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Review
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Tavern as *modus vivendi*²

Modern sociology is facing a significant challenge. There is a marked tendency of increase of micro-sociological discipline, arguably, but also not. Our sociologist Dragoljub B. Đorđević made a significant contribution to contemporary sociology by pointing attention to the important "sociological institution," especially in the Balkans and in Serbia - the tavern/bar. Ray Oldenburg used a great name for these institutions and appointed them as "a great third places" ³. As part of a broader theoretical discourse in contemporary sociology, designated as a sociology of everyday life, there is a sociological discourse that relies on the interaction between people which through the interpretation, the meaning of a certain symbols, is a crucial place, the meaning and the importance of the man's actions, and is referred to as a symbolic interactionism. The interaction is based on the meanings that actors give to the reciprocal actions. In the tavern, as a place structured by the combination of such interactions, Professor Đorđević initiates the research of an important sociological discourse, and launches a new sociological discipline - bar-logy, for which he proposes to be classified within some of the individual sociology - sociology of the everyday life or the sociology of the settlements, or within one of the specific sociology, the sociology of culture.

In Proceedings, which is the scope of this review, Professor Đorđević united carefully collected papers and articles, contributions that concentrate the contributing authors from social science, and other sciences (given that sociology of the tavern or bar-logy is named as an interdisciplinary science), made for the purpose of introducing with a new discipline and the

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² Dragoljub B. Đorđević, *Bar-logy*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012.

³ Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: café, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts and how they get you through the day*, Marlowe&Company, New York, 1997. 19.

identification of the importance of the taverns in the Balkans. The existence of the idea that builds the hypothesis that the "tavern is a Sociological Laboratory" marks the occasion of the establishment of the sociology of tavern.

In the Journal is included a large number of high-quality, scientific and literary colored works, which are a contribution to the study of the tavern as a social institution, and they are systematized into three basic sections: sociological bar-logy, historical and ethnological bar-logy and journalistic and literary bar-logy. Summing up the platform for a new scientific discipline in works of the authors from various scientific fields, which themselves held this laboratory alive, inspiring, a treasury of anecdotes, of specific standards and a culture separate from everyday life, other dimensions of life and creation, afterward, as a guide and benchmark for further development of bar-logy research, says Ljubinko Pušić.

The authors who contributed to the construction of this compilation, say that the phenomenon of taverns is a specific sociological space for the development of individual and group identity, and not at all negligible impact on the lives of individuals, the city, as well as the entire society. The tavern was the first Democratic Institution and space. "For participation in it was not required the literacy nor the enrollment nor the discipline that has to have the affiliation to any other organization. It was the first institutionalization of the freedom of thought, there were first formulated the objective demands of the growing companies."⁴ Thus, there is an influence - of social and urban context to the tavern life. This effect, which arises from the tavern environment, is especially reflected in the structural elements of the cultures, with an emphasis on symbolic system. Interaction, sharing, acceptance and confirmation that establish themselves in the tavern, leave the considerable mark on the further development of symbolic and therefore cultural and social development of its epoch.

In the first part of the Bar-logy, in the terms of social science, starting with the establishment of conceptual and categorical apparatus, ie, the basic concepts that led to the development of this discipline, the bar-logy is defined as: "an interdisciplinary which, basing on the interpenetration of theoretical and methodological concepts of history, ethnology / anthropology in sociology, examines the socio-historical phenomenon of a tavern as a social institution, its past, present and future."⁵

The subject of its study, the tavern, is defined as "institution, public, urban sociospatial micro-creation with multifunctional nature: social,

⁴ Stojanović, D. *Cobblestones and asphalt*, "Association for Social History", in: Dragoljub B. Đorđević, *Speak on tavern Džerimo*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012. 17.

⁵ Dragoljub B. Đorđević, *Bar-logy*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012. 15.

economic, political and cultural. More specifically, it is a public and / or semi-public urban space intended for socializing, leisure, entertainment, hedonism, love, suffering, drinking (first and foremost coffee, sorbet, tea, chocolates, liquor, and, then, in the non-Muslim world, and alcoholic beverages), smoking, eating, binge, bohemia, vice (prostitution, gambling, drug - hashish, opium), dissemination of information, the formation of public opinion, commercial and legal matters of different types (from legal to illegal), political debates and machinations, partisanship, secrets and conspiracies, historical initiatives, bringing people together "of books and pens," ie. forming a "literary forum", achieving various artistic projects (music, theater, visual arts) and the like. " ⁶

The first part of the book is devoted to analyzing the occurrence of the tavern, its origin and development, which could not resist the influences of modernization. It was created initially as a gathering place for people and leisure, tavern life took on a very important characteristics of leaders in shaping public opinion. Great achievements of industrialization and modernization have found their place in the tavern, the beginnings of important historical events are located in taverns, and it is particularly significant that the taverns as public spaces, were a gathering place for civic public sphere, which has largely shaped the mainstream views on current issues, and, in addition, the place where the press, as an expression of the public voice, and the need for dissemination of information, literary and artistic expressions, attitudes and, especially important, social criticism, evolved and continued to distribute itself, which tells us about the many functions of this public institution, political, and spiritual function. The author also notes, how the changes that were coming from the West, which relate to public life, adapted to the conditions in the Balkans and Serbia. Tavern life, divided into peripheral taverns and taverns in the city, did not easily tolerate pro-European and democratic innovation power and opinions, and only increased the gap between city and country, and created a distinctive polarization on urban, rural and civilized, primitive tavern, and therefore and guests of the tavern were grouped into these categories. The above mentioned polarization, as well as statements about the conditioning of the currents of thought and behavior corresponds the interactional view that meaning and understanding of symbols are not constant, but are determined by the conditions and the time in which the interaction takes place, it depends on the time of interpretation, meaning that action has to actors and what significance will they give to their actions and the action of another party. Describing the implementation of these changes and the

⁶ *ibid.* 57.

development of a tavern in this context, symbolically and realistically shows the picture of creating the democratic institutions and the implementation of modernization in the same areas. Implementation of change and progress in the tavern was a picture of the progress and changes in society, which were reflected through public opinion and a lot of information that have come for the tavern.

It is worthwhile to pay attention to the formation of the social milieu in taverns.⁷ Grouping a number of people with similar occasion with similar interests, and achievement of specific ways to communicate with them, is a part of their socialization. Georg Zimmel by defining the company as "the interaction of individuals" in the search for motives that drive individuals to come together and create content which is a form of alliance, concluded that the main motive is instinct of sociality, as a form of a game of pairing as *mutatis mutandis* form that with its specificity refers as a work of art to reality. Different milieus are formed in different types of taverns. Research of so-called "tavern-Milieu" reveals important information in terms of social stratification, but also talks about gender representation in taverns. Data obtained by empirical research help to reflect images of certain groups, social milieu, and the entire society. Preceding paragraph of Zimmel suggests that there may be some sort of alienation of the social forms when they cease to serve a purpose beyond themselves and become the goal for themselves, and so become an empty form without content, the game for themselves, without aggregation. This Zimmel's warning may serve as an incentive for further research and development of bar-ology, in conditions of high technological development and alienation of all levels of society, and its manifestation and warning messages that come out of the tavern (single table, technological advances in the role at table, etc.). These dimensions of socialization should be kept in mind especially nowadays when studying contemporary groups, in particular milieus for young, unemployed and work-capable people, a category that occupies a significant part of a tavern-milieu and whose collective performances⁸, as they are called by Emile Durkheim, originate from the tavern as the conceptual core that forms a "collective consciousness"⁹. The importance of the tavern and tavern scene

⁷ Gerhard Schulze uses the term milieu to describe the basic structure of modern societies, and in this sense refers to the increased internal communication within the milieu, as well as that to the definition of the social milieu belong people with similar characteristics in terms of lifestyle, age and education.

⁸ Social representations, according to their content, can be classified on the ideas and norms, as if they are the logical basis of social thoughts, experiences, knowledge and beliefs, or the regulatory basis of social relations.

⁹ Milan Tripković, *Sociological theories*, Novi Sad:Institut za filozofiju i sociologiju, 1992. 141.

in their socialization is on a high level, and as a determinant of behavior and actions is clearly expressed, and about all of this bar-logy provides valuable and interesting research results.

Another way of looking at uniqueness of tavern area, is observing the taverns as a phenomenon that brings a particular way of communication, separate from the outside world. Speaking of communication within the taverns, it is necessary to recall that Habermas points out that language fulfills three functions: cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization.¹⁰ The symbolism of verbal and non-verbal communication opens a view on a single normative system, values, a distinct language and meanings in a way that can only be achieved in a tavern, through the actors of the tavern scene, show and distribute emotional states and messages directed at specific individuals, groups or the entire tavern. This level of communication, taking into account that the tavern reflects the social scene, indicates the need for a single term that can not be achieved in the outside world or any other institution, except in the tavern, where those messages have the unambiguous meaning. The tavern area, follows the established customary norms and laws, which may have suffered changes encouraged by the reproduction of society, but that still reflects a consensus attitude of the tavern-milieu, expressed through communicative action.¹¹

Widespread tavern area is marked by a kind of activity and action. According to Weber (Max Weber), action is the only behavior that has meaning for the person who performs the action, while social actions mean that the "carrier of the actions," in addition to being given a meaning to his outpost, should his behavior - action orient towards the expected behavior of the others, that is, "double-sided". Weber classified the social action into four types: goal-rational , value-neutral , traditional and affective. Traditional and affective actions mark tavern space and they are features of the tavern actors. Atmosphere, a common practice, customary norms dictate behavior and the actions in the tavern. Traditional actions mean actions in accordance with conventional and established habits. Affective action is behavior on the basis of affect, emotion, and other manifestations of mental state. The objective of this action is in the behavior itself, therefore, in the manifestation, and not in deliberately planned and directed action. When taking into account the elements of taverns such as music and drinks, the ceremony of breaking

¹⁰ Michelle Lalman, *History of sociological ideas*, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2004. 155.

¹¹ „Habermas calls communicative interactions in which the participants agree that the agreement shall coordinate their plans of acting, then the reached agreement shall be determined by the extent of intersubjective recognition of the request for validity. "Ibid. 157.

glasses, ordering music, giving money to singer (which can be analyzed separately) and a number of other affective processes, the emotional background becomes the foundation and landmark of every move in the tavern.

Collection of Professor Đorđević reveals a new dimension of scientific work, with a lot of sociological imagination, uncompromising assessment of the tavern life in the past and present, without the hesitation to mention the name and reviews of every known and unknown tavern, which have participants in this study visited. After the extensive references to the theoretical links and paradigms of this discipline, the second and third part of the collection are reserved for the analysis of interesting and specific part of the "tavern-habit." Ease of discussion about the tavern forms, rules of tavern life, tavern etymology, the history of the most famous Belgrade and other Serbian taverns, pointing to the role of Gypsies and the bases that they have set in a tavern, an analysis of the current taverns and their most current forms, and their mutual comparison, reflect spirit of the tavern space, obviously very personal to the editors of conference proceedings, and to all of the authors who contributed to this study. Special charm and an indispensable contribution to the science of the tavern give orders of poetry and prose that are included in the proceedings, without which it would not be sensible to write something like this, because, after all, the authors who have left us the legacy of their literary and artistic works, made the most of them in taverns or closely related to the tavern area. The art note of the tavern talks about its uniqueness, as the institution that brought that to its visitors, one to enjoy the art, others to create. Proceedings *Bar-logy* is intended for those who recognize the value of the tavern spirit who appreciate this institution and its importance from the beginning until today, who have no qualms about the freedom of the mind and the criticism resulted and fixed in a tavern, its rules and its courts, which recognize the adventurousness of real bohemians, and notice the disappearance of the actual tavern, its drowning in the mainstream. " More to the means of mass communicating messages but in professional journals is implied the future of the tavern - it will be smoke, songs and tips free." ¹² The future of this institution is the only certain as to the taking new forms, adapted to the spirit of the times and people. But the original spirit of the tavern, as an authentic monument of the birth of great ideas and thoughts will be preserved only in some remote place, of our spaces, but thanks to Professor Đorđević and *Bar-logy* and in the new discipline that will hopefully bring us the new literary and scientific fruits, the research such as this one.

¹²Dragoljub B . Đorđević, *Speak on tavern Džerimo*, Belgrade: Official Gazette, 2012., p. 48.

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