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Editorial note

Bosnian Studies – Journal for research of Bosnian thought and culture after ten years and four issues is relaunched and continues its publishing. The aim of the Journal is to explore, define, reconsider and present new and challenging research in or about Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of social sciences and humanities to both academic and non-academic audience, and to represents a platform for the intellectual debate about the key social, cultural and political issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

IN front of you is a new issue (Vol. IV, Number 1/2020), and we hope to collaborate with you in future.

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Journal for research of Bosnian
thought and culture
SARAJEVO

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Časopis za istraživanje bosanske misli i kulture

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Abstract

The different views on identity politics in Ottoman Bosnia presented by Ivo Andrić and Safvet-beg Bašagić in their respective doctoral dissertations stem from differences in the historical and socio-economic experiences of each of their respective religious and confessional communities. Andrić, oriented towards the future, perceives Bosnia from the perspective of a newly introduced concept of Yugoslav national unity that does not value diversity. Bašagić, romantically looking into the past, sees Bosnia through rose-coloured glasses. Both Andrić and Bašagić share distinct notions of their historical periods and allow for non-scientific influences to shape their academic discourses.

Keywords: Yugoslavism; Bosnianhood; Orientalism; Islam; Christianity; identity politics

Introduction

There are few local literary authors who have been able to express themselves through such complex relations between discursive, scientific, and artistic texts. Two such were Ivo Andrić and Safvet-beg Bašagić, who each gained a Ph.D. in humanities. This paper will identify and illuminate the reasons for the opposing “images” of Bosnia in their doctoral dissertations, from the perspectives of cultural and socio-political discourses. In terms of methodology, we will analyse the texts of the dissertations themselves. Thus, we will not make comparisons with the respective authors’ later literary works, a task which has previously been done by Andrić scholars. Even though we do not contest the above comparisons at all, they are deliberately left outside this paper’s scope. The working hypothesis of this paper is that the different perceptions of Bosnia in Andrić’s and Bašagić’s doctoral dissertations are non-scientific, and are written in a non-scientific manner. Rather, they are the products of the strongly different experiences of history that affected the interpretative positions of the ethnocultural communities, Croat and Bosniak, where the authors come from, in relation to the socio-political structure of Bosnia during the Ottoman period. These contrasting perceptions of this period of Bosnian and Herzegovinian history, the several century-long Ottoman rule of Bosnia, were represented in the different political and social positions of Catholic Croats and Muslim Bosniaks.

Both: Foreign and Familiar

In the first sentence of the “Preface” to his doctoral dissertation titled *“The Development Of Spiritual Life In Bosnia Under The Influence Of Turkish Rule”* (Graz, 1924), Andrić refers to an untitled source, or rather a once-popular European Christian opinion, in expressing a stance that both opens and closes the horizon

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of his research¹. He writes that the conquest of Constantinople (the very year of the Ottoman conquest is 1453), “dealt a wound to European man”, and that “Few countries could have taken that blow harder or felt it more deeply than Bosnia”. With simplistic exaggeration and in a Manichean manner, he observes the world and the position of Bosnia in it, as caught between a cultural polarisation, between Christianity and Islam, Good and Evil, Light and Darkness,. The author agrees with the essentialist ideas of the time in which he lived with regard to the issue of validation of cultures. The practice of dividing cultures into higher and lower ones, or valuable and less valuable ones, is an intellectual achievement of the 19th century Eurocentric West, which has remained unshaken for a long time. This point in history also marks the culmination of Orientalist discourse in social and humanistic sciences. This type of discourse was primarily the product and property of a narrow, elite group of researchers, intellectuals, and imperial politicians. This discourse omitted the fact that during the period, the ideologically-subjected Islamic world had its own fair share of issues with totalitarianism, nationalism, and fascism. However, they did not diminish the fact that the Orientalist perspective has already become an almost general stance in Western public opinion. Despite American president Woodrow Wilson’s widely promoted principle of the right to self-determination, the colonial reality of the world in the first few decades of the 20th century was still not disputed. Postcolonial theories and anti-colonial political movements only appeared later, in the middle of the century.

Enes Duraković is of the first Bosnian and Herzegovinian researchers who noted that Andrić’s work should be seen, “in the context of global Europocentric relations to the Orient...” (Duraković, 1997, p. 98). Regarding the first publication of the dissertation, Zoran Konstantinović stated that it reveals, “the genesis of everything that Andrić stylised and expressed as a literary author” (Konstantinović, 1982, p. 275). In contrast to this and similar views that see Andrić’ dissertation as the notional source of his literary opus, Duraković deems the connection as non-vital, since any analysis of Andrić’ literary opus is inherently and “unequivocally directed at the author’s Europocentric ideological attitudes that were radicalised

1 Zoran Konstantinović was the first to notice that Andrić did not present his thesis about Bosnia as a question that had yet to be answered. “The answer is already certain for him, the meaning of the terms has already been given, so it is only necessary to form a complete picture, to create a synthesis from all chapters, each of which is also a synthesis” (Konstantinović, 1982, p. 268). In the thesis, the initial and final claims about Bosnia, which we find in Andrić’s first sentence, Konstantinović finds in the latter part of the text. At the beginning of the second chapter, it reads: “It was of decisive importance that Bosnia was at the most critical moment of its spiritual development, at the time when the turmoil of spiritual forces reached its peak, and was conquered by an Asian warrior people whose social institutions and customs stood as a negation of every example of Christian culture and whose faith - that arose under other climatic and social conditions and was not suitable for any adaptation - interrupted the spiritual life of the country, distorted it, and made something completely personal out of that life” (Andrić, 1982, p. 51).

to the point of true racism” (Duraković, 1997, p. 104). Furthermore, Duraković claims that this example of Europocentric demonisation of the Other is quite evident, since there is no other literary author in ‘Yugoslovenian literature’, “who has portrayed a nation and its history with such a great sense of hostility and dark tones only because it belongs to a different circle of civilization” (Duraković, 1997, p. 103). The truth is that the dissertation presents Andrić as the child of his time that witnessed the rule of several European ideologies focused on the extermination of ethnic, ideological, and conceptual Other (through demonstration of nationalism, fascism, and Stalinism). Being that every epoch’s self-opinion is never definite or wholly truthful, Andrić’s findings in his dissertation share the same destiny.

Almost as a rule, every linear history of Bosnian cultural identity has almost always begun with the Bosnian Church. Andrić uses the term Bogomilism for this type of spirituality. It is seen as a heterodox movement under the auspices of Christianity that, “had begun to erect that wall of stone between Bosnia and the Western world which in the course of time was to be enlarged even more by Islam and raised to such mighty heights that even today, although long since crumbled and fallen to pieces, it still produces the effect of a dark, demarcating line that one dare not step over without effort and danger” (Andrić, 1982, p. 39). “Bogomolism with its stiff-necked refusal to be subjugated to the West, inevitably brought the country under the yoke of the East” (Andrić, 1982, p. 41). Does it seem that Andrić laments over Europe and Christianity? In my opinion, it does not. This represents a wider and incidental framework of his discussion. Previous studies have shown that Andrić was not particularly a religious devotee or a clericalist. Instead, his motives were ideological. Andrić was primarily interested in a new political and ideological reality, the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the unity of its peoples. Since his youth, Andrić was one of the advocates of a firm Yugoslav attitude. As a member of Young Bosnia, he was a supporter of unitarian Yugoslavism. Yugoslavism was his, “main and primary political idea...” (Tutnjević, 1994, p. 449), as well as a driving force behind his latter collaboration with the Communist authorities. In the 1920s, he pragmatically and politically adapted to the circumstances of the time, trying to become part of the new state administration. It was because of this he began, quite quickly, colloquially, and with ultimate pragmatism, the preparation of a doctoral dissertation in order to fulfil the formal prerequisite for diplomatic service. In his dissertation, his entire stance is based on the idea of Yugoslav cultural, national, and political unity. It should be seen as both his theoretical and political origin and his personal / professional goal. We believe that it is precisely from this standpoint, the desire for national unity, and that of Serbs and Croats above all that Andrić interprets Bosnia, and in doing so, performs a kind of defamation of the Ottoman government and Islam that came with it. For that ideological reason,

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both of these categories are a foreign and disturbing factor for him, colloquially speaking: they spoil his concept or at least make its realisation more difficult. According to Milanović's view of Andrić, Bosnia, as the geographical centre of the "ethnic space of one and the same people", was prevented and slowed down the establishment of this unique national and Yugoslav cultural body by Ottoman conquest and non-participation in European cultural integrations. The Ottoman conquest had marked the border between the two empires, the Austrian and the Ottoman, which passed through the middle of the space that Andrić considered unique (Milutinović, 2018, p. 304). Krešimir Nemeč is also of the opinion that in his dissertation, Andrić presents the idea that the Ottoman conquest was a tragedy for the peoples from the South Slavic area they were, "forced to live at the crossroads of worlds, East and West, which determined their national history and individual destinies" (Nemeč, 2016, p. 135). Andrić's identity politics is thus, fully in line with European national and state-building models of the 19th and early 20th centuries. His model is synthesising, necessarily violent in cultural matters, authoritarian, totalitarian and undemocratic (only similarities have the right to life), and the search for such a concept of Yugoslav culture and nation was described by Andrew Baruch Wachtel in *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*.

According to Andrić, this "wall" of separation divided the Serbo-Croatian "racial" and linguistic group into two parts. In his geopolitical fantasy, Bosnia should have connected, not separated, the Danube region with the Adriatic, the two peripheries of the Serbo-Croatian element, and thus participated in European culture. Instead, an "Asian warrior nation" (Andrić, 1982, p. 51) alien in "faith, spirit and race" (Andrić, 1982, p. 53) established a wall of separation from Europe in Bosnia, keeping it "in that unnatural position" during Turkish rule. Muhsin Rizvić thinks that in his cultural-historical speculations about Bosnia Andrić, "...ended with the immanent suggestion that there is no place between Serbs and Croats for Bosniaks as bearers of the guilt of separating these two peoples..." (Rizvić, 1995, p. 38). The representation of Bosnia as comprised of national elements which integrated Yugoslav ideologies and cultures in those years, was also advocated by a Herzegovinian, Dimitrije Mitrinović, in the text "The Mission of Sarajevo". He differed from Andrić in that he added the role of the key spiritual integrating factor of the country to Sarajevo and Islam². While Mitrinović, as the artistic and

2 After 18 years spent in London, Mitrinović suddenly found himself in Yugoslavia in the summer of 1930. He was greeted with great publicity and a warm welcome. The Yugoslav press, especially Belgrade's *Vreme*, praised Mitrinović's personality with undisguised enthusiasm, following his every step. Thus, on May 21, 1930, it brought the news that Dimitrije Mitrinović, a "publicist and famous cultural worker", held a lecture in Sarajevo, and before that a conference with the intellectual elite of Ljubljana and Zagreb. In a comment, *Vreme* further states, "The basis of Mr. Mitrinović's attitude towards culture and civilization is of a purely idealistic nature. He advocates the so-called philosophy of nationalism. Mr. Mitrinović sees the realization of the idealistic philosophical basis for Yugoslavia's position on general peace among nations in the solution of the religious problem, in the creation of a special harmony by extracting and synthe-

spiritual leader of the generation of Young Bosnia who also had a significant influence on young Andrić, went to London and evolved spiritually and politically, Andrić firmly insisted on the concept of Yugoslavism as an exclusively monic Serbo-Croatian and culturally Christian category. Andrić's Yugoslavism was by definition, anti-democratic.

The literary activity of Bosniaks / Bosnian Muslims during the Ottoman rule, the subject of research in Bašagić's dissertation, is beyond Andrić's interest. "Their activity - even when it was not insignificant and certainly deserved attention - cannot be the subject of our work because they belonged in language and spirit to the sphere of another culture" (Andrić, 1982, p. 187). In that other culture, "Islam proved to be extremely restraining and fruitless" (Andrić, 1982, p. 191). Such a conceptually divided vision of the world is the reason why Andrić, as he himself says, "cannot" rather than will not, mention any Bosnian Muslim author from that period. Obviously, he was partly acquainted with their work, at least as a curious mind, but due to the methodological/theoretical settings of the entire dissertation, he had to exclude them from consideration. Of course, when it comes to the achievements of local Christians written in Latin or Italian, they are positively valued, considered part of a single national, in this case, Croatian culture.

In the paper evaluating Andrić's dissertation, signed by Dr. Heinrich Felix Schmidt, there are certain exceptions to his basic thesis, and they are of a purely scientific nature. Namely, Schmidt emphasises that the dissertation managed to avoid the extremes of praising the positive influence of the Ottomans on the spiritual life of Bosnia, on the one hand, or underestimating the influence of Turks and Islam, on the other. However, it is further stated that due to ignorance of the Turkish language and non-use of Turkish sources, Andrić did not have a complete insight into the subject of research, and therefore his thesis may suffer objections (and continues suffered to this day at least in part of the Bosniak intellectual community). "One of the author's theses, his denial of every culturally stimulating in-

sizing everything ethnic from certain religions professed by the citizens of Yugoslavia. This allegation, better than others from the press at the time, largely outlines Mitrinović's global position. The text also brings information about the audience's enthusiasm for the lecture, as well as his trip to Skopje and the Zeta Banovina. *Jugoslovenska pošta* announces the "lecture of Mr. Mitrinović" at the hotel "Europe" on the 7th of August. The title of the lecture is "Knowledge Of Eternal Life Or Organogenesis" and includes thematic problematization of nation, culture, civilization, and duty of future Yugoslavia, which is "a function of our three churches, Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim in the synthesis of Yugoslavia." Also, *Novo Vrijeme* brings the news on August 2 about Mitrinović's lecture "On The Orientation Of Muslims In Yugoslavia" and is most positive about it. In addition to a series of lectures given to the cultural and political public, which, according to the press, are attended by the highest dignitaries, Mitrinović also published two texts. One in *Politika* ("Vidovdan Jugoslavije", *Politika*, No. 27, 1930, 7952. p. 2), one in *Jugoslovenska pošta* ("The Mission of Sarajevo", *Jugoslovenska pošta*, Sarajevo, year II, pp. 1-2, No. 265, August 1930) and gives an interview to *Vreme* (*Vreme*, X / 1930, 3051, pp. 5-6, June 28). (See Mitrinović, 1990, pp. 216-218).

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fluence of Islam and Turks, will not remain without objections, regardless of the multiple arguments with which Andrić supports this thesis; it is in this area that his research has set certain limits due to the spatial inaccessibility and linguistic inaccessibility of Turkish sources” (Schmidt, 1982, p. 241). It is reasonable to assume that Andrić knew, or could have known, about Bašagić’s, Kemurin’s and Ćorović’s research of Bosnian cultural history, which could have been used in favour of a more positive, or at least more objective, evaluation of Islam and Turks, but as it is quite clear that to his basic thesis, this did not interest him. His recent biographer, Michael Martens testifies that his dissertation was not of an adequate scientific nature. As its great weakness, Martens cites Andrić’s methodological essentialism. Namely, the time of the fall of the Ottomans, which, as we know today to the same extent, although for different reasons, left all its inhabitants regardless of ethno-confessional affiliation dissatisfied, Andrić uncritically identifies with the time of the entire Ottoman rule, “...as if backwardness was its core from the beginning” (Martens, 2019, p. 101). The first centuries of the imperial presence of the Ottomans in the Balkans testify that they were on the same level with the Europeans if not more advanced than them, which means that this culture, just like any other, changed and developed over time. According to Martens, near the end of his life, Andrić acknowledged this anti-Ottoman stereotype of the nineteenth century as his shortcoming. From the aspect of personal and group identity of the communities to which they belong, Andrić and Bašagić had different historical experiences, different memories (according to different principles of the constituted culture of memory), and were susceptible to different identity politics; their gazes are different: while one longs for the past, the other looks to a bright future and these are some of the reasons for the incompatibility of their judgments on Bosnia’s cultural history. In both cases, the experience of the Other is excluded, Christians with Bašagić, and Bosniaks with Andrić. While Andrić belongs to the modern, ideologised nation-building world of the Yugoslav state union, things are different with Bašagić. He is still fully part of the traditional milieu, but ready and determined to look for ways to overcome it. The diversity of origins and horizons of interpretation of the same world has its deep socio-economic and national-political causes, and in order to understand this difference in terms of the same structure, it is necessary to shed light on the class-social and ethnoreligious contradictions of 19th-century Bosnian society.

The Absence of the Egalitarian Level

Bosnian Muslim loyalty to the Ottoman system was based on their belonging to that society, a common political system, culture, and religion. The development of collective consciousness and perception of oneself as individual in the middle of the 19th century did not take place in the same way as it did with the neighbouring Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox. The fact that they were part of

the Ottoman society in the country of Bosnia for centuries most importantly determined the ambiance and the way of forming their collective consciousness, making it different from the Serbian and Croatian national-formative flow. The process of becoming a nation among Bosniaks did not flow through confessional-national identification nor through religious institutions but was more tied to the country, territory, and government - the state. Church was the earliest symbol of identity and at the same time, an instrument of collectivisation among Orthodox and Catholics, future Serbs and Croats. Although they shared a common territory, language, and folk culture with Muslims for centuries, through their confessional-national division in the mid-19th century, religion would become, and remains to this day, the most important factor in differentiating between the Bosnian population. In fact, one should look for reasons for the overemphasised political engagement of religious institutions among all peoples in Bosnia, from then until the present day.

In contrast to Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox, Bosniaks could not seek a distinctive sense of collective belonging in religion, because Islam was practised in common with the Ottomans, nor could they find it in elements of the existing Ottoman regime, since in 1831 they were already fighting against it in the name of their own land rights. Identity awareness and the practice of one's own cultural life have been expressed for centuries in a specific tradition, literacy, and literature (Bosnian Cyrillic and medieval Bosnian literature, Begovica and Krajina literacy, Arabic and Aljamiado literature, folklore and oral poetry). Awareness of social exclusivity and continuity with the medieval nobility were the source of this notion of particularity³. It should be immediately pointed out that the first Bosniak modernists of the early 20th century relied on all these ethnocultural elements, but that they failed to create a collective-identity structure from this material that would take on the character of a separate nation as a political community. This same ethnic and cultural material was successfully nationally articulated only a hundred years later, which only testifies to the fact that among Bosniaks, as with most other peoples, political assumptions played a decisive role in the constitution of the nation.

Liberating, revivalist, and modernising socio-political movements among Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox in the middle of the 19th century were characterised – in addition to all historically justified and progressive tendencies – by a pronounced anti-Turkish, as well as anti-Muslim, attitude in general. Within the nascent national movements of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

3 On the language, script, literature, and literacy of Bosnian Muslims in the Ottoman period, see Rizvić, M. (1999). *Bosna i Bošnjaci: Jezik i pismo* [Bosnia and Bosniaks: Language and Script]. Sarajevo: KDM "Preporod"; Nezirović, M. (2004). *Krajišnička pisma* [Krajišnik Letters], Sarajevo: BZK "Preporod"; Nakaš, L. (2010). *Language and Graphics of Krajina Letters*, Sarajevo: Lingvistički komitet.

Bosniaks were equated with Islam and Islam with Turks. These identifications were the birthplace of all future ethno-confessional conflicts⁴. The hostile positioning of Islam and Bosniaks in Serbian and Croatian national ideologies in the middle of the 19th century is a fact of fundamental importance for understanding modern relations between these peoples. Bosnian Muslims, despite their will and due to historical and social contextualisation, were positioned as guardians of a declining society and empire within this interpretive flow. They were placed on the “Turkish side”, against their neighbours, the Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, whose movements for their own national liberation, being anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim, became anti-Bosniak. At this time, the so-called “Eastern Question” was being debated and eventually resolved by the European powers. This positioning of Bosniaks on an international scale (having in mind the support of European forces for all anti-Turkish movements in the Balkans) was not at all favourable. When the Ottoman Empire withdrew from the Balkans, Serbian nationalists expected Bosniaks to go follow them as their alleged servants, as expressed by the slogan “Turks to Asia”.

The social demands of the Bosniak feudal elite had been limited many times since the beginning of the 19th century. Once by the Ottomans, who suffocated in blood an attempt to make the province independent, and the second time by the intra-Bosnian growing national and social demands of the Serb and Croat masses. Among the historical formative reasons that determined the Bosniak responses, in terms of importance was the internal limitation, i.e. the subjective and objective inability of the Bosniak feudal elite to meet the modernising demands of the new age. Its unwillingness to reform and adopt the idea of social justice and social equality that became generally accepted in Europe after the French Civil Revolution (See: Hobsbaum, 1996), definitely split Bosnian society along ethno-confessional seams and further prevented the creation of a unified Bosnian political people⁵. Confessional and class-social divisions in Bosnian society co-

4 Ivan Lovrenović, writing about the national perceptions of Ivo Andrić’s work, testifies today that the issue of historical and cultural evaluation of the Ottoman era is still more than relevant in an indirect way. Lovrenović finds that from the period of modernization of Bosnian society to the present day, there have been two differentiated views on the issue of valuing the Ottoman era. According to him, one interpretation can, (...) mainly be characterized as an Orthodox Christian / Christian, Serbian / Croat, and the other as a Bosniak-Muslim point of view” (Lovrenović, 2008, p. 31), i.e. one as Turkophobia and the other as Turkophilia. The first view emphasizes the occupational dimension of the arrival of the Ottomans and Islam, the repressive nature of government, the subjugation, disenfranchisement, and social misery of the non-Muslim population, while the second view speaks of the system’s tolerance of non-Muslim communities, of Ottoman Bosnia as a paradigm of multiethnicity and tolerance. In both interpretive relations to history, the focus is not on, “(...) the longing for truth, which is a feature of science, art, and any rational politics, but the pursuit of a monopoly on the interpretation of the past, which is the ambition of national ideology and exclusivism” (Lovrenović, 2008, p. 33).

5 Srećko Džaja emphasizes the social aspects of the Bosnian Autonomy Movement by Husein-*kapetan* Gradašević, to the detriment of his national-political dimensions. For Džaja, the ret-

incided at one point in time because Catholics/Croats and Orthodox/Serbs were mostly exploited (serfs), while Muslims/Bosniaks were landowners, exploiters. Of course, there were non-Muslim landowners, especially Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian period, as well as Muslim serfs, but this pattern of class-confessional division of Bosnian society in the Ottoman period was and remains dominant. That is why advanced European social and political ideas were perceived as a danger to the socio-political status of Bosniak Muslims. Add to that the year 1878, when Bosniaks were suddenly suddenly engulfed by a Christian empire, it is easy to understand the reasons for their anti-modernist stance, their indulgence in conservatism, autocracy and isolationism. Anything new frightened and threatened them. The fear of preserving physical and spiritual existence becomes, and remains until recently, a formative factor in their reactions and actions.

Bosniaks were not willing to easily lose or give up a centuries-old position as the ruling social element in Bosnia, which was an additional reason for the lack of will for independent national solutions and inertial adherence to the Ottoman framework. Confessionally identified with the Ottomans, and politically confused, Bosniaks in the 19th century failed to transform their confessional identity into a national one (as happened to Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox), which was a precondition for a successful struggle for a nation-state. This transformation did not take place until the end of the 20th century⁶.

The political-religious identification of Bosniaks with the Ottomans caused disunity, and eventually the collapse of the Gradašćević movement. The matter was further aggravated by the later slaughter of the Bosniak nobility, committed on behalf of the Ottomans by Omer-pasha Latas, as well as the Ottoman turn to its own modernisation trends. The Bosniak begovat has not been part of the power elite since the mid-19th century. It had stagnated, pauperises by agrarian reform, and decay. The Bosniak nobility remained lonely and without understanding in their possessive demands in the first half of the 20th century. The idea of social justice has already taken hold on the historical scene and it had legitimised the rights of individuals who lived from their work. The winds of history were now

rograde political character of the autonomist movement is unambiguous. It was not a national movement, "which would fight for the political and legal equality of all members of one state" (Džaja, 2000, p. 12), referring to both Muslim and non-Muslim populations at the same time. It did not demand a new social and political paradigm, which something that all national movements were doing. Instead, it was fighting to preserve the existing paradigm. If there was any chance of forming a common modern Bosnian nation according to Džaja, it was "Bosniaks who cut it at the root" by their insistence on unequal social relations, blind to the need to introduce social and political reforms that would lead to civic equality in Bosnia.

- 6 On the modern political functioning of the church-nation-state trinity within contemporary Serbian political practice, see Popović Obradović, O. (2004). "Crkva - ključni faktor blokade" [The Church - the Key Factor of the Blockade], *Helsinkiška povelja, Glasilo Helsinkiškog odbora za ljudska prava u Srbiji*, 9(75-76), 23-25.

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behind the backs of serfs. The rentier society was coming to an end. European aristocracies had already transformed land capital into industrial or banking, and Bosniaks were late in doing so. Only decades later with the Communists, would a part of them once again become part of the Bosnian political elite.

Despite the trend of historical marginalisation and social conservatism, there were individual attempts at modernisation within the Bosniak intelligentsia⁷. With Mehmed-beg Kapetanović, Safvet-beg Bašagić, and Osman Nuri Hadžić, the founder of the secular Muslim intellectual movement, efforts to modernise and enlighten were overshadowed by the aristocratic conception of the nation. The development of the nation as a political community of horizontal communion would come only a century later. Bašagić, just like his entire generation, remained trapped by the contradiction of existing: “between nostalgic traditionalism and receiving modernism” (Zgodić, 2003, p. 132). Kapetanović also believed that there were one Bosnian people and that the ‘Serbianization’ and ‘Croatization’ of Bosnia was a matter of a newer political habit that would pass quickly. In the Begovate, he saw the continuation of the medieval Bosnian nobility. To this social stratum, quite historically, he gave the task of bearing the Bosniak national idea. At the same time, he lost sight of the fact that the nobility in the European context was already politically anachronistic. The problem was that the Bosniaks, apart from the peasantry from whose substratum the Communists much later made a nation, had no middle class. Tying the fate of the national revival to the Begovate’s social, political, and psychological identity was a preconceived notion. That layer was the object of strong social pressure from the peasantry of all denominations. Kapetanović was preoccupied with his own status, while the actions and opinions of the already few intellectuals were marked by “conformist functionalism” (Zgodić, 2003, p. 40) towards the established order.

At the same time, the Bosniak leaders did not offer anything new and really acceptable to the Orthodox / Serbs and Catholics / Croats, except for an open effort to further maintain the Bosniak-Muslim social and political superiority. The demand for freedom, self-determination, and equality is the birthplace of the national liberation Serbian and Croatian movements, cultural actions, peasant and military uprisings, such as the one from 1875 in Herzegovina. Kalay’s notion of Bosnia as a political nation, being part of the Austro-Hungarian national policy of separating ethnic from political identity, was left without a carrier, substance,

⁷ Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, the first mayor of Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian rule, was an educator in the spirit of national revival. He collected folk artefacts in order to culturally legitimize his own nation. For twenty years he published the newspaper “Bošnjak”. His stirring up of national consciousness by invoking language, folk culture, literature, literacy, intellectual creations, folklore, did not gain wider layers for such a new concept of collectivity / identity. See n.a. (1992). *Zbornik radova o Mehmed-beg Kapetanoviću Ljubušaku* [Proceedings on Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak], Sarajevo: Institut za književnost.

trust, and over time, support. It was already too late to separate the confessional and the national in the collective and personal identity of the Bosnian people.

Aristocratic Image of the World

Bašagić's doctoral dissertation titled *Bosniaks and Herzegovinians In The Field Of Oriental Literature*, defended in 1910 at the University of Vienna and published in 1912 under the title *Bosniaks And Herzegovinians In Islamic Literature*, is a counterpoint to Andrić's dissertation. Without going into why Bašagić changes the term "oriental literature" from dissertation to "Islamic literature" and whether he uses them synonymously or in the published version of the dissertation, it is evident that he Islamises the position of Bosniaks and Herzegovinians more than he ethnicises it. Therefore, it should be pointed out that the term "oriental", concerned with the Bosniaks living in those decades, could still be found on the cover of Mustafa Mulalić's book *Orient in the West*.

In his dissertation, Bašagić is immersed in a typical aristocratic picture of the world. The division of society into "a mass of low and insignificant people" lost without mention and name, and "people who rose high above their surroundings" (Bašagić, 2007, p. 57) depicts the traditional social and value structure of an elitist and heroic understanding of the world. The aristocratic approach is also reflected in the double reference to the father. One time he mentions his story, an oral tradition about famous Bosniaks, and the second time he resents that his father rarely wrote about these persons. Thus, general history is approached through family history. In other words, family histories have resulted in general history, which is characteristic of all traditional aristocratic societies, for whom history is the work of great people. For Bašagić, the medieval ethic of honour is always presupposed to the modern ethic of dignity.

Bašagić promotes a culture of memory that puts his great ancestors in focus, and that memory makes him proud and pleased. By the time he writes the dissertation, he is already impoverished and socially declassed due to the spread of the egalitarian paradigm (demand for a fairer distribution of social wealth), brought about by modernisation and emancipation of the "mass of low and insignificant people". In Bosniak culture, Bašagić is a kind of bridge between tradition and modernity. He undertakes scientific research of textual canonisation of his father's oral tradition with the aim of translating it into a modern, Western statement and, "...thus reliving the dead memories of the glorious adventures and misfortunes of our heroes, statesmen, scholars, poets, and benefactors" (Bašagić, 2007, p. 58). In his first historiographical work, which refers to the preparation for the dissertation, titled *A Brief Reference To The Past Of Bosnia And Herzegovina From 1463 To 1850* (1900), he mentions 1850 as the watershed in Bosniak history. In that period, the nobility was cut down by the sword of Omerpaša Latas,

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emphasising again the view that the history of the nobility is the history of Bosnia and all Bosnian people.

Nevertheless, Bašagić is looking for modalities to bridge the gap between tradition and modernity in Bosniak culture. As Sanjin Kodrić points out, he tries to affirm his own image of the self from a special postcolonial position, acting, “from the system of values that implies his cultural memory and his horizon of expectations...” (Kodrić, 2018, p. 187). Bašagić is aware that his horizon is different from the newly established dominant cultural order and that in that order he is repressed, invisible, and unrecognised. He seeks to incorporate Bosniak themes, personalities, and artefacts from the Ottoman period into modern cultural and social reality and make them of central relevance. From the position of modernity (obtaining a Ph.D. in Vienna and studying theology at Al-Azhar), he de-orientalises but also ‘Bosnianizes’ the “Orient”. In accordance with his own culture and identity policy, which in this respect corresponds to the concept of the nation as an “imagined community”, he describes the “surplus of Bosnian” in the works of Bosniaks in Oriental languages. His thesis on a special genre is famous, but also scientifically disputed, “(...) poets from our region mostly make up a special genre in the field of Turkish poetry. Without any doubt, they stood under the influence of our folk poetry, which has Turkish poetry of unknown poetic expressions and images in abundance. Instead of borrowing all the poetic beauties from the Arabs and Persians, as all Turkish poets used to do, they would sometimes reach for the rich treasury of our folk poetry, and from it in fine form exhibit in Turkish Parnassus many precious innovations” (Bašagić, 2007, p. 172). Likewise, his translations of Bosniak Divan poets are closer in style, structure, and sensibility to *sevda* linka than to the original texts of Ghazal poetry translated into Bosnian (See Spahić, 2008, pp. 43-84).

While for Andrić, Ottoman Bosnia is a kind of spiritual desert, Bašagić sees it as a the golden age belonging to Bosniaks and Herzegovinians. That is the key distinguishing fact between these two intellectuals. Bosniaks were an energetic, progressive, and self-sacrificing element during the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, while today, “the masses are neglected and mentally stunted” (Bašagić, 2007, p. 61). Furthermore, “a country that today feeds a limp and clumsy people, once gave birth to greats in education, politics, and heroism” (Bašagić, 2007, p. 62). However, Bašagić’s intention is not to restore the past, regardless of all the privileges it gave to his family, but to challenge and overcome the Manichean image of that past. He does not agree with the one-sided ideological victimisation of the Islamic elements of Bosnian culture, which in turn marked the national-revival ideologies of the non-Muslim Balkan peoples. At the same time, he is not pessimistic about the Bosniak and Bosnian future. He counts on the openness of the Bosniak mind and advocates receptivity to the values and principles of the new age. According to him, something like this had already happened in the history of

Bosniaks. Bašagić's thesis is that the Bogomils took refuge from the persecution of the Pope and the Hungarians under the protection of the Ottomans, accepted new values and a new religion, educated themselves, and increased their possessions, for which their neighbouring Christians never forgave them. Bašagić pleads for the "new" to be accepted again, this time referring to the European modernity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. His goal is the social and economic modernisation of his own country and people. At the same time, he is aware of the fact that Christian intellectuals and historians do not share his image of Bosnia. "According to them, our entire history contains only those descriptions of various troubles, as if there is not a single bright page in it. The raven is not as black as they say, nor is our history as some portray it" (Bašagić, 2007, p. 63).

While Bašagić recognises Bosniaks and Islam, in a historical and contemporary sense, as equal and inherited participants in history, insisting on their differences from others in potential and wealth, Andrić as a social thinker is fully ideologised. He is loyal to the position of one identity policy that sees Islam and Muslims as foreign and archaic elements, and in line with this prejudice, as potential violators of the new Yugoslav cultural and political unity. In the optics of South Slavic *realpolitik* during the first decades of the 20th century, such notions of a common Yugoslav culture, nation, and society were more commonplace in the thinking of Unitarians, then Serbian and Croatian Great Nationalists, and even Yugoslav Communists. It suffices to recall two events important from that period. The first was to challenge the special national status of Bosniaks at the 5th CPY National Conference in Zagreb in 1940, and the second is Moša Pijada's party position, as one of the highest communist officials, on the need to assimilate Yugoslav Muslims at the 1948 CPY B&H Founding Congress in Sarajevo. Andrić's dissertation is a part of these views, and in "life" it will, according to Vedad Spahić, be maintained by, "mythomaniac instrumentalization of its politically conjunctural content" (Spahić, 1999, p. 150), until this myth is overcome by higher forms of consciousness.

Conclusion

Both Andrić and Bašagić were the protagonists of the former systems of power and authority, which they have in common. They knew about the influence of politics on textual interpretation. Both of them reflect that stance in their dissertations. While Bašagić wants to include the spiritual and literary heritage of Bosniaks in the South Slavic cultural narrative, Andrić passes by that heritage as if by a Turkish cemetery. Fully in the spirit of the then reformist notions of the relationship between Islam and modernity, Bašagić believes in the inclusive nature of European institutions and the ability of Bosnian Muslims to accept the achievements of the new age while preserving their identity. Andrić speaks from

the national-political positions of a newly emerging narrative, whose ethnocultural concept challenges the right of Otherness to all who are outside the formula of a one and three-named people, and although he does not explicitly point to this idea - out of Christian / Christian spiritual-cultural provenance.

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BOSNIA  STUDIES
SARAJEVO
1

SENADIN LAVIĆ

Bosnia, Neoliberal Capitalism,
Conservative Consciousness,
and Citizens' Naivety

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Abstract

The historical process has posed a challenging question about Bosnia's national identity today. It is quite obvious that since the end of the 19th century, the historical course of a nation has been reduced to a "religious group" in which it is possible to recognize regression and unconscious existence. This represents a trace of the Ottoman period of hegemony in Bosnia, when the identity of the people was determined by religious affiliation. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the end of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Bosnia, left Bosniaks solely perceived and defined as Muslims. What looks like naivety and powerlessness during the 20th century, should in fact be seen as ignorance of, and non-reflexivity on, one's own existence. In the Yugoslav system, they were designated as Muslims - with the capital letter M. At the time, it was announced as the solution to the national question! The clash of unfinished ethnic-religious constructions of Bosniak identity and the process of globalization in the first decades of the 21st century, led to paradoxical and somewhat tragic self-experiences and attempts to develop national consciousness, based on a religious matrix that is the foundation of conservative consciousness. This moves the whole of human destinies in the wrong direction once again, and the importance of the national or civic identity and political philosophy of statism are undermined and blurred by non-reflexive voluntarism. It seems that citizens' naivety and their lack of knowledge about themselves and their own state framework, have led to a disastrous anti-Bosnian mentality and the extinguishing of the Bosnian national civic identity.

Keywords: Bosnia, Bosnianness, Bosniaks, knowledge, reflection

Preventing 'Bosnianness' from expressing itself

Accidentally or not, but almost as a rule, every time since the 1990s whenever the Bosnian anti-fascist spirit is tried and the idea of Bosnia reappears, there comes along the Yugoslav flag, the five-pointed star that Serbian national fascists tarnished under the Milosevic regime, and the sentimental appeal of Tito¹. All three

¹ This was also the case during the protest walk of the citizens in Sarajevo on the occasion of the glorification of the Bleiburg myth and the attempt to use the Mass to confront different political, religious and cultural orientations in today's Bosnia. In the whole event around that, however, no one disputed the Mass itself and the absolute right of the Catholic Church to hold Mass for the souls of the victims. But in Sarajevo, "caring for the souls" of Ustasha victims at Bleiburg is very indecent and distasteful, given what the Ustasha regime and The Independent State of Croatia did to the citizens of Sarajevo during the occupation in World War II, and the fact that the state of Austria banned any manifestation on the occasion within its territory. In addition, it is important to note that the citizens of Bosnia do not share the ideas and ideals of the Ustasha quisling creation of The Independent State of Croatia! This Croatian creation, led by Pavelić, was on the side of fascism in the Second World War. Serbs, Jews, Bosniaks, Roma, and Croats were exterminated there. However, all this does not mean that the crimes committed against the

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elements, the flag, the five-pointed star, and Tito had their active function and an unavoidable place in the history of the Bosnian and Slavic space, but they can in no way replace the Bosnian form of historical life. In this unjustified reduction, anti-fascism is reduced to communist ideology and South Slavic myths with a Serbian background. This projected description petrifies Andrić's Turkish image of Bosnia as an exotic remnant of the East in Europe by orientalising Bosnia in literature, politics, or diplomacy. For a long time now, there have been invented phantoms whose sole purpose is to suppress Bosnia and hide the Bosnian being in history.

For the sake of blurring the Bosnian perspective, "*Muslim members*" of the Ustaša movement, as well as various groups and their ideological positions that serve to level other crimes and responsibilities, are being pulled out of the depths of time. Unfortunately, the Bosniaks have not finished the job started by Derviš Sušić (1980) in "Parergon". No one but they can work on their self-esteem and self-reflection. They must finally pose questions concerning the phenomena and processes from the 20th century that are essentially related to their existence. What is the position of Bosnia and its people in relation to Yugoslavia and the ethnic nationalisms that led to wars and aggressions in the 1990s? Now seems to be the time when *the Bosnian mind* must answer questions about Yugoslavism, Muslimism, Serbism, Croatism, Communism, etc. as ideas and ideologies that have besieged it and flooded it. From these responses, the Bosnian mind will be constituted as a regulative principle of life above myth, dogma, superstition, and irrational images of the world.

In the text written by Filip Švarm, Tamara Skrozza, and Biljana Vasić (2001) it is noted that: "In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Socialist Federal Republic Of Yugoslavia was counting down its last days. Out of the four pillars on which it rested - the figure and work of the marshal Josip Broz Tito, the Socialist Self-Government, the Communist Party and the Yugoslav People's Army - only the latter remained. Conceived as an armed force whose task was to defend the state but also its social order, the YPA welcomed the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Systematically protected from public control, the basic characteristic of the Army, which was even more dominant than its purely military feature, was its permeation with the ideology of the time" (Švarm, F., Skrozza, T. & Biljana Vasić, 2001). In a devastating anti-Bosnian project, the Serbianised YPA (Kadijević, 1993) prepared a siege of Sarajevo and drew up the RAM Plan to destroy Bosniaks (Lukic, R. and Lynch, A. 1996). That is the most important fact of the dissolution of the SFRY (Judah, T, 2000). Thus, the five-pointed star was stained with a cockade, and the tricolour with a five-pointed star was turned into a Serbian tricolour, together with a definite rupture with everything that had

people in this area after the collapse of the fascist axis and the victory of the Yugoslav forces should not be investigated.

been built since the 1940s. The YPA occupied Bosnia and prepared the genocide against Bosniaks - I guess that's clear! Namely, in order to formally comply with the international community's ultimatum, the Bosnian Serbs renamed the YPA, "The Bosnian Serb Army" and promised to demobilize all soldiers who were not citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which no one could verify). In that way, the plan to hide the aggression of Serbia and the YPA was realized, to create a *civil war* that led to horrible crimes, and then to impose reconciliation through forgetting crimes and renouncing the search for justice.²

Planted ideological models, hibernation and repression of Bosnia

During the period of Ottoman hegemony over Bosnia, religion served as the basis on which the identity of national groups was built. A complete image of the world, in which interconnected human groups are found, has been developed from religious identity. From the second half of the 19th century, ideological concepts that desecrated Bosnia "came" and led to a departure from its own historical course. In these ideological designs, the disease and the criminal mind of man or the negative energy that spreads to human communities and envelops them in darkness and a state of hatred can be recognised. At the time, the ideology of nationalism offered Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox people differing identities. They ended up renouncing Bosnia and gradually developing hatred towards their own country! Ethnic and national identities from Serbia and Croatia are still imposed on its people through religious propaganda. Borrowed identities, coming from neighbouring countries that significantly falsify the history of Catholics and Orthodox in Bosnia are imposed on the *Bosnian Humanum*. These identities were imposed through the infrastructure of religious institutions and political organizations, but also thanks to Muslims, who imposed an unrealistic and inaccurate

2 The whole narrative of "reconciliation of the people" is absolutely meaningless. Why? Because behind it, there is a deceptive thesis that "nations were at war". It is necessary to emphasize, once again, that the peoples of the former Yugoslavia did not wage war against each other - so that is impossible - but that there were clashes of political oligarchies that irresponsibly and maliciously used the peoples as basic units of manipulation and group relations to achieve great state projections. The nations did not wage war against each other. Bosnia was attacked by Milošević's regime, which manipulated the Serb element in Bosnia and brought it into a state of war. The idea of "Greater Serbia" has never become the idea of the entire Serbian people! The crimes on behalf of the Serbs are very clearly answered by the specific people who made the joint criminal enterprise and organized the killing system. We can talk about organizations such as a political party, a religious institution (SOC), SANU, but the whole nation should never be blamed because war criminals want to hide behind the "endangered Serbian people". A large number of conscious Serb citizens of Bosnia and Serbia understand that Milošević occupied Bosnia with the YPA in the 1990s and thus created the "RS" entity, based on genocide against the non-Serb population. It is also clear that there would never have been genocide and occupation of Bosnia if Milošević had not used the state system of Serbia and the military power of the YPA!

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narrative of “Turkey as the Motherland.” The Republic of Turkey is a friend and partner, but not the mother of Bosnia, because “Bosnia is the mother of Bosniaks/ Bosniaks and Bosnians” (Bošnjak/Bosnewi). Through man’s terrible ideologies, it is possible to persuade people to act on evilly or to work in favour of a fascist ideology and not see anything controversial in that.

For decades, Bosnian Serbs have been subjected to the idea of Chetniks as role models, the concept of “Greater Serbia” and Greater Serbia hegemony over other groups of people. The crimes committed by individuals in that name were not condemned by the Serbian intellectual elite. They did not even admit the crimes and warn from following that path. Lately, political representatives, shameless and inhuman in a state of mental illness, have proudly glorified crimes against other groups. Thus, the denial of crimes, and the glorification of crimes, complete the circle of Greater Serbia’s atrocities against Bosnia and Bosniaks. At the head of the political groups that dominate the Serbian people, are noticeable characters with serious mental problems and an inability to communicate at the level of a civilized man.

Ustasha criminals are offered as heroes of the people to Bosnian Croats. At the same time, a revised image of the NDH is created, which was, in fact, a quisling fascist creation. Bosnia is deceptively spoken of as an old Croatian country and that Bosniaks are the “flowers of Croatia”. The myth of Bosnia and Bosniaks as Muslim Croats originates within the great Croatian national policy³ of Ante Starčević (Jelčić, D., 1995), which was then transformed into a Tudjmanized plan for the “Europeanization of Bosnian Muslims” by the Croatian political and cultural project, which is “superior”, the *antemurale christianitatis*. This right-wing ideology proved to be fundamental to Croatian state policy from the 19th century to the end of the 20th century (Gross, M., 1973).

Distorted *Turkishness*, the idealisation and mythologisation of the Ottoman period, Islamism as a dangerous ideology or simulacrum of Islam and Muslim civilization, the definition of their ethnies as a religious group, dominated by priests

3 In accordance with this ideology, the Serbs of the 19th century are especially demonised and dehumanised in A. Starčević’s texts. In *Pismima Magjarolacah* [The Hungarian Letters], he writes on a racist basis about the Slavo-Serbs, “Finally, about the Slavo-Serbs that you intend to defeat. They are a breed of Slaves, a scoundrel who is more disgusting than anyone else. Let us take into consideration the three degrees of perfection that exist within a man: the degree of animal, the degree of reason, and the degree of mind or the mentality. Slavo-Serbs have not fully reached even the lowest level and cannot rise from it. They have no consciousness; they cannot read; they do not learn any doctrine; they can be neither better nor worsen than they are; they are, except for the agility and cunning that practice gives, all in all completely the same; they cannot moo or bark about themselves whether they are full or hungry; neither rest or jump. They conduct themselves as their shepherds command them.” (Starčević, A. (1879). *Pisma Magjarolacah* [The Hungarian Letters]. Sušak; Starčević, A. (1876). *Pasmína Slavoserbska po Hervatskoj* [Slavo-Serbian Breed In Croatia]. Zagreb: Tiskara Lav. Hartmana i društva.)

with their ahistorical explanations of historical trends, are being forced upon Bosniaks. They neglect their Bosnian history and lose themselves in other people's histories and their religious constructions of history or civilization, which do not not acknowledge their "days and nights" and as well as the real historical events that determine them.

These three groups are systematically stretched in three divergent directions that now comprise Bosnia and the Bosnian experience. When a Bosnian character needs to appear in history, it is deliberately suppressed by Turkish myths in literature and communist fairy tales in politics, invoking a missing state and its leaders, who have long since disappeared. Also, the need to create a Bosnian vision of the future and Bosnian interests and ideals of common life is suppressed. The Bosnian flag and the Bosnian national state consciousness are suppressed too, while the "holy ethnic group" now renamed the "nation", backed by priests and well-established "national workers" who have turned being Bosniak, Serb and Croat into lucrative jobs and job posts, is being overly-accentuated. Anti-fascism is subsumed under a party idea or several historical figures as if it were a matter of one party or its leaders. Antifascism is a natural historical state of Bosnia that has been expressed several times in the 20th century.

During the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s by Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia, Bosnian people were pushed into a cataclysm and used for the conquests of Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia! Shamefully exploited by the ethnic and religious phantasmagorias of their neighbours, while being deceived, displaced and devastated by the immorality of the crimes committed against them for the "grand designs" of neighbouring states, they today represent a complete expression of loss and disorientation. Thus, Bosnia was subjected to a state of terror and disorder that has lasted too long and prevented the establishment of a normal civil society or a peaceful landscape for the life of Bosnian Humanum. The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina aimed to destroy the historical Bosnian society as an individual form of life.

The Chetnik and Ustasha ideologies have united against Bosnia - these terms clearly distinguish the Croatian and Serbian peoples from the ideologies of fascism and Nazism - which serve the hegemonic ventures of the neighbouring regimes from Belgrade and Zagreb. Those people, who have renounced their attachment to Bosnia, towards which they express a hatred developed through planned propaganda in political and religious organizations, live with a feeling of perversion against their state, which is a clear sign that at some point in history they were triggered by a disease. This created cancer in human souls and led them to the horror of crime. The mental viruses of evil in people's heads, which are being spread in Bosnia today through the ideologies of the Ustashes and Chetniks, show an "infection" that has been going on for a long time and is attacks

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everything Bosnian. Elements of *ponerogenesis* or genesis of evil in Bosnia must be elaborated upon through the scientific research process, which is a prerequisite for the development of public understanding of the evil that the sick ideologies of great hegemony constructed in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia during the 19th and 20th centuries (Lobačevski, A. M., 2011). Therefore, in *ponerogenesis* it is necessary to consider everything that can be obtained from history: literary works, religious writings, philosophical texts, political debates, folklore, programs of political parties, religious rites and experiences of survivors of mass crimes. Political situations arise from the actions of rulers and political powers in which evil is at work, human evil, disorder, hatred and fear, and the powerlessness of “small” and ordinary people. Ponerology helps us to understand and monitor the occurrence of evil at all levels of social reality. Andrzej M. Lobaczewski took the sentence - *ignotas nulla curatio morbid* (Do not try to cure what you do not understand) as the motto of his work on ponerology. This clearly sets the framework for any research on the evil that has befallen Bosnia. Understanding this process in Bosnia is the starting point for any future activity!

In the shadow of a great human catastrophe, Greater Serbian hegemony during World War II carried out its own extermination project on Bosniaks in Podrinje, Hercegovina, Sandžak, Krajina and other parts of Bosnia (Čekić, S., 2012) and the extermination of Muslims and Bosnian Men/Humanum remained the main criminal project of Greater Serbia during the aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina in the 1990s. The Greater Serbia war against Bosnia has not stopped and has not changed its goal, but has only changed its means of achievement! From a sociological point of view, anti-fascism in 1941 and 1992 meant the defence of Bosnia from the hegemonic fascist policies of greater power. One should not unnecessarily compare partisans and fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina - they are on the same anti-fascist side of history. They were fighting against the quislings, fascists, Chetniks and Ustashas!

But where does the Serbian genocidal plan against Bosniaks come from? The preliminary answer is: from *beliefs* and *ideas* that have been developed for decades in religious, political, cultural, literary, and other forms of everyday life of the Serbian people. This means that in the parallel reality of Serbianism, preference and motivation for **genocidal intent and action** exists within this culture. As such, it was just waiting for the historical circumstances to coincide to show its true face, and manifest itself. The fact that it exists and works should never be doubted again. The most monstrous evidence of this are the sick post-genocidal slogans of Serbs, such as: “Nož, žica, Srebrenica” (“Knife, wire, Srebrenica”) or “Oj, Pazaru novi Vukovaru/Oj, Sjenice nova Srebrenice...” (Hey Pazar, The New Vukovar), in which the morbid belief that these sentiments are the justified meaning of Serbian life is made clear. Muslims as followers of a faith and Bosniaks as people, have been dehumanized, devalued and erased from the human story

for decades, so that the crime against them almost became a “desirable” act! It is evident from jokes about Mujo, songs about the desecration of women wearing hijab, literary works in which Bosniaks present themselves as orientalised buffoons, singing of the so-called “mountain wreath”, political programs of Serbian parties and military terrorist organizations, education systems and so on.... E. Gellner’s claim that, “nationalism is rooted in modernity” (Gellner, E. 1997) is quite understandable when placed in this context.

The landscape dominated by the collective mentality or collective-tribal representation, backed by a religious narrative, is subjugated to a pernicious unanimity, recognizable by its one-party system and a conservative consciousness. The spirit of the collective or ethnic herd⁴ suffocates any plural human rationality and multi-party system. It destroys democracy, reducing it to the dictatorship of a one-party system, in which people with a different political attitude are traitors to ethnic-religious dogmas. This is a terrible regression that is happening in the Balkans, which threatens to destroy any plurality of forms of living among people with authoritarian tendencies. States and societies with the absolute domination of one party are totalitarian systems in which there is no developed political society, i.e. in which the pre-modern or pre-political ethnic-religious mentality and reflex towards human existence in general dominates. That is why fascist tendencies that lead to catastrophic consequences appear and develop very easily in these societies. In such societies, genocidal narratives spread as the cultural norms of a poor backward Balkan world. They mark their *lebenswelt* with mass graves of the non-identified!

The naivety of the citizens is an expression of ignorance

The extermination of Bosniaks has been going on since the 19th century. It is a project designed for “cleansing of the space” where Bosniaks have lived for hundreds of years. So how do Serbian criminals do that? According to the president

⁴ As the editor of the book “Ethnic Group And Borders” (1969), Fredrik Barth presented an approach to the study of ethnicity that focused on continuous discussion/negotiation of borders between groups of people. Barth argued that such groups were not discontinuous cultural isolates or a logical a priori to which humans naturally belong. He therefore diverged from anthropological notions of cultures as bounded entities and ethnicity as core/primordial connections. It focused on the boundary/interface and the interaction between the groups that created the identities. Boundaries are places of touch, permeation, and confrontation. The identity of ethnic groups depends on each other’s confrontation, in fact, ethnic groups are interdependent and their identities are the result of continuous ascription. In his “Introduction To The Book Of Ethnic Groups And Borders”, he pays full attention to the interconnectedness of ethnic identities and says, “...categorical ethnic differences do not depend on lack of mobility, contact, and information, but imply social processes of exclusion and inclusion in which discrete categories are maintained despite changes in participation and membership over the course of individual life histories” (pp. 9-10).

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of the Association of War Victims “Foča 92-95” Halida Konjo-Uzunović, it is done as follows:

“They brutally kill your whole family, occupy the city, burn down your homes, capture you, torture, rape, enslave, sell you as slaves and then boast about it... We, the victims of aggression, wonder from whom they liberated the city when they already expelled, killed and humiliated all of us. We have never received a memorial for innocent women, girls and civilians, 3,000 of them killed.” (Džaferagić, N., 2020).

In this way, from the 19th to the end of the 20th century, Serb butchers, criminals, murderers, Serbized Vlachs, carried out “rituals” of slaughter and rape against the helpless and naive Bosniak population. They were almost never punished or persecuted for these actions until the Hague Tribunal. The leader of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, S. Milošević, died in prison in The Hague! Thus, the Greater Serbia hegemony completely destroyed the Bosniaks in one territory, that is: it expelled them, killed thousands of them and destroyed all signs of their cultural identity, and then declared that territory a “century-old Serbian land”. This procedure has remained unpunished in history, and the Serbian expansionist policy of evil in the 1990s implemented a definitive solution to the “Serbian question”, at the expense of Bosnia! Everything that happened after the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement, was in fact a manipulation of that agreement, in order to achieve in peace what was started in the war. Greater Serbia’s mythomaniac policy and the subsequent historiography of these pretensions introduce the term “Serbian world”, another name for the sick concept of “Greater Serbia”, which should include three points - Belgrade, Banja Luka and Podgorica. It is obvious that two of these points belong to other independent states! After the catastrophic wars during the 1990s, Serbia’s intentions are best shown in the Strategy (*Strategy for Preservation and Strengthening of Relations between the Homeland and the Diaspora and the Homeland and Serbs in the Region.*” (Official Gazette of RS”, No. 4/2011 and 14/2011) which was written in 2011 and envisages how Serbia might openly interfere in legal and political processes in neighbouring countries in the region, such as Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The provincial, narrow consciousness, which reduces religion to tribal xenophobic superstition, underlies the ethnic-confessional *sect of evil* or *the conquering tribe* in the Balkans. It has failed to rise to the level of human, universal, man as a being of freedom. It is locked in hatred towards the different, the foreign, the Other, the new, the rational. It lives and realises evil - it is a horrible negative energy that undermines the human community. Contrary to this destructive form of darkness, it seems that the active Bosniak consciousness does not recognise the people and ideas of evil that inflict catastrophic losses on Bosniaks every fifty

years, i.e. it is not able to distinguish it precisely, as if the question of survival of an entire nation is just child's play. Milorad Popović reminds us of one activity of the religious organization of the Serbian Orthodox Church:

The Cult of St. Sava, like other fundamentalist sects, preaches militarism, a perverted ideology of blood and soil, in the name of God. The universal character of Orthodoxy is opposed by the Serbian character of religion, which is contradictory in adjecto with the spirit of original Christianity, in which God is the center of the gospel or the (eternal) life connected with the transcendent. ("Religion" comes from the Latin *religare*, which means to connect with the transcendent, to gather around the transcendent). The Cult is deprived of the transcendent: instead of God's sublimity, which exceeds the possibilities of our experience, it prefers the magical, the earthly, the mundane, the superstitious. In that context, the Cult is provincial, xenophobic, it rejects all foreign influences and customs, especially European ones, which it considers superficial, "man-god"! (Popović, M., 2020).

Unfortunately, in today's post-genocidal era, Bosnia is left at the mercy of ignorance and irresponsibility. The irresponsibility and ignorance of conservative consciousness is evidenced by the obscure proscribing and disavowing of communism and the socialist order, as totalitarianist and dictatorial, and the complete failure to perceive the Chetniks and Ustashas as fascist, quisling and criminal instruments of terror of great anti-Bosnian hegemony. This naivety among citizens comes in part from a religious narrative against a communist ideology that has not behaved correctly toward religious institutions which then leads to ignorance of the real forces and actors of history. Since the end of the 20th century and the disintegration of communism and the socialist bloc, narratives about its guilt and responsibility have been published, while at the same time, new religious dogmatic narratives that pretend to take the place of science and scientific explanations are being created. This enchants social historical reality in a new way and imposes on religion an unnecessary role and task that it cannot fulfil by its definition. In turn, escapism is becoming the norm and most citizens are fleeing from the present to some "golden epochs" of humanity, unprepared to face current problems and demands for rethinking the new Bosnian historical direction. Therefore, it is evident that throughout history, various forms and levels of social existence are constantly mixed and brought into contradictory situations, sometimes out of ignorance and sometimes intentionally, in order to perpetuate the social confusion dominated by a pathocratic structure. In Bosnia, politicians often "preach" as priests, and priests openly sit in the front rows of party congresses, thus expressing their political intentions!

The welfare state is disappearing!

The welfare state is in part, a humane state because it tries to take care of man in general. Against such a state rises the monster of neoliberal capitalism, which

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would swallow such a human community and completely subjugate it unto itself in order to fully master all the elements of human life. The secret button of the neoliberal spirit of capitalism is the plunder of the state and the citizens in it - the state serves to plunder and that is why the creators of this neoliberal world order talk about it with contempt. The plunder of the state is proving to be the safest and most lucrative business of the newly established capitalists!

Ethnopolitical elites pretend to rule as independent, powerful, and self-confident groups of people loyal to *the nation*, but, in fact, life within this system is all about serving in hierarchies of subordination and acting as compradors to these cultural, economic, and political elites. These outside groups receive secret and public support through which they stay in power in front of a mass of followers, playing the role of great politicians and visionaries. In a state of crisis, this hoax is clearly revealed when none of these “great politicians” are able to do something important for their “collectives”, the people, the voters, the citizens! Thus, their connection with the “people” or citizens became suspicious, because the question arises - when do “our elites” actually work in neoliberal capitalism and who do they represent? That is - in whose hands is the state? Politics based on totalitarianism does not care about the votes and wishes of citizens - it ignores them as insignificant and powerless.

Citizens are not even aware of the countries in which they live. Their lives and social destinies, for example, may be limited by the will or emotion of a politician, the subjective assessment of a judge appointed by the party to “judge the unfit”, the whim of a “guardian of great national interest” or a sick anti-Bosnian policy, as well as hatred and fascist ideology. Citizens are neither guilty, nor innocent, of being trapped in the anti-Bosnian enterprise of Serbs and Croats and the naivety and undeveloped Bosniak political process - all three ethnopolitics have ruled out the development of Bosnian political identity and for three decades have been “spinning” everything that moves through this country and its political currents.

Representatives of international organizations, ambassadors, presidents of other states constantly hold Bosnia in the position of “*ethno-trinity*”, a three-member presidency or a “state of three peoples” that does not have a strong state institutions or civic authority. “Foreigners” insidiously emphasize the agreements of ethno-leaders, because there is no other way! Thus, they keep them in power as something that is completely legal, normal and democratic. As a result, citizens are reduced to the role of useful idiots, who need ethnic leaders to be able to walk the streets. This provokes idiosyncrasy and a sense of nonsense in which injustice, lies, and the cynicism of power grind down the “little people”. People are fleeing, moving, and thus expressing their disgust towards the tribal primitivisms of anti-Bosnian policies.

In the age of the COVID-19 pandemic, new questions about the meaning and the functioning of neoliberal capitalism, the ideals of human freedom, humanism, and our future goals arise. The world prepared by neoliberal capitalism is a world without *homo humanus*. Why the daily death toll and media bombardment? It seems that behind this social panic spread by the media, it remains unnoticed that the corona virus pandemic has disrupted world capital flows, destroyed many established relations and slowed down processes, and brought many countries conflict with omnipotent multinational corporations that have risen above national levels. Today's Balkan states are testing their own unstable sovereignty, borrowing funds, desperately seeking loans to maintain the system, falling into dependence on financial institutions, and facing the sale of their own resources to powerful corporations. The international bureaucracy that is in collusion with multinational corporations and capital owners play a major role in this (Stiglitz, J. E., 2002). Political systems have come to resemble the concerts of pub musicians, in which everyone "plays" their line as they see fit. Mechanisms of control and responsibility are disappearing from state political systems. Judicial systems and the judiciary are being undermined as authoritarian oligarchs loom over them, presenting their arbitrariness as being in the interest of the citizens and the "will of the people." No one trusts the media under the control of the ruling structures anymore, and democracy itself is an illusory form of "people's rule". Disruption of world order always provokes wars in some part of the world and then it is seen that the world has once again fallen into some medieval illusion rulers and great leaders and their need to struggle for hegemony and prestige. All the misery of the world flows from the power that the owners of capital or military potentials have - they dictate to state systems and leaders what will be done! Many authors believe that we are now in the epoch of the *capitalocene*, which had replaced the epoch of *the anthropocene*. This means that the time of the omnipotence of capital and its self-sufficiency has come (Moore, J. W., 2016). It is an experience of the end or one's own finitude. We are living in period of transition in our planet's life with "the potential for Earth to quickly and irreversibly turn into a state unknown to human experience" (Baronsky, A.D. et al., 2011). Palaeontologists characterise mass extinctions as times when the Earth loses more than three-quarters of its species in a geologically short interval, as has happened only five times in the past 540 million years or so. Biologists now suggest that a sixth mass extinction may be under way, given the known species losses over the past few centuries and millennia... "Our results confirm that current extinction rates are higher than would be expected from the fossil record, highlighting the need for effective conservation measures" (Baronsky, A.D. et al., 2011).

Humanities are being pushed out of university curricula. The end of that discipline will be recognised in the triumph of artificial intelligence or superintelligence, smart machines and the smart framework of everything that exists. The

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growth and eventual dominance of machine learning replacing the earlier “failed project” of creating awareness of humanism and freedom, will be accompanied by an emerging global network of comprehensive electronic surveillance and the control of mega-data after the death of neoliberal ideology. From 2020 on, an era of a continuous chain of global emergencies and management of the world’s population in the name of their health and security will begin. Post-politics and transhumanism will frame the “smart world” as a field of “smart machines”, the “smart killing of people”, “smart concentration camps”, “smart hegemony”. We are entering a world where everything is “smart”! There is no need for humanity in that world! Should we already be thinking of the mass extinction of a species that trusted the myth of its own superiority?!

To the conclusion: The state as a bank for robbery

Ethnopolitics privatizes the state and turns it into a dictatorship led by a leader and the oligarchic political group around him. Above them stand or sit the owners of financial capital, for example, bankers and industrialists. The “king’s law” once again becomes the norm and the rule of law is suspended. Such an internal constellation of the nation-state is ideal for neoliberal capitalism, because apostate political oligarchies in state possession cannot survive without outside support, thus becoming a comprador layer that serves a powerful supranational mechanism of capital and power. They thus deliver the state over to supranational concerns and the affairs of neoliberal capitalism. This irresponsibility is hidden in by the so-called policy of “in the name of the people”, an ethnopolitics of miserable subservience to the herd, shrouded in a fictional, constructed understanding of its own historical “mission” and its supremacy over others. From such a basis, a new historical state develops. State institutions serve private businesses and do not protect the general and public good/interest of the majority of citizens. Consequently, states could become subject to concentrated plundering by multinational corporations, which thus raise the exploitation from merely the working classes, as it was before, to the plunder of the entire population of one state.

From the 19th to the 21st century, capitalism has been based on a logic in which all facts and ideas are reduced to a consideration of their “feasibility” within the capitalist system. All major economic and political theories, including the Marxist ones that were supposed to offer an alternative vision, were stunned. All utopian ideas were completely marginalized. In order to constantly do what is *feasible*, you have to stick to pseudo-factual notions such as: nationalism, the constant pursuit of efficiency, the nation-state idea, corporatism, market management, business ethics, governance, etc. Capitalism comes down to managing the economies of states that fight each other and admire the independence of their own finances. And all of that, intellectually, economically, politically and, unfor-

tunately, individually, is related to fascism (Micocci, A. and Di Mario, F., 2017). To which the concept of the Balkan *disentanglement* belongs too.

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BOSNIA  STUDIES
SARAJEVO

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Socio-demographic aspects and
characteristics of gambling and
betting among Bosniaks in Bosnia
and Herzegovina

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Abstract

In the last few years, gambling and betting opportunities have been increasing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, leading to an increase in pathological gambling. Pathological gambling is considered by experts to be an instinct control disorder, i.e. the inability to refrain from an instinct that at the same time causes pleasure to a person, but is also dangerous for them and the people around them as it seriously disrupts not only the physical, emotional, mental and material state of the individual, but affects their families and friends also. In order to examine the most common forms of gambling and betting as well as socio-demographic aspects and their characteristics among Bosniaks in BiH, in the period April-May 2019, on a sample of N = 1520 respondents, a survey was conducted in 62 municipalities in BiH. Respondents ranged from 18-77 years old, of whom 568 were women and 927 were men. While defining the sample for the purposes of this research, a two-stage stratification was performed, namely: stratification at the administrative level of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the type of settlement, respecting the principle of proportional representation of municipalities within entity/cantons. Data was collected via a structured face-to-face interviews with closed questions to which handwritten answers were given. The data collection was done through the Network of Youth and Directorate for Religious Affairs of the Riyasat of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The results suggest persisting differences in the perception of the most common forms of gambling and betting, where bingo, disposable lottery tickets/scrapers, lotto and sports betting are perceived to be the most common. The most widespread types of gambling are influenced by the socio-demographic variables such as gender, place of residence, level of education, age and monthly household income.

Keywords: gambling, betting, Bosnia and Herzegovina, socio-demographic characteristics

Introduction

The gambling and betting issue, according to official economic indicators, is one of the most widespread phenomena in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although there is a generally negative public perception of betting, it has not yet been analysed and elaborated to what extent such a perception is present, or what are the primary motives and attitudes of citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general, and Bosniaks in particular, towards this phenomena. An additional problem in this context is the fact that, among the general public, there is a common perception, that not every type of gambling is considered a dangerous social problem. i.e. there exists a grading of types of gambling and betting.

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Earlier research examined the problem of gambling exclusively from a negative point of view, and it was considered as opposed to the invested effort, labour and work of population (Veblen, 1967). Recent research, has largely focused on the motives driving gambling/betting from an interdisciplinary perspective, combining many social disciplines such as sociology, psychology, economics and law. In terms of gambling, the motivations behind it are often categorised into three general groups: economic, symbolic, and hedonistic. For economically motivated gamblers, money acts as a basic incentive. For this type of gambler, valuing the money, he expects to win more than he currently owns. The symbolic gambler is driven by the satisfaction deriving from the elements of risk that are inherent in gambling, as the very risk and act of gambling provides shelter and escape from everyday personal problems. People who gamble based on hedonistic impulses find their basic motive in the game itself, the quest for something new, socialising, making new friends, excitement, as well as increment of self-esteem. Furthermore, modern research concludes that gamblers (consumers) are no longer satisfied with what they currently own or have, but constantly live with a constant need to find satisfaction in new things that ultimately leads to new and more unfulfilled desires, resulting in increasing frustrations (Rousseau & Venter 2002; Campbell, 1996; Binde, 2013; Salonen et al. 2017). Based on Hirschman's (1984) consumer theory, consumers are either seekers of cognitive experiences, seekers of sensory experiences or seekers of novelty, it could be concluded that recreational gamblers are similarly motivated by the search for new thoughts, new sensory experiences, or the search for any new situation to avoid boredom. Social assumptions about the value of hard work and self-denial have given way to impulsive pursuits of novelty, excitement, and change through spending and consumerism (Flack & Moris, 2015).

Oropesa (1995) suggests that one of the main reasons for the hedonistic search for novelties is that modern progress and life has reduced in number many of the challenges people experience daily, resulting in consumers' search for new pleasant stimulation and excitement. According to Chapple and Nofziger (2000), the women interviewed in this study consider Bingo to be a means of treating boredom and not just a gambling activity by which they can make money. Similar conclusions were reached by Salonen et al. (2017) while McCarthy et al. (2018) believe that gambling among women is a social activity, as opposed to men, who gamble for the sake of gambling itself. Thus Cotte (2000) concludes that recreational gambling can be a risky quest for excitement, sometimes frustrating, and sometimes boring. People gamble for different and sometimes very complex and often intertwining motives and reasons. However, despite researchers' attempts to prioritise gambling motives, most contemporary literature on gambling and betting has focused primarily on understanding the issues and problems of com-

pulsive or problematic gambling caused by gambling and gambling addiction (McCarthy, 2018; Salonen, 2017, etc.).

Broadly defined, gambling represents any form of lawful placement of a bet or bets on the outcome of an uncertain event. The Law on Games of Chance (Official Gazette of BiH, No. 1, 2002), according to which participants are allowed to gain money, things or rights, where the result of the game does not depend on the knowledge or skills of participants in game, by chance or some uncertain event, provides a more detailed basis for our definition.

Central to the act of gambling is an element of chance where a person risks the loss of something valuable in the hope of making a profit (Henderson 2000). Recreational gambling has been described as a harmless recreational pastime conducted by responsible consumers that does not affect their family or business life, or lead them into financial difficulties. Some argue that for most casino visitors, it is a form of leisure and entertainment and states that in developed societies only three percent of gamblers and potential gamblers are susceptible to developing a serious gambling problem or addiction (Reinecke, 2000).

Compulsive or problematic gambling refers to gambling that is, to varying degrees, uncontrolled and has potentially detrimental effects on the familial, social and professional/work life. Experts in the field of excessive gambling or gambling addiction (Orford, 1990, Collins and Barr 2000) agree on the symptoms of compulsive or pathological gambling and argue that for such individuals, gambling is a daily practice with which they are so preoccupied that it fully occupies their time and excludes all other interests; they are always optimistic, meaning that once win, they cannot stop, they are restless or irritable when trying to reduce or stop gambling and often gamble to avoid problems. Collins and Barr (2000), based on the results of their research, conclude that problem gambling should be treated as a mental disorder because the key features of this addictive behaviour are its harmfulness, compulsiveness, obsession, avoidance and insanity. With this, according to DSM 5 (APA, 2013), gambling addiction is diagnosed when a person participates in persistent and recurrent gambling that leads to clinically significant suffering, manifested through the following four or more symptoms: the person needs to gamble with increasing amounts to achieve the desired arousal, a person is restless or irritable when trying to reduce or stop gambling, has repeated unsuccessful attempts to control, reduce or stop gambling, is often preoccupied with gambling (thinking about what he has experienced, etc.), often gambles when he feels bad, after losing money, often returns the next day to make up the loss (“hunt”), lies to cover up the size of gambling involvement, jeopardises or loses an important relationship, job, educational or business opportunities due to gambling, relies on others to ease their financial situation.

Gambling research and studies as well as the literature on problem gambling suggest that the problem of gambling is not necessarily limited to a particular age or income or occupation (see Lorge, 1999).

From the brief overview above, it can be seen that the literature on gambling primarily focuses solely on the dangers of compulsive gambling as a form of addictive consumption. Such behaviours are believed to systematically distort and undermine the personality of the individual in general (Joshi 2000). In addition, it is estimated that a person living within eighty kilometres from a casino is seven times more likely to become a compulsive gambler (Henderson 2000). Since gambling has become legalised in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and according to the report in *Slavenski jutarnji list* (2018), BiH leads the world in terms of the number of bet-shops per capita and the number of registered bet-shop and casinos is growing on daily basis. Based on such reports, we notice that bet-shops and casinos have become an integral part of urban, suburban and rural life, which makes them more accessible to the general public, and we are increasingly finding, in daily newspapers and web-portals, appeals, warning and statements of experts regarding the rise of gambling activities in our environment. So, it can be argued that the situation in our country is extremely alarming. Despite these obvious and alarming indicators, there is little known about the attitudes and especially the perception of the general public about gambling and betting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So far there have not yet been any significant and comprehensive studies that dealt with the issue of gambling, betting and gambling in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so currently there is no accurate data on the prevalence of gambling, the number of gambling addicts or about their structure in terms of socio-demographic data. Considering the existing unfavourable social and economic indicators, Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered a fertile ground for the development and flourishing of the gambling industry and subsequently the addictions that people easily fall into due to lack of perspective, often perceiving it as a quick and easy way to solve their existential problems. Some preliminary and very limited research, in terms of sample size, shows that one-third of 172 surveyed high school students from senior high schools in Zenica (Adilović, 2018) and over 70% of young people from Tuzla and Sarajevo (Bijedić, Kulalić-Čišić, Kovačević, Var-do, 2015), had some experience of gambling and betting, while data on the elderly population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although considered approximate, is not available. However, the fact that as many as 22.5% of adolescents play TV bingo every day/several times a week or about once a week, while 13.6% of adolescents play lotto every day/several times a week or about once a week, from these studies in Tuzla and Sarajevo, are alarming enough. Accordingly, the main goal of this study is to examine the most common forms of gambling and betting in relation to socio-demographic variables such as gender, place of residence,

level of education, age, and monthly income, among Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Method

Sample and procedure

According to the latest census, 3.531.159 inhabitants live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, out of which 50.1% are Bosniaks, who represent the target group of this survey. Since this is a primary survey, the field survey was conducted through an adopted and additionally improved questionnaire, of a stratified sample with ± 3 margin of error. The sample size n and margin of error E are calculated using the following formulas:

$$\begin{aligned}x &= Z(c/100)^2 r(100-r) \\n &= \frac{Nx}{((N-1)E^2 + x)} \\E &= \text{Sqrt}\left[\frac{(N-n)x}{n(N-1)}\right]\end{aligned}$$

Where N is the population size, r is a fraction of responses and $z(c/100)$ is the critical value for the confidence level c , using a normal distribution.

Based on previously used data and parameters for the target group, it was determined that the representative sample size for the total Bosniak population is 1.079 respondents, but during the survey, a larger number of respondents was interviewed. Thus the sample size increased to 1.516 respondents, resulting in reduction of the margin of statistical error to $\pm 2.5\%$. Furthermore, while defining the sample for the purposes of this research, a two-stage stratification was performed, namely: stratification based on the administrative-state system of Bosnia and Herzegovina (entities, cantons and Brčko District) and based on the type of settlement (rural-urban). The operational (field) part of the research was conducted by the Riyasat's Directorate for Religious Affairs of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the active participation of the Network of Youth, which is responsible for the accuracy of the collected data.

Instrument: The questionnaire for measuring the frequency of gambling and betting used in the research consists of the ten most widespread types of gambling in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was adopted, developed, and based on the research conducted by Rousseau and Venter, (2002). Each statement was constructed in a way that the respondents were asked to express the frequency of game playing on a multi-level Likert-type scale.

Results and discussion

The data from the questions on personal involvement in gambling and betting, show that the largest percentage of respondents (70%) have never participated in any type of gambling or betting, while at the same time the smallest percentage of them (48.7%) state that their family members have participated in gambling activities. However, there is no statistically significant difference between the personal (23.3%), friends (23.8%), family members (20.8%), or spouses (21.3%) involvement in gambling and betting that is visible from table 1. The difference in relation to the neglecting the personal involvement in comparison to other groups could be found in the difference between the groups with no information (no answer), but also in, to some extent, giving the socially desirable answers.

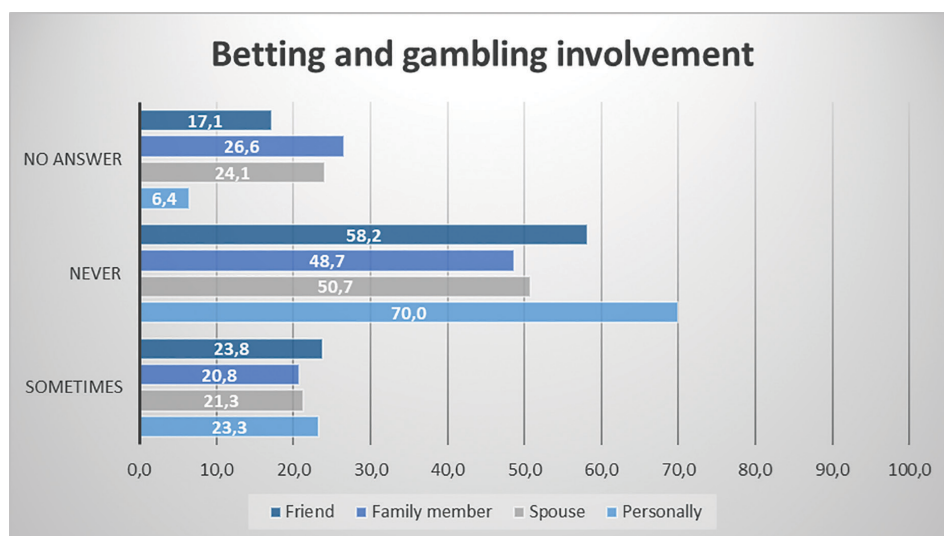


Table 1: Betting and gambling involvement

More than 40% of respondents have played *Bingo* at least once a year, making it the most common and widespread type of gambling among Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, *sports betting* is the most regular/frequent type of game played daily (5.6%) and more than 10% of respondents play it three times a week or more often, while 29% of them place sports bets at least once a year. In addition to these *Bingo* and *sports betting*, the most common types of gambling among respondents are lotto (26%) and disposable lottery tickets/scratch-cards (24%). When it comes to the use of modern technologies for gambling, about 10% of respondents said that they gamble online at least once a year. Also, it is important to point out that on average about 6% of respondents did not declare any involvement in any of these games, which can be seen from table 2.

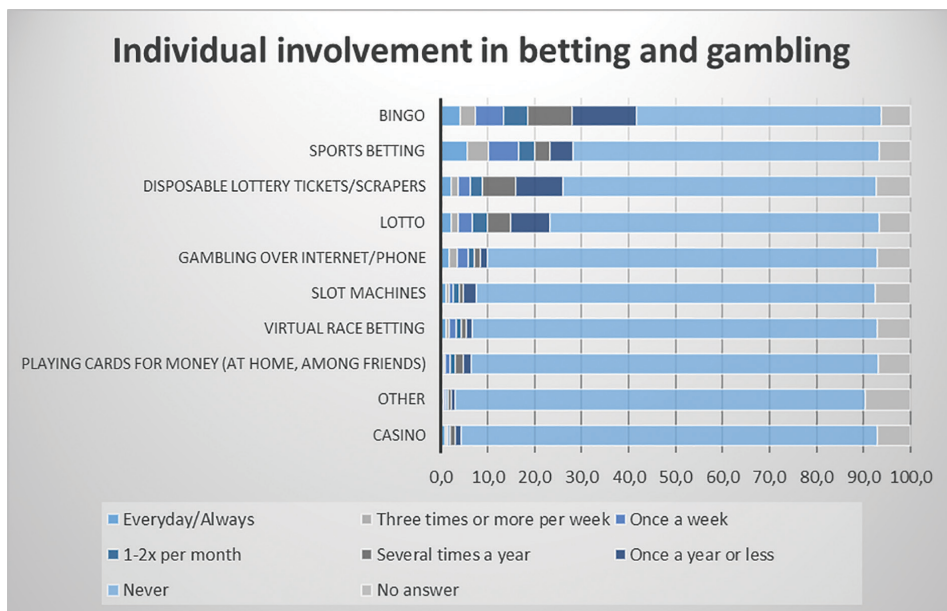


Table 2: Individual involvement in betting and gambling

Considering that bingo, sports betting, lotto and scratch-cards are the most common types of games among the respondents, we decided to analyse them in relation to the following socio-demographic variables: gender (male/female), age, type of residence (city/village), an education level (unfinished primary school, primary school, secondary school, and college and more), and income level.

In the context of gender, it is noticeable that men are more involved than women when it comes to the most common types of gambling. Thus, when it comes to bingo, the most common form of gambling over 50% (50.4%) of men stated that they play this game at least once a year, unlike 34% of women who play this type of game. Also, there is a significant difference between men and women when it comes to the frequency of playing, so while 6% of men always play, only 1.9% of women play it at the same time. The most visible difference, based on gender, is when it comes to sports betting, where 39.1% of men play this type of game whilst only 13.8% of women participate. At the same time, the smallest difference in relation to gender occurs when it comes to scratch-cards, which are played by 30.9% of men and 23.4% of women. The most regularly played game on a daily basis, is sports betting, in which 14.5% of men play three or more times a week (Table 3).

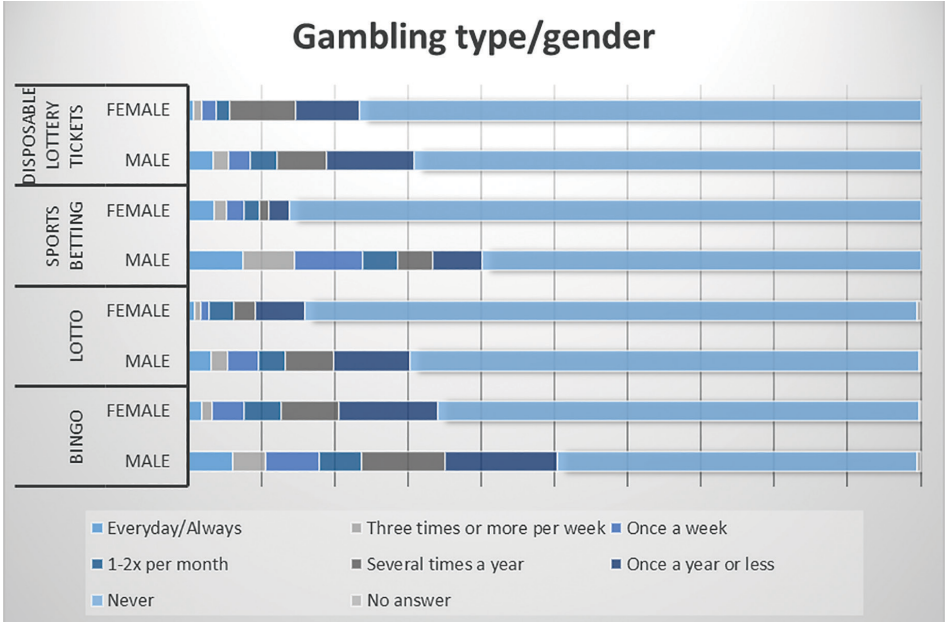


Table 3: Gambling type by gender

Regarding the location, all types of gambling (bingo, lotto, sports betting and disposable lottery tickets) are more prevalent in cities, which can be seen from Table 4. (Although the difference of (<4%) between respondents in rural and urban areas is not a statistically significant difference.)

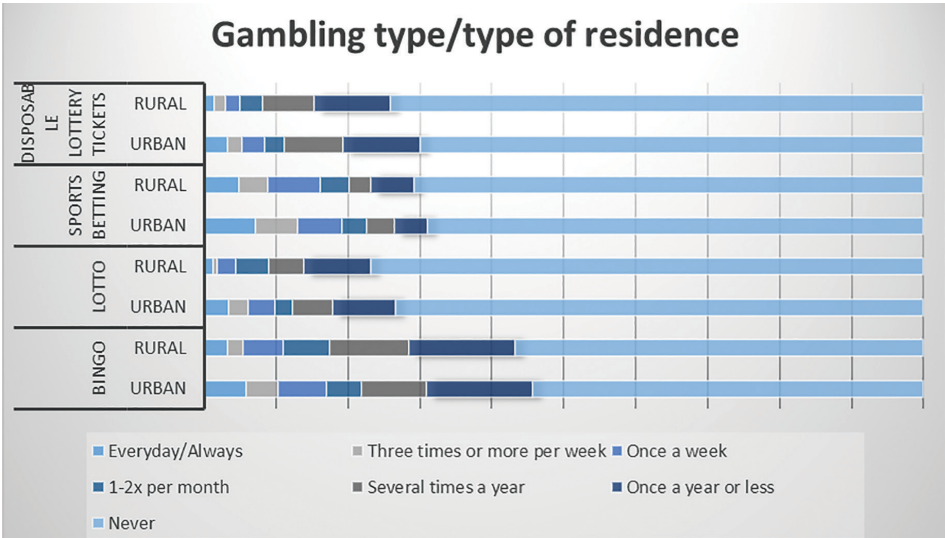


Table 4: Gambling/Type of residence

In the context of level of education and gambling frequency, betting is most common among respondents who have completed several grades of primary school, so 33.9% of them play scratch-cards, 34.8% sports betting, 34.8% lotto and 50% bingo, followed by respondents with completed high school education, of which 31.7% play one-time lottery games, 34.6% sports betting, 27.9% lotto and 49.5% bingo. Respondents with a university degree and more, are the least active.

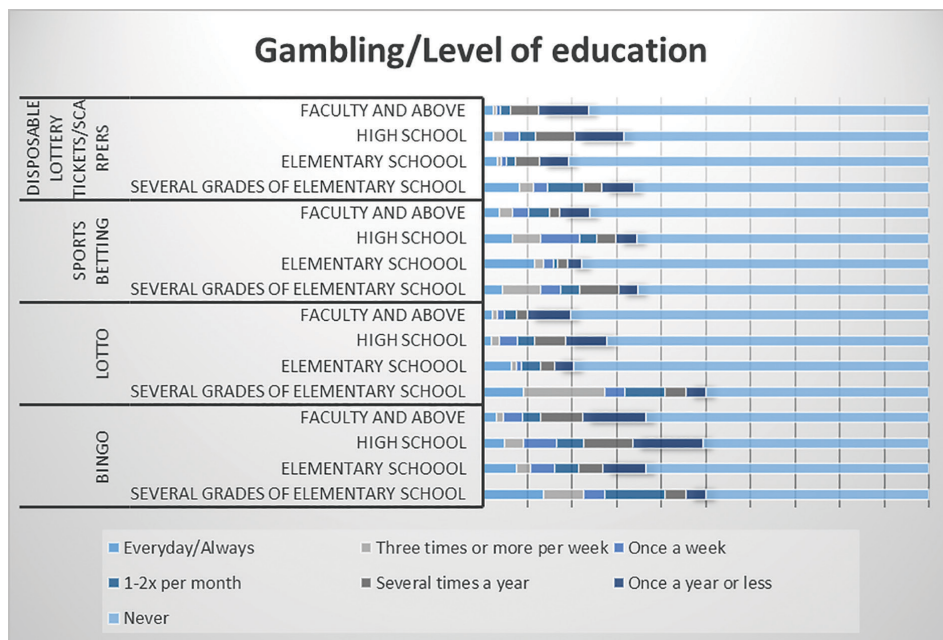


Table 5: Gambling activity based on obtained level of education

Concerning the age, respondents show diversified results when it comes to gambling activities. For example, Scratch-Cards are most often played by respondents (33.3%) between 18 and 25 years of age, while the game is least popular among respondents between 40 and 60 years of age. However, if we look at the frequency of play, we will see that daily Scratch-Card users by far the most widespread among the population aged between 40 and 60, of whom 4.4% play this game every day. When it comes to sports betting, it is most common among respondents of two groups aged 18 to 36, while there is slight difference even between these two groups. Sports betting has a higher frequency among those aged between 26 and 35 (36.9%) followed by respondents between 18 and 25 years (34.2%). Lotto is more often played by the older respondents, so that 34% of those between 46 and 60 years of age play this game once a year or more often, but also the percentage of those who always/regularly play lotto is the highest (4.3%) among this population. Bingo as a type of game was almost consistently

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played, regardless of the age of the respondents and it was least played among the population between 36 and 45 years old and 58.2% of them state that they have never played this game.



Table 6: Gambling activity by the age of responders

There is no significant difference in the context of gambling frequency among respondents in relation to monthly household incomes, however what is visible is that different types of games are more popular among respondents with different monthly incomes. Thus, Scratch-Cards are most popular among respondents with incomes between 1,501.00 KM and 2,000.00 KM (33%), while sports betting is most present among respondents with incomes up to 500.00 KM (34.4%), lotto is the most popular type of game among respondents with incomes between 1,001.00 KM and 1,500.00 KM (16.7%) as well as bingo (47.1%), among those who play this game at least once a year.



Table 7: Gambling activity by household income level

Conclusions

The above results show that Bingo is the most common type of gambling, while sports betting is the most regular type, (as it is often played daily) followed by lotto and disposable lottery tickets/scrappers. When it comes to the use of modern technologies for gambling, around 10% of respondents said that they gamble online at least once a year. However, on average, around 6% of respondents did not declare if they were involved in these games or not.

When it comes to differences in gambling involvement based on the gender, not only are men more involved in Bingo than women, they are also more regular and are more active in sports betting as well.

There is no statistically significant difference in the prevalence of gambling among respondents in rural and urban areas.

Gambling is the most widespread among respondents who have completed several grades of primary school, who play primarily play Scratch-Cards, followed by sports betting, lotto and bingo. They are followed by respondents with obtained a high school degree while respondents with completed university education and more declared the lowest frequency in gambling activities.

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Respondents aged 40 and 60, are the ones who play Scratch-Cards with the most (daily) frequency, while sports betting is most common among respondents between 26 and 35 and lotto among those aged 46 and 60. Bingo is played equally by respondents of all ages.

Finally, disposable lottery tickets are most popular way of gambling among higher-income respondents, while sports betting is most prevalent among lower-income respondents.

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BOSNIA  N
STUDIES
SARAJEVO
1

ABDULLAH DRURY

Kiwi and the Dervish: A Short
History of Bosnian Settlement in
New Zealand

UDC: 314.7 (292.94=163.43*)
316.022.4 (292.94=163.43*)
Original scholarly article

pages 52-68

Abstract

Emigration from Bosnia-Herzegovina to New Zealand invariably affects, and often undermines, the core religious practices and affiliations of Slavic Muslims. Research suggests that most of these immigrants and refugees have subsumed a key feature of their unique Balkan heritage in order to integrate into mainstream society, the Anglo-European population in this predominantly Protestant-Christian nation in the South Pacific. My study aims to elucidate this historic phenomenon through an exploration of multiple biographies of several working class persons, within the context of the wider picture of Bosnian settlement here. This essay asks: to what degree does personal motivation appear to influence participation in the wider, shared spiritual tradition of Islam in a minority societal context? Predicated on a review of the available literature, my research suggests a complex socio-economic bricolage. Through a case study design my analysis demonstrates that most Bosnian immigrants and refugees over the twentieth century were more concerned with tangible material objectives than theological principles or goals. These results indicate that, overall, religion played less of a role in their private and public lives historically compared to Asian and African immigrants and refugees. On this basis, it is suggested that in future Muslim social and religious organisations based in Bosnia make greater efforts to liaise with their diaspora populations even at these further-most edges of the earth and provide better spiritual leadership. Further research is necessary to identify other aspects that could strengthen Bosnian Muslim culture outside Europe.

Keywords: Bosnia, New Zealand, History, Immigration, Islam.

Introduction

The intention of this essay is to outline a short history of the Bosnian Muslim minority in New Zealand, from the earliest recorded evidence in the 1900s to the present. Bosnian Muslims comprise a small minority within the total New Zealand Muslim congregation, however their significance for a fuller comprehension of Islam in New Zealand is greater than their numbers suggest. The census of 1996 revealed that there were 213 ‘South Slav’ Muslims living in New Zealand, with 162 people identifying specifically as ‘Bosnian’ according to the 2013 census, but both these figures are widely believed to be underestimates (Wellington, 1997; Wilson, 2015). Presently the broader Islamic community in New Zealand numbers over 40,000, most of whom are Asian or African (*New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 2010). The figures for ‘European’ Muslims stand at 4353 (Wilson, 2015). Overall the New Zealand Muslim minority is exceptionally diverse in character, ethnicity, employment, education and geographic spread – making succinct generalisations about the evolving associations and relationships, and

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the precise details of such a diffuse group, their character or ethos, ever more challenging.

This article examines a section of the European Muslim population and tentatively explores how they have negotiated their private and public identities as Islamic New Zealanders on their own terms. It is possible that some scholars will note that it is near to impossible to write a compressive history of the Bosnian Muslims here simply because there are so few. According to this logic, there is insufficient material available to reveal anything truly profound or to make useful insights about the wider Muslim community because the Slavic Muslims (as physiological Europeans) are un-typical of the racial or ethnic minority experience of Islam in this land. There is not enough extant documentation for a thorough academic analysis. To date only William Shepard and Erich Kolig have written any in depth histories of the New Zealand Muslim population and these have tended to focus on the dominant Asian majority (See: Shepard, 1980; 1982; 1985; 1995; 1996; 2002; 2006; Shepard and Humphrey, 1999; Kling, 2009). Madjar's research on Bosnian refugees of the 1990s is an extremely useful exception to this rule (Madjar and Humpage, 2000). I think that we can demonstrate otherwise however: what is recorded about the religious dispositions of the myriad of identified Bosnians is perhaps as significant as what was not. In fact, textual uncertainties and tensions produce an unexpected amount of relatable data, and the study of these apparently inscrutable contradictions and intricacies can contribute to a deeper comprehension in our understanding of the history of Muslims and Islam in New Zealand. It must be noted that European Muslim immigrants have been generally overlooked and are frequently underrepresented in both mainstream Muslim minority literature and in the wider historiography of New Zealand. For many New Zealand Muslims, multiple identities are common place enough but terms like 'Europeans' and 'Pakeha' (the Maori word for European) are often used as synonyms. Conversely 'Muslim' is assumed throughout New Zealand to mean non-European 'ethnic minority', to some extent. My approach has been basically historical, grounded in empirical investigation and research, and underpinned by a conceptualisation of identity as a fundamentally dynamic process that has constantly evolved. The term 'Bosnian Muslim' is a broad term I will use broadly here to cover Slavic Muslims from Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the *Sandžak* of Novi Pazar (a distinctive former Ottoman district currently divided between Serbia and Montenegro), and all territories often referred to as the former lands of Yugoslavia excluding Macedonia.¹ Unless otherwise indicated, I will use the term Bosnia to include both the lands of both Bosnia and Herzegovina (for more see: Malcom, 1994; Morrison and Roberts, 2013; Pačarić, 2016).

¹ There are various spelling variations in English such as *Bosnyak*, in order to distinguish from the Slavic *Bosanci* which has a more strictly geographic sense.

Background

The first Muslims to visit New Zealand arrived in December 1769. Two Indian sailors – lascars – toured the coasts of Northland. They were in the employment of a French ship named the *Saint Jean-Baptiste*, captained by Jean François Marie de Surville who was pursuing trade opportunities from Pondicherry (the French colony in India) (Nachowitz, 2015). In the 1874 government census, 17 ‘Mahometans’ were identified and for many years, and indeed in much contemporary literature featuring the New Zealand Muslim community, this 19th century date has been presented as the start of a Muslim presence in New Zealand (Census in Wellington, 1875). However my own research has revealed a Muslim family from India resident in Canterbury from the 1850s onwards. So, the first identifiable Muslim to settle here permanently seems to be one ‘Mahomet Wuzerah’ or ‘Wuzerah Moosalman’ – commonly known simply as Wuzerah (and spelling variations of that single name). He and his family appear to have arrived in the employ of Sir John Cracroft Wilson (1808 – 1881) who came to Lyttleton in 1854 on a ship named the *Akbar* (Supreme Court Lyttelton, 1858). Wuzerah died in April 1902 (See: ‘Personal’, *The Auckland Star* (Star) 1 May 1902; ‘Canterbury’, *Otago Witness*, 7 May 1902; ‘Accidents and Fatalities’, *Wanganui Herald*, 2 May 1902; ‘A Venerable Indian’, *Star*, 2 May 1902; (untitled) *Poverty Bay Herald*, 6 May 1902; ‘Our Letter Home’, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1902). Throughout the 1890s and 1900s a small number of Muslim immigrants arrived from British Imperial India – mostly from the Punjab and Gujarat regions – and a few other individuals came from Arabia and central Asia. Thereafter immigration laws were effectively tightened and it was not until the 1950s that the number of Muslim immigrants began to spike.

On 21 November 1904, several Muslim men from Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived in Auckland (New Zealand’s largest city and port) from Sydney on board the *SS Zealandia*. It is significant that this occurred during the period when Austria governed Bosnia (1878-1918) because it was at this stage that Bosnians simultaneously developed a greater political awareness and also began to explore new work opportunities in Australia and North America. These particular men appear to have all come from Mostaći in the municipality of Trebinje, Herzegovina. They arrived at Sydney, Australia, on 4 November 1904, on board the *Barbarossa* from Naples. As far as can be determined from the available ship records (preserved in cursive script and most likely misspelt) their names were: Ahmed Fetahagic (aged 35), Avdo Fetahagic (31), Osman Fetahagic (18), Ahmet Galyatovic (27), Tahir Hadzovic (26), Zaim Budalica (24), Mehmed Copin (23), Lutieja Volic (22), Muho Roca (22), Muharem Spahovic (20), plus Omer (25) and Salko Haguahmerovic (17). It seems they then came to New Zealand almost immediately, with several others from Herzegovina and a number of (Roman Catholic) Dalmatians. The customs agent in Auckland who transcribed the passenger

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list identified the men as ‘Armenians’ and ‘Gum Diggers’ on the right hand side of the page. Unfortunately, in addition to being handwritten in a personal script that is difficult to decipher, these Slavic names and surnames are frequently vitiated and presented in a myriad of forms: Hadžiahmetović for example, is spelt Hagjiahmetovic by the New Zealand customs agent. Regrettably the preceding page in the *Zealandia* passenger list has been removed and the data is no longer extant, so it is not clear who these men were travelling with (Archives New Zealand, Passenger List 1839-1973). Fortunately, the National Archives in Wellington have retained a card-indexed list of kauri gum license registers in the Northland region and we know that on 14 December 1904 a “Lahir Hadgovic” (most likely Tahir Hadzovic) was granted a one year license to dig for gum in the Aratapu Riding, south of Dargaville in the Hobson county. Six months later on 15 June 1905 he was joined by Zaim Budalica, Ahmet and Osman Falagic (most likely Fetahagic), Ahmet Galujatovic (Galijatovic), and O. and Salko Hadriakmetovic (Hadžiahmetović) (Archives New Zealand, ZAAP A473/66/268).² The following year Mustappa Fetagovich, Ahmet Fetagovich, Avdo Fetagovich and Ahmet Galyatovick (Galijatvic), worked licences at the Kaihu Riding (Archives New Zealand, ZAAP A473/66/269). Furthermore Ahmet, O. and Salko Hadriakmetovich (Hadžiahmetović) also gained licenses to work at the Kaihu Riding on 2 March 1907 (Archives New Zealand, ZAAP A473/66/269).

Around September 1907, two of these Herzegovinian men were called to give evidence at the Dargaville court and were asked to remove their fezzes. They protested but complied, and their group leader took the issue to their diplomatic representative Eugene Langguth, a German immigrant of the Roman Catholic faith and consul-general for the benign empire of Austria in Auckland (Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 2, Part 1, 1902; Scholefield and Schwabe, eds. 1908; Scholefield, 1925). On 27 September, he wrote a formal letter to the Minister of Justice, James McGowan (1841-1917), an Irish-born Protestant, requesting that ‘Herzegovinians of Mohamedan religion be allowed to appear in Court in dress prescribed by their religion’. The Ministry replied in the affirmative, presumably making it legal to wear a fez in court to this day.³ From the missive penned by Langguth, we are informed that the group consisted of 13 Muslim men from Herzegovina based in Maropiu, led by one Mustafa Fetahagic.

Their fezzes were remarked upon by various newspapers. In 1909 a popular newspaper wrote about the new Croatian immigrants (a novelty in an Anglo-Saxon colony): A small number of Bosnians are amongst them, and these by their fez

- 2 The kauri, *Agathis australis*, is endemic to the North Island and produces excellent resin (‘gum’). The gum export trade flourished from the 1860s and declined in the 1920s. The 1900s were the zenith of production in New Zealand.
- 3 From: Austro-Hungarian Consul, Auckland Date: 1 October 1907 Subject: That Hercegovinians of Mohamedan religion be allowed to appear in Court in dress prescribed by their religion (R24623370), ACGS, 16211, J1, 768/ax, 1907/926.

headgear make patent their adherence to the dominant Turkish creed. In their home country these, foreigners were with few exceptions engaged in agriculture. In New Zealand their energies are concentrated in winning kauri gum, and they have fully demonstrated their capability for hard work (New Zealand Herald, 1909).

The article was repeated in other newspapers across the country (*Feilding Star*, 19 October 1909; *Mataura Ensign*, 20 October 1909; *Colonist*, 25 October 1909).

It is unclear when the group left New Zealand, but passenger lists prove a Mr “Fetgich” and A. “Galigatovic” (most likely Fetahagic and Galijatovic) left Auckland on the SS *Mokoia* for Sydney on 11 May 1908 (Passenger Lists, 1839-1973, SS *Mokoia*). On 18 January 1909 Zaim Budalica also departed on the *Mokoia* (Passenger Lists, 1839-1973, SS *Mokoia*). O. Hudzametwovich (Hadžiahmetović) left New Zealand on 29 March 1909 on board the SS *Marama* (Passenger Lists, 1839-1973, SS *Marama*). Tahir Hadzovic died in 1910 and was buried at the “Belgian Gardens Cemetery” in Townsville, Queensland, making him possibly the first Bosniak to die in Australia. Mustafa Fetahagic settled in Mourilyan, Queensland, for several years and Mustafa Road in Bellenden is named after him. During World War One “Mustaffa Fetagich” was interned as an enemy alien and his photograph recorded (National Archives of Australia, Series No: D3597). In the early 1920s Mustafa Fetahagic married a lady from the Galijatovic family and retired to Hercegovina in the late 1930s. However during World War Two, he fled Gračanica, where he died in March 1943. Ahmet Galijatovic became a sugar cane farmer in Mourilyan, Queensland, and died there in June 1928 (Cairns Post, 1928). Osman Fetagic journeyed to Indiana, USA, where worked in a steel mill before retiring to Herzegovina after the war, where he died in 1964. Although this unique group of young men left no specific legacy in New Zealand (in terms of constructing a mosque or leaving names on the geography and so forth), I believe we can assume that such a pious collection of Muslims – steadfastly wearing their fezes, residing and working in close proximity to one another – may well have prayed together: there is every reason to believe they may very well have formed the first *Jamaat* in New Zealand (Karčić, 2015, 2015a; Drury 2015, 2015a; Rizvanović, 2016; Wöfl, 2016).

Decades later, in July 1950, the first Muslim organisation in the entire country was created when the ‘New Zealand Muslim Association’ was established in Auckland, entirely through the efforts of Indian Muslim migrants (Drury, 2006). There were approximately 200 Muslims in the country at the time, almost entirely Indian or Asian (New Zealand Population Census, 1951). In April 1959, the Association acquired a property for use as an Islamic Centre in central Auckland – largely due to the concerted efforts of a new wave of Albanian and Bosnian refugees. In 1960 the first Islamic cleric in New Zealand arrived from India: Maulana Ahmed Said Musa Patel (1937-2009) (Drury, 2006). This was followed elsewhere by the creation of the ‘International Muslim Association of New Zealand’

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from 1962 to 1964, in Wellington (the capital), and the ‘Muslim Association of Canterbury’ in 1977, in the South Island.

There have been two waves of Bosnian and *Sandžaklije* migrants to settle in New Zealand. The first arrived on the MS *Goya* in 1951 through the auspices of the IRO - International Refugee Organisation, a precursor to the UNHCR (Plowman, 2006). The second important group arrived during the 1992-95 war in Bosnia. In between, and after, there was a regular trickle of individuals and families.

Compared to Muslim immigrants from Asia, Dr. Shepard wrote that eastern European Muslims had ‘been quicker to adopt Kiwi ways, more inclined to marry into the Kiwi community, and more likely to attenuate its Muslim identity.’ (Shepard, 1985). (‘Kiwi’ is a Maori term for native New Zealanders of both Maori and Anglo-European heritage.)

Are the Bosnian Muslims of New Zealand a specific identity group within the wider Islamic minority in this country then? Anthony D. Smith (1991) suggested there are six key features in any given ethnic identity: a collective proper name or appellation, some degree of common myth of shared ancestry, the carefully communicated perception of shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, an association with a specific geographical homeland or topography, and above all a strong sense of solidarity. Certainly the Bosnians here qualify as a type of diaspora: pressured to some extent or another to leave their indigenous lands (economically or politically), along with the generation or maintenance of collective memories of such a homeland, and a curious degree of both integration and alienation from the host society. It is intriguing however that all three Bosniak-focused communal associations registered after 1990 failed and were struck off (see below). Madjar wrote: ‘Many of the Bosnians who arrived in the ‘90s were more interested in assimilating to the Kiwi way of life than pursuing their heritage through cultural activities’ (Murray, 2012). This is polite language. Clearly Bosnian Muslim immigrants and refugees arriving in the 1990s were not attracted to the Asian-dominated mosque network, nor were they motivated to establish their own spiritual centre. Equally ethnic, religious and linguistic ties were not enough to bind these Bosnians closely together within New Zealand during this time frame. Madjar’s research on Bosnian refugee health at Massey University in the late 1990s emphasized the central problem of unemployment during this decade and the glacial reluctance of authorities to help facilitate urgently desired family reunifications: the various New Zealand agencies and services were more concerned with communicable diseases and bureaucratic processes than assessing their personal priorities or the mental health issues amongst traumatised concentration camp survivors (Madjar and Humpage, 2000).

MS Goya

The first identifiable Slavonic Muslims to settle long term in New Zealand arrived on the MS *Goya*, a Norwegian refugee boat engaged by the IRO. On 1 May 1951, the *Goya* arrived in Wellington bringing hundreds of political refugees, including dozens of Muslim single men, from war torn Eastern Europe. In due course most relocated to Auckland, however three identifiable Bosnian Muslim men settled in the South Island of the country. When the Department of Internal Affairs undertook a survey on the status of the *Goya* men in 1953 there were over a dozen Muslim men working locations from Invercargill to Christchurch. Some were sharing accommodation with Albanian Muslims.⁴

For instance, Adem Firkatovic (spelt Ferkatovich in New Zealand) was a farm labourer who escaped from Tito's iniquitous army in 1947, crossing the border from Yugoslav Macedonia into Greece. Born in Kazići (near Zavidovići in central Bosnia) in December 1930, the son of Ibrahim and Emina, he married a Pakeha woman from Greymouth at the (Anglican) St Johns Church when employed as a rubber worker at the Christchurch Firestone Tyre Rubber company (see: (L/22/9/55) or Labour Department; Series 22/9; Reference 55). By 1958 he had set up a coffee lounge called the Copper Cat on High Street in central Christchurch, worked at the Hotel Russley for 25 years and later operated a restaurant on Harewood Road. In 2016 he published his autobiography, called *Adem's Escape*, detailing his escape from Communist Yugoslavia and his career in New Zealand (Rutherford, 2016).

Samsó Jusovic - also known as Yusovich - was born on 20 October 1936 in 'Dusnacha', Yugoslavia (most likely Dušmanići, a small village in the municipality of Prijepolje, in the Serbian portion of the *Sandžak* province). According to the records of the IRO (International Refugee Organisation), Jusovic was described as a farm labourer who had lived in exile in Italy for a period of time, under the name Semcho Gioussovitch, when he was accepted for the refugee programme (L/22/9/55 or Labour Department; Series 22/9; Reference 55). Within a decade of arriving he had married a Pakeha lady named Iris and resided in Lyttelton. He worked on the Roxburgh Hydro Dam project in Otago for two years and settled in Christchurch making him one of those migrants who was actively involved in physically reshaping the New Zealand environment. The 1975 electoral roll lists him as a labourer resident on Barbados Street in the central city area of Christchurch, while the 1982 list places him on Lincoln Road in Fendalton Electoral Roll as an 'invalid'. When he died in 1990 Jusovic was one of the oldest Muslim

⁴ Halit Bajram, Adem Firkatovic, Munib Ganic, Samsó Jusovic, Bahri Ahmet Kavaja, Akif Keskin, Mazhar Krasniqi, Nerus Mollaj, Kaimak Murteza, Nurko Omerovic, Nazif Ramadan, Kamber Rustemai, Wilson Shkembi, Aris Zeqollari. See: (IA/52/15) or Internal Affairs; Series 52; Reference 15 'Immigrant Name List Goya'.

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refugees in Canterbury and the first person from the *Sandžak* to be buried in the South Island. Punjab-born Mansoor Khawaja and Jafar Hall, an English convert to Islam resident in Christchurch, visited him in a hospice where he expressed a strong desire to visit and pray at the mosque. A sympathetic obituary was recorded in the national Muslim newsletter:

One of the Yugoslavian Brothers, Samsu Yusovich died at the age of 69 on 8th June 1990. He came to NZ in the early 1950's and met our Muslim brothers for the first time a few weeks ago and was still able to recite kalimah shahadah, Alhamdulillah. It was a very sad moment especially for the few brothers who used to visit him occasionally. He was buried on 11th June in Ruru cemetery (Al-Muslim, Vol, 2&3, 1990).

Nurko (Nurdeen) Omerovic was born on 5 May 1909 in the village of Dobrun near Višegrad (L/22/9/55). He settled in Mosgiel with his Roman Catholic Italian wife and their children. His Italian born children quickly Anglicised their names: Muharam became Murray and Hanifa became Jennifer. The entire family was naturalised in July 1960. Nurko Omerovic worked his entire life in local railways of Dunedin. He died on 5 May 1978 and was cremated. Omerovic may well be the first Bosnian to pass away in New Zealand (The Otago Daily Times, 1978). Becir Preljevic also arrived on the MS *Goya* and was buried in the South Island although he had lived most of his life in the North Island. Like Jusovic, he was born in Prijepolje, in 1926, and worked across the country and lived in Auckland for a while before settling in Wellington during the 1970s to work as a chauffeur driving cars for the government motor pool. In 1986 he retired to the South Island, alternating between his family home in Christchurch and a property in Twizel in the Mackenzie district of the Canterbury province, where he devoted his spare time to his passion for hunting deer and rabbits. In 2004, Preljevic sold the Twizel residence, toured the countryside and died in Christchurch in 2007 ((L/22/9/55); Preljevic, 2007). On 1 January 1956 the New Zealand Muslim Association staged the inaugural 'Muslim Congress' at the Garibaldi Hall on Pitt Street in central Auckland. A new Executive Committee was voted in to govern the Association, with the immediate objective of drawing the Indian and European Muslims together and constructing a mosque. Esup Bhikoo from the Gujarat was elected President with his brother Abdul Samad Bhikoo and Petrit Alliu serving as joint secretaries. Ramzi Kosovich, Avdo Musovich, Shaqir Ali Seferi, C. Shekumia and Fadsil Katseli were voted on to the new Executive Committee (Star, 1956; New Zealand Herald, 1956). Alliu, Katseli and Seferi were Albanian Muslims.

Born on 21 September 1926, Ramzi Kosovich (Remzija Kosovic), was a young worker from Sarajevo (although he told New Zealand authorities that he was from Nevesinje.) Allegedly Kosovich had fled Yugoslavia, crossing the border illegally seeking political sanctuary in the West (R23918113, Agency BBAE, Series 5041, Box 541, Record Number A371/1955). In 1957, Kosovich applied for

naturalisation (R24617034, Agency ACGO, Series 8333, Record IA1, Box 2538, Record Number 115/9485). He later opened a restaurant and then a fish and chip shop. In June 1963 he travelled abroad on the SS *Fairsea* and returned to New Zealand where he married a Bosnian lady named Emina Minka (Passenger Lists 1839-1973). Kosovich later worked at the Air New Zealand flight kitchen, then emigrated to Canada where he died (Drury, 2006).

A few other Muslims from Bosnia also arrived over the 1960s and 1970s. Mujo Beganovic (aged 30) arrived in Wellington from Sydney on the MS *Achille Lauro* in December 1966. He was listed as an Austrian and a farmer (National Archives: R24662711). In the late 1960s Muhammed Tulic (also known as Mario Toulitch) migrated to New Zealand and secured work in Wellington. Tulic became a naturalised citizen in November 1967. In February 1971, several family members arrived on the ferry *Achille Lauro*: Esad (42 years old), Jelena (63), Alma (15), Irma (17) and Azra (18). In 1975, they were joined by Reuf and Ismeta. The Tulic family were active in the local Muslim community. In 1988, Alma attended a Muslim youth camp in Christchurch, in the South Island, as a representative of the Wellington Muslim congregation. When the family left New Zealand in 1988, the local Muslim community newsletter bid them a fond farewell: 'We wish all the best to Br Reuf Tulic and his family who has emigrated to Australia' (IMAN Newsletter, 1988).

Around 1965, Omer Alim Pepic arrived by himself from the village of Draga in the municipality of Tutin, in the Serbian portion of *Sandžak*. Born 17 January 1929, Pepic brought out his younger brother Smail (or Ismail, born 25 January 1925) in 1967. They both obtained citizenship in 1972 and their surname was quickly anglicised to Pepich. Omer is frequently recorded in New Zealand documents as 'Umar'. They quickly befriended the affable Musovich who was also from the same region (Drury, 2006). Remembered within the Muslim community as an avid reader, Omer Pepic was employed as a toolmaker at the Otahuhu Railway workshop. In New Zealand Omer married Mara, a Roman Catholic from Dalmatia, and the couple lived in Mt Eden. Smail also worked as a fitter at the railways initially before pursuing employment at Reidrubber Tyres in Penrose. He married Hajrija back in Novi Bazar and brought her to New Zealand where they had three children. They later migrated to Brisbane where he died of a heart attack inside a mosque. Perhaps one of the most significant Slavic Muslim settlers in New Zealand in the twentieth century, was Hajji Avdo Musovich from Montenegro. Born in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro, on 26 January 1919, the son of Hamo and Bega, his family were descended from a Turkish governor of the territory during the Ottoman period.⁵ A long-time member of the New Zealand Muslim

⁵ I have written a modest biography of Hajji Avdo Musovich elsewhere. See: Abdullah Drury, 'From Illyricum to Elysium: Yugoslav Muslims in the South Pacific', *Waikato Islamic Studies Review*, September 2017, Volume 3, Number 2, pp.44-58.; See also: Lloyd Jones, 'Target of Ha-

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Association Executive Committee, the much respected effendi died on 15 November 2001 and was buried the following day, on the first day of Ramadan 1421, following funeral prayers held at the Ponsonby mosque where he had invested so much of his time and spiritual energies. In a prominent newspaper obituary, the Bosnian was widely acclaimed as ‘a battler for the underdog and the working man’ (Walsh, 2001).

Second Wave of Migrants

As we saw with Umar Pepich and the Tulic family, not all the Bosnian Muslim migrants during this period were outright political refugees. One individual who played a role in the affairs of the Waikato Muslim Association and the South Auckland Muslim Association was Demal Hodzic. (‘Demal’ became ‘Jim’ in New Zealand). Born in 1932, the son of a Mullah in Trnopolje and the eldest of six brothers and one sister, he crossed the border illegally into Italy with his brother. In 1962, he came to the South Island to work as a labourer at the Manapouri Power Station Project. In 1969 he married a New Zealander and in 1978 they settled in Te Aroha, close to Kaikai Tunnel, where Demal had secured work. He built a house there and became loosely involved in the nascent Muslim community of Hamilton, the principle city of the Waikato region. Older Waikato Muslim residents recall that Hodzic cooked a famously good goulash and also built the extension to the house of Dr Anisur Rahman, an immigrant scientist from India. In 1985 Demal and his youngest brother Abas relocated to Auckland and became involved in the affairs of the South Auckland Muslim community.

The 1990s war in Bosnia had an incalculable effect on the diaspora in New Zealand. Through many sacrifices and the payment of large sums of money, the Hodzic family successfully managed to bring over their remaining siblings and their families to Auckland as refugees. The New Zealand government committed itself to accepting 50 internees from the ‘detention centres’ at Keraterm, Omarska and Trnopolje. In early December 1992, the first war refugees arrived: 30 former detainees and 10 members of their families allowed temporary asylum (Press, 1992).

The first group of 14 ex-prisoners from the Bosnian horror camps arrived in Auckland before Christmas. Another group of 17 arrived on January 8. The first group has completed the six-week English as a Second Language and orientation programme and has moved into flats in Onchunga. All the refugees are Bosnian Muslims aged

ted’, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 September, 1992, Section Two, p. 5.; Holmes, ‘Bosnian’, 17 May 1993, New Zealand Television Archives.; Network News, ‘Local Muslims’, 19 April 1994, New Zealand Television Archives.; Primetime, ‘Reax’, 24 May 1994, New Zealand Television Archives.; Paul Shannon, ‘Bound by Blood’, *Planet*, Winter 1994, Issue 13, p. 11.; Leanne Moore, ‘Muslims and Catholics in single salute’, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 September 1995, p. 24; ‘Muslims and Catholics greet Bosnian’s man of peace’, *New Zealandia*, November 1995, pp.20-21.

between 18 and 36 years old. There are two married couples, one with a two year old son. 'Most have broken teeth from rifle butts in the mouth' (Harris, 1993).

Concerned that the matter of family reunification was proceeding too slowly, and some suspecting that there was an agenda to do nothing at all, the Bosnians requested a meeting with the Minister of Immigration who came to the [Mangere Refugee Resettlement] Centre to hear their concerns ... Within a year, most were reunited with remaining family members (Madjar and HUmpage, 2000).

With over two million refugees driven from their residences during the fighting, New Zealand accepted a rather parsimonious 143 Bosnian refugees between December 1992 and June 1997. The authorities undertook to settle as many as possible in Auckland (Madjar and Humage, 2000). During the height of the conflict, the largest single influx – 83 people – arrived between 1 July 1993 and 30 June 1994 (Refugee and Migrant Service Annual Report 1997-98).⁶ Eleven were permitted to enter from 1995 to 1998 under the government's refugee resettlement plan. Surprisingly, these were the last to enter New Zealand on the official refugee programme (Refugee and Migrant Service Annual Report 1993-94).⁷ On 20 January 1993 Television New Zealand journalist Simon Mercep interviewed several of the new refugees on the Holmes Show. They discussed their experiences of the ruinous war through a translator and were filmed in the beachy suburbs of Auckland.

Demal Hodzic was a founding member of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Society, set up in September 1994. However there was an immediate tension within the community as several of the Muslim men who had been interned in concentration camps objected to the presence of Bosnian Serbs who were in mixed marriages with Muslims. A year later, the Bosniak Cultural Union of New Zealand Incorporated was registered on 1 November 1995. Both these associations operated for six years before being struck off as inactive after several key members left the country or concentrated their attentions on work or family matters. The Bosnian-Hercegovinian Society Incorporated was set up on 18 April 2001, with Demal Hodzic's nephew Emir serving as the first president. Members met monthly to arrange a spit lamb meal but eventually this organisation folded as well.

In 1992, Demal Hodzic served as Patron of the South Auckland Muslim Association and thereafter he became involved in the financing and maintenance of the

6 For an excellent summary of the Bosnian refugee experience, depressingly reminiscent of Musovich's own experiences seventy years earlier, see : Department of Labour, Immigration Service, 'Ferida' in *Refugee Women: The New Zealand Refugee Quota Programme* (Wellington, 1994), pp. 56-57.

7 One Bosnian refugee reported: 'We used to watch stories of the Somali refugees on television and think to ourselves, 'It's so far away.' And we would turn the channel to another station. Then one day we looked behind us and found soldiers with guns at our backs. And then we were refugees, just like the Somalis.' *RMS Refugee / Newsletter of the Refugee and Migrant Service*, Issue 2 (December 1994), p. 3; *New Zealand Immigration Services Fact Pack* (July 2002), Issue 17, p. 9.

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Otahuhu Islamic Centre and its later upgrade into a proper mosque, the *Masjid-e-Mustafa* (Allely, 2001). He died of a heart attack whilst working alone in his flat on 11 October 2004 and was buried near his brothers Shafik and Hassan Hodzic at the Memorial Gardens in South Auckland. Perhaps the best praise came from Hajji Gul Zaman, a former president of the Association, who wrote a glowing obituary in the FIANZ newsletter years later:

Demal was a unique individual who was very passionate. Committed, persistent, humble, generous, industrious, helpful, dedicated, charitable and pious. Even though he was 72 years of age and not in the best of health, his concern was always for the welfare of the Muslims, particularly those of South Auckland (Zaman, 2006).

Bosnian Muslims of the 1990s wave also settled in the South Island. In the early 1990s, with the conflict in Bosnia raging, the Otago Daily Times often interviewed Dr. Biljana Juric after she took up a four year contract as a senior marketing lecturer at Otago University. ‘Ms Juric is herself a Muslim but is uncomfortable with the label. ‘I was raised like a Yugoslavian’ (Malthus, 1993). Juric fled Sarajevo on 14 April, 12 days after the fighting began, along with her elderly mother, her mother’s friend and the friend’s three-year old great-granddaughter (Smeele, 1993). Once in New Zealand she sent money and parcels back to the war zone but many did not arrive (Press, 1994). A year after the peace treaty, Dr Juric obtained New Zealand citizenship in October 1996 (Brookland, 1996). Six months later, her 77 year old mother, Razija Hadziomerspahic also secured New Zealand citizenship (Howe, 1997). Dr Juric later relocated to Auckland and took up employment with at the University of Auckland Business School.

Another interesting Muslim migrant in the region was Halid Alic from the *Sandžak* region in Serbia. In 1998 Alic was interviewed and his testimonial recorded in a Department of Internal Affairs publication: ‘Halid Alic arrived in New Zealand in [June] 1993 to escape the Balkans wars. As he reflected, ‘the trouble started in Slovenia, in Croatia, and then in Bosnia – in Sarajevo. Sarajevo is 150 kilometres from my home town, and it was too close’ (Hutching, 1998). Alic was born in Proboj in 1962 to Ramiz and Devla. Halid Alic trained as a veterinarian but had to sit the registration examination again in New Zealand (and in English). He quickly gained employment in the freezing works and took citizenship three years later. By 2003, he and his family were living in genteel Gore and he was working for the Alliance Group meat plant there - one of the few Muslim employees in the New Zealand meat industry not employed as a Halal butcher (Al Mujaddid, 2003).

The entire Kafedzic family, also coming to New Zealand as refugees, ended up in Canterbury in the 1990s. Atka Kafedzic was able to escape Bosnia by marrying a Christchurch photo-journalist named Andrew Reid. In turn Reid and his family were able to aid the whole Kafedzic family to follow suite. Andrew and Atka

Reid were interviewed regularly by *The Press* newspaper after she took up residence in Christchurch in July 1993 (Forrester, 1994). The American author Janine di Giovanni wrote several pages on the Kafedzic family experiences in Sarajevo in her award winning book *The Quick and the Dead: Under Siege in Sarajevo* (Di Giovanni, 1994). During the 1999 Kosova crisis, a resident in Christchurch named Gerry Kostic made threats against the entire Kafedzic family after they attended anti-war demonstrations and he was prosecuted in court (Star, 1999; Press, 1999). That same year Mrs Fatima Kafedzic, the family matriarch, was interviewed by *The Press* and later in the year she organised a girls 'pyjama party' - arranging for donations of children's pyjamas to be donated to refugee children in Sarajevo (Press, 1999; 2000). In late 2004, the same newspaper ran an obituary for the Kafedzic grandmother Taiba Jusovic (néé Bilalovic). Born in 1917, she was a Bula (women religious educator) in Communist Yugoslavia and had been naturalised a New Zealand citizen in 1997. 'Atka says members of the mosque were caring and generous at the time of Taiba's illness and death. Their reading of the Koran at her bedside had a very calming effect on her' (Press, 2004). The Kafedzic family were also at the centre of the 1995 Christchurch Memorial service to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide (Crean, 2005). The family patriarch Ahmed Kafedzic, a retired maths professor and son of the Bosnian poet Safet Kafedzic, launched his book *Let the Doves of Peace Fly* on 19 November 2005, at the Mabel Howard Place Community Lounge. Over five years later in May 2011, *Goodbye Sarajevo* was published by two of the Kafedzic sisters – Atka Reid and Hana Schofield and it quickly became a bestseller in New Zealand over 2012. The book about their escape from the war in their home country and the fate of their family was very well received across the country and reviews appeared in all the major newspapers (see: Gillies, 2011; Munro, 2011; Bridges, 2011; Anthony, 2011; Murray, 2012). One other Bosnian refugee fled to Canterbury at the same time: Aza Mehmedovic, a native of Goradze, married a New Zealand soldier stationed in Bosnia and he helped facilitate her escape. She settled in Christchurch in June 1994. Two years later in November 1996 she published her account in a well-received book entitled (imaginatively enough) *Escape from Bosnia: Aza's Story* (McCauley, 1996; see also: Fleming, 1996; Swain, 1996; Packer, 1996; Schwass, 1996).

One final Bosnian Muslim, perhaps the most colourful, is worth finishing this monograph. Jusuf Dzilic, aka 'Genocide', is a Bosnian hip-hop musician who settled on the East Coast of New Zealand. The Dzilic family fled violence in their hometown of Zvornik, in 1992 when Jusuf was a seven year old boy. They escaped to Austria and then were accepted as asylum seekers in Ireland. Ten years later, aged 18, Jusuf Dzilic relocated to Hastings, married a Maori lady and reinvented himself under the deliberately provocative moniker 'Genocide'. Over the following decade he produced and released many songs including 'Never surren-

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der', 'Bosnian Mami', 'Refugee syndrome', 'Srebrenica (Never Again)', 'Bury me in Bosnia', 'Free Palestine' and 'I'm a Muslim (Terrorize Records)'. All speak loquaciously and very personally of the Bosnian Muslim experience and trauma (Morton, 2007; Smith, 2007; Neal, 2009; Shanks, 2010). As testament to his appeal and broad network of contacts, Dzilic was invited to perform at the opening of 'proceedings at the Mana Party's⁸ campaign launch in South Auckland' in 2011 (Chapman, 2011). In April 2016 he was asked to comment nationally on the Karadzic verdict in Holland (Dominion-Post, 2016). Uniquely Dzilic remains a dedicated performer committed to vocalising unpopular political messages regarding the poor and oppressed folk of the world (Shanks, 2012).

Conclusion

On 9 August 2013, over a hundred years after the honorary Austrian consul-general was called upon to represent Bosnian Muslim interests, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina opened its first honorary consulate in Auckland. The ceremony was attended by Dr. Damir Arnaut, the Bosnian ambassador to Australia and New Zealand, representatives of the consular corps and the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, plus several Bosnian citizens resident here. The aim of my text has been to briefly overview the history of the entire Bosnian Muslim community of New Zealand, as this offers invaluable insights into the broader perspectives of Islam in this country, not to mention other themes such as minority migration and integration. I wanted to spotlight the biographies of the immigrants rather than specific topics for this formative period, because I believe that their intriguing lives reveal much about the broader Muslim cultural practices. Clearly more research is needed here as, with the important exception of Madjar, most of the research and history focusing on Muslims in New Zealand to date has methodologically focused on Asian experiences and viewpoints.

The narrative of Bosnian settlement in New Zealand serves as a helpful, useful microcosm of the wider immigrant Muslim experience. Particular aspects feature prominently. For instance, the Slavic Muslims who settled and integrated did not all originate in one particular village, town or locale. Nor did they restrict themselves to settling down in one specific region together with other Bosnians. There were both *Sandžaklije* and *Sarajlije*. There was no specific Bosnian colony (compared to say, the German speaking Bohemians who settled in Puhoi, or the Danish colonists in Dannevirke.) Although many members of the same family entered the country, there was no obvious chain migration in large numbers. They did not hail from one specific social class, nor did they restrict themselves to any one line of work in their new homeland. They came from all four corners of the traditional Slavic Muslim lands of the former Yugoslavia and although many congregated

8 The Mana Party is a Maori political faction.

in Auckland for obvious financial reasons. There is an obvious trickle emigration of those, once settled in New Zealand, towards Australia and elsewhere over time. Certain individuals contributed to several nascent Islamic agencies and undoubtedly the 'relatively moderate Islam of European provenance (Albanian and Bosnian) ... made a lasting impression' (Koling, 2009). Simultaneously, there was no Bosnian ulema here, no religious leadership. There is proof and indication of individuals negotiating their own personal, familial or group definition of Muslim activity and communal participation according to their own aspirations and understanding of spirituality and the religion. Muslim gum diggers insisted upon wearing their fezzes in court in the 1900s and whilst this may seem picturesque and quaint, the episode also informs us how seriously these men took their religious precepts, culture and heritage. It is also interesting to observe that the early Slavic Muslim migrants who settled in the 1950s, all universally married European women rather than Indian Muslim female migrants. This speaks volumes about the lack of social cohesion amongst the wider Muslim population across racial lines during this period. Curiously, in view of the considerable influx of Muslim refugees from around the world settling in New Zealand during the 1990s and dates thereafter, the Ferkatovich, Kafedzic and Mehmedovic accounts, are the only ones to make it to print (For more on the Kafedzic family, see also: Grant, 1996; Moby, 1999; Press, 2000; Kafedzic, 2006; Eaton, 2006).

In the final analysis of these long historical excursions and surveys, looking to the future, one can only hope that the Bosnian Muslim community will continue to contribute to New Zealand.

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ELMA HURUZ MEMOVIĆ

Political Culture and Party
Pluralism in Bosnia and
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Review article

pages 72-81

Abstract

In this article we discuss political culture and analyse how the dominant model of this culture affects the functioning of party pluralism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Political culture is a concept that combines psychological aspects such as political attitudes, orientations, political behaviour and social action, as well as sociological dimensions that include the social effects of political attitudes and patterns of behaviour. In this sense, political culture is one of the most important conditions for the establishment and normal functioning of party pluralism and democracy in a country.

Keywords: political culture, party pluralism, political structure, political parties

Introduction

The experience of modern living consistently demonstrates that democracy as a form and instrument of political activity, is rather insufficient. Thus, a democratic institutional framework is not sufficient for a political system to be considered as democratic. Even in a formally democratic system there might be undemocratic political relations and practices at work, which can be especially true of transitional societies. Certain socio-cultural factors, such as social values and models of dominant political culture, are elements that predominantly define the development and survival of a democratic political system: “We can see democracy as a consequence of the relationship between political structure and political culture” (Maldini, 2006:89).

Political culture is a concept that combines psychological aspects such as political attitudes, orientations, political behaviour and social action, as well as sociological dimensions that include the social effects of political attitudes and patterns of behaviour. In this way, as Maldini (2006:89) argues, political culture constitutes a synthesis of the collective historical heritage arising from the political system and of individual political heritage and social experience.

The term ‘political culture’ was first used by German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder in the late 18th century. However, the term was quite rarely used until the 1960s. It entered political science through Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba who published the results of a study on the political culture of five democracies in their book “The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations” in 1963. The countries they focused on were the USA, UK, Mexico, West Germany, and Italy. Based on this research, Almond and Verba drew conclusions about the influence of different political cultures on the democratic system, and by the political culture they meant “specific political orientations - attitudes about the political system and its various parts and attitudes about the role of an individual in the system” (Almond, Verba 1989:12).

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In fact, Almond and Verba argue that political culture is: “a political system internalized in cognitions, feelings, and assessments of its population” (Almond, Verba, 1989:13). Political culture is presented as a set of individual orientations and attitudes held by community members in relation to political objects. Orientation is the basic category to start from when taking positions. In their attitudes toward political objects (or a political system), Almond and Verba (1989:14) distinguish between cognitive orientations that include knowledge and beliefs about the political system, affective orientations that relate to feelings of attachment or alienation from the political system, and evaluative orientations that represent opinions about the political system and form a kind of combination of value attitudes, information, and feelings. Political parties, interest groups, and the means of communication (ie the media) jointly participate in translating the demands that society puts before the government into one concrete official policy. The bureaucracy and the judiciary are in charge of the administrative part of this process.

Models of Political Culture

Based on their extensive research, Almond and Verba conclude that there are three ideal types of political culture: parochial, subservient, and participatory. Parochial culture is characterized by the general ignorance of political objects as well as non-involvement in political activities. At the same time, most people who belong to this type of political culture do not possess a developed awareness and the idea of broader political processes. Their participation in politics is limited to a short period of time and to their immediate environment. A member of the parochial community does not expect the political system to introduce any changes. Subservient culture, unlike parochial culture, is characterized by an individual’s awareness of government authority and certain knowledge of political processes with affective orientation. However, this type of culture is characterized by a passive attitude towards the political system and a lack of participation in political life (Almond, Verba, 1989:17-18). Although people of this orientation have an idea of broader processes, they still do not have developed needs and values that would lead them to participate. In other words, they are convinced that the sphere of politics is inaccessible to them. Participatory culture is characterized by one’s knowledge of politics but also of one’s willingness to participate in the political process. Each of these political cultures corresponds to a certain type of political structure. Thus, the parochial political culture belongs to the traditional decentralized political structure in which people are oriented only to their local community, the subordinate culture corresponds to an authoritarian and centralized political structure, whereas the participatory political culture refers to the modern democratic political structure (Ibid, 22-24). Nevertheless, the real political culture of a country, and here of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is always a combination of parochial, subservient, and participatory elements.

According to Vujčić, participatory culture cannot be constituted until the emergence of democracy, since, in most cases, there is a strong connection between political culture and political structure. However, as this is not the case in each individual example, these types of culture can be combined to produce three types of systemically complex (coalition) political cultures. The first type is parochial - subordinate, the second parochial - participatory, and the third, subordinate - participatory (Vujčić, 2008:181). These hybrid species usually coincide with the process of transition and consolidation of democracy.

J.S. Mill (2009:141) describes stable democracy as a combination of the principles of the leadership of a competent elite and the participation of the majority, i.e. moral and instrumental competence of the political and bureaucratic elite and active participation of the majority of citizens. Almond and Verba believe that civil culture is the most suitable for a stable democratic system and is a unique combination of participatory, subservient, and parochial elements. As Vujčić concludes, civic culture is the political culture of democracy that enables democracies to function in a stable and effective way. The foundations of civic culture include good knowledge of political processes and relations, the feeling of citizens that they can be effective political participants, the idea of justifying the decisive role of political elites in political processes, and the will of these elites to respect the needs and demands of citizens. At the same time, individuals who “become active in the political process” are still “attached to family and local ties” (Vujčić, 2008:182).

In their works on political culture some authors portrayed democratic political culture as the opposite of an authoritarian syndrome that includes faith in powerful leaders, hatred of strangers and dissidents, feelings of helplessness and inefficiency, extreme cynicism, doubt, distrust of others, and dogmatism. In contrast, democratic culture is characterized by flexibility, trust, efficiency, openness to new ideas and experiences, tolerance for others, acceptance of others, and an attitude towards a government that is not blindly submissive. The attitude does not imply hatred and rejection but is responsible and cautious (Diamond, 1999:167).

Considering the different approaches of several authors (Almond and Verba 1989; Lea, 1982;), Ivan Šiber makes the following assumptions and proposes several criteria for the development of political culture:

1. “A sense of individual identification with a community as a result of a special historical development that unites each community of a certain time and space.
2. Loyalty and trust as the basis of mutual relations in the community.
3. Authority and hierarchy, i.e. one’s submission to authority as well as acceptance, interaction, and communication is one of the essential bases of the functioning of a political system.

4. Open ego, i.e. willingness to cooperate, cordial relationships, respect for others.
5. Willingness to share values with others, to belong, and to act together.
6. Multiple value orientation that implies the absence of value exclusivity, rigidity, and dogmatism.
7. Trust in the social environment, social relations, and support of others.
8. Absence of anxiety, presence of self-confidence in one's abilities.
9. Management of conflict and aggression as the basis of cohabitation, as well as the necessity of controlling and expressing aggression in a socially acceptable manner" (Šiber, 1992:100-101).

Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the political cultures of other Eastern European countries, is characterized by an emphasized dimension of paternalism combined with religious orthodoxy that strongly supports conservative political roles and autocratic tendencies. Therefore, to mobilize and unite the "newly created mass public in Eastern European countries," nationalism was usually used as the strongest ideological instrument. The underdevelopment of the system of parliamentary parties and democratic institutions, as well as the characteristics of the political culture of these countries, are still mainly as a result of conflicts of nationalism and ethnicity, and as a result, political culture is not geared towards political compromise and consensus, which are preconditions for secure democracy (Galić, 2000:201). Research, entitled "Social Capital In Bosnia and Herzegovina" by Bert Šalaj, shows that Bosnian society is characterized by a low level of trust between three ethnic groups together with a low level of trust in a democracy that serves as the principle that conditions a low level of citizen participation in political processes (Šalaj, 2009:68).

The region's Communist regimes first established themselves in countries that were comprised of traditional agrarian societies where there was no tradition of civil society. Such a basis suited them in developing an authoritarian structure of consciousness. It is this structure of consciousness that has become, and remains, a factor that will prevent the establishment of a democratic system for a long time to come whilst, on the other hand, enabling the development of new totalitarian orders in the form of nationalist regimes. Galić emphasizes that the political culture of communism was created on the basis of a totalitarian political system that continuously controlled every segment of social life. The main source of this control was an "omnipotent, hierarchically organized, self-sustainable communist party that maintained the monopoly of power by force (violence)" (Galić, 2000:202), and any attempt to carry out any activity that constituted the creation of civil society, such as private economic activity, organized interest groups, religious activities, etc., was doomed in advance to ban and ruin.

Šiber (1992: 101-102) claims that it was ideology, and not interest, which was the very basis of a socialist society. It was exactly this absence of interest (their socio-economic basis) that demonstrated the non-existence of pluralism that arose due to confrontation of interests. The collapse of that political system marked the collapse of the ideological system that had served as its connective tissue. This type of society did “not yet have the social basis of political pluralism (the collapse of an ideological system led to a state of anomie and a kind of value ‘vacuum’)”. Also, these societies “do not have a built-in political culture that would help transform individual to general social frustrations and, at the same time, have a strong need for belonging and authority” (Šiber, *ibid*).

The crisis created by the collapse of the socialist regime was accompanied by dissatisfaction due to the gap between the levels of ambition and what was achieved. As a result, an individual had to find reasons and meaning for such a situation. The culprits were found outside their groups, which was how homogenizing and inter-ethnic conflicts emerged: “Since the mechanisms of the political system are still being built in the former communist societies, where there are no adequate contents of a political culture that serve as the basis for overcoming the crisis situations, the elements for the emergence of new social movements based on exclusivity towards others and unambiguous determination of gathering are likely to exist too” (Šiber, 1992:107).

In addition to the fact that interethnic conflicts were supported by the nature of the political system of the former Yugoslavia, the political practice also played a significant role in that process. “The lack of multi-party system and the growing economic conflict gradually led to the split of the League of Communists, which was an integrative Yugoslav factor, into six plus two communist parties that increasingly represented the interests of their republics - provinces” (Šiber, 1992:108). It may be said that in the period from 1980 to 1990, Yugoslavia had a kind of multi-party system at the federal level, which was formally within one party, while the League of Communists dominated at the republican level as the single political force. “It follows that already at that time the strengthening of national-republican integration and confrontation with others was in progress. The alliances of communists are increasingly presented as protectors of the interests of ‘their people’ who are endangered by others” (Šiber, *ibid*).

Political culture is directly related to the level of development of a society. It is usually observed that societies that are not economically developed and are socially closed, do not have the capacity to develop a political culture in which tolerance, freedom, and democracy prevail. “On the one hand, their political culture moves within the coordinates of political, religious, or ethnic unanimity, and within the coordinates of general mistrust and conflict between political subjects on the other hand” (Šijaković, 2008). Although this is not always the rule, societ-

ies that are developed and open, usually develop a tolerant and civilized political culture.

The mere existence of the institutions of a democratic system is not enough to ensure a stable democratic society however, if they operate beyond fundamental values of freedom, equality, tolerance, pluralism, etc. If their functioning is not based on given values, the consequences are directly reflected in the reduction of trust in the institutions of the system, reduction of political participation in the form of political apathy, civil disobedience, etc. (Maldini, 2006:98). Values that were once widely present, such as egalitarian preference, orientation towards paternalism and conformism, as well as collectivism, survive for a very long time after the collapse of the regime that imposed or recommended them. These values continue to “shape the attitudes of individuals towards newly established institutions. They can also undermine support for these new institutions and jeopardize their functioning. Values shaped in the socio-cultural and political-institutional environment of socialism tend to have weak support for new democracies” (Maldini, 2006:101). That is why has been difficult to establish strong institutions that would bring about the consolidation of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina .

Party Pluralism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The key precondition for the establishment and development of a range of political options and possibilities, and thus of political parties, is the existence of a democratically oriented framework or political pluralism. Sartori explains the very notion of pluralism through three levels of meaning: cultural, social, and political. “At the first level, we can speak of a pluralistic culture in the same range of meanings as the comparative notions of secularized and homogeneous culture. The pluralistic culture emphasizes a vision of the world that is, in essence, based on the belief that the good life is diversity rather than similarity, opposition rather than unanimity, change rather than immutability” (Sartori, 2002:26).

Kasapović draws attention to the fact that the term ‘plural society’ was first defined by J.S. Furnivall in his book ‘Colonial Policy And Practice: A Comparative Study Of Burma And Netherlands India’ as “a society composed of different segments separated from each other by deep social divisions. It consists of closed communities in which membership is ascriptive and obligatory. It is typical for the society to identify individuals with individual segments, and not with the whole society or state. This ‘anesthetizes’ horizontal social conflicts and encourages institutional clientelism within the segments. It also intensifies and militarizes vertical social conflicts and consequently endangers the survival of the state itself” (Kasapović, 2005:25). Sartori emphasizes that pluralism is “the result of wars and the persecution of religion - which is clear from the debates leading to

the principle of tolerance” and concludes that, “it cannot be said to exist until the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Caesar are separated” (Sartori, 2002:29).

The term ‘party pluralism’, in fact, has a deeper meaning in relation to how we usually interpret it. “Superficially, party pluralism means the existence of more than one party, but the connotation is implicit that parties are the product of ‘pluralism’” (Sartori, 2002:31). Pluralism is institutionalized if there is a consensus of all relevant social groups on “the necessity of institutionalizing the right to differences” which establishes democracy as a framework in which “every group or individual has a legitimate right to compete under certain rules for the trust of voters and to advocate their proclaimed interests and achieves program goals by occupying key positions in state government” (Halilović, 2017:10). Almost a decade before the appearance of the so-called pluralist revolutions in Eastern Europe, the demands for political pluralization in the former Yugoslavia had already been emphasised. In the early 1980s, the process of establishing civil society began. At first, it took place in larger cities such as Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo. “Slovenia stood out in this respect since the country was the first that formulated the concept of civil society as a kind of the widest social opposition and a basis for the renewal of political pluralism” (Pavlović, 2011:367-368). Unfortunately, there was no such emancipatory impulse for a long time in other republics of socialist Yugoslavia.

Pavlović sees the fact that Tito, who was long-lived, used to cut off any idea of political pluralisation right at its beginning as one of the reasons why more favourable international and domestic circumstances were not used for comprehensive democratic reform. “This was clearly seen in the example of the road affair in Slovenia, the suffocation of the Croatian Spring in Croatia, and the confrontation with philosophers and liberals in Serbia. As there was no possibility for the introduction of a multi-party system, political pluralization came in a perverted way, with federalization and fragmentation of the more or less unified and monolithic League of Communists at the time, which was coming apart at the seams of the republic” (Pavlović, 201:367-368). This author also takes as a realistic the assumption that the tragic disintegration of Yugoslavia could have been avoided if democratic political reform had been implemented a decade earlier.

Political pluralism in Bosnia and Herzegovina has had a broad basis from the very beginning. As early as 1990, there were 41 registered political parties, while in the first multi-party elections, held on October 18, 1990, 15 parties registered for the elections to the Assembly of SR BiH. 11 of 15 managed to enter parliament. More than 85% of voters gave their vote to the candidates of national parties (SDA, SDS, and HDZ). It seems that the political and national affiliation almost completely coincided. Since neither party won the majority, the winning national parties established a special type of cohabitation and partnership. Trnka (2000:26) explains that in this case there could have been no question of a co-

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alition of parties because “their program commitments were different and even opposed in a large number of the most important issues. That was also one of the reasons for the destabilization of the political situation and the institutions of the new political system.”

Thus the existence of many political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina was not in itself a guarantee of stability and development of civil society. Political “hyper-pluralism” actually often “prevents the development of democracy and free civil society. Consequently, it indirectly (or sometimes directly) helps the manifestation of negative and pathological phenomena in society, from corruption, economic and financial fraud, negative selection of staff in the economy and public institutions, nepotism, control of all-important social activities by individual parties, to involvement in crime and illegal affairs” (Šijaković, 2008). Party pluralism, which was supposed to ensure the spread of democracy in BiH, eventually gave birth to a kind of ‘partitocracy’ that is reflected in the control and domination of political parties over all spheres of social life and man’s free existence as a citizen.

According to Sartori, where there is a large number of parties that belong to the same political “milieu” within a party system, we cannot say that the existing political system is legitimate and acts in accordance with its rules, is fragmented along ideological lines. Usually, such party systems are the product of a segmented, multi-ethnic, or multi-confessional society. Also, the opposite is true, “when the number of parties exceeds the critical threshold within which anti-systemic parties and bilateral oppositions can be found, it can certainly be assumed that the existence of more than five parties reflects a degree of ideological distance that prevents bipolar mechanisms” (Sartori, 2002:164).

Within segmented pluralism as a type of party system, some subtypes can be identified that are specific to each system. Thus, in the broadest sense, it is possible to unite the countries in which this form of system is represented. Besides some other countries, the group may include Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina” (...) Lorwin defines segmented pluralism as “the organization of social movements, educational and communication systems, voluntary associations, and political parties along the lines of religious and ideological divisions.” As a result, segmented pluralism is “pluralistic in its recognition of diversity (...); segmented in its institutionalization” (Lorwin, 1971:141). If anything, this notion reflects the state of society and, as Sartori concludes, segmented pluralism is in fact a “structural construct of sociocultural diversity”.

Due to the fact that in BiH, “ethnic and territorial borders are almost identical, we can conclude that the competition within the Serbian ethnic segment takes place at the level of RS, where, with the help of Sartori’s typology we can talk

about a format of moderate pluralism.” Competition within the Bosniak and Croat segments dominantly coincides with the cantonal levels, where the Bosniak intra-cantonal competition would have the format of a moderate pluralism, and the Croat system with a predominant party due to the permanent domination of HDZ” (Vukojević, 2017:80).

The specificity of the emergence of certain political parties in BiH is reflected in the fact that the founders of these political parties are former dissidents, or “victims” of the former socialist regime. “There was a complete reversal: once persecuted and undesirable participants in political and social events and activities - dissidents - became desirable and <obligatory> participants in all political events at the beginning of the transitional period and the emergence of political pluralism” (Šijaković, 2008). We may actually say that these dissidents, who were the initiators and founders of the democratic processes, are the ones who brought about political pluralism and the development of civil society.

Conclusion

Bosnia and Herzegovina, like the majority of other post-socialist states, has encountered factors that have obstructed, and are obstructing, its path to the adoption of democratic values and the development of political culture. Some of the aggravating circumstances resulting in these obstructions, were the long-term presence of the socialist value system; war events; pronounced interethnic tensions and intolerance; insufficient openness to new ideas, and bad experiences with the implementation of democratic principles¹. On the level of party pluralism, these aggravating circumstances manifested themselves through a changing institutional environment and a steady increase in the number of political parties, which was reflected in a decline in confidence in democratic standards and principles. Since the entire political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is imbued with the principle of constitutiveness, there is an apparent partialisation of social consciousness that is limited by narrow ethnic borders, which altogether prevents the formation of basic consensuses and a set of common social values.

Although the notion of pluralism, as Sartori states, consists of three dimensions (cultural, social, and political), we cannot speak of a pluralistic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the full sense of the word, as it is limited by ethnic boundaries. The fact that political parties mostly fall into one of the three ethnic segments has contributed to the formation of segmented pluralism as a pluralism that does not cross the lines of ethnic divisions, within which political participation is usually retained. In perspective, such party pluralism reproduces interethnic mistrust

¹ See more in Puhalo, S. & Neda Perišić (2013). *Apstinenti u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Abstinentes in Bosnia and Herzegovina]. Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

and deepens divisions by making it impossible to establish a truly democratic society and civil culture that makes such a society stable and effective.

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MIRSAD KARIC

Consociationalism in the post-Dayton
Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Review article

pages 82-107

Abstract

This paper outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the consociational power-sharing approach and its presence in the political system of the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The power-sharing framework used in this study provides insights into the theory of consociationalism as a power-sharing approach and tries to contribute to our understanding of the presence and relevance of this model to the Bosnian political system. The consociational framework emphasises the role of the political elites in providing the political stability and economic prosperity in the heterogeneous societies. It has four main features: grand coalition, proportional representation, segmental autonomy and mutual veto. The functioning and performance of this model depends, to a large extent, on factors that are conducive to elite cooperation. These factors are: population size, balance of power among segments, multiparty system, segmental isolation, nature of social cleavages, overarching loyalties and tradition of elite accommodation. This paper shows that all features of consociationalism exist in the post-Dayton Bosnian political system. However, grand coalitions are always made after the elections and mainly for the distribution of positions in the executive bodies of state apparatus and without any strategic platform and goals to be achieved and accounted for, agreed in advance. Proportionality has been mainly replaced with the parity-giving rise to imbalanced representation in state institutions. Segmental autonomy has been misconceived and veto power has been used to block all legislation beneficial to the state.

Keywords: power-sharing, consociationalism, political elites, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Introduction

Classical theories of democracy noted that it is difficult and challenging task to found a stable democracy in heterogeneous and fragmented societies. It was assumed that societal homogeneity and political consensus were the basis of political stability and the success of democracy. On the other hand, sharp social divisions and wide political disagreements in plural societies were seen as causes of instability. However, some comparative politics scholars have challenged this notion and have tried to show that it may be difficult to set up a stable democracy in societies with wide social cleavages, *but* it is not impossible to achieve political stability in such societies through a proper elite accommodation and power-sharing mechanism. Hence, the new political discourse that took place in the late 1960s, put forth an argument which tried to plug a major gap in this debate, which had claimed that only conditions such as economic development, high literacy rate, civic political culture and homogenous societies lead to successful democ-

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racy. This new discourse was introduced by Arend Lijphart with his writings on the model of consociational power-sharing approach.

It has been more than half a century since the first article was published on consociationalism as a power-sharing approach, which is supposed to provide a political stability and economic development in heterogeneous societies. Since then, dozens of academic articles and books have been written on the theoretical foundation of consociationalism and its practical application and implications in many political systems all over the world.

The main goal of consociationalism has been to transform societies which have been polarized along social cleavages such as race, ethnicity, religion, language etc., It was hoped that consociationalism would especially societies that have come out from conflict, transforming them into the ones that might create conditions conducive for the normal functioning of the state apparatus that will be able to provide more political stability and economic prosperity.

Last year, the special winter issue of the Swiss Political Science Review was issued marking the occasion of the half a century on consociationalism. Eleven articles dedicated merely to the idea of consociationalism all over the world were included in this special issue. Figure 1. shows that the total of 346 articles on consociationalism have been published since 1975¹. Although the idea of consociationalism was introduced into political science in the late 1960s, the figure shows that almost 80% of articles have been published since 2000 (Bogaards, etc, 2019). This indicates that political polarization has increased in the new millennium and hence the need for a model such as consociationalism that might be able to provide more stability to such political systems and divided societies. Some scholars have identified quite a significant number of countries that have practiced a model of consociationalism either fully or partially. Thus, from few cases of consociational countries in 1970s, Taylor (2009a) has identified 39 countries, while Dixon (2018) found 44 countries that have features of consociationalism in their political arrangements. It is noticeable that most of the articles written on consociationalism since 2000, have used Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina as case studies.

¹ Unfortunately, the online data info does not exist before the year 1975 and hence some articles might have been omitted from this number.



Figure 1. An overview of Journal articles on Consociationalism over time, 1975-2018

Source: Taken from Bogaards, Helms and Lijphart, 2019.

The main aim of this paper is to present the theoretical underpinnings of consociationalism as a power-sharing approach and its presence in the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina².

Consociationalism as a Power-Sharing Approach

Consociationalism has been described as government by elite cartel. Elites, therefore, form the backbone of such a political system. Studies of political elites were developed in the early twentieth century as an alternative to the Marxist emphasis on class and economic forces as the most important factors in any society. The classic texts of elitist thought are considered to be those by Vilfredo Pareto (1935), Gaetano Mosca (1939), and Robert Michels (1968). By the middle of the twentieth century, elite studies were further developed by scholars such as Lasswell and Lerner (1951), Wright Mills (1956) and Robert Dahl (1961). According to Lasswell (1936, 13), the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential... The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get... Those who get the most are *elite*; the rest are *mass*. Therefore, all societies - socialist or capitalist, agricultural or industrial, traditional or advanced, are governed by political elites. The central assumption of elitism is that all societies are divided into two classes: the few who govern and the many who are governed. This premise that all humanity can be divided into two groups-the elite and the mass- finds its elaboration in the writings of Pareto and Mosca.

Michels (1968, 15) stressed that elites not only exist but they are inevitable in any form of organisation. His study of the German Social Democrats led him to conclude that an “iron law of oligarchy” exists, which inevitably turns formal-

² Officially, the state is called Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, in English usage it is common to call it Bosnia and this term is used in this paper.

ly democratic organisations into undemocratic oligarchies. The elite approach, according to ‘Abdul Rashid Moten (2002, 13-14), has its roots among Muslim scholars such as Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi (870-950), Abu al-Hasan al-Mawardi (972-1058) and Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi (1903-1979). Al-Farabi (1993, 77) states that:

There is someone who has more ability (*qudrah*) to deduce rules than others, while someone has more knowledge for effective guidance and teaching than others. Accordingly, those who have these abilities will lead those who lack them.

For Moten (2002, 13) those who can guide are known, in modern political science terminology, as the elite. Al-Mawardi, the Muslim jurist, talks about “the people of power and influence” who have the ability and authority “to make the choice” of those suitable for the Imamate. Furthermore, he mentions characteristics necessary for Imam, explains the conditions required for elections and qualifications of *ahl al-hall wa al-’aqd* (those who loosen and bind-أهل الحل والعقد) to elect the *imam*. Sayyid Abul ‘Ala Mawdudi believed that the essence of politics is to be determined by the nature and behaviour of political elites. According to Mawdudi (1984, 77),

...factors which determine human advance or decline depend largely on the nature and the role of those who exercise control over the sources of power and direct the affairs of society... human civilization travels in the direction determined by the people who control the centres of power.

Thus, although Islam teaches that Sovereignty belongs only to almighty God and His messenger (S.A.W.) and that all people are equal before their Creator, still the Qur’an itself orders its followers to obey almighty God, the Messenger and those who are in authority among you (*ulu-l-amri minkum*-أولو الأمر منكم) who are usually a small minority of the people.

Bosnia’s political system and power structures are based on the provisions of Annex 4 (“Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina”) of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), which according to the former High Representative (HR), late Paddy Ashdown, was a superb agreement to end a war but a very bad agreement to make a state (Ashdown, 2005). These constitutional arrangements set up a new arena for the elites to run their mutual relations in such a way that the dialogue between fighting parties has shifted from a battle-field into the legislative and executive branches of the government, which in the Bosnian context are found in the Parliamentary Assembly, the Presidency and the Council of Ministers.

1.1. *Consociationalism and its Features*

Political elites also hold power in Bosnia and make all of the important decisions. Bosnia’s political system, which resulted from the DPA, is based on the premises of consociationalism: grand coalition, proportional representation, seg-

mental autonomy and mutual veto. Consociational theory is primarily associated with Arend Lijphart (1968) whose works on the politics of accommodation are considered as milestones in the development of consociational democracy. There were others who preceded Lijphart, including Robert Dahl (1966), Val R. Lorwin and Frederick C. Engelmann (1966). Together, these works contain most of the principal elements of consociational theory.

According to Lijphart, Lewis W. A. (1965) should be regarded as the first modern scholar to have analysed the consociational model. Lewis *invented* the consociational model: he deduced it from what he saw as the basic needs of deeply divided societies, but did not cite any empirical examples of consociationalism. According to Lijphart (1977, 31-41), consociational democracy has the following four characteristics:

1. Government by a *grand coalition* of the political leaders of all significant segments of the plural society. This means that the government includes representatives from all relevant groups in society in the form either of a *great coalition* among the main parties, or of *all-party government*, or of temporary *round tables*. In each case it will be decisive to secure “the participation by the leaders of all significant segments.”
2. The *mutual veto* which serves as an additional protection of vital minority interests. This means that each group has the opportunity to block political decisions by using its veto rights. The primary aim of this is to foster consensus-building and the search for compromise. The right to veto can apply unrestrictedly to all decisions (absolute veto), it can be conditional and just refer to some basic laws, or it can just have a delaying effect in order to renegotiate disputed issues.
3. *Proportionality*, which serves as the principal standard of political representation, civil service appointments and the allocation of public funds. All groups or segments are adequately represented in the executive, the legislative, the legal system and the public service. This can be assured through a quota system according to the size of the groups, the number of voters or a fixed ratio. In some cases, such as Bosnia, parity would be an option. Thus, Bosnia’s Presidency, the Parliament (upper house), Council of Ministers and Constitutional Court contain an equal number of representatives from each ethnic group. Often, smaller groups are significantly over-represented to such an extent that they reach a level of equality with the majority or the largest group.
4. A high degree of *autonomy* for each segment to run its own internal affairs. Here, each group enjoys some degree of self-government; it maintains its own elected bodies, institutions and competencies. Therefore, few issues only have to be coordinated with other segments of the society. Usually,

this is organised on the basis of territorial arrangements. It implies that consociationalism will coincide with a federal-type structure that is characterised by “a society in which each segment is territorially concentrated and separated from the other segments, or, to put it differently, a society in which the segmental cleavages coincide with regional cleavages.”

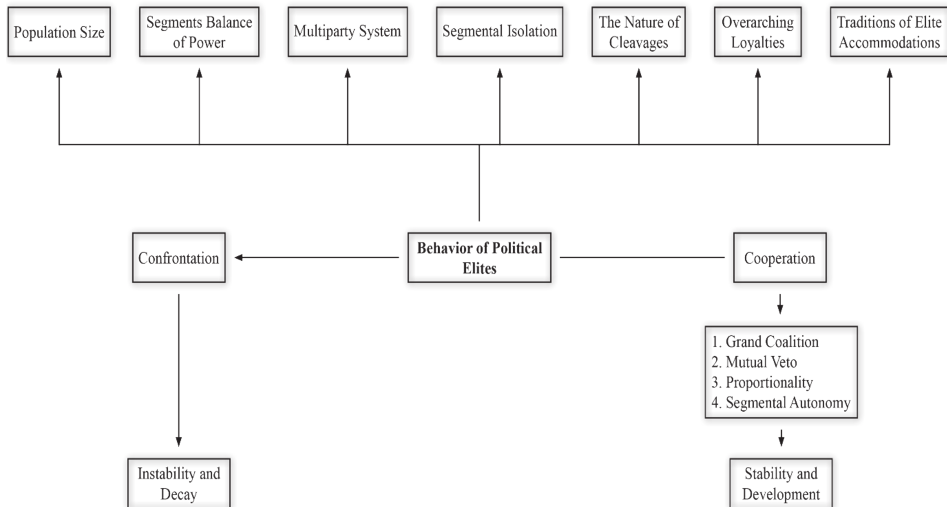
1.2. *Behaviour of Political Elites*

In consociationalism, the behaviour of political elites constitutes an important variable, both in the outbreak of conflict and in attempts to find solutions. The elites operate in structures of constraint and opportunity. Nordlinger (1972, 4) argued that: “Successful or unsuccessful regulation of ethnic conflict will be largely dependent on the purposeful behaviour of political elites.” The actions of elites are decisive in whether a conflict will continue or whether it is possible to reach some form of compromise. The elites are, however, not only important for the success or failure of conflict regulation, they may in turn have played an important role in the outbreak of conflict. As Reilly (2001, 177) argues, there is increasing evidence from many regions of “elite initiated conflict”. Therefore, elites cannot necessarily be assumed to be more moderate than their followers (Horowitz, 1985), and their interests in the conflict are likely to shape its development. Even if conflicts were initially elite initiated this does not mean that elites are unconstrained in their actions and their ability to compromise: they can be constrained by their followers, by competing elites within their own ethnic group as well as by the interplay with the elites of the opposing ethnic group(s) (Caspersen, 2003).

Theories on the timing of conflict regulation are, not surprisingly, mostly focused on the relations *between* the groups in the conflict. They focus on concepts such as the “ripe moment”, “mutually hurting stalemate”, and “security dilemma” (Zartman, 1996 and Barry 1993). The key to bringing a conflict to an end, according to these accounts, is that a willingness to accept compromise is found simultaneously in both groups. This is primarily an effect of the interplay between the groups and possibly of international intervention to ease the security dilemma. The development of a conflict is not only influenced by the relations between groups: a stalemate can last for years and a conflict can take a different course without the inter-group relations being the driving force. The dynamics within the ethnic groups, between the elites, their followers and competing elites, are also of importance because elites will see an interest in pursuing an accommodating strategy and be able to follow these inclinations (Caspersen, 2003, 105-6). As Horowitz (1985, 574) argues, elites in ethnic conflicts cannot be expected to be monolithic: intra-ethnic competition is the norm and this will severely constrain elites. In addition, given such competition, it will under some circumstances be

strategically valuable for elites to pursue more antagonistic strategies in order to gain an advantage in the intra-ethnic competition.

Therefore, elite behaviour and elite positions in ethnic conflicts do not only reflect selfish interests, since the elites will be constrained by other factors, and in order to analyse this the focus should be on both relations between the groups and dynamic within the groups. The behaviour of political elites, in terms of cooperation and confrontation, can result in the political system being stable and producing development or unstable, resulting in decay. This is depicted clearly in graph 1, which shows the dependency of a system's stability on the cooperative behaviour of political elites, which in return is a result of certain factors such as population size, balance of power among segments, a multiparty system, segmental isolation, nature of social cleavages, overarching loyalties and tradition of elite accommodation.



Graph 1. Relationship between conducive conditions, Elite behaviour and the performance of the system

The relationship between the behaviour of political elites and political stability, is one of the central questions in political science and political sociology. Some political scientists go to the extent of saying that "...the central concern of political science is competition for and the exercise of leadership by various elites..." (Edinger and Searing, 1967, 429). There is a theoretical agreement among the political scientists who link these two variables, namely, political stability and elite behaviour. Thus, Lijphart (1968) argues that Dutch democratic stability is due to cooperation and "accommodation" within an elite circle, a thesis which has been used to explain the political stability of several other plural societies.

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The leaders of rival subcultures may engage in competitive political behaviour and thus further aggravate mutual tensions and political instability, but they may also make deliberate efforts to counteract the immobilizing and destabilizing effects of cultural fragmentation (Almond, 1956).

As Claude Ake (1967, 113) stated, as a result of such overarching cooperation at the elite level, a country can “achieve a degree of political stability quite out of proportion to its social homogeneity.” Moreover, this possibility does not exist only in the fragmented democracies, but also in fragmented pre-democratic or non-democratic systems as well (Lijphart, 1968). Thus, consociational political systems are those that are plural but democratically stable due to coalescent behaviour on the part of the political elite. Allowing ‘the co-existence of strong sub-cultural division with democratic stability’ consociationalism places responsibility on the elite to remove competition and contention from the political arena (Daalder, 1974).

Since *elite cooperation* is the principal characteristic of successful conflict management in deeply divided societies, consociationalists suggest that even if there are deep communal differences, overarching integrative elite cooperation is a necessary and sufficient condition to bring democratic stability to culturally fragmented societies (Kenneth, 1974). Eric Nordlinger (1972) goes as far as arguing that elites “alone can initiate, work out and implement conflict-regulating practices, therefore, they alone can make direct and positive contribution to conflict-regulating outcomes.” In the consociational approach, elites or group leaders, directly represent various societal segments and act to form political ties at the centre.

The essential conceptual tools for the explanation of stability in fragmented societies are compromise, bargaining, accommodation, coalition and alliance. In short, Lijphart (1971, 9) claims that stability in a segmented society is said to be the result of the “co-operative efforts” of subcultural elites “to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of cultural fragmentation”. He consistently asserts that consociationalism is the only viable option for democracy in divided societies:

“For many of the plural societies of the non-Western world, therefore, the realistic choice is not between the British model of democracy and the consociational model, but between consociational democracy and no democracy at all.” (Lijphart, 1968, 238)

Consociationalism, according to Lijphart, is the only democratic model that ensures political stability in ethnically fragmented societies. This implies that the political solution to ethnic conflicts lies in the development of a consociational framework. Countries like the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria in Europe and Lebanon and Malaysia in Asia - although characterised by ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic cleavages - have been able to maintain stable democratic regimes. The crucial factor in the maintenance of their stability is that political

leaders, aware of the fact that fragmentation can result in instability, deliberately adopt accommodative politics to oppose this possibility.

1.3. *Favourable Conditions for Consociational Democracy*

The hypothesis, which links political stability/instability and elite cooperation/confrontation, raises a new question. What are the conditions that influence the cooperative or confrontative behaviour of political elites? Obviously for successful power-sharing, some favourable conditions have to exist. The question of which factors might foster cooperation and power-sharing has long been debated among political scientists (Jurg, 1974).

Consociational democracy requires the cooperation of segmental leaders in spite of the deep cleavages separating the segments. This requires that the leaders feel at least some commitment to the maintenance of the unity of the country as well as a commitment to democratic practices. They must also have a basic willingness to engage in cooperative efforts with the leaders of other segments in a spirit of moderation and compromise. At the same time, political elites must be able to keep the support and loyalty of their own supporters. Based on this, it is necessary for the political elites to strike a balance between the compromise, which is supposed to be the source of all crucial decisions made by the elites, and the immediate interests of the elites' followers. In this context, political elites face two major tasks: first, it is of crucial importance to see the extent to which party leaders are more tolerant than their followers and second, to the extent to which political elites are able to carry them (their followers/masses) along. Therefore, the role of leadership is clearly a crucial element in consociational democracy. However, due to the fact that the behavior of the political elite is liable to change, it is necessary to identify the conditions that are conducive to overarching elite cooperation and stable non-elite support. For this purpose, the conditions can be divided as having *structure-oriented* and *actor-oriented* factors. Structure-oriented factors are mainly concerned with existing or non-existing structures (such as size, economic matters, territorial borders or the shape of the party system), while actor-oriented factors are concerned with the behaviour, the constraints and perceptions of actors. Therefore, the following factors appear to be particularly important, but not exhaustive: multiple balance of power or relative equilibrium, multiparty system, segmental isolation (Federalism) and cross-cutting cleavages (Lijphart 1968 and Schneckener, 2002).

It is important to emphasise however, that the favourable conditions are “helpful but neither indispensable nor sufficient in and of themselves to account for the success of consociational democracy”(Lijphart 1968, 54). Hence, in the absence of these conditions, consociationalism, although perhaps difficult, should not be considered impossible. Finally, it needs to be mentioned that the favourable con-

ditions for consociationalism have not been derived at deductively but inductively after a number of comparative studies of consociational systems have been conducted. Therefore, due to the considerable spread of the consociational model, the favourable conditions have undergone significant modification in number and substance over time. The following paragraphs provide the number of favourable conditions presented mainly by Arend Lijphart at different times.

1.3.1. Population Size

A salient characteristic of the original cases of European consociational democracies, namely the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium and Austria, is that they have small population sizes. According to Lijphart (1968, 64 and 1985, 123)

“.....population small size *directly* enhances a spirit of cooperativeness and accommodation and it *indirectly* increases chances of consociational democracy by reducing the burdens of decision-making and thus rendering the country easier to govern....elites are more likely to know each other personally and to meet often, decision making process is less complex and such countries generally do not conduct a very active foreign policy; this increases the probability that they will not regard politics as a zero-sum game and hence that they will chose coalescent instead of adversarial styles of decision-making.”

Similar to this, on the role of size in the functioning of consociational democracy Jurg Steiner (1971, 65) states that: “In smaller states, the political elites are, compared to bigger states, relatively small. Hence the probability is greater that the members of the political elite will interact relatively frequently.” However, the effect of small size on the possibilities of consociational democracy is not linear. Namely, when a country is very small, its reservoir of political talent will also be quite small. Because consociational democracy requires an exceptionally able and prudent leadership, smallness is a favourable factor only to a certain limit. Finally, small countries do not conduct very active foreign policy and political elites are not forced to make decisions that may jeopardise cooperation and consensus among them.

1.3.2. Balancing Power

Multiple balances of power between the segments of a heterogonous society, such as Bosnia, are more conducive to a consociational model of democracy’s successful functioning than a dual balance of power, or a hegemony by one of the segments, because if one segment has a clear majority, its leaders may attempt to dominate rather than cooperate with the rival minority. Thus, two party systems or one dominant party systems usually generate severe tensions and tend to create unstable systems. On the other hand, the success of the consociational power-sharing approach has mainly been attributed to the minority status of all subcul-

tures in the society. Based on this, Daalder (1966, 219) states that: “The divisive effects of segmentation are softened by the circumstance that none of the subcultures has much chance of acquiring an independent majority.” The “power” that may or may not be in equilibrium here primarily means the numerical strength of the segments, which in a democracy with free and fair elections can be expressed as electoral strength and translated into parliamentary seats.

The notion of a multiple balance of power, according to Lijphart (1968), contains two separate elements: (1) a balance, or an approximate equilibrium, among the segments, and (2) the presence of at least three different segments. Together these two elements mean that all segments are minorities. In fact, a society with relatively few segments, three or four, constitutes a more favourable base for consociational democracy than one with relatively few segments. In his work on South Africa, Lijphart (1985) proposed three to five segments. However, it has to be borne in mind that only a society, which is characterised by these two ‘element-balances’ and at least three different segments, is conducive to consociational democracy. Lijphart (1968, 56) stressed that ‘cooperation among groups becomes more difficult as the number of participating in negotiations increases’.

Qualitative crisis of political participation might be one of the obstacles to consociationalism’s ability to yield results, especially if the demands of one group tend to be made at the expense of another. In this case, the ‘centre’, which refers to the “grand coalition”, must have some flexibility and can sometimes grant the demands of one group without necessarily injuring the interests of others (Horowitz, 1971). The centre must be able to act with impartiality, especially in dealing with sensitive issues, in order to improve its effectiveness and gain more legitimacy among followers. However, participation of many segments in the negotiations and decision-making process might be an impediment to the smooth function of the system. Taking into consideration variables such as the number of segments, size of the largest segment and relative sizes of segments, it might be stated that in the Bosnian society neither of the groups has an absolute majority and that there is an imbalance among the segments with regards to the segments’ size. The index of fragmentation in Bosnia, using these three variables, is 0.64. This indicates that Bosnian society is quite imbalanced and fragmented along ethnic lines and, after Spain, is the second most fragmented society in Europe (Drazanova, 2019).

1.3.3. Multiparty Systems

The term ‘party system’ refers mainly to the number of political parties within a country and their ideological orientations. In discussing issues relating to the the total number of political parties that participate in the political system, political scientists have classified political systems into various types such as the ‘domi-

nant party system', the 'two-party system', the 'two-plus party system' and 'multiparty system'. Plural societies with a multiparty system are characterised by the fact that political parties are organised along the social cleavages that prevail in such societies, which is considered a favourable condition for consociational democracy. In such circumstances, members of political parties represent the respective segments of the society. Consequently, multipartism with relatively few political parties is optimal for the success of consociational democracy in a plural society, under the condition that all parties are minority parties and no party has a capacity to win majority of the seats in the parliament and create the government.

In order to provide a clearer classification and typology of party systems, Sartori (1976) divides the multiparty system into moderate and extreme multiparty systems. He defines a moderate multiparty system as one in which the number of the relevant parties capable of making a coalition and governing the country is three, four or at most five. This type of the party system brings about a centripetal political system with quite high level of political stability and good economic performance. On the other hand, extreme multiparty systems are characterised by large number of ideologically diverse parties with differing visions and missions, of which Bosnia might be given as an example, are conducive to governmental deadlock and paralysis.

1.3.4. Segmental Isolation

Clear boundaries between the segments of a plural society have the advantage of limiting mutual contacts and, consequently, of limiting the chances that ever-present potentially violent antagonisms to erupt into actual hostility. Quincy Wright (1951, 196) argues that "ideologies accepted by different groups within a society may be inconsistent without creating tension." The danger of great tension arises only when these groups "are in close contact." As Lorwin (1966, 187) argues "If meaningful personal contacts with people of other subcultures are few, so are the occasions for personal hostility."

A plural society tends to be organised along segmental cleavages and these separate organisations necessitate a degree of segmental isolation that is conducive to consociational democracy. On the other hand, the consociational method of segmental autonomy. To a large extent, furthers the development of organisational networks within each segment. As a result of this, consociationalism increases the degree of separateness by applying segmental autonomy of a territorial kind along geographical lines (Lijphart, 1968). One institutional mechanism intended to mitigate and ease such constraints is ethno-federalism, which refers to a federal political system in which the governance of specific territorial units are intentionally associated with specific ethnic categories (Hale, 2004).

The primary aim of ethno-federalism is to preserve ethnically divided states by satisfying demands for autonomy on key issues, localising potential conflicts, promoting unifying identities and reducing opportunities for the central government to exploit minority regions (Bermeo, 2002 and Kohli, 1997). According to Riker (1964), for a country to be federal it must possess the following two elements. First, it must have a “federal constitution and characterised by (1) the two levels of government that rule the same land and people; (2) each level has at least one area of action in which it is autonomous and (3) there is some guarantee (even though merely a statement in the constitution) of the autonomy of each government in its own sphere.” Second, it must have at least the minimum level of democracy needed, such that the concept of regional autonomy has some meaning.

1.3.5. The Nature and Characteristics of Social Cleavages

The nature and characteristics of social cleavages is one of the factors that might make elite cooperation more conducive. Plural society is characterised by the presence of two or more separate communities living side by side. This type of society creates cleavages that usually translates into political parties representing a constituent people of that particular society. However, some conditions have to be met in order for a social grouping to be called a cleavage. Firstly, latent sociological cleavages must exist as they create potential for politicised and patricised cleavages. These cleavages are determined by the level of heterogeneity of the society and are based on factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, linguistic fragmentation, class etc. Second, people on one side of the cleavage must be aware of their common identity and must be willing to act on that basis to protect and promote the interests associated with their social identity. Finally, a cleavage becomes conflict-prone in organised society, i.e., if there is an institution that can provide an organised support and benefit to those who are on a particular side of the social divide (Lipset and Stein, 1967).

Ethnicity as a social cleavage and source of difference in a society is not a primordial quality. Ethnicity is not innate, it is not essentially ‘given’. Rather, ethnicity is socially constructed, it is an abstraction, a fluid ideological notion that does not exist outside of the mind. And as such plural societies divided along ethnic lines suffer from fragmented political culture that ultimately leads to immobilism and instability. Most scholars suggest that the stakes in conflicts characterised by identity issues are less amenable to compromise and accommodation than those conflicts centred on politico-economic issues. These analysts maintain that settlements of wars involving identity issues are less likely to prove stable than those designed to end politico-economic wars, because the security concerns associated with identity wars are typically more intense than those stemming from the latter type of conflict and this limits the potential for cooperation. Politico-economic conflict is a conflict of organisations, whereas ethnic conflict is a conflict of com-

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munal groups (Barry, 1975). According to Nordlinger (1975), “Communal cleavages are likely to be more salient and more intractable than class conflicts, more difficult to manage and more likely to provoke violence not only in emerging states but in many older polities”.

1.3.6. Overarching Loyalties

Overarching loyalties to the state and state institutions might mitigate the degree of conflict that results from the existing cleavages in a society. Therefore, cleavages and loyalties as divisive and cohesive factors respectively, may function simultaneously and the effect depends on the relationship between the two. Lijphart (1968) states that the interaction of cleavages and overarching loyalties determines the number and nature of the segments in a plural society. He claims that overarching loyalties produce cohesion for the entire society or for particular segments of the society. However, the final goal should be a creation of common interests among the elected political elites who will set up the example to the segments of the society they represent whereby national loyalty gradually replaces loyalty to the constituent units of the society.

Overarching loyalties are even more important if they provide cohesion for the whole society and thus moderate the intensities of all cleavages simultaneously. State nationalism might play a decisive and cohesive role. Two factors related to nationalism are of crucial importance here. First, the strength of nationalism, i.e. to what extent the sense of nationalism is strong enough to bring together people of different backgrounds to have the same feelings towards the state and second, even more importantly, is the question of whether it truly unites the society or instead acts as an additional cleavage by encouraging loyalty to a particular ethnic group among other ethnicities that exist in the society. As a result of this and according to Wenfan and Gaochao (2010), there are four possible outcomes of ethnic and national loyalties in a given society:

1. Weak ethnic loyalty and weak national loyalty, implying a possible coerced ethnic integration, but some degree of political stability due to the lack of desire for ethnic independence;
2. Weak ethnic loyalty and strong national loyalty, suggesting successful integration and political stability due to the desire to stay together;
3. Strong ethnic loyalty and weak national loyalty, most likely a result of failed integration and a condition for political instability;
4. Strong ethnic loyalty and strong national loyalty, implying successful but unstable ethnic integration and a delicate balance between group equality and national unity.

Table 1.: Loyalty Types

Hypothetical outcomes of ethnic and national loyalties		
	Weak ethnic loyalty	Strong ethnic loyalty
Weak national loyalty	Coerced integration (stable)	Failed Integration (unstable)
Strong national loyalty	Successful integration (stable)	Conditional Integration (unstable)

The levels of identification of the ethnic and national loyalties among the three main ethnic groups in Bosnia will obviously have important policy implications in how to handle ethnic relations and provide political stability in the future by avoiding tensions and conflict.

1.3.7. Traditions of Elite Compromise and Accommodation

Heterogeneous societies normally enjoy politically stable governments and economic development, if the elected political elites are able to compromise and engage in friendly rather than antagonistic decision-making process. For political elites to be moderate and cooperative, prior existence of a tradition of elite compromise and accommodation is essential. Therefore, it is vital that a tradition of pluralism and political accommodation by political elites precede the process of political modernisation and nation-building. A pre-democratic historical tendency towards moderation and compromise can indeed be an independent factor that appreciably strengthens the chance of consociational democracy (Lijphart, 1968, 99-103). An a priori tradition of elite compromise and accommodation is a favourable factor for consociational democracy but although it may be of greater importance than other factors, it is not a prerequisite for the consociational power-sharing approach to take place. Consociationalism has been described as a government by elite cartel whose main goal is to provide a political stability and economic development to the nation. It is, therefore, necessary to define concepts such as elite and political stability.

Consociationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The major argument underpinning the consociational power-sharing model, is that in a society divided and fragmented along ethnic and religious lines, elite cooperation is the major basis for political stability and economic development. Support for this hypothesis comes from numerous empirical studies such as that of the Netherlands, Belgium, Malaysia and Austria. This cooperative behaviour covers a number of political strategies including: grand coalition, proportional representation, segmental autonomy and mutual veto.

1.1. *The Nature of the post-Dayton Coalitions*

According to its Constitution, Bosnia consists of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska (Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995, article 1.3). Power-sharing is the essence of the Bosnian Constitution and its primary objective was the decentralisation of political power and the provision of security to the three ethnic groups, Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, in order that their vital national interests would be protected. As with regard to the primary institutions of executive power, no power sharing arrangement would be complete without broad group representation at a governmental level. Governments require co-operation, usually being formed among the political parties that win the majority of votes within each ethnic group, without a joint (pre- or post-electoral) platform however. The willingness to form coalitions of joint-decision making and inclusion, requires the consent of the major parties participating in government formation. Grand coalitions are extremely difficult when each group is represented by only one dominant party, or other parties are weak to the extent that they cannot get reasonable number of seats in the parliament. This results in limited variations of coalitions.

The designers of the DPA recognised the importance of elections in the post conflict peace-building process. As Gofman and Lijphart (1986, 2) clarified, the election process is considerably influenced by the rules, which govern it: "...election rules not only have important effects on other elements of the political systems, especially the party system, but also offer a practical instrument for political engineers who want to make changes in the political system." Electoral engineering and the setting of rules guiding elections are widely considered as crucial aspects of institutional design in divided societies. These rules determine how various ethnic groups are represented, what behaviour by political elites is deemed acceptable within the given society and provide for the accountability of politicians (Reilly and Reynolds, 1999). As a result of these electoral provisions, the political system of Bosnia is characterised by the notion of proportionality and parity in the leading state legislative and executive bodies such as the Parliamentary Assembly, the Presidency and the Council of Ministers.

1.2. *Proportional Representation vs. Parity in Representation*

Based on the accommodation and compromise reached at the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), the Constitution tries to accommodate the demands of all three ethnic groups and the political elites that represent them (in equal numbers of representatives) in the Presidency, Council of Ministers, and the House of Peoples and (somehow) in the House of Representatives. Thus, the Constitution adopted the principle of parity of representation at various levels of authority, securing all ethnic groups, regardless of their representation in the society and equal power in the decision-making process. It is further strengthened by the mechanism of

rotating chairmanships of the Presidency and both houses of the Parliamentary Assembly every eight months. This happens alongside an agreed rule among the political elites to rotate position of chairman of the Council of Ministers among the three ethnic groups after each parliamentary election.

The essence of the principle of proportionality and of cooperative behaviour for that matter is that elites recognise the fragmented nature of the society and attempt, through various policies and actions, to perform a difficult balancing act. Therefore, a proportional system of political representation is supposed “to guarantee for the fair representation of ethnic minorities” (Lijphart, 1985, 495). On the basis of the observation of Bosnia, one can distinguish two different meanings of proportionality. The first meaning would be a classical understanding of proportionality, that is, every citizen with the right to vote would be represented in a parliament and other state bodies. The state institutions, first and foremost the parliament, would reflect the results of the citizens’ votes. The second meaning is the *proportional representation of ethnic groups*, rather than citizens, in a state.

As with the parliament, every ethnic group has a third of the seats (five) in the upper house of the Parliament no matter how big the ethnic groups actually are. One third of the House of Representatives is reserved for the deputies coming from the RS and the other two-thirds are reserved to the deputies elected from the FBH. The number of citizens belonging to an ethnic group has not been of relevance for the way the seats in the Parliament are distributed. In this way the representation within Bosnian state institutions has been a reflection of the ethnic composition of the country.

Thus, proportionality in the Bosnian context has been used only in terms of the distribution of the influence on the decision-making process and country governance among the three ethnic groups. One of the consequences of proportionality related to ethnic groups, in the Bosnian context, is the lack or even total absence of representation of those citizens who do not belong to any group, so called Others. In the last census held in 2013, 3.7% the Bosnian population declared themselves as Others and belonged to neither of the three major groups. Although it was very difficult to complete the indexing of citizens because of a large number of refugees, and internally and externally displaced persons, one could assume that there was still a large group of people whose interests, because of the fact of their not belonging to any of the major groups, were not represented in state institutions (Pajić, 1998). Suggesting possible options for counterbalancing the presence of a majority ethnic group, Lijphart says that a bigger group could be underrepresented while minor group(s) could be given more places in a parliament than it should on the basis of its size alone:

For instance, a group comprising eighty percent of the population might be given only seventy or sixty percent of the seats in parliament and ministerial positions

in the cabinet or even, in the case of parity, only fifty percent; and the representation of the minority or minorities would be increased correspondingly. (Lijphart, 1985, 500-1)

In consociational practice, division of places, ministerial posts and parliamentary seats is related to the size of an ethnic group. In Bosnia, however, despite the imbalance in the size of groups, the quantitative difference between them did not find an acknowledgment in the composition of the state institutions: the posts go equally to every group, no matter how big they are. Hence, the number of cabinet ministers in the Council of Ministers needs to be divided by three so that each constituent people will have an equal number of ministers regardless of their proportion in the population. Therefore, instead of the rule of proportionality, again the rule of parity predominated in the Council of Ministers, promoting the concept of positive discrimination.

1.3. *Segmental Autonomy*

With regard to the autonomy of groups, Lijphart, proposes that issues that are of common concern should be decided at the state level. In this case, decisions should be made jointly by different groups. Other matters should be left for decision by each separate group. At the heart of this multi-ethnic policy was the decentralization of political power and the provision of security to all ethnic groups. The promise of the DPA was that the power of majorities at higher levels of government would be closely regulated, and where possible, power was to be shared through being devolved downwards, thereby allowing greater self-government at local level.

The central constitutional point of this new multi-ethnic state was that Bosnia consists of two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), established by the Washington Agreement in March 1994, occupying 51 percent of the territory and the entity Republika Srpska (RS), occupying the remaining 49 percent. The FBiH consists of ten cantons³, each of which is a governmental entity with a high degree of autonomy. Each canton has its own government, headed by a Premier who has his/her own cabinet, and is assisted in his/her duties by various regional ministries, agencies and canton services. Cantons have their own parliaments whose representatives are directly elected in general elections.

The responsibilities of the state and entity institutions are outlined in Article III of the Bosnian Constitution. Thus, institutions of the Bosnian state were to be

3 Five cantons (Una-Sana, Tuzla, Zenica-Doboj, Bosnian Podrinje, and Sarajevo) are Bosniak majority cantons, three (Posavina, West Herzegovina, and West Bosnia) are Croat majority cantons, and in two cantons (Central Bosnia and Herzegovina and Neretva canton) neither ethnic group has predominant majority. These cantons are 'ethnically mixed' and exercise special legislative procedures for protection of the constituent ethnic groups.

responsible for foreign policy, foreign trade policy, customs policy, monetary policy, the finances of the institutions and for the international obligations of the country, immigration, refugee, and asylum policy and regulation, international and inter-entity criminal law enforcement, including relations with Interpol, establishment and operation of common and international communications facilities, regulation of inter-entity transportation and air traffic control (DPA, Annex 4, article 3.1.)

The entities are responsible for ‘all governmental functions and powers not expressly assigned in the Constitution’, for example, law enforcement, social policy and education. The entities also ‘have the right to establish special parallel relationships with neighbouring states consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia’. In order to safeguard the interests of the three groups, the central state institutions have been organised on the basis of an ethnic key, which guaranteed representation to all three sides and the protection of ‘vital interest’.

It is important to mention that the Constitution (Article 3.5.) provides *for the State to assume other responsibilities for such matters which are necessary to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and international personality of Bosnia*⁴ in accordance with the division of responsibilities between the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Constitution ensures that additional institutions may be established as necessary to carry out such responsibilities.

The cantons in the FBiH were to be responsible for all functions not expressly granted to the FBiH entity Government. Therefore, they have been, in particular, responsible for police forces, education, cultural policy, housing, public service, land use, local business, charitable activities, cantonal tourism and social welfare policy and services. Beside this, some functions such as guaranteeing and enforcing human rights, health, environmental policy, implementing laws and regulations concerning citizenship and use of natural resources are shared by both, Federation and canton governments.

On the other hand, the entity RS is highly centralised entity with the President, Cabinet and Parliament on the top of executive and legislative authorities and municipalities at the local level and as such does not have the same structural problems as the FBiH.

The creation of ethnically homogenous territories was the result of the massive displacement of people, ethnic cleansing and genocide. When the international community created the new constitutional framework for Bosnia, the idea behind it was that: ‘*giving political autonomy to territorially defined ethnic groups would lead to constructive dialogue and peaceful management of the conflict*’

4 Italics are added

(Bojić-Dželilović, 2003, 289). According to Lijphart, keeping the different segments apart limits their mutual contact and subsequently lessens the probability of antagonism and open hostility. Lijphart admits that segmental autonomy contradicts the widely held assumption that mutual contacts foster mutual understanding, but states that:

‘It is in the nature of consociational democracy, at least initially, to make plural societies more thoroughly plural. Its approach is not to abolish or weaken segmental cleavages but to recognize them explicitly and to turn the segments into constructive elements of stable democracy’ (Lijphart, 1968, 42).

By explicitly recognising the segments, a consociational democracy will increase its organisational strength and this strength will, instead of creating conflict, open up a possibility for the elite to play a constructive role in conflict resolution (Lijphart, 1985, 106 and 2004, 45). The critics of consociationalism point at the probability that segmental autonomy might lead to representation of ethnic identity and absolute secession (Barry, 1975, 39). On the contrary, Ibrahimagić (2019) found that Bosnia, since its creation, was never a tribal state, nor was it within its administrative division, divided according to religious or ethnic affiliation even before Dayton, advocates the abolition of a mono-ethnic, entity organisation in the internal administrative-political organisation of Bosnia into two multi-ethnic entities and advocates the federalisation of all of Bosnia into 14 cantons, with a single president of the State, with Sarajevo in its pre-war boundaries as the capital of the State and the Brčko District of Bosnia.

1.4. *Mutual Veto*

The idea of protecting the rights of the various ethnic groups from being overruled by a majority has been a dominant theme in Bosnia. With the minority veto that is proposed by Lijphart and which is also incorporated into the Bosnian political system, every single ethnic group represented in the institutions of a state can defend its vital national interests if the issue at stake endangers them. As a result of the minority veto no decision can be taken against the interest of any constituent people. If the majority of either Bosniak, Croat or Serb delegates in the House of Peoples, declares that a proposed decision or law of the Parliamentary Assembly is destructive to a vital national interest of their people then that decision or law cannot be adopted. Thus, the majority (three) of Bosniak, Serb and Croat delegates have to vote for the decision in order to be adopted in the upper house. This may seem rather ridiculous given that out of fifteen delegates in the House of Peoples. A mere three of them can veto any decision or law that they consider to be against the interest of the people they represent there. Otherwise, a conciliation procedure is foreseen and ultimately a decision is taken by the Constitutional Court. Obviously, this procedure causes a serious risk of blocking decision-making. The only way to resolve this problem is through a precise and

strict definition of vital interests in the Constitution. The main problem with veto powers, however, is not their use but their preventive effect.

Since all political elites involved are fully aware of the existence of the possibility of a veto, an issue with respect to which a veto can be used, will not even be put to vote. On the other hand, if there is an interest by the delegates of two constituent peoples to include certain bills to the voting procedure in the House of Peoples, which might be against the interest of the third constituent people then in order to stop it from even being brought to the discussion, the delegates who are against the bill will simply not come to the session whereby due to the absence of quorum is impossible for the session be held at all.

Furthermore, the Presidency is supposed to reach all decisions by consensus. However, a dissenting member of the Presidency may declare a Presidency decision to be destructive for a vital interest of the entity from the territory from which he was elected, provided that he does so within three days of its adoption in the National Assembly of the RS in the case of the Serb member of the Presidency or in the Bosniak or Croat caucuses in the House of Peoples of the FBH.

The right to veto any decision at state and entity levels when the vital interest of one of the constituent peoples comes into question enables each ethnic group to prevent any attempt from the state to violate its autonomy. However, the criticism directed towards mutual veto is the possibility of a 'tyranny of the minority', or in the case of Bosnia, simple tyranny, because there are no minorities in the constitutional sense- all three segments are equal constituents. Lijphart argues that mutual veto will not lead to tyranny or immobilism because it will give each segment a sense of security and a mere recognition that the other segments have the same right and this will detract the political elite from the over-extensive use of veto. In Bosnia, however, the evidence shows otherwise. Thus, veto rights, one of the most important aspects of power-sharing arrangements can simultaneously have the most serious negative repercussions on the functioning of any institutional arrangements. The aim of veto-right usage in Bosnia has been to prevent the out-voting of non-dominant groups at the level of parliament, cabinet and even the Presidency. One of the greater challenges to veto rights in Bosnia is the definition of a field of legislation and decision-making where such a veto right is applicable. As a result of this, very loose definitions and interpretations of the veto right in Bosnian context has allowed community representatives to block any decision and hence *opening the door to its misuse and abuse*. Therefore, a minority veto right in Bosnia potentially jeopardised the power sharing system because it has led to the entire obstruction of the decision-making process in the post-Dayton Bosnia. This indicates that vital national interest is one of the obstacles in the process of better implementation of the DPA, mainly due to its broad definition and loose interpretation.

Conclusion

The power-sharing framework used in this study attempts to serve two main purposes. First, it provides insights into the theory of consociationalism as a power-sharing approach in political science. Second, it tries to contribute to our understanding of the presence and relevance of this model in the Bosnian political system.

The consociational framework emphasises the role of political elites in providing political stability and economic prosperity. The attention given to the political elites was based on the observation that much of what happens to the political system depends upon the role played by the elected and appointed political elites. Political elites may intensify the conflict within the society or may regulate it through development of institutions and supportive decision-making procedures. The relative conflict or cooperation that characterises their relations is contributory to the stability or the instability of the political system.

Consociational power-sharing approach requires a grand coalition, proportional representation, segmental autonomy and mutual veto as the main characteristics necessary for the state whose political system is based on the principles of consociationalism to achieve its goals of political stability and economic prosperity.

The explanatory power of the model applied in this paper is further improved by identifying the factors that are conducive to, or prohibitive of elite cooperation. These factors are: population size, balance of power among segments, a multi-party system, segmental isolation, the nature of the extant social cleavages, over-arching loyalties and a tradition of elite accommodation. These factors are quite helpful in explaining politics in the post-Dayton Bosnia. By virtue of the fact that Bosnia shares similar socio-economic and political problems of other countries divided along ethnic lines, the framework used here should prove useful to the study of the politics of the developing areas in general.

This paper shows that all features of consociationalism exist in the post-Dayton Bosnian political system. However, grand coalitions are always made after the elections and mainly for the distribution of positions in the executive bodies of state apparatus and without any in-advance agreed strategic platform and goals to be achieved and accounted for. Proportionality has been mainly replaced with parity giving rise to imbalanced representation in state institutions. Segmental autonomy has been misconceived and veto power has been used to block all legislation beneficial to the state.

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