



**KEEP
CALM
AND
MOVE TO
BULGARIA**

Social Behavior in a Culturally Diverse Bulgarian Village

**Master Thesis – Critical Organization and Intervention Studies
University of Humanistic Studies**

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Preface

During my study *Critical organization and intervention studies* my attention has been drawn to what humanistics can mean on an international level. Focused mainly on Dutch society, *Critical organization and intervention studies* tries to provide answers to problems connected with organizations, management and consultancy, policymaking and culture. To do so it combines insights from theories about organizations and society, corporate identities and discourses, and processes of globalization. Although the Netherlands still holds a vast and undiscovered terrain for the humanistic, my personal interest turned to Eastern Europe. Having studied continental philosophy in Bulgaria during the start of my master, I'm aware of the cultural diversity that characterizes Europe. Differences and similarities that exist between Western and Eastern Europe struck me as intriguing and exciting. Cultures and societies that developed relatively independently over a longitude of time are now subject to the same authority: the European Union. This means borders are disappearing and Europeans are on the move. Whereas before cultural diversity in Europe was fragmented all over the continent, it can now be found concentrated locally. My study on the population of Paskalevets is therefore a contribution to the project of Europe itself. I am curious to processes of integration on this continent with its ever changing conditions of citizenship. Where do citizens meet and what do they do? What happens if they're subject to the same polity, but cannot understand each other on various levels? Questions like these led me to do this research.

This thesis would not have been possible without the time, assistance and dedication of many people. Firstly, I'd like to thank the inhabitants of Paskalevets for their open and accepting attitude. Without their participation I could not have written this thesis. Also my supervisor and co-reader, Ruud Meij and Joanna Wojtkowiak, offered vital help and guidance during my research. Both of them went out of their way to assist me when needed. I'm grateful for their constructive cooperation.

I've received a lot of support from close friends. I extend my sincere gratitude to them for their respect, humor and love. The same gratitude I extend to my parents, Maarten and Jool, and to my brother Wouter. During my work their love and support was a constant motivator. Lastly, I'd like to thank my hosts in Paskalevets. They provided me with all necessary comfort and aid a researcher could dream of. Their contribution to my research was indispensable.

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List of images

The image on the cover of this thesis is a so called *meme*: an image with satirical intentions for use on the Internet, created by Bulgarian blogger Boyan Yurukov.¹ Due to technical limitations other images are not available in this digital version. During my stay in Paskalevets I have taken pictures. Some show streets and buildings, others are portraits of inhabitants. In paragraph 3.8 information about issuing those portraits and anonymity is given. In addition to these photos, in Chapter 1 two maps and a satellite image of Paskalevets are shown. Those images can be admired by courtesy of Google Maps.

-Maps and satellite image of Paskalevets

Between pages 8 and 9

-Portraits 1, 2, 3

Between pages 14 and 15

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¹ Boyan Yurukov's blog: <http://yurukov.net/blog/>

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

'During the last decade, European countries have declared a crisis of multiculturalism. This crisis has gained significant political traction' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.124). 'Questions of multiculturalism and the management of cultural diversity are much debated in many countries' (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006, p.1). 'In day-to-day political discourse, it has almost become commonplace to speak of the European Union as an institutional order characterized primarily by its diversity' (Kraus, 2006, p.206). And this term diversity refers mostly to *cultural* diversity. Because, as Kraus states: '[it refers] to the diversity of the basic patterns of identification that frame collective orientations within Europe's citizenry, thereby affecting the structures of interaction and the information flows both within given societies and between different societies' (Kraus, 2006, p.206). Some political voices advocate this cultural diversity. As recent as 2009, French president Nicolas Sarkozy stated in *Le Monde* that: 'le peuples d'Europe sont accueillants, sont tolérants, c'est dans leur nature et dans leur culture'² (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.130). But his message loses its strength when just two years later statements on the same topic were issued by other prominent politicians. In 2011 the Dutch vice prime minister Maxime Verhagen said that despite the Dutch' tolerant nature, multicultural society had failed. His statement was an echo of earlier statements issued by Britain's prime minister David Cameron as well as spokespersons for the German government, who declared bankruptcy on the multicultural society (Elsevier, 15 Feb. 2011; Marquand, 2011, p.1).

These statements coincided with a rise of far-right parties in Europe. Those political movements owe their popularity to their stance against immigration. 'Many individuals in European democracies express unease or outright concern with the potential effects of migration on their countries' (McLaren, 2012, p.200). Yet cultural diversity, or Europe as a multicultural society, will remain. Probably diversity will even increase because 'the ongoing enlargement of the European Union with [most likely Serbia as new member-state in the near future] further adds to the substantial increase in cultural diversity within the European project (Blokker, 2006, p.5). This complicates matters for European citizens because: 'the construction of the modern European state, with its emphasis on common culture and identity, has made it extraordinarily difficult for many citizens in these states to reconcile the functioning of their national political systems with the incorporation of newcomers who are perceived [as] not to share the same culture and values and to be having a negative impact on the economic prospects of fellow

2 Translation: 'The people of Europe are accommodating, are tolerant, it's in their nature and in their culture.'

citizens' (McLaren, 2012, p.230). McLaren's statement offers a perspective on negative sentiments connected with a culturally diverse population. It also says something about a connection between policies, coming from the EU, and the reconciliation of them with the culturally diverse status quo. We understand this political connection when we read that Brug & Verkuyten (2007, p.112) state that: 'issues of cultural, linguistic, religious, and ethnic differences have taken renewed and increased importance in many countries, institutions and local contexts.'

It is this local context that this thesis is about. Cultural diversity can be found in cities, towns, and villages all over Europe and the rest of the world. It doesn't necessarily restrict itself to the presence of several different religions or languages. This we learn from Tzvetan Todorov, who states that: In fact [...] every society and every state are multicultural (or crossbred), not merely because populations have been intermixing for time immemorial, but also because the constitutive groups in society – men, women, old, young, etc., - possess distinct cultural identities. The difference does not lie between pluricultural and monocultural societies, but between those which (in the images they form of their own identity) accept their inner plurality by emphasizing its value and those which, on the contrary, choose to ignore or denigrate it' (Todorov, 2010, p.70).

If societies are culturally diverse, people find a way of dealing with it. And if they don't, politicians will in their search for a just society. 'Different ways for dealing with diversity have been proposed and various models have been discussed and examined, such as the melting-pot model, the mosaic model, the assimilation model, and the segregation model' (Brug & Verkuyten, 2007, p.112). But such models need social and spatial infrastructure (Brug & Verkuyten, 2007). Some polities lack those. Because they lack sufficient funds or because there's no incentive from a higher government to create that infrastructure, or because they're just too small.

A small population can be culturally diverse even though its diversity is not regulated. One can imagine a culturally diverse village so small that avoiding meeting fellow inhabitants of various cultural identities in this non-regulated multicultural environment is impossible. Then one might ask: how does this population deal with living together in such a culturally diverse setting? Will they accept or denigrate it? If cultural diversity isn't regulated, neither by governmental policy nor by civic infrastructure, how do people socially interact with each other? What form would civil dialogue take? And if there's only one shop: does everybody buy their groceries there? If there's only one man owning a tractor: does he lend it to everyone? If there's only one village square: is everyone allowed to install a small booth for selling tomatoes? Does everybody drink in the same bar? Do they celebrate holidays

together? To answer questions like these, that deal with a small village where a culturally diverse population is forced to deal with each other, a small village in Bulgaria can help us.

Paskalevets, Bulgaria is exactly the village we've just imagined. It's a small countryside village situated in the center of Bulgaria with a population of around 150 to 250 people, depending on the season. This village is interesting for a few reasons. Firstly, it's geographically a very secluded village: the only road leading there is a kilometers long dirt track off the main road stricken with potholes and overgrowing branches. Traffic leading there is scarce and solely out of necessity. There is no industry, and no business-park. The town hall is not much more than a modest office where the mayor resides. Most inhabitants live on small pensions and feed themselves by means of small scale agricultural exploitation of little plots they own. Paskalevets is about as rural as it gets. Interestingly though, in recent years the village has become a haven for foreigners seeking peace and quiet. Yet Paskalevets is not a typical touristic destination. There's no seaside for hundreds of kilometers, there are no restaurants, nor mountains, monuments, nightclubs, museums, or any other touristic places of interest. Still, among others, Russian, American, British, French and German people have settled there. The reasons for their coming are diverse, but as the data will show, there seems to be a general consensus that life in the Bulgarian countryside is quiet and compelling simultaneously. Historically, the village is home to native Bulgarians, relative newcomers in the European Union. In addition, it's also home to people of Roma descent, or Roma. There used to be a larger group of Roma, but in recent years, before the newcomers from the West arrived, they were chased out. An inhabitant of English origin once stated: 'Since we've arrived, that [Roma] family isn't nearly being discriminated as much as before we were here.'

Paskalevets has seen a modest invasion of Western Europeans and others into its typical Bulgarian population, which is already culturally diverse for it's made up of Slavic Bulgarians, Turks, and Roma. Consequently, it harbors a remarkable cultural diversity for such a small and secluded village. Moreover, this diversity is quite new. Newly present cultural identities aren't (yet) institutionally embedded. How does the population deal with its cultural diversity? To answer that question this research focuses on social behavior of the small but culturally diverse population of Paskalevets³, Bulgaria.

3 For information about the name of the village see Appendix 4.

1.2 Research goal and questions

The goal of this research is to describe and understand social behavior in a culturally diverse population of a small and secluded village where cultural diversity isn't subjected to policy. To gain this understanding a theoretical framework will help understand cultural diversity from various angles, and the situational context of the village of this research. Qualitative empirical research within the small and culturally diverse population of Paskalevets will provide data about its population's social behavior. Those empirical findings will lead to an understanding of social behavior in that culturally diverse village. The question that this thesis will answer is:

How can we explain social behavior of a culturally diverse population in a small secluded village where cultural diversity isn't subjected to policy?

The following sub-questions will lead to aforementioned answer:

- 1. What is the cultural diversity of the population of Paskalevets?*
- 2. How can we explain that cultural diversity?*
- 3. What does this cultural diversity mean for social behavior in Paskalevets?*
- 4. What patterns, if any, can be deduced by findings about that social behavior?*
- 5. How can these patterns be explained if they are compared with literature about cultural diversity?*

1.3 Research programme of Humanistics

This thesis adheres to themes expressed in the research programme of the University of Humanistic Studies. This programme functions as a leading document in which any humanistic researcher can find directions to follow in research. This thesis is written as the fulfillment of the master programme *Critical organization and intervention studies*, and focuses on topics concerned with conditions that provide individuals with the possibility to make a connection between their own practices of meaning, and social engagement and humanization of their society. In other words, what can we say about quality of life and the balance between organizing individual lives and organizing groups? This thesis does this by exploring inter-cultural social behavior between individuals in Paskalevets. The research that forms the basis of this thesis was initiated by a search for conditions that strengthen or weaken connections between individual practices of meaning and social practices of humanization. More precisely put, this research explores if, and how those connections exist. In order to understand the civil

society that this research has as its research object, individual practices of meaning are drawn out to be part of a bigger field, namely the society in which they take place and in which they have an influence. To do so in a culturally diverse setting is fitting to the normative study humanistics is. Cultural diversity is something humanistics values, and within the context of the research programme of the University of Humanistic Studies this thesis contributes to the project *Citizenship in an inter-cultural society*. The research in Paskalevets focuses on challenges with which citizens are confronted in a local and European context. Tensions that arise in an inter-cultural, modernizing society, that cannot be understood by simply identifying citizens on axes as 'working-class', 'catholic' or 'aristocrat', lead towards the need to study citizenship and its conditions in the modern society.

1.4 Language

Language plays an important role in this research. Preparation and writing has been mostly performed in the Netherlands, the researcher's home country. But a great part of the research has taken place in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria the dominant language is Bulgarian, a Slavic language written in Cyrillic. Therefore it's to be expected that when one travels to a remote village with anthropological purposes in mind, many social encounters will be largely dependent on what language one speaks. In this case, the researcher has limited but sufficient control of the Bulgarian language to manage day-to-day social encounters and activities. But in order to obtain a deep understanding and feel of what somebody is trying to convey in Bulgarian, his proficiency isn't enough. For the official interviews the researcher has acquired the services of a trusted interpreter. Communication with people who were capable of expressing themselves eloquently in English, has been done in English. Evidently this thesis is written in English as well, so it's not limited in its reception to a Dutch audience.

1.5 Definitions

Throughout this thesis different words, concepts and notions are used that might be open to misinterpretation. Some concepts are so widespread and often used differently within different disciplines that it's deemed necessary to clearly state what in this thesis is meant when they're used. To avoid any misunderstandings and to help the reader understand what is meant by certain words, a list of concepts and their meanings pertaining to this thesis is set up.

Culture, culturally diverse, multiculturalism, inter-cultural, and cross-cultural

This research doesn't have the space nor the ambition to delve in and contribute to the vast and complex debate on the meaning of culture and the impact of use of such a notion. Throughout the academic world the usage of the word culture is widespread and has different connotations. Not only in social studies, also in biology and other disciplines, the word culture can refer to different phenomena. Kottak states that the concept of culture has been basic to anthropology for a long time, but he simultaneously acknowledges the difficulty with the concept because he states that a widely quoted understanding of culture is: 'culture... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Kottak, 2011, p.27). The word culture, and various derivatives, are used throughout this text. Because of their ambiguity it's necessary to point out their meaning within this text. In this text *culture*, *culturally diverse*, *multiculturalism*, *inter-cultural*, and *cross-cultural* each have their specific meaning. They each hold their own place in the vocabulary used to describe, explain and understand social behavior in Paskalevets. Furthermore they should be perceived as being positioned in a kind of hierarchy. This means that when treated from a specific angle, from one concept the next can be derived. *Culture*, *culturally diverse*, and *inter-cultural* are concepts that are used to describe a situation. *Culturally diverse* describes a situation composed of several different cultures, *inter-cultural* describes interactions between different cultural actors. *Multiculturalism* and *cross-cultural* are concepts that indicate a purpose. The former for how to manage a diversity of cultures within society, the latter for drawing conclusions from inter-cultural phenomena. For an overview of these concepts, please see Table 1, Appendix 2. To further clarify the meanings of *culture*, *culturally diverse*, *multiculturalism*, *inter-cultural*, and *cross-cultural* the following definitions are used:

Culture

In order to say something about human behavior, a definition of culture is a useful tool. It helps us interpret behavior as belonging to a selection of acts, values and other specific behaviors. This selection can then be called culture. In this thesis a definition of culture by Gelfand et al. (2007) will be used. Their definition offers a broad view on culture, as it states that culture is, 'the total of behavior, rituals, habits, beliefs, ideas, values, roles, motives, attitudes and ideas about the social and physical world' (Gelfand et al. 2007, p.496).

Culturally diverse

Because the research has taken place in Paskalevets, a little village in Bulgaria with inhabitants from many parts of Europe, a word was needed to accurately describe that particular mix of individuals. To avoid use of the politically laden concept of multiculturalism, which was briefly touched upon in the introduction, the population of Paskalevets will be described as *culturally diverse*. To use Gelfand et al. (2007) again, in this thesis a culturally diverse population refers to a group of people living in a certain country, city, town or village with different totals of behavior, rituals, habits, beliefs, ideas, values, roles, motives, attitudes and ideas about the social and physical world.

Multiculturalism

Although the subject of study of this thesis is described as culturally diverse, it's useful to contrast this notion with multiculturalism. Those concepts do not necessarily refer to the same situation. They both describe to a certain extent the cultural build of a society but where culturally diverse refers to a group of people that belong to several different cultures, and is to be read as a passive description, multiculturalism is a more active and historically conscious concept. Modood (2007, p.19) says: 'I see multiculturalism [...] as constituting an interrelated set of political ideas which are a development out of, and therefore after due modification compatible with, contemporary democratic politics, especially those of the centre-left.' In this thesis, to describe the population of Paskalevets, culturally diverse is the preferred concept. In addition several other concepts are defined.

Inter-cultural (interaction)

This concept describes all behavior, rituals, habits, beliefs, ideas, values, roles, motives, attitudes and ideas that take place between two or more people that are significantly different culturally.

Cross-cultural (analysis)

This concept refers to (the outcome of) the analysis of inter-cultural interaction.

Civic infrastructure

This concept refers to the cohesion within a society between the different stakeholders, in such a way that the continuity of a community is collectively assured.

Natives & locals

Natives are all people born and living in Bulgaria. Because the research has taken place exclusively in Paskalevets, it relates exclusively to Bulgarians (including Turks and Roma) from, or living in Paskalevets. Locals are the same as natives.

Foreigners & newcomers

Foreigners and newcomers are individuals not born in Bulgaria. In this thesis: non-natives living in Paskalevets. Throughout the data they're given many different names such as: incomers, ex-pats, newbies, white settlers and immigrants.

Paskalevetsian

An unofficial term for anybody who resides in Paskalevets. Like a Warsawian is somebody from Warsaw, a Paskalevetsian is somebody from Paskalevets. This term includes all inhabitants: natives and non-natives. The official Bulgarian term is Паскалевичанин (*Paskalevichanin*). In this thesis the English declension for somebody from Paskalevets will be used.

People of Roma descent

By various authors (Barany, 2002; Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007; Crowe, 2007) referred to as *Rom*, *Roma*, *Romani*, *Gypsies* (Цигани – Tsigani) and *travelers*, this ethnic minority, now largely settled in many parts of Eastern Europe has an extensive history of migration and a nomadic way of life. Described in Chapter 2, here it suffices to say that they're often discriminated against and are economically and socially not on par with other groups of the Eastern European population. Although different sources are used to describe their situation, various names refer to the same group.

1.6 Relevance

Humanistics is connected with human dignity and the way that dignity has its place in society. A study on social behavior in a small village where culturally diverse inhabitants' cultural identities aren't institutionally embedded, is an effort driven by a notion of human dignity. It will provide an insight into how, and if people living in that village create a social sphere in which respect for cultural otherness is guaranteed and their dignity secured. Based on two pillars, the study of the practice of giving meaning to life and the study of humanization, this research aims to achieve an understanding of implications for

social behavior in aforementioned situation. The first pillar is reflected in how villagers perceive their social behavior. The latter in insights in patterns observed in that social behavior, emerging from the analysis of the data. These findings might make a difference for living in Paskalevets. Humanistics isn't a science that avoids making a difference. It is one that makes an effort of doing so from time to time. If its core lies with the notion of human dignity, its actions derive from that notion. This normative attitude drives much of its interests. This research being one of them.

1.7 Approach

Due to the size of the village and the complexity of the subject at hand, qualitative inquiry is a proper approach of getting to know the stories of the village of Paskalevets and how the population makes do with its colorful composition. Interviews and participative observations will be the tools by which this research collects its data. The open and flexible characteristics of qualitative inquiry offer a way to stay close and true to the individual and social reality of the Paskalevetsians. The complexity and diversity of narratives and opinions, their nuances or their unforeseen twists can only be understood by engaging in conversation with the locals and the newcomers. Furthermore, Maso and Smaling (2004, p.9-10) state that qualitative research also has the ability to affect change and improvement to the subject of study. This particular role suits humanistic research. Especially when one considers the inequalities and problems connected with different forms of discrimination that were found in the village.

1.8 Structure

After this introduction, Chapter 2 presents a theoretical frame. Situational context and relevant thoughts and theories concerning Paskalevets are presented. Eastern Europe, multiculturalism, culturally diverse populations, and concepts of communities will be discussed. Subsequently, Chapter 3 discusses in detail the methodology and the methods used during this research. The 'how and why' of the qualitative inquiry used, and the anthropological nature of this research will be discussed. Chapter 4 is about the data. The interviews and observations provided material that illustrates social behavior in Paskalevets. Themes derived from the data accompanied by corresponding samples will be presented. Results are presented in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, this thesis will finish with a conclusion and a discussion.

Chapter 2 Theoretical frame and situational context

2.1 Introduction

This research is based on empirical findings in the village of Paskalevets. To correctly understand and analyze those findings, information and literature concerning the village is presented in this chapter. Firstly, Paskalevets will be described in detail. Because Paskalevets is situated in Bulgaria, a young EU-member-state, thinking about Paskalevets should be situated within thought and literature about the European Union, and about Bulgaria and Eastern Europe especially. Bulgaria's migration policy, demographic situation, accession to the EU, and its place within the EU will be discussed. Secondly, the population of Paskalevets has been characterized as culturally diverse. Multiculturalism as a concept remains of importance to this research. It has for long been a leading topic of political debate within the European Union, because it has to do with how groups of different cultural backgrounds within any given polity relate to each other. To make a clear distinction between multiculturalism and cultural diversity, they will both be discussed to their merit for this research. Lastly, to increase our understanding of how groups of individuals behave when they live together, a debate on concepts of communities is discussed.

2.2 Paskalevets

Approaching Paskalevets one cannot avoid noticing its relative seclusion. Geographically (see the map in Chapter 1) it's situated slightly north from the center of Bulgaria, surrounded by not much more than fields and hills. The nearest big city is Veliko Tarnovo. The bus ride from there to Paskalevets takes just over an hour and costs about 4 leva (2 euros). There's one road leading there, and to illustrate the dire circumstances concerning the road: due to its miserable state the shopkeepers have to go and get their supplies themselves. Some transportation companies that supplied their businesses have stopped doing so because of the perilous road. A road sign indicating the existence of Paskalevets isn't to be seen anywhere along the way, except for about a kilometer before entering the village. Coming from the main road driving into the fields, one wouldn't know Paskalevets is there at all. Not only is the village itself remotely situated and unobtrusively indicated, information about the village is as elusive as the village itself. According to Gubrium and Holstein (2009, p.27-35), a narrative researcher should take note of the local circumstances and challenges that influence his or her empirical findings. They say: 'It is important to remember that narrative work does not simply unfold within the immediate spatial, temporal, or interpretive boundaries of particular interactional or organizational situations. While

audiences may be tentatively specified, they have a way of contracting and expanding as occasions cast the net of narrative relevancies in various directions' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p.33). In addition to this DeWalt and DeWalt state that: 'in order to be a competent researcher, the participant observer should have prepared him or herself to anticipate on many of the specific social and political issues that might arise in any particular research setting' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.197). That means any narrative should be properly placed in its context; in space, time, and 'interpretive boundaries of particular interactional or organizational situations.' Not only should the researcher be able to communicate with the people, it is imperative to obtain a certain understanding of the situation so that any communication can be understood as embedded in a certain setting.

In the case of Paskalevets this implies that the researcher should have knowledge about what this village is, and how and why it is as it is. In relation to such contextual knowledge Russel Bernard states: 'A lot of descriptive data on social issues (crime, health care delivery, welfare) is published in reports from governments, industry, and private research foundations', and therefore it should be relatively easy to assemble a comprehensive set of data concerning any situation in which the researcher will perform his or her research (Bernard, 2006, p.97). Sadly though, regarding Paskalevets this isn't the case. Paskalevets as such doesn't pop up in any search in any scientific database. And it also isn't described in Bulgaria's National Institute for Statistics (НАЦИОНАЛЕН СТАТИСТИЧЕСКИ ИНСТИТУТ⁴). In addition to these difficulties, due to technical limitations the researcher wasn't allowed access to the village library. It has been closed off for years and the building was deemed too hazardous to enter. Any useful information from the village archives that might have been found there, is therefore absent in this thesis.

This poses a challenge for the researcher. When one needs to know something about the situational context of the village, one should make an effort of locating other sources. Luckily there is another way of describing the context of Paskalevets. In order to gain knowledge about the village, one can apply a method akin to apophatic theology, or negative theology. This method, a way of acquiring knowledge about the divine by stating what it is not, is in this case a method which will lead to a better understanding of what Paskalevets is and how empirically gathered data should be situated.

It has been mentioned many times before: Paskalevets is a village. It's not a city, nor is it a town. A way of measuring this statement can be derived from how Bulgarian local politics is organized. In order to have an elected mayor, any Bulgarian settlement should have a population of at least 400

4 <http://www.nsi.bg>

inhabitants. Paskalevets doesn't have that amount of inhabitants, so it has an appointed mayor. In the case of Paskalevets, the mayor is appointed by the mayor of the capital of the administrative district, in this case Pavlikeni. In any case, as far as describing settlements goes, if a village is the smallest kind, and a city is the biggest, and a town is something in between, Paskalevets fits into the village category.

Paskalevets is small. The area it occupies is roughly one square kilometer. As opposed to streets in Bulgarian towns and cities, streets in Paskalevets don't have names. They have numbers. Apart from the main road leading to the square and the square itself, streets are unpaved, or the pavement is old and broken beyond repair. The streets are situated around a central, and only square (see satellite image and scenes 2 and 5 for a view on the central square) and most buildings are made of a special kind of sandstone typical for the region. The houses are all of a detached type and often surrounded by gardens that are either overgrown with weeds or exploited as little vegetable plots. There used to be a farm animal breeding factory, but it's not in function any longer. There is no other industry, but there are two little grocery shops and two bars, situated in close proximity of the central square. No other shops or businesses can be found in the village.

Breeding cows, sheep and other farming animals, the redundant factory once attracted many people to the village. According to several statements, Paskalevets was home to a population of 5000 people. But that population has been in decline. Therefore Paskalevets counts a lot more houses than families. The school, the cinema, and the restaurant have all been closed many years ago. Many unoccupied buildings are crumbling down because there's nobody to maintain them. In its current state, the village has been described as a 'dying village.' That label doesn't do it justice though. During the research the village came across as a lively place in which the few people residing there seemed generally happy and busy with all sorts of different activities on a daily basis. Apart from the bars and shops, people often gathered in the village square, on the cooperative farming grounds surrounding the village, and in each other's homes. Observed encounters in public as well as private locations were almost uniformly kind. People not only greeted each other, they had small conversations that occasionally extended up to fifteen or twenty minutes before they went on with their business. This social atmosphere contributed to a sense of timelessness, as if haste was an unknown phenomenon. This is partly due to the fact that many people in the village are unemployed or are living on a pension. Secondly, poverty and economic malaise limits the mobility of many inhabitants. They live their lives in the village and hardly venture out. This limited mobility doesn't apply to the entire population though. A group of newcomers with mixed cultural backgrounds seems to be economically better off

than the majority of the natives. The newcomers all own cars, as opposed to many of the natives not owning them. Mostly their houses are also in a better shape. They have been rebuilding their properties up to modern standards, boasting kitchens with running hot water, indoor toilets and bathrooms, and central heating.

Economic differences have increased since people from outside Bulgaria have begun to settle in Paskalevets. This cultural diversity is a relatively new phenomenon to the village. The first newcomers settled in Paskalevets roughly ten years ago. Shortly thereafter the third foreigner arrived. Then slowly, and from four years ago onwards more rapidly, more non-Bulgarians settled in Paskalevets. The group of foreigners now consists of more than twenty people. A large group that makes up more than 10% of the population. Most of them from the United Kingdom, but there are also Macedonians, Russians, Irish, an American, French and German people.

While hard demographic data is absent (and a census hasn't been made by the researcher), the researcher noticed that the Paskalevetsians can be divided into certain groups. Most notably two groups: Bulgarians and foreigners. The Bulgarians can generally be described as elderly, while the foreigners are mostly in their mid-forties and upwards, including some pensioners. This doesn't mean that there aren't any young people, because there are. Just not many. As stated above, this division into Bulgarians and foreigners can also be made along the axis of people's economic situation. But this relative imbalance doesn't count for the whole population. Few foreigners appeared to be poor and some Bulgarians seemed to be relatively rich.

Because there isn't any specific historical data about Paskalevets available, it's hard to understand certain cultural elements pertaining to the Bulgarians living there. Questions like: What happened there during Ottoman occupation? - What happened there during the communist regime? - How did that affect the village? - What does the history of the village mean for the present-day population? - cannot be properly answered. Still, one would expect some cultural influence of the turbulent political history that Bulgaria has gone through. For example the researcher noticed that the population of the village, Bulgarians and foreigners, hardly seemed concerned with religion. They rarely uttered any statements connected with religion and they hardly visited the church. In the case of the Bulgarians this could be due to the rather disapproving stance towards religion the Bulgarian communist government upheld during its forty-four year long reign. Another cultural element that could have had an influence on how the Bulgarians live their life is economic. During communism, everyone was employed. But when communism ended, the economy plunged into a free fall. Many

people lost their jobs and had to resort to other ways of getting by. Bulgarians in Paskalevets have largely adapted to a lifestyle where they're dependent on their gardens and little odd jobs as a lifeline. They grow their own food, spend little money, and share whatever they can. This sharing whatever you have with your fellow villagers isn't typical for Paskalevets. A report that shows that it's typically Bulgarian: 'Life in Bulgaria is organized around social relations and maintenance of those relations. Bulgarians visit regularly with friends and relatives, needing no special occasion or purpose. "Dropping in" is not discouraged or seen as an inconvenience. Guests are always welcomed and accommodated. The idea that a guest is the most important person in the house is deeply rooted in the Bulgarian mentality and is expressed in many folk tales (so children learn the custom at a young age). [...] In Bulgaria, sharing the bread and salt on the table symbolizes sharing one's fortune and thus establishing a strong social relationship' (Kottak, 2011, p.33).

Concerning Paskalevets' history, it's unclear how the communist regime influenced social behavior in the village. It's thinkable that the once feared secret police installed a system of betrayal and suspicion among the population of Paskalevets. Was certain moral development pursued by the government? Which of those elements prevail to this day? How do such elements influence social behavior? And what could it mean for the acceptance of others, for example Roma or foreigners?

Unfortunately those questions cannot be answered with secondary literature on Paskalevets, because there just isn't any, or there hasn't been any available. Still, the data tends to give some provisional answers to questions. But without having a specifically *Paskalevetsian* theoretical frame to compare empirical data with, one should resort to a broader scope of Paskalevets and its situational context. In this case that broader scope consists of relevant literature concerning Eastern Europe and Bulgaria in particular. In the next paragraph relevant literature will be presented accordingly.

2.3 Eastern Europe

To obtain a wider view of the context in which Paskalevets is situated, this paragraph will provide a summary of relevant literature about Eastern Europe and Bulgaria. In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania were added to the European Union. Their history differs much from that of Western and Central European member-states. Bulgaria, with its longtime occupation by the Byzantine and later the Ottoman Empire, adds to the cultural diversity within the European Union: 'The enlargement of the European Union has undoubtedly increased diversity – in economic, political and cultural terms – of the Union itself' (Blokker, 2006, p.15). And 'as a result, economic and cultural differences within the Union have, at a

stroke, become much greater and more intense' (Blokker, 2006, p.16). That new diversity places an increased interest on Bulgaria because its accession into the Union shifts the political, economic and cultural balance. Some Western member-states are opposed to the idea of including Bulgaria (and Romania) into the Schengen Agreement. And the level of corruption in Bulgaria and Romania gives rise to a political discussion: 'The issue of corruption has become a particularly salient political theme in both countries, contributing to [...] the growth of powerful populist parties in Bulgaria' (Trauner, 2009, p.7). And the European Commission's second report on Bulgaria from 2008, 'complained "that in key areas such as the fight against high-level corruption and organized crime, convincing results have not yet been demonstrated"' (Trauner, 2009, p.9). In view of recent events in Bulgaria, the New York Times (07-23-2013) published: "The received wisdom about Romania and Bulgaria is that their admission was premature," said Dimitar Bechev, senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations.' And: '[Since its accession into the EU in 2007, Bulgaria] has faced unrelenting criticism by the European Commission for failing to fight corruption and reform its ineffective justice system.'

Peterson states: 'the study of East Europe and its importance to Europe and the entire world is neither exclusively political nor exclusively reactive' and: 'Proportionately the most ethnically diverse region per square kilometer in the world, it has been for over 2000 years an area of political conflict, intrigue, and ethnic hatred. Yet the ethnic, nationalist, and religious tensions are essentially a microcosm of the rest of the world' (Peterson, 2001, p.146-147). Especially in this research, the village of Paskalevets might function as such a microcosm. Situated right at the eastern edge of the European Union, in Central Bulgaria, its culturally diverse population points towards the diversity of Europe itself. Keil & Hübner (2005, p.642) help us understand this statement when they say that: 'immigration might not be alien to [European] societies but will, of necessity, now have to be thought as one of its striking characteristics.' People from outside Bulgaria have indeed moved to Paskalevets, some before Bulgaria's accession into the EU, but most have done so after the accession. This movement from Western Europeans and Russians to Bulgaria is new and unprecedented.

Like the European Union's new found increased diversity, Bulgaria's migration situation as such is rather new as well. Focused mainly on combating illegal migration because Bulgaria now forms an external border to the European Union, its migration policy is described by Poptodorova (2004) as unfortunate. She states that 'Bulgaria is still a transit country for illegal trafficking in persons. The most numerous are immigrants from Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Tunisia, and Algeria. According to data from the

National Institute for Statistics, during the past eight years 196,000 Bulgarians have emigrated and 19,000 have returned to Bulgaria. Every year around 22,000 leave Bulgaria. The main motive for emigration is economic – a desire to live and work in countries of higher standards. A fairly large number of the emigrants though, have only a vague idea of how they are going to pursue their goals in emigration. [...] The ethnic composition of the emigrants reflects the the ethnic composition of the country: around 80 percent Bulgarian, 12 percent Turkish, and 4 percent Roma' (Poptodorova, 2004, p.131-132). Especially these last figures are echoed by an article in *The Economist* from 2003 (vol.366, p.51) where it said that: 'More than a decade has passed since the peak of emigration from Bulgaria following communism's fall, but many of the country's most enterprising and best educated young are still keen to seek a life abroad. Despite qualifying as economists, engineers or philologists, many of them end up at least to start with in menial jobs on farms or in hotels abroad. Yet the messages they send home are often surprisingly cheery, leaving their contemporaries who have stayed behind with a sense of missed opportunity and even abandonment.' And recently a more startling demographic shift in Eastern Europe has been noticed. As recent as 2012 Nikolai Botev stated that: 'Several points related to Central and Eastern Europe need to be emphasized. First, the combination of low fertility and emigration exacerbates the effects of ageing, as it is young people who are more likely to migrate. This creates a double 'whammy' in terms of population ageing, as young people are also the potential parents, so their leaving further reduces the size of the new generations. Second, emigration could also result in the redistribution of care responsibilities across generations in the countries of origin, as many grandparents (often in need of care themselves) end up caring for grandchildren whose parents are abroad' (Botev, 2012, p.72). In this sense Bulgaria is hit harder than the likes of Poland or Slovakia because 'moreover [...] Estonia, Bulgaria and Latvia, along with Cyprus are the countries with the highest poverty rates amongst older persons in the European Union' (Botev, 2012, p.76). This situation has an impact on how people live their lives: 'subjective perceptions [...] indicate that older persons see themselves as the losers of the transition process' (Botev, 2012, p.75).

In Bulgaria debates on migration have to do with how to stop the brain-drain. Literature about people from Western Europe and Russia moving to the Bulgarian countryside is practically non-existent. A source of information that sheds some light on this undocumented trend is an article found in *The Economist* from 2003. It describes people from Britain leaving in favor of a different (more rural) life: 'While asylum-seekers are scrabbling to get in to Britain, Britons, it seems, are desperate to get out. Nearly 300,000 people emigrated from Britain in 2000, the most recent year for

which figures are available - more than at any point over the past 20 years, and, as far as the Office of National Statistics can tell from its patchy records, the highest number ever' (The Economist, 03-04-2003). And those Britons aren't leaving without a cause. The article states that 'some three-quarters of wannabe migrants believe that the quality of life in Britain is deteriorating, according to a recent survey in Emigrate magazine. For deteriorating quality of life, read: the relatively high cost of living; the rise in crime; traffic on the M25 often at a standstill; council taxes soaring; lack of space. Such is the pressure in the south-east that Kent county council is urging people to move across the Channel. [And] until relatively recently, most emigrants headed for the big five—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States—but the past 20 years has seen a sharp rise in the number of people heading across the Channel. Being able to work without a permit is among Europe's main attractions [...] So are the weather and the relative cheapness of property' (The Economist, 03-04-2003). This cheapness is certainly true for Bulgaria's countryside where it's possible to buy a house with a garden for less than 5000 euros.

Ten years later *The Economist* shed its light on the opposite of these migration trends. On February 9, 2013 an article stated that: 'A few Bulgarians and Romanians joke about not being welcome [in Britain, Germany and the Netherlands.] 'Boyan Yurukov, a popular Bulgarian blogger, produced a poster in bright red with white letters and a crown reading: "Keep calm and move to Bulgaria"' (The Economist, 02-09-2013). Although these articles can hardly be called scientific, they say something about the sentiments connected with European migration and how Western Europe perceives Eastern Europe and vice versa. Britons are leaving their country to seek a provincial life in Eastern Europe, but dislike Eastern Europeans entering the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Eastern Europeans are struggling with declining demographics and a scarred economy. In Chapter 4, where samples from the data will be presented it becomes clear that those trends are also visible in Paskalevets.

Another demographic feature of Eastern Europe that has to be taken into account is its rather large contingent of people of Roma descent, or Gypsies. The situation regarding ethnic minorities and especially Gypsies in Bulgaria has been a point of concern for various authors. In Bulgaria that particular group of the Bulgarian population has been part of society for much longer than the Western immigrants. The term *Gypsies* however, stems from a misunderstanding. 'Byzantine references to Gypsies continued to crop up over the next few centuries even as Byzantine political and territorial fortunes gave way to those of the region's new power, the Ottoman Turks. These later sources refer to

the Gypsies as Egyptians, a geographic misnomer that stuck nevertheless' (Crowe, 2007, p.2). A misnomer because the region of origin of the Gypsies isn't Egypt at all. Crowe tells us that: 'the origin of the Gypsies in Bulgaria is tied directly to their early migration from India via Persia into Europe. [...] In all probability, the Gypsies began to migrate from India in the early Middle Ages and reached Persia sometime in the ninth century. By the eleventh century, they had moved into the Byzantine Empire from Armenia [and] during the same period, the Byzantines conquered the independent Bulgarian Empire, which stretched from the Black Sea to parts of the Adriatic' (Crowe, 2007, p.1-2). When the Byzantine Empire fell and the Ottoman Empire conquered Bulgaria roughly two centuries later, another wave of migration caused the number of Gypsies in Bulgaria to rise. Although many of them gave up on their nomadic way of life and settled as villagers in Bulgaria as early as the fourteenth century, they weren't taken up into society wholeheartedly. Since their coming they've had to cope with a growing amount of prejudice that 'categorized all Romani as lazy, and untrustworthy thieves' (Crowe, 2007, p.294).

Over the following centuries the Gypsies' situation hasn't improved much. They've had to deal with ethnic politics before and during communism and post-communism democratic revival of the Eastern European societies (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007, p.74-78). Especially the latter hasn't been kind to the Gypsies. During the post-communist regime change and afterwards the economic and social marginality of the Eastern European Roma deteriorated even further. Bulgaria's economic decline after the fall of communism wasn't as grave as Romania's, it was still severe enough to propel ethnic minorities into an even worse state. 'The majority [of the Gypsies] became unemployed, their average educational attainments have further regressed, and their social ills have become more acute. The longing for the "good times" of the socialist period of ordinary Gypsies is not hard to understand. During that era many Roma got used to the guardianship of the paternalistic state and, in the new Eastern Europe, were unable to adapt to the merciless mechanisms of market forces. To make matters worse, extremist groups and some ordinary citizens exploited the passing of the socialist era's trepidations about racism and interethnic violence as democratization permitted nationalist and anti-Roma parties suppressed under communist rule. [...] The regime change signified a disaster to most Gypsies only slightly mitigated by new opportunities for political mobilization and the helpful and supportive campaigns of NGO's and, with the passing of time, increasingly constructive state policies' (Barany, 2002, p.201). Crowe adds to this that: 'the Roma in Bulgaria continue to suffer from an environment so prejudicial that it fosters Roma poverty and despair. [...] Attacks by skinheads and

other Bulgarians against Roma continue throughout the country' (Crowe, 2007, p.246-247).

In conclusion, from the moment they set foot on Bulgarian soil Gypsies played just a marginal part in the Bulgarian society and have often been the victim of grave discrimination and violence (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007, p.74). Crowe states it as: 'One suspects that part of the reason for reducing the Roma to something less than human somehow elevated the status of the backward, poor villager. Regardless, what emerged from centuries of growing distrust and suspicion of the Romani was a body of prejudice that often turned violent. The dehumanization of the Roma became an effective means of rationalization societal behavior towards them' (Crowe, 2007, p.294). Crowe stresses the need for improvement of their situation with a warning he issues to the modern Bulgarian government: 'Until the Bulgarian government decides to adopt policies designed to address the special needs of the Gypsy community that demonstrate respect for their unique traditions and a serious campaign to combat prejudice against them, Bulgarian Roma will find it difficult to play a larger part in [the Bulgarian democracy]' (Crowe, 2007, p.30). For additional information about the history of Gypsies in Bulgaria see Appendix 3.

2.4 Multiculturalism

The population of the village of Paskalevets is described as culturally diverse. The notion of a culturally diverse population refers to something else than the notion of multiculturalism. Therefore it's useful to point out the contrasts between them. Both concepts have to do with the cultural composition of a society but, where culturally diverse solely describes a population that is characterized by ethnocultural pluralism, multiculturalism is a politically and historically conscious concept and indicates an instrument to manage society. It's useful to understand exactly what is meant by multiculturalism and how it is thought. Certain elements found in multiculturalism-thought can be used to compare the results with.

Multiculturalism somehow involves a sense of purpose and a normative (or political) implication. This is illustrated by philosopher Roger Scruton: 'The society of the future is to be secular, even irreligious; national feelings are to be extinguished, and in their place there is to be a "multiculturalism" which looks with bland acquiescence on all cultures save the one that is "ours"' (Scruton, 2008, p.50). This notion of multiculturalism is arguably too exclusive to be of any use to this research, it points however towards a political instrumentality that is intrinsic to the concept itself. This is also noticeable when we turn to Verkuyten and Martinovic who state that: 'Multiculturalism is [...]

criticized because it can lead to reified group distinctions that fuel conflicts and separatism. Similarly others have argued that multiculturalism endangers social unity and cohesion, and also contradicts the liberal ideals of individualism and meritocracy. In addition, the impact of multiculturalism may differ for [an] ethnic majority group and ethnic minorities' (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006, p.2). The concept of multiculturalism is thus thought of in political terms. It's a concept laden with ideas about how people should live together, and about how the nation-state should be organized.

When Verkuyten and Martinovic define multiculturalism as something that 'is about groups and group identities' (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006, p.3), they immediately follow up on this definition by saying that 'there is empirical evidence that in an intergroup situation those with high ingroup identification are more likely to show a variety of group-level responses relative to low identifiers. This is especially the case when group interests are at stake and the value of the group identity is threatened. The more minority group people identify with their ethnic ingroup, the more likely they are to consider it important to preserve their own culture. The endorsement of multiculturalism can be seen as a collective strategy for dealing with a negative group identity and for challenging group-based hierarchy and domination' (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006, p.3). Multiculturalism as a political ideology is subsequently made definitive by Verkuyten and Martinovic when they state that it's tightly connected to the notion of equality and that multiculturalism 'is seen as an important ideology and policy approach for addressing inequality and structural discrimination' (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006, p.4).

Multiculturalism is about managing a culturally diverse polity (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.126). But to manage something doesn't guarantee success, and managing a diversity of cultures within society doesn't mean that they will coexist peacefully and without any problems. It is therefore that Lentin and Titley try to shed light on a darker, less optimistic side of multiculturalism. Verkuyten and Martinovic see multiculturalism as a way to cope with social discrepancies within societies, Lentin and Titley however, point towards its disadvantages. They tell us: 'in a discussion of mainstream political acquiescence in xenophobia in the 1990's [Fekete (2009)] writes: "Once structures of exclusion are erected for one group in society, they can easily be adapted for others"' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.124). The context in which aforementioned should be read is that of multiculturalism and its merits as a political instrument in Europe and especially the European Union. It refers to the debate about 'the racialized, "non-western" poor [who] are held responsible for the systematic changes of neoliberal globalization to European markets in the 1990's. [They] have been fused with suspect Muslim

“communities” since September 2001. Culturally unassimilated, ideologically unassimilable and transnationally implicated in disloyalty, the “racial politics of the War on Terror” have produced “intolerable subjects” (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.124). An example of this intolerance from the Netherlands in 2009 was the public discussion about if politicians with more than one nationality would be just as loyal to the Netherlands as those who solely had the Dutch nationality. Another example, from France: the French government banned the public display of religious symbols. This resulted in a ban on wearing veils in public in 2004. Mainly Muslims were effected. What those examples have in common is their intolerance for Muslim people. In this sense multiculturalism seems to equal the necessity to be acknowledged as worthy, moderate or average and integrated. Consequently, Lentin and Titley deem multiculturalism as something dangerous. They say: 'it is a conceptual grab bag of issues related to race, culture and identity that seems to be defined simply by negation – whatever does not fit into the traditional [European] political map' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.124). What doesn't fit is most likely to be an upsurge of Muslims in the Old Continent. Nevertheless, it's interesting to see if this intolerance, without being politically or otherwise regulated in any way, would fit certain empirical findings from Paskalevets. In any event it's thinkable that the culturally diverse population of Paskalevets would produce similar processes. This would be so because if Europe has a 'traditional political map', Paskalevets might be subject to the same situation. Traditional morals and values and mores on how 'we have always, and will always live' might have been seriously altered by the coming of the foreigners in Paskalevets.

The political debate in which multiculturalism is rejected itself, is criticized by Lentin and Titley as well. This debate isn't a rejection of 'the piecemeal complex of the multicultural policies and initiatives developed to manage [the multicultural society]' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.126). Their analysis shows that it is in fact a rejection of multiculturalism itself. According to them multiculturalism as politics of cultural correction should be resituated and understood as racism in an era were racism is no longer seen as an important issue on the political agenda. Multiculturalism as a promise for cultural peace is therefore a fraud. Multiculturalism as such 'over-determines grounded interests, political differences, and structural tensions as cultural, but in so doing, denies the vital agonism of politics and the ontological necessity of conflict in unequal societies constituted by difference' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.135).

'European urban societies appear to struggle with their allegedly newly increased demographic and cultural multiplicity' (Keil & Hübner, 2005, p.641). This struggle, according to Blokker (2006,

p.23) could be due to the lack of recognition for basic differences in value orientation and potential conflict on the basis of cultural identities within the European Union's politics. Instead of accepting otherness, diversity within the EU is often treated with an attitude of assimilation, a striving towards European oneness. This attempt to steer diversity, according to Kraus (2006, p.204), originates in the way the separate member-states are coping with their own cultural identity. Conditions of pronounced cultural diversity make creating a European polity difficult. He states that there's friction between constructing Europe as *Europe of the States* and *Europe of the citizens*. This results in the following: 'However, regardless of the increasing importance of extending cultural rights to different types of minority groups, it must be remembered once more that the recognition and protection of cultural diversity [and identity] in the EU primarily refers to those cultural identities which are institutionally embodied by nation-states' (Kraus, 2006, p.214).

To reconcile democratic citizenship and cultural diversity isn't easy. Many states are constructed around the idea 'that a state should have a uniform identity, a single source of sovereignty and a unitary conception of the rights and obligations of "its" citizens. They thus have generally created presupposed societies which are culturally homogeneous' (Kraus, 2006, p.204). Therefore, Kraus (2006, p.206) argues: 'in Europe's official political discourse – articulated in treaties, charters and other legal documents – diversity is not just supposed to describe an empirical reality characterized by the pluralism of cultures, languages, customs and historical legacies; it rather is introduced as a normative commitment to respecting the patchwork of different collective allegiances which result from that pluralism': multiculturalism. But on the local scale of Paskalevets this normative commitment has a hard time coming through. The population of the village, in day-to-day life, doesn't have the apparatus and infrastructure to fall back on these charters and treaties every time someone encounters somebody not culturally identical. In that sense it's interesting to evaluate if such a normative commitment towards respecting cultural otherness would emerge from social interactions without the backup and incentive of overlooking policies on the cultural diversity of the village.

2.5 Culturally diverse populations

A move from the politically laden concept of multiculturalism to a more descriptive way of approaching culturally diverse populations is urged on by Kakarala, who states that: 'there is a growing body of critical writing emerging in a diverse cross-cultural context that critically engages with some of the core theoretical categories of (liberal) modernity, namely law, secularism, pluralism, state,

development, civil society, democracy, equality, liberty, citizenship, human rights, and such other concepts. The nature of contemporary theoretical critique is, unlike what happened in the nineteenth century, not on normative debates as mere philosophical critique. Instead, it tends to combine both anthropological data with critical theory and thereby raising grounded fundamental questions about the existing categories that are the basis of much of our everyday understanding' (Kakarala, 2010, p.16). An example of this raising of fundamental questions concerning the categories that are the basis of much of our everyday understanding of the culturally diverse society is provided by Suransky. She states that we should follow Schinkel (2007), who argues we should attempt a similar critical endogenous train of thought in order to rethink our societal ethical frame concerning cultural diversity, integration and how we deal with cultural otherness. Suransky however, doesn't agree with Schinkel's disapproval of cosmopolitan thought. Where he reduces it to an ethics of 'frequent flyers' (Suransky, 2010, p.62), Suransky is more nuanced and simultaneously more progressive in her approach for she states that Schinkel's plea for the social scientist for fluidity in thought and an art of balancing between partaking in the dominant ethical discourse and at the same time trying to open up that discourse, can be assisted by a cosmopolitan ethos (Suransky, 2010, p.67). She characterizes this ethos as an ethical perspective that is grounded in the notion that a moral obligation towards others is implied by a shared humanity. According to Suransky, cosmopolitanism acknowledges that every human is born into a certain community with particular national, ethical and linguistic identities, but it stresses that all humans primarily belong to one moral community. On that basis, she states, every human should be regarded and treated with the same moral respect, regardless of one's origin or situation (Suransky, 2010, p.65). Concerning this research Suransky's explanation of cosmopolitanism will be slightly altered. That is to say, in an ever changing and globalizing world, of which Paskalevets is a part, humans don't find themselves in certain situations just by birth. Movements of people, migration and cultural blending, and changing political and societal conditions provide dynamic situations in which people give shape to their lives. And note that instead of *community*, *situation* is the preferred concept here. It is yet to be seen if people are born into, or find themselves in communities at all. Furthermore situations in which people find themselves initially, can sometimes already be characterized by a multitude of 'particular national, ethical and linguistic identities', so instead of stating that a shared humanity between particular identities implies a single morality, that morality can nowadays be grounded in a shared humanity *within* people's diverse and dynamic situation.

This revised notion of cosmopolitanism, strengthened by Schinkel's plea for the social scientist

for fluidity in thought and an art of balancing between partaking in the dominant ethical discourse and at the same time trying to open up that discourse, offers a perspective with which the researcher can turn his attention towards culturally diverse populations. Besides taking notice of the empirical reality, it offers a way of dealing with ethical discourse and according social behavior within that population. As will be described in more detail in Chapter 3, this perspective is suitable for a humanistic approach towards anthropology.

Paskalevets' culturally diverse population, freed from all the implications of a multiculturalism perspective can, with help from Kakarala and Suransky still be anthropologically approached. Namely, the definition for a culturally diverse population in this thesis is: a culturally diverse population refers to a group of people living in a certain country, city, town or village with different totals of behavior, rituals, habits, beliefs, ideas, values, roles, motives, attitudes and ideas about the social and physical world. An analysis of that particular body of people is not so much an analysis of how that population can or should be managed, rather it has to do with how individuals as part of that population interact with each other. It's about the different axes on which they mutually recognize and treat each other, and about how they contribute to the public sphere they create together. It's about if they acknowledge their shared humanity, and carry out its implied moral obligations towards each other.

2.6 Communities

Kraus' normative commitment towards respecting cultural otherness, together with Suransky's emergent morality both express a sense of cohesion among people. Where Kraus links normative commitment to (cultural) identity and society and its institutions, Suransky speaks about a shared humanity between communities. It is the notion of community that in this paragraph will be discussed to its merit for the population of Paskalevets. If the population of Paskalevets would hold certain elements expressed by Kraus and Suransky, would it then be possible to classify it as a community? And would that increase our understanding of the village? In order to answer these questions the concept of community should first be clarified.

To deepen our understanding of what a community is, and how that concept can be used as a possible perspective on the population of Paskalevets, Zijderfeld offers a definition. He states that sociologically the concept is understood as: 'a configuration of human beings who live, work, act and interact together in face-to-face relationships within the context of distinct moral values and norms' (Zijderfeld, 2000, p.110). A notion of what those distinct moral values might entail is found in

Anderson's understanding of a nation. When Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities* (2006) explains what he means by nation, he states that a nation is always imagined as a community. He says: 'it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 2006, p.7). His statement tells us as much about what a nation is, as it does about what a community is. An entity, or a body of people held together, whatever internal discrepancies play their part, by a deep horizontal comradeship. From Zijderfeld's perspective, this comradeship could refer to those distinct moral values and norms. Another approach towards understanding what a community might be can be derived from Goodheart's (2007, p.87) view on citizenship: 'Citizenship is the term for membership in a nation. In its ideal form, it entails civic responsibility, a complement of one's humaneness not an antithesis to it. Moreover, citizenship, as well as membership in organizations and ethnic communities, may provide a sense of solidarity.' In this form we can recognize Anderson's comradeship in the use of the word solidarity.

Anderson's and Goodheart's statements evidently give rise to at least two questions: how can we recognize such a community? - and: how can we describe that comradeship? Or, on a more ontological level one could argue that to question the community is to question after sameness and otherness within a certain group of people. These questions seem to partly reflect Zijderfeld's deconstruction of the concept of community. They concern themselves with those elements of community that function as some sort of cohesive, or togetherness among its members. And this search for togetherness is expressed in Zijderfeld's understanding of the Anglo-Saxon, American concept of community. He states: '[When Americans speak of community they mean] the concrete social and cultural environment of a distinct group of people. The community, it is firmly believed, should remain safe and wholesome, particularly in view of the next generations' (Zijderfeld, 2000, p.110). According to Zijderfeld this normative attitude is rather idealistic, even utopian. In stead of accepting the community in its normative American understanding, Zijderfeld stresses an essential difference between the former concept and community as the (European or) German concept *Gemeinschaft*. He understands *Gemeinschaft* as: '[a] very much collectivist concept. The individual is expected to be absorbed by the *Gemeinschaft*, to experience a dizzying "we feeling" that actually destroys individuality. [...] It then represents an exclusive collectivity which easily views itself as being superior. [...] *Gemeinschaft* is a collectivity that supersedes individuals and their private and material interests' (Zijderfeld, 2000, p.111). In addition Zijderfeld states that where the American concept is 'a means – a way to help

individuals' (Zijderveld, 2000, p.111). The European concept, on the other hand, is an end in itself. Therefore it aspires to an ethic of ultimate ends. The American concept however, relates more closely to an ethic of responsibility. In terms of sameness and otherness, the American concept relies more heavily on sameness among its members to achieve a certain end, the European concept defines community more on a basis of otherness in the sense that "we are us, because we are not them." Zijderveld's deconstruction shows an ambiguity intrinsic to the concept of community that again raises questions concerning this research. Which understanding of community applies to the population of Paskalevets? And by what empirical findings can such an application be accounted for? What does that mean if one has to make an assessment of how that population functions?

In order to answer these questions one can turn to the culturally diverse population of Paskalevets itself. Just like the researcher has done in this case, people have been turning their attention towards a diversity of groups of individuals for a long time. Anthropology as a scientific discipline has been directing its focus towards different bodies of people with these questions in mind for more than a hundred years. Therefore, in order to say something about Paskalevets' population in relation to the concept of community, it's fruitful to take a look at what anthropological thought has to say on the subject.

According to Maurice Godelier, who in 2009 argued that in today's world anthropology is more important than ever, the need for anthropology arises 'each time that, for various reasons, human individuals or groups are brought to interact with other individuals or groups from different social classes within their own society or from societies profoundly different from their own' (Godelier, 2011, p.2). Here it can be seen that according to Godelier, anthropology clearly concerns itself with questions about sameness and otherness. How much sameness or otherness should there be to classify a group of people (be it socially, historically, geographically, culturally, economically, or otherwise defined) as a community? This question is hard to answer, but Godelier (2011, p.8) points towards an answer when he says that: 'First, the social and historical otherness of others must be recognized a relative and not absolute. Next, others must be recognized as capable of understanding the means humans have invented for the purpose of interpreting the world around them and themselves within this world, and therefore for the purpose of acting on the world as well as themselves.' So, although otherness plays a role in encounters between people in a community, it's never an absolute otherness. It should be seen as relative, and furthermore, to see it as relative clears the way to understand the acting of others as an expression of their worldview and coping with their surroundings, as much as everybody's acting is an

expression of how one is situated. Easier said than done perhaps, for one's interpretation of the world and one's acting upon it, is oftentimes perceived as coming forth from an essential truth about reality. Essential truths because: 'they are [...] all attempts to answer existential questions, which are present in all societies, if in specific forms. Humans, always and everywhere, have endeavored to understand what it means to be born, to live, and to die. Everywhere they have thought about the kinds of power they might legitimately wield over themselves or over others. Everywhere they have been concerned to define the relations humans are supposed to have with their ancestors, with nature spirits, with the gods or with God. Everywhere they have been concerned to give meaning to their environment – mountains, forests, sea, etc. And everywhere they have assigned a sense to the inequalities they established between the sexes, between the castes, and so on, whether to legitimize or challenge them' (Godelier, 2011, p.11). So, although otherness plays a significant role in Godelier's understanding of community, he tends to agree more with Zijderveld's American concept of community, for his view on human acting is that of a means to the end of answering questions concerning one's surrounding.

For Bulgarian philosopher Tzvetan Todorov, the problem with identifying communities is cultural diversity itself. He (2005, p.241) states that: 'We should remember that there are approximately two hundred states in the world today, and that six thousand separate language communities and about five thousand clearly distinct ethnic groupings live in them. And we all know full well that cultural boundaries do not match any other frontiers: religious traditions are distributed as differently from languages as they are from physical features.' If the problem to identify a community is as difficult as Todorov leads us to believe, thinking about communities could perhaps start with thinking about humanity itself. For only thinking about humanity as such is inclusive enough in nature to grant a place to the totality of human voices. If a community is nothing more or less than a bouquet of voices, bundled together socially, historically, culturally or otherwise, these voices themselves constitute the dialogue that emerges when individuals meet. 'Knowledge of humankind starts with the discovery of the existence of another human being who seems similar but also completely different; the wish to interpret the nature of this (dis)similarity is expressed through contact, questions and answers. The gradual uncovering of the identity of the other gives the subject new light on his or her own identity, and the ability to distinguish between what is universal and what is singular' (Todorov, 2005, p.294). Todorov concludes this line of thought by saying that knowledge about humanity is in essence an understanding of the dialogues between cultures. This dialogue, according to him, originates from the difference between self and other, in the same way as questioning sameness and otherness is

questioning the essence of the community for Godelier and Zijderveld. Zijderveld, however, is less passive in his thinking about the concept of community. Community as an in origin and nature open, individualistic and functionalist, is endangered by use of the word community that in its explanation more and more often resembles *Gemeinschaft*. 'What is worrisome in particular is the fact that the notion of community is not clearly defined and comes suspiciously close to the idea of *Gemeinschaft*. References to *Gemeinschaft* are strikingly naive' (Zijderveld, 2000, p.113). The danger this holds for Zijderveld is that: '[Although] the European concept of *Gemeinschaft* refers to a centered reality, [...] everywhere we can witness an ever increasing decentering of the world; secondly, this concept also refers to traceable limits and borders, whereas we witness everywhere the fact that limits and borders are becoming porous. Decentering and delimiting (or debordering) are two processes running counter to the notion of *Gemeinschaft* and its ensuing communitarism' (Zijderveld, 2000, p.113). And as such, Paskalevets is part of this new situation where limits and borders are more porous. Whereas years ago the population was perhaps culturally centered and closed, in recent times it has become increasingly diverse. Inter-cultural social behavior within that culturally diverse population might indicate a less rigid concept of community than *Gemeinschaft* implies.

This could result in the population of Paskalevets being a community in the American sense, in the European sense, or a hybrid between them if within that population different communities are discerned. It has to be taken into account that a multitude of voices has to be heard. If one has to say something about the community, or communities of a certain department at a certain university, a statement will have to reflect a canon of voices discerned within that department. The same goes for a nation, a city, or a village like Paskalevets.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Ethics

Behaving somewhat like an anthropologist isn't usual for students at the University of Humanistic Studies. Although its curriculum and academic discourse is partly anthropological, humanistics is multidisciplinary and therefore students studying the world around them from one academic perspective might endanger the broader scope Humanistics tries to preserve. But like humanistics, 'anthropologists are known for their close observation of human behavior in natural settings and their focus on human biological and cultural diversity in time and space'; what distinguishes the anthropologist from a humanistic however, is its habit to 'go right to – and live with the local people' (Kottak, 2011, p.30). Like an anthropologist, the humanistic is intrigued by human life. But in addition to that the humanistic also has a normative attitude. He or she wants to actively pursue some morality or ethics by his or her humanistic interventions. In short, a humanistic is a consequential academic. It is in this aspect that the researcher performing this research wants to build a bridge between being a humanistic *and* an anthropologist. This paragraph will therefore focus on the ethics connected with these two disciplines.

The researcher is aware that any dealings he had in Paskalevets will have their imprint on the population. An example: after having spent time in the village (to which he paid several visits before the research commenced) he was seen by some inhabitants as a friend. This made him send some postcards to a few people in Paskalevets. In one case, he later heard, the card became a trophy that was shown with pride to whomever was or wasn't interested in seeing it. Not only was the recipient not used to receiving any mail (and not even in possession of a mailbox), now this person received mail from a friend from the Netherlands. The recipient's social status seems to have been elevated (albeit for a short period) from that of a common villager to one of a European citizen with international connections. Another example is connected with photos the researcher took of some inhabitants (see portraits 1 to 10 for examples). Those photos were taken with the intention to issue them in this thesis, but they also served another function. When some were printed and handed out to the models, one woman was happily surprised with her portrait. She later invited the researcher into her house to look at how she had framed and hung her portrait. She explained that only a handful of photos of her were taken, and none as pretty as this one. Handing out photos not only brought the researcher closer to the villagers, it also created an opportunity for the model to engage in increased contact with her social network. On the other hand, some people who didn't model felt left out and had to be consoled somewhat by the

researcher. These examples illustrate (in a mild way) how the researcher can influence the life of the people he is studying, even after he has left.

An anthropological method of research is by no means without its consequences. Apart from internal goals the research might try to achieve, there's also a serious probability of the research having (multiple and unforeseen) other effects. Those other effects can be anticipated on by explicating them in the design of the research. Maso and Smaling speak of goals *in* the research, and goals *with* the research (Maso & Smaling, 2004). That second category concerns any intentional change for the better the researcher might want to achieve. In this case the researcher has come across situations of inequality and discrimination that he would gladly see improved. However, he guarded himself against anthropological vigilantism. One cannot deviate from a professional role in order to 'set things straight' if the direct influence someone has is limited in time and power.

The tools to effectively make a sustainable improvement are limited to those the researcher have been granted. Those tools are in turn limited by ethical codes. 'Both the AAA and ASA⁵ codes [for ethical conduct of research] use as their starting point the principle that the researcher must respect the rights, lives, attitudes, and opinions of the people [he] is studying' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.195). "Hands off" and "doing no harm" constitute most of those codes found in some publications on anthropological methodology (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.195-208). But Russel Bernard states that: 'We need to turn our skills in the production of [...] effective knowledge to solving the problems of hunger, disease, poverty, war, environmental pollution, family and ethnic violence, and racism, among others. Social scientists, including anthropologists, can play an important role in social change by predicting the consequences of ethically mandated programs and by refuting false notions (such as various forms of racism) that are inherent in most popular ethical systems' (Bernard, 2006, p.26). Femke Kaulingfreks describes this normative attitude as being part of an ethics of integrity for the social researcher. She states that this ethics of integrity could point to a social engagement. That engagement would not imply a choice for one party or another, it rather implies a commitment towards stimulating new and critical ways of thinking about society. According to her a social scientist is able to commit a critical intervention when he or she, in stead of postulating a new ethical frame, tries to offer new perspectives on the existing ethical frame from newly studied social situations. This results in a role for the scientist in which he is part of the social world itself, as well as part of thinking about that social world. From that perspective, Kaulingfreks says, the social scientist can issue critical suggestions

5 AAA: American Anthropological Association, ASA: American Sociological Association

on how to rethink ethical frames in which the social world is organized (Kaulingfreks, 2010, p.78-81). These suggestions by Bernard and Kaulingfreks, leave the researcher with a renewed sense of what is 'useful' and as such, usefulness as a foundation in social research will equip the researcher with the normative attitude that characterizes Humanistics.

3.2 Anthropology

This paragraph will briefly discuss qualitative anthropology as a main discipline in this research. When it comes to Europe, as well as the USA, Eva Kalny states that one should be careful of what she calls *othering*: 'processes of othering are based on the perception of cultures as homogeneous, clearly delimited and static, and non-Western people are perceived as “trapped” by “their culture”' (Kalny, 2009, p.387-388). But as was stated in Chapter 1 and 2, in this thesis culture is not defined in such a fixed way. If Eastern Europeans could be individuals Kalny refers to when she addresses people as non-Western, during this research adequate theoretical and methodological sensitivity has been attempted to avoid processes of othering. In order to adhere to the definition of culture in this research, during the fieldwork the method of qualitative anthropology was used. The researcher has positioned himself in Paskalevets for one month. He was hosted by a befriended family in the village. There he explicitly made himself known as a researcher. From this position he was able to immerse himself in the community deeply. He was able to interact with the inhabitants in different social ways. From brief daily encounters in the bars, shops or on the streets or village square, to joining families during lunch and dinner, or on small trips, the researcher has been part of Paskalevets for a month. Specifically, in order to secure neutrality and data triangulation, the qualitative methods of interviewing, observation and participant observation were used to gather data from Paskalevets (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.93).

3.3 Methodology

This paragraph will discuss the methodology of this research. In an attempt to grasp the complexity of the population of Paskalevets, qualitative inquiry was used in conducting the interviews and observations. Qualitative inquiry is a method that isn't based upon predetermined questionnaires or statistics. It doesn't reduce stories to stats and figures. The tools qualitative inquiry uses are meant to gather rich descriptions of how people see themselves, their social surroundings and their environment. Although qualitative inquiry can be used in many different forms and methods, this research combined just two methods: naturalistic inquiry and responsive methodology (Abma & Widdershoven, 2006).

The central assumption of naturalistic inquiry is that meaning is determined by context and also that multiple realities exist in any given context. Its roots are found in social constructivist theory, which is based on the assumption that people construct meaning in interaction with others and their environment. It is open to a diversity of meanings and to how different perspectives relate and interact with each other. It respects reality as a complex phenomenon and tries to behold the many different perspectives that are included within reality. This attitude has been leading during the interviews and observations.

Because this research focuses on presenting a comprehensive description of social behavior in Paskalevets, it needs an open and flexible methodology. Guba & Lincoln (1985) suggest an emergent design which isn't limited by fixed definitions or hypotheses at the start. Their method is open for different meanings and interpretations. In this design research adapts to the different meanings and interpretations which are its object of study. The researcher, in interaction with its object of study, has an open attitude towards different meanings and perspectives and will note them when they come into sight. This methodology equips the researcher with a dialogical approach (Abma & Widdershoven, 2006, p.35- 37), and has provided the researcher with the necessary flexibility to operate ad-hoc in situations he encountered in Paskalevets.

The researcher in naturalistic inquiry takes part in its own object of study. His attitude is that he isn't more or less knowledgeable than the informants, nor that there is a hindering hierarchy between researcher and respondent. Responsive methodology states that the researcher should adapt an open and respectful approach towards its object of study. Therefore any interaction with stakeholders should be open and respectful. Interaction should thus be aimed at inclusion of all involved. Therefore the researcher has actively stimulated interaction with the villagers and searched for meanings or constructions that arose from the field.

3.4 Design

In this paragraph the design of the fieldwork will be outlined. Before it was stated that the interviews were conducted according to the methodology of naturalistic inquiry and the responsive method. But it's also important to know who was interviewed, and why.

In order to mirror the culturally diverse population of Paskalevets, an effort was made to interview a diverse group of its inhabitants. Ten interviews have been conducted with a total of fifteen interviewees. Fifteen because some interviews were held with more than one interviewee

simultaneously. Selecting the interviewees was done according to factors such as nationality, age, gender, income, power (mayor, police officer or farmer), and prominent public presence or not. This resulted in four interviews with six foreigners and six interviews with nine natives. After transcription the interviews have all been coded: **BG** (Bulgarian) or **FO** (foreign), followed by a number which refers to the number of the interview, for example **FO:2** refers to the second interview with foreigners. For an overview of demographic information about the interviewees see Table 2, Appendix 2. The interviews with the Bulgarians were done in Bulgarian. To avoid misunderstandings due to translation issues, an interpreter was present during the interviews. This interpreter isn't a resident and was unfamiliar with Paskalevets and its population. She was acquired through trusted channels and was paid for her services. With her help communication between the researcher and interviewees was unobstructed by linguistic misinterpretations. Interviews with foreigners have been done in English, which the researcher masters sufficiently for that purpose.

To illustrate more precisely how interviewees were selected some examples of this process are presented. The first example: because the people who hosted the researcher own a large ladder, he was asked to bring it and help out harvesting cherries in the early morning. This led to interviewing two foreign men. One of them is a resident and has a relationship with a native woman, and the other was in the village on an extended visit. A second example: meeting a young native boy led to an interview with the honey maker. The honey maker owns a PC (not very common in Paskalevets), but has limited knowledge of how to operate it. The boy is handy with computers and tends to help the honey maker out whenever he has problems with his machine. When the boy heard of this research' intentions he suggested to talk with the honey maker because he allegedly was interested in philosophy. This eventually led to an interview with the indeed philosophically interested honey maker. By operating in such a way many stories were heard and gathered. Stories that the uninformed passerby would not imagine to be there (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p.141).

Another way to create diversity in the data was with observations. Because of the open attitude the researcher tried to maintain during his fieldwork, 'phenomena not originally included in the design may [have] been added. In the process of participant observation especially, researchers [can] discover new angles to the research question and the design in the field' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.166). That's why quite soon, the way the researcher planned his activities was changed. It seemed his 'rhythm' wasn't suitable for obtaining an effective quantity of data. The weather (very hot) in Paskalevets played a large part in this, as did the time of the year. During May and June, a lot of gardening and farming is

going on. People get up early in the morning and start working with their animals and plots. When the sun is about to reach its highest point, they take a siesta. From 4 o'clock, or 5 o'clock onwards the siesta is finished and people start gathering in bars or visiting each other. This was different for most of the foreigners. They tended to stick to a routine less dictated by agricultural obligations. A lot of them started their day around 9 or 10 o'clock. They enjoyed lunch when the natives (and some foreigners) had their siesta, and in the evenings they sometimes went out of the village with their cars to go to a restaurant. These differences in routines meant the researcher had to take into account what 'group' to focus on in his planning. This resulted in changing routines for the researcher. One day 5 o'clock was the moment to start the day, and before it was hot two or three families were visited. Another day extended mornings at home provided sufficient time for reading and evaluating data, while during lunch and afterwards people could be visited. In this way daily observations reflect different situations concerning people, places and happenings in Paskalevets.

A remark has to be made about how not all went according to plan. For example, one of the interviews was held with a government official who insisted on using his own interpreter. This wasn't a big hurdle to take, but when time came it seemed the interview was actually not about the original interviewee, rather it was about that interpreter. Furthermore, halfway through the interview, the original interviewee decided he wanted the interview censored for the greater part. Setbacks like these happened on and off, some more disappointing than others. However, due to an attitude of adapting to local standards and uses, enough useful data was gathered.

3.5 Method

The method itself of gathering data needs some explanation too. For various reasons it was necessary to actively pursue a certain attitude towards interacting with the Paskalevetsians. Whereas the traditional approach to interviewing treats an interview as a medium to transmit information (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009), in this research that medium was approached more as creating occasions for narrative work. This meant that although the interviewer was aware of, and would observe many of the guidelines and structures that conventionally give shape to an interview, such as semi-structured and open-ended interview structures, in this case 'the narrative ethnographer [was] keenly aware of the unavoidable collaborative nature of the process' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p.37). An example of this nature can be illustrated by the way the interactions with the Bulgarians took place. Sometimes the communication with them took a friendship-like turn, resulting in interviews and talks that lasted for

hours, becoming genuine dialogues accompanied by 'obligatory' shots of liquor and dinner tables set out in a grand manner. In any case, a friendship-like atmosphere is something wholly different from friendship. So even though great hospitality played a part in interaction with the population, at all times the researcher tried to keep his own goals in sight. 'Going-native' (Maso & Smaling, 2004, p.107) as part of the risks over-rapport would imply, has been guarded against throughout the research. Furthermore, Gubrium and Holstein state that a researcher studying local culture should apply himself to both the spatial and narrative dimensions of that culture. They state: 'Consider that no matter how seemingly informal or anonymous a public setting might be, its social interactions can lead to narratives of identity and interpersonal relations. Listen for, and document, accounts that reference roles and relationships, with the aim of constructing the bigger story to which accounts are linked' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p.142). In this research the method of participant observation sometimes meant that the researcher not just listened, but actively joined in with public life.

By doing so, many different voices were heard. Considering the complex field the researcher immersed himself in, interaction with one inhabitant sometimes led to interaction with another person. Not all meetings could be planned.

Although during fieldwork not much time was left to make ongoing analysis, data and findings were under evaluation from time to time. Contact has been kept throughout with the supervisor and the co-reader. This led to new and useful insights on methodology, literature and general help on how to proceed with the fieldwork. Support was also offered by the hosts. They provided housing in Paskalevets, food and other necessary services to keep daily life going. But they also functioned as counselors and provided a place where experiences and findings could be discussed in a confidential, critical, and constructive way. They provided moments of reflection during the fieldwork. These have been helpful in organizing, structuring and directing the research.

The interviews were recorded on a digital sound recorder (Sansa Clip Plus) and later transcribed verbatim in Word. Those transcripts were stored on a laptop. Later they were printed and analyzed by the method of pawing (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Daily reports were written every evening. They were written on a laptop and were supported by scribbles and notes taken during the day in a little booklet. They have been coded **FR** (field report), followed by the date they were written. For examples see Appendix 1.2.

Among others, leading publications in the organization of this research have been *Analyzing Narrative Reality* (2009) by Gubrium and Holstein, *Research Methods in Anthropology: qualitative*

and quantitative approaches (2006) by Russel Bernard. Another insightful publication was *Participant Observation* (2002) by DeWalt and DeWalt. In favor of data triangulation, an extensive search for relevant literature with Omega and Picarta has been executed. The researcher has also paid attention to an array of publications within the library at the University of Humanistic Studies. A sample of the keywords used in these searches is: cultural diversity in villages/towns/cities, multiculturalism, multiculturalism in Eastern Europe and Bulgaria in particular, immigration in Eastern Europe and Bulgaria, publications on national and supra-national policies on immigration, (concepts of) citizenship in a multicultural society, post-communist politics in Eastern Europe, European Union involvement in the region, and rural life in Eastern Europe, Gypsy population in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe. The results of that exercise will be used as background information, and have partly ended up in the theoretical framework against which data will be compared.

3.6 Analysis

According to DeWalt and DeWalt 'the goal of analysis is to develop a well-supported argument that adds to the understanding of a phenomenon, whether the understanding is phrased in descriptive, interpretive, or explanatory terms' (2002, p.164). The analysis started at an early stage. When the research proposal was issued, decisions about on what to focus and on what not to focus were made. For this research the choice has specifically been made to focus on social behavior and narratives about that behavior in Paskalevets. The gathering of data has been guided by the main and sub-questions of this research. Although the methodology and methods of acquiring data have been discussed already, the analysis is a different story all together. 'Once field notes (as well as other textual data) are recorded, the process of analysis becomes more formal. [Hundreds] of pages of text must again be reduced to manageable descriptions of patterns of activities, ideas, and behavior, interpreted, and written up' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p.166).

DeWalt and DeWalt discern two ways of reducing data with the aim of producing a well-supported written argument. The first is indexing; to draw a-priori categories from an initial theoretical framework and let those lead to further material for analysis (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, 168). Indexing has been applied by creating a list of topics before the researcher set off to Paskalevets. These topics functioned as guidelines for what to focus on during the fieldwork. See Appendix 2 for this list. The second approach DeWalt and DeWalt speak of is coding. They describe coding as: 'the development of categories that emerge from the data as a result of reviewing the data for inherent

concepts and patterns. Some writers refer to them as themes. [Coding] is, in essence, the attaching of names or labels on pieces of text describing events and incidents, parts of conversations, words, sentences, or phrases' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, 166-167). The interviews have been coded according to the pawing method. Pawing is described by Ryan and Bernard (2000) as a tactile approach to analyzing data. It involves physical handling of the text, rather than digital manipulation. They say: 'We highly recommend pawing through texts and marking them up with different colored highlighter pens. [...] In this method, you get a feel for the text by handling your data multiple times. [We] suggest reading over the text at least twice. Researchers have been known to spread their texts out on the floor, tack bunches of them to a bulletin board, and sort them into different file folders. By living with the data, investigators can eventually perform the interocular percussion test—which is where you wait for patterns to hit you between the eyes.' (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p.10)

This method has helped in reducing the data into a manageable amount. The field notes and transcripts have been printed and read at least seven times, pertaining to the number of themes that eventually arose. Every theme was granted a color and a number. With different colored highlighter pens the transcripts have been marked according to the themes, which corresponded to internal and intra-related coherence. For example: all orange highlighted content was grouped in Theme 4: Social behavior. Quotes are coded according to the interview they belong to: **BG:0** or **FO:0**. In addition, an extra digit at the end refers to the page number in the original transcript where the quote can be found. If more than one quote is highlighted on the same page an 'a' indicates the first, a 'b' the second etc. For example:

FO:3-21

Parasites, first word that comes to mind, horrible word, but it's the first one that comes to mind, they are here to take...

-is a quote from foreign interview 3, page 21.

All relevant data pertaining to a theme was accumulated into one digital file, to end up with fourteen separate collections of highlighted quotes. Seven contained quotes from interviews with foreigners, another seven for quotes from interviews with Bulgarians. About this method Ryan and Bernard (2000, p.10) state: 'This may not seem like a very scientific way to do things, but it is one of the best ways we know of to begin hunting for patterns in qualitative data. Once you have a feel for the themes and the relations among, then we see no reason to struggle bravely on without a computer. [But]

even then, there is no substitute for following hunches and intuitions in looking for themes to code in texts.' The results of this method are presented in Chapter 4 and 5.

3.7 Development of the research question

Verschuren (1991) states that in order to compose a proper research question, a researcher has to take many factors into account. According to him it's a complex process. It involves care and wariness from the moment one starts thinking about the research subject, until the final check on correctness and consistency and validity of the question. 'It stands to reason that a properly formulated research goal will decide if the research will succeed' (translated from Dutch: Verschuren, 1991, p.40). Because this process is complex and involves many factors, it's difficult to formulate a functional question in one try. The research question has undergone several changes. These will be shown and discussed briefly.

The first question ever conceived was: *How does cultural pluralism within the local European community of Paskalevets, Bulgaria have an effect on dealing with cultural otherness?* - This question, however interesting, wasn't suitable to use as a leading question. Firstly, it wasn't set in stone that in Paskalevets cultural otherness would be an issue, in such a way that it would have an effect on social interactions. Secondly, to ask about an effect is dangerously close to asking for something measurable. However, the question shows that from the beginning inter-cultural encounters have been a point of interest. Also Paskalevets itself has from the beginning been a point of interest because the researcher was aware of its culturally diverse population. After deliberation with various knowledgeable people, the question was formulated in a different way. In order to include more philosophy in the research, the following form was chosen: *How can we understand multiculturalism as a workable political concept if it is rethought from Todorov's perspective on multiculturalism and understood from the local, rural and small scale perspective of the culturally diverse community of Paskalevets, Bulgaria?* - This question was too complex in its setup. Firstly, it would lead to an undertaking too large to be suitable for one student's final thesis. Apart from presenting an overall view on Todorov's vision on multiculturalism, the question would have forced the researcher to approach his fieldwork prejudiced by philosophical thought on societies and multiculturalism. Secondly, as can be seen in Chapter two, multiculturalism is a concept heavily debated, and used in different ways.

Thinking about how to improve the question, with outstanding help from dr. Wander van der Vaart, led to the current version: *How can we explain social behavior of a culturally diverse population in a small secluded village where cultural diversity isn't subjected to policy?* - This question focuses

mainly on the empirical character of this research. It led to a research in which empirical data offers an understanding of social behavior of such a population. The term social behavior has led to discussion, but remained in the end. Behavior includes story-telling and formulating opinions as much as it does social interactions between people. The last part of the question refers to the size of the village, its relative seclusion, inhabitants' reduced mobility, and lack of institutions or civic infrastructure that embed (native and new) cultural identities and secure equal treatment.

3.8 Confidentiality

To secure safety and anonymity for all participants and interviewees who have contributed to this research, the researcher has pledged an oath of confidentiality. This means that all data will be presented anonymously. When names are involved, they will be replaced with fictional names. And when, because Paskalevets is very small, somebody could still be identified by other factors, those will be obscured. This way of securing confidentiality is in line with what Maso and Smaling (2004, p.42) say about this topic. However, some interviewees and participants have explicitly stated that they want to be named fully, or that they at least don't mind to be recognizable in any way. Their wish has been granted, but in this research there is no way to identify those people, except when one would travel to Paskalevets to investigate specifically which names are fictional and which aren't. A number of portraits taken by the researcher have been printed in this thesis. They are printed with permission, but are presented anonymously. In no way will it become known to the reader if those portraits represent participants or interviewees or not.

Chapter 4 Data

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter samples from the data gathered during fieldwork are presented. The purpose is two-fold. Firstly, samples from the interviews are presented according to the themes in which they are grouped, by which insight in how that data is analyzed is provided. The themes and corresponding quotes are presented and explained in paragraph 4.2. Secondly, quotes from the interviews and the field reports are presented to provide a sense of diversity of the data. Excerpts from the field reports are presented in paragraph 4.3. Paragraph 4.4 provides a summary of the data. Before discussing the results in Chapter 5, the samples presented illustrate the amount and variety of the assembled data, and how it has been analyzed.

4.2 Interviews and samples

During analysis of the interviews seven themes have been discerned. Some group more quotes than others, but all themes are closely related to the sub-questions of this research. Together they provide a description of the diversity of the population of Paskalevets; how that diversity can be explained; what that diversity means for social behavior; and what patterns in that behavior can be discerned. Analysis of the data according to these themes will provide the sub-questions with answers in Chapter 5, and those answers will subsequently provide the main question with its answer in Chapter 6.

Every theme has been given a name and is explained briefly. Those themes are not to be taken as absolute. Sometimes a quote *feels* like it should be grouped within a certain theme, but the words to accurately point out why it should be so, are lacking. That is why themes are to be taken as open and flexible, so they are able to include all relevant content complemented by a margin of slightly less relevant content. This open nature cannot prevent a potential overlapping of themes, some quotes are sorted under more than one theme.

Alongside every theme quotes from the interviews are presented. Due to the large amount of data collected, not all is presented. For all quotes see Appendix 1.1. Because of some difficulties with certain translations from Bulgarian into English, e.g. when the interpreter had to translate very fast during interviews, the quality of English in some quotes is less than one would expect. In several cases some editing (always in relation to the source document) has been done to make a quote properly understandable whilst staying true to its content. The themes are:

Theme 1. Life in the village: Peace and quiet?

Interviewees expressed descriptions of peace and quiet in relation to living in Paskalevets. But often they complemented those statements with remarks about less desirable social situations. Often a 'but' was involved. Samples from the data show that interviewees acknowledge or contradict a peaceful and quiet village life. During the analysis Theme 1 grouped statements connected with how interviewees see village life in terms of peacefulness, quietness, social cohesion, a rural existence, and living close to nature as well as their contradictions and nuances of such descriptions.

The following sample illustrates how a Bulgarian man perceives village life in Paskalevets. Compared with other samples his view is rather positive. Perhaps this is due to his position in Paskalevets. During the interview his political function might have influenced his opinion. Compared with other samples an attempt for some nuance in his statements seems absent. He stresses equality and sameness, and compares Paskalevets to a family. In other interviews this description was tested, and often contradicted.⁶

BG:6-2a

What I can say is that life here is good. The weather is always nice, no big roads so we don't have a lot of noise and it's clean. I would say it's one community. One family, where everybody is equal, the same. We're one family. The beauty is in the people. Paskalevets doesn't have any other attractions like a seaside, a beautiful church, some monuments. We don't have any of that. Paskalevets is about the people and the cultural life. That's what makes it interesting. I've lived here all my life. I remember how much I liked it here during my childhood. I would write about that... The summers were especially joyful for me as a child. I used to play in the fields and the forests. There were many children here, I had many friends.

A second sample illustrates a clear contradiction of the view expressed in the first sample. The depiction of the village as one family is put to the test. The interviewee agrees with Paskalevets being a family, but he adds that it's a family of wolves. Considering the archetype wolves represent this isn't meant in a positive way. Moreover actual wolves sometimes enter the village on nightly hunts for food. They're not considered friendly, and are chased off or killed when possible. Comparing Paskalevets to a family of wolves illustrates lack of safety and a sense of danger. The interviewee expressed unhappiness about different elements of Paskalevets throughout the interview.⁷

BG:4-11a

Interviewer: I was speaking with somebody else and this person told me that Paskalevets can be described as one big

6 BG:1-11a, BG:1-14a, BG:2-5, BG:3-6, BG:3-11, BG:4-4, BG:4-5b, BG:4-11a, BG:5-1, BG:5-7, FO:2-13a, FO:4-3

7 BG:4-5c, BG:4-10a, BG:4-10b

family. What do you think about this?

-Big, big family of wolves. Big, family of wolves.

Two quotes from a foreigner are more positive. Instead of attributing his satisfaction with the village to social cohesion like in **BG:6-2a**, he connects his happiness about Paskalevets with the weather and the brightness of the sky at night. Other interviewees expressed similar opinions.⁸ The second sample is less cryptic than the first, both samples contain comparisons to England that show the interviewee's preference of Bulgaria above England.

FO:1-8

Interviewer: How do you describe Paskalevets?

-To liken it to Europe it's the sort of village where the buses get to will turn round and go back. It's at the end of nowhere. The local buses from the local town would end up in that village to drop off or pick up and return. They wouldn't go on somewhere else although the local buses here do but in England it's the sort of village where it would just... end of the line.

FO:1-16a

I love this country. It's so peaceful, relaxed. You couldn't want more. Peace, quiet, no motorways, no traffic... You possibly got, let's say for example, you've got 60% blue sky throughout the year here. It might be more throughout the year, blue sky. Whereas England you've got 95% grey sky and 5% blue. There's no comparison. Plus England and Western Europe, sounds politically correct, Western Europe, is so built up, the streetlights, you can't even see a sky at night.

Theme 2. Economic situation

Some interviewees gave information about their economic situation. Sometimes they frankly discussed their income, or lack thereof. Some were less frank but expressed their view on the economic situation in the village (or in Bulgaria or Europe). Because there are economic differences between the foreigners and the Bulgarians those statements provide information about how those two groups relate to each other. Furthermore, interviewees sometimes expressed in what way their economic situation influenced other aspects of their life. Statements and descriptions about how interviewees see their own economic situation, those of others, and their places and chances society are grouped in this theme.

Quote **BG:1-2** illustrates difficulties connected with providing a decent income in Paskalevets.

⁸ BG:1-1b, BG:3-7b, BG:5-2, BG:5-5a, FO:2-4a, FO:4-7b

This isn't difficult for all inhabitants but a large number of people, mainly Bulgarians, live in poverty.⁹ This interviewee has an extra handicap when it comes to finding a job. Many villagers think she is a Gypsy. She denies this, but the consequences are serious nonetheless. She isn't treated with the same respect non-Gypsy Bulgarians are, and her chances for increasing her social status are small. She expressed a desire to become a hairdresser, but besides a lack of financial means and limited mobility, she has slim chances of being admitted to any school. In Theme 5 her situation will be illustrated in greater detail. In the following sample she speaks about her economic situation. Working for the mayor means that she can be employed to clean streets, collect garbage, paint sidewalks and other demanding physical work. Moreover her shifts are likely to last 12 hours or more.

BG:1-2

I work for the mayor or in the town hall but not all the time because from time to time there are some employment contracts through the European Union. But they're not permanent, usually they're temporary, because these programs are usually nine months or one year. So sometimes when the program stops... Well it's not very much work, I mean there are some working programs through the European Union which are with duration of nine months to twelve months. So when the European Union fund finishes or the program finishes then I go back on the social helping system, but the payment is not very good. They still oblige me to do some community favor work, but then the payment is really very low because I work usually two weeks for 40 leva (20 euros).

The following quote indicates a social imbalance connected with financial situations. Fellow villagers perceive these Bulgarian interviewees' situation to be financially less limited than the vast majority of the inhabitants. Most renovated houses belong to foreigners¹⁰, but theirs is renovated as well. Their garden isn't used for growing vegetables as much as other gardens and their swimming pool further distinct their economic situation from other natives. Although they have a historical connection with Paskalevets, they've lived and worked in Portugal for many years. Whereas other natives hardly expressed a sense of jealousy towards the foreigners, who own cars and other luxury items, these interviewees feel envied.

BG:3-4

A lot of people are envious to what we have now. They do not see that what we have achieved now was because we worked hard for many years. And a lot of people think that we went to abroad and this fantastic well paying job where we could earn a lot of money very quickly, which is not the case. They don't see now that we have come back but our son is still abroad, so like family we're not together. And if it's not him sometimes from time to time sending

9 FO:1-21, FO:4-1, BG:3-12, BG:1-4a

10 FO:2-11, FO:4-6b

some money back, we wouldn't be able to have all this.

The next quote describes a situation typical for most of the foreigners living in Paskalevets. If it's because they're on a pension or because they have other means of income, they don't have to work to earn a living.¹¹ That means they're able to enjoy a lot of free time. Some of them own animals or pursue different hobbies. However, some foreigners chose Bulgaria specifically because of lower prices. A group of Britons moved from Turkey to Paskalevets a few years ago to increase their spending power.¹² Now some of them have financial troubles because they're not used to living in a Bulgarian village. Even though they have more money to spare than the average villager, their modest pensions can't afford them the lifestyle they want to pursue.¹³

FO:2-1

It's not the same as we've had in other places, because in Paskalevets we're not working for a living. It doesn't mean we're not working, but we're not working for a living so the things that we do are more for our pleasure. Not entirely for our pleasure, but most of it.

Theme 3. Why Paskalevets?

This theme groups statements about why people live in the village. It includes quotes about why foreigners have come to Paskalevets and why the Bulgarians live there. Apart from these explanations, it also groups quotes that express a desire to stay or leave. Between Bulgarians and foreigners these motives can vary greatly.

The next quote expresses several reasons why this French interviewee chose to live in Paskalevets. His reasons for coming are reflected throughout the data from and about the foreigners. The interviewee differentiates between reasons concerning: costs of property and living¹⁴, quality of life¹⁵, climate¹⁶, and sentiment.¹⁷ He also mentions eBay, an online auction house. eBay could be connected with the reason many of the foreigners are British. According to quote **FO:4-8** only the British version of eBay lists property. In conversations with Britons during fieldwork this was stated several times as well.

11 FO:1-10a, FO:1-20a, FO:2-1, FO:2-19, FO:3-13a, FO:3-13b, FO:4-8a, FO:4-9b, BG:3-16

12 FO:3-13a, FO:1-20a, BG:3-14, BG:4-9a

13 FO:1-2, FO:1-10a

14 FO:1-16b, FO:1-20a, FO:2-14, FO:2-18, FO:3-13a, FO:3-13b, FO:4-1, FO:4-8a, BG:3-16, BG:3-14, BG:4-9a

15 FO:1-22, FO:1-23, FO:2-1, FO:2-2, FO:2-3b, FO:4-7b

16 BG:1-1a, FO:1-16a, BG:6-2a, BG:4-9a

17 FO:4-6b, FO:4-7c

FO:4-1

I came for the first time one year and a half ago. In Bulgaria. I wanted to buy a house for my holidays. Because it's cheap here, quite normal, and life here is absolutely gorgeous. I just saw an advertisement on Internet. Actually for a period of six months I was searching for places to buy a house. I used YouTube and E-bay and Google... First I checked in America if there was some property for sale, but it was too far and I found that Americans don't like the French so much. Germany was also a good option, the houses are not too expensive... but why Germany? It's the same as Scotland were I lived before! It's the same weather, cold and wet. And in France I have enough, I have what I have there already. And Bulgaria... the first time I came it was very bad weather, it was February, there was almost a meter of snow! I broke one rental car [laughs] but I really liked what I saw. Okay, it's very poor here, and that didn't make me happy, but the rest, yes, very happy! [...] I decided to leave Scotland and now I live here, permanently... and I dreamed about my father when I was young, he always had animals in the garden. He was a [woodworker] and he made the most beautiful and exclusive things. But he also kept animals. I'm continuing his hobby of keeping animals here. Here I have space and the pace of life that makes keeping animals possible. Also in Scotland there's stress all the time. Here not. Here I have all the time I want.

For Bulgarians reasons for living in Paskalevets are different. Most of them are native Paskalevetsians. But for those who are not, there are no substantial financial advantages luring them into the village. There are no businesses offering attractive positions or educational institutions attracting students. The weather is also not significantly different from elsewhere in Bulgaria, and most likely Paskalevets doesn't vary considerably from other small Bulgarian villages. Their residence is mainly connected with having relatives in Paskalevets.¹⁸ The next sample shows a quote from a Bulgarian woman in which she explains why she lives in Paskalevets.

BG:3-7

In fact my mother is born here and just lives across the road. So I'm connected in some way to Paskalevets, because when I was little during the holidays my parents used to send me to my grandmother here. I used to play here so I'm more connected to the village.

4. Social behavior

This theme groups statements from interviewees about social behavior in the village. Social behavior is defined as actions or reactions of a person or group towards another person or group in response to internal or external stimuli. Data sorted in this theme can be divided into two groups: social behavior among the Bulgarians, and social behavior among the foreigners. Social behavior between Bulgarians and foreigners is sorted under Theme 5.

18 BG:4-2b, FO:2-10

This quote from a Bulgarian adolescent illustrates an opinion about Bulgarians that various natives expressed. Several Bulgarian interviewees disapproved of Bulgarian fellow villagers' social behavior. Sometimes they attributed this behavior to their communist history. Descriptions about fellow Bulgarians are connected with a closed social attitude, secrecy, bureaucracy, nepotism, and stupidity.¹⁹ On the other hand a communal way of life and sharing of food and other goods among the villagers is also mentioned.²⁰ It isn't mentioned if this is due to communism as well. A communal way of life functions as an alternative to an individualistic attitude the foreigners have. Often natives feed their neighbors and care for their elders themselves, it also lessens the effects of their relative poverty.

BG:2-1

People from Sofia are Europeans. We're not. In other parts of Bulgaria we're still all old communists.

The foreigners are less divided in their evaluation of each other. Especially about English foreigners, English themselves and other foreigners are outspokenly negative.²¹ This sample from one of the first newcomers illustrates her opinion about the other English in the village.

FO:3-21

Parasites, first word that comes to mind, horrible word, but it's the first one that comes to mind, they are here to take...

Theme 5. Inter-cultural social behavior

In this theme all statements about social behavior between Bulgarians and foreigners is grouped. Those statements offer a view on inter-cultural integration in Paskalevets.

The presence of foreigners has a large effect on the make-up of the population because of its small size. More than 10% of the population now consists of non-Bulgarian permanent residents. What German, French, American, British, and Russian inhabitants have in common is that their native language is not Bulgarian. Few foreigners are capable of expressing themselves in Bulgarian, and one ridiculed the language.²² Those who learn are viewed positively²³, and in one case the language barrier doesn't seem to be a problem at all.²⁴ Negative effects on integration from this linguistic fragmentation

19 BG:1-11, BG:1-14b, BG:1-5a, BG1-5b, BG:1-6, BG:2-2b, BG:3-10, BG:3-11, BG:3-15a, BG:4-4, BG:4-6, BG:4-10a, BG:4-12, BG:4-13, BG:5-5b, FO:3-11

20 BG:6-1a, BG:6-1b, FO1-6b, FO:1-20b, FO:2-21a

21 FO:1-4b, FO:1-10b, FO:1-12a, FO:1-15, FO:1-23, FO:2-3b, FO:2-4b, FO:3-8, FO:4-2, FO:4-3, FO:4-8b

22 FO:1-13a

23 BG:2-3b

24 FO:4-5c

can be found throughout the data.²⁵ A quote that illustrates an effect is a statement from a Bulgarian man connected with his terms for accepting others:

BG:3-9

I don't separate the people between foreigners or locals or black or white. In my mind they are either good people or bad people, it doesn't matter where they are from. For me it matters if they are nice, if they can learn some Bulgarian and say hello and if they smile and say hi. And try to learn some Bulgarian, for me that's enough.

Interviewer: And do they learn Bulgarian?

I think that there are a lot of them who do not want to learn. But it is their problem, maybe this is what they like: to not be able to talk. [But] some of the newcomers are trying to learn Bulgarian. Because for example [that Frenchman] came, he is one of the last foreigners to come, he has come recently, but he is learning.

Other statements about inter-cultural social behavior that illustrate negative sentiments are connected with foreigners drinking a lot of alcohol, taking advantage of natives, and behaving rudely and sexist towards women.²⁶

Increased cultural diversity also has positive effects. Those effects are differentiated as: foreigners treat ethnic minorities with more respect than Bulgarians²⁷, inter-cultural friendships and an increase of acceptance of cultural otherness²⁸, and an increase of prosperity in the village and economic opportunities for Bulgarians.²⁹ A quote from a Bulgarian woman (by others presumed to be of Roma descent) illustrates a positive effect. She says that she feels accepted more by the foreigners than by the native villagers:

BG:1-15

This is what I like, I find it so warm and so emotional that people from another culture, another nationality, not the same origin, seem like they respect me[.]

Theme 6. Discrimination

This theme groups quotes that are connected with discrimination. Discrimination is defined as all behavior that treats others differently on grounds irrelevant to the situation at hand.

Discrimination in Paskalevets pertains mainly to one ethnic group: Gypsies. Muslims are being discriminated against as well, but to a lesser extend. In Chapter 2 discrimination against Gypsies in Bulgaria is shown to have an extensive history. In Bulgaria Gypsies are still subject to discriminatory

25 FO:1-3, FO:2-6, BG:2-2a, BG:2-3b, BG:4-8

26 BG:1-10, BG:1-14a, BG:2-3b, BG:2-4b, BG:3-16, BG:4-7, BG:4-9a, FO:1-15

27 BG:1-8, BG:1-9, BG:1-15, FO:2-21b

28 FO:1-20b, FO:2-8, FO:2-13a, FO:2-13b, FO:3-12, FO:4-2, FO:4-7c, FO:4-10, BG:6-1a, BG:6-1b, BG:6-2a

29 FO:2-21a, FO:3-6, FO:4-5a, FO:4-5b, BG:1-1b, BG:5

behavior. Several statements acknowledge presence of Gypsies in Paskalevets and the nature of this discrimination³⁰, which includes being labeled as thieves and untrustworthy, filthy and sub-human. A Bulgarian man with a position of administrative power denies their presence.³¹ His denial isn't based on facts, various inhabitants have Roma heritage. However, one family is troubled by discrimination for being Roma even though they deny this ethnic status.³² It's noted that in some cases also foreigners adapt discriminatory conduct towards ethnic minorities³³, although it's also expressed that discrimination often doesn't manifest itself in actions against the discriminated.³⁴

Another way discrimination is part of social behavior in Paskalevets is connected with homosexuality. One villager, a foreigner, has publicly stated that she is a lesbian.³⁵ In relation to this one Bulgarian interviewee stated that he 'doesn't believe in gay.'³⁶ Other issues with acceptance of homosexuality are connected with an incident that occurred a few years before this research. A young Bulgarian man was raped by another villager. The rapist however isn't viewed as being homosexual, the victim is.³⁷ One foreigner has expressed her refusal of dealing with the rapist.³⁸

An example of a quote from a foreigner expressing a discriminatory statement about Gypsies:

FO:1-12b

Gypsies can cause problems because they just want to take whatever they can. They're like South American soldier ants; they'll come pick a body to bits in an hour. They'll tear a house to bits - "poof" a house has disappeared; it may not take an hour but...

Theme 7. Changes

This theme groups statements about change in the village. This includes statements about how life in the village changed since the foreigners arrived and about how life in the village has changed for Bulgarians since the fall of the communist regime.

Changes that are seen as an improvement are mentioned on several levels. There are indications that economically the village is better off, culturally the village is more lively than before, and one foreigner expressed a positive attitudinal change within himself.³⁹ Less attractive changes mentioned

30 FO:1-12b, FO:2-21b, FO:3-3, FO:3-7, FO:4-4, BG:1-7, BG:1-12a, BG:2-2a, BG:2-3a

31 BG:6-2b

32 BG:1-7

33 FO:4-4, FO:1-12b, FO:3-3, FO:3-7

34 FO:2-21b

35 FO:3-17

36 BG:2-4a

37 FO:3-15, FO:3-16

38 FO:2-8

39 BG:1-1b, BG:1-9, BG:1-15, BG:2-4b, BG:5-6, BG:6-1b, FO:2-9, FO:2-11, FO:4-4, FO:4-5, FO:4-9a

are connected with a decline in quality of life since communism ended, worries connected with obsolescence, a graying Bulgarian population, a decline of human capital, and a worsening of social climate since the foreigners have arrived.⁴⁰

An example of a quote from a Bulgarian man about high death rate due to a high amount of elderly Bulgarians in the village:

BG:3-8

When we first came it was 300 permanent inhabitants in the village, now it's 150. The [church] bell rings very often, almost everyday, and you know what the bell means. There is certain way that bell rings, when it's a nice ring, like Easter or Christmas... but then there is a certain way: the number of rings when somebody dies.

4.3 Field reports

Observations and participant observations have also contributed to the data. In the form of field reports they accentuate or nuance data by describing observations of social behavior of the inhabitants. The example presented here shows how British people behave among each other. This report confirms data from the interviews that was grouped in Theme 4. In the interviews outbursts of physical violence, gossiping, and unfriendly social conduct were mentioned.⁴¹ This excerpt shows an observation of an account of such behavior:

FR:05-14

I'm in a bar, having a conversation with Humbert and Rick. Rick says: "You don't even know half of what goes on here, and I bet you don't even want to know." Still he tells me that 'the Brits' are making a tremendous amount of trouble. They gossip and are involved in conflicts all the time. He tells me about a recent conflict. Adrian (m, 21, Brit), grandson of Ruth (f, >65, Brit) has been behaving like an asshole: he spat Ruth in her face, doesn't want to work, proposed to his Bulgarian girlfriend (17) but her family refused, and he got in a bar fight with Mark (m, >65, Brit) Rick says that Mark made indecent sexual proposals to Adrian's girlfriend. According to Rick Mark also, one night at the bar, insulted Ruth in Adrian's presence. This ended up in Adrian and Mark coming to blows. The police was involved. When I returned home, [my hosts] explain this incident. They weren't there when it happened, they tell me, but: "Mark was taunting Adrian all night. He's is considered to be a hothead, easily provoked. Mark knows but still taunts him. After insulting Ruth, Mark smacked his glass down on the table. For Adrian this is an invitation to a fight. Adrian reached across the table and started shouting. Mark hit Adrian in his face. Adrian pushed Mark down on the table and beat him like mad. Then the bar owner phoned the police. Ever since this happened Adrian has been the scapegoat of all the Brits in town. We don't agree with blaming Adrian but he hasn't made it easy for himself."

40 BG:1-5b, BG:1-14b, BG:2-1b, BG:2-4b, BG:3-2, BG:3-8, BG:4-7, BG:4-11b, BG:4-12

41 FO:1-4b, FO:1-10b, FO:1-12a, FO:1-15, FO:1-23, FO:2-3b, FO:2-4b, FO:3-8, FO:4-2, FO:4-3, FO:4-8b

4.4 Summary

Theme 1 grouped descriptions of peace and quiet in relation to living in Paskalevets, as well as statements about less desirable social situations. Regarding appraisal of the village's peacefulness, often a 'but' was involved. Data shows that interviewees acknowledge and/or contradict a peace and quiet. A Bulgarian man with a political function depicts Paskalevets as one big family. But various others contradict this description. Other quotes express happiness about Paskalevets connected with living close to nature, a rural existence, the weather and the brightness of the sky at night.

Theme 2 grouped information about inhabitants' economic situation. Generally there are economic differences between the foreigners and Bulgarians. They influence how those two groups relate to each other. Furthermore, interviewees sometimes discussed their economic situation in relation to other aspects of their life. Some inhabitants have financial difficulties: many Bulgarians live in poverty. Gypsies have even less economic advantages, but due to EU-funding they sometimes have work. They can be employed to clean streets, collect garbage, etc. Natives hardly expressed a sense of jealousy towards foreigners, who own cars and other luxury items, however one Bulgarian couple that spent many years abroad feels envied. Most foreigners don't work to earn a living. But some foreigners chose Bulgaria specifically because of lower prices. A group of Britons moved from Turkey to Paskalevets a few years ago to increase their spending power, but their modest pensions can't seem to afford them the lifestyle they want to pursue.

Theme 3 groups statements about why foreigners have come to Paskalevets and why the Bulgarians live there. It also groups quotes that express a desire to stay or leave. For Bulgarians and foreigners these motives differ. A French interviewee chose to live in Paskalevets because of costs of property and living, quality of life, climate, and sentiment. Other foreigners stated similar motives. Incidentally, eBay could be connected with the reason many of the foreigners are British. Apparently only the British version of eBay lists property. Most Bulgarians are native Paskalevetsians. Those who are not live there mainly because they have or had relatives in Paskalevets.

Theme 4 groups statements from interviewees about social behavior among the Bulgarians, and social behavior among the foreigners. Bulgarian often disapprove of Bulgarian fellow villagers' social behavior. They sometimes attribute this behavior to Bulgaria's communist history. In any case, the descriptions about fellow Bulgarians state a closed social attitude, secrecy, bureaucracy, nepotism, and stupidity. On the other hand a communal life of sharing is mentioned. Yet this is never mentioned in a historical or political context. Foreigners are almost uniformly negative about each other. Among

similar statements, they mention outbursts of physical violence, gossiping, and unfriendly social conduct.

To offer a view on inter-cultural behavior, all statements about social behavior between Bulgarians and foreigners are grouped in Theme 5. The presence of foreigners has a large effect on the make-up of the population: more than 10% of the population consists of foreign residents. They have in common that their native tongue isn't Bulgarian. Few foreigners are proficient in Bulgarian, and one ridiculed the language. Those who make themselves understandable are viewed positively, and in one case the language barrier doesn't seem to be a problem at all. Negative effects on integration from this linguistic fragmentation is found throughout the data. A Bulgarian man states learning Bulgarian as one of his terms for accepting others. Some data about inter-cultural social behavior is connected with foreigners drinking a lot of alcohol, taking advantage of natives, and behaving rudely and sexist towards women. However, increased cultural diversity also has positive effects: foreigners treat ethnic minorities more respectfully than Bulgarians, inter-cultural friendships emerge and an increase of acceptance of cultural otherness is mentioned alongside the village being subject to economic growth.

Discrimination, Theme 6, pertains to two human features: ethnicity (Gypsies and Muslims) and homosexuality. Several statements acknowledge presence of Gypsies in Paskalevets and label them as thieves and untrustworthy, filthy and sub-human. A Bulgarian man with political power unjustifiably denies their presence. One family is seen as Roma even though they deny this ethnic status. Some foreigners adapt discriminatory conduct towards ethnic minorities as well, but that discrimination often doesn't manifest itself in actions. One foreigner has publicly stated that she is a lesbian, however one Bulgarian interviewee stated that he 'doesn't believe in gay.' Opinions about an incident that occurred a few years ago show that homosexuality is connected with victimization. Even so, one foreigner expressed her refusal of dealing with the rapist.

Theme 7 includes statements about changes since the foreigners arrived, and since the fall of the communist regime. Improvements are mentioned on several levels. Economically the village is better off, and culturally the village is more lively than before. But also, a decline in quality of life since communism ended, worries connected with obsolescence, a graying Bulgarian population, a decline of human capital, and a worsening of social climate since the foreigners have arrived, are mentioned. Field reports describe observations of social behavior of the inhabitants. Therefore they confirm, and accentuate or nuance data from the interviews that was grouped among the different themes. They add an element to the data that otherwise would not have been present.

Chapter 5 Results

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the sub-questions will be answered. The analyzed data, presented and summarized in Chapter 4, provides a description of the diversity of the population of Paskalevets on different axes; how that diversity can be explained; what that diversity means for social behavior in the village; and what patterns in that behavior can be discerned. Sub-question 5 will lead to a discussion of the results in relation the theoretical frame. The sub-questions will be answered in paragraph 5.2. Together they will answer the main research question in Chapter 6. Paragraph 5.3 presents a summary of the results.

5.2 Results

In this paragraph sub-questions 1 to 5 will be answered in order of succession. The first sub-question is: *What is the cultural diversity of the population of Paskalevets?* Before formulating an answer to that question, it should be clear *if* Paskalevets' population is culturally diverse. A culturally diverse population refers to a group of people living in a certain country, city, town or village with different totals of behavior, rituals, habits, beliefs, ideas, values, roles, motives, attitudes and ideas about the social and physical world. Paskalevets is a village inhabited by a group of people and its population as such is susceptible to being analyzed according to those different totals. If there are different totals of behavior etc. to be found within that population, it can be stated that Paskalevets' population is culturally diverse. Searching for that diversity immediately answers the question to the nature of that cultural diversity.

Turning to the data, different totals can be discerned according to various axes. Interviews and observations have shown that on a fundamental level Paskalevets is inhabited by at least eight different nationalities. From the largest amount of individuals to the smallest: Bulgarian, British, Irish, Russian, French, Macedonian, German, and US citizens all live in the village. In addition to a division into national identities, the British can be divided into Welsh, Scottish, and English, and the Bulgarians can be divided into Slavic Bulgarians and Gypsies. The Bulgarians, together with the Macedonians and the Russians are Slavic, and all experienced communism. In relation to their communist past the Bulgarians have expressed dismay on behalf of their own people. Nepotism, a backwards mentality and discourtesy have been mentioned. On the other hand, the British, Irish, French, and Germans are Western Europeans, and together with the American, they are culturally Western. Their political history is democratic. Their respective cultural identities influence their behaviors, ideas, attitudes, and motives

as well. For example on the topic of discrimination ethnicity (especially Gypsy and Muslim) and homosexuality are treated differently. The natives' attitude is more discriminatory than the foreigners'. Foreigners show more acceptance in relation to both factors. Although it has been mentioned that some foreigners copy the Bulgarian mentality pertaining to this topic. The Western foreigners also tended to have a more individualistic attitude. Some of them expressed a desire for a secluded life. In early mornings when people gathered in and around the square for social meetings, they were rarely sighted. Apart from regular customers in the two bars, Western foreigners contributed disproportionately little to public life. When the researcher was with them, they were often busy with all sorts of activities connected with their properties. They also ventured out of the village much more than the natives. In relation to family life just one of them was seen with children.

Motives concerning sub-question 2: *How can we explain that cultural diversity?* - further illustrate Paskalevets' cultural diversity. Most Bulgarians didn't consciously choose to live in Paskalevets. While the foreigners emigrated from their home countries to settle there, they already lived there or moved there because they had relatives to care for in Paskalevets. Some native interviewees and participants said they moved to Paskalevets because they lost their job in the city. To secure standards of living, they moved to the village where life is cheaper and more suitable for self-sustaining activities. Their motives for living in the village differ from those of the foreigners. They, at least at some point in their lives, and for many still, were economically able to pursue their wish for living abroad. Being close to relatives wasn't part of their motives. They were driven by other interests such as: escape from the UK, finding a suitable place to spend holidays or retirement, and an increase in spending power. For them increasing chances for self-sustainability isn't connected with necessity, but with a wish for a rural existence. Data shows that besides these motives, property listing on eBay may have played a part in such a relatively large contingent of foreigners in the village. Both driven by a pursuit for quality of life, Bulgarian and foreign habits, ideas, values, and attitudes differ.

In Paskalevets cultural diversity seems to align itself partly with economical status. Most foreigners are able to behave differently than the natives because they can afford to. They enjoy liberties most natives cannot afford. This results in different behavior for the various groups in Paskalevets. Whereas Bulgarians (Gypsies and Macedonians included) live their lives largely dictated by necessity to secure basic needs, or because a communal way of life makes them dependent on relatives and a social network in Paskalevets, the foreigners are able to live more luxuriously and individualistically. Due to their financial advantage over most of the native villagers, their economic

situation has a large influence on social behavior in Paskalevets: *What does this cultural diversity mean for social behavior in Paskalevets?*

While most foreigners are middle aged, the Bulgarians are coping with an ageing population. Most of the Bulgarians are pensioners. They have to make ends meet with a Bulgarian pension, and employed Bulgarians are paid in Bulgarian wages. Those are both very low compared to Western standards. Bulgarian public aid for the unemployed doesn't support much more than securing the most basic of needs. The foreigners' overall superior spending power creates a difference in living standards. That economic imbalance is reflected in the foreigners' habits and behavior in the village. The foreigners, apart from the Macedonians, are largely able to design and maintain their preferred way of living. This includes quality housing, mobility, and access to various facilities such as private education and private health care. Moreover, in most cases their income, originating from their home countries, affords them the opportunity to live their lives without having to work. Bulgarian and Macedonian pensioners and unemployed inhabitants are forced to spend their time working their gardens to grow enough food to survive the cold winters. Those who work were also seen growing their own foods. The other inhabitants however, are able to buy their food in supermarkets in nearby towns. They are more free in their choices regarding their time.

In order to answer sub-question 4: *What patterns, if any, can be deduced by findings about that social behavior?* - data indicates factors besides being able to enjoy relative freedom in relation to how the foreigners behave. Foreigners don't share the common history the Bulgarians do. Apart from moderate internal linguistic differentiation, as a group they experience less unity and cultural cohesion. The Russians keep to themselves, as do the Germans. The Irish, Scottish and Welsh distance themselves from the English inhabitants, whose behavior they describe as socially unpleasant, and in some cases unacceptable. The American seems mostly interested in visiting the bars, and Britons are accused of the same habit. By Bulgarians and foreigners alike. A Frenchman is the only one that made a romantic, and therefore arguably sustainable connection with a native. The foreigners as such are a fragmented minority in Paskalevets.

If the foreigners, apart from the Russians and Macedonians, all speak English to some extent, the Macedonians and Bulgarians, and the Russians to a lesser degree, all speak Bulgarian. Among each other, each group can communicate with ease. The data doesn't include a single statement about the Macedonians or Russians coming from the Bulgarians. Yet between the Western foreigners and the natives, communication is increasingly difficult. Data shows that only a few Western foreigners are

able to communicate in Bulgarian, and some of them are unwilling to learn the language at all. Sometimes communicational difficulties result in mutual admiration for creative use of a few words and signs in order to establish a connection. It has also been noted that increased cultural diversity has enlivened the village. People have stated that there are inter-cultural friendships and that people have experienced a broadening of their cultural horizon. Yet observations and interviews nuance these statements for most inter-cultural interaction that was observed had to do with either Bulgarians being employed by foreigners, or people randomly meeting each other briefly but friendly in public places such as the village square, the bars and the shops. Observed inter-cultural conversations never lasted for more than five to ten minutes. Interviews indicate that during festivities the native English speakers sit at their own table and don't mix with either the natives or the other foreigners. During a village celebration nearing the end of the fieldwork this was clearly observed by the researcher as well.

Although these situations don't seem to be connected with economic status, they most probably are effected by linguistic differences. In relation to those differences it has also been noted that they hinder integration and cause isolation. One native villager felt treated indifferently by the foreigners. He even started learning elementary English in order to establish a connection, an effort some foreigners aren't willing to make. In some cases animosity between the natives and the foreigners was mentioned. One interview mentions feelings of hate towards them. It should be noted that those feelings are attributed to older Bulgarians, the largest group of the population. An explanation for their hate is their lower frequency of inter-cultural interactions. This could be due to their inefficacy for the foreigners. They're too old to be employed for any job the foreigners need done, such as chopping wood, cutting weeds, and painting their properties. Their decreased vitality keeps them from being able to perform heavy physical labor. They're not employed by the foreigners so they have less contact with them. Furthermore their age itself is another difference between them and most of the foreigners, who are middle aged. Different phases of life could mean different interests and views in and about life. Another reason why they don't deal with the foreigners as much as same-aged Bulgarians do. Lastly their age hinders their ability to learn a new language. Compared with younger Bulgarians, Gypsies, Macedonians and Russians, they've been exposed to English in various forms for a smaller proportion of their lives. Moreover, even if they would want to, the older one is, the harder it becomes to learn a foreign language.

In relation to sub-question 5: *How can these patterns be explained if they are compared with literature about cultural diversity?* - these differences regarding age can be compared with literature

from the theoretical frame. Botev states that the declining demographic situation in Bulgaria has an impact on how people live their lives. According to him 'subjective perceptions [...] indicate that older persons see themselves as the losers of the transition process' (Botev, 2012, p.75). It means that older Paskalevetsians feel left behind in a country that's being emptied of its young and educated. They stay behind together with fellow elderly Bulgarians, and Gypsies whose status as second-rate citizens can be partly explained by their longtime lack of having their cultural identity institutionally embedded by a nation-state (Kraus, 2006, p.214). Bulgaria's increasingly graying population disillusioned older natives' hopes for the future. In stead of living among their own children and grandchildren, they have to settle with an influx of Western Europeans with whom they cannot communicate and share no history.

Their history is one of communism and a subsequent rise of extremist groups and nationalists (Barany, 2002, p.201). They've spend most of their lives in a country where dominant political ideologies resembled Zijderveld's European conception of community. Apart from this also having an effect on how Bulgarians deal with ethnic minorities, the older Bulgarians are used to live in a community that emphasizes '[a] very much collectivist concept. The individual [was] expected to be absorbed by the *Gemeinschaft*, to experience a dizzying “we feeling” that actually destroys individuality. [...] It [represented] an exclusive collectivity which easily views itself as being superior. [...] A collectivity that supersedes individuals and their private and material interests' (Zijderveld, 2000, p.111). Their history deepens the cultural difference between them and the newcomers. Ever since they were derived of this “we feeling” based on a collective communist identity, negative sentiments connected with their past, also shared by younger natives, mentally places them in an underdog position compared to the Western Europeans, and arguably the Russians as well. This position is strengthened by economic differences especially considering Bulgaria is one of the poorest EU member-states. History, economic status, age, and cultural identity all prevent a sense of community in the American sense where togetherness is aimed at improving the collective in stead of emphasizing it. Between themselves though, the Bulgarians do share and strive for togetherness. Not only survival motivates this social behavior. Bulgarian quality of life is also connected with 'social relations and maintenance of those relations. Bulgarians visit regularly with friends and relatives, needing no special occasion or purpose' (Kottak, 2011, p.33). But when Kottak states that a guest is the most important person in the house, it should perhaps be understood in the sense that a guest is somebody who eventually goes home again. The foreigners in Paskalevets are there to stay. In that sense Paskalevets as

a community is a rather fragmented entity.

On the other hand Western foreigners have democratic histories. That means that culturally they have a right to choose. Moreover, especially the English, the French, and the American come from multicultural societies where cultural diversity is institutionally regulated. If it wasn't for their financial input in the village that is sometimes mentioned as their way of taking responsibility for the quality of life in Paskalevets, their lack of communal behavior closely resembles Scruton's society of the future, where a multiculturalism looks with bland acquiescence on all cultures except their own (Scruton, 2008, p.50). Their cultural identity and economic status strengthens their individualism. The Western foreigners left their home countries because they 'believe that the quality of life is deteriorating [there]' (The Economist, 03-04-2003). In pursuit of happiness they've chosen Paskalevets as their home. Data shows that their motives for doing so are mainly concerned with costs living, quality of life, and climate. Except for one interviewee who expressed a desire to make a difference in Paskalevets, they didn't mention desires connected with being part of a community or inter-cultural dynamics. They came on account of their own interests. This behavior differs much of that of the natives.

As far as multiculturalism 'over-determines grounded interests, political differences, and structural tensions as cultural' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.135), Paskalevets' cultural diversity is under-determined. Lack of any regulations together with the size of the village and its population create a situation in which cultural diversity has ambiguous effects on social behavior. Its cultural diversity results in social fragmentation. Characterized by general isolation of the various contingents of the population according to national identities, Western or non-Western ethnicity, age, historical background, language, and economic status, social behavior in Paskalevets is by no means aimed at creating a community in the American sense. In relation to this, Suransky's (2010, p.65) argument for cosmopolitanism, in which she advocates an ethos that is grounded in the notion that a moral obligation towards others is implied by a shared humanity, doesn't seem to have reached the inhabitants of Paskalevets. Data shows that valued social connections exist mainly within different groups that organize themselves mostly according to national identity. Exceptions are few and seem brittle.

5.3 Summary

Sub-question 1: *What is the cultural diversity of the population of Paskalevets?* - can be answered by stating that Paskalevets is inhabited by at least eight different nationalities. In addition to those, the British can be divided into Welsh, Scottish, and English. The Bulgarians can be divided into Slavic

Bulgarians and Gypsies. The Bulgarians, together with the Macedonians and the Russians are Slavic, and experienced communism. In relation to their past the Bulgarians have expressed dismay on behalf of their own people. On the other hand, the British, Irish, French, Germans, together with the American are culturally Western. Their political history is democratic. Those respective cultural identities influence behavior. Regarding discrimination of ethnic minorities and homosexuality natives are more discriminatory than foreigners. Although some foreigners copy the Bulgarian mentality. Western foreigners are more individualistic. They live more secluded lives than the natives, and contribute disproportionately little to public life.

Sub-question 2: *How can we explain that cultural diversity?* - shows that most Bulgarians didn't choose to live in Paskalevets. While foreigners left their home countries, Bulgarians already lived there or moved there because of relatives or financial reasons. The foreigners were economically able to pursue their wish for living abroad, and motivated by: escapism, finding a place to spend holidays or retirement, and an increase in spending power. Data shows that property listing on eBay may have played a part in foreigners coming to the village. Both driven by a pursuit for quality of life, Bulgarian and foreign habits, ideas, values, and attitudes differ.

Sub-question 3: *What does this cultural diversity mean for social behavior in Paskalevets?* Most foreigners are middle aged. The Bulgarians are coping with an ageing population and most of them are pensioners. They're paid very little compared to Western standards. The foreigners' superior spending power creates a difference in living standards. They, except Macedonians, are able to design and maintain their preferred way of living. This includes quality housing, mobility, and access to facilities such as private health care. Their income, originating from their home countries, lets them live their lives without having to work. Bulgarians and Macedonians spend their time working their gardens to grow food to survive the cold winters. The other inhabitants can buy their food in supermarkets. They are more free in their choices regarding their time.

Sub-question 4: *What patterns, if any, can be deduced by findings about that social behavior?* Foreigners experience less unity and cultural cohesion than the natives. The Russians and Germans keep to themselves. The Irish, Scottish and Welsh distance themselves from the English, whose behavior they describe as socially unpleasant and unacceptable. Some Western foreigners are accused of drinking too much and behaving accordingly. Just one foreigner made a romantic connection with a native. The foreigners are a fragmented minority in Paskalevets.

There are also linguistic differences. Among each other, each group can communicate with ease. Yet

between the Western foreigners and the natives, communication is increasingly difficult. Only a few Western foreigners can speak Bulgarian. Some are unwilling to learn at all. Communicational difficulties can result in mutual admiration for creative use of words and signs, and increased cultural diversity has enlivened the village. However, most inter-cultural interaction is limited to Bulgarians being employed by foreigners, or people meeting each other briefly in public. Data indicates that during festivities the native English speakers sit at their own table and don't mix with either the natives or the other foreigners. Difficulties with language hinder integration and cause isolation. Animosity between the natives and the foreigners was also mentioned. Older Bulgarians especially seem unhappy with the foreigners. They're too old to be employed jobs the foreigners need done, so they have less contact with them. Their age itself is another difference between them.

Sub-question 5: *How can these patterns be explained if they are compared with literature about cultural diversity?* - Declining demographics in Bulgaria impact people's lives. Older Bulgarians see themselves as losers (Botev, 2012). They feel left behind in a country that's being brain-drained. They're left with fellow elderly Bulgarians, and Gypsies whose status as second-rate citizens can be partly explained by their longtime lack of a cultural identity institutionally embedded by a nation-state (Kraus, 2006). Now they have to settle with an influx of Western Europeans. Their history of communism and subsequent rise of extremist groups and nationalists (Barany, 2002), reflects Zijderveld's European conception of community. They are used to live in a community that emphasizes a "we feeling" that destroys individuality (Zijderveld, 2000). Their history deepens the cultural difference between them and the newcomers. They're in an underdog position compared to the Western Europeans and this position is strengthened by economic differences. History, economic status, age, and cultural identity all prevent a sense of community where togetherness is aimed at improving the collective in stead of emphasizing it. Among themselves Bulgarians share and strive for togetherness because Bulgarian quality of life is connected with maintaining social relations and a guest is the most important person in the house (Kottak, 2011). Yet a guest leaves at some point. The foreigners in Paskalevets are there to stay. In that sense Paskalevets as a community is a rather fragmented entity.

Western foreigners come from multicultural societies where cultural diversity is institutionally regulated. Their contribution to the quality of life in Paskalevets is mostly financial. Their lack of communal behavior resembles a multiculturalism which looks with bland acquiescence on all cultures except their own (Scruton, 2008). Their cultural identity and economic status strengthens their individualism. In pursuit of happiness they've chosen Paskalevets as their home. Except for one

interviewee who expressed a desire to make a difference in Paskalevets, foreigners didn't mention desires connected with being part of a community.

Paskalevets' cultural diversity isn't regulated. Together with the size of the village and its population, cultural diversity has ambiguous effects on social behavior. It results in social fragmentation characterized by isolation according to national identities paralleled by Western or non-Western ethnicity, age, historical background, language, and economic status. An ethos that is grounded in the notion that a moral obligation towards others is implied by a shared humanity (Suransky, 2010), doesn't seem to have reached the inhabitants of Paskalevets. Exceptions are few and seem fragile.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and discussion

6.1 Conclusion

The goal of this research is to explain social behavior in a culturally diverse population of a small and secluded village where cultural diversity isn't subjected to policy. The village that has been chosen to serve as object of study is Paskalevets in Bulgaria. Empirical data led to knowledge about the social behavior of the population of that culturally diverse village. The main research question of this research is: *How can we explain social behavior of a culturally diverse population in a small secluded village where cultural diversity isn't subjected to policy?* To answer this question data from fieldwork in Paskalevets has been analyzed. The results of that analysis, presented in Chapter 5, show that social behavior in Paskalevets is determined by various factors.

To explain this behavior the population is divided into several groups according to various factors. Differentiation according to nationality, ethnicity, age, historical background, language, and economic status shows a broad cultural diversity. Generally, Bulgarian and Macedonian nationality, Slavic and Roma ethnicity, middle and old age, communist history, Bulgarian speech, and a low economic status all correspond to each other. Together those factors refer to one group: the natives. Non-Bulgarian nationality, European and American ethnicity, middle age, democratic background, English speech, and average to high economic status all correspond to another group: Western foreigners. A third group is formed by the Russians: Russian nationals, Slavic ethnicity, middle age, communist history, Russian speech, and average to high economic status. These three groups all live together, but behave different socially. The data shows problematic social behavior between the Western foreigners and the natives, among the natives, and among the Western foreigners. Especially a contingent of English people is held in low esteem by the Bulgarians and foreigners alike. Examples of problematic social behavior pertaining to all groups include: excessive drinking, unwillingness to learn Bulgarian or English, unwillingness to adapt to local customs, gossiping, and ethnic discrimination. Data also includes positive mentions of social behavior between the foreigners and Bulgarians. Increased liveliness of public life, collectively organized festivals, economic input from foreigners, inter-cultural social connections, and the friendly atmosphere in the village are mentioned. However, results show that the cultural diversity creates problematic situations that overshadow those positive sounds.

Conclusions about social behavior of the culturally diverse population of Paskalevets are that the size of the village and its population, together with its unregulated cultural diversity, has an

ambiguous effect on social behavior. It hinders integration and the forming of a community where togetherness is a means to improve quality of life for all involved. It results in social fragmentation characterized by isolation and seclusion of the various groups. There are a few exceptions but because of unsolved cultural differences, they seem fragile.

6.2 Discussion

In the cross-cultural debate on theoretical categories about modern society and its regulating concepts, Kakarala (2010) states that there's an increasing demand for empirically grounded input. This research answers to his call by entering a culturally diverse society to research social behavior between its inhabitants. In doing so, this research is also a modest attempt to assist others in forming a critical train of thought in order to rethink our societal ethical frame concerning cultural diversity and integration. Concerning the research programme of the University of Humanistic Studies, this research is an attempt to contribute to conceptualization of cosmopolitanism as well. Suransky's (2010) view on cosmopolitanism seemed too universal and inclusive to be applicable to the socially fragmented population of Paskalevets, yet its ideology of shared humanity as a ground for moral commitment wouldn't harm the Paskalevetsians.

Even so, this research is too limited in its design and execution to have a sustainable positive influence on the population of Paskalevets. In order to genuinely make a difference, and considering the critique on multiculturalism mentioned in the theoretical frame, I would recommend social scientists with an interest in cultural diversity to turn their attention to how to balance policy and regulations concerning cultural diversity. I second Zijderveld's (2000) deconstruction of the concept of community. A deepening of our understandings of the philosophical concepts that describe human behavior is needed. If this research has shown anything, it's when cultural diversity isn't regulated at all, inequalities within societies can create a harmful imbalance between the different groups it consists of. Cultural integration shouldn't be forced upon newcomers, but leaving it to chance doesn't seem to be effective either.

That being said, this research has its limitations. To gain a comprehensive overview of a population, even as small as Paskalevets', more people, time, and money should be available. I can assure that not every Paskalevetsian was heard, and results have not been tested over a longer period. Also, there hasn't been a chance to compare results with that of other polities. But because this research has given me great pleasure, I urge other researchers to keep calm and move to Bulgaria as well.

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Appendix 1.1: Life in Paskalevets: interviews and field reports

BG:1-1a

The life is very relaxing here, and there's a lot of fresh air, clean air, but the problem is that there is not very much work. They've got the pine forests here around Paskalevets and I really believe that it helps to purify the air. So it's like, I think it's sort of like pre-mountain holiday village, and maybe that's why a lot of foreign nationalities come here... they like the village, they like the quietness, the clean air, the fresh air.

BG:1-1b

The problem is that there is not very much work. But because in the last five years different British people or English, I call them English people, get here to help us with some work. So I have been working the last five years with English. It's sort of an improvement for me. And now there are Russian people as well and they employ me as well.

BG:1-2

I work for the mayor or in the town hall but not all the time because from time to time there are some employment contracts through the European Union. But they're not permanent, usually they're temporary, because these programs are usually nine months or one year. So sometimes when the program stops... Well it's not very much work, I mean there are some working programs through the European Union which are with duration of nine months to twelve months. So when the European Union fund finishes or the program finishes then I go back on the social helping system, but the payment is not very good. They still oblige me to do some community favor work, but then the payment is really very low because I work usually two weeks for forty leva (twenty euros). This is on the social scheme.

BG:1-3

I really found it different here because I'm from the Pleven region and in Pleven people are... in Pleven people are much more, you're helping each other much more and they are more united. For example, if I was still in Pleven and I wanted to cook something and the local shop had closed, I would go to the neighbor's and ask, "Do you have a cup of coffee, or sugar or something?" and they would give it if they've got half of the packet, they will give me this half packet and say, "Oh don't bring it to us, we don't want it." But here if you go to borrow something from your neighbors, one cup of flour or sugar to do something you must make sure you take it back to them by the end of the evening. Nobody will say, "That's okay, don't give it back to us."

BG:1-4a

[About being looked down upon:] In this village I have always felt this. I have been always able to feel it. And I really feel this here especially. I felt it with people who have more money and I am poor, I have less money, I have always felt that they are arrogant people or, whatever work I do for them, I know I do the best but they always try to make it like they are doing me a favor for hiring me.

BG:1-4b

Interviewer: So there's a different mentality in this place?

Exactly. It's different mentality here and the other thing I has noticed is, if here in this region, if people have more money than somebody else then they look down at you, at me, I don't get that much money, I cannot match their

financial... In this village I have always felt this. I have been always able to feel it. And I really feel this here especially. I felt it with people who have more money and I am poor, I have less money, I have always felt that they are arrogant people or, whatever work I do for them, I know I do the best but they always try to make it like they are doing me a favor for hiring me.

BG:1-5a

[About being treated socially:] These sort of people for example, I helped Michelle and I did work here in her house then when I meet her in the street she behaves like she even doesn't know me, she doesn't even say hello.

BG:1-5b

When they employ me they don't appreciate me like a human being, but they just see me like somebody who can do this or that job for them.

Interviewer: Do you feel discriminated sometimes?

Yes, my husband is a Muslim. And then there is differentiation between people on political grounds. For example, this person, who has a sister, they support the party who was ruling the country before, they just, they still won the elections but they don't have the majority now, GERB, I don't know if you follow any of the Bulgarian political... Well, we do not support them, we believe they belong to the Mafia, they support the Communist Party but because of this there are differences on a political basis. For example, for nearly four years while GERB was in power, [my husband] was unemployed for all these years but now he started recently working [again.]

BG:1-5c

Because when Bulgaria converted to democracy, our life was really bad. There was no job, there was no work, and very often we didn't have enough to put on the table. I feel like since democracy came there suddenly was this division between people with more financial means.

BG:1-6

A lot of people in this village, in Paskalevets they usually say good afternoon, they are gentle people. And then when the people walk off, behind their backs, they say many things.

BG:1-7

Interviewer: I've also heard people refer to you as you being of Roma descent.

I think that a lot of people, because my husband is from Muslim origin, Turkish origin, they say he's from Turkish origin, she is Roma, so they're Gypsies. But I say we're not! This is how I remember it since we moved here. My husband came 30 years ago and I'm nearly 25 years here roughly. This is what they call us: Gypsies. I do not get offended because I understand this is what people think. I do not know the Gypsy language, I know that I'm Bulgarian.

Interviewer: So even though you know your roots, which are not Gypsy, other people do say so. Does this change the way they treat you?

Yes, I believe that the way they treat me or my family is because they believe that we're from Gypsy origin. But despite this, I help whomever I can in the village, I help people. I have tried before to change this, but I don't think it will work, because now it's so set up in people's minds that we're from Gypsy origin, and this is how it stays. Like a

mania.

BG:1-8

Interviewer: Are there also people helping you?

Very few people, very few people.

Interviewer: How do you feel about this?

Not that well, quite bad when I think about this. Because if I know that there will be somebody I can rely on or who will just advice me or even just to have a conversation, I'll feel much better. But even though I have helped so many people, I know that there will be only few people who will help me if I really need some help. What I feel is that people who live in Paskalevets but who are not born or native in Paskalevets, they appreciate and respect us more than the people who have been living here locally.

Interviewer: So if I understand correctly you feel better treated by people who are not native from this village, the new comers. They treat you better than the people who were already in Paskalevets?

Generally yes, you got the right feeling.

BG:1-9

[About ethnic features:] And it comes from my husband because he is original Turkish, and a lot of people in the Shumen area or beyond Shumen, they have the original Turkish features, some of them are really with white skin and blue eyes. Which is not tradition for Bulgarians at all. So maybe they feel envious how families like mine, who don't have that much financial means, can have a white colored daughter with blue eye like this.

Interviewer: So ethnicity is an important element in the village?

My daughter stays in the house most of the time, because she doesn't like people like these for friends who look at you and what you have got, they don't look at you who you are as a person. I have noticed that foreigners do not make this ethnic differentiation so much. For example, when we have work with the English people and some of them have children who were roughly the age of [my daughter], they never differentiated whether she is white or dark skin or white color, light colored eyes or black colored eyes. And a lot of the times [my daughter] has to stay at home because she does not like people. They try to harm her.

BG:1-10

I think that this attitude of people, of men, sexual attitude is not only to [my wife], it's to all the other women, even quite young women who are really children in the ages of 16, 17. They do not take into consideration the fact that a woman maybe married, she may have a husband, maybe she is a mother, she already has children. They whistle behind women, trying to touch, say these sexual things. And there are really young girls here who, I'm sure you have seen them, who are only very young in their 16, 17, 18 and even though they are really young still these men will try to... speak loud sexual things and remarks.

BG:1-11

There are some really good natured, good people but the majority of the people are really nasty, and they're not that good natured, not at all, they're quite bad natured.

Interviewer: Are the bad natured people the majority?

Yes the majority, unfortunately the majority. So generally these bad tempered people, nasty people prevail over the few nice people.

BG:1-12a

For example some of the local people they'll ask me to do some work in their garden or in the house and then they say "Fuck off, this Turkish person I will not pay him." Or they would say I will have to do these few jobs for a few days and when the few days expire and I do the work, they don't pay me or then some of them forget to pay.

Interviewer: They forget to pay?

Either forget to pay or maybe they do it deliberately because they, at the beginning they have it in their mind but they will not pay at the end because they say we will sort it out we will pay you and then when the work is done they don't, they start saying the pension is too small now we've run out of money when the next pension comes or what about some of this preserved food? And for example if sometimes some of [my husbands] relatives come to have some sort of party or something... either because the other people they think they are gypsies or whatever they call them, usually they send the local police to the party... But if it's a Bulgarian family who has a party or something nobody will send police to them.

BG:1-12b

Maybe [my daughter's] fate will be better then, it will be better for her if she's going to Italy this hot summer. [My husband's] sister has been working in Italy, so [my daughter] will go to Italy so I know that in Italy she will have better chances than here.

BG:1-13a

Interviewer: So if I hear all of this, it strikes me as a very grave situation, and I'm curious how you cope with all this, how do you keep your life livable?

We just decided that it's better not to pay attention although we have felt stuff, it's better not to pay attention because otherwise we'd have had conflicts and arguments or fights most of the time. But [my husband] does not like to have fights with people.

BG:1-13b

There are less and less people in the village, so I don't know how life will go because there's less and less people and there are mainly really old people. And now because it's less and less and there are older people, even if they want to give [my husband] some work, they don't have that much to pay him.

BG:1-14a

You can see in this village and in the next one, these old people drink and then they sit in their cars and then drive and they think their reactions are as good as... And it's dangerous for everyone. And then later they drink, drink, drink and then they sit down and they really start to give these nasty sexual remarks to everybody. It doesn't matter whether it's a married woman or just really young 15, 16. Maybe this is what the people may only learn if there is someone, a strong father who just shows them and beats them, maybe only then. I don't know what's around in bigger places but here or in Bulgaria it seems that the people who are now here, they're not very nice Bulgarians.

BG:1-14b

Yes, it was better in the past, because there was work for everyone and everyone could afford at least to buy things from the shops. Now it's a very difficult life. Now life is really difficult in democracy or after the so called democracy here. After 1991 it got really difficult for everyone not only for my family, the people became really very nasty and a lot of... a lot of hate in them, a lot of nastiness.

BG:1-15

This is what I like, I find it so warm and so emotional that people from another culture, another nationality, not the same origin, seem like they respect me, and then yet [my daughter's] schoolmates don't even say happy birthday to her.

BG:2-1a

People from Sofia are Europeans. We're not. In other parts of Bulgaria we're still all old communists.

BG:2-1b

You know there used to be many factories, we didn't have any unemployment. We made radio's and technical equipment for Russian submarines. But those factories... who needs radio's now? Nobody! And since communism fell we lost everything. It all went to Russia. But we have this huge debt. So right now we're paying for our past. And our economy is only something like 16 years old. We were enslaved twice and we had wars. First we had the romans and after that we had the Ottoman Empire. After the Ottomans left we started fighting each other. Bulgarians fighting Bulgarians. It was a mess. And in 1997 or 1996 we went bankrupt. So we have a difficult country with a very young economy. And then the government thinks we should be like the west! We're not even as good as the colonies Holland or England had! We have no infrastructure, no medicare and no education. We're the most unlucky of them all. Russia's communism worked because they had a country the size of a continent and all those resources. For China it's the same. Bulgaria is different. We're so small that we need others to help us and we don't have others. That's why Bulgarians are leaving. They're all over the world now. In America and Europe. Mostly America. Maybe I also want to go one day. This generation is lost, but there's still hope for the next one.

BG:2-2a

Look at this village. All these people here. I think people should at least be able to speak one extra language, to use a computer. Some of them can't even write! Do you think that the mayor speaks English? Of course not! He always needs Nadiya to help him with everything. And he also doesn't have a computer in his office. He's so stupid. You know he employs eight people from the village? You know for what? To cut the grass. But there's only one lawnmower. It's all so dumb. But this is connected with the Gypsy problem we have.

Interviewer: Do you have a Gypsy problem?

Yes of course we do. Don't you know that? Ever since communism ended we've had this problem. We have many many Gypsies in Bulgaria. Now they've become the main tool for political parties. We have I think something like 800.000 registered Gypsies in Bulgaria. At least people who claim to be Gypsies. Of course there are also Gypsies who don't want to say they are. But the ones who claim to be Gypsies can be paid to vote for your party. You can just give them 20 leva to go and vote for you. So the political parties are fighting for the Gypsies. They're powerful in this

way. They can't even read or write but they'll vote for you. Somebody just tells them to vote for the fourth name on the list or something. They can be bought. They also have more rights than us. They get all kinds of financial help, for example for their kids. A normal Bulgarian family gets something like 35 leva for each child, Gypsies get something like 200 leva! And there's the corruption as well. It goes like this: if you have a firm, and you have made all this debt you just sell it to a Gypsy. You give him a few hundred leva and he owns your firm now. So when the creditors come to collect the money for all your bills, they'll see a Gypsy and his donkey. He doesn't have any money! It happens all the time. Our economy is fucked up...

BG:2-2b

And our economy is only something like 16 years old. We were enslaved twice and we had wars. First we had the romans and after that we had the Ottoman Empire. After the Ottomans left we started fighting each other. Bulgarians fighting Bulgarians. It was a mess. And in 1997 or 1996 we went bankrupt. So we have a difficult country with a very young economy. And then the government thinks we should be like the West! We're not even as good as the colonies Holland or England had! We have no infrastructure, no medicare and no education.

BG:2-3a

We have them too. Something like ten of them. There's two Gypsy families. There's the shepherd and there's [another family] with their daughter. There's also one Gypsy grandmother and her niece comes by every now and then.

Interviewer: How are they treated?

Oh, like anybody else. They're not so smart but it's ok. They're nice and you know, [some of them] work for the mayor... That's the thing actually; people learn to hate them because they have all these privileges. That makes them arrogant as well. They sometimes even believe they're better than us! But they're actually just a bunch of thieves...

BG:2-3b

I like [that English lady]. She's teaching her kids Bulgarian and English, that's a good thing. She's not like the others. [One American] doesn't even speak one word! [She] is the best Bulgarian speaker of them all. You should at least have the courtesy to learn it if you live here. You buy a house, you live here, you do everything here but you don't speak the language! How's that even possible? Most foreigners look at us as if we're some 3rd world country. The foreigners take advantage of us. Not all of them, but they do. But they're the retards. Most of them smoke two packets of cigarettes a day and they drink even more than we do! [That American] had some triple bypass operation and look at him now. Getting drunk in the bar everyday! Everyday!

BG:2-4a

Interviewer: You mean [the English lady]? I heard she's a lesbian.

Well she says so but I don't believe in gay, those people have issues or trauma's and they think they're gay.

BG:2-4b

Yes... for sure the older people do. They say: 'who the fuck are they coming here?' But for some it's also good. They can cheat them with business. They'll just ask more money then they would us. But I cannot speak for the whole village... And some of them are ok. They just come for some drinks and you don't see or hear much of them. But for sure some people really hate those foreigners here. There are not many of us who love them. It's a small village. You

cannot hide from anybody here. Maybe in Sofia that's possible but here it's all personal.

BG:2-5

It's a small village. You cannot hide from anybody here. Maybe in Sofia that's possible but here it's all personal.

BG:3-2

Yes, there was great tension. This was the beginning of the 1990s, because until then, the bakery place was owned by the government; it was national. And in the 1990s, they said they would give back the private initiative to private ownership and they were going to privatize it. So, I was chairperson of the union of the workers in this bakery factory, and according to the labor court, the chairperson of the union is not allowed to be dismissed. But the other owners of the bakery found a way to go around the law and they dismissed me, and I couldn't appeal to it. So I lost my job.

BG:3-3

Yes, I miss social contacts. But well, what would I like to do? What I'm planning to is after the house, there is a tiny hall, we have left it and behind we're going to do a small coffee shop but not so much to earn money, a lot of money from this coffee shop. I haven't thought about the cost and what I will earn. I hope I will have contact with more people because people who know her will just stop here and say hello and maybe have a drink or something.

BG:3-4

A lot of people are envious to what we have now. They do not see that what we have achieved now was because we worked hard for many years. And a lot of people think that we went to abroad and this fantastic well paying job where we could earn a lot of money very quickly, which is not the case. They don't see now that we have come back but our son is still abroad, so like family we're not together. And if it's not him sometimes from time to time sending some money back, we wouldn't be able to have all this.

BG:3-6

There are already community places like coffee shops or bars for people to meet; retired age, pensioners clubs so called. So there are places for people to meet, it's more whether people want or not to communicate and to meet with each other, to have social contact. And so most of the people are of really old age here, the younger people if they want to communicate with someone, to meet, they go to Veliko Tarnovo, to Pavlikeni. They don't stay to contact here, to get the contact here. There are different ways I can have social contacts with different people here; meet, talk to them, help each other with something if necessary.

BG:3-7a

In fact my mother is born here and just lives across the road. So I'm connected in some way to Paskalevets, because when I was little during the holidays my parents used to send me to my grandmother here. I used to play here so I'm more connected to the village.

BG:3-7b

Here is more relaxing. The only thing I don't like here about the village is that there is no work for young people and there is no school.

Interviewer: So this peace and quiet comes at a price?

Yes, this is like the price. And sometimes even I find it a little bit too boring... But then okay let's say because I drive

the car and I can go for few hours to town, walk around the streets or shops, see more life. But I never sleep in [my] flat [in the city anymore.] No, we wouldn't live here without any means of transport.

BG:3-8

When we first came it was 300 permanent inhabitants in the village, now it's 150. The [church] bell rings very often, almost everyday, and you know what the bell means. There is certain way that bell rings, when it's a nice ring, like Easter or Christmas... but then there is a certain way: the number of rings when somebody dies.

BG:3-9

I don't separate the people between foreigners or locals or black or white. In my mind they are either good people or bad people, it doesn't matter where they are from. For me it matters if they are nice, if they can learn some Bulgarian and say hello and if they smile and say hi. And try to learn some Bulgarian, for me that's enough.

Interviewer: And do they learn Bulgarian?

I think that there are a lot of them who do not want to learn. But it is their problem, maybe this is what they like: to not be able to talk. [But] some of the newcomers are trying to learn Bulgarian. Because for example [that Frenchman] came, he is one of the last foreigners to come, he has come recently but he is learning.

BG:3-10

I say that a lot of the local people who have lived here in Paskalevets all of their time, they cannot appreciate how important it is or they cannot realize that it's important to help some other people. Because they are restricted in some way that they have never been somewhere else, so they don't know that it's valuable to help other people.

BG:3-11

So you will have to look at the majority of the people who are not like us, and if you look at the majority of the people, then you will notice that a lot of the people are waiting for help for all of them, or some of them, but they only sit in the park and keep saying: 'We don't have, we don't have,' and they are waiting for someone to give them money or to give them something, but not to achieve it with their own work.

BG:3-12

One of the most important things is that a lot of the people don't have any initiative. But the other factor is that a lot of these people live in inherited houses that belong to their parents... They inherited houses from their parents so they didn't have to worry that they are starting from scratch; they had a roof. They had a roof; they had a house where to live, and would be fine. I think that some of them have become too lazy. And it's true that there is higher unemployment, not enough money but still, they don't try to improve, even their own houses, whatever they can with their own work.

BG:3-13

Now, I have seen some British people who really take drugs, and unfortunately they teach the local youngsters here.

Interviewer: So, drugs is something bad that comes with the newcomers?

I cannot comment, I really cannot comment. I cannot say this about all the Western Europeans, but about the British, I can say...

BG:3-14

[About the coming of the foreigners] So obviously they've come here to Bulgaria because it's cheaper...

BG:3-15a

A lot of [Bulgarians] are still used to be called "comrade", like friend from communism. To say "mister", "I won't be your Mister", you must say "comrade, have a beer". A lot of the people still are used to communism and keep saying to each other comrade instead of mister.

BG:3-15b

Interviewer: Maybe you can tell me something about this communistic mentality that you perceive in the Bulgarian people? You say the newcomers don't have this mentality because they don't come from communistic countries. How does this mix?

It mixes in the pub.

BG:3-16

The ones who come to Paskalevets, no I'm not only speaking about the English, some of the other foreigners who are a little bit older, I don't know where they get monthly money from, monthly income from wherever it is. They only lie down, they do not do anything not even work in the house, they only sleep and eat and drink, and really drink!

BG:3-17

[About a family that is perceived to be Roma]: I do not know what her origin is, what her family tree is; I know her husband's family tree of family origin. They are the only family of whom I know is with Roma origin, at least her husband. They are not bad people, they help to whomever they can, they will help but unfortunately inside is very untidy and it's dirty, nobody from the local people goes to their place.

BG:4-2a

[It was] quite a big change [to move here] because before that I used to live – before Veliko Tarnovo I used to live in another big town, Vratsa, and then when I moved back to the village another sort of problems appeared that I had to deal with, and it was stressful for me again.

Interviewer: Can you describe some of those problems?

How many days do you have free? For example there is no shop for DIY materials like nails or some of these tools. Yes, to repair something or to do something I have to make a special trip to Veliko Tarnovo or to Pavlikeni, but I don't have a car.

BG:4-2b

My mother is from here. I used to live and work in Veliko Tarnovo for twenty something years, and how it happened was that I lost my job and I decided to look after the bees and produce honey and at the moment it's my occupation.

BG:4-3a

It's a town but I mean it just lacks these shops. I feel the lack of these shops. In Veliko Tarnovo there's Metro and Praktiker – and because I lived before in Veliko Tarnovo it was all close. All these shops were nearby.

Interviewer: And the other change is that compared to towns there is no social life, no young people or people around your age?

Yes of course, yes. I don't have the feeling that I could find social contacts because people here live in another world or I feel that they have completely different problems or issues they worry about, which to me look very minor or very small compared to the things I see as important. But they live a life which is not so much up to date, and for a lot of these other people, for example I need a computer person or someone, it's not a problem for them or it's not something important, but for me – if my TV breaks down then I need to go to Veliko Tarnovo again because there are no specialists here. The same with the car, even when I had the car, when there were problems, I had to go to the towns because there is nobody who is skillful here in car mechanics like where I used to live.

BG:4-3b

What I feel is that when I try to have contact with people, social contacts, now I evade this, I feel that emotionally or mentally they put a big burden or strain onto me. So I evade social contacts now, and when I go to town, I go to have contact with some of the people I knew before. I don't know how to explain it exactly to you, but most of the people here in the village are not very dynamic people and when they see a small obstacle they don't try to find ways to sort it out. When they see a small problem, they don't try to find ways how to resolve it, but they convert it into something so big so impossible to resolve.

BG:4-4

Because for example, when I met you yesterday I found that there are a lot of topics I can talk to you about, and before I never spent so long, two or three hours talking with the same person.

BG:4-5a

And the biggest problem is planning things, one of the biggest problems is the really bad condition of the road between Resen and Paskalevets. The second half of the road going into Resen, its recent mayor needs to negotiate with the Veliko Tarnovo mayor to repair it but the recent mayor does not do this, does not take this initiative because Resen people do not come into this area, they go into Veliko Tarnovo, so for them – so they don't get to use it. If you have a car and it's your own car and you are driving the car it's very difficult to concentrate not to hit the potholes, because then you break something and if you break something it may cost a lot of money to repair the car.

BG:4-5b

Interviewer: Do you feel that you can influence this process of let's say politics concerning the roads?

I don't feel so at all because in Bulgaria everything is connected with something else, everyone is connected with someone else.

Interviewer: Is this something like [nepotism?]

Exactly like this, yes. An ordinary person who is not connected with somebody else like good friends or relatives or some other connections, cannot influence another person that easily for any situation to change.

BG:4-5c

[About his life in the village]: I feel isolated... I'm really rundown. I noticed that situations, what I thought would be like, they're not.

Interviewer: Is this a disappointment?

Complete, full disappointment.

BG:4-6

I feel that there is no change of experience here, there are no skilled people or professionals in some areas I can exchange knowledge with, or just someone for advice how to solve something. For example I need advice in some specific area and I know who may have some idea. This person will not tell me, will not give me any idea how to make it work. For some reasons I cannot explain why a person who knows some skillful – who has some skillful information will not share it with me.

Interviewer: So simple knowledge is regarded as some big secret?

Exactly. This is what is very strange for me, I don't not know why but I find it strange.

BG:4-7

I don't see a big change since the newcomers came because I think that the foreigners live in their own world, they communicate with each other but they don't communicate or keep in contact with the Bulgarians so much or with the local inhabitants living here. They don't have so much social contact here in the village and they don't buy anything from here. Even I noticed that there is an American guy, he only goes to the bar, he drinks and when he feels that he has drunk too much he just leaves and goes home.

BG:4-8

I tried to make contact with some of them but either they just do not have the same way of life and they don't have the same things to talk about, or they just don't want to have contact. They just keep contact with their own group of people they know. And [apart from the language barrier] maybe the other barrier is that the newcomers, foreigners, they're from different countries, from different nationalities so maybe they, between themselves, have different ways of life. As far as I know there are Americans, some Russians, and French people. For example this American person, he's been living for quite some years but maybe he doesn't even know fourteen words in Bulgarian. I cannot make the difference between the different groups amongst the British. I don't know who are Scottish, who are Irish and what's the difference.

BG:4-9a

Some of the others, obviously well this is what I think, may have come here for the better weather, for the cheaper living standards and they're not so much interested in the locals and in our way of life, they're just here for their own reasons. I really think that a lot of these newcomers are only interested in the lower living standards, in the cheaper costs, and some of them are interested in lower prices of alcohol, and drinking. They're indifferent to me. I feel that they're indifferent to me.

BG:4-9b

If somebody says something, it does not mean that you can rely on this person's words because maybe he will not keep to his words after that.

BG:4-10a

Yes to harm each other in different ways. And nobody will help the other person unless the person who helps gets something big like a profit or something for himself. And even people who are closest relatives between each other, they have this relative connection, they still harm each other to unknown reasons instead of helping each other or at

least living their own lives and not harming the other.

BG:4-10b

I know that they feel, the other people feel that I'm, compared to them, I'm different and strange. And some of them accept me or perceive me like a foreigner or like a foreign.

BG:4-11a

Interviewer: I was speaking with somebody else and this person told me that Paskalevets can be described as one big family. What do you think about this?

Big, big family of wolves. Big, family of wolves.

BG:4-11b

I think that some of the newcomers convert or become like some of the local people.

BG:4-12

A lot of people say that, in fact it's communism which made us to what we are now, and all these political parties. But I think that some of our features used to be with us before. It's from before and maybe a lot of us used to be like this or what we are now before, from before, not only during communism and after. For everything, whatever we start to do or we try doing, we do it in the wrong way. For example I buy different machines or different equipment tools and sometimes when I buy some produced in Germany or from Japan, and then I compare it to that produced in Bulgaria, it seems that technology there is much more advanced, and here it's backwards. And I believe Bulgarians are an example, how something must not be done. How if you want to do something in the wrong way, to follow the way we do it and it will be done wrong. When God created Bulgarians, they can be used as an example. If you don't want to do something, or if you want to do it the wrong way, do it the way Bulgarians do it.

BG:4-13

For example when a foreigner comes, who works much harder than the majority of the Bulgarians, or is more intelligent because he or she has achieved and learned more, it's not that this foreigner will teach us to work harder or to work more. It's vice versa, Bulgarians will teach him how to stay long hours in the bars, not to keep to his words and promises. Maybe at the end he will go back to his country and he might start filling the potholes here and...

BG:5-1

It's a nice village, but there are not a lot of people. And all in all it's not a very suitable place for a young person to live in. Because life doesn't have a lot of movement and it's boring... I miss people and different kinds of fun. Clubs, night clubs.

BG:5-2

I think that people like the peace and quiet in the village. I don't mind those [foreign] people, it's fun to meet people from different places.

BG:5-3

No one should miss how people are trying to interact with each other because most of the people in the village can't speak English. They communicate with gestures, with a few very simple words like 'ok', 'yes', and other words they know.

BG:5-5a

I love the nature here, it's really nice. Nice forests and lakes.

BG:5-5b

It's a small village. Not many people and if there are not many people there's always a lot of gossip. I just don't listen to them. I just don't care. I know that [a mentally disabled man] was raped by the plumber. That's all I know, and I'm not interested in this story. Not because I don't care but because I don't like gossip.

BG:5-6

It's more a community made up of smaller groups. Older people and younger people. Depending on age mostly. People are always together. They always go to the pub together and they sit at the same tables. They talk with each other as well as they possibly can. People like it. Even though not everybody can communicate, there are more people. It's more lively than before. There are more people coming in [the village] than before. And now we have concerts from [the American singer.]

BG:5-7

No, I just like the peace and quiet... But I need some changes, like the roads, the caring for the nature. I don't want to be rude, but it's because of the mayor. He's not doing his job properly. His way of work is just not something I appreciate. Many people would like to see changes. I'm sure that many people will give you the same opinion. He's just fixing his own building and he renovated the church. But for his nine years of service he should have done a lot more. He could have fixed the roads and cleaned the sides of the roads. The trees block it now. Now it's hard to travel from Tarnovo...

BG:6-1a

Interviewer: Can you give an example of your favorite part of your job?

Well, the contact with the people. To help them out, that's something that I really enjoy. I notice that especially the elder people here don't enjoy their lives as they used to do. There are many things, capabilities so to say, that they have lost... If I can help them I will. I have to do my job when I'm needed. That can be for everyone who lives here. It's one community, we're all together.

BG:6-1b

Village life has changed [since the foreigners arrived.] But the change is for the better. Now we have a more culturally diverse community. It's more interesting in Paskalevets now. Before we never saw a foreigner, now they live amongst us. Now we have English, Scottish, Irish, French, Russians... it's a lot different from before. Culturally it improved a lot. And also the standard of living improved. It has become more international, and the foreigners initiate more parties and celebrations than we're used to. It has improved our life culturally, it has become more rich in a sense. People mix all the time, 'we all sit at the same table', not only when they celebrate, also in daily life. It has brought a dimension to life we didn't have before. Also for example the food. When we see what a Frenchman eats, we ask him about that, and then we learn. And vice versa of course, the foreigners are interested in our way of living. We learn from each other and we create international friendships. It's a cultural mix. I think it's very good, it's special. ...We have a smiling community.

BG:6-2a

What I can say is that life here is good. The weather is always nice, no big roads so we don't have a lot of noise and it's clean. I would say it's one community. One family, where everybody is equal, the same. We're one family. The beauty is in the people. Paskalevets doesn't have any other attractions like a seaside, a beautiful church, some monuments. We don't have any of that. Paskalevets is about the people and the cultural life. That's what makes it interesting. I've lived here all my life. I remember how much I liked it here during my childhood. I would write about that... The summers were especially joyful for me as a child. I used to play in the fields and the forests. There were many children here, I had many friends.

BG:6-2b

We don't have Gypsies. No worries here. It's different from other places I believe. We don't have to worry because we don't have Gypsies here [laughs].

Interviewer: Have you ever experienced discrimination in the village?

No, everybody is the same here. I've never seen something like that.

Interviewer: So if there's no discrimination here now, how would you describe the village?

I would say it's one community. One family, where everybody is equal, the same. We're one family. The beauty is in the people. Paskalevets doesn't have any other attractions like a seaside, a beautiful church, some monuments. We don't have any of that. Paskalevets is about the people and the cultural life. That's what makes it interesting.

BG:6-3

Interviewer: Do you love Paskalevets?

Yes!

FO:1-2

I moved to Paskalevets because [my friend's] place I was staying at... she was moving... she was actually going away for winter, to get away from Bulgarian winters. Bad move because this Bulgarian winter, it was a mild winter. She had four years of knee to deep snow, and said politely, "Sod it, I'm going away this winter." I actually helped Ruth through the winter. She had no idea of cold. She thought it was freezing and it was only minus 9 or 10 at the most and she thought that was cold. She's lived seven years in Turkey, and then here, and she thought minus 10 "That is bloody freezing" and I said no it's not. Myself I'm ex-military; I've been in the survival courses up in Scotland. Minus 10 is nothing.

FO:1-3

The actual language is similar to Latin there it is verbatim. The English language, and possibly all languages, is very forgiving. Somebody pronounces a word wrong, you understand what they mean, and you don't correct them. Here, you pronounce a word slightly wrong, it only may be one letter wrong or there slightly wrong sounding on the end, and they shrug their shoulders as if to say, "I haven't got a clue what you mean. Piss off."

FO:1-4a

Actually there is a lot to be said for socialism if everybody helps everybody the world be a happier place.

FO:1-4b

No there's...well, yes there are some people, and me myself I have been here 11 months and I'm trying. These people, the only word they know are [thank you] and [here] and point to their glass.

FO:1-5

Then most of the locals don't run a car, they just run donkey and cart, which is free grazing on the local and then maybe occasionally a new tire; haven't never seen a lot of cars with new tires. I don't think they go that fast to skid off the road.

FO:1-6a

Well to maintain that certain standard of living you've got...no, but over here you can work for... let's say for example you have ten leva (5 euros) a day, you can live on that. It's not that hard, some cheese, and bread, couple of pints if you are into drinking; couple of pints of beer, what more do you need? You can live on that.

FO:1-6b

Interviewer: So this means maybe that favors are very much appreciated around here?

Oh yes. I mean I see it with the Bulgarians one will help another but it may not be the equivalent amount of work but it's a favor back another time, it may not be this year, it may not be next year but one day they will need help and they will help them. Whenever you can. For example there is possibly three or four houses where if I had no work I could possibly knock on the door and go "can I have a munch here?"

FO:1-8

Interviewer: How do you describe Paskalevets?

To liken it to Europe it's the sort of village where the buses get to will turn round and go back. It's at the end of nowhere. The local buses from the local town would end up in that village to drop off or pick up and return. They wouldn't go on somewhere else although the local buses here do but in England it's the sort of village where it would just... end of the line.

FO:1-9

Because in the afternoon here you'd think you've walked into a ghost town. Shops are closed because the locals have gone to bed so the shops close. So the English people who are late go 'Oh I need this, shops are closed, why they are closed?' They then say 'Damn inconsiderate of them,' this is this village everybody goes to sleep in the afternoon after the sun.

FO:1-10a

Even if you probably earn 30, 40, and 50 let's say a 100 times more than a Bulgarian after you pay your taxes, your mortgage everything you're probably got less money than a Bulgarian, disposable income. But the Bulgarians don't see this; they say 'the pensioner is coming over with a 150 pound a week pension...' The Bulgarians are on 120 leva (60 euros) a month, but the Bulgarian can survive and the British can't. Totally different lifestyle.

FO:1-10b

Interviewer: Do you feel separate from the rest of the English?

I prefer to mix with one or two English and mostly Bulgarian. Most of them are actually older and on a British

pension which can be the equivalent of four times a Bulgarian yearly salary. And they still say they can't survive here, and I just shake my head. 'You're doing nothing; you're on four times what he earns in a week and... this is why the Bulgarians actually look at English as if to say they are loaded with money, doing the jobs for them, charge them extra. Even house prices are going up.

FO:1-12a

But British can be the same as well because a lot of them or some that are in business who try and take other British that are coming over for money; they'll try and take... plus you get too many Brits in the village and it becomes little Britain where you end up with arguments, bar fights, because a lot of British people like to go out to the bar, get drunk and just want to fight.

FO:1-12b

Gypsies can cause problems because they just want to take whatever they can. They're like South American soldier ants; they'll come pick a body to bits in an hour. They'll tear a house to bits - "poof" a house has disappeared; it may not take an hour but...

FO:1-13a

[About facial movement when Bulgarians speak]: More like a manikin's dummy, or a ventriloquist dummy bottom jaw going up and down.

FO:1-13b

Interviewer: But this behavior of creating a small Britain and bar fights, getting really drunk, do you see the same with the other nationalities?

No you don't, you don't even see it with Bulgarians and that's the majority.

FO:1-15

Bulgarians drink socially; English, many of them just go down there to get drunk. English are used to standing in a bar, Bulgarians are used to sitting. So although the Bulgarians may drink a lot, sometimes they get to stand up and they can't. But that's normal. Then they wander across the road and they sleep on the grass patch.

FO:1-16a

I love this country. It's so peaceful, relaxed. You couldn't want more. Peace, quiet, no motorways, no traffic... You possibly got, let's say for example, you've got 60% blue sky throughout the year here. It might be more throughout the year, blue sky. Whereas England you've got 95% grey sky and 5% blue. There's no comparison. Plus England and Western Europe, sounds politically correct, Western Europe, is so built up, the streetlights, you can't even see a sky at night.

FO:1-16b

Interviewer: So you would be happy to stay the rest of your life?

Oh yes, I intend to. And I'm not a retiree; I have to work for my money. And even if it's only 10, 15 maybe 20 leva a day, I don't care, I can survive.

FO:1-20a

Oh no. All she knew was your pension goes further in this country than Turkey. That's why they moved here. They're

economic refugees. Their money will go nowhere in England. Oh yeah. Probably it won't in Holland either.

FO:1-20b

[The Bulgarians] treat me as a friend and that's all that matters. In fact, one of them has just bought me a bottle of beer.

FO:1-21

It may be one of the poorest regions in Europe but they are very rich, up here in their mind. They can do things with their garden that's unimaginable anywhere else.

FO:1-22

Interviewer: Has your life changed since you came?

Back in England I changed my job from Industrial maintenance, where if machines stopped and they had to be fixed, because the company is losing thousands if not millions. I changed to supermarket maintenance where I had a whole supermarket to myself responsible for air-conditioning, fridges, freezers... the daily counter, escalators, checkouts the lot, which is a lot more relaxing. And then I've come to here where there's just zero stress.

FO:1-23

Zero stress unless you start you start mixing with other English people.

FO:2-1

It's not the same as we've had in other places, because in Paskalevets we're not working for a living. It doesn't mean we're not working, but we're not working for a living so the things that we do are more for our pleasure. Not entirely for our pleasure, but most of it.

FO:2-2

People don't behave here very much differently from other places. Most people in my experience want to have a happy and quiet life.

FO:2-3a

If you speak about people from the same kind of background with the same kind of educational levels and same kind of financial situation and you compare as that kind of group with the same kind of group somewhere else on the whole, they're not so different. There will be differences in what is acceptable in certain societies, obviously differences in religion and different parts of the world make a big difference. But the basic principles are, I need to get on with my life, I want my life to be as comfortable and as easy and by that I mean free of drudgery as possible. That doesn't mean to say that the life is easy, but people are striving to have the nicest life they can in that particular situation and that of course varies hugely, if you have people who are very poor compared with people who are ready to live wealthy. But comparing the same 'classes' as people they're not so very different.

FO:2-3b

I don't go to the bars very often, I don't visit people very often, I choose to live on the edge of the village, with few people around me. I'm quite happy being by myself. I like people very much, I like interacting with them, but I don't have this need to see people all the time. I don't have this need to know every tiny detail about their life. In fact I'm not really very interested in the tiny details about their life, their personal life. That's why we chose to live in this part

of the village. I know that we are significantly less sociable now since the foreigners have arrived in the village.

FO:2-4a

Even the bad road that leads to this village which many people will say: “Is one of the worst in whole Bulgaria.” We saw this is quite an advantage, having a draw bridge.

FO:2-4b

We didn't come here to be part of the British community; we came here to have a life. And because we have become party to some of the little nitty-gritty bits and pieces of their personal lives, we find it more convenient, more comfortable, no that's not right. I find it positively uncomfortable to be in [English] presence in communal situations in the village.

FO:2-5

When we first came here, there were no other foreigners, then gradually others came in village and at certain functions which maybe specifically organized or maybe just a gathering at the local bar, we would sit with them, wherever we felt like sitting. It may have been the English speaking, but it might not have been, it could have been our Bulgarian neighbors too.

FO:2-6

It seems to me that the Bulgarians and the non-Bulgarians in this village are divided primarily by language. They are not very many foreign people here, but of those that are here very few of them speak any Bulgarian.

FO:2-8

We were not invited here, we came because we chose to come, we were in our case in this particular place made very welcomed when we first arrived and — but regardless of that even if we weren't, hadn't been welcomed we've chose to come here and it is our duty, I absolutely mean our duty to conform as best as we can without compromising our — I don't know, convictions perhaps, to the norms of this society in which we've chosen to live and if we don't like that then we shouldn't be here or we should leave. If we discover after we've arrived somehow that we were terribly mistaken and actually we cannot deal with the social norms of this particular place then it's for us to leave not for us to change those social norms.

FO:2-8

Yes, I tend not to converse with rapists and I'm not saying more about that.

Interviewer: But that's not a foreigner?

No.

FO:2-9

I remember when we first came here people told us that in the times of communism, whatever you want to call it, people would be housed by the State. So, a man who drove a truck would be housed next to a lawyer or an academic or street sweeper or a factory worker. This didn't happen in Western Europe, people housed themselves, or were housed according to social class. During communism I think this wasn't relevant, everybody had a place in society and this is now changing as we've become more westernized here it's noticeable that people have wealth. I know for example, people have told us, people have told us that 30 or 40 years ago, there were no Turkish or Roma people who

couldn't read and write because everybody was educated. But, before the communism changed, the attitude towards the Roma or Turkish people somehow changed. We didn't experience this, but as far as I can tell, I personally know quite a few who cannot read and write. This is obviously going to have an effect on the way people integrate, local people. People say to me that once upon a time everybody had some work to do, therefore everybody was paid. Everybody had a place. Now we have the freedom, we have no place at all.

FO:2-10

Interviewer: Somebody described Paskalevets as a dying village...

No. It was, but it's being resuscitated. You may find a different perspective from Bulgarian people who live here. But I don't think if you spoke to those who have moved in, who may have had roots here, but have been away and lived elsewhere and are coming back here and investing their money in the life here, I think you will – I suspect you will find they would agree. Otherwise why are they here? Because they could have bought a nice apartment in the city or a nice house on the coast or... We spoke the other day with [a Bulgarian] whom we have never met until this week. A young man who has worked all over Bulgaria doing whatever he did, some kind of a technical job I think. A long way from retirement, but he chose to come back here, not because he is economically better off, because he is actually not, he told us he is not, he is worse off now, but he is much happier in the environment in the village. And so he actually arrived in this village as about the same time as we first did and tells us that he is much happier here than he was anywhere else before. So that says something right?

FO:2-11

Previously people were encouraged to move to the cities. Now people have wealth obviously, hence the choice about where you live, and people are choosing to come back to the rural areas. Those who are choosing to come back here, tend to have some money behind them by Bulgarian standards at least, and whatever they intend to do with their life savings, they are investing in the village, rebuilding their own houses, rebuilding houses they bought. But nevertheless they are bringing back, it's not very significant, there aren't a lot of them, but nevertheless they are coming here and these people don't have to come here, like we. They are here because they can see some kind of a future for them, whatever it might be in this place. So from that respect, I think it's not the time for it, from the point of view of the proportion of the population who are very old, and with the proportion of the population who are not – it is, I don't think it completely wrong to say it's a dying village. But I think there is hope and I think there is a sign of atonement.

FO:2-12a

But there are people, young people who either choose to stay here or don't have the opportunity to leave.

FO:2-12b

There are actually some school going children here, but very few. And in the summer when school is finished, this village is full of young people, lots and lots.

FO:2-13a

Interviewer: Would you describe this village as a big family?

Yes, actually that's quite true, in most families there is a bit of argy-bargy going on for the most part. People rub along very well. I don't often hear or see arguments on the street. Most of the time I see people greeting each other in

a pleasant way. Acknowledging each other's presence occasionally. People do acknowledge each other's presence, but they don't abuse each other.

FO:2-13b

I think that's particularly Bulgarian trait. In my experience it's one of the politest people. And I can't say the same for almost every other country I've ever been in. So, from that point of view the way people get along with each other in this village is, that trait is reflected. So, whether or not you like somebody, doesn't mean you are going to be particularly pleasant or particularly unpleasant to them. These Bulgarian people on the whole are not like that

FO:2-14

Most of the people who come here, most of the people in my opinion, most of the people who have chosen to come from elsewhere to live in Bulgaria, have come because it's economically feasible for them to do things that they would not have been able to do in either in their home country or in an alternative. And, I personally would have chosen to live in France and not in Scotland. I couldn't afford to. The next choice was Spain. Actually I love Spain a lot more. The next choice was Spain and Bulgaria hadn't even landed on to my consciousness at that time. And at the time when we first booked while going to Spain, many, many years ago, long before we left Scotland. Trudy said, "I don't want to go to Bulgaria I want to remain here. I don't want to leave." She said she doesn't want to live in a society where she has to face extreme poverty all the time. Because it's just too damn hard to face it. So Bulgaria was not on the list of countries to go to. It was only when we arrived here and saw what it was like pertaining to poverty that we decided to give it a go.

FO:2-16

On the whole, my impression is the people here tend not to go hungry, there are very few homeless people, there are some homeless people, but they are very few. The standard of their housing might not be very good.

FO:2-18

You have a garden, you have to do the work, physical work; you don't go hungry unless there is a catastrophe with the weather or something like this. You can perfectly well live without any of the modern technology, this will not feed you. Some people can't live without their modern technology and they don't know how to grow a tomato because their life is such that they go to the supermarket. The food comes in tins and boxes, they have become so far removed from the natural world that they have no idea what food is.

FO:2-19

When you are in the countryside, the boundaries have completely changed. Money – you can survive without any money.

FO:2-21a

The [Bulgarians] I know reasonably well, I think they—they share the different things, they share what they have. I don't know what we can do, I just—I think that we have a some kind of responsibility, all of us to help out whatever way we can and in my case that might be if I have a car and I can take somebody somewhere for example and depending on the circumstances I'd do it for free or sometimes I will do it at a cost and depending on the circumstances that are required, but I think it is just normal to help when you can. And we are on the receiving end of

this and we are on the giving end as well to some degree, probably more receiving than giving, I don't know.

FO:2-21b

The discrimination that we perceive against one particular family is very real. It was very obvious to us when we first arrived and we didn't like it. These people are just people, good, bad and different, they are still people. We happened to like them and so we treated them as we would treat anybody else from a great respect, but yes it is very... they are discriminated against because they are perceived to be not Bulgarians. I don't know what their ethnicity is because I haven't ever asked. I can see the color of people's skin, I can make an assumption that, somewhere along the way, this person has a Chinese ancestor, has a African ancestor, may have come from China, may have come from Africa. But it doesn't alter who this person is. As you get to know people you may discuss where somebody comes from because it is interesting, but it doesn't alter this person, it doesn't make them better or worse. I know not just here, lots of places; it is very difficult to discriminate against somebody who has the same color skin as you until you actually find out where they are from. Because you look down the street and when you see whether you come from the west, white people, you don't know if they are all from your country, but you can make this assumption if you can't. But if you see a black face among this crowd you can discriminate against this person nicely, easily. People in this village that I see discriminated against are for the most part friendly, working for the municipality often to the jobs that maybe some other people wouldn't want to do... I have seen people discriminate against a particular family in this village, but the majority of people I see whether they may tell me in private they hate this group of people.

FO:2-24

What saddens me is that they have this idea in their heads, in private, and in some ways, I want to say sometimes to these people, well if you are such a racist, why do you sit next to that person? Why do you have conversations with them, why aren't you insulting them, why haven't you got the balls to stand by your conviction? Because I don't actually want this to happen. What I really would like is for these people to see themselves that they don't; they haven't got the balls to say, what they're thinking, so stop thinking it. Because obviously, you don't really think this because otherwise you wouldn't be able to sit next to this person, you wouldn't be able to have a conversation with them you wouldn't be able to eat off the same plate, drink out of the same glass. It's nonsense. But it's a real nonsense, because absolutely it exists.

FO:3-3

My first interaction with a Bulgarian builder, and I have to say Bulgarian, not Gypsy builder, was fantastic.

Interviewer: Why do you say 'not Gypsy'?

Because as you become adapt in a country you realize the difference in quality.

FO:3-6

I came here to make a difference and I am making a difference.

FO:3-7

There are two sides to Bulgaria, I notice this, but we have to be careful with what we say. Gypsies are Bulgarians because of the union. They didn't have to have a nationality. Most of them were invisible and because of that they were downtrodden. The EU has given them visibility; it's given them a position in their own country. But they don't

have a country of their own. They never had. Now they do. They are Bulgarians, but that gives them the freedom to travel under the name Bulgarians and Bulgarians are fed up because when the Gypsies are between them they steal most of the time.

FO:3-8

But people have got to understand that every nationality has its good and its bad. Now England is refusing to admit that it has its bad. They are saying that only the immigrants are bad. I'm sorry, but some of the English have come here and they are bad.

FO:3-11

Do you know the Bulgarian saying, it matters not that I have nothing, but that my neighbor has less? I learned it when I first came here. It means that they have had to survive and they don't care if they haven't got anything, but their pride it says: "I've still got more than my neighbor."

FO:3-12

Interviewer: It seems to me that you are making intense friendships with locals now?

Yeah, you know we went to [one of the shops] yesterday and I didn't meet one Brit, but I talked to ten people.

FO:3-13a

Three couples came here last year from Turkey because they can't afford to live in Turkey anymore. They've lost their home and living in Turkey because the costs had gone up. The pensions were just about stretching, but there was no fun because there wasn't enough money. They come here and they are back to when they first went to Turkey.

FO:3-13b

I volunteer because Bulgaria is a cheap country to live in.

FO:3-15

[About the rumor that the plumber raped a boy in the village]: The plumber is a bit roughly-toughly, he is a bully. He did bully me until last year and then I just turned on and took this out, and now he is my friend. The plumber is a good old Bulgarian. He just wanted to have a fun time...

FO:3-16

No it's not just because of that incident, it's because he is very camp.

FO:3-17

I got straight out with them, I don't do men.

FO:3-19

Interviewer: You don't consider [that British couple] to be new comers?

No, they have been here for eight years before, they've been here the year before I turned up. I put [them] as villagers and then I consider myself a villager too.

FO:3-21

Parasites, first word that comes to mind, horrible word, but it's the first one that comes to mind, they are here to take...

FO:3-27

I always say, when I speak about Bulgaria with my friends, I say that these people have the sunshine inside of them,

even on a rainy day they have sunshine, they are always trying to make the best of everything. And they don't expect anything from nothing, they're always prepared to work for it, contribute towards it.

FO:4-1

I came for the first time one year and a half ago. In Bulgaria. I wanted to buy a house for my holidays. Because it's cheap here, quite normal, and life here is absolutely gorgeous. I just saw an advertisement on Internet. Actually for a period of six months I was searching for places to buy a house. I used YouTube and E-bay and Google... First I checked in America if there was some property for sale, but it was too far and I found that Americans don't like the French so much. Germany was also a good option, the houses are not too expensive... but why Germany? It's the same as Scotland were I lived before! It's the same weather, cold and wet. And in France I have enough, I have what I have there already. And Bulgaria... the first time I came it was very bad weather, it was February, there was almost a meter of snow! I broke one rental car [laughs] but I really liked what I saw. Okay, it's very poor here, and that didn't make me happy, but the rest, yes, very happy! I wanted to find a house. I didn't want to buy the first. There were many houses on Internet, but I wanted to check the state of the houses and also the surroundings, the villages. I just wanted to get the feel of the country and the place where I wanted to go and live. I saw many houses that were no good at all. But finally, in April I came here. I saw three or four houses here in Paskalevets, but in another village also, and I loved this house immediately. It's what I want. With the wall [surrounding the grounds], and the house exactly in the middle, some barns and gardens. So I was very happy with this house and I made a stop in the pub, and I saw a lot of people. A lot of people happy. After that I signed straight away for this house. I decided to leave Scotland and now I live here, permanently... and I dreamed about my father when I was young, he always had animals in the garden. He was a [woodworker] and he made the most beautiful and exclusive things. But he also kept animals. I'm continuing his hobby of keeping animals here. Here I have space and the pace of life that makes keeping animals possible. Also in Scotland there's stress all the time. Here not. Here I have all the time I want.

FO:4-2

I know nearly everyone in the village... And I'm with a Bulgarian woman as well, and that opens more doors maybe, but I think Bulgarians like the French. Because the French are different from the English, they arrive like the king, and I arrive to share my life. I remember last summer one Bulgarian saw me in the market in Pavlikeni to buy tomatoes, it's only fifty [cents] per kilo, not a big deal. And in the afternoon I went to the bar, and the barkeeper was a little angry with me, he said: 'Why didn't you buy tomatoes from me?' I said: 'Well I went to the market, that's what it's for...' he went inside and brought me three or four kilo's of tomatoes! And afterwards everyday somebody brought me tomatoes to my front gate. I never know who does it. But I had too much! Also cucumbers... All summer long. So I made a nice sauce, and I visited maybe fifteen or eighteen Bulgarian houses, to drink rakia and to give them my sauce [laughs] and to eat salad... that's normal here. It's amazing.

FO:4-3

Interviewer: Somebody described Paskalevets as 'one big family' to me. Do you think this is true?

Oh yes. Yes of course. Sometimes there's a fest, a celebration, in the center of the village, in the square. The mayor opens the redundant restaurant, the old communistic one, and everybody comes there to celebrate. It's the same with

Christmas. There are two Christmas parties. One from the mayor and one from the people. And everyone brings rakia, wine, salads, nice food, chicken – what you have. You don't have a lot, but you bring what you have. And then you share on the table. I went there everytime and what I saw: I'm in the middle of the table surrounded by Bulgarians. Fifteen or twenty. Nigel and Trudy, the same. At a big table in the middle of Bulgarians, and then you have the English at a little table, separate. And you can expect what the Bulgarians like, for example I dance with them. I'm not good at it, but I try, and I have fun with them. It's just to have a laugh.

FO:4-4

[About the rumor that one father sleeps with his daughter]: That is disgusting. It's very sad.

Interviewer: If you would have the chance, would you interfere?

That is more difficult. I'm not a Bulgarian. I'm a guest. And honestly, it's not really my place to say anything. Or something. Nearly everyone knows it, and nobody does something.

Interviewer: Have you noticed a different attitude towards this from the other foreigners?

No, not really. Some of them even copy the behavior of the Bulgarians. They will also discriminate against [this family.] For me that's stupid. They're people, humans, like me. Let them have a good life, a normal life.

FO:4-5a

Here everyone shares. For example I have a chicken. So I have too many eggs. I give my extra eggs to the farmer who helps me out sometimes with his bulldozer. I tell him: 'take these eggs.' He said: 'Oh that's good, you can make a business!' 'No, it's for you' – and two days after I get milk, for free from him. And now every week I give him eggs and he brings me milk and cheese. There's no money involved. The same with the plumber. I pay him of course. After a few days he says he's my brother. He comes every week to eat with me. Before I was a big capitalist. I wanted to make more and more and more money. And now, a communist is not the good term, but I say: 'I have this, and I'll give you'. It's new for me, and I like it. I love it. I can do it for the rest of my life. I made a very big garden and my garden is half mine, half for everybody. Now I'm a Bulgarian. Not the same, but it's not a long way. Last Sunday I went for bread to the little shop in Paskalevets. There are two Bulgarian friends. [My girlfriend] waits for me when I'm inside. They ask me to come in: 'Thierry! On minute!' There they give me fish and bread. I didn't even have to pay! That's how it goes. Another story is about the man who helped me with the woodwork on the doors, the carvings you can see. He's 86. He helped me and I was only allowed to pay him in whiskey. So we drunk together [laughs hard] and later he sent his son over to help me with the tile floor. I pay them, but they always drink with me. Always I buy my workers drinks. That's the way to do it. People are happy with the way I do it. It's a golden rule: treat your next as you want to be treated. [laughs] You know, everyone always wants to drink rakia with me.. I don't understand but with a smile I'm always welcome.

FO:4-5b

I have everyone to help me. I remember last summer I bought a [little heater] and I put it in my Jeep. When I arrived here I saw that I couldn't lift it alone. So I went to the pub. I wasn't with [my girlfriend] yet. So I went in and I asked the teenagers for some help. I need eight or ten people. Half an hour later there are ten people at my gate to help me. They took the [heater] in. They helped me tremendously, so I invited them to the pub and bought them all a drink. And

after the first one, I said: 'please take another one.' But nobody took one. That's how it is here. They don't take what they think doesn't belong to them.

FO:4-5c

[About having a Bulgarian girlfriend from Paskalevets]: In the beginning everyone said it's crazy, he is crazy. Or she is crazy. Because we don't speak the same language. There's a language barrier. Yes, but it's perfect, very perfect. And now we have our own little language, a little French, some English and some Bulgarian... And of course we use signs, smiles, pieces of paper.

FO:4-6a

There's still a sense of commune here, a communal thing, which has gone in the West. I remember one time I was in Cuba, and we had with us a miner, and he was a tough guy, you know? From the North of England, he was a miner. And the flight was canceled. And he started to cry. Everyone else was like: 'Great! We have an extra week in Cuba!' And he started to cry because he had to get home for the Christmas lunch... for all the pensioners in the village. For all the old miners and their wives. They had that community, you know? I've been thinking about this a lot. For example my mother: she went from Scotland to France when she was 63. Well, why? Well first of all because she could. But what would have stopped her before? She would have been a member of the women's institute, she would have been a member of this... We were all members of things. Certain clubs and charities and... all these activities. That's all gone. So she went because there was nothing to hold her. You know, because they're not doing those things anymore. For example we have a crisis... and just about every organization... if you take golf: golf is a huge and popular sport in Scotland, and you have many many golf clubs. Nobody wants to be on the committee. Nobody.

FO:4-6b

Well, I can see what people are getting out of it in terms of the communal thing, the health thing, it's a nice thing. First of all, I don't like the pub. And I don't like the English thing at the pub. And I have seen this thing before. In other places. And I don't like that. And I think there's a sadness here too, because you see the school's abandoned, and the depopulation happening. That is sad, you know? But er, this is an oasis, here. Also we're in a certain stage of our life. You know, this is for Thierry an active retirement, you know? For me it would be an active retirement, or whatever. You wouldn't come here as a young man. To build a life. I don't think so. Because you'd still want excitement, you'd want to do things. And career opportunities. This is a nice place to come, at our age, to transform this fantastic house. Then you can feel very proud, and self-sufficient. We all agreed that we're all very pessimistic about the world. And we don't think we can change it much, so here you can create your own little world. And you have some nice people around you, nobody has any better ideas.

FO:4-7a

I had two friends in France who were very well off, and they had developed a big point of not watching the news. No news. Out of principle, because they want to relax. And if you watch the news you will not relax. So here... it's escape too, it's escape really.

FO:4-7b

It's possible to have the Apocalypse now, and I don't know about it [laughs], if the people don't tell me, I don't know.

I'm just too happy.

FO:4-7c

[About one of the foreigners interacting with Bulgarians]: Yeah, he's smiling with them, shaking hands with them. Going to the bars, speaking to everybody, he knows them all, treats them on the same level. That is very important. Equality. Egalité, fraternité et liberté! [laughs] It's true! That is normal for me.

FO:4-8a

Some of the English people who come here come as economic refugees. And that's not very nice. They just come here for cheap drinks. I think also, for me, I discovered Bulgaria on eBay, by accident. On eBay you can buy a house, but if you go on eBay France, or eBay Germany, there are no houses. Only on .co.uk can you find houses in other countries. But you go on eBay, you don't know what you're doing, you check, you click and – house! Oh five thousand! What's that? Five thousand, it's not possible, it's nothing! And then you start thinking about it – and for that they come here.

FO:4-8b

[About meeting some other foreigners in the village]: They knew I wasn't one of them, they knew I wasn't interested. And I couldn't disguise it... I'd rather be friendly with the French people if I'd live in France, be friendly with the Bulgarian people if I'd live in Bulgaria, I don't want to be too friendly with the English people, because they are insular assholes... usually. FEBs [fucking English bastards] We say, you can like them individually, but collectively – no. They have all these big ideas. And it's typical, their conduct in this village...

FO:4-9a

I think the whole British mentality has always been to go around the world, like the Dutch I guess. Well, they don't want to sit in one place, they're an island race, so, you know... And I think the big thing: Bulgaria in the European Union, people are more confident now to come here. People have more rights, it's better...

FO:4-9b

Interviewer: Do you think you're lucky, because you have the economic ability to do this?

Ah yes, because I stopped working early. I stopped at 50. It's perfect.

FO:4-10

Interviewer: What is special about your happiness?

Now I know it's not about money. It's about the social life. The life between friends.

Interviewer: Is that something that you didn't know in Scotland or France?

Before I was a big capitalist. I wanted to make more and more and more money. And now, a communist is not the good term, but I say: 'I have this, and I'll give you'. It's new for me, and I like it. I love it. I can do it for the rest of my life. I made a very big garden and my garden is half mine, half for everybody. Now I'm a Bulgarian. Not the same, but it's not a long way.

Appendix 1.2: Field reports

FR:05-13

Nigel tells me that before we'll have dinner he promised to drive Vladi (m, 30, BG) to the next village to help him get some vegetable plants for his garden. He asks me if I would like to join. I say: "Yes of course." We walk to the car, get in and drive to Vladi's house, not far from [where my hosts live.] Vladi is waiting outside. Before we drive up to his house Nigel briefly tells me something about Vladi. He says: "Vladi is a very friendly young man, but he's a bit peculiar. There's something wrong with him, he's a bit disabled mentally. This is supposedly due to something he saw when he served in the army. He also experienced a very nasty affair in the village. The village plumber (m, 45, BG), who is some sort of civil servant, raped him about four years ago. It was all over the news. Vladi could be or could not be gay, but most of the village people say that he's gay. They despise him for it. He used to walk around in women's clothes but doesn't do so any longer. The plumber broke into his house one night and raped him. Vladi then informed the police immediately afterwards and the plumber was tried and convicted. What I can't understand is that he still walks around freely in the village. He and the other inhabitants act like it never happened. The plumber's supposed to be in prison but the police never came to catch him."

Vladi gets in the car and smiles when he sees Nigel. He introduces himself to me and I introduce myself to him. There's not much talking in the car except for the directions on where to go Vladi gives Nigel. After about 20min. of driving we enter another village. We pull up at a house. We follow Vladi to the garden. An old lady awaits us and takes Vladi to a bed of bushes and they start picking some out and putting them in a bucket. After half an hour it's done and the lady offers us a glass of rakia (a homemade Bulgarian liquor). We thankfully decline and head back to the car. We drive back to Vladi's house. Before getting out of the car, Vladi offers to pay Nigel for his help. Nigel says it's not necessary, but Vladi insists. In the end Vladi pays Nigel 2 leva (1 euro) for his help and we drive home.

FR:05-15

Then a car pulls up. It's Jeff (m, >50, American). He greets us (not the BG's) and walks inside [the bar]. He comes out with a glass of brandy. He joins us at our table [on the terrace outside]. Jeff, Nasko (m, <25, BG), Humbert (m, 25-50, Brit) and me are all talking about electrics and how to wire a house. But the conversation virtually turns into a dialogue between Jeff and Humbert when Jeff joins us. Nasko leaves the table to sit at another table. A Bulgarian girl, Vesi (f, <25, BG) just entered the bar and Nasko joins her. I stay with Jeff and Humbert. They react to Vesi's appearance by stating how pretty she is. Jeff says: "It's good that I didn't fuck her because she would have never wanted someone else again." Humbert replies to this: "Well, you don't have to tell me. I was looking at her all day when I was working at Milly's." For a few minutes they continue discussing this topic. Then Anastasiya (f, 25-50, BG) walks up to us and asks Humbert for a chewing gum (Bulgarian phonetic: 'duvka'). Humbert says: "Duvka ey? I can give you a duvka if you want!" He looks at me with a grin and makes a slapping movement with his hand while simultaneously making a thrusting movement with his hips. Anastasiya proceeds to sit on Jeff's lap. She kisses him

on his cheek. Jeff asks for more and kisses her on her mouth. Anastasiya laughs and says: "No no! No friend!" She gets up and leaves us again. Humbert invites her to also come sit on his lap. She declines by saying: "No, no. Jeff grand friend, Humbert normal friend." She then disappears inside the bar. Jeff and Humbert both laugh.

Vesi leaves the bar and Nasko joins us again. Vladi passes the bar. He waves at me. I wave back. Nasko asks me if I know his story. I say: "I've heard something. Do you mean the incident he was involved in?" Nasko says: "Well you mean you know he got raped? I can tell you what really happened." Nasko then proceeds to tell me that he wasn't raped. "It's all a scam" he says. "Everybody knows that Vladi and [the plumber] have had a sexual relationship for years. They weren't even trying to keep it secret. Everybody knows this! Then one day, after they had sex, Vladi stole his clothes and ran up to the bar...right here! And he shouted: 'He raped me! Call the police!' Because somehow, I don't understand why, they arrested [the plumber] and put him in court. Now he has to pay Vladi 12000 leva... To me it's all one big fake scam... He just did it for the money." I tell him that his story is different from the version I've heard. He replies: "Versions? There are no versions! There's only the truth and this is it."

FR:05-20

I go to on of the bars to check my emails and take some deep breaths. There are a few men sitting outside, all Bulgarians. They sit under the tree and drink their beers and vodkas. An old and slim man with stubbles walks up to the bar. He sees me and greets me. I greet back and he asks if he can sit with me. I say: "Please, take your seat." When he sits down with his drink we have a conversation. He tells me his name is Nikolai and he's 67 years old. He drinks a rakia. When I tell him about my visit here he tells me that he also is some kind of scientist. He tells me he was also a parachutist, an archaeologist and that he used to own a BMW 3-series. He seems a very jolly man; he smiles a lot and speaks enthusiastically. When I ask him about his life in Paskalevets he tells me that democracy is under pressure here. He tells me that the mayor is not real. He's appointed in stead of chosen. And furthermore: "He's one of the reds (communists)... The ones who used to run Bulgaria and are still in charge in Pavlikeni..." I ask him about Gypsies in the village and the rumor that the mayor once chased them out. He says: "I think there are about 30 Gypsies in the village...they work with the animals and keep the streets clean. They're no problem to me..." And about the mayor he says: "There is discrimination in Paskalevets. Some people hate the Gypsies because they steal and they stink. They're not like us, but you don't have to discriminate them... So the mayor chases them out with his gun. He does what he wants to do and what most other people want him to do... The mayor is stupid. He is also responsible for the road... he employs seven people to fix it, but they don't..." When I ask him about the situation in Paskalevets concerning the foreigners he says: "Well, it's not so good. They're capitalists and we're not. Our houses are becoming much more expensive and this is a problem. They're also individualists. Life used to be quiet here, but they change our way of living too much. It's different now... they don't care about our lifestyle. The new people change too much... they don't respect the collective grounds, they buy them and won't share them with us..."

Then a Frenchman drives up to the bar with his car. [His girlfriend] is with him and they get out of the car. [The Frenchman] proceeds to shake everybody's hand and make warm greetings. He shouts out: "Oh my friends, how

nice, how nice!” Then he walks in to buy bread. When he comes out he sits with me and Nikolai. He asks me how I am and if I'd like to drink something. [His girlfriend] is speaking with the people under the tree, and later joins us. She doesn't say much. Nikolai seems happy to see [the Frenchman] but our conversation has stopped. [The Frenchman] asks [the bar owner] for two beers and I drink with them. I tell [the Frenchman] that it surprises me how happy he greets everyone even though he's just coming to buy a bread. He says: “But that's normal! You see, I'm a guest, but if you're a guest you should behave like a friend. They're all friends now. I treat everybody like summer, like sunshine. It makes my life better and it makes their life better. Some others, like the English, don't. They don't understand, they don't belong here. Just make fun and be happy...that's my philosophy.”

FR:05-18

During breakfast [my hosts] tell me [they] are going to visit some Scottish friends in the village of Polski Trembesh in a few days. I ask [my host] what sort of friends they are. She tells me that they're friends of a different kind of group of Brits from those in Paskalevets: “They actually read books, they like music. One of them is a musician.” She laughs when she tells me about these friends.

After breakfast I go to my room to read for a few hours. Around three o'clock I get a text-message. It's Vesi who asks if I'm doing something today and if I'd like to sit with her and some friends for a while. I quickly pack my stuff and head down to the center. During the short walk down nothing happens. When I walk to the square I see some young people sitting and standing on and around a bench in front of the mayor's office. One of them has a very old Zundap-like motorbike. I walk towards them and sit next to one of them. I greet them and they greet me back. They're talking about fixing an exhaust on an Opel Astra. I don't see Vesi, so I give her a call. She answers and says she'll be in the center in 30min. When I hang up the phone Nasko comes down to where I'm sitting from [a nearby bar.] We walk back to the bar together and sit down at the table outside. There's no one else there. We talk about various topics and he suggest I can go take a look it in the youth center. The youth center is a room in the redundant restaurant across the bar, situated at the top end of the main square, next to the mayor's office. It's not a youth center in any official way. Nasko has the key and the mayor told the youngsters they could use the space to spend their time in. After some time Vesi arrives and we head towards the youth center. Nasko unlocks the door for us and we go in. The interior is made up of one big space. A concrete floor and concrete walls give it a sense of greyness that's reflected by old and broken furniture that accommodates us when we sit down. We talk about about studying, holiday destinations and the Netherlands.

Afterwards Vesi and Nasko ask me to join them for a drink in the bar. We walk across the square to the bar and sit down at a table. Vesi would like a hot coco and Nasko wants a water. I go inside to order. We sit and chat for a while.

Appendix 2. Tables and list of topics

Table 1. Cultural Concepts Explained

Level of interpretation:	Descriptive	Instrumental
General	<i>Culture</i>	
Differentiated	<i>Culturally diverse</i>	<i>Multiculturalism</i>
Analytical	<i>Inter-cultural</i>	<i>Cross-cultural</i>

Table 2. Demographic information about the interviewees

Interviews	Sex and marital status	Age group (years)	Years of residence (approx.)
BG:1	<i>Male and female, married</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>25</i>
BG:2	<i>Male, single</i>	<i><25</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
BG:3	<i>Male and female, married</i>	<i>>50</i>	<i>15</i>
BG:4	<i>Male, single</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>10</i>
BG:5	<i>Female, single</i>	<i><25</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
BG:6	<i>Male and female, befriended</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
FO:1	<i>Male, single</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>1.5</i>
FO:2	<i>Male and female, married</i>	<i>>50</i>	<i>10</i>
FO:3	<i>Female, single</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>10</i>
FO:4	<i>Male and male, befriended</i>	<i>>50</i>	<i>Resident: 1.5, visitor 1 month</i>

List of topics

These topics were designed before the researcher went to Paskalevets. They were treated as themes that could lead to relevant findings during the fieldwork.

*age and gender

*occupation and economic situation

*social network (marital status, family, friends, etc.)

*native Bulgarian/Turk/Roma vs. newcomer

*perspective on culture (and cultural belonging)

*permanent residency vs. non-permanent residency: how long are you here?

*why are you here? (e.g. born, raised, cheap housing, climate, marriage, touristic migration etc.)

*do you like it here?

- *what can you tell me about (social) life in Paskalevets?
- *how do you deal with the natives/newcomers?
- *has life changed for you in the past x years?
- *has that anything to do with coming here/coming of newcomers?
- *how do you treat them/do they treat you?
- *do you like/dislike that treatment?
- *do you have friends in Paskalevets?
- *are they friends of your own cultural background or not only so?
- *is there anything in particular about living here that you like/dislike?
- *what would you happily see remain consistent/changed?
- *would that be possible? Why yes/no?
- *sense of belonging (inclusion, and if relevant: in what group?) vs. sense of exclusion – discrimination, favoritism, inequality (on different axes)

Appendix 3. Additional information about the history of Gypsies in Bulgaria

During the Ottoman occupation of Bulgaria the Gypsies were relegated by the Turks to the lowest rung of the Ottoman social ladder. 'Ottoman officials pressured Gypsies [...] to move away or to settle into 'useful' occupations. On the other hand, it was felt that they were 'needed to carry loads and perform some of the most demeaning labor. In Bulgarian urban areas, they had no [special quarters] of their own, and each night, after working in the cities, they returned to whatever type of housing they were able to erect beyond the city limits' (Crowe, 2007, p.2). This example of how Gypsies were treated from when they just arrived in Bulgaria shows that they were already discriminated against. Another example of an early practice of unequal treatment of the Gypsies stems from a few centuries later. The Ottomans, like the Romans before them levied taxes. 'This tax was so important to Ottoman finances that it served as a brake on Turkish interest in converting non-Muslims to their faith. In 1610, the [Muslim religious judge] received an [imperial decree] to strengthen his ability to collect [taxes] from the Gypsies. Christian Gypsies were to pay 250 *akçes* and Muslim Gypsies 180 *akçes*. Everyone else in the Bulgarian capital had to pay 200 *akçes*. All that these figures could mean is that while the Gypsies were considered such low people that even Muslims could be taxed illegally, their religion was still worth a 70 *akçes* tax discount' (Crowe, 2007, p.3).

About the situation in Bulgaria just after the Russians helped rid Bulgaria of the Turks in 1878, Chirot (Barany & Moser, 2005, p.157) states the following: 'In order to insure a Christian, Slavic-speaking majority, the Russians encouraged outrages in Bulgaria that forced massive Muslim emigration and [ethnic cleansing].' And in the inter-war years 'Bulgarian hypernationalism was as much a staple of official school history as similar doctrines were in Romania, Hungary, Serbia, Greece and Turkey[.] Bulgarian nationalists claimed that nation and ethnicity were identical' (Barany & Moser, 2005, p.157). This political mentality wasn't easy on the Gypsies of Bulgaria who couldn't be held to be a part of the 'pure descendants' of the Bulgar Huns and Slavic tribesmen that occupied the medieval Bulgarian Empire.

Crowe (2007) states that: 'it would be a mistake to place the blame for the plight [for recognition and political representation] of Bulgaria's Roma solely on the Gypsies themselves. Their strong association with clan or linguistic groups comes from centuries of discrimination that always placed them outside Bulgarian society. Their inability to integrate more fully into the normal social fabric of the country, particularly under the communists, can be traced to the lack of mature, sophisticated programs that addressed their special educational needs and helped them integrate into

Bulgarian society' (Crowe, 2007, p.29-30). Moser argues that: 'ethnic politics were polarized in the initial stages of post-communist state building because of intractable differences between majority nationalists who pursued a "nation-state" strategy of political development and minority elites who preferred a pluralist state model' (Barany & Moser, 2005, p.118). According to Moser it's therefore hardly surprising that in countries that are characterized by a strong ethnic polarization like Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria, minorities tend to be more excluded and socially and economically less successful (Barany & Moser, 2005, p.117).

Appendix 4. Reflections on the name Paskalevets

Where the name Paskalevets comes from is unclear. However, it can be stated with relative certainty that it refers to someone named Paskal. Paskal isn't a typical Bulgarian name, so that makes one wonder why a small Bulgarian village would be named after this Paskal. It has been suggested that the village owes its name to the French mathematician Blaise Pascal, but this has been refuted by several inhabitants. Rather, when asked, most of the older inhabitants of the village stated that the name refers to the first man to set foot in the village. It's entirely unclear when this would have been, but seeing that many, and also the oldest buildings in the village were built during the late eighteen-hundreds and in the beginning of the twentieth century, it seems reasonable that around that time somebody named Paskal would have lent his name to the village. During that period Bulgaria regained its independence from the Ottoman Empire and enjoyed a period of sustained prosperity, albeit under Russian tutelage. Its population increased strongly and urban growth and an increase in numbers of settlements and villages throughout the country coincided with an economy that was growing rapidly (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007, p.76-78).