What it Meant to be a Macedonian (1903-1967): An Examination Into the Development of the Macedonian Diaspora in the United States and Canada

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Abstract

This thesis aims to explore the transformative process of the Macedonian diaspora from 1903 to 1967. The goal of this research is to provide evidence for a Macedonian national consciousness within the Macedonian migrant community in North America. The status quo on this discourse regarding the individuals who migrated from the Macedonian region is that they were ethnically Bulgarian or Macedonian-Bulgarian, who only began to identify as Macedonians once the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was created in 1945. The primary question that I aim to answer is whether or not there is legitimate evidence for a Macedonian national consciousness prior to 1945. I argue that there is evidence of a national consciousness, and it can be seen abroad in the United States and Canada during the early 20th century.

I plan to defend my argument by taking a historical sociological approach on this discourse. Specifically, I will utilize the concept of social mobility to help support my argument. In addition, I argue that in the early 20th century, Macedonian immigrants within the United States mobilized into a diaspora. Beginning with the migration of individuals from the Macedonian region to the U.S. in the early 20th century, the Macedonians began to mobilize into a diaspora with the idea that they were a distinct group of people that deserved their own autonomous nation. When the Macedonian Orthodox Church declared autocephaly in 1967, only then did Macedonians abroad develop into a diaspora, and the Macedonian national consciousness legitimized into a national identity.

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Introduction

Following the breakup of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1991, the Macedonian Question took center stage once again as a major political discourse in the Balkan Peninsula.[1] To this day, the Macedonian Question remains unresolved as demonstrated by North Macedonia's failure to attain EU status.[2] However, progress has been made over the years since the breakup of Socialist Yugoslavia; in 2017, the Prespa Agreement allowed North Macedonia to become an official member of NATO.[3] While there is a certain optimism that one day North Macedonia and its neighbors will come to a resolution, there is no clear end in sight.

The Macedonian Question is difficult to resolve in part due to a large number of conflicting interpretations of historical actors and events. Whether it is debating the ethnicity of Gotse Delchev, or if the term "Macedonia" is Greek or not, North Macedonia and their neighbors have many disagreements regarding the past. Beginning in the 19th century, it became difficult to analyze the ethnicities of individuals from the Macedonian region. This is largely due to the Ottoman Millet System which was developed in the 15th century. The Millet System was created to organize the empire's non-Muslim population based on religion instead of ethnicity.[4] As a

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[1] The Macedonian Question refers to the ongoing discourse surrounding the Macedonians and their identity. It is an extremely difficult situation to resolve due to political and historical disagreements that revolve around the ethnicity and history of the Macedonians. For more on the Macedonian Question, see Pettifer, James. "The New Macedonian Question." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 68, no. 3 (1992): 475–85. https://doi.org/10.2307/2622967.

[2] This is a result of Bulgaria blocking their EU ascension.

[3] The Prespa Agreement was a deal between Greece and Macedonia in 2017 which saw Macedonia officially change its name to North Macedonia. In exchange, Greece removed its blockage on Macedonia's ascension into NATO.

[4] The Ottoman Millet System was developed by Sultan Mehmed II in order to organize his non-Muslim subjects that primarily resided in the Balkans. This was because Ottoman law was essentially Muslim law, which was not applicable to Christians or Jews within the empire. The Millet System allowed various religious institutions to govern their respective constituents so long as they paid homage to the sultan.

result, the ethnicity and nationality of individuals in the Balkans were not prioritized by the Ottomans. With the rise of nationalism in the Balkans in the 19th century, the focus shifted from religion to nationality as new nation-states were created.

Conflict arose between the newly formed nation-states in the Balkans in order to accumulate as much territory as possible. One of the most desired territories between Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria was Macedonia, which all three believed they had a right to possess. The claims made by these three nation-states to occupy Macedonia remain a part of the Macedonian Question discourse to this day. Conversely, Macedonians argue that an independent national consciousness has existed in the region dating back to the 19th century. North Macedonia's neighbors contest this claim by arguing that the first signs of a Macedonian national consciousness can be seen no earlier than 1945. This is due to the formation of Socialist Yugoslavia following WWII which led to the creation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to be a part of the federation.

Much of this discourse has focused on the history and residents of the Macedonian region. While this is obviously a large part of the discourse, I want to shift the focus of discussion to the Macedonian diaspora in North America. The aim of this thesis is thus to provide an extensive analysis on the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada during the early 20th century. While analyzing the history of the Macedonian diaspora is only a small piece of the larger puzzle that comprises the Macedonian Question, this is a piece of history that has not been given the attention that it deserves. The goal of this thesis is to legitimize evidence of a Macedonian national consciousness within the North American diaspora by analyzing social mobility during that period. I argue that there is well founded evidence in the form of ship manifests, passenger records, and newspaper articles which contribute to my claim.

These pieces of evidence contribute to disproving the notion that a Macedonian national consciousness did not exist prior to 1945.

Additionally, while they technically had their own republic within Yugoslavia, Macedonia was still a part of the Yugoslavian federation and therefore not totally independent. In order for Macedonian migrants in the U.S and Canada to develop into a diaspora, they needed an independent national institution to identify with in order to legitimize their national consciousness to the world. In 1967, the Macedonian Orthodox Church's declaration of autocephaly marked the first-time migrants in North America had an independent national institution to identify with. In declaring autocephaly, the national consciousness many Macedonians possessed was further legitimized into a national identity, thus completing the development of the Macedonian diaspora.

The history of the Macedonian diaspora in North America is one that has not received a sufficient amount analysis despite being a critical part of the history of the Macedonian people. This thesis will contribute to this part of history by examining social movements within Macedonian migrant communities in the United States and Canada. In addition, this thesis will be utilizing various sociological elements while analyzing the history of the Macedonian diaspora in North America. Therefore, by taking this historical sociological approach, this thesis aims to provide an original analysis on the development of the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada. In this following section, I will provide historical context to the Macedonian Question discourse.

Historical Context

The current state of the "Macedonian Question" discourse is very complex. This field can be divided into three different categories: The general history of Macedonia, the national awakening in Macedonia, and the Macedonian diaspora. The general history of Macedonia analyzes the major events, people, and organizations that were instrumental for the development of the region. For this thesis, I will prioritize literature from the late 19th and early 20th centuries because this was a critical time period for national development in the Balkans. The written works on the national awakening in Macedonia can be viewed as more specific when compared to the general history because there is an inherent focus to address the "Macedonian Question" more directly by analyzing critical developments pertaining to national identity and consciousness. Lastly, the history of the Macedonian diaspora analyzes the migration of people from the Macedonian region and focuses on the history of these migrants in other countries. Analysis on the history of the diaspora will subsequently be discussed in the first chapter of this thesis

Much has already been written on the general history of Macedonia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For a straightforward synopsis of Macedonia and its history within the Balkans, Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox in *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of The Balkans* and Andrew Wachtel in *The Balkans in World History* present an accurate and clear account of the general history of the Balkans during these two centuries. Hupchick and Cox, as well as Wachtel, examine the evolution of nation-states during the Ottoman-decline which is viewed as a period of great division within the Balkans. These authors explain the formation of various independent entities during the 19th and early parts of the 20th century. According to Hupchick and Cox, as Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia all attained their independence from the

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Ottoman Empire, they were beginning to develop their own respective national consciousness.[5]

To strengthen their positions on a geo-political level, these three young nation-states looked to

expand their territories as a way to also reinforce their position on the Balkans.

In 1878 at the Congress of Berlin, none of the nation-states were given territory they

believed was rightfully theirs. The land in question was the small Ottoman-occupied territory of

Macedonia, which lay at the heart of the Balkans. The desire to occupy this territory is what led

to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), which was a conflict fought by Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia –

all who were disappointed or ignored by the Great Powers in Berlin – against the Ottomans for

the territory of Macedonia.[6] The result of the Balkan Wars was territorial gains for Greece,

Serbia, and Bulgaria with the Ottoman Empire being almost entirely removed from the region

altogether. As Wachtel points out, when the dust settled, the nation-states began to consolidate

their languages and cultures and began the task of creating citizens imbued with a national

consciousness.[7] Much of this took place in the newly occupied Macedonia, in which all three

nation-states now possessed a part of. To understand how these nation-states were able to create

citizens within the Macedonian region, an analysis on the national awakening of Macedonia is

necessary.

İpek Yosmaoğlu in, *Blood ties: Religion, violence, and the politics of nationhood in*

Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908 explains the role both the Greek (Patriarchate) and Bulgarian

(Exarchate) churches had in spreading their respective brand of nationalism into the Macedonian

region. Due to the Ottoman Millet System, the autocephalous Orthodox Christian Churches

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[5] Greece achieved its independence in 1832, Serbia achieved theirs in 1878, and Bulgaria subsequently achieved theirs in 1908.
[6] Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of The Balkans*, Map 30: The Macedonian Question
[7] Andrew Wachtel, *The Balkans in World History*, 86

controlled their respective constituents. As a result, Yosmaoğlu describes how the Millet System empowered the Orthodox Christian autocephalous churches to govern their respective people, so long as they paid homage to the Ottoman sultan. A complication churches faced was the lacking indication of how the majority of the population identified themselves in Ottoman Macedonia. According to Yosmaoğlu, this led to the Exarchate and Patriarchate churches to be in conflict with one another over who could attain the most influence in the Macedonian region.

Yosmaoğlu convincingly demonstrates that one of the primary ways both churches attempted to influence as many people as possible in the Macedonian region is through the establishment of schools. In 1895, an irâde[8] was decreed which placed Bulgarian schools under the authority of the Exarchate, following the existing model for Greek Orthodox (Rum) schools.[9] Each school claimed to be better than the other while having a different focus for their respective curriculums. The Bulgarian schools came to be known for their emphasis on language and vocational training while the Greek schools continued to teach a classical curriculum.[10] The reason why the schools had such an importance is because they would eventually contribute to the emergence of a political movement by training the leadership of IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization).[11] IMRO was an organization that fought for the independence of the Macedonian region against the Ottomans. Although IMRO was once united in fighting the Ottomans, there were factions within the organization. This would eventually lead to its division due to divided loyalties over Macedonia becoming an independent state or one with Bulgaria.

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[8] An irâde is a decree made by a Muslim ruler.
[9] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties: Religion, violence, and the politics of nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908,* 61
[10] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties,* 75
[11] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties,* 78

The formation of IMRO is important to Macedonians because for them, it is evidence of a Macedonian national consciousness.

For more on IMRO, Keith Brown in *Loyal Unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia* discusses how IMRO was perceived during the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 by the Macedonian people, as well as neighboring nation states.[12] Brown also argues that the emergence of IMRO does not reveal a presence or absence of national identity, but rather a process of the conscious reordering of diverse loyalties.[13] For Bulgaria, IMRO and Ilinden is viewed as an expression of freedom by the Bulgarian-speaking majority, while Greece views IMRO as an organization aimed at causing violence and disruption to further Bulgarian-state interests in a region that was predominantly Greek.[14] However, as Brown clearly points out, Macedonians disagree with both of these interpretations and argue that IMRO and the Ilinden Uprising represent a desire for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state.

Both books by İpek Yosmaoğlu and Keith Brown cover important events that pertain to Macedonia's history in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They both discuss the importance of the Patriarchate and Exarchate churches, as well as, how IMRO and the Ilinden Uprising were viewed around the Balkans respectively. While both offer valuable insight as to what took place in Ottoman Macedonia, the question of who the Macedonians "truly" were is left up to

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[12] The linden Uprising of 1903 was a failed attempt by IMRO to effectively remove the Ottomans from the Macedonian region. The uprising took place on August 2nd in the Western part of Macedonia. At first the uprising was a success, with a provisional government established in the town of Kruševo. However, the Kruševo Republic only lasted for ten days before the Ottomans retook the town and ended the insurgency there. For Macedonians, the Ilinden Uprising is viewed as an event that represents Macedonian autonomy and is celebrated as an important holiday to this day. For more on the Ilinden Uprising, see Gingeras, Ryan. "Between the Cracks: Macedonia and the 'Mental Map' of Europe." *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes* 50, no. 3/4 (2008): 341–58.

[13] Keith Brown, *Loyal Unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia, 19*

[14] Keith Brown, *Loyal Unto Death*, 17-18

interpretation. Due to the influence of neighboring states, determining the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness may be too difficult to conclude. However, this narrative essentially creates a sense of reasonable doubt for the argument that there was no Macedonian national consciousness in the region during the early 20th century. Whether done intentionally or not, both Yosmaoğlu and Brown's conclusions are more pro-Macedonian because as both authors allude to, it is very difficult to determine the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness altogether. Therefore, the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness cannot be disproven. As a result, I turn to the Macedonian diaspora in the United States during the early 20th century. This is in order to determine if, as Brown puts it, the process of conscious reordering of diverse loyalties can be analyzed more clearly.

Literature Review/Theoretical Framework

There are two primary distinctions this thesis possesses when compared to other literature on the Macedonian Question. One distinction is this thesis' aim to contribute to the lacking amount of literature on the history of the Macedonian diaspora. Due to the difficulty of proving or disproving a Macedonian national consciousness in the Macedonian region itself, analyzing the diaspora may provide different conclusions. Very little has been written on the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada during the early 20th century. Two of the main sources for this history that I will utilize throughout the thesis are Victor Sinadinoski's *Macedonians in America: Their Lives and Struggles During the 20th Century* and Zlatko Nikoloski's *The Macedonian Diaspora: Key to the Development of the Republic of Macedonia*. Sinadinoski analyzes the lives of Macedonians in the United States during the early 20th century and how they made a living during this time period. Additionally, Nikoloski provides an analysis

on the Macedonian diasporas in the U.S. and Canada during the 20th century in order to understand how they settled and organized. Given the small amount of literature on Macedonian immigration to North America, I will be heavily relying on these two sources when narrating the history of the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada.

Both Sinadinoski and Nikoloski describe the general history of early immigration and settlement of Macedonian migrants in North America during the early 20th century. Despite possessing a different methodology in doing so, the aim of these written works is to provide a narration of the history behind Macedonian immigration. While their work on the history of the diaspora is valuable and important, an analysis of how the history of the Macedonian diaspora fits into the greater Macedonian Question discourse has yet to be done. Essentially, these sources to not orient themselves in the larger Macedonian Question discourse. This thesis, however, aims to provide such an analysis by determining the legitimacy of the evidence for a national consciousness among Macedonian migrants immigrating to North America during the early 20th century.

In addition, Loring M. Danforth mentions the Macedonian diaspora in his *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* while presenting all of the narratives surrounding the Macedonian Question. Danforth states that because diasporas from the Balkans established themselves in Western democracies such as the United States where multi-cultural policies exist, immigrants are encouraged to identify themselves in terms of their ethnic and national origins.[15] Additionally, Danforth also expresses caution when analyzing census data to determine the ethnicity and national origins of migrants entering the country. Especially as it

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[15] Loring M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, 81

concerns the Macedonians, he states "If census data in their host countries employ the category "country of origin", Macedonians (who come from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, or Greece) are rendered invisible."[16] As a result, the census data regarding the immigration of the Macedonian diaspora can be perceived as ambiguous. Yet, Danforth presents a valuable piece of information when he claims that many who identify themselves as Macedonian in private often identify themselves as "Yugoslavs" or "Bulgarians" in official documents usually as a result of fear or confusion.[17] This is valuable because it may explain why the accuracy of the census data regarding Macedonian immigrants is too difficult to determine. In addition, Danforth's claims also supports the narrative that it may be too difficult to prove or disprove the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness.

The caution Danforth expressed regarding census data notwithstanding, his conclusions regarding the identity of the individuals who immigrated from the Macedonian region conflict with his expressed caution. Namely, he claims that the majority of these individuals identified themselves as Bulgarians or Macedonian-Bulgarians. I take issue with this because it does not align with what he previously said regarding how one must not take census data at verbatim. My thesis thus provides evidence that challenges Danforth's conclusion regarding the declared ethnicity of Macedonians immigrating to the United States and Canada during the 20th century.

An additional distinction between this thesis and other literature on this topic is its incorporation of various sociological elements as a way to help provide evidence for my argument. This is not to say that other literature did not include sociological elements, but rather, that sociology has not been utilized to this extent regarding the history of the Macedonian

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[16] Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict,* 86
[17] Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict,* 86

diaspora. I am placing an emphasis on these sociological elements because they can help support my argument regarding the evidence for a Macedonian national consciousness within the diaspora in North America.

Utilizing sociological elements is not a foreign concept within the discipline of history. E.H Carr has stated that the "more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both."[18] I agree with this notion that history and sociology can enhance one another in order to benefit their respective disciplines. This is due to the fact that sociology is partly the study of changes and developments viewed in historical societies.[19] In the same way history can provide context for sociological analysis of these changes, sociology can assist history through its analysis of past developments and changes.

The combination of history and the social sciences was a development that took place in the 20th century with many historians arguing for its benefits in understanding history in a new way. Fernand Braudel was one of the many historians who understood the importance of establishing a sort of "common language" between history and the social sciences.[20] His solution to establishing a common language was *longue durée*, meaning "long term". With *longue durée*, Braudel was referring to how long historical narratives, as opposed to shorter ones, can conjoin the social sciences with the discipline of history. The issue with analyzing short historical narratives is the risk of missing important details due to a greater tendency to analyze details of lesser value that happen to stand out more. The analysis of longer historical narratives is better

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[18] E. H. Carr, *What is History?,* 62
[19] E. H. Carr, *What is History?,* 62
[20] Fernand Braudel, History and the Social Sciences, 202

because it can also be the study of transformative processes, which sociology concerns itself with.

The term "diaspora" is one that will appear a great many times throughout this thesis and is a concept that has grown to warrant having its own discipline. Being that my analysis will primarily be focused on the Macedonian diaspora, it is important to understand the discourse surrounding this term and its usage throughout the discipline. For a general understanding of the term "diaspora", I turn to Rogers Brubaker in his "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora." Brubaker argues that the term diaspora was being overextended to define other types of migrant groups such as long-distance nationals and labour migrants. He aims to provide boundaries to the term in order to provide a clear understanding of what a diaspora is. His main point regarding the proliferation of the term is that if everyone is diasporic, then no one is because the universalization of diaspora essentially means the disappearance of diaspora.[21]That is why in order to avoid this paradox, Brubaker works toward explaining how one should view the term "diaspora".[22]

Brubaker highlights three core principles that constitute a diaspora: Dispersion, Homeland Orientation, and Boundary Maintenance. Dispersion can be understood as any kind of dispersion in space provided it crosses state borders.[23] It can be voluntary or forced, so long as it involves any sort of dispersion in space. This would be specifically referring to the migration process for migrants travelling to a new host country. Homeland orientation refers to the collective memory of a place of origin (heimat). This is critical due to the homeland acting as an

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[21] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 4
[22] To elaborate further: Brubaker's claim that the proliferation of the term "diaspora" will lead to its disappearance altogether is due to it being stretched to accommodate numerous agendas. Essentially, there has been a dispersion of the meaning of what a diaspora is across various disciplines. This poses the risk of how one should view the term altogether because it is being used in many different ways for a number of different purposes.
[23] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 5

authoritative source of value, identity, and loyalty.[24] Homeland orientation implies a primordialist view on the concept of diaspora and how one should understand it.[25] Lastly there is boundary maintenance, which is the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-a`-vis a host society.[26] There are many ways boundary maintenance can occur, varying from social exclusion to deliberate resistance. However, boundary maintenance typically occurs over an extended period, so it takes time to develop for a given diaspora. Brubaker's understanding of diaspora is viewing it as a category of practice, rather than a bounded entity that is fixed and non-changing.

Since the definition of a diaspora has been established by Brubaker, I now turn to Martin Sökefeld's "Mobilizing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of diaspora" for the constructivist understanding of diaspora. Sökefeld discusses how the formation of diasporas is not a natural consequence of migration, but rather, due to specific processes of mobilization that allow for diasporas to emerge.[27] He goes on to define diasporas as "imagined transnational communities"[28] because they are "imaginations of community that unite segments of people that live in territorially separated locations."[29] Sökefeld focuses on mobility within diasporas and how migrants can become a diaspora through a collective imagination of community. Unlike the "place-of-origin-thesis"[30], which is the idea that a heimat produces a

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[24] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 5

[25] For more on primordialism, see: Isaacs, H. R. (1975) Idols of the tribe: group identity and political change, New York: Harper and Row; Smith, A. D. (2000) The nation in history: historiographical debates about ethnicity and nationalism, Hanover: University Press of New England; Harvey, Frank P. "Primordialism, Evolutionary Theory and Ethnic Violence in the Balkans: Opportunities and Constraints for Theory and Policy." *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 33, no. 1 (2000): 37–65. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3232617.

[26] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 6

[27] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of diaspora," 265

[28] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 267

[29] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 267

[30] For more on the place-of-origin-thesis, see: Axel, B. K. (2001) The nation's tortured body: violence, representation and the formation of a Sikh 'diaspora', Durham: Duke University Press; Axel, Brian Keith. "The Context of Diaspora." *Cultural Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (2004): 26–60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651526.

diaspora, Sökefeld argues that diasporas are the product of various social movements. When defining social movements, Sökefeld quotes Sideny Tarrow who describes social movements as "collective challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities."[31] Essentially, social movements are agents of change which can lead to the formation of new organizations and ideologies that mobilize certain constituencies that eventually lead to the development of a specific social identity and consciousness.[32]

Another concept Sökefeld refers to is what is known as a deferral of diasporic imagination, which is when a group of migrants become a diaspora many years after the migration process. This is a result of an actual deferral of framing certain social conditions that are needed to help mobilize migrants into becoming a diaspora. The concept of framing or frames are a part of the social movement theory and can be defined as "ideas that transform certain conditions into an issue, that help define grievances and claims, and that legitimize and mobilize action."[33] Other issues related to the social movement theory are political opportunities (enable the rise of social movements) and mobilizing structures (how people mobilize for collective action). Using the social movement theory and concept of deferral of diasporic imagination, Sökefeld defends his claim that diasporic communities must be analyzed as social formations that result from processes of mobilization.[34]

The social movement theory created by Sökefeld is one that focuses on the development of diasporas over a certain period of time. According to Sökefeld, in order for a diaspora to fully

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[31] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 269
[32] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 268-269
[33] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 270
[34] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in transnational space," 281

develop, the three elements of the social movement theory must be present. Additionally, the development of a diaspora is a process that can take multiple years to complete which relates to the deferral of diasporic imagination that Sökefeld refers to. Sökefeld's social movement theory is what I will be referring to as the model for diaspora development in the case of the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada. This is because in the case of the Macedonians, who had no independent nation-state to identify with, the construction of a diasporic identity would need to take time which is something that Sökefeld's social movement theory accounts for.

An additional concept that I will be referring to in my paper concerns ethnic boundaries. Ethnic boundaries can be defined as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space."[35] Boundaries can also act as tools to help individuals or groups agree upon what is and is not reality.[36] This is critical in helping to create distinctions between groups of people which is essentially how boundaries are formed altogether. However, it is important to note that through these distinctions, similarities are also formed which can lead to the formation of various groups. As it pertains to the Macedonian diaspora, I will be focusing on ethnic boundaries because they strengthened distinctions between Macedonians and other Balkan nationalities.

I will be analyzing these ethnic boundaries by utilizing the model developed by Andreas Wimmer as described in his, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." The model that Wimmer created is a micro and macro level model, that "explains the varying features of ethnic boundaries as the result of the negotiations between

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[35] Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," 168
[36] Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," 168

actors whose strategies are shaped by the characteristics of the social field."[37] It is essentially a model that enables predictions as well as explanations of the characteristics of an ethnic boundary. There are three main groups in Wimmer's model: Field Characteristics, Individual Boundary Making Strategies, and Boundary Characteristics. The field characteristics include institutional order, the distribution of power, and networks of alliances. These characteristics can impact institutions and actors pursuing to establish an ethnic boundary. The next part of the model is the individual boundary making strategies which include boundary expansion, boundary contraction, boundary blurring, inversion, and repositioning. Boundary expansion is when a boundary expands the range of people included, while boundary contraction is essentially the opposite. Boundary blurring "aims to overcome ethnicity as a principle of categorization and social organization."[38] Inversion focuses on the hierarchical reorganization of ethnic groups while repositioning is when an actor seeks to change their position within the hierarchy. Lastly there are boundary characteristics which include cultural differentiation, social closure, and political salience. These characteristics are what distinguish the boundary that is made given the field characteristics and the strategies that were pursued.

To add to the complexity of Wimmer's model, there are certain dynamics of change that can occur within the model that he accounts for. Firstly there are exogenous shifts, which refer to new institutions, resources, and actors that transform the structure of state. This leads to incentives to pursue new boundary making strategies. Then there are exogenous shifts, which are the consequences for pursuing a certain strategy. Lastly, there are endogenous drifts, which is when an actor adopts a new strategy entirely. Factoring in these dynamics of change with the

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[37] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," 973
[38] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 989

macro and micro sociological elements, Wimmer's model is highly complex and considers many different variables regarding ethnic boundary making.

As it pertains to this thesis, I will only be referring to specific elements of Wimmer's model in order to explain how and why the Macedonian Orthodox Church's (MOC) declaration of autocephaly in 1967 concluded the development of the Macedonian diaspora in North America. The specific elements I will be utilizing in this thesis are boundary making strategies and field characteristics. These elements will be applied to the MOC in the United States and Canada once autocephaly was declared. This will be done in order to demonstrate how the Macedonian Orthodox Church was institutionalizing the ethnic boundary making process for Macedonians in the diaspora. Essentially, the MOC in this case was creating an ethnic boundary that would further distinguish Macedonians from other Balkan nationalities. As this process begun, I argue that the national consciousness possessed by the Macedonians became legitimized into an independent national identity.

All and all, this thesis aims to provide a unique contribution to the discourse surrounding the "Macedonian Question" by analyzing the history of the Macedonian diaspora and incorporating various sociological elements.

Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of three chapters which will proceed in chronological order starting from 1903 and going all the way to 1967. The first chapter will describe the immigration situation for Macedonian migrants embarking for the United States and Canada in the early 20th century. In this chapter, I will also highlight the push/pull factors for Macedonians immigrating

to North America. In addition, there will be a deep analysis into various ship manifests and passenger records which document the ethnicity and place of origin of these migrants. I argue that these immigration documents serve as evidence for Macedonian immigrants possessing a distinct national consciousness. Additionally, I describe how these early Macedonian migrants began to settle in large industrial cities and form small communities. Within these small communities, organizations would begin to form, which were early signs of diaspora mobilization.

The second chapter is dedicated to explaining the mobilization process Macedonian migrants undertook during the first half of the 20th century. I will provide evidence in the form of various photographs and newspapers that demonstrate social mobility, as well as the beliefs and goals of the movement. Furthermore, I will analyze many different organizations that formed during this time. These organizations include the Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO) and the Macedonian People's League (MPL). I argue that as a result of undergoing this specific mobilization process, it legitimizes the evidence of a Macedonian national consciousness. My analysis will draw on Martin Sökefeld's social movement theory and show how it is applicable to the Macedonian diaspora in North America. I will explain each of the three elements of the theory more in depth and provide evidence that the Macedonian diaspora fulfilled all the requirements necessary for demonstrating diasporic mobilization.

The third and final chapter will show how the revival of the Macedonian Orthodox Church effected the Macedonian community abroad in North America during the late 1960's. I will provide a brief historical overview on the history of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and how its influence spread overseas to the United States and Canada. Subsequently, I will argue how the declaration of autocephaly by the Macedonian Orthodox Church institutionalized the

ethnic boundary making process for Macedonian migrants abroad. In doing so, I argue that with

the MOC's declaration of autocephaly, the national consciousness that Macedonian immigrants

possessed became legitimized into a national identity. In this chapter I will utilize elements from

Andreas Wimmer's ethnic boundary model to explain how the Macedonian ethnic boundary was

legitimized with the Macedonian Orthodox Church declaring its autocephaly in 1967.

Chapter 1. Immigrating to North America

In this chapter, I will be focusing on Macedonian immigration to the United States and Canada during the early 20th century. I will explain the many reasons regarding why Macedonians decided to immigrate, as well as how the immigration experience was for them. Additionally, I will analyze how many Macedonians immigrated to North America during this time period and why this is difficult to determine altogether. Lastly, I will describe how Macedonian migrants began to settle in the United States and Canada and how this would lay the groundwork for these migrants to mobilize into a diaspora. I argue that there is evidence of Macedonian immigrants possessing a national consciousness in the early 20th century upon their arrival to North America. Throughout this chapter, I will be engaging with various primary sources including ship manifests, passenger records, and U.S. government documents. Furthermore, I will primarily be utilizing the written works of Victor Sinadinoski and Zlatko Nikoloski regarding the history of Macedonians immigrating North America in the early 20th century.

An Escape from Tragedy: The Immigration Process for Macedonians Journeying to the United States and Canada

On August 2nd, 1903, the Ilinden Uprising began with the ultimate goal of removing the Ottomans from the Macedonian region for good. The insurgency was led by IMRO, who sought to push the Ottomans out of the region in order to liberate the local Macedonian population. On August 4th, the town of Kruševo was liberated by IMRO and a provisional government was formed. This would be known as the Kruševo Republic, which was led by IMRO member Nikola

Karev. Despite this early success, the Kruševo Republic only lasted for ten days until Ottoman forces came and destroyed the town effectively ending the insurrection.

The aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising was devastating for the movement to liberate the Macedonian region. As a result of the failed uprising, IMRO became fractioned which made it difficult to coordinate any other serious movements to combat the Ottomans.[39] However, the failure of the Ilinden Uprising was mostly felt by local populace, who now were at the mercy of the Ottomans. Macedonian peasants experienced the total wrath of the Ottomans, as stated by Victor Sinadinoski:

> The Ottoman troops were murdering peasants and destroying villages that displayed even the slightest support for the revolution. Thousands were killed and several thousand more were thrown into prisons; tens of thousands moped around homeless within their own villages, and tens of thousands more fled into neighboring countries; and most crops had been ransacked or destroyed, leaving many Macedonians starving, desperate and unprepared to confront the approaching winter.[40]

The Ottoman aggression in the region got to a point to where Macedonians could no longer live there and thrive. The Ottomans also made it difficult for Macedonians to achieve any sort of economic success. With most peasants being farmers and their crops having been stolen or destroyed, it left many of them without a way to make any money. It was also difficult to find new jobs in the region because the Ottomans would suspect individuals of being a part of IMRO and would arrest them.

An option for many Macedonians in order to escape this difficult life was to immigrate to another country. One of the more popular destinations for Macedonians at this time was North

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[39] There were two primary factions within IMRO that disagreed on their best course of action following the Ilinden Uprising. The Left faction still believed that the Macedonians deserve their own autonomous nation-state that would be separate from Bulgaria. The Right faction was pro-Bulgarian and thought that Macedonia should join the Bulgarian nation.
[40] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America: Their Lives and Struggles During the 20th Century*, 30

America, more specifically, the United States and Canada. Post-Ilinden, many Macedonians came to the U.S. and Canada to escape war, anarchy and persecution, as well as for better economic opportunities.[41] The region became too destabilized for Macedonians to thrive, especially as the Ottoman Empire began to slowly lose its power and control in the Balkans. Neighboring countries such as Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia began to send armed bands of militant fighters in the region in order to secure as much of it as possible for themselves, which only brought more conflict.[42] The constant fighting became too much for most Macedonians, which is what drove them to leave the area, effectively beginning the first wave of massive immigration to the United States and Canada following the Ilinden Uprising of 1903.

At this point in time, the United States was undergoing some economic and social transformations which resulted in the U.S. opening its doors for immigrants. As stated by Sinadinoski, "There was a strong demand for cheap labor to fill the thousands of mining and manufacturing and industrial job openings, whether in the mines of Colorado, at the steel plants of Pennsylvania, or on the railroad tracks throughout the Midwest."[43] Attracted by the possible economic opportunities that America had to offer, many Macedonians decided to immigrate to North America hoping to escape war and poverty. Once Macedonians began to settle in America and discovered the opportunity to make a substantial living there, they would write back to relatives and friends urging them to come to the United States.[44] Macedonians working in America were making five to ten times the amount of money they were earning back in Macedonia.[45] As word began to spread throughout the region, more and more Macedonians

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[41] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America,* 32
[42] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 33
[43] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 33
[44] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 33
[45] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 38

began to immigrate to the United States and Canada during the early part of the 20th century. According to Sinadinoski, some Macedonians would try to illegally enter the United States through Canada and risk getting caught by U.S. officials because "getting caught by U.S. officials was comforting compared to the horrors they experienced in the Balkans."[46]

A second wave of Macedonian immigration to the United States and Canada began following the conclusion of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the signing of the Bucharest Peace Treaty in 1913.[47] Following the Balkan Wars, the Macedonian region was divided between Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia without allowing any of the local Macedonians to have a say. Without having any Macedonian representation at the signing of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, Macedonians would now be divided between the three nation-states. The new Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian authorities prosecuted all those who resisted their national assimilation policy in any way.[48] With constant persecution sweeping across the Macedonian region, many Macedonians began to immigrate to the United States and Canada to escape terrible living conditions. Immigration to the United States was unhindered until 1924, when Johnson's Law was put into place by the U.S. government in order to limit the number of immigrants entering the country.[49] However, this did not stop Macedonians from wanting to leave the region for they began to immigrate to Canada and Australia as well.

The journey to the United States and Canada for Macedonians in the early 20th century was a difficult one to say the least. First, Macedonians had to flee the region oftentimes on foot through mountains with soldiers and brigands lurking about, as well as acquire the funds to make

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[46] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 35
[47] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora: Key to the Development of the Republic of Macedonia*, 62
[48] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora*, 62
[49] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora*, 63

the trip altogether.[50] Then, they had to endure the journey itself, which would typically take several weeks with oftentimes unsanitary conditions and a limited amount of space.[51] Lastly, the Macedonians like all other immigrants had to find a way to make money and settle in a city of their choosing. A long and difficult journey to escape their homeland that was now riddled with persecution and conflict was well worth it for the Macedonians. According to Zlatko Nikoloski, "In the eyes of our villagers, America had become a symbol of easily and quickly accessible wealth."[52] While the passage was difficult, Macedonians were motivated by a promise of a better economic situation and an escape from poverty and violence in their homeland.

Once Macedonians began to settle in the United States and Canada, many began to find work in order to make a living. Most Macedonians that immigrated to the United States and Canada were men in search of work so that they could send money back home to their families. However, Macedonians became very prosperous and as a result, would either return to live in Macedonia comfortably or invite the rest of their family to join them in America.[53] While some Macedonian immigrants would have preferred the former, because the Balkan Wars had just begun around this time, many chose the latter.[54] Now having reunited with their families, Macedonians migrants began to work for a more promising future in the United States and Canada.

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[50] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 34
[51] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 34
[52] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora*, 63
[53] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 47
[54] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 47

Invisible Macedonians?: Analyzing How Many Macedonians Immigrated to the United States During the Early 20ᵗʰ Century

Macedonians who wished to immigrate to North America in the early 20ᵗʰ century would have travelled to many different European ports that had ships going to the United States and Canada. According to Sinadinoski, "Sometimes those ports were nearby in the Balkans or Italy; sometimes they trekked to France, Spain or other European countries."[55] Getting to these ports would require money, which was another factor that Macedonian migrants had to account for.

The question of how many Macedonians immigrated to the United States and Canada during this time period is difficult to determine. According to the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, they estimate that from between 1903 to 1906 about 50,000 Macedonian Bulgarians immigrated to the United States.[56] However, within this statement lies a major issue which disrupts the estimation of how many Macedonians immigrated to the United States during the early 20ᵗʰ century. The label of "Macedonian Bulgarians" does not accurately represent Macedonians during this time period, because that term was used to designate people as ethnic Bulgarians that were coming from the Macedonian region.

While of course there were Bulgarians that did immigrate to the United States and Canada that were from the Macedonian region, the label incorrectly implies that all Macedonians were ethnically Bulgarian and to identify as Macedonian is essentially to identify as Bulgarian. The correct usage of the term "Macedonian Bulgarian" is when referring to a Macedonian coming from Bulgaria. There was no Macedonian nation at the time because the area was controlled by the Ottomans, so for "Macedonian" being treated as a regional label only supports

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[55] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 34
[56] Stephan Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American ethnic groups*, 691

the idea that the people from the area were distinct compared to the Bulgarians. The correct label for ethnic Bulgarians coming from Macedonia should be "Bulgarian Macedonians". However, this label would not be seen at this time because there was no Macedonian nation to be a citizen of. If "Macedonian Bulgarians" were truly ethnically Bulgarian, then there is no need for Macedonian to be a part of the label.

Additionally, this is why there is such a massive fluctuation regarding the number of Macedonians that immigrated to North America during this time. Due to the false linkage between Macedonian and Bulgarian, immigration statistics use the "Macedonian Bulgarian" label to refer to individuals declaring themselves as Macedonians or Bulgarians alike when they are in fact different. It is important that this distinction is made clear because this can be interpreted as the first signs of a Macedonian national consciousness during the early 20th century.

By analyzing ship manifests and passenger records from this time period, it is easy to see how the misconception of "Macedonian Bulgarians" came to be. These documents also reveal that there is a clear distinction between Macedonians and Bulgarians from an ethnical perspective. Nikoloski states that according to the files of the American Agency of Immigration and Naturalization, 15,000 people entering the United States between 1895 and 1925 declared themselves as Macedonians despite their being no Macedonian nation-state at the time.[57]

Jovan Ristoff is one of the many examples of individuals who declared themselves as a Macedonian. As seen in Appendix A Figure 1, according to Jovan Ristoff's passenger record, he declared himself as Turkish and Macedonian. While this may be confusing at first, upon looking

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[57] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora,* 63

at the ship manifest in Appendix A Figure 2, Ristoff declared his nationality as Turkish, but his race of people as Macedonian on line 27.[58] He stated that his last place of residence was Bouff, a village in the Prespa region of today's North Macedonia. Since Ristoff immigrated in 1904, the Macedonian region would have been under the control of the Ottomans, thus making him a citizen of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey). So when declaring his race of people, Macedonian would be used to describe his ethnicity, not his nationality.[59] Additionally, on the same ship manifest of Jovan Ristoff on line 5, it can be seen that Anton Gradinarof declared his nationality and race of people as Bulgarian. Additionally, on line 23 G.C. Golfinopulos declared his nationality as Greek and his race of people of Greek. With individuals declaring themselves as Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Greek respectively, a clear distinction can be seen between the three ethnicities.

While there are examples of Macedonians declaring themselves as such, there are instances where their ethnical declarations were altered. In the case of Athanas Andrea Kalfa, he too declared himself as a Macedonian living within Turkey, similar to Jovan Ristoff. In Figure 3 of Appendix A, it is written that Kalfa's nationality was Turkish and Macedonian, just like Ristoff's. Kalfa originated from the town of Koritsa which is located in the eastern part of today's Albania. Koritsa (or Korca as it is now called) is geographically close to Bouff, the village that Jovan Ristoff is from. Similar to Bouff, Korca is located at the western most part of the Macedonian region, far from where the Bulgarian nation-state is located. However, upon

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[58] Race of people in this context is referring to ethnicity. While race and ethnicity are two different concepts, the way "Race of People" is being documented within the ship manifests indicates that most individuals would declare their ethnicity for this section. This is because it would be very difficult to distinguish people from the Macedonian region based solely on physical appearances. Therefore, culture and language would be common distinguishing factors for this section, which are elements used to specify ethnicity.

[59] The difference between nationality and ethnicity is the former is more concerned about an individual's citizenship to a given country or nation, while the latter refers to an individual's identity as it relates to their culture and ancestry.

looking at Kalfa's ship manifest in Appendix A Figure 4, on line 1 where Macedonian is written under race of people, Bulgarian is written over it. This is a common trend that can be found throughout many ship manifests where individuals declared themselves as Macedonians. There are instances like Kalfa's, where Bulgarian is simply written over Macedonian, or there may be a large "B" or "Bulgar" written over Macedonian as well. The writing of Bulgarian over Macedonian may contribute to the "Macedonian Bulgarian" narrative that exists still to this day. However, this is too difficult to determine conclusively. Due to Bulgarian being written over Macedonian in the manner that it is, I argue that this absolutely may have impacted the examination of how many Macedonians immigrated to the United States during the early part of the 20th century.

Due to "Bulgarian" being written over "Macedonian" on various ship manifests, it is possible that many of these individuals who declared themselves as Macedonians, now fall under the "Macedonian Bulgarian" label. With this label, many of these Macedonians would now be classified as ethnic Bulgarians, therefore altering the number of Macedonians immigrating to the United States.

Exploring why Bulgarian is written over Macedonian in ship manifests once again may be difficult to definitely determine. However, there are some assumptions that can be made regarding some of the possible motivations behind the writing over of Macedonian within various ship manifests. Upon selecting any ship manifest to view on The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation website, there is a disclaimer that if someone believes there to be a mistake on one of the ship manifests, they can file a correction request that will be reviewed by the staff.[60] It

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[60] One must navigate to the "Passenger Search" part of the website: "Statue of Liberty." Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island, July 20, 2023. https://www.statueofliberty.org/statue-of-liberty/.

is entirely possible that in some instances, descendants of some these migrants who now feel as if they are Bulgarian, would want to correct the ship manifest where their ancestor declared themselves as Macedonian. I do not want to impose judgment on this since it is entirely their right. I am merely stating that this might be one of the possible explanations for why Macedonian is crossed off.

There is another assumption to be made as it relates to the United States Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census. In a 1910 instruction manual for enumerators, item 137 states, "Do not write Macedonian, but write Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek, Servian, or Roumanian, as the case may be."[61] As a result of item 137, it is now reasonable to question how accurate the census data is regarding Macedonians during this time period.

However, clarifications are required as it pertains to item 137 of the instruction manual for enumerators. I am not suggesting that the ship manifests were altered as a result of item 137 directly. I also do not support the notion that the United States deliberately tried to disregard the Macedonian ethnicity. I argue that it had to do more with the fact that there was no Macedonian nation-state at the time. Item 138 for example states "Do not write Czech, but write Bohemian, Moravian, or Slovak, as the case may be."[62] Today, the Czech ethnicity and national identity is widely accepted but because there was no Czech nation-state back in 1910, the United States may have been under the impression that a Czech ethnicity does not exist. Additionally, there is item 134, which deals with foreign languages spoken in the United States. Item 134 states, "Avoid giving other names when one on this list can be applied to the language spoken."[63]

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[61] US Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States. *Instructions to Enumerator: Including Supplemental Instructions for the Collection of the Statistics of Manufactures and of Mines and Quarries, 32*
[62] US Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census 1910, *Instructions to Enumerators*, 32
[63] US Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census 1910, *Instructions to Enumerators*, 32

Beneath the description for item 134 is a list of languages that the United States recognized at the time. Bulgarian was on the list of recognized languages, but Macedonian was not. Additionally, the Czech language was also not recognized, which supports the idea that without a nation-state, certain ethnicities would not be recognized by the U.S. government. Without a recognized language, this would further distort the estimated number of Macedonians in the United States in 1910. Needless to say, policies like the one put forth in items 134 and 137 aided in the cover up of the Macedonian ethnicity during the early 20th century.

As demonstrated, there are a multitude of factors that prevent the determination of an accurate number of Macedonians in the United States during the early 20th century. While there is evidence in support of individuals who may have had a Macedonian national-consciousness, there is also evidence that many of these Macedonians were rendered invisible in the eyes of the United States government. Like most census data to begin with, an exact number of how many Macedonians immigrated to the United States remains unknown. However, based on the evidence put forth in this section, the number of Macedonians approximated to have immigrated to the United States is likely larger than previously estimated.

Moments After Immigration: Early Settlements of Macedonians in North America

Coming off the boat, Macedonians were looking for ways to earn money. According to Sinadinoski, "While Macedonians went where there were jobs available in the early years of immigration, they primarily settled in six states: Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York."[64] All of these states were big industrial hubs that had a demand for cheap labor

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[64] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 54

to work in factories. As more Macedonians began to travel to the same cities, small communities began to form. One of the larger Macedonian populations in the United States was Western New York, which includes cities like Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse. As the 1920's came along, the Buffalo-Niagara area became a huge center for blue-collar workers, which naturally attracted many Macedonian immigrants looking for work.

The states of Pennsylvania and Ohio were no different[65], for they attracted single Macedonian men working in mining, steel, and other industrial jobs and later began to create large Macedonian communities.[66] Detroit, another blue-collar city was another popular destination for Macedonian migrants to find a job in industry. In Canada, the primary destination for Macedonian immigrants was Toronto because it was a city with a lot of economic potential, but it was also close to the United States. Like most migrants, Macedonians just wanted to find a job in order to provide for themselves and their families. As mentioned previously, many of the Macedonian immigrants to migrate to the United States and Canada were young men that came in search for better economic situations. Additionally, because many of these cities offered the same type of jobs, as is common with immigrants, Macedonians would travel in groups to the same cities. These small Macedonian worker communities that began to take shape in the early 20th century would lay the foundation for many early Macedonian organizations.

One of the earliest Macedonian organizations to form in the early 20th century was the Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO), which was founded in 1922 in Fort Wayne, Indiana.[67] The MPO initially was formed as a political organization to advocate for an

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[65] Cities like Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Akron, Cincinnati and Columbus were all popular cities in Pennsylvania and Ohio where Macedonians would typically travel to in order to find work.
[66] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 60
[67] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora,* 65-66

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independent Macedonian nation-state. This sort of political advocacy continued until 1927, when

the Bulgarian advocate Jordan Chkatrov arrived in Canada and succeeded in putting Ivan

Mihajov in charge of the MPO, which steered the direction of the organization towards more

pro-Bulgarian stances.[68]

It is important to clarify the MPO and what it stood for within the early 20th century for

Macedonians in the North America. While it is true that many pro-Bulgarians did take over the

organization and steer it in a particular direction after 1927, it still was a major organization that

helped in the mobilizing process of the Macedonian diaspora. The fact that the term

"Macedonia" is in the title of the organization already helps mobilize the Macedonians because

even for those who may not be familiar with the organization's political beliefs, Macedonians

would still go to organization events.[69] Despite its good intentions initially, many MPO leaders

began to leave the organization once the truth about the anti-Macedonian sentiment became

recognized.[70]

An example of how the MPO would infuse its pro-Bulgarian sentiment into Macedonian

communities can be seen with the formation of the earliest Macedonian churches. In the early

20th century, Macedonians began to form their own churches as a way to come together as a

community. Prior to that, many Macedonians would have to attend Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian,

and Russian Orthodox churches in order to attend mass. However, because there was no

Macedonian Orthodox Church at the time, these new churches being built by the Macedonians

would be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.[71] These churches were

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[68] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora,* 66
[69] The importance of this development will be discussed more in Chapter 2 – Social Mobility Among
Macedonian Migrants
[70] Zlatko Nikoloski, *The Macedonian Diaspora,* 66
[71] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 191

to be called Macedono-Bulgarian churches despite the fact that the majority of people attending these churches were Macedonian.[72]

Once again, the term "Macedonian Bulgarian" is being used to label something that is predominantly Macedonian. The first of these churches to be constructed was SS. Cyril and Methody in 1909 in Lincoln Place, Illinois.[73] Like many other churches from this time period, they were all controlled by members of the MPO (who now had pro-Bulgarian sentiments) and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.[74] This only reinforced the idea that there was a linkage between the Macedonian-Bulgarians and Bulgarians themselves despite the majority of people attending these church services being of Macedonian descent.

The MPO while claiming to advocate for Macedonian freedom in the Balkans and called for the establishment of an independent Macedonian nation-state, subtly promoted the idea that the Macedonians and Bulgarians are ethnically linked.[75] Despite this, their advocacy for an independent Macedonian nation-state was crucial to the mobilization of the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada in the early 20th century.[76] Aside from the MPO, there were other various pro-Macedonian organizations that began to form in the early 20th century all over North America. These organizations and their ability to bring Macedonians together were

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[72] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 191
[73] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 191-192
[74] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 191-192
[75] Even to this day, the MPO still advocates for the rights of Macedonians while still believing they are ethnically linked to the Bulgarians. On their main homepage, they promote the idea "Macedonia for the Macedonians!", which is a call of freedom for the Macedonian people in the region. However, in their "Recent History" section, when referring to the formation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, they state "The purpose of this intervention by Yugoslav Communists was to ensure that our people in Vardar Macedonia remained loyal to Yugoslavia, even if this meant erasing references to the cultural and historic connections between the ethnic Macedonian and Bulgarian Macedonian identities." See their homepage for more: Macedonian Patriotic Organization. Last Modified April 14, 2024. https://macedonian.org/.
[76] The importance of this development will be discussed more in Chapter 2 – Social Mobility Among Macedonian Migrants

fundamental to the mobilization of the Macedonian diaspora and development of the

Macedonian national consciousness and identity.

Chapter 2. Social Mobility Among Macedonian Migrants

With there being evidence of a Macedonian national consciousness during the early 20th century, I will now analyze how these migrants began to mobilize. The mobilizing process of Macedonian migrants occurred as a result of Macedonians wanting to preserve their culture and traditions. To demonstrate the presence of social mobility, I will be referring to Martin Sökefeld's social movement theory. Sökefeld's theory argues that the formation of diasporic communities is due to certain mobilization processes that counter the essentialist concepts of diaspora that reify notions of belonging and the roots of migrants in places of origin.[77] In addition, Sökefeld argues that diasporas do not form naturally, rather, they are the product of certain social movements. Sökefeld's arguments coincide with mine because social movements are not natural occurrences; they require certain conscious actions. Macedonians in North America took certain actions to preserve their culture which furthered their development into a diaspora. I argue that these migrants were motivated by a Macedonian national consciousness to mobilize into a diaspora. By demonstrating social mobility among the Macedonians in North America, it will serve to legitimize the evidence of the existence of a national consciousness in the early 20th century.

There are three primary issues that the social movement theory concerns itself with: political opportunities, mobilizing structures and practices, and framing. According to the social movement theory, all three of these elements must be present in order for mobilization to occur.

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[77] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 265

Political Opportunities: Forming Organizations and Communicating Beliefs

Political opportunities are defined as structural and institutional changes that enable the rise of social movements.[78] They also refer to opportunities for diasporas to mobilize in general through access to communication, media, and transportation.[79] As Sökefeld points out, these political opportunities are important because for some migrant groups, they may not have these opportunities back in their country of origin. This is not to say that Macedonians did not have the liberty to pursue social movements in the Macedonian region. IMRO is evidence that proves that the Macedonians were able to mobilize and communicate their desire for an independent Macedonian nation-state. However, the democratic laws in the United States and Canada regarding the freedom of expression also safeguard an individual's right to express their national identity despite any discontent. Macedonia during the early 20th century had a massive amount of foreign national influence being poured into the region that resulted in conflicts between different nationalities. This speaks to the importance of the laws in place that protect the freedom of expression free from conflict within the United States.

In his paper, Martin Sökefeld reference Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, who emphasize the significance of political opportunities as it pertains to social mobility.[80] According to Sökefeld, Tarrow and Tilly "maintain that social movements are not a direct consequence of social grievances but that further contextual and structural conditions are required before the grievances can be expressed and transformed into a social movement."[81] Sökefeld's argument is that social movements are not a natural phenomenon, and that social grievances are not enough

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[78] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269
[79] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270
[80] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269
[81] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269

to produce social movements on their own. Additionally, in order for social movements to form, certain conditions must be made available to the people. These factors include having the ability to communicate their grievances and form organizations that stand for the beliefs of the movement, both of which are free do to in the United States and Canada.[82]

There were many different kinds of organizations that were formed in the early 20th century in both the United States and Canada. One type of organization or society that is seen throughout the United States and Canada were ones that provided financial support to its members. An example of this is The Benefit Society Oshchima, which was founded in 1907 in Toronto to provide financial assistance to its members during their initial period of settlement in Canada.[83] The Benefit Society Oshchima got its name from the village of Oshchima, which was situated in Western Macedonia.[84] During the early 20th century, many Oshchimians began to immigrate to Canada to make a better life for themselves. While life in Canada was much easier, the fear of unemployment and insecurity loomed large among the Oshchimian Macedonian migrants.[85] As a result, this forced the Oshchimian Macedonians in Toronto to band together in order to financially support one another. Initial membership dues started at $3.00 per year up to age seventy; any members in good standing after seventy retained their membership for life.[86] The Benefit Society Oshchima serves as evidence of Macedonians from the same village banding together in the early 20th century in order to support one another in their new home. To

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[82] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269

[83] "Benefit Society Oshchima." Mount Pleasant Group. https://www.mountpleasantgroup.com/en-CA/General-Information/Our-Monthly-Story/story-archives/prospect-cemetery/Oshchima-Society.aspx#:~:text=The%20Benefit%20Society%20Oshchima%20(est,fleeing%20punishment%20from%20the%20Turks.

[84] Ibid

[85] Risto Stefov, *Oshchima: The Story of a Small Village in Western Macedonia*, 101

[86] Risto Stefov, *Oshchima,* 101

this day, a monument commemorating the early members of the society stands in Pine Hills Cemetery in Toronto.

Another example that is similar to The Benefit Society Oshchima was the Banitsa Benevolent Society which was also located in Toronto as well. The society was formed in 1911 by migrants from the Banitsa village which is located in the Aegean part of the greater Macedonian region that is now controlled by Greece.[87] Like Oshchima, the Banitsa Benevolent Society was created to help support Macedonian migrants financially as they settled in the Toronto area. The village of Banitsa holds a historical relevance for the Macedonians because it is the location of where IMRO leader Goce Delčev was assassinated in 1903, just before the Ilinden Uprising. Like the Benefit Society Oshchima, there is a monument to commemorate the early migrants who were members of the organization in St. James Cemetery in Toronto.

There was also the Macedonian Mutual Aid Society, or just simply Prespa, that was located in Lackawanna, New York just south of Buffalo. While it is uncertain when the Prespa Society was created, as referenced by the local church in the area, the society was formed prior to the start of WWI.[88] The name of the society is also called Prespa because the Macedonian migrants wanted to remember the region that they came from.[89] Like Oshchima and Banitsa, Prespa also aimed to provide financial aid to Macedonian migrants who settled in the area due to there being no Macedonian Orthodox Church at the time. As a result of the Prespa Society's efforts, many of these migrants who were previously unskilled workers became salon keepers,

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[87] The Aegean part of Macedonia is now what is known as Northern Greece. Prior to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), this area was a part of the greater Macedonian region that was controlled by the Ottoman Turks.
[88]"Our History." Saints Cyril and Methody. https://www.cyrilmethody.com/our-history.
[89] The Prespa Region is located in the Southwest part of today's North Macedonia.

grocery store owners, and restaurant owners which helped contribute to the growing multiethnic labor force in the area.[90]

Additionally, there were political organizations such as the Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO) and the Macedonian People's League (MPL) that were formed in 1922 and 1929 respectively. However, it should be noted that these organizations did not agree on the ethnicity of the Macedonian people; with the MPO claiming that the Macedonians were ethnically Bulgarian and the MPL advocating that the Macedonians were their own distinct ethnicity. Despite having conflicting political beliefs, both organizations shared the priority of advocating for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state to be created in the Balkans. The formation of organizations such as the MPO and MPL demonstrate how Macedonian migrants were able to form organizations that represented their interests. As is the case with the MPO and MPL, they were very much concerned with the situation regarding Macedonia and the people still living in the region. Sökefeld mentions that "diasporas can develop through taking up 'homeland' issues that could not be articulated in the country of origin."[91] While I believe that the MPO and MPL would have had the liberty to voice their beliefs in the Macedonian region, they would have faced a significant amount of conflict from the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars who disagreed with their views and had a stronger foothold in the region. This sort of conflict would not have been seen in the United States and Canada, which is why the organizations were effective in spreading their respective messages.

There were various newspapers that serve as evidence that the people of the Macedonian diaspora had access to media and were able to communicate with one another across North

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[90] "Our History." Saints Cyril and Methody. https://www.cyrilmethody.com/our-history.
[91] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270

America. As stated by Sinadinoski, "While clubs and associations were great for enhancing the social and cultural lives of Macedonians, the media – especially newspapers and radio programs – were used to connect Macedonians from different regions and ideologies."[92] The ability to connect with other Macedonian migrants from different parts of the country, let alone continent, was a crucial development in order for social mobility to occur. Some of the earliest Macedonian newspapers such as *Macedonia* and *People's Voice* could be found in Granite City.[93] In 1908, these two newspapers would actually compete with each other because their editors were rivals.[94]

Furthermore, there were newspapers that were funded by organizations such as the MPO, that allowed them to communicate their respective messages and beliefs. For the MPO, they had the *Macedonian Tribune* which was pro-Bulgarian (right-wing). The *People's Voice* was also leaning toward pro-Bulgarian stances. In response to the right-wing newspapers, left-wing (pro-Macedonian) organizations began to publish newspapers of their own to combat pro-Bulgarian ideologies. Detroit was home to two pro-Macedonian newspapers that began to publish their own issues in the early 20th century: the *Macedonian Bulletin* and *Labor Macedonian*. Sinadinoski writes that the motto for *Labor Macedonia* was "For the rights of self-determination of the Macedonian people, including the right to separate into an independent political unit; for a liberated Macedonia of the laborers!"[95] Promoting beliefs of an independent Macedonian nation-state via newspaper was an effective way to begin the mobilization process for Macedonian migrants in the United States and Canada.

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[92] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 248
[93] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 248
[94] The editor for *Macedonia* was Dr. J.S. Shoomkoff. He attained his B.S. from the University of Chicago and a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. The editor for the *People's Voice* was Christo Nedelkoff. A primary difference between the two newspapers was one issued copies weekly and the other was semi-weekly. For more, see Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 248
[95] Victor Sinadinoski, *Macedonians in America*, 249

With there being evidence of Macedonians in the United States and Canada forming organizations and communicating to other migrants via newspapers, the conditions for social mobility were made available to these migrants. Organizations including the MPO and MPL, as well as various newspapers such as *Labor Macedonia* and the *Macedonian Bulletin*, act as evidence that prove that the Macedonians in North America were well on their way to produce social movements in order to develop into a diaspora. The formation of these organizations, especially as was the case for the MPO and MPL, were created to give Macedonians a platform to voice their opinions on political matters concerning the Macedonian region. However, these organizations did not form naturally; they were created because Macedonians clearly had national aspirations as demonstrated by their desire for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state. The formation of these organizations and the printing of these newspapers serve as evidence for an independent Macedonian national consciousness.

Mobilizing Structures: Networking Within Macedonian Migrant Communities

The next element of the social movement theory is mobilizing structures and practices. Sökefeld defines these structures as "collective vehicles, informal, as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action."[96] These collective vehicles can be seen in the form of organizations, which as mentioned in the previous section, Macedonian migrants in the United States and Canada began to assemble in the early 20th century. This is a critical step in the development of social mobility for a multitude of reasons. According to Sökefeld, "Though social movements cannot be equated with organizations, organizations are frequently

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[96] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269

significant actors within movements and can give them a temporal continuity that exceeds the commitment of individual actors."[97] Essentially, organizations have the capability to have a longer lasting effect compared to individual people who may be a part of the movement. This is especially important to social mobility given that it takes a good amount of time for diasporas to fully mobilize in general.

Additionally, Sökefeld mentions that "such mobilizing structures also organize specific mobilizing practices that enable individuals to take part in the movement, like demonstrations or information campaigns."[98] Demonstrations, rallies, and information campaigns all enable the ability to network within a migrant community, which essentially benefits the movement altogether. Networking within migrant communities is very important to mobilization because it allows for the exchange of thoughts and ideas to take place between people who have commonalities. People form networks which initiates the spread of collective action that can sustain discourses pertaining to the movement and aid in the organization of mobilizing practices.[99] Another point to consider is the diversity of these organizations as it pertains to their reach. It is important to consider the reach of these organizations because now a discussion on various discourses could make its way to the local levels of society where immigrants typically resided. This would include local grassroots associations that were located within small neighborhoods.

Macedonians in the United States and Canada did have the opportunity to network due to organizations such as the MPO, MPL, and other local neighborhood associations organizing conventions and other sorts of gatherings. For example, there is the official conventions

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97 Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269
98 Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269
99 Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270

themselves, which were held all across the United States and Canada. These conventions would allow Macedonians to voice their beliefs, and meet with other Macedonians from across North America to discuss matters related to the Macedonian Question. In Figure 1 of Appendix B, a photo of the 5th Annual MPO Convention (1926) can be seen with numerous references to what the organization was advocating for.

The first reference is the American flag and a flag with "Macedonia" written on it. The Macedonian flag is important here because they are preserving the name "Macedonia" which acts as a material symbol. To have a flag such as this is important because it gives the Macedonian migrants a symbol to which they can identify with. Whether the flag represents strictly the Macedonian land, the people, or both, it is evidence of some Macedonian national consciousness. Then, there is the banner that the members are holding which states, "And if for one cross is by all means necessary, one Golgotha we'll say it's the whole European land. And if for one Golgotha is by all means necessary, one peak we'll call it Macedonia."[100] Golgotha is the hill where Jesus was crucified, but it also can mean a place of suffering and sacrifice. Essentially, the banner is stating that the Macedonian land is a place of great suffering within Europe, and that the people within Macedonia are suffering as well. This is supported by the other signs that are made visible in the picture. The sign on the right is calling for a "Liberated Macedonia" while the sign on the left seems to be honoring 300,000 refugees.[101] All in all, conventions such as this allowed for Macedonians to share their thoughts and ideas, especially regarding the current situation in their homeland.

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[100] See Appendix B, Figure 1
[101] It is difficult to make out exactly what is stated on the sign on the left outside of the "300,000 refugees". The assumption that this is honoring those refugees is predicated on the vase of flowers that are placed above the sign. This would make it look like it is a memorial for these refugees in Macedonia.

Another example is an MPO annual convention in 1929 in the city of Toronto as shown in Figure 2 of Appendix B. There are many signs being held with Macedonia written on it, including a flag that says "Macedonia", similar to the one seen in the 1926 convention. This flag can be seen more clearly in Figure 3 of Appendix B, which also shows a sign that states "This is our platform" on the bottom. As the sign directly implies, conventions and gatherings such as the MPO convention in Toronto provided excellent platforms for Macedonian voices to be heard. This sort of grassroots-level gathering allowed for all voices to be heard, which attracted Macedonians from all over North America.

Prespa, the local Macedonian society just outside of Buffalo, would hold community events as well. In the Buffalo Evening Newspaper on April 29th, 1939, it is reported that "The Macedonian-American Society 'Prespa' will hold its 11th annual banquet Sunday, May 7th, at 7:30 o'clock in the Croatian Church Hall, Ridge rd., Lackawanna."[102] Small community gatherings such as this allowed Macedonians to reinforce their sense of community with other Macedonians and build stronger connections with one another. The newspaper article also references how the gathering would take place within a Croatian Church, which highlights the fact that Macedonians had to utilize other national churches because they themselves did not have their own. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the Macedonians in America from organizing conventions and holding community events for the sake of networking with one another.

These conventions and gatherings oftentimes were politically and nationally motivated. As seen in the previous examples, these conventions were organized in order to bring Macedonians together to voice their thoughts and feelings about the current state of the

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[102]Buffalo Evening News. "Lamb Dinner May 7", April 29, 1939

Macedonian region at the time. It is no coincidence that so many Macedonians would meet to discuss and support the idea of an autonomous Macedonian nation-state. These migrants were motivated to attend these conventions in order to find and connect with other Macedonians who shared their culture and national beliefs for a Macedonian nation on the Balkans.

As mentioned previously, it was on the backs of these Macedonian organizations in North America, that allowed for Macedonian migrants in the United States and Canada to network with one another. Networking aided in bringing Macedonians together and ignited dialogues that allowed for the spread of Macedonian ideas and beliefs throughout North America. With political opportunities and mobilizing structures in place, the Macedonian diaspora had the capabilities to mobilize in the early 20th century.

Framing: Remembering the Ilinden Uprising

The last piece of the social movement theory is framing, which is critical for how effective these organizations would be in mobilizing various migrant communities. Sökefeld would define framing as "ideas that fashion a shared understanding for a social movement by rendering events and conditions meaningful and enable a common framework of interpretation and representation."[103] Sökefeld continues to define framing as ideas that help define migrants and help activate the imagination of a diaspora community.[104] When referring to imagination, Sökefeld is describing how migrants can conceptually construct a common identity around a given idea.

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[103] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 269-270
[104] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270

Additionally, Sökefeld describes what are called 'master frames', which he describes as "ideas of environment, human rights, or identity that play fundamental roles in many different movements and without which these movements could not have been conceived."[105] They essentially define whole categories of the social movement which also helps give an identity to the movement itself.[106] In the case of the Macedonians in the United States and Canada, the master frame to their social movement was identity, for they were advocating for the existence of a distinct Macedonian ethnicity. As stated by Sökefeld, "The idea of identity is an indispensable master frame of diasporas that may take the more specific form of national identity."[107] With the Macedonians demonstrating a sense of national-consciousness at this time, a national identity is developing along with the diaspora itself.

Furthermore, part of the framing process can be fixated on a particular event that holds a relative importance to the migrant community abroad. Sökefeld states that "Framing processes establish not only the significance of the imagined community, but may also refer to specific events that are then defined as incidents that affect the whole community and that thereby trigger, as we shall see, the formation of a diaspora community."[108] Macedonians in the United States and Canada did turn to one particular event in their history that encapsulates a Macedonian national-consciousness and a desire for an independent Macedonian state.

The major framing event that is still remembered by Macedonians today is the Ilinden Uprising of 1903, which was the failed attempt by IMRO to effectively remove the Ottomans from the Macedonian region. At first the uprising was a success, with a provisional government

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[105] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270
[106] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space, 270
[107] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 270-271
[108] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilizing in Transnational Space," 271

established in the town of Kruševo. However, the Kruševo Republic only lasted for ten days before the Ottomans retook the town and ended the insurgency there. Despite its short existence, the Kruševo Republic was the first independent republic within the Macedonian region. The establishment of the Kruševo Republic was and still is important to Macedonians because to them it represents a desire for an independent Macedonian nation-state and evidence of a national consciousness. However, this view on the Ilinden Uprising is not universally accepted, for the Bulgarians and Greeks had their own interpretations of the event.

Despite this event being remembered differently by various Balkan nationalities, Macedonians remain adamant that the Ilinden Uprising represents a desire for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state. As mentioned previously by Keith Brown, the Ilinden Uprising is remembered differently by Greeks and Bulgarians as both view it as nothing more than the local people trying to overthrow the Ottomans in the region.[109] However, because the Bulgarians and Greeks view Ilinden differently, it demonstrates how the Macedonians have a distinct relationship with the Ilinden Uprising and remember it in a specific way. Essentially, because the Macedonians view Ilinden as a major event that reflects their distinct identity and because other Balkan nationalities do not view it the same way, it is an ideal frame to mobilize the diaspora around.

With the memory of Ilinden fresh on the migrants' mind, the Uprising of 1903 would serve as the main frame for the mobilization of the Macedonian diaspora in North America during the early 20th century. Especially because the main driving factor for the massive wave of immigration of Macedonians in the early 20th century was as a result of the Ilinden Uprising.

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[109] Refer to Page 7 for a more detailed explanation on this issue.

Many of the early Macedonian organizations formed in the United States and Canada would carry over many of the same beliefs that inspired the uprising to begin with. An example would be the idea that Macedonians should have the right to establish their own separate nation-state on the Balkans.

These organizations or societies would hold many functions or celebrations to bring the Macedonian community together. One of these celebrations would be on August 2nd to celebrate and remember the Ilinden Uprising. As seen in Figure 4 of Appendix B, Macedonians would celebrate Ilinden like any other holiday. In this particular picture, it shows Macedonians in Toronto celebrating Ilinden by having a community picnic. The banner they are holding in the front states "Forward for a United Macedonia", which demonstrates the desire for an independent nation-state. Professing the ideals of IMRO, who fought on Ilinden, many years later on the day of the uprising is an excellent example of framing on behalf of Macedonians in North America. It also once again demonstrates the possession of a national consciousness on behalf of these Macedonian migrants. Ilinden is a national symbol for Macedonians and by selecting it to be the frame of the movement demonstrates possession of a national consciousness because of what Ilinden represented; the desire for a Macedonian nation-state. Additionally, in framing the Ilinden Uprising, the Macedonian community in the United States and Canada began to mobilize into a diaspora.

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Chapter 3. The Macedonian Orthodox Church

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, social mobility did occur within the Macedonian community in the United States and Canada in the first half of the 20th century. In proving the existence of social mobility, it confirms that Macedonian migrants had a national consciousness because conscious actions are what generate social movements. In addition, the previous chapter reveals that these social movements were utilized in order to bring Macedonians together around a common national desire: the establishment of an autonomous Macedonian nation-state. By pursuing this desire, the Macedonians in North America were simultaneously developing into a diaspora which would result in a national identity.

This chapter will focus on how the social movement of Macedonian migrants in North America concluded with the Macedonian Orthodox Church's declaration of autocephaly. I argue that with the Macedonian Orthodox Church now attaining autocephaly, it legitimized the national consciousness that many Macedonians possessed into a national identity, thus completing the mobilizing process. In this chapter, I will explain the history behind the Macedonian Orthodox Church and how it was revived beginning in the late 1950's. Additionally, I will describe how the Macedonian Orthodox Church made its way to North America and established a large presence there among the Macedonians. Next, I will elaborate more on how the Macedonian Orthodox Church was so effective in legitimizing the national consciousness of the Macedonians. Subsequently, I will then describe how the Macedonian Orthodox Church's declaration of autocephaly impacted Macedonians in North America.

Reviving the Archbishopric of Ohrid: The History of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and its Presence in North America

Before getting into how the Macedonian Orthodox Church (MOC) made its way to North America, it is beneficial to cover some important history as to what the Ohrid Archbishopric was and how it was revived through the MOC hundreds of years later. Following the collapse of the Bulgarian empire at the hands of Emperor Basil II of the Byzantine Empire in 1018, the Archbishopric of Ohrid was established.[110] This was done in an effort to reduce the Bulgarian patriarchate to an archbishopric while still allowing the church to retain its autocephaly. After being under the dominion of the Byzantine Empire for a couple hundred years, the Archbishopric of Ohrid would then be seriously sought after by numerous other empires in the 13th and 14th centuries. These empires would include the restored Second Bulgarian empire and the Kingdom of Serbia who at one point, incorporated the church within their respective territories. Despite being possessed by these other empires and kingdoms, the Archbishopric of Ohrid would retain its autocephaly. However, this would come to an end in 1767 when Ottoman Sultan Mustapha III with the backing of Greek church leaders in Istanbul, abolished the church and placed it under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.[111]

For the next two centuries, many would try to revive the Archbishopric of Ohrid with little success. Most prominently were Bulgarian nationalists during the Bulgarian national awakening in the early 19th century. They argued that they had a rightful claim to church due to Macedonia being an integral part of the first Bulgarian Empire (681-1018), which saw the city of Ohrid become a huge cultural center and the seat of the Bulgarian Archbishopric-Patriarchate of

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[110] Günter Prinzing, *The Autocephalous Byzantine Ecclesiastical Province of Bulgaria/Ohrid: How Independent were its Archbishops?,* 358
[111] John Shea, *Macedonia and Greece: The Struggle to Define a New Balkan Nation*, 173

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Ohrid.[112] However, the Bulgarians would face a dilemma following the Second Balkan War, which saw Serbia take full control of Vardar Macedonia (today's North Macedonia). With Serbia now in control of the city of Ohrid, they were able to expel clerics and other members of the Bulgarian church back to Bulgaria and then approached the Macedonian population and urged them to proclaim themselves as Serbs or Greeks.[113] I will explain the role of the church during the nationalizing process in a later section.

With the addition of Vardar Macedonia into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, it was now within the dominion of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC). In 1920, the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued a tomos (decree) stating that all the 'recently liberated areas' were to be allocated to the Serbian Orthodox Church.[114] Now that the SOC possessed control over these areas, they began to spread their influence throughout the region. It would be this way up until the Second World War which saw Bulgaria, who was on the side of the Axis, invade the Macedonian area and reestablish control of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Obviously this was only for a short time because with the defeat of the Axis Powers, control of Vardar Macedonia went back to the SOC.

Following the conclusion of WWII, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was created which also saw the formation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. After witnessing the brutality and oppression that the fascist ideology promoted firsthand, Tito and his partisans aimed to implement many liberties within their newly formed federation. As mentioned by Josip

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[112] Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans,* Map 30: The Macedonian Question
[113] Klejda Mulaj*, Politics of Ethnic Cleansing: Nation-State Building and Provision of In/security in Twentieth-Century Balkans, 24*
[114] The Ecumenical Patriarchate is considered to be the highest center of the Orthodox Christian Church: Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *3*

Horak, freedom of conscience and religion was proclaimed in the territories of Yugoslavia during and after WWII.[115] Upon its formation, Yugoslavia had to balance various national identities and rivalries, with a communist ideology of its own. However, religion played a crucial role in many of the lives of citizens in Yugoslavia preventing the government from outlawing it. Instead, Yugoslavia adopted a separation of church and state policy that allowed all religious communities to have equal rights and equal legal status.[116]

As it pertains to Macedonia, borders for an independent Macedonian republic were clearly drawn out which amplified aspirations for an independent nation. The first step in achieving this goal was to establish a separate Orthodox Church that was distinct from the SOC. In 1944, an Initiative Committee for the Foundation of a Macedonian Orthodox Church was established inside the Republic of Macedonia.[117] The intention behind the establishment of the Initiative Committee was to create a distinct Macedonian Orthodox Church within the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. While this was seen as nationalist activity by the Yugoslav state, the government continued to allow the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to pursue an independent national church.

The Macedonians at this time felt that the SOC was a church of occupation and was playing a key role in the Serbanisation of Macedonian society.[118] This is what motivated the Macedonian communists to push for the establishment of an independent Macedonian Orthodox Church. Eventually, the idea of reviving the Archbishopric of Ohrid as the sole Macedonian national institution that dates back to the Byzantine Empire was one that the Macedonians

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[115] Josip Horak, "Church-State Relations in Yugoslavia," 478
[116] Josip Horak, "Church-State Relations in Yugoslavia," 478
[117] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," 4
[118] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," 5

pursued.[119] Reviving the Archbishopric of Ohrid made complete sense for the Macedonians in this case because Ohrid was within its borders, and it was a legitimate national institution that would be distinct enough to justify separating from the SOC. The Macedonians first wanted to achieve autonomous status and fulfill the restoration of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

In 1959, the SOC finally succumbed to a motion made by the Initiative Committee and granted the MOC autonomy.[120] As a part of the agreement, the SOC also agreed to recognize the restoration of the Archbishopric of Ohrid which was included in the official name of the MOC (Archdiocese of Ohrid). However, the MOC only achieved autonomous status at this point, which meant that it was still canonically united with the SOC and its Patriarch.[121] This would not be enough for the Macedonians for they were still under the influence of the SOC and desired to be independent from them. In December of 1966, the MOC wrote a letter to the SOC asking to be granted autocephaly, to which the SOC replied back stating that if the MOC declared itself autocephalous, it would be a breach of canon law and the MOC would be viewed as schismatic.[122] This was a bold step for the MOC that also potentially jeopardized Serbian and Macedonian relations within Socialist Yugoslavia. Other Orthodox Churches such as the Bulgarian and Greek Orthodox Churches did not approve of this motion made by the MOC.[123]

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[119] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *5*
[120] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *6*
[121] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *6*
[122] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *6*
[123] Both of these churches had their respective discrepancies with the motion made by the MOC mostly related to the title of the church. The Bulgarians did not approve of the incorporation of the "Archdiocese of Ohrid" in the title of the church because they felt that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church should have been the one to restore Archbishopric. The Greeks meanwhile disapproved of the inclusion of the term "Macedonian" in the title of the church because they argued that the term was Greek and that a predominant Slavic population had no right to use it.

Despite all of the warnings and discontent from other Orthodox Churches, the MOC declared its autocephaly in July of 1967, two hundred years after the end of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[124]

The Yugoslavian government supported the MOC's quest for autocephaly despite initially rooted in the ideology of separation of church and state. The reason why is because "it was in line with the political strategy pursued by SFRY (Yugoslavia) state leadership under Josip Broz Tito which saw in the fulfillment of certain wishes of the constituent republics a means to secure their integration into the state of Yugoslavia as a whole and to ensure their enforced conformity."[125] Essentially, Yugoslavia was decentralizing at a political and economic level and did not want to risk having one of its republics secede from the federation. The idea was to appease demands from republics within the federation in order to convince them to remain united. However, this would actually contribute to further decentralization as it pertains to Macedonia because the MOC would come to represent the desire for an independent Macedonian nation separate from Yugoslavia. In an attempt to preserve the union of the federation from further decentralization on national lines, the Yugoslav government's policy of appeasement backfired tremendously.

With the MOC declaring its autocephaly, it would now become the first independent national Macedonian institution in which Macedonians could identify with. This was crucial especially for Macedonians abroad because they were in the midst of developing their own identity and needed an independent national institution that could help legitimize their identity. I will now focus on the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and how the MOC was able to establish itself there.

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[124] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *7*
[125] Otmar Oehring, "Dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church," *6*

At this point in time, the Macedonians living in the United States and Canada had a republic that they could identify with despite the fact it was a part of Socialist Yugoslavia. When the MOC declared its autocephaly in 1967, it was a massive development for Macedonians abroad given the independent nature of the church. Previously without a church of their own, Macedonians in the United States and Canada had to attend other Orthodox Churches in order to attend mass. However, this was no longer the case with the formation of the MOC.

The first Macedonian Orthodox Church in America to say mass to Macedonian immigrants was the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Gary, Indiana. It was first consecrated in 1963 by the first Macedonian Archbishop Dositej, and then from that point on the role of the church became to help organize the Macedonian community in the area.[126] In the same year the MOC declared its autocephaly, they also established their first diocese which had churches in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The first Bishop for the American-Canadian diocese was Metropolitan Kiril, who was elected by the Macedonian Orthodox Holy Synod to be the head of the church within the diaspora. According to Zlate Petrovski, "The idea for holding national church gatherings organized by the American-Canadian Eparchy of the Macedonian Orthodox St. Clement's Church was born in 1974 in Geri, Indiana."[127] The church Petrovski is referring to here is the Macedonian Orthodox Church of St. Paul, which had the sole purpose of strengthening the diaspora.[128] Soon after the MOC declared their autocephaly more Macedonian Orthodox Churches were built and established all over the United States.[129]

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[126] Zlate Petrovski, *The Mirror of the Macedonian Spirit*, 15
[127] Zlate Petrovski, *The Mirror of the Macedonian Spirit*, 17
[128] Zlate Petrovski, *The Mirror of the Macedonian Spirit*, 17
[129] There are currently nineteen parishes and two monastic communities within the United States to this day. For more information, visit the website of Sts. Peter and Paul Macedonian Orthodox Church at: https://stspeterandpaulmoc.org/pages/acmod#:~:text=The%20Diocese%20of%20America%20and%20Canada%20today%20consists%20of%2019,one%20monastic%20community%20in%20Canada.

Overlapping Boundaries: How the Macedonian Orthodox Church Legitimized the Macedonian Ethnic Boundary

There is now the question of why there is an inherent focus on the church as it pertains to the development of the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada. Broadly speaking, I want to explain how churches were instrumental in constructing a national identity. In this section, I will analyze how Orthodox Churches have played an instrumental role in constructing national identities in the Macedonian region. I will then subsequently analyze how churches (the MOC) have had a role in the creation of distinct ethnic boundaries which reinforce independent national identities.

Orthodox Churches in the Balkans have played a crucial role in the spread of nationalism and the formation of national identities throughout their history. This is because they have typically fallen on national and ethnic lines since the establishment of the Millet System under the Ottomans in the 15th century. I am not saying that Orthodox Churches previously were not categorized based on ethnicity, rather, it is to say that Orthodox Churches in the Balkans became important national institutions for legitimizing a given nation beginning with the establishment of the Millet System. With the Millet System now in place, religious institutions had the power to govern their respective constituents within the Ottoman Empire.

At this point in time, the Patriarchate Church had dominion over all of the Christian Orthodox peoples within the Balkan part of the Ottoman Empire. However, this would not last for conflicts between the Greeks and the Bulgarians began to arise due to the Bulgarians desiring their own Orthodox Church. These conflicts arose as a result of the Bulgarian community's frustration with its subjugation by the Patriarchate Church and with the Bulgarian clergy's

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inability to participate in the higher church hierarchy.[130] This would change when in 1870, the

Exarchate Church was granted autonomous status by the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz. Two years

later in 1872, the Exarchate would declare its independence and full separation from the

Patriarchate. With the emergence of an independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church to rival the

Greek Orthodox Church, they both fixed their sights on the Macedonian region still controlled by

the Ottomans.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, schools within Ottoman Macedonia played an

instrumental role in spreading national ideologies. Ipek Yosmaoğlu states that "the Greek and

Bulgarian educational establishments resembled each other in their reliance on the religious

establishment, rather than secular institutions of learning, to reach the masses."[131] The

competition between the two churches in spreading their respective national ideologies is a

testament to how effective churches can be as national institutions. As time went on, more well -

funded schools began to be built on behalf of the Patriarchate and Exarchate Churches, which

sparked heated competition between one another. According to Yosmaoğlu, "The Ottoman

authorities and members of the rival sects alike loathed secondary schools of this kind because

they were seen as indoctrination centers dispensing hatred rather than enlightenment of young

minds."[132] This serves as evidence as to how influential churches were in the construction of a

national identity because these schools would indoctrinate students into believing that they are a

specific nationality. Additionally, the quote by Yosmaoğlu depicts the past landscape of Ottoman

Macedonia by describing how these Orthodox Churches contributed to the spread of nationalism

which led to the forging of certain national identities.

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[130] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties,* 54
[131] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties,* 52
[132] Ipek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties,* 67

In order to explain how the MOC was able to institutionalize the ethnic boundary making process, I will refer to Andreas Wimmer and his ethnic boundary model. The model that Wimmer developed is highly complex and very specific in its purpose. The model was created to help understand how ethnic boundary characteristics change and transform over time.[133] It is also worth noting that Wimmer's theory "assumes that ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field."[134] Essentially, Wimmer believes that different ethnic boundaries are produced depending on the groups of people and their social climate. For this section, I will not be referring to the entire model, rather, just parts of it that refer directly to how the MOC played a crucial role in ethnic boundary making for Macedonians. I will only focus on explaining the boundary making strategies and the social field characteristics that influence the decisions to pursue those strategies as it pertains to the MOC and the Macedonian diaspora.

The ethnic boundary in the case of the Macedonian diaspora was formed when the Macedonian Orthodox Church declared its autocephaly in 1967. I will first explain the boundary making strategies that were pursued by those who were involved in the MOC's pursuit of autocephaly and spread into North America because it will be easier to understand the field characteristics once the motives are made clear. The primary boundary making strategy that was pursued by the Macedonians in the late 1960's as it pertains to the MOC was boundary contraction. Boundary contraction is when actors pursue to narrower boundaries than those already established in a social landscape.[135]

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[133] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," 970
[134] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 970
[135] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 987

From the perspective of the MOC, when they declared autocephaly, all of the individuals that were Macedonian Orthodox now fell under the influence of their church. This previously was not the case prior to 1967 because the MOC was still tied to the SOC. Therefore, anyone who subscribed to the MOC prior to 1967, was technically under the influence of the SOC. Now that the MOC was independent, they had control over their Macedonian Orthodox constituents, which clearly outlined their own ethnic boundary within Socialist Yugoslavia. This ethnic boundary would be narrower in scope as a result of boundary contraction.

For the Macedonian migrants in the United States, the strategy of boundary contraction was also pursued. To describe the situation more clearly in North America, Wimmer provides a reference to how second-generation Chinese and Koreans in Los Angeles would prefer to be identified as Chinese-Americans and Korean-Americans instead of being grouped together under the term "Asian".[136] For the Macedonians in the United States, this was something they too desired, which was only made possible once the independent MOC was established and churches began to be consecrated in the 1960's. With Macedonian Orthodox Churches being built across the United States and Canada, Macedonians that were previously grouped in with Bulgarians or Yugoslavs now left and established their own smaller ethnic boundary.

Now, actors (in this case Macedonians in the United States) were not at liberty to pursue which strategy they like best when making an ethnic boundary.[137] The social environment that dictates which strategy is pursued can be analyzed within three different constraints. The first are institutions, which specify the historical context within which the dynamics of ethnic boundary making unfolds.[138] For the Macedonians, this is simply referring to the MOC because it is an

[136] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 988
[137] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 990
[138] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 990

institution that incentivizes ethnic differentiation. Essentially, with an autocephalous MOC in place, Macedonians at home and abroad felt incentivized to change the ethnic boundary to categorize themselves as Macedonians.

The next constraint is power, which refers to institutions providing incentives for elites and non-elites to emphasize ethnicity rather than other types of boundaries.[139] Essentially, this speaks to how advantageous the pursuit of ethnic differentiation may be for people interested in establishing an ethnic boundary based on how it will benefit themselves. For Macedonians in the United States and Canada, the sentiment of a Macedonian national consciousness has been present and passed down since the early 20th century when they migrated over. With the desire of one day creating an independent Macedonian nation-state and identity, subscribing to the MOC would be considered progress for Macedonians who desired this.

Lastly there are political networks which essentially determines *where* the ethnic boundary will be located.[140] Wimmer additionally notes that "political networks will determine where the boundaries between ethnic 'us' and 'them' will be drawn."[141] The only "political" network that fits this criteria for the Macedonians in North America was the MOC. It is important to note that as it concerns the location of ethnic boundaries, they are not physical materials, meaning boundaries cannot be seen or touched. The ethnic boundary in discussion as it pertains to the Macedonians was being further legitimized by the Macedonian Orthodox Church upon its declaration of autocephaly. So when determining the location of the Macedonian ethnic boundary, one could say it is located along the religious boundary that differentiates the in-group

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[139] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 993
[140] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 995
[141] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries," 996

and the out-group.[142] Essentially, the boundary is differentiating those who are a part of the religious community (MOC) and those who are not. As the ethnic boundary began to overlap with the religious boundary, it strengthened the distinctions between Macedonians and other ethnic groups.

Between these three social landscape characteristics: Institutions, Power, and Political Networks, the social environment for the Macedonians in North America can be understood. Essentially, these three characteristics explain the motives for why the Macedonians pursued to establish an ethnic boundary. As seen with boundary contraction, Macedonians very clearly wanted to establish their distinct ethnic boundary. They would do this by building their own churches to be a part of the larger MOC and to stop attending Bulgarian or Serbian church service that would have grouped them together within the same boundary. Wimmer's ethnic boundary theories also reveals how the church played a critical role in the development of the Macedonian diaspora as more churches were built and consecrated in the United States and Canada.

In this section, I have explained how Orthodox churches played a crucial role in the construction of national identities. In providing examples of how the Patriarchate and Exarchate churches spread their respective national influence within the Macedonian region, I demonstrated the true power these institutions possessed pertaining to national identity construction. Additionally, I explained how with the MOC's declaration of autocephaly, it enabled the Macedonian diaspora to effectively establish a distinct ethnic boundary apart from other Balkan nationalities in North America. The role of the MOC, and other religious institutions for that

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[142] In-group in this case refers to individuals subscribed to the Macedonian Orthodox Church while out-group refers to individuals who are no subscribed to the church.

matter, cannot be overlooked as it pertains to the construction of a national identity. I argue that as national/ethnic boundaries began to overlap with religious boundaries with the MOC's declaration of autocephaly, the national consciousness that Macedonians possessed legitimized into a national identity, thus concluding their mobilization process.

National Consciousness to National Identity: The Completed Development of the Macedonian Diaspora

The mobilizing process of the Macedonian diaspora in North America benefited greatly from the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in 1945. While this was not an independent nation-state, it was an area where individuals could identify themselves as Macedonians free from discontent. The reason why the mobilizing process for the Macedonians abroad in the United States and Canada began to accelerate in 1945 is because the borders for a potential Macedonian nation-state were drawn out. With the territory of Vardar Macedonia being converted into a socialist republic within Yugoslavia, the desire for an independent Macedonia grew even more. Macedonians abroad now had a territory that they could identify with that was recognized by other nations as Macedonia, which was a massive step in their development for a national identity and as a diaspora altogether.

In 1959, with the MOC being granted autonomy status and the revival of the Archbishopric of Ohrid being recognized by the SOC, the mobilizing process within the United States and Canada for Macedonians would be reaching its end. Due to Macedonians abroad having a church they could identify with; this had a large impact on the formation of a national

identity. The national consciousness that early 20th century Macedonians possessed while immigrating to North America was now being further legitimized.

The MOC being recognized as the successor to the Archbishopric of Ohrid had a great effect in the development of the Macedonian national identity as well. Due to there being a history with the Archbishopric that dates back to the 11th century, that history would now be identifiable with Macedonians who were members of the MOC. While the history is still debatable between Macedonia and its neighbors, the revival of the Archbishopric of Ohrid ultimately legitimized the Macedonian national identity from the perspective of the Macedonians themselves because it also gave them a history that they could identify with. However, this would not be enough for the MOC, as they desired autocephaly.

With the MOC declaring itself an autocephalous church, a diocese encompassing the United States and Canda was established in 1967 which allowed for Macedonians to attend MOC masses. This I argue, finally gave the Macedonians a full opportunity to legitimize a national identity abroad that is distinct from other Balkan nationalities. This is because when the MOC became an autocephalous church, the Macedonian diaspora in the United States and Canada could now complete the mobilization process as national and religious boundaries began to overlap. The result of this overlap was the national consciousness that many Macedonians possessed legitimizing into a national identity. Additionally, with the MOC now declaring themselves as an autocephalous church, it became the first independent national Macedonian institution in which Macedonians could identify with. Part of the reason why the developing process of the Macedonian diaspora and its national identity did not conclude in 1945 or 1959 is because the Macedonian Republic and MOC were still connected to Yugoslavia and the SOC

respectively. Only in 1967 with the MOC declaring its autocephaly, did the Macedonian diaspora fully mobilize and develop their national identity.

Another reason why 1967 is a crucial year for the development of the Macedonian diaspora specifically is because it is when the U.S.-Canadian diocese was recognized and established. With the creation of the diocese, it finally gave recognition to the Macedonians living in the United States and Canada. This would go on to further affirm the Macedonian national identity because now there were Macedonians being identified in other countries outside of the Republic of Macedonia. For the diaspora, this essentially further legitimized their national identity not only for themselves, but for others all around the world.

After decades of mobilizing as a migrant community, the Macedonians who immigrated to the United States and Canada finally established a diaspora with a national identity. Through the desire of one day having a nation-state of their own, the early Macedonians with a national consciousness in mind began the slow process of forging their own national identity that other nationalities and ethnicities would come to recognize. Through the establishment of various organizations that kept the idea of a distinct Macedonian people and nation-state alive, the evidence of a national consciousness that I argue existed prior to 1945 can be further legitimized. Today, the Macedonian diaspora still continues to develop and integrate itself into American and Canadian society while holding onto the Macedonian culture and traditions that so many fought to preserve.

Conclusion

The development of the Macedonian national identity abroad in North America was a process that spanned across multiple decades. Beginning with early immigration waves to the United States and Canada in the early 20th century, many Macedonians were in search of better economic conditions, while also fleeing poverty and violence back home. The Ilinden Uprising and the two Balkan Wars were violent national conflicts that had a large impact on whether an autonomous Macedonian nation-state in the Balkans would be created. The outcome of these events prevented the formation of a Macedonian nation due to various Balkan countries seeking to possess as much of the Macedonian region as possible. However, despite Macedonians not having a say in the division of the region, this did not indicate a lack of a national consciousness among the local Macedonian inhabitants who would eventually immigrate to North America following these conflicts.

As seen in the ship manifests and passenger records shown in Appendix A, there were individuals from this region who did declare themselves as Macedonians before embarking to the United States. While this does not definitively prove the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness, it does indicate that these individuals did view themselves differently compared to other Balkan ethnicities. In order to further legitimize the evidence of a national consciousness, I describe how Macedonian migrants in North America mobilized in order to preserve their culture and advocate for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state.

In demonstrating how Macedonian communities began to mobilize into a diaspora in the first half of the 20th century, it serves as legitimate evidence for the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness. Considering that social mobility is not a natural occurrence and not the

result of a nation-state, it would imply that a certain level of consciousness is required in order to motivate individuals to take part in various social movements. As it pertains to the Macedonians in North America, because the social movement they undertook had national undertones, it is plausible to believe that a national consciousness preceded this social movement.[143]

Additionally, with the formation of Socialist Yugoslavia came a Macedonian republic to be a part of the federation. As a result, the dream of one day establishing an independent Macedonian nation-state became evermore so real in the minds of Macedonians at home and abroad. What further legitimized these national desires was the establishment of an autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church in 1967. I argue that with the MOC declaring its autocephaly, it legitimized the national consciousness that many Macedonians then possessed into a national identity. There are two reasons for why the Macedonian national consciousness legitimized. One is because in 1967, the MOC became the first independent national institution in which Macedonians could identify with. Another is because with the MOC declaring its autocephaly, national lines that defined the social movement in North America overlapped with religious lines which further legitimized the Macedonian national consciousness. This is due to the MOC possessing a history that now could be identifiable by Macedonians, which further validated their national beliefs and cultural distinctions.[144] With the Macedonian national consciousness now legitimized into a national identity, I argue that this concluded their development into becoming a diaspora.

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[143] These undertones are calling for an autonomous Macedonian nation-state.
[144] The history I am referring to here is regarding the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This is because when the MOC attained its autonomy in 1959, they declared that their church would be the revival of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

In this thesis, I have provided evidence in support of the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness among Macedonian migrants in North America prior to 1945. The evidence could be seen in various immigration documents and organizations formed in the U.S. and Canada that advocated for Macedonian national beliefs. I would like to reiterate that the goal of this thesis was to prove the legitimacy of said evidence, not to prove the existence of a Macedonian national consciousness altogether. To prove that the evidence was legitimate, I demonstrated that Macedonian communities in North America began to develop into a diaspora in accordance with the principles of social mobility.[145] In doing so, I argue that because Macedonian communities began to mobilize in this way, a distinct Macedonian national consciousness must be present. This is because social mobility does not occur naturally and requires conscious actions in order for the movement to begin. Furthermore, Macedonian national interests resided at the core of the movement during the first half of the 20th century. All in all, I argue that in order for Macedonian social mobility to be conducted in the manner that it was, a national consciousness must have been present at the start of the movement, thus legitimizing the evidence of its existence prior to 1945.

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[145] I am referring to Martin Sökefeld's Social Movement Theory.

Appendices

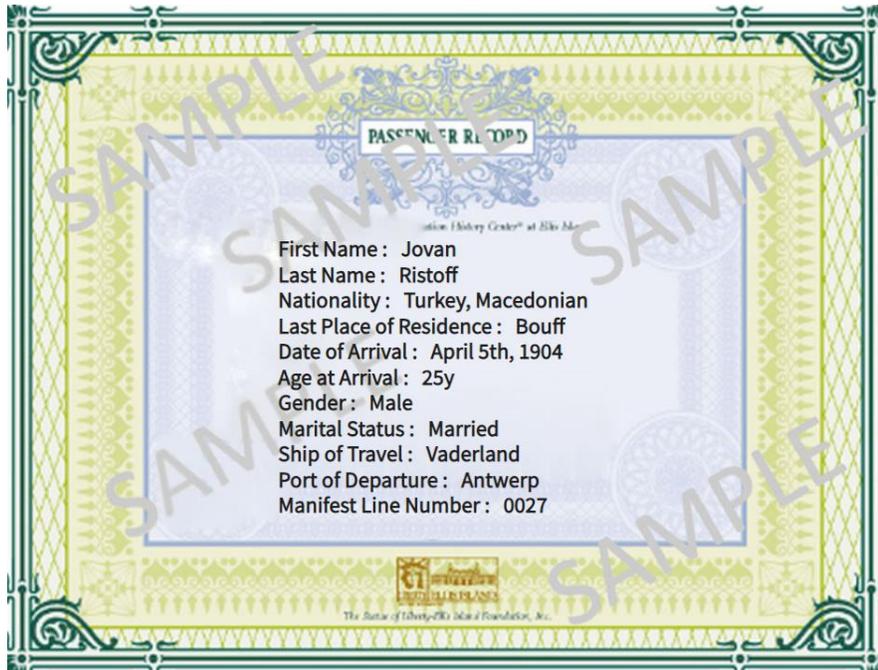## Appendix A: Immigration Documents

Figure 1: "Ellis Island Passenger Search database, 1820 to 1957" *Passenger Record* (https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMjoiMTAyNTEwMDkwMTc3Ijs=/czo4OiJtYW5pZmVzdCI7/czoxNzoidDcxNS0wNDQzMDMyNy5qcGciOw==#passengerListAnchor: downloaded June 9, 2024) > Antwerp [port] > 1904 [year] > March [month], passenger record, Vaderland, Antwerp to New York departing 26 March 1904, entry for Jovan Ristoff, frame 327; citing "The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc: Ellis Island Passenger Search database, New Yok City, New York."

Figure 2: "Ellis Island Passenger Search database, 1820 to 1957" *Ship Manifest* (https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMjoiMTAyNTEwMDkwMTc3Ijs=/czo4OiJtYW5pZmVzdCI7: downloaded June 9, 2024) > Antwerp [port] > 1904 [year] > March [month], ship manifest, Vaderland, Antwerp to New York departing 26 March 1904, entry for Jovan Ristoff, frame 327; citing "The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc: Ellis Island Passenger Search database, New Yok City, New York."

Figure 3: "Ellis Island Passenger Search database, 1820 to 1957" *Passenger Record* (https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMjoiMTAyMjE0MDMwMjQ5Ijs=/czo4OiJtYW5pZmVzdCI7: downloaded June 9, 2024) > Liverpool [port] > 1906 [year] > April [year], passenger record, S.S. Caronia, Liverpool to New York departing 10 April 1906, entry for Athanas Andrea Kalfa, frame 784; citing "The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc: Ellis Island Passenger Search database, New Yok City, New York."

Figure 4: "Ellis Island Passenger Search database, 1820 to 1957" *Ship Manifest*
(https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMjoiMTAyMjE0MDMwMjQ5Ijs=/czo4OiJtYW5pZmVzdCI7: downloaded
June 9, 2024) > Liverpool [port] > 1906 [year] > April [year], ship manifest, S.S. Caronia,
Liverpool to New York departing 10 April 1906, entry for Athanas Andrea Kalfa, frame
784; citing "The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc: Ellis Island Passenger
Search database, New Yok City, New York."
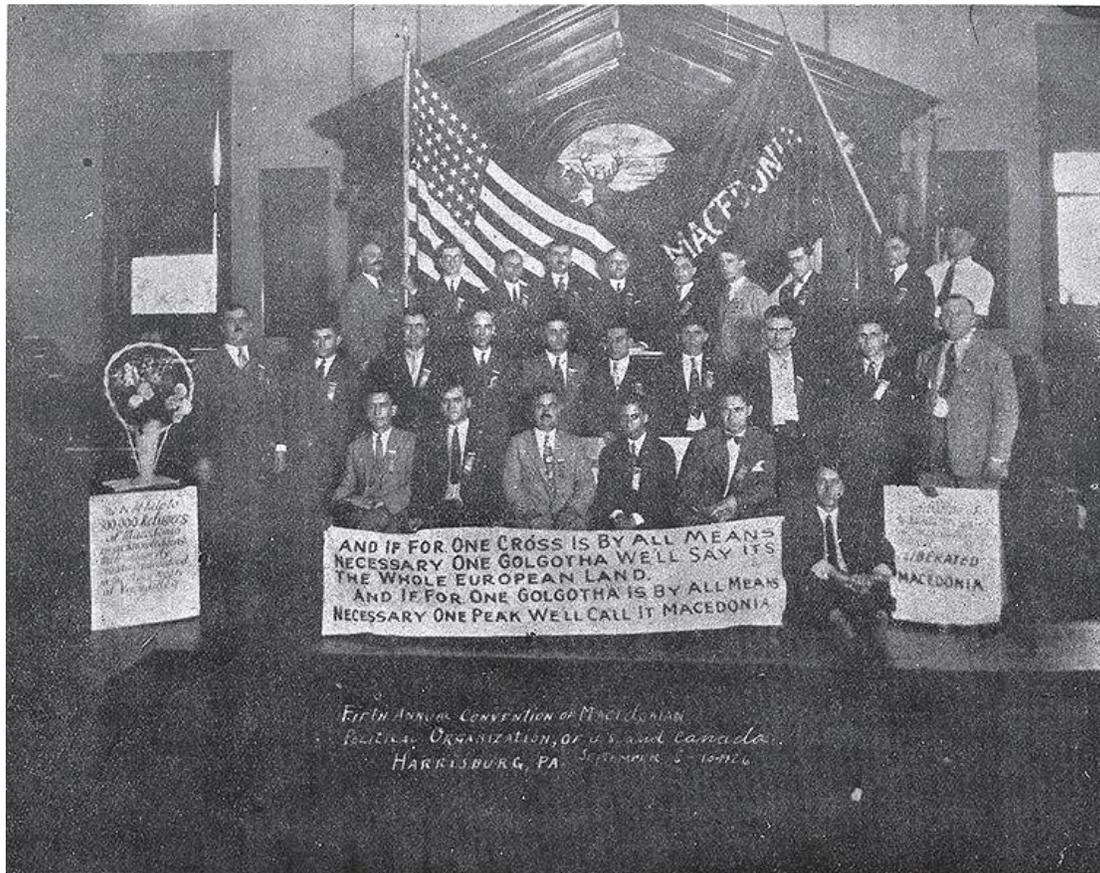
Appendix B: Photographs

Figure 1: "Fifth Annual Convention of Macedonian Political Organization, Harrisburg, PA" Macedonia - flag. Accessed June 9, 2024. https://documents-mk.blogspot.com/2009/05/macedonia-flag.html

Figure 2: "Annual Convention of the Macedonian Political Organization: Toronto September 1st, 1929." Canadian Macedonian Historical Society. Accessed May 21, 2024. https://macedonianhistory.ca/news/Cdn_150_pier_21.html.

Figure 3: "Annual Convention of the Macedonian Political Organization: Toronto September 1st, 1929. (Close Up)" Canadian Macedonian Historical Society. Accessed May 21, 2024. https://macedonianhistory.ca/news/Cdn_150_pier_21.html.

Figure 4: "Ilinden Picnic 1945, Toronto, Canada" X (formerly Twitter). Accessed June 9, 2024.
https://x.com/1VidiVidi/status/957766676233277440.

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