
JADRANKA ĐORĐEVIĆ CRNOBRNJA, 'WE NEVER CUT TIES WITH GORA'. ETHNICITY, COMMUNITY AND TRANSMIGRATIONS OF GORANI PEOPLE IN BELGRADE. The Institute of Ethnography SASA, Special Edition, Volume 93, 276 pp.

Dr Jadranka Đorđević Crnobrnja's monograph, *'We never cut ties with Gora'*. *Ethnicity, community and transmigrations of Gorani people in Belgrade*, was published in 2020 as a special edition (vol. 93) of the Institute of Ethnography SASA in Belgrade. The book, in the choice of subject matter, the chronological and spatial framework of the research, and certainly the theoretical and methodological approaches that the author applied during the research and interpretation of the results, is a unique anthropological study dedicated to the Gorani community in the Republic of Serbia at the beginning of the 21st century.

Interest in Gora and the Gorani people from the academic community and the wider social public exists both historically and in the present, where it becomes more pronounced, especially after the war and political turmoil in Kosovo and Metohija, which also hit the population of Gora, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. At the same time, there is a lack of research on the Gorani community outside Gora, i.e. in the places where Gorani settled after the migration from Gora. It was in part this situation that encouraged Jadranka Đorđević Crnobrnja to focus her research on the interaction and communication that exist between members of the Gorani community in Belgrade and Tutin, with the intention of determining the modalities of its maintenance also with the home territory, i.e. Gora. At the same time, she tried to look at situations that could lead to the severance of these ties.

Gora is a mountain valley, in geographical meaning, located south of Prizren, between the highest peaks of the Shar Mountains, Korab and Koritnik. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, Gora region is considered part of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, while in the foreign literature, the area of Gora is considered part of the Republic of Kosovo. Aware of the extremely sensitive political issue related to the area from which the Gorani originate, Đorđević Crnobrnja points out that in the book she uses the term Gora in an exclusively geographical sense. In that respect, the name Gora refers to the spatial unit that today includes 17 villages and the town of Dragaš, which is also the administrative centre of Dragaš Municipality.

Migrations within the Gorani community have long been evident, most notably the labour migrations of the male population during the 19th and 20th centuries (this type of labour migration is well known as *pečalba, gurbet*). At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, intensive and numerous migrations – far more extensive than any remembered in the earlier history of the Gorani community – of the Gorani people of Gora began. Despite that, the connections of the Gorani people with Gora and the communication between the Gorani people remain intensive and almost daily, regardless of where they have moved or settled. These factors prompted Đorđević Crnobrnja to conceive her research in such a way that the focus would be on the Gorani migration at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. In accordance with that, cultural and social practices concerning the process of integration of members of the Gorani community into the society in which they have settled were researched and analysed. The emphasis was on those segments of life and culture that proved most suitable for understanding the construction of existing symbols of the Gorani cultural, religious and local identity.

The author conducted her research continuously from 2012 to 2019 in Belgrade, and to a lesser extent in Tutin (in the southwest of the Republic of Serbia). The Serbian capital was chosen as a locus of research primarily because it was there most Gorani people migrated. The research in Tutin was especially important because of the local society, which, unlike the capital, has a majority Muslim population. It is important to bear this in mind considering that the Gorani are Muslim.

Fieldwork included conducting semi-structured interviews with members of the Gorani community, in which Đorđević Crnobrnja marked all the participants as interlocutors, thereby emphasising that the field research was conducted in full cooperation with them. In addition to empirical material, the author consulted relevant foreign and domestic academic and professional literature. For the purposes of her book, she also used various sources (statistical data, data from Internet sites belonging to Gorani community or published by international institutions, texts published in the daily papers, documentaries, videos and photographs), all to gain a fuller understanding of the social and cultural practices related to the life of the Gorani people in the Republic of Serbia. Đorđević Crnobrnja applies a discourse analysis that is adapted to ethnographic research: in the analysis and interpretation of the empirical material, it takes into account several theoretical assumptions related to the research of migration and transmigration, ethnicity and identity practices, as well as the culture of memory. The subject framework of the research determined the chapters, i.e. the thematic units of the book: ‘Introduction: The Gorani in Belgrade and Tutin’, in which the author explains the choice of topic, and the spatial and chronological framework of the research. It also provides an overview of previous research on minority ethnic communities in Serbia within Serbian ethnology and anthropology. The theoretical and methodological frameworks of the research are explained in the chapter entitled: ‘Where, when and how did I research?’. The third chapter is entitled ‘Gora – Belgrade / Tutin / EU – Gora’ and presents an analysis

of the different types of migration that took place in the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. The author also considers the peculiarities of post-migration processes for the members of the Gorani community in Belgrade and Tutin that could be further analysed. The fourth chapter, '*Utterly Devoted to Gora*', focuses on the impact migration has on the application of the rules for choosing a spouse, with ethnic homogamy and heterogamy being the specific subject of analysis, as well as the correlation between these practices and the creation of the symbols of Gorani identity that are seen through an analysis of contemporary clothing practices of Gorani women on both everyday and formal occasions, the communicative functions of Gorani speech, and the social practice of choosing personal names. The conclusion is entitled: '*We never cut ties with Gora*'. With this sentence, which is also in the title of the book, the author symbolically emphasises the constant in terms of interactions that exist between members of the Gorani community in the 20th and 21st centuries, i.e. she emphasises the continuous connection of members of that community with Gora as their home territory.

Of special value in the book are the illustrations of items of Gorani clothing that are considered special symbols of the community and of Gora. The illustrations, as well as the cover of the book, are the work of a young Gorani artist inspired by the peculiarities of her own community.

Jadranka Đorđević Crnobrnja's book, '*We never cut ties with Gora*'. *Ethnicity, community and transmigrations of Gorani people in Belgrade*, represents a complete whole. The results presented in it shed light on the modalities by which the Gorani people in Belgrade and Tutin, as well as in Gora, symbolically create and express their own identity. Social and cultural practices are also used to maintain a continuous connection with Gora, even in situations where members of the community strive to fit as quickly as possible into the way of life characteristic of the local and micro-social environments in which they live. The invaluable academic and social significance of this monograph was confirmed by the 'Dušan Bandić' award for the best book published in the field of ethnology and anthropology in the Republic of Serbia for 2020, awarded by the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

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