

Dr. Jonathan SCHWARTZ

**PECHALBA AND MACEDONIAN DIASPORA:
MOBILIZATION FOR ETHNIC PEACE?**

Introduction

The question that is put in the sub-title of this paper forms the most crucial of its elements. That question in a more elaborate form would be: Is it possible for ethnic communities of emigrants in metropolitan regions to mobilize for ethnic co-existence in the homeland? If the specific communities in question are pechalbari from Macedonia, the complexity is magnified. Which Macedonians are we thinking about? Which regions and ethnic communities of Macedonia do we have in mind? Are we always obliged to put quotation marks around "Macedonia"? (Schwartz, 1993).

The questions' answers are not based on any recent empirical research. They are questions for an agenda, and are not yet on a curriculum vitae. The questions are being asked in the interests of not-to-distant future research, cooperation, activity, and policy. The questions are urgent ones. They are based for my part on twenty years of research experience with pechalbari, in contexts that include south Scandinavia, Toronto, Canada and the Prespa Lake region.

I look at those twenty years now as the accelerating run up to the board where you jump for the longest distance you can attain. We are now in a running-board jump. Research with labor migration before was like long-distance, cross-country running. We had, like the migrants themselves, long-range strategies. We had to pace ourselves and adjust to each slope on the long route. Now our running was up to a place where we had to jump into the future... as we know, some have had to jump for their lives.

We have had to change our event in the athletic contest from cross-country to board-jump. Some of the same skills and same concentration are necessary, but the event is basically different, because the purpose is different. Think, for example, about the phrase, "ethnic community", as we have widely used it in migration research about urban, metropolitan centers. We tended to defend those ethnic communities against repressive forms of both segregation and assimilation.

We defended the autonomy of ethnic groups, their rights to voice their experience, to make visible their presence.

Today we continue to declare the principles of such a human and civil rights program, but we cannot evade the new context, in which ethnic cleansing has become so desperately prominent. Ethnic violence may not have its origins in ethnicity, as such, but would be foolish to deny the volatility of ethno-nationalist, irredentist ideologies. If the Balkan seems today more the powder-keg than the mosaic, then we might be more wary about the explosiveness of what some members do with their ethnic affiliation. We need then to protect **diversity** while at the same time keep **differences** from exploding. (For a keen discussion of this problem especially in North American contexts, see, Terence Turner 1993).

On Emigrant Organizations in "Receiving Societies"

My paper will attempt to access the organizational and cultural resources of emigrant communities for the peaceable futures of the home regions. My research, as noted, is a survey of potential, not a completely documented report. The metropolitan area of Copenhagen Denmark is the primary field, but nearby Swedish cities, Malmö and Helsingborg, as well as experience in Toronto, Canada will supplement the survey.

First I shall make a rough sociological typology of the immigrant and minority organizations in Denmark, whose history goes back to the end of the 1960's, when guest workers first arrived. (Schwartz 1985). Organizations have changed, if nothing else, their names during the 25-year period. The organizations' names have more or less kept pace with the hosts' own categories. For example, in Copenhagen, the initial "foreign workers" and "guest - workers" became "immigrants" at the end of the 1970's. Recently the term "immigrants" has been replaced by "ethnic minorities". Throughout all of the changes, the leadership of several organizations has remained fairly stable.

Here are my four main types of organization:

1. Umbrella committees and organizations. These urban, or capital-based committees coordinate the campaigns for civil, human, and political rights in the "receiving" or "host" society. The committees aim at a broad representation of the various national, ethnic communities. Relations to the homelands are not emphasized, sometimes even pro-

hibited, since this might cause internal friction instead of cooperation. Often, not always, connections to "host" political parties are maintained, for example, to Social Democrats, and formerly to Communists.

2. Ethno-national organizations, or clubs, which primarily are related to the home region and to other emigrant, diaspora groups in metropolitan centers. Some of these groups may be active in the umbrella committees, but the functions are kept separated. They relate to the home region. If the first type resembles an umbrella, the second type is more like a strawberry plant. The village region sends runner roots out in many directions, but the offshoot keep contact with each other.

3. Hyphenated-Friendship Groups, usually based in a provincial town or section of a city. With social activity (food, folk music and dance, sports, holidays) highest on the agenda. An example "Danish/Turkish Friendship Association". These groups can sponsor group tourist visits and other leisure-time events. Culture and sociability take primacy over politics but do not exclude it. The Kurdish New Year may be celebrated by such a friendship society, so politics is present.

4. Religious and Cultural Organizations, as, for example Moslem, Jewish, Orthodox religious minorities, which are transnational in membership. Such groups are not necessarily "fundamentalist" but they can receive the stigma of fundamentalism from the "host" society. Being stigmatized as "fundamentalists" when young women choose to wear shawls in Danish public space may act as an incentive for Moslem fundamentalism: "a self-fulfilling prophecy" in Merton's term. The term "pan" is fitting for these organizations, as for example, in the "pan-Arabian" or "pan-African" movements. The term "culture" is sometimes used in the names of these movements, as in "Islamic Culture Society".

In this coordinate typology, 1 and 3 have most to do with metropolitan place of residence, 2 and 4 with place of origin and cultural identity. Participation in organizations can overlap, as long as the intra- and inter- relations and functions are kept at a distance.

In the past three years, the presence of 2 and 4 has become more center-stage. The immigrant groups from ex-Yugoslavia in Denmark tended to be in my second type. They were regional and ethnic in composition and generally less interested in joining one of the groups under the umbrella. Today Albanian, Macedonian, and Turkish immigrants in Denmark tend to organize within their own ethnic and religious communities. The pan-Yugoslavian organizations of the 1970's have

disappeared, so the question which two Scandinavian sociologists, Schierup and Ålund (1987), asked about Yugoslavian (i.e. Macedonian and Vlach) immigrants in Denmark and Sweden: "Will They Still Be Dancing?" has to be answered with a resounding "No". If they are still dancing, it is among themselves, not as Yugoslavians.

On the Idea of Diaspora

The political and cultural organizations in Macedonian diaspora will be the main focus for this paper. The very term "diaspora" suggests being scattered or dispersed as a people. The original use of the term was in reference to the Jewish people's loss of its homeland in Israel, with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (70 C. E.), and a sustained historical experience in other's societies, particularly among Christian and Moslem majorities (Bauman 1989). The memory of homeland was maintained primarily through maintaining and adapting literary tradition-through "book-learning" and through domestic and religious ceremonies which themselves depended on knowing the relevant texts. Diaspora was a situation which put immense energy into memorywork and boundary - maintenance. In Christian and later in Moslem-ruled states, the Jewish Diaspora kept its own cultural space but made significant links with the dominant local powers. Diaspora was an ambiguous destiny, and that very ambiguity is perhaps what makes the term appropriate in the contemporary condition of post-modern, transnational society. The term "diaspora" then has expanded its membership and heritages to other than Jewish people. Diaspora also can describe sociological contexts as varied as refugee camps, emigrant urban enclaves, and even newcomers to sprawling suburbs who left, by choice or by necessity, their familiar urban neighborhoods.

To be in diaspora is often to be a minority. Here I think is a crux to the problem in the Balkan "national" homeland: Nobody here wants to be in a minority. Let's smile at that fact and see what we can do with it to make living better for us all. What I suggest in these remarks is: Make the world safe for diaspora, just as a former American President Woodrow Wilson, said during World War 1 about that very cruel war: its goal was: "To make the world safe for democracy". In a real sense, diaspora is the pre-condition for the development of democratic practices... Respect for diversity within groups and between groups is one of the historical experiences of people in diaspora. Our project in a nut-

shell, therefore, is to make the world safe for diaspora... without war. Our meeting here in Ohrid - this beautiful mountain borderland with so many inhabitants abroad - is surely part of that resolve.

On the Global and the Local, On Creolization and Balkanization

The notion of a global culture has never meant that the local context was eliminated. Any sensible theory of globalization had also the imperative to perceive local practices. Globality and locality are both/and concepts, not either/or ones. (See the various ways of arguing the global, the local, and the national in Featherstone, ed. 1990). Thus, if global culture looked sometimes at "creolization", the blending of cultures in cities, it was also important to analyze the breaking up of cultures, the cracks in the mosaic. Breaking up also gives emphasis to the parts. Fragments are perceived as wholes. Perhaps this breaking-up process is what makes many of us think that the differences are essential realities, the enduring units of culture. I wish to question this way of thinking about cultures, knowing that the anthropological profession has in much of its history constructed such a set of categories.

Remember that the modern kitchen machine chops and blends. "Balkanization" and "Creolization" take place in the same global and local machine. The kitchen food processor tells us something (малку, не многу) about cultural processes. It is utterly misleading though to think of cultures as tomatoes, carrots, onions, eggplants, each type of garden vegetable possessing its unique taste and qualities.

Ohrid is an excellent site for raising the questions about global and local culture, so let me raise one big question now about the leading themes of this conference. "Social Integration" and "Cultural Pluralism" are at best ideal-typical constructions, terminal and hypothetical positions, that themselves have no empirical reality. The two terms suggests a process of societal, holistic integration on one end, and the existence and persistence of many different cultures at other end. To bring these two theoretical ends together is something like closing your eyes with both arms stretched apart and then trying to bring your two index fingers together in a perfect meeting. Sometimes it works, usually it doesn't. But the assumption that social integration is like one finger (probably the right finger) and cultural pluralism the other (probably the left) makes it less likely to notice the complex processes of activity, the constant interlocking and differentiating at home and away. The phrase

"diaspora" I shall argue captures this complexity and ambiguity that most of us in this room experience in our own life histories. At least as scholars from a variety of social scientific disciplines, political orientations, religious persuasions, gendered experiences: we have all served our time in the food processor. Where is "social integration" in this blender? Where are the "cultures"?

On the Nation-State and Sociological Theory

Surely the term "social integration" is closely associated with the formation of nation-states. As a term in sociology, "integration" seems to eclipse state power and national ideology. Sociology required a neutral-sounding and objectivizing vocabulary to establish its place in the sciences. Its discourse had to be other than that of historiography, psychology, ethnography, politics, economic. How hard a time we have teaching our students Durkheim's (1895) "rules of sociological method"! How hard a time Durkheim must have had writing the rules! A century has gone by since that classic, and we still need to work on it, but what that work can teach us is that "the social" is not a territory apart but is incorporated into everything we do. That I think was what Durkheim was teaching, but he felt compelled to make "the social" into "the facts" for sociology. The analytical category "integration" is more like what Durkheim's contemporary Weber called "ideal types". Integration was not real but ideal. Likewise, the individual, unique, bounded "cultures" that some anthropologists (such as Radcliffe-Brown) discovered and described - usually on remote, primitive-peopled islands - had also an abstract, hypothetical quality in spite of their very concrete, specific and isolated existence.

The unique society exhibited social integration as well as a specific culture that fit and perhaps ornamented it.

Spokesmen for national integrity, autonomy, and allegiance (and there are many of them) probably have a little, invisible primitive model in the back of their minds. There was a Volk (spelled with V or F) in the history of every nation.

The problem for the model is that national society is not a remote island, but more like a space in a mosaic or on a chessboard. It was the "human geographer" Jovan Cvijic (1918: 103-4), a Serbian exile in France during World War 1, who first used metaphor "chessboard" to describe the Balkan region we are in today, though he referred to

Prespa, not Ohrid Lake! The spaces on the chessboard are contested. The different peoples crowd into the safe spaces, avoiding the dangerous ones. Cvijic was impressed though that moving about and abroad as pechalbari gave new experience and new impulses to the older settled areas. Pechalba, he wrote, was helping to improve the social and moral conditions of the central Macedonian region. Cvijic's maps of the region show many overlapping patches of religion, "race" and language. All add up to what we today might call "ethnicity". "Cultural pluralism" ought not be understood as a perfect chessboard or mosaic work of art. The cultures are not "pure products" in static positions, although nationalist policy would attempt to represent the other cultures as hard, durable, and dangerous elements within or beyond the borders. That is they are unblendables. Moreover, the process of interface between the ethnic unblendables and nation-state moves in a centrifugal way. More separation, more emphasis on (often minor) differences, and more collisions. Don't put pebbles in your kitchen food processor. Societies are not food processors. They just seem like them in moments of bewilderment. Metaphors like mosaics, chessboards, powderkegs, and food processors can assist a preliminary analysis of complexity, but the metaphors must never become the goal of analysis. We think and speak with metaphors, and we have to undo some of the thinking as we move forward to fuller understanding. A metaphor like mosaic, then, can probably show us what cultures are not, better than what they are (Hannerz 1992: 73). Nothing is as complex as our social and cultural realities, because we are always in the process of making them. Also when we are practicing social science.

Macedonian Diaspora as Agency for Inter- Ethnic Peace

It would surprise most Balkan experts if Macedonian communities in diasporic metropolises began to organize their resources for inter-ethnic and inter-national peace in homeland. Please allow me a bit of irony here as I repeat how Balkan identities are shaped in modern time. The geo-political and geo-historical images of Balkan reality are quite literally solid as a rock. Such a rock-like character does not change even by the strongest wills. The Balkan peninsula is made mostly of stone, much of it inaccessible to "Civilization". Only those settlements directly on the Mediterranean coast were in touch with urban civilization. Other Balkan people, the "real" Balkan people, lived pretty much in

isolation. Their cultures were therefore continuous; in the most exaggerated statements, they represented a living witness to the primordial habits of neolithic man. F. Braudel (1976) and one of his most devoted students T. Stoianovich (1967) have given eloquent testimony to these presumably enduring facts of Balkan culture.

Each of the Balkan nationalist ideologies is grounded in some version of geo-history. Archeology is usually a loyal servant of nationalisms, not only in the Balkan but also in the North of Europe. Scandinavian identities (especially in Denmark) are shaped out of archeological fragments, a few flint axe-heads, remains of oak-ribbed boats, and funeral jewelry found on skeletons. Nationalisms bring back to life these heroic epochs. The Balkan, as I noted, is not the only site for nationalism fantasy, but Europe has constructed what might be its "other within" in the Balkan "primitives". At the "margins" of Europe lived "our contemporary ancestors" as they were called in the evolutionist narrative. Laps (who call themselves Same) in the Arctic North, Highland Celts in Scotland, and "tribal peoples" in the Balkan (Durham 1928). Frazer's *The Golden Bough* is a catalogue of primitivity on the periphery of Europe. Most dangerous to Western European order and civilization were the Balkan tribesmen, for they bordered on the Orient. Recall that until 1918, the typical representation of this space was "Turkey in Europe". So we have joined to neolithic, autochthonous cultures of the Balkan an unwanted entry of foreign, Oriental despotism (Said 1978). That "Orientalism" is articulated in (ex) Yugoslavian politics - and may be an important source of the breakup of Yugoslavia - has been well demonstrated in an article by Bakic-Hayden and Hayden (1992). Emilija Simoska, at Skopje's Center for Ethnic Relations (1993), has also shown the divisiveness in Macedonian myths of "Muslim Conspiracy" and "Endangered Orthodoxy".

"Balkanization" would appear then to be the inevitable historical consequence of the two types of culture: a primitivist and an Orientalist. The first type feeds a nostalgia for the pure, essential, cultures of pre-despotic rule. The second provides an explanation for why history is so bitter, why revenge is so honorable. Irredentism, the myth which promises the redemption of ethno-national purity, is the substance which our conference in Ohrid needs to diagnose, isolate and de-fuse. Irredentist ideology feeds into projects of ethnic cleansing. As long as irredentist movements force the agenda of Macedonian politics, there is little sense talking about "Social Integration" and "Cultural Pluralism".

If the Balkan are as filled with nostalgic and bitter history, as some would say they are, and if the rocky landscape does what some would say it does to its peoples, then our job here in Ohrid may not be no more than deconstructive. I think that I share the opinion of many others at this meeting that the future can look different and more peaceful than the past. We can split the hard rock of history with a few well-placed tools of irony.

Moving our sites from Ohrid to one metropolitan context in Copenhagen we can observe considerable agitation and activity in emigrant organizations. There is tendency for organizations to split up along ethno-national lines. In the 1970's, for example, "Prespa Club" in Copenhagen had members from three speech communities in the Prespa Lake region: Albanian, Macedonian, and Turkish. Many Prespare (about 25%) lived in a crowded, run-down district called Vogmandsmarken. In the years 1968-1972, Vogmandsmarken doubled its resident population to 1400 persons, whose homelands were in Turkey, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and Morocco. When the buildings were scheduled for demolition in 1976 (they were first torn down in 1979), the residents from all the ethnic and national groups worked together for better housing conditions. Prespa Club was already a multi-ethnic organization, and several of its members were active as middlemen in the community.

In the past several years the club memberships are dividing according to ethnic affiliation. "Prespa Club" in Copenhagen is today primarily a Turkish organization, with Albanian and Macedonian members going into their own clubs. Regional identity is shifted to the ethnic, so that the diaspora fragments mirror the homeland. The effort to conduct an accurate ethnic census in diaspora was made difficult, if not impossible, by the fragmentation. Mutual suspicion among the groups and groups hindered the very object of the census-taking: to take account of each ethnic community within a larger whole. Ethno-nationalism in every form threatens the possibility of "social integration" and "cultural pluralism". An example: Some Albanians in Scandinavia, when asked, what their identity: answer "We are Kosova Albanians". When I ask "Where do you come from?" the answer is often "Tetovo". My usual answer to this is: "If you really want to help end the oppression of your brothers and sisters in Kosova, establish good peaceful bases in Tetovo, Skopje, Struga. Make manifest a real alternative to Balkan repression. To make that an alternative also requires Macedonian, Turkish, and

Rom alliances. The example will catch on". If I understand the purpose of this meeting, it is to discover concrete action researchers that will help achieve the alternative to stone-age geo-politics in the Balkan.

The most recent attempt in Copenhagen to restructure Macedonian diaspora includes the hyphenated Friendship type of organization (my type three). The organization is called "DanMak" and one of initiators of the group is Hasim Bahtijar. By combining a multi-ethnic, regional identity with Danish solidarity, practical activities in Copenhagen and in Macedonia can be designed and carried out. "Nema problema!" Cultural exchanges between schools, cooperation on environmental issues (for example, in the streams and lakes, the control of dangerous chemicals in agriculture). Some of these activities can take place in "active vacations". The shift of emphasis from ethno-nationalist politics to regional, multi-ethnic solidarity is going to require effort, but every social movement has been difficult. Social movements whose goals we respect usually start as resistance movements. They are struggles against injustice and violence. We are going against the current of Balkan history, but knowing how that stream is, we can find ways to navigate. It is also important to remember the times of peace in the Balkan past. The point is to seize the day. That day is here.

As social researchers we know that we are part of the society we research. If we step back and take on reflective distance, this does not mean we go outside the society and reach some Archimedes-like point. Like Archimedes, however, we are tempted at the thought that we can move this world, change its position and even direction. Too often I think, scholars with Balkan backgrounds have not been reflective; on the contrary they reflected and magnified the irredentist, nationalist ideologies. At home and in diaspora, scholars have exaggerated their ethnic and national "essences", in what Freud in "Civilization and its Discontents" called "the narcissism of minor differences". When I was in Toronto nearly four years ago - during the Gulf War and before war in Bosnia - I was doing a study of "Macedonian Identity at a Distance". There was an immense field to work on, much more than I could handle. People and organizations were helpful and hospitable, and they always started by asking if I were Macedonian. When I said, "No", they asked why I was studying Macedonian identity. Because I was interested in how migration communities are maintained and developed. The Macedonian Human Rights Committee in Toronto provided me with most of the contacts to other related organizations, and I understood for

the first time the profound sense of loss which Begaltsi Detsa experienced during and after the Civil War in Greece (1945-1948). Their group was one of the many new double diasporas created by war in the 20th century: first as refugees from the Balkan with temporary settlement in Soviet bloc countries, and second as emigrants to Canada and Australia. Macedonians are experts in diasporic situations, and its expertise ought to be put to use in solving problems for other groups as well as their own.

The remembrance of homeland burns like a candle in this and in other communities of diaspora. Experiencing loss of homeland can become a common ground for many diverse ethnic and religious groups. Our research therefore ought not to be exclusive, focused on one group's sorrow. The burning candle can illuminate all of us, who share after all, more history than that which divides us.

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Д-р Џонатан Шварц

**Печалбата и македонската дијаспора:
мобилизација за етнички мир?**

Резиме

Основното прашање врзано за феноменот на печалбарството во Македонија, како што е нотирано и во поднасловот на овој труд, се однесува на проблемот: дали е возможно етничките заедници на емигрантите во регионите на светските метрополи да се мобилизираат за етничка коегзистенција во својата сопствена татковина? Одговорите на овој проблем се побарани низ дваесетгодишното истражување на печалбарството во Македонија во земјите на Скандинавија, потоа Канада итн., вклучувајќи ги истражувањата во Македонија, во регионот на Преспанското езеро. Главната цел на проектот се состои во тоа да се изнајдат начини, покрај останатото, т.н. „етнички заедници“ (термин кој го употребуваме во истражувањето на миграциските процеси) во големите урбани центри да бидат заштитени од репресивните форми на сегрегација и асимилација.