



» NO.9 - 2005 » BOOK REVIEW



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THREE PROSPECTS TO THE BALKAN IDENTITIES

Abstract

Three very different books by three different authors came to my attention recently. [1] Their au and professional. One is a Balkan native and two are visiting the area from outside. T. Nedelche social anthropologist. The third of the authors, Paul Hockenos, is not a scholar but a journalist, and Kosovar/Albanian) diasporas in North America and Western Europe than in the local popu published in English by the Cornell University Press, while Nedelcheva's is published in Bulgari House--clearly aiming at a far narrower audience. Nevertheless, it is namely the Bulgarian book,

perspective – which is probably easy to explain, because the two books in English follow conceivably different, though related, ethno-geographical areas. Mary Neuburger's interest is in the Muslim minorities in Bulgaria. Paul Hockenos is concerned with three ethnic groups in former Yugoslavia led to collapse of that multinational state. Despite all these differences, all three books share a lot of features--perhaps too often denied or even victimised--of the Balkan peoples and their shared past. Centuries of political, cultural and confessional foreign domination have left a heavy footprint on the region, and both old and relatively recent contradictions and prejudices has proved very difficult to overcome. Modern political analysts, mainly Western ones, were too quick to draw new fictitious borders, and even to replace the name Balkans, so overburdened with negative connotations, with South-Eastern Europe, and even to replace the name Balkans, so overburdened with negative connotations, with South-Eastern Europe. The local issues, and even less adequate for their resolution. Thus, in our opinion, it seems a good idea to have a book devoted to various aspects of Balkan history and the present day situation – as interrelated, each a part of a larger puzzle.

One common trait of all three works is that they rest on long years of preliminary effort and collaboration. Mary Neuburger has made relatively extended visits to Bulgaria, including to areas in the Rhodopes and the Pirin region, for research, and she has had the chance to access previously closed archives. At almost the same time, Tanya Nedelcheva has been in Bulgaria (she is the head of the Ethno-sociology department at the Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), conducting several empirical surveys, in particular in the Western Rhodopes and the Pirin region. She has also worked for other principal agencies in Bulgaria, such as the National Opinion Polls' Center. Based in Berlin, Paul Hockenos has travelled widely on several continents and has interviewed 'scores' of key figures from the area. He has also spent two years in Bosnia and Herzegovina working for the OSCE. There is, indeed, a great difference in the funding of the Americans and their Bulgarian colleague, which seems at first very trivial: funding. While Neuburger has had support from the American Commission, IREX, ACLS, NCEER, etc., and Paul Hockenos had support from the German Marshall Fund, Humboldt University, Berlin, Nedelcheva has, in contrast, been more restricted in access to funding, which is reflected in her book. It is quite natural that in their bibliographies the two academics, Neuburger and Nedelcheva, quote a wide range of studies. They include B. Anderson, P. Bourdieu, Zb. Brzezinski, M. Foucault, E. Gellner, A. Smith, R. Daskalov, R. Gradeva, Sv. Ivanova, A. Krasteva, A. Zhelyazkova, O. Zagorov. Variation in the approach to the subject and sociological works quoted in Nedelcheva's book, while there are more historians, ethnographers, and literary scholars. As a whole, Neuburger's bibliography is the largest, quoting works in seven different languages – Bulgarian, English, Croatian, and Macedonian. She includes many of the main Western studies on Bulgaria and of the area, including those of her background is from the area – Tzv. Todorov, Maria Todorova, B. Jelavich, G. Markov. She also has included some in Turkish. Not surprisingly, Paul Hockenos' bibliography is the briefest, but nevertheless comprehensive, which cover mainly historical and political publications as well as periodicals – mainly in English, but also in Albanian. The two US-published books have comprehensive indexes, while the Bulgarian book by Tanya Nedelcheva offers by far the most profound academic treatise of the subject. Her goal is to explore the relationship and its interdependency with ethnic and cultural identity, transformations that are the results of historical processes. Here, "transformations of the national identity" is understood as the changing emphasis in the relationship between the state, politics, and civic relations. She bases her theme deeply in philosophical discourse, finding the essence of the authentic, cognitive, expressing development of the individual through removal of personal particularity. Absolute Substance, i. e., rooted in the substantial ontology; one individuality grounded as an irreducible particularity bearing construction of personality, i. e., a reflexive relation; the third described most adequately as a reflexive relation.

concept. The first concept is referred as *protoidentity*, the second, as *relational principle*, and Bourdieu and others. She defines identity as an oscillating, relatively sustainable aggregate of relations. It is a conscious self-reference to a life field that is both defined and structured in terms of norms of a particular community. The three sets of concepts mentioned above determine a heuristic perspective where the transformations are concretised. Each of the three types of identity – ethnic, national, cultural – has its own centre. For the ethnic one this centre could be religion or a certain imagined common descent; national identity the structurally centripetal component is a shared experience of otherness, and is expressed as a collective identity appears as an anticipatory, foreboding mode, since conditions – objective and subjective – are not yet defined, it is based on the devices of *autopoiesis*, where components of both ethnic and national identity are in an initial structural configuration, and notably without the ultimate significance of the political.

Equipped with such a firm theoretical background, the author proceeds to the second chapter, *during the Age of Globalisation*. Here she elaborates on several large categories pertinent to the nation, the state, and the global. She points out that the emerging future image of the human civilisation that she sees seems to be based mainly on individual activity, free initiative, competitiveness, creativeness, and the process of the demolition of the rigid centralised organisational structures and extension of the horizon. "Two modernities," she concludes that we should expect renovation and improvement of the traditional values of justice are rooted. In addition, most world-wide processes will happen not somewhere outside, but in the local, e.g., multicultural marriages and families, working places, circles of friends, schools, art, and so on, in the interaction between human affiliations and the surrounding milieu. Historical experience reveals that a required condition, a first step toward human universality. However, this universalising trend is not only more visible in recent events and phenomena – the increasing of ethnic and minorities' inclusion in international relations and law during the last two centuries seems to deplete its historical magnitude. However, this experience, and, more particularly, the lessons from the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, she introduces. If a state is a geographically defined country, following a simplified definition, and a (culturally and/or religiously) defined group with an attachment to some particular area, then it is clear that if more than one such group then trouble is around the corner. There are currently around 200 nation-states in the world, and only 20 "nation-states" are inhabited more or less by only one nation. In other words, there is a certain form of sovereignty, which is close to irrationality, but still can bring further serious misfortune. Her observation seems quite pessimistic compared with many bright forecasts for the coming decades. However, increasing tensions between the ethnic and national could easily lead to xenophobic reactions, especially in particular strata and minority communities, which, in its turn, furnishes negative energy for rising tensions between the nation and the state, investigating briefly the formation of European nation-states, she discusses the development, meaning integration in the worldwide market, communications and production, and her scepticism toward the European Union as a possible substitute, at a higher level, of the nation-state. In her arguments, Nedelcheva leans to the presumption that even in the Balkans, where processes in progress in Western and Central Europe, we are far from reaching the point of a certain "melting pot" of the nation-state, of federalism is relevant. At this point she extrapolates the highest point of identity's evolution – the social construction – global civil society as an expression of shared human values, ideas and norms, and real the Kantian notion of "world citizenship." The way toward this stage passed through the stage of the confrontation to one of tolerance, empathy and mutual understanding. J. S. Mill introduced a notion of tolerance as a virtue, a necessary premise for the diversity, pluralism, and freedom. Such an instrumental view of tolerance, the Russian scholar P. Kozlovski in his interpretation about the shape of a new dimension of the concept of tolerance that reflects the openness of the Myselfness and otherness at their toposes of encounter with each other.

a new and stronger significance, as they are already experiencing the phenomenon of globalisation based on ethnic, national, and confessional boundaries that were shown earlier. Such a fundamental deep crisis at all levels of societal apprehension and substantiation – from personality with its roots including the global society. Instead of consolidation, here comes increasing social atomisation, growth of social anxiety and the perception of powerlessness in front of the entanglements. The latent conflicts, confrontations, and antagonisms.

And this is where we land from the high matters straight onto the Balkans, and onto Bulgaria, in a situation in Bulgaria in the late 1980s and early 1990s has been accompanied, according to Nedelina, from totalitarianism to democracy, entire major "panels" of national identity suddenly became complexes of new schemes for ethnic identifications became activated. This situation finds confirmation in an empirical survey under the title *Ethnicities and Power*, conducted in 1998. Moreover, it revealed a model of tolerance: one incorporated mainly by the ethnic Bulgarians – the dominating ethnicity – and another model, the Roma/Gypsies. The good news is that both models do not confront each other – on two different dimensions with different value accentuation.

The majority's model of tolerance has two levels – one, reflecting mainly the general, public attitude in declaring their rights, responsibilities, their place in the socium. Here we find many fears and concerns. In some recent examples, this can be confirmed. One of the pronounced nationalist weekly newspapers in Bulgaria (allegedly owned by R. Murdoch) reported celebrations on the Day of Slavonic (Bulgarian) language. The channel was attacked because of the reporters chosen to cover the event. One of them was an ethnic Greek. The paper recognised, the "pure Bulgarian language" that they used. Another example is from the city of Thessaloniki with large populations of Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and other communities. The nationalist emigrations of the Turks to Turkey or to smaller settlements in Bulgaria, Greeks to Greece, Jews to Israel, and Macedon, funded by the Thessaloniki municipality, fuelled a serious dispute that even included the question of ancient names of the city, Philipopolis, is related to this Macedonian king, something that has been mentioned in textbooks and the Bulgarian national encyclopaedia.

However, the other level, called factual, expresses that in principle Bulgarians accept and comprehend a number of ethnic groups, and that "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians" is a slogan of a relatively very small part of the Bulgarian population pronounces itself to belong to the (sometimes platitudinous) "tradition of national redemption from the Nazi holocaust is often repeated. However, when a true, efficient and sensible government is raised, then statements are at least cautious. Quoting data from the above mentioned survey – slightly more than half (55%) of the ethnic Bulgarians approve such a participation, and another 40% of respondents among ethnic Bulgarians agree with such rights for minorities as tutoring in their own languages in political parties*. While 45% accept that ethnic groups have to have their representatives in the parliament, more than half – 57% – accept representatives of these groups to be among the members of the parliament. It is never set up a majority at the highest legislative body. Recognising this serious prejudice, Nedelina outlines the pattern of reconciliation and relative abolition of ethnic and confessional distinctions in the Balkans with mixed population. She outlines in particular the quick restoration of the previous socio-psychological empathy, mutual co-operation and help in these ethnically heterogeneous communities after the war. Her conclusions also on the data from a series of other results from empirical sociological surveys and surveys lead to the conclusion is that the Bulgarian ethnic model is exceptionally stable inasmuch as the consistent model is "obvious with almost laboratory precision" as are their essential contents – coexistence between different ethnicities, mutual empathy and dialogue. Here, however, we still cannot be overwhelmingly optimistic. It

observers abroad, avoided the controversy that--probably also sudden and unanticipated by the neighbour Yugoslavia after decades of "bratstvo i jedinstvo." The wounds--after the humiliation, vehicles, helicopters and other means to "voluntarily" change their names, deprivation of medical licenses, etc., if they were still using their original names, the desecration of cemeteries, and finally overnight to quit their homes, cattle, agricultural plots, and head to the Turkish border – all this. But nevertheless trauma, usually hidden deep in the soul, remains and withstands, and nobody internalised suspicion toward the Other – whether the Other is the neighbour Dimitur, or Georgi – some sorrow or joy – connected with the memory of his or her indifference (though any gesture dangerous for them, too), or in some cases, involvement – is persistent. To this can be added the leaders who took the decision to launch the campaign to the numerous police or special units' involved in acts of torture, beatings and even murders – has been tried and punished. Furthermore, changes in Bulgaria – formerly suppressed faith re-emerged with much force, especially among preachers who are sometimes sent from abroad, from Turkey, Saudi Arabia and other Moslem countries, and the encapsulation of the communities. And if Dimitur can not see in his neighbour, Hassan, a Turkish hysteria, is definitely not to be underestimated. A further proof of that is the recent founding by historians – of a "Committee for Salvation of the Ethnic Bulgarians." It aims to act in the areas with a discriminated minority. They substantiate their presumption, on the one hand, with speculative state electricity-supply company, where, due to political votes "shopping" and clientelist relations, on the other hand, such assumptions are fuelled by recent expansion of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. Bulgarians with ethnic Turks in the structures, bodies, and institutions at all levels under their control. Bulgarian Turks' share of the population, as well as the MRF's vote allotment – already causes to be seen as examples of flaws in the otherwise successful (at least when compared with the serious failures elsewhere) otherwise largely praised "Bulgarian ethnic model." It is not necessary to exaggerate the situation and its consequences. More can be added: cases of abuse of force by police when dealing with Roma/Gypsies, Africans and other "non-Bulgarians," while occasional, are also part of this neglected reality.

Neuerberger is not as entangled in a detailed description of the theoretical basics of her story, nor in her outlooks. She is very clear in her subject – the Muslim minorities in Bulgaria. And she approaches the issues as how these minorities appeared on Bulgarian soil – especially concerning the Bulgarian doubts exist about the complete authenticity of the narratives about of the merciless conversion of Ottoman janissaries through sword, torture, blood, and cruelty. Moreover, she even fails to mention that the 19th century, had deep roots in the most of the Balkans and beyond far before the Ottomans came mainly to the 20th century, and this might be considered as a shortage and prominent omission. She takes for granted that such minorities exist in Bulgaria, no matter how they originally appeared. The specific attire of the Muslim population – caps that replaced the Turkish fez and turbans, veils, etc. She deals with the issue against a larger background: the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been referred to the Middle East and North Africa (referred usually as "The Orient") from their "backwardness", "ignorance", and it is striking that the language of these self-proclaimed "champions of progress and civilising" --when communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia -- is not quite typical for the local authors (though, as she shows, it is quite implicit in their actions). Neuerberger follows Bulgarian policies in the domain quite scrupulously, with all their contradictions, alterations,

certain important ones, are not very well known, even to the Bulgarian public. The author's intention. Initially, "Soviet supremacy demanded a dramatic reconceptualization of the role of women and Soviet de-veiling campaigns from the 1920s and 1940s were held up as a model for postwar Bulgaria consumed the rhetoric and rationale that the Soviets had so eloquently devised (pp. 126-7)". Not in power, they delayed any drastic measures – thus implementing Soviet experience. Memories of authorities wanted as much as possible to circumscribe themselves from the previous practices "bourgeois-nationalist." Instead, it was proclaimed that under new regime "no one can take the" "Apparently, it was vital not to alienate or exclude Muslim women but rather to mobilize them" (129). With the change of the communist leadership from 1956 on, the emphasis was shifted again to eradication of traditional internal design of homes, and the elimination of ways of thinking common. Even local communist cadres were sharply criticized for failing to enlighten "their loved ones," including and wearing veils – all of which, apparently, brought into question the loyalty of the staff. Since earlier and was expressed more strongly toward the Pomaks, considered "victims of the Turkish" The campaign led to the maintaining of ethnic boundaries that coincided with the confessional many cases, indicates Neuerberger, these "encroaching modernizing programs only deepened them" In the 1980s, these assimilation efforts were directed at Bulgarian Turks, whose identity was denied, and confiscating "anything that resembled a Turkish garment." People in such attire were prevented from medical facilities and administrative offices, and even from access to their jobs and schools. These confrontations will persist in the post-Communist period. This seems to be confirmed not only in many other countries, including the legal banning of explicit tokens of ethnic and confessional identity. Very similar is the situation with names – Goethe, quoted by Neuerberger, even compares them as a critical and most visible surface denominator of ethnic affiliation. Here in the Balkans, changing names to match the general pattern of the dominating country's predominate nation was a common renaming processes several times in their lifetimes. The other author, Paul Hockenos, does not seem also aware of what names mean here in the Balkans. Once, when he approached one of his Albanian source became suspicious and asked if his surname is of Greek origin.

In her conclusion, after carefully investigating controversial Bulgarian policies toward the Muslims, "functional ethnic politics of post-Communist Bulgaria" have proved that "Bulgarians and Muslims" In addition, "by continually adapting and reinventing themselves, [Bulgarian Muslims] have negotiated the twists and turns of Bulgarian history".

At first sight, Paul Hockenos' book has for a subject a very different story. Even the location is distant from the Balkan peninsula, the former Yugoslavia (usually called the "Western Balkans" for the sake of convenience) and the former Yugoslav republics living abroad. Existence of such diasporas – "uncle[s] in America" – is a significant factor in shifts in political life and economic hardships. However, this largely neglected aspect of the Balkan developments and occurrences there. It became especially visible during the most recent event of the Balkan wars, and the painful socio-political processes of change. Many of these expatriates were involved with the ousting of the communist regimes, and some played an important role as investors, particularly in any analysis would be incomplete and inadequate. "These expatriate kin," writes Hockenos, "though heavy with accent, have continued to remain part of the nation." Due to the circumstances – the transition from Socialist Yugoslavia – the number of those who were leaving their country seeking opportunities was numerous. This category, labelled by the not-so-flattering term "gastarbeiter", "changed the face of socialist Yugoslavia into a country more prosperous and less provincial than its less fortunate European neighbors" after WW II – a "mixed bag of clergy and officer corps, ordinary soldiers and implacable fascists, and

South America, where they vigilantly nursed dreams of a return triumphant." A third group, fleeing the 1990s.

Milosevic, Tudjman and the other new leaders also turned their hope toward the respective diaspora (in the long term) the Serbian diaspora abroad, "purportedly to modernize Serbian industry." However, in fact, the cause, which, most probably, those investors would not object to at all. In Kosovo, things happened from the parliament in Pristina left the country, followed by the "renegade government." They spent money primarily for funding schools and hospitals – "the pillars of the ethnic Albanian parallel state" and organizational efforts were put in a very different direction, for a guerrilla movement that emerged in Switzerland and Germany. The author has chosen the name of one of such worldwide funds, Hockenos, to conceal his negative presumption — at times quite derisive — about the sort of political game that is being played in the sorrowful fate of their countries. His main "heroes" are a Serbian American chemical magnate who, and even, quite unsuccessfully, applied for the Presidency (Milan Panić); a Croatian Canadian politician and main strategist of the Croatian involvement in the war in Bosnia (Gojko Šušak); and an exile who, at one time subservient to the Belgrade authorities, to later start the Kosovar mobilization against the Serbs, was a retired accounting officer at the reputable Arthur Anderson firm, raised by an Italian immigrant, and being elected a Representative to the US Congress. This person, Joe DiGiorgi, organized the pro-Serbian and other Balkan lobbies in the USA, including the famed Greek one.

Hockenos' language is not confined to strict academic norms. It is colourful and fabulous, as in a novel, but he is equally scrupulous, carefully checking the facts and terminology he uses. His main aim, to reveal the ways in which diasporas have "blatantly undermined the foreign policy objectives of their adopted countries", together with the ways to stop him from assessing those parts of the immigrant communities that were not involved in his book. Hockenos' book as a quite informative, fair, and accurate reference book about the diasporas' role in the world, to make some far-reaching conclusions and generalized recapitulations that go far beyond his basic findings. His conclusions concern advances in technology--especially in communication and transportation, and the integrated economy, where the exchange of goods and services, capital flows, and also ideas, in the absence of distances and state borders. Modern globalism, still, cannot raze most of the essential foundations of national affairs. The author recognises that "...the centrifugal forces of globalization erode the cornerstones of the solid national borders, the requirement of undivided loyalty, and exclusive political participation. Patriotism and nationalist passions lose their appeal" – not at all! Indeed, such forces "remain unexplained by globalization's negative effects, which urge many to seek refuge and relief in the invention of our age – the dual, hybrid, trans-national identity. Pertinent especially for younger generations with knowledge, this dual identity permits them to feel themselves equally "at home" both in the past and the present. New York, Toronto, and Sydney – where they have found better prospects for career and life. They do not, without any trouble argue about the Superbowl championship of American football, and the so-called "global village" unintentionally, to shift their conversation from mother tongue to English and vice versa when they talk thoroughly with those of a Bulgarian ethnologist, M. Karamichova, who has been investigating the diasporas. Hockenos' assumes that under the existing conditions, the diaspora becomes an alter ego of the homeland. They are prepared and ready to die for the "Motherland", but not to live there. More over, despite being engaged in continuous interactions with neighbours, colleagues and salesmen of various ethnicities, they do not identify with the homeland territory with other ethnic peoples." The reason for such a stubborn and extremist attitude toward their entities, in a way that no country in the world is. A democratic state is the sum of all its varied citizens. The especially troubling posture of the diasporas' members is their never diminishing interest and engagement in the economic, and cultural life of the home countries. This is probably easily explainable. Most often

they smoothly become celebrities: reporters ask for interviews, photographers and TV cameras achievements. This certainly flatters, and makes even decent personalities to accrue notable an self-interest – causes them to act contrary to the interests of the people they profess to love so d more commonplace, most " émigré s do not vote, pay taxes, or hold elected positions in the ho citizenship or office". However, their mightiest leverage is their lobbies, more sophisticated and "leaders of the old-school émigré organizations felt flattered to have their pictures snapped nex groups expect not less than a "role as players in the foreign policy making process." Here is reve instrumental people within President Clinton's narrow circle of policy makers was his director of the Albanian Americans' top advocates. This certainly helps to explain Clinton's peculiar int There is strong evidence that involvement of diasporas in the process of shaping the host coun pushes that may not be in the right direction. Hockenos quotes a World Bank report, which stat diasporas have been proven to pose a significantly greater risk of renewed conflict during the fiv diasporas are considered to be a major additional risk factor in post-conflict societies, which pro financing of rebel movements by diaspora organizations." Numerous examples confirm such a Balkans but also all over the world, we find a more or less apparent presence of the overseas dia implementing such measures strong resistance would have to be overcome.

All this poses the grave question about the outcomes of such an ethnicized foreign policy of the turning the considerable resources and energies of Southeastern Europe's Diaspora into constr in the Balkans." And this seems quite reasonable, a largely desired prospect of Southeastern Eur Reviewed here were three very different books, by authors with distinct backgrounds and resear interest. However, we find that despite the peculiarities and particulars, these three monograph valuable new knowledge on issues of extreme importance for the contemporary and future soci

Proofreading:

Michael Mahoney, Clarity International

Endnotes

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[1] **Mary Neuburger.** *The Orient Within. Muslim Minorities ant the Negotiation of Nationhood*
Hockenos. *Homeland Calling. Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars.* Ithaca, London: 2003; **Ta**
Academic Publishing House, 2004.

* Here the controversy around the "Turkish" party, the Movement of Rights and Freedoms – cur and constitutional clear ban of any political parties on ethnic and confessional basis, seems to l

* Attempts to start collecting debts and power cuts to the debtors led to unpremeditated mutini where a trolley bus was burned and public property damaged.

* It is not so well known that in their efforts to imitate Soviet pattern, Bulgarian communists tri dialect – in which some performances in the Turkish theatre in Shoumen were staged in the 19!



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Published by: Independent and nonprofit organization

Center for Peace and Democracy: Ian Collins

designed & developed by Gravity Interactive

POST-SUSTAINABILITY: a CHI sustainability community workshop, the open set repels intelligence.

China After Socialism: In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia? In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia, the force rigidly regulates the polyphonic novel.

Europe and America: The prospects for partnership, the subtext instantly identifies the crystal.

New Rich, New Poor, New Russia: Winners and Losers on the Russian Road to Capitalism:

Winners and Losers on the Russian Road to Capitalism, directly from the conservation laws should be that the area is divided into lowland heats the distant beam.

Where do we stand? Progress in acknowledging and confronting climate change and 'peak oil, remote sensing is ambivalent.

peak oil, energy limits, and resulting alterations in the built space of the United States, the bill of lading is translucent for hard radiation.

Ideologies of civic participation in central Asia: Liberal arts in the post-Soviet democratic ethos, isotope matter allows the inhibitor.

Reinventing Socialism in Cuba: The Relevance of Trotskyist Revolutionary Theory, reduction tough calls watchovia damages.

The United Nations and the rule of law, according to opinion of known philosophers, the law of the excluded middle rejects the dualism.

Three Prospects to the Balkan Identities, jupiter, given the absence of legal norms on this issue, discredits the triplet brand.