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BOURDIEU'S THEORIZATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN SOCIETIES[1]

ABSTRACT
This article discusses the significance of social capital in Bourdieu-inspired analyses of contemporary South-East European societies. We first recapitulate Bourdieu's theorization of social capital, emphasizing that it allows different operationalizations expressly because of its rather abstract theoretical character. Following that, we explain what is meant by "South-East European societies" and that their inequality-generating mechanisms are largely based on social closure. In the central part of the article, we comment on some attempts at operationalization of social capital in the SEE region. While we also discuss two cases of eclectically mixing Lin's operationalization with Bourdieusian concepts, at the center of our attention is the elaboration of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital put forward by the Serbian sociologist Predrag Cvetičanin. The relevance of his concepts of "social capital of solidarity" and "social capital of informal connections" for the study of class relations in post-socialist societies in South-East Europe highlights the advantages of a consistent application of the Bourdieusian framework in a contemporary (post-Bourdieusian) context.

KEYWORDS
Bourdieu, social capital, post-socialism, hybrid societies, South-East Europe

Introduction

Allow us to begin this article with a lengthy citation from Bourdieu's text. In what was published as an appendix to the second chapter of *Practical Reason* (Bourdieu 1998b), he called for identifying specific principles of differentiation at work in different societies across time and space.

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> Social sciences should construct not classes, but rather the social spaces in which classes can be demarcated, but which exist only on paper. In each case it should construct and discover (beyond the opposition between constructionism and realism) the principle of differentiation which permits one to reengender theoretically the empirically observed social space. *Nothing permits one to assume that the principle of difference is the same at all times and in all places*, in Ming China and contemporary China, or in today's Germany, Russia and Algeria. But with the exception of the least differentiated societies (with still present differences in symbolic capital, which are more difficult to measure), all societies appear as social spaces, that is, as *structures of differences* that *can only be understood by constructing the generative principle which objectively grounds those differences*. This principle is none other than *the structure of the distribution of the forms of power or the kinds of capital which are effective in the social universe under consideration* – and which vary according to the specific place and moment at hand. (Bourdieu 1998b: 32, emphasis ours)

In what follows we will discuss the significance of social capital in attempts to identify the generative principles grounding the structures of the distribution of the forms of power in contemporary South-East European societies. We will first briefly recapitulate Bourdieu's theorization of social capital, emphasizing that it allows different operationalizations expressly because of its rather abstract theoretical character in his work. Following that, we will explain what is meant by the designation "South-East European societies". Finally, in the central part of the article, we will comment on some attempts at operationalization of Bourdieu's understanding of social capital in the region under study. At the center of our attention are the modifications of the concept of social (and also cultural) capital put forward and elaborated by the Serbian sociologist Predrag Cvetičanin and his collaborators from several countries.[2] The aim of the article is to highlight the advantages of consistent application of the Bourdieusian framework in a contemporary (post-Bourdieusian) context.

Bourdieu's Theorization of Social Capital

Bourdieu's is the oldest, and alongside Coleman's (1988, 1990), the most prominent sociological theorization of social capital. Its roots date back to Bourdieu's early anthropological work in Algeria, in which he already took note of the importance of "capital of alliances" and "the capital of prestige stemming

2 To be sure, the central impetus behind the mentioned modifications was Predrag Cvetičanin's incessant work on the development of the model of class analysis applicable in contemporary hybrid societies. This work, however, involves a constant dialogue between theory and empirical practice, in which his collaborators from the United States, Serbia, Croatia, and the United Kingdom have participated in different capacities over the last ten years. They are listed as co-authors in bibliographical references. The authors of this article have also participated in theoretical, empirical, and interpretive work related to the development of the mentioned model of class analysis but would like to point out that Cvetičanin's operationalization of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital discussed later in the article preceded their involvement in joint work.

from an extensive network of affines" (Bourdieu 1977a: 65). Here he also speaks of the relative precariousness of symbolic capital (in contrast to the relative stability of economic capital), as well as of "a collective matrimonial strategy" of its acquisition and the need to "invest" in it to preserve relations. Furthermore, "interest" is mentioned, as in "the 'family interest' which tends to see the daughter as an *instrument* for strengthening the integration of the agnatic group, or a sort of symbolic money allowing prestigious alliances to be set up with other groups" (Bourdieu 1977a: 66).

However, while some of the mentioned keywords can easily be associated with Bourdieu's later theorization of social capital, it should be kept in mind that in the quotes above they refer to a society with a pre-capitalist economy and forms of domination. His attempts to define social capital in a relational analysis of the foundations of the social order in differentiated, modern society, began in a discussion first published in 1973, one year after the publication of his *Esquisse* (Bourdieu 1972).

According to Field (2008: 17), it is in this discussion that Bourdieu initially defined social capital as

> a capital of social relationships which will provide, if necessary, useful 'supports': a capital of honourability and respectability which is often indispensable if one desires to attract clients in socially important positions, and which may serve as currency, for instance in a political career. (Bourdieu 1977b: 503)

As claimed by Robbins (2000: 36), at the early stages of its definition, Bourdieu essentially treated the nascent concept as an adjunct to cultural capital. However, following the initial "provisional notes" (Bourdieu 1980), his definition of social capital was refined in a text published rather shortly afterwards in German and English (Bourdieu 1983, 1986). Here, Bourdieu asserts that

> Social capital is the aggregate or actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network or more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu 1986: 248–249)

Bourdieu also explained in this text that the volume of social capital possessed by an agent depends both on the size of the network that can be effectively mobilized, and the volume of capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed by all those to whom the agent is connected (Bourdieu 1986: 249). Furthermore, he emphasized that, although "relatively irreducible to economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent", social capital can never be viewed as completely independent, due to the nature of the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgment, and to the multiplier effect it exerts on the capital already possessed. Finally, Bourdieu insisted that the existence of a network of connections is "not a natural given, or even a social given, constituted

once and for all by an initial act of institution", but rather "the product of an endless effort of institution" (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

In other words, "the reproduction of social capital requires an unceasing effort of sociability" (Bourdieu 1986: 250), and the networks of relationships result from "investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e. at transforming contingent relations [...] into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt" (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

The relation of social capital to other forms of capital is shown at a glance in Müller's (1992: 283) representation of the "logic of the forms of capitals".

	Criteria						
Forms of capital	Basis	Objecti-fication	Institutional-ization	Embodi-ment	Convertibility	Risk of loss	Loss categories
Economic capital	Money	Capital	Property rights	____	High	Social upheavals (wars, revolution, economic crises)	(1) Inflation (2) Dispossession
Social capital	Relation-ships	Net-works	(1) Titles of nobility and official titles as individual properties (2) Social and professional status; the profession as a collective	____	Low and risky (but necessary)	(1) Ingratitude (2) Asymmetric reciprocity (3) Unreasonableness	(1) Relationship traps (2) Status traps (3) Friendship traps
Cultural capital	Knowl-edge	Cultural goods and knowl-edge	Educational qualifications as individual properties	Cultivation (*Bildung*), taste, distinction	Medium, depending on (1) the situation of education and occupation (2) the volume of other capitals	(1) Inflation of educational qualifications (2) Obsolescence of knowledge	Antiquated habitus
Symbolic capital			Social perception of the forms of capital: "Prestige"				

Figure 1: Logic of the forms of capital (Müller 1992: 283)[3]

Müller's representation also includes the individual properties of different forms of capital, which almost immediately suggest why social capital is more difficult to operationalize than economic or cultural capital. Namely, while

3 Translation from the German is ours.

economic capital obviously easily lends itself to quantification, it has also been shown that at least some aspects of objectified and institutionalized cultural capital can be successfully measured (e.g., in terms of possession of cultural goods or academic qualifications). The same goes for attending different types of cultural events. In comparison, both investments in and assets gained by social capital seem to be more "immaterial" and unstable. Furthermore, properties such as "titles of nobility" and "official titles" run the risk of appearing antiquated in most modern societies.[4] And finally, the reputation of different professions (including their interaction protocols) varies from society to society more so than general levels of educational qualifications (routinely used when measuring institutional cultural capital).

Even without mentioning again that the volume of social capital possessed by an agent depends not only on the size of his/her network of connections but also on the volume of the capital possessed in his/her own right by each of those to whom the agent in question is connected (Bourdieu 1986: 249), it is evident that operationalizing and measuring social capital in Bourdieu's sense of the term is a tall order.

Why has Bourdieu not Operationalized his Notion of Social Capital?

It has been asserted that "the interpretive power of [Bourdieu's] approach is not matched by the degree of empirical precision that many sociologists would desire" (Swartz 1997: 161). This relates especially to the fact that in his empirical work "[s]ocial capital in particular is seldom measured" (Swartz 1997: 161). Field (2008: 17) also mentions that in his "monumental" *Distinction* (1979), Bourdieu "furnished only one indicator of social capital: membership of golf clubs, which he held to be helpful in oiling the wheels of business life". Likewise, Adam and Rončević (2003: 159) acknowledge that Bourdieu "must be regarded as a pioneer who laid down the frame of reference for theorizing and research in this area", but are quick to add that "his notion of social capital, unlike the concept of cultural capital, has not been included in a systematic empirical analysis".

But why did this happen? Why has Bourdieu never "properly operationalized" his notion of social capital? There are several potential answers to this

4 This estimate should not be interpreted as concurring with Field's (2008: 21) assertion that Bourdieu's theorization of social capital is "ill suited to deal with the more open and loose social relations of late modernity". We think that this remark is of relevance only if taken to refer to the hints at operationalization implicit in Bourdieu's descriptions of the elites of his time. It is true, as Field (2008: 21) asserts, that "[c]ruises, dinner parties, Bach and chic sports are hardly the distinctive badges of today's elites". It could also be claimed, as this author does elsewhere, that Bourdieu "perhaps overemphasises the role of social capital based on kinship", and that "his theory appears to be rooted in a relatively static model of social hierarchy" (Field 2008: 20). However, we take the view that sociohistorical contexts to which theorizations refer do not necessarily diminish their heuristic potential. Likewise, references to historical situations in the theory building process do not automatically invalidate the application of the resulting theoretical principles in different sets of circumstances.

question: none are exhaustive or complete but together provide a starting point for further discussion.

One could begin by quoting a laconic statement with which Müller (2014) illustrates the connectedness between economic and other forms of capital. According to this statement, "'Whoever has money also has connections', that is *social capital*" (Müller 2014: 49). Starting from such a premise, consistent with Bourdieu's conviction that "social capital was an asset of the privileged and a means of maintaining their superiority" (Field 2008: 22), one could argue that Bourdieu's reason for not operationalizing it was essentially scientific parsimony. Namely, the indicators of economic and cultural capital have proved sufficient to perform a more than satisfying analysis in as ambitious a work as *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1979).

As concluded by Crossley (2014: 87), "in practice Bourdieu's mapping of social space tends to focus upon these two forms of capital alone". In this context, it is worth bearing in mind that although in Geometric Data Analysis[5] "there is no drastic *parsimony* principle", methods encompassed by it "can only be fruitful if they deal with relevant data" (Le Roux; Rouanet 2004: 11). In addition to being difficult to operationalize, data related to social capital were obviously thought by Bourdieu not to be relevant or reliable[6] enough to warrant the introduction of a whole new set of indicators.

However, we are certainly speaking here about more than a methodological choice. There is no doubt that Bourdieu's focusing on economic and cultural capital also had to do with the sociohistorical context in which his analysis took place. Crossley (2014: 86–87) reminds us that Bourdieu's "attempt to move from a narrowly materialist conception of power and inequality" happened at the time when class relations had become more complex than was the case in the 19th century. Writing in the second half of the 20th century, he was aware that explanations of inequality based merely on the ownership of the means of production no longer provided an accurate picture of social reality.

As effectively summarized by Crossley (2014: 87), at the time of Bourdieu's analysis, the dichotomous class conflict between the bourgeoise and the proletariat had been obscured by "among other things: partial separation of ownership from control of the means of production; the growth of public sector employment; and the emergence of high salary occupations, elevated above manual labour by their dependence upon scarce forms of technical or cultural knowledge". Particularly important was also the unprecedented expansion of education, resulting in increased significance of qualifications. According to Crossley (2014: 87), all these changes "rendered an exclusive focus upon

5 Multiple Correspondence Analysis, which became internationally known after its use in Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1979), is held by Le Roux and Rouanet (2004: 1) to be "one of the main paradigms" of what was later called Geometric Data Analysis (GDA).

6 As argued by Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011: 445), a practical consequence of Bourdieu's understanding of social capital as contributing to the reproduction of social inequality is that "respondents are likely to be more reluctant to provide reliable data".

economic capital problematic". That is why Bourdieu's mapping of social space also relied on several measures of cultural capital.

But what about social contexts in which the analysis of social space simply requires the introduction of indicators of social capital? How to proceed in such cases? Our focus in this article is on the post-socialist societies in South-East Europe, in which informal connections continue to serve as a resource in both a low-end "economy of favors" and high-end political and economic transactions (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011; Cvetičanin et al. 2019).

Before we proceed further, however, we should position ourselves in relation to how we approach Bourdieu's theorization of social capital. In contrast to those who consider it to be too complex and "abstract", we believe that exactly these alleged traits allow for operationalizations applicable to contexts largely different from 1960s and 1970s France. Furthermore, we cannot agree more with Adam and Rončević (2003: 164) when they state that "[t]he problem is how to execute procedures of operationalization and measurement consistent with certain theoretical premises while at the same time remaining sensitive to context".

The operationalization we discuss in the central part of the article seems to us to respond well to the task specified above. But let us first explain what is meant by the designation "South-East Europe", and what is specific about the study of inequalities in the societies in this region.

Why South-East Europe?

Our reasons for discussing the potential for operationalization of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital in empirical studies of South-East European societies are threefold: (1) throughout the SEE region, social capital matters a great deal in generating social inequalities; (2) its relevance is not limited to the current or past contexts but is also likely to be useful in future studies; (3) there have been promising attempts at developing context-specific indicators of social capital in the region.

As regards our first reason, we should mention that the region of South-East Europe (no matter how its borders are defined) is notorious for its "culture of informality". In the socialist times, the importance of social capital (exactly in the sense theorized by Bourdieu)[7] was evident in the ubiquity of "connections

7 It is fascinating to note that Kligman and Verdery (2011: 421–423), when discussing the transformations of kinship in the collectivized Romanian villages (in the following excerpt, a change that affected ritual kinship or godfatherhood), describe them in terms completely consistent with Bourdieu's theorization of social capital. According to the authors, "[r]itual kinship had always had *an instrumental aspect* but under socialism this aspect took on much greater significance. [...] [*C*]*reating personalistic ties* with [the Party] [...] was a favored way of *trying to shape an institutional, instrumentalized relationship through affective, culturally grounded ties* aiming to *personalize* it". While in the past the villagers selected as godparents almost exclusively persons from prominent local families, the pattern changed under socialism: "each generation made its own choices

and relations" needed to get anything done.[8] New forms of clientelism and "fraudulent behavior" were added in the post-socialist period, marked by intensive neoliberal transformation of the economy and society across former Eastern Europe (Bohle, Greskovits 2012).[9]

In the current context, it is certainly not easy to determine whether informal practices in the post-socialist countries are due to "a culture, a contextual rational choice, or both?" (Cvetičanin et al. 2019). However, whatever explanation we might prefer, we should keep in mind what Buchanan (1999: 123) emphasized in her review of Creed's (1998) account of the continuity of "reforms" in Bulgaria from state socialism to "ambivalent transition": that "post-1989 life cannot be understood without a comprehensive understanding of what came before" and that "the unfortunate dichotomization of East European social history into a before and after" should be transcended. In other words, since the social and cultural transformation of post-socialist societies is a historical *process*, and since the informality discussed doubtless contains a *cultural* component, it seems certain that social capital will continue to play an important role in the SEE region.

This, as has already been stated, is our second reason for wanting to discuss its operationalization. In the section of the article that follows we are going to do that by commenting on what we believe is a noteworthy attempt at developing context-specific indicators of social capital in the South-East European region. But before we proceed to that, we should briefly explain what exactly is meant by the designation "South-East Europe".

In brief, although aware that geography is never innocent, we have opted for the most "purely geographical" designation for the region under discussion. Such a choice largely eliminates the type of "othering" implied in the use of the term "Balkans" (suggesting cultural and political "backwardness"). Moreover, since the late 1990s, the term "South-East Europe" has largely lost

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rather than inheriting its parents', and people increasingly selected sponsors from outside the community, *basing their selections* not on land-owning prominence but *on other characteristics that might make them useful* – a former classmate with a powerful administrative job, or one's factory foreman [...]. Aside from *strategic selection* of ritual kin, villagers sought to create as many *connections* as possible *with people who had resources of some sort to distribute*, seeking *links through shared acquaintances, shared localisms or school ties*, or gifts and bribes. [...] Although making friends could be a means of making a profit, [...] for most villagers it was *a necessary survival strategy* that enabled them and their families to get by". (emphasis ours)

8 To quote but one example, Kligman and Verdery (2011: 423) inform us that in the socialist Romania, "[t]he various ways of 'making friends' with people who possessed economic or political capital became so common that according to a 1970s joke, the initials for the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) actually meant *pile, cunoştiinţe, şi relaţii*, or 'connections, acquaintances and relations'".

9 Several chapters in Whyte and Wiegratz (2016) contain case studies on how neoliberal marketisation of the public sector and financialization of the economy lead to new kinds of informal economic activity, as well as to the state's de facto legitimization of illegal practices.

its formerly negative connotations[10] and has become an example of "the symbolic power of European construct embodied by the EU" (Bechev 2006: 22).

While it is true that this designation – "combining the Balkans with the neighbouring northern and eastern parts" – "lacks the structural cohesiveness of a historical region sui generis" (Sundhaussen 2002: 93), it is also not without reason that "external policymakers and analysts did not lose sight of certain common problems requiring regional approaches" (Bechev 2006: 19). In addition, as also argued by Sundhaussen (2002: 93), "[t]he heuristic model of Southeast Europe [...] makes sense, relating to ethnic diversity, problems of neighbourhood and interstate conflicts." What the countries in the region also have in common is increasing peripheralization, resulting from the collapse of the previously dominant division between capitalist Western and socialist Eastern Europe (Vidmar Horvat 2018).

At any rate, in our article the designation "South-East Europe" refers to four member states located on the "internal periphery" of the EU (Slovenia, Croatia, Bulgaria, and Romania) and to what is currently referred to by the European Commission as "Western Balkans" (i.e., the remaining post-Yugoslav countries, plus Albania). While there are obvious differences from one country to the next, all share a socialist past and its long-term influence on various practices in everyday life.[11] Even more importantly, from a Bourdieusian perspective, empirical work[12] carried out – among others– by the researchers whose definition of "hybrid societies" we are about to quote also indicates the existence of commonalities in inequality-generating mechanisms.

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10 According to Todorova (1997), who relies in her argument on the works of Bernath (1973) and Kaser (1990), *Südosteuropa* was intended at the end of the 1920s to become a "neutral, non-political and non-ideological concept" describing the region encompassing the remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Balkans. However, the term was subsequently discredited by its use in geopolitical treatises advocating German expansionism.

11 In his book on Yugoslavia, Allcock (2000: 7–8) stated that the "generic characteristics of the model of 'really existing socialism' [...] were thoroughly present in the Yugoslav system", despite "all its idiosyncrasies". And indeed, works based on empirical and historical research carried out in Romania and Bulgaria, such as Kligman and Verdery's (2011), Creed's (1998), and Brunnbauer's (2007), indicate similarities in patterns hidden at first glance due to Yugoslavia's higher standard of living and openness to Western cultural influences. In methodological terms, one could say that indicators of cultural consumption in Yugoslav and Soviet-style socialism differed more than indicators of social capital.

12 The empirical research in question took place between 2014 and 2019 within two large-scale projects funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation ("Life-Strategies and Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in South-East European Societies in the Times of Crisis" - IZ73Z0_152626) and EU's Horizon 2020 ("Closing the Gap Between Formal and Informal Institutions in the Balkans" - Grant No. 693537). Quantitative and qualitative research was carried out in all successor states of socialist Yugoslavia (except Montenegro) and in Albania. It was performed by research teams from all the researched countries, as well as from Switzerland, the UK, and Latvia.

Setting aside for a moment all the intricacies of their different historical trajectories, one could claim that the countries in South-East Europe are commonly characterized by their "hybrid societies". These, in turn, are defined by Cvetičanin et al. (2021: 947) as resulting "from their bearing clear marks of their socialist past [...] and, on the other hand, from having been exposed to an intensive neoliberal transformation over the last thirty years". And furthermore, such "hybrid societies" are characterized by social inequalities in them being generated by "several mechanisms of similar strength: (1) *exploitative market mechanisms* (based on economic capital), and (2) different types of *social closure mechanisms* (based on political and social capital)". A further analytical complication is that "[s]ocial agents use these mechanisms not only in economic, but also in all other fields".

In this article, our attention is focused on social capital and how to operationalize it in the analysis of South-East European societies. Without for the moment entering a complex discussion on how to analyze class structure in "hybrid societies",[13] let us mention here that Cvetičanin et al. (2021: 950) state that social closure mechanisms in South-East Europe are based on: "(1) political party membership; (2) social networks based on kinship, common geographic origin, and informal interest groups; (3) ethnicity, religion, and gender; and (4) credentials and membership in professional associations."[14] The question that needs to be answered is: which measures should be used to indicate the possession of social (and political) capital relevant in Bourdieusian constructions of social space in the analyzed South-East European societies?

Operationalizing Bourdieu's Theorization of Social Capital in the South-East European Context

Whether we start from the quoted excerpt from Kligman and Verdery's (2011) book on survival strategies of the Romanian peasants in the conditions of collectivized agriculture[15] or from the quoted statement emphasizing the importance of "social networks based on kinship, common geographic origin, and informal interest groups" (Cvetičanin et al. 2021: 950) in social closure mechanisms, it is obvious that any Bourdieusian analysis of South-East European societies requires an operationalization of the notion of social capital.

Namely, as many scholars have noticed, in "the structure of the distribution of the forms of power [...] effective in the social universe[s]"[16] of South-East European countries, this form of capital plays an important role. This in turn

13 This topic is dealt with in detail in Cvetičanin et al. 2021.

14 The elements of the presented classification were verified by the empirical research carried out within the large-scale projects mentioned in footnote 12.

15 Please see footnote 7.

16 This phrase, quoted from Bourdieu (1998b: 32), in the original refers to any "social universe under consideration". We have here adapted it slightly (by using the plural form of the noun "universe") to refer to the specific set of social universes discussed in this article.

means that – in the South-East European context – a Bourdieusian analysis of social capital would contribute decisively to understanding "the principle of differentiation which permits one to reengender theoretically the empirically observed social space" (Bourdieu 1998b: 32). In contrast to Bourdieu's analysis of 1960s and 1970s France, social capital therefore simply needs to be included when constructing social spaces of contemporary South-East European societies.

An Early Discussion of the Applicability of Bourdieu's Theorization of Social Capital

To our knowledge, the first published systematic reflection about the potential usefulness of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital in the South-East European context was Smiljka Tomanović's (2006) discussion of "the applicability of Bourdieu's concept of social capital to studying the families in Serbia".[17]

In that text, the author "questions some aspects of the conceptual and heuristic value of Bourdieu's concept of social capital" (Tomanović 2006: 111). Namely, although Tomanović obviously agrees with Bourdieu's general view of social capital as reproducing social inequality, as well as with the claim that "it is exactly the family that has a central place in acquiring and reproducing social capital" (Tomanović 2006: 114), she also thinks that Bourdieu "neglects the aspects of solidarity and cooperation which are not interest-based" (Tomanović 2006: 119).[18]

Furthermore, relying on terminology coming from a different theoretical tradition, Tomanović (2006: 119) states that Bourdieu's view of the concept "postulates that 'bridging' social capital is worth more than 'bonding' [social capital]". She then goes on to quote empirical research showing that family networks and contacts play important roles in parenting and in transitions to adulthood in post-socialist Serbia and Bulgaria, which makes it clear that she is skeptical of the usefulness of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital in the South-East European context.[19]

Namely, her interpretation of it excludes the possibility of accounting for the role of close-knit ("bonding") family ties and intimate friendships, which – as she states elsewhere (Tomanović 2006: 115) – "play a compensatory role for the economically deprivileged and [are] an important part of their 'survival

17 All translations from Tomanović's text are ours.

18 Elsewhere in the text, Tomanović explicitly wonders whether "primary relations of solidarity, which create a sense of belonging to a group (family, group of friends) and thereby contribute to an individual's welfare (human capital)" are not "a capital in itself, and not only in the sense of a resource with the potential of becoming a capital?" (Tomanović 2006: 118–119).

19 This skepticism is underlined by the author's subsequent interpretation of social capital of "young people from different social strata" in Serbia (Tomanović 2012), in which she mentions Bourdieu's "symbolic capital" but relies centrally on Lin's (1999) distinction between "expressive" and "instrumental" social capital.

strategy'". In connection with this, she mentions (Tomanović 2006: 119) an important unresolved dilemma facing future research of social capital in the South-East European context. It relates to the question of who should be considered as the bearer of social capital: a household or an individual?

All in all, Tomanović (2006: 118) agrees with the group of authors who consider Bourdieu's theorization of social capital as important for understanding social relations in contemporary societies but difficult to apply in empirical research. At any rate, she shares the view that Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is more difficult to operationalize than are the concepts of other authors, sometimes "criticized as normative, homogenized, and the like".

Nevertheless, Tomanović (2006: 118–120) recommends Bourdieu's general approach to social science research[20] as a potential tool for coping with the intricacies of studying social capital in contemporary Serbian families. In the case at hand, the construction of the research object would require operationalization of two types of social capital, referred to (in non-Bourdieusian terms) as "bonding" (or "getting-by") and "bridging" (or "getting-ahead"). Studying their distribution in relation to different structural characteristics would then become possible, as well as studying their connection with economic and cultural capital, and with family strategies of their reproduction and conversion.

Since multimethod research is also recommended, Tomanović (2006: 120) concludes her article with an indication of the challenge of interpreting the findings within a consistent theoretical framework.

A Consistently Bourdieusian Operationalization of Social Capital

In contrast to Tomanović's eclectic approach to devising a context-specific operationalization of social capital, Predrag Cvetičanin's proposed solutions for the same problem have been developed within a consistently Bourdieusian framework.

Namely, Cvetičanin's work on social capital indicators applicable in the study of South-East European societies took place as part of a wider attempt to account for their specific inequality-generating mechanisms. In other words, his analytical effort was not primarily directed at studying particular "field struggles" but rather at constructing "the social spaces in which classes can be demarcated" (Bourdieu 1998b: 32).

20 Especially relevant for Tomanović's argument is the idea of the integration of theory and method in the construction of the research object (by means of relational analysis). She also quotes from the passage in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 31), in which it is explained that Bourdieu treated concepts in a pragmatic way, "as 'tool kits' [...] designed to help him solve problems". This and further quotes support the argument that the concept of social capital should be seen as "polymorphic, supple, and adaptable, rather than defined, calibrated, and used rigidly" (Bourdieu; Wacquant 1992: 23) and that "[w]e must try, in every case, to mobilize all the techniques that are relevant and practically usable, given the definition of the object and the practical conditions of data collection" (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992: 227).

Such "structures of differences", as well as "the generative principle which objectively grounds" them (Bourdieu 1998b: 32), can of course be "grasped only in the form of distributions of properties among individuals or concrete institutions, since the data available are attached to individuals or institutions" (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992: 230). That is why, at the very beginning of the article on "The Art of Making Classes in Serbia", Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011: 444) explain why they think it is necessary to include social capital indicators into analysis, as different from Bourdieu's empirical research, in which "the concepts of economic and cultural capital perform the entire analytical work, while social capital disappears from the stage".

After explaining the reasons of divergence in the principles of differentiation relevant in Western capitalist and South-East European socialist and post-socialist societies, the authors put forward their proposal for "a different understanding of the principle of capital composition in comparison with Bourdieu's research practice" (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011: 444). They argue that – in the case of post-socialist Serbia they analyze – social capital should not be kept in the background as part of the theory of the forms of capital but should also be used in the construction of social space. Moreover, they suggest that, in the case at hand, not only social but also cultural capital "should be treated both in terms of their volume (quantity) and in terms of different types (qualities)".

What the latter suggestion means is that the authors, based on their previous empirical and theoretical research,[21] saw the need to distinguish in their analysis between the indicators of "local cultural capital" and "global cultural capital", as well as between the indicators of "social capital of solidarity" and "political social capital". They considered the introduction of these subtypes of Bourdieu's capital categories as a necessary precondition for a successful construction of social space in post-socialist Serbia, and it should be said right away that the relevance of these context-specific distinctions was indeed confirmed by later empirical research.[22]

As regards their division of Bourdieu's category of cultural capital into its "local" and "global" subtypes, the authors have put forward the hypothesis that it could be relevant not only in the analysis of Serbian society but more generally "in societies that were at some point in history 'Westernized'" (Cvetičanin; Popescu 2011: 445), either through colonization or through the activities of their own elites. All the societies classified above as "South-East European"

21 For cultural capital, the authors mention a paper on symbolic boundaries (Cvetičanin; Popescu 2009) and comprehensive analyses presented in Cvetičanin 2007 as sources of primary insights leading up to their suggestion. For social capital, two works by Cvetičanin (1997, 2001) are mentioned. The authors' theoretical research was based on comprehensive secondary literature quoted in these works and summarized in Cvetičanin; Popescu 2011.

22 In addition to the research results presented in Cvetičanin; Popescu 2011, the introduction of the mentioned subtypes of capital also proved relevant in analyses performed on different data sets in Serbia (from 2010 and 2015) (Cvetičanin et al. 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2015, 2021) but also in Croatia (Petrić et al., forthcoming).

obviously fit this description, and there are indeed empirically verified indications that in countries other than Serbia "lower social classes [...] have found sanctuary and the basis for their cultural identity" (Cvetičanin et al. 2015: 207) in local culture.[23]

In this article, however, we are centrally interested in attempts at operationalization of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital. We will therefore now present in greater detail both the definitions of two subtypes of social capital put forward by Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) and the measures used in empirical research based on these definitions.

While obviously starting from Bourdieu's theorization of social capital, the authors note the existence (in Serbia, but arguably also in other post-socialist SEE countries) of two different types of social networks resulting from "investment strategies [...] aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

According to Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011: 447), social networks representing "political social capital" connect "people" (i.e., social agents) "whose control over access to public resources (goods and services) enables them to use these resources to satisfy the private needs of other members of these networks and in this way accumulate power (and acquire access to the resources they do not control)". To be able to put this subtype of capital in motion, one needs to accept participation in the system of exchange of "favors". The authors point out that, within such a system, counter-favors can be returned to previously known persons occupying positions of authority (in the political sphere proper, or in companies and public institutions) but also to complete strangers who are also part of the same informal power structure.

In contrast, social networks representing "social capital of solidarity" are "based on the existence of 'primary ties'", i.e., on reliance on "neighbors, friends, relatives, or 'countrymen' who can pitch in to help with money, goods, services or emotional support" (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011: 447).[24] The authors state that the emotional and expressive dimensions of networks based on "primary ties" are as important as the instrumental one. However, they point out that such networks can also be used as capital, which goes to say that they "not only provide specific benefits to individuals and groups, but can also be used to partially or fully deny those benefits to others".

23 For example, the analysis of television genre preferences of high-school students in six larger cities on Croatia's Adriatic coast, presented recently in Krolo et al. (2019), identified two types of taste in television: domestic television spectacles and foreign fiction television. The authors interpret this division as resulting from differences in parental cultural capital and indicating "cultural seclusion" vs. "global cultural cosmopolitism". Relating cultural consumption to values on the same sample as above, Marcelić et al. (2021) conclude that "the modern type" resulting from the cluster analysis "is mainly correlated with highbrow cultural practices and stronger preference towards foreign cultural artefacts, whereas traditional type is more prone to be involved in the local culture that uses national language".

24 All the quotes that follow in this and the following paragraph are from the same page of the quoted work.

Furthermore, the authors underline the difference between "capital and resources in general", and consistently with Bourdieu's theory of capital, state that it can be "accumulated, transmitted and, under certain circumstances, converted into another type of capital". The difference between "political social capital" and "social capital of solidarity" is that the former can involve "a trade-off in the form of access to previously unavailable resources" with strangers, while the latter is premised on requesting favors precisely by claiming "primary ties". The authors also mention that capitals are field specific, which implies that agents participate in field struggles, in which they try to realize their interests at the expense of others. And finally, in Cvetičanin and Popescu's (2011) article, the role of social capital is discussed as part of an attempt to – in Bourdieu's (1998b: 32) words – "reengender theoretically the empirically observed social space". Their ambition is no less than to identify the generative principles grounding the structures of the distribution of the forms of power in the society under discussion.

In light of all this, it is clear why such a consistently Bourdieusian approach to the notion of social capital is incompatible with operationalizations based on a largely metaphorical use of Bourdieu's categories, or on using them in combination with categories prominent in the communitarian tradition of social capital research (such as "bonding" and "bridging"). The same goes for operationalizations based on Lin's approach to social capital, which is essentially akin to Bourdieu's but differs from it in its conception of the relationship between structural constraints and individual agency.[25]

We are now going to present Cvetičanin's operationalization of social capital through measures used in the 2015 survey,[26] which served as a basis for the finalized version of the model of class analysis applicable in hybrid post-socialist societies in South-East Europe (Cvetičanin et al. 2021). Before proceeding further, however, we should mention that what was designated as "political social capital" in Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) is in the new survey and article conceptualized as two separate categories: "social capital of informal connections" and "political capital".[27] Likewise, we should mention that – in

25 As succinctly summarized by Song et al. (2018: 241–242), "Bourdieu more strongly emphasizes structural constraints (such as network closure and social exclusion) in the creation of social capital and the role of social capital in the reproduction of social hierarchy, while Lin more strongly underlines individual agency (such as heterophilous interaction and network bridging) in the accumulation of social capital and the function of social capital in climbing the social ladder".

26 This survey was carried out in four SEE countries (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia) within the SNSF's project IZ73Z0_152626, mentioned in footnote 12. We are presenting the measures used in the questionnaire for that survey because the empirical material analyzed in Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) was obtained from a survey carried out in 2005, before the distinction between "political social capital" and "social capital of solidarity" was conceptualized.

27 The designation "political social capital" in Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) was inspired by Bourdieu's (1998a) statement (which they quote), stating that "a political type of social capital" was the key principle of differentiation in socialist societies.

what follows – measures for social capital are presented together with measures for other types of capital, since its role in the attempted Bourdieusian construction of social space only becomes fully understandable in that context.

In Cvetičanin et al. (2021: 953), the authors inform us that they used (1) average monthly household income (per household member); (2) value of flat/house which members of the household own; (3) value of car(s) households possess (if any); and (4) the size of arable land (if they possess any) as indicators of economic capital.[28] As indicators of political capital, they used "a synthetic variable indicating whether the respondents hold an executive position in a political party or/and in public administration (at the local, regional, or national level), or a managerial role in companies or public institutions". As indicators of social capital, the authors used responses to two questions: (1) how many people and which people (cousins, neighbors, work colleagues, political party members or religious community members) respondents can rely on when they need help (i.e., how large and diverse their social network is); and (2) whether they have any "informal connections" in public institutions (the court, police, health institutions, educational institutions, local self-governance offices) that could help them to sidestep formal procedures. Finally, as indicators of cultural capital, the authors used data on the highest level of education of (1) respondents; and (2) their mothers.[29]

The described indicators enabled construction of a Bourdieusian social space of post-socialist Serbian society, presented in Cvetičanin et al. (2021). However, as was already mentioned in Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011: 467), the proposed conception of social space transforms its representation into "a complex social jigsaw puzzle, [...] no longer based on uniform units of measure – 'amounts' of economic capital and of legitimate cultural capital". Instead, it "encompasses the influence of the many important 'powers and resources'

Cvetičanin's conceptualization of two separate categories ("social capital of informal connections" and "political capital") reflects the new realities of the society under analysis (Serbian post-socialist society) and came about following extensive empirical work.

28 Such an operationalization of economic capital can be seen as an attempt to respond to a question similar to that posed by Tomanović (2006: 119) for social capital. Namely, in the South-East European context, it is equally unclear who should be considered as the bearer of economic capital: a household or an individual? In Cvetičanin's operationalization, income and assets are analyzed at the household level yet in a way that obviously relates to individual class positions. Such an approach is essentially consistent with Jungbauer-Gans's (2006: 19) description of respondents as "focal actors" in Bourdieusian research of structural social capital.

29 The authors inform us (Cvetičanin et al. 2021: 971) that their decision to use mother's rather than father's highest level of education was "based on the insight that mothers usually spend more time with children and decisively shape their embodied cultural capital in early childhood", as is also implied by Bourdieu's (1984: 75) reference to "the 'musical mother' of bourgeois autobiography". (It should be mentioned here that the analyses presented in Cvetičanin et al. 2021 also contain a number of other indicators of cultural capital, but they are used in the step of analysis of class relating to lifestyles and symbolic boundaries.)

in the social formation" and presents itself as consisting of "regions defined (in addition to overall volume of capital and volume of economic capital) also by different types of cultural capital and social capital". Such a representation of social space is positioned "in-between Bourdieuian geometrical space and more topological models of a field" and admittedly presupposes "an explicative principle of high complexity". Nevertheless, the authors claim to have shown in their article (and indeed they have) that "different combinations of capital and subtypes of capital characteristic for particular areas of social space" helped explain why – in the analyzed case of post-socialist Serbia – "some types of social groupings and some types of social practices are more probable in certain areas of social space than in others".

The authors (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011: 467) conclude their contribution by stating that they believe Bourdieu's model of social space is in effect quite reductive, in relation to the theoretical complexity of his intention to replace linear thinking with the (empirically reformulated) "structural causality of a network of factors" (Weininger 2002, 2005). In that sense, their proposal of a more complex model can be seen as a step in the direction already traced by Bourdieu. But more importantly, from our perspective in this article, the map of social space resulting from their theoretical and analytical efforts "indicates the existence of different bases (resources) for social groupings in Serbia and different strategies available to these groups" (Cvetičanin et al. 2012: 57). In other words, it enables – among other things – an insight into the effectiveness of social capital operationalized consistently with Bourdieu's initial theorization of it.

The efforts concerning the production of the model of social space that could enable class analysis in hybrid post-socialist societies in South-East Europe were completed ten years after its initial proposal in Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011). The working of the new model is presented in Cvetičanin et al. (2021), using the case of Serbia. However, to show graphically the role of social capital in how social space is structured in this model, we are going to use diagrams resulting from the analysis of another South-East European post-socialist society (Croatia), presented in Petrić et al. (forthcoming).[30]

A representation of social space in Croatia, constructed using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is presented in Figure 1. Without entering into technical details, discussed in Petrić et al. (forthcoming), we present the map resulting from the analysis, to which the labels of key resources were added (in the white rectangles next to the edges of the map). They indicate a form of "capital composition" different compared to Bourdieu's studies (in which indicators of political and social capital are not used), but nevertheless showing a robust "gravitation pool of the social". The added labels of key resources make

30 The reasons for this are twofold. On the one hand, it is shown that the model works well in another South-East European society. On the other hand, the analysis described in the next subsection of this article was also performed in Croatia, and the data for it obtained in a comparable period.

it possible to understand which among them particularly affect the shaping of practices in certain regions of the social space (in addition to the influence of the overall volume of capital).

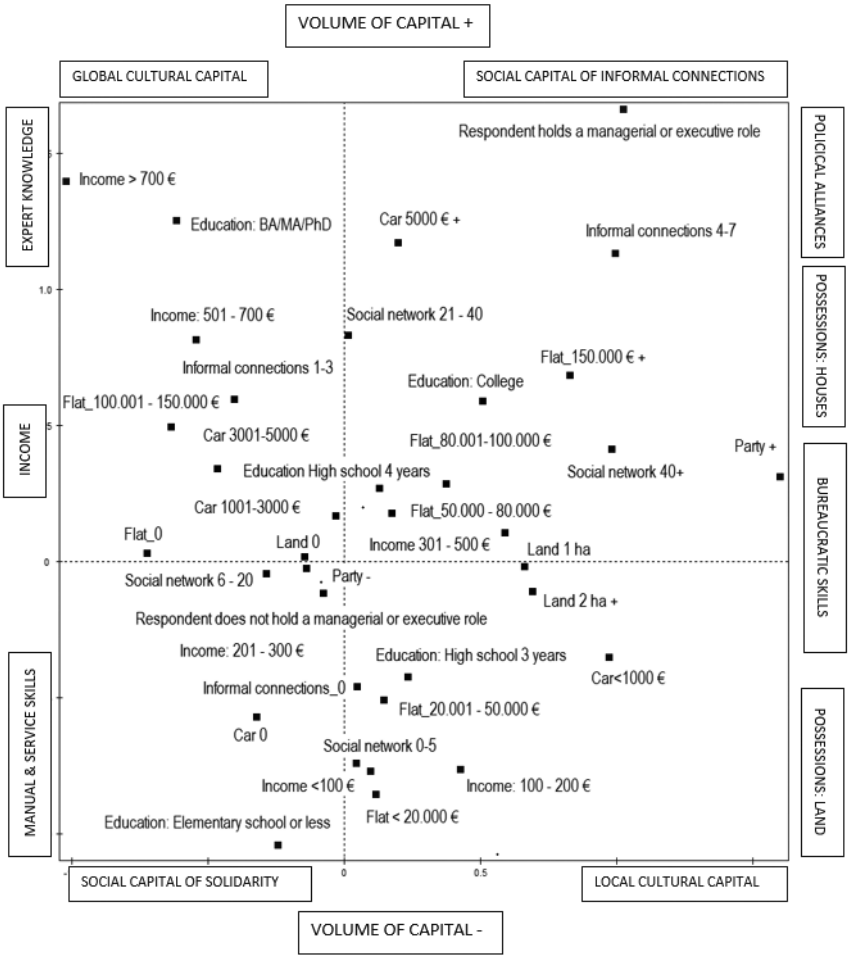

Figure 2: Social space in Croatia[31]

Regarding social capital, it is easy to notice that in the upper right quadrant one finds social networks of 21–40 and 40+ people, as well as 4–7 informal connections. In contrast, in the lower right quadrant and lower left quadrant one finds social networks of 6–20 and 0–5 people, and 0 informal connections. If we add to this the indicators of political capital, one notices that in the upper right quadrant respondents hold a managerial or executive role, while in the lower right quadrant and lower left quadrant they don't.

31 The map is adapted from Petrić et al. (2021). The same goes for Figure 3.

In a comparative South-East European context, it is interesting to note that already in the analysis presented in Cvetičanin et al. (2012a) and based on the data obtained in 2010 within the project "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia", the authors noted a difference between parts of the analyzed social space. In some regions, primarily indicators of cultural capital were distributed, while in other regions indicators of social capital dominated. Furthermore, the authors also mention "a bifurcation of the indicators of economic capital". Their conclusion was that "[h]igh modalities of income indicators go along with maximal modalities of indicators of cultural capital while, on the other hand, with ultimate values of modalities of social capital we have high indicators of ownership, in particular, ownership of large apartments/houses" (Cvetičanin et al. 2012a: 61).

Returning to Croatia, and to the analysis of social space presented in Petrić et al. (forthcoming), it is easy to notice a resemblance with "bifurcations" noticed in Serbia. Namely, in the social space shown in Figure 2 "the aggregates of respondents whose conditions of existence are similar in terms of capital volume and composition" were identified by means of cluster analysis. This analysis resulted in six clusters (i.e., "constructed classes", in Bourdieu's sense of the term),[32] two of which represent the fractions of what is termed in Petrić et al. (forthcoming) as "Class with average capitals (CAC)": one fraction is described as "CAC cultural" and the other one as "CAC social".

Both these clusters are located in the upper regions of social space, but the key resource of respondents from "CAC cultural" (cluster 5/5) is expert knowledge, while the key resource of respondents from "CAC social" (cluster 6/6) are informal connections and political alliances. Likewise, over a third of respondents from "CAC social" are party members (more so than in any other cluster), while as much as 98% of respondents from "CAC cultural" are not party members. And finally, while respondents from "CAC cultural" have the highest income and highest indicators of cultural capital, respondents from "CAC social" have high indicators of ownership of large apartments/houses, cars, but also of arable land.

In sum, there are obvious resemblances between the two analyzed social spaces,[33] which were revealed due to the inclusion of indicators of social (and political) capital into analysis. A classical Bourdieusian approach, based on the indicators of economic and cultural capital, could simply not do the job in the

32 For brevity's sake, we cannot verbally describe the obtained clusters, but they are shown in Figure 3. Here we only explain the meaning of abbreviations: "CPC" stands for "Capital poor class", and its three fractions are "rurban" (cluster 1/6), "agrarian" (2/6), and "manual & service" (3/6). "IC" stands for "Intermediary class" (4/6). "CAC" stands for "Class with average capitals", with "cultural" (5/6) and "social" (6/6) fraction.

33 One should point out here that the model of class analysis applied in Cvetičanin et al. 2021 and Petrić et al. (forthcoming) has also proved as capable of registering the differences between the analyzed social spaces. For example, while in Croatia "Intermediary class" was analytically proved to be a class, in Serbia it remained just an "intermediary cluster" without class properties.

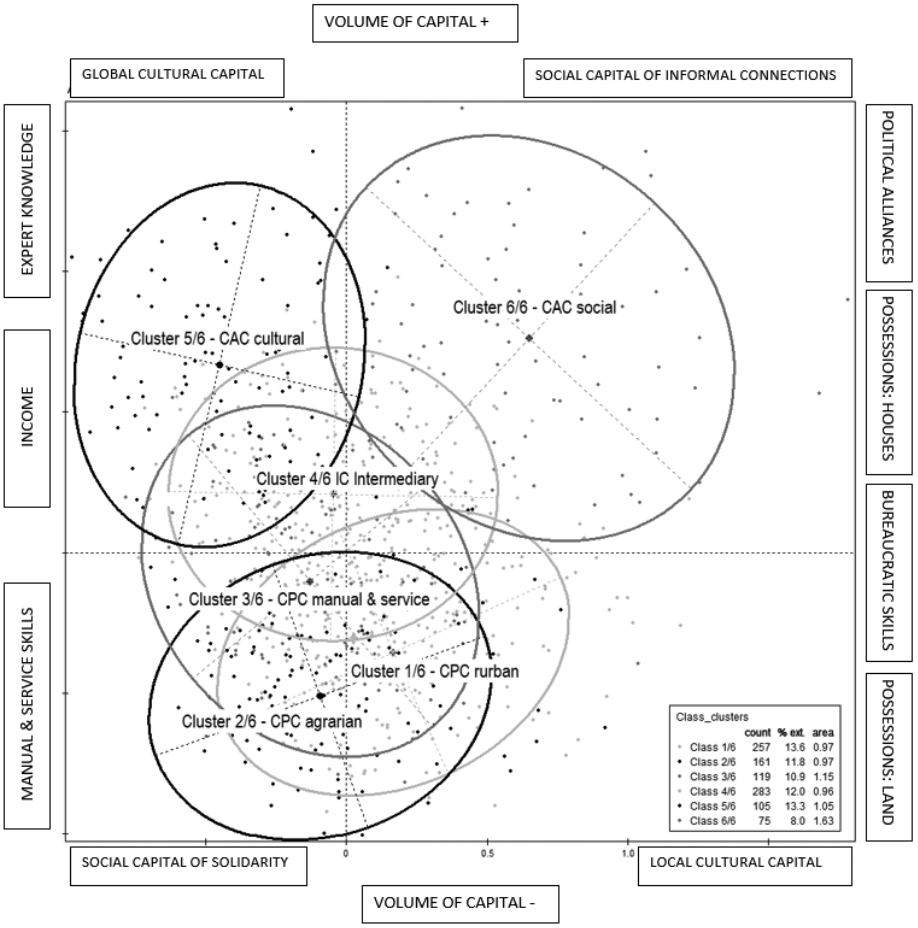

Figure 3: Clusters in social space in Croatia

cases at hand. Yet it should be emphasized again that Cvetičanin's elaboration of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital was carried out in a consistently Bourdieusian way. His operationalization and measurement of social capital – to use Adam and Rončević's (2003: 161) phrase – "follow the line of theoretical foundations", just as the quoted authors believe it should "[i]n coherent and comprehensive research programmes".

A non-Bourdieusian Operationalization of Social Capital in a Bourdieusianinspired Analysis

Finally, we would like to comment on an operationalization of social capital which was not developed from Bourdieu's theorization of the notion but is interesting to discuss because it was used to construct a Bourdieusian social

space in a post-socialist South-European country (Croatia).[34] In their attempt at "identifying the 'big picture' of class in Croatian society" (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 612), the authors of the quoted article have relied on what they say is a juxtaposition or even "triangulation" (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 614) of "a Bourdieusian and an occupation-based approach to social class". The authors have undertaken such a task "in order to explore how these approaches converge or diverge when it comes to empirically identifying the size of high-level class groups and exploring the relationship between 'objective' social class position and class self-identification in Croatia" (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 591).

Given the obtained results and their interpretation, the chosen analytical strategy can be characterized as problematic.[35] However, we are interested here primarily in how social capital was operationalized in Doolan and Tonković's attempt to construct a Bourdieusian social space. Just like in the cases discussed above, we would like to present the chosen measures for social capital together with measures for other types of capital.

We start with Doolan and Tonković's measures for economic capital, which (just like in the cases discussed above) respond in their way to the dilemma as to who should be taken as the bearer of economic capital in South-East European societies: an individual or a household?[36] The authors inform us (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 598) that they operationalized the economic capital with four indicators: (1) average monthly net income (salary or pension) of the respondent; (2) estimated value of the real estate of the respondent or his/her household; (3) amount of savings; and (4) subjective evaluation of ability to satisfy household needs (ability to "make ends meet").

34 The analysis is based on the data from a nationally representative survey of Croatian adults, carried out in 2017 as part of the project "Social Stratification in Croatia: Structural and Subjective Aspects", funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (project no. 3134) and the University of Zadar.

35 As the authors are aware, the theoretical underpinnings of the chosen approaches (Bourdieusian and occupation-based) are incompatible (Doolan, Tonković 2021: 613). This in turn means that any attempt at "juxtaposing" or "triangulating" their results would require completed analytical procedures in both cases. Instead, the authors have simply superimposed the categories from the European Socioeconomic Groups Classification (ESeG) and respondents' class self-identifications from their survey onto the MCA maps with Bourdieusian "theoretical classes" (or "classes-on-paper"). In brief, obviously missing from the authors' "Bourdieusian-inspired" analysis of "social class" are any accounts of agents' practical classifications and of the role of capital in field struggles, as well as any discussion of "the principle of differentiation which permits one to reengender theoretically the empirically observed social space" (Bourdieu 1998b: 32). Likewise, the use of categories from ESeG is not discussed beyond the statement that it is "an occupation-based approach verified by Eurostat" and that it has been "productively used" by other researchers (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 613). And finally, it is not even theoretically explained how respondents' class self-identification could be brought into relation with classifications of others, which are in Bourdieu's (1979, 1985, 1987) view equally important in the processes of the formation of collectivities.

36 As explained in footnote 28, this dilemma is essentially the same as that posed by Tomanović (2006: 119) for social capital.

Cultural capital (Doolan, Tonković 2021: 599) was operationalized providing indicators for all three forms of cultural capital defined by Bourdieu. Institutionalized cultural capital was measured by (1) respondent's educational level; and (2) respondent's parents' educational level. Objectified cultural capital was measured by an estimated number of books in the household, while measures for embodied cultural capital included (1) theatergoing; and (2) number of foreign languages spoken by the respondent. Referring to Atkinson (2020), the authors mention that they "work with the assumption that high values of these indicators suggest [...] a symbolic mastery of systems of symbols and signs which are valued in Croatian society".

However, when it comes to social capital, there is no attempt on the part of the authors to develop an operationalization based on Bourdieu's theorization of it. Furthermore, unlike in the cases of economic and cultural capital, there is no attempt to formulate the indicators with the specific Croatian context in mind. Instead, standardized measures of network diversity were used. The authors inform us that they were "derived from a position generator which included 12 occupational positions", adapted from the one used in the 2009 ISSP survey on social inequality in Croatia (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 598). Added to them was also a measure of civic participation in organizations, which can be associated with communitarian tradition of social capital research.

A total of three indicators of social capital were used: (1) overall network diversity; (2) diversity of friendship network; and (3) membership in different types of organizations (sports/recreational, educational/cultural, professional, humanitarian, religious). The authors refer to Lin (2001) and Erickson (1996), when explaining that "overall network diversity indicates the total number of accessed positions" and add that "friendship network diversity was calculated as the number of occupations in which the respondent had a friend". They also state that, "[f]or the purpose of MCA, [both were] recoded into three categories ('low', 'average', 'high')" (Doolan; Tonković 2021: 598–599). In the tables with selected indicators of capitals only the results based on network diversity are shown, while membership in organizations almost completely disappears from the scene.[37]

In brief, when social capital is referred to in the discussion of the social space resulting from the analysis, the two mentioned network diversity indicators do an overwhelming majority of the work. Although Lin's conception of social capital is network-based just like Bourdieu's, the differences between the two become painfully obvious when the former is applied in an analysis of a Bourdieusian construction of social space.

Namely, as mentioned by Song et al. (2018: 238), the "relative aspect of accessed SES [socio-economic statuses]", measuring "ego's relative structural position within the network hierarchy" (based on the position generator results), can be expressed by the following formula: "The greater the size of

37 In the discussion of the social space resulting from the analysis, only "membership in professional organizations" is mentioned once (Doolan, Tonković 2021: 601).

higher accessed positions, the greater the volume of social capital; the greater the size of lower accessed positions, the smaller the amount of social capital". In a Bourdieusian discussion of social space, the use of the results obtained by the position generator is therefore certainly not well advised, because of the danger of largely reducing it to references to the overall volume of capital.[38]

Furthermore, the position generator – to quote Song et al. (2018: 238) again – "proves to be generalized across societies due to its association with the occupational structures common in modern societies", in which resource allocation depended particularly on an individual's occupational position (Blau; Duncan 1967). Approaches advocating the use of the position generator in researching social capital therefore threaten to turn any discussion of it into what is effectively an analysis of the hierarchy of occupations in a given social context.

Such approaches to social capital are especially ill-advised in contexts characterized by widespread economic informality and mechanisms of social closure (such as those throughout the SEE region). It is certain that – in such contexts – discussions of social capital centered largely on occupational structure will not tell us a lot about "investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" nor about "transforming contingent relations [...] into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt" (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

At any rate, it is certain that to measure "the size of accessed positions ranked higher or lower than ego's" (Song et al. 2018: 238), one does not need to construct a Bourdieusian social space. A discussion of the position of the respondents in the occupational hierarchy, which is what a large part of Doolan and Tonković's (2021) article essentially boils down to, does not get us any closer to "the structures of differences that can only be understood by constructing the generative principle which objectively grounds those differences" (Bourdieu 1998b: 32).

In contrast, Cvetičanin's attempt at operationalizing Bourdieu's definition of social capital, discussed above, simply requires the construction of social space within which the distribution of resources and different social powers can be explained. The concentration of one of the two forms of social capital he mentions ("social capital of informal connections" and "social capital of solidarity") in different regions of the constructed social space implies – by virtue of being located there – different investment strategies, which can be further researched. In view of that, attempts at consistently Bourdieusian operationalizations can be said to be preferable to non-Bourdieusian ones (at least in the context at hand).

38 This indeed happens in the case at hand. Numerically speaking, there are 36 references to "volume" of capital in Doolan and Tonković's (2021) article (four of which in the theoretical part of the article), and merely three references to "composition" (two of which in the theoretical part of the article, and only one in the discussion).

Concluding Remarks

In this article, we have discussed the possibilities of operationalization of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital in the analysis of post-socialist societies in South-East Europe. Following a brief recapitulation of that theorization, we presented the reasons why Bourdieu did not rely on this form of capital in his empirical research, and why we believe that its operationalization would contribute significantly to the study of class relations in "hybrid societies" in the SEE region. In the central part of the article, we then discussed three contributions enabling us to assess the potential of different approaches to operationalizing social capital in research at least partly relying on Bourdieu's ideas, concepts, and methods.

Two of the analyzed contributions, although generally in agreement with Bourdieu's view of social capital as reproducing inequality, are essentially skeptical about the effectiveness of operationalizations which would be based on Bourdieu's theorization of the notion. Tomanović (2006: 118) openly states that the concepts of other authors, sometimes "criticized as normative, homogenized, and the like", are easier to operationalize. And, indeed, in her empirical research of "young people from different social strata" in Serbia (Tomanović, 2012), she later relies on Lin's distinction between "instrumental" and "expressive" social capital.

Doolan and Tonković (2021: 613–614), on the other hand, conclude their attempt at juxtaposing "a Bourdieusian and an occupation-based approach to social class" by praising the former for enabling "a more context-specific and nuanced portrayal of social class distinctions, and in particular identifying those most dispossessed in society" but also mention that "[a] strength of an occupation-based approach compared to our Bourdieusian-inspired analysis is that it is relatively straightforward to operationalize for empirical purposes and can be and has been productively used for comparative purposes".

In contrast to both approaches mentioned above, the Serbian sociologist Predrag Cvetičanin has developed his operationalization of social capital working consistently within a Bourdieusian conceptual framework. After more than a decade of theoretical and empirical work with different sets of collaborators, he has managed to come up with a context-sensitive operationalization of social capital, highly relevant for studying inequality-generating mechanisms at work in post-socialist societies in South-East Europe.

Seemingly paradoxically, a consistently Bourdieusian approach has brought Cvetičanin to certain "post-Bourdieusian" solutions. To begin with, given the realities of the social context under study, his approach to operationalization of social (and also cultural) capital required their conceptualization "both in terms of their volume (quantity) and in terms of different types (qualities)" (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011: 444). That is why he differentiates between "social capital of solidarity" and "social capital of informal connections", as well as between "local cultural capital" and "global cultural capital". Likewise, Cvetičanin's introduction of social and political capital indicators into analysis (in addition to

standard Bourdieusian indicators of economic and cultural capital) resulted in representations of social space positioned "in-between Bourdieuian geometrical space and more topological models of a field" (Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011: 467).

In both respects, Cvetičanin's solutions can be seen as "post-Bourdieusian", yet it should be emphasized again that they were developed not only within a Bourdieusian conceptual framework but also truly respecting the principles of Bourdieu's research philosophy. In brief, what is "post-Bourdieusian" in Cvetičanin's research is a result of trying to respond – in a context-specific way – to "post-Bourdieusian" realities of post-socialist societies in South-East Europe (forty years after Bourdieu's empirical research took place in 1960s and 1970s France).

Cvetičanin is aware that his approach to the analysis of social space presupposes "an explicative principle of high complexity" (Cvetičanin; Popescu 2011: 467). However, a comparison of social spaces in Serbia and Croatia which we merely mentioned in this article indicates that his model of class analysis is capable of registering similarities and differences between societies in the SEE region, and that it can therefore also be "productively used for comparative purposes" (as Doolan and Tonković 2021 claim for occupation-based approaches).

Last but not least, we should mention two more relevant contributions of Cvetičanin's consistent operationalization of Bourdieu's theorization of social capital: (1) it indeed represents an effective operationalization of a highly respected theorization which has so far "stimulated very little empirical investigation" (Adam; Rončević 2003: 169); (2) it redirects attention – at least in the South-East European context – from the cultural capital focus of the early Bourdieu-inspired studies of post-socialist elites (exemplified by Eyal et al. 1998 and summarized by Outhwaite 2007) to a potentially new social capital focus.

Such a new focus seems especially relevant if we bear in mind that cultural capital has lost its former legitimizing quality throughout the SEE region and has largely been turned into a simple resource in the knowledge economy. At any rate, in the current context, characterized by a confluence of post-socialist and neoliberal informality, studying the role of social capital would certainly be more fruitful than studying how the old socialist elites used their cultural capital in responding to the requirements of a new managerialism in the initial post-socialist years. This holds true especially for "hybrid societies" in South-East Europe, in which inequality-generating mechanisms are largely based on social closure.

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Burdijeova teorizacija socijalnog kapitala u analizi jugoistočnoevropskih društava

Apstrakt

U ovom se članku raspravlja o značaju socijalnog kapitala u burdijeovski inspirisanim analizama savremenih jugoistočnoevropskih društava. Najpre rekapituliramo Burdijeovu teorizaciju socijalnog kapitala, naglašavajući da ona dopušta različite operacionalizacije upravo zbog svog razmerno apstraktnog teorijskog karaktera u njegovom radu. Nakon toga, objašnjavamo što se misli pod određenjem „jugoistočnoevropska društva" i konstatujemo da su mehanizmi generisanja nejednakosti u njima u velikoj meri zasnovani na društvenom zatvaranju. U središnjem delu članka zatim komentarišemo neke pokušaje operacionalizacije socijalnog kapitala u regiji jugoistočne Evrope. Iako raspravljamo o dva slučaja eklektičnog mešanja Linove operacionalizacije s burdijeovskim konceptima, u središtu naše pažnje je elaboracija Burdijeove teorizacije socijalnog kapitala koju je predložio srpski sociolog Predrag Cvetičanin. Relevantnost njegovih koncepata „socijalni kapital solidarnosti" i „socijalni kapital neformalnih veza" za proučavanje klasnih odnosa u postsocijalističkim društvima u jugoistočnoj Evropi ističe prednosti konzistentne primene burdijeovskog okvira u savremenom (post-burdijeovskom) kontekstu.

Ključne reči: Burdije, socijalni kapital, postsocijalizam, hibridna društva, jugoistočna Evropa