

**#Balkanization:
A Critical Study of Otherness through Twitter**

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Abstract

‘Balkanization’ is a discourse of dominantly pejorative characteristics used to describe a wide range of situations, circumstances, spaces, and people. Historically, such characteristics have included nuances of differences, barbarism, tribalism, underdevelopment, non-cooperativeness, disintegration, fragmentation, parcelization, instability, unreliability, dehumanization, devastation of civilization, and others. These portrayals have their roots on a preceding discourse, that of ‘the Balkans’, itself assigned to the Balkan Peninsula. Most of the research on ‘balkanization’ is based on retrospective tendencies of historical explorations of the past, hence ignoring the ongoing process of its current construction. Through my book *#Balkanization: A Critical Study of Otherness through Twitter* (2018) I question these innate attributes conveyed through ‘balkanization’ and ‘the Balkans’ by first, identifying them in the closest present which is shaped by the speed and proliferation of information and knowledge in the era of social media; and second, by demystifying the same through connecting their current manifestations to events and contexts of the present and the past. This paper is an introduction to the book.

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Genealogy: From ‘the Balkans’ through Twitter to ‘Balkanization’

‘The Balkans’ are a familiar mystery. Maria Todorova (1997), to whom if we are to approach ‘the Balkans’ as historiography and as a discourse the acknowledgment of the kick-off start may best be given, states that “[t]he Balkans have a powerful ontology that deserves serious and complex study, and it is an ontology of constant and profound change” (p. 184). However, while deconstructing incentives on ‘balkanization’ which trace the discourse retrospectively in the past appear in the academia (Bakić-Hayden, 1992, 1995; Meštrović, 1994, Todorova, 1997, Goldsworthy, 1998; Fleming, 2000; Bjelić and Savić, 2002; Hansen, 2006; Mishkova, 2019), a gap of what characterizes the ‘balkanization’ discourse in the present persisted. The process of constructing ‘balkanization’ continues to develop congruently and inevitably, while not enough attention is being paid to the constant and profound change of the ontology that Todorova refers to. Moreover, considering the volume and spread of information in the era of social media, any endeavor of historical examination risks to end up as useless if not keeping up with the fast pace of knowledge production. Addressing this research gap through this book also provides with a missing component for my Ph.D. project which aims at discovering if and how ‘balkanization’ influences the Euro-Atlantic integration processes of Western Balkans. That is, part of my contributions through this research is in taking forward those retrospective examinations of ‘balkanization’ into our current time, for the same to be taken forward towards the future.

To any contemporary examinations of ‘balkanization’, a genealogical review on the historic pathway that the discourse has undertaken is a *conditio sine qua non*. Such a genealogical investigation reveals two main prevailing tendencies that follow a chronological criterion: works that gradually construct and designate a meaning to ‘balkanization’ after the First World War (WWI); and literature that challenges and questions the conceptual connotations of ‘balkanization’ naturalized by then, and which did not appear until the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Further, the constructing tendencies have different nuances if comparing those of after WWI and those of after the Second World War (WWII). If until WWII ‘balkanization’ had a connection with the Balkan Peninsula, after WWII the expression was detached from the region and applied to a wide range of other fields of thought and disciplines. The Balkan wars (1912-1913) and WWI (1914-1918) laid the first foundations for the birth of ‘balkanization’. Initially the concept will be linked to the Balkan Peninsula and the events occurring there. However, the fabrication of ‘balkanization’ followed its most important switch after WWII, although no crucial differences in meaning would take place. ‘Balkanization’ which was deeply ingrained in pejorative versions of ‘the Balkans’ only developed further by stationing the term to a variety of

disciplines which only inherited and adopted its meaning, but kept the essential derogatory connotations conveyed through it. Such connotations would become a defining element of how ‘the Balkans’ would come to be known as. The red disparaging thread of the ‘balkanization’ discourse will remain as the discourse will gain greater dimensions in terms of applicability.

The Daily Express correspondent of The New York Times, Greenwall has been known to facilitate the first ever written appearance of ‘balkanization’ in 1918 during his interview in Berlin with Walther Rathenau, a German statesman who also served as a Foreign Minister during the Weimar Republic¹ (Schuster, 2012). Paul Scot Mowrer’s (1921) definition of ‘balkanization’ as one of the most iconic ones (see Todorova, 1997, p. 34; Hansen, 2006, p. 92), was preceded by him stating that

... Cleanout ethnical and natural boundaries being impossible, each felt that his neighbor was encroaching. The peoples were uneducated and primitive, that is to say, easily aroused and easily led. They were consciously weak, that is to say, jealous, covetous, intriguing, afraid. Their economic fragility, the ruinous condition of their finances – always hopelessly in debt – combined with their feuds to make them an easy prey to the machinations of the great powers. (p. 23).

The aftermath of WWI will only confirm and enhance such portrayals of the Balkans. In 1923, Leon Trotsky who was sent from Vienna to the Balkan Peninsula as a military correspondent would be among the first journalist to facilitate the introduction of ‘balkanization’ to the wider public by writing that “... our unfortunate continent is cut up, divided, exhausted, disorganized and Balkanized – transformed into a madhouse...” (Jordan, 2007, p. 61). Another example of this is Aurel Braun (1983) who as a scholar of Political Science and International Relations prophesied that “... if the Balkan swords have been returned to their scabbards, they are yet to be turned into ploughshares” (p. 1).

Trotsky and Borwn are only few among the many examples of wrongly attributing ‘balkanization’ to the dispatch of the Ottoman Empire and the proliferation of countries that came out from it. As Todorova (1997) states, “[w]hen the term was coined, at the end of WWI, only one Balkan nation, Albania, was added to the already existing Balkan map; all others had been nineteenth century formations” (p. 32). It is the context of the time characterized with the disintegration of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires, which analogically, retrospectively and projectively facilitated the coining of the word. According to this then, ‘balkanization’ which was coined to express a present reality of ‘the Balkans’, has in fact its inspirational roots in hindsight. This tendency of ‘looking back’ at ‘the Balkans’ is strongly intertwined with a temporal criterion of the linear and European vector of time of the prosperous civilized and the

¹ Weimar Republic [From German: Weimarer Republik] is how the German state between 1919 and 1933 is/was unofficially called. Its constitution was drafted and the Republic was proclaimed on November 9, 1918 in the city of Weimar, hence the name (see Lee & Lang, 1998).

backward barbarian. In Rathenau's and Mowrer's statement there are already explicit traits of this. "'Balkanization' not only had come to denote the parcelization of large and viable political units, but had also become a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian" (p. 3) says Todorova (1997).

Following the aftermath of WWII, it would have been expected that the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) which proved a counter-process to fragmentation would dissolve or challenge the connotations related to 'balkanization'. The SFRY, as a federation symbolic to the slogan of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, "brotherhood and unity", presented the world with an image of a peaceful and harmonious coexistence of more than ten ethnic groups and a contrary trend to disintegration. Divergently to this expectation, the aftermath of WWII would find 'balkanization' decontextualized from the Balkan Peninsula to a wide range of disciplines and schools of thought. The first ascriptions of 'Balkanization' as detached from the Balkan Peninsula had already taken place during the WWII, although the trend will gain its visibility after the end of the war. In 1941, the U.S. Supreme Court while handling a case of "... appeal from a judgment affirming a conviction and sentence for transportation of liquor without permit", stated that the absence of local restraints on interstate business would end up in "... balkanizing American commerce, trade, and industry" (*Duckworth v. Arkansa*, 1941). 'Balkanization' of trade is again mentioned in another case ruled by the U.S. Supreme Court, to describe "[t]rade barriers so high between the states that the stream of interstate commerce cannot flow over them" (*H. P. Hood & Sons*, 1949), while in another case of 1979 "economic Balkanization" was described as that which "... had plagued relations among the Colonies and later among the States under the Articles of Confederation" (*Hughes v. Oklahoma*, 1979).

With the wind of decolonization processes of the time, there were other series of writings on 'balkanization' which not only contributed to the reinforcement of the meaning that had until then been built, but also to a certain extent to the detachment of 'balkanization' from 'the Balkans' as a region, or better said from any geographical connotation related to the Balkan Peninsula. An example of this is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, known as a famous American Pan-Africanist who mostly dedicated his writings to the black people everywhere in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. He uses 'balkanization' to denote the parcelization of the colonized territories as a result of foreign influences with the intention of keeping them easily under control and rule (Du Bois Edward Burghardt, 1945, p. 72). As quoted in Bell, Grosholz and Stewart (2013), Kwame Nkrumah, who served as the first president and prime minister of Ghana, drew on Du Bois's writings and considered 'balkanization' as one of the most important tools of neo-colonialism (p. 237), while Godfrey

Mwakikagile (2010) who is a specialist in African studies, states that to him and to Kwame Nkrumah as a great crusader for African unity, “[b]alkanization and colonization are twins” (p. 544). Similarly, Hama (1974) considers ‘balkanization’ an evident and natural opposition to a unified Pan-African cooperation, an obstacle to an independent Africa, a “... major problem” (Pallister, 1977). As such, in the writings of all these authors, ‘balkanization’ did not only stand for an opposition to unity, integration, or harmonious relations, but also for a hindrance to prosperity, development and independence.

The decontextualization of ‘balkanization’ does not refer only to it being physically ‘transplanted’ into another space, but also timely and conceptually expanded and transformed into a wide encompassing term of different phenomena. Best descriptive of this is Ayn Rand’s lecture titled “Global Balkanization” (1977). Rand (1977) begins her lecture by asking the audience: “Have you ever wondered about the process of the collapse of a civilization? The specific means by which the accumulated knowledge and achievement of centuries vanish from the Earth?” (p. 3). She is quite bold in warning of an upcoming apocalypse which is threatening the Western civilization, jeopardizing objective reason, self-interest, individual rights, laissez-faire capitalism and ethical egoism among others, all essential components of the philosophical system she developed and called *Objectivism*². Referring to a list of movements seeking for political independence and autonomy, among which she mentions the continuous disputes between Serbs and Croats and the unresolved ferment among Macedonians, Rand (1977) chooses to describe these incentives as coming from “... tribes and sub-tribes, which most of the world has never heard of – since they have achieved no distinction to hear about” (p. 4). Rand (1977) picks particularly ‘the Balkans’ as specimens to learn from:

As to the stagnation under tribal rule - take a look at the Balkans. At the start of this century, the Balkans were regarded as the disgrace of Europe. Six or eight tribes, plus a number of sub-tribes with unpronounceable names, were crowded on the Balkan peninsula, engaging in endless wars among themselves or being conquered by stronger neighbours or practicing violence for the sake of violence. (pp. 12-13)

Along these lines would Patrick Glynn (1993) and Harold Bloom (1994) write about ‘balkanization’ while the latter using the word to describe an apocalyptic death of literature: “Finding myself now surrounded by professors of hip-hop; by clones of Gallic-Germanic theory; by ideologues of gender and of various sexual persuasions; by multiculturalists unlimited, I realize that the Balkanization of literary studies is irreversible” he declared (Bloom, 1994, p. 517). In the famous *Politics* (published initially in 1997) of Andrew Heywood, a principal examiner for political ideologies and global politics, ‘balkanization’ is

²Objectivism is considered a comprehensive philosophy, including an epistemology and a theory of art, developed by Ayn Rand, based on a “... conception of metaphysical realism, rationality, ethical egoism (rational self-interest), individual rights, laissez-faire capitalism, and art” (Badhwar & Long, 2010).

unsurprisingly defined in terms of fragmentation of a political unit in a collage of antagonistic entities. He further takes this definition and applies it to quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization “quangos” and states that “[t]hey foster balkanization by making public administration more disjointed and less systematic” (Heywood, 2013, p. 368). William H. Frey (1996, 1999) uses ‘balkanization’ to describe the newly emerging demographic divisions as result of the impacts of post-1965 immigration to the United State across regions of the U.S. which gave rise to separate immigration and internal migration patterns. More recently an article published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation as the non-profit branch of the business-oriented American lobbying group United States Chamber of Commerce was titled as “Say No to the Balkanization of the Internet” (Cooper, 2015). The article refers to how the international community accesses and shares digital data while stating that a ‘balkanized’ Internet is “... one that lacks a centralized authority guiding Internet development but is instead composed of a confusing and cumbersome patchwork of laws, rights, access, and all the minutia that make-up cyberspace” (Cooper, 2015). Quite surprising as much as not, the *National Post* upgraded even the field of gastronomy by adding to its jargon ‘balkanization’. In a published article titled “Deconstructed Dish: Burgers get Balkanized”, Pollack (2011) quite impatiently waiting to try an unusual Bosnian recipe for burgers, says: “... so I dig in, and it’s foreign and familiar all at once”.

While opposing tendencies to these naturalizing propensities also exist, most academic work on this relies on retrospective examinations. There is a lack of ‘monitoring research’ on how the term is being used today and what the discourse is meant to convey. Parallel to these genealogical endeavors, ‘balkanization’ continues to be constructed as attached or detached from ‘the Balkans’, but nearly always as a pejorative. The last U.S. elections proved this. The Internet seems overflowed by articles that speak of a “balkanized America” referring to Donald’s Trump victory through ‘balkanizing’ the American electorate (Rothman, 2016); the American media (Evans, 2016; Herzfeld, 2017; Rushlau, 2017) the American education (Liberalteacher, 2016), that can result with ‘balkanizing’ the global financial market (Weber, 2017), politics (Suntrup, 2017), ‘balkanization and encouragement’ of race-based decision-making (Clegg R., 2017), and even with civil war (Berman, 2016). We see that ‘balkanization’ and ‘The Balkans’ continue to frighten, while reading, among others, Berman (2016) who states:

When the battle leaves the playing field and enters the realm of Balkanization, we have entered a dangerous place, that America only emerged from 150 years ago. Yes, that’s the Civil War to which I’m referring... today’s politics of Balkanization is arguably much worse than the relics of the bloodiest conflict ever to take place on American soil. These and other cases call for a critical examination of the ‘balkanization’ discourse which is

indeed inclusive of retrospective genealogical scrutiny that reveals a process of becoming, but also transcending into the current mutations that the discourse is going through, hence avoiding the risk of being perpetually trapped in a historical investigation of the past.

I therefore pose the research question: “*What characterizes the ‘balkanization’ discourse via Twitter subjectivities?*” Twitter has been referred to as “... one of social media services on the Internet that are extremely popular in the world” (Hidayatulah, 2015, p. 153); “... the leading microblogging platform” (Weller, Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt, & Puschmann, 2014, p. 3); “... a global phenomenon” (Weller, Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt, & Puschmann, 2014, p. 426); “... the fastest and most critical campaign tool for reaching and mobilising people, for gathering data and responding to public reactions” (Bouvier, 2015, pp. 157-158), or even as a “... revolutionary machine” (p. xvii), according to Weller et al (2014). Moreover, mostly but not only due to its empirical potential, Twitter has been considered as “... an increasingly powerful tool for social science research” (Maddock, Starbird, & Mason, 2015, p. 1) which is “...becoming increasingly important for academic communities” (Ross, Terras, Warwick, & Welsh, 2011, p. 214); and hence it is considered “...appropriate to assume that this source would yield relevant and current data reflecting modern viewpoints” (Jones S. , 2014, p. 7). From daily casual reporting on the breakfast today and other information of the likes, Twitter has become a useful instrument for identifying patterns and trends of identity construction and representation, which are “... important not only in themselves, but rather as these serve to position people against others, as part of processes of evaluation and legitimization of wider kinds of identities and social processes” (Bouvier, 2015, p. 156). What all of this shows is that, as Bouvier (2015) states, “...we really need to produce studies that do not treat the online in isolation” (p. 158), as “... these changes point to wider shifts in culture: globalisation, the demise of more centralised authoritative knowledge, shifts in a whole range of ideas and values” (p. 159).

This then connects us to another important component of the book: the concept of hashtag in general, and “#balkanization’ in particular. Why the hashtag? The answer to this lies in two main reasons which are of epistemological and empirical nature respectively. First, the hashtag best highlights the epistemological position on subjectivities which I undertake in the book by viewing the same as constructed through language and reflective of societal structures which are created and used to serve a specific logic, system and order of hierarchies. Tweeting “#balkanization” does not end with/on Twitter. ‘Balkanization’ is not just a word and the current use of hashtags has proven this. Rambukkana (2015), by drawing on examples such as #isthenipplepolitical, #tahrir, #winning, #BlackLivesMatter, #FirstWorldProblems, #rapedneverreported, elaborates on the constitutive nature of the relationship between the

hashtag and the subject. Most recent examples of this are also #metoo and #timesup (Perkins, 2017) . “To inscribe some hashtags into the world, to instance them in ink or through digital data, could get you killed; others could get you ostracized from social spaces you frequent, or get you fired...” (p. 4) says Rambukkana (2015). According to him “... [t]o use a hashtag is to imbue that actant with the properties of material action, to move it from the virtual to the actual, to make it an actor in its own right. To accelerate it into motion in this way, to imbue it with affect, allows it to affect in turn” (Rambukkana, 2015, p. 5). Choosing to specifically use the notion of subjectivities in my research question is meant to convey that to tweet “#balkanization” means to bring subjects and selves into being.

Mansfield (2000) explains that the “... ‘self’ does not capture the sense of social and cultural entanglement that is implicit in the word ‘subject’” (p. 2). This in turn preconditions the choice of his epistemology as “... genealogical rather than metaphysical” (p. 5) – one inspired by Nietzsche and Foucault. Having had the terrain prepared by Nietzsche in his *On the Genealogy of Morality* (1997), Foucault (1980) disputes the existence of the individual as autonomous, independent and self-sufficient, but rather claims that “[t]he individual, that is, is not the *vis-à-vis* of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle” (p. 98). That is why Mansfield (2000) too sees “... no strict and simple demarcation between the subject of the spoken sentence, the citizen in court, the searcher after truth and the person walking in the street” (p. 10). From this then, there is no real distinction between the Twitter user and her or his language; the citizen and the tweet, the subject and the hashtag.

Second, from an empirical perspective, the hashtag is a natural tool for filtering content. As choices need be made and the consideration of all tweets that used the word “balkanization” was unfeasible due to the different limitations factored by time and finances, allowing for the decision on the selection of the research material to be guided by the hashtag enabled me to filter and narrow down the pool of data without any major loss of content and the trends it would potentially have revealed. The time factor is still obtained and preserved, and the data is stretched through a wide diapason of time from the first tweet to include “#balkanization” in October 3, 2009 to August 4, 2017. Further, as I conduct a qualitative analysis, sifting focus on specific tweets rather than conducting big data research, provides with a larger space for in-depth analysis which in turn allows for one to elaborate on specific cases but to also not exclude general trends extracted from the totality of data. With this I do not claim that I am sealing the academic gap of what characterizes the ‘balkanization’ discourse in the present. Research on ‘balkanization’ through Twitter is not the solitary representative of the ‘balkanization’ discourse today, especially if considering the proliferation of information facilitated by the

social media which generates a constant opportunity for new insights. The book nevertheless provides with contemporary insights on the ‘balkanization’ discourse which would otherwise be missing.

Approach and Method: A Critique on the ‘Balkanization’ Discourse

As the title of the books reveals, I choose a critical approach to examine the ‘balkanization’ discourse as forged through subjectivities on Twitter. While extensive discussions (in which I aim not to participate) can be dedicated to what “critique” in fact is, it is essential to briefly comment on a conceptual cornerstone of the book for which one of the best sources to turn to would be Michel Foucault’s lecture “What is Critique?” (1997) delivered in 1978, at the French Society of Philosophy. Dedicating a commentary to this lecture of Foucault, Judith Butler (2002) further clarifies what the task of a critique according to Foucault would be. Butler (2002) finds critique’s primary task in asking:

What is the relation of knowledge to power such that our epistemological certainties turn out to support a way of structuring the world that forecloses alternative possibilities of ordering? Of course, we may think that we need epistemological certainty in order to state for sure that the world is and ought to be ordered a given way. To what extent, however, is that certainty orchestrated by forms of knowledge precisely in order to foreclose the possibility of thinking otherwise? (p. 214)

Hence, through the questioning of epistemological convictions that surround ‘balkanization’ now as formed by a historical process of forging which as such validate certain ways of knowing and exclude, ignore, or nullify others, is how this book represents a critical endeavor. By bearing this in mind, I not only expose the reader to hitherto conceptualizations of ‘balkanization’ but to also questioning and unaccommodating the same. I hence place my research within the broader conceptual frame of genealogy as “... it demands relentless erudition... it rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies. It opposes itself to the search for ‘origins’” (Foucault, 1977, p. 140).

Undertaking a genealogical and critical approach to the study of ‘balkanization’ in efforts of locating the same beyond its semantics into the subjectivities it constructs, conditions its conceptualization as a discourse and *vice versa*. According to Foucault (1977) discourses are

... practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech. (p. 45)

With this, Langer (1998) considers Foucault’s approach “... as a basic model or frame for discourse analysis from a critical perspective” (p. 2). Langer (1998) however, considers the haziness and terminological flexibility surrounding the notion of discourse, to be the reason for

attracting the attention of both, social theorists and researchers in linguistics and other branches of the humanities. Despite sharing their interest though, different fields of thought, approaching discourses in separate dimensions (linguistics, sociological or psychological), have ended inconsiderate to the possibility of learning from each other. An example of this is the studies of media communication and discourse analysis, which as van Dijk (1985) claimed, were “... two vast fields of research that, despite their common interest for text, talk and communication, seem to virtually ignore each other” (p. v). This is also why Van Dijk’s definition of discourse is the most suitable one to express the dimensions of ‘balkanization’ upon which I focus my research and further analysis and with which I step towards Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research method (see Figure 1 below).

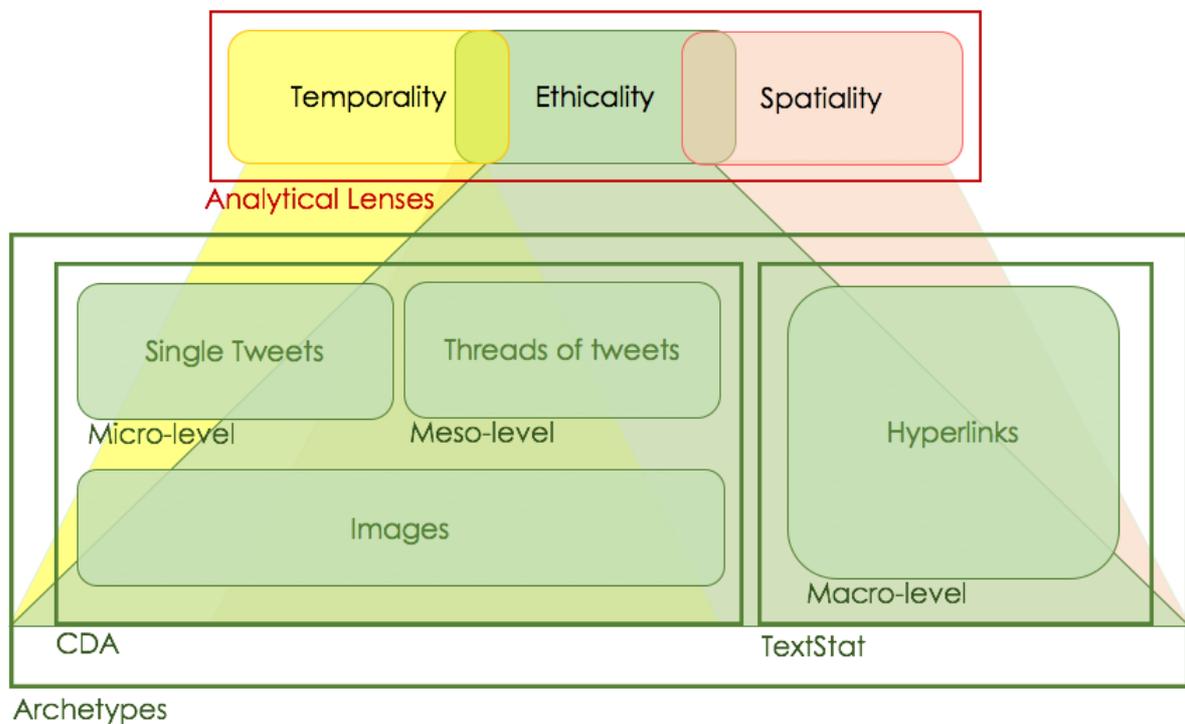


Figure 1 Visual Conceptualization of the Methodology of Research. Own illustration of the author.
Note. Temporality, ethicality and spatiality present the three main analytical lenses as adapted from *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* by L. Hansen, 2006. Archetypes present meanings associated with ‘balkanization’ from tweets examined through CDA as adapted from *Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* by T. van Dijk (2000).

Van Dijk (1997) identifies three dimensions of encountering discourse(s) from the perspective of critical analysts: language use – not limited only to spoken language; the communication of belief – people use language in order to communicate ideas or beliefs and they do this as a part of more complex social events; and interaction in social situations-transcends using language or communicating ideas. The three dimensions of discourse that van Dijk (2009) identifies, are reflected in his “... triangular sociocognitive account” (p. 64) as an approach to CDA. The

content of tweets has been analyzed through van Dijk’s (2000) model of CDA and Lene Hansen’s (2006) work on identity construction. Together they constitute the methodological theory behind the data analysis and interpretation of the empirical corpus of tweets as depicted in Figure 1 above.

Due to limitations of time and resources I focus on tweets that include only the hashtag “balkanization” and its lingual variation, such as “balkanisation”, “balkanizacija” and “балканизација” (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 “#Balkanization” and its Lingual Variations on Twitter

Note. The numbers in the cells stand for the number of tweets of each lingual variation of “#balkanization” in respective languages.

Language	Variations				Total
	#balkanisation	#balkanizacija	#balkanization	#балканизација	
English	363	5	1112		1480
French	352		3		355
Slovenian		17			17
Croatian	1	9	1		11
Serbian	1	7		1	9
Bosnian		7			7
Unknown	2		2		4
Italian	1	1	1		3
German		1	2		3
Bulgarian			1	2	3
Macedonian				1	1
Turkish			1		1
Hindi	1				1
Spanish	1				1

The empirical corpus of research widened to include not only tweets, but also hyperlinked texts to articles and news of mainstream media for a better contextualization of the discourse. For every hyperlinked text to be submitted to a thorough analysis of discourse categories and levels as the tweets’ texts have, would be impossible. However, instead of excluding it as a research component, I decided to rather reach towards hyperlinked references to text by using the *concordance* feature offered by TextSTAT (Hüning, 2007) as a simple text analysis tool and a

web crawling³ software. All links shared in any of the 1892 tweets were extracted and this formulated another empirical corpus, complementary to that of the tweets' texts which resulted with a total of 700 hyperlinked references to text, out of which 586 in English; 101 in French; 10 in Balkan languages (Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian); and 1 hyperlinked reference for each, German, Italian and Chinese text. Alongside intertextuality, for a more inclusive analysis, another component is taken into consideration: *multimodality*. Iedema (2003) refers to multimodality as a "... discourse analytical term" (p. 32) which "was introduced to highlight the importance of taking into account semiotics other than language-in-use, such as image, music, gesture, and so on" (p. 33). In other words, current social research needs to unavoidably rise above semantics in order to be able to better identify the text and context link. Due to this then, I have extended my analysis into including also the different images (107 in total), songs references (3 in total) and video references (49 in total).

The examination of tweets, thread of tweets, hyperlinked texts and multimodal references are examined through the discourse levels and categories as proposed by van Dijk (2000) and are part of the *ethical* lenses of analysis. Ethicality is only one of the three main analytical lenses, alongside *temporality* and *spatiality* as adopted from Lene Hansen's (2006) elaborations on identity construction through a consideration of how "... identity is always spatially, temporally, and ethically situated" (p. 32). Hansen (2006) calls ethicality an "... analytical lens" (p. 42) of an equal ontological status as spatiality and temporality "... that bring out the important political substance of identity construction, not explicitly articulated" (p. 42). Spatiality and temporality remain components which are extracted from the tweets, and then further put in relation to ethicality. Bringing the three components together does not only follow Hansen's model of analytical lenses, but it also adheres to the many times repeated importance on the contextualization and historicization of text that genealogy requires. Therefore, the examples of tweets provided below are archetypical representatives of the 'balkanization' discourse which are carefully presented as situated in space and time. In finally bringing together ethicality, temporality and spatiality as the three dimensions of identity construction, with this I summarize the theoretical mechanism and methodological support behind the data analysis (see Figure 1 above). An illustration of applying it can be found in Figure 2 below.

³ A web crawler is a software application and one of the main components of web search engines which is automated to run often simple and repetitive tasks over the Internet.



Figure 2 Illustration of Applying CDA to Tweets. Own illustration of the author.
Note. Adapted from Westra (2017) and Demonkid (2017).

Archetypes: ‘Balkanization’ through the Pole of the Dominant

Archetypes convey archetypal meanings associated with “#balkanization”. The analysis resulted with a list of 204 different archetypes (see Figure 3 below) detailed lists of which are annexed to the book. The word “archetypes” draws familiarity to the famous *Jungian archetypes* (Jung, 2010), further elaborated and defined by Fesit and Feist (2008) as (emotionally) repressed experiences inherited from our ancestors which become highly developed, but which we do not have to experience individually. Through archetypes, Jung’s theory, as Papadopolus (2006) suggests, “... offers a bridge between the personal realm and the wider collective structures” (p. 31). He explains that archetypes have an “[o]rganising effect... on the knowing process, on one’s very consciousness” (Papadopoulos, 2006, p. 32).

Relating this to ‘balkanization’ then, the archetypes conveyed through “#balkanization” are first, indeed part of the collective (un)consciousness; second, I am examining them through indirect symbols from which I only after extract archetypal meanings; third, they are given material expression by individuals and cultures once they enter consciousness and find materialization by giving justification to particular social orders as opposed to others. As such, without going deeper into Jungian philosophy, I found the word quite expressive and descriptive to the preceding theoretically and epistemological supportive logic behind the analysis of the tweets. To elaborate individually on each one of the 204 archetypes is not only unfeasible within the realms of this paper, but also those of the book itself. The chosen examples of archetypes and tweets presented in the book come from two main strands of data interpretation which required a practical and exclusionary decision to be presented as such, and which were a helpful way in deciding what to exclude from presenting in this thesis: first, I elaborate on the top ten most prevailing archetypes and spaces; and second, I reach towards the other end of the spectrum and that is the archetypes and spaces that have come up as the rarest in relation to the “#balkanization” and which typically were mentioned only once.

In this paper I elaborate on the top ten most prevalent archetypes (see Table 2) and places (see Table 3) associated with “#balkanization”. It is important to clarify that claiming that the elaborated archetypes in this paper and in the book are more relevant than those which I have not elaborated on, would not only be incorrect as frequency in itself cannot do justice to such a claim, but it would also be epistemologically self-contradictory. Adopting a genealogical approach to the interpretation of data, enables as much as requires me to consider those instances where ‘balkanization’ appears to be with no history due to being mentioned only once or not at all; to include the less/least present in a history of discontinuity, one that goes beyond the most triumphant forms of knowledge which have emerged and which historically have been the ones which have survived; to include under scrutiny the ‘knowledge

under shade’ so to speak, which is living under the highlight of the dominant, ubiquitous, omnipresent.



Figure 3 Word Cloud of ‘Balkanization’ Archetypes. Own illustration of the author.
Note. Most frequently appearing archetypes are in bigger sizes.

The heatmap below (see Table 2) depicts the ten most prevalent conceptual connotations associated with ‘balkanization’ as resulted from the applied CDA. Nuances of division(s); data/Internet national regulations; nation(alism/ality); war; race(ism); data/software heterogeneity; independence; Islam/Muslim(s); union, unity or unification, and (anti)im(migration) are what is being used the most in conjunction with “#balkanization” in tweets. It is to be noted that the numbers in the heatmap do not present the number of tweets, but rather the number of archetypes as appearing in specific years. Same goes for Table 3 below, in which the numbers in the heatmap do not present the number of tweets that refer to a specific place, but rather the number of times a space has been mentioned in a specific year. This, again, due to one tweet possibly referring to two or more spaces. In other words, while the 1892 tweets present the pool of data, it is the number of identified archetypes and spaces that present the units of analysis.

Table 2 Top Ten Archetypes Associated with “#Balkanization”

Note. The numbers in the cells represent the frequency of archetypes in respective years. The table follows a scaling shade formatting rule in which the brighter the shade the less the frequency of the archetype.

Archetypes	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Division(s)		1	3	7	18	25	17	39	24	134
Data/Internet National Regulations		2	2	4	32	45	13	10	4	112
Nation(alism/ality)		1	2	1	12	14	15	21	22	88
War		1	2	5	14	17	7	16	20	82
Race(ism)	1		1	2	11	19	11	17	13	75
Data/Software Heterogeneity		1	5	3	12	5	8	32	7	73
Independence			1	6	7	24	3	11	7	59
Islam/Muslim			1	4	3	10	13	13	14	58
Union/Unity/Unification			1	6	7	11	6	22	2	55
(Anti)im(migration)			1		1	11	16	17	7	53

From all the tweets that have used “#balkanization”, connotations of *division(s)* (see Example 1) have been the most prevailing one. While the hyperlinked text shared by the user is no longer available for accession, the text of the tweet itself is interesting to be looked at due to the following reasons: first, it shows direct conceptual association of ‘balkanization’ with division; second, it draws a geographical link of the word with Yugoslavia; third, it relates it to a model, pattern of action being prescriptively applied to Syria; fourth, the agency of action

is externalized to NATO ironically referred to as “a genius”; yet, the user here refers to ‘balkanization’ as a “word”, and which as we will see will not be the case with many other tweets.

Example 1: *Ta divna riječ "balkanizacija" - NATO "genij" dijeli Siriju po uzoru na Jugoslaviju #NATO #Sirija #balkanizacija... <http://fb.me/6V1wMJ4o4> (AMSI, 2016)*
 [Translated from Bosnian: That wonderful word “balkanization” – NATO “the genius” divides Syria by taking Yugoslavia as a model #NATO #Sirija #balkanizacija... <http://fb.me/6V1wMJ4o4>]

Table 3 Top Ten Spaces Associated with “#Balkanization”

Note. The numbers in the cells represent the number of times a particular space was associated with tweets in respective years. The table follows a scaling shade formatting rule in which the brighter the shade the less the frequency of the space.

Spaces	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
US	1	1	7	19	32	68	60	111	87	386
Democratic Republic of the Congo			2	39	41	23	14	54	35	208
Cyberspace		3	10	7	44	59	21	16	4	164
Syria			1	6	23	7	20	27	35	119
UK				6	8	18	16	37	10	95
France				2	12	16	22	17	16	85
Global		2	7	3	7	13	5	19	14	70
Middle East			4		9	5	12	16	12	58
Pakistan			5	6	23	6	4	5	6	55
Scotland				8	3	28	2	7	4	52

What is also noticeable is that most tweets associating ‘balkanization’ with nuances of division(s) first, refer to the ongoing situation in Syria and the Middle East (see Example 2 and 3); and second, are closely connected to the “war(s)” archetype (see Example 2). Hence, both the “division(s)” and “war(s)” archetypes are among the top prevalent archetypes associated with ‘balkanization’ (see Table 2), while referring to Syria and Middle East which are among the top ten spaces associated with ‘balkanization’ (see Table 3). What the “division(s)” archetype revealed is that while ‘balkanization’ in association with division(s) is always a tentative to resolving a problematic existing condition, it is either a failed tentative, or a chaotic state preceding peace [but never being peace(ful) itself]. The hyperlinked text shared in Example 5 where we find ‘balkanization’ as antecedent to “finlandization”, perfectly illustrates this: “Anglo-American occupied Iraq, particularly Iraqi Kurdistan, seems to be the preparatory ground for the balkanization (division) and finlandization (pacification) of the Middle East” (Nazemroaya, 2006).

Example 2: The West war machine wants to use #Shia-#Sunni *divide* for #Balkanisation of this region. We, the Muslims, happy to play the desired role (Khan, 2017)

Example 2: #khazar program for #Balkanization of the #MiddleEast - <http://www.globalresearch.ca/plans-for-redrawing-the-middle-east-the-project-for-a-new-middle-east/3882> (Tannery, 2016)

Example 3: "The Truth About What's REALLY Happening in #Syria" @LionelMedia talks 2 @Partisangirl https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_cd2TLhaZg #ISIS #Israel #Balkanization (OneVenusThrow, 2017)

Nuances of division(s) are also prevailing in tweets that use 'balkanization' to refer to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and the conflict in the Eastern Congo specifically (see Example 4), which cannot be understood without considering the role that neighboring countries played in it. Different from "division(s)" archetypes correlated to the Middle East and Syria, those referring to the DRC, due to the explicit connectedness with the Rwandan genocide, often include rather heavier semantics in referring to genocides and/or massacres.

Example 4: Le #Congo connaît un génocide et un processus de #balkanisation avancé que semble ignorer le #FrontCitoyen <http://wp.me/p23tlw-27Y> #telema (ingetaweb, 2016) [Adapted from French: The #Congo is experiencing a *genocide* and an advanced #balkanization process that seems to be ignored by #FrontCitoyen]

Such examples are intriguing to examine as they reveal how discourses of/on 'the Balkans' and those situated in Africa in general, come together when it comes to Western countries as influential and even dominant decision-makers in these places. Hanses (2006) for example, speaks of what she calls "the genocide discourse" which different from "the Balkans discourse" was used to justify the intervention in the Bosnian war "... by arguing that the war was a genocide committed by Serbian military and political leaders and that the West had an ethical obligation to come to Bosnia's rescue" (p. 11).

The second most prevailing 'balkanization' archetype takes place in cyberspace and associates 'balkanization' with data or Internet national regulations as illustrated in Example 5 below:

Example 5: WARNING: #Internet May End By XMas <http://huff.to/1paKFX1> The #digitaldivide writ larger--much larger...: the #balkanization of cyberspace? (Steele, 2014)

Different from the "division(s)" archetype, the "data/Internet national regulations" archetype reaches its peak in 2014. This prevailing trend seems to be caused by few other earlier events, one being the leaking of classified information from the US National Security Agency (NSA) by Edward Snowden, former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) employee in 2013. In 2014,

among others, it was revealed that NSA had monitored Chancellor Angela Merkel’s mobile phone (“Inside Snowden’s Germany file”, 2014), to which the Chancellor reacted with a call for data protection through national regulations and regionalization of communication network (“Data protection: Angela Merkel proposes Europe network”, 2014). Prior to this, other countries had already raised concerns similar to that of Germany, but which gained less attention. As Meinrath (2013) suggests, “Brazil is one of a handful of countries that includes Indonesia, Turkey, and India who have been on the fence in the last decade’s debate over whether to develop an international framework to govern the Internet”. Similarly, such intentions were raised after the then Brazilian President Dilma Rouseff followed evidences that the US had been surveilling her email.



Figure 4 Image Illustrating the “Data/Internet National Regulations” Archetype of ‘Balkanization’

Note. Adapted from “The End of the Internet?” by G.M. Goldstein (2014).

While surveillance and data protection were among the reasons to call for a nationalization of the internet, the other was of a rather different nature: that of knowledge and information control by governments. Tweets such as that of Example 6, 7 and 8 connect ‘balkanization’ to the attempts of autocratic governments to firewall internet content. The

hyperlink shared in the same example provides us with further insight into how this situation is not unique to Turkey. Goldstein (2014) explains how “[a]utocracies, of course, have long regulated the flow of Internet data, with China being the most famous example”. The link shared in the following Example 8 adds to the list Russia, India and Iran, which as Alves (2014) suggests that “[r]egardless of the specifics of their actions, all these players have been invariably labeled as “balkanizers”.

Example 6: @ivan_herman: https://gigaom.com/2014/02/06/turkey-passes-draconian-internelaw-turks-say-goodbye-to-their-freedom-of-speech/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+OmMalik+%28GigaOM%3A+Tech%29 the Turkey law against free speech. Towards Internet #Balkanization @timberners_lee (regesta_com, 2014)

Example 7: Great article by Gordon M. Goldstein "How regional networks may replace the World Wide #Web" <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/07/the-end-of-the-internet/372301/> #internet #balkanization (Tanczer, 2014)

Example 8: RT @feromalo: The #Internet #Balkanization Fragmentation <http://ow.ly/CdtPz> via @DiplomacyEdu #netgov #IGF #ICANN #theGIP (Radunovic, 2014)

Of course, the third position Cyberspace takes in terms of spaces associated with “#balkanization” is in correlation with the “data/Internet national regulations” archetype. However, cyberspace holds another separate archetype that I have named “data/software heterogeneity” archetype. While both archetypes share the same space, they differ in conceptualization as the latter refers to rather an abundance of an uncontrollable and unavoidable proliferation of data and software options (see Examples 9 and 10).

Example 9: *Les «applis» pour téléphones portables sont un problème : autant de versions à réaliser qu'il y a de système d'exploitation.* #balkanisation (Stoehr, 2014) [Adapted from French: Apps for mobile phones are a *problem*: as many versions have to be realized as there are operating system. #balkanisation]

Example 10: #Balkanization: Is #DataScience Ripe for Consolidation? <http://buff.ly/1QxtDPX> |by @fdouetteau on @DataScience (dataiku, 2016)

The alarming nature of balkanization’ lingers on as words such as “problem” remain close to it (see Example 15). In the hyperlinked article titled “Technoslavia or the Balkanization of Data Science” (2015) shared in Example 16, Douetteau asks:

A time of similar heterogeneity marked the early 80s for data storage technologies.... What is the future in the world of data: unified by a single language and the victory of one player over the others? Will the multiple republics of data will soon give birth to a new Empire?

Douetteau (2015) refers to “Technoslavia” as that one unified “empire” of data, as opposed to ‘balkanization’ as a “... successive fragmentations of empires [which] led to the creation of autonomous states, which were sometimes united against their common enemies (the two great empires), sometimes hostile towards each other”. While it might seem that tweets under this archetype avoid apocalyptic impressions conveyed through the end or ‘death’ of the Internet due to rather reflecting heterogeneity, hence emergence, existence or life, they nevertheless continue to remain associated to phases of becoming, of “either/or”, or of transitional confusions while breaking away from a banner of unity into one of borders and irreconcilable differences. As such this archetype retains catastrophic nuances of something unwanted which is still not there, but yet to come. Hence, Douetteau (2015) advertises Dataiku’s services as its CEO through concluding that “... Technoslavia is built to last” (i.e. and ‘balkanization’ to end and perish if considering the title of his article).

From the archetypes presented until now, ‘balkanization’ stands for an opposite of Yugoslavia and the unity it portrayed, while it being a metaphor for fragmentation, national regulation and heterogeneity. From this then, if the opposite of ‘balkanization’ would present some form of denationalization so to speak, should not ‘the Balkans’ then at least ‘tick the box’ of nation-states, nationalism or nationality? While this might not be the case, it directs us towards the next archetype: “nation(alism/ality)” archetype. This discourse of nation(alism/ality) and independence associated with ‘balkanization’ reaches even India and Pakistan (both among the top ten spaces associated with ‘balkanization’) and quite often manifests itself in relation to the Kashmiri territorial conflict by not only as it extends towards what is being called “Islamists” and Muslims in general, but also while reaching even the Indian caste system of differentiation (see Examples 11 and 12).

Example 11: aiming for the #balkanisation of #India including #Kashmiri #Islamists, NE #insurgents, #Maoists in Bengal, Chhattisgarh, 2/3 (Sharma, 2016)

Example 12: #Modi's playing Kaun Hoga Alienate? left right and center in a reckless prelude to #Balkanization. Dalits, Farmers, Muslims, #Kashmir, next? (godavar, 2016)

However, what is currently very prevailing in connecting ‘balkanization’ to nuances of national(ism/ity) are the recent events of calls for referendums of independence in the EU in specific and Europe in general which have brought back discussions on nation states (see Example 13). The famous withdrawal of UK from the EU also known as Brexit (portmanteau of “British” and “exit”), elicited discussions on Scotland’s call for a second referendum of independence due to having voted “no” to leaving the EU (de Freytas-Tamura, 2016) (see Example 14) and Northern Ireland following the same example (see Example 15). The

examples also explain the positions that the UK and Scotland take among the top ten associated spaces with ‘balkanization’ (see Table 3). Furthermore, they represent examples of how an archetype correlated with many others as that of “nation(alism/unity)” results unquestionably related to that of “division(s)” as mentioned before and “independence”. Catalonia’s call for independence from Spain (see Example 16) helped spread out commentaries in a domino-effect fashion on other countries and places breaking away from nation states or unions, including Italy, France, Netherlands and Denmark among those (see Example 17).

Example 13: Opinion: We can still stop the #Balkanization of the #EU <http://www.dw.com/p/2XR4j?twâ> | @dwnews (Demjanski, 2017)

Example 14: Hate to say it...but are we just about to witness the #Balkanisation of the EU, with #Brexit, and then the UK, when Scotland splits? (Istros_books, 2016)

Example 15: Corbyn supports a united Ireland yet plots to divide England. #balkanisation <http://www.thejournal.ie/jeremy-corbyn-united-ireland-2354277-Sep2015/> (Ulf_Fenisc, 2017)

Example 16: Rafael Arenas García: Why #Catalonia Should Stay With #Spain, via @nytimes #nationalism #balkanisation <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/09/opinion/why-catalonia-should-stay-with-spain.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share> (Andreasson, 2017)

Example 17: #Balkanization Brexit Fever: Italy, France, Netherlands & Denmark Seek Vote On Leaving EU <http://www.informationliberation.com/?id=55062> (Burton, 2016)

In a similar fashion, Burnett (2016) talks about Earth’s referendum on membership of the solar system which he calls “Earthxit” (see example 18). According to him, “[c]urrent approaches tend to heavily favour those who believe Earth would be better off as an independent planet, slowly and aimlessly wandering the cosmos while rapidly freezing solid and becoming hostile to all present life forms” (Burnett, 2016). Even more convincingly, when elaborating on the argument of those who supposedly vote for Earth to stay within the solar system, he says that the most often given reason is “Wouldn’t that kill everyone and everything?” (Burnett, 2016). Although Burnett does not mention ‘balkanization’ himself, Example 19 presents a reply to his tweet within the same thread which associated all of this with ‘balkanization’.

Example 18: Earthxit? Support for Earth leaving the solar system is overstated <http://gu.com/p/4tx7t/stw> Bit of a #Brexit piss take, because why not (Burnett, 2016)

Example 19: Don't knock #Texit or #Cornwallexit... or... #Balkanisation (BW_2012_origin, 2016)

Remaining within Europe, we see that ‘the exit’ wave was taking place in parallel to another discourse on security, Muslims, Islam and Islamophobia. The Global Terrorism Database released its report on the fatal terrorist attacks in Western Europe increasing (Miller, 2017). Besides Brexit being a manifestation of rising populist and nationalist rhetoric, it among others advocated for tighter control of immigration of mostly Muslim groups (Ledwith, 2016). Over 100 hate faith-based incidents were recorded by the Muslim Council of Britain place since the Brexit were announced on Friday 24 June 2016 (The Muslim Council of Britain, 2017), concluding that Brexit fueled anti-Muslim sentiments in the UK. This brings us to our next “Islam/Muslim” archetype (see Examples 20 and 21).

Example 20: Muslim no go areas exist, confirm UK Police <https://themuslimissue.wordpress.com/2015/12/09/uk-cop-there-are-areas-we-have-to-ask-muslim-leaders-permission-to-patrol/> (Vance, 2017)

Example 21: Sayyyyyyyyy WHUT!! So the rule of law doesn't extend everywhere or indeed equitably #balkanisation (Judsteroo, 2017)

However, most representative examples of “Islam/Muslim”, “(anti)im(migration)” and “race(ism)” archetypes assembled together are rather found in tweets where ‘balkanization’ is used in reference to the US which takes the first position of all spaces (see Table 3). In the US ‘balkanization’ seems to be tightly connected to public figures and presidential candidates during elections, from which also the “Barack Obama”, “Donald Trump” and “Hillary Clinton” archetypes emerge from, although not within the top ten archetypes. With Donald Trump running for office in 2016, tweets associating ‘balkanization’ with the US reached their peak (see Examples 22 – 25 below).

Example 22: If #Trump doesn't win expect #Balkanization in America. Repeat after me: "Diversity is not a strength." (celesteangel234, 2016)

Example 23: Is #Trump advocating #balkanization of the #UnitedStates? #HipHop #Dems #Evidencebasedresearch #cyberwarfare #changeplayingfield #sexism (donalddjmorin, 2016)

Example 24: If this year's #IdentityPolitics are the new normal in elections, will the US fall into #Balkanization? #Trump #Bernie (InAquaSanitas, 2016)

Example 25: O'Hillary sez #Trump plays into #ISIS hands. #Trump sez O'Hillary plays into #Balkanization. (MindofMo, 2016)

Nuances of Islam, Muslim and terrorism are inevitably connected to those of (anti)im(migration), especially since once in office Trump signed an executive order (Exec. Order. No. 13769, 2017) also known as the Muslim ban (Scott, 2017), and which among others

blocked entry of people from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, for at least 90 days. However, the same were circulating already before Trump being elected as a president while during his electoral campaign he promised to build a wall that would protect the US from immigrants. This is what Example 26 below refers to.

Example 26: #TrumpIsRight #BuildTheWall #WestDelugedWithMigrants #Welfare #Balkanization @TheKuhnerReport @realDonaldTrump #tcot (SashaGirlVegas, 2017)

As such then the discourse of the immigrants in the US in relation to ‘balkanization’ goes beyond Muslim refugees and terrorist threats, in referring to the cultural diversity of US in general, but specifically used closely to the Hispanic and Latino immigrants already since 2013 (see Examples 27 and 28).

Example 27: Very real and sobering. "Buchanan: Hispanic influx from immigration could break US into ‘2 countries' <http://dailycaller.com/2013/06/23/buchanan-hispanic-influx-from-immigration-bill-could-break-us-into-two-countries/#ixzz2X6G21owo>" #Balkanization (Davidiuk, 2013)

Example 28: @sfcpoll needs to recognize that #Latino #immigration raises distinctive questions re #balkanization/#bilingualism: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-omnivision-techs-proposal/chinese-group-proposes-to-buy-u-s-chipmaker-omnivision-idUSKBN0GE1IL20140814> (Tonelson, 2014)

Such tweets are closely related to the archetype of “unity, unification or union” in the US, where ‘balkanization’ seems to play its counterpart (see Example 29). Connected to nuances of diversity and heterogeneity, immigrants unwilling to assimilate seem to present a threat to the US which although built upon diversity ironically claims its unity through the idea of a ‘melting pot’ (U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, p. 1) and homogeneity.

Example 29: @sallykohn Fuck unity. Why force 315+ million people, with differing values, ideologies, etc. to stay together? #Balkanization (Agent_Orange76, 2016)

This in turn then is connected to the archetype of “race(ism)” (see Examples 30 and 31). To Obama’s consideration of implementing legal structures that would apply only to the state’s native Hawaiian Sen, the article shared in example 30 replies with “[i]f you can do that with groups that are already part of the mainstream, you can balkanize the country” (Agee, 2014). This transmits nuances of favoritisms and racial segregation. However, the user in Example 31 of a more recent time seems to differentiate between ‘balkanization’ as border securitization from racism. This only adds up to the already communicated ambiguity associated to ‘balkanization’ because if something has been transmitted through ‘balkanization’ in the

above-presented examples has been exactly the opposite edge of secure borders and legal immigration.

Example 30: Is Obama Going To Establish Separate Government Structures Based On Race? #Balkanization #Transformation http://www.westernjournalism.com/obama-wants-establish-separate-government-structures-based-race/?utm_source=wysija&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=DailyEmail (amadorn, 2014)

Example 31: It isn't '#Racism' to demand #SecureBorders and #LegalImmigration. -- #NotRacist #NWO ##Balkanization (psycotria, 2016)

However, the user (psycotria, 2016) in Example 31 gets closer to the conceptual associations of ‘balkanization’ precisely through that ambiguous argument. From what has been presented until now as most frequent archetypes and spaces concomitant to ‘balkanization’, we have been moving not only across countries and continents, but also among fields of thought and expertise. An example of this is the “data/Internet national regulations” and “data/software heterogeneity” archetypes. Others such as the “demograph(y/ic)”, “justice system/legislation”, “financ(es/ial)”, as well as “sport” and “music(al)” ‘balkanization’ appear in between the two poles of frequency. Hence, ‘balkanization’ is indeed a global phenomenon not only in terms of spatiality, but as a mental model of cognition. This directs us towards the one space of Table 3 that I haven’t elaborated on: the globe. I called “global” the space which tweets that transmit global dimensions not related to a specific geography (see example 39) convey. In the article shared in Example 39, Doug’s Darkwold (2012) ends with a prediction: “What does the future hold? My guess is a lot more Balkanization... there are thousands of ethnic groups on the planet, and only a few hundred governments”.

Example 39: #Balkanization, the wave of the future? #global #geopolitics #war #strategy <https://unitedcats.wordpress.com/2012/11/08/balkanization-the-wave-of-the-future/> (FatmaEr_PhD, 2016)

Yet, no matter the global and omnipresent dimensions ‘balkanization’ may take, it is still a “wave of the future” (Doug’s Darkworld, 2012) which is here and there, has always been, but has never reached a state of completion, accomplishment, termination and finale. This transforms ‘balkanization’ into something never really existent and self-realized, but simultaneously very much present hence existent, and it is precisely where the discourse of ‘balkanization’ seems to rely on. Time, which “... has been peculiar in the Balkans” (De Lange, 2016, p. 10), seems to be stuck in constant invention, and hence ‘balkanization’ has remained a process, an either/or, neither/nor, a becoming, a nearly there but never there. From this

perspective, as already noticed in some of the examples presented above, ‘balkanization’ is closely connected to nuances of apocalypse and clashes of dichotomies.

Hence, as this subsection reveals and as the book further proves, the place of ‘balkanization’ is not in any of the edges of this archetypes, because ‘balkanization’ lives liminally between the archetypes and their extremes, it is the antonyms and the synonym of these archetypes; the crave for nation states and the failure to reach one, as much as the over-manifestation of self-realized entities that follow only their narrow interests; the abundance of diversity and heterogeneity, but the failure of realizing its fruits; the segregated ‘melting pot’; the in between of barbarism and the never reaching civilization, hence in between a shameful past and an existing but never reaching future. As such ‘balkanization’ is a threat to a Western future with a glorious past which has to unfortunately deal with the challenges it presents, because, yet again, ‘the Balkans’ are geographically European, hence ‘balkanization’ is Europe as much as its other.

The pole of the infrequent archetypes supports this claim. To give but an example as such of a pattern of thought, ‘balkanization’ seems to be applied to any situation that conveys the same difficulties or complications. It even reaches the North Pole as Examples 40, 41 and 42 reveal below. The three tweets are extracted from the same thread of tweets and stand for replies to each other in the order presented.

Example 40: Russia doesn't argue over trifling islands when they can claim the North Pole @venkatananth @rubenmasc <http://ow.ly/e3Nbj> (Paul, 2012)

Example 41: @adityampaul True, The North Pole might just emerge as the 21st century Balkans! #Balkanisation (Mascarenhas, 2012)

Example 42: @rubenmasc not really antarctica is still left! You know we have a claim there too #Balkanisation (Paul, 2012)

However, while ‘balkanization’ retains conceptual ties to ‘the Balkans’, the idea of it has proven to need no geographic ties by it being recontextualized to different spaces, being those physical places or fields of thought. The tweet below is an example of this (see Example 50).

Example 43: 1) God's take: The Tower of Babel is annoying. I'll make sure ppl can't talk to one another. That'll stop their endeavor #Balkanization (caljv, 2015)

The Tower of Bable is an origin myth from the Hebrew Book of Genesis which holds the narrative of God descending to hinder communication between people who were believed to speak a common language before, by creating many languages. With this God punishes people, who before as united come to the land of Shinar (as Mesopotamia is referred to in the Hebrew

Bible) to arrogantly built the Tower that aimed to reach heaven (Metzger & David, 2004, p. 314). Such analogy seems to reveal a specific dynamics of power associated with ‘balkanization’ which has manifested itself also in the above-presented examples: first, diversity is seen and used as a punishable measure; second, such measure is applied by an external agent who deems ambitions as arrogance; third, that external agent is clearly in a higher and more powerful position to impose such retributions; fourth, the white and male privileged agent applies these penalties on his own creations who supposedly he loves (i.e. God in the role of the humanist, so to speak); and fifth, this due to people only wanting to get closer to him and being like him. People are not only encouraged, but also instructed to follow God’s instructions and commands as that will get them closer to God, but they should not do as God does, as that would mean them becoming one.

Here, for the sake of the argument, I move towards an archetype which is not situated among the top or the bottom ten of the ‘balkanization’ archetypes but which visually and content wise is a great illustration of what has been elaborated under this: ‘balkanization’ in art. Vera Klimentyeva, whose work as an artist (see Figure 5 below) was shared in one of the tweets (see Example 44), is a representative of this. In a tentative of reaching towards an in-depth explanation of the image associated with ‘balkanization’ whose author and model is Klimentyeva herself, I took the initiative to reach out to Klimentyeva.

Example 44: Vera Klimentyeva #balkanization #show#Vienna pic.twitter.com/8MusB
OGI6s (Capan, 2016)

Klimentyeva (personal communication, September 24, 2017) shares her personal experience of having Russian, Estonian, Georgian and Ukrainian roots as an inspiration being reflected on the image below (see Figure 5). She refers to the occurrences in the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and the emerging of new borders which due to her diverse family genealogy left her always asking the question of “...who am I” (Klimentyeva, personal communication, September 24, 2017). Klimentyeva (personal communication, September 24, 2017) says that she took the image as “... the balkanization of the self” in times where she used to work a lot with body, face and her personal experiences related to her different historical, political and cultural ancestries.



Figure 5 Image Illustrating the ‘Balkanization’ in Art Archetype. Copyright [2016] by Vera Klimentyeva. Reprinted [or Adapted] with permission.

Note. The image titled “UNTITLED (Ringing Blood)” is originally the artwork of the artist Vera Klimentyeva (2016) who is also the model.

With this then ‘balkanization’ yet again appears in the space in between Klimentyeva’s parts as divided by the lines of the colors of the Ukrainian, Estonian and Russian flags and the unity of her face, connecting her subjective perceptions with the political occurrences of divisions that caused the same. Klimentyeva’s work and other examples of tweets do not only speak of the conceptual multifariousness conveyed through ‘balkanization’, but reveal an interesting tendency that seems to be new to the ‘balkanization’ discourse: the transition to the personal. In other words, the vastness of looking at ‘balkanization’ from afar as something there and not here, distant and not close, a threat coming but yet not reached, is getting smaller. Such shift in expression and communication with regard to ‘balkanization’ might not present anything unique to the discourse due to the era of instant media which shortens time and space

among the various levels of communication. However, this makes ‘balkanization’ no less relevant and deserving of empirical scrutiny. On the contrary, it proves that it is very much alive and present, and through what it stands for it preconditions processes with real implications on the ground, hence as such it not only is, but it becomes more important.

Conclusions and Prospects: ‘The Balkans’ Back to the Future

Ambiguity is a defining element of the ‘balkanization’ discourse since its initial foundations traced back to ‘the Balkans’ discourse as preceding, as the genealogical examination suggests; and continues to be one in the present, as the empirical research through Twitter verified. The archetypes of meanings surrounding ‘balkanization’ reflect nuances of division(s), data/Internet national regulations, nation(alism/ality), war, race(ism), data/software heterogeneity, independence, Islam/Muslim(s), union, unity or unification, and (anti)im(migration) as the most prevailing ones. However, the essence of associating ‘balkanization’ with these archetypes lies in it being simultaneously the synonym and antonym of the same. This positions the ‘balkanization’ discourse in a special category of identity construction and othering in which ‘the other’ is not defined by what it is not, but by what it *could* and/or *should be*. ‘Balkanization’ lives in the eternal negotiation of what could/should have been, but was not; what could/should be, but is not; what can/should be, but will not. It lives in the constant reinvention of meanings by bringing together and at the same time separating, by differentiating and at the same time equalizing wholeness and particularity, homogeneity and heterogeneity, ‘us’ and ‘them’.

This ambiguity conditions the flexibility of conceptualization, contextualization, and action that the discourse causes and is caused by. In other words, the growth in usage and meanings associated with ‘balkanization’ is due to the ambiguity it conveys, and *vice versa*. This suggests that ‘balkanization’ continuous to grow in flexibility, applicability, and hence decontextualization and recontextualization. Although deriving from ‘the Balkans’ discourse as attached to the Balkan Peninsula, the ‘balkanization’ discourse gives the impression of having gained an ontological independence and life of its own. The fact that the Balkan Peninsula as a whole or in the format of particular Balkan countries is not among the top ten spaces associated with ‘balkanization’, supports this observation. However, this does not mean that no references to the region were made. Analogies between the new contexts that ‘balkanization’ was ascribed to on one side, and former Yugoslavia or the Balkan countries on the other, were constantly reappearing in the tweets. No matter the diversity and ambiguity of meanings that the ‘balkanization’ discourse represents, it is still based on a red thread of analogous references to the Balkan Peninsula.

My research cannot give an account of how ‘balkanization’ as a way of knowing and as a discourse has concretely influenced identity politics and materialized itself through identity politics and policy making towards the Balkans. However, I believe that the first step in possibly examining such correlation is to reject its metahistorical obviousness; to problematize, denaturalize and desubstantialize the discourse, by questioning the ontological and epistemological certainties that gave life to the same, and that facilitate its current formations in form and substance. This is what I aimed to and hope I have reached through this thesis. Further examinations of how the discourse specifically materializes itself in relation to ‘the Balkans’ are part of my forthcoming work and research ambitions which I am taking forward through my Ph.D. project preliminarily titled *Back to the Future: The Euro-Atlantic Integration Processes of the Western Balkans*. Having concluded that the ‘balkanization’ discourse not only continues to operate in the present but does so by growing in applicability, I find such endeavor not only decent but also demanding of further research. As such, I am looking forward to jumping into all the familiarity and foreignness of ‘balkanization’, while expecting to, among others, resulting with a more deconstructed self, or should we rather say a more ‘balkanized’ self.

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