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Domination of ethnic identity in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

Author: Milena Aćimovac

Supervisor: PhDr. František Šitek

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Topic Overview

Yugoslavia, once regional power, by the end of 80's faced collapse, with a series of brutal conflicts that swept through the Balkans. "Small Yugoslavia" as previously Bosnia and Herzegovina called, was one of the most important episodes of violent dissolutions of the socialist Yugoslavia. Bosnia and Herzegovina, a land decorated with so many diversities, ethnic groups, ideologies, political and geopolitical interest suffered three and a half years lasting civil war on ethnic constellations. The war did not end up with restoration of the sovereign country but as an international protectorate. Endemic in historical, social and cultural terms, Bosnia since its first formation was exposed to a lack of unified nation. Distinction between Serbs, Croats and Muslims is based on cultural, religious, political and ideological foundations.

With the end of communism era, where coexistence was acceptable, three nations are coming across a new phase of not very functional cohabitation. Tracing the root of the problem, education can be the first step of a long way. What appeared to be quandary in mentioned post-conflict society is the fact that one country is disposable with three different histories. Furthermore, often imposed question on all three sides is "To whom belongs our cultural patrimony?!" The answer to the question is still pending, without possible unification on it. The major goal of this thesis will be to depict three nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and theirs multi- ethnic coexistence or preferably non-coexistence.

Brief historical overview will be able to show the roots of differences among three nations. Moreover, presenting the implementation of Dayton Peace Agreement this thesis's purpose will be to present its failures and lack of functionality when it comes to anthropological, social and religious basis of the country. The author's aim is to describe current situation in Bosnia and complete lack of internal consensus. this thesis will seek an answer if there is a real willingness to achieve Bosnian identity. Since media in BiH are greatly representing the hatred and deep conflict,

it will be used to provide clear picture. This thesis will seek an answer if there is a real willingness to achieve Bosnian identity or the separate identity will stay on throne, but it will be metaphorically called Bosnian. This thesis will seek an answer if there is a real willingness to achieve Bosnian identity.

Thesis Objectives

The major goal of the purposed topic is to prove discrimination within three ethnic groups in Bosnia, through the public television programs. Media today largely create and shape opinion of the publicity, which is why they could be perfect sample to show discrimination ad acta. The thesis will attempt to link neighborhood phenomenology and break down of cohabitation today, followed with death of multiculturalism. Dayton peace Agreement will be exposed, in order for a reader to observe how already existent diversities can be more deepen through legal implementation of the document. The thesis will depict how DPA did bring the peace in the country, but as well it did create divided country, resulting almost with non-existence of national identity.

The thesis will clearly separate national-state and ethnic identity, in order to show overruling of the second one. Furthermore, the thesis will aim to analyze state televisions programs in order to show discrimination, and differently presented the news within the country. In two entities, one news can be completely differently told, and understood. Consensus and professional cooperation does not exist. While reporting events, especially politically based unprofessionalism and favorizing is almost normality.

Importantly, the author will not be able to depict and portray all aspects of BiH identity, simply because of insufficient space. Which is why the aim is to show how since break down of Yugoslavia and cohabitation of three peoples in BiH, almost two decades later, ethnic identity is bigger than any times. All three peoples almost consider themselves as modern nation, living in a country and not accepting its sovereignty, nor identity. They openly and publically discriminate against each other, emphasizing there "us" and "them", shortly "others".

Subject Significance

When the War in BiH was peaking during 1990s, it was a subject of great political, media and academic attention. Hundreds of books, papers and articles on what and how the war happened, the difficulties of peace agreements, complete destruction of society and lost coexistence. BiH was one of the examples served as an example for scholars to deeply examine differences among similarities. Within cohabitation, inevitable similarities among society living in those conditions, are normality. As such they can arouse bigger conflicts, than the actual differences.

It is important to provide clear picture of reality in BiH. Identity is best example of condition of the country where recently was the war. Analyzing media discourse the author aimed to present discrimination and daily politics defined by ethnic identity.

The author hoped to link situation before the war and after. The country of people with no opportunities to run away from the past, nor present. Hatred provided from public broadcasters and nationalistic politics does not promise integration, development, prosperity and other criteria for involving in modern world. It is important that BiH reality is presented as it is, not as it is expected from the peaceful post-war country. BiH might be in peace, but it is profoundly divided, undeveloped, insufficient and importantly, still not satisfied with the status as federation of two entities. Which is why, it is very rare to hear a person declaring as Bosnian. It is either Serbian, Croatian, or Bosniaks. People of this country are faced with specific social context where ethnicity and politics are interlacing on daily basis, so much that is hard to define where are the limits of this phenomena.

Provisional Structure

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- 1.2. Overview of literature
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 - 2.2. Primordialism Vs. Instrumentalism
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 - 4.3. Results and observation of critical analysis of discourse
5. Death of multiculturalism
6. Conclusion
7. Appendices
8. Bibliography

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Documentaries

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. This thesis as submitted is 116 269 keystrokes long including spaces. i.e. 67 manuscript pages.

Milena Aćimovac,

In Prague, July 2011

Signature

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|--------------|--|
| BiH | Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CK | Central Committee of Communist Party |
| DPA | Dayton Peace Agreement |
| EU | European Union |
| FBiH | Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| IC | International Community |
| IDP | Internally Displaced Persons |
| PIC | Peace Implementation Council |
| RS | Republic of Srpska |
| UNHCR | Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| US | United States of America |
| KPJ | Communist Party of Yugoslavia |
| SDA | Party for Democratic Action |
| SDP | Social Democratic Party |
| SDS | Serbian Democratic Party |
| SNSD | Alliance of Independent Social Democrats |
| SFRJ | Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia |
| WWII | World War Two |

Abstract

The given thesis examines the question of identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country devastated by the war from the beginning of 1990s, went through major social changes, which deeply affected contemporary situation in the country. Although, BiH has long history of being quite specific in its characteristics, contemporary state is more complicated than it was imagined by peace creators, volunteers and scholars of international community.

Identity within the country is defined by the entity. Every out of three peoples, almost two decades from the war, strongly holds on their ethnic appurtenance. The thesis portrays pre-war cohabitation of three ethnic groups by so called "neighborhood phenomenology" , and by providing certain theoretical insight attempts to depict joined similarities and differences in one society.

Public, namely media discourse is highly affected with hatred and discrimination among ethnic groups. Aiming to prove that, at least present it, the author used media discourse analysis of the central news programs of two public broadcasters. Results not only demonstrated discrimination, but provided closer insight in professionalism, or lack of it, and clearly portrayed politically infected program. Media create and shape public opinions and attitudes, in case of BiH, it is marked by nationalistic political intervention, which reduce already poor chances for reconciliation and improved tolerance.

1. INTRODUCTION

The collapse of Communism and fall of the Iron Curtain at the end of the 1980s brought almost half a century-long freedom for the nations of upon till than divided Europe. Countries of Eastern Europe were introduced to democracy, followed with strong hope for unified and stable continent. However, these changes also provoked a number of conflicts in the region, as in some cases ethnic and religious groups were confronted with reinvention of their identities, along side with territorial division and redefined borders. After such impacts on identity and territory, reconciliation was a true experiment and optimistic endeavor.

The scenario occurred in Yugoslavia, once developed and relatively free multiethnic society in southeastern Europe, which disappeared in serious of brutal wars during 1990s. The conflicts attracted huge international attention, as the level of violence was unseen on the ground since World War II. Reports, journalists, missionaries, scholars, politicians, international organizations, EU and US instances were all observing, if not involved in catastrophe that, once again, swept through the Balkans. Mass destructions, ethnic cleansing, refugees, displacements, concentration camps, war crimes shaped what peoples of the former Yugoslavia eventually proclaimed as necessary fight for independence and self-determination.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, being one of the six republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, broadly recognized as "Yugoslavia en miniature", consists out of three peoples, the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats who shared the same territory living in mixed surroundings, until 1991. None of these three peoples were an absolute majority, sharing and intermingling in addition with 15 national minorities. However, devastating war broke out living behind irreconcilably collided territories, society deeply affected in regard of very hard reconciliation within three peoples, emotional slashing consequences, unsustainable economy followed with ruin industry. Proclamation of Independent Republika Srpska on the territory of BiH out Yugoslavia break down, and the war from 1992 to 1995 which resulted with ethnically

homogenous territories created perfect conditions for the contemporary situation in this utterly damaged country.

Out of every bad, unsatisfactory or unpleasant situation a person attempts to find a solution. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the past, almost, two decades solution is yet not found. Very few people find themselves incorporated in BiH community, with stable finances, secure job position, and with sentiment of the country the one is living in. Vast majority of people, on the contrary, lives insecure daily reality, with no perspective to hope for, and with restricted feelings towards the country. Living in modern state of affairs one could assume that everybody have possibility, opportunity and the right to live in a decent everyday circumstances. But, what is related to the thesis, also to count in "the others" living next to us. In case of BiH, the difficulty is driven from the relation of "us" and "others", since there is no "us". What assigns as logic question: is it possible to live in terms, where there is no understanding, at least tolerance? In between three peoples, further on mainly referred as ethnic groups, every each of them is self-oriented and self-sufficient, and in worse cases completely free out of any relation with other two. Political elites support, if not maintain and provoke depicted situation.

Notions as "ethnicity" and "national" in the region of ex-Yugoslavia can generate confusion in general applicability. Moreover, they have been used as synonyms, as well as the term ethno-national. For the purpose of accuracy, and better understanding in thesis the two notions are by intention differed. The term "ethnic" will be applied and used in case of identification of the Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks, while the term "national" in cases of state level, that is BiH identity.

Dayton Peace Agreement signed in Paris, December 1995, brought peace and discontinued violence and massive devastation of the country. What DPA failed to impose are the set of rules and agreements which will not deepen the division among three peoples, but decreased it. DPA imposed institutions, organizations and decentralized political system that undermines state's authority and feeds instability. The system of power sharing intended to provide shared power in order to prevent

potential break through of violence, instead it resulted with space of discussions, unresolved conflicts, and more protection and orientation towards ethnic groups.

Portraying post-Dayton BiH it is common to come across metaphors such as "impossible state", "divided society", "an international community experiment", "most expensive reconciliation attempt", and many more. Indeed, whoever tries to plunge into the essence of ethnic vs. national identity of BiH will found himself / herself in impossibility to figure out and compile complex knobs of this reality. Moreover, to overcome it and find the solution or suggestion for the future. As an addition, this thesis will shortly and factually present the situation in regard with internally displaced persons. As one of the main assumptions of reconciliation, internal displacement still did not achieved significant success. In case of destructed society, it can only provide deeper separation on every level of the community, society, decreasing any cohabitation potential.

Nationalism is a dominant political religion in post-Dayton BiH, undoubtedly inherited from its forerunner communism, more preciously real-socialism as it was claimed in Yugoslavia. There is no future that can derive from nationalism, or consolidation of democratic values strongly proclaimed by the rest of the world. Political elites are first to encourage it, making a pattern for fabricating ethnic above national identity. By electing present empowered politicians, all three peoples are actually choosing the same ideology that swept the country into the war.

It is expected for the society who clearly manifests ethno-nationalism to be in lack of satisfactorily public sphere, in terms of free media and commissions for regulations and rules to regulate public broadcasters. In words, a reader or a person unfamiliar with situation in BiH cannot perceive situation as deep as it is. For that purpose the thesis author provided analysis of media discourse of the central news program of two public broadcasters in BiH. As eventually will be offered, January 2012 was selected purposely, since Republic of Srpska celebrated its 20th anniversary. Author aimed to depict clear discrimination on ethnic grounds, which was unfortunately easy to capture. Medias are solidly contributing the spread of nationalistic modes of

identification, which closes the door democratic resolutions, not to mention potential integration in EU.

What author find significantly interesting in process of understanding complex society as this one, are similarities, cohabitation or coexistence that swept to major present differences. Realizing that BiH society since its foundation is specific, and above unity it was always diversification, the thesis sought to answer is it possible for similarities to be the trigger for violence and hostility. Multiculturalism was introduced for better understanding of contemporary relations within three peoples. Exactly the multiculturalism aroused from similarities created living the "neighborhood phenomenology". Out of radical separation, it is matter of general opinion that multiculturalism is dead in BiH. What makes similarities in between ethnic groups suddenly vanish occurs exactly under pressure of assimilation or more closely, imposed ideology of specifications. Ideology lead to myth in BiH, eventually resulted with "formative identity", as false frame of produced overemphasized ethnic characteristic as opposed to national." Furthermore, true nature of ethnicity hides in "banal nationalism" (Vlaisavljević, 2010), as trade marks of "other" culture in mentality and customs of neighbors.

BiH reality might be easily perceived as truth according to Nietzsche: "we no longer believe that the truth is true when all the veils have been removed" (Baudrillard, 1995: 77). So in BiH representation of media, public sphere, divided education supported with different interpretations of historical facts, creates society, with no truths or veils to proceed, at least walk towards future. The author will tried to provide clear picture of named disadvantages in BiH, in order to portray win of ethnic identity and its simultaneous modification.

1.1. Methodology

In part, this master thesis is in its basis a case-study. Researches, conclusions, findings will be done on wide array of sources, ranging from books, scholarly essays and official journal articles/reports, interviews and surveys. Documentaries and audiovisual materials will also be used in order to gain larger perspective. Not all the documents will have the same relevance.

Theoretical framework should provide large perspective of ethnic and national identity theories, applicable in the terms of BiH. To conduct the analysis variety of the sources will be scrutinized. Different theoretical approaches will be provided as well to show from which corners is possible to understand mainly ethnic, following with national identity.

Several historical sources will be consulted in order to link the situation in the past, and to show present outcomes. Important component is depicting Dayton Peace Agreement through out scholar publications, what is more important the results of its implementation through reports of international organization.

For the purposes of media discourse analysis used in reporting author was guided with references of journalistic discourse according to scientific and professional standards (authenticity, punctuality, accuracy, validity). To summarize, the concept was based on suggestion of Wodak and Meyer in writing: "Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis", portrayed briefly in Literature Overview.

In order to achieve better insight the author of this thesis provided with interviews don with 100 participants. Most of them are young people living in BiH and from both entities. Through out the questions, and discussions evolved the author was able to profoundly understand the position of BiH and its people.

1.2. Overview of literature

Since the assessment of ethnic identity in BiH is the core content of the thesis, the most valuable and most frequently used literature for its production will be books of authors devoted to the topic and publications of the scholars integrated in the topic. A lot of BiH authors will be applied, analyzed or criticized. Concerning international sources, they tend to have significantly higher unbiased approach in gathering, processing and interpreting information of particular issue. Broad aspect of theories will be added and applied in case of BiH. International organizations as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch have large experience and resources, which will be extracted for the needs of the thesis.

In regard to methodology, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, provides concise, accurate and easy applicable updated introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis. It is appropriate for novice, but as well for experienced researchers. The new edition added in its content the new chapters on the social actor approach and corpus of linguistic methods. Importantly, examples are provided revealing the different genres of material on whole variety of topics, what facilitates the usage for the authors of less experience.

Nemoguca država by Nenad Kecmanović, Dean of Faculty of Political Sciences at University of Banja Luka, provides the reader with vast majority of articles. The articles were written at the time of break down of Yugoslavia and foundation of BiH. Very familiar with the events of the time, almost involved in some, highly analytical the author presents ingenuous chronic of hard years in BiH. Found of theoretical background and experience, Kecmanović portrays the events and brings closer to the author phenomena of cohabitation and neighborhood phenomenology.

Ethnicity without Groups, written by Roger Brubaker, professor of Sociology and UCLA Foundation Chair at the University of California, sought to capture emerging after the break up of multinational states into possible nation-states. In this provocative volume he claims that ethnicity,

nation, race are not things in the world but perspectives on the world: ways of understanding, manifestation and representation.

Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država, by Zoran Đinđić, former premier of Serbia, in his books describes politicians as ones who had two souls "Faust souls", communistic and rationalistic, which can be applicable as philosophy of the time. He sought the solution for overcoming the division of Yugoslavia, who "burned like candle on both endings", resolve the enigma of divided national state and its transformation in modern political community. Đinđić explained the nationalistic country as false, in which national statehood shows not as belonging to the state but to ethnic community.

Filozofija Palanke, work of Radomir Konstantinović, Serbian philosopher and writer, published in 1969. Konstantinović analyzes the spirit of small village who objects to all marked as modern, who encloses in front of the world, who is oriented to tradition, and as such is a bearer of nationalism. *Filozofija palanke* is considered as one of the most important works of post-modernism.

Imagined Communities, by Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson analyzes formation of nation-state as imagined community. It is imaginary because most of the members do not know each other, nor they ever will. But the idea of unity based on the same language and cultural foundations exists in their imagination, which can easily be used in purposes of gradient political elites. In very interesting manuscript he asks the question what makes people love and die for nations, as well as hate and kill in their names.

Bloodlust, presented by Jacoby Russel, is a very interesting study where he tries to plunge into the world of absurdness where small disparities within community create bigger hatred than small ones. He is devoted to the thought that "it is precisely the little dissimilarities in persons who are otherwise alike that arouse feelings of strangeness and enmity between them." He explains in what conditions assimilation is a danger, where bitterness of loss identity over wins.

Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention, by Sumantra Bose who describes BiH as remarkable project of political engineering and tries to answer the question

did engineering worked. She points out that we are living the era where countries from Somalia to Afghanistan are confronting the questions of state legitimacy, and marks BiH as fascinating study.

Balkan posle drugog svjetskog rata, written by Richard Crompton describes changes, distortions and modifications in the Balkans after the WWII. For its diversified region, Balkan is not possible to simply portray and specify. He presents all of the Balkan countries and their modifications, political recruitments and territorially new borders.

Tri nacije kao tri ratne naracije, Ugo Vlaisavljević, professor at Faculty of Philosophy in University of Sarajevo, seeks the way to deconstruct post-phenomenology. He provides a clear picture of ruined civic society after the break up of Yugoslavia. He emphasizes that primarily one should differ two ways of break down of socialism: with war and without the war. He examines BiH in terms of ethnic politics as dominant, and war as a creator of ideology.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter contains an overview of theoretical considerations on which a rationale for evaluation of ethnic and national identity will be based. Firstly, it will define the questions of ethnic and national identity and then move to nation building theories and others related to the ethnicity. It is important to distinguish national and ethnic identity here. In this thesis ethnic identity will stand for identity of three constitutional peoples itself, while national will define identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina-state identity. Some of the theories, offered in the chapter, will be criticized in case of (with regard to) Bosnia and Herzegovina. Additionally, theoretical framework will identify and portray theories applied in media in order to reach complete perception of three peoples differences.

2.1. Ethno-political and ethno-national identity in terms of “analytical aggregation”, political elites and “small village philosophy”

When talking about theoretical aspects of identity related to case of BiH, one has to keep in mind that there is no general theory applicable to the given situation. Bosnian and ex-Yugoslavian societies are structurally violent societies of collective identities, based on deep confessional differences, presented as “imperfect” states (Đinđić, 1998).

Discussing about Bosnian identity the term of ethno-political identity will be used and related to, what Rogers Brubaker names “analytical aggregate”. He refers to tendency of nations and ethnic groups to be treated as “substantial entities which depending on interests and subjectivity can be applied to” (Brubaker, 2004: 31). In that kind of intellectual understanding it is easy to perceive ethnic conflicts as current situation within two or three groups, more or less divided or coherent from the inside. Serbs, as opposed to Croats, apropos Bosniaks are easy to simplify in terms of ideology and articulation of their political elite. “Simplification” in dominant discourse results as naturalizing ideological attitude stating “it is what it is, and it cannot be different”. The goal is in

acknowledging the current situation the way it is. Moreover, Brubaker concludes that “Groups” as non-troublesome, are understood for granted and they should not be evaluated, explored or examined (Brubaker, 2004:7).

On the other hand, such society is a result of severe violent actions welcomed by legal usage of power, ethnical cleansing, genocide and whole network of discriminatory procedures on a daily basis. Henceforth, handed situation is hegemony of ethno-collective narrative of identity existing on radical negation of other subject (ex. Serbs as oppose to Croats). Negation itself is destructive since its key characteristic is producing and preserving political enemy of political enemy and it’s constant reluctance towards instrumentalization. From its own side instrumentalization threatens to decant conflict itself into boring procedures and empty public palaver (Mujkić, 2011:20).

In case of lacking serious ethno-cultural differences on the ground of projecting and building complexly differentiated political accomplishment, what is highly important for “ethno-political entrepreneurs”, is to replicate as successfully as possible politically produced ethnical diversities in entire society. Moreover, to profoundly stamp them into its ethnical corpus throughout specific rituals, models and forms of political reality implications. Model of ethno-nationalistic operates uniformly, irrespective of ethnical and political partition in any corner the state. Therefore, in BiH only two relevant political categories exist. First, ruling class of “ethno-political entrepreneurs”: politicians, different professionals in Medias, academic communities and social institutions, in the sphere of private and state sector, where as they are forming and influencing different discourse formations, explain and legitimize specific positions of social subjects. Second, political class “Others”. Those are all excluded from the group mentioned firstly (Mujkić, 2011:22).

In order to support self-sustainment of ethnic nationalism which constantly resists to existential danger of its ethnic collectivity, “heroism” is related to “small village philosophy”. Ethnic collectivity in those terms is kept on political margins and territorially confined. In a “small village” world it is important to keep up with standard rituals than to be an individual. “Small village” depicts an atmosphere where everything “new” is being denied, refused, and proclaimed as danger

opposed to the current *Modus Vivendi*. Status quo mentality prevents any repositioning among its citizens or any kind of “new wave” transformations will be derided (Konstantinović, 2006).

2..2 Primordialism Vs. Instrumentalism

The word “identity” itself has the tendency to accentuate “group” instead of analyzing it. Therefore, numerous contemporary authors suggest discussing “identifications” rather than identity. “Identifications” would imply to certain operations or actions, above current condition or de facto situation. Although, in case of former Yugoslavian countries “actions” could be taken into consideration since there are no firm signs of abating. Elaborating the nature of ethnic identity two opposite orientations are widely present: primordialism as opposed to instrumentalism (Majstorović, Turjačanin, 2011: 36)

Primordialism approach suggests that certain identity is embedded into certain personal features. Accordingly, given identity is not changeable, arguable. Therefore, it determines features of ethnic group. An individual is associated to its identity through assumed blood ties, language, religion, culture, moral sets what has been given by birth (Bacik, 2002: 29).

Primordially based political variations are deeply incorporated in new, modern state, but usually not that obvious. Propinquity, on social level, originates from natural closeness and phenotype affinity, rather than on interaction within society. The kid is being born in certain circumstances and environment and from there comes the influence and shaping through the process of socialization. Identity tends to develop (regardless of) any other ethnic groups in the nearby. Primordial issues do exist in modern states, overrunning the state boundaries (Geertz: 1963).

Instrumentalist’s standing point acknowledges ethnical identity as an expression of instrumental aspirations, especially in society fighting for political and economical power. Although, most of the authors of this approach were analyzing post-colonial African countries,

criterion can be applied in case of Bosnian reality, where the highest mobilization of ethnicity is in the times of elections (Majstorović, Turjačanin, 2011: 37).

The model of instrumentalist's behavior represents a social, political, and cultural construct gaining certain benefits and interests consequently accomplishing a specific political or any other objective. Ethnic consciousnesses most often have political connotations, which is why it can easily be turned into collectivity in case of threat or danger (Gutema Balcha, 2008: 7).

2.3. Nation Building Theories

There is general belief that nation building is rather evolutionary than revolutionary process. The term "nation-building" is often used simultaneously with democratization, peace-building, modernization, political development and post-conflict reconstruction. The term was introduced in political sciences after Second World War in order for better state and society integration. Linked with modernization Lucina Pye defined "various meanings of political development", namely:

- 1) As a prerequisite to economic development
- 2) As politics typical of industrial societies
- 3) As political modernization
- 4) As administrative and legal development
- 5) As mass mobilization and participation
- 6) As the building of democracy
- 7) As stability and orderly change (Stephenson, 2005).

Nation building theories presume creating and keeping peace and stability in certain country. Since there is variety of them, applicable in different cases, in some the benefit is widely spread in society, in others not (Stephenson, 2005).

Anderson defines nations as “an imagined political community- and imagines as both inherently limited and sovereign.” Benedict Anderson analyzed formation of modern nation, seeing state as imagined community. It is so because most of its members are not acquainted with others, or ever will be, but the idea of unity is based on common cultural and linguistic grounds. Those preferences can easily be used on behalf of political elites aiming for nation-state (Anderson, 1991).

The idea nation-state will be revised more accurately, explained and applied in case of BiH in Chapter 3. The link between Anderson’s Imagined Community and BiH will be revealed. However, the chapter will also expose obstacles of creating nation-state out of BiH situation.

Ethno-symbolism is another direction of understanding modern nations. This approach is used in order to understand extreme cases of nationalism such as Serbian, related to historical development and death of monarchy. Anthony D. Smith emphasizes that “modern nations were not formed ex nihilo”. All of them had its historical vans which demanded verification in order for steady ground of its formation to be ascertained (Smith, 1991).

Ethno-symbolism stated there were ethnics before nations. There has to be connection between past and present, in sense of national identities. Former preferences can and have to be related to present conditions. In case of BiH past is the main obstacle for forming the nation-state. Moreover, reaching the national identity over ethnical.

2.4. Ethnical construct

Since this thesis will be more ethnically oriented, the content of ethnical identity and its components would be helpful in understanding the process. Social, historical, political, anthropological and psychological approaches can be used to explain and define ethnic identity, all of them with a different background. This thesis will be more socially and politically oriented.

Phinney identifies components of ethnical construct:

1. Ethnical self-defining, that is personal alignment into certain ethnical category, verbally, most often, responding to a questioner.
2. Affective component stands on personal emotions and attitudes related to ethnical determination.
3. Cognitive component is based on familiarities with specific ethnic group, which include recognizing history, tradition and customs.
4. Value orientations related to ethnic group create certain standing points of evaluating the world.
5. Developing process which influences creating and changing ethnical identity during time.

Nevertheless these formal implications, the specifications throughout national loyalty acquired from socialization, would be more reliable in case of BiH. Psychologically, ethnical identity is more accurately defined by reflections, considerations, emotions and behavior related to ethnical group specified as ours, moreover from dynamics derived from interethnic relations. Analyzing BiH's foundation after the war, it is obvious that ethnical belonging is embedded within the systems of both entities. Even aiming to disclose institutional support for ethnic diversities, it is being done by forming ethnic keys for all social functions, and employments. Chapter X will depict more closely interethnic relations on institutional level, blocking from forming the national identity (Majstorović, Turjačanin, 2011).

2.5. Media discourse theories

In order to define discourse, for which Bakhtin says that "it lives, the way it is, and out itself, in vivid impetus related to his object" (Bakhtin, 1981: 292). In other words, discourse cannot be limited only on words or sentences, nor it can only exist in reality and explain not only topics of interest (objects) but the ones also who define the objects (subjects- sources, journalists, editors). It is necessary to examine it as a cumulative content (film, news, media discourse) which is again necessarily among other systems defining content inside analyzed discourse. Exactly that kind of media discourse is, above all, disposal of frames, deducible from other discourse systems adding

journalist's and media's frames. Finally, media discourse can be understood as a simplified sum of representations or as Giles explains: "media discourse is observed as production of different techniques (technical production) operating as different discourses, primarily "decoded" from publicity (Giles, 2003: 44).

Coding and decoding is a vital band where discourse circulates and through that kind of reliance cannot be successful unless coding the message is not derived as to be predictable. In order to reach vital decoding, it is existence of sub-discourse (in this thesis that is national identity) which will prove optimization of massive decoding in a desirable way. Naturally, the fact that " every message itself carries certain significance for recipient" (Burton: 2002), as such it always depends on the recipient and all the influences he/she is exposed to. It is obvious that outcomes of convinced messages throughout discourses can never be completely predictable.

Continuing with theoretical revolve about media discourse, themes of journalist's discourse are inevitable in forms of informative programs i editorial criteria. According to selection, which mostly is based on European journal practice, types of journalist reports are manifold: quick news, news, report, article, theme news...). Nevertheless, "some authors discussed that usage of the term story to describe the news is quite suitable, because the news is being incorporated in narrative form accustomed for stories" (Giles, 2003:211). On the other hand, what is here more important, is the fact that does not need to be the news, that is, in that form it does not need to respect professional criteria of journalistic discourse and language, but it can be leveled with the story. In that way it is possible to reach the level of nature of informative types, from which authors do not run, since they already realized it enhanced projected story.

3. BIH IN YUGOSLAVIA AND IN POST-DAYTON STATE OF AFFAIRS

"We live in the borderland between worlds, on the border between nation, within everyone's reach, always someone's scapegoat. Against us the waves of history break, as if against cliff."

Derviš i Smrt, Meša Selimović (1966)

3.1. Yugoslavia "en miniature" and "neighborhood phenomenology"

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Within three peoples- the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats (none of which were in an absolute majority position), BiH was, metaphorically, called Yugoslavia "en miniature". After the collapse of SFRJ, break-down of BiH followed. The country was, until fall down, perceived as a model of multiethnic society with peaceful cohabitation of three peoples.

At least, that was the perception from the outside. But, was it really like that? This thesis will not intervene into the period before the Civil War, but it will be mentioned as a possible root of contemporary situation. It is not possible to examine questions of Bosnian identity without consulting history. In this case, the present is an outcome of the past. Then again, with lack of functionality today, we seek in the past looking for answers. Ivo Andrić, Yugoslavian novelist, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature said for Bosnia: "It is a third world, where the entire malediction was sagged into, driven by division between worlds...it is heroism without glory, torture without prize" (Andrić, 1945). Diversity among three nations was deeply incorporated into the society, but they were still living together, peacefully. Three, now constitutive peoples of BiH, lived within different cultures, customs, religions. The roots of diversities are deeply in the past. But, the frustrations have lingered till today.

However, if BiH was able to be defined through history as multiethnic and multiconfessional country, it was certainly not in sense of homogeneous, clear boundaries and inaccessible territorial

blocks among peoples. Within two extremes, three people on three territories and undetectable territorial assertion of multi-ethnicity were historically described as “coexistence in the neighborhood”. The term implied “life next to each other, not individually but as collectivities”. In a typical pastoral life style, individual was incorporated into collective practice of life reproduction: traditional and cultural of faith and beliefs, customs, and patriarchal family arrangements. Ethnical identity today had been recognized by this specific life organization of personage and collectivity, persons strongly integrated in community (Vlaisavljević, 2009: 50).

“Neighborhood“ is originally a characteristic of archaic communities, more precisely patriarch- rural regions where “neighbor”, out of practical reasons, is traditionally equal to family. After WWII, intensive immigration from rural to urban areas faced the described mentality with new ambient where family activities are physically separated. Against western, modern, urban life style, loneliness, isolation and alienation, our hybrid half peasant, half urban citizen, defended himself exactly with neighborhood philosophy or mentality. That is the reason why authentic rural phenomena of neighborhood, not only survived, but was enhanced and enriched in new ambient. Either because of transitional phases from rural to urban, or uncompleted national identity caused by Christian environment, either for religious reasons, or something else, Muslim seem to preserve more attachment to neighborhood than Serbs or Croats. Ritual coffee time has grown to be a true metaphor for Bosnian mentality, where a Muslim woman, not only invites, but brings the coffee in the neighbor’s house, showing her hope and aspiration not only for bonding but true friendship as well. That would be one of the main reasons why uninformed foreigner thought of Bosnian community as an idyllic non-conflict harmony (Kecmanović, 2007: 42).

However, by not being multicultural utopia, as it was commonly perceived from outside, also it was not the land of constant and deep-rooted hatred. The country experienced coexistence and divergence, tolerance and narrow-mindedness, to the extent of discrimination. Emerge of political, economic and institutional breakdowns, nationalistic politics turned out as a right impetus for war (Bringa, 1995).

3.2. Collapse of the country and 1992-1995 war

Collapse of communism, unification of Germany and breakup of multiethnic countries such as SSSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia made multinational democratic systems possible in ex-republics (except for Serbia and Montenegro). It was the time when it was clear that solution of national questions and federalism is purely a phrase. A curtain hiding totalitarian system carried out by KPJ, ahead with Tito (Perić, 2001).

With Tito's death in May 1980 political relations and state of the society was faced with significant changes. Massive demonstrations of Albanians in Kosovo, simultaneously loud dissatisfaction in Serbia with position of Serbs in Yugoslav federation, and status of provinces shared the first place. Serbian intellectuals, nationalistically oriented, agitated society criticizing publicly the communist regime, so changes in party's leadership occurred. Slobodan Milosevic became a leading man of Serbian CK in 1987, imposing inherited nationalistic rhetoric (Lucic, 2010: 111). When asked about national domination in the region, Milosevic elaborated: "Domination of national interests in multinational community in modern world cannot guarantee prosperity. It can only block development. At the sole entry in XXI century, the era of great technical, technological, economical and cultural expansion, multinational community dominated form within by divided national interests, cannot count on belonging to that world. It stays on the tail of events, out of the time, overridden with the upcoming period of vast integrations and interconnections. Society, with no unity or harmony, will be condemned to stagnation, and vanished no matter whether it is capitalistic or socialistic." (Milosević, 1989: 310)

In comparison with SSSR, Yugoslavian system for the third time caught in between socialism and communism, ostensible non-alignment and "brotherhood and unity" politics, was slightly better than the one imposed in SSSR. It did, partially, enable economy, but did not significantly differ in the scope of national solutions, especially with non-Serbian peoples, by far more numerous

Croatians and Muslims. BiH, within Yugoslavia, exemplified as ethnic engineering perceiving Yugoslavian as nation or supranation, which is why it was, almost proudly called: Yugoslavia in little". However, when "Yugoslavia in big "started to putrefy, survival of the "little one" could not be expected. In summer 1990 KPJ already started to disintegrate on national key: Muslims formed Party of Democratic Action (Stranka demokratske akcije-SDA), followed by Serbian creation of Serbian Democratic Party (Sprska demokratska stranka-SDS), and finally, Croats formed Croatian Democratic Community (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica-HDZ). By the end of 1990s first democratic elections in BiH took place, choosing 240 parliamentary seats: SDA-87, SDS-71, and HDZ-45. The number of seats was the least convenient for Muslims, who should have had over 100 seats. Presidency of BiH was formed out of three representatives of national parties, headed with Alija Izatbegovic , representing Muslims as the most numerous (Perić, 2001).

"Last hitch and the end of patrician BiH", were the words of foreign analytics estimating protest gathering in the centre of Sarajevo, in the eve prior to the war. The smell of upcoming cataclysm could be felt around people in the night of April 6, 1992. There were more and more people coming in front of National Parliament, creating an authentic situation of civil rebellion against ethnic war, which was already knocking on the door. They were sending loud and clear messages: "We will not let you separate us", "We will die together". It looked like the whole city was there, the same people who chose coalition SDA-SDS-HDZ, just a year before. And then, as an answer gun fires spread on flabbergasted and unprotected masses. Panicked, people running way, looked for shelter, never to gather around together again. As guns replaced peaceful confrontations, it turned out that those who were defending the country were only lonely, insignificantly numerous, crowd of illusionists of multicultural Bosnia. Few still believed in diversified Sarajevo, even during the war (Kecmanović, 2007: 93-97).

In 1991, the war started with Serbian attack on Croats, and Croats in Herzegovina. In 1992, JNA stirred the war from Croatia in BiH. From May of 1992, Bosnian Serbs continued what JNA had started. The most complicated phase was among Bosniaks and Croats. Serbs justified the war as

prevention, restraining 1941 to be repeated. Actually, it was an attempt of founding the unique Serbian state. In case of Croats, the war symbolized emancipation and desire for cohesion with motherland. This means, that two out of three sides in the war, are perceiving neighborhood countries as “homeland”, but not BiH. Although Muslims shrieked Yugoslavian ambition at minimum, the war was understood as an opportunity to generate and build nation. Izatbegovic is greatly responsible for ideology of new Bosnian nation. While international environment observes the war as civil, Bosnians use the term aggression, suggesting that the war was has been imported from the outside. BiH was not an example of civic state prior to the war; therefore it has been wedged in closure of 45-year long utopist communist regime, where majority, regardless of the level of tolerance, kept strong conscience of national affiliation and difference among others (Marijan, 2004: 110).

The war ended in 1995, followed by massive ethnic cleansing and the creation of contiguous, ethnically homogenous territories. Two entities were established on the territory of BiH. The first one, at the beginning of war, Republika Srpska, continued to exist as central state. The second, Federation of BiH, territorially subdivided into 10 cantons: five with majority of Muslim population, three with Croatian majority and two “mixed cantons”. Muslims were now Bosniacs, with the addition of Bosnian language, and equal usage of Serbian and Croatian. Both entities had institutional structure as sovereign states- constitutions and legislative, executive and judicial organs, together with supreme and constitutional courts. This compromise was legally endorsed and institutionalized in the General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton-Paris Agreement of December 1995), with emphasizes on Annex 4, the Constitution of BiH and Annex 10, foundation of High Representative. (Marko, 2005: 5).

3.3. Dayton Peace Agreement

"Dayton was only possible solution at the time when it was achieved, but it is only a burden. The way it is, BiH is not functional, and will remain the same as long as it is established according to DPA. For some the agreement represents a document from which anybody can take what they prefer, as for others it is wall for hiding separatist aspirations."

Stjepan Mesić, former President of Croatian Republic

The war in BiH was stopped by Dayton Peace Agreement, without military conqueror, but with the idea of sovereign BiH, confirmed with the agreement and as an expression of international volition. As mentioned, DPA established new structure: two entities: Republika Srpska and Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina, and institutions of BiH state. In order to build sovereignty and statehood comparable with European democratic and sustainable models, DPA installed civil and military organizations controlled by International community. Military troops in charge of safety measures, and civil organizations, such as High Representative Office, to empower process of institutional democratization and its integration in European models (Pejanović, 2009: 43).

Patrice C. McMahon and Jon Western affirmed that BiH was: "Once the poster child for international reconstruction efforts" and "proof that under the right conditions the international community could successfully rebuild conflict-ridden countries", yet BiH "stands on the brink of collapse". From 17 different governments, between 1996 and 2007, in BiH was invested around 14 billion in international aid, followed with 60,000 troops from 36 countries. The same authors acknowledged: "it was arguably the most extensive and innovative democratization experiment in history" (Will, 2009).

"The peace agreement for Bosnia is the most ambitious document of its kind in modern history, perhaps in history as a whole. A traditional peace treaty aims at ending a war between nations and coalitions of nations while here it is a question of setting up a state on the basis of a little more than

the ruins and rivalries of a bitter war. There are often calls for a revision of the peace agreement, either to break up Bosnia further or to pave the way for a more unitary state. Neither is realistic, and both are irresponsible in view of the fears that would be unleashed by any attempt to remake the peace, in effect of opening up all the questions of the war. The peace agreement balances the reality of division with structures of cooperation and integration, and it is based on the hope that over time the imperative of integration in the country and the region will be the dominant factor” stated Carl Bildt, the first international “high representative” in BiH after DPA (Bose, 2002:1).

International community expected, similarly to Mr. Bildt, that as a result of DPA BiH will be peaceful, democratic and multicultural, unified, sustainable country. Indeed, it was significantly more peaceful; however, multiculturalism and ethnic diversity seemed not to be getting back as a prior criterion. What is more, situation was under severe pressure of renewing the violence. Endeavor of people to get back to their prior homes, in order to mix again within different ethnic groups, ended with confrontation, resulting with lost homes, probably for good. Continuing, every election, after DPA, embraced power of ethnic identity: majority of voters made their choices based on ethnical basis (Krempton, 2003: 390).

The Constitution and Annex 7 of DPA clearly well-established the return of refugees and displaced persons, setting as one of the priority of the agreement, aiming for re-building of multiethnic society existing prior to the war. Further, aiming for the same outcome, DPA brought a complex system of ethnic power sharing for most of BiH institutions. Therefore, BiH has bicameral legislature, where “constituent peoples “are represented in parity (5:5:5) and government with a chair and minister and their deputies is formed according to ethnic key (Marko, 2005:6).

McMahon and Western wrote for Foreign Affairs: “As successful as Dayton was at ending the violence, it also sowed the seeds of instability by creating a decentralized political system that undermined the state’s authority”. Rhetoric's of political leaders of three constituent ethnic groups which is highly nationalistic brought country to status quo in case of development, reform or overcoming war consequences. Differences among three peoples are more intensified, economy is

standstill, unemployment is over 27%, which puts Bosnia on the bottom of World Bank list for business development (McMahon, Western: 2009).

3.3.1. System of power sharing

As previously explained DPA divided the country in two entities, linked by weak central State and established mechanism of power sharing. Therefore, the power has been/is shared within three peoples throughout compound multilayered system, which on different institutional levels (RS, BiH, the State), dissolved the power transversely to all three ethnic groups. The whole system was an attempt of international community to find a pattern providing power to be shared without possible slipping into violence. Hence, to direct the country towards European integrations and NATO accession, aspiring for the pacification of the state and region (El Mufti: 2008).

Federal system, produced by DPA, is not demographically equal: The Muslims represent 48%, Serbs 30%, and Croats are the smallest group with 12% out of total population of 4.5 million people. In order for each ethnic group to protect its vital interests, veto power that can block legislative decision-making was a solution. Nevertheless, the true power is in entities, not institutions. Both, RS and FBiH have their own presidency, cabinet and parliament. Moreover, RS holds 90% of Serbs, with political and economical centre in Banja Luka, while FBiH thinned the power between Muslims and Croatians, within Sarajevo and Mostar. The root of deep confrontation within entities lies in “State vs. Entity “scheme. By several international organizations the politics of strengthening the central State has been pressed at the expense of entities. This pattern if, has been recognized mostly by Bosnian Muslims, unlike Bosnian Serb nationalist party who are strongly opposing. And that has been the deepest difficulty of BiH politics up until now (El Mufti: 2008).

In that regard, Milorad Dodik, the president of RS, clearly elaborated: “RS is not satisfied with its status within BiH. This entity cannot and does not want to empower BiH. The goals proclaimed

by international community are not in our interest, but the ones that came from our people, who are living here. And those people want RS. I am more than sure that one day RS will peacefully separate from BiH (Dodik, NSPM: 2010).

3.3.2. Internal displacement

Creation of legal and institutional assumptions for returning displaced persons in their pre-war housing is a major characteristic of reconciliation. This thesis will present this in order to depict the territorial arrangement of three ethnic groups, as a balk to create identity on national-state level. The return itself defaults communication within members of other ethnic group. Homecoming of Serbs in FBiH and Bosniaks and Croatians in RS imply cohabitation, furthermore it means re-building relations on local level and in local community. Additionally, it would mean mutual forgiveness for war devastations. Those are the only possible solution for peace ensuring, resulting with certain consensus among ethnic groups. Eventually, the cleavage would vanish and pre-war coexistence would come alive. When it comes to daily politics, diverse political parties had different approach. SDA, basically, advocated return, but measured in ethnic reciprocity. Meaning - as many Bosniaks could go back to RS, as many Serbs are welcomed in FBiH. After IC initiated Declaration for refugees recurrence, SDA agreed for brother settlements, but ethnically exclusive (Pejanović, 2009: 45).

180 000 internally displaced persons, and 400 000 citizens of BiH still do not have full legal right to return. From 1992-1995 approximately 2, 3 million of people were forced to leave their homes. Statistics entail that after DPA in BiH almost a million people have come back. And those are data from government officials. Interest for coming back is definitely higher, according to number of applications for aid provided by Ministry for human rights and refugees. The number goes around 40 000 families, 135 000 persons willing to go back to their homes. The process for property repartition and tenancy rights is 99, 7% implemented. According to official index in BiH

out of almost 445 000 completely or partially devastated households, nearly 260 000 have been renewed, which is 45%. But, these are statistics. De facto situation in the field speaks differently. There is no accurate database for sold or ex-changed property, after being returned to officials owners, property holders. A large number of people is only back on the paper, or listed as ones (Rondić, 2007: 7).

Analyzing the question of potential formation of national identity, IDPs represent the great deal of stepping stone in this case. Living physically separated, in extreme turmoil of deep post-war traumas and disagreements will only be another important obstacle to overcome ethnic identity. Constant pressure of ethnic separatist is not only slowing down the process, but makes it impossible in certain areas. Highlighted resistance is noted in the region of Croat-controlled Herzegovina and towns in eastern RS. IDP's living in these areas strictly specified the decision to return, but have been under regular pressure to go away. Others deciding on return, were solidly discouraged to do so by usage of violence. Particularly, IDPs the hard-line RS region of Bratunac and Srebrenica, generally from Sarajevo, has been constantly anxious about coming back. By blocking the main roads, they are trying to prevent each other of claiming the territory, out of legal consensus on the issue (Global, IDP: 39).

The strategy rewritten in 2010 did make an improvement to support the return of refugees and IDPs, since the number hasn't been rising, but declining over the years. UNHCR database claims that only 146 refugees and 177 IDPs came to the regions of origin in first half of the 2011. Obstacles to return to previous regions and proper households are not changing in time, but remaining almost the same: insufficient economy, ruined property-without support for renewal, and unwillingness and lack of enthusiasm of going back to the area and being ethnic minority. Henceforth, having in mind a difference in rural and urban areas, the agitation, uncertainty, resistance caused by fear are still apposite criteria of one's aiming to overcome war wounds and go back.

4. ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSE OF THE CENTRAL NEWS PROGRAMS OF TWO PUBLIC BROADCASTERS IN BiH DURING JANUARY 2011

The main goal of this research was to analyze the structure and discourse in the central news programs of two public broadcasters in BiH (FTV and RTRS) during the January 2012 to determine whether discourse included discrimination on ethnic grounds. BiH reality, evaluated through the prism of media, can show interesting and quite unsatisfactory results for the future stability of the country, not to mention EU integration. The research included analysis of the most important news that was broadcasted during central news program. Subject of interest was the discourse used to describe the other (minor) ethnic group in the BiH entity; for example- Croats and Serbs on FTV and Croats and Bosniaks on RTRS. This time period is chosen because certain events occurred in the period, which could provide clearer picture of BiH reality.

4.1. Introductory considerations

During and after the war in BiH, national ideologies within the country, as in neighborhood countries, were faced with smaller or larger modifications creating new models of personal or collective national orientation. One of the key elements in creating national (or ethnic) identity for the period of war are most certainly medias. Influence of media is largely applied throughout direct journalistic action, as much as thorough hatred discourse, which immediately made the free path for political elites and their political ideas. Exactly the public television assumed liability of main national reporters, often operating on ethnic grounds. Džihana and Volčić recognizing the circumstances, noted: Medias in ex-Yugoslavia contributed solidly to spreading national, more exactly nationalistic modes of identification, which do not leave enough room for democratic resolutions, whereas in doing so are markedly influencing their expansion.” (Džihana, Volčić,

2007:8). What is notable here is the equality of national and nationalistic identifications, therefore the equality of patriotism and chauvinism.

Further study of the same authors recognizes that “specific types of ethnic identity” (Džihana, Volčić, 2007:9) as response to, up to that time (break-up of Yugoslavia), absence of state sovereignty, which should include ethnic supremacy inside of new made countries. This approach, implemented through the media, is presented as a reality in BiH, which furthermore conducts: only solution for ethnic and geographical sovereignty protection, preservation of culture and tradition and maintenance of DPA specifications. In each of these three cases, ethnic determination is the strongest factor in the battle against majority, in case of Serbs and Croats, hence, ethnic abruption from “motherland” in case of Bosniaks. As a consequence of this discourse, different ideological systems were created, functioning in media and entity frames.

Within every country’s political and national discourse there is a certain pattern of representation of dominant social positions. Understood as dangerous is reality in which prejudice of homogenous community is open for one-sided and simplified messages, which are depicting someone or something. It is important to vary: “differences between the ideas about things and things itself “ (Webb, 2009:3) or nothing is what is considered to be, particularly if added: ‘our understanding and perception of the world can only be second handed, and controlled by systems of representation” (Webb, 2009:3). In case of BiH this consideration can be applied in depicting one Serb living in RS about Bosniaks living in FBiH, deriving from media representation, based on previously formed systems and illustrations. It is quite clear that this problematic is hard to capture, but this analysis will aim to answer suggesting: that media discourse central informative news of both public broadcasters (RTRS and FTV) include discrimination; particularly enhance ethnic over national identity.

4.2. General settings of the analysis

Two public broadcasters were taken into consideration: RTRS (Radio Television of RS) as presenter of “Serbian media “and FTV (Federal television) as sample of “Bosniaks-Croatian media”. According to law about RTRS: “the RTRS program serves for interest of public and it has to be related to standard procedures and regulations of Agency for regulation of communication” (Clause 13). The same applies for FTV. Continuing reading the law regulations on BiH work of public television systems Clause 14 of the Law about RTRS and Clause 39 of law about FTV states: “in performing program criteria’s it is specified to truly, completely and on time inform the public” (Clause 39). The Law restricting discrimination solidly defines discrimination recognizing it on religious, national and ethnical affiliation, emphasizing that restriction is applicable to all public instances, both private and public sector (Clause 2).

One of the main reasons why these two televisions were taken as samples is the fact that both are under far stricter state regulation than private televisions, hence they are holding more responsibility. Having in mind that television is by far the broader public informatory is a good choice for this analysis, together with the topic.

4.3. Results and observation of critical analysis of discourse

For the purposes of analysis five news recognized as important have been exposed to critical analysis of discourse. January 2012 in BiH was significantly more dynamic than usually, but two topics will be presented here: 1) Suspension of investigation of 14 missing people in case Dobrovoljačka; 2) 20 years of RS-reports.

Case Dobrovoljačka through the years was getting more political weight, so its importance was certain contra balance to Srebrenica. The decision immediately became highly profiled news, and on January 17th it was the opening news of both televisions. In case of FTV it was said:

BiH prosecution suspended the investigation of 14 missing people in case Dobrovolljacka. It has been affirmed that there was no criminal action. The investigation was stopped based on 352 witness statements...Investigation related to this kind of actions will be continued because of reliable doubt of committed war crimes. From the responsibility for criminal action nobody can be abolished, but everything reproduced on basis of individual constructions is dangerous message. 14 accused, but the organs of BiH prosecution are the subject of constant pressures from RS, with clear goal: to defile the reputation of BiH.

Along with obvious constructs implying favoritism and using victimizing modus in the end, and moreover avoiding expression “war crime” (used only once), discourse is additionally updated using singular when mentioning “criminal act”. Also, by means of adjectives the lack of objectivity is noted. Next segment of the news is opened with archives record of Dušan Kovacević’s, ex general in JNA, saying: “I saw cardinal Divjak helping to cease the fire”. The journalist interprets as general Divjak had an honorable role. The news continues with old shot of soldiers standing on the street, blood, broken windows, but without high lightening on the screen, it is an old shot. Paradoxically, BiH justice did not ascertain the fact that in case of military colon after broken settlement treats like legitimate military goal, while Court in London, based on documents from Den Hag Tribunal, was explicit and exactly because of that missing criminal act set free Ejup Ganic. At the end of the news was the Ejup Ganić waving to cameras.

On the other hand, RTRS the same news presented as follows:

BiH prosecution put an end to war crimes committed in Dobrovoljačka Street. The investigation for murdering 42, wounding 72, capturing and abusing 250 JNA soldiers who had been withdrawing from Sarajevo, is suspended. Suspicion free are among others, and Ejup Ganić, Zaim Bačković and Jovan Divjak. Serbian public shuddered. This is, as claimed, political decision.

Here as well, favoritism is evident, but what is worth mentioning is the presence of empathy on the face and in diction of the journalist reading the news, where while listing the victims it is clearly shown that RTRS deeply regrets and reports the event with grief. . Sentence construction as “put an end” openly underlines bitterness. Naturally, negative connotations are more than visible here, and

specified again using adjective *shuddered*. Ending it, publicity is used as a subject, apropos, a shadowed object in order to create homogenous society who feels generally the same, and who does not, must be amnestied.

The news opened with listing all the names of accused against who the investigation has been stopped. The shots on the screen are mainly dark, from the war and pictures of families of killed, lost and wounded. Further, the news is in completed by telephone interview with Dusan Kovacevic, ex JNA general, followed by his photo in the court room in Den Hag. With his statement he gives an example of moral and justice vertical, more accompanied with dead soldier's pictures. Declaration of Vitomir Popović, Dean of Law Faculty in Banja Luka, suggests abolition of BiH Court, and the journalist announces appellation process. All the statements are followed with emotional and hard scenes. In one the order to burn down the convoys is shown, ending with disturbing scenes of a dead unfamiliar man covered in mud.

Form all of the above; it is clear that both ways of presenting the news are failing the professionalism test by enabling subjective reporting, uncompleted work- missing both sides, validity of all screen shots in question since there are no sources shown. In addition, different usage of visualization with dead soldiers, victim and aggressor personifications, as skillful montage combined with text empowers the discourse which puts straight limits to any unification within entities and clarifies creation of public thought; by entities formed public toll, therefore ethnic identification, not national.

The second chosen topic is reporting anent 20 years of RS. Both televisions estimated the news as a priority, making it opening news of January 9th. RTRS started as follows:

Good evening. Inevitable in decision making, sacrament of freedom and dignity, youngest Serbian republic, Republika Srpska, celebrated its 20th birthday. At the day of Republic, in Banja Luka, numerous important faces from public, political and cultural life of the region were seen. The message is clear- RS is today sustainable, consistent and economically stable.

On screen there is a picture form the celebration hall, pointing out at President of RS Milorad Dodik, important guests, including persons from Serbia, especially the ones from different political

sides, mainly radicals. The news continues with traditional dances and words of Emir Kusturica, who talks about art and development of one people, nation. Shoots of fire, metaphorically represent future, suggesting potential improvement, while the speech how young people knew twenty years ago that road of building RS would not be easy and that they would sacrifice their life for the purpose. Furthermore, we see ballerinas dressed in red, underlining the youth of the country, and the fact that RS is yet to be improved. Here the Serbian entity is shown as stable, self-sufficient and eager for progress and growth. In the text of the news, there is no straightforward pointing out at other entity, but construction such as sacrificing lives for RS, is a clear ambivalent notion of past and future. The words of Emir Kusturica were shown in a positive spotlight, even though he is not a member of Serbian majority. The news presented on RTRS might not be highly useful, but with incorporated with FTV reporting, it is enough for the purposes of this study. FTV starts the news:

Twenty years ago SDS leadership, controlled and lead by convicted war criminals Momčilo, Krajišnik, Biljana Plavsić, and Radovan Karadžić who is on trial in The Hag for the crimes of high criminal action in war, formed RS and in that manner opened the door for genocide and aggression in BiH, and war-criminal fabrications coming from Belgrade. In any other country, that would be the date of shame for serious people and politicians, but here it is a date when in Banja Luka all ethnic interests are strongly protected. Alas, ethnically clean territory overwhelmed by blood, murders and rapes are still fought and claimed proudly. The celebration, to make things worse, was a happy and cheerful event.

With one-sided opening words, it is useful to accentuate the part “open the door for genocide”, combined together with repeating the word genocide creates strong negative connotation. In a sentence mentioning serious people and politicians, it is obvious they are neither serious, nor true politicians, leading the smaller entity. Using the words celebration, and adjectives happy, the event is automatically degraded, added primitive association of rudimentary craves. Mentioning the Courts, means marking them as the only rational in the whole, rather sad situation.

The news continues with reports of journalist right on the spot of celebration, commenting the visit of Borislav Tadić, President of Serbia at the time, stating that Tadić confirmed the position of formal Belgrade towards recent historical events in the region. After shot of Boris Tadić, the picture

goes all over ex political elite of RS, suggesting their guilt. With constant relations of the events, past is put in presence. Reports continue quoting RS officials that RS had been formed on January 9th, followed by journalist comments they are in denial of historical facts.

Further, out of of Dodik's speech, reporter explains that official Serbian position is independent RS, in Dayton's BiH. The reporter retold Dodik's speech by saying that BiH illegally tried to impose in March of 1992, which was unacceptable for people in Serbian entity. Retelling shows lack of professionalism and inconsistency. Next cut shortly shows religious officials and their happiness for being in the youngest Serbian republic. Than the picture moves on Dodik and Tadić kissing and friendly congratulating each other on success, while FTV reporter interprets this as an agreement of two Serbs, criminals and aggressors, who are slowing down development of whole region with their criminal actions. The reporter portraying two Serbian presidents showed high lack of professionalism, potentially risking the prosecution out of missing sources for such statements on state television. As a result, the report created "damaged reality" and "media reality", at least in relation with experienced viewers. What is more, by using verbs like "action", the effect is that situation after the war is still remaining the same?! Metaphor of criminal organization is emphasized, what in reality does not exist. The report ends with expenses and costs of whole celebration, concluding that it was paid out of people pockets, that is by taxes, signifying actual instability, especially economically of RS.

The picture goes back to Darjan Babić, the reporter who reminds that the next day in front the Hag tribunal will be Radovan Karadzic, where the evidence of genocide will most probably be presented. Key words are "most probably" and "presented", where the first ones imply uncertainty used in the system of discussing facts, and the second one is actually a poor choice since the evidence might as well not exist, but can be produced. Going back to the studio, two very visible BiH flags are on the speakers table, clearly sending the thoughts of RS creation, and even existence.

Although previously announced only news about events will be analyzed, it seemed rather useful and almost inevitable to make an exception. January 10th news program on RTRS and FTV,

were results and reactions to the previous day, and significant for this research. The rationale for including this news is to make closer relation in analyzing the news with clear content of discrimination of one ethnic group towards another, more profoundly to prove ethnical distinction within one country. In addition, to demonstrate in its elementary basis different understanding of media content, in order to defend ethnicity.

RTRS starts the news by announcing the event, although kvasses event, still an introduction to next news:

Federal Medias harshly commented RTRS I medias in RS for the reason of this morning reports of explosion materials found in celebration hall, in the eve of The Day of republic. The picture goes to scanned official notification of RTRS: we are stunned by lack of professionalism and created turmoil of medias form Sarajevo, who shamefully and in propaganda manners tried to twist the facts and accuse RTRS and the rest of the media in RS for creating panic without justified reasons. In an attempt to hide the truth, numerous of federal media confronted RTRS. All the facts related to this case are in power of MUP RS, and public service according to professional standards and its informative role, all available and truthful information presented to publicity.

The news contains few important facts:

- RTRS considers alarming the publicity can be a positive approach in case there is basis for so;
- source of facts comes in the end, although it should be mentioned at the beginning;
- introducing abstract constructions such as professional standards and informative role indicates mystification of the real role of public service;
- there is no quotes or examples of tricky media discourse;
- medias form FBiH are equalized with the rest of Sarajevo's media;
- by distinction between "us and them" the differences are underlined. The speaker in studio of RTRS continues:

Medias from Federation are not only accusing RTRS, but they are thinning out the hatred, not only today, but with yesterday's report about 20 years of RS. This is how, we can freely say, looks war rhetoric.

By constant blotting “they, others” which is never “we, us”, it is obvious that media discourse is being categorized and strictly entity defined. The last news, obviously upgraded the mind-set and attitude of RTRS to entity level.

FTV news, after key examples of their discourse genocide celebration, death of civilization, orgies of Milošević's and Karadžić's nationalistic village, introduces in an interview with Sanja Vlaisavljević, director of Center for cultural dialogue. She sharply estimates the situation as war rhetoric, and reminds the publicity of certain war factory which seeks, forebodes most terrible consequences. The news continues with Alija Izatbegović who defines RS as para state, who crated para army, who later made all the evil happen. The statement is isolated from the entire interview, and by that means it is an instrument to serve the present situation.

The next picture shows a woman and a man both without names or any information (no identity presented) giving short statements. The woman said: “It is a standard for them”, and the man added: “That is not good for anyone”. The next shot is on Muslim grave, emphasizing only Muslim victims, and constantly mentioning international recognition of BiH at the beginning of 90s, followed by pictures of old city, showing that RS forgot about historical facts, including DPA.

The next sequence is related to regulatory agency, where it is specifically indicated that RTRS does not believe in its credibility (notable by using “they say”) and it is not the first time. After Amela Odobasic's statement, director of Sector for public relations in Agency for regulations of communications, the news ends with rhetoric questions: *Is it going to be like this further on and will the voices of rationalism in Sarajevo, who swears in multiculturalism still remain lonely?!*

This conclusion again emphasizes the fact that “they “are irrational and/or insane, and call for swearing, in order to empower the idea, pushes multiculturalism, even though the tolerance is evident from both sides. This example serves to confirm: 1) it is been reported about the other

ethnic group/entity only when necessary and in case of events with negative connotations; 2) during reporting hyperboles and euphemism are often used; 3) the context depends on purpose of the news; 4) rules and regulations are being violated, while at the same time relaying on those; 5) discrimination on ethnical basis is practiced directly and indirectly using metaphors, pictures and other disposable elements of television broadcasting.

Representation of another ethnic group is a living reality, constantly mutating and building solid ground for diversity. In fact, representation “is always there, but it is virtual- it is neutralized at the same moment when it can be actualized, because of obligation to be continued in some other forms or elsewhere” (Hansen, 2004: 34). Good examples of such life practice have been shown in this analysis, concluding that within two public broadcasters discrimination is a practice and on ethnic basis. Hence, editors do encourage the politics of discrimination evidently, although the media discourse remains the same no matter which TV program is discussed. As long as individuals identify themselves with representation frames of 90s (war years), deep distinction will shape the identity on state level. Ethnic groups will be more closed up, while national identity would be even hard imagining in such case.

5. HATRED OF THE CLOSEST AND DEATH OF MULTICULTURALISM

"It is precisely the little dissimilarities in persons who are otherwise alike that arouse feelings of strangers and enmity between them"

Sigmund Freud

"It is human to hate", Samuel Huntington said. Communities, like individuals, crave clear identities, which sometimes are built on foundations of shared dislikes. This is true of the communities within Bosnia and Afghanistan"- wrote George Will in Foreign Affairs. In attempt to understand identities violently build, and shaped in reconciliation process numerous authors seek to figure out. Out of many the author found an interesting standing point: "it is not so much the stranger, it's the neighbor [...] who yields hostility; question of hatred comes out of similarities- small difference as a treat to 'self', which large difference do not produce", acknowledged Russel Jacoby (Jacoby, 2010). In the case of BiH, out of shared similarities, the great conflict was created. Neighborhood phenomenology implies shred life styles, values or customs, at least in practice. But that was not enough for savior. When conflict aroused, it took less than a thought to embrace ethnically featured self-being, by all means identity. How do neighbors feel and think about each other now and are there any chances for renewing the multiculturalism, at least in a form of functional cohabitation?

Bloody revolutions swapped around ex-Yugoslavia were a headed by ethnic communities/groups, who saw themselves as mature, self-conscious modern nations. In BiH, as we have seen, those are: Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Break down of Yugoslavia has been accepted as deliberation from enforced state community. Serious doubt loiters within academic circles, asking whether civic society ever existed in Yugoslavia or it was just a conglomerate of ethnic groups. If it did, depending on the level of integration, it is rather clear that break down of common state presupposes final disintegration of society. In case of BiH, the closeness and life together under different state rulers, did not block but enhanced the whole fall down, of once called Yugoslavia "en

miniature”. Centuries of shared history, similar customs of three different religions, pushed the canker more strongly, than it would be in case of inter-state war. If we assume that state is the one fabricating ethnic identities, it is important to capture the production of ethnicity. Constitution of actual ethnic identity is, indefatigable, related to past communist regime and nowadays present DPA regime. Huge political impact is so possible, only because in local context all politics are actually ethnical (Vlaisavljević, 2010).

Reality of three ethnic nations in BiH, defaults three major narrations circulate in public scene- what have already been shown in discourse analysis of two public broadcasters. The place of foreigner now is occupied in enemy figure as “domestic foreigner”. There is no doubt that the war made BiH ethnic groups markedly become more distant, and created after-war “ethnic distance” (Vlaisavljević, 2010).

The multiculturalism of the BiH was exactly incorporated in similarities aroused from coexistence and shared history; at the same time co existential frustration of many years was the real impetus for collapse. What has emblazed BiH with multiculturalism are exactly those similarities coming from cohabitation unity. Not any other. However, many claim multiculturalism is dead in BiH. Ethnic identity as a winner, definitely suggests so. British Guardian observes: “other than peace lasting for 16 years, citizens of BiH do not have much reason to celebrate since the country is more divided than two decades ago”. Continuing: “mixed marriages within three ethnic groups are more rare than before the war, and children living in constitutive entities grow up with minimal contacts”. (Politika, 2012).

Multiculturalism over the years have been systematically destroyed, resulting in the fact that BiH today is “state which exists through its nonentity and does not exist through its presence”(Ćurak, 2012) The state exists in the way of separated entities where every ethnic group claims and crave their own identity , denying connection with “others”. For the purposes of the thesis author interviewed youth of both entities and provided with 100 answers on following questions:

- What is BiH today?
- -What do you think about entities?
- -Is BiH anyhow multicultural country?
- -Who are Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks? Are they and how different?
- Which television do You watch and why?
- What kind of BiH is acceptable in terms of political imaginary?

Since lack of space provided for this thesis, author provided only one hundred interviews. All participants voluntarily accepted to be part of the discussion and answer the questions. It has been expected from the interviewees to elaborate their position related to ethnic above state identity, or vice versa. One hundred questions were equally divided within members of ethnic groups. Interviews were done in person in RS entity, while consigning FBiH via e-mails. For this chapter only multiculturalism answers will be included, while the rest of the results will be eventually added.

74 participants answered there is no multiculturalism in BiH, although 62 claims there is no vast difference within ethnic groups. However, all of these answers are underlined with one background: “We might not be very different in mentality, values, customs but we are just different nations”. Even though, with added questions from the author, interviewees)chosen ethnic over state identity, did not change opinion in any kind of provided hypothetical circumstances. *Sanja Mijatović, law student, encompasses:*

“I really cannot figure out whether multiculturalism is possible here. At least not until we make peace with history and all that happened. But I doubt that as well, since we always blame each other. I am honestly disgust by young Bosnia, constant fights, frauds, lies, foreigners trying to fix us, new Bosniaks and Serbian radical politicians (educated or not, equally dangerous), television and hatred in their programs, radical Islamism and twisted history. And yes, I am considering myself Serbian, not Bosnian. I just cannot feel like one. Most of us- we just do not feel. We do not share, we do not accept.”

From the others examined the same point is extracted, except for the rest (26 participants) who claim and believe BiH is a country with international potential, and differences should be left behind. But opinions like these are minority. According to these discussions, multiculturalism does not exist. What survives is cohabitation, defined by entities. "It is a common knowledge how much the idea of multiculturalism was emphasized in BiH, specifically before the war, at the time understood as successful coexistence of differences within similarities, and now perceived as living, better surviving of one community beside another. That is not multiculturalism. That is something what represents an end for me. An end, in which we are living what is hardly called life", expressed his thoughts professor Ćurak (Radio Slobodna Evropa, 2012). Out of interviews prepared for the thesis the statement of Jasna Hadžić seemed fairly applicable: "I only believe in one dominant culture. The others can exist and be tolerated and "democratically" accepted, but there is no any possible way for our three cultures for all to be dominant. Or we need one, which seems like a Sizif's job to aspire for." This statement depicts most of the opinions, especially for young people. There is no general belief or optimism to create one dominant culture accepted from behalf of all three ethnic groups. All solidly stick what is "mine". The author could not help noticing in discussions of BiH identity one of the most common words is "mine", "their", which clearly concludes that unity nor identity at the state level is not still an option.

Going through different sources the author sleeked to show the perception embedded in daily life of people. In order to present more profound picture other researches will be presented. IC invested and proclaimed unity in BiH, but as already seen, the results are questionable. There is no deep relation and interest within three peoples, as much there is no common solid ground on the questions of history and past events. At the latest elections again ethnic aspirations were put in front, although all political parties before elections stated multiethnic and civil values.

Research done from behalf of FES in BiH analyzed stereotypes and perception within three ethnic groups. Investigation showed that relation among three peoples are insufficient and weighted with mutual distrust. The most positive relation is in between Bosniaks and Croats, than Croats and

Serbs. The lowest position took relation between Croats and Serbs. Conditionally saying, best image in BiH have Croats, and deepest misunderstanding is between Bosniaks and Muslims. Investigating what divided peoples are mostly angry about and what burdens their relations it has been concluded that Croats and Bosniaks have negative perception of Serbs because of the war and violence, and they think of them as cruel nationalist. Serbs and Croats, consider Bosniaks as hypocrites. Serbs resent them because of war and violence and Croats huge influence of the religion in public sphere. Both consider them significantly retained. Serbs and Bosniaks negative thoughts about Croats found again because of the war and violence. Therefore, obviously the war was biggest creator of mutual intolerance and poor relations within three peoples. War traumas are strongly still present in all aspects of life in the country which in burdens coexistence significantly. However, discursively the research there is almost zero consensus when it comes to causes of the war, but every ethnic group has its own perception related to conflicts that took place during 1990s, and apparently their own truths. And that is the key problem in closing the violent and war chapter and continuing towards future (FES, 2011).

What brings more of distinguished opinions and relations within three peoples is so called relation towards motherlands. In RS people are still oriented to Belgrade than to Sarajevo. Marko Radisunivić, one of the interviewees for the purpose of this thesis responded: " I do not see Sarajevo as my capital, nor I ever will. Banja Luka, and right after it, I see Belgrade as my city. Do not ask me to explain myself, because I will be seen as a nationalist, when I am not, I just know what is mine. And yes, it was different before the war, but is what is now. Things are changed and hardly will go back to what they were." Here we can see young man being afraid to be perceived as nationalist, while he is obviously aware how his respond sounds. And that is exactly the cleavage where most of the people have been caught in between. In between awareness of almost, if not completely radical orientation towards ethnic group, but still without possibility to fight it back.

6. CONCLUSION

This thesis is set out to examine key issues of ethnic identity as a conqueror of national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As previously portrayed, the devastating war that took place in 1990s, followed dissolution of SFRJ, left major consequences on social structure and construct of identity in BiH. Most of the peoples within three ethnic groups generate their attitudes, goals and opinions primarily in the construct of their own ethnic groups without perceiving the "others". Each of three peoples have their own ethnical, that is particular goals and their own perception of reality, future and generally BiH as a state. Almost 90% of participants of discussion the author provided for the purposes of this thesis, hoping for better insight, claimed that BiH is instable state without potential or prosperity. Endeavoring the subject, participants went through discussions of mentality, aiming to uncover why European integration is not impetus for possible consensus, better communication and cooperation. Answers concluded that inhabitants of BiH live in habitual reality, that is "status quo", claiming on a daily basis "what is whose". Political elites significantly impose, improve and support nationalistic ideologies, and infect public sphere more than it already is. Dayton Peace Agreement obviously brought peace, but it created decentralized political system that undermines the state authority. Consequentially, daily politics in BiH is stuffed with arguments, attacks, fights to elections of presenters among three peoples into the state institutions followed with discriminating media discourse.

Members of different ethnic groups mostly are searching information from "their own" media, and most of those media do not give sufficient, in some cases any information about other ethnic members. The author sought to depict discrimination in media discourse of two public broadcasters during January 2012. The author by intention choose given period, since it was 20 years anniversary of Serb entity- Republika Srpska. The conclusion the author formed out of this analysis are:

- discrimination on ethnic basis certainly does exist in the reality of BiH
- editorial practice combined to some extent to editorial criteria encourages ethnic discrimination
- discriminatory discourses remains the same exclusive of media .

In general, as long as three peoples of BiH identify themselves in frames of representation and constructs from the 1990s, identity of individual and collective will be easily limited and metaphorically used as representative tools, reaching no more than one sided interpretation of people and their national identity. To the extent of journalist action, since the question of collective memory actually does not redefines the events in the past, but constantly reminds what is necessary to remember , the role of journalist should be as ones who are able to influence and create solution for the conflict. Moreover, as suggestion, the authors dares to suggest developing programs for media education and public personas who can shape and modified the face of reality.

Ethnic identity is dominant in the BiH society and as such is problematic. It is so because this identification is predominant against any other, what consequences in any other aspect of political, social or cultural life of the country. "Vital national interest" in BiH is an empty phrase served for only manipulation. Manipulation of political representatives who are still glued for the ideologies that swept the country in war. In those kind of circumstances, how to create harmony or functional collaboration. First of all by recognizing the overemphasized ethnicity as a problem, not solution. Ethnicity easily turns into more dangerous types of discrimination, which is why it needs to be controlled. By imposing mechanisms for interconnection within entities, starting with young people, could mean a start. Education, in those terms should have important role. In two entities different history is being thought, which necessarily involves unshaped young brains into hatred. The cure for conflict and violence is better communication, above all investing in equal education.

In order to bring closer the kind of society where ethnicity is above national interests the author sought to understand how, out of functional cohabitation of people can a horrible war be driven out. What consequently killed multiculturalisms in BiH is the war. After its end, the country was left

with aroused cultures, none of them dominant, but without recognition of other. All of these consequences made the ethnic identity more solid. Out of similarities, togetherness, and within neighbors devastating conflict can happen, less than with the societies with great differences. Fighting with someone who does not share enough of between, will never be hard-pressed as much in case of opposite. In case of BiH, "neighborhood phenomenology" in matter of couple of years collapsed with not likely to be accepted again.

From the presenters of state and political elites on a daily basis it can be heard that BiH is rapidly moving on the road to EU. Actually, it is tried to provoke an opinion among publicity that the rest is matter of technicalities, rather than substantiality. Unfortunately, reality is quite different. BiH not only that is not ready for EU, but deeply divided as it is can only be factor of instability for the whole region. Until there is there is a consensus on political level, any integration will be impossible. The constant threats from leadership of RS, for separation are well known as much to domestic publicity so to international community. President of RS, Milorad Dodik, claimed very openly that RS exists for itself and it would be perfectly comfortable without being part of BiH. Those kinds of proclamations are not only dangerous, but can lead into new conflict. Numerous articles from international journals described BiH divided more than ever, almost two decades after the war.

It is obviously going to be very hard to apply conciliation patterns in case of BiH. As a contribution to the thesis, the author hold the thought that people gradually forget and make peace when they are not obliged to think about it on a every day basis. Politics and ethnicity is a every day topic in BiH. People only have politics and hatred, without serious other occupation. In order to overcome that kind of life style, in conditions and consequences BiH is surviving it is necessary to invest in economy and industry. Lower the unemployment rate and use the natural sources of the country. Satisfied people, who are financially stable, have aims and goals are occupied with their achievements do not spend much time in blaming "the other" for contemporary situation. Politics never unified people, but economy did.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Map of former Yugoslavia

Appendix 2: Ethnic division in BiH 1992-1997

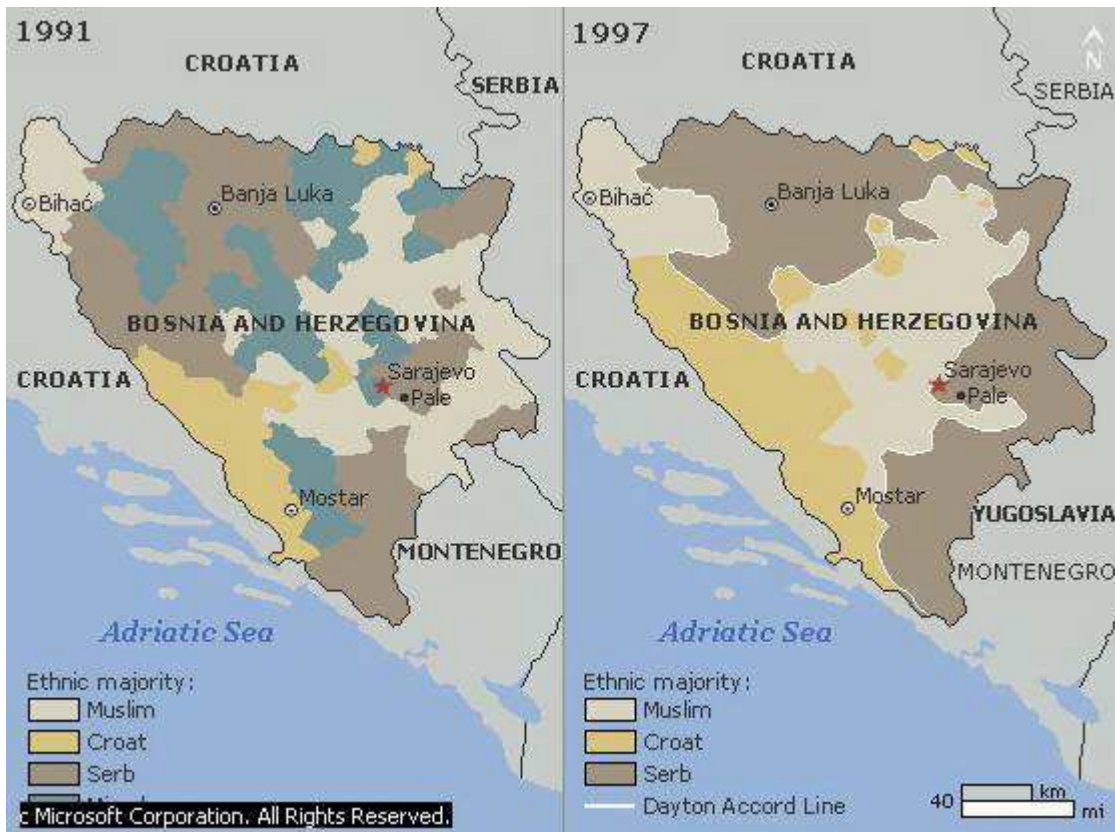
Appendix 3: Ethnic structure of the population of BiH

Appendix 4: Ethnic borders in BiH



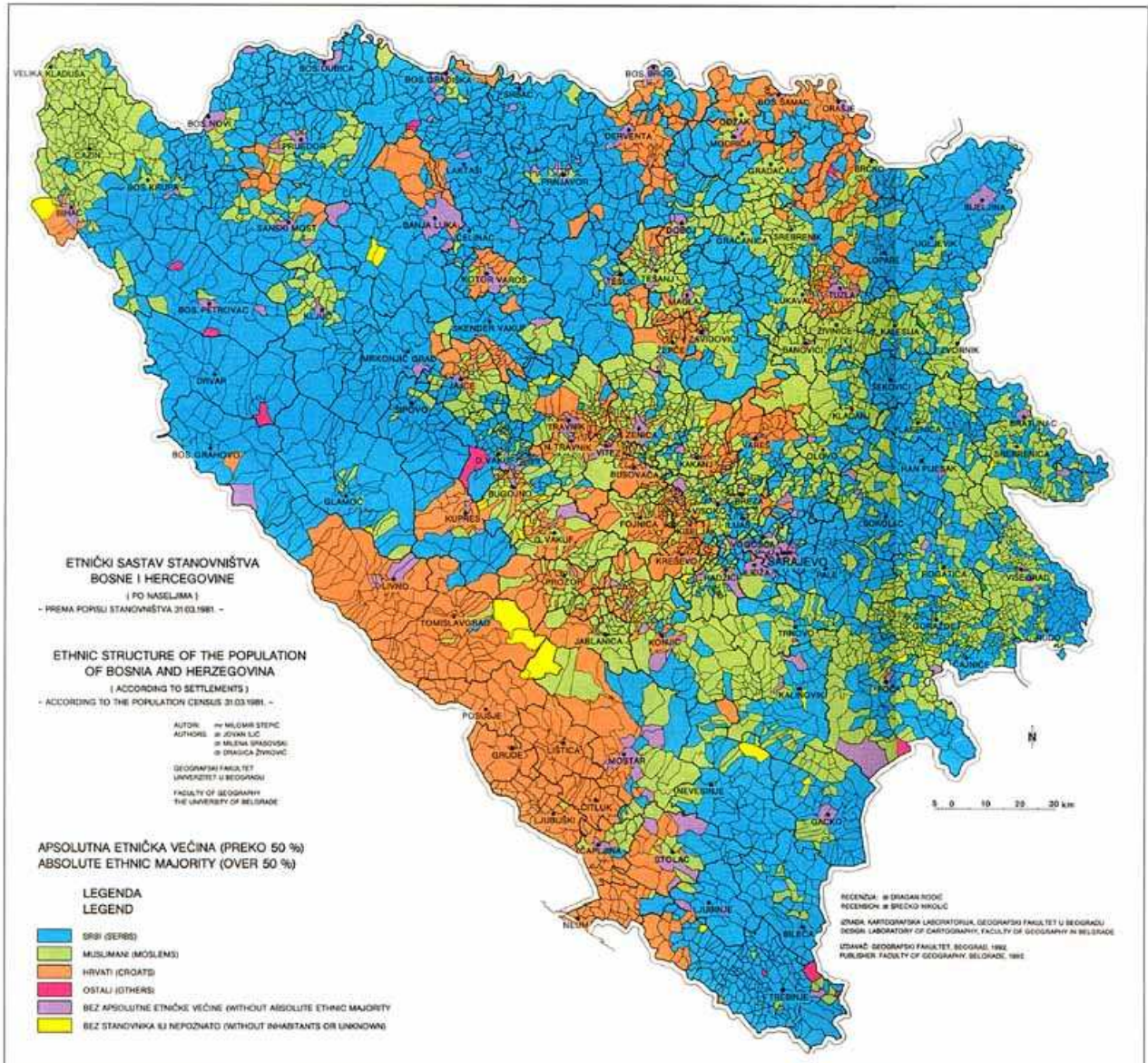
Former Yugoslavia

Source: Shynia Watanabe, Available at: <http://www.shinyawatanabe.net/nationstate/thesis2.htm>.



Ethnic division in BiH 1992-1997

Sources: Shynia Watanabe, Available at: <http://www.shinyawatanabe.net/nationstate/thesis2.htm>



Ethnic structure of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina before collapse

Source: Spasovski, Živković, Stepić. Ethnic structure of the population of BiH. Available at: <http://www.rastko.rs/istorija/srbi-balkan/spasovski-zivkovic-stepic-bosnia.html>



Ethnic borders in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Source: Available at: http://www.vodic.ba/sites/default/files/slike/mapa_bosne_i_hercegovine.gif

