

the individuals to take up more individualistic attitudes including the openness to one multicultural model. In the last article of the section Nichita Vorobiov, representative of the Lipovans' Community from Romania, briefly shows the presence area of Lipovans in Romania and Bulgaria, as well as the places of their origin in Russia.

The first article in the third section, *Die ENP – eine imperialistische Politik?*, is authored by Bernd Belina (pp. 157–172). The author takes up the documents the EU's Commission has been issued in regard to the concept of 'Wider Europe' ("Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with the Eastern and Southern Neighbours", Brussels, 2003–2007). He discusses then several academic works that qualify this type of policy as 'imperialistic' because it disguises the interests of the capitalist economy. Taking into account the consequences of this policy, as well as the co-operation between political decision-makers and academic researchers, could bring benefits and clean up the biases. In the next article, *Dobroudja in the cross-border Euroregional System* (pp. 173–188), the authors, Alexandru Ilieș and Vasile Grama, describe in terms of geography, population, and transport infrastructure two Euroregions that divide Dobroudja. The Lower Danube region includes Tulcea, Brăila, and Galați counties in Romania, Cahul in Republic of Moldova, and big area of Odessa in Ukraine. The authors argue this Euroregion has one low „functionality”, mainly in regard the Tulcea county. The region Danube-Dobroudja, instead, with Constanța, Călărași, and Ialomița counties, in Romania, and Silistra and Dobrič, in Bulgaria, “can be characterized as a region with a high functional and demographic potential” (p. 186). In the last article of the section, *Die Dobroudscha und die bulgarisch-rumänischen Nachbarschaftbeziehungen*, (pp. 189–198), Klaus Roth delineates the basic biases in the Romanian – Bulgarian political relationships, as these shape the governance of the two parts of Dobroudja. Roth emphasizes the deep lack of interest in cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria. He put it, that even in the Communist period the two countries brought different ways of development. They built up for instance, only one permanent connection over the Danube, ambiguously named 'The Bridge of Friendship' (in 1954). Roth analyses the motives of this mistrust and shows reluctant regarding to the future Romania – Bulgaria cooperation in the frame of European Union.

The three articles in the last section focus on different aspects of the Dobroudja environment. While Dan Bălțeanu, Petre Trandafir, and Diana Dogaru records the natural as well as the technological hazards in Romanian Dobroudja (pp. 199–212), Petre Gâștescu and Basarab Driga pledge for one wider involvement in the protection of the Danube Delta Reserve and indicate several areas in this region with a high risk of degradation (pp. 213–222). In the last article, Rossen Tzonev presents the rich and unique types of vegetation on the coastal area of Bulgarian Dobroudja (pp. 223–231).

The volume Heller and Sallanz have been edited provides with one full range of data about the Dobroudja region. It misses still, one common conceptual frame, with a special regards to the inter- and trans-disciplinary methodologies. As the authors come from a wide area of expertise and academic competence, this common frame would decrease perhaps this theoretical diversity. The last but not the least, it was my impression that Dobroudja topic was approached on the lines of its divisions, taking into account the political boundary between Romania and Bulgaria, and not at all as one well-defined region, with one visible and multifaceted identity.

Stelu Șerban

Jens BENGELSTORF, *Die "anderen Zigeuner". Zur Ethnizität der Rudari und Bajeschi in Südosteuropa*, Eudora Verlag, Leipzig, 2009 (200 pages with 6 tables and 3 maps).

The ethnicity in South East Europe has become an important topic in the academic research still recent. The Balkans' perception as “the Europe powder keg”, as a space filled with turbulent nationalities and national states, has been stuffed other aspects like the free movements of people and inter-cultural exchanges alongside the centuries. The study of “little” minorities, as it is the author's research in this volume moves the accent of ethnicity in South East Europe from politics and nation to the genuine built up identities.

Jens Bengelstorf has begun his researches in 2001 in a small town from Southern Romania, Roșiori de Vede. The hint came from the stubbornness of one group of population to present them as “Romanians” where as the Romanians label them as “Gypsies”. These people are known under different terms in Romania, Bulgaria, former Yugoslavia, Hungary, but their distinctive mark is the Romanian as mother tongue. Bengelstorf takes up this identity mark and widens it by comparison of three areas: the plain region of Southern Romania, centering on Roșiori de Vede, the hilly area from the *Fuße der Berge* in northern Oltenia, in Romania too, and the Western part of Voivodina, in Serbia. He grounds the analysis in the fieldworks he made in these areas, but it is his ambition to work out a more comprehensive theoretical frame of the ethnicity in the case of *Rudari/Bajeschi*.

The place the theoretical premises have in the volume appear at first glance in the chapters’ organization. The fieldworks’ presentation narrows in three small chapters (pp. 95–158), whereas a wider theoretical frame is given in the first half of the book. In the ending part (pp. 159–184) the author aims to work out a multilayered explanation of the *Rudari/Bajeschi* ethnicity by making appeal to the concepts of altering/*Alterisierung* and differentiation in respect both to Roma ethnicity and Romanian one.

In the theoretical part, the author approaches at the very beginning the concept of ethnicity (pp. 21–32). He distinguishes between a theoretical perspective and a historical one, and emphasizes the core role that the mixture of national state with the cultural model of the nation has been played alongside the history of the modernization in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The constructivist’s and essentialist’s paradigms of ethnicity are opposed further and their theoretical premises clarified. Bengelstorf shows that the constructivist perspective (Fr. Barth) has emerged as a reaction to the essentialist theories. This fact makes legitimate one perspective that combines the main stones premises of both paradigms. The author does this in the ending part of the chapter and argues that this perspective is the most accurate in the case of *Rudari*.

The next two chapters summarize the state of the art in the fields of ‘Tsiganologie’ (pp. 33–70) and *Rudari/Bajeschi* studies (pp. 71–94). With regards to the *Zigeuner/Gypsy* concept the definitions vary from the wider ones, that includes a great part of nomadic people spread all over the Europe, to the narrow definitions, that sees the Romanes mother tongue as the main criterion of belonging. Bengelstorf makes a criticism to the narrow definitions by arguing that its using lets the groups like *Rudari* outside the Roma ethnicity (p. 43). This is because he develops in the next pages one “cultural” concept of the *Zigeuner/Gypsy*, and illustrates it by the reference to the Judith Okely’s book, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (1983). The literature about *Rudari/Bajeschi* is mentioned in the next chapter. It is discussed the origin of the various terms that describe this people. It follows then, short abstracts of the Teodor Filipescu and Ioan Chelcea’s works, as well as one brief overview of the literature in this field in the Communist and post 1990’s periods.

The chapters based on the fieldworks lead to an in-depth analysis of the *Rudari/Bajeschi* ethnicity. The comparison of *Rudari* in South Romania with ones from northern Oltenia shows strong differences, like craftsmanship. While the first ones practice mainly brick-making, therefore they are named *cărămidari*/brick-makers, the latter are woodworkers. Still, there also strong commonalities too, as the client-patron system that organize in the both groups the allocation of resources and goods. There are too, special traits in the ways of the subjective differentiating in respect the Romanes speaking population. In South Romania this social distance is minimal and boundaries float between different Roma groups (pp. 106–116), whereas the *Rudari*’s conscience of differentiation in northern Oltenia is stronger and rooted in their own tradition. Still more obvious are the identity traits of the *Rudari/Bajeschi* from Voivodina. Here the situational frame of the ethnic minorities thoroughly differs to the Romanian cases. The Voivodina’s multicultural landscape makes easier the coexistence of different ethnicities. In addition, the multiple identities in this area provide with one wide range of collective choice for the minorities like *Bajeschi* are. The author emphasizes this aspect, as he brings into attention the weight of the local NGOs, in this process of building up ethnicities.

In the last chapter Bengelstorf summarizes the characteristics of the *Rudari/Bajeschi* ethnicity, alongside five dimensions: the way of life, the informal economy, the ethics of work, the bias of altering/*Alterisierung*, and the group organization. He put it too, that the Romanian as mother tongue

is the main criterion of differentiation, but this is not at all an 'essentialist' feature. In the book's conclusions Bengelsdorf argues the *Rudari/Bajaschi* ethnicity is weak and floating. The differences that could become ethnic may be noticed even between *Rudari* and *Bajaschi*.

The book of Jens Bengelsdorf is one good piece of work in the literature of 'Tsiganologie', as well as on a wider scale, in the field of ethnicity in South East Europe. The fieldwork data are accurate and inspiring for the scholars interested in this topic. Still, it lacks one larger theoretical frame. The concept of ethnicity for instance, could be reworked either in the frame of the 'hidden minorities' perspective (Christian Promicer, Biljana Sikimic), or in the limelight of the up to date criticism of Fredrick Barth's ethnicity concept. It has to say also that one comparison with the *Rudari* from Bulgaria could be fruitful for one more valid concept of *Rudari/Bajaschi* ethnicity.

Stelu Șerban

David A. KIDECKEL, *Getting-by in Postsocialist Romania. Labor, the Body, and Working-Class Culture*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2008, 267 p.

In the beginning of the 70s one remarkable range of North American researchers did fieldworks in Romania in order to get their PhD in cultural anthropology. They've joined the West European anthropologists who have added to, their academic background field-researchers in Romania. The broad variety of their interests, the challenging theoretical perspectives as well as the accurate methodologies, are topics still ignored, unfortunately, by the native scholars in Romania. To write down the intellectual history of all these projects is still one need to be fulfilled.

David A. Kideckel did the great part of his PhD field researches in Romania, in Făgăraș area, before 1989, but he has published his work after this date (in 1993; the title's book is *The Solitude of Collectivism. Romanian Villagers to the Revolution and Beyond*). In 1999, following one international conference about labor and unions in Central and Eastern Europe, held in Warsaw, Poland, he retakes the fieldworks in Romania. The perspective is now changed, as he compares two areas in South Transylvania, Făgăraș and Jiu Valley, where he focuses on the cases of chemical workers and miners. The topic is changed, too. Kideckel lays the analysis on the grass-rooted level, by approaching the effects the post socialist transformation in Romania had on the "working-class"¹⁰. The thread of the analysis is given by the "ethnography of Eastern Europe", as Gerald Creed points out on the back cover of the book. Kideckel records the fall out of the workers after 1990, compares this situation with the higher social position they enjoyed in the Socialist period, and examines the multilayered factors that stand behind this social 'drama'. Words like 'frustration', 'alienation', 'failure' are thus frequent in the book.

The term 'getting by'¹¹ is not a full concept, yet abbreviates a wide range of social and individual practices the workers use in the time of 1990s' transformation. It means the abandon of the long term life strategies, to adapt day-by-day to the rapid economical changes, one deep sense of insecurity as well as the accent put of the individual goals and incentives (page x). Kideckel rarely reminds the term in the further chapters, so it could be say that he uses it nothing more like a metaphor, an ethnographical one, eventually. In the concluding chapter though, under the title *What is to be done?*, he retakes it in the attempt to widen the reference area to the other former Socialist countries, as well as to focus on schemes and incentives for future adaptive life strategies for the

¹⁰ Although this term finds in the volume's title, I'm using the inverted commas with the intention to wither one's possible impression that the book has a 'leftist' perspective. Though obsolete in the social sciences literature, this term is still viewed with suspicions especially by the scholars from the former Socialist countries. In fact, the author doesn't list it in the volume's index. He discusses its (un)relevance for the post-socialist period in the beginning of the book (pp. 9–11).

¹¹ The author borrows the meaning of this term from Romanian: to get by = *a se descurca*.