Daytonitis in Practice. (Post-)Socialist (Dis-)Continuities in Bosnia and Herzegovina's Energy and Environment Sector

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ABSTRACT: *The aim of this ethnographic paper is to map the traces of temporality in everyday practices of energy and environment professionals in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). In line with current anthropological research in the region, we aim to illustrate how clear divisions of time in BiH between post-socialism, post-war and an undetermined Europeanization process do not adequately address the nuances of multiple temporalities the interlocutors reference. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in state institutions, we attempt to understand what living in the post entails for civil servants in BiH's energy and environment sector. Specifically, we look at how temporal markers relate to the Dayton Meantime (Jansen 2015), especially in the context of Europeanization and Yugostalgia. Discussing the analytic productivity of postsocialism, working out certain (dis-)continuities, we focus on how civil servants employ references of Europeanization and Yugostalgia as temporal markers through which they make sense of their past, present and future.*

KEYWORDS: *Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton Meantime, temporality, Europeanization, Yugostalgia*

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Introduction

Traveling through former Yugoslav countries, one quickly notes the omnipresence of the ethno-national markers in the form of flags, signs, or other different signifiers. Against this landscape, the Yugoslav vintage iconography particularly stands out, often remarkably visible in the tourist hotspots. Other symbols of Yugoslavia's socio-economic prosperity feature distinctly across the landscape, constituting translation of a past into the present kitsch, a state which Yugoslavia (SFRY) is frequently reduced to (Petrović 2016). Stripping the landscape of nationalist signifiers on one, and memorabilia on the other hand, one is left with still images of abandonment and poverty. This landscape seems to be ripe for a "revolution of everyday life" (Heller 2010) — particularly in BiH, the yearning for a different everyday is evident. Understated idealizations of the West, vision of BiH as a EU member,

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frequent negation of the present as well as an overall frustration with politics feature greatly in its citizens' everyday lives (Jansen 2015). Respectively, the SFRY and Europe gain and lose significance depending on practices of reference and remembrance in which they are invoked.

This paper aims to investigate the instances in which temporal references occur within a fast evolving domain in BiH — the environment and energy sector. By working out how civil servants in the responsible state institutions relate to which temporalities, we aim to understand what living in the post entails for this particular group of civil servants. Building upon an "affective history of Yugoslavia" (Petrović 2016), rejecting the narrative of BiH as a failed state, we aim to highlight the negotiation of BiH's future through lived realities and temporalities of its citizens. This contribution builds on the attempt to diversify ethnographic engagement within BiH's state institutions by taking a closer look at how interlocutors make sense of the past, present and future in their effort to organize BiH's renewable energy transition. In line with this, we agree with those scholars contending that although "ensnared by markers of the past, the BiH we are concerned with is a dynamic space, a space with a future; a future that may still be won by agents of change, rather than merely subjects of inquiry" (Gilbert/Mujanović 2015, 609). Exploring what temporal markers denote when employed in the context of BiH's state authorities might also enable an engagement with BiH's future trajectories that go beyond a mere description of the "future as it ought to have been" (Hromadžić/Kurtović 2017, 27).

The co-author Dženeta Hodžić collected the empirical data supporting this paper during her fieldwork in BiH, from September 2018 to June 2019, for her Masters' thesis about the implementation of renewable energy policies.[1] Ethnographic fieldwork consisted of three months of participant observation in relevant energy and environment ministries, as well as attendance of policy workshops organized by international development agencies. Hodžić conducted 23 semi-structured narrative interviews with environment and energy professionals working for the (state) ministries, expert advisors, decision-makers, foreign development agencies active in the renewable energy sector, electricity operators and environment NGOs. While the research project originally focused on BiH's attempts to promote a renewable energy transition and concomitant policy implementation, Hodžić was struck by the frequent off-topic answers and office chatter about her interlocutors' lives, work in the SFRY and private accounts of the Bosnian War (1992—1995). Both periods were mostly used by Hodžić's participants as reference points to contextualize contemporary BiH society and to divide phases of their lives. More often than not, these personal accounts concluded in reflections on BiH's markers of self-proclaimed Europeanness or the framing of BiH as a non-European, inconclusive other.

In this context, the paper aims to investigate the productivity of postsocialism as temporal demarcation of BiH's past in light of other conceptual propositions such as the Dayton Meantime (Jansen 2015). The main argument of this paper is that prevalent temporalizations of the future by means of Europeanization processes and of the past by means of nostalgia do not work in a linear understanding of temporalities. While the concept of postsocialism also entails ideas of (dis-)continuities and takes a critical stance towards linear temporal imagining, in specific cases postsocialism might also recede behind other temporal references. As the empirical examples will show, postsocialism was not used by the interviewed civil servants at all to understand the current state of contemporary BiH's society. This contributes to the argument that for understanding BiH, postsocialist discontinuities might be, in fact, more accurate within the spatio-temporal discursive frames which consider the temporal references to the socialist past while acknowledging its present continuities.

After a discussion of anthropological approaches to studying postsocialism in BiH, two empirical examples are presented. The first one addresses the question of BiH's future as part of the EU, the second showcases how notions of nostalgia relate to understanding BiH's socialist past.

Postsocialism or Dayton meantime? Temporalities in BiH

Prominent anthropological investigations of postsocialism often focus on the former Soviet Union (Chari/Verdery 2009). Other socialisms, such as Yugoslav socialism have been widely neglected under this line of theoretical inquiry (ibid.). Overall, it has been established that the former Yugoslav states do not conform to the Cold War narrative reinforced binary of a capitalist West and a socialist East (Gilbert et al. 2008; Ćurak 2015; Trakilović 2020). Therefore, scholars argue that "it is impossible to interpret [the region] according to a reductive dualistic logic of East and West, Self and Other, progressive and backwards" (Trakilović 2020, 174). Yugoslav successor states share an important difference to other former socialist countries, namely the fact that the end of Yugoslav socialism was produced by conflict instead of social changes linked, but not limited to, democratization, privatization, marketization or Europeanization (Gilbert 2006). Simultaneously, anthropologists researching SFRY have identified that:

> "Yugoslavia and its successor states have always occupied a tenuous position in the study of socialism and postsocialism. Recent analysis of the region has more often been centered on the study of ethnic conflict, nationalism and 'failed states' rather than [sic!] socialist and postsocialist processes. This position, both marginal and central, forced us as scholars in and of the region to bring (post)socialism 'back in,' and offered the opportunity to thoroughly interrogate the usefulness of postsocialist analytic frames." (Gilbert et al. 2008, 10)

The focus on BiH's political, constitutional and economic shortcomings have been well-documented and emphasized (Sarajlić 2011), perpetuating the trope of BiH as "lagging behind" (Velikonja 2009) Western European standards of development. The relationship of postsocialist societies to the *idea of Europe* is often centred around normalcy (Gilbert et al. 2008; Jansen 2015; Gilbert 2019). Starting dialogue with ethnographers working in the region often creates an understanding of the Western Balkans as *backwards* and as an *abnormal* state and political system (Gilbert 2019). In such empirical situations, interlocutors are pinned by referencing BiH's uncertain Europeanization process and the Dayton constitution which "consolidated the results of the war in a labyrinthine institutional structure that was considered both dysfunctional and far removed from the state people had fought for during the war" (Jansen 2015, 171). BiH's post-war political structure has elsewhere been dubbed "an artificial ineffective creation" (Abazović 2014); described as an "empty nation" (Hromadžić 2015; Kurtović/Hromadžić 2017); defined as a "pretend state" (Ćurak 2015); the "Dayton equidistant" (ibid.) or the "Dayton ethnopolis" (Mujkić 2007) with social, political, and economic reforms stalled or declared failures (Belloni 2001). These postulations all refer to the internationally brokered Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995, which simultaneously defines BiH's constitution. One of the leading US negotiators in the peace process, Richard Holbrooke, stated that the Dayton Peace Agreement "can be assessed as having effectively ended the war, but being insufficient for developing a democratic and

prosperous state" (Holbrooke 1998, 23). Since then, the Dayton framework remains highly debated to this day. Political scientist Tobias Flessenkemper (2016) describes BiH's condition since 1995 as a process of triple transition: from war to peace, from a socialist to a market economy, and from a one-party autocratic to a multi-party democratic political system. These transitional trajectories have brought about specific issues populating Bosnian everyday life (Arsenijević 2015), disproportionately and negatively affecting it.

2020 marked the 25th anniversary of a Dayton BiH. Previous Dayton Agreement jubilees have sparked renewed political, media and academic interest in constitutional matters, mainly focusing on "the events in question as long past, with little attention paid to their consequences in contemporary BiH" (Gilbert/Mujanović 2015, 605). This stultifying lack of confrontation with the consequences of socialism and war in broader public discourse fails to adequately address the ways in which they do and do not inform societal transformations. As the anthropologist Andrew Gilbert observed as early as 2006, particularly in Dayton BiH, the terms postsocialism and post-war often "serve to 'bracket' the past from the present in ways that keep it from becoming a significant object of public discourse" (Gilbert 2006, 16). At the same time, ethnographers and anthropologists studying everyday negotiations and practices in SFRY societies have shown that this divergence of a finite past, an evolving present, and a distant future is often challenged by their empirical material (Jansen 2015; Brković 2017; Jašarević 2017; Gilbert 2019). Such studies emphasize the ways in which ideas, values, and practices in these societies continue to be partially informed by Yugoslav socialism (Gilbert 2006). Moreover, they stress how temporal markers used by their interlocutors to make sense of social and political life blur the segmentation of these periods as they overlap even "within the same social interaction, personal narrative or public performance" (Gilbert et al. 2008, 11). Even more so, the work of prominent anthropologists in the research field shows that "these multiple temporalities are mobilized as meta-discursive frames, affective states and forms of political persuasion" (ibid.) and how people in their everyday practices in Yugoslav contexts "mobilize and move between such conceptions of time, differently positioning themselves from moment to moment" (ibid.). An uncompleted past and impeded future seem to be two temporal references that fundamentally shape everyday practices. As referenced, the future often takes the form of uncertainties in BiH's geopolitical status and individual, as well as collective life trajectories. This tension creates a "future conditional" (Kurtović 2017), in which people negotiate their life trajectories in relation to ambivalent loyalties to political parties and other systems of clientelism, which are essential to obtaining a job with a regular salary and reliable health care (ibid.). Unsurprisingly, the most frequent periodizations seem to be SFRY, the Bosnian War and BiH's envisioned future in the EU.

While a postsocialist analytical framework might help in theorizing these developments, there might remain a lack of perspective on what the spatio-temporal determinants identified by, for instance, the interlocutors featured in this paper entail. This observation goes beyond strictly ethnographic readings of the concept, as human geographer Martin Müller (2019) states,

> "not only has postsocialism emerged from a particular historical conjuncture as a limited historical moment that has, over time, dissipated, as socialism has receded into the past. Perhaps more significantly [...] postsocialism comes with a particular epistemological, geographical and political vision that restricts what can (and cannot) be thought under that label in what way. [...] [N]otwithstanding the inevitable reduction that such condensation entails: facing the past, postsocialism emphasises

> rupture over continuity, privileges a territorial geographical imagination and reflects uneven power relationships in knowledge production." (ibid., 534).

Privileging rupture which signals change while simultaneously placing it at its referential center, postsocialist studies may not recognize the variety of postsocialisms that actually exist. The concept therefore requires a decolonial reading as "postsocialism is an orientalizing concept through which western anthropologists constructed postcommunist Europe" (Červinková 2012, 159). Does postsocialist non-linearity entail anything else except for the temporal marker stuck in past? If not, what other concepts can postsocialism build upon to understand the reality experienced by those living and working in the *post*?

Overall, anthropologists working in BiH have stressed the need to re-examine the productivity of this periodization and categorization of BiH (Gilbert 2006; Gilbert et al. 2008). Simultaneously, this sparked a call to establish "new vocabularies, concepts and frameworks to capture both the entrenched and the emergent, and the ways in which they are inextricably entwined" (Gilbert et al. 2008, 10). The work of anthropologist Stef Jansen and his longstanding ethnographic engagement with everyday practices in the Yugoslav successor states stands out significantly in this regard. In his ethnography of everyday practices in a Sarajevo apartment complex, Jansen addresses BiH statehood through its perception and evocation by the inhabitants of the complex. Tracing how the state affects them and intervenes in their everyday lives, he describes how most of his informants

> "felt that Dayton BiH defied any solid qualification as 'postwar', which itself complicated the formulation of reasonings about any 'pre-' dimension. Lives in Dayton BiH were thus considered lives in the 'Meantime'. This Meantime [...] forms the foil against which the yearnings for 'normal lives' [...] must be understood"
> (Jansen 2015, 18).

In what he terms the Dayton Meantime, Jansen denotes a lock-in of temporal reasoning by his interlocutors within the frames of a *past present*, which brings forward the *current present* as a "particular historical conjuncture in BiH" (ibid.). To this end, the "marked absence of the state in some ways that coexisted with its exaggerated presence in other ways" (ibid., 19) was a main point of why Jansen's informants felt Dayton BiH is unsuccessful in distinguishing the *post* in post-war. Jansen analyses sharply how this Dayton Anatomy of BiH and the subsequent Dayton Meantime can in fact be described as a not-yet-state (ibid.), understanding the not-yet-state as a historical conjuncture at the EU periphery, with its geopolitical and temporal determinants reproduced by BiH citizens in their "yearning for 'normal lives'" (ibid.). In order to describe how his informants made sense of their predicament through political and temporal reasoning, he introduces the term *Daytonitis*, which he finds indicative by symptoms such as the inability of citizens to articulate hope (ibid., 43f.) Understanding Dayton BiH as not-yet analytically implies that there is an open-ended negotiation of temporal understandings in the present. Moreover, *Daytonitis* reproduces BiH as a particular historical conjuncture between an incomplete past and an impeded future.

It is *Daytonitis* that can also be identified in the reasonings and practices of Hodžić's informants in the energy and environment sector. Dealing with institutional remnants of SFRY socialism, the participants of Hodžić's ethnographic research often used specific temporal reasoning to make sense of Dayton BiH at work. This was mostly done by referencing either BiH's undetermined Europeanization trajectory or by referencing the SFRY as a geopolitically powerful state. Hence, the analysis of these temporal references lets us under-

stand the temporal reasoning of BiH's professionals and how they enact the not-yet by their understanding of periodizations such as postsocialism.

"Finally restoring security and justice" – Referencing the future through the past

During her ethnographic fieldwork, Hodžić frequented the federal ministries in the energy and environment sector. Noting various omissions such as the unplugged security mechanism in the entrance, Hodžić often made her way across the stairs to the ministerial offices. The atmosphere was particularly lively on the floor which hosted a small cafeteria. Amidst continuous budget cuts, understaffed departments and infrastructural fallouts such as the unplugged security gate, broken phone lines, no wireless and partly no cable internet, the collective coffee breaks of office teams seemed to be the one workday constant. Although the cafeteria staff often brought orders per request, Hodžić noted a point was made about the employees bringing the coffee back to the offices themselves. These coffee walks were often used for cross-departmental and cross-ministerial exchange of information or updates on cross-sectoral working groups. Even in the offices, the coffee break was used for collegial updates on work progress, discussing ministry and mainstream politics, news as well as personal chatter. Depending on the professional and personal alliances of the civil servants, sometimes colleagues from the other departments joined the break — always in the offices that allowed for more privacy, rather than the public buffet area. It was during those coffee breaks that Hodžić gained in-depth knowledge about work dynamics and informal insight into current issues of the energy and environment sector, illustrated by the following excerpt of Hodžić's fieldnotes, a dialogue between her and one civil servant[2]:

> "While having a coffee with the civil servants on one of my ministry visits today, one of them read current news headlines to the group. Ms. Muminović, a civil servant from another department, came into the office, joining us at the coffee table. Other than the name of her department, I didn't know much about her, except that she had decades of working experience for the biggest SFRY energy and water infrastructure provider, which she had mentioned during a previous coffee break. She was talking about today's news headlines and mentioned that she thought renewable energy surely would be the top priority for the EU in following years, indicating this might accelerate renewable energy implementation in BiH. This prompted me to ask her what I had asked her colleagues in my interviews with them: "What would you say is the biggest challenge for implementing renewable energy?", to which she replied, "The biggest problem is money, not the will to change. All these aspects, renewable energy, energy efficiency and so on, they require a lot of money, which the state doesn't have. It's also a big problem that the entities can't come to an agreement on important decisions; everything would be easier if they did. You see, the Dayton Peace Agreement basically declared the entities as mini-states, dividing the country. This is why EU accession is so important. It would finally restore a feeling of security and justice. So that people can feel free again and have possibilities to travel and to have a good job." (Fieldnotes from 30.11.2018, DH)

In her elaboration, Ms. Muminović addressed two particularly striking aspects. She postulates EU policies as a driving force for renewable energy implementation in BiH, and

she equates an envisioned life within the EU as equivalent to the life she led during SFRY, reproducing the 'now' as the Dayton Meantime.

Although the involvement of international actors is inevitable in BiH's structure and functioning, the institution building is often articulated as the backbone of the international community engagement (Deacon/Stubbs 1998; Kulanić 2011, 79f.). As a EU pre-accession country, BiH has committed to adopt European Community law prior to actualized EU harmonization, which poses many challenges of implementing environment and energy policies and legislation (Pittman et al. 2009). Furthermore, BiH has been a member of several bi- and transnational EU-driven organizations, which raises pressure of evaluation against proposed EU standards. Given the strategic investment opportunities and EU accession negotiations, the energy sector of BiH plays a role in other geopolitical strategies within its immediate geographical region, as well as the EU (Buzar 2008). The magnitude of BiH's commitments to EU legislation and the influence of international development agencies in turn clearly show that the Bosnian energy sector cannot be separated from the EU and its objectives, nor its existing commitments towards the global international community. This was invoked by Ms. Muminović when she emphasized the focus on renewable energy policy by the EU as a driver that could accelerate the construction of renewable energy facilities. In her understanding, the EU was a prime instigator for renewable energy implementation in BiH, through policies and infrastructure projects, presupposing similar engagement of international actors in public sectors to their previous commitments. Simultaneously, this renders BiH's development out of a 'not-yet' to a projected 'proper' nation state developmental linear, measured by perceived progress towards EU accession, requiring certain procedures and developments. For instance, these might include the adoption of a policy and its implementation but also EU membership as the final and greatest completed step: finalizing BiH's Europeanization process.

The EU standards do not only manifest through technical-administrative, financial, or political aspects (Kulanić 2011). They are reproduced by certain norms and spaces that also relate to identities — individual and collective positions and formations within the processes enumerated above (Hasanović 2021). As Ms. Muminović elaborates towards the end of the fieldnote excerpt, EU accession might not only contribute to establishing new technologies and green infrastructure, but also to reinstate freedom of movement, stable employment options, security, and the enforcement of the rule of law. The temporal markers she used organize a clear contrast between the present and the past, namely when she said an EU accession would "finally restore" feelings of security and justice and that people — as a collective — would feel free "again". Ms. Muminović implies that this envisioned, prosperous future for BiH could only happen with BiH becoming a part of the EU. Moreover, she does not only use these references to denote a favourable envisioned future. With these temporal markers, she also contrasts that the characterization of the future could not be used to describe the present. However, it could be used to describe how she perceived her life to have been during SFRY, which she indicates by employing terms such as restoration and "again" — postulating that it once has been so. What Ms. Muminović identifies as important characteristics of her envisioned life within the EU are in fact characteristics of her life during Yugoslav socialism, highlighting that according to her, the same values and norms that should be "restored" or reinstated in the EU have been present in the SFRY. In this respect, it is a continuation of these characteristics that Ms. Muminović deems possible in the future as part of the EU but not possible in the Dayton Meantime. Her experience of SFRY was decidedly not one of a 'failed system' or state. Instead, her employed temporal markers reference multiple temporalities simultaneously. This shows not only how post-

socialism might be a category too broad to address such nuances in temporal referencing but also how Europeanization, postulated as linear development, does not work linearly in empirical situations like these.

"I admit: I am a yugostalgic!" – Referencing the past through the present

During one of the coffee breaks, the return of a team leader Mr. Aganbegović was particularly anticipated by his small team. Highly praised for his long career in the sector before the war, withstanding various political turmoils and staff changes, he attended an international conference with UN and EU officials. Mr. Aganbegović was set to arrive directly from the airport to the ministry just in time for coffee. As Hodžić joined the group, Mr. Aganbegović had already begun sharing some impressions of the trip:

> "You know, I have to think of Yugoslavia when I go to these conferences. The economic power we would've become by now. And were back then. We would've had a major say at every round table. [long pause] They [SFRY ruling elite] made big mistakes in how they handled religion. Well, it was still better than nationalism..." Ms. Imamović laughed at that statement and said, "See, I always told you that SFRY wasn't the 'bad times' of our lives — this is!" Others in the group were nodding their heads, some of them smiled sympathetically. Mr. Aganbegović laughed and finally proclaimed, "No, no, there are at least some things that are better now! But alright, alright, I admit: I am a yugostalgic!" (Fieldnotes from 30.11.2018, DH)

Within this excerpt, the portrayal of SFRY and the present Dayton Meantime are multifaceted. The SFRY is described as an economic power, hinting at a trajectory of even greater economic and political influence had it not dissolved. This understanding of SFRY only emerges in the fieldnote excerpt through a contrast to the geopolitical setting of Dayton BiH in the present. It is only Mr. Aganbegović's outward experience that motivates him to compare the impact of the SFRY and Dayton BiH on modes of decision-making. This discrepancy in political and economic impact in international arenas he identifies is perhaps one crucial aspect why he later, encouraged by a colleague but reluctantly, proclaimed himself a Yugostalgic. Simultaneously, he was the only one of Hodžić's interlocutors who openly criticized SFRY. Considering there has not been a reflective public debate about injustices or inefficiencies of Yugoslav communism (Gilbert 2006, Gužvica 2020), this critique is placed in the dialogue seemingly as a counterpart in weighing out 'good' and 'bad' aspects of his experience of socialist SFRY. In her reaction, one of the staffers alludes to previous conversations about this topic of assessing the experience of their everyday lives in the SFRY, denoting that it is an ongoing discussion at least within this group of civil servants.

Furthermore, what particularly protrudes in this fieldnote excerpt is the choice of words to describe this nostalgia for Yugoslavia *Yugostalgia*. In this context, the term operates in a similar way to the German *Ostalgie*, a nostalgia East Germans feel for the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Boyer 2006). Departing from US-American anthropologist Dominic Boyer's understanding of Ostalgie, the recently emerging term of Yugostalgia is to be understood "within an ethnological politics of memory and an allochronic politics of the future, whose conjuncture produces the effect of the past-fixation" (ibid., 362). As was already discussed, Dayton Meantime future trajectories are contested and undetermined in various ways, contributing to a longing for 'normal lives'. In referencing the experiences in socialist

systems, however, people seldom mean to say they yearn for a direct return to the SFRY, or the GDR in case of Ostalgie (ibid., 363). However, if using the adapted terms of nostalgia does not denote the wish for the specific statehood to return, it begs the question what this temporal reference actually denotes. Hence, scholars have argued for ethnographic theorizing to "go beyond nostalgia in order to identify and analyze a broader range of meaning and action in the creating and deployments of the past" (Gilbert 2019, 3). This builds on a broader critique of nostalgia as an "effect produced by the understanding of linear, progressive and non-repeatable time" (ibid.), as an analytic that presupposes "closure around a sign of pastness" (Boyer 2010, 25), or based on "the fact that although it is widely recognized that most nostalgic expressions are much more about the present moment of their articulation than about the past, nostalgia still trains our attention on the past and away from the future" (ibid.). Indeed, Mr. Aganbegović's Yugostalgia does not seem to be a mere exclamation. While he had previously been part of a society with recognized economic success and international standing, he now was representing Dayton BiH, whose economy and international performance did not suffice these standards anymore. In this instance, he described the international performance of the SFRY as superior to the one in the present. Moreover, he simultaneously references a possible future in which he could have represented a BiH that inhibits these characteristics, reflecting on "the economic power we would've become by now. [...] We would've had a say at every round table". A future that might still be possible, however, decidedly not in the present Dayton BiH but perhaps outside of the Dayton Meantime. Within the context of the Dayton Meantime, temporal markers referencing the past, such as Yugostalgia, also denote a "nostalgia for the future" (Piot 2010). In this respect, the practices of employing temporal markers to reference certain periodizations go beyond a simple categorization of postsocialism or finite pastness. Similar to the empirical example of Ms. Muminović, the discontinuity along the spatio-temporal lines of Europeanization and Yugostalgia is a longing in which unfulfilled achievements become life. It is what intellectual Dubravka Ugrešić describes as a geopolitical and intimate manifestation, as people in SFRY successor states "are now living a postmodern chaos/order. Past, present and future are all lived simultaneously. In the circular temporal mish-mash suddenly everything we ever knew and everything we shall know has sprung to life and gained its right to existence (Ugrešić 1998, 42)." In such a reflection of these spatio-temporal relationships in the Dayton Meantime, what becomes visible are the shifting forms and meanings of past, present and future. In fact, it is salient to acknowledge that the two presented empirical examples feature civil servants who have been active in the energy and environment sector during the SFRY. Particularly for this group of workers, any clear demarcation of the past as post-war and postsocialist, postulates pastness as an autonomous status "and simultaneously becomes disconnected from those who created it and from those for whom SFRY is, in some form, still part of the present" (Petrović 2016, 517). Understanding how Yugostalgia is employed to make claims about the future reveals how references to the past do not work linearly in one temporal direction. Moreover, it illustrates how a categorization of the present as postsocialist would subdue the multiplicity of temporal markers employed to make sense of the civil servant's current predicament.

Outlook

In line with current anthropological research in the region, this paper shows how clear divisions of time in BiH between postsocialism, post-war and an undetermined Europeani-

zation process do not adequately address the nuances of multiple temporalities the civil servants reference. This is illustrated by two particular modes of temporal reasoning: Europeanization and Yugostalgia. In the first ethnographic example, Ms. Muminović envisions a future in which BiH is part of the EU by referencing the past. Here, the empirical material illustrates how EU policies are postulated as a driving force for renewable energy implementation, equated with a linear development towards a 'modernity'. However, the envisioned changes within this future actually present a continuation of some experiences of socialist Yugoslavia, reproducing the present as a not-yet within the Dayton Meantime. The second empirical example introduces Mr. Aganbegović, who uses the term Yugostalgia to make sense of Dayton BiH's status in an international setting. This example highlights how flat understandings of nostalgia as referencing a finite past often reduce the more intricate claims accompanied by this way of longing. Moreover, it shows how temporal markers can denote various periodizations of the past, present and future simultaneously. In this respect, the paper contributes the empirical material to re-assess the productivity of the term postsocialism to describe everyday practices and temporal reasoning in BiH. As the empirical examples illustrate, temporal markers used by the civil servants mainly centred around Europeanization and Yugostalgia, emerging in a specific spatio-temporal lock-in of the Dayton Meantime. While the temporal markers employed clearly referenced either the past or the future at first sight, a closer examination showed that this went beyond the periodizations of socialism and postsocialism. Working out these implications for either past, present or future by placing them within the context of the Dayton Meantime, the empirical material showed how postsocialism might inform more nuanced, temporally flexible conceptualizations similar to Europeanization and Yugostalgia. While it does not stand contradicting the reality of the lived experience, the concept of Dayton Meantime identifies the dynamic between these non-linear temporalities. Overall, the aim of this ethnographic paper was to trace the temporal references in everyday practices of civil servants working in BiH's energy and environment sector. The civil servants experience Dayton BiH as a not-yet, within the context of inextricable institutional and societal complexities, entrenched within a thread of various post-war and postsocialist periodizations and promises of socialist futures that never were. Simultaneously, they navigate undetermined future Europeanization trajectories in their everyday work through implementing and amending energy and environment policies.

Endnotes

1 The student research project "An Ethnography of Energopolitics. Tracing Renewable Energy in BiH" was part of the study program for a Master degree in European Ethnology at the Institute for European Ethnology at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. The fieldwork in BiH was funded by the Erasmus+ exchange program between the Institute for Slavic Studies, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, and the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo.

2 All research participants are pseudomized and have signed consent forms to be cited anonymously and pseudomized for publication purposes.

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