

Contents

Institutional Impetus

- 3 The CAS Academic Council Meets for the First Time
- 4 Michael Herzfeld on Anthropology, Southeastern Studies and the Social Poetics of CAS Sofia

Project Parade: Roles, Identities and Hybrids

- 9 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' in Facts and Figures
- 10 Alexander Kiossev on the Conceptual Design and Diversity of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'
- 12 Haralan Alexandrov on Roles and Identities in Learning Organizations
- 17 Galina Goncharova on the Petty Tyrant Image of the Bulgarian Clerk
- 20 Long Weekend of Scholarship and Art at CAS

Project Parade: We, the People

- 22 'We, the People' Has Taken Off

eCAS

- 23 CAS Debates Go Electronic

Conference Chronicle

- 24 The Second NEXUS Conference 'The Balkans and Globalization', Budapest, June 2004

New Fellows

- 25 Roles, Identities and Hybrids
- 30 Visual Seminar

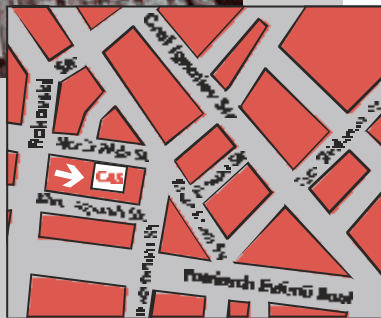
CAS Gallery

- 32 CAS Initiates a History Club ...
- 33 ... and Takes Part in DIOSCURI
- 34 Reading in the Age of Media, Computers, and Internet
- 34 The Visual Seminar Talks to Business and Political Leaders
- 35 Discussion Series on Reflection in the Humanities and Social Sciences
- 36 CAS Calendar



A New Home for CAS Sofia

Over the summer CAS changed its premises and moved to a new address: 70 Neofit Rilski Street, Sofia 1000, Bulgaria. The telephones, emails and website remain unchanged. The new offices are on two floors (third and fourth floor) in a pleasant 1930s building in the centre of Sofia, some five minutes' walk from the former address. They are fully functional and all the activities of CAS Sofia go on as before, with the staff welcoming fellows and visitors at the new address.



Centre for Advanced Study Sofia
 70 Neofit Rilski Str,
 Sofia 1000, Bulgaria
 tel.: (+359 2) 980 37 04
 fax: (+359 2) 980 36 62
 web-page: www.cas.bg
 e-mail: cas@cas.bg

Members of the CAS Academic Advisory Council

- **Prof. Urs Allematt**
History and Political Science, University of Fribourg, Switzerland
- **Prof. Tzotcho Boiadjiev**
Philosophy, Sofia University, Bulgaria
- **Prof. Michael Herzfeld**
Anthropology, Harvard University, USA
- **Prof. Axel Honneth**
Sociology, Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt/Main, Germany
- **Prof. Claus Offe**
Sociology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany
- **Dr. Hristo Todorov**
Philosophy, New Bulgarian University, Bulgaria
- **Prof. Maria Todorova**
History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Partners:

- Center for Liberal Strategies Sofia, Bulgaria
- Collegium Budapest, Hungary
- Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences /NIAS/
- Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (SCASS)
- Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Germany

CAS has working agreements for collaboration with:

- The Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Bulgaria
- The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences



- The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation
- Federal Cultural Foundation, Germany
- Federal Departement of Home Affairs, Swiss Confederation
- German Federal Foreign Office (Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe)
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, The Netherlands
- Open Society Foundation, Bulgaria
- Prince Bernhard Cultural Foundation, The Netherlands
- Stifterverband fuer die Deutsche Wissenschaft
- Volkswagen Foundation, Germany

Members of the CAS Board of Trustees:

- **Dr. Wouter Hugenholtz,**
*Executive Director of the Netherlands
Institute for Advanced Study (Chairman)*
- **Prof. Boyan Bolychev,**
*Rector of Sofia University
'St. Kliment Ohridski'*
- **Prof. Yehuda Elkana,**
*Rector of the Central European University,
Budapest*
- **Prof. Dieter Grimm,**
*Rector of the Wissenschaftskolleg
zu Berlin*
- **Prof. Andrei Plesu,**
*Rector of the New Europe College,
Bucharest*
- **Prof. Alexander Shurbanov,**
Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski'
- **Prof. Naum Yakimoff,**
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

-
- **Dr. Diana Mishkova,**
*Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski'
Director and Permanent Fellow*
 - **Dr. Alexander Kiossev,**
*Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski'
Permanent Fellow*

The CAS Academic Council Meets for the First Time

On 22-24 May 2004, CAS Sofia welcomed, for the first time, its new Academic Advisory Council, composed of internationally distinguished scholars. This standing advisory body, envisaged by the new statutes and by the new institutional structure of CAS, is composed of seven members, elected for a period of three years by the Board of Trustees. It is meant to assist and advise the Director on scientific matters, in particular on proposals for participation in additional research and educational projects, and on the appointment of Fellows and Permanent Fellows of the Centre.

The agenda of the meeting included institutional issues and the selection of new fellows for the second year of the collective project 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'. Following is an interview with one of the members, the eminent anthropologist Prof. Michael Herzfeld, who attended the meeting and kindly agreed to share some thoughts on, among other issues, the present and future of CAS Sofia.





Michael Herzfeld on Anthropology, Southeastern Studies and the Social Poetics of CAS Sofia

Michael Herzfeld is

Professor of Anthropology
(and Curator of European Ethnology in
the Peabody Museum)
at Harvard University, where he
has taught since 1991.

He was editor of *American Ethnologist*
in 1994-98. His recent works include
*The Social Production
of Indifference* (1992),
*Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the
Nation-State* (1997),
*Portrait of a Greek Imagination: An
Ethnographic Biography of Andreas
Nenedakis* (1997), and
*Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in
Culture and Society* (2001).

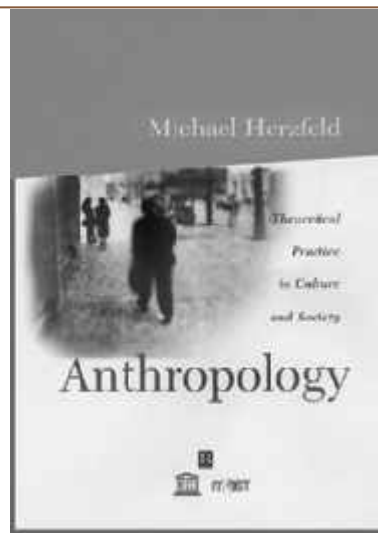
He is a member of
the CAS Academic Advisory Council.

Prof. Herzfeld, what made you agree to become a member of the Academic Advisory Council of the Centre for Advanced Study in Sofia, of all places?

The phrase ‘of all places’ is very revealing of what intrigues me about Bulgaria. I am interested in countries that, because of their particular relationship with the global power structure, help us to understand how that power operates. While the choice of a political scientist might have been to look at those who actually wield the power, an anthropologist tends to look at places where people are at the receiving end of that power structure. I also like the idea of a new centre that is trying to organize intellectual life in a new way and overcome the current difficulties, in Bulgaria and around the world, of finding a good place, if not exactly for contemplative life, then at least for intellectual activity. Universities, paradoxically, are becoming increasingly hostile to research and preoccupied with humdrum matters like numbers of students; the paradox of the situation is that the more staff are forced out of research the worse the deal their students are getting. Also, because CAS is part of a large network of such centres, because it is very well connected, it can help reverse the global hierarchical structure and give Bulgarian and regional scholars who are not toeing the global line a voice. There are many good reasons to be involved in CAS and I am happy to be a part of it.

You came to Bulgaria about ten years ago but did not choose to do any research here, and that seems the case with many celebrated anthropologists. Is Bulgaria boring for international anthropologists?

That’s not quite the case. I have a graduate student researching consumerism in Bulgaria now. Obviously I cannot do research in all the countries I’m interested in. My recent ethnographic work is on Thailand and that’s an enormous investment of time and effort; research for an anthropologist involves learning the language, and there’s also a considerable amount of emotional investment, you become very attached to the place you study. Of course, it would be easier for me to work in Bulgaria, because I have worked in Greece and Italy, and I’m not excluding the possibility of doing work here in the future. On the other hand, with a young generation of very good anthropologists working here I do not think that my presence would make that much of a difference. What I can do is talk to my col



leagues here and in other Balkan countries to get a feel of what the issues are, since this can help us create an approach to the study and critique of the power distribution in the world today.

So Bulgaria is not a blank on anthropological maps?

No, there are many talented people working here. When I was editor of the *American Ethnologist*, I published an article by Yulian Konstantinov, which I considered very good and which has attracted a lot of notice. It also alerted people to a different way of doing anthropology than what they'd been used to in North America. Gerald Creed and Carol Silverman have also done work in Bulgaria.

Until recently, all Europe was a bit of a blank in the history of anthropology. Since anthropology began as a colonialist discipline, anthropologists didn't see the need to study their own societies or at any rate thought this would be a luxury when other peoples around the world were disappearing. I find that salvage approach to anthropology a bit condescending, but it also has another drawback: unless you study the cultures that contribute collectively to who you are, you are not making good on the comparativist commitments of the discipline, which I think are very central to it. I am glad to see the anthropology of Europe as one of the fast-

est-growing units of North American anthropology, as it puts into practice what had theoretically been spoken about as reflexivity. If you look at distinguished writers' work in postcolonial studies, one of the largest lacunae is the absence of studies of people who were involved in colonization on the West European side.

Having lived in so many cultures and tasted so many cultures, what do you define as 'home'?

Recently people in Thailand asked me that and I said I was the United Nations in one person. I would define home as my own house. You see, I'm a British citizen, my parents came to Britain as Jewish refugees from Germany, I'm politically very much against forms of nationalism, although I try to understand how and why they come about and am fascinated by them. I think in many ways my interest in Greece was sustained by a somewhat horrified curiosity about the historical course of Zionism; I have viewed Hellenism as having something in common with Zionism and it's easier to study something not quite so close. Of course, I find Greece personally very appealing and have always enjoyed life there.

I grew up in a household in which it didn't matter much which languages you learned as long as you did learn some languages. My mother used to say

'We're not English, we're British', which gave me an interest in cultural difference. My parents also took me to see a performance of Verdi's opera *Nabucco* in 1961 in Florence. That was a defining moment, because I saw Catholic Italian actors singing a story about the people who were supposedly my ancestors and yet this story had also become an emblem of the relatively benign face of Italian nationalism and the *Risorgimento*. I feel very much at home in Greece, in Italy too, and I've been surprised by the extent to which I feel at home in Thailand. When you learn to speak a language comfortably, when you learn to listen to what local people think is important, when it becomes clear to them that you are a sympathetic listener, then you should be able to feel comfortable anywhere. I was also brought up on the principle that you eat whatever food you're offered. You can decide that you don't like it but there's no such thing as kinds of food that are disgusting, and food is important as a first encounter with other people. I feel at home in most places. In the short time I've spent in Bulgaria I've felt that it is a place where I could be happy doing research.

What does that make me? I don't know. I think that makes me an anthropologist. To me anthropology is not just a profession, but a moral and personal commitment, whether to the principles of sympathetic understanding which I try to extend even to things of which I am suspicious, like nationalism, or to getting along with people from different backgrounds and finding them interesting. When people ask me 'Don't you ever take a holiday, my response is 'How can an anthropologist ever take a holiday? It's a way of

life. Anthropology that doesn't involve such commitment simply isn't worth doing.

As a scholar of bureaucracy, what do you think will happen to this country's bureaucracy when it meets its European Union counterpart?

It'll be a slow process of adaptation, as it was for Greece. Many local cultural patterns will persist for a long time. I don't actually believe that the EU represents necessarily the finest form of bureaucracy, as I don't buy the idea that there is such a thing as pure, culture-free rationality. In my work on bureaucracy I have emphasized that every bureaucrat is a social actor, has interests which he or she may choose to ignore or pursue, and has cultural resources in the form of various types of symbolic capital including, of course, the authority vested in the office that the person occupies; therefore, even in very old nation states, reforms meet resistance precisely because even those with mutually conflicting interests have a common vocabulary that is dislodged by change.

It's hard to predict the course of any one country faced with such a huge power structure. The supposedly weaker members of the EU up to now have managed to force some concessions, indeed they have leveraged their weakness strategically, but at the deeper level of cultural response there is going to be a slower and much more painful adjustment and I'm not sure the adjustment will always serve Bulgarians well. That remains to be seen. I do not believe that bureaucracies are always bad, but a system that appears to invest a social actor with a great deal of moral and political authority and does not then provide adequate means for the other social actors to control that person's behaviour risks becoming precisely what everyone is afraid of with the EU, namely an overly bureaucratic system. All these jokes about regulating the size of bananas and cucumbers, which were not totally unfounded, show you what happens when bureaucrats are left unchecked and when law-makers are not really thinking about the serious effects of their decisions on ordinary people's lives.

I think that is precisely why anthropology is important – because we deal with ordinary people. Ironically, this doesn't mean just poor or marginal people, it also includes elites. By looking at everyday life, no matter what social stratum we are dealing with, we are able to provide something of a

corrective to visions that suggest that if you impose an apparently totally rational system, everything will run like clockwork – because that vision doesn't answer the question 'For whom is the system running like clockwork?' We have to work hard to make the voice of everyday experience heard. There are some traditions in the social sciences that are inimical to that: economists who argue that individual experience and even local experience has nothing to do with economic modelling, political scientists who are only interested in the views of politicians or who think the motivations of electorates can be deduced solely from statistics and election results, anthropologists who think that population trends can tell you something about desires. Statistics and the larger picture are important but as a heuristic device to point you back at specific localized questions. In relation to Bulgaria's accession to the European Union, I think it's important to do local work on what it's going to mean to people, and I suspect that will be the moment when anthropology in Bulgaria will become a very important activity, not because the EU is important, but because Bulgaria is important. Bulgaria will provide a significant view of what the EU is or can be.

How would you summarize the results of the meeting of the CAS Academic Council?

First, we did specific work, like ranking project proposals. It was important that we, the members of the council, could meet face to face for the first time, and begin to think about how to make the best use of the Centre's resources efficiently, in an intellectually honest way and how to involve different countries, both genders, different disciplines. I think we began to see some of the likely priorities. There was a sense of optimism that the Centre could become a haven of intellectual effort. We made commitments of time and effort. The council represents collectively a lot of experience in several countries and this is an unusually rich opportunity. We got on very well – this was an enjoyable meeting, one of the most enjoyable such meetings I've ever attended. In the near future you're going to see clear agendas emerging from this.

As an anthropologist I have one substantive disciplinary

concern on the nature of anthropology's contribution to collective projects. It's in the nature of the discipline that you have to spend a long time in the field for what might seem very meagre results initially. It's therefore very expensive in terms of person-hours. I'll be looking at ways of enabling anthropologists who take part in the collective projects to conduct meaningful fieldwork. Today there's a great fashion for doing something people may want to call ethnography, but it's an ethnography of a kind that I do not recognize as such – sitting in the classroom for ten weeks, and doing a couple of weeks of interviews without looking closely at the context. By contrast, I think the hallmark of good ethnography is the achievement of intimacy. You know you have achieved it when your informants start telling you things they wouldn't tell a journalist or an official. There is a qualitative difference between that and doing a bout of interviews with one thousand people, 999 of whom simply want to get rid of you as quickly as possible. It's important to create a space for the alternative approach that anthropology can provide because that's how you get inside a society and learn what people really are doing as opposed to the way they are presenting themselves.

Do you believe in collective research such as in the project on 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'?

I do not think this research is actually collective and that's the good thing about the way the project has been set up. Each individual is doing a piece of useful research which will be published under that individual's name, there will be some valuable mutual cross-fertilization, and that's all you can really hope for, but that's a lot! It is the mutual education of scholars in each other's fields in ways that enable them to take advantage of knowledge transferability that constitutes the major asset of a centre like CAS. Bringing together people who are in the later stages of their research so they can compare approaches is very good. For example, I lis-

tened to some historical papers on Friday – one on masculinity, one on homelessness – and in both cases there were resonances, in the first case with work I had done in Greece, very close by, and in the second with work that I am doing in Thailand, very far away. CAS could be important in promoting precisely the possibility of making some rather surprising connections.

I sometimes half-jocularly say that we ought to create a Centre for Southeastern Studies. Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia have historically and ethnographically something in common. They are both areas in which tensions between communism, Western capitalism, Islam and other religions have been important. The historical sequencing of such conflicts has been surprisingly similar. Part of the coincidences are based on belonging to the same geopolitical structures, the same kind of geographical balance between a peninsula, a mainland, and a set of islands, and therefore having similar strategic significance for the Western powers. I wrote an exploratory paper on similarities and differences between Greece and Thailand and the notion of cryptocolonialism, in which I tried to explain why it was that these two countries made such an issue out of the fact that neither of them had been part of the Western imperial system. If CAS makes a name for itself as *the* place to do Southeast European studies, which it is in a position to do, then it may engage in cooperation with some regional centre in Southeast Asia. I am a great believer in comparisons – they are not an end result in themselves, but they push out into the open all sorts of unexpected conclusions.

Is there a 'social poetics' of the Centre for Advanced Study?

It is perhaps too early to comment on it after a



couple of days of meetings, but I think there are culturally identifiable styles of academic interaction. I also think that when you bring together people from a variety of backgrounds, they tend to act up to the stereotypes of their particular national identities. (That of course confronts me with a problem, because I'm not sure which one to act up to.) We all worked our way into a very accommodating rhetoric, putting scholarship first while recognizing that no scholarship is ideologically disinterested, but I like to think that it's more than rhetoric and results in our being very tolerant of what are often histrionic performances on the part of each other. On the other hand, we are not likely to be very tolerant of anyone we see as wasting time or not taking the task seriously. Bulgarians perhaps feel they are not important in the grand scheme of things, and that is precisely why they are very important *now*, in a way that they weren't before, and some of the performances that you see at CAS have to do with that. CAS is still an operation trying to define itself and that is, I think, the healthiest condition possible, because it's a space for self-criticism, for experimenting with different modes of interaction, for different kinds of performance.

As the editor of a major scholarly journal, American Ethnologist, for four years, what do you think of the current system for displaying and evaluating scholarly work through publications? Should it be changed?

The peer review system is excellent within certain limitations. Those who know how to play the game are held up to a certain standard of

intellectual honesty. If you get a critique, you do not immediately assume that the person is out to get you. When I was editor of the *American Ethnologist*, I did not receive more than two or three reviews that were intellectually dishonest and I looked at close to two hundred manuscripts a year and tried to get four reviews for each. So in the better journals in the English-speaking world the peer-review system works very well. The difficulty arises when someone who is not used to the system enters it. Still, the blind peer review ensures that the graduate student who enters the system stands actually to benefit from this, as it levels the playing field. As a young scholar I discovered that I was better off writing for the big journals, because they gave better feedback and they were willing to take more risks, so one stood a better chance of being published there than in a minor journal. If I were to advise people how to get published today, I would say, choose your journal carefully and write for that journal, go to the top journals first, read the editor's and the reviewers' comments very carefully, and do not become angry if you think your ideas have been radically misunderstood, perhaps it is simply that you did not communicate them properly. In anthropology I would strongly urge people to write in the first person. When I was editor of *American Ethnologist* I pretty much required it, on the grounds that it does not make much sense to be writing in terms of theories of agency and practice, where most anthropologists would situate themselves, if you discursively refuse to accept responsibility for what you're saying.

Roles, Identities and Hybrids

is a collective international project of CAS Sofia



Facts and figures

2003-2004

- Number of fellows: 8
- Countries: Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania
- Academic disciplines: Anthropology, Comparative Literature, Cultural Studies, History, Political Science, Sociology
- Average Age: 35

2004-2005

- Number of fellows: 8
- Countries: Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey
- Academic disciplines: Cultural Anthropology, Literary Studies, Media Studies, Philosophy, Comparative Literature, Cultural Studies, History, Political Studies
- Average Age: 32.

Following is a description of the overall design of the project by Alexander Kiossev, its Convener, and two interviews with participants from the first year of the project.

Alexander Kiossev on the Conceptual Design and Diversity of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'



One of the assets of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' is that it offers great freedom to individual approaches. The framework of the project posits only the most general methodological and thematic guidelines and allows almost unlimited diversity of individual research. That is why selected fellows are covering so many different thematic and disciplinary fields.

The project 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' takes up an old Weberian theme: the idea that professional behaviour in various specialized fields of human activity (the economic sphere, administration, manufacturing and others) depends in complex ways on certain types of cultural belonging. Of course, Weber prefers talking about 'professional ethics' or 'ethos' rooted in certain religious attitudes, but we can easily extrapolate this idea and look for the roots of this professional ethos in a secular cultural tradition.

In such study it would be impossible to find any simple, one-dimensional rules – cultural determinism claiming that professional qualities are directly dependent on the belonging to one or another cultural community is a dead end. There already is a research tradition going back decades which considers economic culture as a multifaceted intermediate sphere

between the general sphere of 'anthropological culture' and the specific types of professional behaviour in the economic sphere. In fact, inside every professional sphere, a specific culture or subculture takes shape – a subculture that's specific to that sphere and that can hardly be reduced to larger, totalizing cultural identities (national, ethnic or religious). Probably a watch-maker in Thailand and a watch-maker in Bulgaria share certain professional attitudes (i.e. cultural-professional ethics) arising from the very nature of the profession – and that makes them members of the same professional community with its own subculture, transcending the national community and identity. The transnational character of modern large companies, partnerships and corporations also demonstrates that professional culture has to a great extent become autonomous from traditional cultural identities, and the 'ethos' of the profession and the standardized institutional behaviour can hardly be derived directly from any one religion or from the everyday immersion in a certain traditional national culture.

The concepts of 'economic culture' and 'professional culture', which became widespread and even fashionable in the past 20-30 years, also have their shortcomings. They are too general and undifferentiated and tend to misrepresent a whole gamut of contradictory phenomena by seeing them as a homogeneous field. For that reason they are unable to analyze the conflict potential inherent in this sphere, a sphere of adaptation of professional behaviour through varying and often conflicting cultural phenomena. That is why the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project opted for other leading concepts – the ones in its title. They can all be seen as part of 'cul

ture', but they approach it in a much more analytical way – as matrices and models of individual behaviour that connect the professional agent both with deep and intimate spheres of life (the 'identity' concept), and with the strictly prescribed professional and institutional norms. The project assumes – while being aware of the multiplicity of meanings of basic scholarly concepts in different traditions – that the interplay between roles and identities in the professional and institutional sphere may give rise to specific types of professional behaviour. Some of these types may diverge significantly from the ideal models of professional and institutional behaviour required by one's role – and may become stabilized in mixed states that we have called 'hybrids'.

The project functions as a framework aimed at directing the individual studies; in this it has two main aspects. On the one hand, it directs researchers from the humanities towards the 'images' of various professional roles created by public culture – journalism, public debate, literature, and various other media. It is believed that these images are already a species of local interpretation that a certain public culture assigns to institutions, professions and professional roles. This culture can 'attach' or 'detach' prestige to professions, create norms of how professional roles should be performed etc. The second aspect of the project, which implies the participation of social scientists, directs individual researchers towards the real actual usage and 'adjustment' of normative professional and institutional

roles to the practicing of the professions and in the real life of institutions. The adaptation of such models to specific contexts is mediated and depends in complex ways on a whole gamut of cultural feelings of belonging to different cultural spheres (from the national and religious belonging through the local market or institutional subculture, to the atmosphere in a specific team of co-workers, which offer models for the individual's 'I'[dentity] and for his or her behaviour. We think these can influence the performance of the role, filter its implementation in various ways, and that the influences themselves may freeze into new normative or behavioural models and become hybrid stereotypes.

The project does not aim at creating a fixed and rigid methodological scheme through which to study systematically this complex matter. It is designed rather as a heuristic framework that may inspire researchers coming from different disciplinary and national traditions, and involve them in interdisciplinary teamwork with unexpected results. Thus it is not the classical research project with a strictly defined aim, methodology and schedule, but rather a field enabling the cooperation among individual scholars on an issue that is im-



portant from the viewpoint of East European countries' accession into the European Union: the extent to which the new members will be able to respond to the required standards of professional behaviour in the free market for labour, capital and goods inside a united Europe.

One of the assets of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' is that it offers great freedom to individual approaches. The framework of the project posits only the most general methodological and thematic guidelines and allows almost unlimited diversity of individual research. That is why during the first year of research the selected fellows covered so many different thematic and disciplinary fields – from the public image of the Bulgarian clerks (Galina Goncharova), through the comparison of strategies of various publishing houses (Andras Kanyadi) and the study of the organizational culture of the New Bulgarian University (Haralan Alexandrov), to the turning of the former Bulgarian émigré into a 'gentleman' (Stefan Dechev) and the study of the political roles of Head of State (Alexander Vezenkov) or Member of Parliament (Marija Pandevska). There are highly original projects, such as Yavor Lilov's study of the debate in Bulgarian media on street dogs as a symptom of far larger problems: the boundaries of social sympathy and solidarity, the image of the ideal society and the ensuing roles and identities that the real Bulgarian society appropriates. The synthesis of these diverse thematic and interdisciplinary approaches is not an easy task – it is reached in constant debates that are recorded, documented and available in part online in the project's section of the CAS electronic forum, accessible from the CAS home page.

Alexander Kiossev on the Conceptual Design...

It is not by chance that people have started referring informally to 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' as PLEXUS. The present project has inherited the whole positive organizational experience of one of the Centre's previous research projects – NEXUS. It does not require residence duty on the part of the fellows, because it envisages studies in the respective scholars' own national contexts. There are, instead, intensive working sessions through the year when the whole team of fellows comes together. After the team has discussed the individual project ideas, every researcher is free to work on his or her own for a long time: this rhythm is punctuated by gatherings of the whole team devoted to methodological issues and the discussion of books from the common bibliography, which are all ways to create shared knowledge. At the end of each 9-month period, several consecutive working sessions allow the scholars to present their preliminary results in front of their colleagues and guests. The discussions in these working meetings are meant to give the guidelines for the reshaping, reworking, completing and writing up of each individual study. Every year, an unofficial internal evaluation and an official external evaluation of the collective work of the project will be conducted, the latter by competent outside experts.

The project began in 2003. An international jury selected the first eight fellows – five from Bulgaria, two from Romania and one from Macedonia. The newly founded Academic Council of the Centre for Advanced Study conducted the next selection of fellows in May 2004. It nominated the second group of fellows of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids', again consisting of eight scholars. In this round of applications, the selection was once again aimed at variety of topics, disciplines and methodologies, and a balance regarding the gender and nationality of the participants. The brief CVs and project descriptions of the selected fellows for 2004-5 can be found in the 'New Fellows' section of this Newsletter.

Haralan Alexandrov on Roles and Identities in Learning Organizations

*Interview with
Dr. Haralan Alexandrov,
Fellow of the 'Roles,
Identities and Hybrids'
Project*

This is the first year of the collective project on 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'. In your view, what is the balance between common theoretical framework and individual freedom of research in this project?

The pendulum may swing in either direction. Gathering in a single framework so many individual projects is a challenge: their authors all come with their own theoretical premises. The risk here is that such a project may fall apart and become a mechanical gathering of authors who tell each other what they are currently doing, which in itself is also valuable. What saves the project from such a fate at this point is, I think, the curiosity of the team members and of the project's supervisors, who are doing their best to allow space for interdisciplinary discussion and throw bridges between the various spheres on a conceptual level. Besides, one requirement as early as the application stage was for each individual project to have the possibility of linking to the other projects, to have open points of entry and exit. To sum, there is reason for watching closely the coherence of the overall project but at this point it is alive and kicking. The united framework is ritually reconfirmed at each workshop that we have. However, there is scope for more joint work between the workshops, and I am looking forward to this happening. I myself am quite curious to learn about my colleagues' work and I hope they are interested in

my research too. Partly the problem is that we are all very busy, although participation in 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' is a priority for all of us.

At these workshops, has there been mutual enrichment of methodologies, and can you think of a specific example?



There are many examples. I, for one, am about to include in my framework ideas suggested by Alexander Kiossev and Petya Kabakchieva, ideas coming from the field of cultural studies rather than organizational theory. I am looking forward to the next theoretical seminar, where we shall consider concepts like 'habitus', in the interpretation not only of Pierre Bourdieu but also of Berger and Luckmann, one concept that, I think, can well describe some of the phenomena I am encountering in my research. I assume that part of the conceptual apparatus that I presented, which can explain the functioning of specific organizations and groups with regard to their administration, an apparatus developed to serve management, will be useful to my colleagues in their work; they seemed interested and I expect more, specific questions from them.

We have two groups within the team – one dealing more with textual interpretation, the other with social experience – I belong to the latter. Each of these requires a specific set of instruments of description, analysis and explanation, yet the good thing about this project is that because you see what's happening with the other projects, you can develop your own original idea and rope in objects of study that were outside your initial field of inquiry. Something that I did not plan to do, but that I now intend to incorporate, is a serious study of the principal views on the purposes of education in the Bulgarian tradition. I realized that if I did not put my study of one specific educational institution in a wider context and a wider cultural framework, it would be incomplete.

Thus I became interested in issues like what expectations Bulgarians have of higher education, how it has served social and political projects, what the competing views on education are, what traditions have been imported, in what way these have interacted with the local culture ... To sum up, I'll be looking at the idea of the university in the Bulgarian context.

This is a huge field, and, as it turns out, it's been scarcely studied. It is intensely interesting to study, for instance, the fate of large-scale education reform projects, which are managerial projects (those supported by the World Bank come to mind), and projects which have failed. These provide immensely instructive case studies. They can throw light on the mismatch between views and expectation inside and outside the country. They provide support from the sphere of education for an idea suggested by [political scientist] Ivan Krastev: that the very general and abstract globalization-speak actually allows for the existence of many parallel agendas and meanings by postulating a quite shallow level of shared meaning, below which people may understand very different things. These deeper meanings co-exist without having much in common and conflicts arise when

there is an expectation from one or the other party for the consensual level to go deeper and to start being transformed into specific practices. In other words, people here think they can go on doing what they've always done, but describe it in the jargon that the World Bank or another international organization may use. In this case, everybody will be happy up to the point when the other party expects to see real change taking place. From the point of view of the World Bank this is imitation of reform, because their money is not being used in the right way. From the point of view of our institutional cultures this is the most natural behaviour on earth. You see, all of these ideas were born during our discussions here. I did not have them as part of my initial proposal.

What is your own methodological framework? I understand you presented some intriguing concepts at a recent workshop of the fellows of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'?

These were a cluster of concepts linked with the psychoanalytic, psychodynamic and systemic tradition for studying organizations, mostly that of an organizational role, and the way the individual, when becoming part of an organization, has specific experiences that the role evokes in him or her. The organization's leadership manages not simply the performance of its tasks, but consciously or unconsciously also manages the overall experiences and shapes its employees' identities, i.e. the way they adjust to their roles, the way their role becomes part of who they are, and the way they bring their character, passion and past history into the role. This is where sociology and psychoanalysis meet; one tradition, that of Goffman's social psychology, meets that of Freud and Erickson. To put it crudely, the way you relate to the authority in the organization, the meaning with which you invest your role and the way you negotiate this meaning with your bosses depends crucially on the relations you had with your father.



It turns out that to a very large extent, at least according to the studies I have started making in Bulgaria, successful management and the organization's effectiveness depend on such issues. That is not to say that they do not depend also on the salaries you pay, the machines you use, and the procedures you have. But what is commonly called motivation in managerial jargon, i.e. people's input or contribution to the organization depends a lot on their unconscious world, on the main figures of people's psyche and relations between them. It depends on how people's anxieties (often very primitive, linked to survival and basic needs) are managed, on the psychic and social defence mechanisms activated during interactions within the organization.

How can one study one's own institution impartially? In your case, you are employed by, and studying, the New Bulgarian University.

The approach I just described has already been used in research and its findings applied in management, especially in larger and more enlightened organizations. It is interesting to see whether this can happen in Bulgaria. When organizations start reflecting on this and talking a language that takes such issues into account, when people start constantly comparing the vision of the organization they have in their minds with that of the others and of the leadership, and confirm these visions, when they thus broaden their area of inclusion, the area where they feel in control of one's destiny, people will all feel better and will like spending time together and will do it in a more authentic manner rather than in that false, superficial way of organizational rituals, retreats etc. It means that very basic assumptions about the nature of social power will have to be questioned.

If this happens, we can call the result a *learning organization*, i.e. an organization that can at once perform its tasks and learn from its experience how to perform even better, one that turns itself into an object of study. My assumption is that a university has a greater



chance to do this, as opposed to a larger administration or a political body. The pressures of power in the latter seem to close all channels for learning and self-scrutiny; politicians cannot afford to expose themselves to that vulnerability which ensues from self-study. Learning organizations may have started to appear in business, but that is mostly imported from abroad. If a learning organization emerges naturally in this country, it would have to be in a relatively small organization, where people tend to think introspectively and self-reflectively, something which is happening in this Centre [CAS] and in other similar small academic communities, but has still not happened at the level of a larger organization. I assumed that the New Bulgarian University was precisely such a place and that organizational learning could happen there.

The very fact that I am starting to do this research is part of its happening. Others are doing similar research too. We have a team that has decided to develop interactive learning methods. For the first time now, we have teaching staff who already have the status, titles, publications and posts, and who can afford to admit publicly that there are things they do not know and are willing to learn. Traditionally, in Bulgaria, everybody acts as if they are great experts on everything and anything and make pronouncements on all sort of issues from positions of authority, then go secretly to read up on these somewhere else. Now, however, we have a culture of curiosity emerging. My study will scrutinize the beginning – the first

year – of what will probably be a lengthy process at the New Bulgarian University. It implies understanding on the part of the scholar that one is part of one's object of study, and the subject-object paradigm is abandoned in favour of a subject-subject one.

So the New Bulgarian University may become a test case for other Bulgarian organizations?

That's right. It is one of very few organizations that can be pioneers. It has many assets that may help it turn into a learning organization. It has enlightened leadership; the people in the board of trustees are self-reflexive enough and flexible enough to take such an experiment. At the same time, since it is also an entrepreneurial organization, it has an interest in developing and inventing new things. The state universities, which have a guaranteed state grant, have no survival worries and thus less incentive to develop, unlike businesses. Yet another felicitous feature is that the New Bulgarian University is organized in such a way that some parts of its structure are stable and administrated hierarchically, but others are looser communities that are threatened by falling apart. They keep rearranging themselves at constant risk, but that also gives them the opportunity to reconfigure themselves at a higher level of organization.

Could your project, when completed, have any policy implications at a higher level, for other organizations or the state itself?

I doubt it. No one has asked us to produce policies. The drama of the existence of the multitude of think tanks now is that it seems nobody needs policies at this stage. At least the people who may implement policies don't seem to care about them, so policy papers gather dust. At the level of the New Bulgarian University, my results will have some resonance, as the management has already stated that it is interested in getting acquainted with the conclusions. If people are interested, they will always be able to read our papers.

Further, one has to ask the Centre for Advanced Study and the project's supervisors what outputs they would like to see. What we are doing here has its intrinsic value independent of any output, as it broadens our minds, enriches our ideas and methodology, and keeps the academic community alive. There will be texts, publications, resulting from our work. In some cases, for instance that of my project, the results will have a concrete effect on the teaching of students.

Why did you become interested in applying to be a Fellow of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project?

By happy coincidence, my own interests fitted very well the framework of

Haralan Alexandrov on *Roles and Identities in Learning Organizations*

PLEXUS [as ‘Roles, Identities and Hybrids’ is jokingly referred to]. I simply happened to be planning research that matched the rationale of the collective project very well. An added bonus for me is that now I can discuss this with a wonderful team here as well as with my colleagues at the New Bulgarian University.

If you had to explain your project to a non-specialist in two sentences, how would you do that?

I would say that the larger project studies developments in several sectors of Bulgarian society, part of which is organizations, through a postmodern (but perhaps simply modern, for the non-specialist) interpretative framework. Or is this not simple enough? It tries to apply a group of explanatory models to reality and enrich them.

Is what you are doing here representative of anthropology in Bulgaria, or is it an exception?

It is more of an exception. My research falls within an interdisciplinary field, which is called organizational studies, and which draws inspiration, research instruments and theoretical models from anthropology. But it also draws on sociology, on political science, and psychoanalysis. I try to treat my anthropological baggage critically when I view the organization as an object of fieldwork. There is a big difference between my dissertation, which was on a village and several smaller satellite settlements, where I was an outside observer fair and square, and my research on an organization where I have a very clearly defined role. That is what makes the concept of role very useful: by working as part of the organization you transform and enrich your role. When I take larger authorship over my role in the organization, when I say that in addition to my usual teaching and research, I will also research the organization, I create a model for self-management in a role that is more authorial than performative.

It would be good if more and more people started doing this. The organization can survive it, since it enriches the

organization itself. If the organization does not allow such self-improvement, then people will take their creative energy outside the organization: in private initiatives or in research centres like this one. Bulgaria is full of people who seem dull at their workplace, who find their organizations boring and whose effort in their formal place of employment is minimal, whose whole passion and creativity is exported somewhere else. In a sense, the New Bulgarian University started like this. It was a place where people who otherwise worked at Sofia University came to do new and interesting projects – which was a very unhealthy situation for both universities. A better idea is to harness the entrepreneurial energy inside the organization. My experience of Bulgarian organizations, however, is that 90% of the roles in them are externally prescribed and people do not invest much in the redefinition of their own work, i.e. they are alienated from their formal work. The reverse only happens in small family businesses.

Are there other researchers in Bulgaria working on university management?

Not really, not specifically on management studies. There have been many writings on the philosophy of university education. Apart from two studies in a recent issue of *Kritika i humanizam*, I have not seen any systematic effort in management research. Unfortunately, there is, in Bulgaria, nothing like a British White Paper on education, for instance, which is amazingly professionally done, with a wealth of evidence, much data, and clear criteria for evaluating quality. Local equivalents remain at the level of general wishes – there is much assumption-based decision-making, politics, propaganda, ideology and many myths, but there is no evidence-based management. The rational approach to reality whereby you test your assumptions to check their validity is not part of Bulgarian culture, and to my greatest surprise it is not part of academic culture either, though one would expect it precisely in scholarship.



Interview with **Galina Goncharova**,
Fellow of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project.
In the framework of the project,
Galina Goncharova is working on a study
of the stereotypical state-employed clerk
at the turn of the twentieth century.

Petty Tyrants Eating Free Lunches at the Taxpayers' Expense: the Image of the Bulgarian Clerk

Does this project feel like a straitjacket or an eye-opener?
Does the overall conceptual framework help or hinder
your research?

I was lucky in that, before coming to this project, I taught a course that was largely focused on public images of 'modern' professions in Bulgarian society immediately after the Liberation. So when I looked at the call for papers, I realized that it concerned precisely social and cultural images of public roles, and decided that I would feel comfortable in such a team framework, even though it is more or less imposed from the outside. To me the project is not a straitjacket so much as an opportunity to take my research further.

In the project workshops, is there mutual enrichment of methodologies?

My discipline, Cultural Studies, was conceived as an interdisciplinary space, so I am used to interdisciplinary environments. Yet there were a few surprises in store for me in this team. For instance, I have benefited greatly from working with historians, because they can really bring you down to earth and show you how to arrange your empirical material, i.e. they have a much stricter and more disciplined approach to facts that a cultural studies person has. Cultural scholars are much more prone to interpret facts freely, to think in general terms or in metaphors. To me, historians' precision is very useful, and I absorbed this not only in the formal sessions, but also in the talks during breaks, and even when reading together in libraries. The Bulgarian participants in the project can afford to go and meet in the

Interview with Galina Goncharova



library, and this has allowed historians to show me, say, an important table of statistical data, to suggest that I view this or that source which might be useful. In other words, the collective framework produces a useful exchange of ideas and a kind of mutual 'reining in', a reality check when one gets too impatient, but this 'reining in', this mutual criticism is positive and it has an ultimately valuable outcome.

Does this project have the chance of becoming truly collective, or will it end up as 24 different studies?

I think the ideal of a fully collective project is by and large utopian. When a scholar tries to perfect his or her research, to exhaust its potential, this leads to closure with respect to the other projects, and to the general framework. Moreover, the individual tasks are designed as case studies, meaning that, more often than not, it's the material that has to lead you. If there is something that can play the role of a bridge between individuals, these are the workshops devoted to certain concepts, since they may provide a common toolkit and lead to the creation of a unified corpus of knowledge as a result of our work.

What research methods do you use as a cultural studies person?

In cultural studies I work on discursive practices, in other words or text analysis. It takes me some effort to go toward more empirical exactitude, i.e. incorporate statistics, legal documents etc, but I know that is necessary for research to have flesh. Scholarship should not

drift in mid-air, it needs the anchor of hard facts. I collect many different texts that will ultimately demonstrate a variety of viewpoints on the object of study, and the object itself will then disintegrate into a multitude of views, representations and cultural facts.

If you had to explain to a non-specialist what your study is about, what would you say?

It would be very easy, suffice it to mention the word 'clerk' for the people to get the idea. The Bulgarian civil service is a topic that is up, close and personal for everybody in this country, and it is a popular, one could even say populist, issue. The clichés and images concerning the administrative apparatus are the same nowadays as they were a hundred years ago – bureaucracy, corruption. It would be interesting for many, I hope, to learn that what they now perceive as an apocalyptic, hair-raising situation, a terrible ordeal, has happened before and is not a modern phenomenon. Thus people might learn to view things in the ironic perspective that the comparison presupposes; irony is (still) a necessary survival tool in contacts with the Bulgarian administration.

What is your own personal attitude to clerks?

A mixture of cynicism and realism. When I queue in front of a desk, be it in the passport issue service or in one of the administrative services at Sofia University, I have the expectation that I will have to wait, so I have to bring a book or take a friend along to chat, and

generally devise a tactic to feel comfortable. That seems inevitable. If there is something like a group identity of bureaucracy, it implies defending precisely such models of procrastination, of intimidating the client, the idea that there have to be hundreds of papers one should fill in to get something done, in short, a variety of features that supposedly give prestige and status to the clerk's position. If the bureaucracy gives up these sadistic forms of client treatment, it would lose a little of its own self-esteem, it would detract from the power of its own image, and thus impair its identity.

Why did you choose to translate the Bulgarian word 'chinovnik' as 'clerk' rather than as 'civil servant' in English?

I thought a lot about this and ultimately decided upon 'clerk', because 'civil servant' was a term that I felt would refer to the higher levels in an administration, and I wanted to designate the petty state employee, the clerk behind the counter. Calling this a civil servant would have changed the whole discourse of the research and would have made it much more official, and it would not have reposed on these clichés that ordinary people have about the, as I call them, petty tyrants having free lunches at the taxpayers' expense. One has to balance between the normative definition of the role of the clerk and the clichés functioning in public space of the same state employee.

In Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain the clerks were a pitiable figure.

In the Bulgarian case there is a combination of both. The clerk immediately after the Liberation was viewed as, on the one hand, the executioner and tyrant of those who came humbly to apply for something, and on the other, as a victim of an impersonal state machine. Literary fiction, besides serving us critical and ironic accounts of clerks, also has many stories about ruined clerks, suffering families, and clerks who resent their low standing in society, their subordinate status in the hierarchy, the fact that they are nothing but little cogs in the state machinery. Nowadays we tend to treat them with much less sympathy.

Is that the difference between the images of clerks now and a century earlier?

Yes, but I think it is to be expected. Many professions nowadays in this country are viewed from without, and nobody really bothers to think about the person behind the role they are dealing with.

Have you planned trans-national comparisons of clerks' images?

That was part of my project's initial plan. I felt I could not bypass the Russian literature on the subject, which teems with clerkly figures and was read a lot in Bulgaria after the Liberation and so has undoubtedly shaped perceptions. I also considered Serbian and other neighbouring cultures, which I expected to have similar images, although I was told there were differences too. Yet I decided against this ap-

proach, because I did not want to turn this research into a comparative study. I might include some comparisons, but I would like to draw them as far as possible towards the centre of the research – and that is the public image of the clerk in Bulgaria.

Do you think this research may have practical implications?

As far as it can show the genealogy of societal attitudes towards a certain professional role, it may be useful. It will elicit codes of identity or opposition – national cultural codes which are active even now. That is why I think my research is at the same time great fun and something of practical utility as well.

What persuaded you to apply for participation in Roles, Identities and Hybrids?

I was attracted by the idea of hybridity. I fancied the opportunity to try and deconstruct some entrenched theoretical concepts through hybridity. It seemed a zone of freedom that would allow me to describe the empirical facts better.

If you had to apply your expertise on clerks to the bureaucracy of the Centre for Advanced Study, how would you describe that?

The Centre's bureaucracy is not very visible to the participants in the project beyond our contacts with the project coordinator. It can be felt in the presence of folders, pens, or accessories. It is, however, a bureaucracy that I feel helpful rather than obstructive, so my image of it is the opposite of my image of a Bulgarian institution. On occasion it shows its coercive aspect, and requires us to submit something or comply with a requirement but that is what its role implies.



A Long Weekend of Scholarship and Art at CAS: 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' and 'Visual Seminar' Fellows Present Their Work

On 29 April – 4 May 2004, the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' team met at the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia for a long workshop, designed to update fellows' knowledge of each other's progress in individual research and to expose their ideas to others' critical examination. The programme of the workshop was interwoven with guest lectures and events from another project supported by CAS Sofia: the Visual Seminar. Thus the long weekend from Thursday to Monday became a real celebration of advanced scholarship and art.

The series of events began on Thursday afternoon with a lecture by Jean Marc Tetaz (Switzerland) on 'Das Problem des Sinnes bei Max Weber. Ein Beitrag zur systematischen Deutung seiner Religionstheorie' delivered in German with Bulgarian translation. The second guest lecture next afternoon was by Georgi Ganev (Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia), on 'Douglas North's contribution to economics – from ships to minds'.

The mornings were devoted to fellows' presentations on some of the individual projects within 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids'. (See the previous issue of this Newsletter for fellows' project summaries.) Marija Pandevska spoke about the role of the Member of Parliament in Macedonia, evoking both institutional respect and personal disgust. Haralan Alexandrov examined the dynamics of transformation of the institutional culture of an academic establishment. Andras Kanyadi reexamined literature as institutionalized identity





Katrin Klingan
on relations
and the Visual Seminar:

in a Romanian context by looking at two minoritarian publishing houses: Kriterion and L'Esprit de Péninsules. Alexander Vezenkov surveyed recent developments of the Head of State institution in Southeast Europe. Finally, Vintila Mihailescu presented a revised conceptual framework for his study on grassroots economic culture in Romania and gave examples of its functioning.

The afternoons were devoted to art. The new fellows of the Visual Seminar presented images and ideas (See also their project summaries in the new fellows' CVs in this issue of the Newsletter.) Boris Missirkov and Georgi Bogdanov explained their plan for capturing teenage dreams on photographic film. Georgi Gospodinov spoke about the inventory of nostalgia-laden socialist consumer items he had compiled with Yana Guenova. Finally, two former fellows of the Visual Seminar presented their final products – the X-Tendo Group and the artist Krassimir Terziev.



Katrin Klingan, artistic director of relations

We work with artists, curators and theorists, and we develop art projects together. We are always interested in working on specific topics arising out of the authentic local concerns and context. Our approach involves visits to the respective countries and cities, and talks with artists and other persons from the cultural scene; we ask them what the hot issues are on the cultural scene, what problems deserve more debate, or need more prominence, and what culture and art can do for that. The people on the ground define and frame the project and decide who should take part in it. In the case of the Visual Seminar here, we have a combination of an artistic aspect, represented by Institute for Contemporary Art, and a theoretical aspect, addressed by the Centre for Advanced Study.

The relations project, initiated by the Federal Cultural Foundation, Germany is a sponsor of the Visual Seminar, co-hosted by the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia and the Institute of Contemporary Art in Sofia.



'We, the People' Has Taken Off



'We, the People' – *Visions of National Peculiarity and Political Modernities in The 'Europe of Small Nations'* is a research project of the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia. It draws its inspiration from the completed CAS project 'Identity Reader', which was covered extensively in previous issues of our Newsletter. 'We, the People' was conceived and developed by CAS Sofia and is implemented in collaboration with the Collegium Budapest, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, and the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences. The project, whose inception and outline were presented in previous issues of this Newsletter, is already firmly up and running. This has been made possible thanks to the generous assistance of the sponsors of its two modules – the German Federal Foreign Office (via the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe) and the Swedish Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

The overall purpose of 'We, the People' is to discover, compile and compare various texts crucial for a range of European national traditions of political and social thought, which have been left out of the 'core' European canon since the age of the Enlightenment. It seeks to 'put on the map' the intellectual traditions of those 'small nations', which were in many ways important parts of the European circulation of ideas, but whose 19th and 20th century history of political and social thought remained outside of the mainstream of scholarly thematization. The regions covered by the project are Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Low Countries. The research will take a *longue durée*, cross-national and cross-regional comparative perspective to (i) the intellectual transformations in Europe (such as fundamental shifts of political and social paradigms, languages and concepts), and (ii) the interconnections between European political cultures.

Having started in 2004, the research work on 'We, the People' will take place within two complementary modules. One is a



Luxembourg, Echternach :
Procession dansante



Turkish guns abandoned at
Kumanovo, 1912



Dairymaid, Belgium

workshop programme, comprising two workshops per year, during 2004 and 2005, of scholars from the three envisaged regions – Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Low Countries. This module is supported by the Riksbanken Jubileumsfond. The other module is a fellowship programme for junior South-east European scholars, hosted by CAS and Collegium Budapest, covering the period October 2004-December 2005. This module is supported by the German Federal Foreign Office within the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (Task Force 'Education and Youth').

Within the second module, the selected eleven fellows have already started work and met at an initial workshop, which took place in Budapest on 8-10 October, and at a second meeting in Sofia on 13 November. The fellowship programme comprises scholarships of 6 months for each fellow within the full fifteen months' duration of their research. For these months, the fellows will be working at CAS or at Collegium Budapest. They will share a methodological and structural framework, and will focus on a particular yet critical subject-area: exploring the political instrumentalization of the concepts of 'folk', 'people' and 'ethnos' in the 'Europe of small nations' during the 19th and 20th centuries. The research coordinator is Dr. Diana Mishkova. The research tasks of the fellows are: to find and compile a representative selection of texts from their respective national contexts; to prepare a critical apparatus of the texts, aimed at explicating the political-intellectual context and the referential basis of the texts, and at identifying the institutions/agents of cultural and conceptual transfer; to provide short contextual interpretations, pointing out the most important specific traits of the given discourse, and locate them in a comparative regional framework; to present these findings, as work-in-progress or finalised research work at the workshops; and to submit a final interpretative essay comparing at least two national cases and concerned with both local specificities and regional connotations.

Full coverage of work on the project, including brief CVs of the fellows and summaries of their individual projects, will be provided in the next issue of this Newsletter.

CAS Debates Go Electronic

The website of the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia now has an academic debate forum, where project participants can exchange views. Their debates are fully accessible to members of the general public through the Centre's site at

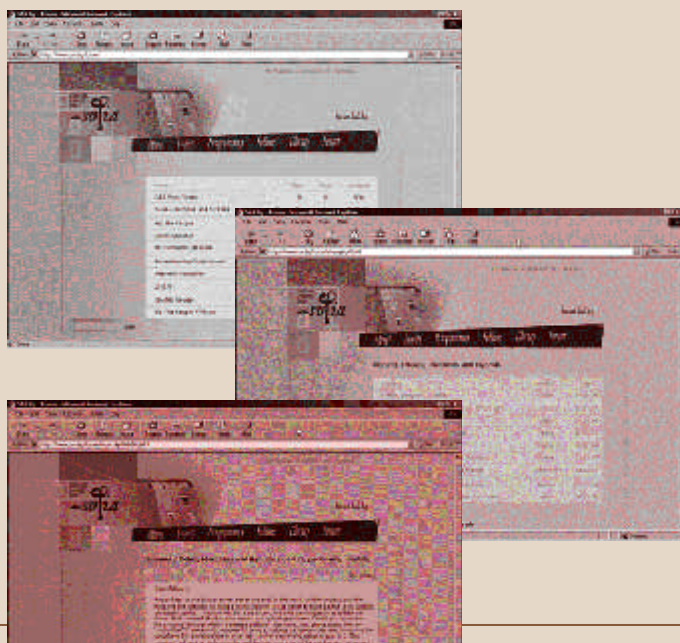
<http://www.cas.bg/forum/>.

The forum is subdivided into sections devoted to the respective projects, and one general forum entitled 'CAS Main Forum'. The separate sections are easily identified from a main menu that gives such useful information as the number of contributions, the number of new entries and dates of last postings.

Besides browsing, one can search for key terms in the forum also via a useful search engine that allows searches in postings on individual projects.

The site is accessible online to the general public for read-only purposes. Adding new materials requires a password and only project participants are allowed to post opinions. The first project participants to avail themselves of the new opportunity were the fellows of the project on 'Roles, Identities, and Hybrids', who conducted a lively debate on the role of religion in the formation and perpetuation of identity and the religious aspect of the functioning of institutions. Other issues raised were 'habitus & hybrids' and 'centre, periphery, identity'.

The Forum is part of a CAS website has been given an extensive facelift and is now more user-friendly in a discreet grey, dark green and pale yellow. At www.cas.bg you will find the Centre's upcoming events and news.



Second Nexus Conference 'The Balkans and Globalization', Budapest, June 2004

The Second International NEXUS Conference was organized by the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia and the Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University, Budapest, on 4 – 7 June 2004.

NEXUS, the first collective international project of the Centre for Advanced Study and a precursor of 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids', has been presented at length in previous issues of this Newsletter. Its second conference was the concluding forum for the project.

The first NEXUS conference had addressed the various mappings of identities in the Balkan region. The second conference broke fresh ground by focussing on the ways in which various types of legacy have been inscribed in individual and collective acts of identification and the paradoxical logic of what Zygmunt Bauman has termed 'glocalization'.

Thus the work of the conference was divided into two sections, which addressed two issues. The first section dealt with **'Legacies in/of the Balkans'**. Legacies are neither just metaphors nor mere facts. What we call 'legacies', but also 'traditions', 'heritage', 'patrimony' and sometimes even 'culture', represent forms of mediated communication between past and present, of re-evaluation and construction of the past, which are strongly inscribed into the individual and collective acts of identification. Construed by various and conflicting institutionally sustained Grand Narratives, legacies continue to perform a powerful legitimating function today in the discourse of nationalism. But legacies can also be viewed as historical phenomena, recurrent social and cultural practices, which display varying degrees of perseverance and continuous change over time. Both on the level of repetition of certain characteristics/practices (e.g., multiethnicity, patterns of social organization or political and economic behaviour, etc.) and of actual (individual or collective) memories, legacies possess an 'empirical realness' that is frequently at variance with nation-state legacy constructions. The section thus dealt with the tormenting ambiguities arising while legacies are defined, evaluated or appropriated by various social groups.

The second section dealt with **'Regional Identities and the Paradoxes of Globalization – Southeast Europeans in the Global Village'**. Today the intellectual elites, as well as the general public in the SEE countries (Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia), are both en-

couraged and pressured by the international community to think, speak and act in regional terms, a positive development in view of the need to overcome old and mutually hostile nationalisms with their rival heroes, martyrs and Grand Narratives. The section tackled the role of this new regionalization in the ambivalent processes of globalization, asking questions such as 'Is this a trend that opposes the global processes, or is it part of them? Is the region really engaged in the global exchange of ideas, people, capital and services? How far does it partake of the dark side of globalization – the weakening of local economies and states, the criminalization of societies and mentalities, the flourishing of drug mafias, the Americanization of local cultures, the widening gap between generations, and the decline of traditional educational and intellectual values? To what extent are the Balkans still a closed reservoir of old and conservative (national, religious, ethnic, tribal) identities?' On the other hand, the general framework of globalization also has a specific European political dimension, and the conference addressed the issue of whether the new SEE regionalization is really part of the acclaimed process of building a 'Europe of the regions' or a version of the old geopolitical divisions of power and the way this precious new commodity – the freedom of movement and communication – is distributed in the Balkans.

The conference opened with a speech by Prof. Yehuda Elkana, Rector of the Central European University in Budapest, which sought to place NEXUS within the framework of the larger policy-making project 'Blue Bird'. The first section, on Balkan legacies, was covered by three panels, on 'General Issues', chaired by Vintila Mihailescu; on 'Diaspora, Ottoman Legacy, Communist Legacy', chaired by Diana Mishkova, and a NEXUS Balkan Legacies Panel on 'Nationalism, Orthodoxy, Communism', chaired by John Neubauer. The second section, on 'Regional Identities and the Paradoxes of Globalization', was covered by two panels

on more general issues, chaired by Alexander Kiossev and Margit Rohringer; and one on 'Social Imagination, Arts and Visuality', chaired by Vladislav Todorov. A Second NEXUS Panel, which considered 'Anthropological and Economic Contributions', was chaired by Slobodan Naumovic. Many of the participants were young doctoral researchers, which was excellent from the point of view of the dissemination of the project's results among a young and very active audience. The concluding speech of Alexander Kiossev, NEXUS Convenor, summarized the ideas offered at the conference and viewed the research 'product' of NEXUS in the framework of the discourse about an export of Balkanization with its unfair modes of representation.



ALBENA HRANOVA

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Associate Professor of Bulgarian Literature, 'Paisy Hilendarski' University, Plovdiv, Bulgaria. Born in Plovdiv, Bulgaria in 1962. **Ph.D.** Literature, 1992. Habilitation in Bulgarian Literature, 1998. Projects and Fellowships: NEXUS Fellow, CAS Sofia, 2000-2001; Monthly Guest at IWM Vienna, March 2002; New Europe College Bucharest, October 2003-February 2004; Visiting Grant Fellow, NIAS, the Netherlands, April-June 2004.

HYBRID DISCOURSES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL MATRIX.
NATIONAL IDENTITY AND HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS: A CASE STUDY

This project aims at revealing *the basic discursive clusters and images of national identity and national history projected by certain powerful institutional agents*. These agents have been and are the state, its institutions and its cultural and educational policies reflected in school curricula. The institutional matrix promotes a pattern of national identity which seems stable, rigid and discursively homogeneous, although it has changed in different political contexts since the late nineteenth century. However, the discourses themselves always emit an image of the institution that has given birth to them, and the junctures of this interaction are the main foci of research interest.

The project's goal is *to investigate history textbooks in their relation to the present-*



day identity roles of students. The hypothesis is that the institutional discourse of the textbook is not always compatible with the institutional role of the student, as far as other identity factors can reformulate the matrix, although keeping its elements available in a changed 'order' arising out of a different political context.

Hranova, Albena, 'Language: Borders, Identities, and Utopias', in *New Europe College Yearbook 2003-2004* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2004).

Hranova, Albena, *Language and Its Speeches* (Sofia: Figura, 2000), in Bulgarian.

Hranova, Albena, ed., *Bulgarian Debates 1999* (Sofia: Soros Centre for the Arts, 2000).

Hranova, Albena, *The Two Bulgarian Literatures* (Plovdiv: Plovdiv University Press, 1992), in Bulgarian.

transnational institutions. The main focus of the research is to illuminate the relationships between 1) the ex-Yugoslav refugee populations and their identity formations in relation to local and transnational institutions, and 2) the impact of these institutions on the transitions in the countries of Southeast Europe. My research is organized around the Astoria (NYC) based Non-Governmental Organization RACCOON, and several religious centres and institutions in NYC (e.g., the Bosnian Muslim mosque in Nyack and the Orthodox and the Catholic churches). The mission of RACCOON is reconciliation and cultural exchange between the ex-Yugoslav refugee and diasporic communities. One of the main goals of this study is to examine how this reconciliatory mission of RACCOON is perceived, rejected, accepted or transformed by the ex-Yugoslav refugee population, most of whom have been in the habit of perceiving their exile experiences exclusively through the ethnic and national paradigms. These ethnic divisions and religious separations are often initiated and supported by ex-Yugoslav religious centers in NYC which have strong links, through transnational networks, with the 'home region'. Here, I ask how RACCOON's efforts and the efforts of the religious centres with very different agendas, as well as the related efforts of numerous local, global, and regional institutional networks transform the social imaginaries both in NYC and back 'home'.

Hromadzic, Azra, 'Kriegsvergewaltigungen in Bosnien: Alte und neue Erklärungsansätze', in Ruth Seifert (Ed.), *Gender, Identität und kriegerischer Konflikt. Das Beispiel des ehemaligen Jugoslawien*, bi-lingual English-German volume (Muenster: Lit, 2004).

Hromadzic, Azra, 'Bosnian War Rapes: Old and New Approaches', in *Living with Gender in Post-socialism* (University of Indiana Press). Forthcoming 2005.

Hromadzic, Azra., and Garcia, A. 'From Individual Suffering to Collective Activism: Academic and Community Approaches to the Bosnian War Rapes', in *Ethnocentrism and Minority Rights in the Balkans*. Forthcoming 2005.

AZRA HROMADZIC

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA. Dissertation title: 'Emerging Citizens: Youth, Education, and Democratization in Post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina'. **M.A.** Cultural Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, 2003. **B.A. (Summa Cum Laude)** in Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, 2001.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE EX-YUGOSLAV REFUGEES IN NEW YORK CITY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

This anthropological study of the ex-Yugoslav refugee population in New York City (NYC) examines (trans)formations of refugee identities in the context of local and



DANIEL SMILOV

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Visiting Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law, Central European University, Budapest; Programme Director at the Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia. Born in Bourgas, Bulgaria in 1970. **B.A./M.A.** in Political Science, Sofia University, 1994; **L.L.M.** in Comparative Constitutional Law, Central European University, Budapest, 1995; **M.St.** in Legal Research, University of Oxford, 1997; **Ph.D./S.J.D.** in Comparative Constitutional Law, Central European University, Budapest, 1999; **D.Phil.** in Law, University of Oxford, 2003; Jean Monnet Fellow, Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, 2004

POLITICAL IDENTITIES AND JUDICIAL ROLES: INSTITUTIONALISATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW IN BULGARIA

The goal of this research project is to examine the impact of the political identities of the Bulgarian constitutional judges on their institutional roles (or the implementation of their official duties). Constitutional adjudication is a complex mixture of doctrinal arguments, and moral and political assessment carried out by the judges; thus, it is of paramount importance to understand the influence of the political identity of magistrates in their interpretative work.

The starting hypothesis is that such influences are unavoidable, and that their existence *per se* does not undermine the legitimacy of constitutional review. It is unrealistic to expect that judges will 'bracket out' all their political convictions in their interpretations of the Constitution. Moreover, some of the judges of the BCC are political appointees, elected by the Parliament or the President of the Republic. Some of the judges have been outspoken political leaders before becoming members of the Court. Yet, constitutional review is not and should not be ordinary politics: in order to ensure legitimacy, the judges should try to elaborate strategies reducing the impact of their political preferences on their work. The successful elaboration of such strategies is essential for the institutionalisation of constitutional review. The second hypothesis to be tested in the research is that the BCC has developed some such strategies, although the judges have not been consistent in their application.

Smilov, Daniel (ed.), *Party Finding and Corruption in Eastern Europe* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004) – forthcoming.

Denis J. Galligan and Daniel M. Smilov, *Administrative Law in Central and Eastern Europe 1996-1998* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999).

Smilov, Daniel, Janis Iktens and Marcin Walecki, *Campaign Finance in Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons Learned and Challenges Ahead* (Washington: International Foundation of Electoral Systems, 2002). Also available at: http://www.ifes.org/reg_activities/Pdf/CEE_CampFinEng.pdf

Smilov, Daniel, 'Bulgaria', in Andreas Auer and Michael Butzer (eds.), *Direct Democracy: The Eastern and Central European Experience* (Ashgate, 2001).



DIMITAR VATSOV

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Director of the B.A. Program in Philosophy, New Bulgarian University, Bulgaria. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1971. **M.A.** Philosophy, Sofia University, 1996. **Ph.D.** Ontology, 'Ontology of Affirmation. Nietzsche as a Task', Sofia, 2001. Editor-in-Chief of *Kritika i humanizam* (*Critique & Humanism*), a journal for the humanities and social sciences, since 2000.

INTERSUBJECTIVE 'SOURCES' OF IDENTITY (IDENTITY, RECOGNITION AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY AS INTERPRETATIVE TOOLS FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH)

This project is largely methodological; it aims to reconstruct the philosophical 'sources' of some basic concepts in today's social sciences and humanities - *identity, recognition, intersubjectivity*. Those concepts delineate a conjoint circle of problems, pointing directly towards: 1. The *dynamic and often fluid social integrity* of contemporary globalizing societies ('societies in transition' included), i.e., towards the *dynamics in the construction of collective identities*; 2. The *forms of social reproduc-*

tion (the steady social 'structures', 'roles' and 'institutions') nowadays. I consider the philosophical categories in question to be more general 'interpretative operators' or tools, capable of governing, and to a certain extent (implicitly or explicitly) actually governing, our practical political interpretations and actions and the scholarly study of present-day societies. The genealogical analysis of the 'sources' of those concepts is an attempt to 'clarify' the circle of problems related to them and some of their preeminent 'meanings' considered as 'ideal-typical solutions'. That individual project could help to refine the methodological framework of the collective project 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids', and, hence, to ameliorate the instruments for the empirical research of collective identities, institutional roles and of their 'hybridizations' in Southeastern Europe. Certain preeminent meanings of *identity, recognition* and *intersubjectivity* can be studied from a genealogical perspective:

1. 'The pragmatist source', or the *problem of the interactive constitution of the Self* (J. Dewey, G. H. Mead, A. Honneth).
2. 'The phenomenological source', or the *problem of the intersubjective constitution of the life-world* (E. Husserl, A. Schutz, J. Habermas).
3. 'The hermeneutic source', or the *problem of the hermeneutic-dialogical constitution of identity* (M. Heidegger, H. G. Gadamer, C. Taylor, M. Walzer).
4. 'The Kantian source', or the *problem of universalization of difference through 'enlarged thinking'* (H. Arendt, S. Benhabib).

Vatsov, Dimitar, 'Interaction and Subject's Constitution', *Justice and Communicative Freedom, Special bilingual German-Bulgarian issue of Critique & Humanism* (2004), forthcoming.

Vatsov, Dimitar, 'How to limit Habermas's "Universal Pragmatics" to One Narrow and Only Formal Theory of Argumentation', *Critique & Humanism* 16 (2/2003).

Vatsov, Dimitar, *Ontology of Affirmation. Nietzsche as a Task* (Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2003).

Vatsov, Dimitar, 'Logic and Topologies', *Critique & Humanism* 9 (2/2000); second edition in Russian in *Kritika i Semiotika* 3-4 (2001); third edition in English in *Logische Formen und Sprachspiele: Wittgenstein 'Werkzeugkasten'*, forthcoming.

EUGEN STANCU

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Ph.D. Candidate, Central European University, Budapest. Dissertation on 'Engineering the Human Soul – Science Fiction in Communist Romania 1955 – 1989'. Born in Turnu Magurele, Romania, in 1978. **M.A.** History, Central European University, Budapest, 2002.

VISIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL
MODERNIZATION IN POST-1989 ROMANIA:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE SCIENCE-FICTION
DISCOURSES

Cartographies of institutional cultures in Southeast European countries seem to have changed fundamentally after 1989, mainly due to the (re)adoption of institutional models from the West. The twin reasons behind this 'renewed' modernization process were the desire to return to a market economy and political democracy, and the aspiration for European integration. However, an examination of the current set of images of the modernizing institutions as seen from the vantage point of different group cultures and identities shows that these are far from being unmitigated reflections of the institutional Western models. Instead, they offer an intricate blend of communist legacies and recently imported values, a heterogeneous repertoire generated by the hybridization between old and new institutional roles, as well as various collective and group identities.

Within this framework, my project is an attempt to reconstruct the complex and dynamic map of images, models and general principles pertaining to institutional modernization as they appear in the Romanian writings and discourses generated by the science fiction community. This leads onto an analysis of the ideological, political and cultural factors behind the construction of such multiple, and sometimes conflicting, visions of institutional modernization. Although my investigation is focused on the post-communist period, a retrospective comparative analysis is also required, since I begin with the hypothesis that a whole set of values from the recent communist past continues to haunt the present social imaginary.

Stancu, Eugen, 'Travelling into the Future: Communist Science Fiction and Utopia.' *Erasmus* - XI, Issue 13 (March 2002).

Stancu, Eugen, 'Politics and Science Fiction in Communist Romania, 1955-1974.' *Pro-Scriis* 3 (2003).

Stancu, Eugen, 'L'image de la science dans la littérature SF communiste roumaine des années 1950 – Le cas de Mihail Sadoveanu', *Analele Universitatii Bucuresti* (Forthcoming, 2004).

Stancu, Eugen, 'Text, Context, Interpretation: From Thomas Withlam Atkinson to Mihail Sadoveanu', in *Proceedings of the Conference: 'Intercultural Communication: New Perspective in European History' – Florence 2004* (Forthcoming, 2005).

MEHMET SAFA SARACOGLU

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Ph.D. Candidate, Ohio State University, Dept. of History. Born in Antakya, Turkey in 1974. **M.A.** Economics, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 1998.

UPON INVESTIGATION: CONSTITUTING
'LOCAL REALITIES' THROUGH OFFICIAL
REPORTS AT THE VIDIN COUNTY DURING
THE EARLY 1870S

My primary focus is on the administrative practices of a particular institution, the county administrative council at Vidin in the early 1870s. Among the council's primary functions were protecting the state wealth and property within the confines of the county, administering the proper collection of taxes, giving reports on abuse of power and irregularities pertaining to state-appointed clerks or contractors, investigating land disputes, etc. As part of such administrative practices, the county administrative council in Vidin sent reports to the provincial centre at Rousse. The analysis of the records of this institution's correspondence with Rousse offers a way of understanding the constitution of the imagery of 'provincial reality' for the imperial centre.

Ottoman local institutions filtered information as they passed it on to higher centers and their functioning has not been studied extensively. The way the empire formed such institutions and their functioning has been subject to scholarly attention. Oftentimes such empire-centered analyses are 'balanced' by some 'complaint reports' from the provinces allegedly showing how such institutions were not functioning. The problematic aspect of such works has to do with their readiness to accept the 'complaints' at their face value. This is largely due to lack of available resources that could explicate the power relations and negotiations that set the tone



and content of that particular complaint. Thus, existing studies are silent about the politics of writing for the empire. My hypothesis is that through these reports the members of the council were constituting the 'local reality' that they wanted the empire to see. Accordingly, these reports were hybrids of the interaction of the roles of these members as Ottoman bureaucrats and their local self-identification processes.



ROSSITZA GUENTCHEVA

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Born in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1968. **M.A.** History, Sofia University, 1992. **M.A.** History, Central European University, Budapest, 1995. **M.Phil.** History, University of Cambridge, 1996. **Ph.D.** History, University of Cambridge, 2001. Dissertation: 'State, Nation and Language: the Bulgarian Community in the Region Banat from the 1860s until the 1990s'.

FROM BANISHMENT TO ASCRIBED RESIDENCE. CONTROLLING INTERNAL MOVEMENT IN SOCIALIST BULGARIA (1944-1989)

The project seeks to investigate the institutionalization of one mobility-preventing mechanism, namely restrictions on internal movement in socialist Bulgaria (1944-1989). Through a series of institutions – ranging from banishment to dislocation and a residence legally inscribed in the passport – the Bulgarian state engaged in spatial stratification and geographic management of its population. Its legal officials had elaborated categories linking

human rights to a specific geographical location, while state and local authorities implemented in practice human rights' successful territorialisation.

Exploring banishment and ascribed residence as two different yet connected instances of the process of institutionalisation of constraints on internal movement in socialist Bulgaria will permit avoiding two shortcomings of recent research into similar practices (chiefly in the former USSR). The first is to see such practices as belonging exclusively to the repertoire of violence inherent in the ethos of socialist regimes' social engineering, without seeing how they were undermined by state and local actors and policies designed for other social fields. The other is to relativise them by conceiving them as the outcome of career and professional competition or as belonging to the economic incentives designed by socialist systems, thus presenting their 'human face'.

Guentcheva, Rossitza, 'Seeing language: Bulgarian Linguistic Maps in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century', *European Review of History*, 10, 3 (2003), 467-485.

Guentcheva, Rossitza, 'Sounds and Noise in Socialist Bulgaria', in: *Ideologies and National Identities. The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, eds John Lampe and Mark Mazower (CEU: Budapest, 2004), pp. 211-234.

Guentcheva, Rossitza, P. Kabakchieva and P. Kolarski, *The Social Impact of Seasonal Migration in Bulgaria* (IOM: Vienna, 2004).

Guentcheva, Rossitza, 'Post-1989 Immigration in Bulgaria' in: *Bulgarian Migrations Post-1989*, ed. Ralitzka Sultanova (forthcoming, in Bulgarian).



ZALA VOLCIC

'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' Fellow
2004

Assistant Professor of International Communication, Franklin College, Switzerland and University of Maribor, Slovenia. Born in Maribor, Slovenia in 1971. **Ph.D.** Media Studies, University of Colorado at Boulder, USA, 'Serbian Spaces of Identity and Belonging: Narratives of Serbian Nationalism by the last "Yugo" Generation', 2003. **M.A.** Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Colorado at Boulder, USA, 1998. **M.A.** Mass Communications, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, 1996.

MACEDONIAN AND SLOVENIAN SPACES OF IDENTITY

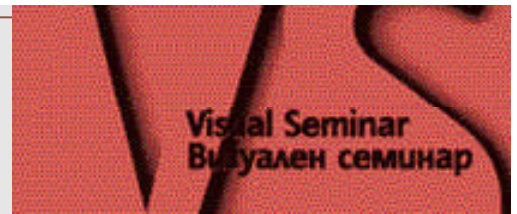
This study is based on in-depth interviews with young Macedonian and Slovenian intellectuals. It addresses the question of the manner in which the demise of Yugoslavia entailed a reconfiguration of the political spaces and a specific re-forging of collective identities; it explores the various aspects of how the informants, young intellectuals, belonging to the last Yugoslav generation, articulate their (new) spaces of belonging and identity, as well as examining their Yugoslav memories. The study thus tackles the straightforward question of 'How has the former Yugoslav community been imagined, interpreted, represented, has it been replaced and re-imagined by the informants, and in what way?'

Volcic, Zala, 'Who Wants to be a Media Literate? Locating Media Research Methods and Applying Them to the "Media Literacy" Concept', *Medijska Istrazivanja: Croatian Journal for Journalism and the Media* 9/2 (May 2003).

Volcic, Zala, and Karmen Erjavec, *Media education in former Yugoslavia*, (SOROS-HESP, University of Ljubljana and Council of Europe, 2000).

Volcic, Zala, 'Media Education: The Need for a Curriculum Development', in *Liberal Democracy, Citizenship, and Education*, ed. by Oto Luthar, Keith A. Mcleod and Mitja Zagar (New York: Mosaic Press, 2001).

Where West Meets East: The Balkans and the Middle East, ethnographic documentary film by Zala Volcic and Helga Tawil (currently in production).



GEORGI GOSPODINOV

'Visual Seminar' Fellow 2004

Author of five books of fiction and poetry, among them *Natural Novel* and the collection of short stories *And Other Stories*. **Ph.D. candidate and researcher**, Institute for Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. **M.A. Bulgarian Language and Literature**, Sofia University. Editor of *Literaturen Vestnik* [Literary Newspaper], a literary and cultural weekly; weekly columnist for the *Dnevnik* daily, Analyses column.



INVENTORY BOOK OF SOCIALISM
(Co-author of the idea: Yana Genova)

Where did the lemon sweets of our childhood disappear? Or the 'Golden Autumn' biscuits and the 'Children's Snacks'? What happened to the 'Chernomorets' candies? The food industry seems to have heard these questions and to have mobilized nostalgia into marketing. All these products have reappeared and keep reappearing in virtually the same packaging that we remember from the 1960s, 70s and 80s. The cliché (visual as well as other) became part of our unconscious collective memory of the taste of socialism. The lack of consumer choice in the material culture of that time seems to have assembled us in a common narrow space. We have all tasted those goods, we remember them, and can identify our common past through them. Do these tastes (in a broader sense) remain a cliché, or resist clichés, how and to what extent do they do that?

The *Inventory Book of Socialism Project* is also motivated by an obvious absence, a deficit. The everyday material culture of socialism, the artifacts of its light industry – domestic goods, detergents, cigarettes, foods, etc., are not being archived, described, put in museums. They are totally absent from the poor public debate on the past. Analysts, political scientists and historians disregard them as too trivial to deserve attention so they remain out of the big historical narratives and expert scrutiny. The *Inventory Book* is to be a visual archive, a catalogue of the socialist grocery.

The project aims to offer an alternative history of Bulgarian post-1960s socialism through the visual and graphic culture of the quotidian and domestic spheres, through the history of penetration of the communist project in the private urban life, through the attempt at a total unification of Socialist Man as a parallel to the economic collectivization. The project's basic assumption is that the understanding of 'mature socialism' requires a refined *archaeology of the material sphere*, which is to reconstruct the site of the silent object in a society of continuous ideological noise. Thus, the project's approach differs radically from the current historical studies of the same period, which follow party congresses and political events. It aims to reveal how the material related to the ideological order at work, how 'the banality of evil' infiltrated life not only through political murders, camps and moral choices but also through the banality of quotidian life and its visual aspect. Our final product is a catalogue with packaging, goods, elements of socialist domestic interior, covers, patterns, etc., and short texts; separate sections will show socialist 'cover versions' turning foreign utilitarian goods into symbolic objects (e.g. the collecting of imported soaps and paper napkins), and 'recycled' trademarks which are appearing on the market today.

Publications and conference papers related to the project:

'1968 For(n)ever: Personal Versions', *Kultura* 19 (9 May 2003).

'The Souvenir Other', paper presented at 29 Romerberg Gespräche: Ost-Europas West-Erweiterung, Paulskirche, 1-2 November 2002, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

'Nostalgia for the Imagined', paper presented at the conference 'Remembrance, Nostalgia, Oblivion. On the Post-Communist Melancholy and Yearning for Communism', 16-19 May 2002, Warsaw, Poland.



**BORIS MISSIRKOV &
GEORGI BOGDANOV**

'Visual Seminar' Fellows 2004
(shared project)

Photographers and filmmakers. Both fellows were born in 1971, earned an **M.A.** in Film and TV, National Academy of Theatre and Film Art, Sofia (1991-96), and spent a year of study at FABRICA – Treviso, Italy (1996-97).


ON THE TRACKS OF THE BRIGHT FUTURE

The project addresses the total lack of a clear system of clichés in Bulgaria today, compared to the well-organized cliché production and consumption systems elsewhere, e.g. in North-American culture. It explores the dreams and hopes of secondary-school students. Seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years of age are a period when one's notion of the surrounding world and one's value system are already comparatively well-formed, yet based more on other people's experience than on one's own. I.e. that is the moment when borrowed notions of the world are accepted initially uncritically, before the inevitable moment of disappointment and reevaluation comes. Thus, these students' visions of the future are potentially the most promising area for finding the clichés that form Bulgarian national identity today.

The work on the project falls into three stages: the first is the fieldwork and the gathering of source material revolving around the most traditional question: 'What would you like to become in later life?' The material will be collected

through interviews with secondary-school students from several different schools in Sofia and around the country. Besides answers concerning the future occupation, the inquiries will try to gather a maximum of information about the visual aspect of the dreams of the future – places, clothes, colours, situations, relations etc. The second stage is the processing of results: finding similarities, drawing conclusions, emphasizing the main repetitive elements of the dreams and the selection of concrete themes to be elaborated during the third stage. That last stage concerns visualization: the key elements from the examination will be summarized in a series of some 15 staged large-format photographs, representing typical situations from the possible future of our heroes. The situations will be staged in a natural setting with the participation of models and actors, and the situations themselves, the costume and set details will be modeled in accordance with the materials gathered during the inquiry.

We will consider the project successful if the combination of these images forms a slightly ironic sequence in the spirit of the picturesque cycles illustrating the seven deadly sins or the five senses; in our case that could be the cliché gallery, through which our compatriots like to define and express themselves here and now.

Selected solo exhibitions of the team:

2003: *Portraits*, Prague House of Photography, Czech Republic; *RADAR Living*, billboards, Venice, Italy; *The Bulgarian Connection*, 101 Gallery, Houston, Texas, USA.

Selected group exhibitions:

2003: *In the Gorges of the Balkans*, Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany; *Export-Import*, Sofia Municipal Gallery; 2002: *In Search of Balkania*, Neue Galerie, Graz, Austria; *Yalta Beach Portraits*, Manège, Moscow, Russia; *Looming Up Munich*, Aspekte Galerie, Munich, Germany.





CAS Initiates a History Club ...

In the past months, CAS has hosted several monthly informal meetings of historians and people interested in history and the humanities in general, aimed at discussing the state of the discipline, presenting work in progress and considering recent publications in the field of Bulgarian and Balkan history. This emerging tradition has been dubbed The History Club.

In the beginning of the series, the historian Ivan Elenkov addressed the state of the discipline in Bulgaria, discussing the individual historian's condition in an environment requiring conformism, beset by generational conflicts and governed by the media. At another meeting the anthropologist Ilia Iliev spoke about many historians' belief in a sort of culturally- and genetically-encrypted Bulgarian-ness, the presence of a great many powerful centres of historical interpretation and popularisation outside academic research and society's relative lack of interest in the arguments of academics.

In one memorable session, Roumen Daskalov spoke about his book *Interpreting the Bulgarian National Revival*, dealing with the inventory of different languages about, and uses of, the historical concept of the Bulgarian National Revival. This debate engendered a series of polemical texts in response. One such text was Alexander Vezenkov's presentation, which caused quite a stir in professional circles. It sought for the reasons behind the widespread consensus among historians that the Bulgarian National Revival is a distinct period in 19th-century Bulgarian history, drawing attention to five deep-rooted misrepresentations like the overexposure of the revival processes, the ignoring or presenting as 'Bulgarian' of processes initi-



ated by, or linked with, the Ottoman state etc. Tchavdar Marinov, in his turn, compared the much more casual treatment by Macedonian historians of the Macedonian national revival with the mainstream view in Bulgaria of the Bulgarian National Revival. Diana Mishkova's contribution hoped to problematise the current mainstream interpretation of the relations between the Balkans and the 'West' as it has emerged from the mirror reading of the 'Balkanism' paradigm. It did so by focusing on the channels of transmission of the notions of 'Europe' and modernity in the Balkans.

In the autumn, the History Club continued meeting in the new premises of CAS with undiminished enthusiasm. First, Stefan Detchev spoke about Russophile and Russophobe ideologies and their differing construction of Bulgarian na-

tional identity, especially the fascinating array of arguments on the Russophobe side. More recently, on 27 October, Dessislava Lilova addressed the little-studied issue of anti-European debates in the public space of Bulgaria in the period of the National Revival in the 60s and 70s of the 19th century, where Europe was seen as the symbol of modernity. Lilova sought explanations for the frustrations that produced the negative responses to this 'Europe'.

The overall thrust of the discussions of the History Club has been to offer alternative readings to the mainstream historical interpretations. Its provocative, unusual and 'revisionist' texts are being collected for publication as this issue is going to press, under the provisional title of *The Balkan 19th Century: The Other Reading*.

... and Takes Part in DIOSCURI

Objectives of DIOSCURI:

CAS Sofia is the Bulgarian participant in DIOSCURI, an international research project in the social sciences, supported by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme. The other participants are research institutions from Hungary, Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia, Romania, Croatia, and Serbia and Montenegro. The project brings together leading sociologists, political economists, historians, anthropologists and social policy experts in Central and Eastern/Southern Europe, and aims to produce field reports, country studies, comparative analyses and policy recommendations for future accession rounds. The project co-ordination is provided by the Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University in Budapest. The project is assisted by the Principal Researcher based at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna.

Invoking the mythological figures Castor and Pollux, the DIOSCURI project focuses on current encounters in Europe to predict the convergence between the twin economic cultures of the 'East' and the 'West'. The research fields – entrepreneurship, governance and economic knowledge – will be explored in four East-Central European countries (the

Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia) and in four countries of South-east Europe (Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Serbia/Montenegro). The selection of the fields is based on the conviction that among the producers of economic culture, businesspeople, civil servants and economists exert a vast influence on the economic performance of the Union and the social cohesion between the old and the new member states.

Instead of relying on a simplistic scheme, in which the 'strong Western' culture devours the 'weak Eastern' one, the Consortium expects to find a great variety of lasting cultural hybrids in economic and social behaviour. Thus, in an unprecedented way, Eastern Enlargement will be studied in conjunction with its neglected counterpart, Western Enlargement. East-West encounters will generate a complex dynamics that includes cultural gaps (tensions, frictions, conflicts), strategies to bridge the gaps, and compromises between cultures. In studying them, DIOSCURI will go beyond the world of the *acquis* to discover forms of cultural coexistence, which are hard to regulate *ex ante* by introducing new organisational/legal systems.

1. Identifying the types of cultural encounters in the European economy during and after the Enlargement, and analysing the cultural dynamics of these encounters in the production and mediation of economic cultures in the field of entrepreneurship and governance as well as in the generation of economic knowledge.
2. Mapping the major cultural gaps and strategies to bridge them, describing the patterns of convergence and the extent of remaining diversity of economic cultures in Europe, and assessing their impact on social cohesion in and between the old and new member states. In distinguishing 'strong' and 'weak' convergence, and studying the various forms of cultural co-operation and compromise, the project will promote the resolution of old and new conflicts.
3. Exploring those fields in which the new entrants (as agents of Western Enlargement) can contribute to the rejuvenation of economic cultures in the Union, and searching for win-win situations that reflect close co-operation and fair rivalry in cultural exchange between the East and the West. However, the project will not refrain from analysing adverse types of cultural interpenetration and – occasionally – wild conflict.
4. Helping re-assess the procedures of the current round of Enlargement, and – by including European countries – also enabling the EU to draw lessons for the next rounds. In focusing primarily on beyond-the-*acquis* phenomena, DIOSCURI will call the attention of decision-makers to factors that explain why certain legal-organisational arrangements do not work properly.
5. Bringing the cultural *problématique* back in the economic discourse of Enlargement, and confronting the populist rhetoric of contamination with scientific arguments devoid of evolutionary optimism concerning an inevitable cultural homogenisation by the market.



Reading in the Age of Media, Computers and Internet

On the evening of 15 March, the Centre for Advanced Study in Sofia hosted a launching party for a volume of academic studies on *Reading in the Age of Media, Computers and Internet*. The central theme of the articles in it is the fate of the Gutenberg Galaxy in the brave new world of new media and interactive electronic networks.

The volume is a collection of papers presented at the 2000 international conference devoted to the work of, and with the participation of, Prof. Wolfgang Iser, the world-famous reader-response theorist. It contains articles by German, American, Spanish, Israeli and Bulgarian scholars, and is edited by Ognyan Kovachev and Alexander Kiossev.



The Visual Seminar Talks to Business and Political Leaders

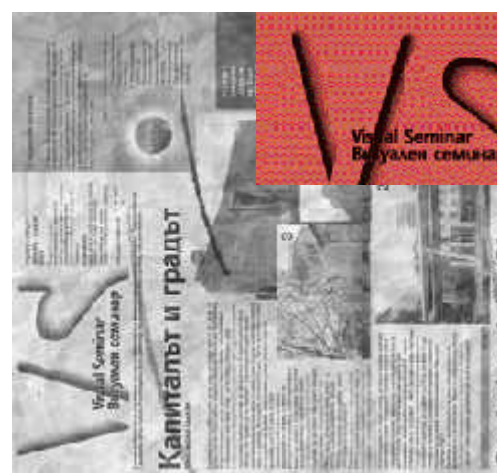
On 20 May at the Sofia City Art Gallery, the Visual Seminar organized its third public discussion on the subject of 'Images of the City, Images of Capital'. The central issue was the extent to which financial and economic power should be allowed to influence the way the city looks. The Visual Seminar is a project coordinated jointly by CAS Sofia and by the Institute of Contemporary Art in Sofia.

Among those invited to take part were: Vladimir Kisyov, Chair of the Sofia City Council; Boyko Kadinov, deputy-chairman of the Chamber of Architects; Antoaneta Tsoneva, ombudsman; representatives of the Union of Architects, of the Economic and Investment Bank; and business leaders.

On behalf of the Visual Seminar, Dr. Boyan Manchev asked the representatives of political power, business and

finance questions like: Can we still recognize Sofia, does it have its own image, face, symbols, or a specific urban atmosphere? New private capital builds and demolishes houses, decorates interiors and exteriors of buildings, but does it have any vision or at least an intuitive idea about the way the city should look, and what is it? Should capital pay attention to the specificity and atmosphere of the city?

The Seminar claimed that business and finance cannot possibly direct the changes in the appearance of the city since they are extremely heterogeneous and since they do not represent the population. The organ representing the city is the Municipality and it has to treat business as an entity whose interests should serve the development of the infrastructure of the city but also conform to some more abstract ideals and visions of urban life. The aim was to start a dia-



logue with business people, mainly investors in new construction in the centre of Sofia, municipal officials, architects and urban planners, in order to find out their ideas – or stimulate them to develop such ideas – about the image and unity of the city we share.

Monthly Discussions on Reflection in the Humanities and Social Sciences at CAS Sofia

The Centre for Advanced Study has a vision of reaching out to the wider academic community in Bulgaria. To this end, CAS Sofia has initiated several discussion series, each focusing on a broad topic, in the hope of building bridges between academic and research institutions nationwide. It is hoped these seminars will draw interest from researchers from all disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences and will of necessity be interdisciplinary. Coordinators will be drawn from among a circle of scholars closely associated with CAS.

The first such discussion series, planned to span a full academic year, focuses on 'The Concept of Reflection and Reflective Approaches in the Humanities and the Social Sciences' and is coordinated by Blagovest Zlatanov, a literary theorist from Sofia University. The regular participants in this discussion series are no less than forty, representing twelve different disciplinary fields, six universities, three academic research institutes and three NGOs.

Discussion of reflection, the participants would claim, is needed because of the incredibly different arguments and approaches identified by the term 'reflection'. It is hardly possible to present a consistent and unified theory of this concept. As an initial step, it is more feasible therefore to recognize the extreme intricacy of the concept stemming from its emergence and functioning in very diverse disciplinary fields. This multidisciplinary proliferation leads to a growing differentiation of the conceptual meanings and ways of application. With time, connections between these meanings become increasingly entangled, obstructing the transparent translatability between them. Every disciplinary field has developed its idiosyncratic bundle of usages and applications and the only uniting intersection among them is the everyday perception aligning the word with something like 'a deliberate recognition of our own thoughts'.

The Discussion Series seeks to open an interdisciplinary perspective to reflection and find the possible projections of the problem from one disciplinary field into other fields in the humanities and the social sciences. It aims to bring together Bulgarian and foreign scholars representing different disciplinary fields where the concept of reflection plays a crucial role – philosophy, sociology, history, anthropology, psychology, literary criticism, aesthetics and art criticism, linguistics, educational studies, communication and media studies, economics, legal studies and others. Such discussions may offer a fertile venue for articulating and comparing various disciplinary perspectives towards the concept of reflection. The elucidating of the role played by the concept in the history and theory of the respective fields would enable us to trace its semantic and functional relevance.

The format of the Discussion Series is based on the principle of flexibility and multiplicity of organizational forms, allowing maximum freedom and efficiency in elaborating topics and problems. Each discussion is presided by a speaker or moderator, choosing the format best serving the treatment of the respective topic. Discussion is guided by the speaker. In addition to the main speakers, the Centre invites for regular participation in the discussion series a group of specialists from different fields of humanities and social sciences, well known for their expert knowledge in reflection and topics related to it. Each speaker/moderator is also entitled to invite a specially selected group of junior researchers and students.

The first such stimulating discussions were on 'Founding the Concept of Reflection in the Context of Early German Romantics' (speaker: Blagovest Zlatanov, Sofia University); and on 'Reflection and Subject Thinking of Social Action' (speaker: Milena Yakimova, Sofia University).



CAS

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

January 2004 – December 2004

January 2004:

29 January: Working session of the Visual Seminar

February 2004:

25 February: Working session of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project

March 2004:

18 March: History Club meeting: 'History Science and the Historians' Community in Bulgaria'

April 2004:

1, 22 April: History Club meeting: 'Historiographical Problems of the Bulgarian Revival'

29 April: CAS Guest Lecture Series: Jean Marc Tetaz (Université de Lausanne): 'Das Problem des Sinnes bei Max Weber. Ein Beitrag zur systematischen Deutung seiner Religionstheorie'

29 April-4 May: Working session of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project

30 April: CAS Lecture Series: Georgi Ganev (Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia): 'Douglas North's Contribution To Economics – From Ships To Minds'

May 2004:

8 May: Meeting of the CAS Board of Trustees

13 May: History Club meeting

29 April-4 May; 20-25 May: Working sessions of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project

20 May: Public discussion in the framework of the Visual Seminar

22 May: Meeting of the CAS Academic Advisory Council

June 2004:

4-7 June: 'The Balkans and Globalization': Second International NEXUS Conference (Central European University, Budapest)

16 June: History Club meeting

July 2004:

14 July: History Club meeting

September 2004:

16 September: History Club meeting

October 2004:

8-10 October: Workshop of the 'We, the People' project (Collegium Budapest)

8-10 October: Working session of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project

8-10 October: Meeting of the Visual Seminar

27 October: History Club meeting

28 October: CAS Discussion Series: on Reflection Blagovest Zlatanov (University of Sofia): 'Founding the Concept of Reflection in the Context of Early German Romantics'

28 October: Working session of the 'DIOSCURI' project

28 October: Working session of the 'DIOSCURI' project

29 October: Public discussion in the framework of the Visual Seminar

November 2004

12-14 November: Working Session of the 'We, the People' project

13 November: CAS Guest Lecture Series:

Maria Todorova (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign): Lecture on 'The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality and Eastern European Nationalism'

23 November: CAS Discussion Series: on Reflection Milena Yakimova (University of Sofia): 'Reflection and Subject Thinking of Social Action'

December 2004:

16-20 December: Working session of the 'Roles, Identities and Hybrids' project