



TRANSWORK

TRANSFORMATION OF WORK: NARRATIVES, PRACTICES, REGIMES

Zagreb, 27–28 February 2020

PROGRAM AND ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Ozren Biti (IEF, Zagreb)

Chiara Bonfiglioli (University College Cork, Ireland)

Mariya P Ivancheva (University of Liverpool, UK)

Romana Pozniak (IEF, Zagreb)

Reana Senjković (IEF, Zagreb)

Tea Škokić (IEF, Zagreb)

Thursday, 27 February 2020

- 9:30 – 10:00 Registration and opening of the conference
- 10:00 – 11:30 I session (chair: **Orlanda Obad**)
- Mariya P Ivancheva:** Academic precarity East and West: preliminary reflections on a research program
- Sanja Potkonjak & Tea Škokić:** Material ruins and epistemic developments: conceptual challenges in doing and thinking post-industrial ethnography
- Reana Senjković:** “Years ago, there was thousands of jobs”

coffee break

- 12:00 – 13:30 II session (chair: **Mislav Žitko**)
- Dimitra Kofti:** Risk at work in the age of flexible and financial capitalism
- Nina Vodopivec:** Experiences of work: textile workers in Slovenia
- Chiara Bonfiglioli:** “Every granny knows how to sew”: industrial workers’ devaluation in the Croatian textile sector

lunch break

- 14:30 – 15:30 III session (chair: **Romana Pozniak**)
- Tibor T. Meszmann:** When jobs go south: global redefinitions of work as seen from the Hungarian automotive sector
- Danijela Majstorović:** Labour and gender between “there” and “here”: discourses of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *third-wave* migrant women in Germany

coffee break

- 16:00 – 17:00 Off program
- Nikolina Rajković** (Baza za radničku inicijativu i demokratizaciju): Arhiv radničkih borbi
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Friday, 28 February 2020

10:00 – 11:30

IV session (chair: **Reana Senjković**)

Mislav Žitko: Rentier capitalism and precarious employment: a theoretical proposal

Mario Reljanović: Flexibilization and precarisation of the labour market: redefining labour relations in the postsocialist world

Sven Cvek: Transformation of work and class struggle

coffee break

12:00 – 13:30

V session (chair: **Mariya P Ivancheva**)

Iva Ivšić, Katarina Jaklin, Marko Lucić, Teo Matković & Jelena Ostojić: Who cares for carers? Employment security and well-being of ECEC workers

Duga Mavrincac: “No stop non-stop”: practices and meanings of paid domestic and care work

Romana Pozniak: Affective labor within the humanitarian *workscape*

lunch break

14:30 – 16:00

VI session (chair: **Sanja Potkonjak**)

Joško Čaleta: Precarity and traditional music in post-socialist Croatia: the case of *klapa* singing

Tea Škokić & Ozren Biti: “Tourism happens to us”: business opportunities and workload of property owners offering short-term rentals in Zagreb

Petar Bagarić & Orlanda Obad: Tradition or power? Corruptive practices and work culture in Croatia

coffee break

16:30 – 18:00

Off program

Goran Dević: *Buffet Željezara* (61', 2017), dokumentarni film

Petar Bagarić

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Orlanda Obad

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Tradition or power? Corruptive practices and work culture in Croatia

There is a peculiar assumption, often rooted in anthropological research, that corruption is a culture-driven phenomenon (cf. Šimić Banović 2019), which sometimes turns whole field surveys into an exploration of peculiar kinds of people who bend or eschew the supposedly universalistic laws of Western societies. Such approaches seem to diminish the importance of power relations and with it, they fail to examine the ways in which corruption is imposed as the manner of functioning, which results both in high-class luxury and exuberance and in lower-class *getting by* in a certain society. If we choose to disregard the disruptions caused by the changes which occurred in the 1990s in Croatia, we can easily come to the conclusion that the contemporary prevalence of corruption is yet another iteration of the proverbial socialist (or even “earlier”) mentality, a continuity and not a discontinuity. In this paper, we will challenge such assumptions by delineating mechanisms by which certain corruptive practices in Croatian society were introduced and maintained, while keeping our focus on the consequences of such informality on everyday lives and work of our interviewees.

Chiara Bonfiglioli

University College Cork, Ireland

“Every granny knows how to sew”: industrial workers’ devaluation in the Croatian textile sector

Textile and garment production thrived in socialist Yugoslavia during the 1970s and 1980s, when the sector covered approximately 12% of total manufacturing. Local fashion brands competed on the internal market, simultaneously exporting their production worldwide, and employing a prevalingly female workforce across the country. This came to an end after the break-up of Yugoslavia, when processes of privatisation and deindustrialisation, together with global changes in garment production, deeply affected the textile sector. Over 400.000 jobs were lost in the industry, while textile work in new private companies, mainly subcontractors for major Western brands, became increasingly exploitative and precarious.

In my presentation I will focus on contemporary working conditions in the towns of Osijek and Varaždin, where deindustrialization was accompanied by labour intensification and an overall devaluation of textile workers. The current precarious working conditions in the industry are a far cry from the job security and labour protections experienced by workers during socialism, which also included welfare benefits for female workers as a result of the socialist ‘working mother’ gender contract. The ongoing comparison between socialist and post-socialist times is a crucial element of textile workers’ narratives in the Balkans, and is indicative of the persistence of workers’ industrial structure of feeling after deindustrialization and transition.¹

¹ The presentation stems from a chapter of my monograph *Women and Industry in the Balkans. The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector* (I.B. Tauris, 2019), which is based on over 60 oral history interviews with textile workers across the post-Yugoslav region, as well as on archive and press material produced from 1945 till the present days.

Sven Cvek

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia

Transformation of work and class struggle

My starting point in this talk will be the end of the 1980s crisis in socialist Yugoslavia. In this moment, when the contours of our post-socialist present are being drawn, we witness a peculiar popularity of the theory of post-industrial society. Embraced equally by social scientists and the political class, “post-industrial society” is now posited as the unproblematic ideal of social progress. At the same time, a class conflict of unprecedented proportions in which devalued industrial workers play a central role is taking place. The outcomes of this prolonged moment of crisis, which include deindustrialization, lead us to questions about the relationship between the production of knowledge, transformations of work (and labor) and class struggle.

Joško Čaleta

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

**Precarity and traditional music in post-socialist Croatia:
the case of *klapa* singing**

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the specific case of transforming informal work into formal work, with an emphasis on precarity. During the period of Yugoslav state socialism, traditional Dalmatian *klapa* singing was an example of amateur musical activity. Singers sang mostly for personal pleasure. Even when monetary remuneration existed, it was only symbolic and was known as such. The economic changes in the post-socialist period, the shut-down of industrial plants in coastal Croatia, the loss of jobs, and especially the recent economic crisis, have forced many amateur *klapa* singers to use their singing skills as a basic trump card for their personal and their family survival. Their love of music has become a useful skill, a new, sometimes even profitable, occupation that enables them to make a living from their work. They participate in events that include music performances, such as funerals, weddings, summer festivals, and various other public appearances, such as celebrations and parties of private companies or local government bodies, etc. However, this is a casual, precarious job, with no established labor rights, even without a fixed-term employment contract. Moreover, the case study of the *klapa* singing is as an example of the growing tendency to link the traditional musical phenomenon/cultural capital with economic capital.

Mariya P Ivancheva

University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

Academic precarity East and West: preliminary reflections on a research program

In this presentation, I will draw some preliminary reflections on how the question of precarious labour is structured and represented in the academic contexts in the East and West of Europe. The presentation works on a number of levels. First, I will present some basic definitions and variables according to which academic precarity has been and could be measured. Drawing on long-standing research on academic precarity and inequality in core European contexts (Ivancheva 2015; Ivancheva et al 2019) and on core-periphery dynamic in the global higher education field (Ivancheva and Syndicus) I outline certain structural and symbolic asymmetries of academic precarity in different parts of Europe. I outline certain blind spots in much of the debate, that presents precarity solely as related to academic labour relations and knowledge production, but sidelines aspects of life such as social reproduction and care, as well as aspirations and experiences of geographical and class mobility. Secondly, I will discuss certain processes of precarisation that are related less to neoliberal governance and more to long-standing or newly emerging structures of exploitation. I show that while some follow, others might contradict key neoliberal rationale but within the global field of higher education all end up serving the overall neoliberal project to cut costs and discipline and control labour. In this it is important to understand how different historical models of higher education organisation and reform intentions to reinforce or transform these structures, play out in different contexts in Europe East and West. This is imperative in order to scrutinise if and where the East-West divide still stands strong, and where new analytical frameworks and ways we account of European and global divisions need to be developed. On this basis, lastly, I suggest an outline of a future research program and model that would allow comparing precarity across different contexts in the European continent and beyond, that transcends easy dichotomies but still accounts for structural and symbolic asymmetries.

Iva Ivšić

Trade Union of Education, Media and Culture of Croatia, Zagreb

Katarina Jaklin

Trade Union of Education, Media and Culture of Croatia, Zagreb

Marko Lucić

Croatian Employment Service, Zagreb, Croatia

Teo Matković

Institute for Social Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Jelena Ostojić

Faculty of Law, Zagreb, Croatia

**Who cares for carers? Employment security
and well-being of ECEC Workers**

The early childhood education and care (ECEC) sector is an important segment of the education system that accounts for 1.3 % of the total number of persons in employment in the Republic of Croatia. The particularity of this sector is that the local self-government units have the responsibility for ECEC provision, organization and financing. As a result, there is a number of inequalities present in the sector – ranging from differences in enrolment rates of children, the role of privately-owned ECEC institutions, to unequal outcomes of collective bargaining and material and other working conditions of employees. Although the Council Recommendation on High-Quality Early Childhood Education and Care Systems (2019 / C 189/02) and Quality Framework for Early Childhood Education and Care (European Commission, 2014) stress the status and working conditions of ECEC employees as one of the key dimensions of ECEC quality, the working conditions of the employees have so far been poorly studied.

The aim of this work is to show the working conditions of workers in the ECEC sector using standard indicators of well-being (subjective well-being, work-life balance, meaningful work, sustainable work, ability to make ends meet, number of health problems and

engagement) and basic dimensions of employment quality (physical environment, work intensity, working time quality, social environment, skills and discretion, prospects and earnings). In addition to the descriptive insight, this presentation has a twofold analytical goal. First, given that ECEC is a specific sector with pronounced fiscal and organizational decentralization, we will compare the mentioned well-being indicators with the well-being of public sector employees in the Republic of Croatia obtained through the use of the same instrument (Eurofound, 2017). Second, regarding the widespread precarious employment in the sector, we will determine if there are differences in well-being between “the core” and “the periphery” workers in ECEC.¹

¹ This paper is based on the study “Working conditions in early childcare education and care” conducted within the project “Improving the quality of social dialogue through the development and strengthening of administrative and professional capacities”, funded by the European Union from the European Social Fund. The survey was conducted on a representative sample of ECEC institutions in the Republic of Croatia between March and June 2019, which included 2,023 ECEC workers, or about 10% of the total number of workers in the sector.

Dimitra Kofti

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens,
Greece

Risk at work in the age of flexible and financial capitalism

This paper addresses different types of risks that coexist in work settings, based on research conducted in two privatised factories in Bulgaria. Risk at work is often associated with exposure and is confined to quantifiable health and safety regulations. Another type of risk is that of 'risk taking', which is a usual managerial euphemism that describes flexible employees' agency in contexts of work conditions and economic environments where little space for choice seems to be left. The paper looks at the concept of risk as being shaped both through exposure and choice and looks at binaries that both positions assume. The experience of risk is further complicated by the financial instability deriving from 'the markets' as well as from the more recent state of 'crisis', that often affect the politics of production. The paper explores ways in which we may approach risk and uncertainty as conditions of production, as managerial tools and as broader qualities of flexible and financial capitalism.

Danijela Majstorović

University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina/
Justus Liebig University of Giessen, Germany

**Labor and gender between “there” and “here”: discourses of
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *third-wave* migrant women in Germany**

Everyday lives of Bosnian and Herzegovinian (BiH) workers belonging to the so-called *third wave* of emigration, roughly set between 2015 and today, when Bundestag’s West Bakan Regelung made it easier for BiH workers to enter the German labor market is a topic that is only beginning to generate interest among scholars of and in the region. As opposed to guest workers (i.e. Gastarbeiters) of the 1960s and 1970s, mostly men, who usually came to work temporarily, only to return to their homeland, as well as refugees moving to and settling in the Western Europe and the US as a consequence of the wars of the 1990s, these migrations seem to be rather different. This time, there is no open conflict, although many would agree that the war in BiH never ended and that what we have is a so-called “negative peace” (Galtung 1992). This time entire families are leaving into the unknown in search of jobs and opportunities for them, but mostly for their families. It is estimated that since 2015, some 200,000 people have left BiH mostly for Germany, as its economy provides most job opportunities, in the sectors of construction work, care and hospitality services.- A person is guaranteed a work permit under the preconditions of a valid labor contract and a B1 level of German although with some flexibility. Moreover, it is even easier for BiH citizens in the possession of a Croatian passport, who can apply for and get jobs even more freely. One important aspect of emigrant work since 2015 has been gender, given that frequently, and especially with care jobs and with emigrants with higher education, it was women who made it more easily only later to bring their families once they have settled. By analyzing 7 interviews collected between 25 March 2019 and 25 December 2019 in Frankfurt, Muellheim, Linden Holzhausen (Limburg) and Munich, the purpose of this paper is to look at class and gender as well as labor opportunities for BiH migrant women using the method of in-depth interviews and critical discourse analysis.

Duga Mavrinc

Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb, Croatia

“No stop non-stop”: practices and meanings of paid domestic and care work

The new millennium is characterised by multiple transformations in the labour market accompanied by a changing nature of work, such as the growth of the service sector and in the precarious modes of employment. Dictated by the ideology of flexibility, this scenario demands an absolute physical, emotional and personal commitment from the worker, whereupon his/her knowledge and life (bios) become the key aspects that constitute contemporary bio-capitalism. Live-in informal domestic and care workers are an example of the embodiment of this transformation. Textured by a series of material and immaterial services, their labour is intertwined in a blurred boundary between work and rest time. While most paid domestic and care work markets testify to and reflect a colonial past and structural global inequalities, several studies suggest the emergence of local actors and networks supporting this “economy of care”. Therefore, based on ethnographic research carried out in the city of Rijeka, this paper seeks to address such local market. Moreover, by situating the research within private households where care work is performed, the aim is to analyse practices and meanings of domestic and care work in order to disclose its material, emotional and affective features as well as the dynamics and negotiations produced within these “new regimes of inequality”.

Tibor T. Meszmann

Central European Labour Studies Institute, Bratislava, Slovakia

When jobs go south: global redefinitions of work as seen from the Hungarian automotive sector

This paper consciously plays with the metaphor of job travel across space (from North to South, centre to periphery) and of their substantive change – transformation of jobs into an abyss of insecurity, or even their disappearance. The concrete case through which I illustrate this double transformation as movement (change) is the recently created Hungarian automotive industry cluster, in Kecskemet in the plains of south-central Hungary. I employ three levels of analysis to assess the meaning of the double transformation. First, I outline the reindustrialisation and expansion of German multinational automotive companies and their suppliers that has occurred in the great plains of Southern Hungary since 2010. Here, I portray the dramatic story of what was advertised and fetishised as a great ‘success’: the relocation of high-tech production sites supported by the government and public tax money. For the local context of quite high unemployment, the relocation initially created comparatively well paid jobs in the automotive industry. Second, I explore the changing meaning of jobs in automotive companies for the workers themselves. Here, I pay special attention to jobs in terms of changes in their content and intensity, as well as how they fit into the future plans and expectations of workers. Finally, in the last section, I will deal with the broader meaning of these changes, comparing them to similar processes of job transformations in other contexts both globally-spatially and in a historical perspective. Whereas official and other company-based statistical sources portray a positive picture through the numerical dimension of jobs in the automotive industry and its supplier plants, workers’ descriptions of their experiences, the main basis of my analysis, tell a different story. My contrasting assessment builds on around 40 interviews and discussions with production workers in automotive plants in the Southern plains of Hungary, conducted between June 2018 and May 2019. I ground my analysis in an assessment of the workers’ narratives of their everyday work efforts and changes in their jobs.

Sanja Potkonjak

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia

Tea Škokić

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Material ruins and epistemic developments: conceptual challenges in doing and thinking post-industrial ethnography

The aim of this paper is to question the ideas and notions that we as anthropologists have and use to address the empirical and epistemological landscape of post-industrial cities and post-industrial cultures of work. In this paper, we draw on our recent research in the town of Sisak in order to problematize temporal, spatial and affective (life)worlds that we encountered while doing ethnographic research and to re-conceptualise it in the aftermath of first-hand post-industrial fieldwork experience. In order to show the workings of the local post-industrial ethnography, to grasp fading, evolving and emerging phenomena, we had to develop an open conceptual framework to include the backward and forward moving (life)worlds, as well as (life)worlds staying still. We try to answer questions as to how economic transformation and economic renewal took part in the narratives of the past, present and future of the city in the face of a deindustrialised present, as to what constitutes a “post-Fordist cityscape”, and as to what are the specifics of “affective pedagogies of futures” that make up the (life)worlds of the Sisak post-industrial communities.

Romana Pozniak

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Affective labor within the humanitarian *workscape*

Relying on ethnography of work and interviews conducted with workers recruited during the mass refugee transit through the Balkan corridor, this paper will first address the contradictions essential to the humanitarian *workscape*, and then present the manifestations of the international humanitarianism in the context of post-transitional Croatia. To understand the labor performed in the humanitarian sector, special attention will be given to experiences of local humanitarians who worked in the refugee camp in Slavonski Brod, and their ways of adopting, rejecting or adjusting the habitus of the professional humanitarian fabricated within the discourse of contemporary aid industry. The emotional engagement that I encountered among my interlocutors will be explored by using the concept of affective labor, which will provide insight into the dialectics between the emotional and rational apprehensions of aid work. Finally, affective experiences of the local workforce will provide a basis to rethink the binary representation of humanitarians who are frequently being perceived either as remote and apolitical employees or as selfless heroes.

Mario Reljanović

Institute of Comparative Law, Belgrade, Serbia

**Flexibilization and precarisation of the labour market:
redefining labour relations in the postsocialist world**

At the end of the twentieth century, post-socialist states share the common fate of the “periphery” of the global labour and capital markets, leading to the development of specific policies related to attracting foreign capital and tackling unemployment. In doing so, clearly differentiated phases of implementation of these policies and ongoing mistakes can be observed, although repeated by different states at different periods of time. The result of such developments is reflected in the current state of affairs, characterised by processes of slow and uncertain economic development, poor quality employment structure and a privileged position of foreign capital – these are the basic features of the so-called “race to the bottom” concept. Workers’ rights are being severely diminished in the process, so today we can discuss their devolution, their decrease to the level they were a hundred years ago.

This analysis focuses on several countries in the region and compares them with the developed European countries. Differences and similarities are observed, following several indicators of the development of labour relations: the emergence of new forms of work engagement, the survival of workers’ unions and the exercise of collective rights, and the positioning of state authorities towards favoring job flexibility and forms of precarious work.

Prevailing methods that will be used are the normative method and the usage of available statistics, as well as case analysis. Starting hypotheses relate to answering two questions: whether there are points of contact in the countries of the center and the periphery of the labour and capital markets when it comes to changes in the understanding of work and employment, and whether these changes are really needed in the light of redefining employment and labour under the new circumstances.

Reana Senjković

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

“Years ago, there was thousands of jobs”

The title of the presentation is a statement which I selected from many similar statements analysed by Sophie Gaston and Sacha Hilhorst in a report on their study of nostalgia in contemporary Great Britain, France and Germany. In this report, as in many other scholarly texts on “commonly held anxieties about the present, and apprehension towards the future” observed in Western Europe and the USA, such utterances are seen as the consequences of de-industrialization or, alternatively, as a response to the enhanced mobility of the globalized world. At the same time, most of the published results of similar research conducted in the territory of the former European state socialist countries recognize corresponding claims in political terms, as expressions of post-socialist nostalgia. For some time now, an obsession with the notion of post-socialist/communist nostalgia has been evident in both public and scientific discourses, for the latter certainly to the extent that deserves to be declared, in Maria Todorova’s famous wording, a “specter that is haunting the world of academia”. Even when this “nostalgia” is interpreted as a potentially productive or critical force, or recognized as the result of Europe’s “post-imperial mania” (Boyer), comparisons with the analogous material in the West are left out. My hypothesis is that such a comparison could/would reveal a reorientation of a primarily economic issue into more relaxed or abstract terms that, by reducing and trivializing research subjects’ factual claims, have the potential of functioning within the range between perpetuating the Cold-War (operative) dichotomies and maintaining the political and economic status quo. To test this hypothesis I will rely on the material obtained from the TRANSWORK project, as well as related fieldwork insights from the former European state socialist countries, the USA, and Western European countries.

Tea Škokić

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Ozren Biti

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

“Tourism happens to us”: business opportunities and workload of property owners offering short-term rentals in Zagreb

Short-term rental business in Zagreb – from 2010 when it only started to take off to the present day – has become an important segment of the city’s tourism offer, a widespread economic activity that requires serious engagement from property owners and, sometimes, their entire families. Whereas scholarly texts on this phenomenon often venture into analyzing the related aspects of the “sharing economy” or identifying the consequent gentrification of urban centers, we are, on the other hand, interested in a somewhat different perspective on the phenomenon. Our main goal was to determine how the working and daily life is experienced by the actors involved in the short-term rental of their private apartments. In addition, we investigated what kind of business fits their needs. Therefore, during 2019, we performed an ethnographic research study using 10 semi-structured interviews to examine the motivations, aspirations, and attitudes of property owners renting their private homes and apartments in Zagreb. In the same period, we also kept track of media sources quoting statements from such property owners and other actors involved in vacation rentals. The research methods we used allowed us to identify how property owners adapt their business strategies and working activities to their everyday life and to the wider social context and policies from above. We interpreted this adaptation using the concepts of micro-entrepreneurship, daily capitalists, side job, and patching of the home budget rather than the established categorical apparatus for tourism research.

Nina Vodopivec

Institute of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Experiences of work: textile workers in Slovenia

This paper deals with textile workers' experiences of work during post socialist and contemporary socio-political reconfigurations. Based on fieldwork material collected at the shop floor in a still operational spinning mill (in 2004) and various interviews with textile workers across Slovenia (2002-2012), the paper explores the reorganization of work, the restructuring of textile industry, and the revalorization of work at the micro and the macro level (within the factory, the local community and in Slovenia). It focuses on shop floor workers' experiences, including the loss of work in a Mura garment company. The material is analysed from a comparative perspective and within broader processes of socio-political transformation, privatization, and discourses of deindustrialization.

Mislav Žitko

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia

**Rentier capitalism and precarious employment:
a theoretical proposal**

The current state of discussion on capitalism in post-socialist countries has been for the most part focused on two distinct points: on the one hand, a specific structure of accumulation has emerged as an outcome of the processes of de-industrialization and secular growth of the service sector. The new structure of accumulation is apparent above all in the change of monetary flows with different forms of rent becoming ever more important. At the same time, the new economic structure has an immediate impact on the forms of employment, giving rise to non-standard forms of employment, i.e. the forms of employment that do not fit well with traditional standards of economics and law. Theoretical expression of this change can be observed in the heated discussion on the status of precariat as the (allegedly) new social class. This paper is set to unite these two lines of inquiry while bringing forth scrutiny over some unfounded analytical assumptions. Moreover, in the second part of the paper a model of dependent capitalism will be put forward grounded in the changes that can be observed empirically, while taking into account the lessons of the theoretical debate on the varieties of capitalism.

VENUE

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