7th InASEA Congress

Cultures of Crisis:
Experiencing and Coping With Upheavals and Disasters in Southeast Europe

September 18 – 20, 2014

Kadir Has University
Cibali, Istanbul

Abstracts

Plenary session papers

Asker Kartarı, *Resistance culture after Gezi Park*

Christian Giordano, *"Transition" and "crisis": investigating Southeast European societies through conceptual expedient*

Ştefan Dorondel, *Environmental disasters and other big problems of our time: what place for (Southeast European) anthropology?*

Sabine Strasser, *The Crisis Effect: global moral obligations, peripheral governors and the figure of the abusing migrant*

Panels 1

Panel 1.1: State and Nation in Crisis

Jasna Čapo Žmegač, *Reign of ideology and the state of permanent crisis*

Disintegration of the multinational communist Yugoslavian state in the early nineties not only gave way to the establishment of independent nation-states but also opened up until then monolithical ideological space to democratic changes. This paper will argue that more than two decades later, the Croatian state and society are still challenged by lack of democratic procedures and unresolved ideological issues stemming from an inability of the left wing ideologists to critically and self-reflexively deal with the totalitarian communist past and its narratives. Due to this, current social issues are constantly reinterpreted in terms of a decades-old opposition between ustashas-nationalists and partisans-communists. This discourse permeates public life, and finds its way into the academia. Such a development keeps the society locked in *a constant state of (political) crisis* (in addition to a severe economic crisis, which is pushed to the background by emotionally charged ideological clashes). My argument is based on an analysis of an attempt at censoring an academic anthropological publication in which the gatekeepers of a totalitarian ideology, relying on its very vocabulary and lacking self-reflexivity argued for an authoritative ethnographic representation of multifarious voices presented in the book.

Srdjan Radović, *'Post-Soc' generations in times of perpetual crisis: attitudes of Belgrade students amid Serbian transition*

Generations of Serbian youth born in the 1980s have undergone their enculturation and socialization almost exclusively during periods of extraordinary upheavals: in the times of nationalist politics, isolation and war during 1990s, and during the period of 'delayed' transition and societal transformations in the 2000s. These 'generations of prolonged youth' were also affected by wider attitudes of 'euro-depression' and 'transition fatigue' present in the Serbian society since mid 2000s, which emerged with the realization that both post-socialist transition and European integration represent painful and long-lasting processes. The research to be presented in this paper was carried out in 2006 and 2007, through semi-structured interviews (25) and questionnaires (350) with university and high school students in Serbia (median informant age was 18 years), as to asses generational perceptions of Serbia in the context of the country's transition and European integration. Research was undertaken in the period prior to emergence of the global economic crisis which hit most of Europe (and especially its southern 'peripheries'), when a sharp divide between the 'successful' Europe and 'crisis-ridden' Serbia was a prevailing image throughout most public and informal discourses. Hence, informants very often narrated a black-and-white notion displaying an 'orderly Europe' vs. 'chaotic Serbia/Balkans' attitude, with a prevailing belief about Serbian transition as a never-ending process, and with Europe/EU serving as a model of economic success. This presentation will present and discuss generational attitudes regarding their notions of Serbia as a country of perpetual crisis in the context of the country's accession to the EU and wider globalization processes.

Sidonia Grama, *Founding event and crisis of legitimacy: counter-cultures of freedom in 1990 Romania*

A quarter of century has elapsed since the 1989 `annus mirrabils` of Eastern Europe. It is a proper time to revisit and rethink that 'carnival of revolutions` (P. Kenney), and to pay a closer look on ethnographic details of those political upheavals and changes, while situating them within a broader understanding of historical and cultural meanings. My paper focuses on the immediate aftermath of the 1989 Romanian violent founding event of the post-communist democracy. It aims at ethnographically describing the political meanings of the 1990, as the most spectacular year of commemorations of the revolution victims, and of radical political contentions. Interrogating the relationship between crisis of *legitimacy* and state violence (K. Jaspers; M. Weber), it identifies the multiple forms by which the newly-emerged power attempted to silence political alternatives - from euphemised discourses to brutal intimidation. Meanwhile, the study emphasises the creative and powerful repertoires of contesting the political power, the experience of *communitas* (V. Turner), the revival of symbols, and the lasting quest for freedom, democracy and legitimacy. Research methods and sources will be based on: secondary analysis of ethnographic records of eyewitness testimo-

nies; content analysis of discourses and everyday speech captured at that time; semantics of slogans, graffiti, and political labels; press monitoring, visual methods and archive work. It will be an interdisciplinary approach at the crossroad of ethnography, oral history, and anthropology of politics and memory.

Goran Dokić, Marek Mikuš, *'Nobody's stronger than the state'? Crisis, hegemony, and two kinds of civil society in Serbia*

In this paper, we investigate strategies of coping with the social, political and economic crisis in contemporary Serbia that are being articulated and pursued by people populating two kinds of civil society organisations: war veterans' associations and 'non-governmental organisations' ('NGOs'). These are generally assumed to represent sharply opposed ideological positions: while veterans were instrumental in Milošević's project of ethnonationalist state-building and often nurture links to right-wing social movements, 'NGOs' resisted the Milošević regime and supported the neoliberal, EU-driven 'reforms.' Accordingly, the veterans interpret the current conjuncture as a culmination of a decline in their symbolic and material status; the NGOs see it as a betrayal of the hopes they invested in post-Milošević transformations. While the veterans petition state institutions to solve their problems, the NGOs call for and aspire to actively participate in a deepening of the 'reforms.' Beyond these differences, however, our analysis reveals deeper similarities in the veterans' and NGOs' concepts and strategies vis-à-vis the crisis. Drawing on our respective periods of ethnographic fieldwork in Serbia in 2010–11, we argue that these concepts and strategies ultimately reconstitute the cultural hegemony of the state. At the same time as they blame the crisis on the corruption and dysfunctionality of the state, they see the state as an inevitable part of the solution. Although some of the veterans and NGOs reacted to crisis by attempts to innovate their practices (including steps toward mutual cooperation), these efforts have been so far fragmented and uncoordinated.

Panel 1.2: Class Crisis and Formation

Vintilă Mihăilescu, *Work and swindle. Pride houses and manele on the post-socialist market of desire*

The first years of post-Communism were a kind of *primitive accumulation of desire.* This dream-like demand initially overwhelmed the market offer, producing a bulimic and chaotic consumption that does not consume but merely fulfils the desire of consumption: thus, it was mainly *visibility* that made the difference between *winners* and *losers*. *Pride houses* and *manele* music were just two different but complementary ways of claiming achievement by making it publicly visible, one by staging hard work abroad (*we are building these big houses to show that we are hard workers*), the other by prizing swindling (*şmecherie*). The paper presents in parallel these two social phenomena as expressions of a broader post-socialist trend, describing their common aim of staging success and social distinction, their different ethos and means, and their common recent decline.

Dražen Cepić, *The crisis of sociability and the challenges of de-unionization: the case of the Croatian working class*

As for the workers and working class in Eastern Europe, postsocialist transition will hardly be fondly remembered. With de-industrialization creating large-scale unemployment in the industrial sector, and incomes plummeting, working class people very often ended up among the losers of the transition. Yet the question is how was this reflected in their feelings of self-worth; have they kept their dignity, and their social circles, despite the grievances? Or have they been looked down on in the new context, in which manual workers ceased to be celebrated as the bearers of socialism, but rather a relic of the old regime? In my doctoral research, I observed the ambiguities and problems Croatian workers face in wake of the new challenges in an experience-near anthropological account. Special emphasis was put on the phenomena of privatization of social sphere, oftentimes caused by the decline of trade union activities, and shrinking of cross-class sociability. However, attention is also given to the strategies of adapting to new conditions: persistence in union activism, self-organizing of neighborhood communities, and class solidarity. Even though in my research project I observed class patterns of sociability in a broader perspective (I also carried out comparative research on Croatian and Austrian upper middle class), in this paper I intend to present the

part of my research on Croatian working class. I will present results from 17 in-depth interviews conducted in five research sites: two textile factories, electric factory, oil company, and a research institute.

Ivanka Petrova, *Work in Bulgaria after 1989: cultural strategies for economic survival and for coping with crisis in the sphere of work*

The fundamental political, economic and social changes, taking place in Bulgaria in the wake of 1989, confronted the society with grave challenges. For the Bulgarians the past 20 years was a period of dynamic and radical transformations in the realm of labor, taking place as a result of the abolition of the socialist planned economy and the subsequent difficult establishment of market economy. Many people experienced fundamental discontinuities and crises by loosing the "sure workplace" from the socialist period. Since 1989 people in Bulgaria have been forced to work under radically changed working conditions and to look for ways of coping with the significant transformations and crisis in the realm of labor. From an ethnological point of view, however, the question comes to the fore concerning whether and how the Bulgarians have managed to incorporate the cultural set of approaches, skills and strategies they possess in order to look for their economic survival. In my presentation I shall discuss the cultural strategies and patterns, used by members of a kinship network for the instrumentalization of all the major social resources, necessary for economic survival in conditions of market economy in 1990s and in the economic crisis after 2008. I shall outline the origin and evolution of these strategies over the years. Thirdly, I shall analyze the contradictory results (personally and socially) of their application. My study is based on empirical ethnographic research within a kinship network in Sofia, which I carried out in the period from 2000 to 2012. Many members of the network are employees in two small family companies in Sofia, owned by their relatives. The methodology used includes taking semi-structured interviews, biographical interviews, informal talks and participant observation. Respondents with different professional education and from different age groups have been involved in the research.

Danijela Djukić, *Entrepreneurial initiatives in rural tourism in the time of crisis: a case study from Grbalj, Montenegro*

The region of Grbalj in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro, has been facing prolonged crisis since the 1990s. Farming as the main economic activity of its inhabitants has been decreasing due to the reduction of markets, primarily due to the split of former Yugoslavia. Arable land is now primarily used for other purposes or sold out. However, in this grim situation, there are some entrepreneurial, family based initiatives, by which the local inhabitants try to fight the crisis. This paper will deal with one such case, where a Grbalj family has set on to develop rural tourism. They have drawn foreign tourists to their homestead, where they treat them as domestic guests. After the visitors, of which the majority are Russians, are introduced to the small scale agricultural production methods (for raising animals and growing vegetables, fruits and olives), they are invited to enjoy a traditional meal and listen to local music. Beside drawing tourist visitors, this family is also one of the centers of social life of Grbalj, especially at various festive occasions, such as *slava* (the household saint protector's day), when the Singing Society of Grbalj gathers in their home to celebrate this important holiday with the hosts and their guests. The research presented here is based on the continual fieldwork in the region of Grbalj, which comprises participant observation and ethnographic interviews.

Panel 1.3: Migrants, Diasporas, Minorities?

Gabriela Fatkova, *Bulgarian Karakachans and the Greek crisis of 2008*

The Bulgarian Karakachans (Sarakatsani in Greece) were shepherds until they were involuntarily settled during the collectivization process in the 1960's. After the fall of communism they were able to obtain short term work visas to Greece enabling them to become economic elites in Bulgaria as remittances flowed and goods were consumed locally. The economic crisis in Greece decreased this seasonal migration and for the second time in 50 years the Karakachans lost their main source of subsistence. In my paper I will analyze subsistence strategies of Bulgarian Karakachans within the last ten years and I will contextualize their actions in a frame of extended family, domestic unit or emergent ethnic group. – Data from

6 years of fieldwork based on participant observation among the Bulgarian Karakachans will be analyzed within Weberian notions of ideal types of social action (purposive/instrumental, value based, affective and traditional). A special focus will be paid to sensitively distinguish which social identity is used in specific situations. We will observe how they use and combine purposive/instrumental rationality with the other types of rationalities (based on affections, tradition, or values) and how and in which context they act as a member of an ethnic group, kinship group, and members of a concrete domestic unit.

Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska, Save Radika: *Ecological and political activities of the Macedonian diaspora in Italy*

Macedonian diaspora in northern Italy consists mostly of Macedonian-speaking Muslims (Torbeshi). They come from western Macedonia, the Reka region, that for centuries has been marked by seasonal male labour mobility (pechalba, gurbet). Nowadays, mostly after the collapse of Yugoslavia, the pattern of migration has changed, and the whole families started to migrate. Currently most of migrants have permanent residence permit and work permit, although above all men have salaried job, while women stay at home and perform "traditional" chores – keeping houses and raising children. – In this paper I will analyse practices, imaginaries and reflections of Macedonian-speaking Muslims in Italy, based on my ethnographic fieldwork conducted in January and February 2014. This time Macedonian migrants in Italy started to organise protest against projects of construction of hydro-power plant in western Macedonia, in National Park Mavrovo – the home region of Torbeshi in Italy. Until now, they hardly founded associations and led political activities. – There are three important things related to this movement – first, that most of discussions and activities was made by Facebook. Second, that because of local constructions of gender relations, in such activities were present only men. And third, that beyond ecological arguments, there is also struggle for democracy and open discussions with citizens back in the Republic of Macedonia.

Catalina Tesar, *Building houses and leaving them deserted back home while fantasizing about at home. Ethnic Romanians and Romanian Roma migrants in Italy: same movement, same stillness?*

Based on interviews realized with both ethnic Romanians and Romanian Roma migrants in the Italian city of Torino and with their relatives back home during a six month research, this article unpacks local idioms of movement by focusing on migrants' own categories. It demonstrates that migrants invest mobility with meanings that go beyond the physical crossing of borders – which might be fashioned along the idioms of ethnicity and citizenship. Central to actors' representations and practices of migration is a sense of in-between filtered through the interstices of imaginaries of home and abroad. Irrespective of the different social structural positions in which they feature –Roma living on "campi nomadi" and being ill-"integrated" and ethnic Romanians having access to local housing and job market- both the former and the latter share the same existential dilemmas. This article asks, together with the migrants who built houses that they left desert in Romania, what is the relation between the physical house, the sense of home and the lived experience of mobility? It argues that the category of movement encompasses thoughts that flow across borders even when people remain still. The abroad as economic fulfilment and the home as spiritual fulfilment are dreams that anchor one in a place.

Bogdan Neagota, Ileana Benga, *The Rudars from Vâlcea (România). An anthropological radiography*

Studies on the Rudars/*Rudari* / Bayash/*Băieşi* remain, for the time being, rather scarce and un-systematic, while *Romani Studies* exert a certain gravity upon the scientific research on the *Rudars*. The identitary *situs* of this trans-frontiers Romanian speaking population, largely diffused throughout the Balkans, is marked by a double, social and cultural pressure: that of the imagological stereotypes of the majorities of Balkan populations, and that of the Roma cultural and political elites. Seen under this light, the theories about the ethnic origin of the Rudars and the Bayash are polar: some affirm the Gypsy origin of their groups (the *Rudari* and *Băieşi* being considered as specific social-professional groups within the larger category of *Gypsy/Roma*), while other theories affirm either their non-Gypsy origin (Romanian or unknown), or their mixed ethnic character. – Our paper approaches the social-economic mu-

tations, as well as the mentality fractures, arised inside the rural Rudar communities from Oltenia, beginning with the second half of the 19th century. We tackle the shift in their traditional craftsmanship (*rudăritul* refers to the work of the wood, especially soft-essence wood), the afterwar displacement of the Rudar communities and their relocation on the peripheries of existing rural communities, and then, the mutations brought during postsocialism. – Nowadays, the Rudar communities from Oltenia, once they have overcome these crises of displacement, present heterogeneous social-economic structures. We identified Rudar communities still living out of their traditional craftsmanship (carving wood), especially within Subcarpathian areas, while Rudars of other areas have committed themselves to agriculture (Rudars of Dolj region, specialized in vegetable cultures) and industry (during socialism), or have been taken by the trans-frontier economic migration (during postsocialism). Yet, for all these Rudar communities, independently of their crafts and their living, and their dominant social-economic stuctures, the *Gurban* has stayed the main identitary feast, twofold as it is, in our sources: for love/*de drag* (Gurban of *loisir*) or for health (therapeutical Gurban). – The *Gurban*, identitarian celebration central for the Rudars, ceremonial with multiple cultural stratigraphy, is a barometer on the recent morphodynamics of Rudar communities, active in economic migration abroad; but it is just as well a drill-well, useful in reconstructing the long diachrony (the anterior stages of Rudar societies and their main lines of migration in the context of the „wood transhumance").

Panel 1.4: Religion in Social and Personal Crisis

Petko Hristov, *Traditional ritual responses to contemporary misfortunes: 'youth kurban' and social life in the post-socialist Bulgarian village*

The paper will present a study on the so called *youth kurbans*' conducted by the author in the spring of 2006 in the villages of Kralev dol and Yardzhilovtsi, the region of Pernik, Midwestern Bulgaria, inhabited exclusively by Orthodox Christians. The aim of the study was to trace out the 'use' of traditional ritual practices from the past for reviving and enriching the entire social life in the village in the post-socialist period. The analysis focuses on the contemporary forms of the village sacrifice (the so called *kurban*) – a feast which has pronounced social functions in the Balkan context – performed in times of natural and personal misfortunes. The emphasis is on cases of collective ritual sacrifice related to young people's misfortunes, newly-emerged in the first decade of the new Millennium in the village. – The observations in the following years on the social life and festival cycle of numerous villages in post-socialist Bulgaria confirmed the conclusion that traditional ritual patterns are widely used as responses to social adversities and natural disasters in the present. The study of the *kurbans* as an important part of the festival cycle is particularly topical under the conditions of post-socialist revival of some and reducing of other aspects of the religious life in the village in the last two decades. My observations suggested that at the beginning of the new Millennium the collective *kurban* and the joint meal are becoming an integral part of everyday local religious practice as well as an important element of the rituals described as 'marking the boundaries' (in social and cultural aspect) of the different groups in the post-socialist Bulgarian village.

Maria Mateoniu, *The end of the 1950s: the crisis and rebirth of Romanian Orthodox monachism in the memory of the Romanian monastery „Sfantul Nicolae"*

In the late 1950s, Romanian Orthodox monasteries have been the subject of ample and strong operations by the State, as they are considered „reactionary centres". The repression reaches the peak in 1959 when the state issues the Decree No 410, which proposed the reduction of the number of monks and nuns from all the monasteries from Romania, as well as closing of certain monasteries. This moment of crisis for the monastic life occured after the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Romania, which had occupied the country since the Second World War. The tough measures taken against Orthodoxy were meant to prove Moscow that the Romanian Communist leaders did not give up their revolutionary vigilance. – This communication deals with the way this critical moment of the implementation of the above Decree is reflected in the memory of a monastic community (Monastery of *Sfantul Nicolae*). It is a part of a substantial case study which had started since 1999 and it ended in 2006, along with presenting of my PhD thesis in Ethnology at the University Laval in Quebec. The study is based on the correlation between participating observation of oral sources

(interviews, stories of life and experience) with sources of archives, inclusively from the local archives of the monastery. – For the memory of the monastery, the Decree splits the time which has been lived between a *before* and an *after*. It is a *time axis* generating structures of germinating events, working as well as an updating of an original eschatologic time. As a shock, that temporal fracture, the event creates the conditions from which local universe has permanently been updating. It is a moment of crisis, a breakage, in order to subsequently become, through the memory, a moment of continuity, which all the values of religious life is concentrated upon.

Tünde Komaromi, *Crises management and contradictions: the case of a Catholic clerk*

The paper will present the case of a Hungarian Catholic clerk, an 80 year old lady from the Transylvanian countryside, *Ariesului* region. Her daughter has sent her a bigger amount of money, but she understood soon that the post officer, a women herself, has stolen half of it. A long procedure of reclamation followed, but the case remained unsolved. The director of the post-office and the local policemen did not help. Then she turned to the Romanian Orthodox priest for help and offered some money in change. Although it is quite widespread among the local Hungarians of different religious affiliation (but almost never Orthodox) to ask Romanian Orthodox priests for help in times of personal crises (or the crises of a family member), this is a highly contradictory solution for a pious Catholic clerk. She's never been before to any Orthodox priest, but she was aware of similar help seeking activities among the local Hungarian, Romanian or Roma. The same is true for the use of magic during her long lifetime. But using magic is regarded less sinful by the old clerk, than going to the Orthodox priest for the solution of a legal case, and we can sense God's intention behind her failure. The paper is based on unutilized field-materials from the Ariesului region and will be analysed in a larger context of help-seeking activities in times of personal crises (health-problems, family conflicts, love affairs and cases of theft) in Transylvania.

Marija Ilić, *What does the Kosovo conflict have to do with the Belgrade mosque: functional merging of the Other in Serbian public discourse*

In this paper I analyse the case of the forceful burning of the only Belgrade mosque –Bajrakli džamija – which happened in 2004 as a direct response to the violent Kosovo riots when many people were killed and Serbian Orthodox objects set on fire. The paper is based upon the fieldwork carried out within the Belgrade Muslim community and the Serbian media discourse analysis. Methods of critical discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology are used for the purpose of analysis. The burning of the mosque was depicted in the Serbian media as a 'spontaneous' response to the Kosovo violence and an act of revenge carried out mainly by outraged young football 'hooligans'. However, the careful analysis of the eyewitness accounts, the Serbian media and the (non)acting of the Serbian judicial institutions raises doubts about the 'spontaneity' of the people's revolt. It rather illustrates a political and media deliberate strategy to manipulate and motivate people to respond violently as well as to legitimise violent acts of the 'hooligans' by employing a discursive strategy of the functional merging of the (Balkan Muslim) Other. In this discursive order, the mosque functions as a metonymy for the Muslim Other. I argue that this functional merging of the Other is part of a larger discursive strategy of neglecting the Ottoman legacy in modern-day Serbia.

Panel 1.5: Change and Stability through Ritual, Performance, and Time

Stefánia Toma, *Fusion or fission? The everyday politics of alterity in multi-ethnic communities in Romania*

Ethnic alterity/difference and ethnic conflict remains largely discussed among social scientists, being contextualised through present-day social processes. In this article I will discuss on the example of two rural localities that contact between members of different ethnic groups contributes to equilibrum in the locality or at least to maintaining ethnic conflicts on a dormant level, while hiatus of such relationships makes conflicts more salient. – I will show on one hand, the way the „alterity" of Romanian Roma is constructed by the surrounding majority and shaped by different socio-economic factors. Using Wexler's conceptualization, I will argue that the way local majority communities approach the Roma communities through a screen (eg. mass-media discourse) or simply just screening (through every-day contacts) them, produces a shift in structuring the alterity of the Roma communities: it could

change from the *Dangerous Outsider* through *Significant Other* to *My Gypsy*. – Furthermore, I will argue that this shift from *Dangerous Outsider* to the less prejudiced *My Gypsy* largely depends on the existing social networks. I will use the example of Godparenthood between Roma and non-Roma. In the context of general mistrust, inequality, negative preconceptions and even hatred regarding Roma, the practice of the Roma families to bond with Hungarian persons/families through godparenthood gains particular importance (by transforming begging and charity into gifting they reduce social distance, dissolve the rule of reciprocity) which is deployed on different levels of sociality. – The article is based on extensive qualitative fieldwork in different multiethnic communities in Transylvania (Romania).

Carol Silverman, *Balkan Gypsy music: negotiating exclusions and appropriations*

This paper investigates the current cultural crisis where Balkan Gypsy music in the west increasingly excludes Roma. First, I analyze the globalization of Balkan Gypsy music in clubs and festivals by analyzing its performance, consumption and production. I explore the paradox whereby as Gypsy music becomes more popular and is found in more digital formats, more non-Roma are performing and mixing it and more Roma are excluded from the scene. I examine why this situation arose in western Europe, how Balkan brass became the leading genre, and how this formula was exported to North America. Second, I explore how Balkan Romani musicians are negotiating a tentative place in the Global Gypsy music market in the face of these exclusions. I show how some bands focus on the diaspora wedding market for Balkan immigrants. Others bands attempt to mediate the crisis by crossing over from world music to pop music, by "branding," and by crafting unique niches; in these efforts they are hampered by the domination of non-Roma in booking, management and producer roles. There are few Romani production companies and rarely do Roma serve as middlemen. Case studies of the brass bands Ork. Kocani (from Macedonia) and Fanfare Ciocarlia (from Romania) illustrate the economic and representational challenges of Balkan Romani musicians in the face of this crisis. Ethnographic fieldwork was done with musicians, producers and managers in six cities in western Europe, in Bulgarian and Macedonia, and on several tours with Balkan Roma in North America.

Virgiliu Birladeanu, *From parades to spectacles and … again to parades in post-Soviet Moldova*

The paper will refer to forms, genres and methods of cultural production circumscribed to the official projects of nation-building in the Republic of Moldova during 2001-2009, including the Transdniestrian secessionist region. The study shows the persistency of Soviet patterns and proves their recycling beyond the nostalgia for the imperial past and its emotional effects. The investigation suggests several causes that together reveal the gap created by the absence of more workable solutions for the transition to democracy, though not without stating their corrupting through contextualization, social negotiations and conflicts. The paper will be based on materials collected during the years of 2001-2009 in the Republic of Moldova and involves research methods of interviews and participative observation.

Bianka Botea Coulaud, *Experiencing change and time in the context of "ending" crisis. The case of Jimbolia, Romania*

This presentation is based on an anthropological fieldwork conducted in a little border town, Jimbolia (Romania). Jimbolia has been an important industrial region in the past but experienced a severe economic and social crisis in the 90's in the context of the bankruptcy of the main local industries and mainly a ceramics and tile factory. However the town has seen a spectacular economic resurgence in the last ten years becoming an example of redevelopment and success in the region. – In my presentation I will look at the meanings and practices of the "ending" crisis between project stakeholders (public institutions, NGO) and ordinary people and emphasize the gap between these different views. I will focus on the representations of change and time of these various actors and discuss two main perspectives : 1. A «kinetic» (Lepetit) approach of change, similar to the «transition» models (moving from the crisis to the post-crisis, and considering the past as a residual dimension) 2. A perspective focused on people attachments looking at the crisis through the lost of links between people, the lost of attachments to their places of life and finally to their town. I will put my attention particularly on these objects and places which connected people and places before

the industrial bankruptcy and which still keep this role (the factory universe, the industrial memory).

Panels 2

Panel 2.1: Policy Responses: Mobility, Education, and Humanitarian Aid

Inis Shkreli, *Identity politics and economic crisis: a focus on the mobility of Vlachs in Voskopoja and nationalist programs of Greece and Romania as mechanisms for the assimilation of the community*

Based primarily on ethnographic fieldwork the paper explores social mobility of Albanian Vlachs in post-communist Voskopoja, the former thriving developed Ottoman city of Moscopole or Moschopolis also regarded as the 'Jerusalem' of Aromanians/Vlachs. At the present days Voskopoja is a multicultural Municipality affected by transnational and transmigration processes wherein with the fall of communism a renaissance of new identities was revived among the Vlach group. Economic crisis make people seek new opportunities from which a one way social mobility flow reactivated in the 1990's. In this economic and cultural inequality a channel of communication as tool for cultural progression was settled with Romania and cheap workforce was exported from the Vlach community of Voskopoja to Greece as the country is part of the global division of labour. – The minority's migration will be drawn as a 'dual phenomena'. From above the Center's-Bucharest and Athens- nationalist strategies and mechanisms which consider migration as a fundamental process for the cultivation of a new identity and assimilation of the Vlachs. From below, the paper examines the ways in which the community's flexibility and malleability displays the identity when favorable circumstances exist shifting from pro Romanian followers to pro Greek followers and vice versa. Ultimately, I will argue that the because of power imbalances and lack of recognition, the Vlach minority positionality reveals difficulties in terms of an in-betweeness in identity, space, and place.

Katarina Kreceva, *Generating ethnic identities through education policy making in the Republic of Macedonia*

The paper is a revised section of the author's MPhil Thesis. The first part of which is an epistemological quest for an alternative approach to address the pending inter-ethnic crisis in the Republic of Macedonia - a country with an educational system delineated along ethnic lines and frequent inter-ethnic violence in schools. – The paper analyses empirical data gathered by micro field ethnography to address the question: "What strategies do actors choose and why, to generate and maintain ethnic boundaries?" Empirical data is acquired by one month long field-work within a public administrative body holding a mandate for enacting ethnicity related education policy. Research design includes field-restricted, semi-structured observations of; and interlocution with mid-level civil servants. – As theoretically framed by Wimmer (2008) and Lamont & Molnár (2002), the goal of the discussion is to comprehend the characteristics of ethnic boundaries as discursive products of structure, agency and their interrelation. Hence, the inquiry focuses on ethnic boundaries as emerging from public policies and cognitive frameworks, and as constituent of social relations and power-distribution. The overall dialectics is seen as determinant to actions of generating and reproducing these constituents through education policy making, consequently, revealing the reasons behind actors' actions. – The conclusive assertion is that in a quest to overcome the pending inter-ethnic crises there is a preceding need to re-examine the conventional policy analysis and policy-making processes in general, and the existing national policies addressing ethnicity in particular.

Zsuzsa Plainer, *The crisis of post-1989 educational policies, the crisis of pre-1989 forced urbanization and the making of a "Gypsy school" in a Romanian town*

The great majority of Eastern European Roma have been living on the fringes of society since the 1990ies and – as it is commonly acknowledged – low level of school attendance is one possible reason to this. As my case-study (carried on in a school form a Romanian town) intends to show, difficulties of some Roma to access quality education may not be the directly explained by discrimination and segregation, these are result of an institutional crisis initiated at the national level and intensified in a local context. – To prove this, I analyze the making of a "Gipsy school", an institution with low educational performance, predominantly

Roma children and bad fame. In doing so, the framework of audit culture (coined by Chris Shore and Susan Wright, referring to the culture and policies of classifying and ranking) is used to reveal, how inconsistencies of national educational policies encourage measurements which, applied in a school, obstruct access to quality education and – unwillingly – reinforce educational and social inequalities of the Roma. – Impact of this institutional crisis is intensified at the level of school clients, the Roma children and their families. As it comes out from their stories on school experiences, these people have expectations different than those of the teachers'. They do not see school as a formal institution of social mobility but a place, where nature of experiences is up to interpersonal relations, where a "bad" teacher is the one, who cannot defend a kid, when attacked by elder ones, where a good performance is a matter of pretty copy-books. – These differences are grasped in a wider context, too. As narrative interviews with Roma parents and grandparents show, their stories are strongly related with the one-time Roma colony that was blurred up by the law number 59 from 1974 on forced urbanization that entailed an unexpected relocation of the Roma families, cutting them out from previous resources and job opportunities. As relocation cancelled previous patterns of survival, in case of these families the lack of education and avoiding of formal institutions was transmitted from generation to generation, leading to the reinforcement of social inequalities.

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović, *Humanitarian actions within the market of empathy and interests: the focus of narratives*

During the time of crisis and transitions in postsocialist Serbia social protection and humanitarian actions of persons by poverty and illness were incorporated into current politics and the social collapse. On the one side there is an increasing need for help, and on the other side there are the interests, profit and propaganda. Stories/humanitarian narratives of humanitarian actions represent a specific media, oral storytelling discourse and an instrument for the shaping of social, political and economic mirror both in the private and the public sphere. Heartbreaking stories and sensational news items about poor, ill and endangered people, translated into appeals and philanthropic actions, from their dramatic everyday lives come out into the markets of interests, competition/campaigns, performative – spectacular events and propagandas. The main analytical flow will be directed at unraveling the ambivalent face of humanitarian practice, which stems from the specific social, economic and political circumstances in Serbia. As the personal stories of poverty and illness are constructed in humanitarian stories as a social problem, political instrument and cultural values? Analysis and examples will indicate how it can be accessed by deconstructing narratives and evocations of humanitarian actions, that will be followed to construct humanitarian reality on the everyday life, on the reaction of the societies, or social gropus (families) and individuals. The research is based on an analysis of newspaper articles (media presentation), oral narratives and interviews.

Panel 2.2: Crises of Labour

Sanja Potkonjak, *„Retroutopia" – on the idea of work and progress in (post)socialist society*

The modernist project of Yugoslav socialism was guided by the concepts of progress, prosperity and the New Man. Those concepts had been lingering on utopian ideas and produced a discourse that acknowledged and made possible „the illusion of a better future". With the fall of socialism, the post-Yugoslav, transitional societies witnessed the decline of specific social values such as solidarity and „welfare state" that have been providing the basis for the „future-based illusions". Drawing on general disillusion with economic changes after the 1990s, citizens and the whole communities started to express fear and insecurity of their immediate future. – This paper draws upon post-socialist anthropology, anthropology of work and economic anthropology to show how global-scapes of economy affected local industrial settings that were undergoing economic change. Our research emerged in the context of industrial labor and steel-industry in Croatia. – This article focuses on historical and ethnographic analysis on discourse of socialist labor newspapers and outcomes of ethnographic research on industrialization and de-industrialization in the town of Sisak. The aim of the paper is to analyze contemporary narratives on work that are continuous, overlapping and sometimes diverging from the socialist vocabulary of labor journalism. The paper is using everyday narratives of ex-steel-industry workers to illustrate and broaden the understanding

the workers have of socialism and transition. On one hand it explores the narratives of work by examining how they relate to the role of post-socialist state in overcoming the crisis and the decline of steel industry. On the other hand it looks at how new narratives are evoking the (retro)utopian discourse on the future of work.

Tanja Petrović, *The mining archives: subjectivity, affect, and political economies of liminality*
The paper approaches visual and discursive material – centred upon the figure of a miner in the socialist Yugoslavia and post-Yugoslav societies – as public archives. Concentrating on photographic and artistic representations of miners in times of significant crisis such as miners' strikes (Raša 1987, Trepča 1989, Kolubara 2000) and on the ways these representations are interpreted and used by wider society, the paper scrutinizes the ways these archives relate to both miners' subjectivities, their affects and experiences of labour, and the ways broader societal affects, hopes and desires in times of crisis are being anchored in imagery of miners. – The paper discusses the liminal position of miners who are always at the margins of society and in friction with it (miners were usually described as 'most sensitive part of the working class in socialist Yugoslavia), while simultaneously symbolically charged as fulfillers of society's dreams in critical moments of political and economic crisis. Finally, the paper reflects more broadly on the emerging emotional and moral economies characterizing post-Yugoslav societies facing a global economic crisis and locally framed neoliberal regimes.

Tanya Chavdarova, *Legality vs. legitimacy: the dual labour arrangements as a coping market strategy*
This paper explores one aspect of the reconfiguration of power in the workplaces in which relations between employer and employee are informalised to the detriment of employees' rights. It is related to the dual labour contract - a widely spread phenomenon in post-socialist CEE and in Bulgaria in particular. The central element of the duality of the labour contract is the wage arrangement where formal employers pay their formal employees two wages, one declared and the other an undeclared 'envelope wage'. The other elements studied are the dual working hours and holidays arrangements – a formal one that complies with the law and a revising informal one. – Theoretically, dual labour contract is interpreted as an informal practice which should be part of a wider study of undeclared work. The central research question is to what extent this practice has acquired the conventional character of an informal institution, why, and, if so, how the dilemma of its subversive, illegal but also legitimate nature should be resolved. The main proposition is that the dual labour contract has been highly institutionalised in Bulgaria since it successfully serves the short-term interests of both employers and employees shaped by a specific socioeconomic context. The both parties make use of it to cope with the market uncertainty and competition, especial during the current economic crisis. From the view point of the public institutions, however, the same informal practices lead to a distortion of their inherently moral character, and additionally strengthen the systemic distrust in society. – The paper draws on results from a qualitative empirical research done in 2012. The dataset is composed by 16 semi-structured interviews with young wage workers in (small, medium and large-sized) companies that operate in Sofia. It also makes use of other available quantitative surveys data.

Valter Cvijić, *Privatization, the crisis of work and labouring selves in Zrenjanin, Serbia*
Serbia has witnessed tumultuous changes in the past two decades. While the period of 1990s has been marked by Serbia's involvement in Yugoslav wars, Slobodan Milošević's authoritarian government and international isolation, the post-Milošević era has primarily been about large-scale neoliberal transformation, in which privatization of social property (a conceptualization of property, developed in Yugoslav socialism) plays a central role. Ideologues of privatization in Serbia have presented the necessity of privatization as a macro-economic phenomenon, necessary in the "transition" to capitalist free market economy, as well as a marker of radical socio-cultural transformation, i.e. the movement from socialist "backwardness" to capitalist "progress". – Yet the institutional ideology of economic growth, job creation and upward mobility, which privatization as a crucial component of neoliberal transformation is supposed to achieve, has utterly failed. The effects of the paradigm have lead to large-scale de-industrialization, corruption, mass unemployment, dispossession and wide-

spread crisis of social reproduction. My contribution focuses on one concrete case that sheds light on these processes. I will present an ethnographic examination of property shifts as they materialized in the case of the factory *Jugoremedija,* a pharmaceutical company in Zrenjanin, northern Serbia. The contribution deals with the effects property shifts have on the regime of work and the lives of workers. It seeks to understand how workers negotiate the relation between self and labour as the experience of stable wage labour is pushed into crisis. Additionally, it looks at how workers devise material and symbolic strategies to cope with this crisis.

Panel 2.3: Dynamics of Ethnicity, Identity, and Culture Change

Yana Yancheva Georgieva, *The Bulgarian diaspora in Moldova and Ukraine in the context of agricultural de-collectivization. Social and economic consequences on everyday life*

One of the most significant consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union is the collapse of the kolkhoz system, not only in Russia but also in the former Soviet republics. Instead of the expected stability and prosperity, de-collectivization in Moldova and Ukraine turned the agriculture in a low-productive sector that managed to meet only vital needs of the peasants and it is characterized by high fragmentation of land, lack of market orientation and loss of rural infrastructure. The economic transitions caused profound social change and cultural disorientation that affected the socio-psychological climate in the region, the functioning of rural communities and families. The elimination of the largest employer in the villages (the kolkhoz) caused a crisis as depriving families of security and stability and at the same time, they faced the reforms being unprepared to respond to the new economic conditions. The research will present the consequences of the de-collectivization on peasants' everyday life in the southern parts of Moldova and Ukraine. It aims to show how Bessarabian Bulgarians manage to deal with the crisis in agriculture and their strategies of adaptation to the socio-economic changes in the end of the 20th century and the beginning of 21st century. – The study was part of a 3-year interdisciplinary research project "Bessarabian Bulgarians in the Post-Soviet space – culture, politics, identity». The results are based on ethnographic field-work in Tarakliya region in Moldova in June 2009 and in Tarutino region, Odessa district, Ukraine in September 2009. The methods of the research are biographical and thematic in-terviews, discussions and observations on the everyday life of the population of the villages.

Michal Pavlásek*, Migration from a the Czech lands to south-eastern Europe: a case of "culture of coping"*

In this paper I will focus on one specific way of solution and coping with crises of identity caused by a radically new life situation. I will follow a group of Czech Protestants who in the 19th century comes from Central Europe to the very south-eastern border of the Habs-burg monarchy (currently Voivodina, southern Banat). Migration - leaving the homeland and process of adaptation in a new environment means for each individual a situation of *identity crisis*. Emigrants had to deal with belonging to a minority culture, ignorance of the social environment and doubtful future. Through empirical data obtained during my long-term ethnographic fieldwork (2007-2013) and historical (archival) research I will introduce strate-gies and mechanisms of adaptation of migrants who they have chosen in order to cope with the new (emergency) situation and uncertainties. In general, I'll be conceptualize this strate-gies as a *culture of coping*, which is based on trying to overcome the discontinuity (*past* in the homeland vs. *present* in the host country) with restoration of original social organization, structure and social network, that operated in the country of origin. – The paper is based on a long-term ethnographic fieldwork in the Serbian Banat, especially on historical analysis of written sources of one local religious evangelical group. The main source was an analysis of the documentation of the Protestant church in the village of Veliko Središte (southern Banat, Serbia).

Tomislav Oroz, Sandra Urem, *Rhythm of the island . Crises, migration and the reshaping of identity on the Dalmatian island of Olib*

In this paper the authors confront two phenomena: crises and migration processes as its out-come on the north Dalmatian island of Olib. Since the island's present and the past is mark-ed by emigration, the authors place an emphasis on the migration history conditioned by cri-ses periods, as well as on return migration trend among the senior population that has de-

cided to spend their retirement days on the island. Emphasizing the migration history that marked the islander's identity, authors will point out to various periods of crises that generated migration as its outcome. Based on a several field research conducted on the island of Olib, authors examine from the anthropological point of view various cultural practices that emerge as a result of coping with crises and migration - return migration trend, reshaping of local dialect, syncretisms of American and Dalmatian life styles, reinterpretation of the images of the past, etc. The contemporary reshaping of the island is analyzed within the framework of relationships among local inhabitants, returnees from United States, Bosnian refugees that have made Olib their home in the after war period and others who consider Olib their home. By contrasting various imagery and memories of the island's past with contemporary usages and perceptions of the island present, we are pointing to the creation of new identity of Olib. As the result of crises periods and emigration as its outcome, Olib nowadays is marked by coexistence of two trends: on the one hand, the urgency of changing the "island that sinks", which is a reference to the aging of the island population, and, on the other, "the island *fjaka*" (an idle state of mind and body), which defers the apocalyptic view of the island's future.

Panel 2.4: Religious Revivals in Times of Crisis

Violeta Periklieva, *'Dreaming' saints and building chapels in times of crisis. The case of Angelci, Macedonia*

The paper will present a religious mechanism from the region of Strumica, Southeastern Macedonia, for reducing stress in times of personal and social crisis. The study is based on the author's fieldwork in the Strumica region in the autumn of 2012. The focus of the proposed analysis is on the village of Angelci, inhabited by predominantly Orthodox population. In the last twenty odd years a complex of eleven chapels (*manastiri*) developed in the village surroundings. They are built by local people who believe that they are 'enslaved' (*zarobeni*) and 'tortured' (*mačeni*) by a Christian saint who appears in a 'dream' and gives instructions of where and how to build a shrine. Usually, after a chapel is built, the 'torture' stops for a short or a longer period of time, then the saint starts appearing again, requesting something else from the person who is like his 'servant' (*sluga*): a specific element for the interior of the chapel, an icon, digging a well, etc. The 'enslavement' and the 'torture' are a metaphor for actual personal adversities. The wave of 'dreams' initially occurred in the late 1980s, in the wake of a period of radical political and economic changes accompanying the disruption of Federal Yugoslavia and the struggles around the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. It began with a prophecy made by Vanga – one of the most famous clairvoyants in this part of the Balkans – who predicted to a man of Angelci that one day there would be a very special holy place near his village, with numerous shrines. Vanga's prophecy unlocked an old practice, which is largely attested throughout Macedonia: building a shrine by a saint's request expressed in the cultural shape of 'dreams'. This traditional device for establishing contact with the divine sphere serves as a mechanism by means of which local people interpret and make sense of the present personal and social adversities and cope with them.

Vesna Vučinić Nešković, *The revival of religious festivities in the Bay of Kotor: applying the concept of social drama to the time of post-socialism*

This paper will deal with the revival of religious festivities in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro. Based on long-term fieldwork study of Christmas celebrations in 1990s and 2000s in various parts of the Bay, the analysis will treat these events as collective strategies of dealing with prolonged political and identity crisis that Serbian Orthodox population has been experiencing in the times of post-socialism. This study has brought about the application and further development of Turner's concept of social drama. This concept is used in its two basic meanings. In a broader sense, social drama relates to the overall political processes in Montenegro since the disintegration of SFRY. In the narrower sense, social drama links to the specific events in local communities that each dealt with their own crisis by incorporating it into the ritual scenario that was played out in public at Christmas Eve celebrations.

Lehel Peti, *Crisis and conversion. Coping with crisis in new religious communities in the contact zones of Catholicism and Orthodoxy in Romania*

The paper aims to describe the reason of the emergence of new religious communities in Eastern part of Romania, the conflicts and the handling strategies of its members. Based on personal live stories and conversion narratives the author analyses the role of crisis in religious conversion. These processes are taking place in a context of intensive transformation caused by modernization, and acceleration of international labor migration, establishment of transnational life worlds. The author argues that individuals in many aspects might feel defeated by this intensive modernization process, thus in the management of the emerged crisis in personal or familial level the interpretative systems of the new religious movements played an important role. Investigating the emergence of new religious communities in the contact zones of Orthodoxy and Catholicity, which is also a border of Romanian, Moldavian Csángó and Gypsy ethnicities, the author analyses the role of religion in the articulation of personal and social crisis situations and in the shaping of adaptation strategies. The presented ethnographic material is the result of an ethnographic and anthropological fieldwork in different localities with Romano Catholic (known as Moldavian Csángós) minority and Orthodox majority population where new religious communities where introduced recently.

Irina Stahl, *Miracles in times of crisis: contemporary Romanian testimonies on Saint Nektarios the Wonderworker*

Romania entered the new millennium as one of the most religious countries in Europe. This situation is not only the result of the 1989 political change, but is also due to the accelerated social change associated with rising existential insecurity, low human capital and the religious monopoly of the Orthodox church. As the religious revival evolves, people turn more towards the other-worldly, seeking help, guidance and support. The cult of saints has become an essential component of current lived Orthodoxy, especially within the urban environment where it enables people 'to cope with the stresses and strains of life as they live it' (Stringer, 2011) in a rapidly changing society. It provides answers or miraculous solutions to various problems with which people are confronted daily. Romanian devotees develop a special relationship with saints, whom they relate to as close friends and protectors not just in religious confines but the saints' presence is experienced as a constant of everyday life. – Not long after the first relics of the 20th century Greek Saint Nektarios were exhibited in Romania, hundreds of testimonies to wonders and miraculous healings started to appear on the internet and were later published by Danion Vasile and Ciprian Voicilă (2012). In order to understand the Saint's great popularity in Romania, 300 testimonies were examined. – A quantitative approach provided a descriptive analysis of the petitioners giving testimonies of miracles, while a qualitative process using an iterative coding system allowed the identification of the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in the testimonies. Review provided six categories of information each comprised of several sub-categories, which when studied revealed common themes. The paper reports these themes and contextually discusses their spiritual meaning.

Panel 2.5: Discourses, Memories and Narratives on Crisis

Mila Maeva, *Crisis in Bulgarian emigrant's stories*

The critical situation after the collapse of communist regime in 1989 and the limited employment market in Bulgaria forced a lot of its citizens to emigrate as a way to survive. In short time, they have created large emigrant groups in many Western Europe countries. The paper is focused on two Bulgarian emigration communities settled in the Great Kingdom and France and numbered more then 200 000 people. The study is based on a round of ethnographic fieldwork research conducted there between 2007 and 2013. Its aim is to describe and analyze the crisis experiences of Bulgarian emigrants. The research stresses on the several aspects of crisis understanding according their personal stories: a. Comprehension of Bulgarian crisis after the fall of communist regime in 1989 and during the long transition period in the country; b. Meaning of migration as a crisis in individual, demographic, social and cultural plans affected the whole Bulgarian people and society; c. The world economic crisis and local migration politics as main obstacles for Bulgarian movement and settlement in Western countries; d. Personal and state crisis as creative stimulus for future individual and country development and achievements;

Dagnosław Demski, *Narratives of migrating and of living abroad as a symbolic form of inven-*

tion and destruction

Paul Virilio said that when you invent whatever you also invent an integral destruction of it. Can we use this concept in a study of life stories? The paper analyses migrations of people coming from the Balkans, who settled in Poland during various periods of time. I am interested in their narratives and in how they present the causes of resettlement and forms of managing crisis that led to the departure. This approach gives rise to questions about what caused a decision to emigrate and about the categories in which people relate this event. What do they, as a group or individuals, value more – the land or their family home? On the other hand it is significant in what categories they formulate a sense of security on the one hand and of uncertainty on the other hand. I account for the choice of vocabulary, metaphors and types of narration resulting from the common forms of representation. – The whole account comprises a collection of Balkan narratives formed in the context of adaptation to life in Poland as a Central European, Slavic and non-Western country. The paper concerns both the social context, but also the representations of the reasons behind the act of departure and the ways in which people manage the situation through narration. My interpretation pays attention to the parallel existence of symbolic invention and destruction of specific ideals as elements of the narrative.

Jakab Albert Zsolt, *Remembering crises. The memory of social conflicts and political changes in Cluj-Napoca, Romania*

This paper focuses on the social usage of the memory of political changes and social conflicts and seeks to explore the multiple roles and functions that the historical and social ruptures as crises (revolts, revolutions, wars, system changes) have played and continue to play in representing, mediating and manipulating collective memory, culture and politics within the post-communist and multiethnic (Romanian majority – Hungarian minority) context. – Transylvania, annexed to Romania in 1920, has been a place of continuous Romanian–Hungarian conflicts. There is always a domain of conflict between the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority represented by the construction, the invention and commemorative use of the past. Already the Romanian peasant rebellion from 1784 was alimented by ethnic conflicts; the 1848–1849 war of independence was experienced in a different way by the two nations, as they even fought against each other. The Romanian instauration from 1920 was followed by a short Hungarian rule between 1940 and1945, but also the communist takeover after 1945 and later on the system change from 1989 meant certain social, historical, and political fractures, structuring peoples' lives and historical memories in a complicated way. The period of time after 1989 proved to be one of the most productive regarding local construction of memory; showing how great social and political changes reshape the attitudes towards the past, and reveal differences between the old system(s) (Hungarian and Romanian monarchies, communism) and the new (age of democracy). – In my ethnographic and anthropological analysis I focus on the reactions of societies regarding crisis situations, on the place-making, memorial monuments and objects, on the institutionalized uses of cultural memory of these crisis, and on the interethnic relations and symbolic behaviours that stay behind it in contemporary Cluj-Napoca. – My statements and conclusions are based on the one hand on my historical research (press and archive sources), on the other hand on empirical ethnographic and anthropological research. I would like to analyze more deeply the perception, experience, and interpretation of crisis, the tendencies of past construction, the contested memories and how all these contribute to identitary settings.

Elife Krasniqi, *'Everything has changed after Albania': the perception of change in post-war Opoja, Kosovo*

On March 24th 1998, the beginning of NATO strikes in the Serbian military targets in Serbia and Kosovo, was followed by expulsion of almost half of million of civil Albanian population by Serbian army, police and paramilitary. The two opened corridors were Albania and Macedonia. This period, for many urbanites in Kosovo, marked the calendar as 'before the war' and 'after the war'. The Albanian population in south of Kosovo, Opoja, where I have conducted my PhD research, being close to the border, were directed to Albania by trucks, tractors, cars and some also by foot. For many Opojans, their return marks the change in the region. When talking about this, usually they say '*Everything has changed after Albania'*. – Driven from empirical data taken during almost one year of my fieldwork in three villages of

Opoja, within Grounded Theory methodology, this paper will do micro-analyses of family everyday life of Opojans. My interest is to see what is the perception of change in Opoja after the war, in terms of family and gender relations. I observe the discourse of 'change' within the dynamics of social, political and economic uncertainty, in where villagers tend to hold on to traditional values, but at the same time also embracing 'modern' ways of life. This type of what I call *appropriation,* to my observation seem to be a surviving strategy but do not necessarily produces a fundamental social change.

Panels 3

Panel 3.1: Whose Crisis? Global – Regional – Local

Valentina Gulin Zrnić, Tihana Rubić, *Global crisis and new transition: community gardens and civic engagement*

In this paper we argue that the crisis should not be treated as characteristic of the region and its historical, political and other circumstances but today we should treat the crises as global phenomenon. Our interest is in global ecological crises. Secondly, in contrast to "subjugation and adaptation" to crises we start from more proactive and activist standpoint in relation to crises. Such commentaries stem from our ethnographic research on urban community gardens. This civil initiative redefines the notion of transition which this region is accustomed to: the recent transition is global movement (Transitional movement) of the last decade in which local communities react "to climate change and shrinking supplies of cheap energy" (web). We follow this new transitional initiative in Zagreb and the organization of local activist groups that promote urban gardening and sustainability. Moreover, we will broaden the discussion with other examples of civic engagement in Croatia arguing that contemporary activism (both local and global) is structured by and itself structures new values based on community empowerment and solidarity as response to ecological, political, economic, financial as well as moral crises.

Jacqueline Nießer, *Beyond victims' competition? Individual strategies for coping with the Yugoslav wars through a regional endeavour*

Since 2005/2006, a civic cooperation throughout the former Yugoslavia deals with the crimes committed during the wars of disintegrating Yugoslavia. By spring 2011, members of human rights organizations, associations of victims and veterans, of youth and media organizations as well as many individuals, artists and intellectuals for instance, have discussed instruments and mechanisms to cope with the wars in a regional dimension. As a result, they have set up a civic coalition to create a "Regional Commission for Establishing the Facts about War Crimes and other Gross Violations of Human Rights committed on the Territory of the former Yugoslavia" (RECOM). The perennial consultations fostered cooperation in coping with the conflicts between people from different backgrounds, like for instance the 23 year old human rights' activist from Croatia who barely remembers 1991-95, the 61 year old mother from Bosnia-Herzegovina whose husband and son are still listed missing, the 42 year old journalist from Vojvodina in Serbia, or the 38 year old lawyer from Kosovo whose entire family was massacred in 1998. Needless to say, different actors among the about 2.000 members of RECOM have diverging interests. The paper will present a selection of individual strategies among the RECOM activists for participating in the regional coping process. It will answer the question why, despite the divergences, engaging for a regional kind of a truth commission in post-Yugoslavia makes sense to them.

Andrea Carolina Schvartz Peres, *Demanding rights: national belonging and statehood in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Republika Srpska today*

With respect to the field research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I intend to think the relation between people and the belonging categories – like nationality, religion, citizenship and ethnie – which give meaning to the field of the representation of the difference in this place throughout time. The time which will be focused here is the post-war period, marked by the peace agreement that, although was signed in the name of democracy and multiculturalism, it did not solve the conflicts that had driven to the war, and even it has produced new ones. The fieldwork was conducted in Banja Luka (in 2013), the capital city of the Bosnian entity Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic), but also in Sarajevo, the capital city of the country and of the Federation, the other Bosnian entity (since 2007). – The starting point will be

some demonstrations that occurred last year: the so called "Baby revolution" (in Sarajevo) or "Hostage crisis" (in Banja Luka) referred to the protests due to the impasse about the change of the law about the Unique Identification Number (JMB), and the other related to the "children of Konjević Polje", when parents protested and stop sending their (Bosniac) children to school in sign of complaint against the absence of national subjects in the primary schools in the Republika Srpska. Through these events it is possible to approach the disputes around the national belongings and national politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, in which different conceptions of civil and cultural rights are at stake.

Panel 3.2: Effects of Economic Crisis

Slobodan Naumović, Dragan Stojmenović, *Neoliberalism as a civilisation: economic crisis, urban renewal initiatives, hopes concerning industrial heritage tourism and ecological activism in the copper mining and processing town of Bor, Serbia*

The paper presents first results of a joint research project on forms of materialisation of neoliberal ideas and values in contemporary Serbia. Building on Stephen Kotkin's study of the industrial complex of Magnitogorsk as the material embodiment of Stalinist ideology, we embark on a study of popular perceptions concerning the materialisation of neoliberal ideas and values, as well as of their consequences, in three key domains which shape everyday life in the copper mining and metallurgical town of Bor. The principal research method used is photo elicitation (Harper 2002; van Auken *et al*. 2010), based on four topical sets of photographs chosen from the rich visual archives preserved at the Heritage Department of the Public Library of Bor. On the basis of topical sets of photographs in-depth interviews were conducted concerning popular perceptions, feelings and memories of a) recent fluctuations and crises in the economy on the global, national and local levels and their consequences for the mining and metallurgical concern and the fates of the people dependent on it in particular; b) paradoxical outcomes of various urban renewal initiatives; c) expectations and hopes concerning the newly developing heritage industry and prospects of industrial heritage tourism in Bor; and d) growing concerns regarding ecological devastation in the region and civil society initiatives aiming towards the reduction of pollution and the introduction of responsible ecological policies and practices.

Jutta Lauth Bacas, *The prospects of clientelism in a debt-ridden state: an anthropological case study on austerity measures and party politics in twenty-first century Greece*

In the context of an ongoing economic crisis the relationship between the political elites and average citizens is often undergoing a severe "stress test", as the recent political developments in Greece is showing. The so-called "man on the road" in debt-ridden Greece is increasingly questioning the competencies of Greek political leaders to find ways out of the crisis; severe criticism on austerity measures can be heard every day in many informal conversations and public debates. On the other hand, long-established patterns of rewarding political followers have become difficult for political leaders regarding the crude fact of an empty state treasury. The critical question under investigation in my proposed paper is the future of clientelism under conditions of austerity. Clientelism, the exchange of goods and services for political support, can be understood as one of the main features of the post-war Greek political system. In the form of 'trading' political votes against benefits and rewards, for example the employment in the public sector, the mentioned patron-client relationship have survived also in the period after the EU accession of the country. Today, the stop of new appointments in the public sector and the scheduled dismissal of public servants prove to be some of the main trouble spots which have to be analyzed in regard to the established political culture of the country. – The proposed presentation is based on participant observation and not standardized interviewing in Greece in the years after the outbreak of the dept crisis (2010-2013), on the analysis of published data regarding the employment and dismissal of public servants in Greece between 2010 and 2013 and on the relevant anthropological theories on clientelism and patronage (Campbell, Boissevain, Clogg, Roniger etc.).

Saša Nedeljković, *National crisis and economic nationalism: The National Bank of Serbia as a framework for studying ethnic and national relations during World War II*

World War II caused a crisis in the functioning of all national institutions in Serbia because they, due to the changing circumstances (the dissolution of the old and formation of the new

state, occupation, regime change), had to be redefined and reorganized. The National Bank of Serbia was no exception. What occurred there can, in the wider sense, be interpreted using the discourse of economic nationalism. The syntagm "economic nationalism" can refer to subjugating economic activity to national interests, but it can also signify the economic emancipation of a nation. Both of these meanings are operational in the interpretation of the observed processes. Seeing as Serbia was occupied by Germany during the war, there were two national interests which had to be defended within the bank: the Serbian and the German. The harmonization of these different national interests often put too much of a strain on this fragile institution and its disoriented employees. The defense of these interests, among other things, required the application of certain ethnic, national, and religious classifications and evaluations, or, in other words, discrimination based on religion and ethnicity. These processes were expressed in both the activities of the National Bank of Serbia as an institution and the activities of its individual employees. This complex situation opened up many complex problems at the institutional, interactive and individual levels. This paper represents an attempt to recognize, define and systematize, through the study of archives, the basic ethnic and national issues which the employees of the National Bank of Serbia faced during this period.

Panel 3.3: Gender and Crisis

Armanda Hysa, *Coping with marginality: the case of Albanian-Serbian mixed marriages in Sandjak, Raska region*

The border zone between Northern Albania and Southern Serbia has not been crossed for many decades. Border crossing intensified after 1991 with Montenegro. Most of the trade of Shkodra region would take place in Montenegro. While relations with Serbia have been weak on multiple levels. The phantom of hostility (from both sides) has affected even the everyday communication among various strata of the population. After more than 100 years, in 2006, an Albanian woman would get married to a Serbian man in Southern Serbia, and from then, Albanian brides are to be found almost in every village of Sandjak (or Raska). In this paper we will explore how marginality and coping with daily realities overturn, the 'normal' topics of research on Albanian-Serbian relations and overcome ideological and real borders and boundaries, precisely when these borders are presented as untouchable.

Orjona Shegaj, Ermela Broci, *Women migrants coping with the crisis: the case of Albanian women immigrants in Konitsa*

Migration from Albania flowed with the dramatic events of 1991. The transition from a centrally planned to market economy has been very hard for Albanians. Although Albanian migration started off as a typical male –led phenomenon, men migrated first and then women followed. – The aim of this paper is to sketch a brief picture of how Albanian women immigrants in Greece cope with the crises. Following mainly a descriptive approach we will try to draw a specific hypothesis on which further research may be conducted. Different stories of perceiving the crises in one place, of the same community. In this paper, it will be highlighted some aspects concerning the different perceptions and strategies toward the crisis related to specific life histories of Albanian women migrants. This paper is mainly based on a field work, carried out in a short period of time (4 –8 August 2012), in Greek-Albanian border town, Konitsa, during a summer school in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans. The information comes mainly from interviews conducted with Albanian women immigrants from different backgrounds in the form of open dialogues based on their life histories. Tape records and cameras were used while the interviews were conducted in Albanian language. Other sources of information were observation and open discussion with informants such as Albanian male immigrants living in Konitsa.

İnce Şengül, Burcu Şimşek, *Gender identity crisis in the urban kitchen*

Relying on Meah and Jackson's argument (2012) that focuses on kitchen as a 'crowded' space for women, once the men have became more engaged with cooking especially, this paper aims to unfold the dynamics of gender identity in today's middle class urban kitchen in Turkey. The study of kitchen from different perspectives has enriched the literature in social sciences in recent years and the feminist studies have contributed to the field with diverse inputs. In this regard, taking a look at the dynamics of gender identities in relation to

the use of a place that has been identified as the heart of home kitchen, may well give an insight about the meanings that are produced while using that place. In this respect, this paper aims to examine what transformations are in play when men enter kitchen, and to ask which sort of activities and what sort of conflicts are emerging with their more active participation in the everyday kitchen routines. The reflections of the transformations in the kitchen and how the couples relate to these will be another aspect of this paper. This paper also aims to explore the different meanings that are given to practices in the kitchen in relation to different trends and the differences in expectations that arouse gender wise. The data will be collected from the in-depth interviews with five couples and will be examined according to the main objectives mentioned above.

Panel 3.4: Long-term and Short-term Forms of Coping

Gerda Dalipaj, *Potential homes for uncertain futures. A micro-level reading of home-making trajectories as a replication of crises in post-communist Albania.*

This presentation is based in a multi-sited ethnography conducted from 2009-11, in the peri-urban area of Elbasan in Albania, in the surrounding villages of Elbasan and in Athens in Greece. The research aimed at the collection of trajectories of home-making practices in the peri-urban area, while following the family networks and circulations among places of origin and of emigration. Since the early years of post-communism Albanian internal migrants have been building their informal homes in peri-urban zones in Albania and strong interrelations between internal and external migration have been confirmed. – Many reasons guide the home-making practices of the interlocutors. Based on a material culture approach this presentation will deal with one of them: Home-making and the crisis as experience and as imagination, as a real fact in the everyday life of people and as a mental construction. The first part of the presentation will give an account of the temporal dimension of the domestication of crisis: What kind of strategies did the people develop in their domestic spaces in peri-urban area as a response to a crisis of subsistence, for example in the early post-socialist years and in the turmoil of 1997? The presentation will tackle an important difference in the development of peri-urban home projects, that between ideal and potential homes. Both projects head towards the future and aim at the accomplishment of a home which, for a multitude of reasons, remains "hung in construction". But while the ideal homes result to be guided by prevalent imaginations on Modernisation and Europeanization, the projects of potential homes result to be guided by the experience of uncertainty during post-socialist years, and by the imaginations of a perpetual crisis overshadowing the everyday lives. Also, differently from official projects, those of potential homes are generated by families themselves, change consistently according to circumstances, and focus on the flexibility of the material domestic space to respond sudden change. The second part of the presentation will give an account of the spatial dimension of the domestication of crisis. I will focus on the project of multiple residencies, more concretely on families which have invested simultaneously in residences in the peri-urban area of Albania, in their villages of origin, but also in apartments in emigration country (taking Greece as an example). I will show how originally this polytopic living was conceptualized by its actors as a spatial capital to respond to sudden changes in their lives and to the uncertain futures in either of the places of residence. Paradoxically their investments in apartments in Greece, are keeping them dependent on lifelong mortgages and consequently are impeding them to return in the country of origin.

Konstantina Bada, *Cultural Reactions and actions of the small places: The case of mountain villages of Tzoumerka in Greece of crisis*

The paper focuses on how the residents of a mountainous region in Greece known as *Tzoumerka* have over time dealt with and adapted to the inconsistencies and ruptures of a post civil war, migration trends, a transition into capitalism and their integration in a modern market economy. It is indicatively reported that from the dramatic decade 1940 – 1950 and following, the tendency of rural exit was almost catholic in most villages of Tzoumerkon and the result of the region's desertification and of cultural abandonment appeared more or less a fact. It is realized however that this did not happen. On the contrary, behind the assimilative logic of capitalism, the mountain people appear to ensure not only the terms of survival but they also develop, under the use of a continuous , "tradition", their mountain culture and the identity of the locality. The region's vitality is in fact based on a number of

foundational structures such as formal or informal institutions, attitudes and ways of life, shared memories, symbolic representations and meanings , realities, practices of cultural resistance (e.g. as expressed in the Monastery of Vyliza's cultural heritage management) and the area's adaptation means that form a wonderfully diverse social reality. The latter ultimately reveals complex relationships between the local and the wider society and highlights different ways that these are shaped into micro-societies or better yet micro-societies that remain "traditional" because of their deserted location, somewhere in the "periphery," but nonetheless exist within has become a worldly system.

Elisa Satjukow, *Belgrade in a state of exception. Everyday life in the Serbian capital during the NATO bombing March to June 1999*

Following the failure of all diplomatic negotioations to come to a peaceful solution concerning Kosovo, NATO commenced the military operation codenamed 'Allied Force' against the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 24th March 1999. The air raids lasted for 78 days. During this time sirens warned of the oncoming attacks, schools and universities remained closed, travel became difficult and thus there was only a limited transfer of supplies possible. At the end of a decade that had been defined by crises and upheaval, this war on home soil hit the people of Serbia in a janiform guise. In Belgrade, the capital, the people were not only confronted by the daily NATO air raids and their immediate consequences – supply shortages, restrictions of travel and health hazards – they also experienced a renewed radical nationalisation encroaching on their everyday lives. – The strategies people living in Belgrade developed in order to cope with the bombing campaign were manifold: they ranged between flight, emotional numbness, critical distance and escapist hedonism. Caught in between the images of the West as the military enemy as well as the cultural frame of reference; stuck in between the former hatred of Slobodan Milošević and his regime and a genuine loyality towards their homeland; and torn between the threat of the bombings and the successful compensation strategies, this crisis, in the spring of 1999, truly was an ambivalent experience for those affected. Even today the memories of this spring are still profound among the population and the suspicion against the 'West' as erstwhile 'aggressor'1 comes to light in the graffities that decorate the walls of the city demanding 'Neću NATO' – 'We don't want NATO'. – My research project enquires the complex experiences of the Belgrade population during the NATO bombing campaign, it analyses the mechanisms and strategies of the city and its inhabitants during the daily air raids. Two questions were decisive during my research: on the one hand I wanted to find out how the people coped with the challenges of the air raids practically on a day to day basis, on the other hand I examined the psychosocial effects that this 'state of exception' – in the sense of Giorgi Agamben – had on the population of Belgrade. I especially focused on processes of communitisation which are characteristic in extreme circumstances. – My two main sources on which I founded my research were the Serbian print media in spring 1999 and sources of experienced history, i.e. narrative interviews with contemporary witnesses 14 years after the event, as well as so-called ego-documents, comprising text types like autobiographies, letters and diaries. By combining two different scientific methods, namely historical discourse analysis and oral history, it was possible to reach a more multifaceted overview of the events and experiences during spring 1999. The aim was to *thickly* describe and theorise the events and divergent experiences of the people of Serbia during the 78 days of the bombing campaign.

Panel 3.5: Visual Representations and Heritage in Crisis

Ana Luleva, *Contested world heritage: the ancient city of Nessebar. An ethnographic study of the conflict*

The Ancient city of Nessebar is one of the seven Bulgarian cultural sites inscribed on the World Heritage List (1983ã.) and the only city among them. In communist Bulgaria this fact was a source of national pride and a positive local identity. On the eve of the local elections in the autumn of 2010 Nessebar entered television broadcasts with scandalous news about crisis situation: government forces had taken demolition of illegally reconstructed houses in the Old town and met the resistance of the local people; a group of local residents set a great fire at the foundations of the fortress wall of the Old town to protest against the city status as World Heritage. This scandalous demonstration and the crisis in November 2010 was the culmination of the increasing in the last years tension in the relation between the local com-

munity, on the one hand, and the government and national institutions (the Ministry of Culture, the National Institute of Immovable Cultural Heritage), on the other and a result of conflicting interests of different groups among the local community relating to the conditions and norms of use of the Old city, recognized as world heritage. – The paper presents the Bulgarian official heritage discourses and the power relations they facilitate, the ways in which the heritage is imagined and (mis)used at the local level. The World heritage is viewed not only as a source of identity in the border cultural zone, but mostly as a symbolic and economic resource in which the opposing interests of various actors are focused. The analysis is based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork – since 2003 - in Nessebar.

Georgeta Nazarska, **Svetla Shapkalova**, *Intangible religious heritage at risk: a study of religious values in modern Bulgaria*

This paper examines the status and importance of religious values in the contemporary Bulgarian society. They are studied as an intangible religious heritage at risk, e.g. whose transmission through the generations, protection and conservation are threatened in present times. This is due to both the deep transformation that encompasses Bulgarian society during the past 25 years (fundamental changes of political and economic system, reconstruction of cultural institutions, and disintegration of the traditional family) and globalization in the postmodern situation, which is seriously affecting Southeastern Europe. – The main task of the paper is to study the crisis of religious values ??(as a system of beliefs, moral values, attitudes towards society and people, religious behavior, and belonging to religious institutions and communities) and the various strategies of managing it of different social groups (clergy, government officials, scholars, lecturers, and students). – The study is based on anthropological perspective and on mainly qualitative methods: interviews with religious leaders of Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Armenian, Jewish and Muslim denomination (higher and lower clergy, monks, members of religious councils), with representatives of alternative religious communities (The Universal White Brotherhood Society) with persons involved in the administration of religious communities (former and current principals of the "Religions" Directorate at the Council of Ministers), interviews with scholars and lecturers in Christian and Islamic theology. Also quantitative methods are used: surveys with students studying religion in theological and secular universities. Where is possible, a comparison the state of religious values in contemporary Orthodox Romania and Bulgaria is made.

Ana Popović, *Daily life of a displaced museum: activities of the Museum of Perast following the 1979 earthquake in Montenegro*

After being founded in 1937 with donations of several old town families, the Museum of Perast was moved to a baroque palace of Bujović family in 1950. In 1979, an earthquake measuring seven degrees on Richter's scale hit the southern Adriatic coastline, whereby causing large damage to most of the Montenegrin coastal areas. In the following years, the cultural and historical core of the city of Kotor was put on the UNESCO list of World Cultural Heritage. As part of this area under protection, the Bujović palace in Perast was recommended for restoration, which took place once the funds were acquired, and lasted from 1984 to 1999. Meanwhile, the museum artifacts were stored in the Kotor Archives and the Municipality office building, as well as in the storage of textile factory "Jadran" in Perast. The museum staff continued to work in the Kotor Municipality building, collecting and classifying the museum artifacts. – This study will focus on the ways in which the Museum of Perast functioned in the period after the 1979 Earthquake, which could be seen as the Time of the Museum without Museum. The paper will examine the ways in which the acquisition of museum artifacts was realized (by purchase, donation or practice of objects being brought for keeping), as well as the reasons that motivated individuals to sell or donate to the Museum. Research will consider various sources, such as museum documentation and inventory books as well as interviews with the museum staff and individuals that participated in the restoration of the museum. It will also rely on the literature tied to the 1979 Earthquake and the process of including the cultural and historical core of Kotor under UNESCO protection.

Panels 4

Panel 4.1: Protest, Revolution, Quiescence?

Gabriel Stoiciu, *Occupy the cyberspace. The sophistication of protest movements through vir-*

tual communities' effort – a France-Romania comparison

In 1989, France experienced with great emotion the movements in Eastern Europe, as they celebrated 200 years since „La Revolution" and 21 years since the Parisian youth challenged the Gaullist regime (May 1968). – After the clash of communist regime, Romania was confronted with vivid protest movements for about two years. Afterwards, a classic game of ping-pong between authorities and trade unions marked the public debates. – Nowadays, except some sporadic anti-globalization protests, no significant social cause seems raising a powerful response, even if a major economic crisis strikes almost the entire world. – These facts made me prepare and carry out a fieldwork in France, aiming to reveal if the youth has anymore the necessary attitude and energy to start and support a mass protest and, in the same time, what cause would lead to such manifestation. I chose University of Nanterre (the place of initiation of '68 movements in Paris) to conduct my research as participant observer during my 2008-2009 postdoctoral fellowship. I am adding to this data, an overview of an environmental-themed protest movement lasting for several months in 2013 in Bucharest. – This paper aims to provide an original image of youth involvement in public debates and especially students' participation to "civic engagement". The time factor - what happened in 1968 and what is happening now - is also very relevant for this research because of intergenerational debate. This diachronic comparison also leads to discussion about increasing number and variety of products in media technology and, accordingly, its increased influence on public attitudes. – Participant observation and interviews provided important data about the public events of student groups in Paris. I also used visual techniques, which enriched the information.

Cristina-Georgiana Voicu, *The crisis as a political tool in Cyprus: the anthropological turn*

This paper attempts to show that even though the Cyprus financial crisis exploded onto global newsfeeds during the last two weeks of March 2013, problems in the Cypriot economy had been the fodder of daily local media discussions since the summer of 2011. If the term crisis is taken as a misnomer, what does the employment of the concept enable in the sphere of governance and public action? What are the means through which crisis becomes a political and social tool? The paper rather focuses on the reactions of societies, of social groups (such as families) or of individuals to such crisis, on their impact on the everyday life of people, on their various strategies of managing and coping with them. The subject of the crisis may thus be pluralized, but the moral evaluation of victimhood remains rooted in nationalist premises. In this context, class difference is effaced, racial difference is vilified, and gender difference is de-prioritized. While the result remains uncertain, the ramifications of this crisis have been predicted to impact on Cypriots' lives for the next decade at least. Yet, despite the incessant discussion about this 'crisis', its constitution as a cultural mechanism for understanding events seems to have fallen behind its politico-economic analyses. A cultural question might ask whether the apocalyptic scenarios pervading the discourse of 'surprise' are playing a role in repositioning the sense of self of Cypriots vis-à-vis their institutions, the state, or the future.

Cornel Micu, *Revolution in the countryside: the collapse of Communism in a Romanian village*

The collapse of communism in Romania took a violent form which ended with the execution of the former ruler Nicolae Ceauşescu on the 25th of December 1989. The street fights, which were highly publicized starting with the 22nd of December, claimed the life of more than 1.100 persons and became one of the most important crisis in Romanian recent history. Although the "Events" or "Revolution of December 1989" is an important topic for Romanian intellectuals and politicians, most of the authors focused on the political aspects of it in the urban area. – This presentation deals with a relatively less known aspect of the collapse of communism in Romania, namely the way in which the Revolution was perceived in the rural area. The sources I will use are interviews collected in Bordei Verde village, Braila county, in 2006 and 2007. The presentation will focus on three aspects of the revolution in the studied village, as described by the participants to them: violence and fights between 22nd and 25th of December 1989, the attitude toward the local representatives of the communist party and the fate of the collective farm in the village.

Sonia Catrina, *Roma people's response to territorial social control actions and practices. Em-*

pirical evidence from Romania

This study assesses the social inclusion of Roma from Romania through an analysis of the public housing policies and regulations established in national context within the European Union Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. The analysis of several case-studies of implementing housing policies by local administrations highlights specific national mechanisms to address the Roma people's right to occupancy. Considering space as a social production, this study debates on the power of map-making in preventing Roma from being accepted within "mainstream society". It indicates that the authorized re-production of "ethnic enclaves", as a response to the national housing policies at local level, is generating both the closure of social space and a deprivation of "social capital". Through this, the coercive "spatialization of difference" contributes to increasing the chances for Roma of being socially excluded.

Panel 4.2: Too Little or Too Much? Crises of Consumption

Miglena Dimitrova Ivanova, *"The Black Famine". Life histories of Bulgarians and Gagauzs who have survived the 1947-1948 famine in Bessarabia*

During the last decades the severe droughts and famines which stroke various areas of the Soviet Union between 1921 and 1948 have been increasingly studied and debated. Yet, their particular manifestations attract uneven interest and notably the Bessarabian famine, which sprang shortly after the Second World War and prior to the mass collectivization of the local agriculture, continues to be both poorly narrated and studied. The paper will aim at outlining its devastating impact on everyday life and on the entire life courses of the survivals by analyzing and comparing autobiographical narratives of Bulgarians and Gagauzs who have directly experienced its calamities. Basing herself on fieldwork data collected during repeated trips to Moldova and Ukraine between 1999 and 2008, as well as on different instances of published memoires and secondary sources, the author will make an attempt to reveal specific strategies of survival and ways of coping with extreme hardships such as constant hunger, haunting death and insurmountable sorrow. In addition, special attention will be paid to the processes of remembering and forgetting, as well as to the different situations, modes and means of narrating about them. Last but not least, the paper will try to elucidate how the narratives and the memoires construct the entire net of social relations, human values, and ways of life before and after the famine.

Jennifer Cash, *Between starvation and security: food and poverty in rural Moldova*

This paper reflects on my efforts, through ongoing fieldwork, to understand household economy in rural Moldova. Since the early 2000s, international portrayals of Moldova have continued to assert the country's status as the "poorest of Europe". The data used to prove Moldova's poverty continuously change, but are almost always related to the population's ability to access food. Do these statistics indicate one ongoing crisis, several successive crises, or another kind of situation that should not be labeled as a "crisis" at all? In this presentation, I bring together different kinds of ethnographic data (e.g. drawn from observation, informant accounts, and household surveys) to place current strategies of securing adequate food in a longer historical framework. In this way, I try to understand what having "enough" food means, and whether the country's current poverty is rightly described as a crisis in the availability of food.

Nevena Dimova, *Living slow in times of economic crisis: anti-capitalist attitudes and labor practices in two Bulgarian eco communities*

This project looks at a rural relocation movement in Bulgaria which promotes ideas of slower living, less work, and self-management of one's life. This movement – "downshifting", like in other parts of the world, is grounded in anti-market, environmentally oriented attitudes directed against neoliberal capitalism and the values and needs it promotes. Besides calling for alternative lifestyle, moral claims are also made, namely that global capitalism has gone too far in destroying nature and individuals' freedoms and that alternative values are to be pursued. In the current economic and financial crises these ideas resonate with a growing number of Bulgarians and in the past several years young, well educated people move to the country side to live and raise their families, leaving behind paid jobs and the comforts of city life. In this project I look into the specific anti-consumerist and anti-capital-

ist attitudes as well as analyze survival strategies utilized by former city dwellers with little or no previous experience in rural life. My research is based on ethnographic research over a period of two years with members of two Bulgarian eco communities. I have done participant observation of the labor practices and interviewed the founders and visitors of the communities. The study sheds light on a new to Bulgaria phenomenon, while at the same time provides insights into "downshifting" movements worldwide. It can provide a better understanding of the recent arrival of anti-materialist ideologies and their contradictory meanings into political and social space that carries the legacies of state socialism and has, as of present, a relatively new and brief encounter with neoliberal capitalist values.

Evgenia Krăsteva-Blagoeva, *Clothing and fashion in a time of crisis*

The text deals with the problem of clothing in a time of crisis. It is based on a fieldwork research conducted in the town of Kurjali, Southwestern Bulgaria. The town is inhabited by a Turkish majority and a Bulgarian minority. It was chosen because of its ethnically mixed character and because of the fact that it is a typical small town without a mall. – „Old" and „new" consumer practices connected with clothing are analyzed. Ethnical and gender differences in clothing and fashion are presented. A new discourse related to the mass buying of second hand clothes is registered. In comparison with the 90-ies (when such clothes were considered a sign of non-normal consumption and people wearing them were perceived as second class consumers) 20 years later wearing second hand clothes has become a norm. It is habitualised and even results in a new „discourse of reabilitation", considering local people „extraordinary" consumers, because they use to decorate and re-arrange the second hand clothes. This is a reflection of the fact that living in a constant economic crisis has become a new way of life – short term strategies for copying with the crisis had become long term ones and a specific „culture of survival" appeared.

Panel 4.3: Family in Crisis

Tahir Latifi, *Poverty and social security in the perspective of post war political, societal and family transformations in Kosovo*

The post-war period remarks positive changes with regard to political, societal and family transformations. However, it is noteworthy to mention that the state is weak and has very limited capacities to provide substantial support and social security for its citizens. In one way or another, this occurs because of that Kosovo's extremely poor economy emerged as a result of the breakdown of industry in the 1990s as well as the harms of household economy caused by the war of 1998-1999. Current unemployment rate in Kosovo is very high, more than 30%, simultaneously the general poverty consists of 29.7%, and extreme poverty (10.2%). These social indicators determine that Kosovo's family and society are facing with a deep economic and social crises. Due to the inability of the state to offer social welfare mechanisms, it is primarily the family and kin who still provide care and security for each other. Therefore, the Kosovar household economy has been increasingly dependent on the remittances, which on one way or another are playing a significant role on poverty reduction and therefore provide for economic balance and social security at a low level. – Based on the field data conducted in the village of Isniq (Deçan, Kosovo) in summer of 2011, 2012, and 2013, my paper will focus on the dimensions of state policies related to family and social security in Kosovo. What is the role of the state and what are the family policies that directly affect poverty and unemployment? Why family is still considered as social security provider? What is the role of remittances in terms of family economic equilibrium and social security?

Danijela Birt Katić, *Family structure in change. Examples from Usora and Brčko in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

By the mid-20th century most of the population of Usora and Brčko region still lived in extended, patrilineal families which shared common property, distributed their income equally, shared a house and organized they work. Local term for such families is *zajednica* i.e. *community*, or *house community*. In everyday life the *communities* consisted of two, three or more nuclear families and in the process of family life cycle change they adapted their structure depending on various external and internal circumstances. By the mid 1960's these *communities* diveded, they fragmented their land and other forms of property. Still a lot of fami-

lies kept their complex structures and organization. In the same period (1960's) labor migration of male population to the countries of Western Europe increased, resulting in sudden changes in family life and lives of individuals. This was suposed to be a "temporary" migration, but at the end most of the migrants spent their whole life living between family (homeland) and abroad. The basic motive for their migrations was to accumulate enough capital to be able to leave their parents' house and construct their own family house. – In the presentation, I intend to focus on the changes in the family: its structure, form, function and the changes that impacted the relationships among family members, particularly the relationship between men and women. I will show how new economic situation influenced the family and changed the existing traditional patterns. My paper is based on a extensive field research in which I conducted interveiws with people still living in Usora and Brčko area and with those that moved from the area.

Raluca Mateoc, *The shifting family identities within two Romanian rural Gypsy groups*

This work seeks to examine the past and present family identities in the case of two Gypsy populations from a Northern Transylvanian countryside. Preservation of "traditional" jobs, other economic survival strategies, as well as migration are some of the macro-level factors which impact the family relationships within these populations. The examination of Gypsies' family relationships will consider aspects such as the organization of household, housing and social status display, relationships among generations, mutual help and assistance among family members in everyday life, or the impact of intercultural relations with majority populations on family life. The declared practice of specific rituals, such as the bride wealth, and its role in Gypsies' social worlds will also be analyzed. – The two Gypsy populations considered here experienced two differential arrivals in their current home villages: in one case, Gypsies settled as in-migrants working at the collective farm and have continuously moved to the village since then, while in the other, they were already sedentarized in the village during socialism. Thus, two (close and extended) family patterns can be distinguished based on this differential settling in the villages. Gypsies' nature of belonging in the present (Stewart 1997) needs to be considered when looking at their family dynamics and reconfigurations. – This paper focusing on the Gypsy family as an economic, social and cultural unit is based on semi-structured and informal interviews with members of the Gypsy populations from the two field villages, limited participant observation as well as interviews with non-Gypsy village elites.

Ludmila Cojocaru, *Spiritual kinship in the Republic of Moldova: dynamics and dilemmas of modernisation*

The paper will approach the institution of god-parenthood in the context of nuptial tradition in the Republic of Moldova from the end of the 19th century to contemporary period. The investigation of spiritual kinship from god-parenthood during different period of social, political and economic transformation allows identifying the dynamics and dilemmas the local communities faced in relation with preserving cultural identity and cooperating with challenging innovations. In the first part of the presentation I will analyse the ethnographic materials related to the nuptial tradition in Bessarabia to emphasize the most viable aspects of god-parenthood institution as well as to identify the changes produced in terms of agency and attributes. The second part of my paper will approach the impact of spiritual kinship on the social and economic relationships. The paper is built on ethnographic and folkloric materials from the archive institutions of Romania and Ukraine relating to the period from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, as well as materials from the Moldovan archive institutions relating to the second half of the 20th century and fortified by the field-work materials collected by the author during 1996-2011 in the Republic of Moldova.

Panel 4.4: Identity in Crisis

Elena Trifan, *An easy panacea: personal responsibility and personal development in Bucharest*

In this paper, I will explore the meaning of personal development practices, having the starting point the way it is promoted: a mean of resolving all kind of crises, from social crises, due to unemployment and low productivity to internal crises, due to unhappiness or unfulfilment and so on. – Personal development is both a purpose and a process in which the individual engages in hope of becoming a better version of him or herself. From private kinder-

gartens, student NGOs, trainings offered by employers to peer-pressure and institutional pressure, personal development is increasingly present in the working environments of Bucharest. The providers are promoting personal development as a mean of attaining better jobs, better relationships, and better lives through the process of working at one's self. It is a quest for the perfect human being capable of adapting to the new labor market characterized by an increase of number of jobs producing immaterial goods. – Personal development directs people towards extreme individual accountability, as they are the only ones who can improve themselves and guide the course of their lives, responsible of their own failure and success. – This presentation is part of an ongoing research that began three years ago, where I researched the coaching technique of personal development conducting interviews with coaches and persons attending coaching seminars. Another part of the research is participant observation to a personal development group for three months where I observed the practices and the interactions of the individuals in the group. The third part will start on March this year and involves an ethnography of personal development practices in Bucharest.

Ileana Gabriela Szasz, *Coping with retirement. Visually documenting the first weeks after retirement*

How do two people, who spent most of their lives working in the same state controlled enterprise, face the retirement moment? After three years of rejected retirement applications, Rodica and Mihai finally got the answer they so much hoped for. The starting point of the research is a visual documentation I have made, which follows the reactions, the daily activities and the thoughts that emerge in the first weeks of retirement of my parents. What happens to the time they used to spend at their job? Is this experience the reword they were hoping for? Their stories about the efforts they've put in to keep a job in the past decade and the openly expressed desire to start this new stage in their lives are in strong contrast with the way the time flows when the external pressures that used to organize everything hourly are surpassed by internal ones. Rodica and Mihai are just about to reach their 60's and a new crisis seems to be rising up.

Nevena Škrbić Alempijević, *Becoming "Mediterranean" in post-socialist Croatia*

In political discourse, but also in public debates in many EU countries, the Eurozone crisis has often been brought in connection with "the Mediterranean". In those narratives the term is usually used as a reference to the monetary policies of Euro-Mediterranean countries, but also involves what Michael Herzfeld defines as "stereotypical permutations of a civilizational ideal". The intertwinement of the crisis and the concept of Mediterranean is also evoked in contemporary Croatia, where the internal economic instability is justified as a reflection of specific circumstances affecting the whole Euro-Mediterranean region. However, reaching for the Mediterranean imaginary has an additional ideological dimension in Croatia, since it has been a response to another type of crisis. Due to the break-up of Yugoslavia, war and transition from socialism, since the 1990s images of the Croatian state, culture and identity have been created anew. One of the dominant identification strategies has been claiming the country's Mediterranean identity. The Mediterranean has become omnipresent in various social spheres: in political circles, media, tourism industry, within the academic community and so on. The Mediterranean in Croatia has turned into a space shaped by different interpretations, interests, visions of the past and hopes for the future. The aim of this paper is to analyze ways in which various actors use the concept of Mediterranean to address or resolve different crises in their everyday life. The research is primarily based on fieldwork in places branded as "Mediterranean" and on discourse analysis applied to media reports, promotional materials, etc.

Adriana Cupcea, *Identity construction in the Turkish and Tatar commnunities in Dobrudja, Romania*

The present study is a primary effort to identify and describe the identitary dynamics of the most ancient ethnic communities of Romania, the Turks and Tatars. As a context framing, the paper shows the historic and demographic evolution of the Turks and Tatars all throughout the 20th century. Chronologically, the emphasis falls upon the communist period, to better envisage the way in which political, economic and social changes in the era were reflected in the ethnic and religious structures of the Turks and Tatars in Dobrogea and conse-

quently to extend on identitary evolutions after 1990. By adding the archive research to journalistic text analysis and field research (interviews, participant observation) the study traces the memory patterns of the communist period, the types of relations and attitudes created in relation to the regime, together with the evolution of self-image and image of the other (Turk-Tatar), generated by the main identitary landmarks: ethnicity, religion, origins, mother tongue and traditions, inside the socialist society as well as after the fall of the communism.

Panel 4.5: Memories of War and Trauma

Anto Knežević, *May 25, 1945 in Odžak, Bosnia: differing views of the last WWII battle in Europe*

The paper is based on *unpublished* materials from an ongoing field project called "Oral History of Bosnian Posavina." It is carried out by the Father Grga Vilić Citizens' Association (a local NGO). The NGO records (with a digital camera) standardized interviews with survivors of the last WWII military operation in Europe. The battle ended on May 25, 1945 (Josip Broz Tito's birthday) in Odžak (The town's name has a Turkish root: *ocak* means "fireplace, oven."). The municipality was inhabited by Croats (a majority), Serbs, and Bosniaks. According to relevant sources, Bosniaks, the smallest group, had over 100 casualties (from 1941 to 1945). More than 1150 Serbs were killed. A total of 3,375 Croats were killed, nearly a third of their population. Most of the Croats were executed by Tito's Yugoslav People's Army in the final battle. The Yugoslav historians treated all the Croatian casualties (civilians included) as "enemies." Today Croats honour their dead during the annual "Remembrance Day" (observed on May 25, in Odžak). The paper analyses post-WWII *psychological consequences* of the battle (distrust among the three local communities; killings of relatives); impact on *everyday life* (ever since 1945, the widows have worn *black* traditional dresses and sing mourning songs); effects on *language* (three terms for the battle; *new* official names of local villages); different *ethnic views* of the "Remembrance Day" (the Bosniaks boycott it while the Serbs perceive it as a political provocation), etc.

Dobrinka Parusheva, *From Chorlu to Alepo and back: the experience of a young Armenian in 1914-1918*

The paper will aim at presenting the way one Young Armenian experienced all ups and downs in his everyday life in the time of war. As a basis of discussion the memoirs of Eremia Artin Kevorkyan who was 26 in 1914 are used. These were written in 1960 in Bulgaria, in Turkish, by using Armenian alphabet, and not academically used by now. – The analysis of this account by a man who was not aware of high politics can provide us with a view from below. Approaching it from the point of view of the theory of practice (Bourdieu) I will seek to show how one young men of Armenian origin (and some of his friends and family members) did not calculate according to explicit rational and economic criteria but was (were) acting by following an implicit practical logic rather. Despite the fact that the paper is based on a single narrative, it will address "big" issues like war and forced migration by discussion of living through a crisis and dynamics of strategies of coping with it as well as of attitudes to the various Others. In addition, due to the format of the source used, it will provide for a possibility of analysing the way people remember such critical periods of their lives, how they appropriate the remembrance, and how they narrate about them years after.

Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelata, *Games of memory. Personal narratives of Romanian World War II veterans*

Wars are liminal experiences that leave their traumatic marks upon people who have survived daily proximity of violent death. In the period 1995-2013, I have interviewed or talked to several Romanian World War II veterans, mainly belonging to rural communities. My goals were to understand their narrative strategies of remembering terribly painful experiences and to figure out some intercultural patterns that explain the possibility of readjusting to life in "civil society" and coping with the "after-war crisis". – Memory studies and personal narrative theories provided a useful methodological frame for me to interpret the rich collection of materials that resulted out of field research (transcriptions of interviews, war journals, letters or rhymed chronicles). – One of the most important conclusions of my research is that truth and reality are always negotiated in cultural terms as memory and narrative shape each other so that past could be intelligible to the present. As a consequence, peo-

ple conceive their war stories according to a narrative logic that is more indebted to their cultural background (or backgrounds) than to what really happened in their individual histories. That is not indulging in self-delusion but works as an ancient therapy to cure war horror by war "poetry".

Mina Chavdarova Hristova, *Identity as governmental policy: the traumatic collective memory. The Bulgarian Communist Party and some strokes on Pirin Macedonian history*

"Turbid, turbid times they were, turbid, crack-brained times they were" – During the second half of the XX century, and more accurately the first ten years after this point in time, numerous identity changing processes were started in the region of Pirin Macedonia. Those include the period of active international political communication between Yugoslavia and Tito, and Bulgaria and Dimitrov, when a strong process of identity change among the inhabitants of the mountain was accomplished. Since 1941 - 1943 г. between the two countries are ongoing intensive negotiations concerning the destiny of the fragmented Macedonian territory, thus consecutive steps were undertaken by the Yugoslav Communist party (with the help of the Bulgarian) these to be united and the inhabitants of Pirin Macedonia to be "macedonianized". – Another streak to the vast picture of identity politics in the region is the so called "Revival process"- the name and cultural markers change done by the Bulgarian Communist Party among the Bulgarian-Muslim (Pomaks) community in order to "delete" the cultural differences of this ethno-confessional group and to amalgamate it with the primary Bulgarian one (the last wave of the "revival process" was in 1973). – The papers' thesis is aiming to show the multidimensional changes- result of the politics of the Bulgarian Communist party, and their reflection in the community memory, showing the deeply rooted trauma in the respondents' narratives. Every coeval has its own way to analyze the past and in the same time the relatively closed to the outside world society of the inhabitants is sharing its ways for coping with the upheavals, served by the "destiny" or "lowered from above". – The paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Pirin Mountains, Gotse Delchev region, and is concentrated around biographical interviews of some coevals and their families.

Panels 5

Panel 5.1: The Anthropology of Natural Disasters 1

Meglena Zlatkova, *The river and the city: crisis, memory, heritage*

The paper discusses the rivers as a part of the urban space and the construction of heritage based on mechanisms of coping with crisis and floods as social interaction and networking between different levels of community life – local, regional, national and international. The river connects the towns and the cities. Historically, the rivers direct the migrations, mobility and settlements of the people, despite the danger and insecure life of the local communities. – The anthropological research of the memory of the river and memories for the river investigates several aspects of the socialized Maritza River, one of the largest rivers in the Southern part of Bulgaria and Northern Turkey and Greece. The fieldwork includes interviews, observation, visual data analysis, media discourse analysis aiming to study the following problems: 1. The memory for the river as an important part of collective and individual memory and part of the specific urban habitus of the city and towns dwellers and, habits to live together while share the common space in everyday life and in the times of disasters. 2. The coping with disaster as a production of sociality. The enforcement of the sense of solidarity of the local communities, different types of groups, inhabiting the urban space – neighbors, relatives, ethnic and religious groups in terms of networking and gift exchange. 3. The study of the river as a part of the heritage of the city and town is a study not only of the forms of inheritance, but also of all visible and invisible links between the communities and groups connected with other people, living along the river, embedded in the formal and informal strategies of coping with the challenges to live on an insecure territory – security polices, systems of alerts, institutions, control and observation.

Petăr Petrov, *What do floods tell us about society? A Bulgarian case study*

In social sciences, "natural disasters" are conceptualized as processes that occur at the intersection of nature (incl. nature modified by human interventions) and society. They are seen as the outcome of intertwined physical, political, economical and social factors. So it is not

simply the intensive rain or snow melt that causes floods; also particular human activities belong to the "potentially destructive agents" (Oliver-Smith) that accumulate problems, create unsafe conditions and generate disasters. In my case study, I am interested in how political, economic and social practices have a share in the causation of natural disasters. Disasters are conceptualized also in terms of collective crisis and social change that may occur as a result of recovery measures, especially when their management is politically instrumentalized. In my paper, I address the question of how resource allocation (post-disaster aid) and rebuilding projects turn into "destructive agents" that trigger social conflicts. Empirically, the study is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Bulgarian villages and small towns that have been flooded in the past ten years as well as on analysis of publications in the media. The notion that disasters are "empirical windows upon the inner working of society" (David Alexander) provides a theoretical starting point: since disasters create contexts in which, due to the intensity of interactions, social relations and behavior patterns become more explicit and more clearly perceived than in routine everyday life, anthropology of disasters can give sharper insights into values, attitudes, practices and processes that are dominant in a particular society.

Stelu Şerban, *Past and present in the living on the Danube banks*

The paper deals with the practices in the local economy in two Bulgarian settlements at the right bank of the Danube, as well as with the impact of changing these practices upon the locals' everyday life. The two settlements are Slanoturn village, near Vidin, and the small town Belene, in Pleven district. Along the times both areas were periodically flooded, what led the people to adapting their livelihood to the pulls and pushes of the Danube waters. In the inter-war period the Bulgarian government made some attempts to dam these areas, but it was in the 1950s only, when the communist power did this with forced labour of the locals. After that, the everyday cycle of the local life drastically changed. Damming the Danube overlapped with land collectivization and rapid industrialization, therefore traditional economic practices vanished. Still, after 1990 while collectivization disappeared and industry fell down, older economic practices started to spread. Cattle and bees breeding, fishing, orchard cultivation, became important occupations and sources of livelihood. The question is that the Danube remained dammed, one fact that impedes the recovering of the older life styles together with the people's ability to adapt to the local environment. There are pressures of the ecologists to gradually remove the dams, partially successful, as in Belene island, which is on the Danube in front of the town, they set one natural park. Yet, the project is contested both by the local people, who are not allowed to use the un-dammed land, and by the agricultural entrepreneurs. The fieldwork I made in 2013 provide the data presented in the paper, while the literature of environment history and political ecology frame the analysis.

Panel 5.2: Migration as Crisis and Response 1

Remus Gabriel Anghel, *Migration and social inequality in times of crisis. Changing social relations and patterns of inequality in Romania's Gypsy ghettoes*

In this paper I address the relationship between migration and inequality, by analyzing the changing positions of Roma people from so-called Gypsy ghettoes of Romania. In the paper I argue that in the context of unrestrained mobility to the Western Europe, these excluded people are able to move abroad. In time they are able to challenge, adapt, or reposition themselves vis-à-vis the deeply-seated social and economic inequality in their home society. – Drawing on two case studies in Transylvania and from the literature of Roma migration, I distinguish four main mechanisms that these Roma people employ in relation to inequality: challenging inequality, complying, exit, and crossing ethnic boundaries. By *challenging inequality* I mean processes in which people actively react to prevailing inequalities, questioning, and attempting to change them. *Complying* designates situations where people accept or have to accept situations of inequality. By *exiting* I mean situations when the Roma prefer to remain abroad permanently. Such situations can of course occur for various reasons, but the defining feature is the complaining on uncomfortable situations, or disadvantages back home. Finally, a last mechanism I encountered in the literature is of crossing *ethnic boundaries*, or rapprochement between the Roma and the non-Roma, as it is for instance with cases of mixed marriages, or increasing interethnic friendships.

Carolin Leutloff-Grandits, *Between crisis and normalcy: irregular migration from Kosovo to the EU*

Due to the difficult economic state and high unemployment numbers in Kosovo, migration serves for many people as a hope of securing a livelihood or building up a new future. However, based on strict immigration rules, migration from Kosovo to the EU is largely restricted to two main forms: marriage migration and irregular migration. This paper deals with irregular migration as a way of coping with the crisis and precarities at home, but also as a way of entering a new crisis and precarity abroad, which becomes normalcy especially for the migrant him/herself. On the case of a migrant who lived for about 10 years irregularly abroad, the paper highlights moments of acute crisis and danger, which are bodily and psychologically felt, as well as ways of arranging oneself with this situation, achieving some kind of normalcy within irregular migration. Last but not at least, the attempts to change the state of being and to legalize the stay abroad should be illuminated. While taking an actor's point of view, the functioning, support and fragmentation of various social networks, especially of the family and kin, as well as the interrelation with state and non-state actors will be highlighted.

Jadranka Djordjević Crnobrnja, *The socioeconomic crisis of the nineties in Serbia and migration: the example of Gorani people leaving the Gora region*

The Gora region is a valley in the mountains situated south of Prizren, between the highest peaks of Šar Mountain. It is characterized by an underdeveloped economy. Movement and migration of the population in this region have a long tradition. Migratory processes have continually been going on in Gora for more than fifty years. Migrations from Gora were always initiated by the political and economic situation in Gora, as well as in the whole Balkan region. Thus, the economic crisis in the 1990's caused intensive migrations of Gorani people from the Gora region. This was greatly influenced by the war and the political changes in Kosovo during and after 1999. The period following 1999 is often stated as the example for the most numerous emigration of both individuals and families from Gora in history. People mostly migrated to Belgrade, as well as certain EU countries (Croatia, Italy, Germany etc.) These migrations had a number of effects which can be viewed on different levels and from different aspects. – In this paper I will analyse, from an ethnological and anthropological perspective, the issues of the influence the economic and political crisis in the 90's in Serbia had on the migrations of Gorani people from the Gora region. At the same time, I will view the consequences of this crisis and the migrations which are evident in the field of culture, among the migrants and the Gorani community as a whole. Through the analysis of narrative discourse I will attempt to show in what way and to which extent the members of the Gorani community who had emigrated to Belgrade in the 90's and early 2000's adopted new cultural norms and patterns, and map the changes in the use of the Gorani language in the private and public sphere, changes in life cycle rituals etc. In short, the paper will focus on the economic and political crisis in the 1990's and the influence it had on the migration of the Gorani people, as well as the influence these phenomena had on their culture.

Alina Branda, *Cultures of crisis and recent migration: a few Transylvanian cases*

My paper aims to tackle the idea of culture of crisis, studying the impact of recent migration on several Transylvanian rural communities. Considering the fieldwork I have been conducting in different Transylvanian villages (Feldru, Fiziş, Nimăieşti, Negreşti), I intend to identify and analyze those elements that challenge crises in the above mentioned rural communities. Informants' narratives demonstrate that circular migration to different Western destinations (in Italy, Spain, France) is perceived and internalized as rupture and discontinuity in the communities lives, anxieties and traumas being triggered by it. These are recurrent perspectives in migrants' narratives and also, in the narratives of the communities' members who remained in their native habitats. Both parts of this population are confronting with specific, peculiar anguishes, generated by local crises in the native places and by new socio-cultural conditions in the host countries. My intention is to analyse them, focussing on specific and, meanwhile, invariable responses to departure, adaptation and migration in itself. The goal is to approach the mechanism through which migration constructs peculiar cultures of crises, considering the main actors, triggers, elements, specifics of them. Participant obser-

vation, semi- structured interviews and life histories are the most applied qualitative methods.

Panel 5.3: The Social Body in Crisis

Milena Benovska-Săbkova, *The complaints of citizens in socialist Bulgaria: personal or social crisis?*

The "complaints of the citizens" were widespread during socialism and were largely typical of the communicative style of the era. No doubt, they are part of the very social system of socialism. Every year thousands of complaints flooded all levels of party and government authorities in Bulgaria. In just one year (1961) the citizens have filed 167,034 complaints to various state institutions. Present paper is based upon an analysis of complaints that were filed during the period between 1949 and 1959. This is the period for which more preserved documents are available in Bulgarian archives. It is the aim of the work is to investigate: a) the state policy on "citizen complaints", and b) complaints as a specific strategy "from below" on the part of the ordinary people. In particular, the report focuses on complaints filed in relation to collectivization of agricultural land between1949-1959. Over 90% of complaints of this type are resolved as unfounded, i.e. remained unsuccessful. Why then people continued to complain? This is the most important research question addressed by the paper. The author analyzes "complaints of the citizens" in Bulgaria as genuine evidences for the situations of crises which accompany the establishment of a new social and economic order.

Vesna Trifunović, *Narratives about unconventional medical treatment as an answer to the double crisis of illness and post-socialist transformation*

Illness can be observed as a state of crisis that affects not just an individual, but also his/her direct surroundings and, albeit indirectly, the whole society. Just like with other important, unpredictable phenomena that are independent of human action and control, the human mind tends to cope with illness by trying to put it under control, and not only by scientific means. Folk narratives about healing with the help of unconventional medicine are the best proof of that. These narratives play a significant role when it comes to eliciting the trust in alternative healers and methods, but they also induce distrust in conventional medicine. This is especially true in the context of post-socialist transformation which itself can be thought of as a time of social crisis when various institutions (such as the healthcare system, for instance) are undergoing reforms, and for the time being do not function properly. For this reason, some of the main intentions of those who transmit the narratives in question are to emphasize the efficacy of alternative modes of treatment, as opposed to the methods of conventional medicine. In this paper I intend to analyze the narratives that have been collected in conversations with informants and in printed media. I will observe them in the specific current socio-cultural context of Serbian society and within the frames of the theories of narrative. I argue that the power of narrative is particularly evident and significant in this case and that it may have deep implications on people's lives, especially in the time of crisis such as post-socialist transformation.

Andrei Tudor Mihail, *The isolated "heaven": well-being at home at the lepers hospital of Thichileşti*

„Here it`s heaven, it`s not just a living"; this is how the hospital is described by one of its residents. The institution, a former colony, is the place where all sufferers of Hansen`s Disease in Romania are retained, the last case being diagnosed in the late 70`s. It is a closed heaven, as once you arrived here your connections with the outside would severely decrease due to institutional regulations and stigma; it is the place where you will live the rest of your life. This paper will focus on the construction of well-being inside a semi-closed space. How can isolation be neutralized in order to enable individuals to live a fulfilling life? There are various strategies: agricultural parcels, couples formed between patients moving in small houses built on the outskirts of the enclosure, individual rooms for single inhabitants, informal politics, common spaces for leisure and festivities or hospital`s spaces "baptised" as outside are all part of the daily life of Tichileşti. The institution is transformed into a living place that recreates outside localities with distinct social structures, economic activities and family ties emerged on the spot. The formal medical institution becomes a new living place, a home shaped by the nexus of patients turned into inhabitants.

Panel 5.4: Localising Morality: Faith, Intimacy, and Rights 1

Sabine Strasser, Jelena Tošić, *Localising morality: an introduction*

During the last 3 decades SEE has been the site of profound socio-cultural, political and economic change. Most notably this implies e.g. the collapse of real socialism and consequent neoliberal restructuring, complexities of post-Islamism, the ongoing process of EU enlargement, violent conflicts and their aftermath, new patterns of migration and transnational connections and a re-appropriation of religion. The panel aims at looking at current transformations and legacies through the prism of moralities broadly conceived as modes of thought and social practice envisioning, creating or sustaining a "good" society and "way of life". Joining recent anthropological concerns of under-theorizing and misconceiving morality as e.g. "habits" or religious views, we aim at focusing on morality as complex and intersecting processes of social agency and meaning in the context of everyday life. By framing the focus on morality through economy, intimacy and sociality we aim to capture both the individual/-personal and societal-economic as well as discursive and social practice-related dimensions. The two panels include papers that focus on ethnographic explorations as well as conceptual considerations of how to conceive morality. Apart from this broad aim the panels will be a forum to discuss different intersecting dimensions of contemporary socio-cultural transformations in SEE.

Jelena Tošić, *City of the 'Calm': exploring entanglements of urban diversity, mobility and morality in contemporary Southeast Europe*

Based on research in the North Albanian border town of Shkodra in this paper I will explore the dialectic entanglements of socio-cultural/religious diversity, past and present mobilities, as well as discourses and practices of morality. I will do so by focusing on the central (emic) notion of "calmness", which – as I claim – characterizes the local moral order and as such serves as the basis of claiming the peaceful and integrative mode of co-existence in diversity by the inhabitants of Shkodra. After briefly contextualizing the case and providing a theoretical grounding I will work with ethnographic vignettes to analytically move along 3 dimensions: social practices and narratives, modes of migrant incorporation and processes of in/exclusion. I will arrive at the conclusion that the core of the local diversity pattern – the moral order expressed through the emic metaphor of calmness – lies a (middle-class) discourse of urbanity rendering and evaluating social attitudes and practices as (a)moral (good, bad, right, wrong) and hence ultimately also as locally (un)authentic. Apart from "scrutinizing" a concrete case of an urban diversity pattern, this paper aims at contributing to on-going anthropological discussions on theorizing morality by ethnographically addressing its intersection with mobility and diversity.

Sari Wastell, *Iz krize – u razvoj. Intimate violence, solidarity and rights, and the repudiation of moral order of 'Transitional Justice' in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Bosnia and Herzegovina's recent 'Bosnian Spring' – with its extraordinary plenum movement – ushered in a re-interpretation of how to think about intimate violence and a post-conflict morality that questioned political, legal and economic dispensations across ethnic and religious lines. The morality countenanced in this movement was resolutely moral, but refused ethnic/religious definition. The subsequent human and environmental tragedy of the Balkan flooding showed the extent to which new moral geographies across the region had begun to question a 'moral order' imposed under the auspices of 'transitional justice' and the international community's understanding of moral-based cooperation and solidarity. This reformulation of what civil society "might" look like in a post-socialist, post-conflict setting is unique in so many ways. It directs attention to the particular forms of sociality that involved intimate, neighbourly relations, post-socialist articulations of rights and entitlements, and the recognition of how faith and ethnicity can be both morally conceived and politically manipulated. It also highlights the extent to which processes of 'transitional justice' can enable and *equally* fall out of sync with the moral orders of societies endeavouring to retrieve and suture previous histories torn apart by intimate violence and wartime atrocity. The paper endeavours to explore that nexus of concerns through ethnographic work in BiH, and equally, through user-engagement-oriented investigation in the international organisations that sought to bring a moral order to a traumatised country. A country that, in the end, had both a different repertoire of recourses and disparate terms of references to realise those aims itself.

Panel 5.5: Modelling the Urban Space

Gentiana Kera, *The mosaic and the pyramid: discourses of visual representations of the socialist past in Tirana*

The overthrow of the statue of Enver Hoxha from Tirana's main square in February 1991 symbolically marked the beginning of a new period in the history of Albania. It was followed by the removal of other statues commemorating communist leaders from public spaces. Nonetheless, the socialist heritage is still visible in Albanian cities. The two most contested visual representations of the socialist period in Tirana are the mosaic on the Historical National Museum's facade and the Pyramid (erected in 1986-1988 as a museum dedicated to Enver Hoxha). – Especially in the course of last years, the removal of both monuments has been subject of public discussion. The removal of the mosaic has been argued by the former Director of the National Museum with its ideological symbolism, which "is no longer in accordance with the function of the National Museum". On the other hand, the proposal for the demolishment of the Pyramid has been argued by former Prime Minister Sali Berisha that "a monument erected to commemorate the most infamous dictator after World War II cannot continue to be part of the city and it should be replaced by a new parliament building as a temple of democracy". Both proposals caused a strong debate not only among politicians, historians, and artists but also among ordinary citizens. – The aim of the proposed paper is to analyse the significance of socialist legacy in the capital's cityscape during transition, the way it is used for political motives and how the capital inhabitants perceive this political and public discussion. Main sources for the analysis are interviews and articles published in printed or visual media, and interviews conducted with citizens of Tirana.

Piotr Majewski, *"New" Macedonian art and the reconstruction of Macedonian national identity. The project "Skopje 2014"*

The development of the urban renewal „Skopje 2014" project has evoked of one of the most controversial debates over public issues in the short history of the Macedonian Republic and has come to divide its citizens into national, religious and social counter formations. The major dispute runs along the most important identity narrations on the contemporary Macedonians ethnogenesis and additionally overlap with the political preferences and national attachment of the parts of the dispute, as well as their religion and position they take on the subject of the public space and its architectural function. The elitist representatives - be it politics, arts, or science - and the media, especially publicist, play the key role in the conflict, even though „casual" citizens, often being members of respectively informal social groups, tend to be active in this conflict by either supporting or opposing the development of the project. I would like to analyze this dispute in my paper, as well as present the interrelations of the conflict and its culture-modelling potential. Furthermore, I am aiming at describing the contemporary social tendencies to define the concept of „Macedonian Art" and justifying the thesis that the essence of the „national art" issue does not, in fact, refer to the art being national – it does, instead, refer to the variety of interpreting, evaluating and popularizing art itself. The desire or ambition to create or discover the artistic enterprise that designates so-called national identity lies at root of this sort of activity.

Panels 6

Panel 6.1: The Anthropology of Natural Disasters 2

Eckehard Pistrick, *"Turning Pain into Strength": earthquakes, communism and the crisis of development*

The paper analyzes natural disasters, particularly earthquakes in communist regimes of Southeast Europe, in the light of a critical anthropology of development (Ferguson 1999, Scott 1999, Elie 2013) as highly symbolic and socially relevant events in which the idea of a linear socialist progress, modernization and development becomes contested in multiple ways. Examining at the example of earthquakes in East Albania 1967 and in North Albania in 1979 the local reactions of villagers and the subsequent appropriation of these histories by the propaganda media of the regime, the paper will ask how the divide between *rhetorics* and *practice* of development became visible in such moments of crisis. A particular focus will be on the different ways how such events are remembered emotionally: locally in terms of an intimate pain shared within one family, and nationally in terms of an emotionality made public. The strategies through which the state appropriated emotionality (politics of

pain) served the creation of a fictive solidarity group tying together leader, party and the people, ready to counteract the forces of nature. Following both the official propaganda discourse of such events through Archival Sources and the memories of local witnesses through methods of revisting and oral history, the paper will provide valuable insights into the huge shift which existed between the constructed reality of the party and the reality in place. Highly symbolic reactions such as "voluntary actions" and the building of socialist model villages are presented here as strategies of communist regimes to make people remember in retrospect earthquakes as "victories of the party" and not as unsurmountable disasters.

Aleksandra Pavićević, *Two earthquakes: Ideological influences on media reports on natural disasters*

This paper discusses the role of media in a construction of public image, speech and presentation of mass death, provoke by natural disasters. I will focus on two earthquakes that happened in Yugoslavia – one in Skoplje (in 1963) and other in Monte Negro (in 1979). Specificity of each of these events as well as their mutual differences call our attention. In the case of the Skopje earthquake, strong socialist propaganda was present in media reports, inviting people to show their readiness to face such a catastrophes and to show that *socialist people of Yugoslavia* are able to build new life, regardless victims and suffering. Images of death were marginalised in the favor of presenting atmosphere of renewal. In the case of Monte Negro earthquake, though it also happened in the time of socialism, tragic images of death were in the first plane. What is particularly amazing in media`s reports was the fact that these images were strongly colored by spirit of Monte Negro epic traditions. Thus, death was present as tragic, but heroic as well and motifs of renewal were not present at all. The research is based on print media analyses.

Olivier Givre, *Fever at the border. About a FMD (Foot and Mouth Disease) epizootic in Strandzha (Bulgaria/Turkey)*

In 2011, a Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD – *Aphtae epizooticae*) epidemic declared in the Strandzha region, at the Bulgarian-Turkish border, affecting several villages located near the border with Turkey. Rapidly under control due to the slaughtering of several hundreds of animals for curative or preventive reasons, the disease (*chap* in Bulgarian) had nevertheless a real media, economic and symbolic impact, in a border region deemed for its isolation and demographic weakness, but also an image of “authentic” Bulgarian countryside, and representing the external border of EU since 2007. – Based on ethnographic fieldwork and analysis of several sources (media, reports…), this paper examines the production and the effects of such a sanitary crisis. Particular focuses will be paid to: the perception of a disease coming from the “other side” (Turkey), determinant in local as well as national reactions; its “Europeanization” through discourses concerning the contested sanitary standards promoted by the EU at its borders; some polemical interpretations of this FMD crisis as intentionally aiming at emptying the area from its inhabitants. Further aspects will be examined, as the notions of sanitary and environmental risks in an area known in Bulgaria for frequent ecological crises and contests, but also the blurred interactions between humans and animals through a “zoonotic” episode. What then might be the uses of animals and human/animal relations to think about the crisis, the change and the border?

Panel 6.2: Migration as Crisis and Response 2

Yelis Erolova, *Welcome to Europe! The so-called ‘refugee crisis’ in Bulgaria*

Bulgaria is a transit or final destination of three types of immigration processes – co-ethnic, economic and political ones. They have intensified these last years, especially after Bulgaria’s accession to the European Union and as a result of the conflict in Syria. In 2013, more than 7,000 Syrians and Africans arrived in Bulgaria to seek asylum or humanitarian protection. They have caused the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ or ‘migration pressure’. Settled in several camps, the newcomers’ expectations to start a ‘European’ way of life have failed because of bad material conditions and minimal opportunities for integration. At the same time, they are not ‘accepted’ by the host society and face negative attitude, which escalated in local protests and accidents. The paper discuses several questions: What is the role of institutions and media in constructing negative or positive perceptions of refugees? Why does the majority of the Bulgarian society have prejudices against immigrants? Is the refugee im-

age related to the characteristics of 'traditional' *Other* (Turk, Gypsy, Muslim) in the Bulgarian society? The research was held by ethnographic fieldwork among (candidate) refugees from Syria and Iran, high and medium educated Bulgarians, State representatives and non-government institutions in 2011-2013. Documents, academic studies, internet information and media sources, related to the refugees' situation in Bulgaria, are also used. – The analysis of the collected data is developed by the discourse of *Otherness* (Ghasan Hage1; H. Jawad and T. Benn).

Magdalena Elchinova, *A challenged border. Refugees and the transformation of the border discourse in Bulgaria at present*

This presentation discusses results from a research project entitled 'Cultural Heritage and Local Development along the Southern Border of Bulgaria', supported by the National Science Fund in Bulgaria. The aim of the project is to study how Bulgaria's membership in the EU has affected the border regimes, practices and interpretations, as well as how the latter reflected on the forms and intensity of trans-border cooperation (in this case, with Greece and Turkey) and on the opportunities for growth and development of border communities. Our presumption was in general that the transformed (as ideology, procedures, and experiences) border has positively influenced the communities on the two sides of the border in question. It has stimulated the improvement of infrastructure, the implementation of various projects of trans-border cooperation, economic and cultural relations, as well as various forms of mobility across the border that have improved the life of the local populations. The expectation was, therefore, that the dominant border discourses would be toward further ease of border regimes and of mobility and interaction across the border. – While working on the project however new developments have taken place across the southern Bulgarian border, such that have brought different tones in the border discourse. I regard in particular the serious influx of refugees (rather, undocumented and irregular immigrants) from Syria and other countries in Asia and Africa, which number has been steadily increasing since this summer. In my presentation I will comment the dimensions of this process and the debates it has ignited among the Bulgarian public, trying to realize how and why they have affected the border discourse towards claims for stricter control, impeded access and even closure of the border.

Ceren Ark, *Political behaviour in the shadow of uncertainty: an internal migrant neighbourhood in Istanbul*

One of the biggest fears faced by humanity is being deprived of shelter; even, the risk of losing one's home creates crisis and conflicts within communities. This paper investigates the effects of a program of urban regeneration still in its planning stages on the strategies and observable behaviour of individuals and groups in an informal neighbourhood of Istanbul. Although still unimplemented, the program has sparked both fears of eviction and hopes of trading precarious dwellings for luxury apartments. Behind this uncertainty are both lack of human capital among neighbourhood inhabitants and divisions among authorities. There is no neutral mechanism or organization responsible for informing citizens. This creates fragmentation among habitants, as they make different guesses about interests and risks, thus diminishing their organizational capacity and increasing their dependence on political patrons. In contrast to the educated middle-class Gezi Park protesters, thus, the largely poor habitants of neighbourhoods threatened by transformation still believe in the importance of electoral politics. Elections are seen as a problem-solving opportunity, creating both fears and hopes. This brings local elites and habitants into ever-closer dependence on party machines, especially the ruling AKP as a way to overcome the burden of uncertainty. Supplementing analysis of electoral results with empirical data drawn from field observations and semi-directed interviews carried out between 2009 and 2014 – a period bracketed by two municipal elections – the paper analyses the extent of the resulting transformation of micro-local politics and the importance of this perceived dependence as a strategy of anticipated crisis response.

Panel 6.3: Subjectivity and Personhood in Crisis

Nataša Mišković, *A lifetime of crisis: the life story of a Dalmation peasant, first half of the twentieth century*

This paper explores the life of a Serbian peasant born in 1920 in the Bukovica region, northern Dalmatia, through his own written account which he put down, with pencil, in an excercise book at the end of his life. The whole course of his life was marked with critical events: the marginalization of his family because of his father's political inclinations towards communism, the family's emigration to Macedonia and the building up of a new life as „kolonisti", an unwanted marriage which put him in fierce opposition with his father, the early death of his wife in childbirth, the expulsion from Macedonia by the invading Bulgarian army in 1941, a life as fugitives in German-occupied eastern Serbia, traumatizing activities in Tito's Popular Front, another new start as fugitives settling in the expropriated and nationalized houses of the Vojvodina Germans after World War II, under the new communist regime. – The peasant's account is analyzed with historical-anthropological methods and contextualized within the history of interwar and early communist Yugoslavia. The focus will be on the peasant's strategies of coping with these critical events and attributing sense to them, oscillating between the values of his patriarchal background and communist hopes of progress and future well-being.

Chryssa Moisidou, *Crisis' subjects. People subjected to crisis vs crisis as a subject matter*

In public discourse –including the large academic literature- on 'greek' sovereign debt crisis, one can distinguish two main lines of focus: a more or less latent conceptualisation of crisis as 'deprivation' of goods and rupture with everyday materiality, and a hegemonic discourse attributing the crisis to the greek cultural values and characteristics. Focusing on people subjected to crisis and based on ethnographic fieldwork in today's Greece, this paper challenges both of the previous narratives. People's perceptions and their stubborn 'in-between' stance ('neither consent or revolt') are contesting every narrative that describes crisis as vague and complex 'process without subject'. At the same time they detect behind 'Greek cultural otherness' discourse a disguised restructuring of public sphere based on the question 'who 'deserves' to be political subject', a 'redistribution' of rights concerning the core of 'Europeanness' with consequences that are spreading across national and socio-economic borderlines. I suggest that what may provide a powerful antidote to essentialist assumptions and dogmatic claims to exclusivity on rationality, which characterise most of the dominant destructive policies and exegetical accounts of crisis, this is an ethnographic return to the subjects. If we are willing to recognise today a dissonance between current events and disposable explanatory accounts, we must search for the factor of change in the changing everyday life-world.

Dunja Brozović Rončević, *Changing names: a way to cope with identity issues in times of crisis. The case of Croatia & Bosnia-Herzegovina*

With respect to Turkish influence on the Croatian onomasticon, family names are much more interesting than place-names. After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which occurred precisely at the time of the Turkish conquest of the Balkans, hereditary surnames became obligatory in all territories under Austrian or Venetian rule. This regulation made a huge impact on the Croatian naming system, although at this time family names were not yet obligatory in areas under Turkish rule. However, the Islamisation underway in the 17th century caused many Croats who inhabited these territories to translate their Slavic or Christian names into Turkish. Thus *Vuk* became *Kurt*, *Živko* became *Yahya*, etc. It was even more common for them to take Islamic names and adapt them to typical South Slavic types of hypocoristics. Thus *Mehmed* became *Meho*, *Husein* became *Huso, Sulejman* became *Suljo* etc. – In areas under Turkish rule, surnames were stabilized relatively late. Croatian surnames derived from Turkish loanwords were often given according to the occupational, military or social status of individuals at the moment of naming. Croatian anthroponymy of Turkish origin clearly reflects centuries of Ottoman military rule, as is clearly seen in a few typical examples of relatively frequent Croatian and Bosnian surnames: *Agić, Alagić, Arambašić, Bašić, Buljubašić, Barjaktarević, Bešlić, Čaušević, Dizdar, Dželetović, Đolonga, Eškinja, Gazić, Haramija, Harambašić, Karaula, Kuduz, Nišandžić, Pašić, Pašalić, Samardžija, Sarčević, Spahić, Spahija, Šubašić, Topčić* etc. At present, many of those who bear these names have no idea of the original meaning of the Turkish loanwords from which these names are derived. Although, by no means should one conclude that the bearers of these surnames were of Turkish ethnicity, nor even that they converted to Islam – these

types of surnames are often identified within the community as "non-Croat" or "non-Christian", or at least "those who belong to the other". However, for religious or ethnic identification, personal name-giving practices are much more relevant. – In Croatia today, and especially in multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina, the act of name giving represents a conscious decision by parents as to whether they want their child's name to reveal or hide his or her ethnic and religious identity. Based on field research conducted in the post-war period among members of mixed, Catholic-Muslim couples, the paper will devote special attention to this problem.

Panel 6.4: Localising Morality: Faith, Intimacy, and Rights 2

Luisa Piart, *Adverse entrepreneurs and the moral economy of Istanbul's garment industry*

Apparel has been the driving force of the export-oriented industrialization strategies that have been implemented in Turkey in the 1980s. The garment industry is often considered to be a "starter" industry for countries engaged in economic liberalization, yet Turkey is among the five world top apparel exporters and the country's performances in this field have been exceptional. The paper focuses on disconcert transformations that occurred in Istanbul's garment industry during the last decade. Though Istanbul still comprises 75% of the national apparel and textile production, the number of large apparel firms located there dramatically declined since 2002 and most of the production is currently carried out in specialized small-scale workshops. This extreme disintegration forces an increasing number of small entrepreneurs to act as brokers between customers and scattered producers. These actors are crucial for the market, however their function bears an unscrupulous and profiteering image. Not only do they constantly avoid being identified as middlemen or contractors, but also their individual enterprises are unstable and short-lived. It is my contention that their ambivalent professional identity and positioning epitomize adverse configurations of market relations. As the concept of moral economy pertains to the production and circulation of what is legitimate and fair in the social space of the market, it will be used in order to scrutinize these new configurations.

Ståle Knudson, *Moralities at the interface between CSR and social movements: contests between international capital and environmental activism on the Black Sea coast of Turkey*

What moralities come into play when social movements vie with corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies of trans-national corporations, and how can moralities change at the interface of these two forces? Social movement theory tends to stress the creativity of activism, including how moralities can be challenged and changed. CSR theory, on the other hand, tends to stress the way CSR takes the moral high ground, establishing a hegemonic frame for a 'universal' morality that focuses on citizen responsibility, partnership, entrepreneurship and vision. I explore this question in a study of the way a large power plant on the Black Sea coast of Turkey was established and contested. Initially the power plant, owned and constructed by the Austrian OMV, was met with opposition by environmental activists. However, partly due to the CSR policies of the corporation, opposition to the construction was gradually diffused. I argue that neither the social movement theory nor the CSR theory fully explain what happened in this case as the protests quickly became embedded in local politics and national identity figurations, and the CSR work by the company was transformed and domesticated by local factionalism, corruption, identity politics etc.

Olaf Zenker (discussant), *Localising morality*

Panel 6.5: Art, Culture and Crisis

Margarita Ivanova Kuzova, *Visual images of natural cataclysms in Bulgarian and German 20th century collections of postcards*

The project deals with a range of problems unknown in Bulgarian art theory and ethnology and fills in a substantial void in the sphere of popular visual culture. The main object of attention of this study will be visual materials of natural catastrophes (earthquakes, floods and the like) recreated in illustrated postcards, postage stamps, photographs, press illustrations. An investigation has been envisaged of the visual and socio-political aspects of crisis situations in a comparative analysis of Eastern-European (specifically Bulgarian) and West-Euro-

pean (specifically German speaking) communities. An analysis has been presented of the basic cultural purpose of postage cards and illustrations on this topic in connection with their functioning in Bulgaria and in Europe in the 20th and 21st century. – The study will outline the numerical superiority of postcards over other genres of art, showing the image of the disastrous town. The retrospective image during a time of crisis is a hallmark of the cultural policy of memory in the past and today (in the form of digital collections). Popular images (primarily produced by events-covering photography) have documented human reactions prior to and after the disaster, bringing out some features of individual, gender and national specific actions. This presupposes an interdisciplinary approach and determines the need of resorting to a wide range of methods, applicable to the fields of ethnology, anthropology and art history**.** Problem fields and interpretation methods for studying crisis situations are currently being shaped from the point of view of ethnology. In the field of Bulgarian art theory they have not yet been formulated as a research problem.

Magdalena Sztandara, *Performative calendar of women. "Artivism" as a strategy to cope with the "absence"*

Does on the Balkans is there still a "women's issue"? The answer to this question is "yes". Today more and more we talk about redefining "women's problem", troubling women's and men's roles in the family and society, the dichotomy public/private, and about the absence of women's heritage in culture, history and memory... and thus in the daily life. Discussions are continuing in academia, they are also present in many non-governmental women's organizations who are acting in the Region. – However, it is worth to expand the space for discussion and to take a closer look at the actions made by the women artists and activists. Especially because their experiences are experiences of citizens of that culture. They created a shared space in which they speak out about the situation of women, very often criticize patriarchal mentality and try to re-read the history and value it, introducing to it "women's heritage". Ultimately they want to make women "present" and visible by promoting a culture of memory and their presence in that culture. The women established the new calendar - set of the important events, which describes their activity and identity. They connected art and activism ("artivism"), and by pointing to the experience of war and transformation they talk about themselves and their lives living exactly where they are. – The new calendar consists of dates, celebrated by the actions taken by them, which are the artistic actions and representational practices in the public sphere (protests, demonstrations, exhibitions, festivals, performances, etc ...). Through artistic actions they intervene, they challenge the patriarchal system and try to disturb the "old" habits and structures, and most importantly - introduced the experience of women considered unworthy of presentation and discussion into the public sphere. Art and activism are strategies to cope with the crisis, the dominant and imposed ideology, patterns and habits. – Reflection on contemporary artistic practices and representational practices: show/social drama/performance in the Balkans, is based on research in the field of cultural anthropology (anthropology of experience and interpretive anthropology), anthropology of art and performance studies. Materials presented in the article are the result of empirical ethnographic research, which the author made living for a long time in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. She will be also using the fragments of interviews with the artists and activists, and documentation of their performing acts.

Gergana Panova-Tekath, *Folk dance and the crises of identity in Bulgaria after 1989*

The professionalization of the Bulgarian folk dances and their corresponding scenic manifestations were actively stimulated and supported by the Socialist Government prior to 1989. The Soviet model in this cultural field was very successful, because it served very well the age long search for the National musical-artistic style in Bulgaria. – But what happened after 1989? How did the Bulgarians disengage themselves from the Socialist orientation? – A lot has been written about the "chalga"(we have at our disposal numerous very interesting analysis of the "chalga" fashion in Bulgaria), but on the other hand many Bulgarians refused to accept Bulgaria to be identified as "Chalgaria". They in particular have re-discovered for themselves (addapted) the Western Club form. In the last seven years the Club form has witnessed a massive expansion of dancing, but – it should be noted – not international, nor Balkan, but solely Bulgarian folk dances. Is this somehow connected with Bulgaria's accession to the EU? What is the difference between the Bulgarian and the Western Clubs for folk

dancing? – The paper bases on fieldwork and will focus on the connection of the traditional dances and the maintenance, preservation or structuring of the identity through the prism of the Bulgarian experience and interviews prior and post-1989. Thus three stages will be differentiated in the course of this short but highly turbulent for Bulgaria and South Eastern Europe historic period.

Panels 7

Panel 7.1: Laws, Land, and Human Geography

Karl Kaser, *Demography of a crisis: Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century*

In the second half of the 19th century the Montenegrin pastoral society suffered a pronounced economic crisis which was caused or accompanied by a significant population increase. Thousands of people starved to death, a process that was accompanied by the out-migration of thousands of families or parts of them to the almost unpopulated plains and valleys of Central Serbia. By the end of the century one third of the Montenegrin population, although many had already left the country, was without any land, mobile and immobile property. People were starving and many of them had not even the resources to leave and to establish a new household elsewhere. – My paper will investigate the impact of this crisis on family composition of those who remained in the country. The central problem for household reconstruction in Montenegro for the 19th century is the lack of quantitative data on household level. Accidentally, I discovered household listings in the *Bogišić archive* in Cavtat, near Dubrovnik, concretely two household listings of the Bajice tribe. With the assistance of additional material one can conclude that the first listing reflects the situation around the year 1860 and the second before the year of 1893. The household listings allow us to calculate the changes in marital status, generation depth, relation to household head, household size and household classification. The process of the emigration of a considerable part of the tribal population to Serbia is reflected by a decrease of household size, by a changed structure of relation to the household head and by changes of the distribution of household types.

Nebi Bardhoshi, *Conflicts on land within kinship in a post-dictatorial situation: a short ethnography of law and state.*

State, kinship and land property rights are socially and culturally constructed and state law and dominant ideology represented in state level plays a crucial role in this process of construction and deconstruction, and we know that in modern state law is one of the main mechanism used to change and/or to homogenized the culture. In case of Albania state, the communist rule represent one of the most radical cases when the God-like State produced and used a law, function of which was more than to represent was to create a new culture - so called socialist culture. Kinship ties and its ideology, customary law on property relations based mainly on kinship cosmologies were subject of change and the ultimate purpose of state law was to replace it with the new culture. Beyond the normative system, in practice as our ethnographic research shows the *kinship* and *land relation were* de-*facto* a subject of legal duality, it means that they have been a subject of customary law and state law even in the *dictatorial context*. – As the matter of fact, when communist state in Albania collapsed, drastically changed the constellation of laws and geography of power in society. The crises of the state authority has always great impact in life of people but the collapse of a dictatorial state seems to creates, at least the sense of the deep changes in the geography of power in the society. In this time of state collapse the reform on land took place (1991-2). Having in mind this fact the conflict resettlement related to the land in time of property within and out kinship in a post-dictatorial situation in North of Albania will be the focus of this presentation. Exploring the dynamics of conflict within and out the kinship related to the land distribution, seeing the' plasticity of land' in this historical moment, will be used to build a short ethnography of law and state in time in time of radical changes.

Özgur Dirim Özkan, *The perception of Bosnia and Herzegovina's success in participating in the 2014 World Cup by different ethnic groups: an ethnographic study of football fans*

Generally in Balkans, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, football fandom is very much associated with the fact of ethnic tension. Football is often used as a metaphor for warfare, while in turn, during the Yugoslav Wars, ironically football terminology was used to metaphorise the significance of ethnic slaughtering. In fact, it is very commonly uttered that the

starting flame of the Yugoslav Wars was sparkled in Zagreb Maksimir Stadium in May 13, 1990 after a match between Red Star Belgrade and Dinamo Zagreb. During the Yugoslav Wars, fan groups acted as recruitment agencies for organizing paramilitary groups who were convicted for organizing war crimes. This was the case in Bosnia as well. – Although two decades have passed since the war in Bosnia, the effects of ethnic nationalism in football fandom is still inevitable. – Recently national football team of Bosnia succeeded to participate in the 2014 World Cup which will be organized in Brazil, which caused euphoria in the country. However, the celebrations were only limited with cities and towns where the inhabitants are predominantly Bosnian Muslim, while most of the Bosnian Serb or Bosnian Croat citizens did not attend in the celebrations. – Obviously this is a result of ongoing crisis in Bosnia, where the Dayton Peace Agreement caused the institutionalization of ethnic exclusions and strengthened not only the administrative boundaries, but also social and cultural ones as well. – This paper aims to understand the perception of Bosnia's success in football and support to national team in World Cup regarding different ethnic groups. Considering the outcomes of the one year long ethnographic research in 2007/2008 (as part of dissertation research) on two football fan groups (*Željezničar* and *FK Sarajevo*) in Sarajevo, the paper will more rely on proposed deep interviews with leading football fan groups of different clubs with different ethnic backgrounds like *Velež Mostar*, *Čelik Zenica*, *Sloboda Tuzla* (predominantly Bosnian Muslim), *Zrinjski*, *Široki Brijeg* (predominantly Bosnian Croat), *Borac Banja Luka*, *FK Slavija* (predominantly Bosnian Serb) as well as participant observation during the World Cup when the games will be played by June 2014.

Panel 7.2: Migration as Crisis and Response 3

Ivelina Eftimova, *Economic crisis, forced migration and changes in socialization and gender order among the Muslim population in post-socialist Bulgaria*

The traditional social and cultural model of Muslims in Bulgaria has been changing rapidly over past two decades. It is important that the so called *Revival Process, 1984-1989*, has a great influence on the lives of the Bulgarian Muslims and nowadays they talk about their lives before and after the *Great Excursion*, the culmination of the *Revival Process*. However, this period did not influence the structure of the traditional family as much as the recent economic crisis. The changes are mostly a result of the economic situation in Bulgaria after 1989. The permanent lack of jobs especially in the villages forced many people to seek job opportunities abroad. It entails many changes for the migrants but also for those who remain to live in their home village. – The paper examines changing traditions in socialization and gender order. The information has been collected from several villages in Northeast Bulgaria where most of the population are Muslim. The case studies take into account not only the Sunnis but also Shiites (Bektashi, Alevis or Kazalbashi) and so called Pomaks. They are forced to adapt to new situations that have a significant impact on their daily lives. The absence of one or both parents requires childcare to be taken by grandparents and mothers. What is impressive in all cases is that children do not respect elderly people as hole and women become independent. There is a trend towards the separation of young people in their own house. In recent years there has been a preference for migration of entire families. Young people decide on their own whether they will emigrate. The main reasons are unemployment and bad economic conditions on the whole. At the same time investing in one's own home is a mass phenomenon. Nevertheless there is still a desire to return to Bulgaria some day after retirement.

Marijeta Rajković Iveta, *Women and migrations in Croatia: from marginal subjects ("White Widows") to contemporary migrants into the EU*

The presentation is based on the results of the ethnographic research conducted by the author in the period between 2005 and 2013. The multi-local empirical research started in the mountainous region (Lika) with a tradition of emigration. In the first half of the 20th century, young men migrated as part of temporary economic migrations (to the USA and Canada). Women would remain at home and live in extended families ruga. Some of the men would not return for decades. The local community called their wives "white widows". In mid-20th century people migrated from rural areas into cities. The author focuses her research on several families who moved to one city and its area. In the socialist period, migrant workers or "gastarbeiter", mostly men, from nearly every family moved to Germany. Since the women

were living their lives in nuclear families, they took over the paternal role, as well. After the 1990s, in post-war Croatia, many companies failed and unemployment was on the rise due to social and economic changes. Due to the feminization of labour and the feminization of migration into the EU, as well as due to the current economic crisis, unemployed women from these families, leave their families for several months to work in EU. Narrations on their individual experiences and daily lives through all types of migrations, uncover, among other things, the creation and maintenance of transnational social networks and (temporary?) changes in established family life patterns. The paper also uses demographic statistical data and media discourse analysis.

Ivaylo Markov, *Migration, translocality and social in(ex)clusion. Managing the life in-between. The case of Albanian migrants from Macedonia*

„We are not here, nor yet there!" The researcher can often hear this statement said by Albanian transmigrants, moving forth and back between their places of origin in Macedonia and receiving places in Western Europe. – In the host countries they faced with difficulties to find job and accommodation, to cope with the all administrative and bureaucratic procedure. In many cases they are subject of xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes at work place or in public discourse. At the places of origin the migrants have to cope with other challenges. On the one hand they are called by local and non-mobile people "tourists" or "Germans", "Italians" etc. (according to country where they work and reside). On the other hand their relatives and friends are continually expecting remittances and bigger or smaller gifts, especially when they return for holidays. – What are the everyday strategies and of managing with such live in-between? The main thesis of the paper is that transnational practices and activities are the basis of these strategies. I assume that transnational formations in examined case are result of a combination of transnational mobility/migration, on the one hand, and locality in the sending or/and receiving country, on the other. Locality means to be rooted – socially, economically or politically – in the host place and/or in the sending country, and to develop a set of social relations at specific places. Albanian migrants in host places are highly interconnected through stable networks characterized by high ethnic homogeneity. Simultaneously, for them is still important to sustain close and active relationships with their places of origin in Macedonia. – The paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in regions of Skopje, Tetovo and Struga in the Republic of Macedonia. Interviews with migrants and returnees, as well as with their relatives and friends, who have not migrated, were carried out.

Panel 7.4: Sounds of Pain and Pleasure

Ana Hofman, *SINGing, SOCIALizing, SELForganizing: Engaged singing collectivities in the post-Yugoslav space*

Paper addresses the increasing need for artistic participation in the time of crisis. It explores the phenomenon of self-organized choirs in the post-Yugoslav space, which use collective singing to "shout" social problems, "scream" social anger and discontent, and "give voice" to those whose opinions are suppressed. The choirs cherish a diverse repertoire including partisan songs, worker songs, revolutionary songs as well as the so-called repertoire of the "global left" – the most popular songs of various social movements ranging from the Spanish civil war to recent social movements. The emphasis on self-emancipation through musical self-learning in the case of these choirs is both a politicized artistic strategy and a kind of existential experimental practice. The paper elaborates on the idea of such singing collectivities to serve as resistance to the contemporary mechanisms of privatized and deeply individualized, consumerist, and professionalized music industry by offering an alternative audio-social networking.

Miha Kozorog, *Sevdalinka in Exile: coping strategies of young Bosnian refugees in Ljubljana*

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH) (1992-1995) caused mass migrations; appr. 60,000 refugees from the war-torn country found their (temporary) home in Slovenia, including large number of teenagers, facing both adolescent identity crisis and uncertain conditions of displacement. A study based on in-depth interviews and auto-ethnography will analyse coping strategies of Bosnian youngsters. In particular we will highlight the process of managing refugee experience through the practices of discovering and transforming the traditional songs from BH (*sevdalinka*). Despite the fact that this was not a dominant strategy among all

Bosnian refugees living in Slovenia, it had major consequences on career orientation of many Bosnian youngsters as well as on their quality of life in "host" country. In addition, their musical involvement has had strong impact on the reputation of *sevdalinka* in post-Yugoslav Slovenia. – In a specific diasporic context *sevdalinka* was given a new life in relation to world music, rock and jazz, and thus gained a popular appeal for wider (not nationally limited) audiences. Since this "musical response" represented a successful coping mechanism, it was also given a special attention by a few scholars, who perceived it as an evident battleground for Bosnian/Bosniac identity. – Although this aspect might be important, we claim that identity dimension of *sevdalinka* has been overemphasised. We would rather point at *sevdalinka* revival in Slovenia as a complex and multilayered process of experiencing uncertainty and trauma of forced migration on the one hand, and adolescent creativity or a search for expressive freedom on the other. In addition, we argue that individual agents, and among them especially women activists, had a decisive role in this process. Hence, we aim to move focus from the collective understanding of immigrants' music production to personal, highly individualised narratives.

Martin Pogačar, *Margita Stefanović: A digital afterlife of a Yugoslav rock'n'roll heroine in (the time of) crisis?*

The author interrogates the phenomenon of "digital afterlife," a phenomenon unprecedented in scale and reach. Unlike in analogue era, digital media offer plenty opportunity to share and make public personal data. Likewise, digital media facilitate little opportunity to erase these data. Effectively, increasing amounts of data will eventually be left circulating with their "author/owner/producer" dead. The topic becomes more intriguing in the case of celebrities, in this case, musicians. – In the paper the author investigates the digital afterlife of Yugoslav rock heroine Margita Stefanović, the keyboardist of a prominent Yugoslav new wave band who died in 2001. Regardless, there are several active profiles in Facebook that use her name and thus feature as a living memorial, a cyberplace of memory and a dynamic archive of the musician's life. It is through the perspective of the digital memorial and a dynamic archive that the author investigates the ways in which the musician's life is digitised, how it is re-presented and to what extent and in what way it serves as a memorial and an archive. What is more, the author investigates several pertaining aspects: how (and if) turbulent history of Yugoslavia in the 1980s is re-purposed in the present moment of crisis, through the perspective of a female rock role model and "her followers."