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Pride and Pragmatism: Linguistic and Political Ambivalence in the Everyday Lives of Serbian Students and Teachers

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Pride and Pragmatism: Linguistic and Political Ambivalence in the

Everyday Lives of Serbian Students and Teachers

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Anthropology

by

Rachel L. George

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Pride and Pragmatism: Linguistic and Political Ambivalence in the

Everyday Lives of Serbian Students and Teachers

By

Rachel L. George

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Alessandro Duranti, Chair

This dissertation investigates the everyday lives and experiences of Serbian youth born

amidst war and the breakup of Yugoslavia. It argues that historical and political events in Serbia

have inspired widespread *ambivalence* about national pride and cosmopolitanism, how to restore

Serbia's international reputation, and the ability of citizens to enact societal change. Such

ambivalence manifests itself through different genres of speaking and types of social encounters.

The dissertation explores the ways in which a new generation takes up and reinterprets recent

social upheaval amidst changing local, European, and global landscapes.

The study draws upon one year of fieldwork in a prestigious high school in Belgrade,

Serbia, where I recorded history, civics, and literature courses, videotaped and conducted

participant-observation with students and their peers outside of class, interviewed students and

teachers, examined textbooks and other school materials, and analyzed students' interactions on

Facebook. This ethnographic corpus offers rich insights into 1) Inter-generational constructions of histories and futures, both personal and collective; 2) Talk itself as simultaneously a symbol of futility and an instrument of political action; and 3) Social media as a site for youth to express their ambivalence, experiment with new connections between language and identity, and overcome feelings of isolation and stigma that still weigh on the previous generation.

Analysis of the corpus suggests that ambivalence in Serbia is historically-grounded, is constructed through a range of linguistic features and types of interaction, and has been experienced as alternately constraining and empowering. Students and teachers oscillate between nostalgia and skepticism when recounting shared histories and use a range of linguistic features to ambiguously assert or downplay Serbia's responsibility for past events. Teachers alternate between criticizing and participating in bureaucratic interactional routines with their students. Online, students mix politically-charged writing systems in novel ways that seem to redefine modern Serbian youth identity while reasserting the advantages of living between 'East' and 'West.' Overall, this study reveals ambivalence to be a pervasive cultural and political mood that can either lead to feelings of political and social paralysis or become a resource for new and creative forms of identification.

The dissertation of Rachel L. George is approved.

Adam Moore

Paul Kroskrity

Elinor Ochs

Alessandro Duranti, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

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LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

:		<u>Colon(s)</u>: Extended or stretched sound, syllable, or word.
(( ))		<u>Double Parentheses</u>: nonverbal details.
( )		<u>Single Parentheses</u>: Transcription doubt.
.		<u>Period</u>: Falling vocal pitch.
?		<u>Question Marks</u>: Rising vocal pitch.
↓ ↑		<u>Arrows</u>: Pitch resets; marked rising and falling shifts in intonation.
° °		<u>Degree Signs</u>: A passage of talk noticeably softer than surrounding talk.
=		<u>Equal Signs</u>: Latching of contiguous utterances, with no interval or overlap.
[ ]		<u>Brackets:</u> Indicates beginnings and endings of speech overlap.
!		<u>Exclamation Points</u>: Animated speech tone.
-		<u>Hyphens</u>: Halting, abrupt cut off of sound or word.
> < < >		<u>Less Than/Greater Than Signs</u>: Portions of an utterance delivered at a pace noticeably quicker (> <) or slower (< >) than surrounding talk.
OKAY		<u>Caps</u>: Extreme loudness compared with surrounding talk.
hhh .hhh ye(hh)s		<u>H's</u>: Audible outbreaths, The more h's, the longer the aspiration. Aspirations with periods indicate audible inbreaths (e.g., .hhh). H's within parentheses (e.g., ye(hh)s) mark within-speech aspirations, possible laughter.
Hah		<u>Laugh Syllable</u>: Relative closed or open position of laughter.
(.)		Intra-turn pause of one second or less

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INTERLINEAR GLOSSES

1PL	=	1st person plural
1SG	=	1st person singular
2PL	=	2nd person plural
2SG	=	2nd person singular
3PL	=	3rd person plural
3SG	=	3rd person singular
ACC	=	accusative case
COND	=	conditional
DAT	=	dative case
DX	=	deixis
FUT	=	future tense
INF	=	infinitive
HYP	=	hypothetical conditional
NEG	=	negative
PAS	=	passive voice
POT	=	potential conditional
PP	=	past participle
REFL	=	reflexive

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I could not have written this dissertation without valuable guidance and support from my outstanding dissertation committee. Thank you to Olga Yokoyama, Adam Moore, and Paul Kroskrity for taking an active interest in my work and pointing me toward new resources and alternative ways of thinking. Thank you to Elinor Ochs for always bringing an unexpected – and brilliant – point of view and for investing so much time and energy into helping me to refine the manuscript. And thank you to my superb chair, Alessandro Duranti, who provided unceasing support, advice, and good cheer. Sandro is one of the most original thinkers I know, and his attitude is as worthy of emulation as his analytic eye. Sandro's unique ability to reassure and challenge me simultaneously has made my work better and my time in graduate school more enjoyable.

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Publications and Presentations

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2013 | "What's a Vendetta?": Political Socialization in the Everyday Interactions of Los Angeles Families. *Discourse and Society* 24(1): 46 – 65.

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CHAPTER ONE:
Introduction

On May 26, 2011, about eight months into fieldwork, I returned home to my flat in central Belgrade, Serbia and turned on the television. I saw the headline on the screen: "Uhapšen je Ratko Mladić" (Ratko Mladić arrested). Mladić, a Bosnian Serb accused of overseeing genocide during the Balkan Wars of the 1990s, whose continued freedom was seen as a (if not the) major obstacle to Serbia's candidacy for European Union membership (Castle 2010), had been apprehended by Serbian authorities and would soon be handed over to The Hague for trial. My roommate, a Serbian woman around my age, came into the room, and we flipped between channels to hear the British, American, Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian perspectives on the event. Though each presented a slightly different slant, President Boris Tadić's remarks were broadcast on every station. His brief statements were designed to address various audiences at once, including a divided national public, Serbia's former war "enemies," and the so-called international community.

The arrests of Mladić and other accused Serbian war criminals and the president's responses encapsulated a central predicament for urban Serbs: how to maintain national pride and resist what many viewed as unfair perceptions and treatment by the international community while making practical decisions that benefit the country's international reputation and economic standing. Even though most people I talked to in Belgrade did not support Mladić, many argued that Serbia had been unfairly singled out and demonized worldwide for their part in a war in which all sides had behaved shamefully. While many people resented taking orders from the European Union (E.U.), the same people often berated their own government – who, according to many, must have known Mladić's whereabouts for years – for hiding the general and thereby

delaying E.U. candidacy for Serbia. Questions about how to project a moral standing

internationally and reap the practical and material benefits of alliances with "the West" while

simultaneously holding firm to "traditional" cultural values and against excessive outside

interference – the predicament I will be glossing as a tension between pride and pragmatism –

was also ubiquitous in classrooms, everyday on- and offline conversations, and interviews with

research participants. This dissertation makes sense of these sentiments through the analytical

tools of linguistic anthropology.

1.1 Goals

The leading idea of this study is that historical and political events in Serbia have inspired

widespread **ambivalence** about whether or not one should 1) have national pride and/or embrace

cosmopolitanism, 2) reconcile histories that would restore Serbia's international reputation, and

3) actively work for societal change. As I will demonstrate, such ambivalence manifests itself

across different genres of speaking and types of social encounters.

The study draws upon on one year of fieldwork in a prestigious high school in Belgrade,

Serbia, where I recorded history, civics, and literature courses, videotaped and conducted

participant-observation with students and their peers outside of class, interviewed students and

teachers, examined textbooks and other school materials, and analyzed students' interactions on

Facebook. These methods of data collection produced a corpus that allows rich insights into 1)

inter-generational constructions of histories and futures, both personal and collective; 2) talk

itself as a symbol of futility (i.e., talk seen as the opposite of action) and a political tool; and 3)

social media as sites for youth to experiment with new connections between language and

identity and transcend feelings of isolation and stigma that still weigh on the previous generation.

The data will be used to show that ambivalence in Serbia is historically-grounded, has been

experienced as alternately constraining and empowering, and is constructed through a range of grammatical and discursive features and realized in the context of particular types of interaction, and.

1.2 Why Serbia? Why Belgrade? Why High School Students?

In 2010-2011 students in their third and fourth years of high school were part of *Generacija* (or 'Generation') 1992 and 1993 (named for the years in which they were born). They were born during the Balkan Wars of 1991-1995, which dissolved the former Yugoslavia, grew up under sanctions imposed by NATO as punishment for their country's actions in those wars as well as in Kosovo, and were now coming of age as Serbia stood on the brink – but still firmly on the margin – of European integration.   I wondered how the stigma and hardship that characterized their childhoods affected their view of Serbia and the world. How did they understand ethnic identity and ethnic tension?

Serbia, and particularly Belgrade, has long been a place where cosmopolitanism and ethnic nationalism stood in productive tension. According to Glenny (2000), ethnic relations in the former Yugoslavia were particularly harmonious in its urban centers (Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo), where different ethnic groups often lived and worked side-by-side and developed similar global tastes in music and dress. Belgrade was also the locus of the protests that finally ousted Serbian extremist leader Slobodan Milošević in 2000. At the same time, Belgrade's educated elites have also been accused of complicity in extremist projects, either by failing to protest in order to preserve their own position (Dragovic-Soso 2002) or providing scholarly justifications for nationalist sentiment, as when the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science (SANU) memorandum of 1986[1] presented Serbs as the primary victims of the economic downturn and accused both Kosovo and Croatia of persecuting ethnic Serbs.

People's struggle to maintain local interests and identities in the face of an increasing globalized world has been a common focus of interest for scholars who study cosmopolitanism (Hall 2002, Held 2002, Beck 2002)

The challenge, for scholars and for citizens, is to advocate for the equality and universal dignity without subscribing to a kind of cosmopolitanism that demands the loss of local values in exchange for participation. This dilemma is especially salient for Serbs, whose national pride had long incorporated cosmopolitanism, affirmed by a global reputation of sophistication thanks to travel throughout the Western and Eastern blocs on a Yugoslav passport (Jansen 2009). Many now feel stigmatized by international characterizations of Serbia as brutal and motivated by "ancient tribal hatreds" (*c.f.* Kaplan 1995). Focusing on urban, elite Serbian youths provides a rare glimpse of how a new generation moves forward following massive social upheaval and facing a set of competing motivations tied to the forces of global economics and popular culture, on the one hand, and national pride, on the other .[2]

The high school students came of age in the aftermath of widespread unrest that they were largely too young to remember. High school classroom interactions give us a chance to understand 1) the continuous historical prominence of youth as both symbols of Yugoslavia and drivers of political resistance following its dissolution; and 2) Teacher-student and student-student interactions as sites for social reproduction and change; especially given the central role of the high school in Serbia's so-called 'democratic transition'.

Youth were an important focal point of Tito's regime in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Shortly after taking power after World War II, Tito began organizing 'working actions' (*Radne Ackcije*)[3] in which young people gathered to work on national infrastructure projects, as well as an annual *Dan Mladosti* ('Day of Youth'), a festival dedicated to the leader,

in which young people, performing song and dance (Chusak 2013), took center stage. Such spectacles helped cement the image of Tito as an intimate father figure to his young citizens (Greenberg 2014, Bringa 2004). Following the death of Tito, the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the wars and economic hardship of the 1990s, youth became known instead for their resistance to extremist leader Slobodan Milošević's regime. In fact, young people were largely credited with Milošević's overthrow in 2000, known as the October 5 revolution (Vejvoda 2009). This study focuses on youth in part to understand whether or how the role of youth as citizens has changed in the years following the October 5 revolution. One key source of the ambivalence I mentioned above concerns the perceived decline in youth political engagement. It is not immediately clear whether such engagement signals a more general societal decline, which includes a descent into materialism and a less intellectual and curious generation, or suggests decreased extremism and nationalism and, thus, a return to a more functional society, in which children are free not to concern themselves with politics.

A related question concerns what, if anything, secondary schools can do to promote democratic participation among students. The relation between educational practices and the outside world is a topic of much debate in social theory about education (see Collins 2009, Wortham 2008, Galston 2001, King 1980 for particularly useful reviews of these topics). Some have characterized schools as sites for the reproduction of social and economic inequality (Althusser 1971, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; for criticism, see Giroux 1983). Scholars of political socialization (Hyman 1959) have also considered the efficacy of educational institutions in instilling civic virtues or increasing political engagement in the form of voting, political demonstrations, or literacy in current events (Langton and Jennings 1968, Niemi and Junn 1998, Pasek et al. 2008). Taking a more dialogical approach, linguistic anthropologists have examined

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how "educational language use presupposes and transforms social relations and how educational actions are influenced by ideologies about language and social personhood" (Wortham 2008: 39). In particular, language socialization studies examine how classroom language practices socialize students into becoming moral members of society (He 2000, Baquedano-Lopez 2000, Moore 2004, Howard 2004) and facilitate new forms of linguistic and national identity following massive social upheaval (Duff 1994, Friedman 2006, Vogel 2007).

Based on the assumption that youth can learn the behaviors and perspectives of democratic citizens and thereby improve the democratic prospects of the country, secondary schools have become a centerpiece of attempts at 'democratic' reform in Serbia and other former Yugoslav republics (Nezirović 2011, Council of Europe 2010). In 2001, for example, Serbian schools adopted a civic education curriculum recommended by the Council of Europe for instilling civic virtues and combating violent nationalism and authoritarian attitudes (Greer, Murphy, and Øgård 2005). In focusing on the ways in which students talk about politics in aand outside of these courses class, this dissertation documents the on-the-ground effects of these programs.

1.3 Why Focus on Ambivalence?

Ambivalence is usually defined as the co-presence of two or more contradictory feelings about, dispositions toward, or categorizations of an issue, event, or other "attitude object" (Ajzen 2001, 39). From an evolutionary psychological perspective (*c.f.* Boehm 1989), ambivalence is seen as arising from conflicting needs or impulses (e.g., leisure time vs. achieving higher status by working more hours) and can be studied empirically by examining actual "decision dilemmas" that humans and other animals experience.

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Political theorist Bart Van Leeuwen (2008: 148) frames ambivalence as arising from encounters with difference, which can fascinate at the same time that they threaten the "self-evident background assumptions from which people derive ontological certainty." The association of ambivalence with alterity persists in studies of diaspora or of ethnically or cultural "hybrid" spaces (Hall 1996), which tend to present ambivalence or uncertainty as the product of conflicting cultural influences (such as the values taught at home versus school). I argue, however, that in the relatively ethnically, culturally, and religiously homogenous space of Serbia, ambivalence does not result primarily from a clash of incommensurable (but internally coherent) cultures or ideas, but is instead a historically-grounded, pervasive collective mood that is socialized through and enacted in everyday communication across all kinds of media and contexts.

The idea of ambivalence as a lasting condition is tacitly recognized by Zygmunt Bauman, who relates ambivalence to a failure of language to categorize a feeling or experience: a situation "turns ambivalent if the linguistic tools of structuration prove inadequate. . .the outcome is the feeling of indecision, undecidability, and hence loss of control " (Bauman 1991: 2). Bauman presents modernity as one kind of quest for order, but one that ultimately fails because all classificatory schemes prove inadequate. He argues that this inadequacy leads to ambivalence, which leads to new classificatory systems that in turn prove inadequate, leading to more ambivalence, and so on. Bauman suggests the possibility of "under-determination/ambivalence/contingency as a *lasting human condition*" (Bauman 1991: 16,). Like Bauman I view ambivalence less as the presence of conflicting feelings toward a particular object or issue and more as a fundamental way of orienting to the world that can vary - cross-culturally and cross-situationally - and is experienced as alternately empowering or paralyzing.

Ambivalence also presents a challenge for those who measure political beliefs and attitudes (Craig and Martinez 2005, Alvarez and Brehm 1998, Feldman and Zaller 1992, Kaplan 1972). As Stephen Craig and Michael Martinez (2005: 2) point out, survey data on political beliefs often tell you only the "central tendencies" of people's beliefs and say little about, and often erase, the conflicting values or ideas that might underlie them. Despite efforts to develop more sophisticated measures for ambivalence[4], surveys and other quantitative measures still fail to account adequately for ambivalence.

Documenting ambivalence as it emerges across discourses allows for a nuanced understanding of people's experience dilemmas and contradictions. It turns out that ambivalence is a fairly stable cultural value that holds cross-situationally, rather than an individual's subjective response to conflicting influences, positions, or impulses. As this study demonstrates, there is evidence that ambivalence in Serbia is long-standing and historically-rooted, even though each successive historical event has reshaped ambivalence and each generation has a chance to (re)interpret it as either empowering or disempowering.

1.4 The Potential of Ambivalence for Linguistic Anthropological Study

1.4.1 Language Socialization

This study was designed as a language socialization study (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984) that examines how young people in Serbia are apprenticed into and through new discourses of national, ethnic, and linguistic identities. Following others who examined the classroom as a key site for the formation of a new generation of citizens of new or newly-constituted nation-states (Duff 1994, Friedman 2006, Vogel 2007), it sets out to analyze language as an instrument and

goal of socialization in a situation where we expect a generational divide due to recent widespread political and social change.

I expected that teachers educated under one regime would have difficulty using unfamiliar guidelines and curricula – and perhaps, even, new versions of history and definitions of Serbian identity – to educate a new generation. What I did not expect was the tension observed between teachers' professed goal to teach students the virtues of civic participation and their overwhelming insistence in interviews and elsewhere that such efforts were futile in Serbia. As Chapters Five and Six will illustrate, several teachers admitted that they feared passing down their own conflicted feelings toward the process of democratization to their students.

Here ambivalence is not just an attitude that arises from a clash of incommensurate influences such as a mismatch between home and school socialization, (Heath 1982, Philips 1970). Ambivalence can be privileged when children are consistently socialized into and through a type of discourse that promotes more than one stance simultaneously. In this case, young people acquire an orientation toward – and way of characterizing – behaviors and beliefs as inherently unstable, uncertain, and/or internally contradictory.

1.4.2 Language and Agency

Much of the ambivalence I describe arises out of teachers' and students' conceptions of what Serbia did – and should be held responsible for –and what future actions are possible, given current political constraints. The study thus examines how these individuals alternately (or sometimes simultaneously) assert and deny their own agency.

Conceptualized as free will, as resistance, or simply as the capacity to act,the concept of agency has been controversial and yet useful for understanding human action in the context of

various social hierarchies and power dynamics (see Ahearn 2001b for review of uses and criticisms of the term). Agency has also figured prominently in anthropology through practice theory (Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1979, Ortner 2006), which has emphasized a dialectical rather than an oppositional relationship between agency and structure. In semantics so-called "case roles" like Agent, Patient, and Instrument enabled linguists to examine speakers' judgments about "who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed," (Fillmore 1968: 24-25) and have led many scholars to attribute agency to entities and events based on qualities such as definiteness, volition, self-control, and causality (Van Valin and Wilkins 1996: 293).

In attempts to connect linguists' and social theorists' notions of agency, some linguistic anthropologists have noted the ways that speakers use syntactic and semantic resources to characterize their own and others' agency (Duranti 1990, 1994; Ochs and Capps 1995; Ehrlich 2001, Ahearn 2001a, Ahearn 2001b). Duranti (2004) has further theorized the relation between language and agency by advocating the evaluation of words for 1) their contribution to the realization of a moral self, 2) their role in constructing culture-specific acts and activities and 3) the ways they display "knowledge, its sources, and its use for specific ends" (Duranti 2004: 453). Such work emphasizes the ways in which notions of agency and morality are intertwined in speakers' conceptions of their actions in the social world.

These studies consider speakers whose preference for taking or not taking responsibility for their own actions is fairly clear: Duranti (1990, 1994) showed that in a contentious situation Samoan orators might mitigate their own or others' agency by using the genitive form, for example (roughly corresponding to the difference in English between mentioning *John's drive on Sunday* vs. saying *John drove the car on Sunday)*. Those accused of serious crimes, such as rape, in the U.S. downplay responsibility through the passive voice, avoidance of the first person

pronoun, and certain kinds of evidentials (Ehrlich 2001), and death penalty jurors in interviews reduce their own responsibility for sentencing another to death through alternative ways of expressing their role as Agents and avoiding the mentioning of the consequence (death) of their decision from their descriptions of what they did as jurors (Conley 2011). In these studies, speakers portray their own or others' actions fairly consistently in either agentive or non-agentive ways. A focus on ambivalence leads us to consider how speakers use grammar to manage genuine dilemmas about how much responsibility to take for particular actions.

A focus on ambivalence also opens a space for analyzing the linguistic encoding of *tactics*, defined by de Certeau (1984:30) as "the very ancient art of 'making do,' in which a person seeks not to change the overall power or structures of a particular context, but rather finds "ways of using the constraining order" of a given situation. The very notion of tactics suggests that speakers can construct a split picture of agency, in which they present themselves as highly constrained by the actions of others at the same time that they emphasize the morality and/or effectiveness of actions they undertake within those constraints. Accounts of tactical action pervaded teachers' and students' talk about the past, in which they proudly described microscopic and/or symbolic acts of rebellion that Serbs at various points in history leveled from positions of overall powerlessness. The interest for scholars of language and agency is in how linguistic resources are marshaled to emphasize both defiance and powerlessness. Linguistic constructions of agency can be a powerful tool for understanding how people manage complex, and sometimes contradictory, aspects of self-presentation. This topic will be discussed in chapter Four, where President Boris Tadić will be shown to use active constructions to describe the work required to capture Ratko Mladić while mitigating agency when discussing the decision-making behind it. A similar tendency also appears in teachers' and students' discussions of Serbian

history, wherein they present Serbs as competent and skillful while emphasizing their inability to control their own destinies.

1.4.3 Multivocality

Theories of "voice" and the related notion of "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981; Hill 1995; Ivanov 1999 Keane 1999) are also important for understanding how ambivalence emerges and is recognizeable in discourse. According to such theories, speakers can both inhabit and comment on particular social roles through subtle changes in linguistic choices that express shifts in attitude, stance, and identification with particular actions or participants. Chapter Five examines the ways in which students and teachers use voice to debate ministry-mandated rules about grades and attendance. Through shifts in voice, teachers move between speaking as ministry representatives and as intimate mentors, thus constructing an ambivalent stance toward the role of negotiation in the classroom. In so doing, teachers simultaneously participate in and criticize the bureaucracy that stipulates these regulations.

1.4.4 Language Ideologies

As discussed in Chapters Three and Seven, the ethnic tensions in the former Yugoslavia were often filtered through conflicts over the status of the Serbian language and its relation to other languages in the region. Different views on the definitions and boundaries of national languages represent different *language ideologies*, that is, "cultural system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255; see also Silverstein 1979, Woolard 1985; Kroskrity 2004). Students of

language ideologies have resisted the notion that language structure and use can be studied effectively without accounting for speakers' awareness of, or attitudes about, their language and its relationship to a social and political world. The language ideologies framework has revealed, among other things, the many ways that the Herderian notion of 'one language, one people' (see Bauman and Briggs 2003) still informs nationalist movements and constructions of national and ethnic identity. In particular, language becomes the "target and battlefield" (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 202) of nationalist groups who aim to cast their collectivity as 1) externally recognizable by virtue of their homogeneity and distinctiveness from other groups, 2) rooted in tradition and possessing a long, shared history, and 3) threatened, marginalized, or oppressed (Alonso 1994; Cavanaugh 2009, Jaffe 1999, Susan Di Giacomo 1999, Schmidt 2008). Because groups thought to have a 'distinct' language tend to enjoy greater legitimacy in the eyes of the world – and, thus, often have greater success in gaining recognition for independence claims – language planners and advocates often work actively to separate their language from closely related ones (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

In the decades leading up to the breakup of Yugoslavia, Croatian politicians and academics pushing for independence began building a case for the separate status of the Croatian language, which had since World War II been officially part of the joint language Serbo-Croatian (Greenberg 2004, Alexander 2006; see Chapter Three for an explanation). Although the languages are now officially separated, in Serbia uncertainty still exists about where to draw the boundary between Serbian and Croatian and about the relative status of the Serbian language's two writing systems: the Cyrillic alphabet, associated with Serbian tradition and the Eastern Orthodox religion, and the Latin alphabet, which is used more often in digital media and foreign stores and restaurants and is also associated with Croatian. As detailed in later chapters,

interviews, observations of classroom discussions, and texts posted on Facebook suggest that many individuals approach questions about the boundaries of the Serbian language and the appropriateness of different writing systems with uncertainty and conflicting emotions.

The recognition that a great number of people feel ambivalent about the Serbian language situation adds a dimension to the well-established idea that a *multiplicity* of language ideologies always exists within a given group (Kroskrity 1993, 2000). That is, while certain moral, cultural, and political attitudes about language might dominate[5], they are always contested, or at least contestable. A focus on pervasive *ambivalence* about language, however, means viewing language choice as more than a power struggle among relatively certain and stable attitudes. Focusing on ambivalent language ideologies is a way of recognizing that uncertainty itself may be the dominant emotional and political stance of a particular speech community. As elaborated in Chapter Seven, young people strategically use ambivalence about the social meanings of Serbian and its two writing systems to creative advantage in online spaces such as Facebook, where they engage in language play that both conforms to and challenges dominant attitudes about language.

1.4.5 Ambivalence as Stance

Ambivalence can be viewed as a type of stance. Harris Berger (2009) defines stance as "the valual qualities of the relationship that a person has to a text, performance, practice, or item of expressive culture" (Berger 2009: 5). Emphasizing the dialogical aspects of stance, Du Bois (2007) notes that stance involves not only evaluation of a particular 'object,' but also a positioning of the self vis-à-vis said object and an alignment (or lack thereof) with others' stances. Affect is key to stancetaking (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012), which often includes

multimodal (verbal as well as other types of embodied) assessments (M. Goodwin 2007, C. Goodwin 2007). Stance can also mediate an indirect link between particular ways of speaking and a constellation of socio-cultural identities (Ochs, 1992, 1996) – that is, certain ways of speaking become associated with stances, which in turn become associated with particular social roles and relationships.

Taking a sociolinguistic view, Jaffe (2009), focuses on stancetaking as "taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one's utterance" (Jaffe 2009: 3). In noting that a speaker's stance is often conflicted and that stancetaking's inherent ability to weave together multiple voices can mediate such conflict, Jaffe (2009: 18-22) tacitly acknowledges the mutual relevance of stance and ambivalence. In a striking analysis of ambivalent stancetaking, McIntosh (2009: 74) examines uses of the first-person pronoun in Kenya to express multiple, contradictory attitudes toward the occult, noting that such stancetaking highlights conflicting positions without necessarily reconciling them.   Similarly, this study indicates how students and teachers – through 1) linguistic constructions that both assert and deny agency, 2) voice shifts that comment on the very interactions in which participants are engaged, and 3) language that both conforms to and challenges political attitudes about language and identity – take up ambivalent positions toward Serbia and their place within it.

1.5 Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Ambivalence

One of the key sources of ambivalence for participants in this study concerns the position of Serbs and Serbia in an increasingly global cultural, political, and linguistic landscape. Crucial to this uncertainty are questions about the various meanings of *nationalism* and *cosmopolitanism* and the extent to which the two can be considered commensurable.

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In our global system of nation-states, nationalism is an easily taken-for-granted concept. Nationalism is predicated on "patterns of belief and practice which reproduce the world - 'our' world - as a world of nation-states, in which 'we' live as citizens of nation-states" (Billig 1995:15). Billig (1995) refers to these ideological underpinnings of nationalism, reinforced through rituals and everyday, mundane forms of collective remembering, as *banal nationalism*, which lies dormant until activated during a political crisis.

Brubaker (1996) views nationalism not as steadily-reinforced dispositions or characteristics, but as a *contingent* set of practices. Thus, he argues, the ethnic violence of the 1990s did not necessarily result from the re-activation of nationalism long suppressed, but instead from a particular set of practices that crystallized around specific political events. The forms of nationalism that lead up to nationalization are different from the forms that result from it. The forms of nationalism that led Croats and Slovenes, for example, to secede from Yugoslavia are different from the kinds of nationalism that followed their secession and led to the wars. Brubaker argues that the independence movements in Yugoslavia led to a kind of triad of newly nationalizing states (such as Croatia), their newly-created ethnic minorities (e.g. Serbs living in their territory), and those minority groups' 'external homelands,' (Yugoslavia). The resulting situation led to distrust and accusations of ethnic oppression from all sides (Denitch 1994).

In different ways, Billig and Brubaker remind us that we should not take for granted the meaning of "nationalism" or its inevitability as a way of organizing the world. The same is true for the notion of *cosmopolitanism*, which is sometimes thought to offer an alternative to nationalism and the possibility for more global affinities. According to Vertovec and Cohen (2002), cosmopolitanism can take on a variety of meanings, serving as middle path between

nationalism and multiculturalism, signifying a kind of world citizenship, emphasizing

transnational links among social movements, recognizing hybrid publics that challenge ideas of

belonging, or describing certain types of individual behaviors, values, and dispositions.

The idea of cosmopolitanism dates back to the Stoics in ancient Greece (Held 2002,

Nowicka and Rovisca 2009, Boon and Delanty 2007), who advocated for the idea that all people

are capable of *logos*. Kant and other enlightenment philosophers further advanced the

cosmopolitan idea, arguing that human beings were progressing toward living in one community

and could attain lasting peace through universal morality and reason (Kant 1917 [1795], 1963

[1784]). Contemporary scholars of cosmopolitanism focus on the complex allegiances and

relationships among individuals, communities, and the world (Cheah and Robbins 1998,

Tomlinson 2002, Rumford 2007) and the potential for the formulation of common norms and

relativization of one's own cultural and moral values (Tomlinson 2002). Cosmopolitanism is

often associated with the French Enlightenment, which conceived of civilization as a universal

progression from barbarism to enlightenment, a position criticized by German thinkers who

emphasized the importance of distinctive local cultures and national identity (Kuper 1999: 23 -

46).

Cosmopolitanism's universalizing tendencies have – perhaps not surprisingly – come

under harsh criticism from contemporary scholars as well. According to its critics, not only does

a cosmopolitan lens ignore the continued and very real power of nation-states (Vertovec and

Cohen 2002), but it can also contribute to the uncritical veneration of the tastes and practices of

global elites (Calhoun 2002, Appiah 2006). Celebrations of cosmopolitanism, in other words:

> Can suggest an unpleasant posture of superiority toward the putative provincial. You
> imagine a Comme des Garcons-clad sophisticate with a platinum frequent-flyer card
> regarding, with kindly condescension, a ruddy-faced farmer in workman's overalls. And
> you wince (Appiah 2006: xiii).

In addition to carrying negative associations with elitism, cosmopolitanism has also been accused of standing in as code for neoliberalist interests and western hegemony (Hall 2002). Many Serbs' ambivalence about their position in the world is concerned with this very issue: can they belong to a larger world community – sharing values, interests, and tastes as well as participating in common activities – without submitting and conforming to a 'west' that they feel has consistently isolated and misjudged them? Ambivalence about nationalism and cosmopolitanism also exists around another question that has been important for theorists, namely, whether people can maintain a strong sense of local pride and simultaneously obtain cosmopolitan credentials. Although scholars have repeatedly asserted that the cosmopolitan idea need not be opposed to localism or national pride (Nowicka and Rovisco 2009, Lamont and Aksartova 2002), many Serbs have experienced the two as dichotomous. In Serbia during the 1990s, for example, cosmopolitans became suspect, feared for their supposed "rootless disloyalty" (Jansen 2009b: 76).

As explored in Chapter Seven, many students on Facebook attempt to avoid the conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism by engaging in mixed-language and mixed-orthographic practices that exhibit multiple fluencies but eschew particular allegiances. They thus engage in the kind of cosmopolitanism described by Bryan Turner (2002):

> Cosmopolitanism does not imply that one does not have country or a homeland, but one has to have a certain reflexive distance from that homeland. Cosmopolitan virtue requires Socratic irony, by which one can achieve some distance from the polity. The principal cosmopolitan virtue is irony, because the understanding of other cultures is assisted by an intellectual distance from one's own national or local culture (Turner 2002: 57)

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The Facebook interactions employ such irony not only toward traditional markers of Serbian identity, but also toward global popular cultural icons and the English language as well. They engage in a kind of 'cultural cosmopolitanism,' depicted as "the ability to stand outside a singular location (the location of one's birth, land, upbringing, conversion) and to mediate traditions" (Held 2002: 58).

The relations between cosmopolitanism and nationalism are anything but straightforward. That these two orientations continue to be treated as somewhat oppositional, however, ensures that they remain relevant categories of analysis. The present study will use cosmopolitanism to refer the ways in which people incorporate multiple beliefs and value systems, assert global affinities, and participate in multinational spheres, whether virtual or material. The study will restrict the definition of nationalism to Brubaker's (1996) characterization of it as a contingent practice, specific to particular political events. When referring to the isolated, insular, and unreflective notions of ethnic superiority to which cosmopolitanism is often opposed, I will instead use the term 'ethnic fundamentalism'[6]. This term acknowledges that many in Serbia seek a form of national pride that does not include ethnic fundamentalism.

1.6 Chapter Breakdown

Following a discussion of methods and historical background, the dissertation transitions from a focus on teachers to a focus on students, as specified below. Each chapter begins with a vignette that describes either a particular fieldwork experience or a relevant political or social event that serves as an orienting framework for or illustration of the analysis that follows it:

Chapter Two introduces the fieldsite, participants, and methods for data collection and analysis. Chapter Three examines the history of Serbia's ambiguous status vis-à-vis its neighbors and the so-called "international community." It describes the country's historical location on the

shifting border between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, its uneasy position as the dominant republic of both the first (interwar) and second (post-World War II) Yugoslavia, and the current uncertainty about its future status as a European nation. It also explains Serbian citizens' recent history of isolation, shame, and rejection, as they became known as the "rump Yugoslavia" when their fellow Yugoslav republics seceded one by one, underwent a decade of sanctions compounded by over two months of NATO bombings aimed at ousting extremist leader Slobodan Milošević, and experienced the lasting stigma of several Serbian generals' accused genocide and other war crimes against their neighbors during the Balkan Wars of the 1990s.

Chapter Three also describes dominant ideologies about the relation between language and national identity during the years leading up to and after the breakup of Yugoslavia. It analyzes the efforts of linguists to redefine a linguistic identity for Serbia following the official split of Serbo-Croatian. As discussed in Chapter Seven, these debates play out on Facebook and other forms of digital media. Even a cursory analysis of the country's history suggests that Serbia has long occupied a liminal position that can be experienced alternately as either an advantage or a hindrance. From this point of view, one could say that ambivalence has long been built into the political and historical landscape and is not some consequence of a recent encounter with difference.

Chapter Four returns to the President's remarks following the arrest of accused general Ratko Mladić in order to examine how he simultaneously emphasizes and de-emphasizes Serbia's agency on the world stage, presenting its leaders and military as skillful actors while eschewing moral responsibility for some of the actions undertaken. It demonstrates how this tendency is reflected in teachers' and students' talk about past events and future possibilities for

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the nation. Through conflicting framings of agency, speakers construct a stance of *defiant powerlessness*, highlighting both the strength and skill of their actions while also stressing their inability to control the ultimate course of events. Finally, it considers how ambivalence about past and present agency contributes to an overall discourse of futility, in which people express resignation about perceived societal problems and their potential solutions.

Chapter Five approaches ambivalence from the point of view of classroom routines in which students and teachers account for past behavior and negotiate disciplinary and academic outcomes. The ubiquity of accounts and negotiations stems from the fact that the school lacks a central disciplinary structure and teachers must thus handle all disputes on the spot, in the classroom. I argue that the conversational exchanges parallel the bureaucracy that frustrates Serbs in everyday life: the law is rarely applied consistently, and one's success depends on the ability to make a case. Although teachers and students reproduce some of the common features of bureaucratic interactions, they demonstrate ambivalence toward the practice of negotiation – and its political implications – through an alternation of what I call the institutional voice and the intimate voice. Through this alternation, teachers critique the system that they simultaneously perpetuate and train students to manage. Thus, negotiation – and more broadly, talk itself – becomes a tactic (de Certeau 1984) for making the best of undesirable aspects of the political system.

Chapter Six considers a potential paradox: although teachers and other adults often claim that the current generation of youth is disengaged from the political sphere, they also present youth political participation as inevitable and, at times, a dangerous lure that students must be socialized to resist. I first compare the widespread discourse of youth disengagement with some actual student conversations in their civics course. Although students and teachers often

complain about the pointlessness of the civics class, students' active participation (for example, when they reject the suggested curriculum in favor of more "exciting" political topics and take the lead in steering the conversation) suggests that they have not become as politically disengaged as parents, teachers, and even the students themselves often claim.

I then compare statements about political participation from interviews with teachers in Serbia to the attitudes of American middle class parents, drawing upon the UCLA Sloan Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF) study.of Los Angeles households. I find a major difference in the perceived relation between political participation and agency: in Los Angeles, parents who participate in and involve their children in politics frame their participation as agentive, moral, and part of an explicit parenting strategy; in Belgrade, political participation is framed as a risk for children who are not busy enough, something one falls into unless she makes an active, moral choice to avoid participating. This difference is historically conditioned and grounded in differing notions of the individual and what he or she can accomplish through various types of activism.

Chapter Seven examines the everyday Facebook communications of youth in this study. Facebook – like other forms of digitally-mediated communication such as texting and online chat – affords a visual layering of codes and writing systems. This possibility allows an utterance to display bivalency (Woolard 1998), the quality of belonging to more than one code simultaneously. Facebook can visually present an utterance as representing more than one language, whereas the utterance would be interpreted as monolingual if read aloud. I argue that although the forms produced do involve the "playful inversion of standard language hierarchies" (Jones and Schieffelin 2009: 1050), they also reinforce dominant attitudes about language and identity. These bivalent forms become iconic representations of a bilingual youth culture that

refuses to choose between an isolating localism and pandering to the "West." In imagining a

political situation that does not pit pragmatism against national pride, they resist dichotomies

invoked by the older generation and imagine a return to an idealized cosmopolitan Yugoslav past.

Through these studies the dissertation proposes a preliminary model for language and identity.

CHAPTER TWO:
Fieldsite, Data Collection, and Analysis

This chapter provides a short overview of my fieldsite and methods and describes some challenges faced while in the field. During the academic year 2010-2011 and part of the following summer, I conducted ethnographic research among high school students and their teachers in Belgrade. The study focused on a large public high school in the center of Belgrade. At the school, I video- and audio-recorded civics, history, and language and literature courses, interviewed students and teachers, socialized with both students and teachers between classes, and attended and filmed special events. I also filmed and conducted participant research with students and their friends outside of class and collected their daily interactions on Facebook.

2.1 Prior Research

During summer 2008, I conducted a short research project in an orphanage in Belgrade, Serbia. Goran Milic, a Los Angeles restaurant owner had started a project there to improve the job prospects of youth from orphanages and other group homes by teaching them how to cook and connecting them with hotel owners in the area.[7] I arrived in Belgrade for the first time, mere days after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić had been arrested and extradited to The Hague after years in hiding and roughly six months after the province of Kosovo had declared independence from Serbia, sparking outrage in the country. When I arrived in Belgrade, the city was awash in protest of both events; everyday, people marched in the streets carrying pictures of Karadžić as teenage boys blasted music and, in some cases, vandalized property. Anti-European Union stickers and spray-painted messages - "Ne damo Kosovo," ('We won't give up Kosovo' (lit. 'We don't give Kosovo,')), "Kosovo je Srbija" ('Kosovo is Serbia'), etc. - blanketed many

buildings in the old city. Six months earlier, protestors had set fire to the U.S. embassy

following the country's acceptance of Kosovo's independence.

I was struck at the time by how engaged the youth in the orphanage were with these as

well as more global political issues. Despite the familiar complaints from adults– including

social workers and orphanage employees – that youth did not care about anything but celebrities

and clothes, young people talked openly with me about their concerns for Serbia's future and

anger at the United States and Western Europe for unfair treatment of their country. Based on

these interactions, I was curious about how Serbian youth come to adopt discourses around

ethnic identity, history, and global politics.

When I returned for my fieldwork two years later, the city looked and felt different. The

anti-EU stickers had largely disappeared, and though graffiti was still prevalent, the whole city

seemed to boast a fresh coat of paint. More international stores had appeared, and western

European trends of food and drink were continuing to take hold; cappuccino and espresso, for

example, had largely replaced *domaca kafa*, a variant of Turkish coffee, in local cafes. Many

who had been outraged at the loss of Kosovo and the extradition of Karadžić now expressed

resignation.

2.2 Entering the Field

In the months before leaving for Belgrade in 2010, I contacted acquaintances for

connections to Belgrade high schools. Marija, a teacher and representative of Gradska

Gimnazija (City High School),[8] contacted me to tell me that I was invited to conduct research at

her school. An English major, she described herself as a kind of international liaison for the

school. Shortly after arriving in Belgrade, I entered the large, stately school building for the first

time, asked one of the tetke (literally 'aunties,' here used as an affectionate term for women who

act as janitors and overall caretakers for the school) where to find Marija and crept down the stairs into a cavernous stone basement. There, I found her leading a lively English discussion of a Twilight Zone episode the class had just watched. Her English fluency sounded almost native, and she carried herself with a professional aura that was at once friendly and intimidating, both stern and sweet. She questioned me briefly about my intentions, admitted that she had conducted prior Facebook background checks on me, and invited me to come back a few days later and meet the principal and other teachers. Within a few weeks, Marija would become a good friend and one of my most important consultants.

2.2.1 The School

Gradska Gimnazija was a very old public school in the center of Belgrade and one of the most academically rigorous. Renowned for its history of educating writers and academics, the school was dedicated to instilling a sense of national pride based on intellectual history and worldliness. The school prided itself not only on its rich history and top-scoring students,[9] but also on its bilingual programming and international cooperation.   Many students elected, for example, to take half of their courses in other languages, such as Italian.

Figure 1: *Razdrenik* ('Homeroom teacher') of Bilingual Serbian/Italian class poses in Class T-shirt, which reads *Bilingval Mafia* ("Bilingual Mafia").

During my fieldwork my primary focal class also hosted a group of students from Chicago; several students used the opportunity to showcase their fluency in English.

Reconciling national and ethnic pride with a cosmopolitan perspective – a key theme of this dissertation – was particularly interesting to explore in a school that explicitly aimed to socialize its students as both proud Serbs and worldly social critics. I chose an elite school in part because of the uneasy place of the intellectual in Serbia's recent history (Dragović-Soso 2002): Urban scholars in Serbia have traditionally been associated with political resistance and were targets under both Tito and Milošević. On the other hand, educated elites are also accused of corruption and complicity with ruling regimes. Teachers often highlighted that they were teaching a mix of students – those who were admitted on academic merit alone and those who used money and political connections to secure a spot in an incoming class This tension undermines any potential claims that Serbian society can be easily divided into an urban, cosmopolitan elite and a rural, extremist underclass.

2.3 Conducting Research

2.3.1 Participant-Observation and Video- & Audiorecording

      This study is rooted in the unique combination of participant-observation and close analysis of recorded, naturally-occurring interaction that distinguishes linguistic anthropology as a subfield of anthropological research in the U.S. and Canada (Duranti 2003). Malinowski (2007[1922]) articulated the centrality of participant-observation to anthropological research by advocating that researchers live among their research participants, documenting not only social organization but also the *imponderabilia of actual life*, including "the routine of a man's working day," "the tone of conversation and social life," and "the subtle yet unmistakeable manner in which personal vanities and ambitions are reflected in the behaviour of the individual and in the emotional reactions of those who surround him" (Malinowski 2007 [1922]; 53). A researcher gains an understanding of such imponderabilia not by sporadic participation or occasional recording but by sharing life experiences with the members of a community over a prolonged period of time. Such involvement gives us an understanding of local activities from "a native's point of view".

      During the 2010-2011 school year, the primary site for participant observation was Gradska Gimnazija, where I attended classes with students and attempted to acclimate myself to the rhythms of everyday school life. Before I began participant-observation, Marija introduced me to three teachers – one each in civics, history, and language & literature – who had agreed to allow me to attend their classes. The history and literature teachers each served as a *razrednik* (something like a homeroom teacher) for a class of about thirty students who attend all classes together[10] for the entire four years; thus, the students and their razrednik become quite an intimate group. The history teacher's third year class became my primary focal class, which I

observed in history, civics, and literature courses and from which I recruited students for interviews and participant-observation outside of school. Students from this class participated at various levels, from interacting with me only at school to participating in all research activities, depending on their interest in and comfort with the project.[11] I also attended the literature teacher's fourth-year class, which became a secondary focal group of students.

I also conducted participant-observation with students outside of the classroom, while they socialized with friends at cafes or shopped, and on class breaks, when they usually walked to the nearby *Pekara* ('bakery') or corner shop to buy food or congregated in the back of the school to smoke and chat with friends from other classes. In a few cases, I went to students' homes and ate meals with their families. I also spent time in the teachers' lounge during long gaps between classes, where I often witnessed everyday gossip, political conversations, and work complaints. I also spent time with teachers when they met for coffee outside of class or went out for drinks at night.   As I became more integrated into the school, I was able to attend and record numerous special events at the school, including religious festivals, an encounter with visitors from Chicago, and an end-of-the-year graduation party in the schoolyard that featured music from a Roma band and DJs that played modern Serbian, Yugoslav, and international pop music.

Figure 2: Students dance in foam during their graduation party

Video- and audiorecordings are important tools of linguistic anthropological research, as they capture details that a fieldworker would not necessarily remember or write down in fieldnotes, add to the transparency of our analyses by making them available to the scrutiny of both native participants and other researchers (Duranti 1997), and – in the case of video – afford detailed analysis of all aspects of interaction, including the non-verbal and multimodal (e.g., use of space and objects in interaction)[12]. Over the research period, I audio- and videorecorded civics, history, and literature courses as well as schoolwide events, audiorecorded interviews with students and teachers, and videorecorded students outside of the classroom, for a total of around 275 hours of recordings.

2.3.2 Interviews

I conducted open-ended interviews with students from the primary focal class (both individually and in groups), each of the three main teachers (civics, history, and literature), and two English teachers at the school, who happened to be sisters. Although I mostly used a person-centered (Levy and Hollan 1998) approach to interviews, allowing the interviewees to steer the course of topics as they saw fit, I did address several common topics in each interview.   For students, I included topics such as their childhood and family life, how they envisioned their future, what they thought of their classes, which writing system they used and why, and their favorite books, movies, television shows, and websites. I also asked students to reflect on specific interactions I had recorded in the classroom, such as a particularly emotional discussion of wartime poetry that occurred near the end of my time in the field.

Interviews with teachers focused on many of the same topics. I also asked questions about how they became teachers and inquired about what they expect students to gain from their classes. I took advantage of students' and teachers' hospitable ethos by asking what I, as a foreigner, needed to understand in order to get by in Belgrade – a question that always yielded long and interesting discussions of history and ethnic identity. The teachers are referred to hereafter according to their pseudonyms: Aleksandar (the history teacher), Liljana (the literature teacher), Mira (the civics teacher), and Marija & Tanja (two English teachers who are also sisters). Students cited in interview excerpts are also given pseudonyms, but other students in classroom excerpts are simply referred to as S, S1, S2, etc.

Anthropologists have long pointed out that interviews are not a neutral vehicle for the transfer of cultural information, but are themselves particular types of speech events, which may be more familiar in certain cultural settings than in others (Briggs 1984, Mishler 1986). As situated interactions that can shift over time, interviews always carry the potential to alter the relationship between the fieldworker and the interviewee. As Ewing (2006) notes, "interviewing itself is a form of participant-observation in which interviewer and respondent are engaged in a dance of carefully chosen communications that modulate their shifting identities" (Ewing 2006: 91). Thus, the interviewee's utterances are not necessarily transparent or self-evident but rather subject to transference, countertransference, or even manipulation.

Although some might be reluctant to answer formal questions or talk at length about themselves (Briggs 1984), interviews can also provide psychological rewards to the interviewee. Levy and Hollan (1998) maintain that

> It seems that the opportunity to talk about, express, share, and construct aspects of one's private world in conditions where this proves safe – away from immediate communal censorship, in an interaction with someone who is sympathetic, nonjudgmental,

disinterested, and trustworth – is of considerable value for many, perhaps most people (Levy and Hollan 1998: 340).

Indeed, several participants claimed that the interviews were positive experiences that allowed them to talk through issues that they might not have discussed at length elsewhere. At the end of the last interview with Mira (M), the civics teacher, for example, there was a pause after her last answer. She then gave her assessment of the interview experience as therapeutic:

Excerpt 1:

M: Dakle Rachel ovo je, ovo je terapeutski deluje hhhhh.
So Rachel, this is, this is a therapeutic effect hhhh.

Dakle rekla sam ono- što- što sam pokušavala negde da objavim ali nisam uspela.
So i said that- what- what I have tried to publish somewhere but didn't succeed.

In another case, when interviewing two teachers together, Marija (M) veered from talking about childhood in the Yugoslav period to discussing very personal emotions she felt toward her parents as a teenager. Tanja (T), her sister, stopped and teased her that this was not material for me, the anthropologist, but for a mutual acquaintance who was a psychology student:

Excerpt 2

T: Mislim da je ovo materijal za Maju, više nego za tebe.
I think this is material for Maja more than for you.

R: hhhh. Ne, ne
hhhh. No, no.

Most participants oscillated smoothly between acting as *consultants* and *respondents* (Hollan and Wellenkamp 1994), that is, between acting as experts on Serbian culture and politics who could discuss problems and patterns in general terms and relating their own specific experiences.

2.3.3 Facebook as a Research Tool

Each medium offers particular opportunities for learning about the people we study. I realized the potential importance of using Facebook for my study once I became aware of how much after-school socializing was happening through this social medium. Focal students checked a box on their consent forms allowing me to collect their statuses and posts on each other's walls. Because I connected via Facebook with many other students as well, I was able to see better the extent to which my focal students' posts were representative of posts from a wider group of students at the school. I also became Facebook friends with many Serbs my own age and gained a clearer perspective on what was and was not generationally-specific about the research participants' posts. I collected data from Facebook by taking screenshots. For the purpose of this and all other writing, I have blurred all personal details in the posts.

Paerregaard (2002: 321) has asked, "What happens when those being studied stop conceiving of the anthropologist as the other and start construing this other as just another one, either different to or equal to themselves?" Facebook became an equalizer. It did not just give me more access to the everyday lives of my research participants; it also gave them more access to my life. Via Facebook, I shared details of my life – albeit indirectly – that I might never have thought to share with research participants otherwise.   Students could see photos from my everyday life, my friends, my partner. They 'liked'[13] my photos and left friendly comments on my page, and I did the same for them. At times we shared similar funny videos or stories. Suddenly, we were part of a *techne*, a classical term that Boellstorff (2008: 56-57) extends to a world created by co-participation in a common sphere.

A Facebook relationship might also have aided in the students' "indexation and categorization" of me as a fieldworker (Paerregaard 2002: 328). For one thing, it served as a

kind of instant background check for those students who might have felt uncertain about my

motivations as a researcher. On Facebook, students could see that I at least appeared to be who I

said I was. Not only did I attend to the possibility that research participants will someday read

this dissertation and other published work on my research (Brettell 1996), but also I was keenly

aware that, in ways perhaps unthinkable to previous generations, details of my life outside of the

fieldwork context were suddenly available for scrutiny and evaluation.

Other affordances of Facebook data collection are worth mentioning. First, on Facebook

the daily interactions of students are automatically archived. Using Facebook's timeline feature,

I can at any time go back and see what was posted during my research.[14] Second, it provides

more information about social networks among research participants. Although I knew, for

example, that the girls in my class divided themselves roughly into three social groups –an

impression confirmed in interviews – I was able to see on Facebook who within those groups

interacted with each other the most online as well as to witness relationships cross-cut the social-

group divides. I also gained a better perspective on the differences between online and offline

language use. As discussed in Chapter Seven, students online made different orthographic

choices than they did in other writing and used English regularly, which did not happen in class

or with friends.

Finally, connecting with research participants on Facebook has carried the unintended

consequence of allowing me to see the students' lives unfold after the formal research period

ended. Since I have returned from the field, I have watched these students graduate from high

school and start university, choose a course of study, and refine their personal style and tastes. I

have watched online slang and other linguistic trends come into fashion and then disappear.

While I recognize that there are risks to continued exposure to research participants – perhaps, I

will analyze data from the past based on what I now know, rather than restricting analysis to the data collected during the research period, for example – I would argue that access to the Facebook lifeworlds of research participants can be a positive innovation for ethnography. At the very least, it helps to avoid describing my students' past online practices although they have persisted, unchanged, in the present.

2.3.4 Print and Visual Documentation

I obtained copies of all textbooks associated with the classes observed as well as some primary school textbooks on Cyrillic and Latin, the two writing systems of Serbian. The literature texbooks allowed me to follow along in class as students analyzed ethnic poetry and other literature and also served as essential reference points that I could match to recordings and notes from particular class periods. The history textbooks, as official representations of what the Serbian government wants student to know about their country's past, served as important points of comparison to more informal narratives of Serbian history that emerged in lectures, interviews, and everyday conversations. The elementary school books on writing systems were important for understanding how the school system frames each writing system and its relative importance.

Finally, still photographs, an important part of any ethnographic data collection, were particularly important for my analysis of the cultural and political meanings of Cyrillic and Latin, the two writing systems of Serbian. I took photographs of nearly every storefront on two major commercial thoroughfares in the city. I used these photos as visual documentations of the various ways in which the two writing systems are used and mixed in urban public space.

Figure 3: Signs on the streets of Belgrade. On the left, a software company (*Poslovni softver)* mixes Cyrillic and Latin, while a fitness center uses only Latin. On the right, a pharmacy (*Apoteka)* identifies itself using both writing systems.

2.3.5 Other Documentation

On occasion, I also recorded events that did not directly involve focal participants but nonetheless served as important context or provided an informative counterpoint to what I was witnessing and recording daily. For example, when a major right-wing party in Serbia was advocating for early elections to try to oust liberal president Boris Tadić, I attended and recorded rallies. Tomaslav Nikolić, the man who led those rallies, was elected president in 2012 in an extremely close election. I also went with friends to family lunches, Christenings and other cultural events, all of which gave me a broader sense of the everyday lives of Serbian families.

As a contrast to relatively elite students in my daily surrounds, I observed a technical high school for a very brief period, including an event in which a psychologist engaged students in improvisational theatre exercises that strove to help students better solve problems in real life. I also interviewed a group of men in their thirties who had attended a high school much like Gradska in the 1990s and had engaged in many forms of everyday resistance, including running an underground newspaper that satirized local and global political events. These observations and interviews helped me to better understand the class-[15] and generation-specificity[16] of the Gradska school community.

2.4 Challenges

2.4.1 The Politics of Scrutiny

Although research participants were almost always kind and hospitable, persuading them to trust me fully was challenging and took time. Issues of trust, rapport, and suspicion are always in play in ethnographic encounters (Bernard 2006, Schensul et al. 1999). Establishing rapport with one group of people can risk alienating another (Nash 1976), and various cultural or personal motivations for secrecy can exist, such as a taboo on a given individual knowing too much information (Throop 2010; 36).   According to Sluka (2007; 219), anthropologists as far back as Franz Boas have been suspected of espionage; researchers have been arrested, chased out of villages, and even placed in physical danger due to the suspicion of research participants. Although, I never faced threats or even serious interrogations, I often heard the half-joking question "Are you in the CIA?" followed by the more serious, "Who is funding your research?" Even among people who did not doubt my motivations as a researcher, fear of potential further damage to Serbia's reputation seemed to lurk in the background of every interview and recorded interaction. The main ways that this fear manifested itself was in the teachers' insistence that I film class "only some of the time," and the students' repeated queries about what they should talk about when I had the camera.[17] Although fieldworkers should expect some of these issues wherever they go, they were particularly pronounced in Serbia, where conspiracy theories about powerful nations were common,[18] and stories abounded of American spies posing as non-governmental organization workers and relaying information that led to the NATO bombings in 1999. My only solution to this challenge was patience. Over time people grew accustomed to interviews and being filmed and trusted me as just another individual rather than as a representative of the United States.

2.4.2 The role of English

      Dell Hymes (1983) suggested that for anthropologists "to abandon the principle of using the local language is to abandon the essential standard of humanistic research – who would credit a specialist in French culture who did not know French?" (Hymes 1983: xvii). Like most linguistic anthropologists, I made a concentrated effort to conduct as much research as possible using the local language. Belgraders tend to place an extremely high value on hospitality, however. Guests are not to pay for anything or help their hosts with cleaning or serving food, for example. Being a good host also meant engaging in various forms of accommodation, including speaking to your guests in their native tongue whenever possible. Most people I encountered spoke English much better than I spoke Serbian, as I had been learning the language for only a few years and they had been speaking English for most of their lives. As much as I urged participants to talk to me in Serbian, many resisted or would switch back to English the moment they suspected that I might not understand them fully. In addition, off-hand comments in English often provided extremely rich ethnographic information, which left me with a conundrum: to what extent do I risk stemming the flow of information and trajectory of the interaction to 1) Insist on Serbian and 2) Turn on my recorder? When participants switched to English during short conversations, I often let the interaction proceed as it was going and took extensive notes as soon as possible. I used my notes from these casual conversations as prompts in later interviews, which were conducted in Serbian. If I could find a space that felt natural and like it would not derail an important story or interaction, I sometimes asked if I could turn on the recorder and, depending on the person and my relationship with them, I would gently remind them that I did not need them to speak in English for my sake.

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2.5 Transcripts, Research Assistance, and Friendship

Early on in my fieldwork I met a Serbian woman in her early thirties at a social event in Belgrade designed to bring together foreigners and local residents to socialize and network. Like many Serbs her age, she was living with her mother but eager to regain some of the independence that she had known while living on her own in London. When my temporary roommate vacated my apartment, we decided that she would move in, and we quickly became close friends. She had lived much of her life abroad but had attended high school in the 1990s in Belgrade and had a very valuable insider/outsider perspective on issues that I was encountering in my work.

Soon, I decided to hire her as a transcriber. After she transcribed the recordings, we would sit together and translate them into English while she commented on the cultural meanings of various expressions and provided commentary on what she saw as the differences between the students' experiences in high school and her own. As is common in linguistic anthropological studies, those sessions became a valuable form of insight in and of themselves; for that reason, I kept the recorder on during our translation sessions. When my fieldwork ended and her work schedule left her with less time to work on transcripts, she trained her brother to take over the task. He produced transcripts, and then the two of us would discuss them over the phone or Skype. He also annotated the transcripts with his (extremely frank) opinions about the current generation of Serbian youth, contributing to the production of what Bambi Schieffelin (1990) called "annotated transcripts."

My roommate also exposed me to the larger culture of the city outside of my immediate research site and circle of participants. She would call me from work when she heard about cultural or political events that she thought I should record and would take me out with her friends who would reflect on the ideas I was grappling with as I collected data. She and most of

her friends had attended high schools very similar to the one where I was conducting research; they often told stories about their own high school experiences, which provided another interesting point of comparison for my own data.

Through my roommate and her family, with whom I spent many long weekend days and holiday lunches, I also came to understand the flow of Belgrade family life in ways impossible in the rest of my research. Unlike participants' families who treated me like an honored guest – and, thus, never fully relaxed – her family allowed me to simply be there with them as they went about their daily activities. If this relationship blurred the lines between friendship and research, I submit that it was only to the benefit of the project.

CHAPTER THREE:
Major Themes in the History of Serbia

After a month or so, Marija, the high school liaison and English teacher, suggested that we meet regularly for a sort of reciprocal tutoring: she would help me with my Serbian language skills if I helped her with English. Our tasks were far from equal – she had two decades of instruction and a university degree in English under her belt, while I had studied Serbian for only a few years. As it turned out, our tutoring was my "learning how to ask" moment (Briggs 1984), as our language lessons often touched off more in-depth conversations. Although Marija was reserved and fairly nervous in formal, recorded interviews, she used our informal time together to divulge - sometimes in English and sometimes in Serbian - the experiences of her family, her personal struggles, and what it felt like to live in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, among other topics.

During one session, Marija instructed me to translate a poem that questioned the moral and psychological wellbeing of 'Generation 1990,' the age cohort just turning twenty during my research. The poem suggested that, because these young people grew up under sanctions, extreme levels of inflation, and pervasive corruption, they never learned kućno vaspitanje ('home education'), a term meant to capture some combination of politeness and community orientation. The poem, and my regular conversations with Marija, suggested to me that the instability that plagued Serbia over the past decades had created an extremely age-graded society, where the year in which one was born says a great deal about who he or she is, given the disparate childhood experiences of people only a few years apart in age.

Generacija, which is translated in English as 'generation,' actually refers not to a ten or twenty year age range, but to the specific year in which a person was born; in this way, it is

closer to 'age cohort.' Students also use the term to identify as belonging to a certain cohort in school, much the way students in the United States use their graduation year:

Figure 4: "Generacija 92" ("Generation '92), painted by fourth-year students in the Gradska schoolyard

I assumed at first that the semantic difference between *generacija* and generation simply meant that the two terms were "false friends," that is, cognates whose meanings do not match exactly, but I soon realized that in a society that has undergone such rapid and repeated regime change, one's specific birth year was crucial to their childhood experiences of Serbia and understanding of what kind of citizens they were; thus, *generacija*, though it refers to one-year cohorts only, is closer to the English language understanding than I had originally thought. Marija, for example, was born in 1978 and, thus, had fond memories of participating in Tito's Pionir group for Yugoslav children (and even remembered her disappointment when she realized that the large and (in)famous ceremonies in honor of Tito were coming to an end in 1991, just when she was finally old enough to be part of the teenage group that would take a central role in large festivals and other events). Her sister, born in 1983, had no such memories and was barely starting school when Yugoslavia began to fall apart. Their younger brother, part of *Generacija*

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1990 did not remember Tito's Yugoslavia and spent the first ten years of his life in a Serbia that, by all accounts, seemed to be falling apart.

Marija's choice to share the text with me was just one example of the many times that people foregrounded history as an important shaper of contemporary attitudes and problems. Whenever I asked in interviews what I, an outsider, needed to understand about Serbia in order to live there, history was always the first answer.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the history of Serbia over the past two hundred years, focusing in particular on the themes that directly feed into widespread ambivalence about Serbia's place in the world, its relationship to its own past, and the opportunities and possibilities – or lack thereof – that it can provide to citizens. Any description of the history of the region is inevitably oversimplified; however, a brief summary of major events over the past two centuries situates the analysis of everyday discourse. As James Faubion (1993) has pointed out, anthropology was a relatively ahistorical discipline until fairly recently. It tended to view societies as unchanging and neglected to consider historical factors that shape everyday conditions and subjectivities. Anthropology's turn toward historicity coincided with the re-emergence of ethnic fundamentalism and revolution in 1991: "the world, in short, has become acutely historicized as well" (Faubion 1993: 44). No ethnographer can write about the Balkans in the twenty-first century without understanding the two previous centuries of continual conflict and upheaval. For Serbia in particular, historical factors are inscribed in such phenomena as:

1. Citizens' constant assertions that the near and distant past remains an important determinant of their everyday experience and of the wellbeing of the country.

2. An historically-rooted sense that Serbia always exists just outside of or in-between well-established global categories such as 'east' and 'west,' (Simić 2008, Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992) as well as a widespread perception of the country as balancing in perpetual limbo between more important and productive eras.[19]

3. The feelings of stigma and misunderstanding that color citizens' understanding of Serbia's relations with the rest of the world.

4. The ideological associations of language use, both on- and offline.

What follows is a chronological breakdown of the major phases in Serbian and Yugoslav history. Then, bringing in interview segments where appropriate, I explore some of the larger themes that are relevant to understanding widespread ambivalence in Belgrade. Except where otherwise noted, most of the more straightforward historical facts are drawn from Glenny (2000)'s definitive history of the Balkans, as well as from Norris's (2008) history of Belgrade. Much of the same basic information is also found in Roudometof (2001), Ramet (2005), Pond (2006), and Banac (1988), among others.

3.2 A Basic Timeline

A one-hundred-year-old living in Belgrade in 2014 would have seen a constant barrage of regime chance and reorganization over his or her lifetime. This individual would have lived as a citizen of:

- A Serbian kingdom repeatedly captured by Austria-Hungary during World War I (1914-1918)

- The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, often known colloquially as the First Yugoslavia (1918 – 1939)

- Axis-Occupied territory (1939 – 1945)

- The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), comprising the republics of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Slovenia , with Josip Broz Tito ("Tito"), former Partisan resistance leader against the Axis Powers, as its head (1945 – 1991)

Figure 5: Serbia and surrounding republics from 1914 through the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in early 1992. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

- The "Rump Yugoslavia," a name for what remained following the secession of Croatia (1991), Slovenia (1991), Bosnia and Hercegovina (1992), and Macedonia (1992) – renamed simply Serbia and Montenegro in 2003 (1991 – 2006)

- The Republic of Serbia (renamed after the 2006 secession of Montenegro).

Figure 6: Serbia, 2013. In this map, Kosovo, which declared independence fron Serbia in 2008, is shown as distinct. As of August 2014, its status is still disputed internationally, though half of the United Nations member states have recognized its indepdence[20]; Serbia does not recognize the independence of Kosovo[21] Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

The history of continual transition is evident on the streets of Belgrade, not only in the mixed architectural influences, but also in constantly changing names for streets, plazas, and parks. Several people who tried to give me directions joked that they could never keep street names straight since they were always changing. Occasionally, citizens took matters into their own hands in order to remedy what they saw as misguided decisions to change certain streets' names.

Figure 7: *Bulevar Aleksandra*, the current official name of a major boulevard in Belgrade, is here seen crossed out with spray paint (left) and replaced with its post-WWII Yugoslav name, *Bulevar Revolucije* – which is in turn covered by a sticker for *Obraz,* a far-right political organization in Serbia.

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As interviewees pointed out repeatedly, each revolution and regime carried the potential

for hope as well as disappointment. Each brought in new layers of influence and complexity.

Each came with violence and suffering. Each added to feeling that Serbia was not in control of

its own destiny.

3.3 Persistent Themes in Serbian History.

For understanding the current predicament of many Serbs, four major historical themes

are particularly relevant:

1. Serbia's geographic and temporal 'border position';

2. The history of ethnic relations and linguistic nationalism;

3. The historical roots of Serbian double consciousness, a widespread preoccupation with being misunderstood by outsiders.

4. *Yugoambivalence*, an orientation toward the Yugoslav period that combines *Yugonostalgia* (Chushak 2013) with skepticism and/or disillusionment.

For each of the themes, I consider excerpts from interviews where relevant. Here, I analyze these

examples primarily for content rather than linguistic construction.

3.3.1 Always In Between: Serbia's Border Position

Serbia's position and sense of itself as temporally and geographically 'in between' is

deeply rooted. Sveti Sava, an Orthodox monk born in the twelfth century and the first

archbishop of the Serbian Church, lamented that "We are doomed by fate to be the East on the

West, and the West on the East" (Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992: 1). In the old city section of

Belgrade, the large park Kalemegdan features a fortress over looking two rivers, the Sava and the

Danube. This spot was passed back and forth between the Byzantines and Hungary in the

eleventh and twelfth centuries and later became the outpost of the Ottoman Empire before again switching between Austrian and Ottoman hands for centuries leading up to World War I (Norris 2008). That this fortress lies in the center of present-day Belgrade highlights the sense that the city – like Serbia as a whole – forever exists on the boundary between two worlds.

Belgrade's 'border position' reemerged but took on a more positive connotation – in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which formed after World War II. After a famous break with Stalin and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.) in 1948 (Glenny 2000), Tito pursued what he called *samoupravljanje* (self-management), which asserted that every nation must pursue socialism in the way most suitable for its individual needs. Tito's refusal to turn Yugoslavia into a Soviet satellite state left the country without an ally in either of the world's two major powers, the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. Seeking to turn nonalliance into an advantage, in 1961 Tito created the non-aligned movement, an association of countries that sided with neither the Eastern nor the Western bloc. Nonalliance was not just a point of pride; it also came with material perks. With a Yugoslav passport, one could travel freely in most countries. The freedom of movement enjoyed by Yugoslavs under Tito is often contrasted with the subsequent travel restrictions imposed by sanctions against extremist leader Slobodan Milošević in the 1990s (Jansen 2009a), when visas were nearly impossible to obtain and travelers often had to drive four hours to Budapest, Hungary just to take a flight. The emphasis on travel also emerged repeatedly in interviews and casual conversations with my research participants.

The history teacher, Aleksandar (A), for example, spoke at length about the esteemed position of Yugoslavia under Tito, arguing that the country was more qualified for European Union candidacy in the 1980s than many current members are today. He cited travel as a major

advantage of Yugoslavia's position, using the red passport as an icon of a bygone era of

independence, prosperity, and mobility[22]:

> A: Jer smo bili najstabilniji, nas pasoš crveni je bio -
> **We were the most stable country, our red passport was -**
>
> Mi smo jedini bez viza išli u Ameriku.
> **Only we could go to America without a visa.**
>
> Svi drugi su dolazili sa vizama,
> **Everyone else entered with a visa,**
>
> Samo mi iz Jugoslavije, si mogao - ideš po celom svetu sa crvenim pasošem,
> **Only we from Yugoslavia, you could go all over the World with the red passport,**

The teacher treats existing outside the east/west binary as an asset. Although Yugoslavia

might have lacked the access to power that an alliance with either the United States or the

U.S.S.R. afforded, people saw advantages to remaining in between. They could move freely in

both spheres without feeling beholden to either. As elaborated in Chapter Seven, an ethos of

engaging in multiple worlds without fully buying into the orthodoxy of any one re-emerges on

Facebook, where students mix writing systems, languages, icons of Serbian ethnicity, and global

popular culture in irreverent ways that exhibit fluency in and critical distance from the worlds

with which they are associated.

Serbia's liminal position is temporal as well as geographical. Citizens' constant

comparison of present-day life in Belgrade with past eras – the Yugoslav period, the miseries of

the 1990s, and the brief euphoria that followed the 2000 overthrow of Slobodan Milošević – also

suggests that some view Serbia as a society that is many ways 'post': post-Yugoslav, post-war,

and post-revolution. In this way, liminality in Serbia is also about being *temporally* liminal

between imagined pasts and futures.

The question, for many, then, is what follows the liminal state in which Serbia finds itself. After war, accusations of genocide, and a decade of global isolation, the question of how to regain Serbia's former respectable status weighed on many of the research participants. Although ethnic fundamentalists most likely still imagine a return to pre-Ottoman grandeur, based on notions of Serbian superiority of strength and morality (Čolović 2002), the participants involved in this study took a more practical approach to the question, asking themselves whether Serbia was indeed pre-European (in the sense of being on the way to European Union candidacy) and, if so, whether that future would help them regain lost status and prosperity and whether such gains were worth the perceived price of European conformity.

3.3.2 "If It Were Good to Have a Brother, God Would Have One:" [23] Ethnic Solidarity and Tension since the Nineteenth Century

Historian Misha Glenny (1992, 2000) has pointed out that characterizing recent conflicts in the Balkans as resulting from "ancient tribal hatreds," (cf. Kaplan 1995) ignores the oscillation of various ethnic groups between alliance and rivalry throughout history and the perennial impact of global politics on Serbia's internal politics and relations with neighbors.

From the end of World War I to the early 1990s, Serbian ethnic identity was informed and complicated by the group's relatively dominant status within Yugoslavia and its relationship with other South Slavic nations, particularly the former member nations of Yugoslavia. After the Serbian Uprisings of 1804-1830 against the Ottoman Empire, Serbia gained sovereignty within, if not full independence from, from the Ottoman Empire and began to ally with Croatia, who was resisting Austro-Hungarian rule. Despite their alliance, tensions existed even then. Some Croats saw Serbs' calls for unity as code for their intention to subvert and dominate Croatian Catholics, while some Serbs viewed Croatian national pride as a hindrance to unity and a symbol of

ingratitude for Serbia's help. This fundamental tension persisted, in various forms, until the 1990s. The other fundamental issue was the status of Bosnian Muslims, whether they were Serbs, Croats, or an independent ethnic group. These issues would remain relevant in the interwar period and post-World II Yugoslavia and become central to the Balkan Wars of the 1990s (Glenny 2000).

After World War I the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires collapsed and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was created (and later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Soon after its establishment, however, the question of whether the country should be a unitary (and, thus, Serb-dominated) state or a loosely federated nation, composed of relatively autonomous provinces, created tension between Serbs and Croats. Despite this tension, Belgrade and Zagreb boasted a great deal of ethnic harmony as educated and elite citizens pursued a common urban and cosmopolitan identity (Glenny 2000).

In 1939 Hitler took over much of Yugoslavia and divided it into a German-controlled section and an "independent" (Axis puppet) Croatian state, the *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* (NDH) or 'independent state of Croatia.' Under the direction of the NDH, ethnic fundamentalist Croatians known as Ustaše turned over many members of the Serb minority, along with Hungarians, Roma, and Jews, to a concentration camp known as Jasenovac.[24] Resistance to the Axis powers was split into the Četniks, who were guided by a *Greater Serbia* ideology (Banac 1988) based on the ethnic superiority of Serbs and their right to dominate the Balkans. Only Eastern Orthodox Serbs were allowed in their resistance. The Partisans, led by Tito, the eventual president of Yugoslavia, were also violent in their resistance but de-emphasized ethnic and religious differences, allowing all groups to participate in the uprisings. In the period leading up

to and during the wars of the 1990s, Serbs and Croats re-introduced the terms Četnik and Ustaša to accuse the other of persecution and tie current conflicts to past victimizations (Denich 1994).

Following World War II, Tito became president of a newly-formed Yugoslavia and ruled until his death in 1980. During this period, ethnic identity was subjugated to the larger mantra of *Brotherhood and Unity*. Before long, however, ethnic tensions resurfaced. In the late 1960s the "Croatian Spring," a revival of Croatian national pride – including linguistic nationalism – took hold. The 1974 constitution devolved more power to the constituent republics without a plan for how such devolution would work logistically. Ethnic fundamentalism continued to rise up before and beyond the death of Tito in 1980, leading to accusations of persecution of all sides.

The Balkan Wars began in 1991 after Slovenia and Croatia voted to secede from Yugoslavia. What followed was "the contingent outcome of the interplay of mutually suspicious, mutually monitoring, mutually misrepresenting political elites in the incipient Croatian nationalizing state, the incipient Serb national minority in that state, and the incipient Serb 'homeland state'' (Brubaker 1996: 76). In other words, when Croatia declared independence, the Serbian government stoked fears that Serb minorities living in the now-independent Croatia were being oppressed. At the same time, the Croatian government accused Serb minorities of inciting rebellion and violence within Croatia, leading to a cycle of mistrust and violence.

Both Serbia and Croatia asserted the right to control territory in Bosnia, which was also undergoing an independence movement. Some of the worst atrocities of the war occurred in Bosnia. Official reports now suggest that Bosnian Serb forces killed around 8100 Bosnian men and boys in Srebenica and shelled Sarajevo for nearly four years. Ratko Mladić stands accused of leading the alleged genocide in Srebrenica.[25] That his arrest stood between Serbia and the European Union is, in the eyes of many Serbs, a symbol of the unfair treatment that Serbia has

received at the hands of the "international community," which, they maintain, has not pursued

Croatian and Bosnian war criminals with nearly the same intensity.[26]

Not long after the Dayton Accords partitioned Bosnia into two parts and halted the

fighting there, tensions began to bubble up in Kosovo, as ethnic Serbs and Albanians in the

region began a cycle of violence and retaliation (Pond 2006). In response to Milošević's alleged

targeting of civilians in Kosovo, the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO) launched a

several-month bombardment of Belgrade and other Serbian cities. Although the bombings

halted the killings in Kosovo, Milošević remained in power until mass citizen protests forced his

ouster on October 5, 2000. For many of the research participants, the conflict in Kosovo

represented one more time in which the international community took a one-sided approach,

emphasizing Serbia's crimes while ignoring the crimes of others.

3.3.2.1 The Language Situation:

In the former Yugoslavia, language reflected the political situation, with attempts at

unifying the language read as Serb domination by Croats and Croatian linguistic nationalism

read in Serbia as code for secessionist ideologies (Glenny 2000). Today Serbian and Croatian

languages are officially separated, but debate over their status as distinct persists. Some linguists

assert that unity was always precarious (*c.f.* Greenberg 2004), while others argue for an essential,

pluricentric Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian (BCS) core with regional variation (Alexander 2006)[27].

Popović (2004) refers to the relation between Serbian and Croatian as *standard language

paraglossia*, or "the parallel existence of two or more national standard languages within the

same standard language diasystem" (Popović 2004: 29). Native speakers sometimes use the

phase *Jedan ali ne jedinstven* ('one but not unified') to describe the language(s) (Alexander 2006; 425).

The Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian languages consist of three major dialects, known as čakavian, kajkavian, and štokavian, which refer to each dialect's word for 'what' (ča, kaj, and što, respectively). Unlike čakavian and kajkavian, which are spoken only in Croatia (Alexander 2006), štokavian is spoken throughout Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia and is the basis for each state's standard language. The dialect is further divided into two pronunciation systems, ijekavian and ekavian, which refer to each system's pronunciation of the vowel 'jat,' pronounced as either 'ije' or 'e,' e.g. *bijela* v. *bela* ('white'). In the years leading up to the Balkan Wars of the 1990s, ijekvian became an icon of Croatian identity – despite being spoken in parts of Bosnia and Serbia as well – and a key marker of distinction from Belgrade speakers, who tended to use ekavian. In addition, Serbian is often written in the Cyrillic alphabet, while Croatian uses the Latin script, though, as detailed in Chapter Seven, Belgrade students and teachers regularly use and mix the two systems in their everyday lives. Other perceived differences between the languages include differences in the construction of modal and future verbs and about twenty to twenty-five thousand distinct lexical items (Alexander 2006).

Perceived Differences between Serbian and Croatian

Serbian	Croatian
Ekavian pronunciation system	Ijekavian pronunciation

Modal form: modal verb + 'that' + conjugated present tense verb
e.g. *Mogu da idem* ('I can go')
    can-1SG that go-1SG
	Modal form: modal verb + infinitive
	e.g. *Mogu ići* ('I can go')
	    can-1SG go-INF

Future tense: (future verb particle + 'that' + conjugated present tense verb)
e.g. *Ja ću da idem* ('I will go')
   I FUT-1SG that go-1SG
	Future tense: (future verb particle + infinitive)
	e.g. *Ja ću ići* or *Ići ću* ('I will go')
	   I FUT-1SG go-INF go-INF FUT-1SG

Cyrillic alphabet	Latin alphabet
Lexical items such as *hleb* ('bread'),	Lexical items such as *kruh* ('bread'),

pozorište ('theater'), and *hiljada* ('thousand')	*kazalište* ('theater), and *tisuća* ('thousand')

<div align="center">Figure 8: Perceived differences between Serbian and Croatian</div>

In everyday conversations, however, speakers did not always adhere to a strictly 'Serbian' way of speaking. A few teachers who were born outside of Belgrade used ijekavian and many people violated the so-called Serbian way of using modals and future tense. The literature teacher even told me that she thought that using the infinitives in future tense constructions sounded more educated and elegant.

As Alexander (2006:380) notes, "issues of language, politics, and ethnic identity have been intricately intertwined for the entire modern era." Thus, any description of similarities or differences between the Serbian and Croatian languages must take into account the history of language agreements, planning, movements, and controversies that have shaped the current language situation in Serbia. The union of Serbian and Croatian speakers officially began with the 1850 Vienna Literary agreement, which aimed to unite all South Slavs under a single literary language in an effort to resist the power of both the Ottoman Empire, of which Serbia was an independent province, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which controlled most of Croatia. This document posited a straightforward connection between collective identity and shared language. The agreement opens with the following statement: "We, the undersigned, aware that one people needs to have one literature. . ." [28] In this agreement, linguistic unity is emphatically promoted as the key to the unity and advancement of the Serbs and Croats, the so-called 'one-blooded nation of two faiths' (Glenny 2000: 255). The agreement ends with the authors pleading writers to adhere to the new unified standard

> We are convinced that great obstacles to our literature will be removed from its path and that we will significantly move towards a true unity. Therefore, we ask writers, who genuinely wish their own happiness and advancement, to adhere to our thoughts herein and write their works accordingly

(translated in Greenberg 2004: 172).

The Vienna agreement elevated the spoken dialect, štokavian, to the literary language and chose ijekavian as the official pronunciation system. From the beginning, however, the unity forged in this agreement was troubled (Greenberg 2004). When the first Kingdom of Yugoslavia crumbled in 1941, the NDH puppet state in Croatia banned Cyrillic writing, introduced a new, orthography based on older Croatian words, and punished spelling violators with fines or prison (Alexander 2006).

After World War II and the establishment of the new socialist Yugoslavia under Tito, the 1954 Novi Sad agreement established a single language named Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian, depending on the region. The 1954 Novi Sad agreement aimed to maintain unity while preserving both ekavian and ijekavian pronunciation (translated in Greenberg 2004: 172):

> The popular language of Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins is one language. Therefore, the literary language, which has developed on its basis around two main centers, Belgrade and Zagreb, is also a single language, with two pronunciations – ijekavian and ekavian.

Here, "brotherhood and unity," the official slogan of communist Yugoslavia, conceived as an alternative to ethnic fundamentalism, is reflected and constructed in the agreement, as authors attempt to forge unity through diversity.

The agreement set up a joint language with two variants: an Eastern (i.e. Serbian) variant, written in Cyrillic and using the ekavian pronunciation, and a Western (i.e. Croatian) variant, that used ijekavian and Latin. Both writing systems were granted equal status and became required learning for all students in Yugoslavia, regardless of ethnic identity. As the Vienna agreement had done a century earlier, however, the Novi Sad agreement failed to forge lasting unity. Soon

after its signing, the agreement – which for many Croatians raised the spectre of a "Greater

Serbian" ideology of cultural and political control – began to fracture (Glenny 2000).   The

"Croatian Spring," a revival of Croatian national pride, saw the publication of a 1971 declaration

on the Croatian language and Dalibor Brozović's well-known "10 theses" on the Croatian

language, which emphasized the importance of kajkavian and čakavian dialects to Croatian

identity and claimed that the Croatian language developed independently of Serbian (described

in Greenberg 2004). Further, in 1974 a new Yugoslav constitution neglected to name a state

language, prompting Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, and Montenegro to deal with their

language in their own constitutions (Glenny 2000; Greenberg 2004). In Croatia a new wave of

language planning saw the reintroduction of archaic vocabulary and an elimination of foreign

borrowings, both of which reduced mutual intelligibility with Serbian.

Meanwhile, Serbia downgraded Latin in its republic's constitution and removed the

alphabet from its money. In the 1990s, leaders of the Serb-held territories of Bosnia instituted

ekavian and enforced its use on all speakers, a move seen by many as further evidence of

Serbia's expansionist designs (Alexander 2006, Greenberg 2004). Serbian and Croatian

language planners each presented their language and speakers as restricted and oppressed by the

other's linguistic nationalism (*c.f.* Brozović 1992, Ivić 1992). Since the fall of Yugoslavia,

internal language debates have continued, as prescriptivists and descriptivists in both countries

continue to produce new orthographic manuals in both countries (Greenberg 2004).

In the years following the war Serbian linguists have grappled with the existence of both

ijekavian and ekavian speakers in the nation-state. According to Greenberg (2004), language

planners tend to break down in to three camps – the status quo linguists, the radical ethnic

fundamentalists, and many scholars at the philology faculty, who tend to take a middle way.

Ironically, it is often the status quo linguists who have argued for making ekavian the sole national standard (a decision that promotes homogeneity) and the radical ethnic fundamentalists who argue for the inclusion of ijekavian. Although this seems counter-intuitive, it reflects a desire on the part of many ethnic fundamentalists to include more groups under the umbrella of Serbian identity. The radical figure Marojević was instrumental in the publication of the 1998 "Declaration about the Serbian Language" (Marojević et al., 1998), which claimed that the 1850 agreement actually meant to assert the Serbian identity of all its speakers:

> Vuk considered that the Serbian language included the whole Štokavian dialect and proved, by using a linguistic criterion, that all the štokavian speaking people were Serbs and that all the Serbs were Stokavian. The fact that the Serbs, like other peoples, belong in various confessions, there being Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim Serbs (or as Vuk used to say, the Serbs of Greek, Roman, and Turkish faiths, does not influence the ethnic or linguistic reality of that people. Under such a logic, the use of the ekavian and the ijekavian is not and cannot be a distinctive trait differentiating between the Catholic and the Moslem variants of the Serbian language (translated in Greenberg 2004: 68).

For these writers, linguistic nationalism was about inclusion (or, some would argue, domination), which required acknowledgment of linguistic diversity. The various linguistic perspectives continue to fight for dominance in manuals, textbooks, and other official language documents (Greenberg 2004). Chapter Seven will discuss the linguistic situation in more detail as background for an examination of how Serbian youth use Cyrillic and Latin in their everyday, on- and offline lives.

3.3.3 Sacrifice, Disappointment and Stigma: The Roots of Serbian Double Consciousness:

Du Bois (1903; 12). "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity."

Serbs tend to view their history as one in which they have consistently been misjudged and manipulated by the rest of the world. Many feel ambivalent about history and the prospects of international cooperation, which has often required accepting someone else's version of events. Many wonder how they can cater to the "West" when they so resent their demands, their misunderstanding of Serbia's predicament, and their lack of gratitude for Serbia's sacrifices throughout history.

3.3.3.1 Serbs and Unacknowledged Sacrifice
In the excerpt below, the history teacher (A) emphasizes that Serbs played a large role not only in winning World II but also in "liberating" Croatia from Italian fascists. He voices Croatia's lack of appreciation and misunderstanding of Serbia ("They were invaders, what do they want here?" (line 4)):

Excerpt 3

1	A:	Završava se drugi rat, ponovo Srbi brane hravatsku od Italije jer Italijani hoće da uzmu ono što je njihovo. **The second World War ended, again Serbs defend the Croatians from Italy, because Italians want to take what is theirs.**

2		I ponovo su Srbi oslobodioci. **And again the Serbs are the liberators.**

3		Ali samo privremeno, čim se rat završi onda Srbi nisu više oslobodioci, **But only temporarily, as soon as the war ended Serbs were no longer rescuers,**

4		Nego su ušli sami oni su osvajaći, šta će oni tu? **But instead they just came in, they were invaders, what do they want here?**

This sense of ingratitude makes even harsher the sting of stigma and rejection that characterized the 1990s. Croatia's secession felt – at least to those who claimed that Serbia has repeated helped them fight off more powerful opponents and oppressors – like a betrayal.

Worldwide blame for the wars also feels unjustified to many who believe that Serbia helped win two world wars for the Allies. The resulting situation is one where the everyday citizen is acutely aware of Serbia's international reputation and resents that it ignores contributions and sacrifices and instead focuses heavily on the wrongdoings of Serbian politicians and generals.

In another interview the same teacher acknowledged that Serbia was responsible for many atrocities in the wars of the 1990s but argues that since the atrocities were committed by individuals, the media was wrong to paint all of Serbia with one brush:

Excerpt 4

> A: Ali to su radili pojedinci, nisu radili svi Srbi.
> **But individuals did that, not all Serbs.**
>
> Oni su procesujirani, i tu se priča završava.
> **They have been prosecuted, and the story ends here.**
>
> I to tako i treba da bude, kraj priče.
> **And that's the way it should be, end of story.**
>
> Ali ta priča je ukaljana u stranim medijima.
> **But that story was tainted in the foreign media.**

Similarly, in another interview a student, Petar (P) complained about the false perceptions that he believes many foreigners hold about Serbia. When I (R) asked him how he would like others to see Serbia, he answered that he just wanted people to view Serbia accurately. Like many others he characterized the war as one in which all sides were wrong. His objection is not to holding Serbia accountable for its crimes but ignoring the crimes of others:

Excerpt 5

> P: pa da nas vide kakvi jesmo.
> **Well, to see us as we are.**
>
> Mislim meni je krivo, mislim prvo ovaj rat što je bio 90-tih godina, ovaj rat što je bio -

I mean I feel sad, I mean first this war that was in the nineties, this war that was -

R: Da,
Yes,

P: To je bilo i mi smo ubijali nevine ljude, i mi i Hrvati i Muslimani,
That there was, and we killed innocent people, and so did the Croats and the Muslims,

P: Svi smo ubijali. Ali svet misli da smo samo mi ubijali, a to nije tačno.
We all killed. But the world thinks that we were the only ones killing, and that isn't true.

These interviews evidence a double consciousness in which the speakers' views of their country must be reconciled with their perceptions of how outsiders view Serbia.

3.3.3.2 Disappointment as a Pervasive Historical Theme

Many in Serbia look to the first decade of the twenty-first century as a period of great hope followed by profound disappointment (Greenberg 2014). On October 5, 2010, about a month into fieldwork, Serbia celebrated the tenth anniversary of the protests that finally forced Slobodan Milošević to step down. The Democratic opposition party took over, and a sense of euphoria briefly prevailed. Even the high school students, who were seven or eight at the time, remember excitement and an understanding that something big was happening. One student, Irena (I), describes below the feeling of wanting to go outside and celebrate:

Excerpt 6a:

1   I: Sećam se kako smo svi navijali, neznam moja mama je izašla na teresu,
I remember how we all cheered, I don't know, my mom went out on the terrace,

2   I nešto smo pljeskali rukama i ja sam pitala mamu kao zašto ne idemo na ulice
And we like clapped hands and I asked my mom why don't we go out to the streets

3   kad je već tako slavlje, ajde svi da slavimo (.)
since it's that kind of celebration, let's all celebrate (.)

4   "Ne ti si još malo ne možemo."
"No, you are still little, we can't."

When I asked the same high school student whether she understood what was happening when she asked to go outside (line 1), she responded that she did not really understand (line 2):

Excerpt 6b:

1   R: Razumela si šta se dešava tada?
You understood what was happening then?

2   J: Um (.) ne toliko, razumela sam da se dešava neka promena.
Um (.) not so much, I understood that some changes were happening.

The student describes a situation in which she could feel a shared sense of hope without fully understanding the political details. The wave of optimism did not last, however. In 2003, right wing extremists assassinated Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić, who had led the opposition to Milošević in the 1990s and advocated full post-war reconciliation. Many locals referred to Djindjić as 'Serbia's Kennedy' (Greenberg 2006); his death was a disappointing blow to young activists. As the high school student reported, Djindjić's death made evident the risks of revolution:

Excerpt 6b (continued):

3   R: Ali mislim da sam tek kasnije shvatila i kada je premijer ubijen (.) i kasnije (.)
But I think I got it later as soon as the Prime Minister was assassinated (.) and later (.)

4   Šta to ustvari promene znači i koliko koštaju te promene
What does 'changes' really mean and what is the cost?

5   R: Da.
Yes.

6   J: On je platio životom.

He paid with his life.

This student notes that she 'got it': large-scale societal change comes at a price and might not turn out the way protesters hope.

Following the overthrow of Milošević, many Serbs gradually grew disillusioned with the fact that many government officials had retained their high-level positions, and that bureaucracy, corruption, and economic instability had persisted. This realization, what Greenberg calls the "politics of disappointment" (2014), is key for understanding the sense of resignation that characterizes much talk about societal problems and their potential solutions as well as a hesitance by many to participate – or to encourage students to participate – in the political process.

3.3.4 Yugo-ambivalence

Another form of ambivalence about Serbia's past concerns how to remember Tito and Yugoslavia over twenty years after its breakup. Several scholars have noted a trend of *Yugonostalgia* among many Serbs (Chushak 2013). The Yugoslav period represents a time of independence and prosperity and presents a stark contrast to the wars and economic upheaval that followed its dissolution. At the same time, many regard the Yugoslav period with a great deal of uncertainty.

Those whom I interviewed mitigated their positive assessments and nostalgic recollections of Tito's Yugsoslavia in a number of ways. They constructed Yugo-ambivalence by contrasting positive perceptions of Yugoslavia from the past with what they now know (or suspect): Tito's motto of Brotherhood and Unity masked severe treatment of political dissidence;

his decisions laid the groundwork for future ethnic and economic crises; and his whole regime may have been a scam, part of a global conspiracy.

After the history teacher spoke at length about the good reputation and freedom of movement that Yugoslavs enjoyed (described above), he acknowledged a common conspiracy theory, which posits that Tito was actually an American who was installed in Yugoslavia by the small global illuminati or that the real Tito died at some point and was replaced by this figurehead:

Excerpt 7

> A: I svi su znali za Tita. Sve je to bilo namešteno, ok.
> **And everyone knew of Tito. Ok, maybe it was all set up.**

Saying, 'Ok, maybe it was all setup,' and, thus, giving a nod to a widespread conspiracy, the teacher avoids an interpretation of his previous statements as overly nostalgic. Instead, he allows Tito and Yugoslavia only an ambiguous legacy.

In the extended excerpt that follows, an English teacher in her thirties, Marija (M), contrasts her early positive memories of Yugoslavia with what she has learned in the years since. She alternates between positive assessments of morality, unity, and comfortable lifestyle in the Yugoslav period with descriptions of the negative aspects of the regime. Her alternation suggests that she is still working through her narrative of this period.[29] In the first segment, she discusses the Yugoslav 'working actions' (line 1), in which young people would gather for voluntary labor on large infrastructure projects. In line 5, she shifts to the present, saying that she sees now that doing voluntary hard labor was a big sacrifice, and then immediately contrasts what she sees now with how disappointed she felt not to participate in such actions at the time (line 7):

Excerpt 8a

1. M: Dobro te radne akcije, najviše su na njima učestvovale naše bake i deke,
        Okay, those working actions, mostly our grandmas and grandpas participated

2   jer se posle rata zemlja obnavljala,
        because those jobs were needed by the country after the war,

3   Ali je bilo isto dok sam išla u osnovnu školu.
        But we also had them when I went to elementary school.

4   Moje drugarice su odlazile sa roditeljima na radne akcije,
        My friends went with their parents to working actions,

5   i sada ja vidim da je to bilo jedno veliko mućenje
        And now I see that it was a big sacrifice.

6   R: mhm

7   M: Ali tad mi je bilo žao što ja ne idem sa svojim roditeljima na radnu akciju, da gradim zemlju.
        But back then I felt sad not to be able to go with my parents to working actions, to build the country.

As she proceeds with the narrative, she continues to shift between present and past perspectives and between positive and negative assessments. She first asserts that she is sorry that working actions do not exist today, because they gave people a sense of unity and helped to stem selfishness (lines 1-2). In lines 3-7, she asserts that what they now know was a bad political system also carried many benefits. In line 3, she shifts to a present-day negative assessment ('Now it turns out that that bad. . .') before correcting herself in line 4 to specify that the political arrangement is bad only from the perspective of the present ('I think now we say bad.'). She ends by stating that the system "somehow" succeeded in bringing out the good in people and uniting them (lines 6-7)

Excerpt 8b

1   M: Žao mi je što takve stvari danas nepostoje.
        I feel sorry these things don't exist today.

2   Taj duh zajedništva je nestao, nekako su sebični interesi danas preovladali,
   That sense of unity vanished, somehow selfish interest have prevailed today,

3   A sve ono što je dobro u ljudima je nekako potisnuto (.) Ispada da sada taj neki loš-
   and all that is good in people is somehow surpressed (.) Now it turns out that that bad -

4   mislim sada kažemo loš politički - loše političko uredjenje (.)
   I think now we say bad political – bad political arrangement (.)

5 R: mhm

6 M: Taj neki system, je nekako uspevao da izvuće dobro iz ljudi
   This system, somehow succeeded in bringing out the good in people

7   i da ih održi zajedno.
   and keeping them united.

After describing how she learned about the dark side of Tito's regime and Yugslavia,

including that the parents of people she knew were jailed as political prisoners (lines omitted),

she sums up her ambivalence about the period, contrasting what she 'found out' about

Yugoslavia when she grew up (line 1-2) to how she experienced it as a child (lines 3-4).

Excerpt 8c

1 M: Kada sam odrasla, saznala kroz šta su neki ljudi prolazili i kako je to bilo za njih.
   When I grew up, I found out what some people went through and how it was for them.

2   I kakav je, šta je taj period predstavljao za njih
   And what kind of – what that period represented for them
   (.)

3   Ali dobro, za mene je - bilo mi je lepo osamdesetih,
   But ok, for me, it was – it was nice for me in the eighties,

4   Baš smo živeli lepo nekim životom
   We lived very well in that life.

Thus, the English teacher constructs an ambivalent stance toward the former Yugoslav period through shifting between her past and current perspectives on the country as well as between her adult perspectives on the positive aspects of Yugoslavia and the negative information that works against her nostalgic memories.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the recent history of Serbia with special attention to four themes: 1) The liminal position of Serbia throughout history and the changing perception of such liminality as a benefit or a hindrance; 2) The historical trajectories of ethnic solidarity and tension in the former Yugoslavia and accompanying language debates; 3) The historical sources of widespread feelings of stigma and misunderstanding among many Serbian citizens; and 4) Ambivalent constructions of the Yugoslav period. Given Serbia's tumultuous recent history, questions about how to relate to the past weigh heavily on considerations of how to move forward as nation. What can citizens do to put Serbia on a more positive historical trajectory? Can a border position be something positive again, or do Serbs need to pursue more powerful allies, even if it means letting go of national principles or pride? These questions are addressed in the following chapters through close analysis of verbal exchanges in the classroom and other everyday activities, interviews, political speeches, and online interactions.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Treba Se Snaći (**'You Have To Manage'): The Language of Agency, Futility, and Ambivalence**

In May 2011, Belgrade held its annual *Noć Muzeja* (Night of Museums), an event in which the city's numerous galleries and museums waived admission, kept their doors open all night, and held special exhibitions. The evening was itself an exhibition of urban cosmopolitanism, reminiscent of many museum events in large cities in the U.S. and elsewhere. As my roommate and I walked home from our final gallery visit, we ran into an enormous crowd that had gathered to watch a motorcade of shiny, vintage cars drive slowly down the main street in front of the National Theatre. As each car stopped in front of the theatre, an elaborately costumed man stepped out of the passenger seat, climbed the steps, and shook hands with a man who was waiting in front of the entrance.

"Is that supposed to be Tito?" I asked, pointing to the man who stood by the entrance. It was, in fact, an actor dressed as Tito; the procession, we soon realized, was a Parade of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the actors greeting Tito each represented a leader of a Non-Aligned nation.[30]

The crowd cheered loudly for each leader who stepped out of the car, but the cheers for the man dressed as (now-former) Libyan President Moamar Qaddafi were the loudest. Only a few months earlier, the United Nations had approved a military intervention in Libya in an attempt to oust Qaddafi. Given the history of international intervention in Serbia, I was unsurprised by the widespread opposition to military action in Libya. I was struck, however, by active, positive support and assessments of Qaddafi that I encountered at the Noć Muzeja and elsewhere. Some pointed to the long-standing alliance of Libya and Serbia, not only during the Cold War, but also during the NATO strikes against Serbia in 1999.[31]

Others provided more elaborated rationales, however. One night, for example, shortly after the occupation began, I attended a housewarming gathering for one of the teachers at the high school. As soon as I walked through the door, the conversation stopped abruptly. Ever hospitable, the host explained that they were talking about Libya and that she hoped I didn't mind. She addressed me (in English) and said, "Listen, some people here love Qaddafi. I personally have no opinion about him, but some nations just need a strong leader. We did, and we didn't realize it until it was too late. Everyone told us that things would be better for us once we had a democracy, but they weren't. They didn't understand."

"Maybe we needed a dictator after all," she joked.

Another guest countered that Ana, another teacher at the party, was not likely to agree that Serbs were better off with a dictator. Ana, whom I had met only once, proceeded to tell me that her father had been a prisoner on Goli Otok, an infamous island to which Tito's regime sent their political prisoners (Glenny 2000).

Ana told me that her father never mentioned his time as a prisoner, not even when she came home from school as a child telling her parents what a hero Tito was. According to Ana, although her father never talked about his time at Goli Otok, he found ways to plant seeds of doubt in her, all while maintaining plausible deniability. When, for example, she learned in school that Belgrade did not become a city until after WWII (that it was just mounds of dirt, in her words), her father taught her architectural clues for determining the age of buildings and would point out features on old constructions to her as they walked through the city. He never openly contradicted what she was taught in school, but rather allowed the contradiction between the now obvious age of certain buildings and the assertion that all development in Serbia was less than fifty years old to germinate slowly in her mind. Still, she found the eventual revelation

about her father extremely destabilizing, as she – like many others her age – had viewed the Yugoslav period as a bygone golden era.

Discourses about Qaddafi, the Non-Aligned movement, and the Yugoslav period more generally point not only to ambivalence about the past. There are also parallels between the veneration of the Non-Aligned movement, in which less powerful nations used their peripheral global position to their advantage (Greenberg 2010), and stories of small-scale resistance within Yugoslavia. In each case, an individual or a nation takes definitive, moral, and effective action – not necessarily of their own volition but rather in response to the actions of more powerful entities. Action, in such context, is set against and shaped by the assumption of overall powerlessness. Ana's father could not overthrow Tito's regime or even change the brainwashing he saw his daughter undergoing, but he could resist in small but important ways.

4.1 Introduction

Drawing on analyses from classroom interactions and interviews with teachers and students as well as from political speeches, this chapter argues that discourses about Serbia's history and current political situation present Serbs as highly effective moral actors yet ultimately powerless. This ambivalence about agency, in terms of the ability of individuals to take action in society and Serbia as a nation to control its own destiny and position in the world, is pervasive and highly consequential for understanding citizens' own conceptions of their history and how (or even whether) they can move forward as a nation.

After reviewing scholarly work on language and agency, I examine remarks by former President Boris Tadić following the arrest of accused war criminal Ratko Mladić and also discuss remarks following the arrest of two other key figures, Radovan Karadžić and Goran Hadžić. I

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note how the careful framing of agency allows the speaker to take credit (on behalf of Serbia) for the *completion* of arrests without taking responsibility for the *judgment* that the accused criminals deserved capture. The simultaneous emphasizing and de-emphasizing of agency in the speeches demonstrates that ambivalence about how much blame Serbia deserves for events that took place during the war is enacted in political speeches as well as everyday talk.

I then examine the ways in which research participants' talk about Serbia's history follows a similar pattern to the political speeches: Speakers frame Serbia as having undertaken effective moral actions throughout history while at the same time emphasizing the contingency of those actions on the projects of more powerful nations. Most studies of language and agency have analyzed contexts in which a speaker either asserts or mitigates responsibility; these examples demonstrate language that simultaneously asserts and mitigates agency when the moral valence of an action might be ambiguous or contradictory or a speaker may want to assert pride in the undertaking of an action without necessarily endorsing the decision to undertake it.

Finally, I consider the ways in which ambivalence about agency contributes to an overall sense of futility and resignation among citizens about the future of Serbia and the ability of ordinary citizens to enact meaningful change. I describe a *discourse of futility* in talk about Serbia's current political situation. Using the discourse of futility, students and teachers present the problems of society as intractable and characterize themselves and ordinary citizens as unable to take action to change them. I demonstrate that, through sentences that omit or obscure a grammatical Agent, as well as through the habitual use of the word *težak* (meaning 'difficult' or 'heavy'), universal quantifiers and terms of universal frequency - such as 'everyone' and 'no one', 'always' and 'never' (Quirk 1985) – and conditional constructions, students and teachers frame themselves and others as unable to initiate definitive, effective action to improve society.

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Such futility is consistent with a 2005 survey conducted in Belgrade (Spasić 2005, discussed in Greenberg 2010), which suggested that many citizens associate politics with corruption and inefficiency and feel powerless to do anything; many assert that political participation is pointless at the same time that they express concern about the lack of political engagement and participation[32]. I suggest that ambivalence and futility have a kind of cyclical relationship in Serbia: Uncertainty about the proper course of action leads to a sense of powerlessness, and a sense that past actions have not accomplished much reinforces uncertainty about what should be done to improve conditions in Serbia.

4.2 Language and Agency

The analysis of language and agency conducted here incorporates debates about what kinds of action are possible and by whom in the social world. Agency is treated as:

> the property of those entities (i) that have some degree of control over their own behavior, (ii) whose actions in the world affect other entities' (and sometimes their own), and (iii) whose actions are the object of evaluation (e.g. in terms of their responsibility for a given outcome) (Duranti 2004: 453)

In other words, speakers portray themselves or others as more agentive *the more they characterize themselves or others as having control over – and being accountable for – action that they initiate.*

Linguistic analyses of agency owe much to Fillmore (1966, 1968, 1977), who noted that syntactic concepts like Subject and Object inadequately captured the various ways that people and other entities participate in action. Fillmore instead proposed (and later revised) semantic 'case' roles that hold across languages, regardless of their morpho-syntactic system. The three most basic of Fillmore's case roles are illustrated using his example sentence, *The janitor will*

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open the door with this key (Fillmore 1966; 4). The **Agent** (who carries out the action), is the *janitor*; the **Patient** (the entity affected by the action) is the *door*; and the **Instrument** (the tool used to do the action) is the *key*. These roles hold even in sentences where the Instrument or Patient is the grammatical subject of the sentence (as in *The door opened or The key will open the door*). A semantic understanding of case roles tells us that doors do not open on their own, and keys cannot turn in locks without assistance from some kind of animate Agent.

Van Valin and Wilkins (1996: 309) propose three main criteria for attributing agency: lexical-semantic property of the verb, lexical property of the noun-phrase argument, and grammatical construction of the sentential clause. They identify fourteen qualities that typify agency in entities and events. For entities these include singularity, definiteness, volition, animacy, responsibility, perceptual faculty, self-control, and self energeticness. Entities with these qualities are more likely to have agency ascribed to them. In events agency is associated with activity, causuality, manipulation of body parts and/or instruments, movement, change of state, spatio-temporal overlap of Agent with Patient's change of state, and flow of energy from the Agent to the Patient.

Sociological and cultural anthropological studies of agency focus on the relation between social structures and human action (Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1979, Ortner 1984, 1997, 2006). Social theory addresses forms of action and effects that are possible and transpire in the social world. Giddens' theory of structuration holds that "notions of agency and structure presuppose one another" (Giddens 1979; 53). That is, social structures, language included, enable certain kinds of action and constrain others; action, in turn, maintains and sometimes alters the social structure. This cyclical, mutually-reinforcing relation is what Giddens calls *duality of structure*,

"the essential recursiveness of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices" (Giddens 1979; 5).

Linguistic anthropological studies integrate linguistics and social theory by examining how speakers use the features from their own languages to represent actions in the world and display "local theories of action, causation, and responsibility" (Duranti 1997; 196). They analyze speakers' grammatical choices that seek to assign or deny agency in socially consequential events.

Introducing *mitigated agency*, Duranti (1990, 1994), for example, examined the ways in which Samoan political orators often downplayed their role in negatively-perceived events through various linguistic means such as syntactic roles that are less agentive (e.g., genitive case marking, in which the subject of a transitive sentence is instead marked as a genitive, or possessive of the action, which is nominalized (*John ran to the beach, and it was beautiful* becomes *John's run to the beach was beautiful*)) or reported speech. Capps and Ochs (1995) describe the way a woman suffering from agoraphobia, through nonagentive semantic roles and verbs of necessity, presents herself as helpless before, during, and after panic attacks. Ehrlich (2001) investigated how rape defendants mitigate, diffuse, obscure, and eliminate agency through evidentials, the first-person plural in cases where a first person singular would otherwise be expected, passive voice, and unaccusative constructions. Conley (2011) demonstrated the ways in which jurors downplay their own role in sentencing another human being to death by leaving out the Agent of the sentence as well as by de-emphasizing the action itself.

In these cases, speakers' preferences for de-emphasizing their own agency are fairly straightforward. Among Belgrade residents, however, the calculation that might inform the encoding of agency is less clear. While there are reasons to emphasize agency to highlight

battlefield heroism, for example, that tendency seems mitigated by a desire to avoid stigma from Serbs' participation in the Balkan Wars. There is also a tendency to frame Serbian history as controlled by outside forces and citizens as unable to change their own living conditions. At the same time, defiance and clever forms of resistance are also highly valued. Ambivalence manifests itself in discourse that both emphasizes and diminishes agency.

4.3 Non-agency, Tactics, and Ambivalence

I was struck from my very first visit to Belgrade by a widespread sense of resignation about the problems – corruption and economic woes, for example – that plagued Serbia. People young and old often noted with a sigh the things they wished were different but felt that they could not change, both about their own lives and about Serbia. Historians and political scientists who study Serbia have offered compelling explanations for pervasive feelings of powerlessness and resignation. Glenny (2000), for example, argues that Balkan nations have throughout history been used as pawns in struggles between more powerful nations and that a relentless focus by foreign journalists on ethnic hatred has obscured the real underlying causes of unrest in the region.

Citizen resignation is also cited as a primary reason for Slobodan Milošević's success in staying in power for over a decade. He is said to have succeeded not by shoring up public opinion in his favor but through demobilization and suppression of political resistance (Gagnon 2004) and the "destruction of alternatives" (Gordy 1999), both to his rule and to ethnicity as a primary marker of identity. During the 1990s a pan-ethnic identity disappeared as a viable option, as did civic institutions that would allow for alternative forms of collective action. Interviews with high school teachers confirmed that many in the 1990s felt that an alliance with

what they saw as an immoral regime was the only route to prosperity. Gordy's analysis suggests a sort of historical vicious cycle at play: the more powerless people feel, the less they resist political decisions to which they are opposed, and the less they resist, the more powerless they feel.

As Greenberg (2010) reminds us, however, non-agency can also be a powerful moral stance in post-conflict societies. She tells a story in which a young Serbian woman exonerated her and other United States citizens for the actions of NATO during the 1999 bombing of Belgrade – as well as Serbian citizens for the actions of Serb forces during the Balkan wars – by asserting that neither group had any ability to stop the actions of their government. The author describes the young woman's moral logic as follows: "If politics really were a site through which one could affect the country and its policies, we all would have been implicated in past violence" (Greenberg 2010: 44). The example demonstrates how a desire for non-culpability can lead to a stance of non-agency.[33]

I became aware of the moral power of powerlessness during a trip to Sarajevo, Bosnia with my Serbian friend and her colleague, also a Serb. Nearly everyone I had encountered in Serbia claimed that individuals from the former Yugoslavia did not blame each other for events in the war. That enmity, I heard repeatedly, was imposed on the former Yugoslav nations by self-interested leaders and political factors beyond the control of ordinary citizens. Still, I could sense nervousness in my friend's colleague from the moment we crossed the border into Bosnia. He talked more quietly than usual on the street and in cafes and insisted that my friend, whose extended time abroad had given her a more 'neutral,' and less identifiably 'Belgrade' accent, order food and purchase bus tickets.

On our second day, we hiked to a river outside of town and ate lunch at a nearby restaurant. Realizing that we needed to return to the city before the next bus could get us there, we asked the waiter about the possibility of catching a taxi. He called his friend, who offered to drive us back to Sarajevo for a small fee. I listened on the car ride back as my traveling companions talked with the driver.[34] The conversation soon turned to the war and the recovery in Sarajevo, which was under siege by the Bosnian Serb army from 1992 to 1996.[35] The driver kept the tone light as he joked about how useless many recovery efforts had been. He explained how many Muslim countries had offered religious aid when what Bosnia needed was material goods for economic activity ("They build mosques, when what we need are nail factories!" he laughed). When the conversation reached a lull, my friend offered her view that what had happened in Sarajevo was truly a shame.

"Pa niko nas nije pitao, eh?" ('Well no one asked us, huh?'), he responded. As in Greenberg's example, by denying himself and his passengers the ability to affect the actions of their country, the driver offered a small act of reconciliation. If ordinary citizens had no role in the terrible decisions made by their governments – and, more importantly, no way to prevent the decisions from being carried out – they could hardly hold a grudge against each other.

4.3.1 Tactics – the power of small actions

Another way to interpret what happened in the taxi is to view it as a small act of resistance against the governments that turned ordinary citizens against each other during the war. Several times I heard the canonical (and, perhaps, apocryphal) story about Serbs, Bosniaks, and Croats in Sarajevo bringing bullets to their neighbors' homes as a peace offering and a warning instead of using the bullets to kill their neighbors, as instructed. These small actions can be seen as tactics,

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which do not try to overturn the prevailing order of a situation but rather seek to use powerlessness to ultimate advantage. De Certeau (1984: 37-38) argues, "A tactic is determined by the absence of power just as strategy is organized by the postulation of power," and those who employ them "Must vigilantly make use of the cracks that offer themselves at any given moment." In Belgrade a focus on tactics often emerged when research participants discussed: 1) Small, symbolic acts of rebellion against situations that they couldn't change and 2) Ways in which they made the best of unfortunate situations.

Jansen (2000) discusses the ways that Belgrade protesters enacted the figures of underdogs, victims, and rebels through playful acts of resistance to the 1999 NATO bombings, including writing angry messages on billboards and pointing them up to the sky, thus addressing them to the bombers themselves. I also heard stories about students banging pots and pans during the news in playful attempts to drown out state propaganda. In these stories Serbs in powerless positions make moral and active decisions to engage in resistance that will ultimately do very little to change their circumstances. These accounts evidence an ambivalent stance toward agency that takes pride in clever, disruptive action while also emphasizing an ultimate inability to effect meaningful change.

4.4 The Arrests of Accused Serbian War Criminals and Serbian Presidents' Responses

After the wars of the 1990s Radovan Karadžić (the former leader of the Bosnian Serbs), Ratko Mladić, (who is accused of carrying out the infamous killing of thousands of Bosnian Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica), and Goran Hadžić, (the leader of Vukovar, a Serb-dominated region of Croatia) were accused of crimes against humanity and went into hiding. The European Union maintained that the arrests of these men were necessary for demonstrating

Serbia's commitment to human rights and, thus, an absolute prerequisite for Serbia's E.U.

candidacy. The arrests were hotly criticized in Serbia[36] by both liberals who accused the

government of hiding Mladić and ethnic fundamentalists who viewed the men as heroes or

opposed the arrests as part of a principled stand against Western influence. Karadžić was

arrested in 2008; Mladić and Hadžić followed in 2011, during the main period of my fieldwork.

In what follows I demonstrate the ways in which political speeches following these

arrests take up an ambivalent stance toward Serbia's agency and moral responsibility for

arresting the accused war criminals. I focus on the speech that immediately followed Mladić's

arrest (bringing in examples from the arrests of Karadźić and Hadžić where relevant), because its

status as an E.U. requirement was most highly publicized internationally, and the remarks made

about it are the most in-depth. The full text of each speech is in Appendix A.

The speech following Mladić's arrest begins with an official announcement that includes

the exact time at which it took place. President Tadić then emphasizes the coordination required

for the arrest, congratulates the national security agency for hard work, and reiterates that Serbia

has cooperated with Hague and, thus, taken another step on the path to reconciliation.

At this point Tadić breaks to make a short statement in English, in which he repeats the

news that Mladić has been arrested and stresses again that Serbia has complied – and will

continue to comply – with the Hague's requests. Before switching back to Serbian, Tadić

stresses that all human rights violations and war crimes must be subject to investigation and

demands specifically that the Hague investigate atrocities against Serbs in Kosovo, including

rumors of organ trafficking. When Tadić switches back in Serbian, he focuses the rest of his

speech on the benefits of Mladić's arrest to the reputation of Serbia, the strength shown by the

agencies who carried out the work, and the possibilities afforded by compliance with international law and cooperation with international agencies.

Remarks following Hadžić's and Karadžić's arrests contain similar themes but in shorter and Serbian-only formats. I will not describe in detail the Karadžić case, as the remarks were by Prime Minister Cvetković (rather than President Tadić) in 2008, when prospects for joining the E.U. were more remote. The remarks emphasize respecting international and local laws, urge the remaining accused criminals to surrender voluntarily, and call on the Hague to be equitable in pursuit of war criminals from the Balkans.

Goran Hadžić represented the last accused criminal standing between Serbia and its E.U. candidacy. His arrest remained significant, even as the arrest of Mladić a few months earlier made it seem inevitable. The president's remarks following his arrest are shorter and more perfunctory, framing the arrest as heralding the end of a need for collaboration with the Hague (while stressing that Serbia will follow international law and work toward reconciliation) and congratulating forces who carried out the arrest.

4.4.1 Agency and Non-agency in the Remarks

Throughout the speeches several themes emerge with regards to agency. First, passive voice is used frequently, while active voice is reserved for characterizing or praising the work of those who carried out the arrests. Second, even active constructions do not assign decision-making power or volition to the Agent. While they describe *how* the arrests were carried out, they do not specify *who* decided to do the arrests. Finally, the speeches avoid explicit moralizing about the criminals, their behavior, or (with one small exception), the decision to arrest them.

These themes illustrate the delicate political situation that Tadić faces. He strives to straddle the line between decision-maker and dupe, presenting Serbia as strong and capable while avoiding looking like a pawn of the "west." At the same time, he never suggests that the idea for arresting Mladić came from the government or him personally. Thus, we see agency both emphasized and diminished.

4.4.1.1 Passive and Active Voice

The President diminishes his own agency through the use of passive voice. Passive constructions foreground or topicalize the object of action and background the Agent, either by eliminating it or assigning it to a non-nominative case (Keenan and Dryer 2006). The English sentence *The man was bitten by the dog* is passive, for example, because it positions "the man", the Patient affected by the biting action, as the grammatical subject and turns the Agent, the dog, into an indirect object. In Serbian there are two kinds of passive sentences, one formed by adding the reflexive particle *se* to transitive sentences and one, more similar to English, which uses a passive participle verb form. Unlike English, passive sentences in Serbian necessarily omit the Agent of the action described (Alexander 2006: 185-88).

Critical discourse analysts[37] and linguistic anthropologists have examined the ways in which choosing passive voice is not a neutral choice but is ideologically weighted, often when there is an interest in distancing oneself from the action described. Passivization in newspaper headlines obscures responsibility and reifies processes, for example (Fowler et al. 1979).[38] Similarly, passive voice is used by individuals to avoid culpability for morally problematic actions (Ehrlich 2001, Conley 2011).

In the political speeches, passive constructions dominate discussions of the arrests and the investigations, as below:

Excerpts 9a-c

Izvršena	je		i	naša	zakonska	obaveza
Execute-PAS	*be-3SG*		*and*	*our*	*legal*	*obligation*

Our legal obligation of the Republic of Serbia and our moral duty

Republike Srbije	i	naša	moralna	dužnost.
Republic of Serbia	*and*	*our*	*moral*	*duty.*

have been carried out

**

Uhapšeni	su	Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić i Goran Hadžić.
arrest-PAS	be-3PL	

Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić

have been arrested.

**

Uspostavljena je		metodologija i	istražni postupak
establish-PAS be-3SG		*methodology and*	*investigation procedure*

A methodology and investigation procedure **have been established.**

Active constructions, in contrast, are reserved for talk about the skill with which Serbian intelligence and security groups found and arrested the accused criminals:

Excerpts 10a-b

Savet	za	nacionalnu	bezbednost	je	institucija
Council	*for*	*national*	*security*	*is*	*institution*

The Council for National Security is an institution

u	okviru	koga	je	radio	i
in	*framework-DAT*	*which*	*be-3SG work-PP*		*also*

within which an action team

akcioni	tim.
action -NOM	*team-NOM*

also **worked**

**

Kao   i   pripadnicima Bezbednosno-Informativne Agencije
like   and   member-PL   Security-information Agency
As well as members of the Security-Information Agency

koji | su   izvršili | hapšenje
who-NOM | *be-3PL*   *execute-PP* | *arrest*

who | **carried out** | **the arrest**

In both passive and active constructions, the absence of a decision maker is evident. Although security forces are portrayed as highly active in the arrest, it is not clear who made the decisions to initiate the arrests, a notable omission considering the high degree of controversy over whether the arrest of war criminals is fair or correct. Also notable is the lack of moralizing about the war or the accused criminals. Tadić neither defends nor condemns the actions of Mladić nor comments on whether he deserves to go to The Hague. We can attribute this stance to the delicate political position he occupies.

4.4.1.2 Choice and Coercion

Members of the Serbian government walked a fine line with regards to their status as Agents in the arrests of Karadžić, Mladić, and Hadžić. If they emphasize agency too much, they appear overzealous about a very controversial issue. If they de-emphasize it, they risk appearing too submissive to European demands. Either extreme could mean a failure to perform a confident, prideful ethnic and national identity. Thus, we see an emphasis on collaboration with The Hague (line 2), which diffuses blame while suggesting some measure of control over the process and the skills of the operation.

Excerpt 11

1   I ovim još jednom jeste potvrđeno da je Republika Srbija u svom punom kapacitetu

And with this once again it has been confirmed that the republic of Serbia in its full capacity

2   dovršavala saradnju sa Haškim tribunalom, tragajuči za optuženima
       has completed its collaboration with the Hague Tribunal, searching for the accused

3   i zatvarajući tu tešku stranicu naše zajedničke istorije
       And closing that difficult page of our common history.

4   Ja sam veoma ponosan zbog obavljenog posla.
       I am very proud of the work completed.

By handling agency delicately, Tadić separates pride in the accomplishment from pride in the decision to undertake it. The arrests of Karadžić, Mladić, and Hadžić represent key moments in which the tension between pride and pragmatism rises to the surface. At first, the statements may seem like fairly straightforward announcements of political events, devoid of the kind of dramatic flair to which many Americans have no doubt become accustomed. The grammatical framing, however, demonstrates that simple remarks can play key roles in forming political identities and staking global positions. The speeches demonstrate how agency can be simultaneously emphasized and downplayed in line with complex ideas about the morality associated with making decisions and carrying out tasks.

4.5 Defiant Powerlessness in Everyday Talk

Like politicians, teachers and students also portrayed Serbia and Serbs as cunning, effective, and/or heroic in the midst of overwhelming oppression and powerlessness. Their interviews contain grammatical forms that emphasize agency while locating control and decision-making power outside of the speaker or person/entity being discussed.

I examine two segments from an interview with the history teacher, Aleksandar. In the

first segment, he speaks about Serbia's success in both World Wars and then almost immediately

turns to talking about how Serbia has been unable to pursue its own interests. In the second

segment he recalls personal experience as a student protester of the Milošević regime during the

1990s. He describes with pride the action he and other students took in coordinating protests but

also talks about how they ultimately could not control the direction of the protests.

First, he boasts about Serbia's role in the world wars.   Four times he places Serbia in an

agentive position with regards to the war, using active, transitive verbs to describe their actions.

In line 1, he says that they (Serbia) 'won' all of the wars: he then goes on to assert that they

'started' (line 2), 'finished' (lines 3&4), and 'resolved' (line 5) World War I.[39]

Excerpt 12

1   A: Zato što smo *dobijali* sve ratove, zato što nas svi na svetu cene kao takve.
Because we *won* all the wars, because everyone in the world acknowledges us for that.

2   Zato što smo prvi svetski rat <u>započeli</u> mi, što smo ga I mi <u>završili</u> probojom Solunskog fronta.
Because we <u>started</u> World War I, and we *finished* it with the breaking of the Thesaloniki Front.[40]

3   Dakle Srbi su <u>završili</u> I svetski rat probojom Solunskog fronta za 45 dana
So the Serbs <u>ended</u> World War I with the breaking of the Thessaloniki Front in 45 days.

4   60,000 Srba je <u>rešilo.</u>
60,000 Serbs <u>resolved</u> it.

Notably, he also uses the perfective verbs *započeli* and *završili* (lines 2 and 4), which

suggest finality (Alexander 2006: 31-2). Hopper and Thompson (1980) created a scale for

measuring the transitivity of a clause and argued that clauses that describe action as discrete and

completed – as perfective verbs in Serbian do – tend to show a higher degree of transivity, a

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clause property closely related to agency, in which activity is carried over from one person or entity to another. Thus, by using perfective verbs, the teacher suggests not only that Serb forces carried out effective action, but that they did so fully.

Shortly after the above segment, however, Aleksandar emphasized that Serbs never gained anything from helping Allies, claiming instead that they remained powerless because they failed at diplomacy and their powerful allies used them for their own interests.

Excerpt 13

1   A: saveznici   su   nas   uvek iskoristili   za
            Ally-PL   *be-3PL*   *we-ACC*   *always use-3PL-PP*   *for*
            Allies only always used us

2   svoje   velike   ili   male interese.
            their-ACC   *big-*   *or*   *small* *small* *interest-PL.*
            for their big or small interests

Here, *us* (that is, Serbia) is the Patient of action by the Allies. Throughout the interview the history teacher continues to alternate in this way between portraying Serbia as heroic and active, capable of altering the course of world events, and describing the nation as ultimately subject to other nations' desires and plans.

Later, Aleksandar discusses his role in the student protests against Slobodan Milošević's regime in the 1990s. He talks at length about his experience taking a leadership role in the protests, even as he suggests that they ultimately failed. In the segment below he alternates between asserting pride in the action that he and his fellow students took and mentioning how other people took over the cause and controlled the course of student activism. In line 1 the teacher uses the verbs 'decided' and 'move', which emphasize intiative and will and then clarifies, that when he says 'we' decided to move, he means that he was actually part of the decision. In lines 2-3, however, the Agent disappears, as he characterizes the period in which the

student organizations were making decisions as not lasting very long. Finally, in line 4 he describes how outsiders co-opted their cause for their own people, in a sentence that places these 'outsiders' (*stranke*) in the Agent position.

Excerpt 14

1   A: Kad smo se mi konačno *odlučili* da *krenemo* u -
            Then when we finally *decided* to *move* to-

2   *Ja* sam bio u tim nekim rukovodećim organima, ovi koji su kratko trajali (.)
            I was in some of those governing bodies, those which lasted a short time.

3   Taj period je kratko trajao, bilo je mnoge stvari koje mi se nisu svidjele,
            **That period lasted a short time, there were many things that I
            didn't like.**

4   Stranke su počele da se mešaju (.) da koriste to za sebe.
            Outsiders began to interfere (.) to use that for themselves.

As the interview proceeds, Aleksandar continues to alternate between talking with pride about the organization of the protests – from the 50,000 students he claims attended the first protest to the well-calibrated organization of their time on the street, in which they planned meticulously to make sure that everyone got to go home and get warm but that the streets were never empty – to emphasizing that they were ultimately not in control of their own destiny. Near the end of the interview, he concludes that although he has fond memories of the protests, he ultimately wasted time and delayed his education for their sake.

Aleksandar, the history teacher, emphasizes the capacity for action of Serbia as a whole and individuals within it. At the same time, stories that seem to be about heroism and effective action become stories of manipulation, co-optation, and subjugation of one's projects to the goals of others. To this end, speakers use grammatical constructions that both emphasize and de-emphasize agency.

4.6 Ambivalence and the Discourse of Futility

I noticed in interviews and informal conversations a marked and pervasive sense of resignation about societal problems and their possible solutions; citizens often framed problems as intractable and individuals as powerless to effect meaningful change. One question, then, concerns the relation between the multiple and at times contradictory framings of agency and the widespread discourse of futility. Futility can be seen as a 'synonym' for non-agency. Just as people can mitigate their own agency in past events, they can also use particular linguistic resources to convey an inability to act in the present.

Ambivalence about the past and a sense of futility in the present mutually reinforce each other. Futility is expected when people feel trapped between unsavory choices or have contradictory feelings about past histories. At the same time, the sense that past actions have not reaped benefits – for example, the pervasive disappointment in the longer term outcomes of the October 5 revolution that overthrew Milošević – leave a sense of ambivalence toward current projects aimed at improving society.

In the following section I examine how futility and resignation are constructed in interviews and classroom interactions, with attention to the following features:

1) Omitting or obscuring the Agent role

2) 'Universal' scope terminology, such as 'always,' 'never,' 'all,' or 'none'[41]

3) The lexical item *težak* ('difficult,' 'heavy'), as a gloss for the inability of citizens to change their situation.

4) Use of conditionals.

Taken together, the features paint a picture in which Serbians are constrained by forces outside of their control. At the same time, however, the features vary with regards to whether

and how they allow the possibility for agency and change. Futility is sometimes explicit, while other times it is embedded in the grammar.

4.6.1 Omitting or Obscuring the Agent

Passive voice is very common in everyday speech in Serbia. While transcribing and translating one interview, my transcript assistant emailed me with the following comment in English:[42]

Excerpt 15

I want to make an observation here, which maybe i[s a] bit linguistic, so forgive me if I am completely off here, as I do not know much, but this is my impression as I try to translate here. In Serbia we use a lot the passive voice, which is a pain to translate into English as English does not 'like' the passive voice. Serbs speak like this most of the time and it has now occurred to me when translating how much the passive voice defers responsibility. It is not my opinion, or your or someone['s], it is just like that, somewhere, a safe place to talk from as if detached but you actually are voicing your opinion but in a way that deflects responsibilty from it. Does that makes sense? I find it so interesting! [Email, March 21, 2012]

Here, the translator offers that passive voice is a form of linguistic distancing. His comments suggest that the social significance of the use or omission of particular case roles is relevant to speakers as well as to analysts.

The following examples are drawn from interviews with Mira (M), the civics teacher, as well as her classroom interactions with students. She is discussing her frustrations trying to teach civics in a climate where civic virtues are not valued and students and teachers alike know that there is more to be gained from cheating the system than from following the rules. Although she urges her students to think proactively about the ways in which society can be improved, she employs a discourse of futility in much of her talk about societal problems. Her descriptions shift back and forth from talking about specific teaching frustrations to more general societal

problems. Throughout, she obscures the Agent role through 1) Passive voice, 2) Generic second-person pronouns, and 3) Verbs that place her as the Patient of the powers-that-be, which remain faceless and ill-defined.

Mira notes that one of the problems in the class is that students are already jaded about corruption in society and already have a fatalistic idea that the problems of society will always be there. She claims that they have molded a pattern of thought (line 1) that nothing can change (line 2):

Excerpt 16

1   M: Jer oni već imaju ukalupljeno, kako bih vam rekla, um, tu matricu mišljenja.
               Because they already have molded, how should i say it, um, that pattern of thought.

2   Da je to tako i da se tu ne može ništa ahm ništa promeniti.
               That that's how it is and that here nothing, um, nothing can change.

3   Nažalost
               Unfortunately.

Here, as elsewhere, the teacher bemoans the students' sense of resignation about Serbia's ability to change. Recordings from civics class also show her having this very debate with students. Despite the teacher's repeated attempts to engage students in thinking more proactively, however, she also talks fatalistically about Serbia's prospects; omitting or obscuring an Agent in her speech is one of the key ways she constructs this sense of futility. In this excerpt, she discusses why she thinks many students do not take the civics course very seriously. She uses an adjectival/passive verb form, *marginalizovano* (marginalized).

Excerpt 17

1   M: Um, građansko   vaspitanje   je   negde
               Um, civic   education   be-3SG   somewhere
               Um, civic   education   is   somehow

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2   marginalizovano
          marginalized-PAS
          marginalized

By using the passive/adjectival form of 'marginalize,'[43] the teacher renders the sentence

Agentless. We do not know from this sentence who has marginalized civics or why. Civic

education, then, becomes a Patient of some unknown Agent.

 Next, Mira explains that the marginalization of civics stems from the lack of dedicated

funds and materials devoted to the class. She uses a generic second-person plural verb (*dobijate*)

and pronoun (*vi*) to distance herself from the action of securing money:

Excerpt 18

M: Ne postoji   mogučnost da <u>dobijate</u> novac za
  NEG exist – 3SG possibility that get- 2PL money for
  There is no   possibility that <u>you get</u> the money for

  materijal koji <u>vam</u>   je potreban
  material that you-DAT-2PL be- needed-PAS
  material that is necessary <u>for you</u>.

 Here, the Agent is obscured through the use of a generic second person pronouns. Quirk

(1985 § 6.21) has suggested that, in English, all plural pronouns can function to reference people

in general, but that the choice of a second-person pronoun for generic reference might imply that

the speaker is referring to common experience for either the hearer, the speaker, or both.

Similarly, in the excerpt, we do not know whether a failure to secure classroom funds is simply a

well-known problem or an experience that the teacher knows first-hand, but the choice of the

plural second person pronoun over the explicitly impersonal reflexive pronoun *se* (Alexander

2006; 152) suggests that the inability to get money is a reality about which she has intimate

knowledge. The sentence also obscures much about the action she describes.   We do not know

whether there is a mechanism for requesting money, or whether she has actually attempted it.

In another excerpt, Mira is explaining the horrible economic conditions of the 1990s. She

asserts that citizens during that time had three options: Violate your principles in order to

succeed, stick to your values and fail, or leave. Here she uses the second-person plural/general

verbs *hoćete* ('want'), *budete* ('be'), and *dolazite* ('come/arrive/get to') as well as the second-

person plural/generic pronoun *vi* to diminish her own agency.

Excerpt 19

1	M:	I	ako	<u>hoćete</u>	onda	da	<u>budete</u>	principijalni vi
		And	*if*	*want-2PL*	*then*	*that*	*be-2PL*	*principled*
		And	**if**	**you want**	**then to**		**be**	**principled**

2	onda	<u>dolazite</u>	u	konflikt.
	then	*arrive-2PL*	*in*	*conflict*
	then	**you get**	**into**	**conflict.**

By using the generic second-person pronoun, Mira suggests that problems trying to live a

principled existence is a common phenomenon and by extension not one that she can do much to

change. Second, the verb *dolazite* is an imperfect verb, which in this context suggests

continuous or repeated action (as opposed to the perfective *dodjete*, which would be used for a

single, discrete action (Alexander 2006: 31-2)). The imperfect construction suggests

routinization and downplays an individuals' ability to intervene.

Continuing on the theme that citizens who follow the rules isolate themselves and thus

have a hard time succeeding, Mira sums up her predicament by stating that she, as a citizen, feels

vulnerable. She characterizes herself as unprotected (line 4).

Excerpt 20

1	M:	I	šta	ja	sada	kao	građanin	mislim

And	*what*	*I*	*now*	*as*	*citizen*	*think-1SG*	*can-1SG*

And now what, do I as a citizen think I can

2   da   očekujem?   Ja,   ja   zaista kao   građanin ne mogu
that   *expect-1SG*   *I*   *I*   *really as*   *citizen can-NEG*
expect?   **I,**   **I**   **really, as a citizen**   **I can't**

3   da   ocekujem,   ja   samo   znam   da   sam-
That   *expect-1SG*   I   only   know-1SG   that   be-1SG
expect.   **I**   **only know**   **that**   **I**

4   ja   kao   građanin   <u>nezaštićena.</u>
I   *as*   *citizen*   *protected-NEG-PAS*
am   **as a**   **citizen**   <u>**unprotected.**</u>

Here again, she uses the adjectival passive verb, *nezaštićena* (unprotected), which sets her up as a Patient, but leaves ambiguous who or what is (not) protecting her.

When discussing the problems of society and their effect on her and her classroom, the civics teacher Mira constructs a scene in which unknown forces are in nearly complete control. By putting herself and the citizenry as a whole in a Patient role and obscurring the Agent, the route to change seems unclear. How can citizens affect forces that they cannot name? Of all of the features described here as part of a discourse of futility, obscuring or omitting the Agent role most straightforwardly de-emphasizes the ability – and, therefore, the responsibility – to act.

4.6.2 Always or Never, Everyone or No one, All or Nothing

The Belgrade community members in this study shifted between sharing details of their own life and reporting more detachedly as experts on Serbian society and culture. In their roles as consultants, they often spoke in absolute terms – talking about what **everyone** or **no one** did or thought, what **always** or **never** happened, and so on – a tendency that was particularly pronounced when they discussed the problems that Serbs faced in their everyday lives and as

citizens of a society that many characterized as corrupt. Despite the fact that so much of everyday talk was marked by ambivalence, certainty seemed to emerge, if briefly, in talk about problems, challenges, and constraints.

Features of discourse not directly related to grammatical agency or semantic case roles can construct a reality in which a speaker is not empowered to change their situation, or even to act at all (Capps and Ochs 1995). The repeated use of universal quantifiers (all, every, or none), terms of universal frequency (always or never) (Quirk 1985), and other absolute terms served a similar function, as they depicted life situations and predicaments as too firmly established to change.

One context of this linguistic practice was the repeated complaints that Serbs have suffered over the years because they are not united. Nearly everyone I interviewed mentioned internal division as a key factor in the nation's political struggles. Many people point to the four Cyrillic 'c's ('s's in the Latin alphabet) on the Serbian flag as standing for *Samo Sloga Serbina Spasava,* ('Only unity saves the Serbs'). Interviewees often presented Serbia's inability to heed the flag's admonishment as an inherent part of "Nasa mentalitét" (our mentality): defiant, proud, argumentative and, above all, unwilling to sacrifice principles for political advantage.

When the issue of unity arose, teachers and students usually spoke in absolute terms. In the excerpt below, the student Lana (L) explains that lack of unity will **always** be there (line 1-2) and that even when brief moments of unity arise, they quickly give way to a status quo in which there is **no chance** (line 6) of agreement.

Excerpt 21

1.   L: I <u>uvek</u> će Srbi da budu u ratu sami sa sobom.
          Serbs will <u>always</u> be at war with themselves.

2   R: ((laughs))

3	L:	Evo i ja sam zabola sa srpskim (.) Ovaj, znači <u>uvek</u> će Srbin da ratuje protiv Srbina
		There, I stuttered with Serbian just now (.) well, so a Serb will <u>always</u> fight a Serb

4		i brat protiv brata i baš je čudno (.)
		and brother against brother and it's so strange (.)

5		neznam u jednom trenutku možemo da budemo – ne znam – koliko bliski,
		I don't know, in one moment we can be – I don't know – so close,

6		U drugom trenutku opet <u>nema šanse</u> da se složimo oko nečega.
		In another moment there is again <u>no chance</u> for us to agree on something.

The relation between absolute language and constructions of agency is fairly straightforward: If a lack of unity will **always** be a factor and there is **no chance** of agreement, then it follows that an individual cannot do much to change the situation.

In another excerpt, Lana says that, thanks to the lack of unity, Serbia will **never** make it on its own (line 1) and will have to join the European Union.

<u>Excerpt 22</u>

1	L:	Ne bismo mogli <u>nikad</u> da se obogatimo sami,
		We could <u>never</u> get rich alone,

2		Jer ne možemo <u>nikad</u> da se složimo pa da nešto i uradimo sami
		Because we can <u>never</u> agree with each other in order to do something alone,

3		Tako da ova::j (.) morali bi smo da udjemo u tu EU,
		so therefo::re (.) we would have to join that EU,

4		Ne vidim ništa loše u tome osim što oni vrše preveliki pritisak i previše traže stavrno,
		I don't see anything wrong with it, except that they put too much pressure on us and really seek too much,

5		I zahtevni su.
		and they are demanding.

Absolute terms play an obvious role in the construction of agency: if independence can **never** happen, then individual attempts to make it happen are already futile.

In the final excerpt, two English teachers, Marija and Tanja, argue over whether things are better or worse than they used to be after I had asked them how they pictured the future in Serbia. Tanja first explains why she sees extreme population decrease as inevitable because of declining birthrates and *odliv mozgova* ('brain drain,' lit. 'moving of the brains') to other parts of Europe and the United States. Marija, her sister interjects with a comment that she would love for some things to change (line 1). The talk that follows is littered with absolutes as the two women discuss how every change in the political system has left them disappointed. After Tanja says that change will be difficult (line 2), Marija agrees that she can't see how change will happen, given that every government **always** promised something, but **nothing** ever happened (lines 3-4). Tanja adds that that **everything** is worse and worse (line 5). Marija counters that it is **always** the same (line 6), to which Tanja responds simply, "*Gore* ('Worse')" (line 7). At this point I press Tanja to elaborate by repeating, "*Gore*?" (line 8) Marija says that she doesn't know whether it's worse, given that their economic situation has improved since the 1990s (line 9). Tanja indirectly points to widespread corruption problems with her response, "svi lažu ('**everybody** lies')" (line 10).

Excerpt 23

1   M: Ja bih volela da se nešto promeni, čoveće.
         I would love for some things to change, man.

2   T: Ali teško
         but with difficulty (lit. But hardly, i.e., it will/would be hard)

3   M: Da, stvarno ne mogu da vidim kako.
         Yes, I can't see how.

4   Svaka vlast koja je došla uvek je nešto novo obećavala i neke promene,

Every government that has come into power **always** promised something new, some changes,

5   Ali <u>nikad</u> se <u>ništa</u> nije desilo
           But <u>nothing</u> <u>ever</u> happened

6   T: Ma <u>sve</u> je gore i gore
           Well, <u>everything</u> is worse and worse.

7   M: <u>Uvek</u> je sve isto.
           It's <u>always</u> the same.

8   T: Gore
           Worse

9   R: Gore?
           Worse?

10   M: Pa neznam da li je gore, lepo sad živimo,
           Well I don't know if it's worse, we live nicely now,

11   T: <u>Svi</u> lažu
           <u>Everybody</u> lies

As in previous excerpts, the conversation with Marija and Tanja yielded talk about society in absolute terms. The argument that phrases like 'nothing will change' can be a way of diminishing personal agency seems obvious, given that it is talk *about* agency. I argue, however, that the use of universal quantifiers and other absolute terms diminishes agency in a more general way. When descriptions of the world leave no room for exceptions, they might also leave no room for action.

4.6.3 Težak (Difficult or Heavy)

Like absolutes, the word *težak* ('difficult' or 'heavy') does not have an intrinsic relation to agency; its use does not necessarily deny or assign Agency or responsibility. Used habitually,

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however, it can point to the constraints that keep a speaker from acting. For that reason, it

participates in the *discourse of futility*.

The previous excerpt contains one example of the use of *težak*. At the beginning of the

exchange, when Marija says that she would love for some things to change, Tanja responds with

"*teško*" the adverbial form of *težak*.

Excerpt 24

> *M*:   ja bih volela da se nešto promeni čoveće.
> *M*:   **I would love for some things to change, man.**

> T   ali <u>teško</u>
> *T*:   **but <u>with difficulty</u> (lit. But difficultly) [i.e., it will/would be hard]**

Used in this way, *težak* ('difficult') suggests "nearly impossible." Marija's next line

confirms Tanja's interpretation, as she responds, 'Yes, I can't see how.' In other words, she

agrees with the characterization of the problem as 'difficult' by saying that she 'can't see how' it

can be solved. Even if we characterize Marija's 'Yes, I can't see how' as an upgrade of – rather

than simple agreement with – Tanja's assessment of the situation (Pomerantz 1984), it still

suggests that *težak* has non-agentive connotations. *Težak* also can mean heavy or burdensome,

which further evokes an image of one weighed down, unable to act.[44]

In another excerpt, I asked Lana, a student, how she pictured her future. She responds

with what she sees as a typical picture of a happy life – a spouse, a child, a good job (line 3) –

before contrasting that vision with her characterization of the future as "*tešku*" ('difficult')

Excerpt 25

1   L: Znaš kako, kao i svi.
               You know how, like everyone.

2   R: hhhhh.

3   L: Lepog muža, lepu decu, lep posao (.) ali ovaj: (.) kad bi smo bili realni,

Handsome husband, beautiful children, nice job (.) but we:ll (.) if we are realistic,

4   Zamišljam budućnost u Beogradu <u>tešku</u>
         I imagine a <u>difficult</u> future in Belgrade

In this excerpt, as in many others, 'difficult' is not elaborated. Instead, it serves as a sort of last word on the matter. When I followed up on these characterizations, I usually heard a rundown of general problems and constraints that would prevent the interviewees from realizing their goals for themselves or for the nation. Notably absent were stories in which things were difficult but the speaker ultimately prevailed. This suggests that the meanings of 'difficult' and 'impossible' might sometimes be closer in Serbian usage than they are in English. Still, the two terms are not synonymous, which suggests that the use of *težak* leaves at least some ambiguity as to whether change is possible.

<u>4.6.4 Conditionals</u>

The fourth feature, the habitual use of conditionals, carries the most potential ambiguity in terms emphasizing or deemphasizing agency. As the examples below will evidence, teachers and students repeatedly used the conditional form to express what they *would do* – or *would have done* – if situations were different.

In English, conditional sentences often take the form *if p, then q*, which in formal logic sets up a clause *p* as sufficient for the realization of clause *q*. Due to a process known as "conditional perfection," however (Geis and Zwicky 1971), English conditional sentences are often interpreted as *biconditionals*, (that is, as expressing *if AND ONLY if p, then q*), where clause *p* is not only sufficient, but also necessary, for the realization of *q*. For example, if a parent says to a child, "If you finish your chores by 3p.m., you can play outside," the implication

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is that the child *must* finish the chores in order to play outside. Thus, we could phrase the example sentence as "you can play outside **if and only if** you finish your chores by 3p.m."

Because of conditional perfection, conditionals are characterized as a kind of "clause of contingency," in that the main clause is thought to rely on the conditional one (Quirk 1985: §15, 30). Although I have not found evidence of Slavic linguists asserting the existence of conditional perfection in Serbian, the examples below strongly suggest that the speaker is using the conditional to express contingency. This is a key point for the argument that the use of conditionals is a component of the discourse of futility. When speakers use conditionals in explanations for why they cannot or will not act to change certain societal problems, they represent the possibility for action as contingent upon an as-yet unrealized condition and themselves as unable to intiate a particular action without a change in their situation.

Conditional sentences also vary according to whether they present the condition p as possible, hypothetical, or strictly impossible. At times this distinction depends on grammar. Van der Auwera (1983), for example, notes that in English, indicative conditionals, which express the condition in a simple (usually present) tense, tend to present conditions as possible or real, whereas subjunctive conditionals (e.g., "If I *were* in Spain. . .") are used for either problematic or counterfactual conditions. Determining the 'real' or 'hypothetical' status of conditionals is not always possible through grammar alone however; clause-order, context, and intonation also factor into the interpretation of a condition as real, hypothetical, or impossible (Dancygier 1993). Where conditionals are concerned, realis and irrealis are not discrete categories but points on a continuum (Akatsuka 1985). In other words, a sharp divide between a conditional that posits a possible condition and one that sets up an impossible one does not exist in most languages.

In Serbian a speaker can use different forms to express real, potential, or unreal (by virtue of being either no longer potential or simply impossible) conditions. (Alexander 2006; 216-220). Significant overlap among possible forms exists, so determining whether a sentence is characterizing a condition as potential or impossible – a consequential question when dealing with the question of agency in the real world – can be difficult. The resulting picture of a speaker as either able or unable to act is ambiguous.

Potential conditions sometimes use *kad* ('when') or *ako* ('if') along with a conjugated form of a conditional be-verb bi plus the past tense of the main verb, as in the excerpt below, taken from an interview with Mira, the civics teacher:

Excerpt 26

M: Ja   mislim   ako   bi   postojala
          I   *think – 1SG*   *POT*   *exist-PP*
          I think that if there were political will,

          politička   volja,   da   bi   se   to   rešilo.
          political   *will,*   *that*   *be-3SG-POT*   *REFL DX*   *resolve-PP*
          then it would be solved.

This construction, *ako + bi + postojala*, is used only for potential conditions and makes clear that in the speaker's characterization a political willingness does not currently exist but could.

Similarly, in the excerpt below, students in the civics class are telling their teacher why they will not vote when they turn eighteen. When Mira pushes back and suggests that things certainly will not get better if the students refuse to vote, another student (S6) uses this same potential form (*ako bi*. . .) to lay out the conditions under which she would vote (line 1):

Excerpt 27

1   S6   Ja <u>bih</u>   glasala   <u>ako bi</u>   taj   neko   uradio
             I   be-1SG-COND   *vote-PP*   *POT*   *DX*   *someone*   *do-PP*

	I would		**vote**	**if that**	**person**	**did**

	I would		**vote**	**if that**	**person**	**did**
2	nešto	što-	kaže- (.)	što	bi	značilo
	something	*that-*	*say*	*that be-3SG*	*mean-PP*	
	something	**that-**	**say – (.)**	**that meant something**		
3	meni,	moj	bratu,	mami,	tati,	
	me-DAT	*my*	*brother-DAT*	*mama-DAT*	*father-DAT*	
	to me,	**my brother,**		**mama,**	**papa,**	
4	dedi (.) Ali. . .					
	grandpa-DAT. But. . .					
	grandpa (.) But. . .					

Here the student makes her decision to vote contingent on what a politician might actually do for her or her family. Her use of the construction *ako* + conditional verb, (then) conditional verb, expresses a potential, but not yet realized condition. Her use of the word "*but*" at the end, however, means that while she might be characterizing a conditional as possible, she is not necessarily framing it as likely.

Another way of expressing potential conditions in Serbian is more ambiguous because it can also be used to discuss unreal conditions as well. This form consists of {*da* ('that') + the simple present tense}. Alexander uses the following two sentences to illustrate how this form can be used for either type of condition:

> Da te pitam, da li bi pomogao?
> **If I were to ask you, would you help me?** (POTENTIAL)

> Da je carobnjak, mogao bi da to uradi
> **If he were a magician, he would have been able to do it** (UNREAL)

(Alexander 2006: 219). In both sentences, the first part uses {*da* + present tense} to set up the (either potential or unreal) conditions for action. In these cases, the semantic meaning of the sentence tells the listener whether the conditions are potential or unreal. In other cases,

however, the semantics do not help nearly as much. In the example below, for instance, the

student Neda discusses how she would like for Serbia to be independent and, thus, not obligated

to join the European Union. First, she uses the form solidly associated with potential conditions

(*kad + bismo. . .+bili*) in line 2 before switching to the more ambiguous form (*da + nemoramo*

(present tense)) in line 3.

Excerpt 28

1	L:	Znaš		kako,	meni		bi		bilo	super
		Know-2SG		*how*	*me-DAT*		*be-3SG*		*be-PP*	*super*
		you know what,			**for me**		**it would be**			**super**

2		kad	bismo mi bili	samostalni	i	bogati
		when	*POT-1PL*	*independent*	*and*	*rich*
		if	**we were**	**independent**	**and**	**rich.**

3   R: hhhh. da

4	L:	To	bi bilo		stvara,	da ne moramo
		That	*be-3SG-COND*		*awesome*	*must-NEG-POT/HYP*
		that	**would be**		**awesome,**	**if we didn't have to**

		da	ulazimo	u	tu	Evropsku Uniju
		that	enter-1PL	in	DX-ACC	European Union-ACC
		join			**that**	**European Union.**

From the second sentence, we do not know whether she is saying that not joining the

European Union is a potential situation that she would find awesome or an impossible one. It is

only later, when she says that they will never be able to rebuff the European Union (analyzed

above), that we realize she is constructing an unreal scenario. In other cases, the situation is

never cleared up in subsequent talk. Another student, Sara, for example, touches on the common

trope of internal division as a key Serbian problem and uses the ambiguous form to argue that

society would function better if people were more united:

Excerpt 29

S: A   *da smo*   malo   više   složni mislim   da
        And   *HYP/POT*   *little* *more* *united* *think-1SG*   *that*
        and *if we were* a little more united, I think that [everything] would

        bi   bolje   funkcionisali
        be-COND-3PL   *good-comp*   *function-3PL*
        function   better.

Here again we do not know – and she never makes explicit – whether being united is a tangible goal or simply an imaginary condition.

It might be, however, that ambiguity does not matter much to the question of whether we can see conditional forms in general as a way of attenuating agency. Regardless of whether scenarios set up by conditional statements are *possible* or not, the scenarios themselves (if there were political will, if Serbia could avoid joining the EU, or if the country were more united) are not something easily brought about or altered by individual action.   By implying that such scenarios are necessary for certain types of change, individuals might still be de-emphasizing their own status as agents capable of affecting their the world around them.

I also suggest that using the conditional is part of the language socialization of a particular attitude toward – and way of talking about – society and social structures that takes place in the civics classroom. The civics course aims to reorient students toward more "democratic" ways of thinking. During the year I noticed that it involved a great deal of role-playing and hypothetical problem-solving, wherein students would act as various members of government, debates, and brainstorm solutions to political problems. During such activities, teachers repeatedly prompted students to propose hypothetical changes to society. I offer that these prompts socialize them not only into speaking about social change using the conditional form but also into viewing their role in social change as purely hypothetical.

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Notably, the teacher sometimes advocated explicitly for talking about a problem

hypothetically when students asserted that certain problems could not be solved. Rather than

challenging students' resignation directly, the teacher asked her students to bracket taken-for-

granted assumptions that large-scale societal problems have no solutions and instead to pretend

that they are in the position to effect change. In the following excerpt, students had been

brainstorming solutions for the problem of abuse of power in government. After the students

began to talk all at once, Mira asked one student, Irena, to give her input (line 1). Irena asserts

that there is no solution (line 2), but the teacher insists that she pretend there were. She prompts

Irena using the ambiguous conditional form (lines 4 and 5).

Excerpt 30
1   M: Ne čujem nikog sada. Irena neka završi.
            I can't hear anybody now. Irena, finish [your thought].

2   I: Pa ne postoji ništa, profesorka
            Well there's nothing, professor

3   M: Irena, rekli smo da nećemo na taj način - da razgovaramo na taj način.
            Irena we said we will not in that way - discuss it in that way.

4   <u>Da si</u>   ti   u   nekoj   situaciji   da   možeš
           POT/HYP   *you*   *in*   *some-DAT*   *situation-DAT* *that*   *can-2SG*
           if you were   **in**   **some situation**   **that you could**

5   da   promeniš,   šta   <u>bi</u>   ti   <u>uradila?</u>
           that *change-2SG* *what* *be-COND*   *you*   *do-PP*
           change it,   **what** <u>**would**</u>   <u>**you**</u>   <u>**do?**</u>

Thus, the teacher asks the student to set aside her assertions that nothing is possible and

instead imagine herself as able to make changes. As in the previous examples the teacher uses

the ambiguous form of the conditional and, thus, does not specify whether the condition (being

in a position to change things) is a possible or impossible situation.

The next excerpt, which takes place during a class discussion on ending government officials' abuse of power, contains many features of the discourse of futility in one interaction. When Mira asks how to get rid of the abuse (line 2), one student replies that they could reform the justice system (line 3), but other students counter that reform has been unsuccessful in the past (lines 4 and 6). The teacher tries to push back by suggesting that maybe the reform was not done completely and that they should try again (lines 5 and 7). When another student resists the suggestion, arguing that "It will never be good" (line 8), the teacher uses the conditional to urge them not to talk about what *will* not be, but what *could* be good (lines 9 and 10).

Excerpt 31

1   M: Ajmo sada, zloupotreba položaja vam je asocijacija
            Ok now, abuse of office is an association for you

2   Kako će se suzbiti ta zloupotreba položaja,
            How will this abuse of office be minimized,

3   S1:   Reforma sudstva.
            Reform of the justice system.

4   S2:   Već je bilo i ne pomože.
            We already had it and it didn't help.

5   M: Kaže već je bilo i ne pomaže, ali nije do kraja izvedena?
            **You say we already had it and it didn't help, but it wasn't done all the way
            through?**

6   S3:   Nije dobro.
            It wasn't [done] well.

7   T: Znači moraju ponovo, nešto nije dobro
            So they have to do it again, something wasn't good.

8   S4:   Pa nikad neće biti dobro
            Well it will never be good.

9   T: Ajde   da   ne   govorimo   šta   neće.
            Let's   that   NEG   talk-1PL   what   FUT-NEG
            Let's not talk about what will not be/

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10	nego	šta	<u>bi</u>	<u>moglo</u>	<u>dobro</u>	<u>da</u>	<u>bude.</u>
	but	*what*	*POT*	*can-PP*	*good*	*that*	*be-3SG*

but <u>what could be good.</u>

11	Vi ste teoretičari i tako posmatrate problem.

You are theorists, and so you consider the problem.

Notably, in the previous two excerpts, the teacher proposes talking in the conditional as a way of pushing back against students who are convinced that they are stuck with a political system that they do not like. Perhaps the conditional proves itself useful as a way to think through problems and temporarily set aside nagging feelings of futility that can't be discarded altogether. At the same time, talking about solutions using conditional forms frames the solutions as hypothetical only; thus, this way of talking might contribute to a pervasive sense of non-agency and resignation.

In this section, I have outlined features of what I call a discourse of futility that characterizes talk about societal problems and possible solutions. These features include 1) Sentences that omit or obscure the Agent role, by using grammatically passive constructions and second-person pronouns, as well as assigning the Patient role to a speaker straightforwardly, 2) Absolute terms such as *always, never, everyone, no one*, and *nothing*, 3) The repeated use of *težak* (difficult, heavy), and 4) Conditional constructions. These features vary in how and how consistently they are used to deny or de-emphasize agency. The use of *težak* and the use of ambiguous forms of the conditional leave open at least a possibility for action and, thus, form part of an ambivalent stance toward what is possible in the social world.

The question, then, is how ambivalence is related to conceptions of empowerment and futility or, more generally, how ambivalence is related to social and political action. Ambivalence arises from a sense that past action has been futile. Ambivalence also is tied to a sense of futility about how to act in the political realm: one may be uncertain what one wants;

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categories fail to account for experience; or all options seem unpalatable. Ambivalence about **goals** can become ambivalence about **action itself**.

4.7 Conclusions

This chapter has examined how people construct a discourse of futility around present and future possibilities for themselves and the nation. It has also examined situations in which people may be conflicted about how to frame their own or others' agency or may be motivated to emphasize and deemphasize agency simultaneously.

Analyzing the discourse of futility is important for understanding how specific ways of speaking might contribute to and reinforce feelings of political paralysis among citizens. At the same time, we must also recognize when the features of the discourse of futility themselves leave room for ambiguity, such as when a conditional leaves open the possibility that a required condition is possible. Just as the discourse of futility can deepen the ruts of perception that encourage inaction,[45] a characterization of Serbs as too resigned can ignore the ways in which people might still view themselves as agentive beings with a history of action and survival.

An emphasis on powerlessness goes hand in hand with an emphasis on tactics, actions that use the existing power structure to one's (often temporary) advantage. The civics teacher described the focus on tactics by sharing with me a common phrase, *Treba se snaći* ('you have to manage'), which is often used to justify breaking the rules or using one's connections to accomplish what needs to be done – be it securing a timely doctor's appointment or filing paperwork with a government office – rather than operating through official channels.   In the next chapter, I discuss the way talk itself can serve as exactly this sort of tactic, when citizens use skillful verbal negotiation to manage a complicated bureaucratic system that they cannot

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dismantle. These negotiations are often reproduced in the classroom, despite widespread

ambivalence about them.

CHAPTER FIVE:
Reluctant Bureaucracy: Accounts, Narrative, and Negotiation in the Classroom

In early 2014, Croats, Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina came together for a common cause: to protest bureaucracy and inefficiency in the country and demand that government provide the most basic services to its citizens. To illustrate the problem, one woman posted a photo of her baby lying on the floor, the required paperwork for receiving a birth certificate spread all around her.[46] This focus on paper as a symbol of bureaucracy also held in Serbia, where people joked about needing form FT-1P in order to accomplish anything in governmental offices. FT-1P stands for *fali ti jedan papir* ('you're lacking one paper') and is the refrain of one forbidding government worker in a satirical book about the various social types one enounters in Serbia (Ljubičić 2007). In other words, no matter how many forms you bring into a government office, you will always be missing something and, thus, will be unable to proceed. The only solution to bureaucratic inefficiency, I heard repeatedly, was to bring a well-connected advocate and argue persuasively and to hope you encounter a friendly face on the front lines.

5.1 Introduction

Despite a renewed interest in bureaucracies in anthropology and other social sciences (e.g., Heyman 2004; Sharma and Gupta 2009; Gupta 2012, Hull 2003, Bernstein and Mertz 2011), the pervasive role of *talk* in resolving policy-practice gaps, settling disputes, producing written documents, and structuring citizen-bureaucrat encounters has been under-analyzed in the literature on the everyday practices of the state. This chapter addresses the gap by examining in detail classroom interactions as examples of arenas in which bureaucracy is enacted and

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reproduced even when apparently being ignored or criticized. I argue that the ubiquitous and lengthy negotiations between Serbian high school teachers and students parallel, and in many respects reproduce, several aspects of interactions in Serbian bureaucratic offices, where citizens often find that the application of the law lacks consistency and is often highly dependent on clients' rhetorical skills. Constant negotiations with students over grades, attendance, and behavior position teachers as *reluctant bureaucrats*, who – due in part to the lack of a centralized authority structure in the school – end up spending much of their class time enforcing and interpreting an often confusing set of state-mandated school policies.

I first examine the use of **accounts** – here understood as statements used to explain or justify potentially problematic behavior (Scott and Lyman 1968) – and other narratives in negotiations over grades, attendance marks, and behavioral disputes. These account sequences are characterized by the following features: 1) A future-orientation, 2) A tendency to be undertaken on behalf of classmates or the group as a whole, 3) Ambiguous or delayed resolutions, and 4) The final word on policy implementation being determined by the teacher, who serves as a relatively low-level representative of state educational policy. I suggest that these features parallel citizens' everyday experiences in other bureaucratic settings, such as passport offices and in police encounters.

Second, the chapter draws upon theories of **voice** (Bakhtin 1981, Keane 1999) to analyze how teachers alternate speaking on behalf of the bureaucracy and speaking as an intimate mentor within a single account sequence. I examine an event in which a Serbian high school teacher and her students narrate and contest the meaning of a dispute from earlier in the day. The students and the teacher engage in what I call *reciprocal accounting:* They work out alternative versions of what happened, take turns explaining and justifying their behavior and perspectives,

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and couch the event as a turning point toward a more responsible approach to present classroom and future adult obligations. The teacher treats the students' persistent attempts at negotiation and relentless focus on who said what as indicative of widespread excuse-making and avoidance of responsibility that, in her view, plagues Serbia as a whole. Through alternation of voices the teacher assumes an ambivalent moral position: Although she criticizes constant negotiations and the system that relies so heavily on them, she cannot but function as a bureaucrat as she mediates between the state and the students.

Recurrent interactional practices in the classroom can perpetuate the very societal realities that teachers wish to – and might even consciously work to – change. The teachers' shifting ways of speaking in the classroom, even within a single conversational stretch, highlight the contradictory role of high school teachers who find ways to critique the system that they simultaneously reproduce and train students to manage. Understanding how bureaucratic interactions unfold in classrooms is important, because negotiations in government spaces contribute to many Serbs' sense of futility about improving their political system.

5.2 The Democratic Transition

Much has been made of the process - and the challenges - of post-communist and post-socialist "transitions" to democracy since 1989 (Linz and Stepan 2011, Golubović 2004, Brown 2006, Burawoy and Verdery 1999, Creed 1998, Uvalić 2009, Verdery 1996). According to Linz and Stepan (2011), for example, a successful transition to democracy depends not only on particular objective measures such as free and fair popular votes and the newly-elected government's sole power over legislation, enforcement, and judicial interpretation. It also involves an attitudinal shift, after which "a strong majority of public opinion holds the belief that

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democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern collective life in a society such as theirs and when the support for antisystem alternatives is quite small or more or less isolated from the pro-democratic forces" (Linz and Stepan 2011; 6).

Serbia has experienced a significantly delayed transition, if the transition has come at all. While some attribute this delay to residual post-communist attitudes that allegedly make citizens more complacent and adverse to voluntary association, others suggest that such "heritage arguments" (Kostovicova 2006) are inadequate for explaining the particulars of the situation in Serbia. Some attribute the delay to a streak of authoritarianism in Serbia, a cultural affinity for 'strongmen' in government (Golubović 2004), while others critique the process of democratization itself, noting that it can just as easily encourage 'illiberal' and 'anti-democratic' sectors of civil society (Kostovicova 2006). Skepticism toward words such as 'democracy' was also rampant among the teachers and students. They associated these words with pressure from the European Union and viewed them as buzzwords that countries like the United States used to justify global intervention.[47]

Another factor is the role of widespread disappointment, discussed in Chapter Three. Many of the teachers at this high school had participated in the political protests of the late 1990s that eventually overthrew Slobodan Milošević in 2000 and felt much disappointment at the slow improvement that followed as well as the persistence of corruption and inefficiency during the so-called transition to democracy. The view of bureaucratic offices as frustrating, inefficient, and inconsistent spaces was widespread among teachers and other participants in my study as well as in the popular media; a popular book entitled *Nacionalni Park Srbija* (National Park Serbia) (Ljubicic 2007), for example, which depicts different social types as species one might encounter in a wildlife reserve, includes a description of *Mica Ubica* ('Mica, the Killer'), a

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government office worker who, as mentioned, repeats her refrain of *fali ti jedan papir* ('you are lacking one paper') to each person who approaches attempting to file paperwork or apply for a permit. When I, as a foreigner, expressed confusion over certain policies or procedures - how to renew my visa, for example - locals would often repeat Mica's famous refrain with knowing smiles. The only way to manage such an arbitrary and frustrating system, I heard repeatedly, was to know the right people and - most importantly - be prepared to make my case persuasively. Interactions in the classroom were similar: when rules and boundaries were unclear, the best strategy was often to craft a skillful story and make sure to have the right co-narrator.

Although teachers expressed a desire to move away from the bureaucratic frustrations of the past and toward a system based more on merit than on skillful excuses and justifications, my data show that their classroom interactions with students perpetuated a system based less on well-defined rules and definite authority structures and more on talking one's way through one complicated bureaucratic maze after another. On the other hand, teachers did sometimes try to use these interactions as bridges to more open conversation about the pitfalls of such a system.

In the absence of a centralized authority structure in the school, students and teachers regularly worked out behavioral, academic, and attendance issues on the spot, without leaving the classroom. Teachers found themselves in a somewhat awkward position: Despite the fact that they were accountable to the educational ministry (for keeping proper attendance records, following complex testing procedures, and meeting highly-structured curriculum requirements), students often treated them as the ultimate authority, the final word in all classroom matters. In a year of observing multiple teachers and multiple groups of students, I never saw a teacher send a student to the principal or call on a higher authority to resolve a dispute; in cases of extreme conflict, teachers simply sent students out of the classroom. This situation, in which teachers had

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to manage conflict and issue disciplinary and academic decisions on the spot, created the possibility for constant classroom negotiation, excuses, and justifications and rendered the classroom a space for *reluctant bureaucracy*.

5.3 Bureaucracy and the Position of Teachers

5.3.1 Bureaucracy

In Weber's idealized model, bureaucracy is a modern achievement of rationality and efficiency, the epitome of "precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of rules, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material costs" (Weber 2009[1946]): 57). In contrast to older systems based on personal loyalty, he writes, governing activities in a bureaucracy would be assigned as official duties, the authority to give commands distributed fairly according to stable rules, and provisions made for the regular and continuous fulfillment of duties (Weber 2009[1946]: 50).

In contemporary parlance, however, bureaucracy often evokes images quite opposite of what Weber imagined. Rather than efficient, rational, and disinterested, bureaucracy is often viewed as corrupt, inefficient, and fundamentally unfair. Sharma and Gupta (2009) argue that, rather than being failures of bureaucratic organizations, "Conflicts, 'corruptions,' and inconsistencies are *central* to institutional organization and the reproduction of states" (16). Similarly, Heyman (2004: 493) stresses that bureaucratic thought always involves interpretation (i.e., not just blind adherence to the rules) and that its rationality is always "bounded, limited, and flawed". Ethnographers study the "zone between official policy and official routine and discretion" (Heyman 2004: 489). This zone, I would argue, makes negotiating and accounting for

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one's behavior such an important practice. Where "street level bureaucrats" (Lipsky 1980) must deliver services and interpret policy on the spot – and often use clients' perceived failures as justification for denial, punishment or delay – making a good case and having a co-narrator to act as a "broker" (Wolf 1956) becomes essential. Teachers operate in the space between policy and discretion as well. Although they resist being associated with government or bureaucracy, they must interpret and enforce policy in the classroom. Although the state creates detailed policies about attendance, for example, the teacher applies the policies to individual cases. Although the state sets standards for judging students' mastery of particular academic subjects, teachers are the ones who must evaluate individual students according to these standards. When making everyday judgments, teachers fall back on familiar interactional routines. To assist them in on-the-ground implementation of educational policy, teachers elicit accounts and other narratives from students. They ask students why they should award full points for a history oral exam that was missing crucial information or why a student believes his or her absence should be marked "excused."

Is the classroom, then, simply a space for the perpetuation of a system based less on rules and more on social connections and on-the-spot negotiation? The notion that schools reproduce (often undesirable) social realities is well-established in social theory (*c.f.* Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Althusser 1971). In his discussion of the school as a key "Ideological State Apparatus," or non-state institution whose goal is nonetheless to transmit the values of the state, Althusser described the predicament of teachers as follows:

> I ask the pardon of those teachers who, in dreadful conditions, attempt to turn the few
> weapons they can find in the history and learning they 'teach' against the ideology, the
> system and the practices in which they are trapped. They are a kind of hero. But they are
> rare and how many (the majority) do not even suspect the 'work the system (which is
> bigger than they are and crushes them) forces to do, or worse, put all their hear and
> ingenuity into performing it with the most advanced awareness (the famous new

methods!). So little do they suspect that their own devotion contributes to the nourishment and maintenance of this ideological representation of the School.(Althusser 2009 [1971]; 98).

Although Althusser leaves room for individual acts of 'heroicism,' he argues that most teachers remain unaware of the ideologies and values that they perpetuate in the classroom.

5.3.2 Teachers' Ambivalence

In interviews, teachers both stressed their desire to endow students with a sense of responsibility for their futures and their community and expressed frustration at the difficulty of putting that desire into practice. Liljana, the literature teacher, stressed that the classroom, rather than the street, was the best place to air political grievances and brainstorm solutions. She expressed pride at having persuaded nearly her entire class to resist an extremist group that tried to pull them from school in order to protest the independence of Kosovo by telling them that their voice would be better heard in class:

Excerpt 33

1. L: Na ulici vi ste masa.
        On the street, you are a mass.

2. R: Uh huh.
        Uh huh.

3. L: Ne čuje se vaš glas.
        Your voice isn't heard.

4. R: Da.
        Yes.

5. L: U školi, vi ste individue, pojedinci, čuje se vaš glas.
        In school, you are an individual, unique, your voice is heard

Teachers spoke about their desire to challenge and broaden students' notions of citizenship and political participation. Many noted the difficulty that the current political situation presented for accomplishing their goals, however. For one thing, as the history teacher Aleksandar noted, teachers themselves were stifled by an array of bureaucratic rules and reporting requirements:

Excerpt 34

1. A: Da li ti je upisan čas ovako ili onako, da li ti u pripremi piše ovo i ono.
   Is your class recorded like this or like that, do you write down this and that in the logs.

2. Što sasvim nema veze, jer ti možeš da pišeš na papiru 15 stvar,
   Which has no meaning what so ever, because you can write down on paper 15 things,

3. a čas izgleda potpuno drugačije.
   and the class looks completely different.

This teacher went on to say that he, unlike the bureaucrats at the Ministry, cares about *why* students might be late or miss an assignment, thus framing his elicitation of accounts and negotiation as *resistance* to bureaucracy. In distancing himself from the bureaucratic requirements of his job, though, he does not acknowledge the ways in which allowing negotiation in his classroom might actually echo government office practices, where one often negotiates over rules that are less than clear. His commentary suggests a thin line between resistance to and perpetuation of bureaucracy.

Teachers complained that students came to them already accustomed to approaching rules and requirements through strategizing and negotiations. The civics teacher, Mira, complained that for every attempt she made at re-orienting students toward taking law and

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citizenship seriously, they provided her with real-life counterevidence of the futility of playing

by the rules:

Excerpt 35

1. M: I imaju jako, jako mnogo primer za sve što vi hoćete da ih navedete
          And they have really, really a lot of examples for everything you would like
          to lead them

2.   da razmišljaju da li to može da se reši na jedan bolji način u skladu sa
          to think about whether it can be solved in a better way in accordance with

3   recimo pravima, zakonom
          let's say, the rules, the law.

4. R: Aha.

5. M: Oni vam daju drastične primer gde to nije moglo da se izvede na taj način.
          They give you drastic examples where it wasn't possible to do it in that way.

Though teachers wanted to teach broad moral and political lessons for both the good of

the students' personal lives and the benefit of society as a whole, they felt constrained by student

attitudes toward government and the shortcomings of education policies themselves. They did

not, however, acknowledge the ways in which their encouragement of daily negotiations inside

the classroom might reproduce some of the more frustrating aspects of bureaucratic interactions.

5.4 Accounts and Narratives in Everyday Classroom Negotiations

In what follows, I analyze examples of everyday interactions around attendance,

admissible behavior, and grades and suggest some ways in which these interactions resemble

encounters in other bureaucratic spaces. In the classroom, as in many government offices, the

application of a given policy often depended on having a persuasive co-narrator to make a

sympathetic or logical case. Thus, negotiations were often structured around accounts and

narratives about past behavior and present situations.

<u>5.4.1 Accountability</u>

Scott and Lyman (1968) defined an account as "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior-whether that behavior is his own or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else" (Scott and Lyman 1968: 46). The authors divided accounts into *excuses*, in which the accused denies full responsibility for the act in question, and *justifications*, in which he or she accepts responsibility but rejects the negative judgment associated with it. Although accounts are defined primarily as actions that address past behavior, they can also be future-oriented, especially when used in negotiation (Firth 1995).

More recently, scholars have examined account sequences in actual conversations and larger cultural contexts (*c.f.*, Raevaara 2011, Sterponi 2003, 2009; Robinson and Bolden 2010, Bolden and Robinson 2011). Sterponi (2003, 2009), for example, examines the ways in which Italian parents elicit accounts from children and assist them in fulfilling them. She defines an account as a "conversational sequence that originates with the signaling of a breach and then unfolds with the provision of an account that aims to mitigate or deny the moral charge associated with the breach." The account is viewed as a key part of *mundane morality*, or "how children in everyday socialization produce and are objects of moral evaluation" (2009: 441). In the sequences below, students account for their own and their fellow students' behavior not only to absolve themselves or others of negative moral assessment, but also to secure a favorable outcome, such as a better grade or an excused absence.

Many of the negotiations analyzed rely on students' and teachers' narratives about their past behavior or current extenuating circumstances. The chapter proceeds from the observation that narrative does not simply reflect past events, but constructs and configures them (*c.f.* Bruner 2003, Ochs and Capps 2001), drawing on various cultural frameworks (Garro and Mattingly 2000). Narratives are never solely about the past but are driven primarily by a concern for present and future actions, experiences, and selves (Goodwin 1990, Ricoeur 1981, Bruner 2003, Morson 1996, Ochs and Capps 2001).

The role of narrative in socializing young people as members of collectives is well-established (Ochs and Capps 1995, Baquedano-Lopez 1997, Sterponi 2003). Narratives – and their elicitation – are one way that experts can hold novices accountable and enact everyday morality. Ochs and Capps (2001) argue that "when children are integrated into narrative interactions, this participates in building understanding of what is right and wrong, tasteful and distasteful, preferred and dispreferred" and that participation in narrative activity "provides critical information about what a child can expect to experience over the course of a lifetime" (111). In Belgrade, given the daily encounters - both in and outside of the classroom - in which one must spontaneously negotiate outcomes, the ability to provide narratives and accounts on the spot is itself what children should expect.

5.5 Everyday Account sequences

The following two examples of classroom account sequences illuminate the following common features:

1) Accounts were almost always forward-looking, as part of a request or negotiation, such as to take a makeup exam, delay the due date for an assignment, or secure a particular grade.

2) Accounts were not always elicited directly or at all by teachers.

3) With the exception of attendance checks, most accounts were on behalf of other students or the class as a whole.

4) Requests in which accounts were embedded often received ambiguous responses from teachers: they rejected the legitimacy of the account but granted the request or delayed ruling altogether.

I argue that these features resemble important features of other kinds of bureaucratic encounters, including 1) The importance of being ready to make your case, regardless of whether you are asked to do so, 2) The need for a well-connected advocate who can argue for you if necessary, 3) The experience of encountering a low-level bureaucrat who must interpret policy and decide your fate on the spot, and 4) The tendency for such bureaucrats to delay, rather than deny outright, your case.

5.5.1 'We wanted to ask on behalf of the whole class'

In the first excerpt the literature teacher Liljana attempts to open class discussion by asking who has read the assigned book (line 1). One student, acting as a representative for the entire class, immediately launches into a request to postpone the discussion of the book based on the fact that no one has read it (lines 2-5). The teacher's response – a verbatim repeat of the student's statement, 'No one has read the whole [book]?' (line 6) – is read as an elicitation of an account (that is, the students interpret her response as a request for an explanation of why no one has read). The students provide a justification in lines 7-9. The teacher first explains why the students' account is not legitimate, pointing out that they must be more proactive in securing class materials given the inadequacies of the school library (10 – 13), before granting their request (lines 14 – 15):

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1. L: Koliko vas je pročitao?
         How many of you read?

2. S1   Mi smo hteli da vas zamolimo u ime celog odeljenje,
        We wanted to ask you on behalf of the whole class

3.   Jer niko nije pročitao celu,
        Because no one has read the whole [book].

4.   I ako možemo nekako u ponedeljak da pričamo o svemu,
        If we can somehow postpone it until monday and talk about the whole thing.

5.   Ali do sada niko nije pročitao celu.
        But for now, no one has read the whole [book].

6. L: Niko nije pročitao celu?
        No one has read the whole thing?

7. S2: Profesorka ali mi nemamo knjigu, jer u biblioteci nema
        Professor we don't have the book, because the school libary doesn't have it,

8.   Mi kažemo drugim odeljenjima da vrate ali niko [ne donosi.
        We told the other classes to give it back but   [no one is bringing it.

9. S3:   [oni ne donosi.
                                                         [they are not bringing it.

10. L: To i nije neko objašnjenje
        That is not an explanation.

11.   Vi kao treća godina da se oslanjate samo na jednu školsku biblioteku.
        As third years you can't depend on just one school library.

12.   To je malo teško. Vas ima osam odeljenja a samo deset knjiga.
        That is a little hard. There are eight classes of you and only ten books.

13.   i da su sve tamo ne biste mogli svi da uzmete iz drugih.
        And if all of them were there you couldn't all take one out.
        (.)
14.   Ajde ako imate čitanke onda danas možemo da radimo pesmu
        Ok, if you have your school books let's do a poem today

15.   jednog pesnika koji se nadovezuje na priču od prošlog časa
        by a writer that connects to the story we did last class

This sequence, like many of the others in the classroom, is concerned less with accounting for past behavior for its own sake and more with avoiding negative consequences associated with not doing the required work. Also, like many other sequences, it is undertaken collectively, on behalf of the whole class, although a few students had most likely read the assignments.[48] The teacher's response is ambiguous – although she agrees to put off the discussion of the book, she also claims not to accept the students' account as reasonable.

5.5.2 'Professor. May I just ask you something?'

The second account takes place in a civics class. Before Mira, the instructor, can start, a student makes a request about a quiz in Logic, the other subject this instructor teaches. The student asks that her friend, who is out of town, be allowed to make up a quiz. The teacher elicits an account in line 3 ('why don't they ask me?'), which the student answers in line 4. Here, too, the resolution is ambiguous – the teacher rejects both the content and the form of the request (demanding that the affected students ask for themselves (line 5)), but also claims she can grade students orally, a partial accommodation to the student who is away (lines 6-7):

Excerpt 37

1. S: Profesorka. jel mogu samo da vas pitam nešto.
         Professor. May I just ask you something.

2.   Jel mogu oni koji nisu da rade kontrolni u ponedeljak?
         Can those who are absent do the quiz on Monday?

3. M: Pa zašto oni ne pitaju?
         Well why don't they ask that?

4. S: Zato što je Ana u Arandjelovcu.
         Because Ana is in Arandjelovac.

5.   M: Pa zato što me ne vidjaju. Evo i Anja je došla. Neka pitaju oni.
Well, because they don't want to see me. There, Anja is here.[49] **Let them ask.**

6.   Videću, neznam - Na času redovnom nemogu da rade.
I will see - I don't know. For a regular class I can't do it.

7.   Mogu da ih pitam. Ali sada radimo gradjansko
I can grade them verbally. But now we are doing civics class.

As in the first sequence, the account - "Because Ana is in Arandjelovac" - is embedded in a request about classroom rules. Although the account itself is elicited directly with a why-question from the teacher, the sequence is not. The account is undertaken by one student on behalf of another and is partially granted before the teacher diverts the sequence in order to start class.

The features of these account sequences parallel the features of account sequences in other bureaucratic settings. In Belgrade, stories abounded of citizens who prepared sympathetic stories before going to the post office to negotiate years of unpaid electricity bills, for example. As in the classroom, these accounts were prepared ahead of time and given regardless of whether they were elicited. Like the students' accounts, they were future-oriented – that is, focused less on absolution from the sin of not paying and more on the material consequences their delinquency would carry. Just as students often gave accounts on behalf of each other or of the entire class, I was repeatedly advised not to go into a government office without a well-connected co-narrator to advocate on my behalf. And just as teachers seemed to prefer to divert or delay ruling on students' requests, government offices were presented as frustrating places not because their representatives denied requests outright, but because they tended to delay them (*Fali ti jedan papir* 'you're missing one paper' is, after all, not a rejection, but a deferral).

Perhaps these everyday account sequences paint a rather bleak picture in which the frustrations of bureaucratic interactions are simply reproduced, mechanically, in the classroom, just one more example of schools reinforcing social problems and injustices (Boudieu and Passeron 1977, Althusser 1971). Teachers, it may seem, cannot help perpetuating a system in which persuasion trumps merit, a system that is part of the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) of students and teachers alike. The situation is more complicated, however. Teachers communicate ambivalence toward accounting as a practice. Their quick diversions and vocal rejection of students' excuses and justifications (even as they sometimes grant the requests associated with them) communicate disapproval to students. More importantly, teachers at times make explicit the morally ambiguous status of accounting, which the extended excerpt below illustrates.

5.6 The Breach and Extended Narrative

When I arrived at school one October evening, I sensed immediately that something was out of the ordinary. Although I had been visiting for only a few weeks, I had grown accustomed to the loud chatter among students and the friendly banter from teachers as they arrived for their lecture. On this evening, however, the students were quieter than usual and when their literature teacher, Liljana, arrived to start class, she walked to the front of the room without greeting the students and immediately launched a thirteen-minute narrative. She outlined problematic aspects of the students' past behavior that day, invited them to provide an account for their actions – which they did, mostly via one spokesperson – and considered the implications of the day's events for future teacher-student negotiations and students' experiences as adults in the work force. The full transcript of the narrative is in Appendix B, and the analysis that follows retains the original line numbers from that transcript.

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The narrative is co-produced by Liljana and her students in a literature course on Friday during the 'afternoon schedule,' which consists of seven periods from 2p.m. until 8p.m. Students alternate weekly between a morning and afternoon schedule and often dread Fridays on the afternoon schedule, when school can interfere with evening plans. According to Liljana, the students had convinced another professor to cancel fifth-period biology class by reminding her that they had attended an extra biology class that week and claiming that Liljana had already canceled sixth period (which she had not) and seventh period (which she had). After securing the cancellation of fifth period, they spent the breaks between classes pressuring Liljana to cancel sixth period, citing the fact that the biology teacher had already canceled the fifth class.

Liljana refused to comply; the narrative takes place at the beginning of sixth period, which the students had hoped to cancel. The teacher first shames the students for their trickery then invites them to provide their own account of what happened (an opportunity they eagerly take up). She then uses the event as a bridge to discuss the kind of teacher she is, the relationship her students should expect to have with her, and the sense of responsibility that will help them to succeed in their career and even, she hints, improve society.

In their counternarrative, the students tell a very different story, guided by a different experiential logic. In their story, the biology teacher held a class earlier that week and agreed with the students that they would not have biology class again on Friday. This created a gap in their schedule (which is not allowed, according to official state education policy) between fourth and sixth periods, so they asked Liljana about canceling sixth period to eliminate the gap.

We can analyze the different experiential logics that co-narrators use to make sense of events. Most narratives are logically structured as follows: a problematic or unexpected event

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brings about changes in states and/or psychological or physiological responses, which lead to an attempt by some actor to resolve the problem, with some end result, any of which can generate a new problematic event (Ochs and Capps 2001).

The chart below outlines the different experiential logics that govern the students' versus the teacher's version of 'the story:'

Liljana's Story (most immediate timeline)	Students' Story
Problematic Event (extra biology class) →	*Problematic Event* (extra biology class) →
Psychological Response / additional problematic event (students want to leave after fourth period) →	*Psychological* (uncertainty about Friday's class) →
Attempt / additional problematic event (pressuring and lying to both teachers) →	*Attempt / additional problematic event* (asking biology teacher for clarification) →
Psychological Response (Liljana's anger) →	*Resolution* (cancelation of Friday's biology class)→ *New Problematic Event* (a gap in the schedule)→
Attempt (refusal to cancel class) →	*Attempt* (ask Liljana to cancel the 6th class) →
Resolution (students attend class)	*Resolution* (attempt fails - students attend class)

5.7 Multi-vocality in the Narrative

Throughout the narrative the teacher alternates voices, shifting from speaking as a bureaucrat to speaking as an intimate mentor. Webb Keane (1999; 271) defines voice as the "linguistic construction of social personae" which takes into account 1) stylistic variation, 2) the link between specific variants and social identities, and 3) the "complexity and manipulability of participant roles" (Keane 1999; 271). The framework of voices, as both Jane Hill (1995) and Keane (2011) have pointed out, draws from Erving Goffman's (1981) notion that a speaker is not a unitary entity – that it can be decomposed into the *animator* (person saying the words), the *author* (person who wrote or created the words), and the *principal* (person or entity responsible for or represented by the words). It also relies upon Bahktinian *dialogism* (1981), which argues that all talk carries traces of discourses from beyond the here-and-now.

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Theories of voice capture the idea that 1) The teacher switches between speaking as an individual with whom students have a personal relationship and a responsible representative of the Ministry of Education, and 2) Classroom interactions contain traces of – and, perhaps, perpetuate – ways of speaking that have a history beyond the classroom (namely, a long history of encounters with bureaucrats in various government offices and encounters).   Hill has noted the ways in which "voices play against one another and jostle for dominance even within the discourse of a single speaker" (1995; 272). Similarly, a teacher displays ambivalence toward her position in the educational hierarchy through the alternation of various grammatical and rhetorical features, which correspond to what I call the *institutional voice* and the *intimate voice*. These voices contain the following features, each of which will be explained briefly here and more fully in the sections below:

Institutional Voice

When Liljana uses the institutional voice, she acts primarily as a ministry representative, basing her assertions on rules and presenting herself as having a duty to uphold them.   The institutional voice includes the following features:

- **Elicitation of accounts** + **followup questions** – Liljana elicits an account from the students in order to judge what has happened. This is similar to the ways that government workers ask for explanations for perceived failures to follow protocol (e.g., bringing in all required paperwork) in order to determine whether to grant or deny services (Lipsky 1990)

- **Invocation of rules** – the teacher makes reference to ministry rules about required class attendance and protocols for requesting changes in order to define how students should have behaved.

- **Passive voice** + **omission of 'I'** – the teacher does not speak as an individual and does not provide a subjective interpretation of what has transpired.

Intimate Voice:

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In contrast, Liljana uses the intimate voice to distance herself from the bureaucratic aspects of her role as teacher, instead focusing on her relationship with and accountability to her students, as well as her interest in their future development and success. When Liljana uses this voice, her speech contains:

- **First person pronouns and verbs + emphatic markers and emotion words** – the teacher uses these features to emphasize her emotional and subjective reaction to the students' behavior.

- **Appeals for/displays of empathy** – the teacher voices her perception of the students' point of view explicitly and asks them to identify with her.

- **Reciprocal accounting** – the teacher accounts for her own behavior at the same time that she asks students to account for theirs, emphasizing mutual obligation.

- E**mplotment (Mattingly 1998)** – highlighting her role as a mentor and guide to the students, the teacher situates the event as a key moment in the students' trajectory toward more responsible adult behavior.

An analysis of the alternation of voices helps to capture the complicated position of Belgrade high school teachers as reluctant bureaucrats who, despite their intimate relationship with and holistic commitment to students, must at time act as a 'rational,' disinterested arbiter of state educational policy.

5.7.1 Institutional Voice

Belgrade classrooms were guided by many centralized policies: The Ministry of Education chose textbooks, determined the structure and content of exams and writing assignments, set the number and type of required courses, and specified the number of acceptable absences for all students in Serbia, all to a level of specificity not seen in national education policies in the United States. When Liljana uses the institutional voice, she adheres closely to these rules and distanced herself personally from her evaluation of the students' actions. She

frames herself as the *animator* but not the *principal* or *author* of her statements (Goffman 1981: 144-145). While she articulates school policies, she does not frame them as her words. Characteristics of the *institutional* voice include the passive voice and omission of the first-person pronoun, the invocation of specific school policies, and demands for students to account for particular aspects of their behavior (usually in the form of questions and follow-ups).

5.7.1.1. Passive Voice

As discussed in Chapter Four, the use of passive voice is often thought to function in the depersonalization of action (*c.f.* Fowler et al., 1979). When Liljana invokes rules and ministry guidelines, she often uses the passive voice and does not use the first person singular. In the example below, she argues that the students were wrong to ask the biology teacher to skip fifth-period biology, given that it would create a 'gap' between the fourth period and the sixth, Liljana's class. She uses the reflexive passive construction "zna se*"* ('it is known') twice, as well as "nikad **se dozvoljavaju** neprave rupe" ('creating gaps is never allowed'), as opposed to saying that "you may not create gaps" or "we/I do not allow you create gaps".

Excerpt 38

> Iako **se zna** pravilo je u školi, **zna se**, nikad **se dozvoljavaju** neprave rupe
> *Even though **it is known** that the school rule, it's known, creating gaps is **never allowed***

Using passive voice has the effect of anonymizing the source of the rules and invoking the bureaucratic structure for which teachers serve a representatives.

5.7.1.2 Explicit rules

Liljana also uses the institutional voice when she frames the offense in terms of explicit rules regarding student attendance. She reminds students of the rules and her (lack of) responsibility for setting them

Excerpt 39

10   Znaći ne treba da pitate mene nego da pitate kordinatora nastave.
    So you don't need to ask me, you need to ask the class coordinator.

Later, Liljana explains that she understands why the students thought they should be able to miss a biology class, given that they had attended an extra class that week.   Here, she uses, 'that all stands' (line 48), a phrase that connotes a legalistic consideration of the students' claims. In addition, her consideration is largely about numbers: which numbered class period the students could miss, and how many classes they needed to attend.

Excerpt 40

46   Da vas pušti da nemate peti čas da nemate prvi to je razumljivo,
    To let you not have 5th period to not have the first, that's understandable,

47   da vas pušti ako imate poslednji čas jer ste za tu nedelju odradili koliko časova ima.
    To let you go if you have the last period because you have already done the required number of classes for that week.

48   <u>Sve to stoji</u>.
    <u>That all stands</u>.

In this excerpt, Liljana refers to detailed ministry rules about how many hours of each subject a student must attend per week. Although teachers handle these ministry rules extremely flexibly on the ground – teachers will exchange class periods when they have scheduling concerns, for example – they must in the end account for having held the proper number of classes without gaps in between. Thus, when Liljana refers directly to rules or uses them to

justify her refusals to submit to student requests, she is speaking as a Ministry representative who

must enforce policies for students and who is herself accountable to those above her in the

educational hierarchy.

5.7.1.3 Account elicitations and cross-examination

As suggested in the previous section, using accounts is an important part of bureaucratic

negotiations; thus, I argue that when the teacher uses questions to elicit and follow up on

students' accounts, she is invoking the institutional voice. Liljana defines and re-defines the

problematic event in order to hold students accountable for their alleged 1) dishonesty and

trickery; 2) unjustified desire to skip her class, and 3) unnecessary pressure tactics; she then

invites students to contest her version of events. When they accept, she elicits their account in

the form of a counternarrative:

Excerpt 41
65		Jel <u>ta</u>ko?	
		Isn't it like <u>that?</u>	
66		<u>Ta</u>ko izgleda situ<u>a</u>cija.	
		<u>Th</u>at's how the situ<u>a</u>tion looks.	
67	S1:	<u>Ni</u>je, nije [profesorka...	
		It isn't, professor	
68	S2:	[<u>Ni</u>je tako.	
		[It isn't like that.	
69	L:	Nego? Izvoli,	
		Then what? Please, go ahead,	

The word "*tako*" (lines 1,2, and 4), can be translated as 'so, that way, like this/like that', an

indexical that indicates the moral framework of her version of the story. By asking, "isn't it like

that?" the teachers invites the students to contest the very moral logic on which her story is based.

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The students' counternarrative orients primarily toward the sin of trickery and exploitation. The students deny that they tricked the teacher, claiming instead that they understood that, because biology had been held at an earlier time that week, they would not have it during fifth period on Friday. The students frame the extra biology class as the problematic event, which creates the need to clarify Friday's schedule with their biology teacher. They attest that they did not take advantage of the biology professor but rather sought to clear up the situation. They also explicitly address the challenge to their honesty and intentions.

The chart below outlines the students' transgressions, as outlined by Liljana, and the students' addressing of those transactions in their counternarrative:

Problem	Liljana's Elicitations	Students' responses
Conning the biology teacher	I prvo to(.) prvo to što ste pokušali da prevarite I profesorku bilogije. **And the first thing (.) The first thing is that you tried to con the biology professor as well.** … malo cete smuvati biologičarku, malo mene, **you'll trick the biology teacher a little, me a little** svima odgovara, **it suits everyone well** da se ranije vratimo kuci petkom **to go home early on Friday**.	Mi smo imali sa trećim tri biologoju uh::: **We had biology with 3-3, uh:::** Kad - nije trebalo da imamo po rasporedu... **When – when we weren't supposed to have it according to our class schedule** Medjutim. Um: Mi smo nju pitali da li cemo mi imati u petak cas= **But. Um: We asked her if we were going to have the class on Friday=** =Ne bio je dogovor sa profesorkom da [tad nemamo cas **=No, we had an agreement with the professor that we weren't going to have class then.**
Not wanting to have Liljana's class	Drugo zašto ne biste imali čas **Second why would we not have class,** … Drugo, zašto ne bismo imali redovan čas **Secondly, why would we not have regular class.** . . . što naravno da znate da petkom šesti cas ne mora da bude strogo formalno **when of course you know that Friday's sixth class period doesn't have to be strictly formal**	[Nismo mislili da nemamo čas sa vama nego **[We weren't thinking not to have the class with you** I zato smo mi vas pitali čisto da ne bismo imali tu rupu.= **and so that's why we asked you so that we wouldn't have this gap.**
Putting pressure on the	da ste me tri odmora vršili takav pritisak da ja prosto kažem: **that you've spent three of your breaks putting**	I zato smo mi vas pitali čisto da ne bismo imali tu rupu.= **and so that's why we asked you so that we**

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teacher	**this pressure for me to simply say**.	**wouldn't have this gap.**
	E danas super, evo nastave vi ste odradili cetiri casa I to je to **Ok, today, great, here you go, you have had your four classes and that's that**	
	nemate peti nemate šesti. **You won't have the fifth, you won't have the sixth.**	

Figure 9: Elicitations and Responses

In defining and re-defining the problematic event Liljana sets the terms for the counternarrative; students show their orientation to her definitions of the problematic events by producing accounts that address and attempt to refute them

I include Liljana's account elicitations and follow-up questions in the institutional voice as an example of a common interactional routine of making one's case and receiving judgment that, as argued in the previous section, characterizes many bureaucratic encounters.

5.7.1.4 Rejection of the institutional voice

At times, Liljana invokes bureaucracy and the educational hierarchy – specifically, her own accountability to the ministry - only to reject it as an explanation of her behavior. Twice during the exchange, she mentions her responsibility to keep records on when she holds class, a requirement that often makes it hard for teachers to cancel class (given that it leaves them with the choice of either lying about their decision in class logs or having to admit in official documents to cancelling class). Liljana rejects this explanation, however, in favor of a moral argument, maintaining that she insists on holding class because teaching is important, not because she fears the authority at the ministry.

Excerpt 42

121   Al' ja nisam od tih profesora, i posmatrajte me kako god hoćete,

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But I am not one of those professors, and you can look at me however you like

122   koja ce upisati čas na neće ga držati
        who will write down that a class was held that wasn't

        ((lines omitted))

123   Ja ne radim to straha pred nekim,
        I don't do it because I'm afraid of someone,

124   da ce neko otkriti da ja u petak šesti cas, taj cas nisam drzala. Baš mi briga.
        that someone's going to find out that I didn't hold the class Friday sixth period. I don't care.

Also, while the students focus on the rules as justification for their behavior – that they had already had the required class, that they had permission to miss biology class, or that they didn't want to create the forbidden 'gap' in their schedule – the teacher rejects these explanations:

Excerpt 43

115   sad ja ne ulazim u to što ste vi imali u cetvrtak biologiju i tako dalje.
.   **now I'm not going into the fact that you had a biology class on Thursday and so on.**

116   To je - mislim time se prosto ne bavim niti me to interesuje,
        That is - I mean, this is not something that I involve myself with, it doesn't interest me,

Although the teacher alludes to the rules and accountability to the educational ministry, she rejects them as unimportant factors in her disagreement with the students. She presents herself not as someone who arbitrarily judges students based on rules, but who has more personal – and, by implication, more justifiable – reasons for her reactions.

5.7.2 Intimate Voice

Although much of what happened in the schools was highly structured by external rules and curricula, *Gradska* classrooms were, in other ways, intimate and flexible spaces. The same

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group of about thirty students attended all classes together for the entire four years and often kept the same teachers for the whole time. Affectionate teasing and joking between students and teachers were everyday occurrences in the classroom. In addition, although teachers had to manage strict ministry policies, they often did so flexibly, trading classes with other teachers when they encountered scheduling problems in order to reach the required number of classes and even strategizing with students to help them reach ministry-mandated requirements. The *intimate* voice includes frequent use of the first person pronoun coupled with emotion words and emphatic markers, appeals for and displays of perspective-taking, reciprocal accounting (in which the teacher responds to students' accounts with accounts of her own behavior), and the situation of the conflict in larger narratives about students' developing maturity and work ethic. These features index the more flexible and intimate aspects of the student-teacher relationship. Here, Liljana focuses on her subjective reaction to her students' behavior, its effect on their ongoing relationship, and its implication for the students' development into responsible citizens and workers.

5.7.2.1 Use of "I," emotion words, and emphatic markers

　　Unlike the institutional voice, from which the first-person pronoun is largely absent, the intimate voice is marked by the frequent use of the first-person singular pronoun and first-person singular verb conjugations. Throughout the exchange, Liljana phrases her reaction to the event using first person verbal conjugations ('I think,' 'I feel,' and 'I see.'). Below are three examples:

Excerpt 44a- c

28	<u>Mislim</u> da uopšte nije korektno i nije fer.
	<u>I think</u> that it's generally not correct and it's not fair.
	. . .
33	<u>Ja</u> tako <u>vidim</u>, izvinite, ali ja tako vidim situaciju

I see it that way, I'm sorry, but this is how I see the situation.
. . .

148   To <u>osećam ja</u> kad imam ucenike pred sobom.
I feel that when I have students in front of me,

In using the first-person to describe her point of view on the students' actions and her role as a teacher, Liljana invokes her personal relationship with the students rather than her position in the educational hierarchy and focuses on her individual interpretation of the day's events rather than their relation to educational policies. Notably, in lines 28 and 33, she not only uses the first-person verbs, but also adds the pronoun *ja* ('I'), which is not obligatory in Serbian but rather used to emphasize the subject (Alexander 2006; 7).

Paired with the first person, Liljana's emotion words stress her subjective reaction to the students' behavior. In particular, she focuses on the students' constant *pritisak* ('pressure') on her to cancel class:

Excerpt 45

6   Aaa, onda taj *pritisak*,
Aah, then this *pressure*,

Here, she uses the emphatic marker "aah," as an iconic representation of her reaction to constant badgering from the students. She uses "pressure" five more times during the narrative:

Excerpt 45 (cont'd)

7   Znaći zaista ste vršili celo popodne <u>pritisak</u> na mene,
So you really put <u>pressure</u> on me the whole afternoon,

8   Koja je došla posle vas još na... kako ste na nju vršili <u>pritisak</u> da dodje do mene
Who came after you even when - how you've been putting pressure on her to come to me

9   I meni apsolutno ne odgovara samo zbog toga što vršite toliki <u>pritiška</u> za nešto
And it absolutely does not suit me just because you have put so much <u>pressure</u> for something

10	ali mi je veliko opterecenje i veliki <u>pritiška</u>
	but it is a big burden on me and big <u>pressure</u>

11	da ste me tri odmora vršili takav <u>pritisak</u>
	that you've spent three of your breaks putting this <u>pressure</u>

Liljana stresses that this 'pressure' makes her so angry (line 22) that she is tempted to hold an oral exam just to punish them and ensure that they stay at school (line 23).

<u>Excerpt 46</u>

22	Dakle pravite čitavu dramu oko toga do te mere da možete da me naljutite
	So you are making a whole drama out of this, to the extent that you can make me so angry

23	da bi ja vama sad držala slatko i sedmi čas.
	that I would even gladly hold the seventh class period for you.

By making explicit how the students' behavior made her *feel*, Liljana moves away from rules-based explanations of the students' misdeeds and instead focuses on her reactions, as an individual, a move which assumes an intimate relationship in which the teacher and students have a long-term interest in each others' emotional states.

5.7.2.2 Appeals for/Displays of perspective-taking

The use of the first person together with emotion words emphasizes the ongoing relationship with the students rather than rules or hierarchies and suggests that the students consider the impact of their behavior on the teacher above and beyond their strict adherence to the rules. Liljana also makes explicit her own identification with students' position and appeals to students to do the same:

<u>Excerpt 47</u>

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| 51 | Ja razumem vašu potrebu da nemate cas, to mi je jasno kao dan. |
| | **I understand your need not to have class, to me it as clear as day**. |

| 52 | I ja sam bila u školi kao svaki, svaki ukradeni trenutak slobode je stavrno sjajan |
| | **I was also in school as every, like every, every stolen moment of freedom is really great,** |

| 53 | Pogotovu petkom uveće. |
| | **Especially on Friday evenings** |

| 54 | A vi ste danas meni izražavali - znate šta ja sam izmedju ostalog i bolestna, |
| | **And you are expressing to me today - you know that among other things I am ill,** |

| 55 | I danas došla u školu svejedno ne mislim da sam bilo kakvu zrtvu podenela veliku |
| | **And I've come to school today nonetheless.** |

Rather than chastising students for not wanting to attend class, the teacher identifies explicitly with their perspective by relating it to her own experience as a student. In reminding students that she is ill, I argue, she asks them to take her perspective as well.

5.7.2.3 Reciprocal Accounts

As the intimate voice stresses the ongoing and close relationship between student and teacher, it is perhaps not surprising that the intimate voice also includes what I am calling *reciprocal accounting*, in which teachers explain and justify their own behavior at the same time that they demand accounts from students. An examination of when and how adults and other 'experts' account for their own behavior and possible breaches is largely absent from the literature on account sequences. The two-way nature of language socialization is well-established (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002, Pontecorvo et al. 2001). We also know that experts are generally accountable to children through routines such as activity *contracts* (Aronsson and Cekaite 2011), in which parents make and follow through on certain

promises in exchange for their children's timely undertaking of a desired task. Yet, we know little about how parents, teachers, and other adults or authority figures produce excuses or justifications for their behavior in conversation with children or other novices.

Just as she demands accountability from the students, Liljana goes to great lengths to justify her own actions. Although she frames her students as culpable, she painstakingly explains 1) Why she refused to cancel class; 2) Why she is annoyed; and 3) That she's not being arbitrary or unduly harsh. Through these moves, she represents herself as a self-sacrificing, empathetic, reasonable, flexible, honest, and caring teacher.

The chart below outlines Liljana's accounts, the main issue addressed, and qualities conveyed:

Account	Characteristic Asserted
Al' ja nisam od tih profesora, i posmatrajte me kako god hoćete, **But I am not one of those professors, and you can look at me however you like** koja ce upisati čas na nece ga držati **who will write down that a class was held that wasn't**	*honesty*
ja moram da stojim pred vama kao neko ko će imati **I have to stand in front of you as someone who will have –** ko će svoju obavezu smatrati odgovorno. **Who will consider their obligation responsibly** Jel onda bolje da ne radim taj posao. Šta vam onda prenosim? **Or it's better that I don't do this job. What I am passing onto you then?**	*Dedication to teaching*
A vi ste danas meni izržavali – znate šta ja sam izmedju ostalog i bolestna **And you are expressing to me today – you know that among other things I am ill** i danas došla u školu svejedno **and I've come to school today nonetheless**	*Self-sacrifice*
141as am danas želela da vam držim te prve časove da nemate šesti. **Today I wanted to hold my lessons during the first class so that you wouldn't have the sixth.**	*Empathy, flexibility*
	Lack of fear

Nemam problem od nadredjenih ni straha, i tako dalje, taj i taj čas...	*of authority*
I don't have a problem with the authority nor fear, and so on – this and that class.	
Ja ne radim to straha pred nekim	
I don't do it because I'm afraid of someone	
da ce neko otkriti da ja u petak šesti čas, taj čas nisam držala. Baš me briga.	
That someone's going to find out that I didn't hold the class Friday sixth period. I don't care.	

Figure 10: Liljana's Accounts

In these examples, Liljana presents herself as a good teacher and justifies her actions to her students, as opposed to asserting authority. She makes herself accountable at the same time that she demands accountability from her students. As Scott and Lyman note, "vulnerability of actors to questions concerning their conduct varies with the situation and the status of the actors" (1968; 57). The rights and obligations of speakers are inherently tied to their institutions which carry with them "special constraints on what will be considered allowable contributions" (Heritage 2005; 106). In other words, different institutions confer on its members different rights and obligations to speak, often manifested through institutionally-specific turn-taking practices. In news interviews, for example, the interviewer usually asks the questions, and the interviewee usually answers (Clayman and Heritage 2002); any departure from this convention will be read as strange or a violation. In the classrooms, students and teachers have both a right and an obligation to provide accounts for their behavior, though only the teacher elicits an account. Rather than being built into the educational system, reciprocal accounting is a way for teachers to account for their own behavior when they want to distance themselves from the institution and emphasize their sense of responsibility and commitment to the students.

5.7.3.4 Emplotment

The intimate voice is also characterized by the teacher's attempt to 'emplot' the day's events as important learning experiences – and, perhaps, turning points – in the students' lives. It is in this aspect of her talk that she most clearly distances herself from the bureaucratic aspects of her job and stresses a sense of holistic responsibility for her students' futures and their implications for the future of Serbia.

The concept of emplotment (Mattingly 1998) builds on the notion that narratives are primarily about one's present and future life concerns by starting from the idea that "narratives are not just about experiences. Experiences are, in a sense, about narrative" (Mattingly 1998; 19). In Mattingly's study of occupational therapy interactions, she describes the ways in which therapists 'emplot' present events in "broader narrative vistas which lead far beyond therapy" (Mattingly 1998; 70). That is, they cast certain moments in one or more ongoing stories that have significant implications for the future selves and experiences of the participants; they frame a particular interaction as "a present situated in a shifting life story" (Mattingly 1998; 98).

Mattingly notes that, from a protagonist's point of view, "To see myself as in a story, or a series of stories, is to see my life in time as stretching out toward possibilities (both hopeful and fearful) which I have some influence in bringing about" (Mattingly 1998; 92). In the Belgrade classroom the professor emplots the past and present events of the story being told into multiple stories about the future, ranging from the immediate – how the rules of the school will be enforced and the student-teacher relationship will proceed from that moment forward – to the remote – the students' futures as professionals and Serbian citizens.

In an example of emplotment on a small scale, Liljana situates her dispute with the class as a key opportunity to clarify what the students can expect from her, what they can get out of the class, and how the school rules will be followed:

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180   L: Onda sad možemo i u ovakvoj situaciji da rasčistimo za svagda,
             Then we can now, in a situation like this, clear forever

181   da li ćemo se družiti i ove i sledeće godine, ja vas neću puštiti sa casa.
             **whether or not we are friendly this and next year, I will not let you off from
             class.**

182   Na to prosto možemo da racunamo.
             That is something we can count on.

Here, Liljana uses 'forever' and 'this year' to indicate that the story into which she

situates the day's event is a long-term story that impacts their future negotiations as teacher and

students.

On another level, the event is emplotted as a moment on the students' trajectory toward

successful adult lives. Liljana presents the moment of the telling as an opportunity to gain

understanding of the importance of responsibility toward daily tasks and obligations. Repeatedly,

she emphasizes that reliability, not genius, will ensure the students' success:

Excerpt 49

169   Čime god da se opredelite u poslu da se bavite, u većini poslova je tako,
             In whatever job you decide to involve yourselves, in most jobs it's like this,

170   Neće vam trebati nikakva nadljudska inteligencija ili moć da savladate.
             You won't need any superhuman intelligence or power to get it.

171   Što nešto neko treba da vam – što vam preda kao zadatak.
             **Just something that someone needs to - that someone needs to pass on as
             your task.**

172   Potrebno je samo da vi to shvatite kao svoju obavezu,
             It's just necessary for you to understand it as your obligation,

173   i da odgovorno odradite tako nešto, ništa nije nemoguće veruj te mi.
             **and to responsibly just do something like that, nothing is impossible, believe
             me.**

Thus, Liljana emphasizes that what transpired during the school day is not simply about school rules, student behavior, or the student-teacher relationship. Rather, attending school on a Friday evening is a prime example of what students will face when they enter the workforce: namely, the need to deal with unappealing tasks and obligations. In tying their dispute to imagined future moments in the students' lives, Liljana recasts the incident as the beginning of a story in which students realize the importance of responsibility.

The incident is also situated in an even larger story. As Liljana emplots the day's events as a story in which the students learn personal responsibility, she constructs a story in which the position of Serbia in the world can improve. In her admonishment, she argues that when people do not assume responsibility for everyday tasks, the whole nation suffers:

Excerpt 50

142.   Ali tako ja mislim da propada sistem, tako se uruši sve
            But I think this is how the system fails, how everything falls apart.

Liljana situates the dispute as consequential not only for students' individual lives but also for the future of Serbia as a whole. Will it be a place of action or a place where people complain but do not act (a criticism I often heard about people who sit in cafes and talk politics or who talk their way out of various predicaments)? By emphasizing responsibility and action over, negotiation or complaint, Liljana frames responsibility for small tasks as consequential for the future of making Serbia as a successful nation.

5.8 Conclusions:

Bernstein and Mertz (2011; 7) argue that we should "stop thinking of bureaucrats as a kind of person and think of them as persons who sometimes engage in a kind of activity." This chapter indicates that teachers, through an alternation of voices, can achieve a kind of **role**

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distance (Goffman 1961) in which they fulfill the bureaucratic requirements of their job while criticizing the system that requires them. As *reluctant bureaucrats* they reproduce routines even as they explicitly distance themselves from ministry policy in favor of what they see as their true job – to educate students as moral citizens in order to improve society.

While previous studies have considered how morality is enacted *through* accounts (*c.f.* Sterponi 2003, Ochs and Capps 2001), here the accounts themselves are the focus of moral ambivalence. As much as teachers might wish to dismantle what they see as an overly complex and unfair system in which talk trumps action, they also teach students to work within it. By constantly eliciting and providing accounts, teachers engage students in discursive routines they will most likely encounter throughout their lives and equip them with tools to manage them. Though students and teachers might ultimately wish for reform, the proximate goal may be simply to manage the situation as it currently stands. Breaches and extended account sequences also provide an opportunity for teachers and students to address the ways that individual behaviors such as making excuses or shirking responsibility can contribute to larger societal problems.

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of specific discourse patterns and strategies in the students' socialization to State bureaucracy. Talk has been shown to be an omnipresent and powerful resource for navigating a complex and often frustrating social system, whether making a case to a traffic officer or appealing to powerful friends who can serve as advocates for a speedy passport application. Accounts, then, provide a tactical form of resistance leveled by otherwise powerless individuals and can play the double role of criticizing and reinforcing an entrenched state apparatus.

CHAPTER SIX:
The Language of Political and Civic Participation in Belgrade and Los Angeles.

One concern that Marija, the high school liaison, expressed early on concerned the type

of interactions that I would have with the students while on school grounds. For one thing, she

wanted to make sure that I would not discuss 'politics.' She put it simply: "No politics allowed

here." I was confused, then, when less than a week later I attended my first civics course and

found the students yelling at each other over the issue of gay marriage. The previous weekend,

the city had attempted to hold its first gay pride parade in a decade, after the previous one had

ended disastrously, with several people injured. This time, then-President Boris Tadić had

planned to protect the protesters. Riot police surrounded the parade as members of right-wing

nationalist groups – mostly men and teenage boys – threw rocks and Molotov cocktails and

destroyed property along the parade route.[50] The issue of gay marriage was politically loaded, I

was told, not only because homosexuality was seen by many as a threat to traditional Serbian

masculinity, but also because, for many, accepting homosexuality represented another intrusion

of the 'west' into internal affairs, another requirement that the country would have to fulfill –

grudgingly or not – to secure European credentials (and, more concretely, to enter the European

Union). One research participant told me that, while she had nothing against gay people,

homosexuality itself was a western invention.

If people I spoke to were ambivalent about homosexuality, they were straightforwardly

disapproving of the people who protested against the march; *huligani* ('hoodlums') and

kriminalci (criminals) were among the words often used to describe them. People talked about

the protestors the way I have heard people in the United States describe young gang members: as

coming from dysfunctional families, falling in with the "wrong" crowds, and lacking viable alternatives for spending their free time. At some point I realized that when Marija said that they did not want politics in the schools, she meant that they did not want students falling in with extremist political parties and participating in their controversial behaviors, nor did she want students – or teachers, for that matter – dividing themselves along party lines.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines classroom discussions about specific political issues as well as teachers' talk about youth political involvement: its virtues, pitfalls, and initiation. It demonstrates the following points:

1) Although students and teachers claim that young people increasingly do not care about politics – and express ambivalence about whether this is an overall positive or negative trend – students do talk about political issues and events in ways that suggest a great deal of knowledge and interest; however, they often engage in these conversations in ways that violate the teachers' instructions and/or the plans for that day's lessons.

2) Serbian young people's decisions to participate in politics are framed as casual rather than the object of considerable deliberation. Teacher discourses around Belgrade youth political involvement differ from how American middle class adults depict political involvement to their school-age children. Los Angeles middle class parents, for example, often present political involvement as a moral act requiring effort, a valuable experience that is potentially effective. Adults in Serbia, in contrast, present politics as futile, as morally questionable, and as a lure for vulnerable youth – an activity that they can easily slip into nearly automatically.

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To assess local claims that certain groups of people are disengaged from political issues, I consider cross-cultural differences in the kinds of civic activities that are considered voluntary and the different characterizations of political activities that might underlie trends in (non)participation.

6.2 Political Socialization & Language Socialization

Elsewhere (George 2013), I have suggested that the subfield of **political socialization** – which examines the intergenerational transmission, transformation, or disappearance of political attitudes[51] – should incoroporate an anthropological perspective that focuses on the everyday ways in which members of communities, including children, talk about and participate in politics. Political socialization (Hyman 1959, Easton 1968, Almond and Verba 1963, Brauen and Harmon 1977) has focused on the development of individual political subjectivities and their effect on political systems – how educating citizens in democratic principles and civic virtues might help to build or maintain a democratic system, for example. Political socialization researchers have taken an active interest in the efficacy of civics instruction. Although foundational work indicates that civics classes are ineffective (Langton and Jennings 1968), subsequent research has countered that such courses impact students' knowledge of and interest in politics (Niemi and Junn 1998) an effect that persists into adulthood (Pasek et al. 2008).

Political socialization usually focuses on outcomes – what young people end up knowing and believing and whether or how they participate in communities as adults. I here propose a different perspective: political socialization studies should consider how young people might already be participating in political discussions and political activities. My ethnographic and linguistic study of classroom interaction in Belgrade showed that despite asserting their own disengagement from politics, students often injected political criticism into the civics course

under the guise of resisting classroom activities. Such activities constitute a form of political participation that might easily be overlooked by traditional political socialization studies.

The classroom is a key site for language socialization (Baquedano-Lopez 2001, Moore 2004, Howard 2005, He 2000, Rymes 1996, Garcia-Sanchez 2010) and affords the possibility for peer socialization as well (Goodwin and Kyratzis 2011). Children and youth actively participate in their own socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Sometimes, they make explicit their own gaps in knowledge and understanding in ways that shape parents' and teachers' roles as experts (Hewitt 1997: 85, Pontecorvo et al., 2001). Other times, they actively resist socializing interactions and other activities (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002, Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). In the civics classroom interactions, students often resist the official lesson plans of the class and attempt to steer the conversation to more 'interesting' – and, often, more controversial – issues.

6.3 Political Engagement & Civic Engagement

I examine political participation as a part of citizen engagement, which includes activities in and outside of the political sphere (Zukin et al. 2006). Political engagement is defined by Verba, et al. (1995: 38) as "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies." Civic engagement, on the other hand, is "organized and voluntary activity focused on problem solving and helping others" (Zukin et al 2006: 7). The latter can include such activities as community problem solving, volunteering, raising money for charity, or being an active member of a group or organization.

Locating family political participation as part of citizen engagement is important, as concern about a waning public sphere manifests itself in both Belgrade and Los Angeles (though, as we shall see, the precise focus of concern is slightly different). In Belgrade concerns center on the weakness of civic institutions and ongoing corruption (Kostovica 2006, Linz and Stepan 2011). In the United States, scholars focus their concern on an overall turn away from the public sphere and toward private, insular lives. In *The Fall of Public Man*, for example, Richard Sennett (1992[1976]) proposes that the balance between private and public has been disrupted, resulting in too much emphasis on the private psyche at the expense of the public square and to the detriment of individual and society. Putnam (2001), similarly, traces the steady decline in civic and political participation over the past forty years and argues that Americans have become more isolated from their neighbors, disengaged from community activities, and apathetic about social issues. Notably, Putnam considers weakened political engagement and decreased community participation part of the same overarching problem.

Concerns about waning political and civic education can benefit from a nuanced cross-cultural and historical understanding of how everyday citizens characterize specific political and civic activities and frame decisions about whether to become involved. Many Belgraders consider *avoiding* traditional forms of political demonstration to be an active, moral choice. In the Los Angeles families, participation in political activities such as peace rallies is framed as a moral choice that requires effort and planning whereas community activities such as volunteering in children's classrooms and sports teams are framed as anything but voluntary. Differences in moral valences of various citizen activities – as well as their status as automatic versus exceptional – undoubtedly affects levels of participation and measures of public life that rely on

indicators of civic and political participation as data. For this reason, an anthropological perspective on varying discourses around community activities is key.

6.4 On (non-)engagement

Many Serbs in their thirties and forties describe the 1990s as a time in which they spent more time *na ulici* ('on the streets,' often used as a shorthand for protesting) than in school, be it high school or university. Many juggled pride that they and not three months of NATO bombing had succeeded in ousting President Milosevic with extreme disappointment at the changes that followed.   Young and old people alike told me that the youth had turned away from politics in favor of shopping, movies, and the Internet, all spheres that provide an array of opportunities for consumerism and connectedness that were unimaginable during the sanctions and isolation of the 1990s. No one seemed sure whether this was a positive development or not. The same people who waxed nostalgic about their student protests also discussed the disadvantages of spending one's teenage and young adult days on the street rather than in class. The history teacher, for example, blamed his time as a student organizer for his delayed graduation from university (see Chapter 3).

Others associated excessive youth involvement in politics with a dysfunctional society. They cited the tendency for youth football fans to engage in the more violent forms of political protest (as in the case of the gay pride parade). More generally, they argued that in 'normal'(*normalni*)[52] societies young people did not **have** to know as much about politics. According to one woman in her thirties who had participated in many student protests in the 1990s, she and her friends often joked that they longed for the day when they would not know who was president, as it would signal the return of a functional society. On the other hand, a turn

toward "normal" teenage activities seemed to go hand in hand, in the eyes of many, with a loss of values, manners, and community. The danger of sliding into materialism and ignorance was always lurking. Everyday after the literature course, the teacher and I would walk out together. She often shared her thoughts on the previous class and complained that students did not care about society or making it better and that when they did have opinions, they were usually parroting their parents.

Youth also claimed that they did not know or care about politics. In one interview, a student, Sara (S), discussed the common theme of lack of unity in Serbia, claiming that it causes political problems. When I asked her what she thought of those problems, she answered that **her** problem is that she does not think about it at all (line 4). When someone mentions politicians, she 'gets a rash' (line 9)

Excerpt 51

1   S: Ima čak jedan izraz, Ne daj Bože da se Srbi slože (.)
           There is a saying: God don't let the Serbs unite (.)

2   Zato imamo dosta probleme, tako na političkoj sceni.
           That's why we have a lot of problems, on the political scene.

3   R: I šta misliš o problemima?
           And what do you think about the problems?

4   S: Pa <u>moj</u> problem je što ne razmišljam mnogo o tome, jer ne volim politiku.
           Well, <u>my</u> problem is that I don't think much about it, because I don't like politics.

5   R: Da?
           Yes?

6   A: To me baš zamara, iako mi mnogi kažu trebalo bi da počneš da razmišljaš.
           It's very tiring for me, even though many are telling me I should start thinking about it.

7   Ipak to će se ticati tvoje budućnosti i tako,
           It will concern my future no matter what and so on,

8		Ali jednostavno ne volim da se mešam u to i – ne znam – **But I just don't like getting into it, and – I don't know –**

9		Jednostavno kad mi neko pomene političare i to ja dobijem ospe. **When someone just mentions politicians and all that to me I get a rash.**

Notably, every student whom I interviewed told me that they neither liked nor cared about politics. Even in the civics classes students often asserted a lack of knowledge or interest in the political sphere. In one class, the teacher, Mira, asked students how often they go to museums or other 'cultural' events. She then asked about the Ministry of Culture. One student made fun of the collective ignorance of her class, responding to the teacher's query with 'that one with the glasses (line 2),' before another student chimed in with 'We don't even know his name' (line 3).

Excerpt 52

1	M:	Ko je ministar za kulturu u Srbiji. Koje ministar kulture u Srbiji? **Who is the Minister for Culture in Serbia? Who is the Minister of Culture in Serbia***?*
2	S1:	To je onaj sa onim naočarima **It's that one with the glasses** ((Laughter))
3	S2:	Mi i neznamo kako se on zove **We don't even know his name.**

Students often joked about their lack of interest in or knowledge about politics. As we will see in the next section, however, they also used humor and upbeat resistence to make explicit political statements and act assertively to remedy what they saw as weaknesses in the civics course.

6.5 The Civics Course

Gradjansko ('Civics') was introduced into the Serbian curriculum in 2001-2002,[53] as part

of widespread democratization efforts (see Chapters One and Five). Unlike other courses, civics

is not strictly obligatory (students can choose between it and Religion)[54] and is not

graded. Course topics include anything from corruption to minority rights to the branches of

government. I was struck immediately by students' range of affect and involvement during these

courses. Occasionally, students ignored the lessons altogether, opting instead to chat with

friends, scribble on their desks, or study for other classes. Other times, debates would take hold,

and by the end of the period students would be out of their seats, yelling and interrupting each

other.

Many lessons involved role-playing in which the students assumed the part of particular

government officials and debated specific issues such as gay marriage, the environment, or the

status of refugees. Other times, students were asked to discuss the meanings of abstract concepts,

such as government, power, and democracy. Students often resisted the framings of these

activities, interrupting the teacher or taking the conversation in an unanticipated direction. In

these *third space* exchanges (Gutierrez and Baquedano-Lopez 1999) – which occur outside the

ratified set of teacher-student classroom routines – students displayed an orientation to and fairly

deep understanding of societal issues.

In the excerpt below, Mira asks the students how they would define government (*vlast*).

Students begin shouting out one-word answers, and the teacher clarifies that she not asking them

to free-associate (line 2). After another student shouts out a one-word association (line 3), the

teacher gives in and alters the activity for the students (lines 4-7):

Excerpt 53

1   S1:   vlast (.) moć

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Government (.) power

2   M: Ne asocijacije, molim
            Not associations, please

3   S2:   Pare
            Money

4   M: <u>Ne</u> asocijacije
            <u>Not</u> associations.

            (.)

5   Ajde spremni ste sa asocijacijama daću vam mogućnost da
            Ok, you are ready with associations, I will give you the opportunity to

6   asocirate šta vam padne napamet (.) ovako (.)
            associate what comes to mind (.) like this (.)

7   Ovde ćemo napisemo vlast.
            Here, we will write "government" on the board.

Here, Mira initially resists the direction in which students take the assignment before

eventually allowing their actual participation to guide the activity, turning what was originally

supposed to be a teacher-directed discussion into a free-association game. One student (S1) who

often injected sarcasm and dark humor into class discussions, suggests several sarcastic and

negative associations with government, as in line 1, and challenges a student who suggests a

more positive association, 'humanitarian work' (line 5) by shouting 'In Serbia?' (line 6).

<u>Excerpt 54a</u>

1   S1:   Profesorka, ko<u>rup</u>cija.
            Professor, cor<u>rup</u>tion

2   M: Ok:: Korupcija (.) Jasna....
            Okay:: corruption (.) Jasna?

3   S2:   Izbor glasa.
            Voting choices.

		[lines omitted]
4	S3:	Igramo asocijacije (.) humanitarni rad
		We are playing associations (.) humanitarian work
5	M:	Humanitarni rad,
		Humanitarian work,
6	S1:	U s<u>r</u>biji?
		In <u>Serbia</u>?

In another excerpt, the students are engaged in a role-playing game, where they pretend to be government officials and debate issues. The sarcastic student from the previous example, who was assigned the leadership role, gets the other students' attention by yelling:

<u>Excerpt 54b</u>

> S1:   A<u>j</u>mo ljudi malo življe u skupštini ionako imate plate 235,000 tako da ajde
> **Come on assembly people, look alive[55] you already have salaries of 235,000[56] so make it happen. [57]**

One way to interpret the student's contribution is that she is engaging in uncooperative behavior and trying to derail a class that students deem largely pointless. I offer, however, that by criticizing government corruption and inflated salaries in Serbia, she is injecting real political criticism into an otherwise fairly staid classroom activity. Moreover, she does so in way that her peers accept, maintaining her resistance to the framework of the class and the teacher's official projects. Her participation in the classroom suggests that non-sanctioned, apparently disruptive actions might provide some of the richest forms of peer socialization available in that class format.

In the next excerpt, students have been discussing abuse of power, and Mira asks about the role of individuals in the functioning of government. Several students answer that everyone should have a say in how government works. One student then pivots to recent delays in

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elections, a topic that was politically fraught, because at the time several opposition parties were rallying to hold elections early. Perhaps in an effort to adhere to the 'No (partisan) politics' rule discussed above, the teacher tries to shut down the topic (line 4), but the student persists with the sarcastic, "Do I have to die here?" (line 6), which receives boisterous laughter:

Excerpt 55

1   S: Trebaju svi da daju svoj doprinos (.) mislim ako smo demokratska država
           Everyone should contribute (.) I mean if we are a democratic state

2   M: Šta bih ste još rekli.
           what else would you say.

3   S: Zašto nisu izbori skoro, zašto stalno odlažu izbore (.) kakav je to način (.)
           **Why don't we have elections soon, why do they keep postponing them
           (.) what's that about?**

4   T: Nećemo o tome
           Let's not get into that

5   S: Jel nama može da se da pravo da mi glasamo kako hoćemo ili šta, jel ja
           Shouldn't we have the right to vote like we want to or what,

6   Treba da umrem?
           Do I have to die here?
           ((laughter))

In this excerpt the student resists Mira's attempt to shut down her overtly partisan comments. Notably, her rebellious stance is not away from the political but toward it. This is significant in a school whose active goal, as discussed in Chapter Two, is to socialize students away from the divisive politics of the past and toward a model of civic engagement and an enlightened worldliness that will reflect well on Serbia.

Students were not always so lively in their class participation. The civics course was rare, in that students did not receive an official grade and would occasionally ignore the class to study for courses with higher stakes. The following excerpt is taken from the end of one such class

period, when Mira mentions that students seem disengaged. One student offered that the topic of that class – civic activism in the abstract – did not particularly interest them (line 1). Another suggests that they discuss gay rights, which provokes laughter (line 3), probably because students often asked to discuss homosexuality in the civics course. Mira counters that they are interested in only a few topics, but that civic activism will be important in their lives whether they are interested in it or not (lines 4-6). Another student then suggests that next time they approach the assigned topic in a more concrete way (lines 9-10), and the teacher agrees (lines 11-12):

Excerpt 56

1   S1:   Ja mislim da tema nije interesantna da bi se mi sa time okupirali,
            I think that the topic wasn't interesting enough for us to all get involved

2   Bez obzira što znamo da je to dobro. Možda bi nam trebala neka.
            Even though we know it's for our own sake. Maybe we needed a better one.

3   S2:   Jel da smo pričali o gej populaciji to bi sada bila rasprava
            If we talked about the gay population that would be an interesting topic.

            ((Laughter))

4   M: Da, ali onda se svede sve na dva-tri teme koje bi vas zanimale,
            Yes, but then you are interested in only two or three topics,

5   ali taj gradjanski aktivizam bez obzira što vas ne zanima,
            but this citizen activism, nevermind that it doesn't interest you,

6   Postoji neminovnost da se vi uključite u to...
            It's inevitable that you will involve yourselves in that.

7   S3:   Jel mogu ja nešto da kažem?
            Can I say something?

8   T: Kažite.
            Say it.

9   S3:   Na primer neki gradjevinski aktivizam vezan za školstvo,

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For example if we had some topic about citizen's activism related to the school system,

10   to bi nas mnogo više interesovalo, ali ovako nešto ne.
        it would be more interesting, but like this it's not

11   M: Aha ok, znači konkretnija tema bi vas više zanimala (.)
        Aha ok, a more specific topic would intrest you guys more (.)

12   Sledeći put onda možemo da..
        Then next time we can do it.

Despite assertions that young people do not care about politics, some students try to take an active role in shaping the course by proposing alternatives. As these examples show, students often participate in the course without aligning with its goals, allowing them to engage while maintaining a rebellious stance. Also notable in the last example is the teacher's assertion that students will necessarily get involved in citizen activism whether they are interested in it or not. This categorization of activism as inevitable is the topic of the next section.

6.6 Citizen Engagement in Belgrade and Los Angeles – Questions of Agency, Inevitability, and Morality

In what follows, I compare talk about political and civic engagement in Belgrade and Los Angeles, with special attention to when speakers do or do not treat participation as the outcome of willful, moral decision-making. Conceptions of various types of community activities – which are moral, which require effort, and which are voluntary, for example – are historically conditioned and vary cross-societally.

During one of our after-class 'debrief' sessions, Liljana, the literature teacher, told me a story, which she would later repeat during a more formal interview. As she recounted it, right-wing protest groups had appeared in the *dvorište* ('schoolyard') shortly after Kosovo declared independence from Serbia in 2008 to recruit students for a political demonstration. She recounted proudly her success at convincing nearly all of her students to come back up to the classroom and discuss the issue rather than following the group to the streets. Liljana presents political demonstrations as activities that students join not of their own volition but on others' initiative. As such, students must be urged to resist them and to find alternative venues – such as the classroom – for airing grievances.

Liljana lays out the story in the interview segment below. She had been describing how her teaching experience had changed over the years: She claimed that students in 2010-11 were less curious and engaged than even five years earlier, but, on the other hand, that the number of 'extremists' in her class had noticeably decreased over the years.[58] She offered this story as a piece of evidence:

Excerpt 57a

1   L: Mogu da ti opišem jednu situaciju pre(m):::,
             I can describe to you one situation arou::nd

2   Tek sam se vratila, to je bio trenutak proglasenja nezavisnosti Kosova.
             I had just returned, that was the moment of the proclamation of the independence of Kosovo.

3   R: Mm. Mmhmm.=
             Mm. Mmhmm=

4   L: =Kada su u: dvorište škole došle grupe da decu iz sko:le kao zovu na skup,
             =When a group entered the school yard to call the children to go to a gathering,

5   na miting.
               to a meeting.

Liljana then goes on to recount how she dealt with the situation. She describes inviting the students to voice their opinions in the classroom rather than on the street, offering that if the students 'have something to say' (line 7) that 'school is the place' to talk (line 8), and that she is 'ready to listen' (line 14).   She recalls with pride that only two boys did not come back up to the classroom, characterizing her success as 'very dear' to her (line 15).

Excerpt 57b

6   L: I ja sam mom odeljenju rekla,
                 And I said to my class.

7   Ah, u r(h)edu vi imate nešto da kažete…
                 Ah, ok(h), You have something to say,

8   Škola je mesto gde vi trebate sada,
                 <u>**Sch**</u>**ool is the place where you should now,**

9   sa sedamnaest godina, osamnaest, =
                 at the age of seventeen, eighteen,=

10   R: =Mm, [da
`   **=Mm, [yeah.**

11   L: [Bili su isto treća godina?
                 [They were also in their third year?

12   R: Mh(h)m.

13   L: Ovaj::, (.) ako imate nešto da kažete evo ja idem u učionicu sa vama.
                 So::, (.) if you have something to say, here I will go into the classroom with you.

14   I spremna sam da vas saslušam šta imate da mi kažete.
                 And I am ready to listen to what you have to say.

15   I bilo mi je mno:go drago što su se - samo dva dečaka se nisu vratili
                 And it was ve:ry dear to me that - only two boys didn't return.

Finally, Liljana recounts that when she got the rest of the students back into the classroom, she delivered on her promise to discuss the Kosovo issue ('What pains you?' (line 16)). She then gives a rather negative, if vague, assessment of the 'extremists' who came to the schoolyard ('they are not the ones to whom you. . .') (line 21). Finally, she contrasts school to the street explicitly, saying that 'on the street, you are a mass. . .your voice isn't heard' (lines 22 & 24) but that in school, 'you are an individual, unique, and your voice is heard' (line 26).

In Liljana's contrast of school and 'the street,' no agency is attributed to students. She places the decision to engage in protest squarely on the 'extremists' who came to 'take' (*izvodi*) the students from the school. She uses the passive voice to argue that a student's voice 'is not heard' on the street, forclosing any possible actions by student protestors that might garner attention or lead to change.

Excerpt 57c

16   L: I kažem, mm, ok, Hajde. sad pričamo o tome.
                And I say, mm, ok. Come on, now let's talk about it.

17   Šta je to što vas boli? Zašto vas boli?
                What is it that pains you? Why does it pain you?

18   Zašto biste otišli?
                Why would you go?

19   Jer ta grupa, ne znam. Hhh uh, um ekstremista
                Because this group, I don't know,

20   koja se pojavila da izvodi decu iz škole,
                who showed up to take the kids from school,

21   Ja sam im rekla, oni nisu (.) ti za koje (.)
                I told them, they are not the ones (.) for whom you (.)

22   Jer vi ste na ulici, vi ste masa.
                Because you are on the streets, you are a mass.

| 23 | R: | Uh huh. |
| | | **Uh huh.** |

| 24 | L: | Ne čuje se vaš glas. |
| | | **Your voice isn't heard.** |

| 25 | R: | Da. |
| | | **Yes.** |

| 26 | L: | U školi, vi ste individue, pojedinci, i čuje se vaš glas. |
| | | **In school, you are an individual, unique, and your voice is heard.** |

Several key recurrent themes emerge in this story. First, it demonstrates the continued skepticism about political activism – what it can and should accomplish and whether children should be involved – that characterized the talk of many adults in Belgrade. In Liljana's characterization, 'the street' as a site of protest is a place where one's voice fades into the crowd. Second, Liljana's characterization of school as a place to be heard echoes a trend – itself greeted with skepticism by many – of considering school a place to socialize students *away* from the divisive politics of the past and to fight what they learn out there in the world. Third, it serves as further evidence of a prevailing attitude that many forms of political demonstration are not only ineffective – implied by her assumption that students were going to the street not to change anything, but to express pain or anger – but also potentially dangerous. Finally, Liljana's story presents going to the street as a default. She stresses how dear it was to her to be able to convince most of the students not to go. In her characterization the agentive and moral choice is to reject political demonstration.

6.6.2 Comparative data from Los Angeles

The examples from Los Angeles families are drawn from data collected from 2002 -2005 by the UCLA Sloan Center on the Everyday Lives of Families (CELF). The corpus consists of

1,540 hours of videorecorded family interactions from 32 middle-class dual-earner families in the Los Angeles area. Each family was selected according to specific criteria: both parents worked at least 30 hours outside the home; they had two to three children, including one eight- to twelve-year-old; and they paid a mortgage on their home. The families were ethnically and racially diverse, and two of the 32 families were headed by same sex male parents. Videographers filmed parents and children before and after school and work on two weekdays and two weekend days.

6.6.2.1 Los Angeles – "I Remember Vietnam," and the "Peace March of Convenience" [59]

Unlike teachers in Belgrade, parents in the CELF study in Los Angeles treated political participation as anything but inevitable and tended to present the decision to engage in it as a moral, personal, and agentive choice. In the following excerpt, for instance, a mother describes her decision to take her children to a protest against the war in Iraq. Repeating "I remember," several times (lines 1, 4-6), the mother uses her own childhood experience protesting the war in Vietnam as a reason for involving her children in political protest. In lines 12 – 14, she states explicitly the desired effects on her children as citizens and future parents, saying that she hopes that her children will "grow into the kind of people" who will take their children to rallies if necessary. In direct contrast to the Serbian teacher who claims that individuals' voices are silenced during mass protest, the parent in this example maintains that protests are often "how the people's voices can sometimes be heard" (lines 15-16). Finally, she concludes that the Vietnam protests were at least somewhat effective, that they "played a role" in ending the war (line 17).

Excerpt 58

1.   I mean - I was raised I-I'm old enough to **reme:mber** (.)

2.   Vietn<u>a</u>:m. A:nd my parents took me:. to peace marches. During

3.   Vietnam and I mean, it was - you know – it was towards the end

4.   but **I reme:mber. I remember** going on candle light vigils, **I**

5.   **remember** having a P.O.W. bracelet¿ in those da:ys, a:nd um-**I**

6.   **remember the end of the war** I - you know – I **reme::mber (.)**

7.   **Vietna:m**. and it (.) :made a big impact on me

8.   and you know my parents were (.) pretty radical peace-niks and

9.   I know um, obviously I think that it- it- (.) had a big influence

10.   on who I am toda:y and I hope that – I've said to the kids – I

11.   hope that you never - I hope that you don't <u>h</u>ave to take your

12.   children (.) to peace rallies but I said **I hope that if (.) that's**

13.   **the case that you will you know you grow into the kind of**

14.   **people who would do: that because – um - they <u>h</u>ave to know**

15.   **that even if you - that - that that's how the people's voices**

16.   **<u>c</u>an sometimes be heard** I mean I think ultimately that is what

17.   played a role in stopping Vietnam.

Mother treats peace rallies as an opportunity to socialize her children into specific values of political participation. Through her use of the word 'remember,'

I'm old enough to **remember** Vietnam

it was towards the end but I **remember**

I **remember** going on candle light vigils

I **remember** having a P.O.W. bracelet in those days

I **remember** the end of the war

I **remember** Vietnam

she constructs a narrative of her own socialization on which she can draw in raising her children

and guiding how they will in turn bring up the subsequent generation. When she tells her

children that "we hope you will grow into the type of people who would do that" (lines 11-12),

she states explicitly the aim of her parenting strategy. Protesting war becomes a multi-

generational socialization issue in which children are both guided into citizen engagement and

urged to raise their children in similar ways. The mother's constant repetition of "I remember,"

also emphasizes the importance of political protest as a personally enriching experience, one that

"had a big impact" on her. Unlike the Serbian teacher, she suggests that the decision to join a

protest is a highly personal one, guided by being a particular "kind of person."

Parents who took their children to peace rallies also constructed the activity as something

that stands apart from and trumps everyday obligations. Despite quantitative time use studies that

suggest that Americans have more free time than ever before (cf. Robinson and Godbey 1997),

American parents experience their lives as more hectic than in the past (Southerton 2003),

perhaps because of changing expectations about childhood (Bianchi et al. 2006). Among

families in the Sloan study, tension often arose when these families had to juggle work and

family time and manage busy homework and extracurricular schedules (Kremer-Sadlik and

Paugh 2007, Wingard 2007). As the next example will demonstrate, parents who took their

children to peace rallies often framed the activity as special, holding it above mundane

considerations of everyday schedules.

In the excerpt below, a father takes his daughter Amy, along with a family friend Kate and her son Jason, to a peace rally at the beach. Amy asks her father about the day's plans, sparking conversation about how the peace rally fits into their weekend plans. In this interaction, Father and Kate co-construct a moral stance toward negotiating time pressures with a responsibility to protest the impending invasion of Iraq. Father admits that he picked the candlelight vigil that more closely fit his schedule, sheepishly referring to it as "the peace march of convenience" (line 10). When Kate assures him that "there's nothing wrong with that" (line 13) and that as a parent you must "work it into your life somehow" (line 15), she suggests that one cannot simply ignore or wish away demands on time but must fit activism into an already busy schedule. Father's laughter and comment, "Sorry, we got that on tape," (line 12), however, expresses some embarrassment at factoring convenience into his decision and suggests reluctance to place peace rallies into the category of mundane, everyday activities.

1. Amy   We're gonna do another march?

2. Father: Well it's more a vigil. that's where you stand: and uh.

3.   Maybe candlelights, like we did for the September eleventh thing?

4. Kate: Oh where is tha:t,

5. Father: At third and Fairfax, at farmers market area,

6. Kate: Huh

7. Father: °It's° -- which is right near where we're going tonight anyway, so

8. Kate: Uh huh. [°so that's good

9. Father: [It's the peace march of convenience

10. Kate: ((laughs))

11. Father: Sorry, we got that [on tape

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12. Kate   [there's nothing wrong with that!

13. Father: ((laughs)) As long as I'm there peace march.

14. Kate   Work it into your life somehow.

A few seconds later, when Amy admits that she is not very excited about the vigil, father explains that "it's meant to take some time out of your busy life to pay attention to what's going on in the world" (lines 4-5), suggesting that the activity is important enough to merit a break from everyday time considerations:

Excerpt 60

1. Amy   Well, but Daddy that wasn't really fun

2. Father   The candlelight march wasn't fu:n?

3. Amy   un uh

4. Father   Well it's (.) it's meant to take some time out of your busy

5.   life to (.) to pay attention to what's going on in the world,

6.   it's not necessarily something that's - like, a playground fun

In these excerpts, parents frame family participation in peace rallies as highly agentive. In Excerpt 60, discussed in the previous section, Amy, her father, and their friend, Kate, discuss the logistics of the day's peace rally as relying upon participants' will and agency. After Father refers to the rally that they have decided to attend as the "peace march of convenience," Kate reminds him that, as a busy parent, you must "work it into your life somehow."   As such, she constructs Father as a rational agent of his own schedule.

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When Father tells Amy that the rally is meant to "pay attention to what's going on in the world," he emphasizes agency in controlling one's focus of attention. Van Valin and Wilkins (1996) note that small lexical differences can affect the role of the subject (See Chapter 4). Thus, "I saw" and "I looked at," convey different levels of agency, the former placing the noun phrase in the perceiver role and the latter emphasizing directed focus. If father had suggested that Amy "see what's going on in the world," he would have ascribed her less agency. "Pay attention" suggests purpose and focus.

The excerpt stands in stark contrast to the Belgrade teachers' ideology that students in Serbia become involved in politics because they are vulnerable or lacking alternative outlets for their time and energy. Where Belgrade teachers tended to view at least certain types of political involvement as negative, inevitable, ineffective, and something that happens when youth lack options, the Los Angeles families viewed making time for political involvement a moral imperative to partake in certain activities despite being busy.

Serbian teachers' and students' characterizations of *political* activities more closely resemble Los Angeles parents' descriptions of other community activities. I focus on one such activity: parents who volunteer for their children's sports teams or classrooms. As in descriptions of Serbian political activities, in characterizations of parent volunteering activities Agents are obscured and the activity is treated as inevitable. In addition, it is the decision not to participate that is framed agentively.

6.6.2.2 "We Wind Up Being More Involved" – Passive Voice and the Patient Role
In the next excerpt, the researcher compliments a mother on her children's apparent desire to work hard. The mother links her children's tendencies to her own and a pattern of getting involved in community activities. Mother diminishes her role in choosing involvement

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with her children's activities using the phrase, "wind up" which positions her as what

semanticists call the Patient (see Chapter 4), rather than the Agent, of her own participation.

Excerpt 61

1. Rsch   But they just-they want to do well it seems

2. Mother   At most things they do, yeah (.) I agree.

3.   There isn't anything that they do (LP) poorly or-or without really (.)

4.   putting in effort. But we don't e:ither.

5.   Jerry and I aren't- you know- there-

6.   the joke <u>is we can't belong to</u>

7.   <u>a club that we don't wind up running</u>

8. Rsch   ((Laughs)) Really,

9. Mother   And that's kinda true it's sad but it's true. [Any=

10. Rsch   [What do

11.   you m-what do you mean like

12. Mother   =<u>anything we get involved with we wind up (.)</u>

13.   <u>being more involved than we-you know, once</u>

14.   <u>intended</u>

15. Rsch   Like (.) what for instance,

16. Mother   Oh, everything. Parent association at the schoo:l,

17. Rsch   Really?

18. Mother   <u>We didn't mean to be the presidents of it, it just</u>

19.   <u>kinda-you know – kinda happened</u>. Fencer's club

20.   the fencing club needed-you know Ally's class

21.	needed represen-representation on the board, alright, I'll be on
22.	he board. I mean, Jerry's on the neighborhood council
23. Rsch	Oh I didn't know all this, tell me some more this is really great
24. Mother	Well-a piece of corn is missing in action. Everything
25.	everything we do we wind up being (.) in a leadership role

First, Mother in this example uses the passive constructions of 'get involved' and 'being involved,' which erases the fact that she and her husband would have had to sign up or volunteer – or at the very least, accept a nomination – for their various roles in the community.

Second, Mother uses "wind up" three times during this conversation:

the joke is we can't belong to a club that we don't **wind up** running

anything we get involved with we **wind up** (.) being more involved than we-you know, once intended

Everything, everything we do we **wind up** being (.) in a leadership role

When Mother uses "wind up," she assigns herself as the Patient, a non-agentive semantic role, with respect to her community involvement, classifying it as something she undergoes or something that happens to her. Although she is the subject of an active sentence, she can still frame her action – assuming leadership roles in her children's activities – as relatively unagentive.

The Serbian literature teacher expressed a great deal of pride in urging her students to resist the protesters who tried to draw them outside. Similarly, the Los Angeles mother in the excerpt below describes her and her husband's rare decisions not to volunteer in school as requiring much effort. In the same exchange with the researcher, the mother describes a recent

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event in which her husband returned home and announced that – for once – he did not sign up as a volunteer for his daughter's basketball team.

Excerpt 62

1. Mother: He specifically came home the other day

                      when, when she had her first basketball practice

                      and he said- I DIDN'T sign us up to be team parent

                      He said they asked for volunteers for team parent

                      and I didn't sign us up. Cuz generally we would- we would do that

When mother notes that "he specifically came home the other day," she is setting up her husband's actions – not signing up for team parent – as a reportable event. Notably, this is the only time that Mother refers to the act of signing up as a requirement of being team parent; in her earlier statements, the act of signing up or volunteering is precisely what seemed missing from her account of "winding up" in leadership roles. Moreover, as active sentence, "I didn't sign us up," is the kind of agentive construction that Mother avoided in the previous examples. When not signing up is repeated and emphasized in this example, the decision to avoid team parenting becomes a kind of active resistance.

6.6.3 Why the difference?
        What can explain the stark difference between attitudes toward political participation among research participants in Belgrade and Los Angeles? One places the individual as an initiator of moral action, while the other treats politics as a set of ineffective, morally questionable activities that can be inevitable in certain times among certain groups.   First, recent historical events have led to differing notions of what political participation is and what activities

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it involves. Where the activities described by parents in the Los Angeles study were protests against war, the demonstrations that the Serbian teacher persuaded her students to avoid were the kinds of activities many parents and teachers associated with ethnic fundamentalism, criminal violence and overall destructiveness, and the exacerbation of ethnic violence. It is precisely because of such associations that schools ban discussions of "politics" and consider non-participation a moral stance, a form of resistance against the divisive politics of the past. As shown in the dvorište story, the teacher's condemnation of the extremist's tactics and goals is broadened to a skeptical characterization of protest politics more generally: 'On the street you are a mass, and your voice is not heard.'

Historically-shaped moods of disappointment and futility can also affect understandings and constructions of political involvement. Both the student protests against Milošević and the anti-Vietnam war protests both carried mixed results. The Vietnam War ended only after many years, and although the Serbian student protesters were successful in pressuring Milošević to step down, their efforts failed to bring about the lasting societal changes that they sought. Yet, the mother in the Los Angeles family portrays anti-war protests as more effective than do the teachers who describe the student protests of the 1990s. Given these differences, it is important to consider how Belgrade's history of continual societal upheaval, always accompanied by both hope and disappointment, affects citizens' perceptions of the efficacy of protest more generally.

Finally, I suggest that the two groups differ in how they experience political participation as part of the lived world. In Serbia, there was a sense that in past decades one could not but be engaged in what was going on, because political upheaval was part of the fabric of the Serbian lived experience. Among the Los Angeles families, however, engaging in embodied participation

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in political dissent is not ubiquitous; it is a marked experience, framed as an individual decision and a index of a heightened ethical concern,

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter demonstrated that despite widespread ambivalence about the supposed political disengagement of young people, the high school students I observed took a fairly active role in their civics course by demonstrating interest in and understanding of a wide range of political issues and offering suggestions to make the class more concrete and relevant. Comparing Serbian teachers' talk about youth involvement in politics to political talk in Los Angeles households, it offered that Los Angeles families tended to construct family political participation as agentive, moral, and potentially effective, as well as an important developmental experience, while Serbian teachers presented political protest as morally hazardous and as activity that one finds oneself engaged in almost automatically and must work actively to resist. The characterization of citizens as winding up in political activities regardless of whether they wanted to do so more closely resembled Los Angeles parents' talk about other types of community activities such as volunteering in their children's classrooms or for their extracurricular activities.

The findings in this chapter suggest that measures of citizen engagement should take into account different local definitions of the political domain and other types of community participation and the extent to which such activities are considered either voluntary or inevitable, virtuous or morally problematic, effective or futile. Activities that are mundane in one community might require great effort – and, thus, be considered a great moral imperative – in another, and vice versa. Measurements of political engagement benefit from examination of the

ways in which youth participate in talk about political issues. By attending to what happens among youth in everyday life, including classroom interactions, we see political care or engagement that might otherwise be invisible or underestimated.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
Status Quo?: Serbian Youth Language and Identity on Facebook

At the beginning of class one day, the literature teacher handed out a written quiz and explained that this test would be written in the Latin script, one of the two writing systems of Serbian) rather than in Cyrillic, the other. The classroom erupted, with approximately one half of the students protesting and begging to write the test in Cyrillic and the other protesting the first group's protestations. The interaction was so loud and so full of overlapping talk that the teacher approached me to make sure that I understood what was happening; later my transcript assistant, a native speaker, told me that the talk was just too chaotic to tackle.

I took the experience as evidence that the widespread, ideologically-charged debates about the Serbian language, described in chapter three, were still alive and well among the current generation of youth. I soon realized, however, that the debates involved more than just questions of linguistic nationalism. Technological affordances and the popularity of global media and products also factored into the everyday linguistic choices of the students. Later, in interviews, students told me that, while Cyrillic was very important as a distinct marker of Serbianness, many practical considerations, such as searchability and fast switching between websites, led them to choose the Latin script online. When I examined students' Facebook utterances, however, I realized that students were alternating and mixing scripts – and adding English – in ways unlike what I had seen, read about, or heard in interviews.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the everyday Facebook communications of high school students in Belgrade with a focus on how creative mixing of ideologically-charged languages and writing systems works within and challenges dominant attitudes about language and ethnic identity. It draws from hundreds of Facebook 'statuses' (short utterances on a user's profile meant to inform their network of friends and acquaintances about what they are doing, thinking, or feeling), multimedia shared through the site, and comments on others users' profiles and photos. I suggest that Facebook – like other forms of digitally-mediated communication such as texting and online chat – affords a visual layering of codes and writing systems that displays *bivalency*, the quality of belonging to more than one language simultaneously (Woolard 1998). The Facebook utterances I analyze here could be heard as monolingual when read aloud but point *visually* to more than one language at once. I show how students use multiple writing systems and codes productively to create witty, irreverent utterances that comment on, criticize, or poke fun at *both* traditional symbols of national pride *and* language and images associated with global popular culture. As such, I suggest, young people's bivalent online utterances become new iconic representations of students' refusal to choose between an isolating ethnic fundamentalism and a complete pandering to the "West," and of their imagining of a Serbian identity that avoids either extreme.

Students' utterances, while involving a "playful inversion of standard language hierarchies" (Jones and Schieffelin 2009; 1050), also reinforce and work within dominant attitudes about language and identity and do not collapse the boundaries between languages in ways that other theorists have suggested for "polylingual" practices (*c.f.* Jorgensen 2008, Jacquemet 2005, Rampton 2003). Rather, even the most deeply 'mixed' utterances highlight perceived differences between the languages, relying on affective, cultural, or political

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associations to achieve maximum effect. The simple act of juxtaposing separate codes and writing systems imbues each with a little of the flavor of the other and over time changes what it means to be a young, urban Serb the twenty-first century. Facebook provides a productive channel for the moral ambivalence described in previous chapters. Facebook provides a tangible medium for demonstrating one's participation and fluency in multiple spheres while maintaining a critical distance from each, all while avoiding some of the morally and politically weighty choices that many students feel that they must make elsewhere.

Based on analysis of Facebook communiqués, I propose a framework for language and identity that integrates the concepts of *tactics of intersubjectivity* (Bucholtz and Hall's 2004) and *indexicality* (Peirce 1932). I consider which tactics accomplish identity work through a web of known indexical markers and which tactics challenge or undermine known indexical associations to forge new identities or redefine old ones. I consider the extent to which each tactic either focuses on what the speaker means to accomplish with particular indexes or situates the power to interpret indexes – and evaluate particular claims to identity – in other people or institutions.

This chapter might appear to depart from the focus on Belgrade students' ambivalence concerning how or if they can change societal problems. But I hypothesize that students' Facebook practices constitute a kind of "agency of projects," (Ortner 2006), in which people seek to control what they can – in this case, the cultural and political image they project. Facebook is also a sphere where ambivalence about 'East' and 'West' and about national pride and cosmopolitanism can be reintpreted creatively. Finally, Facebook re-asserts the possibility and advantages of a Serbia's historical 'border' position.

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7.2 Sociolinguistic Variables and Indexes

On Facebook, students use linguistic codes, writing systems, and images with rich social histories and a wide array of possible associations. In what follows I briefly review the relation between language markers and group membership and identities, demonstrating that scholars have gradually moved toward a less deterministic and more flexible understanding of what a given linguistic marker can tell about its user.

Labov's (1972) groundbreaking work on the sociolinguistic variable dispelled the notion that all non-phonemic variation is "free." Labov introduced the concept of a sociolinguistic indicator, "which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context" (Labov 1972; 237). An indicator varies across - and, thus, can indicate – social group memberships. An indicator can be come a marker when it shows "social distribution and stylistic differentiation" and "sensitivity to sex, formality, and cultural orientation" (Labov 1972 238), that is, when groups become aware of its status as an indicator of class and begin to employ it strategically across various social situations. When a marker becomes a stereotype, it can function much like stigma. Goffman (1963: 5) divided stigma into three types: 1) "Abominations of the body," or physical ailments or deformity, 2) "Blemishes of individual character," such as laziness, weakness, or stupidity, and 3) "Tribal stigma," reserved for members of marginalized classes or ethnicities. Although sociolinguistic markers can fit the third type of stigma, they depend on a perceived association between tribal identity and individual character flaws. Stigmatized sociolinguistic markers index a range of negative attributes for hearers who, upon hearing what they deem deficient or unpleasant language, "tend to impute a wide range of imperfections on the basis of the original one" (Goffman 1963: 5). Small differences in speech can disempower and discredit speakers.

<u>7.2.1 Symbolic Capital and the Linguistic Market</u>

Value placed on ways of speaking is enmeshed in value placed on the speakers. In the

linguistic market, language use has symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991).   In Bourdieu's model,

linguistic capital is usually transferred inter-generationally as *habitus*, which is not consciously

controlled. Thus, speakers have little recourse to escape stereotyping and domination. In other

words, ways of speaking which follow almost inevitably from social position, strengthen the

relation between marginalized language use and marginalized peoples.

Although Labov's basic model (1972) allows for some degree of sociolinguistic change,

it has been criticized as a static view of ethnic, class, and gender categories (Eckert 1988, Milroy

and Gordon 2003, Shilling-Estes 1999). The critique points to style as an important driver of

linguistic change, whereby ways of speaking associated with one group can be "taken up and

repurposed" by another (Milroy and Gordon 2003; 209).

<u>7.2.2 Indexicality</u>

When linguistic anthropologists consider the relation between a language form and a

social type, they tend to speak of the language form not as a marker of identity, but as an index,

first defined by Peirce (1932) as:

> a sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity
> or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object is
> thought to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with
> the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses of memory of the person for
> whom it serves as a sign, on the other

(Peirce 1932; 170). This means that a sign indexes a particular meaning or identity by

evoking it in a particular context.   Indexicality is extremely important, as users leverage symbols,

images, and linguistic features in the cultivation of particular selves, and such moves can be the subject of real-time evaluation.

Indexes are rarely straightforward, however. First, indexical meanings can be indirect and multiple. The world of possible indexical meanings is sometimes referred to as an *indexical field* (Eckert 2008: 454). Within such a field, the indexical link between language and social identity is often indirect: language forms index stances and actions that, in turn, index social identities (Ochs 1992). Second, indexical meanings can change over time (Silverstein 2003). In Silverstein's framework, when first order indexical associations between language use and social groups rise to the level of awareness, a second order indexicality is established, allowing speakers to employ these features differentially across contexts. When second order stylistic variability becomes "filtered through more abstract ideologies about what dialects are and how they are linked to identities" (Johnstone et al., 2006), the same features become third order indexicals.

Third, we can never say for certain whose interpretation of an index matters or matters most. In response to philosophers of language (*cf*. Searle 1983) who locate the meaning of actions and utterances in the intention of the speaker, Duranti (1993, 2015: 122-3) points out that the indexical force of language cannot easily be controlled by speakers. An index can be interpreted differently by the audience than by a speaker; a speaker attempting to index a particular identity may be discredited by limitations in phonological range, aspects of appearance, and so on.

Taken together, these insights – that indexical markers usually link language and identity indirectly, change over time, and are often not under the full control of the speaker – are important when considering how Facebook forms, maintains, and transforms elite Serbian youth

identities. Serbian youth play with entrenched social indexical associations (of language and writing systems such as Cyrillic with tradition and national pride and of certain styles of English with global pop culture) to alter what it means to be Serbian in the twenty-first century. The witty juxtaposition and mixture of English and Serbian and of Latin and Cyrillic scripts on Facebook is based on the associations of each choice with either modernity/cosmopolitanism or tradition/national pride. Habitual mixing might break the exclusive association of English and cosmopolitanism with Western identities and allow for both forms to index Serbianness.

7.3 Bivalency

In characterizing the youths' Facebook practices as bivalent, I use a broad definition that includes any language segment that belongs to two codes simultaneously, regardless of whether it serves the same semantic function in each language and regardless of whether it belongs equally to both codes. When young people use English scripts to write Serbian utterances or creatively substitute letters from one alphabet into another, they produce forms that sound like monolingual utterances if read aloud but which index two codes simultaneously when read on a screen. Rather than strategically leveraging already-bivalent forms, the youth transform utterances, words, and graphemes to create a layered bivalency.

7.4 Why Facebook?

Facebook boasts over one billion users worldwide, and over half of Serbia's 7.2 million citizens have a Facebook profile at the time of this writing.[60]   In 2010-2011, Facebook was ubiquitous in the social lives of Belgrade high school students. Facebook was a space where

students chatted with friends both publicly and privately and where they posted media clips and quotes from local and international novels, movies, and television shows (often used as thinly-veiled messages aimed at previous or current romantic partners or love interests). On Facebook they often played with the boundaries between English and Serbian and between Cyrillic and Latin, the two scripts of the Serbian language. In a country where debates about orthographic and other linguistic choices have figured centrally into political debates and questions of ethnic and national identity, Facebook became a site where ideology meets the constraints and possibilities of technologies.

Online communication raises fundamental questions about the extent to which language attitudes are fundamentally altered by computer-mediated communication. Crystal coined the term Netspeak (Crystal 2001) to describe resemblances between online communication and other varieties of spoken and written language. Other studies have addressed concerns about the deterioration of language in online spaces. Jones and Schiefflin (2009), analyze popular reactions to a commercial that features a family talking in text-message style. Near moral-panic prevails in the mainstream, while YouTube offers counter-discourses. Tagliamonte and Dennis (2008) demonstrate that Instant Messaging (IM) is firmly rooted in standard language and combines elements from informal and formal registers. Online language is additive rather than parasitic, in that it becomes one more requirement for communicative competence in a given community (Coleman 2010).

Computer-mediated communication also raises questions about what happens to boundaries – linguistic, political, cultural, ethnic, and so on – as a result of online language. Although English-language websites no longer dominate the web (Wilson and Peterson 2002), the use of English by non-native speakers online remains a focus of interest. McIntosh's (2010),

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study of young Kenyans' text messages, for example, describes how "the English 'medialect' [the form of English used in text messages and online] is flavored with distinctly local concerns" (McIntosh 2010: 337). Digital communication can strengthen ethnic and cultural ties by connecting disaporic and other geographically dispersed communities (*c.f.* Bernal 2005). It can also favor global elite identities over national, ethnic, or other cultural forms of belonging (Jacquemet 2005). Although linguistic difference can become commodified as both a marketable skill and a marker of identity (Heller 2010), digital spaces are just as often sites for "polylingual" communications (Jorgensen 2008), in which users select features according to which best suit their communicative aim regardless of the code to which they official belong. Thus, some argue that the widespread mixing of languages and writing systems online can "disturb the coherence of monologic languages" (Coleman 2010: 495). In Belgrade, young people's Facebook utterances mix languages and writing systems at multiple levels of granularity, from alternating utterances in a single language to substituting a single script character to produce an utterance that points visually to more than one language. I argue, however, that linguistic differences remain salient in all of these Facebook displays and that their juxtaposition and affective distance are key to their interpretation and effect.

7.5 Historical Background

Two historical points are key for understanding the relevance of students' linguistic choices on Facebook. First, as mentioned, many Serbs continue to feel ostracized internationally. They recall that NATO and the United Nations sided with Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovar Albanians during the conflicts of the 1990s, imposed a decade of sanctions under the Milošević regime, and bombed Serbia for several months in 1999. They also know that the European

Union has, until very recently, continued to set barriers to Serbia's candidacy for membership. I argue that Serbs' uneasy conception of their own international political position and reputation is highly consequential for individuals' everyday cultivation of their online personas. William Mazzarella (2004, 357) has pointed to the increased reflexivity of research participants, as globalization and media have led to "sudden and vertiginous self consciousness." Self-consciousness is heightened for Serbs, many of whom feel oppressed by their nation's global reputation. Facebook, often the site of meticulous presentations of self (see the current cultural obsession with– and moral panic about - "selfies" in the popular media, for example)[61], is a useful space for airing those anxieties, attempting to repair perceived damage to Serbia's global reputation, and (re-)gaining some measure of control over perceptions of oneself and Serbia as a whole.

Second, relevant to particular code and orthographic choices is Serbia's historically tumultuous relationship with the neighboring Croatia and debates about the relation between the two countries' very similar languages. These debates ensure that everything from the choice of writing system to the spelling of a vowel carries strong ideological weight and can index ethnic, political, or even class positions.

7.5.1 The Cyrillic and Latin scripts[62]

The relative status of the Cyrillic and Latin scripts in the Serbian language is a deeply-rooted issue that in 2014 is still not resolved. Cyrillic, which is a based on the Greek alphabet, with characters from the older Glagolitic script as well, was invented in the 860s by Cyril and Methodius, two monks who led a mission from Byzantium to Moravia. The writing system spread, overtaking Glagolitic to become the principal writing system of the Orthodox church and

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is associated peoples. The Latin script was invented by the Romans in the sixth or seventh century and was adopted by Slavic Catholics, who borrowed spelling rules from other languages. It became the main writing system for all non-Orthodox Slavs (Cubberley 1996).

In the nineteenth century, two movements – the Vukovian movement, led by Serb linguist Vuk Karadžić, and the Illyrian movement, led by Ljudevit Gaj – set out to standardize Serbian Cyrillic scripts and Croatian Latin scripts, respectively. Vuk Karadžić modernized Serbian Cyrillic according to very strict phonological rules, best summarized by the edict *Piši kao što govori!* ('Write like you speak!'), while Gaj encouraged more etymological spellings, captured by the phrase, Govori za uši, a piši za oči! (Speak for the ears, but write for the eyes!). The Latin script added new letters with diacritic marks, borrowed from Czech (Feldman and Barac-Cikoja 1996, Alexander 2006, Greenberg 2004).

Despite divergent ideas about orthography, Gaj and Karadžić sought a literary agreement between Serbian and Croatian, thinking that linguistic unity among the South Slav peoples would strengthen resistance to imperialism. The 1850 Vienna Literary Agreement forged a common literary language for Serbs and Croats but left unaddressed the issue of writing systems. Despite a proposed compromise by Jovan Skerlić in 1913, in which Croats would adopt the ekavian pronunciation associated with Belgrade and other central Serbian speech in exchange for Serbs giving up Cyrillic, an agreement was never reached (Alexander 2006: 384). Both writing systems continued to be used in the first iteration of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. When the first Yugoslavia dissolved in the years leading up to World War II, the newly 'independent' fascist puppet state of Croatia cleansed its language of all Serbian traces, particularly Cyrillic.

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The post-war Novi Sad agreement set the terms for Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, the new official language of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The agreement made official both writing systems and mandated that both be taught to all Yugoslav schoolchildren. By 1967, however, as Croatian national pride was enjoying resurgence, many Croatian linguists were advocating for full withdrawal from the Novi Sad agreement. The joint Serbian-Croatian dictionary was discontinued that year. In 1974, the new Yugoslav constitution devolved more power to the individual republics and, for the first time, allowed them to choose their own "standard idiom." Croats and Serbs began accusing each other of denying linguistic heritage to their minority populations (that is, Serbs in Croatia and Croats in Serbia).

Following the breakup of the war, Cyrillic was no longer taught in Croatia, but Serbia continues to recognize both systems, while according higher status to Cyrillic.[63] The orthographic landscape in Belgrade is thoroughly mixed, with businesses and products advertising in various combinations of Latin and Cyrillic. Some businesses write everything in one script, while others either write all information in both or distribute their text between the two scripts.

Figure 11: At an outdoor ice cream stand with an Italian name, the names of the flavors are written in Latin and the pricing (upper left, in yellow font) is in Cyrillic

7.5.2 Cyrillic and Latin today

Many people feel strongly about their writing choices, whether or not they justify those choices along the same ideological lines as have debates over the past few decades. Gradska students and teachers nearly always extolled the virtues of Cyrillic before explaining why they did not use it in particular contexts (or, for a few, did not use it at all). In these explanations, they often pitted technological considerations – what was considered most practical on the computer – against ideological concerns.

One student, Lana (L), explained why she preferred to use Cyrillic. She outlines three rationales: 1) She is used to it (line 1), 2) It is a unique and indisputable marker of Serbian identity(lines 2, 7-9), and 3) It can disappear if not actively used (line 5)

Excerpt 63

1   L: E sada uglavnom, ja više pišem ćirilicom. Jednostavno sam tako navikla,
Well now, I mostly write in cyrilic script. I am simply used to it

2   i jednostavno sam srpkinja i to je moje pismo i to je to.
and simply I am Serbian and that is my script and that is that.

3   R: Da.
Yes.

4   L: Znači ako već imam nešto zbog ćega sam specifična,
So, if I already have something for which I am unique,

5   Zašto to ne bi iskoristila, a druga stvar ne bih baš volela da zamre to pismo.
Why shouldn't I use it, and the other thing is that I really don't want that script to die away.

6   A što više ti budeš koristio latinicu, to češ više da bacaš u senku ćirilicu,
And the more you use Latin, the more more you will throw Cyrillic away,

7   I jednostavno (.) znaš kada imaš nešto što jednostavno karakteriše (.)

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And just (.) when you have something that simply chacterizes (.)

8   Što je posebno u tvojoj zemlji, e to je ćirilica,
That is special about your country, and that is Cyrillic,

9   Svaka zemlja ima neko svoje pismo (.) ovaj:: (.)tako da ja volim ćirilicu.
Each country has its script (.) well:: (.) so I love Cyrillic.

The student characterizes Cyrillic as default yet fragile and in danger of disappearing. She then goes on to say that her Facebook page is in Cyrillic as well. As her Facebook friend I knew that only her *name* was written in Cyrillic and that she always posted in Latin. I asked whether she sometimes used the Latin script online (line 1). Responding 'I'm not crazy now, not that crazy' (line 3), she defines the balance between ideology and practicality as falling short of typing everything online in Cyrillic. She contrasts her approach with that of her ex-boyfriend (who was much more staunchly pro-Serbia than she was, she had earlier told me), who wrote everything online in Cyrillic (line 5). In line 6, she offers that she cannot use Cyrillic online, because she spends a lot of time on Youtube, which, she later explained, did not work well with Cyrillic.

Excerpt 64

1   R: Da, ali ponekad pišeš latinicu na kompjuteru ili ne?
            Yes, but sometimes you use latin script on the computer or no?

2   L: Ne, ne, ne mislim ....ne, ne, ne na kompjuteru uvek pišem latinicom.
            No, no, no I mean..no, no on the computer I always use latin script.

3   Nisam sad luda, toliko luda nisam.
            I am not crazy now, not that crazy.

4   R: hhh. Da.
            hhh. Yes

5   L: Dok taj moj bivši, on piše na fejsbuku sve ćirilicom.
            While my ex-boyfriend, he uses all cyrilic script on Facebook.

6   Ja ne mogu jer dosta vremena provodim na Jutubu
           I can't because I spend a lot of time on Youtube

Lana's juxtaposition of why she prefers Cyrillic with why she chooses Latin online suggests that script choice is one area in which people must make definitive choices about how to balance national affective and practical concerns about script choice.

The two English teachers also characterized those who insisted on using Cyrillic online and in text messages as somehow going too far. Where the student in the previous example glossed this tendency as *crazy*, one English teacher characterized it as 'not natural' (line 6) and 'not comfortable' (line 9). In line 3, when she says that she would write in Cyrillic if the keyboard were in Cyrillic, she sets up the affordances of the keyboard as a determining force in her decisions about which writing system to use.

Excerpt 65

1   T: Koristim latinicu zato što jednostavno (.) prvo mrzi me da menjam font
              We use latin because it is more simple (.) first of all I hate changing the font

2   R: Da, da?
              Yes, yes?

3   T: Apsolutno je zbog toga, da mi je čirilična tastatura pisala bi čirilicom
              Absolutely because of that, if the keyboard was cyrilic I would write in cyrilic

4   R: Da
              Yes.

5   M: Mada imaju ljudi koji insistiraju da pišu čirilicom sve, i fejsbuk.
              but there are people who insist on writing everything in cyrilic, even facebook.

6   T: Marija da, ali nije mi prirodno, moram da se setim gde mi Ž, Đ, Š, Č, Ć.
              Yeah Marija, but it's not natural to me, I would have to remember where Ž, Đ, Š, Č, Ć is.

7   Naučila sam da kucam latinična slova.
           I have learned to type Latin letters.

8   R: Da?
           Yeah?

9   T: Nisu mi na dohvat. Nije mi prst tamo gde je Ž, nije mi zgodno
           They are not positioned for my fingers, it's not comfortable
           to me to type Ž,

The examples above suggest that language ideological and technological considerations can exert conflicting pressure on users. Often, I saw ethnic fundamentalist sentiments expressed in English scripts in the comment sections of major newspapers, for example, suggesting that one's access to particular technology, as well as their expertise, can factor into script choice. Whether or not using Cyrillic online is actually as difficult as people claim – a question that goes beyond the scope of this chapter – the prominence of technological concerns as an important factor in the moral logic of script choice is an important example of the tension between pride and pragmatism as a key source of ambivalence.
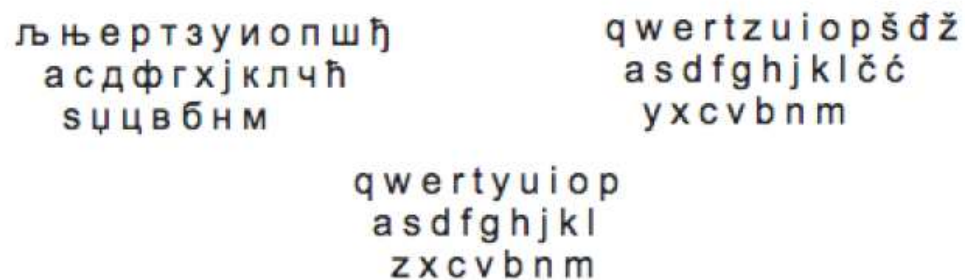
Figure 12: Keyboard layouts for Cyrillic (top left), Serbian Latin (top right), and English (bottom center). Most people in the study types in Latin online, and those who types in Latin use seither a Serbian Latin keyboard or an English keyboard to approximate Serbian Latin. As demonstrated below, this difference is crucial to some of the orthographic choices and innovations students make on Facebook.

7.6 The Collection of Facebook Data

The excerpts below are taken from a collection of daily postings of about ten focal youth over the period of about eight months. The communications include one-on-one postings on each other's Facebook 'walls' (now called 'timeline'); comments on photos; shared media; quotes from famous authors, musicians or other public figures; news articles; memes; jokes; and requests for assistance.   In addition, I also collected images, jokes and other media (but no personal communication or photos) circulated by other members of my two focal classrooms, totaling around sixty students. Given my previous experience with Facebook use in the United States, I was surprised by some types of communications that were absent. I did not, for example, observe people sharing where they were or what they were doing at any given time, nor did I witness any extended "troubles talk" (Jefferson 1980) among students, a common occurrence on many Facebook pages in the U.S.

7.7 Cyrillic, Latin, and English on Facebook

Drawing from the everyday public Facebook communications of high school students in Belgrade I examine two related phenomena:

- Use of Cyrillic to represent English or part-English/part-Serbian phrases;

- Approximation of Serbian phonemes through the use of English graphemes

In both cases, young people creatively mix Serbian and English writing in order to create visually bivalent utterances.

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7.7.1. Using Cyrillic for English or part-English phrases:

The empirical investigation of online use confirms statements in interviews that Cyrilic was limited and that when it did appear, it was marked as out of the ordinary. In addition to using Cyrillic to make overt political (some times anti-west) statements, honor Serbian holidays, or express national pride (when Serb tennis star Novak Djokovic takes home a world title, for example), students use Cyrillic in unexpected ways: to poke fun at Serbian tradition, in intralingual puns, and in juxtaposition with global popular cultural images. I hypothesize that using Cyrillic in such playful and ironic ways 1) Highlights the difference between Serbian and English, 2) Allows participation without assimilation in globally-circulating images and styles, and 3) Both conforms to and disrupts broader ideologies about Serbian language.

In the following excerpt, a student posted a picture of two animals jumping toward each other in the air.[64]

Excerpt 66

Figure 12: "Lav is in di er"

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The caption renders "Love is in the air" in the Cyrillic script and plays on the similarity between the Serbian word *lav* (lion) and the English word *love*. To produce or make sense of such an utterance, one must know sufficient English vocabulary to parse the lav/love pun and recognize "Love is in the Air" as an English idiom. Here, an intralingual pun becomes a sophisticated display of bilingual competence.

This example demonstrates how youths' playful Facebook language simultaneously flouts and works within dominant language ideologies. Many Serbs told me that while the Serbian language was brilliant in its phonological simplicity, it was also restrictive and overly rule-based. They often blamed Vuk Karadžić, the linguist-hero who reformed the language and simplified the orthography, for creating a language that was easier to understand but, by virtue of strict grammatical and phonological rules, more resistant to playful manipulation. The creative mixture of Serbian and English in this example challenges this notion – students are, in fact playing with Serbian here. Yet, they marshal English to do so, supporting the view that "pure" Serbian is not amenable to playfulness.

In another excerpt, a student shares a photo that juxtaposes a global popular culture icon – Snoop Lion, formerly Snoop Dogg – with a traditional Eastern Orthodox Christmas greeting, written in Cyrillic, attaching the comment "hahahahahahahahah, tako nekako ('hahahahaha, something like that')" to the picture:

Excerpt 67

Figure 13: "Hristizl se Rodizl"

Here, the standard Serbian Christmas greeting and response, *Hristo se rodi* ('Christ is born')/*Vaistinu se rodi* ('Indeed, he is born') have been rendered in "Snoop talk," a trend that is said to have originated in the Harlem Renaissance but which came to national attention via Snoop Dogg[66]. Snoop Talk consists of adding an –iz or –izl infix or suffix to a word. Thus, in this example, *Hristos se Rodi/Vaistinu se rodi* becomes "Hristizl se rodizl/Vaistinizl se rodizl."

Here the association of Cyrillic with the Eastern Orthodox church *and* its perceived affective distance from American rap culture are both essential. To work aurally the joke did not 'need' to be in Cyrillic. The caption would have sounded identical when read aloud if it had been written in Latin. But by using a writing system that is visually distinct from English, the caption more distinctively points to two different languages and highlights the contrast between Cyrillic and English and the affective and cultural associations that each carries.

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On Facebook, English script is also used to approximate Serbian phonology, particularly when users do not have access to a Serbian keyboard and do not know how to or do not want to download the Latin script. Problems arise, however, around letters that have diacritic marks over them, such as š, đ, ž, č, and ć. Because these characters do not exist in the English script, users of English keyboards have two choices: Eliminate the diacritic marks altogether or borrow from English phonology, as shown below.

č, cć -→ c or ch

š -→ s or sh

ž -→ z or zh

Thus, the phrase *učešće u istraživanju* (participation in research) could be rendered using English script as either *ucesce u istrazivanju* (with the diacritic marks simply removed) or *ucheshche u istrazhivanju* (with h added to approximate the sounds using English spelling rules).

In the excerpt below, different students take different approaches to this problem. Here the first poster renders *što* (what) as *sto*, without a diacritic mark. Her friend responds with "Ti zna**sh** da ja tebe nikada ne mogu da zaboravim" (You know that I would never forget you)," using *sh* to approximate the *š* sound in *znaš* (know).

Excerpt 68

Figure 14: 's' and 'sh'

When an *š* is rendered as *sh*, it breaks the phonological rules of the alphabet (*s+h* in Serbian is not equivalent to *sh* in English). This rendering violates a fundamental tenet of Serbian language ideology that holds that Serbian language is superior because of its (supposed) one-to-one phoneme to grapheme relation, which allows its user to *pisi kao sto govori*, or 'write like you speak). Alternatively, simply eliminating the diacritic marks introduces ambiguity in an otherwise phonologically consistent writing system, forcing the reader to determine from context whether *s* should be read as *s* or *š*, for example. In choosing *sh*, over *s* young people are actually *adhering* to the 'write like you speak' maxim by ensuring that they do not have one character, such as *s*, representing more than *one* sound; using *s* instead of *sh* would have created the exact sort of ambiguity that the "Write Like You Speak" maxim tried to avoid.

7.8 Discussion:

Woolard (1998) notes that, far from blurring the distinctions between codes, bivalent forms actually activate and reinforce boundaries between languages. Indeed, in using Cyrillic to

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represent English meanings (or vice versa), Belgrade youth make salient the contrast between the two languages (and, in turn, the identities and stances associated with those languages). At the same time, however, students establish a new sociolinguistic boundary of an elite Serbian youth culture whose literacy and membership are defined by the ability to use and understand the playful and creative forms discussed in this chapter. The postings presuppose an audience that is bilingual, trigraphic, literate, and well-versed in the local interpretations of indexical meanings. Thus, Facebook practices that transverse national linguistic boundaries create new, distinctly local ones.

At the same time, Facebook practices provide an opportunity to address a "vaguely-imagined wider world of cosmopolitan interlocutors" (McIntosh 2010: 343), to participate in global popular culture in ways that were impossible a generation earlier when teenagers lived under heavy sanctions. In participating in this wider sphere in distinctly Serbian ways, students signal disregard for the dilemma of how to gain the material advantages of E.U. international engagement without giving up "traditional" values. In Spring 2012, nearly a year after my fieldwork ended, thousands of young Serbs invalidated their presidential ballots by, among other things, drawing pictures of American cartoons and writing in the names of fake candidates, as below. On the top left, someone has written 'CTRL+ A, shift + DEL YES!' (i.e., erase all candidates). On the top right, a voter has drawn a picture of cartoon character Spongebob Squarepants and written his name in Cyrillic. On the bottom left, we see a picture of Barack Obama and his famous campaign slogan written according to Serbian spelling rules ("Barak Obama. Jes, vi ken"), and on the bottom right, the voter has written in basketball star Michael Jordan and his jersey number, 23.
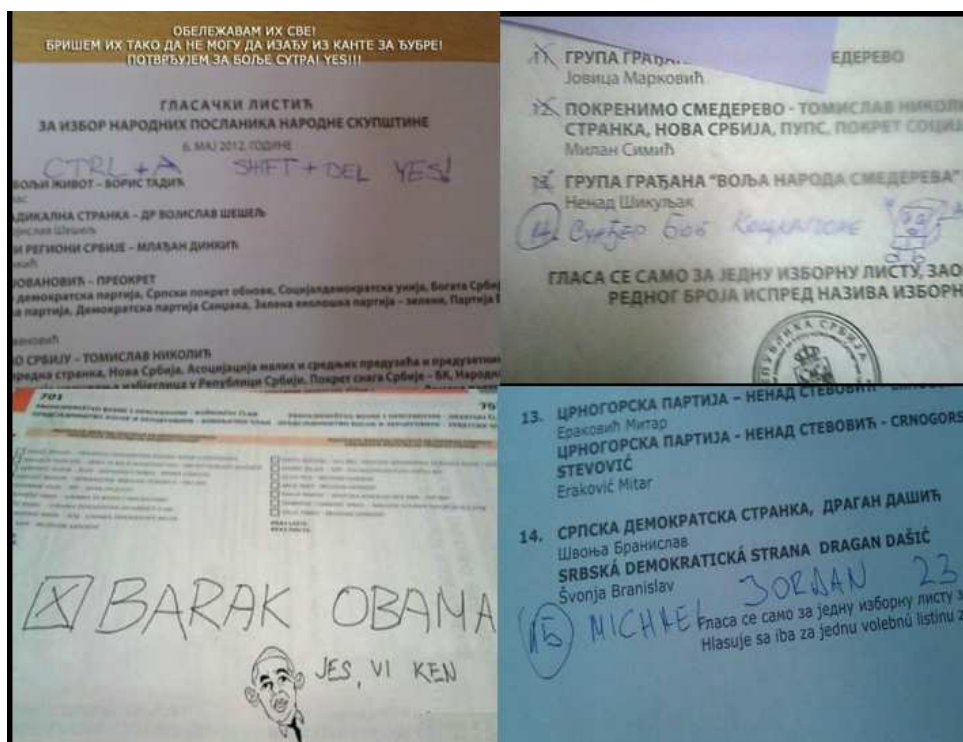
Figure 15: CTRL+A, Shift+DEL Yes!; Sudjer Bob Kockalone (Spongebob Squarepants), Barak Obama, Jes Vi Ken; Michael Jordan 23.

Notably, in many of the ballots, voters used the same irreverent mixtures of English and Serbian that they do online. These playful – and consequential – acts of rebellion communicated a refusal to choose between two unpalatable options (a radical and embarrassing nationalist v. a Western sellout, in many people's descriptions). Perhaps the bivalent forms created on Facebook were another way for students to assert that they would not be forced to choose between cosmopolitanism and ethnic fundamentalism, between pride and pragmatism.

Just as practices that break from dominant language ideologies sometimes act within them, the refusal to choose between so-called tradition and globalization is less of a departure from previous generations than it might initially seem. Belgraders, like many residents of large capital cities, have long defined national pride as based on educated worldliness rather than unreflective notions of ethnic superiority (Dragović-Soso 2002, Steinberg 2004, Živković 2007).

Older Belgraders reminisce fondly about a Yugoslav past in which cosmopolitan Serbian elites traveled freely with passports that guaranteed access to the Eastern and the Western bloc and enjoyed international respect. Bivalent utterances hearken back to an imagined past when a position on the border between "East" and "West" was an asset rather than a liability (see Chapter Three). To the extent that young people mix Serbian and English words and orthographies to be both proud Serbs and competent cosmpolitans, they adhere to the upper-middle-class "Belgrader" identity espoused by their parents and teachers.

7.9 Implications for Language, Identity, and Indexicality

Young people use affordances of social media to index Serbian identity as participating simultaneously in global popular culture and local tradition. Rather than choosing between these affiliations they exploit indexical associations of both languages and writing systems to emphasize that they co-exist within Serbianness.

Bucholtz and Hall (2004) use "Tactics of Intersubjectivity" to capture the complex ways in which individuals use language to ascribe to and identify with different groups, emphasize or de-emphasize aspects of a 'hybrid' identity, or attempt to create a novel identity. Users of such tactics may encounter resistance from others who deem their use of language inauthentic or insufficient to claim group membership. Like de Certeau (1984) Bucholtz and Hall acknowledge that tactics comprise agency *and* negotiation. For Bucholtz and Hall, the processes that create social stereotypes based on language. That is, existing associations between language and identities can provide individuals with resources for building new associations and creating social groups and identities based on (supposedly) similar and distinct ways of using language.

The six tactics are divided into three pairs: 1) *Adequation* and *distinction*, complementary processes by which people draw the boundaries of particular groups by highlighting characteristics that all inside the group are thought to share in common (adequation) and deemphasizing internal differences, while emphasizing the differences between group members and others and erasing or playing down similarities between insiders and outsiders (distinction);[67] 2) *Authentication,* the 'credible' use of particular semiotic resources to assert membership in well-established groups, and *denaturalization,* which calls into question, and can weaken, associations between language features and identities by highlighting their arbitrary and constructed nature; and 3) *Authorization* and *illegitimation,* which are concerned with the recognition or denial of the legitimacy of particular identities at various levels of social organization.

Bucholtz and Hall's tactics suggest that speakers attempt to control the indexical force of their language in at least two ways: 1) Relying upon recognized indexical associations to assert particular identities or 2) Breaking down taken-for-granted indexical associations and/or creating new ones. I propose that the former is closely related to practices of **authentication**, which coincide with how "speakers activate. . .essentialist readings in the articulation of identity" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 386), while the latter represents **denaturalization**. In between are **adequation** and **distinction**, in which new groups boundaries are made and thus new associations between language and identity asserted, but the extent to which other indexical associations are disrupted is not always clear. Finally, all of these agentive practices can be circumscribed by practices of **authorization** and **illegitimation** at various levels of social organization. A visual representation of this argument is below:
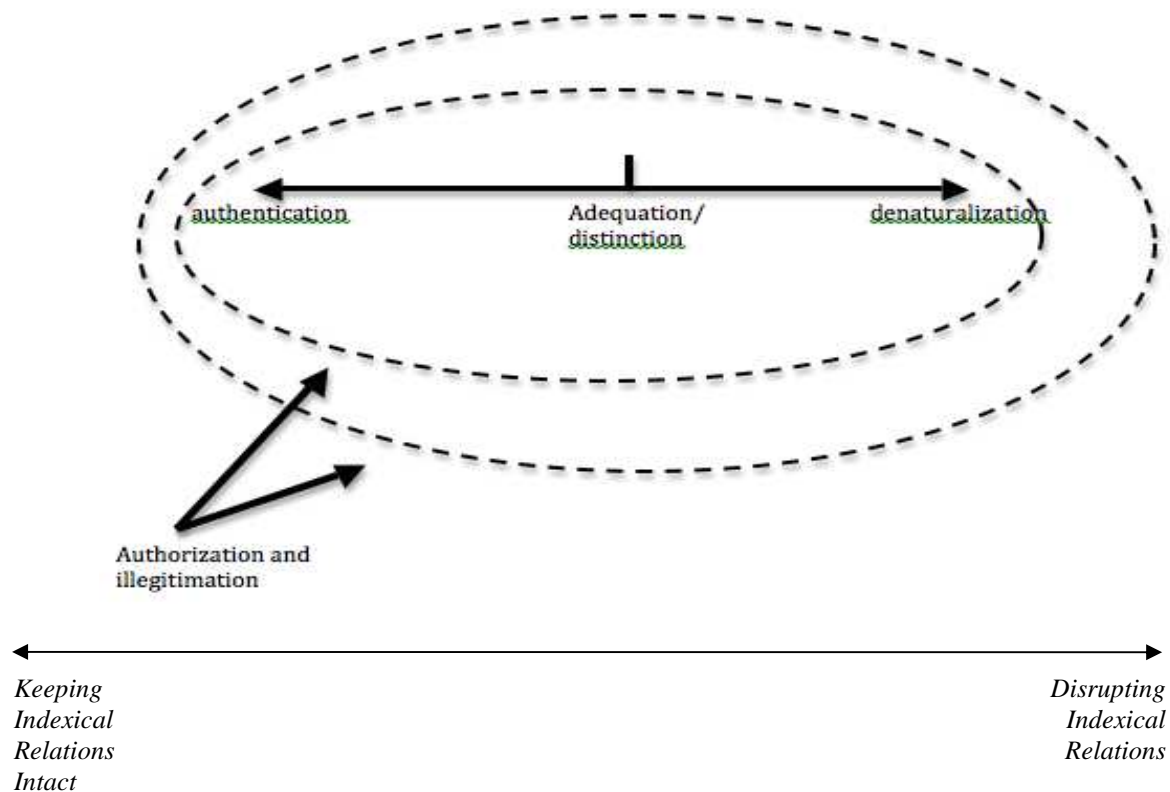
Figure 16: Tactics of Intersubjectivity and indexical relations

In the figure above, *authentication, adequation and distinction,* and *denaturalization* lie on a spectrum from tactics that rely on to tactics that disrupt indexical connections. These tactics are then circumscribed by *authorization* and *illegitimation*; that is, speakers' ability to work within or challenge indexical associations is enabled or constrained by others empowered to confer or deny them legitimacy.

Some examples from the linguistic anthropological literature, which demonstrate the ways in which multiple tactics are often in play at once, will make the argument clearer. Cutler (1999), for example, examines the case of Mike, a white teenager from an upscale Manhattan neighborhood who engages in various semiotic practices to recast himself as urban and hip-hop. Mike's adoption of African-American English (AAE) features is central to his new identification. In one sense, Mike displays considerable agency and his decisions have real-world

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consequences: he becomes involved in a white gang, gets in trouble with the law, and distances

himself from academics. At the same time, the reception of Mike's performance is tenuous at

best. According to Cutler, he exhibits only surface-level competence in AAVE; although he

smoothly incorporates phonological and lexical features, he does not delete the third person

singular –s or the copula and does not use the habitual 'be,' all key grammatical features of AAE.

His lack of full competence, combined with his Upper East Side address, makes him the target of

teasing and questions of authenticity. Mike's language use represents a clear case of

"authentication," as he draws upon indexical connections between AAE and toughness, hip hop,

and urbanity to attempt to assert an identity often reserved for youth of a different class status.

Thus, Mike is not trying to upend the existing indexical relationships but tries to fit himself

within them. At the same time, however, Mike's language use is also recognizable as part of an

effort to create a legitimate white hip-hop identity and, as such, has the potential to weaken links

between AAE and African American speakers and is thus interpretable as an example of

denaturalization. Following Ochs' model of indirect indexicality, where AAE indexes street

toughness and hip hop, which is associated with African American speakers, Mike draws upon

the indexical relation between language varieties and stances or social acts but challenges the

link between such stances or acts and types of speakers.

In another example of both *authentication* and *denaturalization*, Bailey (2000) describes

the sophisticated ways in which Wilson, a Domenican-American student, alternates between

Spanish and AAE to "situationally highlight Domenican, American, and African-American

facets of his Domenican-American identity" (Bailey 2000; 557). Wilson's use of AAE, together

with his phenotypically black appearance, allow Wilson to identify with African-American

students; at the same time, Wilson can use Spanish and claim Hispanic identity in order to escape

some of the social stereotypes associated with African-Americans. Wilson's tactics for

alternating between identities rely on established connections between Spanish and 'hispanic'

identities and between AAE and African American ones. In using both forms at once Wilson

weakens one-to-one ties between language and identity. But when some classmates engage in

illegitimation by denying Wilson's claim to a 'hispanic' identity based on his phenotype, they

remind us that he does not have full control over the meanings of indexes.

Rusty Barrett's (1999) study of African American drag queen (AADQ) performances

demonstrates ways that performance of an 'other' identity can "expose the disunity between

perceived or performed identity and underlying 'authentic' biographical identity;" thus, a drag

show can be a "highly subversive act that deconstructs traditional assumptions concerning

gender identity" (Barrett 1999: 315). Barrett uses the term *polyphonous identity* to highlight that

people do not only use language to alternate between facets of identity; they can also index more

than one layer at a time. Thus, the use of stereotypical 'white woman' speech by African

American men (who, while attempting to look like flawless women, do not try to 'pass' as either

white or female) reminds the audience of the 'falseness' of their performance and demonstrates

that "gender displays do not necessarily correlate with anatomical sex" (Barrett 1999; 315).   In

employing tactics of *denaturalization* (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), these performances challenge

essentialized links between language and gender.

While all six tactics recognize that the meaning of any index is negotiated by both the

speaker and his or her various 'audiences,' I suggest that *authentication* and *denaturalization*, by

emphasizing what speakers are attempting to do within a given indexical field, locate meaning

more in the intentions of speakers than do the concepts of *authorization* and *illegitimation*, which

give authority to identity work to entities other than the speaker. *Adequation* and *distinction*

again occupy a middle ground: though the criteria for group membership (and, thus, the interpretation of particular indexes) is set by group members,[68] these groups are no doubt subject to higher-order processes of authorization and illegitimation, whereby others can refuse the meanings 'intended' by particular indexes.

In making more explicit the connections between theory on indexicality and Bucholtz and Hall's tactics, the proposed model provides a guideline for making specific claims about what people are doing with indexes in practices we characterize as identity work. In reviewing the identity work accomplished by juxtapositions and mixures of Cyrillic and Latin, Serbian and English, and traditional and popular images, we find:

1) Indexical connections assumed between languages or script choices and particular stances or behaviors (English with playful irony, for example, or Cyrillic with respect for Serbian tradition); and

2) Ways in which people use those assumed connections (using English to authenticate one's position as a young cosmopolitan, for example) to break down other indexical connections or forge new ones (when, by using English and Latin together with Serbian and Cyrillic, for example, people might attempt to denaturalize any exclusive connections between a particular brand of irreverent internet humor and 'western' youth identities and instead assert that such qualities can index Serbian youth identity as well).

This means that we need to know how new connections between language and identity are asserted, how such moves are made via more well-established connections, and how notions of sameness and difference are activated in the process. Ochs' (1992, 1996) work on indirect indexicality and Silverstein's notion of orders of indexicality bear on the notion of tactics of

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intersubjectivity: new associations with Serbianness may be built by using language that indexes stances and behaviors not usually associated with Serbian identity.

Given that speakers' intentions are the not the only, and maybe not even the primary, factor in the interpreting indexes (Duranti 2012: 20-21), which individuals or entities are in a position to accept or discredit students' performances of Serbian cosmopolitanism, to evaluate whether a Serbian linguistic identity that combines elements once associated with Westernness is, in fact, legitimate? Who decides whether, to put it plainly, students are accomplishing what they intend when they use and combine different linguistic features? Does such authorization have to come from outside Serbia? This question is extremely consequential in a country where many are preoccupied with outsiders' negative perceptions of Serbia.

In short, when we analyze the role of indexicality in identity work, the proposed model lays out specifically what speakers are attempting to accomplish within a given indexical field as well as what is involved in negotiating the meanings of their utterances.

7.10 Conclusions

This chapter has examined Belgrade high school students' Facebook practices in light of the historical struggles over the definition of Serbian national language as well as in the context of current concerns. I investigated the ways in which Facebook affords a kind of layered bivalency, in which utterances can point visually to multiple languages while 'sounding' when read aloud as if they are monolingual. Students use these forms to simultaneously work within and flout dominant ideas about language and identity. The bivalent forms produced can be interpreted as a refusal to choose between ethnic fundamentalism and western conformism, another instantiation of the ambivalence introduced in earlier chapters.

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Second, I have used Facebook practices as a springboard for constructing a preliminary model for studying language and identity that integrates perspectives on indexicality with Bucholtz and Hall's notion of tactics of intersubjectivity to make explicit how identity work builds upon indexical associations and how the meanings of such moves are negotiated by speakers and audiences. In a context in which many Serbs are ambivalent about how to reconcile national pride with cosmopolitanism and how to alter their international reputation, the mechanics of such identity work demonstate complex forms of alignment and disalignment and provide nuanced insight into the changing ideologies about language and ethnicity among the contemporary generation of Serbian youth.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
Conclusions

On July 3, 2011, tennis player Novak Djoković became the first Serbian man to win the Wimbledon tennis championship.[69] *Belgrade celebrated through the night as fans gathered in cafes and at Trg Republika (Republic Square), a common site of political protest over the past two centuries. Djoković, whose name came up repeatedly in interviews, was a hero for many young Serbs, not only because of his tennis skills, but also because he seemed to embody what a young Serb in the twenty-first century could be: well-respected globally and full of Serbian pride. One student proudly recounted a story in which an announcer mistakenly referred to Djoković, who had just won a match, as Croatian. The student described with admiration the way that Djoković politely corrected the announcer and used the opportunity to show off the Serbian T-shirt that he was wearing under his tennis shirt. In the eyes of many Serbs, they finally had an ambassador who reflected favorably on Serbia rather than embarrassing them on the international stage. For a nation preoccupied with others' perceptions, Djoković was a welcome phenomenon.*

This dissertation has examined ambivalence as a pervasive cultural and political mood that is constructed in adults' and youths' discourses about Serbia's past, present, and future positions in the world and about what, if anything, individual citizens can do to manage undesirable political realities.

After posing the existential dilemmas facing Serbians across generations and describing the methods of data collection in a Belgrade high school in Chapters One and Two, Chapter Three made salient the relevant history of Serbia with an eye toward its positioning on the border between East and West, strife and solidarity with its neighbors, widespread feelings of stigma and isolation, and ambivalence about the the Yugoslav period.

Drawing on studies of language and agency, Chapter Four outlined the features of what I call a *discourse of futility*, talk that characterized teachers' and students' view of current predicaments. Using an array of grammatical and semantic features, speakers presented themselves as unable to change the problems plaguing Serbia. I argued that the discourse of

futility co-exists with talk that frames individuals – and Serbia – as active and effective. Talk that both denies and claims agency captures and perpetuates citizens' ambivalence towards what is possible.

Chapter Five considered how negotiations and accounts in the classroom apprentice students into the kind of bureaucratic interactions that are linked to the corruption and inefficiency that plague Serbia. The chapter also demonstrated how a teacher simultaneously fueled and critiqued students' negotiations. It analyzed the teacher's ability to alternate between a personal voice expressing her close relationship with her students and a bureaucratic voice representing the school authority structure and the educational ministry.

Chapter Six examined ambivalence toward political disengagement among youth. It suggested that young people, who take an active (if irreverent) role in the their civics classes, know and care more about political issues than either their teachers or they themselves acknowledge. Second, I compared discourses around political participation among Belgrade teachers and students to similar talk within Los Angeles households and found that Belgrade teachers viewed youth political protest as less morally justified, less effective, and more inevitable than did American parents.

Chapter Seven investigated elite Belgrade students' Facebook practices in light of a long history of language debates in the region. Students' Facebook communiqués involve clever mixtures and juxtapositions of English with Serbian, Latin script and Cyrillic, and 'western' popular culture with Serbian tradition. Facebook communicative practices both work within and thwart dominant language ideologies. I proposed a preliminary model of language and identity that attends to Belgrade youth's productive use of ambivalence as a means of signaling a refusal to choose between an isolating localism and a conformist form of global participation.

A focus on ambivalence exposes a paradox regarding the importance of the individual. On the one hand, ambivalence implies that uncertainty over cultural values, practices, and ideologies is not only the result of contestation between relatively stable ideas, but can also be a fundamental orientation toward the world held by an individual. On the other hand, from a linguistic anthropological perspective, rather than being something that exists inside the head of any particular individual, a highly personal and psychological response to external factors, ambivalence is a shared and culturally-specific genre of experience and set of discourses that helps members to make sense of events around them.

ENDNOTES

[1] An English translation of the memorandum is available here:
http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/archive/files/sanu_memo_e3b3615076.pdf

[2] Serbia is certainly not the only place where citizens work to manage local and global values, aesthetics, or preferences. Deeb and Harb (2013), for example, discuss the ways in which going out (to clubs) in Beirut becomes an activity in which orientations toward piety and fun must be reconciled. Similarly, Lenahan (2011) examines the prevalence of rhinoplasty in Iran, arguing that pursuing a more 'western' aesthetic does not necessarily signal a desire to distance oneself from Iranian identity.

[3] For more information about Yugoslav working actions, visit:
http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/en/home/glavna_navigacija/izlozbe/izlozbe_arhiva/Omladinske_radne_akcije.html

[4] For example we know more about how error margins change when respondents are given more information (based on the idea that more information will decrease the margin of error in cases of mere uncertainty but will increase it in cases of ambivalence) (Alvarez and Brehm 1995). Scholars have also experimented with asking respondents to measure the strength of positive and negative aspects of a given issue separately (Kaplan 1972).

[5] For more on multiplicity, see the debate between Paul Kroskrity and Charles Briggs (1998) on the importance of power and dominance v. multiplicity in analyzing the language ideological landscape of a certain group or place).

[6] The term "ethnic fundamentalism" is often attributed to Claudia Koonz's (2003) examination of Nazi Germany, in which she defines the phenomenon as follows: "Reforging bonds that may be religious, cultural, racial, or linguistic, ethnic fundamentalism merges politics and religion within a crusade to defend vluaes and authentic traditions that appear to be endangered" (274). The earliest mention of the term I found was in Tom Fisher's (1984) description of ethnic resistance to the Ch'ing dynasty in China.

[7] More information about the Culinary Academy is available here:
https://sbkotorsistercity.com/Culinary_Academy.html. I am extremely grateful to Goran Milić for involving me in this fascinating and important project and thereby sparking my interest in the region.

[8] The names of the participants and the school have been changed.

[9] Students in Serbia take tests to determine whether they will go into technical high school or academic high school as well as to determine which school they will attend. Teachers at Gradska Gimnazija boasted that no student got a score lower than 95 out of 100 on the test. Later, however, I started hearing complaints that every year there were a handful of students whose parents pulled political strings to secure their acceptance. This was one example of the way teachers described the pros and cons of working at an elite school. The other example I heard from several teachers was that, while they loved having "exceptionally smart" students whose parents obviously valued education, many parents were overly involved and felt that their children could do no wrong.

[10] Exceptions do exist. Although most students spend all four years with their assigned class, students who have problems can ask to switch. I knew of one girl who had left my focal class

because of social problems she encountered there. Also, students can choose whether to take civics or religion class, the only choice in the curriculum. The vast majority of the students in my focal class chose civics, which was fortunate for my research.

[11] Although some students elected not to participate in the interviews and participant-observation, only one student expressed any discomfort with the project itself. After initially saying that she wanted to participate in all activities, she came back saying that her father would not sign the consent form because he didn't want me "following" her with a camera. Although she tried to tell him that I would only be filming at pre-arranged times, he was not convinced.

[12] *See* Goodwin 2006, Kendon 2004, Streeck 1996.

[13] On Facebook, 'liking' a post refers to clicking a small thumbs-up button next to a person's post or photograph. Rather than using a Serbian word for "like," students in my study adopted the English word (which they spelled 'lajk') and sometimes conjugated it (*lajkujem* (I like) *lajkujemo* (we like), etc).

[14] Although Facebook archives all posts, there is always a risk that a research participant will clear out their profile, so it is still best to capture posts right away.

[15] At the technical school, I recorded a dramatic therapy session, in which students were expected to use improvisational techniques to work out every day problems. This program, instituted by a local psychologist, was based on the assumption that students at technical schools were at a heightened danger of drug use, hooliganism, and the extremist political activities (e.g. violent protesting and vandalism) usually associated with at-risk youth. Using improvisation to learn problem-solving and emotion regulation was thought to reduce this risk. The base-line assumption was that technical students, unlike more elite high school students, needed basic intervention to avoid political and moral pitfalls. Although I do not analyze technical school recordings in the dissertation, it provided an interesting counterpoint to Gradska, where such explicit intervention was not taking place.

[16] As with the technical school recordings, I do not analyze interviews with former elite high school students directly. However, they gave me a sense that current students' explicit rejection of political participation was a fairly recent phenomenon. The young men I interviewed had graduated from high school in the late 1990s and had spent most of their teenage years running a highly political satirical newspaper. Their interviews suggested that they did not place moral value on being apolitical, as did many of the high school students I interviewed; instead they wove stories of chasing girls and rebelling against teachers together with tales of political dissidence.

[17] The issue of damaging Serbia's reputation with my research had come up in my previous fieldwork in a Belgrade orphanage as well; the social worker at the orphanage was concerned about my filming because a large American news show had apparently done an exposé on institutions in Serbia years earlier. She was very concerned that I might edit my video in such a way that would embarrass the orphanage (and, therefore, Serbia) and broadcast it on American media.

[18] When the Arab Spring began during my fieldwork, many people around me scoffed that it had obviously been orchestrated by the few powerful individuals who controlled most world affairs. Reactions to the capture of Osama bin Laden, which happened around the same time, were similar.

[19] Simić (2008) has applied Turner's notion of the liminal directly to the case of Serbia, noting how Serbia conceives of itself as betwixt and between.

[20] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/kosovo-is-recognised-by-over-half-of-the-un-member-states

[21] This map was taken from the United States C.I.A. world factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ri.html) and is in the public domain.

[22] Jansen (2009a) and Greenberg (2011) also stress the importance of travel as an index of a functional society. Jansen describes the symbolic power of the red passport, which signifies past (Yugoslav) mobility, while Greenberg notes that many of her respondents associated travel with a return to "normal."

[23] Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992.

[24] The number of Serbs killed at Jasenovac is highly disputed, but the US holocaust museum estimates that between 45 and 52 thousand ethnic Serbs were killed at Jasenovac itself and that between 320 and 340 thousand Serbs were killed by the Ustaša regime as a whole (http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005449).

[25] http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/31/world/europe/31iht-bosnia31.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. Many people I encountered in Serbia either deny the genocide or dispute the number.

[26] Many Serbs feel unfairly blamed for the war also because they maintain that Croat atrocities, both against Serbs in the final battle for their independence (known as Operation Storm) and against Bosniaks in the sub-war that took place between Croats and Bosniaks in the region of Hercegovina (Pond 2006), have been ignored by the international community.

[27] Montenegro, which seceded from Serbia in 2006, has since instituted their own standard language as well, adding two additional letters (ś and ź) to further differentiate themselves (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8520466.stm).

[28] Translated in Greenberg 2004; 172

[29] Ochs and Capps (2000) have argued that, in every narrative, there is tension between coherence and authenticity, that is, between telling a story in which the moral and temporal logic is clear, and telling one that adheres as closely as possible to the 'actual' events; telling stories can be a way of working through the meaning of an event of which the significance is still in flux.

[30] See chapter three for a description of the non-aligned movement.

[31] For more information on the history of Serbia-Libya relations, see http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/02/libyas_balkan_connections.

[32] See Greenberg (2010) for a discussion of the multivalent nature of the concept of political participation. Association of the term with corruption (in that people who 'participate' are seen as politicians who work their connections for personal gain) as well as with outside interference (that is, pressure from foreign NGOs and the European Union to adhere to a western model of civil society) leads to greater ambivalence about participation as a moral good.

[33] Greenberg's point is not merely a rephrasing of what Duranti (1990, 1994), Ehrlich (2001), Conley (2011), and others have argued regarding speakers' mitigation of agency in specific events or actions for which they want to avoid culpability. Instead, Greenberg is describing a broader sense of non-agency is that not tied to a particular event but rather concerns political agency in general. Her point is that an overall stance of non-agency in politics can exculpate an individual in all kinds of political events.

[34] The reader might here wonder whether, given my earlier comment about my friend's "neutral" accent, the driver was unaware that we were coming from Belgrade or that my fellow travelers

were Serbs. The driver asked where they were from early on, however, so his friendliness and candor can't be attributed to his ignorance about my friends' ethnicity or hometown. Also, though not directly relevant to this chapter, I was fascinated by the ways in which the driver and my friends handled thorny issues such as what to call their language. As I will detail in chapter 7, in the Yugoslav period the language spoken by Bosnian Muslims was subsumed under the "Serbo-Croatian" language. As Bosnian nationalism germinated, so did calls to designate a separate "Bosnian" language. Debates about whether Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian constitute variations on single language or three separate languages persist over twenty years after the breakup of Yugoslavia. At one point in the car ride, when my friends wanted to translate an English word for me, they asked the driver, "Kako se kaže na *našem?*(How do you say it in *ours* [our language])"? My friends later told me that this is the politically-correct way of talking about the language(s) with someone of a different ethnicity, particularly when you do not know their political views.

[35] The Bosnian Serb army was officially known as the Army of Republika Srpska, named for the Serb-held territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The army comprised former soliders from the Yugoslav National Army who were discharged when Bosnia-Hercegovina declared independence in 1992.

[36]For more information on Serbian opposition to the arrest of Ratko Mladić, see: http://www.b92.net/eng/news/society.php?yyyy=2009&mm=12&dd=08&nav_id=63611.

[37] Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary field characterized by the examination of text and talk in order to analyze, among other things, how social and political power are reproduced, often implicitly, in discourse (*c.f.* Fairclough 1989, Van Dijk 1993, Wodak 2001).

[38] But see Billig (2008), who accuses Critical Discourse Analysts like Fowler et al. of doing the same thing they describe in their analysis: when they describe passivization, they often leave obscure the question of who is responsible for it.

[39] Glenny (2000: 352) suggests that the Serbs' actions in Thessaloniki did trigger Germany's eventual defeat, though the situation is a good deal more complicated than the history teacher suggests. My concern here, however, is less with the historical accuracy of the account and more with the framing of Serbia as capable of affecting world events.

[40] Also notable, though a bit tangential to the current analysis, is the shift from the first person plural 'we' to describe Serb fighters' actions in the world wars to 'The Serbs,' to '60,000 Serbs.' Given that the same teacher represented the war crimes in the 1990s as the actions of individuals, an in-depth study of pronoun use is probably warranted.

[41] I use the term 'universal' because it includes what Quirk (1985) calls 'universal quantifiers,' such as *all* or *none* and 'terms of universal frequency' such as *always* or *never*

[42] In quoting this email, I have corrected the most basic typos in order to make the email easier for the reader to understand.

[43] Many have noted the considerable overlap between passive verb forms and adjectives, leading some to argue that all passive forms actually behave as adjectives (Freidin 1975) and others to argue that we must examine, among other things, the kinds of affixes one can attach to verbs v. adjectives to get at the subtle distinctions between the categories (Levin and Rappaport 1986). In Serbian, as in English, there is ambiguity between passive participles and adjectives, which is only exacerbated by the fact that past and present passive forms (e.g. 'was marginalized' or 'has been marginalized' v. 'is marginalized;) look identical (Alexander 2006; 177-8).

44 Thank you to Adam Moore for giving the example of the rather poetic use of težak to describe trees as weighed down, or overburdened, with fruit.

45 By arguing that using the same language forms habitually can alter perceptions, I am essentially making a linguistic relativity argument; Based on writings of Edward Sapir (1931) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), the theory of linguistic relativity holds that the language we speak can shape our thoughts. As Duranti (1997b) has pointed out, linguistic relativity can also extend to language use – that is, patterns in our language *use* can shape our thinking just as grammatical categories can; thus, framing situation the same way over and over can impact how we think about it.

46 http://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/fotografija-koja-osvaja-drustvene-mreze-kako-se-beba-nasla-u-moru-papirologije

47 The word democracy is, indeed, used repeatedly – and rather vaguely – in nearly every document related to Serbia's candidacy (http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm).

48 I say that some students had read because I regularly witnessed between-class strategizing in which students who had done their assignments were persuaded to keep quiet during negotiations on behalf of the class.

49 The teacher makes this comment when another student comes in late; it is not relevant to the analysis here.

50 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11507253

51 See Hyman 1959 and Easton 1968 for foundational work in political socialization. For annotated bibliographies and reviews, see Brauen and Harmon 1977 for a summary of early work and Sapiro 2004 on the new wave of studies on the topic.

52 See Greenberg (2010) for an examination of the political meanings of the word "normal" in Serbia.

53 For an English-language description of civic education in Serbia, visit: http://www.gradjanske.org/page/civicEducationProgram/en.html

54 UNICEF has recommended that Serbia's Ministry change its curriculum so that students do not have to choose between civics and religion classes, citing concern that such a choice might suggest an opposition between the two spheres: (http://www.unicef.org/serbia/Civic_Education.pdf)

55 The literal translation of malo življe is "a bit livelier," but I have chosen to render it as "look alive" to capture the affective quality of the utterance

56 As of April 2014, 235,000 Serbian dinars is about $2,800. The average monthy salary in Belgrade as of May 2013 was about 46, 500/month or $555. (http://www.b92.net/eng/news/business.php?yyyy=2013&mm=05&dd=25&nav_id=86357)

57 My research assistant/translator chose "make it happen" as the appropriate translation for *ajmo,* a shortened form of *hajdemo,* which is usually translated literally as, *ok, come on,* or *let's go.* Again, I have chosen to keep his translation to preserve some of the irreverent flavor of the utterance.

58 Again, this points to widespread ambivalence about nationalism /cosmopolitanism and about disengagement. Is it worth having ethnic extremism decrease if it leaves Serbia with a complacent population?

59 Some of the analyses of the Los Angeles family interactions appeared, in altered form, in my master's thesis (George 2009)

[60] http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/half-of-serbs-are-on-facebook

[61] http://www.npr.org/2013/12/19/255294091/narcissistic-or-not-selfie-is-nunbergs-word-of-the-year

[62] Except where otherwise noted, the historical information in this paragraph is drawn mainly from Greenberg 2004, Alexander 2006, Cubberley 1996, Feldman and Barac-Cikoja 1996, and Bugarski and Hawkesworth 2004.

[63] The official Serbian government page states the following: "The official language in Serbia is Serbian and the script in official use is Cyrillic, while the Latin script is also used. In the areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, the languages and scripts of the minorities are in official use, as provided by law." (srbija.gov.rs).

[64] Where students have posted 'memes,' that is, images that circulate widely online and are continually re-captioned by users, I have tried to source them to their original online creators, where possible, or otherwise cite websites on which they appear.

[65] http://www.buzzsmile.com/love-is-in-the-air/

[66] See http://www.theguardian.com/crosswords/crossword-blog/2014/apr/28/crossword-blog-snoop-dogg-slang for more on Snoop Talk.

[67] In defining these processes, Bucholz and Hall are recognizing that "similarities and differences conceal each other indefinitely" (Appadurai 1996: 11) and that group formation depends on making certain similarities and differences salient while ignoring others (*see also* Barth 1969 on the importance of boundaries as *ethnic diacritica*).

[68] One example comes from Bucholtz's (1999) exploration of female 'nerds' in high school, who unite based on shared interests in metalinguistic humor, school achievement, and nonstandard representations of femininity. Although these girls have considerable power to define their group, it it likely that some students in the wider world of the high school might interpret 'nerd girl' practices indexing something different than would girls within the group.

[69] http://www.bbc.com/sport/0/tennis/14006575.

APPENDIX A: FULL TEXT OF REMARKS FOLLOWING THE ARRESTS OF RATKO MLADIĆ, GORAN HADŽIĆ, AND RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ

1. <u>Remarks on Arrest of Ratko Mladić, May 26, 2011</u>

Serbian President Boris Tadić:

U ime Republike Srbije obaveštavam vas da je danas tokom jutranjih sati uhapšen Ratko Mladić, u akciji koju su izvele koordinisano Bezbednosno-Informativna Agencija i Služba za otkrivanje ratnih zločina.

In the name of the Republic of Serbia I inform you that today during the morning hours Ratko Mladić was arrested, in an action undertaken in coordination between the Security-Information Agency and the War Crimes Investigation Service.

Želim da čestitam svim pripadnicima akcionog tima Saveta za nacionalnu bezbednost koji je, od formiranja ove vlade i avgusta meseca 2008. godine kada je Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost u ovom sastavu počeo da radi, svakoga dana, svakoga sata, svakoga minuta intezivno radio na otkrivanju svih optuženih za ratne zločine.

I would like to congratulate all the members of the Council for National Security's action team which had, since the formation of this government and the month of August 2008, when the Council for National Security began working in this lineup (composition), every days, every hours, every minute intently worked on detection (investigation) of all accused for war crimes.

I ovim još jednom jeste potvrđeno da je Republika Srbija u svom punom kapacitetu dovršavala saradnju sa Haškim tribunalom, tragajuči za optuženima i zatvarajući tu tešku stranicu naše zajedničke istorije.

And with this once again it has been confirmed that the republic of Serbia in its full capacity has completed its collaboration with the Hague Tribunal, searching for the accused and closing that difficult page of our common history.

Dozvolite mi da dam i kratko saopštenje na engleskom jeziku.
Allow me to make also a short statement in English.

On behalf of the Republic of Serbia, I announce that today we arrested Ratko Mladić. Extradition process is underway. This is the result of full cooperation of Serbia with the Hague Tribunal. We have always believed in our strategy and the work of everyone involved in this process. Today we closed one chapter of our recent history that will bring us one step closer to full reconciliation in the region.

I believe that every other country must be responsible for closing their – own chapters. All crimes have to be fully investigated and all war criminals must face justice.

I call for independent investigation with a mandate from the U.N. Security Council on the serious investigations on organ trafficking in Kosovo. Our autonomy in Kosovo. From (Dick Martin's) report.

Thank you for your attention.

Dame i gospodo smatram da smo danas okončali jedan težak period naše skorašnje istorije.
Ladies and gentlemen I think that today we have ended one difficult period of our recent history.

Da smo skinuli ljagu sa Srbije, svih građana Srbije i svih pripadnika srpskog naroda, gde god da taj naš srpski narod živi.
That we have taken the stigma (stain, blemish) off of Serbia, all the citizens of Serbia and all the members of the Serbian people, wherever our Serbian people may live.

Smatram da je ova akcija pokazala da su bezbednosne isticucije Republike Srbije koordinisane od strane Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost učinile ovu zemlju sigurnom, obezbedili vladavinu prava i da je naš rad na traganju za optuženim za ratne zločine, zločinima obezbedio da Srbija podigne svoj morlani kredibilitet u međunarodnoj javnosti.
I think that this action showed that the security institutions of the Republic of Serbia, coordinated by the Council of National Security, have made this country safe, secured the rule of the law and that our work on the search for the accused of war crimes – crimes has provided Serbia with a higher moral credibility in the international public.

I reću ću vam da je to takođe obezbedilo da se naši ukupni bezbednosni kapaciteti podignu na viši nivo i protekle dve i po, skoro tri godine koliko postoji ova vlada i Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost u ovoj formi, mi smo kao posledicu rada na istrazi ratnih zločina takođe proširili naše delatnosti.
And I will tell you that that it has also provided that our total security capacities are lifted to a higher level and in the past two and a half, almost three years how long this government has existed and the Council for National Security in this form (lineup, shape), we have also as a consequence of our work in investigating war crimes widened our activity.

Pre svega Bezbednosno Informativne Agencije koja je u ovom poslu obavila najveći mogući posao, najveći mogući zadatak.
Primarily Security-Information Agency which has in this job done most of the work, the biggest possible assignment.

Tako da je ta agencija suštinski doprinela i rasvetljavanju mnogih mreža organizovanog kriminala.
So the agency essentially contributed also to the discovering of many organized crime networks.

Globalno delovala zajedno sa svojim partnerima iz sveta, iz Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Velike Britanije što je obezbedilo da Srbija postane jedan od ključnih činilaca u borbi protiv organizovanog kriminala u Evropi, Jugoistočnoj Evropi i Evropi uopšte.
Acting globally together with their partner from around the world, from the United States of America and Great Britain, which insured that Serbia become one of the key factors in the fight against organized crime in Europe, South-East Europe and Europe in general.

Ja sam veoma ponosan zbog obavljenog posla.
I am very proud of the work completed.

Još jednom čestitiam svim pripadnicima akcionog tima, Saveta za nacionalnu bezbednost, svih ministarstava koji su u ovoj akciji učestvovali.
Once again I congratulate all the members of the action team, the Council of National Security, all the ministries who were involved in this action.

I dobro je za Srbiju da je i ova stranica istorije zatvorena, a otvorena je nova mogućnost da zajdnički radimo u čitavom regionu na pomirenju i kreiranju jednog boljeg i prosperitetnijeg društva na prostoru jugositočne Evrope i verujem da su sada otvorena sva vrata za članstvo Srbije i pregovore buduće pregovore na kraju i za članstvo u Evropskoj Uniji.
And it is also good for Serbia that this page in history is closed, and a new possibility is opened for us to work together in the whole region on conciliation and creating a better and more prosperous society in the area of southeast Europe and I believe that now all doors are open for the membership of Serbia and the future negotiations and in the end for the membership into the European Union.

2. <u>Remarks on the Arrest of Goran Hadžić, July 2011</u>
Serbian President Boris Tadić:

Jutros u 8 i 24 u reonu Fruške Gore uhapšen je Goran Hadžić.
This morning at 8:24 in the region of Fruška Gora Goran Hadžić was arrested.

Srbija je ovim završila sva najteža poglavlja u saradnji sa Haškim tribunalom.
With this Serbia has ended all the most difficult chapters in its collaboration with the Hague tribunal.

Srbija će nastaviti da ispunjava svoje međunarodne obaveze i istovremeno još jednom želim da potvrdim da je hapšenjem Gorana Hadžića izvršena je i naša zakonska obaveza Republike Srbije i naša moralna dužnost.
Serbia will continue to fulfill its international obligations and at the same time I would like to confirm once more that with the arrest of Goran Hadžić our legal obligation of the republic of Serbia and our moral duty has been carried out.

Smatram da je saradnja sa Haškim tribunalom postajala kao veliki problem u državnoj politici Republike Srbije u svim prethodnim godinama.
I think that the collaboration with the Hague tribunal existed as a big problem in the state politics of the Republic of Serbia in all the previous years.

Nakon formiranja ovog danas postojećeg Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost pre praktično tačno tri godine uhapšeni su Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić i Goran Hadžić.
After the formation of today's Council for National Security almost exactly three years ago Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić have been arrested.

Od početka rada ovog Saveta za nacionalnu bezbednost uspostavljena je metodologija i istražni postupak koje je dao vrlo vidljiv i konkretan rezultat.
From the beginning of functioning (working) of this Council for National Security a methodology and investigation procedure have been established that gave very visible and concrete results.

Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost je institucija u okviru koga je radio i akcioni tim i ovom prilikom želim da čestitam svim pripadnicima akcionog tima na izvrženom poslu kao i pripadnicma Bezbednosno-Informativne Agencije koji su izvršili hapšenje jutros u reonu Fruške Gore.
The Council for National Security is an institution within which an action team worked and I want to take this opportunity to congratulate all the members of the action team on the job they completed as well as the members of Security-Information Agency who carried out the arrest this morning in the region of Fruška Gora.

3. Remarks on the Arrest of Radovan Karadžić, July 2008

Prime Minister Miroslav Cvetkovic:

Jedan od osnovnih principa prilikom formiranja ove vlade jeste i princip poštovanja međunarodnog prava.
One of the main principles during the formation of this government was the principle of respecting the international law.

Poštovanjem obaveza prema Hagu mi istovremeno poštujemo kako domaće pravo tako isto i međunarodno pravo.
Respecting the obligations toward the Hague we at the same time respect the local as well as the international law.

Mi smo, država Srbija, je učinila jedan krupan korak i ja isto tako pozivam i ostale, preostale Haške optuženike da se dobrovoljno predaju što će biti mnogo bolje kako za njih tako isto i za srpski narod.
We have, the Republic of Serbia, taken one large step and I also call upon the remaining Hague indictees to voluntarily surrender which will be better for them as well as for the Serbian people.

U isto vreme očekujem od Haškog tribunala da pravedno sudi i da jednako tretira sve žrtve i sve zločince.
At the same time I expect from the Hague tribunal to judge justly and to equally treat all victims and all criminals

Poštovanje međunarodnog prava je univerzalni princip i ukoliko se držimo njega mi ćemo doći u situaciju da lakše ostavrimo pomirenje u regionu, da lakše obezbedimo osnovu za bolji život i konačno da lakše odbranimo naš teritorijalni suverinitet i integirtet jer se i on bazira na poštovanju međunarodnog prava.

Respecting international law is a universal principle and if we abide by it we will come to a situation to more easily fulfill reconciliation in the region, to more easily secure the basis for a better life and finally to more easily defend our territorial sovereignty and integrity because that is also based on respecting international law.

APPENDIX B: NARRATIVE AND COUNTERNARRATIVE (ANALYZED IN CHAPTER FIVE)

L:

1.   I prvo to(.) prvo to što ste pokušali da prevarite i profesorku bilogije.
And the first thing (.) The first thing is that you tried to con the biology professor as well.

2.   I drugo to - treće. . .
And the second thing that - third. . .

3.   Prvo to je jedno,
First, that's one.

4.   Drugo zašto ne biste imali čas
Second why would we not have class,

5.   pogotovo što znaći necete imati sedmi nego imate šest -
especially since you won't have the 7th period but you'll have the six -

6.   Aaa, onda taj pritisak,
aah, then this pressure,

7.   Znaći zaista ste vršili celo popodne pritisak na mene,
Zo you really put pressure on me the whole afternoon,

8.   bezobzira znajuci da ce profesorka biologije biti u školi.
despite knowing that the biology professor will be in school.

9.   Znaći ja neću...da ne ulazim sada u to,
So I won't, I won't go into it now,

10.   Znaći ne treba da pitate mene nego da pitate kordinatora nastave
So you don't need to ask me, you need to ask the class coordinator

11.   Zato što kod mene od trećeg casa vršite pritisak a vas puštim.
Because you've been putting pressure on me since 3rd period to let you go.

12.   Ja ne želim jer imam dogovor sa Rachel.
I don't want to because I have an agreement with Rachel.

13.   Vi ćete...i ne mogu da javim da nećemo imati čas
You will. . .and I can't let her know that we won't have class

14.   I treba da dodje u školu sve jedno ali ja to vama neć da objasnjavam.
And she needs to come to the school anyway, but no need to explain that.

15.   Drugo, zašto ne bismo imali redovan čas
           Secondly, why would we not have regular class.

16.   Treća stvar, treća stvar da...ali ste onda profesorki bilogije rekli,
           Third thing, third thing is that. . .but then you told the biology professor,

17.   Koja je došla posel vas još na... kako ste na nju vršili pritisak da dodje do
           mene
           **Who came after you even when - Since you've been putting pressure on her
           to come to me**

18.   i da mi kaže, "Da ja sam, jer su mi rekli da ćeš ih ti puštiti ako ih ja puštim"
           **and tell me: Yes, I did, because they told me that you will let them go if I let
           them go.**

19.   To je rekla profesorka [biologije.
           That's what the biology professor [said.

20.   S: [Ne, ne (xxx)
      ((many at once))   [No, no (xxx)

21.   L: Ne znam ko je to rekao.
           I don't know who said that.

22.   Dakle pravite čitavu dramu oko toga do te mere da možete da me naljutite
           **So you are making a whole drama out of this, to the extent that you can make
           me so angry**

23.   Da bi ja vama sad držala slatko i sedmi čas jer bi to -
           **That I would even gladly hold the seventh class period for you because that
           would-**

24.   I meni apsolutno ne odgovara samo zbog toga što vrsite toliki pritiška za nešto
           **And it absolutely does not suit me just because you have put so much
           pressure for something**

25.   Što naravno da znate da petkom šesti čas ne mora da bude strogo formalno
           **When of course you know that Friday's sixth class period doesn't have to be
           strictly formal**

26.   A ja pribegavam tome da kažem: da sad ću da vas pitam
           And you're kind of pushing me into saying that now I will test you orally

27.   jer to - tako cete ostati na času.
           because it – that way, you will stay for class.

28.   Mislim da uopšte nije korketno i nije fer.
           I think that it's generally not correct and it's not fair.

29.   Naručito nije prema profesorki biologije....ali to je...jel...za njen...
           **It especially isn't [fair] toward the biology professor - but it's – because -
           for her-**

30.   Taj odnos shvatite. Onda ja sad...šta, šta ja izvucem iz čitave, iz čitavog
           koncepta?
           **Understand that relationship. So now, I - what, what do I take from this
           whole situation?**

31.   Ja shvatim da neko ko je dobra dusa kao što je ona bude ismevan i izigran,
           **I understand that someone who is a good soul like she is will be made fun of
           and played**

32.   I da znaći tako ne treba da se postavljam prema učenicima zato što ste nju izigrali
           **And so that means that I should not take this position toward the students
           because you've played her.**

32.   S.   Nismo mi
           It wasn't us ((many other students join in)) (xxx)

33.   L: Ja tako vidim, izvinite, ali ja tako vidim situaciju, niste se korektno
           izrazili...
           **I see it that way, I'm sorry, but this is how I see the situation, you didn't
           express yourself correctly.**

34.   S: ((many at once)) (xxx)

35.   L: Znate šta je njima posluženje meni, dakle da ona namerno...
           You know what they're telling me, that she is doing it on purpose.

36.   Pa ne možete vi tek tako ona zna zena da ne može u sred nastave da mi drži čas.
           **So you can't do it just like that, the woman knows that she can't hold a
           lecture in the middle of class.**

37.   Ona to zna i to nije sporno.
           She knows that and that's not in question.

38.   Nego je isto tako sad u zbornici prokeomentarisla kako vi ne -
           But just now, in the teacher's lounge, she commented how you don't -

39.   kao odradili ste taj čas.
           like you've already had that class.

40.   Pa nikako ne želite da imate preko fonda još jedan čas te nedelje.
        So there's no way that you want to have an extra class this week.

41.   Iako se zna pravilo je u školi, zna se, nikad se dozvoljavaju neprave rupe
        Even though it's known that the school rule, it's known, making holes [in the schedule] is never allowed,

42.   Zbog toga jel da ne biste visili po okolnim kafićima.
        So that you won't be hanging out in the nearby cafes.

43.   kao možete da imate čas za časom.
        as you can have class after class.

44.   I nijedan profesor vam neće (xxx), ja se nadam da je tako odnoso
        And none of the professors would allow you to (xxx) and I hope it's like that, that is,

45.   Ja tako posmatram ovaj posao a i oni koji se bave organizacijom nastave.
        That's how I see this job and so do the people who organize the class schedule.

46.   Da vas pušti da nemate peti čas da nemate prvi to je razumljivo, da vas pušti
        To let you not have 5th period to not have the first, that's understandable, to let you go

47.   Ako imate poslednji čas jer ste za tu nedelju odradili koliko časova ima.
        If you have the last period because you have already done the required number of classes for that week.

48.   Sve to stoji.
        That all stands.

49.   Ali da vas ona pušti na petom a da vi pravite pritisak da se taj čas ne drži.
        But to let you go for the fifth period and for you to put pressure for that class not to be held.

50.   Onda ste - znaći ja vam ne govorim, nije ništa sporno
        Then you - so I'm not telling you, nothing is an issue,

51.   Ja razumem vasu potrebu da nemate čas, to mi je jasno kao dan.
        I understand your need not to have class, to me it as clear as day.

52.   I ja sam bila u školi kao svaki, svaki ukradeni trenutak slobode je stavrno sjajan

I was also in school as every, like every, every stolen moment of freedom is really great,

53.   pogotovu petkom uveće.
        especially on Friday evenings.

54.   A vi ste danas meni izražavali - znate šta ja sam izmedju ostalog i bolestna
        And you are expressing to me today - you know that among other things I am ill

55.   i danas došla u školu svejedno ne mislim da sam bilo kakvu zrtvu podenela veliku
        and I've come to school today nonetheless. I don't think that I have made a big sacrifice.

56.   Ali mi je veliko opterecenje i veliki pritiška
        But it is a big burden on me and big pressure

57.   Da ste me tri odmora vršili takav pritisak da ja prosto kažem:
        That you've spent three of your breaks putting this pressure for me to simply say."

58.   E danas super, evo nastave vi ste odradili cetrir časa i to je to,
        Ok, today, great, here you go, you have had your four classes and that's that,

59.   Nemate peti nemate šesti.
        You won't have the fifth, you won't have the sixth.

60.   Pri tom se po <u>za</u>konu, nastavni dan racuna kao cetiri <u>ča</u>sa
        Besides that, according to the law, a school day counts as four class periods

61.   I vi ste super napunili ste ta cetiri <u>ča</u>sa,
        And so you are set as you fulfilled those four class periods,

62.   Malo cete smuvati biologicarku, malo mene,
        You'll trick the biology teacher a little, me a little,

63.   Svima odgovara,
        It suits everyone well

64.   da se ranije vratimo kuci petkom. (LP)
        to go home early on Friday.

65.   Jel <u>ta</u>ko?=
        =Isn't it like <u>that</u>?

66.   <u>=Ta</u>ko izgleda situ<u>a</u>cija.

=That's how the situation looks.

67.   S1:   Nije, nije [profesorka...
                         It isn't, professor

68.   S2:   [Nije tako.
                           It isn't like that.

69.   L: Nego? Izvoli...
                         Then what? Please, go ahead. . .

70.   S3:   Mogu ja da vam obajasnim (xxx).
                         Can I explain to you (xxx)

71.   Mi smo imali sa trecim tri biologoju uh:::
                         We had biology with 3-3, uh:::

72.   Kad - nije trebalo da imamo po rasporedu...
                         When - when we weren't supposed to have it according to our class schedule

73.   S: Dobro imali ste čas,
                         Ok, you had class,

74.   znaći ove nedelje vi cete imati čas vise biolo[gije.
                         so this week you will have one more class in bi[ology.

75.   S3:   [Mhm. Ok.
                                          [Mhm, ok,

76.   Medjutim. Um: Mi smo nju pitali da li cemo mi imati u petak čas=
                         But. Um: We asked her if we were going to have the class on Friday=

77.   S4:   =Ne bio je dogovor sa profesorkom da [tad nemamo čas
                         =No, we had an agreement with the professor that we weren't going to have class then.

78.   S: [(xxxxxx)

79.   S3:   I::
                         A::nd?

80   L: E sad to! Vi ste je pitali?
                         Eh, now that! Did you ask her?.

81.   S: Ne, Ne, (xxx)
                         No, no, (xxx)

82. L: bio je [dogovor?
was there an agreement?

83. S: [(xxx). Profesorka!
[(xxx). **Professor!**

84. S3: Um::: Mi smo je pitali da'l cemo imati,
Um::: We asked her if we would have it,

85. Ona je rekla da necemo,
And she said we won't,

86 I mi smo shvatili da je to <u>dogovoreno</u>.
And we understood that it was agreed.

87. Samim tim što je dogovoreno da se oni::
Given that alone, that it was agreement that they::

88. da se taj čas biologije ubaci u taj dan kada nemamo,
that that biology class was thrown in on the day when we didn't have it,

89. Mislili smo da je uzet iz petka.
We thought she took it from Friday.

90. S5: [(xxx)

91. S4: [Nismo mislili ona je rekla
[We didn't think, she said

92. S3: Ona je rekla.
She said.

93. I mi smo mislili da je to sve dogovoreno i kod koordinatora i tako <u>dalje</u>
And we thought that it was all agreed and with the coordinator as well, and so on

94. I zato smo mi vas pitali cisto da ne bismo imali tu rupu.=
And so that's why we asked you so that we wouldn't have this gap.

95. =Medjutim, onda se sve to zakomplikovalo,
=**However. Then everything got complicated,**

96. svako je poceo da priča nešto što je cuo,
Everyone began to tell what he heard,

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97.   Što je ovo, što je ono=
                 What is this, what is that=

98.   S2:   [Nismo mislili....
                 [We didn't think. . .

99.   S3:   =[i zakomlikovala se cela priča
                 =[and the whole story got complicated

100.   S3:   [Niko nije ništa lose mislio.
                 No one was thinking anything bad

101.   S: [(xxx)

102:   S: [Nismo mislil da nemamo čas sa vama nego
                 [We weren't thinking not to have the class with you (xxx)

103:   P   Ne se ja niuopšte.
                 No – I don't at all

104.   Naravno da svaki čas koji se ubacuje da ce....
                 Of course, every class that's added, you will. . .

105:           Ja moram da kažem da je neodgovorno od strane profesorke
                 I have to say that it was irresponsible of the professor to do that in the middle of a school day

106.   Što to radi u sred nastave, zato što vama onda budi ideju tako da nemate -
                 Because she then awakens the idea (gives the impression) that you will not have - .

107.   Razumljiva mi je i ta ideja da nemate šesti čas...
                 I understand the idea for you not to have sixth period

108.   Dakle ne možete svojevoljno napraviti ...jel haos svima ostalima:
                 So you can't on you own initiative make chaos for everyone else: "You held an extra class."

109:           Ja sam danas želela da vam držim te prve časove da nemate šesti.
                 Today I wanted to hold my lessons during the first class so that you wouldn't have the sixth.

110.   Predlozila sam nego je profesorka fizike užela ta prva dva časa.
                 I suggested it, but the physics teacher took the first two classes.

111.   Inace pre nedelju dana kad smo znali da ce Djordje odsustvovati
         By the way, a week ago when we found out that George would be absent,

112.   Moj ideja je bila da dodjem na prvi čas umesto na šesti i da nemate šesti i sedmi.
         My idea was to come for first period instead of the sixth so that you wouldn't have the sixth and seventh.

113.   Naravno da mislim da kad god je moguće da se tako prebacuju časovi,
         Of course I think that whenever it's possible to switch classes like that,

114.   mi to i uradimo. A nekad nije izvodljivo, a ovo je potpuna odgovornost
         we do actually do it. And sometimes that's not doable, and this is the full responsibility -

115.   Sad ja ne ulazim u to što ste vi imali u cetvrtak biologiju i tako dalje.
         Now I'm not going into the fact that you had a biology class on Thursday and so on.

116.   To je...mislim time se prosto ne bavim niti me to interesuje,
         That is. . .I mean, this is not something that I involve myself with, it doesn't interest me,

117.   Ali vam kažem znaći napravila se čitava drama čitavo popodne oko toga,
         But I'm telling you, so, there was a whole drama made around this, the whole afternoon

118.   oko vaseg dolazaka jer ja neć tek tako da vas puštim sa nastave.
         around your attendance because I will not just let you off of class like that.

119.   Eto, jel' vi možete da odete odavde a ništa da ne naučiti,
         There, because you can leave here and not learn anything

120.   To sam vam rekla vec jednom, da vas ja ništa ne naučim.
         I've already told you this once, without me teaching you anything

121.   Al' ja nisam od tih profesora, i posmatrajte me kako god hoćete,
         But I am not one of those professors, and you can look at me however you like

122.   koja ce upisati čas na neće ga držati
         who will write down that a class was held that wasn't

123.   Znaći možemo o ćemu god hoćete da pričamo na tom času,
         So we can talk about whatever you want in that class

124.   taj čas uopšte ne mora imati predmet knjizevnost.

that class doesn't have to have literature as its subject.

125.   Znaći ja ako vas ne naučim necemu što ima veze sa teorijom knjizevnosti,
So if I don't teach you something that has to do with literature theory,

sa istorjima književnosti, da pročitate neko konkretno delo (.)
with the histories of literature, that you read a specific piece of literature (.)

126.   Ja moram da vas naučim, ja smatram da svako od nas treba da radi taj posao
I need to teach you, I consider that all of us need to do this job [teaching]

127.   dok ima taj osecaj, da pre svega vama prenosi
Only as long as we have this feeling that we should, before anything,

128.   šta je to odnos prema obavezi koju imate.
pass on knowledge about the relationship you have to your responsibilities.

129.   I na koj nacin je ispunjavate. Vi možete odrasti.
And in what way you fulfill it. You can grow up

130.   naravno da niko od nas iz sveta odrašlih ne dodje i ne odraste sa cinjenicom da
of course none of us from the world of adults grows up with the idea that

131.   meni je - meni je - ja obožavam što ću danas ići na posao
'to me it's' - to me it's - I adore that I'm going to work today.'

132.   Znaći ono, trčim na posao samo da dodjem i da radim. Znaći niko.
Like that I'm running to work so that I can just come and work. So no one. . .

133.   S4:   Izvinite profesorka a jel imate sundjer možda?
Sorry professor, do you have a sponge. . .

134:    S1:   Ima
There's one

135:    L: Imam.
I have one.

136.   S4:   Hvala
Thanks.

137:    L: Al' nešto je - znaći nešto vam je – but se opredelite da radite nešto,

But something is - so something to you is - but if you decide to do something,

138. šta god da u životu se opredelite da radite, znajte -
whatever it is that you've decided to do in life, know -

139. Znate kako ja to posmatram - deluje vam -
You know how I look at it. . .it seems to you -

140. Možda ce vam delovati potpuno neobicno. Ne znam,
Maybe it seems to you completely unusual. I don't know

141. Ne znam uopšte kako ce vam delovati znate -
I really don't know how it will seem to you, you know.

142. Ali tako ja mislim da propada sistem, tako se urusi sve, kad onda -
But I think this is how the system fails, this is how everything falls apart, when then -

143. Kad imate takvu - ja mislim da je to ipak sitna obaveza u životu
When you have some kind of., I think that it is still a small responsibility

144. koju imate taj neki posao koji treba da uradite, e sad je vase lično opredeljenje
that you have this job that you need to do, and now it's your personal choice

145. da li ćete da ga odradite ili ćete da ga uradite,
whether you are going to do it halfway or you're going to do it (fully).

146. Delom, svako od nas jednom puta može da uradi dobro neki put
In part, one of us at least once can do it well sometimes

147. Može da odradi i to verovatno vi osećate kad imate profesora pred sobom -
(and) can do it halfway, and you probably sense that when you have a professor in front of you -

148. To osećam ja kad imam učenike pred sobom.
I feel that when I have students in front of me,

149. Dakle, mi smo ovde u nekoj interakciji, razumete ?
So, we are here in some interaction, understand?

150. U nekoj, ne znam da li ste došli iz fizike do interferencije
In some (form of), I don't know if you've come to inferences in physics

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151. koja može na nekom času da se uspostavi,
that can be formed in some classes

152. taj potpuni nivo prozimanja i razumevanja.
that level of total penetration and understanding.

153. Na nekom času uopšte ne mora da se uspostavi.
In some class, this doesn't have to happen at all.

154. Dakle, ali ako ja vama ovde... pre svega treba da stojim,
So, but if I for you, here - first and foremost - I have to stand

155. ja moram da stojim pred vama kao neko ko će imati
I have to stand in front of you as someone who will have -

156. ko će svoju obavezu smatrati odgovorno.
who will consider their obligation responsibly.

157. Jel onda bolje da ne radim taj posao. Šta vam onda prenosim?
Or it's better that I don't do this job. What I am passing onto you then?

158. Ništa. Šta je poenta? Vi da nekog
Nothing. What is the point? You, to someone -

159. Do najvećeg broja ovih znanja, do najvećeg broja ovih znanja,
The majority of this knowledge, the majority of this knowledge

160. može se doći i sam. Nije sporno.
you can reach on your own. It isn't an issue.

161. Znaći nikakva se posebna inteligencija ne krije ni u jednom od profesora,
So there's no special intelligence that hides within a single one of the professors

162. Nego prosto imaju godine, ako je to prednost, više godina,
But they have years, if that's an advantage, more years

163. Da su se bavili odredjenom naukom, odredjeni period pa vama sad to prenose.
When they have involved themselves in a particular science, for a particular period, and they're now passing it onto you.

164. Ali ima i nekih verovatno, izvanrednih i sjajnih i tako dalje...

But there are some, probably, who are great and of high value and brilliant and so on

165.   koji imaju posebnu inteligenciju i sve to umeju da upakuju. Naravno.
        who have a intelligence and can pack it up all nicely. Of course.

166.   Znaći nije ...u ovakom poslu se ne krije niakkva tajna,
        So it isn't. . .in this job, there are no hidden secrets,

167.   i nije nekakva posebna vestina i mudrost,
        and there's not some special skill or wisdom

168.   znaći u većini poslova je tako veruj te mi.
        like it's this way in the majority of jobs, believe me.

169.   Čime god da se opredelite u poslu da se bavite, u većini poslova je tako,
        In whatever job you decide to involve yourselves, in most jobs it's like this,

170.   Neće vam trebati nikakva nadljudska inteligencija ili moć da savladate
        You won't need any superhuman intelligence or power to get it

171.   Što nešto neko treba da vam...što vam preda kao zadatak.
        Just something that someone needs to - that someone needs to pass on as your task.

172.   Potrebno je samo da vi to shvatite kao svoju obavezu
        It's just necessary for you to understand it as your obligation

173.   i da odgovorno odradite tako nešto, ništa nije nemoguće veruj te mi.
        and to responsibly just do something like that, nothing is impossible, believe me.

174.   Ni u jednoj nauči nije ne mogu da savladate nešto
        Not in a single science is there a single thing that you won't be able to get

175.   ako vi to želite i ako se prema tome odgovorno ponasate.
        if you want to and if you approach it with responsibility

176.   E to je poenta, znaći ja uopšte neć da komentarisem sad
        There, that is the point, so I will not comment now

177.   da li je...ili neć ni u buduće komentaristi ni to da li je neki profesor hteo
        On whether - nor will I in the future comment – whether a certain professor wanted

178.   ili nije hteo, kako je držao, šta vam je rekao, koliko vas pušta sa časa,

or did not want, how he held, what did he say to you, how many times has he let you off of class,

179.   kada vas pušta sa časa i tako dalje.
              when he let you off of class and so on.

180.   Onda sad možemo i u ovakvoj situaciji da rasčistimo za svagda,
              Then we can now, in a situation like this, clear forever

181.   da li ćemo se druziti i ove i sledeće godine, ja vas neć puštiti sa časa.
              whether or not we are friendly this and next year, I will not let you off from class.

182.   Na to prosto možemo da računamo.
              That is something you can count on.

183.   Znaći mogu da ne dodjem ako zaista - a to znaći da ću se ja javiti školi,
              So I can not attend school if really. . .and that means that I will let the school know

184.   da ce vas iz škole obavestiti da ja mogu da kasnim,
              that people from the school will inform if that I could be late

184.   a zatim ću doći na čas jer u protivnom ću se sigurno javiti nekom
              and then I will come to that class because otherwise I will definitely let someone know

185.   da vam kaže nećete imati čas.
              to tell you that you will not have class.

186.   Ja nikada vam neć proizvoljno reci necete imati čas
              I will never tell you out of the blue that you will not have class

187.   zato što eto ja taj dan ne mogu više ili zato što sam održala vise.
              because I can't do any more that day or because I've already held more.

188.   Nego ćete uvek reci – jel onim ostalim koji to treba da znaju
              But you will always say. . .to the ones that need to know

189.   da vi tog dana niste imali čas niti ću ga upisati.
              that you did not have class that day, nor will I write it in (that we had class).

190.   Jer nemam problem sa tim ako ne mogu da držim, da bilo kome kažem
              Because I don't have a problem with them if I can't hold - to say to anyone,

191. nemam problem od nadredjenih ni straha, i tako dalje, taj i taj čas...
I don't have a problem with the authority nor fear, and so on - this and that class.

192. Ja ne radim to straha pred nekim
I don't do it because I'm afraid of someone

193. da ce neko otkriti da ja u petak šesti čas, taj čas nisam drzala. Baš me briga.
that someone's going to find out that I didn't hold the class Friday sixth period. I don't care.

(1.0)

194. E u tome je poenta.
There, that's the point.

195. Dakle ako nešto tako mogu da vam predsatvim, ako tako možete da.
So if I can present something like this to you, if you can

196. naravno da ovo sad zvućim onako sve to idilično,
of course this all sounds idealistic now.

197. da sam ja sjajno odgovorna i tako dalje. Nisam.
that I am wonderfully responsible and whatnot. I'm not.

198. Ali dajem najbolje štomogu iz dana u dan
But I give the best that I can from day to day,

199. i uopšte ne kažem da mi je lako sa samom sobom u tom naporu da to postignem.
and I'm not saying at all that it's easy the way I am in this effort to manage it.

200. I ne činim vama nikakva zla. Tek kad izadjete iz škole neće vam biti lako.
And I'm not doing anything evil to you. It's when you leave school that it won't be easy for you.

201. Ovo vam je najlakši period poptpuno budite uvereni u to.
This is the easiest period, be completely aware of that.

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