

12-1996

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Recommended Citation

Kanev, Krasimir (1996) "Dynamics of Inter-Ethnic Tensions in Bulgaria and the Balkans," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*: Vol. 16 : Iss. 6 , Article 2.

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DYNAMICS OF INTER-ETHNIC TENSIONS IN BULGARIA AND THE BALKANS

By Krasimir Kanev

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In the past few years research into inter-ethnic relations has become one of the primary interests of Bulgarian sociology. In addition to the causes arising from the political relevance of this problem for Bulgaria and the Balkan region in general, this research interest has probably been motivated by the fact that this sphere of social inter-relations is in some ways the essential angle from which Bulgarian society can be perceived. The problem of *ethnos* is located in the origins of the national formation of all the Balkan states, and all the region's political history has been centred around it.

This paper generalizes the results of the research, under the title "The Ethno-Cultural Situation in Bulgaria" conducted during 1994, a project which was assisted by the International Center for Minority Problems and Cultural Interactions in Sofia. The research into the inter-ethnic tensions includes, above all, an analysis of ethnic prejudices and social distance among the four basic groups: Bulgarians, Turks, Romanies (Gypsies), and Bulgarian Muslims. It also includes an analysis of the attitude towards the norms permitted in declaring one's ethnic identity and researches inter-ethnic differences in the sphere of general value orientations. The ethno-cultural situation in Bulgaria is set out on the international plane with the basic accent on the Balkan context.

Within the framework of a more thorough, but thematically closer, analysis entitled "Relations of Compatibility and Incompatibility Between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria," and

conducted as field research by *Marketing-Consult-OOD* during May 1994, a set of questions was included with the aim of researching the inter-ethnic tensions among the four basic groups. The field research itself was conducted among five representative groups: the entire adult population in Bulgaria (a two-level cluster sample, selected on the stochastic principle, with 1161 respondents); Bulgarians (a sample selected on the stochastic principle with 1044 respondents); Bulgarian Turks (a quota sample, with 1069 respondents); Romanies (a quota sample, with 939 respondents), and Bulgarian Muslims (a quota sample, with 843 respondents).¹ In addition to this, within the framework of the BBSS *Gallup International* program for periodical analyses in several Balkan countries, sets of indicators were included in the field research in Albania, Romania, and Macedonia during 1994. Comparative data from Greece were obtained from the research *Minorities in Greece* of the Lambrakis Foundation conducted in 1993. In Turkey, the research was conducted among a sample of 1205 adults, chosen on the basis of sex and age quotas in stochastically determined clusters. In Romania, the BBSS *Gallup International* research was conducted in June 1994, among a stochastically chosen national sample, which included 1133 adults. In Albania, the research was conducted in July 1994, among a stochastically chosen sample of 906 adults. In Macedonia, the analysis was also conducted in July 1994, among two separate samples--of 754 adult Macedonians and 248 adult Albanians. The research into the dynamics of inter-ethnic tensions in Bulgaria used the analysis from the *Ethnocultural Situation in Bulgaria - 1992* project conducted in 1992.² It also used data from already published similar research in other countries of Europe and America, as well as data from the National Statistical Institute.

¹For a more detailed description of the methods applied in the entire research see Vruski na suvmestimost mezhdu hristiani i myuslyulimani v Bulgaria (Relations of Compatibility and Incompatibility Between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria), (Sofia: MTsPMKB, 1994), pp. 166-167.

²For more details on the results of this research, see Zh. Georgi Tomova, M Grekova, K. Kunev, "Nyakoi rezultati to izsledvaneto *Etnokulturna situatsiya v Bulgaria*" (Some Results from the Analysis *The Ethno-cultural Situation in Bulgaria*). Sotsiologicheski pregled (Sociological Review), No.3, 1993

1. Inter-ethnic Tensions Among Bulgarians, Turks, Romanies, and Bulgarian Muslims in Bulgaria

The analysis of the inter-ethnic tensions was conducted within the framework of field research carried out during May 1994 by including a series of indicators for evaluating prejudices and social distance according to standardized methods adapted to the Bulgarian cultural context.

A) Prejudices against the basic minority groups

According to Allport's definition of 1954, negative ethnic prejudice is "aversion, based on wrong and persistent generalization. It can either be felt only, or expressed as well. It can be directed towards the group as a whole or towards the individual, because he or she is a member of this group."³ In the survey conducted in 1994 in Bulgaria, the respondents were asked to confirm or reject a series of statements on a five-grade scale, in accordance with Lickart's methods, which were expressions of incorrect generalizations, ascribing characteristics to the entire group regardless of individual differences within it. The statements express the most frequent conceptual stereotypes through the prism of which the other group is observed.

a) Turks

Negative ethnic prejudices against Turks are the strongest among Bulgarians (Table 1). Among Romanies and Bulgarian Muslims they are much weaker, being weakest among Bulgarian Muslims.

Table 1
Negative ethnic prejudices against Turks
% positive answers: 1 - completely agreeing, 2 - mostly agreeing

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Romanies	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
There are some exceptions but, in general, all Turks are alike	42.7	24.9	28.6	21.7	32.7	23.6
Turks are religious fanatics	51.8	20.5	20.7	19.5	33.4	20.9
Bulgarian Turks cannot be trusted or counted on	37.9	24.4	12.1	19.0	21.6	19.3

³Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, (Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1966), p. 9.

Compared to 1992, there is a reduction of the number of respondents, mainly Bulgarians, who share two of the basic prejudices against the Turks--those of "similarity" and "religious fanaticism" (Table 2).⁴ Perhaps what has contributed to this was the active role of the DPS (Movement for Rights and Freedoms, a political party of most of the Muslims in Bulgaria) on the political scene. The image of the Turk as a world politician replaced the lineage of the Turk as a "religious fanatic," and the differences in the political position of the DPS, here also including the period following the field research, including during the time of the work on the terrain, dissolved the idea of the monolithic character the Turks. As can be seen below, this does not necessarily mean a more tolerant attitude towards their minority rights.

Table 2

Dynamics of some negative ethnic prejudices against Turks

% positive answers (for 1994 - generally "completely agreeing" + "mostly agreeing")

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
There are some exceptions but, in general, all Turks are alike	79.5	67.6	43.8	50.3	56.1	56.3
Turks are religious fanatics	83.8	72.3	62.9	40.2	61.4	54.3

Among Bulgarian Muslims, the fall of the number of those who shared the prejudice about the "religious fanaticism" of the Turks was especially sharp. This fall is a result of the weakening of ethnic prejudices and not of an increase in religiousness among the Bulgarian Muslims, which remained on the level of 1992.

b) Bulgarian Muslims

The negative prejudices against this group are also strongest among Bulgarians (Table 3)

⁴All data for 1992 are taken from the analysis *The Ethno-cultural Situation in Bulgaria - 1992*.

Table 3

Negative ethnic prejudices against Bulgarian Muslims
 % positive answers: 1 - completely agreeing, 2 - mostly agreeing

	Bulgarians		Turks		Romanies	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
Bulgarian Muslims are religious fanatics	20.5	16.6	8.3	10.6	11.2	10.7
Bulgarian Muslims cannot be trusted or counted on	15.1	15.4	4.4	6.1	9.1	9.1
There are some exceptions but, in general, all Bulgarian Muslims are alike	27.0	19.5	12.0	11.4	19.4	11.9

Again, the difference among Bulgarians, on the one hand, and Turks and Romanies, on the other, is much greater. Generally speaking, however, the degree of preconception among Bulgarians, Turks, and Romanies against Bulgarian Muslims is lower than the degree of preconception among Bulgarians, Bulgarian Muslims, and Romanies against the Turkish community. What can also be noticed is a general tendency towards a reduction in the preconception against this group.

The analysis of the attitude towards Bulgarian Muslims has always been faced with a great per cent of refusals or answers of the "I do not know" type regarding this regional community, contacts with which are sporadic for the majority of Bulgarian citizens. In analysing the prejudices within the framework of the research project *The Ethno-cultural Situation in Bulgaria* of 1992, there was no possibility of answering "I do not know," and only refusals to answer were registered. The following survey provided such a possibility. As a result of this, the answers of the 'I do not know' type or 'no answer' with regard to Bulgarian Muslims in 1994 were about 35% among Bulgarians, about 45% among Turks, and more than 50% among Romanies. During 1992, refusals were about 17% among Bulgarians and Romanies and 10% among Turks. On the basis of this, the data concerning certain negative ethnic prejudices against Bulgarian Muslims (Table 4) reveal, on the plane of the general weakening tendency, a stronger persistence of prejudices among Bulgarians and Romanies. Perhaps the campaign against the "Turkization" or "Islamicization" of Bulgarian Muslims at the end of 1992 and throughout 1993 produced this result, together with other things.

Table 4*Dynamics of some negative ethnic prejudices against Bulgarian Muslims*

% positive answers (for 1994 - "completely agreeing" + "mostly agreeing")

	Bulgarians		Turks		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Bulgarian Muslims cannot be trusted or counted on	28.5	30.5	18.4	10.5	26.6	18.2
Bulgarian Muslims are religious fanatics	49.5	37.1	37.0	18.9	38.4	21.9
There are some exceptions but, in general, all Bulgarian Muslims are alike	67.8	46.5	59.7	23.4	52.5	31.3

C) Romanies

The analysis registered a comparatively high degree of preconception against Romanies among the three remaining basic groups, Bulgarians, Turks, and Bulgarian Muslims (Table 5).

Table 5*Negative ethnic prejudices against Romanies*

% positive answers: 1 - completely agreeing, 2 - mostly agreeing

	Bulgarians		Turks		Bulgarian Muslims	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
Romanies are lazy and irresponsible	56.1	27.7	41.6	27.1	44.5	30.4
Romanies are inclined towards offences	68.1	23.1	49.3	31.1	54.2	26.9
Romanies cannot be trusted or counted on	67.7	24.4	43.4	30.1	49.2	24.9

The values of these prejudices are much higher than the values of those against Turks and Bulgarian Muslims, which is especially visible in the indicator which is common to all three groups. Among these, refusals to answer are the least or, individually speaking, in 9 cases out of 10 it is an expression of prejudice.

The high values of the prejudices against Romanies, viewed in general, can be noticed with time (Table 6).

Table 6

Dynamics of some negative ethnic prejudices against Romanies
 % positive answers (for 1994: generally "completely agreeing" + "mostly agreeing")

	Bulgarians		Turks		Bulgarian Muslims	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Romanies are lazy and irresponsible	85.2	83.8	74.6	69.3	88.3	74.9
Romanies are inclined towards offences	90.3	91.1	86.9	80.4	92.3	81.1
There are some exceptions but, in general, all Romanies are alike	90.1	85.3	81.6	5.8	90.7	73.5

There is a certain decline among Turks and Bulgarian Muslims, but this is a result of the greater percentage of those who did not express any categorical opinion because of the new option of answering "I cannot judge" in the survey of 1994.

B) Social distance

The social distance among the different groups is measured by means of the standard test of Bogardus, approbated in the research project *The Ethno-cultural Situation in Bulgaria of 1992*, and adapted to the Bulgarian cultural context. The order of the issues was determined with regard to the attitude of three of the basic groups towards Romanies, according to the falling frequency of the negative answers. In the this survey, the order was determined in accordance with the Bulgarian cultural context.

a) Social distance from Turks

The data about the social distance from Turks (Table 7) reveal, generally speaking, stronger tendencies towards distancing among Bulgarians, than among the other two minority groups (Bulgarian Muslims and Romanies). They also reveal a stable level of the tendencies towards distancing both among Bulgarians and among Bulgarian Muslims and Romanies in cases where the issue is of interpersonal compatibility (marriage, personal friendship, colleagues). However, when coexistence on a certain territory (the same neighborhood, town, country) is in question, one can notice decrease in the tendencies towards distancing from Turks among all the

remaining groups. The explanation of this can be sought in two directions (which deserve independent additional analysis): estrangement from the neighboring community as a general tendency in the development of social relations in the past four years, and the fact that, during the economic crisis, a great number of Turks managed to find a way out (mainly through emigration and support from their relatives in Turkey), and did not relate to any kind deviant behavior.

Table 7
Social Distance from Turks
% negative answers

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
marry a Turk	80.8	82.9	41.3	49.0	48.6	47.2
have a Turk for a friend	38.7	41.0	17.8	18.9	25.5	24.1
live in the same neighborhood with Turks	41.2	31.2	19.8	10.8	39.9	18.2
work at the same firm with Turks	17.6	22.1	6.4	7.4	9.8	12.2
live in the same town with Turks	31.4	20.3	14.2	6.3	31.4	11.2
live in the same country with Turks	26.5	13.4	14.3	7.0	25.5	9.2

b) Social distance from Bulgarian Muslims

The data about Bulgarian Muslims (Table 8) reveal, generally speaking, stronger tendencies towards distancing among Bulgarians, than among Turks and Romanies.

Table 8
Social distance from Bulgarian Muslims
% negative answers

	Bulgarians		Turks		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
marry a Bulgarian Muslim	80.4	76.7	61.2	64.9	65.9	57.5
have Bulgarian Muslims as friends	46.6	35.2	18.9	27.0	37.9	30.6
live in the same neighborhood with Bulgarian Muslims	40.1	21.6	26.9	8.4	34.7	22.3

work at the same firm with Bulgarian Muslims	21.8	16.5	6.2	6.7	16.3	17.4
live in the same place with Bulgarian Muslims	28.4	14.3	17.8	5.8	26.3	5.4
live in the same country with Bulgarian Muslims	19.3	11.3	14.5	4.6	15.7	3.0

They also display a tendency towards reducing the distancing tensions regarding this group among all the basic groups of the population, and the decrease is the greatest among Bulgarians. If one excludes the traditionally problematic relations with Turks, with regard to their endogamy, Turks can be pointed out as the group most tolerant towards Bulgarian Muslims. There is a considerable decrease in the distance both from Bulgarian Muslims and from Turks, relating to the possibilities of mutual co-existence compared to the distance related to the possibilities of personal contacts.

c) Social distance from Romanies

Of all the analyzed minority groups, Romanies are obviously the most rejected one (Table 9).

Table 9
Social distance from Romanies
% negative answers

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Turks	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
marry a Romany	89.0	93.8	78.0	93.6	87.8	94.0
have Romanies as friends	64.1	69.0	60.2	67.5	47.7	66.6
live in the same neighborhood with Romanies	62.7	58.8	41.4	54.7	49.0	46.5
work at the same firm with Romanies	38.8	48.3	37.3	40.0	20.3	37.6
live in the same town with Romanies	48.2	38.2	35.9	34.5	31.5	31.9
live in the same country with Romanies	34.2	27.9	21.5	23.7	20.7	18.4

In this, the distancing tendencies are strong both among the majority group and among Turks and Bulgarian Muslims. These values are higher among Bulgarians than among Turks and Bulgarian Muslims, just as in the cases of the other two minority groups. During the last two years, there has been an increase in the distancing tendencies among Bulgarians regarding the possibility of mutual coexistence, and decrease regarding the possibility of mutual coexistence on a certain territory. Among Turks and Bulgarian Muslims there is a general increase in the distancing tendencies, which in some cases is drastic (e.g. regarding the possibility of having Romanies as friends and working together at the same firm among the Turks).

d) Social distance from Bulgarians

The distancing tendencies among the minority groups regarding Bulgarians (Table 10) are weaker than the same tendencies among Bulgarians regarding both of these groups, and the other minority groups living among them. Considerable social distance can be noticed mainly in the relations connected to endogamy. With regard to all the other questions, they are of insignificantly small values.

Table 10
Social distance from Bulgarians
% negative answers

	Bulgarian Muslims		Turks		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
marry a Bulgarian	33.4	40.2	63.4	65.7	40.5	34.0
have a Bulgarian for a friend	9.0	6.0	11.0	16.3	11.3	6.9
live in the same neighborhood with Bulgarians	17.7	0.9	23.2	1.7	32.0	2.4
work at the same firm with Bulgarians	2.5	0.6	1.5	0.9	2.4	1.1
live in the same town with Bulgarians	13.9	0.2	13.3	1.1	24.1	1.1
live in the same country with Bulgarians	5.6	0.2	11.3	1.0	17.2	1.3

2. Differences in Attitude Towards the Norms Permitted in Declaring One's Ethnic Identity

The three basic minority groups in Bulgaria, which were the subject of the analysis, can be divided into two sub-groups: Turks on the one hand, a community with an underlined feeling for their own identity, which was intensified by the attacks following the period of the forceful campaign for their renaming in 1984/85. Romanies and Bulgarian Muslims, on the other, which have always had identity problems that have in different periods given different results. Consequently, both of these sub-groups are supposed to have different attitudes towards the norms permitted in declaring one's ethnic identity.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the analysis of the attitude towards minority rights (Table 11).

Table 11
Attitude towards the minority rights
% negative answers

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Turks		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
create organizations and associations for fostering and development of their culture	25.5	20.8	7.7	6.3	1.9	1.1	5.0	3.2
publish books and other editions in their mother-tongue	39.6	43.4	13.3	16.2	1.9	1.5	11.2	10.8
study their own language in public schools	59.7	66.7	31.1	30.6	4.1	2.3	17.5	19.5
study their own language in private schools	-.-	24.8	-.-	15.6	-.-	10.7	-.-	15.5
study all school subjects in their own mother-tongue	82.6	82.1	52.6	63.3	47.5	50.0	38.9	49.0
have their own representatives in the National Assembly	34.2	36.9	7.8	8.2	2.9	0.9	7.3	4.1

have their own representat-ives in local authority bodies	--	40.0	--	11.5	--	--	--	4.5
have a right to hang signs in their own language in public places in the paces they live in and the surroundings	--	84.1	--	56.5	--	31.3	--	39.4
have their own political parties	62.6	64.7	--	28.6	33.6	7.7	19.9	20.2
have a right to territorial autonomy	90.5	93.3	68.5	79.9	52.9	52.9	53.5	57.0

On the one hand, there is a noticeable difference between the attitude of Bulgarians, which is more restrictive, and that of any of the minority groups, but, on the other, within the framework of the minority groups there is a difference between Turks, among whom restrictive tendencies have the lowest values, and Bulgarian Muslims and Romanies, among whom these tendencies, in general, have somewhat higher values. The differences and the restrictive tendencies among the majority and the minority communities are particularly strong regarding the rights which have on one level or another been guaranteed already, either constitutionally and legally or factually. From a clearly socio-political point of view, perhaps most disturbing is the increase in the already large number of Bulgarians, compared to 1992, who are against the possibility that the members of minority communities study their own languages in public schools, as well as the great difference between this number and the respective number of Turks. These increasing differences no doubt contain a potential for inter-ethnic tensions.

The picture revealed by inter-ethnic differences in the attitude towards minority rights has its parallel in inter-ethnic differences in the attitude towards the possibility of their participation in politics and towards some more specific political rights. Asked about the possibility of voting for a member of certain ethnic group, if he or she is promoted by the party they favor (Table 12), Bulgarians reveal a greater inclination towards negative answers regarding the members of minority groups, compared to the latter with regard to Bulgarians. The difference in this is approximately 10 to 15 times greater. Generally speaking, however, the inclination towards negative answers regarding this issue was reduced in comparison to 1992, signifying that there was a greater possibility of both Bulgarians and the members of the minority groups politically supporting people from other groups.

Table 12

"If the party you favor promotes a suitable (competent, creditable) candidate at the following regional elections, will you vote for him/her, if he/she is a:
% negative answers

	Bulgarians		Bulgarian Muslims		Turks		Romanies	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Bulgarian	--	--	7.9	3.3	10.8	6.0	12.6	3.2
Bulgarian Muslim	64.3	54.8	--	--	31.5	6.8	51.6	27.5
Turk	66.0	64.2	26.6	23.3	--	--	40.4	32.5
Romany (average for Muslims and Christians)	81.7	68.3	57.2	43.0	54.2	31.8	--	--

The analysis of the attitude towards the possibility that a member of some of the minority groups assume a certain duty (Table 13) reveals very strong negative tendencies among Bulgarians.

Table 13

*A) Bulgarians' attitude toward the possibility that a member of some of the minority groups assume a certain duty
% disagreeing*

	Police Superintendent	Army Officer	Minister
Bulgarian Muslim	64.7	65.0	66.3
Turk	78.8	76.7	76.4
Romany Christian	81.1	77.8	79.2
Romany Muslim	82.4	79.6	80.7

*B) Bulgarian Muslims' attitude towards the possibility that a member of some of the minority groups assume a certain duty
% disagreeing*

	Police Superintendent	Army Officer	Minister
Bulgarian Muslim	2.9	2.9	4.6
Turk	29.7	25.8	33.4
Romany Christian	58.8	52.5	58.6
Romany Muslim	57.9	51.9	58.9

C) Turks' attitude towards the possibility that a member of some of the minority groups assume a certain duty
% disagreeing

	Police Superintendent	Army Officer	Minister
Bulgarian Muslim	3.5	3.4	3.9
Turk	2.1	2.7	2.8
Romany Christian	43.1	39.3	41.3
Romany Muslim	42.4	38.5	40.6

D) Romanies' attitude towards the possibility that a member of some of the minority groups assume a certain duty
% disagreeing

	Police Superintendent	Army Officer	Minister
Bulgarian Muslim	26.7	24.6	27.5
Turk	34.4	32.9	35.6
Romany Christian	15.3	13.9	15.9
Romany Muslim	28.1	26.3	29.0

With regard to this attitude, tolerance towards the other minority groups in general is the greatest among Romanies, and especially among the Turks towards the Bulgarian Muslims. Also characteristic is the highly negative attitude among Romanies towards the possibility that a Romany assume a certain duty. Such tendencies towards "self-rejection" develop among the minority groups of the lowest social stratum which are at the same time marginalised and placed in a position of ultimate dependence and, along with this, included in the values of the society to the degree of developing a slavery syndrome. Similar tendencies among black Americans at the beginning of the 50s contributed to the appearance of a wide-spread social movement for civil rights.

The separation, regarding this issue, of the attitude towards Romany Christians from that towards Romany Muslims gives an opportunity for evaluating the role of the religious factor in the formation of inter-ethnic tensions. This role, as far as the attitude towards Romanies is concerned, is irrelevant both for Bulgarians, and for Bulgarian Muslims and Turks--the basic tendency is determined by the image of the Romany as a representative of a certain *ethnos*.

3. Inter-Ethnic Differences in Behavioural Tolerance and in Some Basic Value Orientations

Behavioral tolerance, unlike inter-ethnic tolerance, can be measured by the attitude towards certain forms of behavior, regardless of whether they come from members of certain ethnic groups or not. Similar to the case of ethnic tolerance, its degrees vary depending on the form of behavior which is subjected to evaluation. The following survey invites the respondents to express, on a three-grade scale, their attitude towards certain forms of behavior. The members of other ethnic groups, foreigners and atheists are added to the list of the forms of behavior for comparison (Table 14).

Table 14
Inter-ethnic differences in behavioral tolerance
% of the respondents, who do not want to have anything to do with such people

	Bulgarians	Bulgarian Muslims	Turks	Romanies
People convicted of criminal offences	62.8	63.5	65.6	47.4
People of other ethnic groups	16.8	7.6	5.4	4.3
Alcoholics	55.6	44.7	41.5	34.0
Communists	12.8	14.1	20.5	8.7
Extreme anti-Communist	18.9	16.5	18.8	14.8
Mentally ill people	27.6	23.4	23.2	23.0
People of other religion	10.3	3.0	4.5	4.7
Western foreigners	7.3	5.7	5.7	5.7
Third-world foreigners	16.9	12.0	10.3	14.2
Drug addicts	78.8	75.5	74.4	71.2
Homosexuals	80.3	79.5	79.4	72.1
Prostitutes	78.6	77.0	74.5	65.1
People infected by AIDS	71.3	72.6	74.5	71.4
Religious fanatics	70.7	46.1	48.5	54.1
Atheists	10.1	19.9	18.8	9.7

The analysis of the results shows generally somewhat higher values of the negative attitude towards the listed deviant forms of behavior among Bulgarians, compared to the results regarding the basic minority groups. The differences between the majority and the minority

communities regarding this issue are much smaller than the differences in inter-ethnic tensions. This can also be seen when one compares the differences in the answers about "people of other ethnic groups" and the answers regarding the remaining groups. Among Romanies, the values of the attitude towards different forms of deviant social behavior are, in general, the lowest, compared to the values regarding the remaining groups.

The analysis of restrictive tendencies regarding the basic rights and freedoms (Table 15) divides the surveyed groups into two sub-groups--Bulgarians and Bulgarian Muslims on the one hand, with a relatively high degree of restrictive tendencies, and Turks and Romanies, on the other, with a relatively lower degree of restrictive tendencies.

Table 15

Attitude towards the democratic rights and freedoms
"Will you personally agree that some democratic rights and freedoms be restricted for some time to impose order and security and stabilize the economy?"
 % agreeing

	Yes, completely	Partially, yes
Bulgarians	44.0	27.9
Bulgarian Muslims	46.1	27.3
Turks	27.6	22.2
Romanies	38.9	24.6

What functions among the Turks--the only surveyed group in which less than half of the respondents have expressed some form of restrictive tendencies--is probably the syndrome of the "revival process" (the name-changing campaign of the Turks in Bulgaria during the Communist period), which makes clear the picture of what the restriction of the democratic rights and freedoms means.

The other characteristic indicator of peaceful tendencies is the general feeling about the place of the individual in the world (Table 16).

Table 16

General feeling regarding the individual's place in the surrounding world
% of those who answered positively to each of the statements

	The world is becoming more and more hostile and dangerous	In 30 years, I will live in a better world
Bulgarians	71.5	28.5
Bulgarian Muslims	79.3	20.6
Turks	81.0	19.0
Romanies	78.0	22.0

The table shows a high level of frustration among all basic groups. No doubt, the stress caused by transition with all of its accompanying effects--economic crisis, growth of crime, change of the life-style of great masses of people is the basic factor which contributes to the fact that a large number of people see the world as hostile and dangerous. In this, what is characteristic of the minority groups surveyed in general is the higher level of frustration than that of the majority community--a phenomenon which was observed by surveyors as early as the 50s as highly specific to discriminated minorities.⁵

The generally high level of frustration, together with strong restrictive attitudes and behavioral intolerance, explains the strong support for the death penalty among all the groups surveyed (Table 17).

Table 17

	Murder	Espionage	Rape	Theft
Bulgarians	91.4	63.2	83.7	39.3
Bulgarian Muslims	91.1	54.4	81.0	28.3
Turks	85.3	55.0	75.5	25.4
Romanies	82.3	50.3	73.9	28.1
Representatives of the adult population	90.9	61.7	82.7	37.6

⁵Cf P. Mussen, "Difference Between the TAT Responses of Negro and White Boys", *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 17 (1953).

The level of support is so high because the number of supporters of this sentence for theft in Bulgaria--an offence which in Europe has not been punished with death for centuries--is as large as the overall number of its supporters in some European countries. Repressive tendencies regarding this issue are stronger, among Bulgarians, than among the basic minority groups. The greatest leniency (though not when theft is the issue!) can be seen among Romanies.

4. Differences within the Bulgarian Community

Research into differences regarding inter-ethnic tendencies and general value orientations within the Bulgarian community deserves special attention, because the status of the minority groups in the society mostly depends on the readiness of the majority to provide opportunities for a certain form of integration. The sample of Bulgarians gives an opportunity to follow internal differences only among relatively large groups, such as, for instance, the sexes and political affiliations. What deserves special attention is the analysis of internal group differences between people who maintain more permanent forms of contact with members of minority groups and people who form their attitudes without any contacts with the other groups.

The differences among Bulgarians with regard to their sex reveal, generally speaking, more ethno-centric attitudes among women than among men. The differences are the greatest (about 10%) in the sphere of social distance, both regarding the issues of compatibility and the issues of incompatibility (Table 18).

Table 18

Social distance among Bulgarians with regard to their sex
% negative answers

	Men	Women
have Turks as friends	35.6	47.4
live in the same neighbourhood with Turks	28.3	34.9
have Romanies as friends	66.4	73.3
live in the same neighbourhood with Romanies	59.6	59.7

In their attitude towards minority rights, here also including political ones, these differences are about 5 per cent. Both Bulgarian men and women are, generally speaking, more negatively disposed towards Romanies, than towards Bulgarian Muslims and Turks, but the differences in their negative attitudes, although among women they are greater in all cases, are

greater towards Turks than towards Romanies. Also stronger among women are negative attitudes towards different forms of deviant behavior. Generally speaking, women also express more conservative value orientations and have a more pessimistic, more stressful view of the future.

The research into differences in political affiliations is possible only among the supporters of the two basic political powers--BSP (the Bulgarian Socialist Party) and SDS (Union of the Democratic Forces). With regard to Romanies, there are no statistically significant differences in the inter-ethnic attitudes regarding many of the issues. With regard to other issues, there are more negative attitudes among the supporters of the SDS. With regard to Turks and the remaining minority groups, the supporters of the BSP, most generally, express stronger ethnocentrism and more restrictive attitudes than the supporters of the SDS (see Table 19).

Table 19

Social distance among Bulgarians with regard to their political affiliation
% negative answers

	BSP	SDS
have Turks as friends	45.4	39.6
live in the same neighborhood with Turks	35.8	30.6
have Romanies as friends	67.6	69.4
live in the same neighborhood with Romanies	58.6	63.4

The differences are especially great in the group of indicators which evaluate the attitude towards Jews. Tolerance towards Jews, regarding the possibility of voting for a Jew, is about 15-20% higher among the supporters of the SDS. The SDS supporters express more liberal value orientations and greater behavioral tolerance. The difference in the feeling of stress caused by the present and of pessimism regarding the future is about 20% in favor of greater optimism among the supporters of the SDS.

The results of the analysis reveal a certain form of dependence of inter-ethnic attitudes on the social contact among the members of the separate groups. There is a lack of indicators which can estimate the effect of the contacts in general, regardless of the form. However, it can be claimed with certainty that such contacts as, for instance, home visits paid to the members of other groups contribute to a decrease in inter-ethnic tensions. Among the respondents who have visited members of the other groups, prejudices are rarer, the social distance is smaller, the general

attitude towards minority rights is not so restrictive and the value orientations are more liberal. The effects of home visits differ both with regard to each of the minority groups and with regard to the different kinds of attitude. Nevertheless, they are always positive.

5. The Ethno-Cultural Situation in Bulgaria within the International Context

A) *The general context*

The inevitability of comparing the ethno-cultural situation in Bulgaria with the situation in other countries has created fruitful results, providing an opportunity for qualitative evaluations. There are ethnic prejudices, social distance, and restrictive attitudes of all kinds in all countries and among all peoples. Everywhere, ethnic and religious minorities, groups identified with some form of deviant culture, are an object of hatred, and sometimes of discrimination by groups and institutions which are representatives of the basic cultural model. Therefore, they develop forms of protection, here often including the cultivation of prejudices against the majority. The qualitative evaluation of a certain situation cannot be expressed otherwise but as an evaluation of the degree of approach to or alienation from certain cultural models, which serve as examples (which does not mean that the latter must necessarily exist in reality).

Periodical analysis of the tendencies in European countries, Canada and the USA, conducted during 1990 and 1991, has revealed, generally speaking, higher ethnic intolerance among the adult population of Eastern Europe than among that of the western countries. Of all surveyed Eastern European countries the values in Bulgaria are among the highest (Table 20).

Table 20

Tolerance towards the people of different race and towards Muslims in some Eastern-European countries⁶

% of the negative answers to the question whether the respondents would like to have as their neighbors the following:

	People of different race	Muslims
The Czech Republic	23.9	22.4
Eastern Germany	13.3	22.2

⁶P. Ester, L. Halman, R. de Moor, The Individualizing Society: Value Change in Europe and North America, (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1993), p. 211.

Poland	16.8	19.6
Slovakia	28.3	26.1
Hungary	22.9	18.3
Bulgaria	39.0	40.8
Eastern Europe	20.6	22.7
the western countries	9.4	15.1

The above-stated data should be seen within the context of the significant change in tendencies in Bulgarian society, compared to those of 1991. In spite of all this, this analysis confirms some of the conclusions regarding ethnic tolerance. Comparing tolerance towards the members of a marginalized minority group in Bulgaria, such as Romanies are, with a similar group in the USA, such as black Americans were during the period of the 50-70s (Table 21) we come to discouraging conclusions: the general attitude of Bulgarians towards Romanies is at the level of the negative attitude of white Americans from the southern states towards Negroes at the beginning of the 60s.

Table 21

Tolerance towards the members of a marginalized minority in Bulgaria and in the USA
"Would you let your child be in a class where:"
 % negative answers

BULGARIA

	Bulgarians		Turks		Bulgarian Muslims	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
1. There are only a few Romanies	41.7	30.1	24.1	14.0	37.1	22.5
2. Half of the class are Romanies	85.9	73.8	71.8	50.0	74.7	60.0
3. More than half of the class are Romaneis	89.9	82.2	82.2	62.7	82.4	71.1

THE USA
(% white Americans who answered negatively to the above-stated question)

	Parents from the northern states					Parents from the southern states				
	1963	1965	1966	1969	1970	1963	1965	1966	1969	1970
1. There are a few Negroes	10	7	6	6	6	61	37	24	21	16
2. Half of the class are Negroes	33	28	32	28	24	78	68	49	46	43
3. More than half are Negroes	53	52	60	56	51	86	78	62	54	69

(the data on the USA are taken from P. Armbuster, D Yokelson, The Forgotten Americans, New York and New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1972), p. 349.

The level of intolerance among Turks and Bulgarian Muslims towards Romanies, although lower, measured through this method, is still very high. We come to an analogous result when analyzing the possibility of voting for a member of a marginalized minority in Bulgaria and in the USA (Table 22).

Table 22

Readiness to vote for a member of a marginalised minority in Bulgaria and in the USA
"If the party you favor promotes a suitable (competent, creditable) candidate at the next regional elections, will you vote for him/her if he/she is a Romany/Negro?"
% negative answers

BULGARIA						USA					
Bulgarians		Turks		Bulgarian Muslims		1958	1965	1969	1978	1983	1987
1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994						
81.7	68.3	54.2	31.8	57.2	43.0	53	34	23	18	16	13

(the data on the USA are taken from P. Armbuster, D. Yokelson, *op.cit.*, p.350, and from William G. Maver, The Changing American Mind: How and Why American Public Opinion Changed between 1960 and 1988, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), p.366.)

The number of Bulgarians who are not willing to vote for a Romany is higher than the number of Americans who did not want to vote for a Negro towards the end of the 50s. Only among Turks can this number be compared with the results in the USA of the mid 60s.

The comparative analysis of tolerance towards a certain form of behavior, considered as deviant, is not so categorical with regard to the place of Bulgaria among the developed countries. Tolerance towards certain forms of behavior (e.g. homosexuality) is very low, and towards others considerably higher (Table 23).

Table 23

Tolerance towards homosexuality, adultery and abortion
% of the expressed tolerance on a 10-grade scale

	Homosexuality	Adultery	Abortion
Eastern Europe	9.1	5.5	15.6
the western world	13.9	3.5	14.5
Bulgaria	3.8	12.0	27.4

(the data are taken from P. Ester, L. Halman, R. de Moor, The Individualizing Society: Value Change in Europe and North America, (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1993).

The attitude of the adult Bulgarian population towards adultery and abortion is equal to that in one of the most liberal western countries in this regard, France. These results are also confirmed by the above-stated analysis. In the general democratic average values, there are tendencies among the Bulgarian population towards greater restrictiveness than in the developed western democracies. The case of the attitude towards the death penalty is the same.

B)The Balkan Context

The Bulgarian situation can also be compared to the state in some other Balkan countries. During 1994, the BBSS *Gallup International* made surveys in Albania, Romania, and Macedonia. They included indicators which evaluated inter-ethnic tensions, and which were used in the survey "Relations of Compatibility and Incompatibility Between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria" conducted at the same time, and in the research of the Lambrakis Foundation conducted in Greece in 1993. One of the questions required from the respondents to determine on a 10-grade scale their sympathy for or aversion to the basic minority groups in their own countries, as well as to

some neighboring people. The data obtained were from Romania, Albania, Macedonia, Greece, and Bulgaria. (Table 24.)

Table 24

Sympathy for or aversion to the basic ethnic groups in some Balkan countries
(generalized data, obtained on a 10-grade scale)

ROMANIA

	Hungarians	Romanies	Germans	Jews	Russians	Bulgarians
Sympathy	25	4	66	40	24	41
Neutral	12	7	14	19	19	20
Aversion	56	84	13	31	47	23
I don't know/no answer	7	5	7	11	10	15

ALBANIA

	Greeks	Romanies	Vlachs	Macedonians	Bulgarians	Serbs
Sympathy	24	6	15	13	22	7
Neutral	15	19	29	20	22	3
Aversion	59	73	52	58	47	86
I don't know/no answer	1	1	5	8	9	4

MACEDONIA

(data of Macedonians)

	Albanians	Romanies	Turks	Vlachs	Bulgarians	Serbs	Jews
Sympathy	3	12	17	22	4	25	7
Neutral	8	28	23	32	15	25	20
Aversion	87	56	61	44	78	47	60
I don't know/no answer	2	1	1	1	1	0	12

MACEDONIA
(data on Albanians)

	Macedonians	Romanies	Turks	Vlachs	Bulgarians	Serbs	Jews
Sympathy	14	12	58	11	4	0	2
Neutral	29	22	16	30	22	0	8
Aversion	53	65	24	44	61	98	91
I don't know/no answer	1	1	0	14	12	0	0

GREECE

	Slavs	Romanies	Jews	Muslim from Western Thrace	Albanians
Sympathy	16	20	15	11	8
Neutral	27	21	21	16	13
Aversion	38	55	57	62	75
I don't know/no answer	18	4	7	11	4

BULGARIA
(1161 general sample)

	Turks	Romanies	Bulgarian Muslims	Jews	Aromanians	Russians
Sympathy	24	12	22	24	24	45
Neutral	47	31	42	34	34	32
Aversion	24	51	15	6	5	5
I don't know/no answer	7	6	21	36	37	18

On the basis of these data, one can draw, first of all, general conclusions for all the Balkan countries surveyed

- In the countries surveyed there is, generally, a considerable aversion, which is an expression of strong negative attitudes towards, the basic minority communities in these countries.
- In different countries, the declared aversion towards different minorities varies in a broad range.

- Romanies are the group which is the object of strong aversion in all the countries surveyed. With regard to the degree of declared aversion to Romanies, Romania takes the first place and Bulgaria takes the last. If, however, the attitude towards Romanies is evaluated more complexly, also bearing in mind the level of sympathy, Greece would be behind Bulgaria.

In Romania, the strongest aversion is that to Romanies, and the weakest is that to Germans. The Romanies are followed by Hungarians and by Russians. No doubt, the attitude towards these two groups is a product of history and is related to the agreements which declared Transylvania, contrary to the interests of Hungary, as Romanian territory, and which also separated some historical territories from Romania in favor of the Soviet Union. These historically-produced conflicts have provoked heated public debates in Romanian society in the past years. They have also been revived by the attitude of the official authorities in Hungary, and by the conflict in Moldova, and have undoubtedly affected the attitude of the majority of the population towards Hungarians and Russians.

The most hated in Albania, for understandable reasons, are Serbs but, generally speaking, the degree of declared aversion to all the basic ethnic minorities is high. The Serbs are immediately followed by Romanies. There is also strong aversion to Greeks for, as it seems, the comparatively high degree of sympathy for them is a result of the significant number of Greeks surveyed. Comparatively the best position is that of the Bulgarians, the group with which direct contact in Albania is most restricted.

In Macedonian society, the aversion to other ethnic groups is strong. The two basic components, the Macedonians and the Albanians, are very badly disposed towards each other, and the declared aversion of the Macedonians to the Albanians (which is the strongest of any of the aversions to other minority groups) has far exceeded the aversion of the Albanians to the Macedonians. With regard to the level of aversion, Bulgarians directly follow the Albanians. Compared to all the other countries, Bulgarians feel the strongest aversion to the Macedonians in Macedonia, who are officially considered in Bulgaria as people of Bulgarian nationality. This is probably the saddest result of the policy of enlightening and annexation by means of the club and the quarrel, a policy the failure of which in the "reformative process" seemed to have led a very few people to thinking. What has no doubt contributed to this result is also official Macedonian propaganda. There are drastic differences in the attitude of Macedonians and Albanians in Macedonia towards Turks, differences which are certainly a result of religious, historical and cultural influences. The most drastic differences are those in the attitude towards Serbs, for which

Macedonians express the strongest sympathy, whereas Albanians express almost a hundred per cent aversion. Also impressive are the strong anti-Semitic feelings among Albanians.

The object of Greeks' strongest aversion are Albanians, represented in Greek society as migrant workers, but also through the historically-provoked conflict with Albania regarding the rights of the Greek minority in that country. Another minority which is a traditional object of aversion, is that of the Muslims from Western Thrace. There is also strong latent anti-Semitism in Greek society.

Compared to some of the Balkan states surveyed, the situation in Bulgaria seems to be somewhat better, at least with regard to the declared sympathy for and aversion to basic minority groups. With regard to the sympathy expressed for and aversion to Romanies, Bulgarian society is close to Greece, because both of them have lower degrees of declared aversion compared to the other countries surveyed. However, when the issue is their attitude towards a minority such as the Turkish one, the status of which in Bulgaria is analogous to the status of the Muslims in Greece. The Bulgarians express greater acceptance. The expressed attitude towards Jews and Armenians in Bulgaria has no analogue regarding the low degree of aversion in the other Balkan states surveyed.

Although highly general, the indicator which evaluates the general level of declared sympathy and aversion cannot be the absolute evaluator of inter-ethnic relations. This depends on the social receptiveness to the expression of these feelings as an element of the established codex of behaviour, which is different in different societies.

In three countries, Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia, data were obtained about the attitude towards voting for a member of a minority group, promoted by his/her party (Table 25).

Table 25

"If the party you favor promotes a suitable (competent, creditable) candidate at the next regional elections, will you vote for him/her if he/she is:"

ALBANIA

	Greek	Romany	Vlach	Macedonian	Bulgarian	Serb
Yes	15	12	22	9	15	6
No	76	75	59	71	67	86
I don't know/ no answer	9	12	18	19	18	9

BULGARIA

(on the basis of the stochastic sample for the entire population)

	Bulgarian Muslim	Jew	Turk	Romany Christian	Romany Muslim
Yes	32	23	25	18	16
No	49	50	57	62	64
I don't know/ no answer	19	27	18	20	20

MACEDONIA

(data on Macedonians)

	Albanian	Romany	Turk	Vlach	Bulgarian	Serb	Jew
Yes	22	26	25	38	18	31	25
No	72	65	67	51	75	61	67
DK/NA	6	9	8	11	7	8	8

(data about the Albanians)

	Albanian	Romany	Turk	Vlach	Bulgarian	Serb	Jew
Yes	11	5	48	6	4	1	3
No	75	83	38	78	90	99	94
DK/NA	14	12	14	16	16	0	4

The data obtained by means of this indicator correspond to the data of the previous one. The attitudes towards voting for a member of a minority group in the countries surveyed create a hierarchy of inter-ethnic attitudes, which is, generally, speaking, the same as the hierarchy of sympathy and aversion. An exception to this are only the attitude towards Vlachs and Greeks in Albania, towards Serbs and Bulgarians in Macedonia, and towards Jews in Bulgaria.

In the case of Albania, it is obvious that the general attitude towards voting for a certain group is conditioned by the existence or absence of a state where the group dominates and which is observed as some kind of a threat to the security of one's own state. For this reason, the Greeks are replaced by the Vlachs from the top of the hierarchy of sympathy and aversion.

The situation in Macedonia is favorable as well--Serbs and Bulgarians occupy lower places in the hierarchy of attitudes towards voting, probably because of the feeling of some kind of a

threat coming from the states in which they are dominant. In this indicator, the attitude towards Bulgarians, compared to the attitude towards any of the other groups, is most negative among the Macedonians in Macedonia. In this, Bulgarians become the most negatively evaluated group.

In the case of Bulgaria, the declared comparatively strong sympathy for Jews is somewhat "corrected" by, generally speaking, the negative attitude towards voting for Jews as representatives of their parties. In this regard, Jews are replaced in the hierarchy by Bulgarian Muslims--a group for which the declared sympathy in Bulgarian society is much weaker than for the Jews. It is obvious that in Bulgarian society, regardless of the general feeling of sympathy, there are also wide-spread prejudices concretely against the connection of Jews with the political class.

C) Romanies from the comparative Balkan perspective

The analysis of inter-ethnic attitudes in several Balkan countries both on the level of sympathy and aversion and on the level of attitude towards voting for members of the minority groups in these countries reveals that the Romanies are the most rejected group. They are obviously mostly exposed to social prejudices, the social distance from them is the greatest, and the restrictive attitudes the strongest. They are also most threatened by discrimination--it is natural that the strong tendencies towards rejecting are instrumentalized into discriminatory practices. There is no doubt that poverty among them is to a great extent a product of similar practices. The "Romany problem" in Balkan and other societies deserves a separate analysis.

In this regard, it would be interesting to analyse the stereotype of the Romanies in different Balkan states. One of the most typical, characteristic of not only the image of the Romanies, but also of the image of many rejected minorities all over the world, is the stereotype imposing personal responsibility for the social status of the members of the group. In Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria, the respondents were asked to approve or deny on a ten-grade scale the statement that "the Romanies have hard lives because they are lazy and irresponsible." The generalized results show, as in the other indicators, the data on Macedonians and Albanians in Macedonia separately (Table 26).

Table 26

"The Romanies have hard lives because they are lazy and irresponsible"
 % of all surveyed - on the basis of the stochastic extract for the entire population

	ALBANIA	MACEDONIA		ROMANIA	BULGARIA
		Macedonians	Albanians		
Completely agreeing	64	56	22	61	54
Mainly agreeing	8	15	23	14	30
I don't know/hesitation	20	12	11	15	5
Mainly disagreeing	4	7	9	4	9
Completely disagreeing	4	8	34	6	3

The data reveal that the stereotype of the Gypsy-pariah (low-class Romany), whose hard life is directly dependent on a personal refusal to achieve what the others do achieve because of his/her own laziness, irresponsibility and lack of self-control, the stereotype with which millions of rejected people are faced every day in the world, is wide-spread in the Balkans, to an almost equal extent in all the countries surveyed. An exception are only the Albanians in Macedonia, among which the number of agreeing is almost equal with the number of disagreeing. The hypothesis of whether the large percent of negative answers in this case is more due to the refusal to accept the fact that the Romanes live a harder life than a minority community the social status of which is also not rosy does, should be additionally checked. In the remaining cases, the higher the degree to which personal efforts are viewed as the decisive factor of success, the more dominant the stereotype. It is the most wide-spread in Bulgaria.

Other two indicators display the attitude towards equality and the attitude towards granting specific linguistic rights to the Romanes. In the first case, the respondents in Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Greece were asked to agree with or refuse on a five-grade scale the statement that "The Romanes should have the same rights as they" (Table 27).

Table 27

"The Romanies should have the same rights as we do"
 % of all surveyed

	ALBANIA	MACEDONIA		ROMANIA	GREECE
		Macedonians	Albanians		
Completely agreeing	70	36	32	28	68
Mainly agreeing	5	23	31	25	10
Neither agreeing, nor disagreeing	13	12	8	17	5
Mainly disagreeing	2	9	11	10	3
Completely disagreeing	7	14	8	16	12
I don't know/no answer	2	6	10	4	3

Generally speaking, there is a broad social consensus regarding the idea of equality of Romanies in all four Balkan countries surveyed. The most restrictive attitudes are those expressed in Romania--the country with the highest per cent of respondents who expressed aversion to the Romanies and most positive attitude is that in Greece--the country with the highest per cent of respondents who declared sympathy. In the case of Macedonia it becomes clear that the sharing (by the Macedonians) or non-sharing (by the Albanians) of the stereotype of the Gypsy-pariah has no influence on attitudes towards equality.

In the analysis regarding the granting of specific linguistic rights to Romanies, the respondents in Albania, Macedonia, Romania and Greece were asked to agree with or refuse on a five-grade scale the statement that "the Romanies should be allowed to freely speak their own language" (Table 28)

Table 28

"The Romanies should be allowed to freely speak their own language"
 (% of all surveyed)

	ALBANIA	MACEDONIA		ROMANIA	GREECE
		Macedonians	Albanians		
Completely agreeing		41	55	30	67

Mainly agreeing	7	28	9	30	11
Neither agreeing, nor disagreeing	16	9	2	18	6
Mainly disagreeing	4	5	1	7	4
Completely disagreeing	5	10	30	11	10
I don't know/no answer	3	5	3	4	3

Here too, the social consensus regarding the granting of this specific right is broad in the Balkan states surveyed. The most liberal attitude is again that expressed in Greece. The number of those who agree is the smallest in Romania. There is an impressively large percentage of disagreement among Albanians in Macedonia. This is most probably due to the great intensity of the posed linguistic problem in Macedonia precisely with regard to Albanians and their requests for a separate statute within the framework of the Macedonian state.

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RELIGION IN THE BALKANS

Organizers: Sonia Kanikova, Celia Hawkesworth,
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The Department of East European Languages and Literature is organizing an interdisciplinary seminar series on religion and religious life in the Balkans. The seminar should begin in January 1997 and run until the end of May 1997. It should be possible for us to hold 10-12 meetings over this period (on Thursdays, 5.30 pm, every fortnight). The seminar series should be followed by a two or three-day conference on the same topic in the summer of 1997. The seminar and the conference papers are to be published. Scholars interested in participating in the seminar and/or the conference should return the enclosed form as soon as possible.

Seminar/conference papers can relate to any historical period or aspect of religion and religious life in the Balkans. Ideally, all historical periods and all significant religious traditions in the Balkans should be covered, for example: pre-Christian religious traditions (Mithraism and the mystery cults; Thracian, Greek, Daco-Mysian and Slavonic magical and religious practices); Christianity (Christianisation of the Balkan peoples-, Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Christian sects; Christian culture; monasticism; Christian mysticism (e.g. Hesychasm); Christian heresies: Messalians, Armenian monophysites, Paulicians, adoptionists, dualist heresies; Balkan Christianity in the modern period); Islam (Islamisation of Balkan regions, the diffusion of Islam; development of Islam in Ottoman South-Eastern Europe; Balkan Islamic culture and Islamic mystical orders and sects); Judaism (the spread and impact of Judaic religion in the Balkans, Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Islamic encounters). Some special aspects to be examined: Balkan adaptations of the universal religions; forms of coexistence of the different confessional groups and the historical transformations of these forms-, interconfessional relations in the Balkans through the centuries: religious tolerance and intolerance, sources of tension, religion and daily life; the religious context of the sociopolitical interactions (i) between the Balkan peoples, (ii) between the ethnic and confessional groups within Balkan countries; religion, language, nation and state in the Balkans; interconfessional relations in transition within a given period, especially in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries: changes in the level of religious awareness; the religious dimension of ethnic conflicts, impact of modern mass communications on religious awareness and attitudes.

The organizers will also welcome papers by specialists who have carried out field research into the state of religious affairs in the Balkans in the last decade.