

# BOSNIA & N STUDIES

Journal for Research of Bosnian  
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# BOSANSKE STUDIJE

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# ***PREPOROD***

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# ***PREPOROD***

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Transhumanism – Life and Death in a  
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## Summary:

*The code of human life or DNA has 4 letters, was discovered in 1953, and was read fully in 2001. A massive amount of information is stored in it, 3,2 billion letters in one copy in each cell, with two spirals, one from the father and one from the mother. It adds up to 500 books of pure text each. If we read everything, we want to know about ourselves in the genome, we still do not know anything about our own essence, why we die, grow old, get sick... Science today 'plays' with the human genome book and certain information. For the last ten years, scientists have been tampering with the human genome experimentally. Everything looks like the idea that they will change the human created by God, the so-called, human number 1 and make human number 2, by editing the genome.*

*It is an effective combination of technique and biology in the form of the so-called trans-humanized man.*

**Keywords:** life, death, transhumanism, human1, human2

A short piece can hardly reflect the vast number of things we think about and what truly fulfills us. During these past years, as before, looking at the 'world of living,' shaped constantly by more numerous technical-technological products, inventions, aides, making human beings nearly technological.<sup>1</sup> To more easily broach the vast subjects of techno-sociality, transhumanism and the cyborgization of humans and society, we must demarcate the basic terms. Their precise definition and fundamental understanding will help this textual analysis reach valid conclusions. These terms need not neatly fit into the so-called, *scientific mainstream*, present in quotidian communication. There are two types of Artificial Intelligence: weak and strong. Weak Artificial Intelligence, or Narrow AI, handles various digital tasks but is not self-aware. Strong Artificial Intelligence handles key tasks as a machine conscious of itself. Both intelligences develop tools, machines, applications and algorithms that are ready to learn the ways in which humans learn. There are also commercial AIs, branded as such, but without cognitive abilities. Many themes of the Summer 2024 conference held by the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Sarajevo spoke about artificial intelligence. Many presenters stated how digital platforms are not neutral, be they

<sup>1</sup> Even during the COVID-19 pandemic, people in some spiritual circles stressed a portion of the Muslim holy book, the Quran to understand the time we live in. The portion, or sentence, or *ayah*, is in the first, and largest *surah*, or chapter, significantly called "The Cow," and it symbolically relates to the era of materialistic preoccupation that would engulf humankind. The Cow symbolizes a "Golden Calf," "Golden Cow," that will preoccupy people's thoughts and actions. The *ayah* reads: "Alaaa innahum humul mufsidooona wa-laakil laa yash'uroon?" (Quran, 2:12, 'Indeed, it is they who are the corruptors, but they fail to perceive it.' Al-Baqarah; 12)

commercial, weak or strong, but they are not omniscient, nor able to enslave us either, as one might think at first glance with various *hyper narratives* about them.

These developments are fostering a new global *social factory*, in which all users of the internet work for free for the owners of digital platforms just by engaging with digital content. We are all digital workers, and the source of living capital in the process of a digital production of value.

## Technology and Magic go Hand in Hand, One Might Say

Here we will touch on one of the most controversial techno-social algorithmic bottlenecks in the so-called transhumanist dimension, promising to make humans through AI algorithms by 2050. Currently, there are five basic models for achieving immortality: freezing the human body until better technologies are perfected and applied; uploading, i.e., transferring consciousness to physical storage or cloud, for it to be re-activated later, AI superintelligence using nano links, robotic and cyborg nano-elements which operate at the level of human DNA; and finally, the hive-mind concept – a less developed method which transfers human brains into the so-called human hive(mind).<sup>2</sup>

As in previous historical periods, we can note how magic and technology go hand in hand, even today. Yet, that is a topic for another time. These points are accompanied by the fact that by the ‘infamous 2025,’ around half of the world’s population will be infertile, and in around one hundred years, there will be no more fertile men. These are all added challenges to working not just on achieving immortality, but also on the artificial production of people, namely babies, from the so-called ‘baby-producing factories.’

The following verses contain a handful of poetic specificities that also speak of our age cautiously, through a dense stream of few works and a great deal of good sense:

2 For a more through development of this idea, see “Božanska poruka i tehnologije savremenog doba,” published in the journal “Filozofija islama, Zbornik radova sa 28. simpozija Zagreb, 2024. godine,” ISBN 978-953-6330-70-6. On pages 71 to 89, author Fahira Fejzić Čengić recalls the novelist Hermann Hesse and his conclusion in the expansive and exploratory novel, *The Glass Bead Game (Glasperlenspiel)*, saying how: “The novel is set in what is likely the 25<sup>th</sup> century, in ‘the age of feuilletonism,’ which the protagonist Ziegenhals describes as one where ‘popular conversations with famous personalities on current issues are favored, when renowned chemists or piano virtuosos express opinions on politics, beloved actors, athletes, gymnasts, aviators, or poets—on the usefulness and harm of monasticism, on possible causes of financial crises, and so on.’ It is as if Hesse sees our world today, saying how ‘our culture’s era of youth and creativity is over, and how old age and twilight have come, and that is the true horror of the age: monotonous mechanization of life, a dramatic worsening of morals, faithlessness of the people, falsity of the arts.’ Even in Castalia, ‘the Glass Bead Game shall pass, yet we must think of it, we know of the transience of everything that exists and the problem everything the human spirit has created. (H. Hesse, Igra staklenih perli, BIGZ 1985. 16, 19, 248.)

Is it reasonable that  
He, who discovers laws,  
Is called someone;  
And he who established them  
Something?<sup>3</sup>

What we today call a *cyborg* emerges by integrating the organic and inorganic nature, human and computer/machine. The term was coined long ago, around 1960, by scientists Manfred E. Clynes and Nathan S. Kline. It is a new entity. As the type and number of combinatory possibilities increased, we need to ask the question of what the nature of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will truly be? At the height of *cyborgization* there is a truly radical belief of techno managers that man will indeed be made immortal through technology.

According to Divine Law, there are four ways in which a human arrives in the world, into life. These are direct creation, as Adam (AS), creation from bone marrow of Adam's rib as Hawa/Eve, then without a father but with a mother, as Isa AS/Jesus Christ, or as other humans, through the fusion of male and female reproductive cells. New means of technological immortality, as we know, are freezing (of the human body and brain); uploading, i.e., transferring our consciousness to a hard drive or cloud; developing AI, which we will discuss at length; robotics and cyborgs, where nano-robots are the most interesting; and hive minds, where human brains are wired into a hive.

One could say that humanity is facing the abyss. In the exceptional 'Technosphere' trilogy, Žarko Paić, thinking through various radical contemplative and actionable steps, will state:

[...] for what can be expected from 'future thought' belongs to something between the openness of meaning and fascination with the new. Thought permeated by the language of things and technical life remains scarce or nearly negligible [...] things are no longer in the world. What happens when the techno-sphere itself thinks and designs new worlds, becomes the task of a kind of thinking that can no longer be compared to anything previous historically. In deep darkness and blinding light, we stand alone before an open abyss [...]<sup>4</sup>

To see that which you cannot normally see, you must possess either the intuition, or see the essence using technological mediation. In both cases, human seeing belongs to a cosmic-biological evolution of a human. Our age artificially constructs reality, and for that it needs quantification that is distributed into tables – into digital code.

<sup>3</sup> Silajdžić, H. (2015), *Sarjećja*, Tugra Sarajevo, 15

<sup>4</sup> Paić, Ž. (2018), *Tehnosfera II, Crna kutija metafizike: Kibernetika i apsolutno vrijeme stroja*, Sandorf\$Mizantrop, Zagreb, 14

## Cyborg-ethics Become Crucial for the ‘Cyborg Age.’

At first glance, one could say that we ought to focus on the new promises to help the body and the mind – to achieve greater mental and physical capabilities. We could also add how, we are becoming masters of our own evolution (if we are evolutionists). If we are creationists, we are closer to the belief that we are truly becoming resources for scientific-technical advancement. We should not forget that long ago, the founder of cybernetics, Norbert Wiener, in his book *The Human use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (1964), pointed to the possibility of misusing technical progress that could lead us to the dehumanization of human beings. (From Gregurić, 2012, Wiener, 1964).

With both approaches, it is clearer that we already need, and in the future will need, more and more cyborg-ethics, to protect the natural structure of the human from some future technical supremacy,<sup>5</sup> while we slowly oversee how human B is created from human A. At least transhumanists assure us that all that technology does to the human mind and body is safe and that it exclusively improves human life. Thus, John Harris argues that such improvement not only has the end goal of returning the body to balance and to improve health, but that it should make us better and more successful.

To that end, artificial implants are put in human bodies, that often assist it. These range from pacemakers, prosthetic eyes, arms, legs, knees, all considered to be ethically permissible. But there are also new challenges, such as the ultraviolet and infrared spectra of the RFID chips, which open significant ethical dilemmas. The cited poet already warned us:

If you had time to think,  
You would know that you have to slow down,  
Because of those that are slower,  
You would know that you have to  
Speed up, to slow down,  
Empty is the joy of achievement  
If it is not shared with anyone (Silajdžić, 2015)."

After historically established class or ethnic conflicts in societies, it is increasingly apparent that the modern age is predisposed to generational conflict too. These are new forms of conflicts, and they become some of the most important lines of division in society. Accordingly, the human relationship to death has also changed. From the natural and necessary eventuality of death, it is an increasing challenge to annul it. So writes F. Fukuyama: “Death will be seen not as a natural and inevitable aspect of life, but as an evil that can be prevented, like polio

<sup>5</sup> Gregurić, I. (2012), 'Era kiborga – stvaranje 'djelimičnih ili potpuno umjetnih bića', *Antropologija* vol. 12, issue 2, 52.

or smallpox... Will [we] desperately hold onto life which biotechnology offers? (Gregurić 2012, Fukuyama 2003)." Wanting immortality here and now, nobody will ask themselves whether cyborgization is good or justified, but rather, how the artificial human should look like? The author Ivana Gregurić writes:

In such a cyborg being, there is no human as a historical collection of *things* that 'grew from itself.' Opposing it in the world of technology is the established, artificially produced being, with an artificially created 'will to power.'<sup>6</sup>

On the one hand, cyborgization helps return lost organs and limbs through prosthetics. On the other hand, processes that reshape humans, and are not innate to humankind, inadvertently lead to a posthuman existence. First or early cyborgization is ethically justified, while the newer ones became very questionable. Scientist Kevin Warwick from the University of Reading tested and implemented implants into the nervous system and the brain since 1998. He writes how: "once the human brain connects with the computer, and connects to the network of other wired units, there will be no more separate units, we will become a society of cyborgs" (Gregurić, Warwick, 2008). The difference between external and internal improvement via technology is noticeably vast. For instance, if we wear glasses, and even if we connect them to a computer, we remain autonomous beings. But if we connect to the computer, the computer to a network, our autonomy, individuality, personality, personal integrity is at risk. The poet would stress this personal autonomy through his stanzas:

Yet you seek truth and answers.  
 Now you know that computers,  
 Did little to free you,  
 On cyber-dreams,  
 We raised,  
 An even larger pyramid.  
 Do you wonder if you are watched  
 As you peer through the telescope and microscope  
 Because a lonely man  
 Is cold near every fires (Silajdžić, 2015).

In all fields of cyborgization, strong and comprehensive cyborg-ethics are necessary. Everywhere, so in Bosnia, inclined to copy the world and surrender to trends without a inch of critical reflection and evaluation. Firstly, it is important to include ethics into norms of using implants, ensure free personal choice without duress, without campaigns and persuasion that we witnessed with COVID-19, especially in the domains of substituting mental functions of the brain and nervous system. It is important to define the nuance and the goals of the implantation,

<sup>6</sup> Gregurić, I. (2012), 'Era kiborga – stvaranje 'djelimičnih ili potpuno umjetnih bića', Antropologija broj 12, sv.2, 12

whether its purpose is the harmony of the organism, preserving the individuality of humankind, or the experimental extension of control. It is particularly important to stress the application of ethical principles in protecting personal data in cases of neuro-prosthetic devices, chips and links. A human being simply should not be a guinea pig for technological procedures, nor should they become the object of techno-scientific processing. A human could easily become an *ahistorical creature*, instead of a historical being. Or, as one can find in more dauntless texts on this issue – he could become a tumor on the techno-scientific tissue. That new technologically modified tissue, body and psyche, would not be able to strive for nor reach the purpose of existence and the mind at the essence of the world.

## Conclusion

We are all witnesses to how in the past decades, the good planet Earth quickly and suddenly became a mere scientific and productive resource. Soon space itself could become a resource, and we could also become ‘human fodder,’ as horrifying as that sounds. In Heideggerian terms, the meeting between being (*biće*) and Being (*bitak*) would move from the former, which contains within it the reflections of truth and light, to the latter, which without the former, becomes the great Nothing. We are reminded of the philosophical foundations as everything that is in Time necessarily is *of* time and transient. And as religions/faiths have it, everything that is brought into existence is necessarily transient, and will be removed from it. Conversely, there is another world, eternal, fluid and perfect.

That is why, in the era of the techne, and especially the communication techne, we are flooded with devices, cell phones, androids, laptops, cameras, drones, screens, guided bombs, rockets...which everyone masters easily and uses day and night. That is where the meaning of the world begins and ends for us all – a vulgar, practical application of the techne, even more narrowly, a tiny screen, a tiny all-seeing eye which we follow wherever we go...but really, we are the ones ensnared.<sup>7</sup>

Returning to conclusion from the opening point of the text – that we are all participants in a social factory, workers for the owners of digital platforms. The most expensive work on those platforms of digital social threads will be those that offer something new, unimaginable, significant. For instance, a cure for mortality, or a platform for eternal life. Those services will be the most lucrative, costing tens of thousands, or even millions of dollars, euros, pounds. It will entail the inclusion of mass media, educational institutions and academic workers into the game of marketing and managing these services, as it was done during the COVID-19 pandemic. These services will be sought after and will become the newest necessary illusion of global capitalism, such as freedom, equality, justice, or even nearer trips to summer/winter holidays to Mars, Venus, the Moon. The truth of

<sup>7</sup> Fejzić-Čengić, (2018), *Kao ribe u vodi*, Dobra knjiga, Sarajevo, 83

reality will become a mere empty shell and a mere word which is drowned in the era of fake news and the era of post-truth.

Whenever we, the transient, are offered a sluggish and shallow thought, and it is endangered by a flash of technology, if you are a thinking being – have doubts! Doubt everything that surrounds you! And just because of the Truth. Because of the real Reality. ‘Will to power’ does little. It would only tell you that behind every quill that writes is the Hand, as the eternal poet Rumi said. He who does not see the Quill is blind; he who does not see the hand is shallow. Harmony of the perfect Universe shows the Mindful Creator, the Maker without end, that a deeper goal is the real Challenge.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Antony Flew, a leading atheist philosopher, author of the book *God and Philosophy*. At one debate, Flew was expressive familiar atheist positions and attitudes. Question: Mr. Flew; I have a Bible in my hand. Where did this book come from? Flew: The printer's shop. Question: This book has *information*, which means the book was created in the mind of the writer, not in the printer. Do you agree? Flew: Yes, I do. Question: Since all living organisms house complex information, written in the genes, in whose mind was that information created? Flew: [After a long silence...] I thought about that for nine months. His motto is that *we should follow facts for as long as they take you*. He held a press conference and said that the facts took him to God. The shock was complete. And then he wrote his famous book *There Is a God*, subtitled *How the World's Most Notorious Atheist Changed his Mind*. The choice is personal, individual, but worth the effort and the strain of thinking and striving towards. Communicology as a futurological science and discipline has much to say in this sphere. Neglected disciplines of communicology: intra-communicology, communicology of the unseen world, photon communicology, communicology of light, communicology of ether, communicology of spiritual saintly figures, good people, superhumans, communicology of imagination, dreams, communicology of *barzakh* (the space between life and death), communicology of aura... <https://magnifikat.hr/kako-je-najpoznatiji-ateist-povjeravao-u-boga/>

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\*NEZIR KRČALO\*  
In Pursuit of Logos

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Original scholarly article

*pages 14-26*

## Summary

*Before Heraclitus, logos was always connected to opinions, because everybody's consciousness shapes the contents and forms of their opinions and speech. Every such logos testifies to an individual consciousness, whose content is knowledge relative to individuals. The issue of logos as a principle of the world and the cosmic meaning of logos as a principle of the world appears first only in Heraclitus' philosophical work. The essence and the opinion attained their criteria in the logos. That was the start of conceiving man's relationship towards the entirety of reality.*

*In pursuit of understanding logos as a universal principle of the world, opinions have two immanent stages: logical and dialectical. Logical methods see the opinion coming to know the ordering of the world of phenomena, while the dialectical method exerts "mental strains," which lead to the "creative imagination," with the power to observe the operation of the logos in created worlds. In Heraclitus' words, it is about the "enlargement of the soul" through cognizance, where it is the witness to the presence of logos in everything, serving as the "link" in the harmony between the noumenal and phenomenal worlds.*

*The pulse of the existing world, according to Ibn Arabi, is the "divine breath." Like logos, breath is the connection between the Mind and the ancient matter in the created world. The breaths (of the mind) in the noumenal worlds incarnate in the form of visible light, and in the phenomenal world, like fire and burning. The human soul belongs to the world between, or the world of transition (physis) and it is never outside the influence of breath. A property of the somatic side the human is heat, and the soul can lean towards a "fiery" or "enlightened" nature, depending of the potential ability of revoicing the Mind. The defining trait of an enlightened soul is the speech of the mind (logos).*

*Key words: Logos, mind, speech, dialogue, creative imagination*

## Introduction

The problem of establishing insights, as with components of the human being where it is established, is as old as the history of human thought. As, since Descartes put forward methodological solipsism (*res cogitans*), by distinguishing professional philosophical and scientific opinion, thinkers wanted to find the basis for knowledge, morality, aesthetic taste and everything else that means something within an individual. Descartes' image of the human "spirit" did not stray from tradition, but what pushed many to differentiate the epistemic certainty when reading the internal states and knowing the external world, is his differentiation between clear and unclear representations within the spirit itself. Epistemology is still trying to find a common basis in the "empire of the being,"

the areas of human spirit and language (Rorty, 1990). Finally, it is entirely likely that insights into the components of the human being were always unknown, and not the knowledge that was ‘based’ on them.

The mind is, aside from being the defining characteristics of a human, forced to think by the fact that thought offers it representations from the imagination. Thoughts were not given the possibility of action outside the field of imagination, and the power of imagination comes from the contents granted to it by powers of the senses. This is about the so-called “joint sense” of internal and external, and it is like a sea into which waters flow from all sides, hidden and secret, and unite in it. That is the central sense between the invisible and visible world, and the main characteristic is understanding or comprehension. Aristotle mentioned it in his work *On the Soul* (Aristotel, 2012), and in Latin, that term arrived as “sensus communis” (lat. *sensus* - sense; *communis* – joint, together; engl. *common sense*). As such, it has the power of creation, and the substance created is provided by the senses, making forms which are not original, even though their parts exist in the world of senses.

Thought contemplates form the position of that which is provided by the content of the imagination, seeking to discern truth from falsehood, which sometimes results in doubt, and sometimes in proof, without its own knowledge about it. However, the thought claims that it knows to discern doubt from proof and that it attained knowledge, not realizing the deficiencies of that which it relies on in attaining that knowledge. The mind receives and accepts contents from the imagination and thought, and judges based off them, so that its ignorance becomes incomparably greater than its potential knowledge. So, the mind relies on thought, instead of the other way around, and the mind has made thought its leader, while neglecting its “enlightening” mission.

## Speech and Word

Human speech can be observed from the perspective of the speaker (the expression), in relation to the one being spoken to (the message) and from the perspective of the object being spoken about (the meaning of things). Sensible speech is only one that has some meaning, and its truthfulness is reflected in the congruence of the speech with what is being spoken about, i.e., about the “things.”

According to Ivan Focht, the word connects the being of the soul with the being of a thing. Before, the word was like a thing, as it expressed the nature of things. In the mythical mind, the unity of words and things was the distinction of a single power that both represented. Only later did *the thing*, in and of itself lose its power, and the word, thanks to language, became a sign. The space between things

and language belongs to speech, which can be the “connector” or the “divider” between things and language.

The Greek thinker Heraclitus’ thinking followed along these lines, even though it was at the cosmological level. According to him, logos is the universal principle of the world, the principle of the unity of opposites, and for it to be grasped, mental labor was needed. As the “cosmic connector,” it operates in everything without exception, because it unified two opposing poles (Marković, 1983). Following it, the primary meaning that is ascribed to the idea of logos is the “speech,” even though it carries the following meanings: word, thought, opinion, mind, Godly mind, law, reason, discernment etc. Logicians reduced all meanings to the sphere of human speech. According to them, knowledge about things is given to us in the form of thought, and language as a medium expresses the nature of things. According to the founder of logic, Aristotle, terms are mental-linguistic expressions of the nature of things. Meaning, insight about things is converted into thoughts, and those thoughts are expressed in speech, or rather language. Knowing the basics of a science means to master that which it is built on, and those are the terms, insights about things, transferred into the world of thought, and in science, thought, speech and language are inseparable. IN short, science is speech about the “world of phenomena”

However, logical insights in the form of representations in our imagination do not express the nature of things, but reduce things to mere occurrences, and as such, are just a sign that carries a meaning, rarely being a symbol with multiple meanings (Đokić, 2003). According to Northrop Frye, the symbol is best called an image, as human imagination can clothe the spiritual into a tactile form (Frye, 1979). However, the interpretation of symbols cannot be founded on their replacement with words, but on the deepening of their contents, and the enriching of their symbolic meaning.

According to Ricoeur (2005), Aristotle used the term *symbolon* to denote the expressive power of sounds to express the state of the soul. Meaning, unless the soul is eager to discover the (symbolic) speech of things, then the task of speech is to express the state of things in language. In sum, speech uncovers or covers many meanings of the state of things.

Clarifying the phenomenon of speech (voices), Heidegger (1982) calls on Aristotle and his work *On Interpretation* in which the relationship between things, the soul, speech and language is explained in the following way,

That which occurs in the production of spoken sounds, is the display of that which exists in the soul as passion, and that which is written is the display of sounds. And as for all people, handwriting is not the same, so too are sounds different. On the other hand, that which is shown through them (sounds and handwriting), is that the

passions in the souls of all people, and the things, whose representative displays are passions, are also the same.<sup>1</sup>

The same author concludes how language, as speech, remains hidden, as the letters show sounds, sounds show the passions in the soul, and passions in the soul – things that awake them.

As the essential thing in language is seen in speech, W. von Humboldt explains how:

Conceived in its real essence, language is something constant, and transient in any given moment. Even though its preservation through writing is always incomplete, mummification is necessary, if somebody tries to again present living speech in a sensory manner. Language itself is not the act or task (*ergon*), but the action (*energia*). Hence its real definition can be merely genetic. Namely, language is the repeated *work of the spirit*, to prepare the *articulated voice* to express *thought*. Indirectly and strictly speaking, that is the definition of all speech; but in a true and essential sense, only the totality of that speech can be considered language.<sup>2</sup>

## Dialogue

The simplest interpretations speak of dialogue as “conversation between two [people].” That interpretation is too modest, as it does not show in what sense dialogue would possess exclusivity that is given to it in relation to other forms of conversation. Theoretical dialogue should be directed to getting those conversing closer to the truth of the term being discussed. Key to dialogue for the Ancient Greeks lay in its purpose and goal. Their conversations had two meaning: the first was the truth, if it is about theoretical dialogue, and the second purpose was the agreement about the common good (Laušević, 2005). Meaning of the term dialogue can be etymologically divined through the Greek word “dialogos” (διάλογος). The particle *dia* (διά), in Ancient Greek compound-words denotes a mutual relation, movement etc., while the word *logos* (λόγος) comes from the verb *legein* (λέγειν) – to gather, place, add, speak, say, etc. The word *dialogos*, comes from the word *dialogomai* (διαλέγομαι), which means to think, discern, calculate, speak, converse. Finally, if we wish to comprehensively interpret the word *logos*, it is necessary to unite the component of speech and component of mindfulness. The closest to this idea is the Aristotle’s understanding of *logos* as the “speech of reason,” unlike “barbaros” (babbling), (Lojančić, 2005).

Whether we speak or not, the word is always present in us. What is behind the word? It is thought. So, thoughts emerge in us, and on the surface, emerge in the form of words. If we express those thoughts, then that is external speech, and if

1 Hajdeger, Martin (1982). *Mišljenje i pevanje*, Beograd: Nolit, 223

2 Humbolt, V. fon (1988). *Uvod u delo o Kavi jeziku i drugi ogledi*, Novi Sad: Dnevnik, 257

we do not express them, then that is internal speech. Whether we express those thoughts (words) or not, it means we are always speaking.

Heidegger's (1982) notice that alludes to one sort of original (internal) dialogue is of historical importance. According to him, that which prevents that original dialogue is logical thinking about the being. That which prevents original dialogue is logical thinking about the being. The path to the discovery of the being is always occurring via the "visible" being, and on that basis, opinions about the being itself are built. Such a relationship prevents the "proclamation" of the truth of being and its "stepping out of hiding into the light of reality." Heidegger is striving to overcome the rule of logical thinking and to overturn the centuries-long relationship. He never asks: "What is being?" because he knows that it cannot be known logically, but he asks what people are thinking, or rather, on what basis are the building their opinions about being. Heidegger takes into another dimension, and to the conclusion that opinions must be determined by being.

The term *logos* cannot be reduced to a single meaning, because one of the logos' properties is speech.

Logos can, therefore, be listed to [...] is it possible to listen to logos in the same way that we listen to another human? Is the interpersonal listening the only possible form of listening? Are humans capable of another form of listening? Logos is not a human and does not use a human voice. Who speaks in logos and what is their voice? A voiceless voice? Which form of listening would be able to hear that voice? Is human listening evident all the way throughout?<sup>3</sup>

Certainly, the other dimension of listening ("speech") is possible only if the usual "opinion is prepared and if allowed to take one into another dimension. Everything becomes different in that other dimension. Jumping from one dimension into the other, and only in that way, the possibility to understand that which the opinion through in the first dimension opens" (Vučković, 1993).

Ibn Arabi leads us precisely to that second dimension, in which Divine knowledge is recognized. According to him, terms cannot cover that which has no physical appearance, as terms are representations about things in the imagination (Ibn Arebi, 2007). In other words, humans cannot have terms about Divine knowledge, as it belongs to a dimension that human understanding does not reach. But the scholar informs us that Divine knowledge, or Divine words, are saved in the Universal Soul in the form of signs or symbols. Deciphering such signs and symbols requires a total transformation of the human soul and usual thinking. This concerns the change of the (spiritual) stage of cognition, but not the principle, because conceptions about things in the noumenal and phenomenal world are created according to the same principle.

<sup>3</sup> Vučković, Ante (1993). *Dimenzija slušanja u M. Heideggera*, Zagreb: Biblioteka Filozofska istraživanja, 101

Hence, Ibn Arabi concludes: signs unify words, and words unify sounds, and the sound, or speech is the vessel of meaning. If we keep in mind that the sign is always in the sensory form, and we express the symbolism (meaning) of the sign with speech (Berberović, 1978), then the previous position is confirmed: *symbolon* is the expressive power of spoken sounds to express the state of the soul (created through realization). For now, the question remains: what state and what stage of realization does the soul have to attain to be able to have the power to interpret Divine sign and their expressions through coherent speech?

## The Unveiling of “Logos”

We are fortunate that the initial impulses of Western Philosophy have not quieted down to this day. Two principal terms for Heraclitus are: logos and fire, between he sees the harmony of opposites which rules over everything that is created, grows and decays. That which is common to logos and fire is the fact that each of them is a universally valid principle. But each of them operates in their own domain: logos in epistemology, in the world of humankind's direct experience, in human daily life, and fire in the physical nature, in the cosmos. Heraclitus compares logos and fire with gold, because gold is the universal basis or the general equivalent of all goods and all types of money (Marković, 1983).

Logos, as a universal principle of unity of differences hides in every individual thing, the make-up of everything, or rather, its “physis,” and is like a tendon of a drawn bow, which serves to unify opposing sides (Marković, 1983). Originally, the term “physis” did not denote nature in the sense of a collection of material things but meant the unity of being. For early Greek thinkers, the being is the same as the cosmos, and for those following Aristotle, the same as “physis.” How can the being overall, understood as “physis,” be originally understood? If we follow Heidegger's interpretation, “physis” denotes the outgrowth, the arrival into reality, the appearance generally, stepping out of hiddenness into presence. As “physis,” being has universal power: it rules all beings, ruling over all (Uzelac, 2007).

Heraclitus expresses being as logos. Is logos something other than physis? Heidegger concludes that logos is something constant, something that lasts, that collects, collecting in being. Where does that collecting nature of logos come from? Heidegger stressed how the verb “legein,” from which the noun logos stems, initially meant ‘to place one near the other,’ bring them into connection, merge. So, logos was always about collection, the wholeness of being, and that which being does: be. That means that logos and physis are, in fact, the essence of the being as such entirely. The collecting character of logos is expressed in Heraclitus' fragment about the term “polemos.” Heidegger translates the word *polemos* as opposition; the original struggle which subsumes all opposing theses. As such,

Being, as an idea comes before the beings as entities and makes it so that the said beings originate in their differences, governing them. At the same time, Being is a gathering unity that always governs in all that is. So polemos is the essence of Being: logos, physis and polemos are the same under three different aspects: (a) collection, (b) emerging-lasting rule (c) opposition (Uzelac, 2007).

The pulsing of the world, according to Ibn Arabi, occurs thanks to the “Divine breath,” as the existence of everything is nothing else but God’s speech, symbolic or real. Substance and the “invisible yeast” of the entire world is the so-called ancient matter, visible only via the created characters and forms, whose basis are the four elements: earth, water, fire and air (Ibn ‘Arebi, 2004). One reality, so-called “nature” (physis), precedes the ancient matter in the “Divine breath,” which influences characters and forms heat, dryness, coldness and moisture. Two are the basis or cause for the existence of the other two: dryness comes from heat, and moisture comes from the cold. In terms of the properties of the four elements, fire contains the properties of heat and dryness, air the properties of heat and moisture, water the properties of coldness and moisture, and the earth cold and dryness (Ibn ‘Arebi, 2009).

Due to the endless influence of “nature,” (physis), which occurs due to constantly renewing “breath,” are never in total balance, neither in four elements, nor in elementary natural bodies. If real nature reached full balance, nothing could come from her, nor could any shape or form emerge from it. ‘The pulsing of the world,’ at every moment, at the blink of an eye, reflects in the possibility of constant entwining and changing of things that exist. For example, fire, next to heat is dry, and air has heat and moisture, so when the heat of the fire mixes with the heat of the air, then the two heats would unite, and fire remains with the dryness and the air with the moisture. If the dryness of the fire turned into the moisture of the air, then fire would become air. If the moisture of the air turned into the fire’s dryness, then air would become fire. The same holds for water and air, i.e., air has heat and moisture, and water has coldness and moisture, so if the moisture of the air and water meets, they unite. If the heat of the air meets the water’s coldness, then air becomes water. Similarly, if water’s coldness is replaced with the heat of the air, water becomes air.

The same holds for water and earth, as water possesses coldness and moisture, and the earth coldness and dryness. When the coldness of the water and earth join one another, then the moisture turns into dryness and water becomes earth, and if dryness turns into moisture, the earth becomes water. The same is with earth and fire, as the earth is cold and dry, so if the earth’s coldness is exchanged for the fire’s heat, earth becomes fire. If the fire exchanges its heat with the earth’s coldness, then fire becomes the earth.

Scholars diverge in six directions concerning the basic natural elements that underpin the existence of the world, Ibn Arabi highlighted.

One group claims that each of these elements is the base in and of itself. The second says that the base is made of fire, that which hardens from fire is the air, that which hardens from air becomes water, and that which hardens from water becomes earth. The third says that air is the basis, that which becomes finer from the air becomes fire, and which hardens is the water. The fourth group says that the basis is water and the fifth says that the basis is earth, while the sixth group says that something fifth is the basis, and not something of the said four. (Ibn 'Arebi, 2007).

According to Ibn Arabi, the final direction, according to which something fifth is the basis, i.e., "nature," (physis) is correct, as from it emerges the element of fire, and then the other elements.

We cannot say that the sum of the four is nature, Ibn Arabi concludes, as individual basic elements of nature are mutually entirely opposed (*polemos*), and some are partially opposed to others on some basis. For instance, fire and water are mutually opposed in every way. So too are the earth and air. That is why they are wisely ranked in existence, because of changes that are set to transpire. Should two mutually opposed elements join, that would annul their transformation and change and negate the wisdom of creation and action. In the wise ordering, air is the neighboring element of fire, as heat is common to both, and he gave water air as its neighboring element. Moisture is common to water and air, and the earth has water as its neighboring element, as they have cold in common.

## Dialectics and logos

Seeing as the entirety of Heraclitus' philosophy is a dialectical approach to reality, we can define logos as a dialectical law using our level of cognition. Heraclitus' theory provides premises that are developed enough for his conclusions. The general premise can be formulated as such: everything is subject to eternal movement in unity and the struggle of contradictions. From that general position, individualities emerge with their purpose and rationale. That joint premise shows the way in which reality is, and the methods to think about it (Bošnjak, 1961).

Heraclitus' logic, or the dialectic method of thinking, is built from his general theory of being. Hence the general premise shows ontology, epistemology and logic. That general principle becomes the condition and the principles for the individual. According to the same author, Heraclitus' conception of the dialectics of development in constant contradictions within the larger framework of his philosophy can be reduced to two key principles: (1) principle of identity and the constant difference of it and (2) the principle of transitioning from one identity into the other as a new property (the unity of difference).

Where dialectics are an illusion, and not a real and factual occurrence, the conclusion about the absolute nature of logic would be the only possible one. Formal logic is not mistaken because it considers the existence of something as static and separate. Static principles are just a part of reality's existence (Bošnjak, 1961). When the entirety of existence is considered, then the whole of thought must necessarily cross the boundaries of formal logic. Formal logic is a necessary step towards dialectical logic, so if dialectics are not dialectical, then it is not logical either.

Being exists in its directness, without an absolute beginning and end. Methods should not be imagined, as the purpose of the method can be discovered from the nature of the being itself. Logos as a dialectical law of contradictions calls for the recognition of the dialectical method, or rather, dialectical logic.

Being subsumes all that is, and from that whole, the purpose of human speech should be considered. In that vein, Ibn Arabi reminds us that the entire cosmos is alive, aware, conscious and that every existing thing is defined by a sort of speech, and that humans have the most perfect speech. The famous scholar uses an analogy to describe to us the same principle or law within man (microcosm) and the worlds (macrocosm). With human speech, the breath is interrupted in twenty-eight places. In each of those places, a set letter/sound is created that differs in its place of interruption of the breath from another letter, even though both are nothing but the same breath. The essence is one, considering that the essence of every breath is the breath, but also numerous, considering the fact there are many places in which that breath is cut off (Ibn 'Arebi, 2007).

The entire world has twenty-eight levels in which heavenly bodies sail, also in their constellations. Those constellations are places in relation to their orbital sphere, and they are like places in which breath forms particular letters (voices), and it all perseveres thanks to the "Divine breath."

At the ontological level, "the Breath" is the Mind (Light). The cosmological degree, under the influence of "physis" has its imperative: in metaphysical objects "the Divine breath" comes forth as light, while in the physical objects, it manifests as fire, or burning (Ibn 'Arebi, 2021). The reality of the epistemological, or the cognitive degree is highlighted by Bošnjak, commenting on Ibn Arabi's works. According to him, the cognitive discovery of the "state" of things can follow only through "a careful nearing, or strongly spiritualized speech, and never in the way of merely using words, or explanation or sweet-talking." The reality of such a spiritual state is precisely that which Ibn Arabi points in the 198<sup>th</sup> chapter of his work *Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, section 8, "Speech and word are two Divine traits. With words, he listens to what is not able to exist, and with speech, he listens to beings that exist..." (Bošnjak, 2008: 170).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Bošnjak, Abdulah, (2008). *Tumačenje dragulja poslaničke mudrosti*, Sarajevo: Ibn Sina, 170

In Heraclitus' terms, "the breath" is the "link," functioning as the unity of contradictions in operationalizing or incarnating invisible forms (images) into material things of the appearing world. Thanks to the "breath," the world is never the same, it disappears and reappears in the same moment, and logical thought cannot express the continuity of identitarian difference. Everything "intercepts," or rather accepts the "breath" according to its potential (receptivity), which is also its measure that does not disrupt the harmony of the world. Dialectical logic endlessly watches the dialectical nature of the world and participates in uncovering the state of things. Logos ("breath") seeks that we endlessly come to know it, and with a true exertion of our heart and mind, as these two organs of spiritual cognition can listen the closest and sounding out what logos endlessly tells them through the nature of things. These spiritual organs come to know and "read the images" of things without error in a clean and enlightened soul. For the un-mistaken cognition of the endless speech of things, we need a spiritual step and the ability of the soul in terms of a "creative imagination," which stands as the divider between the world of the soul and the world of sensible forms (Chittick, 1989). It has the power to clothe the spiritual (light) side of the "image" into a sensible form that can be interpreted considering that which it symbolizes in the order of symbols. Hence, there is no doubt that Heraclitus reached the spiritual stage described, which is shown by his fragment number 1:

"If you do not listen to be, but listen to Logos, it is wise to agree that all is One."

## Conclusion

The developmental journey of philosophical thought made a new achievement with Heraclitus. Based on the term *cosmos*, as permanent order that exists in everything, Heraclitus established a thesis about the general *logos*. With that, the earlier object-based and methodological ordering received new content with which Heraclitus tried to discover the essence of being.

Exploring that problem is very complex. What should *logos* mean when that term and concept are used to denote very different contents? Did someone, in the times of Heraclitus, or after, note on a few pages, why *logos* became the used name for many thought excursions? All later generations would be spared a great deal of time in working thought that underdeveloped continuity, to this day. For centuries, that word served as the best meaning in the positivity of some ordering, but it could not elide all the differences. Hence, the problem of *logos* cannot be understood as the correct or incorrect way of using the term, but as a problem of very different contents. Precisely those contents of opinion hide the secret of true insight, and reality remains what it is.

In what way will we know what contents are meant by the authors when they use a word to denote something? The answer lies in the definition of that term, as it undeniably defines the content of it. But, the contents of consciousness are not the product of it, but are conditioned by the outside, noumenal or phenomenal things. According to Ibn Arabi, the contents which we are delivered by the senses, imagination, thoughts and mind are not questionable. What is questionable is our correct interpretation of the contents. When we have a definition of ourselves, rather when we define the contents of our cognitive components as human beings, only then will we be able to use all the cognitive components in the way that they are best suited to gain insight.

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# BOSNIA Preporod N STUDIES SARAJEVO 1

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Rearranging Sociology – The Social World  
and Conceptual Confusion

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## Summary:

*The state of theoretical sociology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has not essentially changed from the basic theoretical assumptions of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The need to rearrange sociology in its essence is the need to, if nothing else, to homogenous-ly and conceptually explain contradictions which permeate and direct the main flows of the complete reality that determines us. Theoretical sociology is con-fronted with conceptual confusion, that intensifies daily, proliferates and com-plicates amid the creation of new forms of social phenomena that transform the character of everyday life. They also change the entire nature of social ontology understood as the totality of social institutions. From the end of WWII to today, sociology has built an array of theoretical positions with which it tried to explain the dynamic and layered social changes that were brought forth mercilessly by the storms of world history.*

*Key Words: Rearranging, Sociology, Social World, Conceptual Confusion*

## Introduction

What does the term *sociology* cover and represent today? Is it clear to sociologists what the *substance* of sociology is today? What are the boundaries of ‘relative autonomy’ of sociology, what does it represent among the humanities and say about their status in the modern world? The answers to these questions are not in the works of the latest generation of theoretical sociologists, so there is an impression that understanding the substance of sociology did not advance remarkably from the classical and ridged foundations that presupposed a kind of positivist back-ground and static semantics of social facts. It was reduced to the assumption that it was clear to all what is the term *society* denotes.

What the term *society* denotes was asked more by *classical* sociologists, meaning that in *modern* sociology, the question appeared solved and taken as unproblem-atic, but simply *assumed*. The question: ‘what does the term *society* subsume?’ was discarded as redundant, and debates in theoretical sociology were reduced to problematizing the relationship between social structures and social actors (in-stitutions and figurations, or structures and functions). Hence, it is not surprising that every serious meditation in theoretical sociology is still oriented towards *philosophical sources of social science*, above all Hegel, Spinoza, Burke, Ma-chiavelli, Aristotle, etc. The sources, as identified by Thomas Luckmann, served as the basis for dramatically inspiring and encouraging basis for the building of layered and creative theories of the nature and origin of the human social world.

However, there are few reliable and certain insights into the *social world* itself still, so the entire matter of trying to conceptualize it permanently appears al-ready as an impossible task. It is more than clear that the modern question about

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the *nature of sociology* has not moved drastically since Weber's position, which consisted of searching for the basic categories of the sociological apparatus and *noting evidence* for social action as the basic components of sociological thought. Weber logically dates the question of the evidential basis of scientific knowledge from the long thread of early modern thought, that can be followed top-down from Descartes to Kant. Early modern ontology, articulated as epistemology, departs from the important logical configuration that all that can be known and must be founded on a criterion of clarity and articulation, i.e. evidence as the complete transparency of meaning for the subject of the knowledge. Because scientific theories are built based on this viewpoint, we should go the inductive route and clearly point out which minimal categories of evidence can be foundational for the construction of scientific theories and scientific knowledge (Andrej Ule).

Max Weber, articulating the basic principles of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, sees the social world in a transcendental position: as the clear potential which is open to an infinite number of possibilities. Weber sees the constitution of the social world in the hermeneutical grounding of sociology (interpretative sociology, that pursues meaning). In so doing, he means a clear advance and clearly proves that the question of social reality must be treated within the framework of the humanities, and not in the framework of rigid positivist interpretations of social fact. As such, sociology and its *matter*, belongs to the 'historical world,' which is built and reflects exclusively in the 'humanities' (Wilhelm Dilthey). When discussing a critical attitude to the 'positivistic point of view,' Weber above all thinks of the important fact that can be summarized in the following thought: the social world is not explainable with rigid laws, as in the social world, there are no strict laws. The *nomothetic* logic of sociology needs to be replaced with its 'ideographic' nature. In the case of sociology, as a science which deals most broadly with questions of the social world, it is not possible to apply the logic of *hard* sciences, in which there are rules and laws that can be expressed through mathematical abstraction. Weber was a pioneer in identifying this problem, and once and for all ridding the 'inferiority complex' that founders of sociology, above all Durkheim and Comte, had. The complex was based on an unnecessary, but understandable, fear of the absolute autonomy of social facts. Max Weber joined sociology to social philosophy, returning it to interpretative positions and breaths of Hegel's later philosophy.

The state of theoretical sociology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has changed little from the starting positions. The need to rearrange sociology was a need to, if nothing else, explain the contradictions that permeate and direct the reality we are determined by in a homogenous and sensible way. Theoretical sociology is confronted by complex conceptual confusion, a confusion that only intensifies, proliferates and complicates amid the creation of new forms of social phenomena, and transforms the character of everyday life. In so doing, they change the total nature of so-

cial ontology, understood as the totality of society's institutions. From the end of WWII to today, sociology has built a series of theoretical positions which it used to explain the dynamic and layered social changes brought by the merciless and difficult storms of world history.

## Conceptual Chaos of Theoretical Options – The Mouzelis Thesis

Nicos Mouzelis, in the book *Sociological Theory: What Went Wrong?* critically articulates the major questions and general achievements of contemporary sociological theory. Mouzelis' systemic review of key theoretical orientations credibly shows that all paths in modern sociology, one way or another, lead to the 'dead ends of theorization' (Mouzelis, 2000, 37). Thus, the entire mission of sociology in the modern world falls within the bounds of autarky, isolation and self-sufficiency. In that sense, the question of modern sociological theory, especially in the years after WWII, turned into a fine and stylized game of language, that by its end, is not able to explain concrete social phenomena and rapid social changes. This *intentional nihilism* of sociological theory places a demand on the discipline for further detailed critical reconfiguration of key terms that are taken as foundations and categorical frameworks for the total architecture of sociology as a science. Sociology, from Mouzelis' standpoint, is in crisis, and that crisis can only be overcome with a comprehensive *critique*, like Heidegger's fundamental ontology and transcendental phenomenology. Mouzelis, in attempting to warn the professional community about the abyss of conceptual chaos, writes:

In their attempts to go beyond the subjectivist-versus objectivist divide in sociology, theorists like Giddens, Elias and Bourdieu endeavor to transcend rather than restructure Parsonian functionalism by elaborating conceptual tools that are to take us beyond the misleading dichotomies of subject-object, action-system and micro-macro. Looking critically at aspects of N. Elias's figuration sociology, Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, I shall argue that (the utility of these conceptualizations aside) they have failed to transcend functionalism in general, and Parsonian functionalism in particular. They have simply avoided the, by now, unfashionable functionalist vocabulary (as well as that of agency-structure, micro-macro) while retaining its fundamental logic—with the result that crypto functionalist elements and related distinctions are clandestinely reintroduced into their writings.<sup>1</sup>

Mouzelis' objection to the discipline broadly is a 'diagnosis' of the state of modern sociology, that, in its liminal shape is no longer just about theoretical research but also the entire scientific and empirical overexertion. The essence of the exertion lies in the inability of conceiving a fixed world that is actually constantly in flux. Mouzelis' question: what went wrong, is not a question of opening and a

1 Mouzelis, Nicos (2000): *Sociological Theory: What Went Wrong?* Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb. 28.

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new configuring of sociology as a conceptual organon which is used to establish semantic matrices and critical idioms based on the existing infrastructure. It is an attempt to consider the crisis of a linguistic practice of theoretical sociology, which, even when it seems to transcend the existing constellation, remains in the register of ‘old principles of social philosophy.’

In that sense, Nicos Mouzelis proposed to establish a sort of hidden dialogue with analytical philosophers like Robert Brandom, in whose work, *Making it Explicit*, we recognize the important patterns of understanding language as a praxis that determines (social) reality. Using this thesis, linguistic practices determine social practices, so the *substance* of sociology is opened first as the question of language and the linguistic experience of the world. If we speak of the social world as a world of ‘social ontology and institutional facts’ (John R. Searl), languages emerge as liminal and foundational. Social reality is, based on this thesis, a reality that is founded in language, and the world of “totality of institutional facts” is a unified semantic field, accessed by consensus. The troubles Bosnia and Herzegovina faces, keeping this sociological position in mind, are a lack of a unified semantic field, so actors in the social reality treat it from the position of divergent linguistic practices. Politicians from the BiH Entity Republika Srpska will always speak of ‘joint institutions,’ rather than ‘state institutions,’ they will call the Bosniaks ‘Muslims, all to weaken the political and substantial position of BiH within the bounds of the Dayton Agreement. This is the establishing of a linguistic practice, that, from their perspective, leads to defining reality. This perversion led to many problems in BiH, one of which is that Bosniak and Croat politicians also unconsciously adopted the narrative about ‘joint institutions,’ (instead of a state’s – Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Nicos Mouzelis, answering how we arrive at these situations, points to the need to overcome complex conceptual chaos in modern theoretical sociology, whose inner workings are no longer enough to subsume complex networks of the social world. To open up possibilities, starting from the principles of Kant’s transcendental philosophy, Mouzelis points to key problems. If we keep in mind the key themes of Mouzelis’ theories, we should not be surprised he names his position ‘conceptual pragmatism’ (Ibid., 30)

## The Fragile Boundaries of Micro-sociological Theorizing

Micro sociological theories, starting from Weberian principles of sociology, are founded on ‘social action’ as the building block of the social world. In searching for ‘general categories of sociology,’ Weber determined that the key trap of sociology lay in how its research was founded ‘top-down.’ It moved from society as an abstraction towards the individual as a concrete actor. Weber’s sociology, with expressly hermeneutical and phenomenological influence, starts from a

more grounded plan – a plan that puts society, as an abstraction, ‘into brackets.’ The radical nature of Weber’s sociology is in that ‘society’ was ejected from constitutive principles fundamental to the ‘science of society.’ His understanding consisted of a ‘return to the individual,’ who should be treated as the foundational producer of the entire social reality. Sociology, through this optic, has a hermeneutical and phenomenological frame: on the one hand, it should use the methods of ideographical sciences and humanities to interpret ‘social action’ and its meanings. On the other hand, it has the task to describe complex processes in contingents of social networks. Weber, in essence, placed sociology in its hermeneutical and phenomenological perspective, opening the path to building what today can be called *microsociology*, in the form of symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology and rational choice theories.

The key question for Weber’s sociology can be summarized as: *How can subjective actions produce objective meanings?* This question, naturally, cannot be answered by using meanings as a set of rigid components, so it (as Mouzelis knows well), implies a layered stretching and constantly flowing game of para-consistent and interdisciplinary instrumentations. The *matter* of modern sociology, as we will later show, can be reduced precisely to this question, which is also the largest hurdle in strivings to explain the world that is changing.

Weber, deciding for such a heuristic strategy, in essence, formulated a question that will to this day be a cause for foundational disagreement. In the construction of social reality and all that it represents ontologically, does the actor matter more, or does the structure matter more? Duality, as we know from Descartes’ philosophy, is never a happy solution in any matter, but truly, sometimes it can be the only solution. With Weber, in other words, there were no means to articulate that which is in sociology’s theoretical capacities.

Nico Mouzelis is, in that sense, fully aware that the question of modern sociology, from the perspective of micro-sociological treatises, based on Weberian heuristics, can lead in three directions: symbolic interactionism, rational choice theory and poststructuralism. Essential discussion in all three major directions, once again, was led in the subtle and unclear interplay between actors and structures – institutional and figuration structures. Mouzelis, to put it differently, is trying to carry out a re-arranging of sociological theory, pointing to the fact that it is the only way sociology can be direct towards the reality that defines us in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Be it Blumer’s, Goffman’s or Mead’s symbolic interactionism, according to Mouzelis, this theoretical provenance always leaves unclear with what *force* the actors step into ‘symbolic interaction.’ Two cannot be one and the same, considering their consequences; a sociological seminar in which students and a teaching assistant discuss fundamental terms of Bourdieu’s sociology is not the same as the

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meeting of ‘mega actors,’ such as Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin, whose decisions have concrete, effective and momentous consequences for the entire world. In the ‘microsocial order’ (Karin Knorr - Cetina), social relations, we still have the Weberian thesis, based on a version of the ‘principle of charity’ (Donald Davidson). The principle entails an interpretative base in relation to what is claimed so, “that when actors try to make sense of the complex macro situations in which they are involved, they use various techniques of inference, interpretation and summary representation to construct for themselves an intelligible model of the social world.”<sup>2</sup>

For Knorr-Cetina, the question of sociology, if nothing else, is formulated correctly, or rationally acceptable way in the context of which makes sense for such a science in the epoch in which we live. The accent is on the claim that micro-actors, using a set of interpretative strategies and hermeneutical undertakings, can merely ‘build an understandable model of the social world.’ Mouzelis, based on this thesis, writes how:

In other words, historians, scientists, or mere participants, in their endeavor to make sense of complex macro events (such as wars or revolutions) construct summary representations of the event in question and then ascribe to that representation specific causal powers.<sup>3</sup>

Conceptual incoherence, and one of the tactical advantages of micro sociological theorizing, is overcome with specific ‘powers and abilities’ of actors to use hermeneutics and phenomenology to live with conviction in the world to which only they have given a set of intimate meanings. They acted subjectively, and produced a world of social facts and objective events. Using the language of philosopher Peter Frederick Strawson, actors deeply believe in a world that they constructed and constituted – it has anchoring reference/denotation. Herbert Blumer speaks of society as ‘symbolic interaction,’ i.e. of society that is the result of constructing actors that are mutually dependent and the Lacanian system of symbolic ordering that enables everything within the construction to make sense – even though it might be on fragile grounds.

Interpretative sociologies attempt to solve the question of theoretical conceptual confusion by centering concrete actors/agents, who with their relationships, produce what sociology means with ‘society.’ The corpus of theories we call *rational choice theories* is no exception, and considering critical observations directed at functionalism, it must be seen within the broader framework of modern attempts to understand the complex world of social reality. At its core, according to Mouzelis, the thesis upon which basic principles of rational choice theories

2 Mouzelis, Nicos (2000): *Sociological Theory: What Went Wrong?* Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb. 47.

3 Ibid., 47.

are founded (even though they differ methodologically and strategically) is clear: “Game-theoretic approaches typically have as their starting point not systemic wholes but specific decision-makers trying to follow in their choices rational criteria of maximum/optimum utility.”<sup>4</sup>

John Elster calls the actors directed by the logic of optimum utility “the nuts and bolts used to explain complex social phenomena.”<sup>5</sup> (Elster, 2000) In relation to symbolic interaction, the process which is used to describe the gradual emergence of macro- phenomena from micro-phenomena in the framework of rational choice theory, is markedly different and cannot be simplified to how macro- phenomena become aggregations, sedimentation and accumulation of micro-phenomena. The thesis of ‘growing phenomena’ at the level of the system (based on actor logic), as put forward most precisely by James Coleman, is limited, according to Mouzelis’ astute observations. This drawback can be generally applied to the body of rational choice theories, namely how they neglect historical and theoretical context in which scientific theories are founded. Has Blumenberg, in his *The Genesis of the Copernican World*, lays out the layered and multivalent hermeneutics of science, showing clearly how all great discoveries depend on the epoch in which they emerge. Outside that context, they cannot be understood or hermeneutically opened for those that want to know more about them. Coleman and Elster, directing sociology towards the concepts of ‘interests and norms,’ neglect the accumulated supply of knowledge, above all the Weberian schema of *ideal types*, understood as constructs, as well as the logic of historical contexts that cannot be reduced to interests of micro-actors, whose consequences are meaningless or insignificant.

Coleman and Elster, ask the correct question, but “they do not have the right answer to the objection that interests are social constructs, and that norms and normative orientations are central to their construction.”<sup>6</sup> The limitations of the rational choice consortium, finally, is also a sort of ‘self-negating fact’ (Hilary Putnam). Central to it are actors who want to maximize utility, using the logic of norms and interests, which even in complex argumentation, does not solve the complex conceptual chaos of ‘explaining complex social phenomena.’ Finally, rational choice theories cannot explain the transition and links between the micro- and macro- levels of social reality. Mouzelis moves to the problem of *poststructuralism*, treating it as a constitutive sociological position. This thesis, relating to Mouzelis’ work, should be critically examined.

At its core, poststructuralism is a *crypto sociological* position. It cannot simply be treated as a standard formulation of sociology, as it is not about a simple over-

4 Ibid, 56.

5 Elster, John (2000): *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*. Naklada Jesenski i Turk. Zagreb. 5.

6 Ibid, 67.

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stepping of the relative autonomy of a scientific field (Norbert Elias), or even the space of multidisciplinary potential in the boundaries of social science. Post-structuralism, as Mouzelis rightfully highlights, is a literal ‘erosion of borders,’ which makes it a volatile, creative and powerful instrument for analyzing the social world. With all that said, explaining the wide semantic field that we refer to as *poststructuralism* is not simple. To reduce the breath of the term, Mouzelis focuses on a collection of clearly defined topics within poststructuralism, rather than on authors, and stresses four problem topics: anti-establishmentarianism, decentering the subject, de-differentiation, rejecting the idea of representation and empirical referencing.

Poststructuralism, at its core, is a hybrid, interdisciplinary position, created from the complex interaction and dynamic interplay between the philosophies of the ‘Franco-German hermeneutics and textual theories’ (Manfred Frank), psychoanalysis, under the strong influence of Jacques Lacan, cultural anthropology and theories of literature. In this sense, post structuralism in sociology is a *school under pressure*. It is a sort of theorizing that is always threatened by a metaphysical ‘language game,’ which, once it begins, cannot be stopped and has its authentic and lucid flow. The essence of the argument built around the poststructuralist understanding of the social world assumes that there is no more central subject and anchor of the world only the subject can comprehend. Rather, the world in which has no more great truths, graspable with ‘narrative knowledge’ becomes the center. It is a world in which contingencies direct the networks of the life world and shape the fates of individuals. In such a world, ever-increasing risks are dominant, and lives and biographies of individuals are left to circumstances that they cannot influence.

Decentering the subject, above all as critique of Hegelian metaphysics, is the basis of a relationship in which poststructuralists attempt to reach and map the essential problems regarding the social world. Mouzelis’ critiques essentially point out all the major issues of poststructuralist theories of society, namely that it concerns *language games*, that essentially never grasp the social world for what it is. In other words, post-structuralist theories proclaim the ‘end of metaphysics,’ but at their core, at least at the level of idioms and linguistic practice, are pale reproductions of metaphysical attempts to explain the world. Considering the vast number of theories that fall under the term ‘post-structuralism,’ a justified question is precisely to what extent can we speak of it as a sociological theory?

Nicos Mouzelis’ reflection on the nature of sociology and sociological theory points to key problems and challenges the discipline faces in the world that is changing dramatically quickly. From this perspective, he speaks of the need for sociological theory for a kind of complex *re-arranging* of the categorical apparatus of the discipline with the goal of total and rightful articulation of key topics that modern societies face.

## Re-arranging Sociology: What is to be done?

Pierre Bourdieu, in his *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, writes:

Sociology is a more advanced science than is ordinarily believed, even among sociologists. Perhaps a good criterion of the position of a social scientist in his or her discipline might be how high his idea is of what he must master in order to be abreast of the achievements of his science. The propensity to evolve an unpretentious grasp of your scientific capabilities cannot but increase as your knowledge of the most recent achievements in matters of method, techniques, concepts or theories, grows. But sociology is yet little codified and little formalized.<sup>7</sup> (Bourdieu, 1992, 223)

The contradiction between the social world and conceptual confusion in sociology partly is found in the lack of codification and formalization of the entire science, even though it might appear as, monetarily composed of strict logical regulations. However, the question of vocabulary and conceptual matrices that fall under the *socio-logics* of the world, remains lacking. Therefore, following Bourdieu, we must ask such questions in the framework of reflexive sociology. Rearranging sociology, along this line, becomes the question of searching for the *logos of modern social phenomena* and their representations. Rearranging, following this logic, should produce the *logos* of social phenomena, its rational explication and description, within the context of what can be accepted as ‘rationally justified.’ In this way, reflexive sociology directs itself with the belief of overcoming the ‘conceptual confusion,’ especially the conceptual confusion that intends to explain the dynamic relationship between the *micro* and the *macro*.

Aside from reflexive sociology, when discussing the plan to rearrange sociology, we should stress the contributions of neo-functional orientations in social sciences, as well as that which we shall name ‘independent approaches,’ where we can locate the *theory of social pulsation* by Bosnian Herzegovinian sociologist and philosopher Ivo Komšić.

Reflexive sociology sees the solution to the problem of ‘conceptual confusion’ in the process of continued and critical examination of the modern condition and then directs itself to revalorizing modernity as the foundational through in constructing the modern world. From this perspective, stable schools of thought developed, e.g., ‘social structuration’ (Giddens), ‘risk society’ (Beck), ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman) and ‘praxeological sociology’ (Bourdieu). Each of the perspectives is based foremost on a detailed understanding of modernity’s program and the intent to create new vocabularies within sociology, with the goal of conceptualizing networks of the social world. These theoretical corpuses were not based on the principles of exclusive disjunctions, so they cannot be treated as

<sup>7</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre (1992): *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of California Press. 223.

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dialectically mediated classical sociological theories, which also are taken to be their greatest limitation. However, an important fact is that within the frameworks of these and similar theories, the bar of sociological register has risen, as the powerful and precise language of *analytical philosophy* has, so to speak, infiltrated the discipline. The first major step in this field was made by Jürgen Habermas, who created the conditions for the unification of the organons and instruments of analytical philosophy and sociology through the ‘compression of pressures’ which cover the social world. Key to this, as with philosopher John R. Searle, is that understanding social phenomena (institutional facts), *starts with language*. In other words, language, within analytical philosophy, is treated as the *subject of research*, and not something that is *assumed*, as was the case with earlier histories of social and political doctrines. Searle writes:

You might think that these issues would long ago have been resolved because we have, after all, a rather long tradition of discussion of foundational issues in the social sciences, and we are, of course, much indebted to the great founders of the social sciences such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Emile Durkheim, and Alfred Schutz. Before them we had such great philosophers as David Hume, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Adam Smith – one could continue the list back to Aristotle’s *Politics*. What can we add to this great tradition? There is a serious weakness in all the classical discussions of the existence of social reality: all the thinkers I have mentioned took language for granted. Weber, Shutz, Simmel and Durkheim all presuppose the existence of language and then, given language, ask about the nature of society.<sup>8</sup>

This tendency to *assume language* in the world of social phenomena, according to Searle goes all the way to Aristotle. Introducing the rigorous criteria of analytical philosophy, authors like Searle or Donald Davidson have created space for a more credible re-arranging of sociological theoretical and practical skills which can more clearly and precisely express the state of things in the world. This criterion enables us to differentiate the terms *subjectivism* and *objectivism*, on which the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu shed ample light on, and which are taken as central problems of modern disputes in theoretical sociology. Concretely, Searle relies on the claim (which he derives from the old problem of analytical philosophy—the problem of reference) that the distinction between subjectivism and objectivism, and even the distinction between the *subjective* and the *objective*, stems from the way meaning is conceived—namely, epistemic meaning as opposed to ontological meaning. Accordingly, when it comes to grasping what is the matter of the *logos of social phenomena*, one must speak of the *logical structure of society*. Searle’s thinking importantly expanded what dogmatic theory might have called ‘the unity of sociological theory.’ He writes:

<sup>8</sup> Searle, John (2023): *Social Ontology: Some Basic Principles* in: Analytical Philosophy (ed.) Nijaz Ibrulj. Academia - Analitica, Sarajevo. 139.

Human societies have a logical structure, because human attitudes are constitutive of the social reality in question and those attitudes have propositional contents with logical relations. Our problem is to expose those relations. Now it might seem that this is too daunting a task.<sup>9</sup>

According to Searle, the exposition of logical structure of society, considering the epistemically subjective and objective, as that which falls to the ontologically subjective and objective, will enable us to articulate the question of cultural anthropology of the nineteenth century – the question about the different modes of social existence. Hence, we should not be surprised that modern sociological theories, especially those from the USA, today lean on the crucial insights of analytical philosophy. Above all is Jeffery C. Alexander's neo-functional current, which sees the program of 'cultural hermeneutics' opening the 'meanings of the social world' as only attainable through the integration of continental and analytical philosophies, sociology and cultural anthropology. The thread of this thought in Alexander's work is most clearly visible in his interpretation of the cultural anthropology of Clifford Geertz, deeply inspired by the analytical philosophy of Gilbert Ryle. According to Alexander, Geertz first understood the integrating and re-arranging potentials of analytic philosophy by unifying the principles of Ryle's and Russell's theory of *denoting* with the Weberian postulates of *interpretative sociology*. This enabled him to create a revolutionary schema within cultural anthropology with which to explain the 'different modes of social existence.'

All this, credibly but gradually leads to the formalization and codification of that which today we can call 'sociological theory.' In the world in which, twisting Richard Rorty's language, are 'glassy essence' even the clear foundations of constituting the lifeworld, there is no need for a complex internal differentiation between the humanities and social sciences. However, where there are fragments instead of wholes, it is necessary to have such differentiation, and in essence, the basic deconstruction of that which we take 'social reality' to be. This differentiation enables and opens the room to understand social phenomena in the time we live in.

Taken broadly, reflexive sociology did not develop these intentions to their conclusion, so leaving the paradox that new social realities were explained with the old sociological register. The brightest examples of those that managed to make a step forward, but not fully are Anthony Giddens, and Pierre Bourdieu. Both return to the discussion of the nature of *modernity* and its limitations.

Sociologists must face the facts of 'rearranging sociology' in the modern world. The process of rearranging within the discipline is taking place vertically and horizontally. Sociologists can no longer act as hapless observers and live in delusion that the language of 19<sup>th</sup> century society can explain events in the 21<sup>st</sup>. It is

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 143.

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an idol that cannot be ignored any longer and must be discarded. This process, looking forward, can be finished by future generations of sociologists, if new and healthy foundations of the discipline are laid. The *Century of Rearranging* of sociology and a new road map to understanding social phenomena. Nijaz Ibrulj writes:

The century in which we live, in the millennium that began before our eyes, could rightly be called the ‘century of rearranging.’ Matter in scientific laboratories is being rearranged, sociality in the processes of social ontology, individual identity in political institutions. Most significant sociologists today speak of ‘attempts by humans to,’ using the words multiculturalism or globalization, define the meaning behind some of the most dramatic changes that should reconfigure economic arrangements, bring into question political systems and change things tied to cultural identities’ (Kivistö, 2002:1). Rearranging identities, rearranging social ontology, or the social world is constituted by a series of interactive processes that should lead to a transnational identity and its transnational socialization.<sup>10</sup>

In the process of rearranging sociology, theories we can call ‘independent approaches/theories’ such as the *theory of social pulsation*, Ivo Komšić. His theory is specific in how it attempts to think through foundational problems in modern sociological theory. Komšić proves that small societies, such as the Bosnian, have the right and ability to participate in a ‘grand’ debate, as that about the state of modern sociology and its theoretical crisis. Komšić’s theory situates the fundamental problem of modern sociology in the ability to reach a solution to the relationship between social structures and social action, introducing the divisive term ‘social causality.’ In his *Theory of Social Pulsation*, Komšić writes:

The solution is not to replace or overcome the methodological one-sidedness dialectically, i.e. with some median of the two ends – objective and subjective structures. In that case, the idea of social events would be entirely lost [...] Social pulsation is a kind of social interaction in which actors present the meaning of their actions (and speech) to one another with claims to validity. Concurrently, that meaning becomes accessible to them only through understanding and interpretation of the other, from whom it returns. That is what makes social actors subjects that manifest themselves [...] Social causality is the cause, or reason for social pulsations that always move from one social actor to another, and which always changes intensity of pulsation, from strong to weak.<sup>11</sup>

Komšić builds the theory of social pulsation as a ‘foundational project’ in the manner Kant does with the ‘project of founding the metaphysics of morality.’ This directs the theory towards a draft and prolegomena for future direction of developing sociological theory. Komšić’s theory, therefore, is based on clearly determined logical postulates, so its aspiration is compatible with Searle’s undertaking of building a ‘logical structure of society.’ This compatibility with Searle’s

10 Ibrulj, Nijaz (2005): *Century of Rearrangement*. Filozofsko društvo THEORIA, Sarajevo. 17.

11 Komšić, Ivo (2015): *Theory of Social Pulsation*. Svjetlost, Sarajevo. 6, 8, 9.

construction of ‘logical structure of society’ is crucial for the rearranging of sociology within an intensively changing world. Hence, we can rightly say that this is a complex theory. Komšić sublimates all phenomena that are *simultaneous* relationships and create “intention, reaction, reflection, communication, institutionalization, structuration and innovation” into *social pulsation*.<sup>12</sup> In a complex theoretical maneuver and a concise Wittgensteinian manner, he lays out the complex relations governing the world of social phenomena considering and filling in sociological theory with a new and inspiring dimension. His theory is a shining example of interdisciplinary collaboration and the proper use of the guidelines of the ‘relative scientific autonomy’ (Norbert Elias). Nijaz Ibrulj, speaking of Komšić’s theorems, will argue that they are about the explication of the ‘phenomenology of anomalous causality,’<sup>13</sup> as the social world at its core is the world of anomalies, contradictions and other forms of paraconsistent realities that emerge in the epistemically objective and ontological sense as social/institutional facts.

A process of complex theoretical re-arranging lies before modern sociology. That process will take place in permanent dialogue of sociology with other humanities, as only through joint and gradualized new methodologies can we hope to explain ‘everything going on around us,’ which appears entirely *incomprehensible* to regular observers and to sociologists. In this process, it is especially important to pay attention to small and ‘independent theories’ that along with the main currents of sociological theorizing, make up a complete picture of a complex amalgamation we can call a modern *systemic science of society*. In this dialectical constellation, special attention should be given to analytical philosophy, which stems from language and semantics as the foundational problems, but does not take them as assumed categories to complete the obscure, but foundational triangulation between *human – world – language*. In this way we lay the foundations for overcoming the conceptual confusion that formalizes the *logos of modern social phenomena*.

## Conclusion

So, what does the term sociology mean today? Much more than the *matter* of sociology, which in its isolated nature cannot be a truthful organon of explicating bizarre relations of the time and world in which we live in. Sociology has a complex and long road of *formalizing and conceptualizing*, which will have to be completed foremost in the tangled re-ordering of micro theories and macro-theories, in the dialectical discarding of the teachings of the discipline’s ‘founding fathers’ and opening dialogue with theories outside the comfort zone of familiar schools of thought.

12 Ibid., 20.

13 Ibid., 112.

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Rearranging Sociology – The Social World and Conceptual Confusion

Thus, modern sociological theory literally seeks the *logos of social phenomena*, meaning, above all, the continued striving to overcome conceptual confusion that complicates understanding the reality of the social world we live in. All potential theoretical orientations have their place along this road, so the discussion between the exclusive primacy of micro- or macro- theories appears redundant already. Sociology, in other words, must *mutate*, helped with the hybrid instruments of other humanities and social sciences. The same principle holds for other social sciences and humanities, as without sociological categories, at their core, they can be of little use for a thorough understanding of social phenomena in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the end, theses for rearranging sociology can be summarized as follows:

1. The request to rearrange sociology and sociological theory stems from the inability to adequately grasp and articulate social phenomena of the modern world. Theories that developed in the framework of the spiritual situation we call 'modernity' have only partly managed to construct an organon and register with which we can only partially grasp the essence of social events in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
2. In the request to rearrange sociology, all theoretical directions were equally unsuccessful, so for the future, it makes sense only to speak of the *interdisciplinary* concatenation of different language practices that, in the end, can explain social practice to a certain level.
3. Systemic and complex critique, as well as the evidence of the problem of 'conceptual confusion' in relation to the social world, we can most clearly find in the work of Nicos Mouzelis, which sheds light on the crisis of the discipline, asking the question of 'What went wrong?'
4. Language, methodology and heuristics of modern sociology can only make sense under the assumption we overstep the boundaries of the relative autonomy of the humanities and social sciences, with a special emphasis on the role of analytical philosophy. Analytical philosophy is an instrument which asks questions about the logical construction of social order. In this context, 'logical' cannot mean 'nomothetic.' Logic here is to be understood as that which has the power to explain the complex paraconsistent relations and hefty contradictions that dominate the field of social reality.
5. Future perspectives of 'rearranging sociology' must lean on the body of those theories which we, as part of the working title, called 'independent theories.' One such example is the theoretical work of Bosnian sociologist and philosopher Ivo Komšić. Among many critical observations that we can offer in relation to these theories, they represent a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the *substance* of sociology in the 21<sup>st</sup> cen-

tury. In other words, these theories necessitate a better degree of codification and formalization of sociology as a ‘science of society.’

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BOSNIA *Preporod* N  
STUDIES  
SARAJEVO  
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\*ADNAN DŽAFIĆ\*

Signposts of Hermeneutical  
Sociology

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## Summary:

*Sociology is, above all, relational. That is, we are born into, and are members of, an existing society. We are forged in that relationship and our experiences influence social structures and our way of looking through the frames of culture. We depend on others and our views of ourselves are mediated in those conditions. The central questions of sociology are therefore: How are the types of social relationships and societies in which we live connected with how we see ourselves and each other? How do we constitute our knowledge, how we assess our surroundings and with what consequences? Precisely those types of questions make what we call sociological thinking and define the discipline as a relatively autonomous branch of social sciences. Sociological thinking encompasses the relational way of understanding the world that also opens the possibilities of thinking about the world in different ways. We strive to expand the horizons of understanding, and we hope understanding others will better enable us to understand ourselves with others in the world (Bauman, 2019).*

**Key words:** Sociology, Hermeneutics, Social Structure, Individualism

## Sociological Hermeneutics<sup>1</sup>

One of the modern sociological focuses considers that the task of sociology is deciphering human behavior as continued interplay and exchange between situational (objective), challenging, and human (subjective) living strategies. People shape history, but not under the conditions they choose, and those conditions are always unexpected sediments or collateral products of their shaping of the past.<sup>2</sup> Individual actors come into the field of sociological research because as members of society, they are in networks of co-dependence. Sociology analyzes the individual, but atomism, social isolation we assume exists between us, i.e., individualism, is another thing entirely. That does not exclude it from being a symptom of social dislocation. Sociology is mainly relational: that is, we are

1 “By ‘sociological hermeneutics’ I do not mean a separate variant of sociological activity, an idiosyncratic style for conducting it, nor do I mean a self-contained school. Sociological hermeneutics is a postulate that the effort of understanding human realities ought to be made with sociological tools. You may say that I claim for sociology as a whole (that is, for the ongoing inquiry into the difference made by humans being simultaneously products and producers of social reality) the paramount, nay decisive role in the effort to understand and explain (which in the case of humans amounts to much the same) human conduct and the verbal glosses that precede or follow it. Or you may say that I do not propose to reform sociology through hermeneutics, but hermeneutics through sociology. The postulate of ‘sociological hermeneutics’ demands that whenever we pursue the meaning of human thoughts or actions, we ought to look into the socially shaped conditions of people whose thoughts or actions we intend to understand/explain. In other words, the hermeneutics of human conduct is primarily asociological, not a semantic or philological operation.” (Bauman, 2014: 61-62)

2 Bauman, Zygmunt (2014) *What Use is Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 43

born into and are members of societies that already exist. We are forged in that relationship; our experiences influence social structures and our way of looking through the frames of culture. We depend on others, and our views of ourselves are mediated in those conditions. The central questions of sociology are therefore: How do types of social relationships and societies in which we live connected with how we see ourselves and each other? How do we constitute our knowledge, how do we assess our surroundings and with what consequences? Precisely those types of questions make what we call sociological thinking, and define discipline as a relatively autonomous branch of social sciences. Sociological thinking encompasses the relational way of understanding the world that also opens the possibilities of thinking about the world in different ways. We strive to expand the horizons of understanding, and we hope that understanding others will better enable us to understand ourselves with others in the world.<sup>3</sup> Sociological hermeneutics represent:

Deciphering human conduct as a continuous interplay and interchange between situational (objective') challenges and human ('subjective') life strategies; a sort of interpolation of Marx's reminder that 'people make history though not under conditions of their choice' combined with the rider that those conditions are unanticipated sediments or collateral products of their history-making. Well, what I am speaking about here has at the utmost the nature of heuristic advice, recommendation or guideline, rather than of an algorithm, sought by quite a few sociologists as passionately and as vainly as the alchemists sought the philosopher's stone.<sup>4</sup>

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## Community and the Contemporary World

The idea of community is connected to the search for belonging in uncertain conditions of modern society. Today's popularity of community can be seen as the answer to the crisis of solidarity and belonging. Community, in essence, is a social phenomenon: it is "expressed in communicative contexts and is the basis of socially recognizing others."<sup>5</sup> Delanty's attention is directed more to the phenomenon of belonging, than to the phenomena of the community's meaning. The community, for him, is not a form of social integration, nor a form of meaning, but "[...] an open system of communication about belonging."<sup>6</sup> 'Community' relates to "things that people have in common, that connect them, and that give them the feeling of mutual belonging," because it represents the "founding aspect of society, maybe even its core."<sup>7</sup> Community, at the same time, includes, but

3 Bauman, Zygmunt, May, Tim (2019) *Thinking Sociologically*, Wiley Blackwell, Hoboken, 4

4 Bauman, Zygmunt (2014) *What Use is Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 43

5 Delanty, Gerard (2006). *Community*. London & New York, Routledge, xiii

6 Ibid., 152

7 Day, Graham (2006). *Community and Everyday Life*. London & New York: Routledge, 1

also excludes. Defining some community means first drawing lines that separate it from those that are not part of it.

Among three main sociological debates about community, Gerard Delanty includes: (1) one about understanding community as tradition (drawing from conceptions of Ferdinand Tönnies), (2) oriented around the idea of a moral community (according to the understanding of Emile Durkheim) and (3) the theory of a symbolic community (conceived originally by Victor Turner, and recently reformulated by Anthony Cohen).<sup>8</sup> The first two debates were caused by works published at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the third, by works from the 1970s and 1980s. The thematic range of problems illustrates the “genesis” of sociological conceptions of community across nearly the entire century.<sup>9</sup> The dichotomy between the traditional-modern was analogue to the culture-civilization dichotomy, which was especially relevant in German intellectual life from the late-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The second important sociological debate about community which Gerard Delanty highlights is the idea of a moral community, spurred by the concepts of Emile Durkheim in the work *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893). Durkheim proved that only in modernity do we see efficient modes of solidarity that replace previous, inferior forms. Durkheim thought that modernity generates forms of community that are more efficient in linking individuals with other segments of society. He did not accept that only the state can match the destructive results of individualism that characterized the modern age, For Durkheim, the question was just what kind of moral order can handle the great demands of modern times. To him, morality was very important, as Delanty writes, “his entire sociology is an attempt to find an answer to the question of what kind of social integration can exist in modern society.”<sup>10</sup> The third sociological debate about community, according to Delanty, is about the symbolic community. Unlike the first two, which were spurred by concepts formulated at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when sociology was still a young science, discussion about symbolic community was started in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The community came to denote both similarity and difference. Additionally, the most important role is that of the boundary, as “by definition, a boundary denotes the beginning and end of a community.” Cohen considers the boundary to “subsume” the identity of the community, and as in the case of individual existence, it is formed by necessity of social interaction (Cohen 2007), “Boundaries are, therefore drawn because communities integrate with entities from which they differ (or from which they wish to be different.)”<sup>11</sup>

8 Delanty, Gerard (2006). *Community*. London & New York, Routledge, 31

9 Geiger-Zeman, M. (2010). *Uvod u sociologiju (održivih) zajednica*, Institut Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, 40

10 Delanty, Gerard (2006). *Community*. London & New York, Routledge, 37

11 Geiger-Zeman, M. (2010). *Uvod u sociologiju (održivih) zajednica*, Institut Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, 40

In the past years, many critical questions were asked to move the focus of studying community in modern, technological and globalized reincarnations of interactions and spaces. The ambient community, unlike membership in an enclave or ghetto, came from informal ties and sense of belonging, but was not rooted in a certain institution or space, nor did it exclude intimate relationships. One more fruitful strategy that leads beyond the limitations of the home and community is modelled by a few comparative efforts that link people in private settings with their connections to neighborhoods and larger areas, even nations (Kusenbach:18). A place is characterized by three ‘necessary and sufficient’ traits: geographic location, material form, and investments with meaning and value. Seeing as the first two aspects of home as a place are highly elastic, defining characteristics must lie in the third component, meaning and values invested in the location, and material form of the home (Easthope 2004; Gieryn 2000). The following steps, therefore, ask us to consider: What are the general and particular meanings/values that characterize home? Where do they come from, and what implications and influence do they have? How is home experienced as a specific type of relationship that connects people to places?

Jan Duyvendak suggests three elements that people mean when they speak about the complex feeling of home: closeness/familiarity, sanctuary and haven. First, familiarity highlights deep knowledge about a place built over time. Knowledge is not necessarily positive, as somebody can be familiar with a place of residence that they do not enjoy, or find stifling (e.g., Blokland 2008; Binken and Blokland), but it is mostly linked with home (Mallett 2004). According to Duyvendak and others, “it [home] relates to the feeling of security and privacy, that is mostly related to the micro level of a house.” Duyvendak’s third component of the home, dubbed the sky, is the most innovative and generative.<sup>12</sup> The sky relates to a public place where you can exist collectively, express and attain oneself, where one feels publicly free and independent. The home here embodies common history; material and/or symbolic places with their own people and activities. The sky, therefore, allows the expansion of the concept of home beyond someone’s private room, apartment or house, to include greater, public locations, such as cities, neighborhoods, regions and even national states. Here, home relates to not just the person and the household, but also the membership in a group that is further subdivided. Increasing complexity, therefore, does not bring into question the integrity of the whole. Quite contrary, the result is that “far from the disintegration of the community, society becomes one large community.” Seeing as it stems from pluralism and cooperation of different, robust units, organic solidarity can also generate moral norms that link up modern society, one that is becoming increasingly complex (Geiger-Zeman, 2010).

12 Duyvendak, Jan W. (2011) *The Politics of Home Belonging and Nostalgia in Western Europe and United States*, New York, Palgrave McMillan, 37-39

In the modern world, identity as a deeper structure disappears, as the transcendental continuity is disappearing as well. Instead, the subject becomes a consequence of certain discourses of power. “Identity is no longer the result of purpose, but it is built with the mediation of categories of power and influences, as identification and socialization place the entire normative social order in the consciousness of the individual, making the consciousness of the individual increasingly restructured, i.e., more intertwined with the social order.”<sup>13</sup>

Had the state not had the power of defining, classifying, segregating, separating and choosing the aggregation of local traditions, dialects, customary laws and ways of life, it would not have transformed into anything like the foundationally assumed unity and cohesion of the national community. If the state was the destiny achieved by the nation, it was also the condition for the nation to exist at all, and to – loudly, self-consciously and effectively, stake its claim to a shared fate.<sup>14</sup>

National identity was, from its beginnings, an antagonistic term. It demands total political support and does not recognize competition. It strives for a monopolistic drawing of lines between “us” and “them.” Being a subject of a state was the only signifier that was confirmed authoritatively, by personal identification and travel documents. Other identities were encouraged and/or discouraged based on seeking support and protection of the state-sponsored agencies. In essence, analyzing identity depends on the context and time, as on the specific society within which identity is analyzed. If the story of identity started with individual and collective identities in Western societies, the same topic is relevant today in the same space, just that the research questions and interests are aimed at current social changes and problems, as we have shown briefly already.

## Society without Sociability and Community-free Zones

The society of performance is a society of individual performance and “culture of individualism, sink or swim,” in which “daily life has become uncertain,” forcing the individual into a “state of preparation; predictable income, savings, fixed category of ‘occupation,’ all falling to another historical world.” Global elites wash their hands of the duty to make life livable, uncertainties of human existence are privatized, responsibility for solving them is wholly placed on the shoulders of the individuals,

Condemned to seek out individually conceived and individually attainable solutions for problems that society created by not keeping its previous promises, and not mercilessly retreating from its obligations to create collective security in mitigation

13 Šijaković, Ivan, Nemanja Đukić (2011): *Socijalna kontrola identiteta*, Politeia, vol. 1, July 2011, 118

14 Bauman, Zigmunt (2009a): *Identitet Razgovori s Benedettom Vecchijem*, Zadar, Pelago, 23- 24

gating risks of individuals' lives. The individual is left to their own devices, that are often painfully inadequate, or for which there is fear that they will soon show to be.<sup>15</sup>

The place in which the new cosmopolitan business and global elites of the cultural-industrial community spends most of their lives is the *community-free zone*. That is a place where togetherness is taken to be sameness, of casually encountered and individuals that are 'irrelevant on demand.' Individuality is understood as a spotless object to make partnerships with, while everything to the left is practiced daily, excluding all other socially shared practices. The "secession of the successful" is, above all, an escape from the community.<sup>16</sup>

Sociology spent the first part of its history trying to offer itself to the modernist project and was obsessed with the construction of order. It defined its mission as coming up with social arrangements that fit the model of

[...] how to move, force or indoctrinate human beings, blessed and cursed as they are with the ambiguous and endemically humorous gift of free will, to be normatively-led, and to routinely follow a neat, predictable course of action; how to make people to voluntarily and gladly do what they have to and/or are forced to do. Sociology was then, to put it, a science and technology of unfreedom.<sup>17</sup>

In the early phase of industrialization, and with earlier implementation of the project of modernity, masses were pulled out of old routines, networks of inter-subjective relationships, governed by habits, and were pushed into a new routine of factory labor that was run by objectives. The goal was to abolish communitarian habits in the faceless environment of the factory, with orders, surveillance and punishment, to create a new community. The result of such strivings was the freeing of profit and the means of living from all moral, political and neighborly connections.

Modern capitalism, as a new order, represents a strict and closely monitored regime of disciplining in a place that was governed by consent and natural understanding. This project, focused on making social connections and obligations, made life outside the factory building and work obligations irrelevant. Modernity thus represents the age of social engineering. The end goal was an order conceived with reason, maintained with legal supervision and management. Directly before the outbreak of WWII, came the separation of owner and management roles. Managers became paid workers, as deregulation meant the powerful did not want to be regulated, to have limited freedom of choice and freedom of movement, as they were no longer interested in regulating others (Bauman, 2001).

15 Bauman, Zygmunt, May, Tim (2019) Thinking Sociologically, Wiley Blackwell, Hoboken, 61-62

16 Bauman, Zygmunt, (2001) Community Seeking Safety in an Insecure World, Polity Press, Cambridge, 59

17 Ibid., 98-99

Modernity resulted in the dissolution of the social frame of existence and labor. There was a breakup of community and society, and its main stable foundations. After three decades of development following WWII, a new extra-territorial elite sought new separation, indifference, mental and moral extraterritoriality under the conditions of not having to care for others and arguing that others did not partake in their wellbeing. The postulate of the absence of community demands that no connections are made, no obligations are recognized, and that there are no consequences. The goal is to be in a society of the same, but that the sum of all those individuals does not make a community.

A pattern whose brief history and emergent features I tried to capture and summarize under the heading of the progressive weakening or even falling apart of human bonds and the new fragility and ad hoc and avowedly temporary as well as increasingly short-term status of structures – indeed, of the very notion of ‘liquid modernity’. The pattern in question manifests itself in the trends to fragmentation, episode splitting, deregulation, individualization, privatization and (yes!) personalization, affecting almost every area of human interaction as well as the currently dominant *Weltanschauung*, or worldview. The bottom line of all its multifarious renditions and applications, and perhaps their shared source and inspiration, is the discovery that among the entities currently discernible in the world of human experience solely the individual’s corporeal existence (for most of human history and until quite recently the much bewailed and lamented paragon of transience, vulnerability, fleetingness, brevity and indeed inconsequentiality and vanity) has a rising life expectation and credible prospects that it will rise further[...].<sup>18</sup>

National boundaries and nation-states become irrelevant for the main actions of life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The new cosmopolitan business and global elite of the cultural-industrial community represents the community-free zone. Secession of the successful is above all, an escape from community. “Extraterritoriality, refugees by their own choice. Here community is not lost, it never even existed.”<sup>19</sup> The effect of the secession of the successful is the collapse of collective redistribution and growing inequality. The state no longer manages processes of social integration or the processes of systemic governance.

The result of being in the voluntary ghetto is the melting of solidarity and the destruction of trust. “A Ghetto is not the greenhouse of community feelings. It is on the contrary a laboratory of social disintegration, atomization and anomie.”<sup>20</sup> A ghetto represents the policies of exclusion, embodied in spatial segregation and immobilization. Separation is the new strategy of power and dominance; excess is the replacement of a normative order. The ghetto is walled off by cameras on the outside, guards, so the uninvited would not disturb the peace, freedom and

18 Bauman, Zygmunt, (2014) *What Use is Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 65-66

19 Bauman, Zygmunt, (2001) *Community Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 60

20 Ibid., 127

security of the new elite. The result of such organization is the militarization of public space.

## Collapse of the Political Model of the Liberal Democratic Representative Government

The state is no longer the center of sovereign power. The divergence between power and politics results in the crisis of action. The consequence of splitting power and politics results in the collectivization of problems and privatization of means for their solution. Collective interests, solidarity and gatherings have been turned into dispersion, isolation and exclusion of the consumer. The trend of fragmentation, deregulation, individuation, privatization and personalization, as well as the dominant worldview in which the corporeal existence of the individual is increasingly the center of attention. Transitioning from modern to fluid society has resulted in three consequences in the world today: transition from a society of producers to a society of consumers, disappearance of collective historical actors (the proletariat), the *precariat* has replaced the proletariat and is the name of the totality of the rightless, degraded and humiliated human beings. These three consequences have led to the colonization of public space by private interests. The private has won over the agora “[...] the space in which people had expectations and hopes that private interests would be implemented in public questions, and public needs in private rights and duties.”<sup>21</sup> The political model of representative liberal democratic rule has collapsed due to the collapse of relationships between citizens and governments. Excluding economic and ideological centers of power from public affairs that are led thanks to the hidden influence and ideological centers of power in the political system (Kastels, 2022), “Politics is professionalized, and politicians become a social group that defends its common interests.”<sup>22</sup> A political class that transcends ideologies is formed, protecting only its own oligopoly. Social inequality of the highest recorded level ever in modern history followed. Social collapse occurred at two levels: the wealthy global elite, and a community without material wealth. With the decline of political legitimacy, affluent political and social forces strive to use the hopelessness of the people and the disintegration of the system.

The consequences of such a crisis mean there will be no return to the same economy and same society. The crisis runs so deep and lasts for so long that it demands political intervention towards a newer model of governing in all spheres. It will not be possible to reconstruct but only restructure and transform towards the rent-

21 Bauman, Zygmunt (2001) *Community Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 139

22 Kastels, Manuel (2022) *Sunovrat kriza liberalne demokratije*, Clio, Beograd, 19

ability of the financial sector and stability or establishing a tax policy of taxing the financial and technological sector on the global market.<sup>23</sup>

The Italian philosopher Diego Fusaro asks the following question, “What happens to a society that has no other value aside merely existing?” (Fuzaro 2022) A new paradigm of governing things and people as the basis of a new political rationality is in line with the neoliberal order. Dominant groups of cosmopolitan employers used the crisis to strengthen the distorted global capitalist order, and its asymmetric power relations.

The Great Reset – a total organization of consumption [...] A global move upon which the new techno-sanitary Leviathan of therapeutic capitalism is founded, built on the eternal fear of losing your life entails the technical reorganization of the means of production at the economic, political and social levels.<sup>24</sup>

The polarization between the new, precarious ruling class is entirely part of the new order of the post-bourgeois, post-proletarian turbo-capitalism, as well as the unprecedented cosmopolitan financial aristocracy that hides \ and justifies itself with medical and scientific narratives.

At the political level, there is a crisis of parliamentary democracy, seen with the

[...] triumph of strong executive power, the eternal state of exception, suspension of basic rights and freedoms, the end of a tripartite separation of power, militarization of public life, open authoritarianism. In the social sphere, the neoliberal banishing of the other is reaching its conclusion. The individual is identified as a carrier of disease, and other humans as an enemy one must battle, and from whom he must keep his distance. The consequence is the neutralization of joint space, neutralizing connections with one another, and isolation. Open market society has become a closed society of viral capitalism. The pandemic sociability has become ‘asocial sociability.’ Neutralizing any connections within the community and redefining society in a monological key as an individual system of internally concurrent atoms, exclusively connected by an icy geometric principle of an ideal liberal exchange.<sup>25</sup>

A laboratory of new social, political and economic orders was opened. A new contactless society of telematic isolation has been formed. It is a society of complete abstraction and depersonalization, asymmetry of life between the ever-poorer plebeians and the oligarchic bloc. The old dream of capitalism – eliminating the other, abolishing closeness, abolishing ethical roots, from the family to the trade union, from the sovereign state to the school. A wholly new totalitarian power,

23 Ibid., 123

24 Fuzaro, Diego (2022) *Globalni udar, Terapeutski kapitalizam i Veliki reset*, Akademska kniga, Novi Sad, 12

25 Fuzaro, Diego (2022) *Globalni udar, Terapeutski kapitalizam i Veliki reset*, Akademska kniga, Novi Sad, 13-15

[...] as an ideological superstructure is founded on covering up and deifying class reorganization as a) *social* (produces the new plebians, who are short of everything and brought into new slavery), b) *political* (overcoming canonical parliamentary forms and the idea of democracy itself, replacing it with the idea of technical committees of experts), c) *biopolitical* (imposing total surveillance of human bodies in and outside of their skin), d) *economic* (favoring a transition to an economic of global colossuses, financiers and multinational companies, with the subsequent disappearance, under the influence of the lock down, the middle and smaller level entrepreneurs).<sup>26</sup>

Strong and solidary relations slowly disappear, leaving only instant meetings of individualized consumers. The fear of bodily security, fear of unemployment, uncertainty of old age and cleaning the streets from foreigners shapes the new social ambiance of daily life. The context of the epoch is marked with the dissolution of human relationships.<sup>27</sup>

In our increasingly individualized liquid modern society, in which the resolution of socially created problems is relentlessly shifted from social powers on to the shoulders of individual men and women, however, sociology has the chance (though, admittedly, no more than that!) to turn instead into a *science and technology of freedom*: that is, knowledge of the ways and means by which the individuals by *decreet* and *de jure* of liquid modern times can be lifted to the rank of individuals by *choice* and *de facto*.<sup>28</sup>

Globalization means that the network of dependence swiftly takes a world-wide scale. The process is not followed by the expansion of sustainable institutions of political control and the emergence of a truly global culture. Tightly intertwined with the unevenly developed economies, politics and culture, is the separation of power from politics; Power, embodied in the global circulation of capital and information, becomes extraterritorial, while the existing political institutions remaining political institutions remain, as before, local.

This leads inevitably to the progressive disempowerment of the nation-state; no longer able to muster enough resources to balance the books effectively and to conduct an independent social policy, the governments of states have little choice except to pursue a strategy of deregulation: that is to surrender control over economic and cultural processes and to cede it to the ‘powers of the market,’ that is to essentially extraterritorial forces.<sup>29</sup>

The state no longer manages the processes of social integration or systemic governance that made normative regulation, administering culture and patriotic

26 Fuzaro, Diego (2022) Globalni udar, Terapeutski kapitalizam i Veliki reset, Akadem-ska kniga, Novi Sad, 171

27 Bauman, Zygmunt (2014) What Use is Sociology, Polity Press, Cambridge, 65

28 Bauman, Zygmunt (2014) What Use is Sociology, Polity Press, Cambridge, 99

29 Bauman, Zygmunt (2001) Community Seeking Safety in an Insecure World, Polity Press, Cambridge, 97

mobilization necessary, leaving such tasks to forces which it cannot effectively control. Police supervision of administered territory is one function that is fully in the control of state governments; other orthodox functions were renounced, or divvied up, so they are only partly, and not autonomously, overseen by the state and its bodies.

## Conclusion

The hermeneutical cycle entails the proper blending of the horizon of the present with the horizon of the past, from which the horizon of the future is observed. Hermeneutics, as a skill of understanding and interpretation entails the maximal mental effort to attain a horizon from which the future of modern societies can be seen. Along these lines, sociological hermeneutics is the skill of understanding and interpreting modern social phenomena, or rather the fetishization of social phenomena. Were Karl Marx's ideas properly assessed and applied humanity would certainly have a brighter future that would not result in communist 'systems,' but orderly political systems. The future of modern societies is in the local community, or rather local self-management. It is nothing but the core of the 'movement,' that will be initiated by the destructive capitalist order (Pusić, 2002). It has become a kind of 'black hole' that devours past and the future. The importance of what is occurring under capitalism is not the creation of a humane world and the increasing of likelihood of human survival, but the destruction of nature and the human as a biological and humane being, as well as the creation of a technological world.

The horizon of sociological hermeneutics from which we can assess the future of modern societies is knowledge about the real state of the local community. Many sociologists confuse what the community factually is (empirical description) and what it should be (normative prescription). They need to clearly differentiate the real social community that was born from the needs of humans over the long-term, and the "artificially" created community that is created by mutual political agreement, and can very quickly change shapes depending on the elite's understanding, agreement, political orientation etc. Unfortunately, the artificial has conquered the real and natural, and in that process, the first victims were states (nations), then the local administration, and finally local communities. Precisely this destructive process will, in the end, produce the reverse of what was inherent to local administrations and states of law in their infancies. Global conflicts and distortions will lead to the empowering of the local social community and real ways of life. (Pusić, 2002).

The question of whether local administration understands the process of local economic development and whether there is a possibility of strategic action in the changing and growing competitive market economy. Today, the concept of devel-

oping concurrent local government is spoken about as one of the most significant aspects of developmental philosophy for the future. It importantly directs attention to the local level as the basis for the development of the economy, stressing local capacities, expert workforce, communication, infrastructure, supporting institutions.

Democracy is too important to be left to parliaments alone. It must be local, popular, and permeate all institutions of civil society. It must spread to economic and political lives, it must entail real governance, and not just governance entrusted to political elites.

The task of “hermeneutical sociology” is to signpost! A sociological perspective must continually monitor the so-called “hermeneutical situation,” in which it uncovers the laws of motion of all social phenomena, because that was her founding goal as a science. In the future, hermeneutics, as a skill, will become a ‘tool’ for sociologists in interpreting modern social phenomena. Because of those theoretical and practical aspects, no scientific discipline can challenge its primacy.

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# BOSNIA Preporod N STUDIES SARAJEVO 1

\*OSMAN SUŠIĆ\*  
ZAVNOBIH and the Affirmation  
of Bosnia and Herzegovina

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## Summary

*The article examines the role of ZAVNOBIH (Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Bosne i Hercegovine; National Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the affirmation of Bosnia and Herzegovina through the renewal of, and building of Bosnian Herzegovinian statehood, and the affirmation of her historical, political and legal continuity.*

*Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Second World War; Antifascism; People's Liberation Movement; People's Liberation War; AVNOJ; ZAVNOBIH.<sup>1</sup>*

## Introduction<sup>2</sup>

With the Unification Act of December 1, 1918, Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but she temporarily maintained some forms of statehood. The Head Committee of the People's Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Glavni odbor Narodnog vijeća za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*) ceased operation on December 31, 1918, and the People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Narodna vlada Bosne i Hercegovine*) too on January 31, 1919. In their stead, a National Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Narodna vlada Bosne i Hercegovine*) was formed. Instead of the existing ten working bodies, it had only four and was subordinated to the central government in Belgrade. Professor Ibrahimagić is entirely correct in claiming that the act of Bosnia's accession to the Kingdom of SHS was not a voluntary act, as Greater Serbian historians show, but that it was an act of illegitimate annexation. The People's Council (*Narodno vijeće*) did not have legitimacy to decide in the name of the Bosnian Herzegovinian people about the unification with the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro.

1 Translation note: AVNOJ (bos. *Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*) – The Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was a deliberative-legislative body established by the Yugoslav Partisans in November 1942 to aid in and help organize the struggle against the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia. It also established that any future Yugoslav state would be a federal one, including Bosnia and Herzegovina as a republic.

ZAVNOBiH (bos. *Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Bosne i Hercegovine*) – State/National Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) was first convened on November 25, 1943, and served as the highest representative-legislative body of the territories controlled by the Yugoslav Partisans in Bosnia and Herzegovina until April 1945. It further affirmed the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its equal status within a proposed federated Yugoslavia.

2 Sections of this chapter were previously published in Sušić, O., "Položaj Bosne i Hercegovine u Vidovdanskom ustavu – historijski okvir," *Zbornik radova naučnog skupa ustavno pravni razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine (1910 – 2010)*, Tuzla, 2011., i Sušić, O., "Bosna i Hercegovina u koncepcijama Srpskog kulturnog kluba," *Historijski pogledi // Historical Views 4* - Časopis Centra za istraživanje moderne i savremene historije Tuzla // Journal of the Center for Research of Modern and Contemporary History Tuzla 2019.

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One of the main characteristics of this period were the wanton and genocidal murders of Bosniaks, and the destruction of their property. Bosnia and Herzegovina was under sustained attack of Greater Serbian policies. Between 1918 and 1921, there were, according to Bosniak sources, 2000 individual murders of Bosniaks by Serbs. In every murder, the perpetrator and victim were determined, but no perpetrator was punished, as the perpetrator had been Serb, and the victim Muslim.<sup>3</sup> The majority of murders and looting occurred in the Serbo-Montenegrin frontier, and in the Sandžak. Greater Serbian nationalist striving for Bosnia and towards the Bosniaks, were formulated and carried out with the utmost brutality. The intentionally maintained lawlessness in Bosnia facilitated lootings and forceful possession of Bosniak land by the Serbs. Ownership and agrarian relations were transformed by the fires that engulfed Bosnian homes. Land was forcefully seized, damages and rents were not paid, and the landowners were killed, expelled or scared off. The systemic looting and seizure of land was followed by torture, razing of estates and murders, which state institutions did nothing to prevent. True, the state did not encourage it, but it was met by silence from the highest echelons of government, which means that it was also tolerated.<sup>4</sup>

The Belgrade government was informed of these crimes against the Bosniaks. The President of the National Government sent reports to the Ministry of Internal Affairs about the state of public security in the land. The reports discussed the plight of the Bosniaks at length. Suffering was one of the key characteristics of life in, and the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first ten years after December 1.<sup>5</sup>

Following the passing of the St. Vitus' Day Constitution (*Vidovdanski ustav*), Bosnia and Herzegovina remained the only of the former historical territories that remained whole. Article 135 of the Constitution expressed that from the early South Slavic Middle Ages, there had been a state and legal, or rather political and territorial continuity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>6</sup> The vote to pass the Constitution was organized to coincide with St. Vitus Day, June 28, 1921, which was meant to show Serb supremacy over the new state. 223 of 258 deputies voted for the constitution, while 158 deputies did not even participate in the Constitutional Assembly. The Constitution legalized national unitarianism, state centralism, the monarchy, limited parliamentarianism and an economy built on private ownership of means of production.

Following the elections for the Constitutional Assembly, up to the implementation of the January 6 dictatorship in 1929, there were three parliamentary elections: March 1923, February 1925, and in September 1927, even though the parliamentary mandate was for four years. The frequent elections yielded little result

3 Filandra, Š., "Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću, Sejtarija," Sarajevo 1998., 57.

4 Ibid., 58.

5 Mustafa Imamović, "Historija Bošnjaka," Sarajevo, Preporod 2006., 490.

6 Ibid., 499.

in terms of politically stabilizing the state. In all the said elections, the JMO (*Jugoslovenska muslimanska organizacija*; Yugoslav Muslim Organization) confirmed its position as the leading party among the Bosniaks. Between 1923 and 1927, the JMO was largely an opposition party. After the 1928 Parliamentary Assassination of Croatian politician and Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka*, HSS) Leader, Stjepan Radić, the groundwork was laid for King Alexander I Karađorđević to impose a dictatorship instead of pseudo-parliamentarianism.<sup>7</sup> King Alexander abolished the St. Vitus Day Constitution on January 6, 1929, disbanding parliament, and becoming dictator, in what was called the January Sixth Dictatorship (*Šestojanuarska diktatura*). On October 3, 1929, King Alexander passed a new law on the name and division of the state. With the law, he changed the name of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the state was divided into nine banates/*banovine*. With this act, Bosnia and Herzegovina was, for the first time in its history, shattered as a territorial and historical whole. The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into four banovine: Drina, Litoral (*Primorska*), Vrbas and Zeta. In three of four banovine, Serbs and Montenegrins formed the majority, while in the Litoral banovina, Croats were the majority population. Only the Vrbas banovina largely corresponded with the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fascism and Nazism in Italy and Germany emerged due to the dissatisfaction with the results of the First World War, and the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference. Both states argued for a new European order, and considered Europe belonged to them entirely. Germany hoped to gain most of the European continent, Italy the Mediterranean, while Southeastern Europe fell between their zones of interests. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia shared borders with states that claimed parts of her territory and that supported the work of nationalist and terrorist organizations in the country and abroad. Since the *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany in 1938, Yugoslavia had a shared border with Hitler's Germany. This situation necessitated a swift solution to the national question in the Kingdom. The regent,

<sup>7</sup> The assassination in the People's Assembly (*Narodna skupština*) occurred on June 20, 1928, when an assassination was carried out against the leaders and representatives of the Croatian Peasant's Party (HSS), including Stjepan Radić, Pavle Radić, Đuro Basarić, Ivan Pernar and Ivan Grandić. The assassination was carried out by a representative of the People's Radical Party (NRS), Puniša Račić.

Translation note: The JMO was a 'big tent' Muslim Party in Interwar Yugoslavia. It aimed to represent all Muslims in the state but especially represented the Bosnian Muslims/Bosniaks. Its politics largely aimed at the preservation of a Bosnian Muslim community amid Serb and Croat nationalization drives, as well as preserving a Bosnian administrative unit. The HSS was the most popular interwar party among the Croats, and something of a mass movement. It opposed unitarian politics within Yugoslavia and campaigned on a relatively populist platform, preferring a federal internal makeup of the new South Slavic state. For more information on both, see: Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia* (Cornell University Press, 1984), Ch. 'The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (359-377) and 'The Party of Radić' (226-248).

(since the 1934 Assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles), Prince Paul gave Serb politician Dragiša Cvetković the instruction to form a new government and instructed him to make an agreement with the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) leader, Dr. Vlatko Maček.

The agreement, signed on August 26, 1939, is known as the “Cvetković-Maček Agreement.” The agreement only masked the national question and meant the formation of a coalition government, as well as a Croatian Banovina. It meant that thirteen districts (*srezovi*) belonging to Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Croatian Banovina, while the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina remained in the Drina, Vrbas and Zeta banovinas, politically subordinated to Belgrade. Bosnian Muslim/Bosniak politicians took no part in the fashioning of the agreement, which partitioned Bosnia between Zagreb and Belgrade. The entirety of the Muslim population of Bosnia was against the Agreement, which led to the formation of the Movement for the Autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>8</sup> Muslim politicians proposed the forming of a “Bosnian Banovina.” The agreement fully revealed the centuries-long pretensions of Belgrade and Zagreb to erase Bosnia and Herzegovina as a historical and geographic whole, with the goal of solving the Serbo-Croatian national questions in Southeastern Europe. The Agreement was not fully carried out due to the Second World War spreading to Yugoslavia.

## Bosnia And Herzegovina in the Second World War

The Cvetković-Maček government signed the Tripartite Pact in Vienna on March 25, 1941. Only two days later, a group of generals, headed by Aviation General Dušan Simović, staged a coup d'état opposing the Yugoslav accession to the Pact. The coup was preceded by sizable popular protests at Yugoslavia joining the fascist alliance. The coup infuriated Hitler, who decided to suddenly attack Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941. Aside from Germany and Italy, other members of the Tripartite Pact, Hungary and Bulgaria took part in the attack. The Germans only allowed the Hungarian invasion on April 11, due to the dispute they had with Romania, over the Banat region of Yugoslavia. After a mere 12 days of war, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia capitulated.

Until the coup, Germany favored the preservation of Yugoslavia. Italy's official policy was identical. The events of March 27, 1941, changed the German and Italian outlooks. Declaring the decision to attack the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Hitler provided a general outline for her dismemberment and partition. The plan was edited and marked as the “Master Plan for the Administration of Yugoslav Territory” (*Generalplan zur Verwaltung des jugoslawischen Gebietes*). Follow-

<sup>8</sup> For more information, see: Begić, D. “Pokret za autonomiju Bosne i Hercegovine u uslovi-ma sporazuma Cvetković – Maček,” Prilozi nr. 2., Institut za istoriju Sarajevo, Sarajevo 1967., 177–185.

ing the outlines of the plan, the Chief of Staff of the High Command of the German Armed Forces, Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel produced the “Provisional Directions for the Partition of Yugoslavia,” and published them on April 12, 1941. Based on the directions and the Italian German negotiations in Vienna on April 21 and 22, 1941 (the Vienna Conference of Foreign Ministers of Germany and Italy, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Galeazzo Ciano), the Kingdom’s territory was partitioned. The conference also handled the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With Ribbentrop’s advocacy, it was decided that Bosnia should form the eastern border of the so-called Independent State of Croatia, (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH). The Ustasha (Croatian fascist) leadership justified the inclusion of Bosnia with the ideology of the Croatian Party of Rights (*Hrvatska stranka prava*, HSP), which considered Bosnia’s Muslims, in the words of party founder Ante Starčević (1823-1896) and Ustasha leader Pavelić, “the purest part of the Croatian people.” The Ustasha top brass saw Bosnia as “Eastern Croatia,” whose role was to strengthen the state integrity and unity of the so-called NDH. Conversely, Pavelić’s decided to move a part of the government, headed by vice-president Dr. Osman Kulenović from Zagreb to Banja Luka. The inclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the so-called NDH meant the forming of Ustasha organizations as stabilizing factors for the so-called NDH. To that end, the Ustasha leaders put forward notable officials, headed by Colonel Jure Francetić, who was named the Ustasha Head Commissioner for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Along with the formation of Ustasha organizations and civilian government, military formations too were being formed, including the Home Guard (*domobrani*), Ustasha Army and parts of Francetić’s own Black Legion (*Crna legija*), stationed in Eastern Bosnia.<sup>9</sup> Even though Hitler and Mussolini recognized the so-called NDH, they divided her into occupation zones. Hitler’s April 24, 1941, decision established a demarcation line between the Italian (southern) and German (northern) zones of occupation that passed through Bosnia and Herzegovina (via Bosanski Novi, Prijedor, Banja Luka, Jajce, Travnik, Sarajevo, Rudo, to the Montenegrin border.) Having come to power, the Ustasha began carrying out a genocidal policy against the Serbs, Jews and Roma, by introducing a series of racial laws reminiscent of the Nuremberg laws, placing the said groups outside legal protections. Starting in May 1941, mass slaughter, pogroms, looting and conversion of the Serb people began with the final goal of creating an ‘ethnically pure’ state.

With the implementation of the Ustasha genocidal policies, there was an armed rebellion in Bosnia. The Serb people in Bosnia and neighboring parts of Croatia were facing physical extermination. By August, the Ustasha killed around 200,000 Serbs.<sup>10</sup> In June 1941, there was an uprising of the Serb people in Eastern Herzegovina, in Gacko, Bileća and Stolac. NDH only established its rule in

9 Redžić, E., “Bosna i Hercegovina u Drugom svjetskom ratu,” Sarajevo, 1998., 392.

10 Ibid., 119–120.

Eastern Herzegovina following the signing of the Rome Accords with Italy on May 18, 1941, in which Italy allowed the NDH to govern territory within the Italian occupation zone. This uprising was quickly put down due to the military superiority of the Ustasha-Home Guard formations, led by general Vladimir Laxa, and the poor armaments of the rebels.<sup>11</sup> On June 28, 1941, General (Lieutenant Field Marshal) Laxa, on the order of Poglavnik Pavelić took over all the military and civilian administration on the territory of the Great Parishes of Hum and Dubrava. Until then, General Prpić commanded the operations against the Serb population.<sup>12</sup> The uprising was given marginal significance in Socialist Yugoslavia, as the uprising began before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (*Centralni komitet komunističke partije Jugoslavije*; CK KPJ) gave the signal to commence resistance, and as few communists took part in the uprising.<sup>13</sup> The departure of the Sisak Communists into the forests on June 22, 1941, was met with the same fate.<sup>14</sup> Following the defeat, an intermezzo followed, and another uprising sprung up at the end of July, but throughout all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both uprisings were infused with Serb nationalism, with displays of hatred towards the Muslims and Croats, whom the rebels considered the main culprits for their misfortunes. The uprising had two currents: one headed by the KPJ, which tried to control the rebellion by directing them away from Greater Serbian nationalism towards an antifascist, anti-occupation direction, and the other headed by the Chetniks, headed by then Royal Army Colonel Draža Mihailović. The latter's goal was the creation of a Greater Serbia. The influence of the Chetniks on the rebels was felt all throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially in Eastern Bosnia, due to the proximity of Serbia, as opposed to Herzegovina or the Bosnian Military Frontier/*Krajina*. Mihailović's officers appeared in Eastern Bosnia in larger numbers before, led by the Police Major Jezdimir Dangić, placing themselves in charge of rebel units.

A crisis struck the NOP (*Narodnooslobodilački pokret*; People's Liberation Movement) at the start of 1942, with Chetnik coups in Partisan units, leftist deviations, i.e. the transition to the second stage of the socialist revolution. It led to the extinguishing of the NOP in Herzegovina, while the NOP in Eastern Bosnia nearly failed amid Chetnik coups, and Ustasha-Chetnik agreements, allowing the latter rule over Eastern Bosnia.<sup>15</sup> Only the Birač National Liberation Detachment, and the newly formed 6<sup>th</sup> Eastern Bosnian brigade, housing the heads of the up-

11 Ibid., 128.

12 Marijan, D., "Lipanjski ustank u istočnoj Hercegovini 1941.," ČSP, no. 2., Zagreb 2003, 554–562.

13 Translation note: The Central Committee was the leading body of the (Yugoslav) Communist Party, handling all key decisions and guiding party activities.

14 Ibid, 572–573.

15 For more, see: Hurem, R., "Sporazumi o saradnji između državnih organa NDH-a i nekih četničkih odreda u istočnoj Bosni," Prilozi, no. 2, Sarajevo 1966., 285–325.

rising in Eastern Bosnia remained in operation. By April 1943, the Brigade was under the direct command of the Supreme Headquarters for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Bosnian Regional Committee of the KPJ moved with the unit (*Pokrajinski komitet KPJ za BiH*, PK KPJ BiH).<sup>16</sup> With the arrival of the Supreme Headquarters and brigades under its command to the Bosnian Krajina, a vast free territory was carved out, with Bihać as its capital. Of special significance for the NOP's development was the fact that the Krajina housed a population of around 100,000 Muslims, forming majorities of the Cazin, Velika Kladuša and parts of the Bihać and the Bosanska Krupa districts. With the creation of the Bihać Republic, and the First Session of AVNOJ (*Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*; Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia), a new page in Muslim-Partisan relations was opened, which led to more active Muslim participation in the NOP. This was the first time that the NOP could develop its reach in a territory inhabited mostly by Muslim populations. All political leaders, from local to central, realized the importance of this part of the Bosnian Krajina for amassing Muslims in the NOP.<sup>17</sup> The credit for more significant Muslim participation in the NOP is to Nurija Pozderac, a reputable JMO politician, senator and vice president of the Yugoslav People's Assembly. At the First Session of AVNOJ, held in Bihać, on November 26 and 27, 1942, Pozderac was chosen as one of the vice presidents of the AVNOJ's executive committee. With the arrival of the Supreme Headquarters to the Bosnian Krajina, things had changed. ZAVNOBIH and AVNOJ then returned and affirmed the undisputed statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a republic of equal peoples, in the federation. Thus, ZAVNOBIH and AVNOJ, as well as the military victories that the NOP secured, were the conditions for the mass accession of the Bosnian Muslims into the NOP. The fact many Muslim intellectuals, who were not members of the KPJ, also joined the NOP contributed to higher turnouts. Among them were, aside from the aforementioned Nurija Pozderac, Sulejman Filipović, Hamdija Ćemerlić, Muhamed Sudžuka and others.

## The Founding of ZAVNOBIH and the Affirmation of Bosnia And Herzegovina and her Statehood

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, concurrent to its antifascist struggle, carried out a revolution. The crux of toppling the old social and political order, while building a new system of government were the People's Liberation Committees and Antifascist Councils of People's Liberation. Founding Partisan bodies of government went hand in hand with the strengthening of the People's Liberation Movement from the start of the uprising (July 1941). Parallel to the Partisan cap-

16 Sušić, O., "Bošnjaci i Narodnooslobodilački pokret." Forthcoming, 9–10.

17 Redžić, E., "Muslimansko autonomaštvo i 13. SS divizija," *Svjetlost*, Sarajevo 1987, 109.

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ture of territory, local bodies of government were established, as the seeds of new state administration. The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the organizational eyes of the People's Liberation movement was divided into three regions: Bosnian Krajina, Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Antifascist struggle, significant changes occurred in political relations within Bosnia. The antifascist struggle against the occupation and collaborators could only succeed under the condition that all citizens of Bosnia, and all that inhabit it, were convinced that it would bring them freedom and equality. That was the deciding factor that directed the political thought and opinion in Bosnia toward joint, and not partial ends. The idea that Bosnia and her inhabitants, all the peoples that live in Bosnia, could only be equal under the condition that Bosnia would be equal and equitable to the other states emerging from the National Liberation Struggle. Hence, the idea that the battle against fascism, and the battle for the equality of the citizens and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was possible only if a Bosnian state was renewed, and all her people equal. That political platform had absolute and unwavering support of all antifascist forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the representatives of her peoples. On November 25, 1943, in Mrkonjić Grad, the First Session of ZAVNOBIH was held, renewing the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a joint state of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims (Bosniaks).<sup>18</sup>

The founding of ZAVNOBIH under those conditions was a historically logical and legally wholly legitimate act of stately and legal continuity, and the political identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>19</sup> The political identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina was confirmed and defined with the establishment of ZAVNOBIH. The decisions that were made then had not just key constitutional influence, but their influence was felt at the international level.

ZAVNOBIH was founded in extraordinary circumstances, particularly during wartime. The state of war. The state of war no doubt complicated establishing, and achieving components of governmental rule, which would have functioned without issues in normal conditions. Still, it would be erroneous to diminish the influence and role of ZAVNOBIH as a body of government. ZAVNOBIH was organized in conditions when the uprising of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia was widespread, when significant liberated territories were created.<sup>20</sup>

18 Čekić, S., Sušić, O., "ZAVNOBiH je društvena, historijska i naučna činjenica." *Pregled časopis za društvena pitanja*, no. 3, Sarajevo 2018., 22.

19 Ibid, 18.

20 Borovčanin, D., "Prilog razmatranju pravnog značaja dokumenata Prvog i Drugog zasjedanja ZAVNOBiH-a," *Prilozi*, no. 4., Sarajevo 1968., 424.

It is important to stress that the position of Bosnia within former Yugoslavia was the subject of extensive discussion, especially in the framework of AVNOJ. Many were against Bosnia being given status of an equal federal unit. They believed that Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have a *core* people/nation, and as such, should exist merely as an autonomous province. That idea was discussed directly before the Second Session of AVNOJ, and in preparation for the Founding Assembly of ZAVNOBiH.

The struggle for Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent federal unit (republic) was led in difficult conditions of occupation, collaboration, genocide, People's Liberation Struggle and the liberation of the country. The leadership of the KPJ "had no clear stance" on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the (future) Yugoslav state, unlike the forming of the five national states (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia), on which "there was no doubt." In the case of Bosnia, "there was no clear position" of how "to organize the country." "It was clear that it should be autonomous, but in what way, that was not yet clear." That question was discussed particularly before the Second Session of AVNOJ, in preparation for its execution, as in preparation for the founding Assembly of ZAVNOBiH. There were "many discussions about the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Yugoslav federation." That significant question ("Solving the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina"), was subject of a "lively debate."

There were "many proposals" for the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Yugoslav Federation. In the first projected decision of AVNOJ about the future ordering of Yugoslavia, based on the Soviet model, "it was suggested that there would be five federal units – Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro, while Bosnia was proposed as an autonomous region," and not as an equal federal unit. Above all, "autonomy within the Republic of Serbia" was the leading idea. That attitude, promoted by Moša Pijade, Milovan Đilas and Sreten Živojić, was based exclusively on the national principle ("[have] as many nations as there are federal units; five national republics for the five Yugoslav nations – Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins"). Since "there was no Bosnian nation, there could be no Bosnian federal unit, but merely an autonomous region of Bosnia and Herzegovina." It meant, in essence, the non-recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a people, i.e., the Muslims, which was in contradiction with the official practice of the People's Liberation Struggle. The position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the new federal Yugoslavia was discussed at length ("extensive and long discussions") between the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The regional Committee of the KPJ for Bosnia,), unanimously and decisively supported the position that Bosnia and Herzegovina should have the status of an equal federal unit in a federal Yugoslavia, based on their "Liberation Struggle, and the unity of the Serbs, Croats and

Muslims created in that struggle,” great civilian victims and material suffering. The commitment, based on the belief of the PK KPJ for BiH, for the “autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina” as a special equal unit within the Yugoslav community of states (from mid-September 1943). Moša Pijade, Milovan Đilas and Sreten Žujović still held that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be an autonomous region, and not a federal unit. Since there was no consensus whether it would join Serbia or Croatia, and still “insisting on the principle of a mono-national family of federal units,” they, “expressed the opinion that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be an autonomous region, tied to federal institutions.<sup>21</sup> The position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the federation would be similar to other federal units, perhaps with fewer prerogatives. That position was again discussed at length. Debate on the concept of Bosnia and Herzegovina “as a federal unit within a federal Yugoslavia,” according to Avdo Humo, “started in the first days of November 1943, as part of the Regional Committee KPJ for BiH,” (Rodoljub Čolaković, Avdo Humo) “with more respectable urban politicians from Eastern Bosnia in Jajce, where the Supreme Headquarters and the CK KPJ were.” When they got to Jajce, they received “a draft of a decision which constituted as an autonomous region, directly tied to the Yugoslav federation.” That draft was in direct opposition with the political platform of the Liberation Struggle, and hence it was discussed with certain members of the Central Committee (Moša Pijade, Sreten Žujović, Milovan Đilas and Edvard Kardelj). Members of the CK KPJ, apart from Kardelj, who agreed with Čolaković and Humo, believed Bosnia cannot be a republic, as “there was no Bosnian nation, and that the republic was a national category. Besides, they were suspicious of defining the Muslims as a nation, believing that even under Socialism, the Muslims could develop as a nation.”<sup>22</sup>

Olga Humo (the wife of Avdo Humo), typing up the materials in preparation for the Second Session of AVNOJ, was familiar with the suggestions around Bosnia and Herzegovina in a future common state. With that in mind, she said how Avdo Humo,

came from Eastern Bosnia with Rodoljub Čolaković to the AVNOJ session. The first conversation the two had was with Moša Pijade, who was preparing the proposals and materials. There were two proposals on the status of Bosnia. The first was that Bosnia would be partitioned between Serbia and Croatia, with Đilas pro-

21 Čekić, S., Sušić, O., “ZAVNOBiH je društvena, historijska i naučna *činjenica*,” 8–9.

22 Čolaković, R., “Pravi odgovor čija je Bosna i Hercegovina,” in AVNOJ I NARODNOOSLOBO-DILAČKA BORBA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI (1942. – 1943.),” Materijali sa naučnog skupa održanog u Sarajevu 22. i 23. novembra 1973. Beograd, 1974., 16; Čolaković, R., “Zapis i oslobođenjačkog rata”, V, Sarajevo 1966., 71–72; Borovčanin, D., Ibid., 589; Redžić, E., “Bosna i Hercegovina...”, 433; Bandžović, S., “Bosna i Hercegovina u raspravama i odlukama Drugog zasjedanja AVNOJ – a,” Prilozi, 31, Sarajevo, 2002., 186–187; Ibid., “Titov odnos prema izgradnji bosansko hercegovačke državnosti (1943. 1945.)”, Zbornik radova TITO I BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA, Savez društava Tito u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo 2006., Ibid., 106–107, 110.

posing that Eastern Herzegovina go to Montenegro. The second proposal, defended by Moša Pijade, was that BiH should become an autonomous region. However, the question remained open as to whom the region would go to – Serbia or Croatia. The Serbs wanted it for themselves, and the Croats held that it should go to them, especially considering how Serbia was envisioned with two autonomous regions.<sup>23</sup>

The delegation of the PK KPJ for BiH rejected the said proposals about the future ordering of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Aside from Edvard Kardelj's support of the arguments of the PK KPJ for BiH, Pijade, Žujović and Đilas still supported their position. Hence, the leadership of the PK KPJ BiH went to Tito, as Kardelj had suggested, and expressed their dissatisfaction, disagreement and arguments. The conversation with Tito took four hours. Avdo Humo took the occasion to speak about the historical, geographic, economic and ethnic reasons for Bosnia and Herzegovina “as a separate republic.” “Due to all the said reasons,” CK KPJ and the Supreme Commander Josip Broz Tito agreed with the proposals made by Avdo Humo and Rodoljub Čolaković, and accepted the idea and arguments of the PK KPJ BiH of a Bosnia and Herzegovina as an equal federal unit within a new Yugoslavia.” “That solution was finally accepted and Bosnia becoming a sixth unit of the Yugoslav federation was written into the proposed Decision on the Ordering of Yugoslavia in a Federated Manner,” after which “they immediately proceeded with convening the Assembly of the National Antifascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”<sup>24</sup>

On November 25, 1943, at the founding session of the Assembly, the National Antifascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) was constituted and elected in Mrkonjić Grad. It was the highest (general) political representative of the antifascist People’s Liberation Movement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a true representative of the people, the first true people’s parliament, which functioned as the national government, as its highest body in Bosnia.<sup>25</sup> 247 delegates from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina attended the founding assembly. The importance and role of ZAVNOBiH is easily visible from the very date of its founding, which is celebrated today as Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Statehood Day on November 25.

ZAVNOBiH had three sessions:

1. First Session – November 25 to 26, 1943, in Mrkonjić Grad.
2. Second Session – June 30 to July 2, 1944, in Sanski Most.
3. Third Session – April 26 to 28, 1945, in Sarajevo.

23 Čolaković, R., “Pravi odgovor...,” 17; Ibid., “Zapis...,” ; Borovčanin, D., Ibid., 589; Filandra, Š., Ibid., 187; Bandžović, S., “Bosna i Hercegovina u raspravama...,” 201.

24 Čekić, S., Sušić, O., Ibid., 12.

25 Ibid., 12–13.

Its functions between sessions were handled by the Presidency, as the highest executive form of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The founding of ZAVNOBIH was initiated by the Conclusion of the First Session of AVNOJ, the highest representative political body of the NOB, held on November 26 and 27, 1942 in Bihać, to form National (*zemaljska*) Antifascist Councils in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Sandžak and Macedonia. It was to be constituted through networks of People's Liberation Committees, which by then covered more than two thirds of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>26</sup>

The ZAVNOBIH Resolution<sup>27</sup> is the most important document of the first session of ZAVNOBIH, which condemned the exiled government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia for collaborating with the occupiers. The peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina renounced their consent for the government and the King to represent them and asked from the Allies to withdraw support from the government and the King. They also expressed the wish for a re-organized Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and ethnicities, and the creation of a new democratic Federal Yugoslavia. In it, all peoples would have fully guaranteed equality and special provisions that a liberated Bosnia would be a free, fraternal state, with full rights and equality between the Serbs, Muslims and Croats. It stated how the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina “want their land, which is not exclusively Serb, *nor Croat nor Muslim*, but Serb *and* Muslim *and* Croat, to be free and fraternal, in which full equality and equity of all Serbs, Muslims and Croats would be secured.” The Peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina would also participate in the building of a People's Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.<sup>28</sup>

Decisions and other documents adopted at the Second session of ZAVNOBIH in Sanski Most on June 30 to July 2, 1944, had a wider significance for the building of Bosnian statehood and the further development of the people's government. ZAVNOBIH only became the highest body of popular sovereignty and the bearer of Bosnian statehood at the second session. The legal basis for basis for the legitimate decision-making of ZAVNOBIH, as the highest body of government and people's rule in federal Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed from the Law of the Organization and Operation of AVNOJ and the National Council of the Constituent Federal States of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, which was adopted by the AVNOJ presidency between April 4 and 12, 1944.<sup>29</sup>

ZAVNOBIH, “based on the freely expressed will of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in keeping with the decisions made at the second session of AVNOJ on November 29-30, 1943, in Jajce,” was constituted as the highest leg-

26 Ibid., 13.

27 ZAVNOBIH, “Dokumenti 1943–1944”, I, Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta, Sarajevo, 1968., 69–73.

28 Čekić, S., Sušić, O., Ibid., 19.

29 Borovčanin, D., Ibid., 427.

islative and executive body of popular representation for the republic. It became the highest body of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an equal federal unit within the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. The People's Liberation Boards, as bodies of ZAVNOBIH became "bodies of state government and as such, bearers of Bosnian Herzegovinian statehood." It was decided that the ZAVNOBiH Presidency should handle executive functions too.<sup>30</sup>

The most important document adopted at the Second Session of ZAVNOBIH was the "Declaration of the Rights of Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>31</sup> The declaration was ahead of its time, and passed four years before the UN's Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Declaration of the Rights of Citizens from Sanski Most, passed on July 1, 1944, was the basis for the future constitution of the People's Republic of Bosnia (NRBiH; *Narodna Republika Bosna i Hercegovina*), passed in 1946. Unfortunately, the Declaration was quickly "removed" by the communist government for its universalist messaging.

The construction of the Bosnian Herzegovinian statehood was intensified, especially after the Second Session of ZAVNOBIH, and at the start of 1945, as it entered a higher phase of organization. The process accelerated with the liberation of Sarajevo, on April 6, 1945, where the Presidency of ZAVNOBIH and the other bodies of government of Bosnia and Herzegovina were. The third and the final session of ZAVNOBiH was held in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, between April 26 and 28, 1945. The session transformed ZAVNOBiH into the People's Assembly (*Narodna skupština*) of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency became the Presidency of the People's Assembly. The Presidency carried out legislative functions between the sessions of the Assembly, and the executive functions given to it as the Presidency of the federal state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as the representative of the state and popular sovereignty. The Law on the People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina was passed as well, which conferred the functions of the supreme executive and commanding authority of state to it. It answered to the People's Assembly, specifically to its Presidency.<sup>32</sup> The Law of Oaths of People's Deputies of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law of the People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina were the basis of electing the first government of the republic.

## Conclusion

In World War II, ZAVNOBiH renewed the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It confirmed her historical, political, legal individuality as a state, and formed a

30 Čekić, S., Sušić, O., *Ibid.*, 16–17.

31 ZAVNOBiH, "Dokumenti 1943–1944," I, 233–23.

32 Babić, A. "Mjesto i uloga ZAVNOBiH-a u izgradnji državnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Istorijске perspektive Republike Bosne i Hercegovine." *Prilozi*, no. 4, Sarajevo 1968, 329.

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republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the most significant legacy of the antifascist struggle. Even though the political and military leadership of the NOP – in its documents, aside from Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians, spoke to the Muslims as a people, it did not recognize the Muslims as a political people. Hence, until the mid-1906s-1970s, they did not have a politically recognized status of a nation/people.

ZAVNOBiH and the renewal of Bosnian Herzegovinian statehood are the key dates for modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the basis of, her complete independence today. ZAVNOBiH is the proof that in Bosnia, conviviality of her people and citizens is not just possible, but also the logical outcome, and that their common state can function for the better of all and with great results. Therefore, ZAVNOBiH is the most significant date of our past, the date that confirmed the millennium of historical existence of Bosnia and provides the only model according to which Bosnia can develop further and allow all her citizens and peoples full equality and freedom.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the postwar period (1945 to 1991), built on the legacies of the People's Liberation Movement and the Antifascist struggle, achieving significant economic, social, political, scientific, educational and cultural development. It secured, among others, the national affirmation of the Muslims, despite the fact that for two decades, it was insisted that there were only two peoples/nations (Serbs and Croats) and Muslims (as a religious, not national group). The period of Bosnia's renaissance enabled the establishing of an independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the February 29 and March 1, 1992, referendum in exceedingly complex conditions. With the will of most citizens, it was decided that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a sovereign and independent state. With that, and in accordance with thousand-years of existence, her antifascist struggle, democratic decisions of ZAVNOBiH and AVNOJ, and prosperous socialist development, Bosnia became internationally recognized and attained complete state sovereignty and international sovereignty. Political-administrative borders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as one of the six federal units of the SFJR, became borders of an independent country.

The independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 was merely the logical result of what the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina expressed, and for what ZAVNOBiH left important political and constitution-legal bases. The legacies of the People's Liberation Movement and the antifascist struggle in the Second World War were important foundations of the Defensive-Liberation war of 1992 to 1995, for the preservation of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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BOSNIA *Preporod* N  
STUDIES  
SARAJEVO  
1

\*EDIN RAMIĆ

The Fall of the Medieval Bosnian  
Kingdom and Transition to  
Ottoman Rule

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Review article

*pages 76-96*

## Summary

*The article presents the process of the gradual fall of the medieval Bosnian Kingdom to Ottoman rule. Before 1430, the Ottomans had no permanent holdings nor permanent presence in Bosnia. However, already in 1448, the Ottomans seized a part of Bosnia, forming an administrative unit called the Bosnian Frontier (Bosansko krajiste), or the Hodidjed and Saray-ovasi Vilayet in the oldest known Ottoman census from 1455.*

*Ottoman rule in Bosnia spread swiftly after the fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459, as all the roads to the Bosnian heartland were open. Coconscious of the dangers, the Bosnian King sought protection from all sides, and especially from the Pope, coronated in 1461 in Jajce with a papally provided crown, signaling his anti-Ottoman foreign policy. The following year (1462), having cancelled his tribute to the Sultan, he provided the Ottomans with a *casus belli* to attack Bosnia.*

*The conquest of Bosnia in 1463 was of major significance to the Ottoman state. Not only was the final significant Balkan state toppled, but above all, as Bosnia provided the Ottomans with an exceptional strategical position in their wars against the Kingdom of Hungary. Despite its internal weakness, Hungary was a formidable opponent on land, much like the Venetian Republic was on sea.*

**Key Words:** *Bosnian Kingdom, Ottomans, Bosnian Frontier, Sanjak of Bosnia, Sanjak of Herzegovina, Vilayet, Srebrenik Banate, Jajce Banate*

## Introduction

Prior to 1430, the Ottomans had no permanent presence nor holdings in Bosnia. However, in September 1430, the Bosnian King Tvrtko II complained to the Venetian Republic that the Ottomans conquered a handful of his cities, as he did not paid tribute, so he begged the Republic to lend him 32,000 ducats, to pay the dues and liberate the cities.<sup>1</sup>

Following the royal letter, there was no mention of Ottoman incursion into Bosnia, nor the presence of their rule up to 1432, when Ishak Bey made a brief incursion into Croatia through Bosnia, but returned quickly. The following year too, the Ottomans were in Bosnia, and in the summer of 1434, Ishak-bey once

<sup>1</sup> Jireček, Konstatin, *Istorijsa Srba*, II, Beograd, 1952., 358; Čorović, Vladimir, *Historija Bosne*, Beograd, 1940., 437; Skarić, Vladislav, *Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austrougarske okupacije*, Sarajevo, 1937., 35.

The cited authors claim that Hodidjed and Vrhbosna were among the seized cities, while Hazim Šabanović (*Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo, 1981., 27) stressed that Hodidjed was certainly one of the cities, and maybe Višegrad as well, but not Vrhbosna, as the city did not exist then.

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**The Fall of the Medieval Bosnian Kingdom and Transition to Ottoman Rule**

again stayed longer. So too in 1435 and 1436, the Ottomans raided into Bosnia.<sup>2</sup> Chronologically, the next news of Ottoman presence in Bosnia emerges in 1438, and spring 1439, during their incursion into Serbia.<sup>3</sup> During the temporary occupation of the Despotate (1439-1444), they are mentioned not just in Srebrenica, but in its surroundings in Mileševac and Foča,<sup>4</sup> and they likely also held Hodidjed. After this period, there are no news of Ottoman presence in the sources until spring 1448.<sup>5</sup>

## The Bosnian Frontier

The Ottomans made an incursion into Bosnia again in Spring 1448, divided into two groups. They did not spare the domains of the Herzeg (henceforth Duke) Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, pillaging Drijeva. They certainly captured Hodidjed from him, which they no longer had to leave due to their successes in Serbia. Thereafter, Ottoman rule in Vrhbosna was permanent.<sup>6</sup> The same year saw the Ottoman census of the Hodidjed and Saray-ovasi vilayet (N.B. *vilayet* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century denoted subdivisions of a sanjak, not the highest Ottoman administrative unit, i.e. beylerbeylik/eyalet, and from 1867, *vilayet*).<sup>7</sup> The same year saw the first mention of the voivode of Vrhbosna. Based on this information, the Ottomans already in 1448, and certainly before 1453, in the occupied parts of Bosnia, formed an

2 Božić, Ivan, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Beograd, 1952., 62; Dinić, Mihailo, *Zemlje hercega Sv. Save*, Glas SAN, LXXXII, Beograd, 1940., 221; Čorović, V., *Historija Bosne*, 408-; Jireček, K., *Istorija Srba*, 361.

3 Ćirković, Sima, *Istorija srednjovjekovne Bosanske države*, Beograd, 1964., 271-272.

4 Dinić, M., *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni*, I dio, Beograd, 1955., 75-76.

5 It is assumed that the Ottomans occupied some Bosnian towns, namely Hodidjed and Vrhbosna, and that they remained in Hodidjed until 1434, when Matko Talovac expelled them, but they returned there next year and fortified their positions permanently, from when permanent Ottoman dominion over Vrhbosna dates (Čorović, V., *Historija Bosne*, 448, 454.; Jireček, K., *Istorija Srba*, 358; Skarić, V., *Sarajevo i njegova okolina*, 35). However, there are also different interpretations, that characterize the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a time of constant Ottoman incursion into Bosnia. Dinić, based on a critical analysis of the same sources and three charters, not considered by previous researchers, suspected Ottoman rule in Hodidjed and the Parish of Vrhbosna before 1451. He does not exclude the possibility that they ruled it periodically before (Dinić, M., *Zemlje Hercega Sv. Save*, 218-). Hazim Šabanović too, analyzing both new and familiar sources, affirms Dinić's position that there was no permanent Ottoman rule over Bosnia until spring 1448. (More in Šabanović, Hazim, *Pitanje turske vlasti u Bosni do pohoda Mehmeda II 1463.* g., Godišnjak Istoriskog društva BiH, VII, Sarajevo, 1955., 37-)

6 The Parish of Vrhbosna is mentioned for the first time in known sources in 1244, and the town of Vrhbosna (or Vrhbosanje) in 1379. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and in the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the parish was ruled by the Jablanić family, and later by the said Pavlović family, who belonged to the most powerful strata of feudal lords in Bosnia. (Kreševljaković, Hamdija, *Esnafi i obrti u BiH (1463-1878.)*, Izabraba djela II, Sarajevo, 1991., 7)

7 This summary Ottoman defter is the oldest cadastral survey of any part of Bosnia (Bosnian Frontier), which was administered by Isa Bey Ishaković (Šabanović, Hazim, *Bosansko krajiste*, Godišnjak Istoriskog društva BiH, Sarajevo, 1957., 177).

administrative unit, dubbed today the *Bosnian Frontier*, and in the oldest known census (1455), Hodidjed, and Saray-ovasi vilayets.<sup>8</sup> The name *Saray-ovasi (Saray)* is mentioned first in the said 1455 census, but not denoting the name Sarajevo, but denoting the vilayet/entire parish of Vrhbosna.<sup>9</sup> This enclave was called the Hodidjed once in the census, and Saray-ovasi the second time. The census covers more than 80 inhabited and uninhabited villages of the Vrhbosna Parish.<sup>10</sup>

The said census shows that the Ottomans even in 1455 did not liquidate local feudalism in the Bosnian Frontier, nor did the implement the Sipahi-Timar system in the entirety of Vrhbosna. There were no Ottoman religious and religious institutions yet. There were no more than two-three cases of Islamization. Vrhbosna still did not have its own qadi (Sharia judged), and many notable places were held the Pavlović noble family, the old lords of this region. It all points to the fact that Ottoman rule over Vrhbosna in 1455 was fresh and that it was not much older than the census itself. The territorial core of the Bosnian Frontier, or the Hodidjed Vilayet was at first centered on the city and its surroundings. Hence, this Vilayet was likely initially called Hodidjed, after the main fortification in the region. Hodidjed was garrisoned by 23 men, who had timars in the Sarajevo fields and surrounding hills, making the Bosnian Frontier stretch throughout the entirety of the Vrhbosna Parish from the beginnings of Ottoman rule.<sup>11</sup>

The legal position of all the settlements of the Bosnian Frontier was not the same throughout, nor was its entire territory ruled by the same feudal and social orders. In a few settlements of the frontier, there was still some form of government by the local feudal order. Those settlements were still dominated by their old lords, the Pavlovićs, who paid the Ottomans tribute annually. In the other, greater portion of the frontier, fully Ottoman suzerainty and feudal order dominated. Aside from the two, the Bosnian Frontier had villages with diarchies. The diarchic system, which existed in the vilayet in 1455, was maintained likely all up to 1463. Ottoman rule over Bosnia spread rapidly after the fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459, when all roads to the Bosnian interior were opened. With the fall of the Despotate, the Ottomans used Vrhbosna to stage raids into the Bosnian Royal

<sup>8</sup> The term Bosnian Frontier denoted the territory ruled by the Ottomans from the beginning of their permanent rule of the Vrhbosna Parish (1448) until the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom and the founding of the Sandžak of Bosnia (1463) (Šabanović, H., *Bosansko krajište*, 181)

<sup>9</sup> The name Sarajevo, used for the newly founded city, is mentioned first in 1477, in a waqf deed of the Sanjak-bey at the time, Ayas Pasha/Bey, written in Arabic. In Bosnian, the name of the city is encountered for the first time in the letter of the Bosnian Sanjak-bey, Firdus Bey to the Ragusans on March 7, 1507. The name is a Slavicized version of the Turkish *saray-ovasi* (inn-field), as it was noted in Isa Bey's waqf deed as the place where his endowment would be founded (Imamović, Mustafa, *Gradska kultura Bošnjaka*, u Bošnjaci i islam, Sarajevo, 1998., 121).

<sup>10</sup> Šabanović, Hazim, *Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva*, Naučno društvo BiH, knj. XIII, Sarajevo, 1960., 82.

<sup>11</sup> Šabanović, H., *Bosansko krajište*, 182–183.

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domains and into Herzegovina.<sup>12</sup> On November 18, 1459, the Ottomans torched the Mileševa monastery in the Herzeg's lands and disturbed the entire region up to the Ragusan borders. Soon after, Višegrad fell, which already at the beginning of 1462 had its own qadi. The Ottomans likely conquered it in 1458, when they attacked the Serbian Despotate.<sup>13</sup> They also certainly held the Romanija region before Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror's campaign against Bosnia (1463).

Ottoman rule spread from the Bosnian Frontier to the key mining roads, Fojnica and Kreševo. The Frontier was administered by voivodes of the Skopje frontierman, Isa Bey Ishaković (İshakoğlu Isa Bey), with broad military jurisdiction. The first voivode of Vrhbosna (Skender-bey), is mentioned in 1455.<sup>14</sup> His court was in Hodidjed, the main fortress, or in Vrhbosanje, the main marketplace in the parish, mentioned first between 1461-1462, as the *kasaba/qasbah Saray-ovasi*, and for the second time in 1469 under the name Trgovište (marketplace).<sup>15</sup> Next to Vrhbosanje, the Ottomans began building their own settlements. The settlement's foundations were laid by Isa Bey Ishaković, as the voivode of the so-called 'Western Reaches' (*Zapadnih strana*). Before February 1462, he built a mosque in the name of Sultan Mehmet II (The Emperor's Mosque) and built a bridge to it over the Miljacka River.<sup>16</sup> Next to the mosque, he built a bathhouse, waterworks and a castle (*saraj*) farther out. Near the bridge, he built a sizable caravanserai, dubbed Kolobara, and many stores around it, as well as many mills on the Rivers Miljacka and Koševa.<sup>17</sup> He endowed all these institutions in February 1462.<sup>18</sup>

## The Fall of the Bosnian Kingdom and the Founding of the Sanjak of Bosnia

With the occupation of the Despotate, it became clear that Bosnia was the direct goal of future Ottoman conquests.<sup>19</sup> Aware of the dangers, the Bosnian King sought aid from all powers, and especially the Pope, whose crown he used in his coronation in Jajce in 1461, clearly showing his anti-Ottoman foreign policy.<sup>20</sup>

12 Živković, Pavo, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti Bosne i Huma*, Osijek, 2002., 82.

13 At the end of Summer 1458, the Ottomans mostly conquered the Serbian Despotate. All that was left was its capital, which was conquered the following year. (*Istorijski srpskog naroda*, II, 308)

14 Šabanović, H., *Pitanje turske vlasti u Bosni do pohoda Mehmeda II* 1463.g., GID BiH, VII, Sarajevo, 1955.50.

15 Imamović, M., *Historija Bošnjaka*, 107.

16 Today's mosque was built in 1565/66. (Kemura, S., *Javne muslimanske građevine u Sarajevu*, GZM u BiH, XX, 1908., 475–512)

17 Kreševljaković, Hamdija, *Esnafi i obrti u BiH (1463–1878.)*, Izabrana djela II, Sarajevo, 1991.8.

18 Šabanović, Hazim, *Dvije najstarije vakuftname u Bosni*, POF, II, Sarajevo, 1951., 5–33.

19 Sultan Mehmed II conquered the Serbian capital of Smederevo on June 20, 1459. (Ivić, Aleksa, *Istorijski Srbi u Ugarskoj*, Zagreb, 1914., 5)

20 *Istorijski srpskog naroda*, II, 392; Benković, Ambrozije, *Tuzlansko područje negda i sada, Županija – Đakovo*, 1971., 70.

The following year (1462), having cancelled his tribute to the Sultan, he gave the Ottomans a *casus belli* to attack Bosnia, while worsening his position towards Hungary, which never renounced its claims on Bosnia.<sup>21</sup> When he realized his isolation, the King tried to avoid war with the Ottomans, asking for a 15 year truce, but the Imperial Divan already made invasion plans and preparations for war.<sup>22</sup> Already in February 1463, one Ottoman force broke into Herzegovina, with the goal to instate Vladislav as a puppet ruler, and create chaos in Herzegovina to make her unable to assist Bosnia actively. This maneuver was carried out by Isa Bey Ishaković with his frontiersmen. To make their plans in Bosnia more feasible, the Ottomans promised the Royal envoys a truce, and then immediately set off to Bosnia to preempt the defense preparations.<sup>23</sup>

Through Skopje, Kosovo and Sjenica, the Ottomans descended on the Drina and at the start of May 1463 arrived in the domains of the Pavlovićs and the Kovačevićs, who surrendered without resistance, as they heard a truce was made. From the Drina, the Sultan departed to Upper Bosnia and marched quickly to the well-fortified town of Bobovac, which the Ottoman vanguard reached on May 19, and the Sultan the day after. The commander of Bobovac, the Duke/voivode Radak surrendered the city on the third day of the siege. The swift and unexpected fall of Bobovac brought great commotion to the land and demoralized the garrisons of other towns. Under Bobovac, the Sultan struck Travnik through Visoko, and then Jajce, which surrendered without struggle.<sup>24</sup> The King, escaping to Croatia, hid away in the fortress of Ključ.<sup>25</sup> The Ottoman vanguard, led by Mahmud Pasha, soon followed and after a four-day siege, opened negotiations with the King and guaranteed his life and freedom should he surrender. The King capitulated, along with his uncle Radivoje. When he was taken to the Sultan in Jajce, he forced the

21 It was known already in Spring 1462 that the Imperial Diwan made the decision to conquer Bosnia. (Nilević, Boris, *O moralnom stanju Bosne pred 1463. godinu*, POF, XL, Sarajevo, 1990., 121)

22 Nilević, Boris, *Učešće vojvode Petra i kneza Nikole Pavlovića u političkom životu srednjovjekovne Bosne*, Prilozi, XVI, Sarajevo, 1980., 66.

23 All options to defend the Kingdom, especially on the military-political side were exhausted. In the Bosnian Kingdom, an agreement was made for joint action against the Ottomans, however, calls for aid from neighbors were not heeded. Ragusa, Hungary, Venice, the Croatian Ban Sperančić and Skanderbeg remained passive. Papal aid was reduced to moral support in the form of golden bull of April 10, 1463, through the Archbishop of Split, declaring a *crusade* should the Ottomans attack Bosnia. (Škrivanić, Gavro, *Vojničke pripreme srednjovjekovne bosanske države pred propast 1463. godine*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH, XIV, Sarajevo, 1963., 227.)

24 *Istorijski srpskog naroda*, II, 394–395.

25 Živković, Pavlo, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti Bosne i Huma*, Osijek, 2002., 83.

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King to order the castellans to surrender, and executed him promptly, together with Pavlović and Kovačević.<sup>26</sup> The fate of the Bosnian Kingdom was sealed.<sup>27</sup>

The Sultan left Bosnia with most of his forces in mid-June 1463, following the same road he arrived.<sup>28</sup> Before departing, he sent one detachment, headed by Mahmud Pasha, to help the army active in Herzegovina. The headquarters of that army, on July 22, was in Nevesinje. From there, the army went through Foča (July 2), quickly into the interior, and on July 11 was near Ras, meaning Duke Stjepan could already begin sweeping his land of Ottoman presence.<sup>29</sup> He quickly managed to liberate many of his cities, and Ključ and Ljubuški in particular were taken before mid-July 1463.<sup>30</sup>

Conquering Bosnia was very significant for the Ottoman state, not just because it managed to topple the last significant state in the Balkans, but because Bosnia made an excellent staging post for wars with the Kingdom of Hungary. Despite its internal weakness, it was a strong adversary on land, as the Venetian republic was on sea. With Bosnia's capitulation, the Ottomans threatened both adversaries. The lands conquered from the Bosnian King, and the Pavlović and Kovačević lands, as well parts of Herzegovina were turned into vilayets, united with existing ones in Rashka and Bosnia, making the entire territory into the Sanjak of Bosnia.<sup>31</sup>

The first sanjak-bey of Bosnia was Mehmed Bey Minetović (Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey), who until then, was the 'lord of the Serbian lands'.<sup>32</sup> The first seat of the sanjak-bey of the Bosnian Sanjak until Fall 1463 was likely Jajce, and then later Sarajevo. The initial territory of the Bosnian Sanjak was made up of:

- a) Earlier Ottoman vilayets and domains in old Raška: Zvečan, Jeleč, Ras, Šjenica, Moravica, and Nikšić, all of which were turned into eponymous

26 Mehmed II's invasion of Bosnia did not last longer than 14 days. As the Bosnian King was captured at the start of June, and the war began on May 19/20, 1463. (Klaić, Vjekoslav, *Poviest Bosne do propasti kraljevstva*, Zagreb, 1882., 322; Kovačević, Desanka, *Pad Bosanske države prema dubrovačkim izvorima*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH, XIV, Sarajevo, 1963., 209.

27 Šunjić, Marko, *Trogirski izvještaji o turskom osvojenju Bosne (1463.)*, Glas Arhivskog društva, XXIX, Sarajevo, 1989., 139–157.

28 In his invasion of Bosnia, Sultan Mehmed II led an army of over 150,000 people. He was one of the world's most powerful rulers in his age (Imamović, M., *Historija Bošnjaka*, 82).

29 *Istorijski srpskog naroda*, II, 395.

30 Dinić, M., *Zemlje hercega Sv. Save*, 226.

31 The oldest reliable news of the founding of the Sanjak of Bosnia is from Dursun-bey, contemporary, biographer and follower of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in his campaigns against Serbia and Bosnia. Showing the Sultan's first campaign against Bosnia, Tursun Beg concludes his announcement as: "And so in this blessed war, four vilayets have been conquered and subjugated. Sanja-beys and qadis have been appointed, the mines have received *emins*, and the *jizya* (poll tax) has been imposed on the *reaya*." By 'four vilayets' Dursun-bey means the lands of the Bosnian King, Pavlović, Kovačević and Duke Stjepan. (Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, 39-40)

32 Kreševljaković, Hamdija, *Spomenica gazi Husrevbegove četiristo-godišnjice*, Sarajevo, 1932., 5.

nahiye later. It is likely that these regions were incorporated into the Bosnian Sanjak only in 1464, when Isa Bey Ishaković became the Sanjak-bey, who was compensated with these holdings for his later losses in Bosnia.

- b) The part of Bosnia was under Ottoman rule before the demise of the Kingdom. This included the Bosnian Frontier/Hodidjed/Saray-ovasi Vilayet, that the Ottomans definitively seized already in 1448. There was also the Vilayet of Višegrad, which was conquered before 1462.
- c) The rest of the lands of the Pavlovićs, Bosnian King and Kovačevićs, which the Ottomans occupied in 1463.
- d) Finally, maybe a part of the Duke's land, which the Ottomans occupied in 1463, and that the Duke and his sons did not manage to free. There are indications that point to this being the case for the city of Borovac in Duke's Neretva.<sup>33</sup>

This territory of the Bosnian Sanjak was not sustainable in the long-term. As soon as the Ottomans retreated from Herzegovina, the Duke set forth to liberate his cities, and he was nearly fully successful by the summer of 1463. Aware of the danger the Ottomans posed, the Hungarians and Venetians, as the most endangered adversaries of the Empire, having seen the fall of Bosnia passively, decided to organize an anti-Ottoman coalition with the help of the Pope. On September 12, 1463, they made a military alliance against the Sultan.<sup>34</sup> Ottoman garrisons in Bosnian towns were undermanned, so the prognosis for a counteroffensive seemed very favorable.

The goal of the Hungarian offensive was Jajce, 'the key to Bosnia,' as the cross-roads between Split, Istria, Carniola and Upper Slavonia. The Hungarian siege of Jajce began mid-October and lasted until December 26, 1463, when the Ottoman garrison (430 soldiers), together with their commander, surrendered the city and entered the King's service.<sup>35</sup> After the fall of Jajce, more forts around lower Bosnian surrendered, including Zvečaj on Vrbas, commanded by Constantine Mihailović from Ostrovica.<sup>36</sup> The Banja Luka Castel also surrendered, defended by 50 Janissaries and 50 militiamen (*mustahfiz*). The Hungarians swiftly gained 27 fortified towns, while the Ottoman possessions in Bosnia were reduced to the Drina Basin (Podrinje), Central and Upper Bosnia.

33 Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, 40–41.

34 Imber, C., *The Ottoman Empire*, The ISIS Pres – Istanbul, 1990., 185–188; Szkaly, F., *Phases of Turco-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohacs (1365.–1526.)*, Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica, XXXIII, 1979., 95–96.

35 Malcolm, Noel, *Povijest Bosne*, Zagreb – Sarajevo, 1995., 59.

36 See in: Mihailović Konstantin iz Ostrovice, *Janjičarove uspomene ili Turska hronika*, (prevod Đorđe Živanović), Spomenik SAN, CVII, Beograd, 1959.

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To not lose the entire country, Sultan came to Bosnia again at the start of the summer 1464 and headed straight to Jajce. The Ottoman siege of Jajce started on July 12 and lasted until August 22. The Sultan tried to storm the city, but multiple waves failed to take the walls, retreating shortly after. The Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus followed by attacking Northeastern Bosnia, with the intent to chase out the Ottoman garrisons and establish a defensive line from Belgrade to Jajce. His main goal was the town of Zvornik, the key to the Drina.<sup>37</sup> The Hungarians commenced operation in the first half of October, taking Srebrenik and some three towns on the way to Zvornik, but failed to achieve their goal and had to retreat. Thus Matthias, after a month-long siege, experienced Zvornik the same that the Sultan experienced at Jajce.<sup>38</sup>

The effect of the warfare was that Northern Bosnia (Donji Krajevi and Usora) fell to Hungarian dominion, while the Sultan was left with Eastern and Central Bosnia. Matthias Corvinus took the conquered lands and formed two Banates – the Jajce and Srebrenik Banates. The seat of the Jajce Banate was in Jajce and covered the region of the Vrbas River up to the Sava confluence (Jajce, Banjaluka, Greben, Sokol, Jezero, Vinac, Vrbaški grad, Livač, Komotin, Bočac and Zvečaj). The bans of Jajce initially used the title of ‘the ban of Bosnia.’ There were usually two, so one resided in Jajce, and the other in the parishes of Slavonia, collecting money and provisions needed for the defense of the banate.<sup>39</sup> The seat of the Srebrenik Banate was the city of Srebrenik, and it covered Usora, Soli and Spreča, with the regional cities.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the territory of the Bosnian Sanjak, already in its first months of existence was considerably shrunk. In the East and Northeast, it bordered the Smederevo Sanjak, which crossed the Drina and covered Srebrenica, Zvornik, Kušlat and Šubin, with their surroundings. In the North, the Bosnian Sanjak bordered the Hungarian sphere of influence with the said banates. Between the Ottoman and Hungarian possessions, for a long time there was also a sizable belt of no man’s land.

The Ottomans introduced their system to the conquered lands slowly. The institutions of customary laws were co-opted, and they made special use of the existing administrative-territorial division of the conquered lands, incorporating them into their system.<sup>41</sup> In all conquered areas, the Ottomans first established

37 Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, 42.

38 The chronicler Dursun-bey, who personally took part in the battles around Zvornik, wrote extensively about them. His mission was to note all the war loot and to surrender it to the castellan of Zvornik. (Elezović, Gliša, *Turski izvori za istoriju Jugoslovena. Dva turska hroničara iz 15. veka 1. Ašik-paša zade, 2. Dursun-beg*, Bratstvo, XXVI, Beograd, 1932., 121–125)

39 See more in: Thalloczy, L., *Povijest Jajca 1450.–1527*, Zagreb, 1916.

40 Klaić, V., *Povijest Bosne do propasti kraljevstva*, 342; Prelog, Milan, *Povijest Bosne u doba osmanlijske vlade*, Knjiga I, Sarajevo, 1912., 10–11.

41 Handžić, Adem, *O nekim kulturno-historijskim osobenostima Tešanske nahije u XVI stoljeću*, u Studije o Bosni, Istanbul, 1994., 1.

a temporary vilayet order, which later, often after many decades, was replaced with institutions of regular administration. Conquered lands and regions were often left within their borders, and their administrative divisions were kept as the Ottomans encountered them. When Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror decided to topple the Bosnian Kingdom (1463), it was divided into four: Royal demesne, the lands of Duke Stjepan Kosača, the Pavlović, and Kováčević domains. The Ottomans turned the conquered Bosnian Kingdom into a single Sanjak.

Carrying out the administrative distinction of the regions that came under the Sanjak of Bosnia, the Ottomans strictly stuck to the state they encountered and the division between these areas between the King, nobles and Ottomans at the time of the Kingdom's demise. This was the principle under which the administrative division of the Sanjak into the great vilayets:

- 1) Jeleč Vilayet (Novi Pazar) – earlier smaller vilayets in old Raška, later Novi Pazar Region, were turned into eponymous *nahiye*, and later united into one larger vilayet. It was initially called *Jeleč*, and later *Novi Pazar*.
- 2) Saray-ovasi Vilayet (Vrhbosna) – seeing as the earlier vilayet *Saray-ovasi* (Vrhbosna) with the town of Hodidjed and its market Sarajevo became the seat of the entire province; it was still a special vilayet.
- 3) Vilayet-i Kiral (King's land) – The regions that were under the direct rule of the last Bosnian King was kept as a single vilayet, that they called *Vilayet-i Kiral* (King's Land, *Kraljeva zemlja*).
- 4) Vilayet-i Pavli (Pavolović lands) – Similar to the King's Land, the Ottomans also made the Pavlović lands a vilayet, to which they added the earlier vilayet of Višegrad. From that territory, they formed a particular vilayet, that they called *Vilayet-i Pavli* (Vilayet-i Pavli-ili, or Pavli-ili Vilayeti), or in BCMS documents 'Pavlović Lands,' (*Zemlja Pavlovića*)
- 5) Vilayet-i Kovač (Kovačević Lands) – the fifth vilayet was the realm of the Kovačevićs, dubbed by the Ottomans *Vilayet-i Kovač* (or Kovač-ili Vilayeti, or rather Vilayet-i Kovač-ili 'Kovačević Lands' (*Zemlja Kovačevića*))
- 6) Perhaps also, another vilayet was formed from a part of the Duke's lands, but it likely did not last. Hence, when the Ottomans took over most of Herzegovina, they transformed it into their *Vilayet Hersek* (The Duke's/ Herzeg's Land) So the Bosnian Sanjak, since its earliest days consisted of six great vilayets.<sup>42</sup>

Old vilayets Jeleč and Saray-ovasi were single eponymous *kadiluk* (district under the jurisdiction of a kadi). In the King's and Duke's lands, two kadiluks were founded – Bobovac and Neretva, Drina and Blagaj respectively, while the

42 For more on the administrative division, see in: Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, 115–143.

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Pavlović and Kovačević lands had a joint ‘kadi of the Pavli and Kovač vilayets.’ The vilayets and kadiluks were divided into more or less *nahiye*.



Sanjak of Bosnia in 1469, divided into great vilayets<sup>43</sup>

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At the end of the seventh decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the first major changes in the administrative and territorial division of the Sanjak of Bosnia were carried out.<sup>44</sup> The great vilayet of the Duke was divided into three smaller vilayets and three kadiluks. Significant changes occurred in the Bosnian Sanjak as well. The earlier vilayet of the King was broken into three smaller vilayets – Saraj, Brod and Neretva. From the nahiye of the King’s Land in the Bosnia River basin, a new vilayet, *Brod* was constituted. The second vilayet in the King’s Land was founded in the territory of the Neretva Kadiluk, so it was called the *Neretva* vilayet/ By the end of the seventh decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the entire Sanjak of Bosnia was divided in six vilayets and five kadiluks:

- Vilayet and kadiluk Novi Pazar
- Vilayet and kadiluk Sarajevo

43 Source: Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo, 1981.

44 The administrative reorganization of the Sanjak of Bosnia in this period was carried out, most likely, between 1470 and 1485. (Čar-Drnđa, Hatidža, *Teritorijalna i upravna organizacija visočke nahiye do početaka XVII stoljeća*, POF, XXXVII, Sarajevo, 1988., 186)

- Vilayet and kadiluk Brod
- Vilayet and kadiluk Neretva
- Vilayet Pavli and Vilayet Kovač, the latter being under the jurisdiction of the Višegrad kadiluk.

This division of the Bosnian Sanjak remained, largely, until 1525, when the sanjak saw the establishing of a new kadiluk in new lands. The only changes that occurred internally were the gradual disappearance of the names Vilayet Kiral and Vilayet Kovač, the latter being largely incorporated into the Višegrad and the Srebrenik kadiluks.<sup>45</sup>

## The Herzegovina Sanjak

The situation in Herzegovina following the Ottoman attack in 1463 and the reconquests of the Duke and his sons did not last. The Ottomans again made use of the strife in the Duke's household and decided to balance their losses in Northen Bosnia with his lands. In July 1465, they began a new offensive against Herzegovina, which was a continuation of their maneuvers in 1463. The Ottoman Army, led by the Bosnian Sanjak-bey, Isa Bey Ishaković and his voivodes Ismail and Ahmed, broke into Herzegovina and managed to reach the Ragusan frontier. They conquered Mileševac, Samobor, Prilep, and the rest of the cities to the East. Then they moved towards the sea, so that already from September 1465, the Ottomans ruled the Ragusan hinterlands. Already on September 12, 1465, the Ottoman *soubashi* sat in Lug and Ljubomir, while Popovo, Žurovići and Pocrnje were declared *jurisdiction Turcorum* the same month. At the end of October, they controlled Uskoplje, Bijela, Zupci, Gacko and Kuti. The only points of resistance remained in a handful of fortified towns, above all, Ključ and Mićevac. But they could hold on only for so long. After June 3, 1466, the old seat of Blagaj and Northern Herzegovina fell too.<sup>46</sup>

The Duke Stjepan Vukčić Kosača died in the fortified harbor of Novi (later renamed Herceg Novi), in 1466.<sup>47</sup> His son Vlatko, the last Herzeg/Prince of St. Sava, held onto "a thin and fairly destitute strip of land from the Bay of Kotor to the Neretva Delta, which still separated Ragusan lands from the Ottoman domains," on top of holding Novi and Risan in Dračevica.<sup>48</sup> The remnants of his father's estates, if it was not taken by the Ottomans, were held by Prince Vladislav, the Venetians and Hungarians. As it turned out, when the Ottomans attacked Herzegovina, the Venetians did not sit idly by. Just as in 1463/1464

45 Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, 144.

46 Božić, I., *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, 174–175; Dinić, M., *Zemlje hercega Sv. Save*, 247–249.

47 Ćirković, Sima, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić-Kosača*, Beograd, 1964., 260–267.

48 Dinić, M., *Zemlje hercega Sv. Save*, 248.

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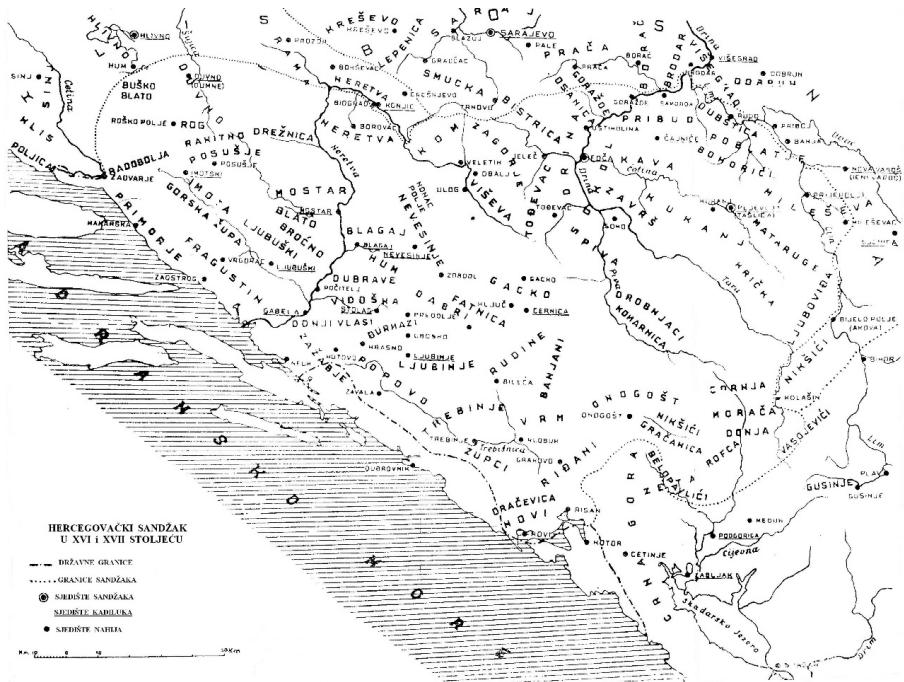
the Hungarians took some larger towns of the former Bosnian Kingdom from the Ottomans, so too the Venetians, as the allies and protectors of the new Duke Vlatko, kept the Imotski Frontier and the Makarska Littoral, which they captured in October 1465.<sup>49</sup>

The Ottomans converted the lands and cities taken from Duke Stjepan and his sons into a vilayet given to the neighboring Bosnian Sanjak from the beginning of their offensive to the beginning of 1470. Direct administration in certain nahiye in Herzegovina was done by the voivodes of the Bosnian Sanjak-bey, Isa Bey Ishaković. In early 1470, a separate Herzegovinian Sanjak was fashioned out of the conquered territory. The Ottomans continued to systemically organize, fortify and expand their rule in Herzegovina. Continuing their conquests, they moved to push the Hungarians and Venetians out, and take the fort of Počitelj, which surrendered to Hamza Bey in the days following September 20, 1471. By 1475, the Ottomans took over all the cities in the Herzegovinian interior, then Ljubuški in the Neretva Frontier and Rog in the North. Just Novi and Risan in Herzegovina remained outside their control. When, at the start of 1482, Novi surrendered, the Ottoman conquest of Herzegovina was completed.<sup>50</sup> The Imotski Frontier and the Makarska Littoral remained in Venetian hands.

With the founding of the Sanjak of Herzegovina on January 16, 1470, there came significant changes in terms of the territorial and administrative division of Ottoman Herzegovina. With the growth of the earlier Hersek Vilayet, or the Duke's/ Herzeg's Domain, as a territorial unit of the Sanjak of Bosnia into an independent Sanjak, the territory was divided into three smaller vilayets: Drina, Blagaj and Milešev or Prijepolje. Each of the vilayets represented a single kadiluk. Thus, with the earlier kadiluks of Drina and Blagaj, a new Milešev-Prijepolje kadiluk also was formed. As the reorganization was carried out on nearly the same territory of the earlier two kadiluks, Drina and Blagaj, it brought significant changes in terms of the administrative-territorial division of the Sanjak. With the founding of the Herzegovina Sanjak, and its division into three smaller vilayets, the old name for the Hersek Vilayet did not disappear, but it was used nearly all up to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as a synonym for the Herzegovina Sanjak, just as the name 'Duke's Land' was.

49 Bojić, M., *Historija Bosne i Bošnjaka*, 35.

50 Malkom, Noel, *Povijest Bosne*, Zagreb – Sarajevo, 1995. 60.



Hercegovački sandžak u XVI i XVII stoljeću<sup>51</sup>

The official seat of the Herzegovina Sanjak-bey, from the founding of the Sanjak to 1572, was in Foča. Governors of Herzegovina often stayed in Mostar in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which was often mentioned as the temporary seat of the Herzegovina Sanjak. Hence in those periods, the Herzegovinian Sanjak-bey was at times called the ‘Sanjak-bey of Mostar’ of the ‘Pasha of Mostar.’ From 1572 to 1833, the official seat of the Herzegovinian Sanjak-bey was in Pljevlja (Taslidža).<sup>52</sup> The Herzegovina Sanjak was, from its founding, all up to 1580, part of the Eyalet of Rumelia, becoming then a part of the Eyalet of Bosnia, remaining a part of it up to 1833. Moreover, this Sanjak was given many times, and especially from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as appanage (*arpalik*) not just to Bosnian Beylerbeys, but to Bosnian *defterdars* (finance officers/treasurers). In these cases, Herzegovina was administered by the *mutesellims* (governors, largely managing tax collection) of Bosnian Viziers, or *defterdars*.

51 Source: Šabanović, H., *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo, 1981.

52 Imamović, Mustafa, *Historija Bošnjaka*, Sarajevo, 1996., 110–111.

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## The Renewal of ‘The Bosnian Kingdom’

With Ottoman offensives and Hungarian counteroffensives in 1463, Bosnia was partitioned between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. The Hungarians could be content that their military successes formed a strong defense against Ottoman incursions into Hungary. The Jajce and Srebrenik Banates, leaning on the conquered Fortress of Šabac (1476) formed an unbroken border zone on the right bank of the Sava, from Belgrade, across Šabac, to Jajce and Banja Luka, creating a mighty dam against Ottoman invasion. They successfully prevented Ottoman incursions to the North and had significant influence in defending Hungarian lands. Because of Hungarian holdings in Northern Bosnia, the Ottomans’ positions were not secure. The surviving Bosnian nobility, mostly minor nobility, as the larger nobility stepped off the stage of history, was unhappy with Ottoman overlordship, so it took action towards an eventual re-establishment of the Bosnian Kingdom.<sup>53</sup> Even though it did not succeed, the attempts at liberation clearly speak to the situation and mood in Bosnia after the Kingdom’s fall in 1463.

Lacking their own forces, the Ottomans had to make concessions to local dignitaries, which brought them to a measure that was unique in the history of their conquests. To create the illusion of the renewal of the Bosnian Kingdom for the Bosniaks and establish a corridor between their and Hungarian possessions in Bosnia, the Ottomans, at the end of 1465, surrendered the northern reaches of the Sanjak of Bosnia. The land was given to the member of the Kotromanić dynasty, Matija, son of his regent and pretender Radivoj, and enthroned him as the King of Bosnia. The domains of the new Bosnian Kingdom spread from Lašva in the North to the lands of the Hungarian Bans and was composed of six towns and their surroundings. The King’s residence appears to have been in Vranduk.<sup>54</sup> There he had his own nobility and economic immunity in his lands, so that there were no condominiums nor diarchies in his demesne, nor any form of Ottoman administration.

This practice of the Ottomans renewing a state or political entity which they liquidated beforehand was a practice that existed in the early days of the Empire. It was known as *istimalet* (*istimâlet* – accommodation), i.e., a transitional solution amid a lack of manpower that would ensure the functioning of the Ottoman

53 In August 1463, Bosnian envoys came to the Venetian court, both princes and nobles, to ask for Venetian aid (*pro reaquirendo regno Bossine*) and stated how neither they, nor the people of Bosnia wanted an overlord other than the Venetians, so if their offer is not accepted, they would rather be subject to Turkish rule (*subignut se ditioni Turcorum*). (Prelog, Milan, *Povijest Bosne u doba osmanlijske vlade*, Knjiga I, Sarajevo, 1912. 7)

54 Imamović, M., *Historija države i prava BiH*, Sarajevo, 1999. 180.

state apparatus.<sup>55</sup> In that way, ‘the Bosnian Kingdom’ can be seen as a solution created with the goal of solidifying Ottoman rule of the former Kingdom, and for the local population to accept it as the old institution of a local king and nobility, including a new ruling class. It was no accident that the appointed King was an heir of the ruling house of Kotromanić, son of former pretender/anti-King Radivoje, who was noted by Burgundian spy/traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière at the Sultan’s court in Edirne in 1342.<sup>56</sup>

On the Hungarian side, hoping to quell internal unrest, King Matthias decided to appease the ambitions of his most influential noble – Nicholas of Ilok (Újlaki Miklós). He was highly influential in the Hungarian opposition to Matthias Corvinus. In 1471, the movement became particularly dangerous. To weaken and splinter it, King Matthias used bribery, by making Nicholas of Ilok the titular King of Bosnia, and in exchange Nicholas became Matthias’ fiery supporter. His title became *dei gratia electus rex Bozne*.<sup>57</sup> He even minted his own money and had a ‘royal seal’.<sup>58</sup> However his title meant little for Bosnia: Jajce and a larger part of Hungarian-controlled Bosnia remained under the administration of the bans, thus directly under King Matthias. Nicholas’ royal title was honorary, without real political influence.<sup>59</sup>

‘The King of Bosnia, son of King Radivoje’ is mentioned for the second time on January 11, 1467, from when on he disappears from the historical record. Four years later (September 16, 1471), a ‘Matija Šabančić, so-called King of Bosnia,’ but it is not known if this is a new or old King. As Matthew, son of Radivoje was already a regent, and had a wife in Constantinople, he certainly could not fulfil his role, at least in relation to the aspirations of the Bosnian nobility. He was likely deposed and replaced before 1471 with a minor noble, Matija Šabančić, likely from the Vrhbosna Parish, where two villages to this day are called Šabančić. But this King did not hold out for long, as the Ottomans placed a ‘new King,’ Matija Vojsalić. He was deeply Christian (*Christianissimo*), so he did not satisfy himself with the Sultan’s appointment but asked the Hungarian King for recognition. When the Ottomans discovered this, they besieged him and his nobles’ cities. He saved himself thanks to Hungarian troops, under the command of the Catholic

55 Lowry, Jr. Heath W., *Christian Peasant Life in the Fifteenth Century Ottoman Empire*, in: *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003., 95–114.

56 Bertrandon de la Brokijer, *Putopis: Putovanje preko mora kroz Palestinu, Malu Aziju, Srbiju i Francusku*, Beograd, 1950., (reprint Čigoja, Beograd, 2002.), 98.

57 Engel, P., *The Realm of St Stephan. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*, I.B. Tauris, London – New York, 2001., 302–305; Rokai, P., (et al), *Istorija Mađara*, Clio – Beograd, 2002., 162–164.

58 Kubinyi, A., *Die Frage des bosnischen Königtums von Nikolaus Ujlaky*, Studia Slavica Acad. Scient. Hungaricae IV, 3–4, 1958., 373–384.

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Archbishop Bathory (in July 1476).<sup>59</sup> Those were the last news of the Ottoman-Bosnian King, but we know that the miniature Bosnian Kingdom also ended. Its lands were annexed to the Sanjak of Bosnia, and the nobility's duties were taken over by Vlach voivodes and princes.<sup>60</sup>

## The Srebrenik and Jajce Banates

The Hungarian Fall 1464 counteroffensive, led by King Matthias personally, turned to Eastern Bosnia. Crossing the Sava under the command of Mirko/Imre Zapolya, the Hungarian Army conquered the city of Srebrenik and three more cities, likely Brčko and Novi, as well as Teočak along the Drina. The goal was the city of Zvornik, which served as the crossing point between Bosnia and Serbia, with major strategic interest as 'the key to the Drina.' Even though Zvornik was besieged, and its walls pummeled with incessant cannonades for an entire month between mid-October and mid-November, the Hungarians were unsuccessful. The Hungarian Army managed to break through all the way to Srebrenica, which it pillaged, but it could not size Zvornik.<sup>61</sup> Sultan Mehmed II, staying in Sofia, discovered the danger Zvornik faced, so he promptly sent an army under the command of Mahmud Pasha Andjelović/Angelović (Veli Mahmud Paşa), along with the Sanjak-bey of Smederevo, Mihaloğlu Ali Bey's *martolos* (largely Christian forces in Ottoman service) and *akinji* (light cavalry) units. Hearing of the relief force, the Hungarian Army began a disorderly retreat. Ali Bey's *akinji* and *martolos* quickly caught up with the Hungarian rearguard, making the Hungarian siege according to some sources, a resounding defeat.<sup>62</sup>

Although Corvinus failed to seize Zvornik, Northeastern Bosnia remained in Hungarian hands. That was the key success of the Hungarian counteroffensive. It enabled the Hungarians to found the Jajce Banate, seated in the eponymous city, spanning the Vrbas River basin all up to the Sava confluence (Jajce, Banja Luka, Greben, Soko, Jezero, Vinac, Vrbaški Grad, Livač, Komotin, Bočac). They also founded the Srebrenik Banate, seated in Srebenik with surrounding towns of Tešanj, Soko, Barka and Waya. Barka would become Brčko, and Waya remains undetermined.<sup>63</sup> Initially, and for a period, Srebrenik Banovina included Teočak (1464-1474), and it certainly subsumed Gradačac. Their military successes en-

59 Ćirković, Sima, *Vlastela i kraljevi u Bosni posle 1463. godine*, Istoriski glasnik, III, Beograd, 1954., 127-129.

60 The events regarding the small 'Bosnian Kingdom' illustrate Ottoman pragmatism. They were ready to scheme and maneuver based on political figurations, not abandoning their goal along the way. That goal was the complete Ottomanization of all the conquered lands, especially on European soil. (Imamović, M., *Historija Bošnjaka*, 110)

61 Benković, Ambrozije, *Tuzlansko područje negda i sada, Županja – Đakovo*, 1971. 76.

62 Handžić, Adem, *Tuzla i njena okolina u XVI vijeku*, Sarajevo, 1975., 35.

63 Klaić, V., *Poviest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, sv. II, Zagreb, 1904., 320.

abled the Hungarians to create a strong defensive line from the earlier Bosnian state, that would protect the Hungarian heartlands for half a century.<sup>64</sup>

## Concluding Remarks

The Ottomans established permanent footholds in Bosnia after 1430, when they conquered some Bosnian towns. Between 1448 and 1453, from the bits of Bosnia they controlled, they created an administrative unit dubbed the *Bosnian Frontier*, and in the oldest Ottoman census from 1455, *Vilayet Hodidjed* and/or *Vilayet Saray-ovasi*. The name *Saray-ovasi* (*Saray*) is mentioned for the first time in the mentioned census from 1455, but not as today's Sarajevo, but denoting the vilayet of the entire Vrbbosna Parish. This enclave was called the *Hodidjed Vilayet*, and *Saray-ovasi Vilayet* elsewhere.

The *Bosnian Frontier* was administrated by the voivodes of the Skopje Frontiersman Isa Bey Ishaković, with comprehensive military prerogatives. The first voivode of Vrbbosna, Skender Bey, is mentioned in 1455. His seat was in Hodidjed, the chief fortress, or in Vrbbosanje, the main market in the Vrbbosna Parish, mentioned first in 1461-1462, under the names *Saray-ovasi* and in 1469, *Trgovište*.

Next to Vrbbosanje, the Ottomans began constructing their own settlement. The settlement's foundations were laid by Isa Bey Ishaković, as the voivode of the so-called, Western Reaches (*Zapadnih Strana*) Before February 1462, he built a mosque in the name of Sultan Mehmed II (The Emperor's Mosque) and a bridge facing it across the Mijacka River. Next to the mosque, he built a bathhouse, and a castle (*saraj/saray*) nearby, along with a water supply system. At the base of the bridge, he had a major caravansary, dubbed Kolobara built, as well as many shops around it, with multiple mills on the rivers Miljacka and Koševa.

After successfully occupying the Serbian Despotate, it became clear that Bosnia was the direct goal of further Ottoman conquest. Aware of the dangers, the Bosnian King sought aid all over, and especially from the Pope, whose crown he used in his coronation in 1461 in Jajce, showing a clear anti-Ottoman orientations in foreign policy.

64 Bosnia was partitioned between the Ottomans and Hungary. This stopped the Ottoman onslaught towards the West and North. The Jajce and Srebrenik Banates, leaning on the Šabac fortress to the East, made up a continuous line of fortifications on the right bank of the Sava, which spread across Belgrade, through Šabac and Srebrenik, all up to Jajce. Future Ottoman invasions turned to the Duke's lands to the South (Herzegovina). (Prelog, M., *Povijest Bosne u doba osmanlijske vlade*, 10-11; Handžić, A., *Tuzla i njena okolina*, 36; Nilević, Boris, *Srebrenik u srednjem vijeku*, Biljeg Srebrnika, I, 2003., 50; Jalimam, Salih, *Srednjovjekovna historija Srebrnika*, Biljeg Srebrnika, II, 2004., 41-42; Pejanović, Đorđe, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, Beograd, 1955., 8)

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When he saw that he was alone, the King tried to avoid war with the Ottomans and asked for a 15-year truce, but the Imperial Divan already made invasion plans and put emergency war preparations in motion. Already in February 1463, an Ottoman army attacked Herzegovina. These raids were led by Isa Bey Ishaković, with his frontier contingents. To more easily carry out their plan, the Ottomans promised the Royal envoys a truce but set off immediately to outpace defense preparations.

The king escaped to the fortress of Ključ in the Krajina. Not long after, Ottoman vanguard, commanded by Mahmud Pasha, arrived at Ključ. After a four-day siege, the King and Mahmud-pasha commenced negotiations, where the King's life and freedom were guaranteed on surrender. The King capitulated along with his uncle Radivoje. When he was taken to Jajce, the Sultan forced the King to order his castellans to surrender their towns, later executing him. The fate of the Bosnian Kingdom was thus sealed. Mid-June 1463, the Sultan left Bosnia with the bulk of his forces.

The conquest of Bosnia was highly significant for the Ottoman state, not just because it meant the end of the final significant state in the Balkans, but chiefly as Bosnia afforded it exceptional strategic position in the struggle against the Kingdom of Hungary, which, for all its internal weakness, was a strong adversary on land, as the Venetians were on the seas.

The Ottomans turned conquered lands of the Bosnian King and the noble Pavlović and Kovačević families, and the occupied parts of the Duke's lands (Herzegovina) into vilayet which were united with existing vilayets in Raška and Bosnia, fashioning the Sanjak of Bosnia from the entire territory. The first Sanjak-bey of the Bosnian Sanjak was Mehmed Beg Minetović (Minetoglu). The first seat of the Sanjak-bey was likely Jajce, and after the Fall of 1463, Sarajevo.

The Ottomans introduced their system of governance slowly in the newly conquered lands. The institutions of customary law they encountered were preserved, and they largely adopted and incorporated the existing territorial divisions into their system. In all conquered Balkan lands, the Ottoman first introduced a temporary vilayet-based order that they only later replaced with their regular administrative-governmental institutions. Conquered lands and regions were often with their existing boundaries and their administrative structures were kept. At the time when Mehmed II the Conqueror decided to topple the Bosnian Kingdom (1463), it was really divided into four regions: the King's lands, the lands of the Duke/Herzeg Stjepan Kosača, the Pavlović domain and the Kovačević domain. The Ottomans turned the conquered Bosnian Kingdom into another Sanjak.

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# BOSNIA Preporod N STUDIES SARAJEVO 1

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The Phenomenon of Social  
Integration

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## Summary

*The analysis of the concept of social integration entails research into the principles according to which individuals and their interaction relate to society. The 'problem of system integration' refers to the relationship between individual parts of society. In addition to introducing the distinction, an unavoidable reference point for all subsequent sociological discussions on integration, sociologist David Lockwood also criticizes the one-sidedness of the understanding of integration as a prerequisite for system harmony. Since both social integration and system integration can be either harmonious or conflictual, integration is not identical to harmony.<sup>1</sup>*

**Keywords:** social integration, social exclusion, community, society

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## Social Integration as a System and Lifeworld

The past few decades of sociological theory have seen attempts to overcome the dualism between structure and action. Sociologist David Lockwood writes how

That can only be achieved if the distinct integration of systems/social integrations becomes the basis for analyzing society, or rather if the level of the systemic structure is connected with the level of the actor." That request is especially relevant in the context of the micro-macro dichotomy in contemporary sociological theory. Seeing as the macro-sociological approaches stress the integration of systems, micro approaches the individual level of actors' behavior, and theoretical understandings that try to reconcile the micro and macro approaches, stress social integration. Lockwood's distinction becomes crucial also for differentiating individual sociological approaches to integration within micro-macro dualism.<sup>2</sup>

Existential fear, rather than the identification with the system, for Beck is a question of not just economic, political and ecological conditions for life, but also the 'structure' of individuals (Beck, 1986.). According to him, modern Western societies are living through a radical crisis of the first cultural and societal 'modernization,' i.e. in the era of the so-called industrial modernization, or 'second modernity.' While the society of the 'first modernity' was divided into a society of institutions and society of individuals, risk society' makes institutions dependent on individuals. People are free of rigid class and social divisions that determine their lives and their identities. They are freed from crude definitions of gender and generationally defined roles, and rigid hierarchies of leaders and subordinates, making them more autonomous. However, industrial modernity is still incomplete, as it maintains some 'premodern' elements. The 'second modernization' is

1 Lockwood, David, Društvena integracija i integracija sustava, in: Zapf, W. (ed.): Teorije društvenih promjena, Koln, 1979, 125.

2 Lockwood, David, Društvena integracija i integracija sustava, in Zapf, W. (ed.): Teorije društvenih promjena, Koln, 1979, 125.

reflexive. It deals with the self, personal ways of life and work. Modernization within the framework of an industrial society replaces the modernization premised on industrial society. The foundational coordinates of industrial modernity are shaken, family and occupation, faith in science and progress, giving way to a new twilight of possibility and risks.<sup>3</sup>

In sociology, integration (lat. *integratio*: renewing a whole) is the state of firm interdependence between elements of society, and the processes that lead to it. The term is applied to society overall, and to the relationship between individuals and society. Social integration is commonly interpreted as the result of commonly accepted values or as interdependence based on the division of labor. According to Emile Durkheim, some social groups are integrated if their members have a shared consciousness and share the same beliefs, if there is interaction between them and if they are devoted to shared goals. Modern sociology also discusses social and systemic integration.<sup>4</sup> Social integration means a normative solution of the problem of ordering and denotes “a relatively secure attainment of consensus, solidarity or cohesion between interactive individuals.”<sup>5</sup> Systemic integration covers useful and formally ordered relations between individuals, social groups and categories. According to Lockwood, the emphasis in social integration is the relationship between actors, while the emphasis of systemic integration is the relationship between parts of the social system. Social integration also entails the processes of connecting and unifying individual groups into a functional and orderly whole, recognizing existing social norms and standards of behavior, that secure acceptance and social support for the individual. The degree of integration is seen in the existence and effectiveness of norms, solidarity, and in special symbols and signs that stress togetherness. At the subjective level, social integration is experienced as the feeling of belonging to a group (we-ness), acceptance and social support. Diversity, complexity and dynamism of integration processes can integrate or dis-integrate. Homogenous goals serve to integrate, if they can be shared with others, if they are desirable for everyone, and if they can be achieved exclusively through mutual, harmonious, action. Homogenous goals that are not sharable with others can cause conflicts and disintegration.<sup>6</sup>

Social integration entails complete inclusion into the socio-economic and cultural life of the community, and it relates to family, work and social environments. Social integration, at its basis, has a conceptual framework, called ‘social inser-

3 Beck, Ulrich, Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere moderne/ „Društvo rizika“, Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1986, 191.

4 Mortensen Nils, Mapping System Integration and Social Integration, /Lockwood, David, Jirgen Habermas, Anthony Giddens, Nicos Mouzelis/, In book: Capitalism and Social Cohesion, 13–37. DOI:10.1057/9780230379138\_2, January 1999.

5 Wrong, D.H. The problem of order. New York/Toronto: The Free Press, 1994, 227.

6 Opća enciklopedija, Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod “Miroslav Krleža”, Zagreb, 1977–1988, 49.

tion.' Social integration is the process of mutually linking up individuals or social groups and fitting them together into a larger, relatively harmonious social whole. Strengthening social integration leads to patterns of behavior that are exemplified in social norms, and the harmonious, more efficient functioning of a group. Subjectively, it leads to increased individual satisfaction, accepting shared symbols and group identity building.<sup>7</sup>

Differentiating between systemic and social integration can be summarized as follows: systemic integration is the measure of the ability of a system to control and learn relating to the needs of governance, which is born from the relationship with a complex environment. Social integration is the measure of systemic stability that is established through interpretation. It determines identity through consensus on values and the adoption of actionable norms – it is opposite to *anomie*, the state of social disintegration.<sup>8</sup> Habermas established this distinction differentiating the system and lifeworld, so social integration relates to systems of institution in which the spirited subject speaks and acts. The social system is observed as a symbolically structured lifeworld, unlike the system that relates to the problems of governance. Both paradigms – system and lifeworld, are important according to Habermas, and we need to show their mutual relation:

From the perspective of the lifeworld, we thematize normative structures (values and institutions) of society. We analyze events and states from the position of their dependence from functions of social integration (using Talcott Parsons' vocabulary: integration and shape preservation), while non-normative components of the system serve as limiting data. From the systemic perspective, we thematize control mechanisms of society and expansion of the area of contingent action. We analyze events and states from the perspective of their dependence from systemic integration's functions (Parsons: adaptation and goal achievement), while end values serve as data.<sup>9</sup>

Regardless of the critiques and issues, it seems that the distinction between systemic/social integration (system/lifeworld) is an exceptionally fruitful analytical tool. Values belong to the sphere of social integration, seeing as there is only one society, are important for the securing of social identity generally. That identity, according to Habermas,<sup>10</sup> is normatively determined by cultural values, that can change through learning. In that context, there is a need for analysis of the relationship between evolution and history, studying the process of rationalization and modernization, and the social changes and the role of values in them (especially in revolutions and social movements).<sup>11</sup>

7 Trgovčević Sanja, Kljajić Dragana, Nedović Goran, *Socijalna integracija kao determinanta kvaliteta života osoba sa traumatskom paraplegijom*, Godišnjak Fakulteta političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu, vol. 5, no. 6, 2011, 491–505.

8 Habermas, Jürgen, *Povest i evolucija*, Marksizam u svetu 1/1984.

9 Habermas, Jürgen, *Legitimation Crisis*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1975, 4–5.

10 Habermas, Jürgen, *Prilog rekonstrukciji historijskog materijalizma*, Marksizam u svetu 9/1977.

11 Fanuko, Nenad, *Vrijednosti i društvena integracija u teoriji Talcotta Parsons-a* // *Revija za sociologiju*, 15 (1985), 3–4; 245–246.

Ognjen Čaldarović highlights problems the term integration faces in sociology. Social integration cannot exist as a theoretical concept or term, but as an empirical fact that needs to include other important elements – groups of people (communities), territory, environment, a series of formal and informal rules that regulate member behavior. Furthermore, the meaning of the term integration often is determined by what it refers to, i.e. the term that follows it. Hence, when we discuss integration, we often speak of social integration or integration in a community, integration at the macro or micro level, or of local integration and such.<sup>12</sup>

## Society as Reality

Society is a complex and personal reality that is not easily qualified by any of its possible characteristics. In public debates, some societies are often classed as ‘stable,’ or ‘unstable’ (turbulent). There are other differences between ‘earlier’ (primitive, ancient, medieval) as well as ‘modern’ societies.<sup>13</sup>

Society, as the most complex human creation, is the existential crutch of an individual human. The human as an individual can temporarily be ‘excluded from society,’ but permanent exclusion from society brings into question the human existence of socially excluded individuals. A society with which no one identifies, does not exist as a real society. A successful society is not just wealthy.<sup>14</sup> Peace, absence of conflict, corruption, rule of law, institutions that prevent the use of force by the state are conditions for the success of a state and functioning of institutions.

In a sociological understanding of social success, the following properties are important:

- Developed socio-systemic ability of activating and using effectively, available material and human resources of a society.
- Achieving a quality of daily life for the largest number of people in society.
- A positive balance of exchanging goods and services with other societies.
- Institutionally developed ability to develop and apply innovation, and all forms of socially useful creativity.
- Institutional ability to overcome internal social conflict quickly and without destruction.
- Institutional ability to maintain stable social integration and functional social solidarity.

12 Čaldarović, Ognjen, “Sociološki problemi integracije,” in D. Sergejević (ed.) *Hrvatska i Europa; Korijeni integracije*, Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2007, 23–37.

13 Bolčić, Silvano 2019b. “Uspešno društvo i primenjena sociologija”. *Sociologija, Sociološko naučno društvo Srbije*, Beograd, Vol. LXI, No 5, 759–760. OI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1903323B>.

14 Bolčić, Silvano 2019b. “Uspešno društvo i primenjena sociologija”. *Sociologija, Sociološko naučno društvo Srbije*, Beograd, Vol. LXI, No 5, 763. OI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1903323B>.

- Socio-systemic establishing and achieving a social climate for peaceful daily life, where the dominant feeling is that people are living a dignified life worth living.

Each of the stated criteria of social success has many concrete indicators, which are periodically easier or more difficult to recognize and define. Some of the indicators will be mentioned in the context of determinants of social success.<sup>15</sup>

It is wholly justified to say that property regimes were inadequately organized in the years of ‘socialist development’ in Yugoslavia, in the regime of ‘social ownership’.<sup>16</sup> But that state of inadequately organized ownership relations persists in most post-Yugoslav societies. There are only generally, constitutionally determined basic means of property relations, partial laws on ‘privatization’ and some other legal norms which govern property relations, but there are no systemic laws on property relations.

Reducing ‘property reforms’ merely to the ‘story of privatization’ of state enterprise was not a good strategic move in sorting ownership relations in post-Yugoslav societies.<sup>17</sup> It appears to be one of the key reasons for the lack of success of all the governments in overcoming the encountered and newly created problems in these societies to date.

To most, it is not clear under which conditions we are speaking of well-organized property relations.<sup>18</sup> Those are, above all:

- That every ‘good’ (material and immaterial – as intellectual, or artistic works), but everyone’s labor has a clearly defined owner (titleholder).
- That authorial rights are clear, along with the authorial/ownership obligations.
- That the procedure for transferring ownership is regulated, and that a procedure is established for the disposal of assets in which a clear ‘titleholder’ is not clearly determined, or where there are disputes concerning property relations.

For society to successfully activate and use its resources, it must have an efficient regime of determining and transferring ownership rights. Ownership regimes regulate important private and public interests, help to avoid conflicts of interest and illegitimate uses of power/force to profit from the use of certain goods.

15 Bolčić, Silvano 2019b. “Uspešno društvo i primenjena sociologija.” *Sociologija, Sociološko naučno društvo Srbije*, Beograd, Vol. LXI, No. 5, 763. OI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1903323B>.

16 Gams Andrija, Svojina, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, 1987.

17 Bolčić, Silvano, Razaranje i rekonstitucija društva: Srbija na prelazu u 21. vijek, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2013, 102–107.

18 Bolčić, Silvano, Svet rada u transformaciji: lekcije iz savremene sociologije rada, Plato, Beograd, 2003, 288–297.

The identification of an express majority of members of a given society with 'their own society' entails stable social integration and functional social solidarity. Society is integrated if most of a given society behaves as a true member (not 'subject') of that society, if there is no division that 'splinters society,'<sup>19</sup> if strategic decisions for the function of social institutions are successfully adopted, if the mobilization of the social majority for the urgent solution of social problems is successful. A healthy (meaning successful) society must be organized according to the will of its members, allowing the realization of their individual interests, but it must also have mechanisms of securing necessary functional solidarity to satisfy the needs of those segments of society that are not, in given conditions, able to secure basic human needs on their own. It is about solidarity that is the product of not just individual moral concern for the 'meek,' but also about systematically organized solidarity that ensures elementary humanity for all the members of society. Such functional solidarity is not the 'legacy of socialism,' an expression of any variant of collectivism, or something that is imposed on society by those that want to live without working. That is the legacy of modernity, based on the experience of functional solidarity and good social integration are preconditions of last social advancement and important factors of economic efficiency.

Are these attainable metrics of success for today's societies, if the social-systemic personal interest is the basis of much activity, and especially economic activity? Is social integration compatible with the state of exceptional social inequality?<sup>20</sup> As Thomas Piketty notes, from the 1970s, inequality rose sharply in developed countries, especially the USA, and the growth of income inequality continued in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The most respected economists of the world write about the unsettling consequences of that trend (P. Krugman, J. Stiglitz). Some authors (P. Mason), herald a sort of 'post-capitalist transition' in less developed countries, whose key markers are income 'redistribution,' changes to property rights, limiting rent collection by owners of capital from new information technologies, and a series of other measures.<sup>21</sup>

The striving for more egalitarian social relations is considered a trait of socialism, on which many believe history has passed judgement as the wrong model of social organization. Economic successes of society, many believe, can be only the successes of capitalism, where significant material inequality are results of varying success in business, and in entrepreneurial motives.

Are different social inequalities simply positive social facts? Does a capitalist society have the mechanisms to hinder explicit social disintegration, to prevent the erosion of society that results from social inequalities? Can an exceptionally

19 Antonić Slobodan, *Nacija u strujama prošlosti; Ogledi o održivosti demokratije u Srbiji*, Čigoja, Beograd, 2003, 207–209, 223–235.

20 Piketi Toma, *Kapital u XXI vijeku*, Akademska knjiga, Novi Sad, 2015, 279.

21 Mason Paul, *Platforma Social Europe*, 10. septembar 2019.

disintegrated society have a successful state, and a stable rule of law? Can such a disintegrated society establish true democracy, if the ruling tendency is that its richest members are politically the most powerful and at the same time the least susceptible to legal sanctions and social control?

## Society as Symbolic Interaction

Understanding society as a symbolic interaction<sup>22</sup> is more comply adopted than strictly formulated. Partial, usually fragmentary reflections can be found in the works of many distinguished thinkers, sociologists or otherwise. The expression *symbolic interaction* relates to the personable nature of interaction that occurs between human beings. Personability lies in the fact that human beings interpret, or ‘define’ acts, rather than merely reacting to them. Their ‘response’ does not stem indirectly from the actions of others but is based on meaning that is given to the acts. Human interaction is therefore mediated with the use of symbols interpretation, or rather by the attribution of meaning to the acts of others. That mediation means that in human behavior, between stimulation and response, lies the process of interpretation. The simple insight that human beings mutually interpret actions and use those interpretations as means in mutual action permeates the work of many students of human behavior and human group life. However, few have tried to analyze what that interpretation says about the nature of human beings, or about the nature of human society. They are usually satisfied with the insight that research should capture ‘interpretation,’ or the statement that symbols, such as cultural norms and values, must be brought into analysis. For sociological thought, human societies are rarely made of individuals with their own sense of self. Instead, sociologists see human beings as organisms equipped with some kind of internal organization, reacting to forces that act upon them. Most commonly, those forces are within the organization of society, as seen with ‘social system,’ ‘social structure,’ ‘culture,’ ‘status,’ ‘social role,’ ‘custom,’ ‘institution,’ ‘collective showing,’ ‘social situation,’ ‘social norms,’ or ‘values.’<sup>23</sup> It is assumed that human behavior of members of a society is a reflection of that society, and the forces that influence the members. That position is logical and unavoidable if human behavior, or its phases, are explained with the help of some of the said social actors. The individuals who make up human society are treated as intermediaries through whom these factors operate, and social actions of such individuals are regarded as expressions of those factors. This approach/point of view denies

22 Herbert Blumer, “Society as symbolic interaction” chapter in: “Human behavior and social processes: An interactionist Approach,” ed. Arnold M. Rose, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, 179–192.

23 Herbert Blumer, “Society as symbolic interaction” chapter in: “Human behavior and social processes: An interactionist Approach,” ed. Arnold M. Rose, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, 179–192.

or at least ignores the fact that human beings have a sense of self, that is, that they act based on self-presentation. Simply said, ‘selfhood’ cannot be brought into analysis using terms such as organic drives, motives, attitudes, feelings, internalized social actors of psychological components. Those psychological actors have the same status as the above-mentioned social actors; they are considered forces that act upon the individual, producing the individual’s behavior. The process of self-presentation has the upper hand, just as it has the upper hand over social actors which act upon the human being. Virtually no sociological conception of human society acknowledges that the individuals who constitute it possess a self, in a predefined sense. Human society is, thus composed of acting people, and social life of their action. The unit of action can be an individual, collectives whose members work towards a common goal, or even an organization which works in the name of many. Some examples are, respectively: individual buyers on a market, a team for a game, or group of missionaries and finally a business corporation or professional association. In human society all empirically observable activities stem from some unit of action. We must stress this banal expression, due to the widespread practice among sociologists to reduce social units to non-acting ones – for instance, a social class in modern society. Clearly, human society can be observed in other ways than just through the units of action that make it up. I just wish to stress how the approach to society through its constitutive units is the only adequate one if we want to achieve concrete, empirical activity. However, it could be said that the largest consequence of seeing human society as an organization lies in overlooking the role in which units play in social change. Sociologists usually do the following:

- a) They identify a human society (or one of its parts) as an established or organized form.
- b) They identify an actor or conditions of change that acts upon human society, or one of its parts.
- c) They identify a new form that society takes once the given actor of change acted.

The observations allow the researcher to formulate claims about how the actor of change, acting on the given organized form, has the consequence of a new organized form. Examples of such expressions range from rough to incredibly fine and there are countless of them – for instance, the claim that economic depression increases the solidarity of working families, or that industrialization replaces the extended family with the nuclear one.

## Social Relations

A social relationships (regardless of whether as a community or society) should be described as open to outsiders when, in accordance with the order that governs

it, no one who genuinely can, and wishes to participate, is prevented from taking part in the social action that is mutually oriented towards its meaning. On the other hand, a social relationship is closed, when in accordance with its meaning or order that governs it, the participation of certain people is not possible, limited or tied to fulfilling certain conditions. Openness and closedness of a relationship can be made conditional on tradition, affect, values, reason or goal. Closedness based on rational motives emerges especially in the following case: one social relationship can offer certain chances for participants to satisfy material or spiritual interests. This is regardless of whether the social relationship is the end goal, or means to something else, and irrespective of whether it is done through solidarity, or compromise of interests. When participants in a relationship expect that participation of others could improve the benefits they enjoy in terms of quantity, type, security or value, they are interested in making the relationship open. Conversely, when they expect that they could attain it all through monopolization, then their interests lie in making the relationship closed. One closed relationship can guarantee monopolized benefits to their participants in different ways: by allowing every participant to take what they want at will; that the attainment of benefits will be regulated or measured immediately in amount and type, or that it will allow individuals or groups a lasting or relatively/wholly inalienable property. In the latter case, it is a form of internal closedness. Benefits that are conferred as property should be called rights. In accordance with the relational order, giving things as property can be of benefit to members of certain communities and societies (for instance, members of a household), or to the benefit of individuals. In this latter case, the individual can enjoy their rights on a purely personal basis, or in the case of death, they can be inherited by people in some form of relationship with the deceased. These range from social relationships to birthright (kinship) or those who were appointed as heirs/heiresses. Finally, the bearer of the rights can be entitled to transfer their rights to certain people, or anybody else. Unlike hereditary appropriation, this is a case of transferable appropriation.<sup>24</sup> A participant in a closed social relationship may be called a colleague, and a privileged colleague when participation is regulated in a way to grant them certain benefits. Benefits that are conferred to individuals, or groups via inheritance can be called property, and if they are transferrable, private property. The seemingly futile and tedious task of conceptually defining these terms shows that we are often not able to clearly think about the obvious, as we have become too immersed in them. An example of a social relationship that is closed on traditional grounds would be communities in which belonging is determined by ties of kindship. Affectively closed relationships are most commonly personal emotional bonds. An example of a relatively closed relationship on a value-rational basis would strongly religious communities. An example of a closed relationship of a goal-rational ba-

24 Đurić Mihailo, Sociologija Maksa Vebera, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1964, 243–244.

sis would be economic groups with monopolistic and plutocratic character. The manner, degree of regulation and closing of a social relationship can be vastly different, so too is the transition from openness through regulation and closeness gradually. For participation in a social relationship, different conditions can be set; certain feats, trials, membership ante, admittance through a secret vote, by birth or based on results that all can achieve and finally, in the case of closedness and appropriation of certain rights, attaining those rights. Accordingly, regulation and closedness are relative terms. So too, closedness for a social relationship, so too between the participants themselves, and in their mutual behaviors, can take the most diverse forms. The highest degree of giving certain benefits into lasting property is there when certain individual or group rights (e.g. household, tribe or family) are protected, so in the case of death, they transfer to defined heirs/esses, or that the bearer of the rights can attribute them to third parties during his life. In this final case, third parties become participants in social relations by the mere transference of rights, which means that the relationship is relatively open to those who are outside of it. This only applies if attaining membership is not tied to the acceptance of other privileged participants.<sup>25</sup> Motives for closing a social relationship can be threefold: the recognition of quality and prestige, and thereby the potential for gaining honor, or even the material advantage that may result from it.

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## The Reflective Self and Dilemmas of Modernity

The first dilemma is integration as opposed to fragmentation. Modernity parcels out; it also integrates. Starting with the level of the individual, all up to the level of planetary systems, fragmentary impulses compete with integration. As far as selfhood is concerned, the problem of integration relates to the protection and reconstruction of self-identity, in the clashes with intense and extensive changes that modernity causes. In most premodern contexts, the fragmentation of experiences was not a significant cause of concern. Relations based on trust were localized and centered on personal connections, even though intimacy in the modern sense of the world did not generally exist. In a post-traditional order, however, the horizon of possibility is unlimited, not just in terms of behavioral, but in the sense of ‘openness of the world’ to the individual. ‘The world’ is not a compact spatial and temporal order that expands around the individual; for the individual, it only slowly emerges by mediation of diverse channels and sources. However, it would be incorrect to say that the world ‘as such’ intrinsically alienates and oppresses just because social systems have grown substantially and have become spatially distant from the individual. From such phenomena, influences that support unification can also emanate; they do not act upon selfhood just to fragment

25 Đurić Mihailo, Sociologija Maksa Vebera, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1964, 245–246.

it. Distant events can become equally close as direct ones, maybe even closer, and they integrate easily into the frames of personal experience. Fragmentation is tendentially aided by influences stressed by Berger and colleagues, pertaining to the diversification of the context of interaction.<sup>26</sup> In most modern environments, individuals enter vastly different encounters and milieus, each of which might require some other form of “proper” behavior. Goffman is usually considered the theoretician *par excellence* of this phenomenon. The individual emerges from one encounter and into the next, and with great sensitivity adjusts the “representations of himself” to the requests of each new situation. It is usually believed that such a standpoint implies that the individual has as many selfhoods as there are divergent contexts of interaction. This idea resembles post-structuralist interpretations of selfhood, but from a different theoretical perspective. Yet still, it would not be correct to interpret contextual diversity as something that is simple, and inevitably leads to the fragmentation of the self, and let alone to its disintegration to multiple ‘selfhoods.’ Because diversity equally can help the self to integrate. This situation resembles the contrast between rural and urban life. Humans can use diversity to create a personal self-identity, which positively incorporates elements of different environments in one integrated whole. A cosmopolitan is, in that sense, precisely the person who draws strength from feeling ‘at home’ in different contexts. The dilemma of integration/fragmentation, as others we will discuss, also has its pathologies. On the one hand, we have people that construct their identity around fixed objects; they act as a filter through which a person reacts to numerous different social environments, interpreting them through it. Such a person is a rigid traditionalist, in a compulsive sense, and rejects any relativization of context. On the other hand, in the case of the self that is lost in diverse contexts of action, we find adaptive response which Erich Fromm called ‘authoritarian conformism.’ Fromm expresses it as follows: The individual stops being an individual; he totally adopts the personality that is offered by cultural patterns; he therefore becomes precisely the way others are, and according to their expectations, should be... This mechanism is comparable to the camouflage coating animals have. They resemble their environment so much that they cannot be told apart.<sup>27</sup> In such conditions, false self-hood overpowers and masks the original acts of thinking, feeling, and will that are the individual’s true motivation. That which remains of the true self is experienced as empty and inauthentic; yet, that emptiness cannot be filled with ‘pseudo-selfhoods’ that an individual takes into different contexts, because they are inspired by others’ answers as much as they emerge from a human’s deep convictions. Ontological security in this situation is on equally shaky footing, as in the case of a rigid traditionalist. The individual’s self-identity feels secure only if others recognize his behavior as proper or prudent.

26 Berger, Peter and co., *The Homeless Mind*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974, 50.

27 Erich Fromm, “Bjekstvo od slobode,” trans. S. Đorđević and A. Spasić, Nolit Beograd, 1989, 165.

The second dilemma is between helplessness and appropriation. If there is one subject unifying all authors who have written about selfhood in modern society, then it is the claim that the individual, faced with a diverse and enormous social universe, feels helpless. As opposed to the traditional world, it is said, where the individual had significant control over many influences that shape their life, modern societies have displaced that control into the hands of external instances. The term alienation, as Marx ordained it, serves as the focal point for analyzing this question. Concurrently with the development of productive forces, especially under the aegis of capitalist production, the individual relinquishes control over their life to those the machine and market. That which was initially human, becomes someone else's; human powers are experienced as force that emanate from the human environment. Marx's followers were not the only ones to express this viewpoint; repackaged, it can be found in the works of 'mass society' theory. According to this viewpoint, the more modern social systems expand, the more the individual feels their autonomy dwindle. He is just an atom within a mass agglomeration of other individuals.<sup>28</sup> Ideas that we are striving to develop greatly differ from the stated viewpoint. In many premodern contexts, individuals (and humanity) were more helpless than they are in modern settings. People usually lived in small groups and communities; but small scale is not the same as power. In many small environments, people were relatively helpless to change the social conditions that surrounded them, or to escape them. The vice grip of tradition was unmatched. There are countless examples. Premodern kinship ties were often quite rigid and left the individual little room for independent action. If we had to furnish proof for the generalization that with the coming of modern institutions, individuals largely became (or feel) more helpless than they were earlier, it would be a tall order. Modernity expropriates – that is undeniable. The two most important influences are temporal-spatial distancing and the disqualifying effect of abstract systems. If distance and helplessness do not necessarily go hand in hand, the emergence of global interconnection is joined with the emergence of higher risks, representing the parameters of social life which the individual can hardly control. Similarly, processes of expropriation are inseparable from the maturing of modern institutions, and reach not just the spheres of daily life, but into the heart of selfhood itself. However, if we understand these processes dialectically, and if we see that globalization produces both extensive and intensive change, a more complex picture emerges. We cannot say that all forms of expropriation necessarily offer the possibility of appropriation, certainly not at the level of individual behavior. Many processes, transformed with the emergence of abstract systems, are outside the horizon of the situated actor. But

<sup>28</sup> Ivana Spasić, "Interpretativna sociologija," zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1998, 196–197. Original: Anthony Giddens, "Modernity and Self – Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age," Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, part of chapter 6 "Tribulations of the Self", 187–202.

there are other processes that enable new forms, ruling over life circumstances, that were unavailable in premodern situations. Helplessness and reappropriation intertwine in different contexts and moments: considering the dynamism of modernity, their mutual relations are rarely stable. The individual who gives their trust to other people, or a given abstract system, in a normal case admits that he lacks the power to meaningfully influence them. Yet, trust can empower. For instance, money. To use money, humans must participate in systems of economic exchange, banking, investment, etc., over which they have very little direct control. On the other hand, this process offers the individual, if they have the means, the most diverse opportunities that he would not have otherwise. Experiencing helplessness as a physical phenomenon is always connected with the individual's goals, projects and aspirations, as with the nature of the world. Helplessness experienced in a personal relationship can be psychologically destructive and have serious consequences that are felt in comprehensive social systems. Of course, the two can interact with one another in various ways. Diffuse anxieties related to high risks, for example, can generally contribute to the feeling of helplessness that the individual experiences in local contexts. Conversely, feelings of personal helplessness can spread 'upwards' to global questions. 'The survivor' is the person who feels that he cannot adequately handle the situation in a dangerous series of personal and social environments. However, worldviews dominated by 'survival' have connotations of integration, and not just helplessness. For someone focused on survival in personal relationships, as in other spheres of life, it cannot be said that he relinquished all autonomy over their circumstances. Even in just a negative sense, an individual clearly seeks active mastery: to survive means to be ready to confidently go through tests that life places before us and overcome them.

The third dilemma is that between authority and uncertainty.<sup>29</sup> In late modern conditions, in many areas of social life, including the domain of selfhood, there are no unconditional figures of authority. There are many pretenders to the position of authority, many more than in premodern cultures. Long ago, tradition itself was one of the main sources of authority. It was not placed in a particular single institution, but it subsumed many aspects of social life. As diffuse as it was, tradition was a singular source of authority. Even though there were often conflicts between competing traditions in many premodern cultures, traditional outlooks and customs excluding alternatives in advance. Even where conflicting traditions existed, inclusion in one traditional framework was normally quite exclusionary: just the fact that one belonged to a framework meant the rejection of others. When we speak of specific institutional authorities, religion clearly plays

29 Ivana Spasić, "Interpretativna sociologija," zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1998, 199–201. Original: Anthony Giddens, "Modernity and Self – Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, part of Chapter 6 "Tribulations of the Self," 187–202.

one of the leading roles. In practically all premodern cultures, there was just one main religious order – even though the cultures had some sceptics, with wizards and warlocks always at the disposal of those who veered away from religious orthodoxy. Even still, these alternatives hardly offered a proper replacement for the widespread authoritative reach of the dominant religious system. In larger traditional societies, where religious orders could be more diverse, there was less pluralism in the modern sense of the word; orthodoxies fought heterodoxies/heresies. Local community and kinship systems were two added sources of stabilizing authority, directly relevant for maintaining relationships of trust in traditional contexts. Both were sources of ‘binding doctrines’ and forms of behavior, imbued with strong normative coercive powers. Bowing to traditional authorities, no matter how deep, did not remove uncertainty from daily life in traditional cultures. The strength of premodern forms of authority can only be interpreted as an answer to the sheer unpredictability of daily life and the numerous influences that were outside human control. Especially religious authorities spread the feeling that the individual was surrounded by threats and dangers, as only the authorized official of the faith could understand them or try to control them. Religious authorities created mysteries, at the same time staking their claim that they had privileged access to them.<sup>30</sup> In modernity, some forms of traditional authority still exist, including religion. Owing to the connections between modernity and doubt, religion not only refuses to disappear, but is experiencing a new flourishing. However, today is in stark contrast with the past. Forms of traditional authority have become only ‘authorities,’ among many others, a part of an undetermined plurality of expertise. An expert or specialist is something entirely different from ‘authority,’ if this term is taken in a traditional sense. Apart from cases where they are sanctioned to use force (as with state power and law), authority becomes factually equivalent to specialist advice. There are no authorities that subsume all fields where expertise is needed, which is only another way to show that in modern systems, everyone is a layman in practically all aspects of social activity.

The fourth dilemma is between personalized experience and experience turned into goods.<sup>31</sup> Modernity opens the project of selfhood, but under conditions influenced strongly by standardizing effects of goods-based capitalism. In this paper, we did not try to thoroughly show the effects of capitalist production on modern social life. Suffice to say that capitalism is one of the main institutional dimensions of modernity, and that the process of capitalist accumulation represents one of the main moving forces of modern institution. Capitalism turns everything into goods, and in various ways. Creating abstract goods, as Marx believed, is maybe

30 Walter Warren Wagar, “Terminal Visions,” Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1982.

31 Ivana Spasić, “Interpretativna sociologija,” zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1998, 201–205. Original: Anthony Giddens, “Modernity and Self – Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, part of Chapter 6 “Tribulations of the Self,” 187–202.

the most basic element in spreading capitalism as a universal system of production. Exchange value is created only when the use value becomes irrelevant to the mechanisms through which production, sale and distribution of goods and services takes place. Exchange value, therefore, enables the displacement of economic relations into infinite spans of space and time. Furthermore, and this is key, commodification impacts the work force: the work force as such emerges only when it is separated from 'labor' as a whole. Finally, commodification directly influences the process of consumption, especially with the maturing of the capitalist order. Establishing standardized patterns of consumption, helped by advertising and other methods, begins to play a central role in economic growth. On all the said levels, commodification influences the project of selfhood and shapes lifestyles. The effect of commodification can be narrowed down in the following ways:

- The capitalist market, with its 'imperatives' of constant expansion, attacks traditions.
- The spread of capitalism leaves wide sectors of social reproduction (but not all) to the markets of products and labor.
- Markets operate regardless of previously established forms of behavior, that mostly represent hurdles to undisrupted exchange.
- In the era of late modernity, capitalist entrepreneurship increasingly tries to shape consumption and to monopolize the means of production.

From the very beginning, markets promoted individualism by stressing individual rights and responsibilities, but at first, this phenomenon is mostly about the freedom to conclude contract and mobility, which are intrinsic to capitalist employment. Later, however, individualism spreads to the sphere of consumption, at which point defining individual needs becomes central to continuing the system. The freedom of individual choice, under the governance of the market, becomes a comprehensive framework for individual self-expression. The twisting of the term 'lifestyle,' that has reflexively been introduced into the sphere of marketing is paradigmatic for the processes. Advertisers orient towards sociological classifications of consumer categories, and at the same time nurture specific consumer 'packages.' The project of selfhood is largely translated into the project of owning desired goods and enjoying artificially articulated lifestyles. Many noted the consequences of this situation. Constant consumption of new goods becomes, to a certain extent, a replacement for an authentic development of the self; appearance replaces essence, while visible signs of successful consumption begin to dominate over the use-value of goods and services in question. Bauman describes it well:

Individual needs of personal autonomy, self-definition, authentic life or personal perfection are all translated into the need to possess, and consume, market-offered goods. This translation, however, pertains to the appearance of use-value of such goods, rather than to the use-value itself; as such, it is intrinsically inadequate and

ultimately self-defeating, leading to momentary assuagement of desires and lasting frustration of needs [...] The gap between human needs and individual desires is produced by market domination; this gap is, at the same time, a condition of its reproduction. The market feeds on the unhappiness it generates: the fears, anxieties and the sufferings of personal inadequacy it induces release consumer behavior indispensable to its continuation.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion: The Deeper Dynamics – The Threat of Absurdity

If the preceding analysis is correct, the encounter with the said dilemmas — within the context of the reflexive project of the self — takes place against a backdrop shaped by the dominance of internally referential systems. In other words, the reflexive project of selfhood is forced to develop in conditions that hinder personal determination in some of the most fundamental questions that human existence asks of us all. From there, it follows that the project of selfhood must be reflexively attained in a social environment that is more technically competent, but morally devastated. Below far-reaching processes of planning one's own life — with the said dilemmas, there is a threatening feeling of personal meaninglessness.<sup>33</sup> If we want to understand why this is so, it is best that we begin with the ever-presence of abstract systems. Daily life today is becoming more porous to calculability than it was in most premodern contexts. Calculability is expressed in not just the existence of stable social environments, but also in the chronic reflexivity in which individuals organize their own relationships to the comprehensive social world. The threat of individual meaninglessness is held under control because routine activities, combined with basic trust, maintain ontological security. In internally referential systems, daily activities become controlled, which blunts the blade of potentially disturbing existential questions. Mastery, in other words, supplants morality; to be able to control personal life circumstances, colonize the future with a certain degree of success and live under parameters of internally referential systems can, in many conditions, lead to the social and nature framework appears safe foundations for life's activities. Even psychotherapy, as the example of the reflexive project of selfhood, can become a phenomenon of control — internally referential system in and of itself. Basic trust is a necessary element in maintaining a feeling of sense of personal and social activities within those frameworks. Seeing as 'self-evident' attitudes towards the world are taken as 'good and correct,' basic trust calms the deep fears that could normally come to the fore. However, when controlled only by internally referential system, this position is fragile. We can say that the more the reflexive project becomes open

32 Zygmunt Bauman, "Legislators and Interpreters," Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, 189.

33 Ivana Spasić, "Interpretativna sociologija," Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1998, 205–206. Original: Anthony Giddens, "Modernity and Self – Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age," Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, part of Chapter 6 "Tribulations of the Self," 187–202.

and generalized, along the concurrent removing new and newer fragments of tradition, it is more likely that it the repressed will return to the very heart of modern institutions.

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# BOSNIA Preporod N STUDIES SARAJEVO 1

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The Importance of  
E-Administration in the Digital  
Development Of Bosnia And  
Herzegovina

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## Summary

*The development of e-administration/governance is important for the modernization of public administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It would enable a more efficient, transparent and accessible administrative apparatus. Currently public administration is perceived as rigid and bureaucratic which complicates exercising rights and accessing public services for citizens and business subjects alike. Despite adopted strategies of public administration reforms, the results are limited, and digitalization is progressing slowly.*

*The COVID-19 pandemic further stressed the need for digital transformation, showing that technology can significantly improve the access and continued provision of public services. E-administration would reduce administrative hurdles, speed up processes, and improve communication between citizens and institutions. Apart from citizens, the business sector also has high expectations, especially in terms of eliminating excessive administrative procedures and creating a more hospitable business environment.*

**Key Words:** Public administration reform, digitalization, DMS, e-administration, electronic signatures

### 1. Introduction

To improve accessibility and quality of public service, we need stronger administrative and institutional capacities, with a special focus on the modernization of governmental and administrative procedures via innovative digital solutions, which is one of the key commitments of the Strategy of Public Administration Reform.

To be more precise, administration today is experienced and perceived by many as a rigid, inflexible system of bureaucracy, often linked with different difficulties and problems. Most often, these challenging situations arise in moments when people strive to exercise certain legal rights, want to acquire necessary documentation, or secure legal prediction. Such processes, in most cases, take a long time, incur higher costs, and are not easily available. Public administration should be effective and serve the citizens, but it must first be fully transparency in its activities as representatives of the public interest. Above all, it must enable simpler communication between the citizens and the bodies of government/administration.

Considering the following, we arrive at the need to catch up with the development of digital transformation. Namely, even though the ruling powers realize the said problem, and already in 2006 adopted the Strategy of Reforming Public Administration, administrative bodies still have not developed efficient service

model through which citizens would more easily and without hurdles secure their rights and interests.

Similarly, in previous years, faced with the global COVID-19 pandemic, there was a need for the strengthening of electronic services in administrative bodies' work. To slow the spread of illness, and save human lives, governments had to react decisively and adequately. One of the most apparent consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic is the dramatic acceleration of digital transformation. As governments transitioned to digital technology, it has become apparent that technology can be a powerful ally in securing *uninterrupted* public services and improve the country's resilience against catastrophes.

According to the available reports of the Office of the Coordinator for the Reform of Public Administration, institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina are showing the weakest results in this segment in terms of their set goals.

Namely, digital transformation, or the implementation of e-administration would mean carrying out the reform of administration in a significantly deeper sense. The solution lies in the process transformation of public administration, which would make interaction easier and improve the relationship between the users of public services and those in charge of the public administration bodies, through simpler daily procedures via removing administrative hurdles. Process transformation of public administration includes the analysis, optimization and mutual linking of procedures, with the end goal of their digitalization in line with the needs of the users. Citizens, as the primary, daily users of services through the system of public administration, have the highest expectations from the process reform. Additionally, business communities/economic subjects are expressing their demands, whose needs are primarily geared towards improving the business environment, and the working conditions via eliminating excessive and needless administrative procedures. It follows that one of the key tasks of reform would be to adapt the administration to the users, reduce bureaucratic barriers and use modern technologies. Creating a modern information society is one of the most important changes of globalization, which is to follow regardless of the conditions. And conditions further point to the importance of developing one.

## 2. A More Transparent Public Administration in the Service of the Citizens

Engaging citizens in the socio-political life of a local community and making public administrative decisions is an important aspect of developing democratic processes. To secure the active participation of citizens, it is important that they have access to all information relating to the work of and activities by administrative bodies. It is also important that they are informed about the possible forms

of participation, and all the general ongoings within a community. Informing the citizens adequately, and in a timely manner, becomes an important motivator and incentive for their active participation in local political processes. By establishing adequate communication between citizens and the administrative bodies in a local community, we ‘bust’ the myth about their untouchability. One of the most effective ways to attain that task is the use of information and communication technologies as an important part of an information society (Mahmuzić, 2021: 4).

Building citizens’ trust in public administration institutions is a tall order for every unit of local self-management in a contemporary society. Without the trust of citizens, public administration cannot ensure legitimacy, efficient cooperation, nor the support necessary for adapting quickly to dynamic social, technological, economic, ecological and other changes. Building the perception of a public administration as a reliable and available partner for the citizens should be one of the main strategic goals of local governments. Efficient administration demands precisely this type of communication.

Openness entails a two-way communication channel, where information circulates between public administration and the social environment. Also important is the return information from the environment, independent of whether it comes from the citizens, private sector, or civil society. Citizens play an active role, while the administration collects their attitudes, opinions, suggestions and demands through different mechanisms, such as public consultation, discussions and hearings. That process today is increasingly digitalized, due to the use of internet platforms, social media and other modern channels of communication, through which citizens can send their suggestions and complaints. Openness enables the inclusion of, partnership with, and the participation of citizens, and asks the administration to answer citizens’ needs and requirements (Mahmuzić, 2021:5). Using available free tools for publishing and cooperation, citizens can follow the activities of the government, point to inefficacy and encourage innovation. Transparency, also, offers support to innovative civil servants within the system. Furthermore, openness and transparency are a strong tool in the battle against corruption, which is especially in developing countries, a common problem at all levels of government.

### 3. The Significance of Digitalizing Public Administration

#### 3.1. *E-Administration for better Informing of, and Communicating with Citizens*

New informational and communicational technologies (ICT) influenced the creation of a new way in which regular people communicate, work and live, and changed the relationship between governments and people. Moving traditional

services online, most governments are in the process of implementing a total transformation of processes, internally and externally. Nearly all developed countries have started comprehensive practices of e-governance for different demands of citizens concerning access, transparency and improving government services.

Electronic administration (e-admin.) transforms the relationship that governments had with citizens and makes the government's services more efficient, responsive, efficient and accessible. Transforming governance into e-governance is precisely the most important part of the general process of developing an information society.

Web pages are a significant tool of e-administration, and channel of communication and offering services. Web platforms enable administrative bodies to improve their efficiency and effectiveness, strengthen democracy and trust of the public. That is much more important at local levels, as the more basic public services are provided in cities/municipalities, and citizens are closely linked with lower-level administrative bodies. Municipalities and cities can be considered bridges that connect citizens and public administration, handling services that directly impact citizens. The successful role of municipalities/cities is reflected in their high and continued engagement of the citizens, because of the impact on the daily lives of citizens. That close link covers various services: from maintaining roads, to communal, social and other services, protecting the local environment, while the central government handles more distant questions. As the quantity of web content and its use continues to rise, local administration should regularly follow and improve the quality of their pages to attract and satisfy the users.

Efficiently implemented digital public services, rather than the concept of electronic administration in general, can benefit the work of public administration bodies in numerous ways. That includes the higher efficiency and savings for the government and businesses, higher transparency and greater participation of citizens in political life (European Union).<sup>1</sup>

E-administration, or electronic administration means organs of public service and local self-management conduct business processes. *It is based on the use of contemporary information-communication technology and is directed towards the end-user* (Roljić, Mameledžija, 2010:70).

Creating a *modern information society* is considered one of the major globalization changes. Electronic public administration as a model of action and functioning of (public) administration would bring faster, more efficient and more reliable access to services. That would benefit efficacy, openness and transparency, as

<sup>1</sup> Available on the EU website: (<https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/egovernment>), Accessed 05/2025.

well as more rational and effective operation, both for citizens and businesses, so within institutions of BiH.

Further transformation of governance means further modernization of public administration, undisrupted cross-border mobility and improved digital interaction (European Commission).<sup>2</sup> Digital transformation entails processes which relate to deeper transformations of all sectors of economy and society and are a result of adopting and using digital technology (UNDP, 2022:7).

Mandar Garge calls this process of transforming of the business process leading to digital transformation of business the ‘digital journey’ (Garge 2018. from Ložić, 2023: 211). This process of transformation passes through a few phases: digitization, digitalization and digital transformation.

Digitization entails the transformation of data and information into a digital format which can be stored, processed and transferred using digital and information technologies. Digitalization, on the other hand, entails the transformation of processes and operations in how they are automatized using digital information technologies. Digital transformation entails comprehensive changes in the entire organization which means an entirely new way of providing services (UNDP, 2022: 7).

The functioning of e-administration can be seen in two lights: external, aiming at the users, and the internal, which covers the reorganization of state institutions. So, users of e-administration can be sorted into the following categories: G – administration, E – employees, B – business sector, C – citizens.

Interaction between them creates the following categories of e-administration:

- G2G (government to government) – covers the exchange of data and electronic communication between bodies of administration, or rather exchange within and between institutions, as well as the exchange with higher levels of government, and with units of self-rule (UNDP, Vlada KS and GDi, 2021:5).
- G2B (government to business) – covers business transactions (e.g., paying, selling and buying goods and services), as well as online provision of services for business subjects (UNDP, Vlada KS and GDi, 2021:5).
- G2C (government to citizens) – entails the initiative conceived to make interactions between citizens and the public sector easier. It means the interaction that relates to the provision of public services, as with the participation in consultations and processes of decision-making (UNDP, Vlada KS i GDi, 2021:6).
- G2E (government to employee) – Relates to the interaction and exchange of information between bodies of government, to coordinate internal op-

2 Available on the European Commission website: Digital transformation of public administration and services, from 21.12.2021. [https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/foresight/digital-transformation-public-administration-services\\_en](https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/foresight/digital-transformation-public-administration-services_en), accessed on 5/2025.

erations and improve the internal efficiency of business processes (Rao, 2011:215).

- Between administration and users from other states (Dragičević, 2015. Cited in Kos, 2017:84).

Communication represents a vital part of doing business, organizing, and managing every institution and is of essential importance for its efficient work and achieving organizational goals (Uprava za indirektno oporezivanje BiH, 2025:3). E-administration strives to move communication between citizens and public administration from physical booths into digital spaces, freeing citizens from waiting in lines, offering the possibility of using services without limitations of time and space. Such an approach enables administration services to always be available and operational.

For e-administration to function efficiently, or rather, offer complete electronic services to citizens, business systems and other subjects, the following needs to be made possible:

- Internet access.
- Adequate communication and information infrastructure of administration.
- Electronic databases.
- Applications for processing, accessing and exchanging information.
- Access points for executing services.
- A security system of accessing services through suitable security mechanisms (smart cards, etc.) (Mameledžija-Demir, 2022:76).

To successfully execute e-administration, activities need to move in two directions:

1. Improving computer literacy of citizens and
2. Building suitable information infrastructure (Radivojević, 2009. Cited in Mameledžija-Demir, 2022:76).

The basic pre-conditions for the successful development and implementation of electronic administration include clearly set goals, adequate normative organization and a thought-through long-term strategy for the building of technological infrastructure.

Generally, implementing e-administration would lead to the following advantages:

- Creating a more efficient business environment.
- Improved productivity and efficiency of state organizations.
- Speeding up the flow of information between users and providers of services.
- Improving transparency.
- Improving democratic dialogue with citizens and their inclusion in democratic processes.

- Easier communication between the state, citizens and business subjects to promote political, social and economic development of the state (Čerić, Varg, 2004. prema Ivančević, Ravlić, 2021:170).

### *3.2. Document Management System (DMS) – System for the Electronic Management of Documents and Workflows*

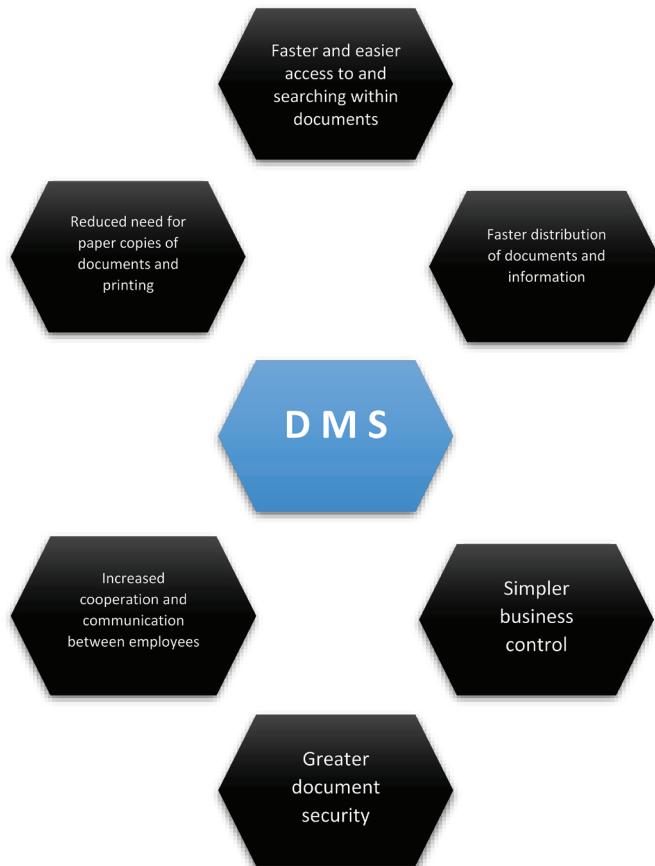
Applying contemporary information technologies in the domain of document management is also an important step in the process of digital transformation. Namely, most of important information of every institution is in the form of documents – business books, requests, reports, rulings, memoranda, and other similar writing. Numerous business processes in organizations depend on document flows or are managed by them. Systems for electronic document management and workflows, then, would be an important mechanism for advancing work with documents, improving the entire system of management, with which creation, processing and managing documents would be much easier.

The Document Management System (DMS), the system for managing documents represents the electronic platform aiming at the efficient administration of documents and forms the basis for the transition to paperless business. DMS control the life cycle of documents in organizations – creating, editing, correcting, following, managing and storing documents (Ured za reviziju institucija BiH, 2021:14). Functional DMS entails modularity, adaptability to the end-user and connection with other programs and tools which the user uses within his organization, while keeping control over documents, according to the set organizational policy and the legal regulations (Ured za reviziju institucija BiH, 2021:14).

DMS enables easier management of business processes through continued monitoring and control of all items that are processed in daily work activities. Automatizing the reception, processing, approving and archiving documents increases productivity and reduces costs. Its advantages include quick searches, easier information exchanges and standardizing content within an organization. DMS covers all the phases of life of a document's life cycle, from creation, to editing and revising, publishing and archiving.

Up to now, working with archived information in paper form, which dominates the institutions of BiH, has been a limitation on modernizing administration. This method was shown to be quite inefficient, especially in situations when it is necessary to find specific documents with a higher amount of archival material. Physical spaces are burdened with materials, which without digital search tools, can create operational halts, but also administrative stress. This challenge in working with archival materials, but also with papers, can be overcome by implementing a system to manage documents that would allow digital preservation, tracking, control, as well as searching.

## The advantages of using DMS:



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Source: Ured za reviziju institucija BiH (2021), Izvještaj revizije učinka "Elektronsko upravljanje dokumentima u institucijama BiH"

Aside from the application in bureaucratic-administrative positions, DMS can offer significant support in the process of providing public services. Data stored in the DMS can be used as the basis for building electronic services to exchange information between institutions of public administration (G2G), between bodies of administration and citizens (G2C) as well as in the interaction with business subjects (G2B), and communication between administration and users from different countries. These services allow integration with other information systems, which achieves a simpler and easier exchange of data. An especially important function of the DMS is the possibility of integrating electronic signatures, which further contributes to security and makes electronic documents legally valid.

A successfully designed DMS enables:

- Fast and simple lookups, access to and exchange of documents and information, including attachments and document collections.
- Centralized archives and better overview of business processes.
- Automatization of workflows and standardization of procedures.
- Upgraded work organization, and collaboration between employees through clearly defined division of task and collaborative access to documents.
- Following the documentation and insights into previous processes and sources of information.
- Reducing administrative burdens by integrating moments with making, and processing documents.
- Reducing costs of storing and maintaining archival materials.

### 1.3. Electronic Signatures – Signing Documents Digitally

Electronic signatures (e-signatures) are digital data which identifies users but also confirms the authenticity of documents (Đanić-Čeko, Guštin, 2022: 802). E-signatures are the general term that relates to every form of signing electronic documents, which confirms the authenticity of the document and the person of the signed.

An electronic signature is an entire collection of data which is electronically generated, sent, received or saved on the electronic, magnetic, optical or other medium. Contents of the electronic data include all forms of written and other texts, data, images, drawing, maps, sound, music, speech, computer databases.<sup>3</sup>

A secure electronic signature is one which:

1. Given exclusively to the signatory.
2. Enables the identification of the signatory.
3. Made using means that are fully under the control of the signatory.
4. Connected to data to which the signature relates to, so that every future change of the data can be verified.
5. Is based on the qualified confirmation and formed using technical means and acts that are in accordance with the security requirements of the law, according to which legal proscriptions are made (Hamidović, 2014:160).

For technology, including electronic signatures, to be efficiently integrated into business processes, it is necessary to understand its functionality, advantages and eventual limitations in practical use.

Some of the demands that e-signatures face include:

<sup>3</sup> Grad Tuzla (2023). *Pravilnik o upotrebi i sigurnosti informacionog sistema Grada Tuzla*. Available at: <https://grad.tuzla.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Pravilnik-o-upotrebi-i-sigurnosti-informacionog-sistema-Grada-Tuzla.pdf> accessed: 5/2025.

1. That the identity of the signatory can be reliably determined reliably.
2. That the signature is created using a system without known weaknesses that could jeopardize its authenticity.
3. There should be measures to protect the signature, so that it cannot be used without the signatory to whom it is tied.
4. That changes in the data that the signature is tied to can be discovered.
5. That it is verified by the official provider of the certification service (Mahmutčehajić, Silajdžić, Trivun, 2007:194).

With the Law on Electronic Signatures (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 91/06) and the adopted implementation acts (Pravilnik o Registru ovjeritelja "Službeni glasnik BiH" No. 14/17, Pravilnik o mjerama i postupcima upotrebe i zaštite elektronskog potpisa, sredstava za formiranje elektronskog potpisa i sistema certificiranja "Službeni glasnik BiH" No. 14/17, Pravilnik o detaljnim uvjetima za izdavanje kvalificiranih certifikata "Službeni glasnik BiH" No. 14/17) defines the principles of using electronic signatures and accredited verification services. Implementing the law has not been completed entirely, because no supervisory body was implemented by the Office for Supervision and Accreditation of Verifiers at the Ministry of Communications and Transport of BiH before 2017. The forming of the Office in 2017 ensures the application and execution of the Law on electronic signatures and the following implementation acts.

The Office for the Supervision and Accreditation of verifiers, according to Article 20, point 4 of the Law on Electronic Signature 'handles the electronic register of verifiers centered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, accredited verifiers and verifiers with headquarters in other countries for whose verifications the guarantors are in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It runs the register of confirmations for verifiers, which contains qualified confirmations of verifiers for the provision of service tied to electronic signatures and verification. Such verifications can be given also by the supervisory bodies. These registers must be, generally, always available, using means of information and communication technologies. Supervisory bodies put their secure electronic signatures into registers that it runs' (Službeni glasnik BiH, 91/06).

In 2008, with the Law on the Agency for Identification Documents, Records and Information Exchange of BiH (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 56/2008) founded the Agency for Identification Documents, Records and Information Exchange of BiH within the Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH (IDDEEA). In accordance with Article 3 of the Law, it is in charge of identification documents, storing, personalizing and transporting documents, and the central leadership of records and exchanging information between the government bodies; it cooperates with the bodies of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are the sources, and other bodies which use the agency in accordance with the Law (Službeni glasnik BiH, broj 56/2008). The IDDEEA currently serves as an accredited verifier in the Register

of Verifiers in Bosnia and Herzegovina,<sup>4</sup> led by the Ministry of Communication and Transport. It has a central role in establishing, developing and implementing electronic signatures throughout Bosnia.

The IDDEEA started the process of establishing electronic signatures in February 2024. Until today, marked improvements were noted in its technological implementation and availability to citizens. However, despite the progress, its wider application is still limited with numerous systemic obstacles. A special challenge is the lack of clearly defined normative obligations that would enable institutionalized and obligatory exchange of data between bodies of public administration. Furthermore, the platform Government Service Bus, imagined as the central mechanism for a safe and efficient flow of information between different levels of government, is still not fully functional (OECD/SIGMA, 2025:112). Additionally, the adjustment of local legislature to the demands of eIDAS 2.0 regulative is necessary, as without it, Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be able to fully recognize and use digital identity in an international legal framework (OECD/SIGMA, 2025:124).

Infrastructural groundwork has been laid, expecting the focus to shift to adjusting regulatory and strategic sections, to make the electronic signature fully integrated.

#### 1.4. Institutional and Legal Framework for Establishing E-Administration in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a state of two entities, to which, later, with decisions of international arbitration, has also been given a district as an independent administrative entity. While one entity is strongly centralized and has just two levels of government: entity and municipal, the other entity is decentralized, as most jurisdictions are divided between the entity and ten cantonal governments (which, in a sense, present another layer of regional rule), with some jurisdictions on the municipal/city level. Considering the multi-layered make-up of the state, prerogatives of electronic administration are split.

At the level of BiH, institutions in charge of developing digital transformation are the BiH's Ministry of Communications and Transport, and the Ministry of Civil Affairs. At the level of the entity Republika Srpska, the jurisdiction lies with the Ministry of Scientific and Technological Development and Higher Education (Department of Information Society) and the Ministry of Transport and Communications. The federal ministry of Transport and Communications operates at the level of the entity of the Federation of BiH (Department for Information Communication Technology), with divided jurisdictions with the Federal Ministry of

<sup>4</sup> Available at: [https://www.mkt.gov.ba/data/Slike/Dokumenti/Registar\\_ovjeritelja\\_u\\_Bosni\\_i\\_Hercegovini\\_15.04.2022-potpisano.pdf](https://www.mkt.gov.ba/data/Slike/Dokumenti/Registar_ovjeritelja_u_Bosni_i_Hercegovini_15.04.2022-potpisano.pdf), Accessed on 05/2025.

Education and Science and the Federal Ministry of Development, Entrepreneurship and Trade. At the level of (certain) cantons, Information-Communication Technology services (such as the Department of Information Technology and Statistics of Sarajevo Canton) are in charge. In the Brčko District, jurisdiction for digital transformation is centralized within the government of the district.

[...] concerning the development of infrastructure, at the state level, the Ministry of Communication and Transport has the role of creating policies, including national policies, strategic documents and legislation, while the Regulatory Agency for Communication (RAK) is an independent regulatory body whose mandate encompasses telecommunication policies at the level of the entire country. Finally, the ministry of Security leads the cyber-security agenda. (ITU, 2023:10)

A coordinated approach to the process of reform and modernization of public administration at the administrative level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the governments of the Federation of BiH, the government of Republika Srpska and the Brčko District are underway since 2006, when the governments adopted the First Strategy of Public Administration Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ured koordinatora za reformu javne uprave, 2021:6). The same year, the Action Plan was adopted and revised in 2010. The primary goal of the Strategy of Reforming Public Administration was establishing and improving public administration, that would offer better services to citizens and economic subjects and operate according to principle of good administration and ensure the passing of reforms necessary for the process of European integration (Ured koordinatora za reformu javne uprave, 2021:6).

The following overview of strategic documents, policies, plans, laws and sub-laws adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina points to a clear and continued commitment of the state to the process of digital transformation. The list below is not exhaustive, but is a representative frame of reference of existing strategic and normative efforts:

- Strategy for the Development of the Information Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2004-2010 (Council of Ministers, 2004).
- Convention on Cyber Crime, 2004 – ratified on 01.09.2006.
- Public Administration Reform Strategy 2006–2014.
- Action Plan 1 (2006) and the Revised Action Plan 1 from 2011.
- Policy for the Development of the Information Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2017–2021 (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 42/17).
- Policy for the Electronic Communications Sector of BiH for the period 2017–2021, and Action Plan for the Implementation of the Policy (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 46/17).
- Information Security Management Policy in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2017–2022 (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 38/17)

and Guidelines from the Information Security Management Policy in BiH institutions for the period 2017–2022 (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 62/22).

- Interoperability Framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 53/18);
- Strategic Framework for Public Administration Reform and Action Plan for the period of 2018-2022.
- Economic Reform Programs (digital economy, digital transformation) for the periods:
  - 2018-2020
  - 2019-2021
  - 2020-2022
  - 2021-2023
  - 2022-2024
  - 2023-2025
  - 2024-2026
  - 2025-2027
- Memorandum of Understanding on Regional Interoperability and Trust Services in the Western Balkans Region, 2020.
- Strategic Framework of BiH Institutions until 2030 (digitalization), 2022.
- International Agreement between the EU and BiH on Bosnia and Herzegovina's participation in the Digital Europe Program 2021–2027, ratified in 2024.
- International Agreement between the European Union and BiH on Bosnia and Herzegovina's participation in the EU Program – Digital Europe (2021–2027), April 2024
- Memorandum of Understanding between IDDEEA BiH and UNDP on advancing digital transformation, June 2024.
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Council of Ministers of BiH and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on cooperation in the field of expert and advisory support for the development of secure digital infrastructure, development of public digital services, and digital transformation, June 2024.

Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation between BiH and Slovenia in the field of digital transformation, 2025.

- Law on the Electronic Document, Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 58/14.
- Law on the Electronic Signature, Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 91/06.
- Law on Electronic Legal and Business Transactions, Službeni glasnik BiH, No. 88/07.
- Law on the Electronic Signature of the FBiH, Adopted currently as draft, May 2018.
- Law on the Electronic Document of the FBiH, Službene novine Federacije BiH, No. 55/2013.

- Strategy for the development of electronic governance of Republic Srpska for the period of 2019-2022.
- Strategy for the development of electronic governance of Republic Srpska for the period of 2023-2025.
- Strategy for the Development of Science, Technology, Higher Education and Information Society in Republika Srpska in the period of 2023-2029.
- Law on the Electronic Signature of Republika Srpska, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 106/15.
- Law on the Electronic Document of Republika Srpska, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 106/15.
- Law on Electronic Commerce, Službeni glasnik RS, Nos. 41/2009, 95/2013 and 52/2019.
- Law on the Electronic Document, Electronic Identification and Confidential Services in Electronic Business, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 94/2017 and 52/2021.
- Law on Electronic Commerce, Službeni glasnik RS, Nos. 59/2009 and 33/2016.
- Law on Electronic Governance, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 27/2018.
- Law on Electronic Money, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 1/24.
- Law on Electronic Invoicing, Službeni glasnik RS, Nos. 44/2021, 129/2021, 138/2022, 92/2023 and 94/2024.
- Law on Electronic Communication, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 35/2023.
- Law on Electronic Media, Službeni glasnik RS, No. 92/2023.
- Law on Information Security, Službeni glasnik RS, Nos. 6/2016, 94/2017, 77/2019.
- Law on Electronic Documents of Brčko District BiH, Službeni glasnik BD BiH, No. 17/20.
- Law on Electronic Signatures of Brčko District BiH, Službeni glasnik BD BiH, No. 17/20.

### 1.5. *Analysis of the Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

The analysis is based on secondary data relating to the period between 2019 and 2025, which are in the following institutional reports:

- Office for the Revision of Institutions of BiH.<sup>5</sup>

5 1. Izvještaj revizije učinka (2021) “*Elektronsko upravljanje dokumentima u institucijama Bosne i Hercegovine*,” no: 05-16-1-1238/21.  
 2. Izvještaj revizije učinka (2022) “*Aktivnosti institucija Bosne i Hercegovine na osiguranju temeljnih pretpostavki za kibersigurnost*,” no: 05-16-1-1431/22;  
 3. Revizija učinka (2023) – Praćenje realizacije preporuka revizije učinka “*Elektronsko poslovanje u institucijama Bosne i Hercegovine – uspostava i primjena*”;  
 4. Revizija učinka (2023) “*Uvođenje softverskih rješenja*”

- Office of the Coordinator for Public Administration Reform.<sup>6</sup>
- Federal Bureau for Development Programming.<sup>7</sup>
- International Telecommunications Union.<sup>8</sup>
- European Commission.<sup>9</sup>
- OCED/SIGMA.<sup>10</sup>

According to available reports on currently implemented activities of digital transformation, we can conclude that Bosnia and Herzegovina commenced digital reforms, but that it is progressing slowly and unevenly due to institutional fragmentation, lack of coordination, and limited financial resources. The European Commission states that Bosnia and Herzegovina “has no coordinated and jointly planned approach to digital transformation of public services in the entire country, and the exchange of information between services is highly limited” (Evropska komisija, 2024:81). There is no comprehensive policy of providing services or clear institutional functions at any level of government, nor is there an e-services catalogue. The lack of infrastructure for a citizen’s e-signature makes digitalization even more difficult (Evropska komisija, 2024:30). Institutions at the state level need to improve governance via policies covering the entire country (Evropska komisija, 2024:29).

As the advancement in the reports is measured generally, with the average result of different administrative levels, it makes it difficult to gauge the real and differentiated effects, as the exceptional results of certain levels of administration are lost in the average. The *Semiannual Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan Strategic Framework for the Reform of Public Administration of BiH 2018-2027* states how “even though there was no advancement in the changes of indicator values, at the level of the Council of Ministers of BiH, Federation of BiH, Republika Srpska and Brčko District BiH, activities contributing to the continued process of simplifying administrative procedures can be seen (Ured koordinatora za reformu javne uprave, 2024: 49).”

Therefore, some steps, currently important for BiH have been made in terms of establishing e-administration, but they remain insufficient in terms of establishing complete interoperability and universal availability of electronic services.

<sup>6</sup> *Polugodišnji izvještaj o napretku januar-juni 2024 o implementaciji Akcionog plana Strateškog okvira za reformu javne uprave u BiH 2018-2027*, 2024.

<sup>7</sup> Izvještaj o razvoju Federacije BiH 2023, 2024.

<sup>8</sup> Izvještaj “*Bosnia and Herzegovina – Digital Development Country Profile*”, (final version, March 2023); *State of digital development and trends in the Europe region: Challenges and opportunities*, February 2025.

<sup>9</sup> *Izvještaj o Bosni i Hercegovini za 2024. godinu uz Saopštenje o politici proširenja EU-a za 2024.*, Brussels, 2024.

<sup>10</sup> Monitoring Reports *Public administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2024*.

The institutional framework for electronic administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not yet complete. There is no central body with clear jurisdiction to regulate development and implementation of digital services at all administrative levels. Even though the legal grounds for e-business and using a qualified electronic signature have advanced considerably, mutual recognition of e-signatures between the state, entity, cantonal, and local bodies remains unsolved, and represents a further hurdle to efficient digital communication within the public administration.

The report of revising the effects, following the implementation of recommendations for increasing efficiency *Electronic Business in the Institutions of BiH – Establishment and Application*, states how:

The current legal framework that regulates the question of the electronic signature is not in line with the legal framework of the EU, according to which the domain of electronic business is regulated. In coordinating Institutions of BiH regarding implementation of electronic business, the Council of Ministers of BiH has adopted the Strategic Framework for the Reform of Public Administration, which, among other, provides activities to implement different forms of electronic business. In the field of coordinating BiH's Institutions, the Council of Ministers of BiH has adopted the Strategic Framework for the Reform of Public Administration that, among others, plans activities to implement different forms of electronic conduct of business. The Council of Ministers of BiH has also passed the Decision on Implementing the Framework of Interoperability. However, to grade the state of the field of institutional coordination as satisfactory, it is necessary to ensure full implementation of measures of the Strategic Framework for the Reform of Public Administration, as well as the implementation of the Decision on Implementing Interoperability (Ured za reviziju institucija BiH, 2023: 3)."

The question of interoperability is crucial to the successful implementation of electronic operation of public administration because of the horizontal and vertical linking of institutions of different levels of government in BiH (Drljača, Latinović, 2014:133). Legal interoperability is especially important in establishing electronic signatures. It is necessary to establish a system of accreditation of verifiers and enable the legal operation of electronic signatures all throughout Bosnia (Drljača, Latinović, 2014:133).

DMS, as one of the most important segments of developing e-administration, also is not wholly realized. Firstly, at the level of BiH's institutions, there is no legal framework which would regulate the obligations and establish the DMS in BiH's institutions, and which would make electronic conduct of business as the default (Ured za reviziju institucija BiH, 2021:22). This led to the fact that institutions that acceded to independently installing the DMS, "were not efficient in establishing standardized and interoperable DMS systems ova (Ured za reviziju institucija BiH, 2021:26)." The systems for managing documents were built

independently by institutions, without joint access or standards, using different technological solutions that were not compatible with one another.

Considering the limited advances in developing electronic administration in BiH between 2019 and 2025, as the available reports and analyses show, it is necessary for the institutions of BiH to begin changing the relevant legal framework. Next to the normative adjustment and adaptation, it is necessary to direct efforts towards developing institutional awareness of the importance of a higher quality and accessible provision of public services to citizens. Namely, reforming public administration can significantly contribute to solving challenges such as corruption, lack of transparency and administrative inflexibility through upgrading digital availability, following processes and responsibilities of institutions.

Digitalization without a doubt is Bosnia and Herzegovina's future, and it should be approached with dedication and consciously.

## Conclusion

Efficient cooperation between all levels of government (local and state levels), all agencies and ministries significantly influence the development of a country. Here the importance of electronic administration is clearly visible, in effectively linking up all participants into one efficient unit.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country of a complex political and state make-up, with two entities and a single district, with ten cantons in one entity and municipalities within the cantons. That is the key reason Bosnia has an unevenly developed e-administration.

Looking at the reports/analyses so far, we can see that Bosnia and Herzegovina is still in the initial developmental stage, which is largely characterized by a bureaucratic approach to digitalization, aiming mostly at improving internal efficiency of public institutions by applying information technologies. They are only in the beginning stages of transition towards the following, higher degree of digital transformation, where the functional relationship between citizens and administrations is established through basic electronic services. Also evident is the increasing imbalance between digital capacities of institutions and real needs of citizens, which complicates integration of e-administration into daily administrative processes. These hurdles need to be overcome as soon as possible.

The fragmentation and lack of harmony in developing e-administration leads to the unnecessary increase of costs, slowing down procedures, and reducing the total efficacy of public and business administration, which is directly reflected in citizens' daily lives. The growing difference between digital capacities of governments and the expectations of the citizens/economic subjects can lead to increased dissatisfaction and pressures on institutions to modernize services. Should the

chasm not be bridged, there are longer term risks of lowered trust in the public administrations, and the slowing down of socio-economic development.

With a better developmental approach to e-administration, along with better developed interoperability, it would be possible to reach a connected system of offering services to citizens, which would also overcome challenges which our country is most commonly faces because of its complex political and territorial make-up.

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