

# **HORIZONTI ANGAŽMANA: OVEKOVEČITI PJERA BURDIJEA**

# **HORIZONS OF ENGAGEMENT: ETERNALIZING PIERRE BOURDIEU**

Međunarodna konferencija

**Horizonti angažmana: Ovekovečiti Pjera Burdijea**

International Conference

**Horizons of Engagement: Eternalizing Pierre Bourdieu**

Beograd, 22. i 23. decembar 2020 // Belgrade, December 22-23, 2020





Međunarodna konferencija / International Conference

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PJERA BURDIJEA / HORIZONS OF ENGAGEMENT: ETERNALIZING  
PIERRE BOURDIEU**

Beograd / Belgrade  
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# **ORGANIZACIONI I PROGRAMSKI ODBOR / ORGANISING AND PROGRAM COMMITTEES**

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# **HORIZONTI ANGAŽMANA: OVEKOVEČITI PJERA BURDIJEA**

## (VIZIJA KONFERENCIJE)

Konferencija „Horizonti angažmana: Ovekovečiti Burdijea“ se organizuje povodom devedeset godina od rođenja najcitiranijeg svetskog sociologa Pjera Burdijea (1930–2002). Dostignuća akademskog rada Pjera Burdijea se mogu ogledati u visokim pozicijama koje je tokom svog rada zauzimao: položaj generalnog sekretara „Centra za evropsku sociologiju“ (Centre de sociologie européenne), položaj direktora studija „Škole za visoke studije u društvenim naukama“ (École des hautes études en sciences sociales) i pozicija profesora sociologije na „Kolež de Frans“ (Collège de France). Njegov akademski rad je takođe nagrađen brojim priznanjima kao što je „Zlatna medalja“, najviše priznanje francuskog „Nacionalnog centra za naučna istraživanja“ (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) i medalja „Haksli“ (Huxley), najviše priznanje „Kraljevskog instituta Velike Britanije i Irske“. Najznačajniji pokazatelj obima Burdijeovog naučnog uticaja je činjenica da se radi o danas najcitiranijem svetskom sociologu, ispred Emila Durkhajma, i drugom najcitiranijem svetskom autoru uopšte u društvenim i humanističkim naukama, iza Mišela Fukoa a ispred Žaka Deride. Kako ističe Loik Vakant: „Burdije je postao ime za jedan kolektivni istraživački poduhvat koji prevaziči granice disciplina i država“.

Sva kapitalna dela Pjera Burdijea sadrže temeljnu kritiku sastavnih elemenata etabliranog društvenog poretka: od školskog sistema (u „Reprodukцији“), aristokratskih pretenzija dominantne klase (u „Distinkciji“), do države kao instrumenta dominante klase (u „Državnom plemstvu“). Utvrđiti i javno obznaniti realnost društvenog sveta postaje, u njegovoj viziji, glavni ulog društvene borbe. On upravo stoga kritikuje veštačko razdvajanje između naučnog rada koji proizvodi znanje i intelektualnog angažmana koji to znanje uvodi u javni prostor. Nakon retkih javnih zauzimanja pozicije u odnosu na aktuelna politička pitanja, objavljinjem knjige „Beda sveta“ 1993. godine - u kojoj pledira za „drugačijim načinom vođenja politike“ – Pjer Burdije postaje jedan od najangažovanijih francuskih intelektualaca. Podrška štrajkačima, podrška nezaposlenima koji drže pod blokadom École normale supérieure, podrška alžirskim intelektualcima i podrška evropskim društvenim pokretima samo su neki od napoznatijih Burdijeovih javnih istupa zbog kojih je stekao status „glavnog neprijatelja“ među najistaknutijim braniocima neoliberalnog poretka u francuskom intelektualnom polju.

Cilj konferencije je da domaćoj publici približi lik i delo Pjera Burdijea kroz predstavljanje njegovog akademskog rada uporedno sa njegovim javnim angažmanom. Konferencija će biti podeljena u nekoliko tematskih celina koje će predstaviti osnovne koncepte i metodološke pristupe sadržane u njegovom radu i odnos Burdijea sa najznačajnijim autorima iz njegovog intelektualnog miljea, kao i njegov odnos sa najzačajnijim sociološkim teorijskim pravcima. Poslednja tematska celina će se pozabaviti Burdijeovim javnim angažmanom i njegovim shvatanjem uloga javnih intelektualaca.

# **HORIZONS OF ENGAGEMENT: ETERNALIZING PIERRE BOURDIEU**

## (CONFERENCE VISION)

The conference “Eternalizing Bourdieu” is organized on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Pierre Bourdieu (1930.–2002), the world’s most cited sociologist. The achievements of Bourdieu’s academic work are reflected in the high institutional positions he held, such as the position of the general secretary of the Centre de sociologie européenne, the position of the studies director of the École des hautes études en sciences sociales and the position of the professor of sociology at Collège de France. His academic work has also been awarded with numerous accolades like the “Golden Medal”, the highest acknowledgement of the French Centre national de la recherche scientifique and the “Huxley” medal, the highest acknowledgement of the Royal Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The greatest indicator of the scope of Bourdieu’s influence is the fact that we are talking about the world’s most cited sociologist, ahead of Émile Durkheim and the world’s second most cited author in social sciences and humanities, after Michel Foucault and ahead of Jacques Derrida. As Loïc Wacquant pointed out: “Bourdieu became a name for a collective research endeavour that transcends the borders of states and disciplines”.

All of Bourdieu’s major works contain a thorough critique of the elements of the established social order: from the school system (in “Reproduction”), to the aristocratic pretensions of the dominant class (in “The Distinction”) and the state as the instrument of the dominant class (in “State Nobility”). Establish and publicly announce the reality of the social world becomes, in his vision, the main stake of the social struggle. Precisely because of that he criticises the artificial separation between scientific work that produces knowledge and intellectual engagement that introduces that knowledge into the public sphere. After rarely taking a stand on current political issues with the publishing of “The Weight of the World” in 1993. – in which he pleads for a ‘different way of doing politics’ – Bourdieu became one of the most engaged French intellectuals. The support for strikers, support for the unemployed who blocked École normale supérieure, supporting Algerian intellectuals and supporting European social movements are just some of the most famous of Bourdieu’s public appearances through which he earned the status of the “main enemy” among the most prominent defenders of the neoliberal order in the French intellectual field.

The aim of this conference is to familiarise the domestic and regional audiences with the work of Pierre Bourdieu, by presenting his academic work alongside his public engagement. The conference will consist of several thematic segments which will introduce some basic concepts and methodological approaches that appear in his work and Bourdieu’s relationship with some of the most significant authors from his intellectual milieu, as well as with the most important theoretical approaches in sociology. The last segment of the conference will deal with Bourdieu’s public engagement and his understanding of the public roles of intellectuals.

Međunarodna konferencija / International Conference

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PJERA BURDIJEA / HORIZONS OF ENGAGEMENT: ETERNALIZING  
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# **PROGRAM KONFERENCIJE / CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

**Horizonti angažmana: ovekovečiti Pjera Burdijea**

22. i 23. decembar 2020.

*Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd*

## 22. decembar : Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Univerzitet u Beogradu

### 10:00 – 11:00 Inauguralni deo konferencije

Obraćanje Gazele Pudar, direktorke IFDT-a i Manuela Buara, direktora Francuskog instituta u Beogradu

Marc Crépon (École Normale Supérieure, Paris) : **The importance of Pierre Bourdieu today**  
(jezik : engleski)

moderacija: Zona Zarić, IFDT, Beograd

11:30

### Prvi panel: Burdijeovi teorijski koncepti i njihova primena (jezik: srpski)

(uvod i moderacija Milan Urošević, IFDT)

Učesnici:

Mark Lošonc (IFDT): **Burdijeova teorizacija države**

Milica Resanović (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd): **Burdijeova teorizacija društvenih polja**

Dušan Ristić (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu): **Burdijeova teorizacija habitusa**

Predrag Cvetičanin (Fakultet umetnosti, Univerzitet u Nišu): **Burdijeova teorizacija klasa i kapitala**

Mirko Petrić i Inga Tomić Koludrović (Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar – Centar Split, Sveučilište u Zadru): **Burdijeova teorizacija socijalnog kapitala**

Andrea Perunović (IFDT): **Burdijeova teorizacija simboličkog**

14:30

15:00

### Dруги panel: Burdjeizam i drugi sociološki pravci (jezik: srpski)

(uvod i moderacija Zona Zarić, École Normale Supérieure, Paris i IFDT, Beograd)

Učesnici:

Ivica Mladenović i Boris Petrović (IFDT i Sorbona): **Burdjeizam i marksizam**

Marjan Ivković (IFDT): **Burdjeizam i kritička teorija**

Božidar Filipović (Fakultet za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju, Univerzitet u Beogradu): **Burdjeizam i funkcionalizam**

Suzana Ignjatović (Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd): **Burdjeizam i metodološki individualizam**

Miloš Jovanović (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu): **Burdjeizam i socijalni konstruktivizam**

17:30

18:00

### Treći panel: Pjer Burdije i politika (jezik: engleski)

(uvod i moderacija Ivica Mladenović, IFDT i Zona Zarić, ENS i IFDT)

Učesnici:

Žizel Sapiro (École des hautes études en sciences sociales)

Frederik Lebaron (École normale supérieure Paris-Saclay)

Filip Golub (Američki univerzitet u Parizu)

Frank Pupo (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, CNRS)

20:00

## 23. decembar: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Univerzitet u Beogradu

10:00

**Četvrti panel: Metodološki okvir burdjeovske sociologije** (jezik: srpski)  
(uvod i moderacija Milan Urošević, IFDT)

Učesnici:

Selena Radović (Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd i Univerzitet Pariz 8):

**Sociološki metod po Pjeru Burdieu**

Leonora Dugonjić i Ivica Mladenović (Univerzitet u Upsali i IFDT): **Geometrijska analiza podataka**

Zona Zarić i Andrej Cvetić (IFDT i Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd): **Epistemološki temelji „Distinkcije“**

Jasmin Hasanović (Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu): **Epistemološki temelji „Državnog plemstva“**

12:00

13:00

**Peti panel: Pjer Burdije i drugi sociolozi i filozofi** (jezik: srpski)  
(uvod i moderacija Ivica Mladenović, IFDT)

Učesnici:

Zona Zarić (IFDT): **Pjer Burdije i Mišel Fuko**

Milan Urošević (IFDT): **Pjer Burdije i Luj Altiser**

Velizar Mirčov (Univerzitet u Kosovskoj Mitrovici): **Pjer Burdije i Erik Olin Rajt**

Srđan Prodanović (IFDT): **Pjer Burdije i Lik Boltanski**

Stefan Janković (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu): **Pjer Burdije i Bruno Latur**

15:00

## December 22nd : Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory (IFDT), University of Belgrade

**10:00 – 11:00 Inaugural part of the conference**

**Opening of the conference by Gazela Pudar, director of IFDT and Manuel Bouard, director of The French Cultural Institute of Belgrade**

Marc Crépon (École Normale Supérieure, Paris) : **The importance of Pierre Bourdieu today**

(language : english)

moderation: Zona Zarić, IFDT, Belgrade

<b>11:30</b>	<p><b>First panel: Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and their application</b> (language: Serbian)</p> <p>Introduction and moderation: Zona Zarić (École Normale Supérieure, Paris and IFDT, Belgrade)</p> <p>Participants :</p> <p>Mark Losoncz (IFDT): <b>Bourdieu's Theorisation of the State</b></p> <p>Milica Resanović (Institute for Sociological Research): <b>Bourdieu's Theorisation of Social Fields</b></p> <p>Dušan Ristić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad): <b>Bourdieu's Theorisation of Habitus</b></p> <p>Predrag Cvetičanin (Faculty of Art, University of Niš): <b>Bourdieu's Theorisation of Class and Capital</b></p> <p>Mirko Petrić and Inga Tomić Koludrović (Institute for Social Sciences Ivo Pilar – Center Split; University of Zadar): <b>Bourdieu's Theorisation of Social Capital</b></p>
<b>14:30</b>	
<b>15:00</b>	<p><b>Second panel: Bourdieuism and other sociological theoretical traditions</b> (language: Serbian)</p> <p>Introduction and moderation: Milan Urošević, IFDT</p> <p>Participants :</p> <p>Ivica Mladenović and Boris Petrović (IFDT and Sorbonne): <b>Bourdieuism and Marxism</b></p> <p>Marjan Ivković (IFDT): <b>Bourdieuism and Critical Theory</b></p> <p>Božidar Filipović (Faculty for Special Education and Rehabilitation, University of Belgrade) <b>Bourdieuism and Functionalism</b></p> <p>Suzana Ignjatović (Institute for Social Science, Belgrade): <b>Bourdieuism and Methodological Individualism</b></p> <p>Miloš Jovanović (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš): <b>Bourdieuism and Social Constructivism</b></p>
<b>17:30</b>	
<b>18:00</b>	<p><b>Third panel: Public Engagement of Pierre Bourdieu</b> (language: English)</p> <p>Introduction and moderation: Ivica Mladenović, IFDT and Zona Zarić, École Normale Supérieure, Paris and IFDT, Belgrade</p> <p>Participants :</p> <p>Gisèle Sapiro (École des hautes études en sciences sociales)</p> <p>Frédéric Lebaron (École normale supérieure Paris-Saclay)</p> <p>Philip Golub (American University of Paris)</p> <p>Franck Poupeau (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, CNRS)</p>
<b>20:00</b>	

## December 23rd : Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade and The French Cultural Institute, Belgrade

10:00	<p><b>Fourth Panel: Methodological Frameworks of Bourdieusian Sociology</b> (language: Serbian)</p> <p>Introduction and moderation: Milan Urošević, IFDT</p> <p>Participants:</p> <p>Selena Radović (Institute for Sociological Research, Belgrade &amp; Université Paris 8): <b>Sociological Method According to Pierre Bourdieu</b></p> <p>Leonora Dugonjić and Ivica Mladenović (University of Uppsala and IFDT): <b>Geometric Data Analysis: the Method, its History and Advantages</b></p> <p>Jasmin Hasanović (Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo): <b>Epistemological Foundations of “The State Nobility”</b></p> <p>Zona Zarić and Andrej Cvetić (IFDT and Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade): <b>Epistemological Foundations of “Distincion”</b></p>
12:00	<p><b>Fifth Panel: Pierre Bourdieu and Other Sociologist and Philosophers</b> (language: Serbian)</p> <p>Introduction and moderation: Ivica Mladenović, IFDT</p> <p>Participants:</p> <p>Zona Zarić (IFDT): <b>Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault</b></p> <p>Milan Urošević (IFDT): <b>Pierre Bourdieu and Louis Althusser</b></p> <p>Velizar Mirčov (University of Kosovska Mitrovica): <b>Pierre Bourdieu and Erik Olin Wright</b></p> <p>Srđan Prodanović (IFDT): <b>Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski</b></p> <p>Stefan Janković (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade): <b>Pierre Bourdieu and Bruno Latour</b></p>
13:00	
15:00	

# REZIMEI IZLAGANJA / PAPER ABSTRACTS

# BURDIJEVA TEORIZACIJA DRŽAVE

## BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF STATE

MARK LOŠONC

**APSTRAKT:** Pjer Burdije određuje državu kao monopol „legitimnog“ fizičkog i simboličkog nasilja, odnosno kao birokratsko (administrativno polje) moći. Istovremeno, on definiše državu kao neobičnu topološku figuru koja se istovremeno nalazi unutar aktera i izvan njih. Država se pojavljuje kao polje svih polja sa izvesnom funkcionalnošću i fikcionalnošću. Naime, tvrdi se da ona predstavlja univerzalizaciju, koncentraciju, monopolizaciju fizičkog i simboličkog nasilja, ali istovremeno postoji zato što „ljudi veruju u to da ona zaista postoji. Ova misteriozna stvarnost postoji kroz svoje efekte“. Posebnu pažnju ćemo posvetiti napetosti između teze da je „država stvar koja ne postoji“, odnosno iskazima koji sugerisu da je država „centralno mesto“, „konačni resor“ ili ima „poslednju reč“. Postavlja se pitanje da li su Burdijeova „materijalistička teorija simboličkog“, odnosno „prošireni materijalizam“ sposobni da daju adekvatan odgovor na pitanje o genezi države. Naše kritičko pitanje biće sledeće: da li se Burdije uvek služi mišljenjem o državi ili ponekad i on sam nekritički prihvata izvesne predrasude državnog mišljenja? Fokusiraćemo se na najproblematičnije tačke: 1. društveni podsistemi i status kapitalizma (odnos prema marksizmu); 2. pitanje državne tajne i tajnih službi; 3. problem otpora prema državi.

**Ključne reči:** država, državno mišljenje, kapitalizam, simboličko nasilje, konstrukcija, kritika

**ABSTRACT:** Pierre Bourdieu describes the state as the monopoly of “legitimate” physical and symbolic violence, and also as the bureaucratic/administrative field of power. At the same time, he defines the state as an extraordinary topological figure that lies both inside and outside of us. The state appears as the field of all fields with a certain functionality and fictionality. Namely, it is claimed that the state universalises/concentrates/ monopolises physical and symbolic violence, while, at the same time, it is suggested that “this place ... exists essentially because people believe that it exists. This mysterious reality exists through its effects.” We are going to pay special attention to the tension between the thesis that “the state is a thing that does not exist” (chose qui n'existe pas), and, on the other hand, to the statements according to which the state is a “central place” (lieu central), “last resort” (dernier ressort) or has the “final word” (dernier mot). One might also ask whether Bourdieu's “materialist theory of the symbolic” or his “extended materialism” can give an adequate answer to the question about the genesis of the state. Our critical question is the following: does Bourdieu always rely on the thought of the state (pensée de l'État) or does he sometimes uncritically accept some prejudice about state thought (pensée d'État)? We will focus on the most problematic issues: 1. the social subsystems and the status of capitalism (relation towards marxism); 2. the question of state secret and intelligence services; and the question of resistance towards the state.

**Keywords :** state, state thinking, capitalism, symbolic violence, construction, critique



# BURDIJEVOA TEORIZACIJA DRUŠTVENIH POLJA

## BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF SOCIAL FIELDS

MILICA RESANOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U Burdijevoj teorijskoj konstrukciji društveni svet je predstavljen kao višedimenzionalni prostor, izdeljen na relativno autonomne domene, polja koja imaju sopstvenu logiku i pravila funkcionisanja. Ovaj koncept podstakao je niz empirijskih istraživanja različitih oblasti društvenog života i u današnjoj sociologiji pobuduje živo teorijsko interesovanje, te se nameće potreba da se iznova kritički preispita Burdijeova teorija polja i da se osvetle mogućnosti i ograničenja njene upotrebe u savremenom društvenom kontekstu. Prvi deo rada je posvećen prikazu izvorne konceptualizacije polja u Burdijeovom radu, teorijskim, epistemološkim i metodološkim prepostavkama na kojima koncept počiva, kao i pojmovna aparatura koju povlači za sobom. Potom, ispituju se dileme koju otvara Burdijeova teorija polja, ključne primedbe koje su upućene na njen račun, te različite modifikacije koje je koncept doživeo u postburdijeovskoj sociologiji. U fokusu su pitanja konceptualizacije polja u uslovima uznapredovale globalizacije, kao i varijabilnosti polja, odnosno razlike koje se javljaju između različitih polja i to u pogledu: 1. stepena relativne autonomije, 2. intenziteta sukoba među akterima i 3. karaktera simboličkih podela koje vladaju u određenom polju. U završnom delu rada razmatra se upotrebljivost polja u istraživanjima današnjeg društva Srbije, pri čemu je akcenat stavljan na heurističku plodnost upotrebe polja kao konceptualne varijable, umesto rigidne primene originalne teorije polja.

**Ključne reči:** polje, relativna autonomija, borbe, simboličko razgraničavanje, globalizacija

**ABSTRACT:** In Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the social world is represented as a multidimensional space, divided into relatively autonomous areas, fields that have their own logic and rules about how they function. This concept inspired numerous empirical researches of different parts of the social world and in present day sociology it arouses vigorous theoretical interest, so there is a need to critically rethink Bourdieu's field theory and to enlighten the possibilities and limitations of its use in contemporary social context. The first part of the paper is dedicated to the presentation of the original conceptualisation of the field in Bourdieu's work, theoretical, epistemological, and methodological assumptions on which the concept was built, as well as the conceptual apparatus that ensued. Afterwards we discuss dilemmas opened by Bourdieu's field theory, key criticisms of it, and different modifications of the notion of the field that emerged in post-bourdiesian sociology. The paper focuses on the questions of conceptualisation of field theory in the context of advanced globalisation and variability of fields, i.e., differences that occur between different fields in terms of 1. the degree of relative autonomy, 2. the intensity of conflicts between actors, and 3. the nature of the symbolic divisions that prevail in a particular field. The final part of the paper discusses the applicability of the notion of field in the research of present-day Serbian society, with an emphasis on the heuristic fruitfulness of the field as a conceptual variable, instead of a rigid application of the original field theory.

**Keywords:** field, relative autonomy, struggles, boundary-work, globalisation

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEVOA TEORIZACIJA HABITUSA

## BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF HABITUS

DUŠAN RISTIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Burdijeovi koncepti polja, prakse i habitusa postali su postali ključni u različitim oblastima društvenih nauka. Njegove ideje takođe imaju primenu u polju discipline koja se naziva Digitalna sociologija. Kako bismo ukazali na Burdijeov značaj u tom kontekstu, ispitujemo mogućnost primene njegovih teorijskih koncepata u istraživanju praksi upisivanja života. Te prakse se, generalno govoreći, odnose na upotrebu mobilnih tehnologija i različitih softvera za samopraćenje. Prakse upisivanja života se takođe tiču (samo)nadzora ljudskih aktivnosti i pretvaranja života u digitalno posredovani projekat optimizacije. Mi istražujemo prakse upisivanja života kao usvojene dispozicije i životne stilove koji kultivisu one koji su angažovani u okviru tih „zajednica praksi“. Konačno, koristimo koncept habitusa kako bismo ispitivali na koji su način prisutne strukture i omogućena akcija u okviru praksi *upisivanja života*. Polazimo od hipoteze da je habitus digitalnog važan u objašnjenu: a) procesa stvaranja društvenosti; i b) međuuticaja diskursa, tehnologija i praksi *upisivanja života*. Takođe, ispitujemo relevantnost ovog Burdijeovog koncepta jer prepostavljamo njegovu plauzibilnost u razmatranju odnosa ljudi i tehnologije, odnosno u procesu identifikacije različitih društvenih polja koja se prepliću u području digitalnih tehnologija i komunikacije.

**Ključne reči:** upisivanje života, životni stilovi, habitus, Burdije, Digitalna sociologija

**ABSTRACT:** Bourdieu's concepts of the field, practice and habitus have become central in many approaches across the social sciences. His ideas also feature in what is increasingly becoming a sub-discipline of Digital Sociology. To underscore this claim, we shall explore Bourdieu's theoretical framework in the research of Lifelogging practices (LLP). LLP are part of contemporary everyday experience on a global scale. Generally, they refer to the use of mobile and self-tracking technology and software tools. They are about (self)surveillance of human activities and are turning life into a digitally-driven optimisation project. We examine the LLP as the habituated dispositions and lifestyles that cultivate those engaged in these 'communities of practice'. Ultimately, we use the concept of the habitus to trace how structure and agency are evoked and reconciled via the LLP. We test the hypotheses that habitus of the digital is about: a) co-design and co-production of sociality; b) recognition of confluence of discourses, technologies and practices in LLP. Furthermore, we explore the relevance of Bourdieu's concept of habitus in the context of the LLP because we assume it plausible in the clarification of interactions between people and technology as well as in the mapping of intersection of fields in the sphere of digital communication technologies.

**Keywords :** lifelogging, lifestyles, habitus, Bourdieu, Digital Sociology

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEVA TEORIZACIJA KLASA I KAPITALA

## BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF CLASS AND CAPITAL

PREDRAG CVETIČANIN

**APSTRAKT:** Jedna od grešaka koja se javlja u društvenim naukama jeste da se teorije kreirane u zemljama, koje pripadaju jezgru svetskog sistema, primenjuju u poluperiferijskim i periferijskim društvima bez ikakvih prilagođavanja. To često dovodi do formalno ispravnih, ali sadržinski potpuno pogrešnih rezultata. Imajući ovo u vidu, inspirisani radovima Pjera Burdijea, moje kolege i ja smatrali smo da je potrebno prilagoditi njegovu koncepciju drugaćijem kontekstu. Pod hibridnim društvima podrazumevamo ona u kojima su socijalne nejednakosti generisane delovanjem nekoliko isprepletenih uzročnih mehanizama koje akteri koriste u ekonomskom, ali i u drugim društvenim poljima. Dve grupe ovih mehanizama su posebno značajne – izrabljivački tržišni mehanizmi i mehanizmi socijalnog zatvaranja bazirani na osnovu: (a) članstva u političkim partijama ili socijalnim mrežama rođaka, zemljaka ili neformalnih interesnih grupa; (b) etničke, religijske ili rodne pripadnosti; i (c) obrazovnih kvalifikacija ili članstva u strukovnim udruženjima. Osnova moći mehanizama socijalnog zatvaranja u društvima jugoistočne Evrope ogleda se u tome što oni predstavljaju osnovni kanal preko koga se kontroliše pristup tržištu rada ili ostvaruje privilegovana pozicija u poslovnom okruženju. U prezentaciji ču pokazati kako smo ova teorijska prilagođavanja moje kolege i ja upotrebili u analizi klasne strukture društva u Srbiji.

**Ključne reči:** klasa, kapitali, hibridna društva, jugoistočna Evropa, Burdije

**ABSTRACT:** One of the mistakes that appear in the social sciences is that theories created in core countries are applied in semi-peripheral and peripheral countries without any adjustments. This often leads to formally correct, but content-wise completely inaccurate results. Having this in mind, inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, my colleagues and I considered as one of our preparatory tasks to adapt his conception to the context of hybrid post-socialist societies of South-East Europe. By hybrid societies we understand those in which social inequalities are generated by several intertwined causal mechanisms of approximately similar strength, used by agents in the economic field, but also in all other fields. Two of them are particularly important – the exploitative market mechanisms and social closure mechanisms based on: (a) political party membership and social networks based on kinship, common geographic origin, and informal interest groups; (b) ethnicity, religion and gender; and (c) credentials and membership in professional associations. The fundamental power of mechanisms of social closure in SEE societies is that they are the main channel for gaining access to the labour market as well as achieving a privileged position in business development. This paper will demonstrate how these theoretical adjustments were used by my colleagues and I in the analysis of class structure in Serbian society.

**Keywords:** class, capitals, hybrid societies, South-East Europe, Bourdieu

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEVOA TEORIZACIJA SOCIJALNOG KAPITALA

## BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

MIRKO PETRIĆ I INGA TOMIĆ KOLUDROVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U ovom izlaganju raspravlja se o korisnosti upotrebe Bourdieova shvaćanja pojma društvenog kapitala u proučavanju jugoistočnoeuropskih društava. Naime, premda je Bourdieu prvi teoretizirao društveni kapital u suvremenom smislu riječi, njegova je konceptualizacija bila razmjerno zanemarena u kasnijim empirijskim istraživanjima, osobito u postsocijalističkim društvima. U izlaganju se najprije razmatraju razlozi ovog izostanka, a potom prednosti primjene bourdieuovskog shvaćanja pojma društvenog kapitala (u kojem mu se pristupa kao individualnom resursu i a ispitanicima kao fokalnim akterima), u odnosu na politološke pristupe koji naglašavaju povjerenje, norme recipročnosti i mreže civilnodruštvene participacije. Nakon rasprave o prethodnim istraživanjima na temu, slijede primjeri zasnovani na primarnim podacima prikupljenim projektima o strategijama preživljavanja individua i kućanstava te modernizaciji rodnih odnosa u jugoistočnoj Europi.

**Ključne riječi:** Bourdieu, društveni kapital, jugoistočna Europa, strategije preživljavanja, rodna modernizacija

**ABSTRACT:** This paper discusses the usefulness of applying Bourdieu's notion of social capital in the study of South East European societies. Namely, although Bourdieu (1980) was the first to theorise social capital in the contemporary sense of the word, his conceptualisation has been relatively neglected in subsequent empirical research, especially in post-socialist societies. The paper first reflects on the reasons for this absence and then presents the advantages of applying the Bourdieusian notion of social capital (in which it is approached as an individual resource and respondents as focal actors) in relation to the political science approaches emphasising trust, norms of reciprocity and networks of civil society participation. After discussing previous research on the topic, examples are provided based on primary data from projects on survival strategies of individuals and households in South East Europe (SNFS SCOPES 152626) and modernisation of gender relations (HRZZ-IP-2016-06-6010).

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, social capital, South East Europe, survival strategies, gender modernisation

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEVA TEORITIZACIJA SIMBOLIČKOG BOURDIEU'S THEORISATION OF THE SYMBOLIC

ANDREA PERUNOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Pojam simboličkog zauzima jednu sasvim singularnu poziciju u konceptualnom aparatu sociologije Pjera Burdijea. Simbolički kapital, simbolička moć, simbolička dominacija, simboličko nasilje, simbolički instrumenti i simbolički sistemi, samo su neki od koncepata koji su izgrađeni na okosnici simboličkog. Međutim, u tekstovima sociologa najčešće zatičemo ovaj pojam u pridevskoj formi, te se čini da njegova koncizna i nedvoznačna definicija izostaju. Šta je simboličko za Burdijea? Na kojim razinama društvenog polja ono obitava? Kako interpretirati ontološke odlike simboličkog u njegovim različitim teoretskim primenama? Šta je simbol, a šta simbolički poredak? Da bismo odgovorili na ova pitanja, preispitaćemo burdijeovsku kritiku, na prvom mestu jezika i komunikacije, a potom i politike i političkog – sve ih smeštajući u njihov istorijski kontekst i oprobavajući njihovu aktuelnost. Naponakon, ispitaćemo fenomene verovanja, kredita i poverenja, koji su neretko zapostavljeni, a koje Burdije smatra temljenim preduslovima postojanja simboličkog poretku. Na taj način, jedno drugačije svetlo biće bačeno i na celu mrežu koncepta koju Burdije plete oko pojma simboličkog.

**Ključne reči:** simboličko, političko, jezik, moć, nasilje, poverenje

**ABSTRACT:** The notion of the symbolic occupies an entirely singular position in the conceptual apparatus of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. Symbolic capital, symbolic power, symbolic domination, symbolic violence, symbolic instruments and symbolic systems, are just some of the few concepts constructed on the symbolic axis. Despite of that, in the text of the sociologist we encounter this notion mostly in its adjective form, while its unambiguous, concise definition seems to be lacking. What is the symbolic for Bourdieu? In which domains of the social field it is to be found? How might one interpret the ontologic features of the symbolic, having given its different theoretical uses? What is a symbol, and what is a symbolic order? In view of answering these questions, we will examine the bourdiesian critique of language and communication in the first place, but also that of politics and the political – simultaneously situating them in their historical contexts and probing their actuality. Finally, we will consider the phenomena of belief, credit and trust, which are often left aside, but represent nonetheless, for Bourdieu, the very condition of existence of the symbolic order. In consequence, a different light will be shed on a whole web of concepts which Bourdieu organised around the notion of the symbolic.

**Keywords:** symbolic, political, language, power, violence, trust



# BURDIJEIZAM I MARKSIZAM

## BOURDIEUSIM AND MARXISM

IVICA MLADENOVIĆ I BORIS PETROVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Pjer Burdije razvija svoj sociološki pristup u velikoj meri kao alternativu tada hegemonoj altiserovskoj paradigmi u filozofiji i društvenim naukama. Naš rad ima za cilj da predstavi i kontekstualizuje Burdijeovu teoriju kao onu koja je, uprkos svim razlikama i netrpeljivostima, sasvim komplementarna sa Markovim radom, kako šire gledano, tako specifično po pitanju individualnosti jedinke kao osnove sociološkog promišljanja društva. Naime, Marksov rad se javlja kao sa jedne strane kritika, a sa druge proširenje premise koje su postavljene u prosvetiteljstvu. Marks posmatra klase i sukob klasa kao dominantnu pokretačku silu društva i nivo uopštavanja na kome se društvo sagledava. S druge strane, kod Burdijea tu ulogu zauzima borba između dominantnih i dominiranih u različitim društvenim poljima. Klasično liberalna i prosvetiteljska misao postulira da je individua nivo uopštavanja na kome je potrebno razmatrati društvo ; Marks da je to klasa ; Burdije da je to društveno polje. Rad će stoga analizirati Burdjeovo shvatanje društva i društvenog prostora, moći, individualnih i društvenih odnosa dominacije, baze i nadgradnje, pokretačkih principa društvenog delanja i drugih fundamentalnih koncepta njegove teorije, sa ciljem da ukaže na vezu između ova dva istraživača, te jasan uticaj Marksove filozofije istorije i društva na Burdjeovu sociološku misao.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Marks, prosvetiteljstvo, klase, društveni prostor, filozofija istorije

**ABSTRACT:** Pierre Bourdieu develops his sociological approach mostly as an alternative to the then hegemonic paradigm in philosophy and humanities developed by Louis Althusser. Our paper aims to represent and contextualise Bourdieu's theory as the one that is, despite the differences and antagonisms, completely in line with Marx's own work; in a broader context as well as specifically on the topic of the individual as the basis of sociological inquiry. Marx's work comes as both a criticism and expansion of the premise postulated in the era of Enlightenment. Marx sees the clash of classes as the main level of abstraction in conceptualising society. On the other hand, in Bourdieu's work this place is occupied by the clash between the dominators and the dominated within different societal fields. Typically liberal thought, as well as ones belonging to the enlightenment, postulate that the main level of abstraction in conceptualising society is the individual human being; Marx states that it is the notion of societal class; Bourdieu that it is the notion of the societal field. Our paper shall therefore seek to analyse Bourdieu's understanding of society and of societal space, power, individual and societal relations of domination, basis and superstructure, moving principles of societal actions and other fundamental concepts of his theory, with the goal of casting a light on the connection between these two thinkers, and substantiating the position that Marx's influence on Bourdieu's sociological thought is present and clearly visible.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Marx, enlightenment, classes, societal space, philosophy of history

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEIZAM I KRITIČKA TEORIJA

## BOURDIEUSIM AND CRITICAL THEORY

MARJAN IVKOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Rad ispituje jednu relativno zanemarenju rezonancu unutar društvene teorije – onu između strukturalizma prakse Pjera Burdijea i prve generacije Frankfurtske škole, tačnije njene „pozne“ faze koju najbolje reprezentuju kasnija dela Teodora Adorna - sa ciljem da se utvrde relativne prednosti obe perspektive za dijagnozu društvene dominacije. Na prvi pogled, teško da postoji ikakva rezonanca između Burdijea i pozognog Adorna, jer su, iz Burdijeove perspektive, kritički teoretičari prve generacije bili krivi za ono što bi on nazvao tehnikom apstraktne „teorijske totalizacije“ (jaka forma „objektivizma“). Ne samo da kritički teoretičari nasleđuju marksistički društveni determinizam „objektivnih struktura“ (kapitalistički proizvodni odnosi), oni ga i elaboriraju pomoću koncepcije društvenog „totaliteta“ - u poznoj modernosti kapitalistička forma proizvodnje supsumira čitavu društvenu stvarnost kroz apsolutizaciju „principa razmene“. Čak i ako kritički teoretičari svojim analizama simboličke dominacije u poznom kapitalizmu prevazilaze marksistički pojam „nadgradnje“, iz burdijeovske perspektive kritička teorija je i dalje ograničena u svojoj dijagnozi dominacije usled oslanjanja na konцепцију „lažne svesti“. U radu se poduzima koncizna uporedna analiza konceptualizacije društvene dominacije u radu Burdijea i (autorove interpretacije) Adorna, kako bi se osvetlila njihova kompatibilnost u pogledu dijagnoze najsloženijih oblika dominacije danas.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Frankfurtska škola, Adorno, dominacija, praksa, totalitet, kapitalizam, razmena

**ABSTRACT:** This paper explores one relatively neglected resonance within social theory – that between Pierre Bourdieu's structuralism of practice and the first-generation Frankfurt School, more specifically its “later” stages exemplified by Adorno's later works – with the aim of determining the specific advantages of both perspectives for diagnosing social domination. At a first glance, not much resonance is to be found between Bourdieu and late Adorno because, from Bourdieu's perspective, first-generation critical theorists were guilty of what he would call the technique of abstract “theoretical totalisation” (a strong form of “objectivism”): not only do critical theorists inherit the Marxist societal determinism of “objective structures” (the capitalist relations of production), they elaborate it along the lines of societal “totality” – in late modernity, the capitalist mode of production subsumes the entire social reality through the absolutisation of the “exchange principle”. Even if they go beyond the Marxist notion of “superstructure” in their analyses of symbolic domination in late capitalism, from a Bourdieusian perspective Critical theorists are still constrained in their diagnosis by the notion of “false consciousness”. The paper attempts a concise comparative analysis of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social domination and that of (the author's interpretation of) Adorno, in order to shed some light on their compatibility with respect to diagnosing the most complex forms of domination today.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Frankfurt School, Adorno, domination, practice, totality, capitalism, exchange

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BUDRIJEZAM I FUNKCIONALIZAM

## BOURDIEUSIM AND FUNCTIONALISM

BOŽIDAR FILIPOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U radu ćemo ocrtati Burdijeov odnos prema prominentnim predstavnicima funkcionalističke misli u sociologiji. Moglo bi se reći da je Burdije relativno retko referisao na pomenutu grupu autora u njegovom opusu. Značaj funkcionalizma za Burdijea ipak proizilazi iz činjenice da je ova paradigma bila snažno prisutna u naučnom i intelektualnom polju Zapada tokom druge polovine dvadesetog veka. On nikada nije ekstenzivno predstavio svoj odnos prema misli savremenika ovog teorijskog usmerenja. Ipak, moglo bi se reći da je svojim teorijskim i metodološkim rešenjima konstantno izazivao funkcionalizam. Burdijeova teorija se sa razlogom mogla posmatrati kao takmac funkcionalističkom pristupu u sociologiji. Međutim, ne smemo zaboraviti zajedničke „korene“ koje je delio sa funkcionalizmom.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, funkcionalizam, sociološke teorije, naučno polje

**ABSTRACT:** In this paper, we will outline Bourdieu's relationship to prominent representatives of functionalist thought in sociology. It could be said that Bourdieu relatively rarely referred to this group of authors in his opus. The significance of functionalism for Bourdieu, however, stems from the fact that this paradigm was strongly present in the scientific and intellectual field of the West during the second half of the twentieth century. He never extensively pictured his attitude towards the thoughts of contemporaries of this theoretical orientation. However, it could be said that with his theoretical and methodological solutions, he constantly challenged functionalism. Bourdieu's theory could rightly be seen as a competitor to the functionalist approach in sociology. However, we must not forget the common "roots" he shared with functionalism.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Functionalism, Sociological Theories, Scientific Field

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# BURDIJEIZAM I METODOLOŠKI INDIVIDUALIZAM

## BOURDIEUSIM AND METODOLOGICAL INDIVIDUALISM

SUZANA IGNJATOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U radu se porede teorijske pozicije dva savremenika francuske sociologije, Burdijea i Budona. Odnos dva autora posmatra se kroz četiri aspekta. Na institucionalnom nivou, može se pratiti njihovo mesto u jednoj fazi razvoja sociologije (od sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka) i pozicioniranje u francuskoj sociološkoj zajednici. Na teorijskom nivou, oni su predstavnici dve različite paradigme koje slede dve sociološke tradicije. Burdije sledi elemente tzv. genetskog strukturalizma i marksizma, a Budon pripada kognitivističkim pozicijama metodološkog individualizma. Razmotrićemo ključne tačke divergencije kod dva sociologa i recepciju njihovog dela u savremenoj sociologiji. Na empirijskoj ravni, ključna je rasprava ova dva sociologa zasnovana na istraživanju nejednakosti u obrazovnom i klasnom okviru koje su obojica sproveli u periodu kada je to pitanje postalo veoma aktuelno (šezdесетih i sedamdesetih godina 20. veka). Na političkoj ravni, moguće je pratiti razlike između Burdijea i Budona prema političkoj orientaciji i aktivizmu. Ovde se kontrastira levičar Burdije nasuprot liberalu Budonu. Posebna pažnja je posvećena povezanosti političke i epistemološke orientacije kao specifičnost sociologije. U završnom delu ispitujemo moguće elemente konvergencije u ove dve bazično veoma različite pozicije, a uporedno se analizira nasleđe koje su ostavili sociološkoj misli.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Budon, genetski strukturalizam, marksizam, metodološki individualizam, kognitivizam

**ABSTRACT:** The paper explores the sociological perspectives of the two famous French sociologists, Bourdieu and Boudon, by looking at their legacies in contemporary sociology. At the institutional level, these two scholars are both recognised in sociology, but their positions in the French sociological and academic community had followed different paths. At the theoretical level, these sociologists are representatives of two different paradigms following from two distinct sociological traditions. Bourdieu has developed a model based on genetic structuralism and Marxism. Boudon has followed the principles of methodological individualism and cognitivism. They diverge in many aspects, but we will try to identify some converging points in these two sociological positions. The discussion also focuses on the research studies of the same research subject – education inequalities and social class – conducted by both Bourdieu and Boudon from two different perspectives. These two empirical studies addressed one of the main issues in sociology and public policy during the 1960s and 1970s. Finally, we compare Bourdieu and Boudon at the political level, focusing on their opposed political views, ideologies and activism outside the academia. The leftist Bourdieu was on the opposite side of the political spectrum from Boudon, a moderate liberal. In the final part of the paper, we discuss the complex relations between the political and epistemological preferences of these two modern classics.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Boudon, genetic structuralism, Marxism, methodological individualism, cognitivism



# BURDIJEIZAM I SOCIJALNI KONSTRUKTIVIZAM

## BOURDIEUSIM AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

MILOŠ JOVANOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Rad se bavi upoređivanjem sociološkog pristupa Pjera Burdijeasa teorijom koju su razvili Piter Berger i Tomas Lukman. Uočavaju se sličnosti u, između ostalog, nameri „dijalektičkog“ prevazilaženja/ premošćivanja jaza između „objektivizma“ i „subjektivizma“ u društvenoj teoriji, negativnom stavu prema relativističkim tendencijama postmodernizma itd. Konstatuje se i paralela u autsajderskom položaju ovih teoretičara: Burdijea kao „provincijalca“ skromnog socijalnog porekla u Parizu, a Bergera i Lukmana kao evropskih emigranata (stranaca) u Americi. Razlike u načinu teoretisanja se pripisuju različitim intelektualnim, teorijskim i socio-kulturnim kontekstima u kojima su ovi naučnici delovali. U Burdijeovom slučaju, njegov otpor prema dominaciji filozofije u odnosu na empirijske nauke u Francuskoj, ekonomizmu marksističke teorije i Sartrovom egzistencijalizmu, a s druge strane: njegovo prihvatanje epistemologije Bašlara, te nekih temeljnih postavki Veberove sociologije. Berger i Lukman formulišu teoriju u vreme dominacije funkcionalizma u Americi i pridružuju se grupi ozbiljnih kritičara tog pristupa. Razilaženja ovih teorijskih pristupa postaju evidentna kada se preispita različit značaj i značenje koji se pridaje konceptima: moći, individuacije, strukture, delanja, habitusa i habitualiziranja, struktura relevancije i doksičnog znanja.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Berger i Lukman, konvergencija i divergencija teorija.

**ABSTRACT:** The paper compares Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach with the theory developed by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. One of the similarities, amongst others, is the intention to "dialectically" overcome/bridge the gap between "objectivism" and "subjectivism" in social theory, a negative attitude towards the relativistic tendencies of postmodernism and thematisation of the body as a locus of social influences. There is also a parallel in the outsider position of these theorists: Bourdieu as a "provincial" of modest social origin in Paris, and Berger and Luckmann as European immigrants/foreigners in America. Differences in the way of theorising are attributed to the different intellectual, theoretical and socio-cultural contexts in which these scientists operated. In Bourdieu's case, his resistance to: the dominance of philosophy over the empirical sciences in France, the economism of Marxist theory and Sartre's existentialism, and his acceptance of: Bachelard's epistemology, and some fundamental assumptions of Weber's sociology. Berger and Luckmann formulate their theory at a time when functionalism was dominant in America and they joined a group of serious critics of that approach. The divergences of these theoretical approaches become evident when the different meaning and significance attached to the concepts of: power, individuation, structure, action, habitus and habitualization, structure of relevance and doxical knowledge are examined.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Berger & Luckmann, convergence and divergence of theories



# SOCIOLOŠKI METOD PREMA PJERU BURDIJEU

## SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD ACCORDING TO PIERRE BOURDIEU

SELENA RADOVIĆ

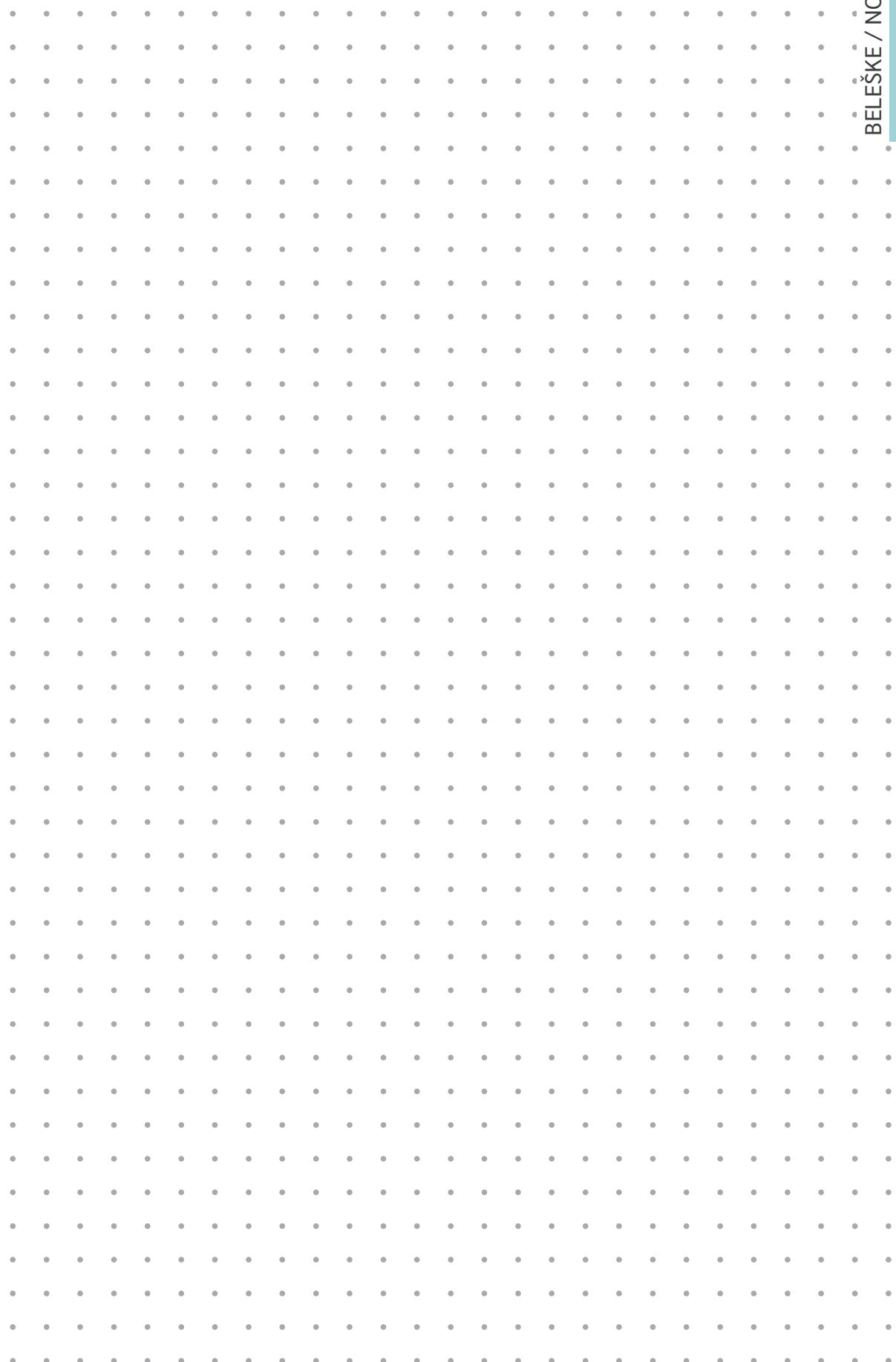
**APSTRAKT:** U ovom radu nastojaćemo da prikažemo ključne karakteristike Burdijeovog sociološkog metoda. Prema je svojim teorijskim opusom i pokušajem integracije suprotstavljenih teorijskih tradicija Burdije u sociologiji ostavio neizbrisiv trag, za samog Burdijea je empirijski rad esencijalno važan i nezamenljiv. Verujući da postoje stvarni ljudi i njihove prakse, Burdije je smatrao da se društvena realnost može i treba saznavati, postavljajući teoriju kao sekundarnu u odnosu na ovaj cilj. Burdijeov metodološki pristup neodvojiv je od njemu svojstvenog poimanja sociologije i društvenih istraživanja. Budući da „čisto“ naučno znanje prema Burdijeu ne postoji, on društvenonaučno znanje posmatra kao uslovno i uslovljeno, smešteno u konkretnе društvene i kulturne okolnosti. Otuda i sociologija status objektivne nauke u punom smislu može dobiti jedino ukoliko primjenjuje *refleksivnost*, pa se u refleksivnoj sociologiji metodom „objektivacije subjekta objektivacije“ od istraživača zahteva da preispita i sebe samog, kao i društvenokulturne uslove u kojima se nalazi. Nапослетку, svoj refleksivni pristup Burdije naziva “konstruktivističkim strukturalizmom” – u želji da kombinuje razumevanje načina na koji objektivne društvene strukture oblikuju ljudsko ponašanje, uz ostavljanje prostora za uvid da ljudi mogu, i da *de facto* delaju subjektivno – zamišljajući ujedno upotrebu kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih metoda *nerazdvojnim* neophodnim činiocima istraživačkog procesa.

**Ključne reči:** sociološki metod, Burdije, refleksivnost, refleksivna sociologija, konstruktivistički strukturalizam

**ABSTRACT:** In this paper, we will try to present the key characteristics of Bourdieu's sociological method. Although with his theoretical opus and attempt to integrate the opposing theoretical traditions in sociology Bourdieu left an indelible mark, for Bourdieu himself, the empirical work is essential and irreplaceable. Believing that there are real people and their practices, Bourdieu considered that social reality can and should be known, setting the theory as secondary to this goal. Bourdieu's methodological approach is inseparable from his immanent understanding of sociology and social research. Since “pure” scientific knowledge does not exist according to Bourdieu, he views the knowledge of social science as conditional and conditioned, placed in specific social and cultural circumstances. Therefore, sociology can obtain the status of an objective science in the full sense, only if it applies reflexivity; thus in reflexive sociology, the method of “objectification of the objectifying subject” requires the researcher to re-examine herself, as well as the socio-cultural conditions in which she is located. Finally, Bourdieu describes his reflexive approach as a “constructivist structuralism” – seeking to combine an understanding of how objective social structures pattern human conduct while leaving space for the insight that people can, and *de facto* act subjectively – conceiving in the same time the use of quantitative and qualitative methods as inseparable and necessary factors of the research process.

**Keywords:** sociological method, Bourdieu, reflexivity, reflexive sociology, constructivist structuralism

## BELEŠKE / NOTES

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## BELEŠKE / NOTES

## GEOMETRIJSKA ANALIZA PODATAKA: METOD, ISTORIJA I PREDNOSTI

## GEOMETRIC DATA ANALYSIS: THE METHOD, ITS HISTORY AND ADVANTAGES

LEONORA DUGONJIĆ I IVICA MLADENOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Kao statistički metod, geometrijska analiza podataka (GAP) osmišljena je u Francuskoj 1960-ih godina i razvijena od strane statističara Žana-Pola Benzekrija. Njegova ključna ideja bila je da statistički model mora biti prilagođen podacima, a ne obrnuto. Do veće upotrebe GAP u društvenim naukama dolazi zahvaljujući Pjeru Burdijeu i sociologima koji su koristili njegova konceptualna oruđa. Šira javnost je upoznala metod s izlaskom iz štampe „Distinkcije“ (1979), jedne od najuticajnijih socioloških knjiga globalno. Međutim GAP i dalje ostaje relativno ignorisan metod izvan Francuske uprkos tome što su ga u okviru sociologije kulture različitih nacionalnih konteksta koristili autori koji su aplicirali metodološki okvir korišćen u „Distinkciji“. U radu ćemo predstaviti glavne aspekte metoda, njegovu istoriju i prednosti koje donosi društvenim naukama u poređenju sa drugim statističkim opcijama – koja se inače češće koristi u društvenim naukama – kao što je regresiona analiza.

**Ključne reči:** geometrijska analiza, Žan-Pol Benzekri, Distinkcija, istorija, glavni aspekti, regresiona analiza

**ABSTRACT:** As a statistical method, Geometric Data Analysis (GDA) originated in France during the 1960s and was developed by statistician Jean-Paul Benzécri. The key idea of Jean-Paul Benzecri is that the model must follow the data and not the opposite. GDA largely found its way into the social sciences through Pierre Bourdieu and sociologists working with his conceptual tools. It gained fame with “Distinction” (1979), one of the most influential books in sociology globally, yet remains largely ignored outside of France despite its uses in the sociology of culture applying the analyses in “Distinction” to other national contexts. We will present the main aspects of the method, its history and its advantages for the social sciences as compared to other statistical options such as the more widely used regression analysis.

**Keywords:** Geometric Analysis, Jean-Paul Benzécri, history, main aspects, regression analysis

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# EPISTEMOLOŠKI TEMELJI „DRŽAVNOG PLEMSTVA“

## EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF “THE STATE NOBILITY”

JASMIN HASANOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Zadatak koji se postavlja u ovom radu leži u intenciji da se u identifikaciji i analizi metodologije korištene u knjizi „Državno plemstvo“ Pierrea Bourdieua vidi doprinos širih koordinata autorove epistemološke pozicije. Nastoji se uočiti veza između metoda korištenih u knjizi sa osnovnim teorijskim tezaurusom Pierrea Bourdieua i načinom na koji oni između sebe komuniciraju. Smatram kako nije moguće razumjeti sam metodološki pristup bez njegovog kontekstualiziranja u šire epistemološke okvire Bourdieuove kritičke sociologije kao teorijske prakse. Stoga, analiza koja se želi dati nastoji „Državno plemstvo“ posmatrati sa dvojakog aspekta – ne samo kao primjer materijalizacije pristupa teorijske prakse unutar tačno određene autorove knjige, već i kao odgovora pozitivističkom pristupu u društvenim naukama i humanistici. Knjiga daje metodološka polazišta za razumijevanje autorovih teorijskih postavki, te se nameće kao svojevrsni metodološki urnek za istraživanja sličnih fenomena i sa sličnih pozicija. S obzirom na značaj obrazovanja u reproduciranju dominirajućih odnosa moći, kao instrumenata simboličke dominacije, ona podjednako sa sadržinske i njoj odgovarajuće epistemološke i metodološke strane može ostvariti doprinos sociologiji znanja kao i pristup novim obrazovnim konceptima s onu stranu institucionaliziranog znanja odozgo ka dole.

**Ključne reči:** Bourdieu, plemstvo, epistemologija, kritička sociologija

**ABSTRACT:** The task that is being set in this paper lies in the intention to see broader coordinates of Pierre Bourdieu's epistemological position while identifying and analysing the methodology used in „The State Nobility“. It is an attempt to notice the relation between the methods used in the book with Pierre Bourdieu's basic theoretical thesaurus and the way they communicate with each other. I find it impossible to understand the methodological approach alone without contextualising it in the broader epistemological framework of Bourdieu's critical sociology as a theoretical practice. Therefore, this analysis seeks to view „The State Nobility“ from a twofold perspective – not only as an example of the materialisation of the author's theory of practice approach within a given book, but also as a response to the positivist approach in social sciences and the humanities. Despite its content limitations whereas time and space, the book provides methodological starting points for understanding the author's theoretical postulates imposing itself as a kind of methodological urn for research of similar phenomena and from similar positions. Given the importance of education in reproducing dominant power relations, as instruments of symbolic domination, it can make a contribution to the sociology of knowledge both content based as well as by its epistemological and methodological aspects in approaching new educational concepts beyond institutionalised knowledge from top to bottom.

**Keywords:** Pierre Bourdieu, nobility, epistemology, methodology, critical sociology

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# EPISTEMOLOŠKI TEMELJI „DISTINKCIJE“

## EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF “DISTINCTION”

ZONA ZARIĆ I ANDREJ CVETIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U ovom radu pokušaćemo da ponudimo svojevrsnu synergiju Burdijeovog koncepta distinkcije (la distinction) i ideje interseksionalnosti Kimberli Krenšo, zasnovanoj na transverzalnoj epistemologiji. Uz pomoć ovog pristupa videćemo da su i distinkcija i situirana interseksionalnost zasnovane na istim epistemološkim premisama o društvenoj moći i nejednakostima. Ovakve premise smatraju da se nejednakosti stvaraju kroz diferencijaciju društvenih agenata u njihovoj dostupnosti društvenoj moći. Linije demarkacije od kojih zavisi ova dostupnost možemo posmatrati kao skup različitih vrsta identiteta i praksi koje stvaraju neksus kumulativnog efekta na društvene agente. Pokazaćemo da oba koncepta dele zajedničku transverzalnu epistemologiju kroz diskusiju o mogućnostima korišćenja analize višestrukih podudaranja u okvirima intersekcione analize. Ova diskusija će obuhvatiti epistemološke razloge korišćenja analize višestrukih podudaranja kod Burdjea i isticanje njenih epistemoloških i metodoloških prednosti u intersepcionim proučavanju društvenih nejednakosti. Najzad, značaj ovog epistemološkog i metodološkog premošćivanja jeste u produbljivanju razumevanja kumulativnog efekta i međusobne povezanosti društvenih nejednakosti, kao i njihovom međusobno podržavajućem funkcionisanju.

**Ključne reči:** Pjer Burdije, Kimberli Krenšo, epistemologija, interseksionalnost, analiza višestrukih podudaranja

**ABSTRACT:** In this paper we will attempt to provide a synergy of the Bourdesian concept of distinction (la distinction) and Kimberlé Crenshaw's idea of (situated) intersectionality based on transversal epistemology. According to this approach both distinction and situated intersectionality are based on the same epistemological premises about social power and inequalities. Such premises stipulate that inequalities are created through the differentiation of social agents in their access to social power. Differentiating lines that determine this access could be regarded as various sorts of identities and practices which create a nexus with a cumulative effect upon social agents. We will demonstrate the idea that both concepts share an underlying transversal epistemology by discussing the possibility of using multiple correspondence analysis within the framework of intersectional analysis. Such a discussion would encompass the epistemological rationale of Bourdieu's use of multiple correspondence analysis and positing both of its epistemological and methodological advantages in studying intersectionality of social inequalities. Finally, the significance of this epistemological and methodological bridging is in deepening the understanding of the cumulative effect and interconnectedness of inequalities and their mutually supportive functioning.

**Keywords:** Pierre Bourdieu, Kimberlé Crenshaw, epistemology, intersectionality, multiple correspondence analysis



# PJER BURDIJE I MIŠEL FUKO

## PIERRE BOURDIEU ET MICHEL FOCAULT

ZONA ZARIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** U radu nastojimo da uporedimo pristupe Pjera Burdijea i Mišela Fukoa u odnosu na neoliberalizam i sisteme moći uopšte. Iako se obojica bave genezom društvenih sistema, moći diskursa i diskursa moći, oni se takođe u bitnim elementima i razilaze, metodološki i epistemološki: Fukoa zanima rušenje strukturalističkih i istorističkih šema mišljenja, koje prepostavljaju barem određeni stupanj kontinuiteta u istorijskom procesu. On nastoji da otkrije posebnosti određenih dispozitiva moći znanja. S druge strane, Burdije razvija genetski pristup koji je duboko istorijski i čiji je cilj utvrđivanje zakonitosti (procesi proizvodnje i reprodukcije moći, simbolički i materijalni). Na epistemološkom nivou, Fuko ima za cilj dekonstrukciju objektivnosti bilo kog naučnog poduhvata i potkopavanje pretpostavki o stabilnosti znanja, dok Burdije razrađuje naučni metod kojim gradi racionalističko razumevanje refleksivnosti. Umesto da njihove teoretičke vidimo kao međusobno suprotstavljene, bilo na teorijskom ili političkom nivou, u ovom radu želimo uporediti dva autora i uvesti ih u polemički dijalog. U zaključku predlažemo niz preseka i puteva prema potencijalnim artikulacijama između dva pristupa.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Fuko, neoliberalizam, moć, znanje, struktura

**ABSTRACT:** This article sets out to compare the approaches of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault to neoliberalism, and systems of power in general. While both are concerned with the genesis of social systems, the power of discourses and discourses of power, they diverge in important ways both methodologically and epistemologically: Foucault is interested in breaking down structuralist and historicist schemes of thought, which assume at least some degree of continuity in historical process. He aims to bring out the singularities of particular dispositifs of knowledge-power. Bourdieu on the other hand develops a genetic approach that is deeply historical and that aims to draw out the regularities (processes of production and reproduction of power, symbolic and material). At epistemological level, the first aims to deconstruct the objectivity of any scientific pursuit and undermine assumptions about the stability of knowledge, the second to elaborate scientific methods that build on a rationalist understanding of reflexivity. Rather than take their theorisations to be mutually antithetical, whether at a theoretical or a political level, this article aims to compare and contrast the two authors and bring them into a polemical dialogue. The conclusion proposes a number of intersections and paths towards potential articulations between the two approaches.

**Keywords :** Bourdieu, Foucault, neoliberalism, power, knowledge, structure



# PJER BURDIJE I LUJ ALTISER

## PIERRE BOURDIEU AND LOUIS ALTHUSSER

MILAN UROŠEVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Tema ovog izlaganja su sličnosti i razlike između Burdijeovog i Altiserovog teorijskog rada. Odnos Burdijeovih i Altiserovih teorijskih stanovišta obeležava niz slaganja koja prestaju na određenim tačkama, upravo će te tačke predstavljati osnovu našeg izlaganja. Izlaganje će biti podeljeno na tri dela, u svakom delu ćemo sistematski izložiti stanovišta oba autora, a potom ukazati na njihove sličnosti i razlike. Prvi deo odnosiće se na Burdijeova i Altiserova epistemološka polazišta i uticaj filozofije Gastona Bašlara na njihov teorijski razvoj. Drugi deo odnosiće se na koncept prakse koji čini teorijsku osnovu rada oba autora kao i na njihova razmatranja subjekta i njegovog odnosa sa praksom. U trećem delu pozabavićemo se sličnostima i razlikama u njihovim idejama o mogućnosti postizanja objektivnosti u naučnom radu kao i van-naučnim ulogama naučnog rada tj. idejom „angažovane teorije“. Cilj našeg izlaganja je da pokažemo kako razlike između Burdijeovih i Altiserovih ideja potiču od razlika u osnovnim prepostavkama o prirodi ljudske prakse koje se nalaze u srži njihovih teorijskih ideja.

**Ključne reči:** Altiser, Bašlar, epistemologija, praksa, subjekt, objektivnost, državni ideološki aparati

**ABSTRACT:** The topic of this presentation is the similarities and differences between Bourdieu's and Althusser's theoretical ideas. The relationship between Bourdieu's and Althusser's theoretical standpoints are marked by a series of agreements that stop at certain points, these points will be the basis of our presentation. The presentation will be divided into three sections, in each section we will systematically present each author's viewpoint and then point to their similarities and differences. The first section will deal with Bourdieu's and Althusser's epistemological starting points and the influence Gaston Bachelard had on their theoretical development. The second section will deal with the concept of practice as a theoretical basis for both of their works as well as with their considerations of the subject and his relation to practice. In the third section of the presentation we will deal with similarities and differences between Bourdieu's and Althusser's ideas on the possibilities of achieving objectivity in scientific work and on the non-scientific purposes of science i.e. on the idea of "engaged theory". The aim of our presentation is to show how the differences between Bourdieu's and Althusser's ideas stem from differences in the basic presuppositions about the nature of human practice that can be found in the core of their theoretical ideas.

**Keywords:** Althusser, Bachelard, epistemology, practice, subject, objectivity, state ideological apparatuses



# PJER BURDIJE I ERIK OLIN RAJT

## PIERRE BOURDIEU AND ERIC OLIN WRIGHT

VELIZAR MIRČOV

**APSTRAKT:** Pjer Burdje i Erik Olin Rajt su, samostalno, izgradili pristupe klasnoj analizi. Obojica sociologa su veliki značaj dali na teorijsku razradu svojih pristupa, ali su želeli i da njihovi teorijski koncepti budu primenjivi na empirijska proučavanja klasa i njihovih odnosa. Rajt svoju teoriju klase razvija unutar šireg teorijskog okvira analitičkog marksizma. Kako bi razvio složenu klasnu šemu, ali i proučio kapacitete tih klasa za kolektivno klasno delovanje, kao glavne koncepte za proučavanje klase on koristi eksploraciju i dominaciju. Burdje svoju klasnu šemu razvija unutar sopstvenog makro teorijskog pristupa koji se, ponekad, naziva teorija habitusa i polja. On ne razvija detaljnu klasnu šemu već proučava klasne odnose preko ekonomskog i kulturnog kapitala, kao i potencijala za klasnu mobilnost pojedinaca. U ovom radu predstavlja se novi tip klasne analize koji spaja najbolje aspekte Burdjeovog i Rajtovog pristupa klasnoj analizi.

**Ključne reči:** klasa, eksploracija, dominacija, kapital, kultura

**ABSTRACT:** Pierre Bourdieu and Eric Olin Wright, independently, built approaches to class analysis. Both sociologists paid great importance to the theoretical elaboration of their approaches, but they also wanted their theoretical concepts to be applicable to empirical studies of classes and their relations. Wright developed his class theory within the broader theoretical framework of analytical Marxism. As the main concepts for the study of classes, he uses exploitation and domination, in order to develop a complex class scheme, but also to study the capacities of those classes for collective class action. Bourdieu develops his class scheme within his own macro-theoretical approach, sometimes called habitus and field theory. He does not develop a detailed class scheme but studies class relations through economic and cultural capital, as well as the potential for class mobility of individuals. This paper presents a new type of class analysis that combines the best aspects of Bourdieu and Wright's approach to class analysis.

**Keywords:** class, exploitation, domination, capital, culture



# PJER BURDIJE I LIK BOLTANSKI

## PIERRE BOURDIEU AND LUC BOLTANSKI

SRĐAN PRODANOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Burdijeova sociologija se često optužuje za determinizam. Skeptici obično prigovaraju da većina ključnih pojmove njegove sociologije negira refleksivnost u okviru svakodnevne prakse i tako lišava obične aktere njihove moći delanja. Verovatno jedna od najsofisticiranijih (i ambivalentnih) varijacija ove kritike Burdijeovih ideja je potekla od Lika Boltanskog koji, posebno u svojoj knjizi "O kritici", tvrdi da je njegovo shvatanje pragmatičkog oblika kritike komplementaran sa Burdijeovom konceptualizacijom odnosa između socijalne strukture i prakse. U ovom radu koristićemo teoriju kompleksnosti kako bismo pokazali da je većina ovih optužbi za determinizam veoma problematična. Takođe ćemo tvrditi da nam je – iako je Boltanskijeva sociologija svakako heuristički plodna – ipak potrebna mnogo temeljnija sinteza pragmatične refleksivnosti i socioloških uvida koji se tiču društvene strukture.

**Ključne reči:** praksa, društvena promena, refleksivnost, teorija kompleksnosti

**ABSTRACT:** Bourdieu's sociology is quite often accused of determinism. The sceptics usually object that most of the key notions of his sociology ultimately negate the reflexivity within the everyday practice, and thus rob the ordinary actors of their agency. Perhaps one of the most sophisticated (and ambivalent) variation of this critique of Bourdieu's ideas has come from Luc Boltanski who, especially in his book *On Critique*, argues that his account of the pragmatic form of critique is complementary to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the relation between social structure and practice. In this paper I will use complexity theory in order to show that most of these accusations of determinism are quite problematic. I will also claim that, although Boltanski's sociology is heuristically fruitful, we still need a more fundamental synthesis of pragmatic reflexivity and sociological insights into social structure.

**Keywords:** practice, social change, reflexivity, complexity theory

BELEŠKE / NOTES

# PJER BURDIJE I BRUNO LATUR

## PIERRE BOURDIEU AND BRUNO LATOUR

STEFAN JANKOVIĆ

**APSTRAKT:** Susret između Pjera Burdijea i Bruna Latura deluje kao tegoban pokušaj da se uklope inače nespojive slagalice. Dok je razvoj Laturove teorije delom obeležen animozitetom spram Burdijea kroz dobroznani otklon od "kritičke sociologije", pozadina ovog spora se čini nedovoljno izraženom. Komparativni pogled na rad dvojice autora koji se nudi u ovom radu, locira izvor ovog spora u razmimoilaženju u pristupima razvijanim upravo kroz izučavanje nauke, a koji takođe iskazuju dublje ontološke razlike. Uprkos socio-istorijskim ograničenjima, Burdije vidi nauku kao vrhunski vid pristupa svetu koji ujedno može razgraditi suptilno umetnutu dominaciju i moć ukoliko je ova držana na bezbednoj distanci od politike i ekonomije. Latur je pristupajući nauci kao mundanoj delatnosti istu video kao heterogenu asocijaciju sa politikom i religijom, koja utoliko rasčlanjuje objektivnost, ali kao složenu i materijalizovanu ko-konstituciju ljudi i ne-ljudi. Sve ovo je podržano kranje nespojivim ontologijama društvenog: Burdije podvlači skriveni rad struktura, izdvajajući društveno od "prirode" dok Latur akcentuje upravo suprotno kroz ulančane efekte mreža gde ljudska agensnost gubi primat. Iako imaju posve disonantne poglede na aktere, razdvajajući i dručkije izvore dejstvenosti, Burdije i Latur istovrsno misle u relacionim okvirima i podstiču premeštanje fokusa na praksi kao situacioni, zapetljani i procesualni vid bića. U zaključku, raspravićemo upravo kako praksa predstavlja momenat za diplomatski susret između dvojice autora.

**Ključne reči:** Burdije, Latur, društvena ontologija, teorija, praksa

**ABSTRACT:** An encounter between Pierre Bourdieu and Bruno Latour presents itself as a burdensome attempt to match incompatible puzzles. While the development of Latour's theory is partially marked by an animosity towards Bourdieu through a well-known deflection from the "critical sociology", the background of this dispute still seems somewhat understated. Comparative overview of the work of the two offered in this paper, locates the source of this dispute in diverging approaches developed by studying the science that eventually shed the light on more profound ontological differences. In spite of socio-historic limitations, Bourdieu sees science as a supreme mean for accessing the world, which simultaneously might decompose subtly inserted domination and power if it is held on a safe distance from politics and economy. By accessing science as a mundane activity, Latour has seen it as a heterogeneous association with politics and religion, which breaks down objectivity, but also as a complex and materialised co-constitution of humans and non-humans. All of this was backboned by incompatible ontologies of the social: Bourdieu underlines the hidden work of structures secluding the social from "Nature" while Latour accentuates the opposite through concatenated effect of networks where human agency loses primacy. In spite of having rather dissonant views on actors and distinguishing different sources of agencies, both Bourdieu and Latour think in relational terms and encourage re-focusing on practice as a situated and processual way of being. In conclusion, we will discuss how the practice might serve as a diplomatic encounter between the two authors.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, Latour, Social Ontology, Theory, Practice

BELEŠKE / NOTES

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