teaching young generations but also how we teach them. They need more space for exploring different topics, for individual and team work/community work. Applying diverse teaching and learning methods can respond to the needs of different students - some of them are

better learning by listening, some by experimenting, some by watching, etc. Learning should not be a one-way process, it's about mutual development of students and lecturers. Active learning also provides students with different skills and creates an "active mindset" - students learn how to effectively learn, how to contribute to the learning process, how to actively participate and express their opinions. These are transferable skills that will be of great importance for democratic participation in society.

Target groups: teachers, professors, educators, workers in institutes who are designing textbooks, CSOs engaged in educational reforms

Make schools safe and accessible

There are lots of obstacles for students in schools, both physical and psychological. For the beginning, each educational facility has to be accessible and adapted for persons with different disabilities. Secondly, there should be professionals educated to deal with different students' problems, to support those who face difficulties in learning and to be able to address peer violence, gender based violence and other problematic relations.

Target groups: ministry of education, school directors, specialized professionals (special assistants, psychologists, pedagogues)

C) The policies

POSITION: Publicly funded education for all!

- Issue: Not enough resources are being allocated to maintain and expand infrastructure for education and science and to support proper functioning of workers in the field of education
- Recommendation to [government]: Invest more in repairing and improving facilities, especially in smaller places and villages, provide needed learning resources, access to scientific bases and learning materials and stop ignoring demands of educational workers for decent pays.
- Rationale: this will create better learning environment and better access to education for all, regardless of their location and background. Teachers/professor will be more motivated to do their job.
- Means of Verification: increased rate of public spending for education, improved accessibility to learning resources, increased wages for workers in education

- Issue: Fees for faculties contribute to class reproduction and polarization by increasing barriers for student from lower strata to gain higher education
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, faculties]: All fees have to be banned and tertiary education has to be entirely publicly funded
- Rationale: Publicly funded higher education makes it accessible to everybody
- Means of Verification: no fees allowed

POSITION: Support educational workers!

- Issue: Due to a lack of financial resources and government's unwillingness to listen to workers in education there are severe discrepancies between what students, teachers/professors and other workers in education need and what is on their disposal.
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, trade unions in education]: Ministry of education has to regularly listen to demands of trade unions and cooperate on improving working conditions in education.
- Rationale: Organized and visible working force in educational sector has a power to make concrete changes. It can also serve as an example for other sectors how to organize and improve working environment.
- Means of Verification: regular consultations of ministry and trade union(s), level of metted requirements of workers in education.

POSITION: Update curricula!

- Issue: Narrative of historical revisionism needs to be dismantled and instead of providing "facts" and interpretations, students should learn about processes like social struggles, women, minority, LGBT and human rights in general
- Recommendation to [ministry of education and involved institutes]: Pupils/students need to have access to different learning resources as well as opportunities to explore different aspects of different topics. Learning content has to cover all social groups and connect social, political and economical knowledge.
- Rationale: Education with emancipatory potential is not oriented just on dominant social group, on market-needed skills and knowledge and is not prone to frequent changes in narratives depending on who is in power
- Means of Verification: introduction of new curriculums, textbooks and teaching approaches
-
- Issue: religious institutions are trying to have greater control over education which leads to further clericalization of the society
- Recommendation to [ministry of education]: make schools secular, ban religious education and provide knowledge about all religions

- Rationale: instead of centrism to dominant religions student should gain knowledge about all religions, which is precondition for creating open and tolerant society
- Means of Verification: ban of religious education in schools, students have access to knowledge about all religions provided by secular professionals (e.g. sociologist of religion)
- Issue: Young people are mostly uninformed about safety measures related to their well being (e.g. reproductive rights, contraception, first aid, etc.) and well being of the community
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, CSOs engaged in educational reforms, related institutes]: introduce subjects where these things can be learnt and shape them in cooperation with progressive experts in these fields
- Rationale: In order to develop a sense of responsibility towards the individual and the community, education needs to break taboos and offer knowledge about personal health (including the introduction of sexual education and reproductive rights) as well as providing students with practical skills to respond to critical situations (first aid, defense from natural disasters, etc).
- Means of Verification: introduced relevant new subjects that cover topics of personal and communal well being, development of student awareness about those topics and issues, development of skills to respond in the situations of crisis in safe and solidar manner
- Issue: Lots of student have limited access to IT or don't have it at all, lot of students don't use the potential of IT for informing, learning and working
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, CSOs engaged in educational reforms, related institutes]: provide proper equipment for schools and faculties, teach student about relevant IT, foster the use of IT in learning process
- Rationale: Introducing new technologies in education and increasing capacities of educators and students to use them effectively contributes to greater accessibility to information and also provides students with skills relevant for labor market
- Means of Verification: increased level of IT literacy

POSITION: Learn democracy!

- Issue: Students are mostly exposed to patriarchal ex-cathedra teaching. In some cases they are obliged to practice different learning methods (e.g. work in team on research, debates, etc), but if those methods are not rooted into learning content with clear idea to develop students' capacity for both independent and team work then it can be counterproductive.

- Recommendation to [teachers, professors, educators, workers in institutes who are designing learning resources, CSOs engaged in educational reforms]: Having in mind that different students learn in different ways, educators should have on their disposal different learning tools and freedom to create various learning situations that meet the needs of their student and constantly challenges them.
- Rationale: All relevant actors should be involved in exchanging knowledge about teaching and learning methods and based on that foster different learning approaches. The goal is to make students active in this process and to develop skills for critical thinking and acting. Rigid learning methods are not suited for new generations and democratic society we want to build. Learning should not be a one-way process, it's about mutual development of students and lecturers. Active learning also provides students with different skills and creates an "active mindset" - students learn how to effectively learn, how to contribute to the learning process, how to actively participate and express their opinions. These are transferable skills that will be of great importance for democratic participation in society.
- Means of Verification: presence of various teaching and learning methods in education, active and willing participation of student in the process

POSITION: Make schools safe and accessible

- Issue: Lots of educational facilities are not adapted for students and workers with disabilities.
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, school directors]: Each educational facility has to be adapted for persons with different disabilities and to have enough professionals able to assist them.
- Rationale: Removing physical barriers in public places is one of the main conditions for integration of the people with disability in the society
- Means of Verification: schools, faculties and related institution accessible to students and workers with disabilities
- Issue: Students (and workers in education too) are often being victims of peer or gender-based violence, stigmatization, sexual harassment. There are also different challenges in learning and being active member of students community. All this require specially trained professionals who can recognize the problem and deal with it carefully in line with feminist principles.
- Recommendation to [ministry of education, school directors, specialized professionals (special assistants, psychologists, pedagogues)]: Each institution/facility for education should have professionals educated to deal with different students' problems, to support those who face difficulties in learning and to be able to address peer violence, gender based violence and other problematic relations

- Rationale: Adapting this kind of policy towards above mentioned issues rises broader awareness on different types of violence and social challenges, contributes to making safer public places and promptly responds to problematic situations
- Means of Verification: each school and faculty has special assistants, psychologists and pedagogues who are well trained and familiar with feminist approach to these issues, decreased level of peer and gender-based violence in school and related contexts, reduced stigmatization of those who have learning difficulties

Good education needs to combine following elements: developing motivation for intellectual improvement, developing self-esteem, emancipation, keeping up to date with world trends (both content related and methodology related), close connection with economic sphere but not subsumption under it.

Resources - Reclaiming Public Spaces - Predrag Momčilović

Context analysis

"Public Spaces are places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable, by all, for free and without a profit motive. Public spaces are a key element of individual and social well-being, the places of a community's collective life, expressions of the diversity of their common natural and cultural richness and a foundation of their identity."[i]

The great discrepancy is seen between this UN definition of public space and the real situation and state in which public space are today. Under the attack of neoliberal 'shock doctrine', accompanied by total socio-economic transformation which have been happening in the region of Southeast Europe (SEE) since the beginning of the 1990s, privatization and commodification of public spaces emerged. The privatization or concession of public spaces to private entities is a phenomenon involving cities all over the world, where important public space resources are systematically alienated or turned exclusively to private concerns for a number of reasons: generating budgetary resources, increasing private investment, yielding to lobbies or interest groups, corruption practices, lack of management capacity. Public authorities on the one hand, and citizens on the other, must arm themselves in order to control and evaluate such policies.

After the breakdown of socialism in SEE region, radical transformation of socio-economic system started happening. Public spaces are transformed into resource and they are given exchange value on the market. Privatization, limitation and loss of public spaces started with the domination of exchange value instead of use value of public spaces. Large public spaces in city centers were privatized and became private housing, shopping malls or luxury spaces among other things. With privatization came limitation and functional change of space, so that streets are widening at the expense of pedestrian and bicycle paths, while parks are being repurposed into parking lots in order to satisfy the artificially generated growing need for individual means of transport (cars).

Due to austerity measures and lowering the expenses of public spaces maintenance, outsourcing in maintenance service emerged. **Outsourcing** public provision of services tends to lower labor intensity and increase its efficiency. Outsourcing the public space maintenance services causes the sacking of workers from the civil sector which is accompanied by a decrease in the quality of the provided services and a price increase.

Gentrification is a new urban phenomenon that comes out of changes in public spaces. Putting public spaces and housing on the free market causes unequal urban development and an increase in poverty levels. Gentrification is changing places of residence of lower class citizens with ones from higher class that goes hand in hand with civil engineering appreciation and increase in economic value of real estate stocks as well as total change of visual identity and characteristics of neighborhoods. Final product of gentrification is closed, elite settlement on the one hand and the completely ruined and devastated spaces on the other.

For the sake of safety of public spaces, prevention of vandalism and criminal security measures in public spaces are often introduced. These measures are followed by multiplication of policemen and security cameras in public spaces as well as by forming the special communal policemen, and by increase in private security. These measures do not influence on public spaces safety but make citizens even more insecure because they know that their every move is being monitored. Communal policemen and private security are class filter in a way because they have acquired role in regulation of who can and cannot stay in which space.

Historically, public spaces have been significant battlefields of different political ideals and ideologies. Public spaces have had and still have significance as places of gathering of working class and other marginalized groups. Public spaces played important role in movements like Occupy, where many discontented citizens collected in parks or squares to express their discontent by political, economic or any other system and discussed about social alternatives. Tahir, Sintagma, Taksim are of great historical significance for progressive left movements. Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain were enforced by big protests and occupation of squares and streets, but also gone with the disappearance of these movements. Fights for public space are among the first significant organized movements of resistance to neoliberal transition in the region of SEE.

Fighting against privatization and commodification of public spaces emerged during the 00s, while in last few years became more frequent. Due to austerity measures, means dedicated to maintenance of public spaces drastically lessen while privatization as solution is being propagated as dominating narrative.

Discontent citizens are now protesting more and more against projects which are used for privatization or limitation of public space and promotion individual interest. From Zagreb to Istanbul patterns are similar - former open public spaces for everyone are concerted to exclusive places of individual consumerism. In Zagreb[ii] fight was against the changing of pedestrian zone into private parking. Gezi park[iii] in Istanbul is one of the symbols of struggle for saving green spaces but also against police brutality and re-traditionalization of society. There is ongoing struggle in Belgrade against megalomaniac project Belgrade Waterfront that is based on illegal privatisation of public space for building private elite settlements. Fight for public spaces was followed by protests [iv] that were the biggest mass

gatherings in the streets since 2000. All progressive movements and parties which like to see and declare themselves as alternative to existing system should and must include in their programmes right to the city and right to use public space.

Public spaces are on the crossroads of economy, social state, and resources. Because of the changes of economic paradigm, public spaces are seen as commodity and recourse for trade. In order to save public spaces as places of direct democracy and political action, we need to create social state which would give means and support for expanding and development of public spaces.

Public spaces are in focus of different international documents. In 11th aim of Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements, Sustainable Development Agenda, public spaces play very important role. According to this aim, until 2030, this should have been acquired: "Provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, elderly people and people with disabilities", "Average share of the built-up area of cities that is open space for public use for all, by sex, age and people with disabilities." [v]

Positions

In order to improve quality of public spaces, bottom up democratization of public spaces and reuniting the are necessary. Openness, availability and nearness of public space to all interested users as well as possibility of various ways of common governance and possession, depending on level and spaciousness of public spaces, are preconditions for raising the quality of life in the city.

Local communities, city governments, and especially socio-economic movements which have in their agendas the right to the city, could be interested in implementation of these politics.

Recreate space - recreate community / Design urban space form in the public realm (and not vice versa)

Public space our space / Management of public spaces as commons

Everyone is welcome / Public spaces are being limited and polluted more and more everyday, so it is absolutely necessary to stop that and change the course of process in opposite direction.

Quality public spaces for better quality of life for all / For better quality of public spaces we need better and more diverse content which these spaces would offer.

Greening public spaces / Green public spaces improve ecological situation in the city and open up a space for recreation and local food growing and trade.

Policies

“In the conflict between privatization and democratization, we (the cities) have a critical role to recover the public space as a space for democracy, inclusion and equal opportunities of public space is the city.” Ada Colau, Mayor of Barcelona, Barcelona en Comu[vi]

Recreate space - recreate community

Different users of public space -

Ensure possibility of different usages of public space within existing urban strategies because there are various reasons why and many ways how people use public space.

- Political role of public space, law on public gathering

Law on public gathering should make the process of getting gathering permission easier and less complicated. The peaceful use of public spaces for rallies, marches and demonstrations is an integral part of democracy. Therefore, such use cannot be denied without valid and justified reasons and motives. For urgent reaction and responses on daily political situation, obligation to register should not be requested.

- walking distance, network of public spaces

It is necessary that public city politics provide adequate public spaces for everyone within walking distance of their residence. While planning and creating public spaces it is necessary to connect them in one coherent network. Only the network which enables easy, fast and safe mobility can ensure that public spaces serve their purpose.

Public space our space

- different levels of governance

Due to various sizes, placement, number of users etc of public spaces, there is a need for different governance systems. Small spaces must stay in control of local communities while big squares and parks could to be governed by local government but with great level of transparency, openness and coordination with local communities. For each of these spaces, depending of its characteristics, it is necessary to find a different model of common democratic governance.

- Fund for public spaces

Local governments should adopt re-distributive policies to collect in one fund all municipal resources generated by gentrification and other urban process of accumulation by dispositions[vii] in order to improve supply, quantity and distribution of public space in poor neighborhoods such as slums and informal settlements. This fund would be controlled by citizens.

- Participatory budgeting

Along with the fund for public spaces it is necessary to include the practice of participatory budgeting. Participatory budgeting enables democratic use of budget. Participatory budgeting brings greater inclusion of community in process of making decisions about changes in their neighborhood and their city.

Everyone is welcome?

- Video surveillance, police and private security

Public spaces must be safe for everyone – which means that all people, including the disadvantaged, should be free to enjoy them without being constantly monitored by police, cameras and security guards. The feeling of being constantly watched reduces everyone's sense of freedom and joy in the public realm. Often, chosen security measures are very expensive, and have little or no effect on crime, or on people's perception of safety. Private security in public space has to be abolished.

- advertising in public

Commercials contribute to pollution of visual content and aesthetics of public space but also to the pollution of ideological aspects it denotes. Number of advertisements in public space has to be limited by law, so in the future we can aim at total abolishment of ads in public space.

-Pedestrian and cyclist zones and not parking zones

Prioritize upkeep and enhancement of cycling paths and sidewalks. Prioritizing these modes of paths will help ensuring safety of walking and cycling, making it convenient and appealing. Widening of the street parts reserved for cars should be limited by plans and protocols, and also public transport should be advocated.

Quality public spaces for better quality of life for all

-art in public spaces

New urban strategies have to create and support outdoor spaces as places for public art that can be shaped and promoted by community-based art galleries / artist groups. It is necessary to ensure that public art programming and opportunities are accessible to local artists. We need to create an open calendar with happenings in public space in which anyone can partake.

-internet for all

The introduction of wireless networks and access to free Internet in public space creates an desired environment for tourists as well as citizens in the city who require digital access. The implementation of free Wi-Fi and Internet in public spaces makes the space more inclusive for the users.

-More free activities and events

While planing public spaces one should provide more free events and activities, especially group activities and ones that connect people in community.

Greening public spaces

-More green spaces and networks of green spaces

Growing number of people and city growth should be followed by enlargement of green spaces especially in city centers. It is necessary to provide public green spaces within walking[viii] distance of residence as well as minimum of 50 m²[ix] of public green space per capita. A “no net loss” plan would ensure that any park land destroyed and used for development would be replaced by land of at least equal biological and community value. All green spaces in town need to be connected into the network so that the flow and migration of biodiversity could exist.

-community gardening

Local government needs to enable community gardening in public spaces, especially in neglected deindustrialized zones, so that food could be produced and social relationship could be reestablished. There need to exist open public funds for supporting community and urban gardening.

-Public spaces as food markets

Transforming public spaces in food markets during some time of day would make public space look more alive as well as enable peer to peer exchange among food producers and consumer .

*Main target group of this position paper is local governments, but also this position paper can be useful for local urban activists.

*All proposed policies can and should be implemented immediately, quality, big and safe public space is precondition for bigger socio-ecological transformations.

[i] <https://unhabitat.org>

[ii] [http://zelena-](http://zelena-akcija.hr/en/programi/ostalo/urbanizam/suradnja/140_arrested_in_zagreb_protests_against_construction_in_varsavska_pedestrian_zone)

[akcija.hr/en/programi/ostalo/urbanizam/suradnja/140_arrested_in_zagreb_protests_against_construction_in_varsavska_pedestrian_zone](http://zelena-akcija.hr/en/programi/ostalo/urbanizam/suradnja/140_arrested_in_zagreb_protests_against_construction_in_varsavska_pedestrian_zone)

[iii] <http://www.occupy.com/article/speaking-resistance-gezi-park-forums-have-spread-across-turkey#sthash.3sHuAxbI.dpbs>

[iv] <http://www.bilten.org/?p=13646>

[v] <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg11>

[vi] <https://barcelonaencomu.cat/es>

[vii] **Harvey D. (2012), "Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution"**

[viii] Tudor M., Radu r. at al., (2014), "ASSESSING PEDESTRIAN ACCESSIBILITY TO

GREEN SPACE USING GIS", Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences, No. 42 E/2014, pp. 116-139

[ix] <http://www.who.int/sustainable-development/cities/health-risks/urban-green-space/en/>

Links to different struggles for public space, good practices and material for further reading (more references others can update)

<http://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/the-struggle-for-the-commons-in-the-balkans/>

<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/protest-against-last-belgrade-waterfront-house-demolition-08-26-2016>

<http://www.spacebook.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Mapa-akcije.pdf>

<http://www.bilten.org/?p=12133>

<http://www.masina.rs/?p=1834>

Resources: Re-Commoning Culture - Aida Kalender

Culture to the center of progressive social movements- From public to civic space in public institutions of culture

Context

Civil society around the world increasingly deals with global crisis and investigates strategies and tactics of future acting. The arts and culture can play a key role in addressing social and political problems, with their ability to project alternative realities and communicate ideas.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, civil society development “project” realized by international organisations barely includes culture. EU integrations’ rules do not consider culture as an important field in this process and therefore do not impose requests on local government to initiate serious discussion about the system of culture and its reforms. Funds for artistic and cultural initiatives are minor, occasional and related to rare anniversaries or predefined diplomatic missions. Art and culture is predominantly seen as isolated from other aspects of social life- as an aesthetics, decoration, luxury or entertainment, without serious attempts for recognition of its social, inclusive, utopist or developmental character.

This view is not exclusive to the international organisations active in BiH, but to civil society itself. Social, political and mobilizing potential of arts and culture are not recognized by civil organisations active in more “serious” fields such as social inclusion, gender equality, human rights protection, education, etc... Transversal character of culture that can act as a connector between sectors, or be an activity that produces social meanings and powerful symbols and messages, is almost completely ignored. Therefore, this paper advocates for a big comeback of arts and culture in the discussions about positive social changes- it places arts and culture to the very core of progressive social movements not only in BiH, region or Europe, but globally.

The turn towards culture as a vehicle of social transformation is certainly not new, argues Polish artist, researcher and activist Igor Stokfiszowski. “[C]ulture as a shared frame of reference and as something that lends meaning to people’s lives”, writes sociologist and expert on cultural policy Pascal Gielen, is “the very foundation [...] of any society”. “There is no way out of the current systemic crisis without

turning in the direction of culture”, notes Polish economist Jerzy Hausner in a commentary on the prospect of global economic meltdown. There’s a very simple reason for that, as the American anthropologist Terrence Deacon points out – man does not experience reality directly, but through concepts and symbols.” (1)

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, dominant cultural policy model is relying on the ruins of the former socialist system, its public cultural infrastructure and its legislation (many laws in the field of culture are dating from former Yugoslav system). Furthermore, cultural system is absurdly decentralized into two entity ministries, ten cantonal ministries, department for culture in Brčko district and sector for science and culture on the state level within the Ministry of civil affairs BiH. Chronic lacks of funding for public institutions of culture which hardly receive annual funding for running costs and salaries (no programing costs) together with moratorium on employment in public institutions of culture are one of the main material factors that block development and transformation of public cultural institutions. Beside this, public cultural institutions still act as elitist and hermetic, with institutional memory that reflects strong internal vertical hierarchies remained from their previous protected status in socialist system. Cultural policies barely exist and ministers are seen as treasurers who decide about the distribution of public funding for culture on ad-hoc basis and without serious involvement of the profession.

Postwar time in region of former Yugoslavia (and also BiH) was marked with the booming of the nongovernmental initiatives in the field of arts and culture. However, these organisations have rarely acted as civil society organisations in other sectors, meaning that they have been rarely involved in policy issues, advocacy for change, or wider social justice movements. In the field of culture, NGOs acted as an alternative legal framework for artistic and cultural production, that was aiming for international collaborations, cosmopolitanism and interest in contemporary arts instead of heritage and tradition. NGO in the field of culture in post-Yugoslav space represented a possibility of different modes of organizing, producing and governing of the arts and culture.

The main question of this paper is how arts and culture with its heterogeneous nature can be involved in progressive movements for social justice and better societies, and, whether arts and culture can be seen as a solution to social crises not only in the region of former Yugoslavia but globally. Paper poses a question about transformation of public institutions of culture into common spaces open for action and participation of every citizen- it calls for a real appropriation and reclaiming of these public resources by citizens.

Main arguments

-> Left has to argue for the protection of public institutions of culture, but should be their biggest critic.

Discussion about public institutions of culture is important for the left discourse in which it is usually argued that public institutions have to be protected from austerity measures, neoliberal market logics and a plea of public funding cuts. Primož Krašovec, Slovenian sociologist and activist, warns that, in the long run, with this idealistic picture of public sector as a democratic heaven in this wild, out-of-control capitalist world, the left risks to become politically irrelevant. He argues that the idealized image of public sector is a mistake, it is self-defeating in long run, however noble and justified it might be in specific situation. "We cannot pretend that problems in public sector don't happen because people experience them in their everyday life. If we say that this doesn't exist, that this is just neoliberal propaganda, political discourse will be inefficient and will not convince anyone. This is quite an elitist position- we deny capacity of common people to make realistic judgements about their social-political situation, about real life experiences." (2)

Therefore, left movement has to advocate for protection of public institutions but at the same needs to be their biggest critic.

-> Cultural institutions can be changed before big revolution in the economic base- Dominant perception of leftists is that we have to change the economic base to change social, legal, political superstructure.

However, as Stokfiszewski argues, «the turn towards culture as a vehicle of social transformation is also noticeable in the renaissance of the category "cultural hegemony", derived from the philosophy of Antonio Gramsci. As such, culture is not considered a "superstructure" above economic conditions, but the "base" of all social activities, which may translate positively or negatively into economic issues. All of these intuitions are moving in one direction: in order to improve the quality of our collective life (...). If culture is allowed to develop, then emerging social potentialities will follow suit." (3) So when we complain about the program of national theatres, there is also a political sense that something can be changed without waiting for this huge revolution to happen in economic base.

-> Arts and culture is public good- enjoying the piece of arts or object in museum's collection doesn't exclude others from the same experience. The basic rule of a modern economy is- if something is public good, then it should be provided by government (and financed by willing taxpayers). Public goods, from this pure economic point of view experience what is called "market failure", which means that markets create insufficient incentives for the production on optimal level.

-> Difference between public and civic space- The civic space according to Pascal Geilen, often requires collective actions, initiatives and organisations. People have to make an effort, organize something or simply "do" something in order to shape a civil space. By contrast, public space is the space we can enter freely, that is or should be accessible to anyone. In short- whereas the public space is a space for the free exchange of thoughts, opinions, ideas and people, the civil domain provides the framework for organizing these thoughts, opinions, ideas and people. Public space

provides, as it were, both new ideas and new people (new citizens), but they can only claim and obtain their place in society through self-organisation in the civil domain. (4)

-> **Culture is commons** in the proposition that art can contribute in a wide range of ways to the work of envisioning and making a more just world. (5) Similarly, Fraser argues that goals of social justice are «redistribution and recognition» (pp. 13-16) and that both acknowledge the need for social justice movements to attend to economic and cultural realms. In other words, working for social justice requires attention to the complex contexts of people's lives, and then engaged responses aimed at change. Here, we propose culture for social justice that moves away from doing things for people and toward doing things in solidarity with them. If we accept Hyde's (2010) definition of commons as "a kind of property in which more than one person has a right of action (p. 43). To this point, we urge at culture that aims at individual and collective transformation.

Public cultural institutions have to become open, civic space that combines arts and activism, cultural education and civic engagement. Recent case of (temporary) converting a public institution of culture into civic space was a campaign "I am the Museum" that was envisaged and realized by cultural NGO "Akcija" in the premises of closed National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This campaign converted dead, abandoned space of closed Museum into the platform of citizens' engagement who wanted to express their support and solidarity with Museum's workers who, despite the fact that they haven't received their salaries, continued to come to the Museum and guarded it with their bodies. During 45 days of the campaign, more than five thousands citizens participated in the campaign in the Museum and created a public pressure on the politicians that finally resulted with the opening of the Museum in September 2015. Campaign was marked by many commentators as "probably one of the most successful civil society campaign in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Cultural commons - The commons is a term that seeks to express a very old idea: that some assets belong to everyone and together they form a community of shared resources for the benefit of all. The commons has been part of the political, social and economic sphere for hundreds of years. But what do we mean when we talk about the cultural commons? Lewis Hyde describes it as "that vast store of unowned ideas, inventions and works of art that we have inherited from the past and that we continue to create." That definition could be expanded to include the places we inhabit, the resources we share, and the ways we create. (6) In this sense we can look at public cultural institutions and their collections as cultural commons that have to be used, interpreted and re-produced in new ways.

How to transform public institutions of culture into civil spaces? By acknowledging the potential of arts and culture to create a vision, utopia.

Geilen writes that «after ‘the end of history’ (Fukuyama 1992), and de facto the end of democracy, had been proclaimed, the idea of utopia as a possible political project was also buried. Nowadays, any visionary project with an eye on an ideal society invariably runs aground on the realpolitik of budget policies. Politics has become policy, and governing a matter of bookkeeping. This corners the imagination, or rather sends it into exile to the exclusive domain of fiction. Only within the walls of the cinema, the theatre, the museum, or in the pages of a novel is there still room to dream of a possibly different world. There, one can still freely speculate about a possible future society. (7)

Geilen invites artists to use their potency of presenting an imagined world and their skills which allow us to actually experience that world, to go exit the safe and neutralised domains of art and fiction and to explore the domain of civil space and boundaries of legality. Only when they venture outside of the assigned civic place of the museum and go beyond the public domain of words and ideas will they arrive in the hazardous civil space. This space is hazardous because here artists step outside their acknowledged civic role, thus risking their very status as artists. (8) This is a plea for arts and culture beyond decoration.

Positions

Summarizing what is said in the contextual analysis, this paper proposes the following recommendations in the three main streams:

- **Arts and culture have intrinsic potency to create a possibility, an idea of better world**, of utopia in the context where the end of history is proclaimed and social movements have problems to envisage exciting new ideas that can mobilize masses. These utopias are created everyday in the artistic spaces, but behind the walls of institutions or private homes of artists. Now, these potential has to be embedded in the new political movements for social justice and better world. Processes of drafting the strategic moves and directions of these movements, but also creative tactics, have to involve artists and cultural operators.

Social movements should include arts and culture as a resource in the way that they will:

- organize actions for reclaiming of the public institutions of culture (Occupy Musea)
- use the huge potential of artistic imagination and public influence that every artists have, to enrich the creative aspect of the movement (drafting the slogans, working on performativity, envisaging art actions and organizing collective solidarity of cultural sector for a common cause)

2) Artists have to become active citizens and participate in social movements.

- Artists need to become active citizens.
- Artists have luxury of having a significant public and media attention- these micro-public spheres have to be permanently politicized and given to serve a progressive civic initiatives for social change.

- Art has to be politicized, criminalized, freed from its comfort zone.

3) Public institutions of culture need to become civic spaces- spaces that invite for action, participation and contribution of every citizen. They need to become open spaces for active production of democratic social relationships.

Progressive social movements should advocate for the protection of public institutions of culture (and education) against neoliberal attack with austerity measures, funding cuts and moratorium on new employments. But, at the same time leftists have to be constructive critics of public institutions of culture, their feudal hierarchies, their vassal mentality towards political elites in power, their sacred status, their elitists attitude towards independent and non-institutionalized cultural initiatives and their old-fashioned programs which doesn't reflect everyday life and reality.

Public institutions of culture are not “holly cows” which are superior to us. They should be criticized.

Public institutions of culture represent the resources for social movements: from their buildings' infrastructure to their collections- they should be occupied by active citizens, they should be reclaimed. They can give-away their spaces for citizens' plenums, they can initiate programs that will answer questions relevant to the communities they represent. In general, we should avoid establishing new institutions until the level of participation in existing ones rises.

Policy measures include establishing funding for:

- turning existing public institutions to community centers,
 - programs in the existing public institutions that are developed and executed by citizens,
 - collaborative projects between public cultural institutions and civil society organisations from different sectors: promotion of so called “public- civic partnerships”
 - allowing co-management, participatory governance and workers' democracy in public cultural institutions;
 - areating hybrid institutions (with a particular emphasis on social-public partnerships) and enabling the sustainable operation of “social institutions” – non-public cultural institutions run by civil society organizations, non-formal groups and social movements. This model is advocated by independent cultural actors for some time in Croatia. Therefore, a new law is needed to regulate the issues of organizing and conducting cultural activities.
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- (1) <http://www.eurozine.com/polish-culture-is-turning-barren/>
- (2) Primož Krašovec: A Critique of the Public Sector as a Blind Spot of the Left, 08/05/2015, 14h, Academy of Fine Arts, Zagreb, Croatia School of Contemporary Humanities /// 8th Subversive Film Festival "Spaces of Emancipation: Micropolitics and Rebellions", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6HlhwVmgh4>
- (3) <http://www.eurozine.com/polish-culture-is-turning-barren/>
- (4) Pascal Gielen, "Artistic Constitutions of the Civil Domain: On Art, Education and Democracy", THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ART & DESIGN EDUCATION, 2017 DOI: 10.1111/jade.12146
- (5) <http://www.helsinki.designweek.com/programme/culture-as-commons/?lang=en>
- (6) <http://blogs.walkerart.org/ecp/2010/04/06/culture-as-commons>
- (7) Geilen argues that the boom in fantasy and science fiction movies in popular culture need therefore not to surprise us. The first genre is a rosy escape from reality, while in the second genre utopia becomes dystopia. Both genres have in common that they create an image of a truly post-political society at the end of history. Our future is either transcendental or catastrophic.
- (8) Pascal Gielen, "Artistic Constitutions of the Civil Domain: On Art, Education and Democracy", THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ART & DESIGN EDUCATION, 2017 DOI: 10.1111/jade.12146

Social State Cluster:

Marija Jakovljevic: Social Entrepreneurship & Public-Civic Partnership

See also following papers:

*** for general context and understanding of processes:**

Social Justice Reinvented: What does it mean in Southeastern Europe? (Bojan Marichikj),

Developmental narratives & historical evidence: the EU/Eurozone, their myths and alternatives (Toni Prug), The Uses and Abuses of Civil Society in Southeast Europe (Mario Kikaš)

*** for some examples where SE and PCP can be used as models for dealing with specific issues:**

Cooperative structures – Structural reforms for the people? (Boriša Mraović), Re-Commoning Culture (Aida Kalender) - if something happens with this guidelines , Transformation of Education (Marija Jakovljević)

Reclaiming Public Spaces (Predrag Momčilović)

*** for another important methodological/strategical aspects:**

Communicating the Left Movement (Ines Bulajić)

A) Context

MAINSTREAM ARGUMENTS AND DECONSTRUCTION

Some of the elements in transformation process from socialism to capitalism in Southeastern Europe are changes in narratives, perceptions, and means of social reproduction (dismantling of social protection institutions). First two served for justification of changing the way of social reproduction by introducing neoliberal optics and values and establishing it as “common sense”. This is a macro (global) and mezzo (institutional) process, conducted by governments, media, liberal academics and other creators of public opinion. Systemic changes, a focus on the market, insistence on private property, and representative democracy were established as the norm.

In situation of fragile states and societies devastated by war and privatization, with no clear alternatives, western civil society model emerged as a new actor, mostly introduced *from above* through different support and development initiatives. It is the dominant model of *alternative* - gathering and acting on specific issues for almost two decades, although it usually (but not always!) serves as poor replacement for the state or just another liberal opinion maker (even though people involved are usually not aware of their position and contribution to normalization of liberal narratives and its negative long lasting effects).

Since the model has achieved a minimum of the goals set by foreign donors and their agendas for this region and since other regions are falling into crisis, donors are gradually removing their support from this region, leaving civil society organizations (CSOs) to deal with sustainability issues by themselves. Social entrepreneurship (SE) has been introduced as a solution for achieving sustainability

and independence. It is perceived as emerging 'fourth sector' and in some cases consists of self-organized local production or social services for the community/disadvantaged groups. Founders are usually former workers of privatized factories or professionals and other interested citizens seeking a tailored approach in dealing with specific issues where the state has failed.

New generations of activists are also exploring alternative models for dealing with different issues. Contrary to top-down imposed public-private partnerships as a solution for challenges faced by the state, some civic initiatives are promoting public-civic partnerships (PCP). PCP consists of collaborative management of resources organized by civil initiatives and public institutions in line with jointly agreed principles. To understand SE and PCP, including their positive and negative effects, it is crucial to consider this concept in relation to the state.

SE and PCP can be useful for different issues and actors, at least in some stages of societal transformation towards more democratic decision-making and management. SE is more market-oriented while PCP strengthens non-market ways of societal reproduction. These concepts are emerging as possible alternatives to the free market and non-democratic management of state resources. SE brings together entrepreneurial principles and social goals. Although the concept is prone to misuses like greenwashing (promoting a initiative/venture as eco-friendly, though it is just a marketing cover and not its core principle of), further segregation, and additional exploitation of already marginalized groups, it also has the potential to empower disadvantaged groups and develop democratic mechanisms of decision-making and resource management. Moreover, it could introduce innovative approaches for dealing with numerous social and environmental problems. Different models are possible and negotiable, depending on specific context and capacities. The goal is to ensure sustainable, inclusive and transparent democratic access to resources.

There are several narratives regarding state and public sector, which are also relevant for SE and PCP, or else directly related to civic sector and SE:

- *CSOs need to become sustainable (through model of social-entrepreneurship)*

Many donors have begun to require from their NGO-partners/beneficiaries to partially provide funds for their functioning. It began with the diversification of fundraising from various donors, via fundraising from different sources (e.g. crowdfunding) to social entrepreneurial activities.

D:

Although CSOs need resources to work autonomously, the big question is how to achieve their sustainability and not at the same time shift the majority of their resources to fundraising instead of remaining focused on their respective mission(s). Pushing them towards the market has serious consequences on internal organization, resource management, and their logic of functioning. They need to become competitive, which can be a challenge (if they are not specialized, lack

resources, or have workers who are not productive as the competition) so the process is prone to exploitation (underpaid labor) of the beneficiaries and activists.

- *SE is a way to include marginalized groups*

The concept of SE is being introduced as an innovative solution for dealing with high unemployment of youth, older former workers - especially women, people with disabilities, marginalized ethnic groups, and others who face challenges in the labor market.

D:

Strategies on the EU and national level are only focused on dealing with the symptoms, not the causes, of the unemployment. Hence, unregulated inclusion of vulnerable groups, if not cautiously conducted, can lead to forming a pool of extra-cheap labor with worse working conditions and social benefits than the majority of the working population, veiled by the excuse that these are unskilled/uneducated people. Another problem is that the main focus lies on top-down approaches in establishing and managing SE (e.g. when foundations are establishing SE and hire someone from vulnerable groups but are not really empowering them to run SE autonomously), instead of adjusting the approach towards self-organized and democratically run SEs. It is closely connected to the charity approach, which needs to be replaced by a solidarity approach that insists on horizontal empowerment.

- *SE is a key for rural development*

In rural areas, SE can engage local resources and capacities in order to generate income. It is also an opportunity for rural communities to be connected to civil society and national/international circles operating in fields related to their area of work.

D:

Rural development should not be made dependent on individuals' or CSOs' endeavors, since they are the responsibility of the state. Politics of decentralization have left small communities with very limited resources. SEs can be a stepping stone for the rural population to become more involved in economic flows, however it should not be the only step taken to empower rural population. Otherwise they are at risk to be run over by large industry, especially if there are no campaigns advocating the buying of local produce.

- *We need innovations, such as SE*

Social entrepreneurship is being presented as an innovative solution for current challenges, although its principles already exist (in the form of cooperativism, self-government/democratic-government, inclusion, etc.).

D:

New challenges require new and updated responses and solutions. However, we cannot neglect historical experiences. Too often, neoliberal narratives reject socialist and welfare state experiences or attempt to redefine different commoning practices such as cooperativism. While on one hand being prescribed how to organize, produce, and provide services and on the other hand being left to manage on their own without any stable support, actors in the civic sector need to know about the genesis of socio-political processes and historically tested concepts and practices in order to derive lessons from them. This type of knowledge is the basis for innovation. In that sense, SE can be a path to bring back self-management,

similar to the socialist model, but only if there is strong state interventionism that will create the necessary preconditions for market containment.

- *The public sector is intrinsically corrupt, bureaucratized, inefficient and actually unnecessary - we need privatization and more market orientation/comprehensive structural reforms to maintain macroeconomic stability and to boost growth and competitiveness*

This is a core liberal narrative to which all the others are related. It is present in media, “scientific” analysis, different policies, etc. Between opposed public (state) vs private regulation, public-private partnerships (PPP) are introduced, and now social entrepreneurship is following slowly.

D:

Giving up on the public sector has severe consequences with regards to living standards and level of labor and social rights. It means going backward in terms of political struggles, the alienation of infrastructure, and diminishing trust in government. Instead, we need to develop democratic, transparent and responsible institutions and mechanisms for decision-making and managing on different levels. It means less market and more civic participation.

- *Decentralization and deinstitutionalization of public services are a key for respecting human rights, avoiding a totalitarian institutional approach and involving the local community to take responsibility for its vulnerable members*

Since the 1960s, movements have advocated that some public services, mostly those oriented towards people with mental and physical disabilities, need to be deinstitutionalized since state control over treatment of these groups is repressive and leads to further marginalization. Nowadays it is combined with a request for decentralization based on the mantra that it is a broadening of democracy and gives the local level more responsibility.

D:

In practice, decentralization usually means shifting responsibility from the state to municipalities, but not at the same time enabling them to deal with it properly due to lacking resources in countries that have a long history public wealth centralization with simultaneous decentralization of risks. Deinstitutionalization can be a cover for dismantling the social state and as such privatize the responsibility and challenges vulnerable populations and their families are facing. If there are not adequate supporting mechanisms, implementation of this good idea turns into worsening of the chances and living standard of that population - reduction of accessibility and/or quality of social protection. Decentralization and deinstitutionalization through PCP and SE services can be a good model only for some social services and target groups (e.g. for integrating people with mental illness into the community) and cannot be a replacement for all public services.

- *Inclusion is a way to de-marginalize marginalized groups*

Specialized institutions for people with disabilities (especially in the field of education and work) are now slowly being repealed and beneficiaries are trying to be involved in regular flows under defined regimes and some additional support.

D:

Although it is highly important to abolish the segregation of disabled persons, it requires stable funding, professionals and facilitators, and proper infrastructure to conduct it in a supportive manner. If only one of those elements is missing, beneficiaries will suffer from a worsening of their position in society and even misuse of them for improving reputation of the actors not really engaged to support them. For example, some companies hire disabled persons and underpay them, some CSOs engage them in social enterprises and exploit their situation to gain a cheap workforce, and some schools conducting inclusive education but without special attention to vulnerable pupils. This can easily result in different forms of marginalization in various institutions instead of creating a safe environment for mutual growth of all actors involved. In situation when there are austerity measures, inclusion just means a greater burden on already reduced personnel and limited resources, which further results in increasing the isolation of marginalized individuals. Empowering integration is based on a different distribution of social power and resources.

- *We (the workers, the state) don't know how to manage factories and institutions, hence we need foreign institutions, public-private partnerships and investors/liberalization in general*

From politicians conducting neoliberal agendas to many others political actors in post-socialist countries, there are claims about the necessity of foreign investors who will save our factories, public goods, and services. Arrangements with international institutions whose financial support (usually in the form of loans) is conditioned with demands for further restructuration. Austerity measures are presented as unavoidable, and when the costs for private capital are too high there is a demand for establishing public-private partnerships, usually in providing different services.

D:

This is a question of sovereignty as well as right to democratically decide how to organize society on micro (local) and mezzo (institutional) level. It is a question of public interest, so it is up to the people to decide how to build organizations and institutions that are responsible and effective. Current politics is leading society towards further peripherization and dependence on foreign actors. That means killing what has remained of the domestic economy and becoming a playground for globally mobile capital.

- *All we need is rule of law*

Lots of current problems are being explained through corruption, even by those who are corrupt.

D:

Although there is no question that we need legal mechanisms to manage society (laws, procedures, and a responsible state) it is not just a question of "proper people in the right places," but also a question of interests and functionality of institutions, i.e. whose interests they are defending. Laws are in line with public interest when the population is informed, educated, and empowered to successfully participate in public discussions and monitor laws' introduction. Secondly, we need functional and responsive institutions. Thirdly, institutions need to closely cooperate with the civic sector and public-civic partnership is one possible form.

Self-managed production that is supported in different ways by the state constitutes another option, as is social entrepreneurship.

EMPIRICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Different protests across the region addressing pauperization of the population and fighting against austerity measures or other damaging politics demonstrate the need for different ways of decision making and management. The state needs to be open for inputs coming from the progressive civic sector.

The first example of decision-making processes are plenums, which can be conducted on the level of workplace, neighborhoods, city and even on the national level with a combination of delegative democracy.

Workers who are taking care of (blocked) institutions (hospitals, museums, etc.) and support they get from the broader public demonstrate that there is an interest and willingness to contribute to preserving and strengthening institutions of the public sector. The combination of their experiences with new alternative approaches can be a solution for a more democratic public sector management.

Examples of public-civic partnerships from Croatia in the field of culture are good examples of smart use and management of public resources in line with the local community's needs. Hereby, guiding principles are legitimacy, transparency, responsibility, justice, and openness.

Workers defending their factories from privatization and collapse are another good example of engaging local resources and know-how in order to establish alternative ways of production and cooperation. Former workers, agricultural producers and interested citizens who started some kind of social enterprise (including cooperatives) are also a significant alternative to the mainstream business prioritising profit instead of investing in the community and empowering workers.

Citizens who established CSOs and socio-entrepreneurial activities in response to collapsing institutions can provide lessons on how to mobilize resources, gain necessary knowledge and funds, gather/develop human resources, build a structure and work on organizational sustainability. Associations of parents/relatives of children/persons with difficulties/health problems can be a model for exploring how to establish social services (health, educational, working rehabilitation, etc.) in the community and integrate them into society.

RELATIONS

The current socio-economic and political situation is a result of a neoliberal transformation and as such demands changes on all levels (policies and institutions/networks of practitioners) and within all fields. Isolated actions are not sustainable in the long run.

Regarding PCP, currently there is an exchange of knowledge and experiences among activists within different programs, networks and events. At the moment, a specific regional network still does not exist since within the national borders this concept is just in its formative period, occasionally still not being recognized as concrete model.

Social entrepreneurship seems to have more support from international institutions, which contributes to making it more recognizable. Although still in its infancy as well, some networks are already being formed in some countries in the region and cooperation among them is being established through experience exchange on different events and through regional projects.

B) The Positions

- ***Establish a strong definition of SE and PCP and reduce potential misuse of these concepts***

Policy makers and those advocating for a) legal recognition of SE and b) opening the state towards different forms of ownership (which is relevant for some models of PCP) need to define criteria according to which something can be recognized as SE or PCP. It needs to take into account existing bottom-up forms already operating. Leading principles should be: 1. complementarity to the public sector; 2. contribution to democratization; 3. contribution to social integration of the marginalized; 4. non-authoritarian approach and structure; 5. in line with public interest.

Target groups: policy makers, PCP and SE practitioners

- ***Expand democracy! Empower community!***

Authorities need to be willing to closely cooperate with the people through different channels and also to allow them to practice democracy at the workplace and in the community (e.g. addressing rural and urban development, industrial and cultural management, revitalization of neighborhoods, preserving natural goods, etc.) This opens spaces for public-civic partnerships and self-managed social enterprises that are tightly connected to the community and contribute to its improvement.

Target groups: authorities, CSOs interested in PCP in their field of work, social entrepreneurs, and broader population

- ***Act together! SE and PCP go left***

Leftists need to familiarise themselves with SE and PCP concepts and work with SE and PCP practitioners - seeking to involve them into the leftist movement and working with them on issues they are trying to solve. A mixture of left theory and practice and experiences of social entrepreneurs and activists involved in PCP should ensure constant reflection on the situation on the field, challenges, implications of the actions and options for further contribution to the public interest.

Target groups: leftist collectives and activists, SE and PCP practitioners

- ***Socialize care – Renew the public sector!***

Reproductive work (usually unpaid work mostly done by women in private domain that ensures reproduction of individuals and society) has to be socialized through reconstruction of the public sector (e.g. public day care for children, publicly funded care for elderly people, public health system, public canteens, housekeeping and other services). A solid public sector is a basis for: 1. decent living standard of the whole population as a barrier from inequality produced by market (those services are accessible to everybody, not just to those who have enough money to buy them on the market where they are on higher prices); 2. decent working conditions (when people can satisfy these needs outside of the market, they are not in situation of existential need to sell their working force under bad conditions on the market in order to earn money which will then spend for buying some of those services that can afford - i.e. having satisfied those needs through public sector puts workers in better position on the market since they are not force to accept any working condition just to earn some money); 3. developing and practicing democratic approaches in dealing with different issues in cooperation with other actors (such as the civic sector).

Target groups: decision makers and CSOs dealing with topics related to the public sector, CSOs offering social services in the community, public institutions/workers in the public sector.

C) Policies

- POSITION: ***Establishing strong definition of SE and PCP and reducing the potential for misuse of these concepts***
- **Issue:** PCP practitioners occasionally depend on the good will of authorities since the existing legal framework is not recognizing different forms of ownership that can be established among state/municipality and civic actors in order to jointly manage resources.
- **Recommendation to [Policy makers, PCP practitioners]:** Policy makers and those advocating for legal recognition of PCP should establish a strong definition of PCP that will prevent misuse of the concept (e.g. outsourcing of responsibilities of public sector) but at the same time be flexible enough to recognize different modalities of PCP (new legal forms of ownership) useful for different issues which should be dealt with in a joint effort by the public and civic sector. It needs to take into account existing bottom-up forms already operating. Leading principles should be: 1. complementarity to the public sector; 2. contribution to democratization; 3. contribution to social integration of the marginalized; 4. non-authoritarian approach and structure; 5. in line with public interest.

- **Rationale:** Having a proper legal definition can make it easier to establish PCPs and moreover reduce the level of misuse of public resources.
- **Targets:** PCP defined by law.
- **Issue:** Nowadays many claim to be SE just because it is an increasingly popular concept, attracts buyers and can apply/compete for specific grants/affordable loans. Only SEs that really contribute to the community and empower target groups should be treated as SEs.
- **Recommendation to [Policy makers, SE practitioners]:** Policy makers and those advocating for legal recognition of SE should establishing strong definition of SE. It needs to take into account already operating SEs and global experience and include the forms with lasting positive impact (on community and environment). On the other hand it needs to prevent misuse. Leading principles should be: 1. complementarity to the public sector; 2.contribution to democratization; 3. contribution to social integration of the marginalized; 4. non-authoritarian approach and structure; 5. in line with public interest. Depending on SE's model and type of beneficiaries there should be considered/defined different forms of state support.
- **Rationale:** Having proper definition defined by law will reduce the level of misuse of the concept and beneficiaries.
- **Targets:** SE and state support to different models of SEs defined by law.
- **POSITION: *Expand democracy! Empower community!***
- **Issue:** Authorities need to be open to closely cooperate with the people through different channels and also to allow them to practice democracy on workplace and in the community. It means introducing new democratic concepts/tools for democratic participation at lower levels which are adapted to specificities of the context and issues (e.g. rural and urban development, industrial and cultural management, revitalization of neighborhoods, preserving natural goods, etc.) and transparent procedures on all levels. This opens space for public-civic partnerships and self-managed social enterprises that are tightly connected to the community and contribute to its improvement
- **Recommendation to [CSOs interested in PCP in their field of work, social entrepreneurs, broader population]:** development of democratic procedures, tools and practices on lower levels which are adapted to specificities of the context and issues. Second step is negotiation with public sector to jointly act to put those tools and procedures into practice.

- **Rationale:** This opens space for public-civic partnerships and self-managed social enterprises that are tightly connected to the community and contribute to its improvement.
- **Targets:** number of bodies working on the local levels with high citizen engagement
- **Issue:** same as above
- **Recommendation to [authorities]:** authorities should be open and responsive with respect to suggestions from the civic sector; each request for PCP should be considered and each decision should be clarified to the proposer
- **Rationale:** willingness to decentralize the power demonstrates dedication to democratic development
- **Targets:** the number of received proposals should be the same as number of responses sent with decision clarification; approved suggestions should make a significant and lasting positive impact on the community.
- **POSITION:** *Act together! SE and PCP go left*
- **Issue:** Leftists usually don't show interest for people engaged in social entrepreneurship although those can be former workers or persons in need seeking to find solutions for different social problems where state has failed. Cooperating with them can make leftists more sensible to different approaches in solving every-day problems, but also broaden the basis for acting towards more concrete politics. Although PCP has more practitioners with leftist background, it still hasn't become widely recognized as an option for democratic participation and resource management.
- **Recommendation to [leftist collectives and activists]:** Leftists need to familiarise themselves with SE and PCP concepts and work with SE and PCP practitioners - involving them in left movement, working with them on issues they are trying to solve.
- **Rationale:** A mixture of left theory and practice and experiences of social entrepreneurs and activists involved in PCP should ensure constant reflection on the situation in the field, and thus drawing out challenges, implications of the actions as well as options for further contribution to the public interest. At the same time, leftist collectives can use the SE approach to diversify their fundraising (a common example is a leftist community center with a bar which funds the center's activities).
- **Targets:** the left broadens their scope of work and leftists familiarise themselves with contemporary tools (e.g. regarding decision making, management, fundraising) that can integrate into their struggles on different fronts (like SE and PCP).

- **Issue:** SE practitioners and sometimes even PCP practitioners, lack the knowledge about economic and political processes (logics, dynamics, context within they operate and implications of their engagement). Consequently their work sometimes can have more negative than positive effects in the long run and can be one of the factors contributing to further dismantling of the social state. Additionally, SE and PCP cannot exist without strong state support since market influences will eventually overrun them.
- **Recommendation to [SE and PCP practitioners]:** SE and PCP practitioners should get involved in programs and educations organized by leftists where they can broaden their knowledge about socio-economic relations, role of the state, importance of acting in line with left values and critically analyze their work and impact on the community and economic trends.
- **Rationale:** SE and PCP practitioners need to become politicized since occasionally they think they can stay away from politics. Only then they can understand influences that political and economic sphere has on their work and what their work means in political terms. It will raise level of awareness how their beneficiaries can be misused and what on the other side they can do to strengthen their position in the society.
- **Targets:** SE and PCP practitioners obtain a leftist political education; broadening of the left movement through integration of SE and PCP practitioners in joint struggles for empowerment of the marginalized and democratic resource management.

- POSITION: ***Socialize care – Renew public sector!***

- **Issue:** Neoliberalization returning to the market, with the latter incorporating many social services which were previously being provided by the state (through liberalization, PPP, outsourcing and privatization). Reproductive work has to be socialized again through reconstruction of the public sector and where possible managed in cooperation with the civic sector in forms of PCP. Infrastructure provided by the public sector serves as basis for further development of social care and further engagement of the community.
- **Recommendation to [decision makers and CSOs dealing with topics related to the public sector, CSOs offering social services in the community]:**
 - Develop strategies addressing cooperation between the public and the civic sector and identify priorities
 - Adapt public sector institutions for entering into PCP engagement: establish simple procedures, educate

public servants and civic sector professionals for joint work

- Conduct campaigns to inform the public on benefits of PCP and options for engagement
- **Rationale:** A solid public sector is a basis for: 1. providing a decent living standard for the entire population (there is a barrier of inequality generated by the market); 2. Decent working conditions; 3. developing and practicing different democratic approaches in dealing with different issues in cooperation with other actors (such as the civic sector)
- **Targets:** developed strategy on PCP; improved procedures for establishing PCP; educated professionals in public and civic sector; broader public informed about PCP
- **Issue:** Existing social services provided by CSOs/SEs should become an additional part of the public sector scope of services. As such, they should meet certain standards and be regularly evaluated. With that precondition, we can tell that the public sector is renewed and adaptable to current changes with a possibility to offer diverse services to target population.
- **Recommendation to [CSOs offering social services in the community, public institutions]:**
- CSOs that already established good practices or alternatively are developing new approaches should offer to the public institution in charged mutually beneficial arrangement for providing social service(s) that will improve accessibility and quality of those services for the target population.
- Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the impact that PCPs have on the living standard of the beneficiaries; assessment of attitudes of the beneficiaries and broader population towards PCPs
- **Rationale:** More private home care transferred to the state; public services being provided in line with beneficiaries' preferences and under supervision of professionals from the public and civic sector; regular impact assessment as input for further improvement of PCP management.
- **Targets:** improved living standard of the beneficiaries as a result of PCP; positive attitude of the beneficiaries and broader population regarding each PCP.

The left cannot stay blind to emerging models or just criticize those that are mostly market-oriented, since they are becoming a reality for numerous people and hence a more constructive position should be taken. Beside traditional ways of producing (factories), organizing (trade unions), shaping policies, and providing social services (by state and CSOs), new forms need to be taken into account. These should bear in

mind the changed social and economic relations, technologies, emerging struggles and movements, and especially perceptions and needs of ordinary people. It is also important to understand what the short-term solutions are (for example in order to empower rural communities or urban marginalized population). It is further important to grasp what constitutes possible paths for creating alternative structures and models that are in line with public interest, based on participatory democracy, and seek to satisfy broader needs.

Economy Cluster: Developmental narratives & historical evidence: the EU/Eurozone, their myths, and alternatives - T. Prug

Governments of the European peripheral countries placed their trust in the development within the single EU market, often joining the single currency zone, or pegging their currency to the Euro. The promised convergence of economic growth and equalization of the quality of life indicators is yet to materialize. A generous reading of empirical evidence on economic growth and quality of living for many European countries since the creation of Euro and the enlargement of the EU would be that the results have been mixed, and the signs of a possible future convergence are scarce. Given this discrepancy between the theory of convergence and the practice, after more than a quarter of century since their formal switch to capitalist economies, reflecting on adopted developmental model is especially important for the former socialist countries.

As Keynesian and other economic schools were cleansed out of textbooks, top economic journals and conferences (Lee, 2011), a new generation of economists (Horn et al., 2011; Morgan, 2015) and subsequently new policies emerged (Fine et al., 2003; Williamson, 2004). This new wave, whose rise was slow and gradual, was theoretically based on neoclassical economics' total and axiomatic trust in the automatic balancing of markets, whereby all participants benefit. The offered narrative came primarily from centrist politicians and governments and specialists of the most developed countries. It stated that once markets integrate, capital controls liberalize and labour regulations relax, the convergence of poor and developing countries with the most developed one would occur. The postulated theoretical outcome was the equalization of the level of technological, institutional, and economic development and of quality of life for everyone who accepted the new rules. This model of development was tested first in Africa and Asia through IMF and World Bank programmes that demanded from developing countries in dire need of funds market, capital and labour liberalization in return for loans and financial assistance ♦ a policy known as the Washington Consensus.

The first crack in this narrative appeared with lack of projected development in Africa. The second major flaw appeared with the Asian crisis in 1997-1998 (Muchhala, 2011). The narrative was patched up from the centre by many of the leading US theorists and economists (Larry Summers and Alan Greenspan, among others) leaning on a moralistic argument which claimed that crony capitalism was the key reason behind the Asian crisis, ignoring external factors, liberalizations, and the role of IMF (Wade, 2002).

This kind of reasoning remains predominant explanation in Southeast Europe, though now supplanted by the ♦socialist mentality♦, leaning on the old proverb of ♦Balkan mentality♦, a form of auto-racism which has been elevated by economists from the core as an explanation for the lack of convergence. If only we had the right mentality, the right approach to capitalism, this would put us on the path to convergence ♦ this is still the vastly predominant narrative in many former socialist countries. The third major crack in this narrative of liberalization and rule of markets appeared with the Great Recession of 2007-2009. With the few rare exceptions of mostly heterodox economists, mainstream economists, for decades coming exclusively from

neoclassical ranks, had not a slightest idea of how a crisis of such a magnitude was possible at a point in time when it seemed that the market, capital, and labour liberalization narrative has convincingly won as the only desirable developmental model, one that would bring about peace and prosperity (Besley and Hennessy, 2009).

In the meantime, alternative explanations of the crisis and narratives of development were being developed on the fringes of academia, predominantly putting the emphasis on three aspects: the uselessness of neoclassical economics due to its complete abandonment of realism (Felipe and McCombie, 2013; Varoufakis, 2005; Weeks, 2012); actually existing case studies of different developmental models; and the centrality of the state's role in economic and social development.

A particularly convincing and useful analytical narrative was offered by Ha-Joon Chang, an institutionalist economist who studied the myths of capitalist development. Building on the work of Bairoch (1995), Chang and his collaborators demonstrated using historical and empirical evidence that there is an enormous gulf separating what the advanced countries tell the developing countries to do (liberalize markets, capital, labour) and what they themselves actually did to develop (Chang and Grabel, 2004). Another important perspective on this is offered by Marianna Mazzucato and her colleagues who demonstrated how contrary to what it preaches, the USA state is in many ways the key investor in innovations, research and development of basic and applied sciences and technology, both nationally and internationally (Keller and Block, 2013; Motoyama et al., 2011). Along the lines of Chang's work, this led Mazzucato to conclude that if one is to emulate the USA success, one has to look at what the USA state does, and not listen to what it says it does (2015, pp.3-4). All the most developed countries, Bairoch demonstrated, but particularly the USA, have been ardent protectionist for most of their history. Their turn to liberalized markets and capital is a relatively recent phenomenon, and even that is done by still supporting and developing own key industries through strategic domestic and foreign policy. This is what nineteenth-century German economist Friedrich List (1789-1846) already then called 'kicking away the ladder', calling out Britain for developing their industries through protectionism, only to promote free trade thus depriving others of the means to develop (Chang, 2002).

Following up these historic lessons ought to be a mandatory line of analysis for less developed European countries, who should be asking themselves: by binding us in the EU and the Eurozone, have the core European countries deprived us of the developmental means by which they attained their advanced position? If the critics of the neoclassical economics are right, if the majority of key mainstream economic analytical concepts – total factor productivity, production functions, neoclassical growth and equilibrium models, to name a few – are useless for any sort of understanding and forecast, given that the Eurozone is designed following neoclassical theories (Dymski, 2014), many crucial developmental questions emerge. This is especially the case for the less economically successful Eurozone countries, including Italy, whose performance since joining Euro has been terrible (Evans-Pritchard, 2016), those with currency pegs to Euro and those planning to join the EU or the Eurozone (Matthijs and Blyth, 2015).

Furthermore, the treatment of Greece by the EU offers a gigantic warning sign that ought not to be ignored by other peripheral countries. Recently released memoirs offer a plethora of insight in how the governments of the core countries and the EU leadership see their role and relationship to less developed countries in need (Varoufakis, 2017). If this is how Greece was treated, what can smaller and even less developed EU and Eurozone country expect when in need of assistance? Another mandatory reading for the peripheral countries ought to be multi-dimensional heterodox economic and social analysis, with the focus on the role of Euro and Eurozone's financial architecture (Lapavitsas, 2012b; Lapavitsas and Flassbeck, 2013, 2015).

The collapse of socialist states in the East Europe offered vast new markets to developed countries. If the offered market liberalization narrative was correct, new European capitalist countries would have been on the positive path by now. They need more time, proponents of liberalizations might say. A quarter of a century does seem enough for an empirically informed judgment on the socio-economic model, we ought to respond.

At very least, the failures of this narrative, the cracks, suggest that countries that have pursued such a developmental path have to look at alternative developmental models (Khan and Christiansen, 2010), focusing on learning from both the existing case studies (Becker, 2016; Chester, 2013; Lapavitsas, 2012a; Vesi et al., 2015; Krizan, 2014) and from the heterodox theoretical frameworks (Carchedi, 2001; Chang, 2008; Courvisanos et al., 2016; Jo and Todorova, 2015; Lavoie, 2015).

Following the concept of developmental myths utilized so convincingly by Bairoch and Chang, we will offer a set of proposed myths to be considered by any country that either took on the liberalization developmental path, or that plans to do so. By doing so, we hope to contribute to the debate on the question of why do so many countries around the world keep failing to follow in the footsteps offered by the most advanced countries as the certain road to economic growth (Borowy and Schmelzer, 2017; Schmelzer, 2016) and desired socio-economic development (Marangos, 2011).

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Economy Cluster:

Another economy is possible!

Most current discussions about the economic sphere and the norms that govern it are framed in the terms of a single, unique economic system — capitalism or the market economy — to which, as a famous proponent of this system put it, "There is no alternative!" [1] and to which every other practice (solidarity and gift economies, fair trade, ethical banks, local currencies, co-operatives, self-help organizations, the open source movement and others) are aberrations and anomalies. At the philosophical level this system gravitates around the idea of the asocial, ahistorical, and selfish human beings that follow their needs and desires in a context of scarcity and are interested only in the maximization of their profits. But this system is not only a philosophical system: it is the dominant thinking paradigm of our time, embedded both in universities and in the power structures, it is the usual way of thinking of the majority of economists, but also of the majority of statesmen, bankers, national and international financiers, journalists and experts. [2] It is the world they wish to impose to everyone else.

Additionally, the market, that impersonal machine (although most of the time in the service of personalized forces) of transforming everything into commodities is being presented as the supreme Deity that governs society, economics, culture, human relationships and politics. The false and dangerous aspect of this "opens" the unique [3] is not hard to grasp: on the one hand, it contributes to the maintaining of the discussion in the conceptual and ideological framework of capitalist market economy and discredits other forms of economic practice. [4] In this sense, it approaches that limit the influence and the role of the market in shaping human and social relations, that introduce the invaluable contribution of gender equality and social justice on the wellbeing of the society, that adopt a caring attitude towards nature — all these are discredited in the name of profit here and now.

On the other hand this "mono-thinking" builds a false and simplistic concept of the human being and attempts to impose it as the only true one. Its egoistic asocial human robot (that it euphemistically calls the rational actor) is supposed to be the only legitimate form of humanity while the really existing human communities that favor cooperation, solidarity, mutual help, non-monetary values, and altruism over impersonal market relationships are considered to be backward and imperfect societies that need to be "improved" and "perfected."

Our era is the one in which this way of thinking (which is, in its turn, embedded into institutional ways of acting!) endangers the very existence of society. By subsuming everything to the logic of the market it erodes the basic foundation of human societies: cooperation, mutual respect, dignity, and solidarity. By persecuting other forms of economic thinking it impoverishes our understanding of ourselves and stalls the progress towards a better world. By imposing an economic logic that benefits a handful of people to the detriment of the many it contributes to the perpetuation of inequalities, suffering, deprivation, and injustices around the world.

The widely-held presumption that the free market is the only viable approach to organizing economic activity is not only a phenomenon of post-communist world thinking. A notable early critic of the supremacy of laissez-faire system that was gaining much support at the turn of the 20th century in his native Austria-Hungary, Karl Polanyi, in his seminal text *The Great Transformation*, argues that it is wrong to assume that any economic system is free and unplanned.[5] Specifically, he writes that *Laissez-faire* was planned. The laissez-faire economy was the result of deliberate state action.

As we have argued so far, Polanyi says that the economy and economic activity is embedded in our societies, and cannot operate separate of social relations. He argues that a pure free market society is just as much a utopian model as the centrally-planned system, because people will resist the process of being turned into commodities. He goes further, calling labor a fictitious commodity, along with capital such as land and money, because it is the state that turns these elements of the economy into market commodities and as such, no economic system can operate without control, regulation and the presence of the state apparatus.

The struggle against this mono-thinking should be waged on several levels:

a) At the philosophical level: the concept of the egoistic human being that lies at the core of economic science should be repelled and replaced with one that emphasizes the natural propensity of people to cooperate and develop relationships of trust. To date, no empirical research can confirm the actual existence of isolated selfish individuals that would somehow create a society and an economy out of nothing, as stated by the founders of the market economy, Adam Smith being the best known of them. On the contrary, all human societies known to us rely on cooperation, trust, mutual aid, and solidarity across generations.[6] Market is not the only game in town, while cooperation, not competition is the principle of an equitable, just society.

b) At the institutional level: states should subordinate the economy to democracy and social justice, not the other way around. Universities should avoid hosting economic departments that hire people who merely repeat the same thing.[7] Instead, they should focus on accommodating the whole diversity of the economic field by engaging with Post Keynesian-Sraffian, Marxist-radical, institutional-evolutionary, social, feminist, and ecological economics that emphasize the wealth of nations, accumulation, justice, social relationships in terms of class, gender and race, full employment, and economic and social reproduction.[8] Banks, firms and financial companies should be concerned not only with profits but also with the social ecology of their context, with the sustainability of their social environment, and, in the long term, with social justice and the elimination of poverty and inequality.

c) At the level of practice: we should consolidate, reproduce, present and spread ways of organizing the economy that emphasize participation,[9, fairness, and solidarity:[10]

fair trade (paying fair prices for goods that ensure the sustainability of both sides of the exchange)

ethical banking (banking that is aware of its effects on the social environment that surrounds it).

participatory decision-making in production and distribution (so as to allow everyone to have a voice in the process of decision-making about the priorities of the economic life of a given community/society).

co-operatives (autonomous, democratic associations of people that together pursue economic, cultural, and social goals and needs).

gift economies (where goods are not being sold but given for free, with no strings or obligations to give something in return attached).

local currencies (in order to protect local communities from the potential damage of the world financial system).

practices that take care, reproduce, and multiply the commons (natural resources, public spaces, knowledge, technologies, art and culture).

open-source economies (that help people use technology in order to achieve their goals).

economic practices that emphasize gender, racial, environmental and class justice.

economics as an open process, with no Big Plans, with freedom for the people to decide about the priorities and the ways to develop their own solutions to economic and other problems.

Positions (Demands):

Based on the context we identified above, and the plethora of solutions we envisioned, we advance the following demands/positions:

1. An economy for the society, not a society for the economy!
2. Market is not the only game in town. Non-market economies are possible.
3. Markets should be restricted. Some valuables and values - the commons, knowledge, solidarity, trust, and sympathy - are not commodities.
4. Cooperation not competition.
5. A targeted campaign to change and affect economic policy on a global level. Those holding the economy hostage are often the politicians who have set in place policy limitations to the development of heterodox economic practices.

Policies:

Recommendations:

1. The lack of visibility of non-market economic practices should be addressed at the policy level. We must strive for development and adoption of laws, regulations, and policies that will support cooperative and participatory practices in the economic sphere. Public funds in form of grants, subsidies, facilities, and tax breaks should be put in place in order to ensure the long-term sustainability of these initiatives, to support and encourage their capacity to experiment and innovate. Whenever possible, we should advocate for these kind of policies to be promoted, adopted, and implemented at the supra-national, international, and even global level. Institutions such as European Union and the United Nations could adopt documents and declarations that can help the solidarity economies to achieve global scope. Using all the possibilities to talk about solidarity economies - public discussions, electoral campaigns, high-profile

events, and academic conferences - constitutes a powerful vehicle for advancing the struggle against the **mono-thinking** and promoting the idea that **Another economy is possible!**

2 Promote and foster the cooperation, communication, and collaboration of various **heterodox** economies and economic practices. This could be achieved through the establishment of networks, alliances and coalitions at the local, regional, European, international and global level. This infrastructure of cooperation, innovation and mutual support will make them more visible, more powerful, stronger, and more innovative.

3 The solidarity-social-participatory economic practices should be taken out of their status of marginality and peripherality and made **cool** and **mainstream** but foremost acceptable and not merely be seen as a niche fixation. This is to be done at all levels. At the academic level, efforts should be made in order to ensure that economic thought outside the neoclassical mainstream is also present in the textbooks, in classes, in academic and public debates, [11] etc. At the civil society/NGO/think tank level we should make use of the insights of these economic practices and bring them into policy analysis, expertise, public debate, policy-making, and decision-making processes. At the activist level we must continue our work of bringing into the public sphere and fighting for the commons, for a sustainable, more just, and equitable economy and economic institutions.

[1] Margaret Thatcher, Press Conference for American correspondents in London, June 25, 1980.
<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/Speeches/displaydocument.asp?docid=104389&doctype=1>

[2] Steger, Manfred B. *Globalisms: The Great Ideological Struggle of the Twenty-First Century*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

[3] Ignacio Ramonet **La Pensée Unique.** Le Monde Diplomatique, Janvier, 1995. <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1995/01/RAMONET/6069>. Retrieved April 10, 2017.

[4] Lee, Frederic S. *A History of Heterodox Economics: Challenging the Mainstream in the Twentieth Century*. Routledge Advances in Heterodox Economics 4. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.

[5] Polanyi, Karl. (2001). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd ed. Foreword by Joseph E. Stiglitz; introduction by Fred Block. Boston: Beacon Press.

[6] Graeber, David. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Reprint edition. BROOKLYN, NY: Melville House, 2012.

Strauss, Ilana E. **The Myth of the Barter Economy.** The Atlantic, February 26, 2016.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/02/barter-society-myth/471051/>.

[7] Collectif. *A quoi servent les économistes s'ils disent tous la même chose??* Paris: LES LIENS QUI LIBERENT EDITIONS, 2015.

[8] Lee, Frederic S. **Heterodox Economics and Its Critics.** *Review of Political Economy* 24, no. 2 (April 2012): 337-51. doi:10.1080/09538259.2012.664360.

[9] See for example Albert, Michael, and Robin Hahnel. The Political Economy of Participatory Economics. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991. and Hahnel, Robin. Economic Justice and Democracy: From Competition to Cooperation. 1 edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005.

[10] The literature on solidarity (social) economy is vast, here are several references: Laville, Jean-Louis. L'économie sociale et solidaire: pratiques, théories, débats. Nouvelle édition. Points économie E73. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2016; Curl, John. For All the People: Uncovering the Hidden History of Cooperation, Cooperative Movements, and Communalism in America. 1 edition. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009; Miller, E. 2010. Solidarity Economy: Key Concepts and Issues, in E. Kawano and T. Masterson and J. Teller-Ellsberg (eds), Solidarity Economy I: Building Alternatives for People and Planet. Center for Popular Economics: Amherst, MA.

[11] Groups such as Les Économistes Atterres are already trying to change the curriculum in French universities. For more details see their website: <http://www.atterres.org/>