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Peace and Security in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Declaration of Authorship

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Istanbul, May 12, 2016. Dženeta Tabaković

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1. Introduction

Although it has been more than twenty years since the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country is still on its path to recovery, which has been very slow and very painful. The unemployment rate is staggering high, the brain drain presents a serious issue, and the country’s political system looks like anything but sustainable. The Dayton Agreement may have stopped the war, but it also created a complex political structure that does not encourage the cooperation among the three constituent peoples on the scale as it was envisioned. The worst problem is that the central state is weak and has no authority over very important issues. Bosnia and Herzegovina’s political system is perhaps the most complex one in the world given the fact that country has only four million people and thirteen constitutions, as well as thirteen parliaments with nearly seven hundred members of parliament. In total there are one hundred and four ministries and the administration itself is four times as higher than the average of the European Union.\(^1\) There has been a strong need for constitutional and various other reforms encouraged by the international community, with all being blocked many times by failure to reach an agreement among the ethnic groups. Perhaps what the inventors of the Dayton Agreement did not have in mind is the possibility of ongoing ethnic divisions and the securitization of ethnic identity by the political elites that may be further hardened by the establishment of the Dayton Agreement since its complex structure created little space for serious talks for the benefit of all citizens of the country and not just one ethnic group in particular.

1.1. Research Objectives and Methodology

The aim of this work is to investigate to what extent the Dayton Agreement has solidified the constructed divisions and hatreds between the ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the thesis seeks to examine in which ways the Dayton Agreement facilities and legitimizes the political elites’ quest for securitizing the ethnic identity of the respective groups. It will also try to explain the reasons behind the rapid rise of nationalism that led to the brutal war as some of these motives may still reflect the current situation in the post-Dayton period.

The structure of the thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter provides the theoretical framework that serves to explain the empirical data in the following chapters. The first part of this chapter applies the constructivist approach in analyzing the rapid rise of ethno-religious nationalism and the post-Dayton ethnic divisions. The second part of this chapter examines various theories of nationalism that reflect the general constructivist framework of this thesis, such as Anthony Smith’s theory of ethno-symbolism, the notion of collective-memory as well as the George Mosses’s interpretation of nationalism. The third part of this chapter analyzes the securitization theory as it may provide the explanation of the ongoing securitization of the ethnic identity of the respective ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina that will be further analyzed in the third chapter of this thesis. This part also tries to examine the role of the political elites in the post-Dayton environment.

The second chapter briefly describes the historical context of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and then the establishment of the Dayton Peace Accords.
The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the reader and to improve the understanding of the rest of the thesis.

The third chapter is focusing on the empirical data of post-Dayton environment. It examines the impacts of the Dayton Agreement on the securitization of the ethnic identity by the political elites. The first part of this chapter is dealing with the role of the international actors in the post-Dayton period and their interactions with the political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second part of this chapter examines the actions of the political parties during the elections given the existing power structures of the Dayton Agreement. The third part analyzes the treatment of returnees and minorities in the context of the Dayton Agreement. It examines the legal framework of the Agreement regarding this issue and the actual situation that minority returnees are facing. The fourth part of this chapter is focusing on the actual violence occurring in the post-Dayton period and the role of media in such cases. The fifth part deals with the civil unrest and the extent of civil activism with regards of the existing structure of the Dayton Agreement by examining the two largest waves of protests that occurred since the end of the war. The sixth and final part of this chapter is examining the education segregation that may be the direct and most straightforward consequence of the Dayton Agreement. This part furthermore analyzes the phenomenon of “two schools under one roof” that may reflects the depth of the inter-ethnic division and the case of forcefully introducing the religious teachings in kindergartens.

The purpose of this research is to provide an answer to the fundamental question on the extent of influence of the Dayton Agreement on the ongoing securitization of ethnic identity by the political elites and the process through which the ethno-religious nationalism was carried. It also provides the reader with a
comprehensive review of the overall situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially on the period after the Dayton Agreement until today.

When it comes to the methodology, the thesis builds on information provided by both primary and secondary sources. It uses a wide range of literature regarding the respective theories and it analyzes the Dayton Agreement as well as different laws and regulations that are relevant for the study of the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1.2. Background

“We are no one's, always at a boundary, always someone’s dowry. Is it a wonder then that we are poor? For centuries now we have been seeking our true selves, yet soon we will not know who we are, we will forget that we ever wanted anything; others do us the honour of calling us under their banner for we have none, they lure us when we are needed and discard us when we have outserviced the purpose they gave us. We remain the saddest little district of the world, the most miserable people of the world, losing our own persona and nor being able to take on anyone else's, torn away and not accepted, alien to all and everyone, including those with whom we are most closely related, but who will not recognise us as their kin. We live on a divide between worlds, at the border between nations, always at a fault to someone and first to be struck. Waves of history strike us as a sea cliff. Crude force has worn us out and we made a virtue out of a necessity: we grew smart out of spite.”

The Balkans has always been at a crossroads of many diverse cultures and peoples. For most of its existence, it has been under centuries long and consistent influence of different empires, each leaving a significant mark on the people and their culture, and thus creating a very complex fusion of various religious groups such as Roman Catholic Christians, Muslims, Eastern Orthodox Christians and Jews. Consequently, the region has always been characterized as a multicultural, multilingual and multiconfessional. However, it should be noted that even though their cultural diversity was mostly religiously based it did not prompt intolerance or

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2 Meša Selimović, Derviš i Smrt (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966).
religious wars on the scale of those fought during the Reformation in Western Europe.³

After the First World War, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed from the ashes of Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. In 1929, after King Alexander proclaimed that he was seizing power and suspending the constitution, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was formed.⁴ After the Second World War and a revolutionary movement that was prompted by the brutal environment of Nazi occupation and the civil war against the local fascists transformed the kingdom into a communist republic called the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia under President Tito. It was founded in 1945 and composed out of six republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia, as well as two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina.⁵ Among all Eastern European countries, Yugoslavia was the most open to the West and one of the richest countries in the Balkans.⁶ The people in Yugoslavia enjoyed the freedom to travel and work abroad, had a relatively high standard of living and possessed a strong sense of patriotism since Marshall Tito became very popular with his people. Tito’s regime eradicated all nationalists and promoted the motto of ‘brotherhood and unity’.⁷ For decades churches sat besides mosques and families inter-married as there was a strong connection between the peoples of Yugoslavia regardless of their cultural and religious background. However, the brutal war following the disintegration of Yugoslavia proves that something in fact went wrong.

⁵ Ibid., 529.
⁷ Ibid.
2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that serves to explain the empirical data in the following chapters. It applies the constructivist approach in analyzing the rapid rise of ethno-religious nationalism and examines various theories of nationalism that reflect the general constructivist framework of this thesis, such as Anthony Smith’s theory of ethno-symbolism, the notion of collective-memory as well as the George Moses’s interpretation of nationalism. Furthermore, it examines the securitization theory as it provides the explanation of the ongoing securitization of the ethnic identity of the respective ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina that will be further analyzed in the third chapter of this thesis.
2.1. Constructivist Theory

Constructivism is best applied in analyzing the rapid rise of ethno-religious nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it stresses the social construction of state’s self-definition and its vision\(^8\), and also explains the ongoing securitization of the ethnic identity by the political elites. According to Wendt “a fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them”.\(^9\) However, these meanings are variable since social constructivists see the world as socially constructed.\(^10\)

According to the constructivist theory, people in Bosnia and Herzegovina got a whole new identity as a consequence of the decisions made by the elites and religious organizations in the 1980s that “were constructed on the basis of a particular and highly subjective understanding of identity differences”.\(^11\) Furthermore, the strategy “made use of history rather than being dictated by history” and the elites exploited their sense of identity rather than being moved by it, as the realists would put it.\(^12\) Hence, in constructivist view “identity does not drive individuals; individuals drive identity”.\(^13\) In order to understand the ethnic tensions among peoples one must

\(^13\) Ibid.
realize that from constructivist point of view the way international relations are conducted are not trans historically given, but rather socially constructed.\textsuperscript{14}

In this case, the leaders “manipulate the language of identity to win popular support” so the “identities are politically constructed during periods of upheaval by certain members of political and economic elites.”\textsuperscript{15} Furthermore, the threat and its construction can also fortify identity.\textsuperscript{16} Hence, identity makes up the exact definition of a particular group and might even “encourage the development of a chauvinist, xenophobic and exclusivist identity pitted against others” like it is the issue in Bosnia and Herzegovina.\textsuperscript{17}

Additionally, Wendt argues that the ideas are more than just the beliefs of individuals. They are both intersubjective and institutionalized. However, these two forms of ideas “are not reducible to individual minds”.\textsuperscript{18} Ideas are “not so mental as symbolic and organizational; they are embedded not only in human brains but also in the collective memories.”\textsuperscript{19} Emile Durkheim argues that collective awareness is profoundly structured through practices of rituals, rites, and commemorations, which serve to intensify a common sense of the collectivity through a shared history. He also states that these ceremonies do not differ from religious ones.\textsuperscript{20} When it comes to intersubjective meaning, it is argued that myths of victimizations can emerge and the

\textsuperscript{14} Maja Zehfuss, \textit{Constructivism in International Relations} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 14.
\textsuperscript{15} Beverly Crawford, 168.
\textsuperscript{17} Michael Ignatieff, \textit{The Warrior’s Honour. Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience}, (Toronto: Viking, 1998), 38.
\textsuperscript{18} Ian Hurd, “Constructivism”, 301.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
‘nations’ may define themselves as opposed to the other due to a lack of objectivity and empathy, which explains the ethnic conflicts.21

This behaviour, according to Wendt, is based on collective meanings through which actors acquire identities, that is, “relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self.” 22 However identities are not only established in contact with others23 they also critically regulate what kind of environment will prevail. 24

Fundamentally, constructivism suggests that the violent break up occurred when different nations of Yugoslavia decided it was no longer in their interest to be a part of Yugoslav state and so the social constructs of the individuals in the distinct nations of Yugoslavia changed. Constructivism, in contrast to realism or liberalism, pays attention to individuals and could, therefore, best explain the situation. Yugoslavia’s need for social negotiations made constructivist theory very tempting, because “constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life and rests on the capacity and will of people to take a deliberate attitude towards the world and to lend it significance (by acting according to that attitude)”.25 This implies that conflict is the result of the incapability of people to communicate in a way that would allow them to construct a common vision and create structures to accomplish that vision.26

For constructivist the conflict is seen as rather recent than ancient phenomenon since the history is not very important in their approach27 as “the referent object of war in the former Yugoslavia thus has been not the state, not

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21 Ibid.
23 Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36.
26 Ibid.
27 Charles-Phillipe David, 8.
competitors for state power, not even the tribe, but society and the individuals who make it up’. 28

Furthermore, constructivism supports the intervention and peacebuilding efforts that are done by the international community because it “restructures state institutions in areas threatened with similar conflicts in ways that might lead to peace and more security for individuals”. 29 The concern that individuals are crucial in changing social constructs explains why the international community was driven to intervene, because anarchy is not an inevitable feature of international reality; it is, in Wendt’s famous words, “what states make of it.” 30

The religious communities together with nationalist leaders and elites that played an important if not crucial role in creating various myths and carefully selected historical memories in order to revive nationalist sentiments among different religious groups in Yugoslavia by playing on their atavistic feelings. In the following chapters, the thesis will analyze to what extent have these nationalist sentiments become solidified by the establishment of the Dayton Agreement and how the individuals, namely the political elites, have changed the social constructs and securitized the notion of ethnicity.

28 Ibid.
29 Beverly Crawford, 151.
2.2. Theories of Ethno-Religious Nationalism

There are many theories as to why it came to the rapid rise of nationalism in Yugoslavia. This had particular consequences to Bosnia and Herzegovina as most of the war atrocities happened on its territory including mass murder, mass rape, ethnic cleansing and genocide. Even after the war has ended many ethno-religious sentiments still remain present amongst the respective peoples. Therefore, in order to completely understand the present day situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to analyze the theories of ethno-religious nationalism and the process through which it was carried.

Throughout the history one of the most powerful of social forces have been the nationalist sentiments and the mere feeling of a national belonging. Ethno-symbolist theory of nationalism argues that the national sentiments should be primarily seen through the common myths, values, traditions and symbols. Anthony Smith, argues that self-definition is a crucial component of nations and that modern nations are constructed through the ethnic basis that is consisted merely out of memories and cultural elements of assumed ancestry that is yearning to be revived. Moreover, such memories are passed through generations and usually supported by various elites. This has been particularly seen in Yugoslavia in late 1980s with the rapid rise of nationalism among Serbs. The history of one nation and the physical evidence of its existence have been symbolized by the sacred sites.

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
Yugoslavia, ‘totem or talisman’ of their identity has always been Kosovo.\(^{36}\) This is because the most important event in the history of their nation was the battle of Kosovo from June 28 1389, which resulted in Serbian suppression to the centuries of Ottoman rule.\(^{37}\) Despite the fact that they were defeated by the Ottoman Empire, this event symbolized the awakening of their values and spirituality because it was seen as their sacrifice, which elevated them to the status of chosen and heavenly people.\(^{38}\) The battle did not only focus on the enemy, but also to remind Serbs of their glorious pre-Ottoman past, since every nation has its golden past according to Smith, and people often go back in order to explore it hoping it may help them shaping the future.\(^{39}\)

In order to mobilize the masses, the return to the past is essential since it plays on their “atavistic memories”, which nationalist leaders tend to take to their advantage.\(^{40}\) For centuries, the battle was not seen as a defeat, but in fact it was celebrated as a victory of national unity. Furthermore, King Lazar, who has led the battle, was declared a martyr and many songs have been written about him. In 1980s political elites and religious organizations used such myths to mobilize the masses and to emphasize the differences between the peoples living in Yugoslavia. The bones of Lazar, the most powerful of Serb rulers, were carried throughout the country in order to motivate Serbs to retrieve their former glory.\(^{41}\) It is exactly these myths that greatly contributed to Milošević’s idea of creating the Greater Serbia following the dismantling of the Yugoslav Federation, and the same myths are used by the political

\(^{37}\) David Bruce MacDonald, *Balkan Holocausts*. 63.
elites in the present day Bosnia and Herzegovina to show the superiority of their particular ethnic group.  

Furthermore, in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is evident that one of the most important aspects of nationalism is religion. According to Emile Durkheim, nationalism “substituted the nation for deity, the citizen body for the church and the political kingdom for the kingdom of God, but in every other respect replicated the forms and qualities of traditional religions.” He believed that nationalism has the same functions as traditional religion and should be called a “civil religion”. Moreover, George Mosse, called nationalism a “secular religion”, which creates the mass movement through using symbols, myths, cult and liturgy. Anthony Smith has called nationalism a “new religion of the people” which involves a “system of beliefs and practices that distinguishes the sacred from the profane and unites its adherents in a single moral community of the faithful”. In the analysis of the empirical data it will be shown how the political elites accomplish this through manipulating the masses by taking history and religion seriously and through politicizing their emotions to the national cause.

Religious organizations worked together with nationalist elites to create a distinct national identity and evoke nationalist ideas through various ceremonies, commemorations, myths and carefully selected memories. There is a strong connection between nationalism and religion for the respective peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to Perica, in the eyes of beholders if one changes his religion

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44 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 15.
48 Ibid., 113.
49 Ibid., 6.
it ultimately means one changed his nationality as well.\textsuperscript{50} Orthodox Church was perceived as a “historic repository of nationhood, national values, and quite often, as the savior of a nation’s existence” by the Serbs.\textsuperscript{51} It celebrated many of the medieval rulers as the saints and glorified the Serbian Orthodoxy and Kosovo.\textsuperscript{52} Furthermore, the fact that Serbs were religious people was used to reject the likelihood they could ever become aggressors, but only victims, and this rhetoric is especially evident in the post-war period in their denial of the war crime charges.\textsuperscript{53}

Just like Serbs, the Croats themselves looked to the golden past by taking pride in the sites and monuments from the era of their native rulers located in Dalmatia.\textsuperscript{54} The leaders of the Croatian National Movement that became apparent in the late sixties truly believed that Croatia would become more westernized if it is released from the rest of Yugoslavia, especially Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia.\textsuperscript{55} Croats used the red and white checkerboard flag that was an emblem of the medieval Croatian state, but also in period of brutal Ustasha state.\textsuperscript{56} Another trend following the rise of nationalism was the dehumanization of the enemy through stereotypes.\textsuperscript{57} Croatians often perceived themselves as more educated and progressive than other peoples just because territorially their country was more Western oriented, and hence they identified the Yugoslav state as a threat to their culture, language and religion.\textsuperscript{58} Furthermore, the Catholic Church had an important role in the reviving of Croatian nationalism through introducing the Marian cult making it the major national and

\textsuperscript{52} Anne Yelen, \textit{Kossovo 1389-1989: bataille pour les droits de l’aime} (Lausane: Editions L’Age D’Homme, 1989), 133.
\textsuperscript{53} David Bruce MacDonald, \textit{Balkan Holocausts}, 73.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{55} Vjekoslav Perica, \textit{Balkan Idols}, 57.
\textsuperscript{56} Roger Brubaker, \textit{Nationalism}, 71.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 172.
\textsuperscript{58} Roger Brubaker, \textit{Nationalism}, 98.
religious symbol.\textsuperscript{59} The Virgin Mary became the most popular symbol of Croatian nationalism\textsuperscript{60} and “Marian statutes, shrines, and pilgrimages symbolically unify territories that Croatian nationalists considered historically Croatian.”\textsuperscript{61} Moreover, in 1978, during the celebration of Biskupija basilica’s anniversary, the Croatian national flag had appeared inside the church, but it was very different form the official state flag since it did not have the red star.\textsuperscript{62} The Church also supported the creation of the ethnic nationalistic party HDZ under the leadership of Franjo Tuđman.\textsuperscript{63} He was jailed for his nationalistic writings at the time, but that has not stopped him of making himself a martyr for the Croatian cause.\textsuperscript{64} When it comes to Croatian nationalism, the Church, just like the Serbian Orthodox Church, has been widely accused of “manipulating ethnic identity and nationalist sentiments in order to restore clerical wealth and power in society”\textsuperscript{65} in order to mobilize and homogenize its people.\textsuperscript{66}

The rise of nationalism within the Bosnian Muslims, whose nationality was granted with a religious name, first began in 1970 when Alija Izetbegović issued the Islamic Declaration stating that Muslims should have their own state organized by the Islamic norms.\textsuperscript{67} Furthermore, Bosnian Muslim party led by Izetbegović used religious symbols such as crescents and green banners in promoting Muslim nationalism.\textsuperscript{68} George Mosse argued that symbols are important parts of identity and that they are “the concrete objectifications of popular myths”\textsuperscript{69} When nationalism was

\textsuperscript{59} Interview With Capuchin Theologian Tomislav Sagi-Bunic. \textit{Nedjeljna Dalmacija}. 24 June 1990.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 60.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Vjekoslav Perica, \textit{Balkan Idols}, 65.
\textsuperscript{63} Vjekoslav Perica, \textit{Balkan Idols}, 140.
\textsuperscript{64} David Bruce MacDonald, \textit{Balkan Holocausts}, 100.
\textsuperscript{65} Speech by Spiljak on the commemoration of an anniversary from the Partisan war. \textit{Vjesnik}, 17 September 1984.
\textsuperscript{66} Interview with the prominent Croatian nationalist Stipe Mesic. \textit{Slobodna Dalmacija}, 31 January 2000.
\textsuperscript{67} Vjekoslav Perica, \textit{Balkan Idols}, 75.
\textsuperscript{68} Noel Malcolm, \textit{Bosnia}, 219.
\textsuperscript{69} George L Mosse, \textit{The Nationalisation}, 7.
manipulatively and forcefully revived in the end of the 1980s, the Yugoslav motto of “brotherhood and unity” suddenly lost its significance as people started perceiving their first neighbor as enemy just because they had different faith and religious affiliation. It was all done by the elites and their venture to go back to the past as it re-established the continuity and dignity among people as a guide for national destiny and perceived superiority above other ethno-religious groups.\textsuperscript{70} This is also very evident if we take into account the “Social Distance Survey” that was conducted in 1987 among the working class whose results suggest that more than half of all population would not have any problem marrying someone of a different nationality.\textsuperscript{71} Therefore, it can be stated that in most cases the hatred, which characterized the rise of nationalism was imposed, imported and expanded by force.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{70} Anthony D. Smith, “The Golden Age”, 229.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 43.
2.3. Securitization Theory

This thesis proposes that there has been a strong trend in securitizing ethnic identity in order to present their respective vital national interests as being existentially threatened by the other ethnic groups. This will be further examined throughout the third chapter of this thesis provided with the empirical data from the post-Dayton situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to do so, it is important to first analyze the securitization theory and its main principles.

Securitization theory accepts social constructivist principles to understand security. Its main purpose is to understand how certain issues become securitized and its focus is on the role of speech act in the forming of threats. According to Oli Waever, “it is by labeling something a security issue that it becomes one”, which implies that security is a speech act and merely by uttering ‘security’ something is being done.73 Furthermore, securitization requires urgent and instant attention as well as the use of extraordinary actions to counter particular threat.74 In order for some claim to have an instant strategy to ease it, it is important to persuade a target audience to acknowledge it as threatening enough. Hence, the securitizing actor and the audience are the main actors in the process of securitization.75

According to Balzacq, the language itself is very vital in the course of securitization, but also he highlights the non-linguistic signs that securitizing actors make, such as physical gesticulations.76 Hence, the securitizing actor must be able to

75 Ibid.
identify oneself with the audience’s interests, needs and feelings through modification of its language and perspective to audience’s collective memories. Another way to make the connection even stronger would be to use the plural pronouns like ‘our’, ‘us’, and ‘we’. It is also evident that securitization process, especially when it comes to identity, may work to describe “the other” as intimidating and lesser in order to produce fear among the people. In this case, the securitizing actor “provokes feelings of allegiance, safety, and submission” This notion is very present in Bosnia and Herzegovina where each ethnic group believes that its existence is intensely threatened by the other ethnic groups and the elites continuously use this to put themselves in the position of a protector.

According to Balzacq, it is not just describing something by uttering ‘security’, but that by doing so it generates new possibilities as to enable emergency measures or rearrange sociopolitical relations. Thus, securitization is a process of merging together both language and previous information gotten thorough particular circumstances. Hence, in order to achieve securitization one should use the specific situation while stressing the dangers of a certain event through history and other external matters by making a connection between oneself and the audience. Finally, in order for securitization to be successful, audience needs to be convinced, which depends on whether, it sees the securitizing actor as meaningful and as truthful. According to Buzan ‘the issue is successfully securitized only is and when the

77 Ibid.
78 Thierry Balzacq. 186.
80 Thierry Balzacq, The Three Faces, 177.
81 Ibid. 183.
82 Ibid., 177.
audience accepts it as such’ and merely labeling something as a threat is considered to be just a ‘securitizing move’.  

The securitization process is about observing a threat through a certain security setup, thus “a discussion of security is a discussion of threat”84 Security matters that have been effectively securitized are treated as special kinds of politics or beyond politics, allowing for the validation of measures that go out of the sphere of the usual politics.85 It is very important to note that the securitization lies on the foundation of constructivist theory and that it may not fundamentally be comprised out of the existence of an actual or genuine threat, but that its success lies in the acceptance by the audience.86 Since the securitizing agents define security, which is based on speech acts, it turns out to be a self-referential practice and hence “security is what actors make of it”.87 Deepening of security is understood as adjustment of the focus of security studies so that besides external threats to the state, it also covers the security questions of individuals and groups.88

According to Williams, securitization is a conscious political choice, meaning that it is possible to either involve in securitizing or not.89 Furthermore, according to Buzan ‘securitization can be either ad hoc or institutional’, 90 which depends on the persistency of a particular threat. Securitization can be seen as permanent in areas that are affected by conflicts and when constant threats are part of the daily life of people. In such cases, however, one cannot argue that securitizing an issue is a choice because the threats become deeply affected by people and the elites and differing from the

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well-known discourse could make the securitizing actors appear as soft and traitors. The same is apparent for the audience because they may participate in securitization just because it is the norm to act accordingly. According to Buzan, securitization is a negotiated process as it rests “among the subjects”.  

Furthermore, Buzan argues that “security is very much a structured field in which some actors are placed in positions of power to define security.”92 This is especially the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the elites defining security and threats leaving countless voices eliminated from the securitization process despite them being the subjects of such process themselves.93 Even though Buzan argues that “no one is excluded from attempts to articulate alternative interpretations of security”94 certain actors, especially elites have advantage to define security, as Weaver states “by definition something is a security problem when the elites declare it so”.95 In most cases the elites practice securitization in order to preserve existing authority structures or some other interests. State elites, indeed, have the power to manipulate security discourses and to produce negative images about a certain issue in order to re-establish themselves as the true security providers.96 Furthermore, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the elites are not willing to pursue reforms that would challenge their privileged positions leaving the country to stagnate at the cost of its population.

People are very well aware of security only when they know the feeling that comes from insecurity. The lives of the whole groups can be turned upside down with the attack on their security. In Bosnia and Herzegovina that has happened in the early

91 Ibid., 31.
92 Ibid.
93 Ole Waever, Securitization and Desecuritization, 55.
95 Ole Waever, Securitization and Desecuritization, 54.
96 Ibid.
1990s, when the security became the main issue and the fear was felt everywhere. When a country, nation or some other group lives in the state of war under the threat of war, the survival becomes priority in regards to other dimensions of life.\(^\text{97}\) In such state, other dimensions such as public and cultural progress, become left aside, and the need to fight the violence becomes dominant. All recourses are mobilized for the purpose of resistance and any other aspects of development are forgotten.\(^\text{98}\) As the end of the war was coming and the survival has become somewhat secured, people started dreaming about better future and the resources were being allocated for post-war reconstruction.\(^\text{99}\) What is true for the countries in the state of war is also true for individuals and families in the state of poverty where the daily life moves around the search for the needs of survival.\(^\text{100}\) So, daily insecurities also determine one’s life, which is especially true for a large group of “invisible” people who perform heavy manual jobs that are quite underpaid. Those jobs ensure them their survival, but not the possibility of developing political and social ambitions.\(^\text{101}\) In present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina there may not be an ongoing war anymore, but the unemployment is shocking high, the economy is very bad and the corruption is constantly rising. The international community has somewhat provided the support to proceed with necessary reforms, but all decisions depend greatly on the will of the political elites. With the constant securitization of ethnic identity as an impact of the Dayton Agreement in order to maintain existing power structures, it becomes evident that the progress is far away.

\(^{97}\) Goran Kovačević et al. *Novi koncepti razumijevanja odnosa sigurnosti i politike.* (Zagreb, 2013), 240.

\(^{98}\) Ibid.

\(^{99}\) Ibid.


\(^{101}\) Goran Kovačević et al. *Novi koncepti*, 240.
Furthermore, according to Buzan, securitization is viewed as fairly undesirable process as it signifies an extraordinary politics and the need of doing something instantaneously as the very existence is at stake. He believes that an answer to securitization should be desecuritization, meaning moving issues “out of emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of the political sphere.” This is because when a certain issue is securitized it is rather seen as the inability to resolve it with the means of the ordinary politics and according to Waever, desecuritization might be “more effective than securitizing problems.” Hence, if a certain issue is no longer perceived as threat, it should not be further seen through the lenses of securitization, but through the lenses of the ordinary politics. Nowadays, Bosnia and Herzegovina still remains divided along ethnic lines with the elites of each ethnic group continuously emphasizing that the other ethnic groups existentially threatens their vital national interests and thus opting for securitization in order to justify their measures when it comes to willingly blocking the crucial development issues for the sake of their own personal and political interests. Hence, the politics is greatly dominated by ethnic nationalist political parties and the interest of the ethno-religious groups. It becomes evident that there is a strong need for desecuritization of ethnic relations as it is the only way to achieve effective government and proceed with the necessary reforms.

Through examining the constructivist approach including the theories of ethno-religious nationalism and securitization theory the thesis emphasizes the role of individuals, particularly the political elites and religious organizations in social construction of threats and ethno-religious nationalism that prompted the rapid...
process of securitization of ethnic identity. In the following chapters the thesis will provide the meaningful analysis of current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and examine how the elites have continuously securitized ethnic identity for the sake of their own interests in order to maintain the existing power structures determined by the Dayton Agreement and to what extent were they successful in their effort. However, it is very important to understand the key features of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the consequences of ethno-religious nationalism reached its peak. The genocide, mass murders, ethnic cleansing, and systematic rape have been directly related to the imposed and imported ethnic divisions and hatreds. Therefore, the brief overview of the war is necessarily in order to fully understand the present day situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. War and Peace

"Here one does not live

to live.

Here one does not live

to die.

Here one dies

to live."\textsuperscript{106}

This chapter briefly describes the historical context of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and then the establishment of the Dayton Peace Accords. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the reader and to improve the understanding of the rest of the thesis.

\textsuperscript{106} Mak Dizdar

The Bosnian war was the bloodiest and the most destructive war Europe had witnessed since the Second World War. In order to fully comprehend the situation in present day Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to understand the main aspects of the war that lasted from 1992 to 1995.

On 29 February, Bosnia and Herzegovina held a referendum on independence. Although Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum, 63.4 percent of the population nonetheless took part, of which 99.4 percent voted for independence. In total, 62.7 percent of the total number of eligible voters declared themselves in favor of the measure.\(^\text{107}\) For the first time since 1463, Bosnia and Herzegovina was an independent state. For 529 years, it belonged to two empires, one kingdom and communist federalist republic. Some have believed that Bosnia can never be an independent state because it is consisted of three peoples, and that history has showed us it can only survive if it is a part of a larger whole. This brings to an assumption that only one-nation countries can exist. However, according to Malcolm, this would mean that most countries in the world would not exist, and yet they do. Furthermore, in this case history has not taught us that Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to be a part of a larger power in order to not fall apart internally, but that it has never been threatened by the real internal tensions, but rather by the actions of greater powers and neighboring states.\(^\text{108}\)

This became evident when one day after the referendum, Serbs set up barricades in the capital of Sarajevo. By this point, as it was shown in the previous


\(^{108}\) Noel Malcolm, Bosnia, 84.
chapter, Serbian leaders were talking openly about the war to keep Serbian regions attached to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the idea of creating a “Great Serbia”.\textsuperscript{109} Already on 4 April, Serbian forces, backed up by the Yugoslav Army ground and air forces, attacked Croat and Muslim towns across the country. On 6 April, the same day when European Commission recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state, Bosnian Serbs opened a military front in the eastern part of Bosnia and begun to push towards the west. In only five weeks, they controlled more than sixty per cent of Bosnia.\textsuperscript{110}

In May, Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic ordered withdrawal of the Yugoslav National Army due to the strong pressure of international community. However, of the 89,000 thousand troops that fought, only 14,000 were actually withdrawn, and the rest were transferred to Bosnian Serb nationalist leader Radovan Karadzic and renamed the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.\textsuperscript{111} Serbs benefitted from tanks and heavy artillery from Yugoslav Army, while Croat and Muslims were able to obtain much less mainly because of the arms embargo, which was imposed upon them, at the urgent request of Serbian President Milošević, via the U.N. Security Council on 25 September 1991.\textsuperscript{112} Consequently, Serbs controlled seventy per cent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the end of 1992.\textsuperscript{113}

In order to achieve all of his objectives, Slobodan Milosevic, cultivated a group of highly educated Bosnian Serb politicians, notably Radovan Karadzic, Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic who were associated with the SDS political party. All of

\textsuperscript{109} Sabrina P. Ramet, \textit{Balkan Babel}, 206.
\textsuperscript{110} Neue Zurcher Zeitung (15 May 1999), 1.
\textsuperscript{111} Silber and Little, \textit{The Death of Yugoslavia}, 240.
\textsuperscript{112} New York Times (26 September 1991), A3, \textit{The Five Successor States are Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia}
\textsuperscript{113} “Bosnia’s Future”, \textit{Financial Times}, January 22, 1993.
them later developed an international reputation for extremism. Plavsic herself named “Muslims ‘genetically deformed; Serbs and ethnic cleansing a ‘natural phenomenon in which Serbs had the ‘biological right’ to cleanse.”114 During the whole period of war, Milosevic greatly supported SDS with the funds and weapons from the Yugoslav Army.115

It is important to note that the international community was slow to react. The United States decided to leave the Bosnian problem for the rest of the European Commission to solve on the reasoning that armed conflict in Europe was a “European problem”116. However, the countries in Europe remained divided in supporting either Croats, Serbs or being apathetic.117

The United Nations voted to impose trade sanctions to Serbia two months after the beginning of a full-scale war in Bosnia, but it was obstructed by Serbia’s ally, Russia.118 Although United Nations Security Council claimed that there were no conditions to introduce U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it was the case in Croatia, they authorized the United Nations Protection Force to take control of Sarajevo airport.119 However, by August 1992, there were 50,000 dead, mostly civilians, and more than two million homeless both in Croatia and Bosnia as a consequence of Serbian aggression.120 Thus, the London Conference held in August called for the employment of the U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, and recognized country’s territorial integrity as well as proclaimed Serbia and Montenegro as aggressors.121

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114 NIOD “Srebrenica”, part 1, chap 3, sect 4.
115 USCIA, Balkan Battlegrounds, vol 1, 128.
118 Sabrina P. Ramet, Balkan Babel, 207.
121 Ibid.
The next month, Geneva Conference was held and its main task was to implement the principles agreed at the London Conference. However, the decision to introduce the notion of the “three warring factions” made the European Commission, the United Nations and media to portray the Bosnian government as if it was consisted only by Muslims even though it still included six Serbs, five Croats and nine Muslims. This placed the Bosnian government on the same level with Croat and Serbian aggressors.

Furthermore, the lack of food made people starve and because of humanitarian motives the West undertook to send food shipments to the besieged Muslims in several major cities in Bosnia. The convoys with food were protected by the U.N. forces, but in order for convoys to reach those who were under siege, the United Nations paid for access by allowing Serb forces to take 25 per cent of all food and supplies that are supposedly reserved for Muslims and refugees. In this way, the international community allowed equally both the aggressors and the victims to use the humanitarian aid, which would consequently prolong the war even further.

On 13 August 1992, the United Nations Security Council passes a Resolution No. 771, which underlined the “mass forcible expulsion and deportation of civilians, imprisonment and abuse of civilians in detention population, and wanton devastation and destruction of property.” This led to adapting the resolution establishing an international tribunal “for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia

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123 Ibid.
since 1991.”\textsuperscript{126} The role of the International War Crimes Tribunal will be further examined in a separate chapter. However, it should be noted here that by the end of 1995, the International War Crimes Tribunal indicted only 52 individuals.\textsuperscript{127}

Furthermore, organized systematic rape and forced impregnation was a specific feature of the war in Bosnia. Serbs used this as a method of ethnic cleansing because, according to the patrilineal make-up of their society, children inherit their father's ethnicity.\textsuperscript{128} According to an investigative mission carried out by the European Commission, only by the end of 1992, more than 20,000 Bosnian Muslim women were raped by Bosnian Serb men in what could be called “rape camps”.\textsuperscript{129}

Nonetheless, the atrocities in Srebrenica were far larger in scale than anything that had occurred during three years of fighting. On 6 July, 1995, despite the announcement from the U.N. peacekeeping forces that Srebrenica was a ‘safe zone’ for civilians who were protected by the armed battalion of Dutch peacekeepers, Serb forces attacked Srebrenica and quickly overran it. It becomes evident that the main issue was the declaration of these protected zones but no other action (other than monitoring) was actually taken to protect those zones.\textsuperscript{130} This provided Serbs with a free hand to act as they wished, which led to another ethnic cleansing by expelling the town’s women and children, organized rape, and the mass murder of more than eight thousand Muslim men in just a few days.\textsuperscript{131} According to the Dutch investigation of the massacre: “Muslims were slaughtered like beasts.”\textsuperscript{132} Furthermore, several international court rulings have defined the massacre as a case of genocide.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{126} “United Nations: Secretary-General’s Report”, 1164.
\textsuperscript{127} Noel Malcolm, Bosnia, 270.
\textsuperscript{128} Sabrina P Ramet, Balkan Babel, 218.
\textsuperscript{129} Dorothy Q. Thomas and Regan E. Ralph, “Rape in War: The Case of Bosnia” (1999). 213.
\textsuperscript{130} Stojančić, Vedran. “Two sides od Dayton” \textit{Dnevni Avaz}, Dec 2014, 11.
\textsuperscript{131} Gutman, \textit{A Witness to Genocide}, 1993 xiv.
Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic, who was the overall commander of Serb armies in Bosnia, directed the genocide. There was no proof that Milosevic or his government played a direct role in the killings.\textsuperscript{134} However, it is evident that Milosevic has been a long supporter of the Bosnian Serb forces and can be seen as an indirect architect of the Srebrenica genocide.\textsuperscript{135}

Although the number of deaths on all sides in the Bosnia war has been widely reported to total 200,000-250,000, the recent studies by the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the Sarajevo Research Documentation Center (SRDC) suggest that these figures are overstatements.\textsuperscript{136} According ICTY, the death toll on all sides was approximately 110,000 of whom more than half were civilians.\textsuperscript{137} SRDC provided a similar estimate and their study concluded the death toll on all sides was in range of 97,000-107,000.\textsuperscript{138} Also, according to these studies, the Muslims were the principal victims of the war in Bosnia with 70 per cent of total deaths. The estimated percentage of total Croats deaths is 5 per cent and of Serbs 25 per cent.\textsuperscript{139}

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina claimed tens of thousands of lives and it was a major human tragedy. The Western powers only made this tragedy possible by not reacting on time. Because of its multiethnic character, Bosnia was especially vulnerable to political violence that overall could have been avoided had the international community put focus on the region when the secession movements had started.

\textsuperscript{134} Owen, David. \textit{Balkan Odyssey}. Harvest Book. 1997, 112.
\textsuperscript{138} “Bosnia War Dead Figure Announced” BBC News, June 21, 2007.
\textsuperscript{139} NIOD, “Srebrenica: sec 12.
3.2. Dayton Peace Accords

“Bosnia is a complicated country: three religions, three nations and those ‘others’. Nationalism is strong in all three nations; in two of them there are a lot of racism, chauvinism, separatism; and now we are supposed to make a state out of that.”

It was only after a brutal genocide in Srebrenica that the Western powers resolved to seek a military solution to the war in Bosnia. The United States organized a peace conference, that took place in November 1995 in Dayton, Ohio, which was directed by US officials, namely Richard Holbrooke – the US peace negotiator, who made it clear they would be running the talks as the U.N. personnel were excluded and European powers had “no negotiating power, but were only there to bear witness.” All three leaders, Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović attended the conference in person. The conference was successful as it achievement a settlement of the war which was officially signed in December 15, 1995. Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into Republika Srpska, which was granted 49 per cent of the total area, and the Muslim-Croat Federation, which received 51 per cent. Furthermore, Distrikt Brčko was created in order to avoid complete division of the country. It has a substantial degree of autonomy just like the other two entities. Moreover, being located in the northeastern part of Bosnia, it functions as a vacuum between the Republika Srpska and the Federation.

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140 Alija Izetbegovic
The main objective behind the agreement was to end the war, create an independent country, distribute political powers and create a platform for dialogue and reconciliation through securing equality between three main ethnic groups, referred to as three constitutional nations in the Agreement.\textsuperscript{145} Furthermore, the conference established a multinational Implementation Force, which had its sixty thousand troops; dominated by the Americans,\textsuperscript{146} serve as peacekeepers in Bosnia for a period of time.\textsuperscript{147} However, given the fact that international peacekeepers remained in Bosnia even fifteen years after the Dayton Accords was signed, it can be argued that it has characterized the country rather as international protectorate, than an independent state as it was a main objective and the ultimate goal.\textsuperscript{148}

The Dayton Accords did not only end the war and brought peace, but also brought a new constitution to Bosnia and Herzegovina as Annex 4 of the Agreement. Accordingly, the state-level executive branch is a three-person rotating presidency consisting of one Serb, who is elected from Republika Srpska, and one Bosniak and one Croat, both of whom are elected from the Federation. The High Representative is the personification of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, defined by Annex 10 of the Dayton Agreement.

Because of the Dayton Agreement’s Annex 4 the country did not have a constitution that was accepted by any members of the governing body.\textsuperscript{149} In this sense, it is evident that the international community somehow imposes the constitution upon the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They created the constitution as a basis for future political and legal order, with little or no regard to the

\textsuperscript{146} “Europe’s Yugoslav Lesson”, Foreign Report, 1996.
\textsuperscript{147} European Defense, “Military Operations: Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2007”
\textsuperscript{149} “18 years after Dayton in Bosnia and Herzegovina” Blic Online 2013.
fact that the country was still dealing with the consequences of the brutal war and genocide and that the resentment among the three constituent peoples was soaring high. The Dayton Accords did manage to end the war and bring peace, but it also brought the long-term negative effects on the development of the whole country. This is because its main objective was to end the war as soon as possible without looking at the issues that were occurring after the war has ended. This is most evident with the failure to define the character of the war and by doing so it puts the rights of victims and aggressors on the same level. The reconciliation among the three peoples in Bosnia would not be possible as long as the country has three different history books regarding the war period and as long as the war criminals are not righteously punished. Furthermore, by dividing the country the Dayton Accords in fact legalized the territory conquests of the country's aggressor.

It is evident that the international community aimed to end the conflict without proclaiming any side as the winner, and hence all sides are supposed to share the responsibility for the conflict. The Dayton Agreement has allowed the aggressor to keep the territory gained through mass murder, ethnic cleansing and genocide, which have made it almost impossible to achieve the lasting peace among the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Consequently, it remains clear that there is an urgent need to create a new constitution and replace the Dayton Agreement as a set of fundamental principles according to which the country is governed.

151 Peggy L Hicks “Painful Lessons on Peacekeeping” ABA Journal 1999, 103.
152 Ibid.
153 Derek Chollet and Bennett Freeman “The Secret History of Dayton” 2005.
154 Dubravko Horvatic “Our Existence is a Crime” 1996.
156 European Defense, “Military Operations”.
In the years following the end of war, the international community showed a great interest in stabilization and pacification, but more as a justification that the Dayton Agreement was at last the right decision. However, even though it managed to bring peace to the devastated country, there was not enough done through the organizations that are supposed to ensure the protection of the civil rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order for it to function like any other democratic country. In the following chapter, the role and success rate of international actors in Bosnia will be further analyzed. It becomes evident that the Bosnian question remains unanswered even twenty years after the Dayton Agreement was signed, as it seems to be full of frictions and anomalies and that over time it has become a byword for inertia, neglect and despair. According to Cretu, Dayton has essentially “become an infamous trademark of failed international involvement in state construction and peace building practices. Even for the more optimistic analysts, it is hard to imagine a national political movement that could successfully transform the way the country is governed“. However, without one, such change unfortunately remains unlikely for Bosnia and Herzegovina. As it is seen, the Dayton Agreement, by its structure, further facilitates the political elites’ quest for emphasizing the constructed divisions and hatreds. In the following chapter, the thesis will examine the various aspects and cases in which the Dayton Agreement solidified these ethnic tensions and eased the securitization of ethnic identity by the political elites.

157 Muhamed Mehmedovic “War and Peace Were not Solution?” Oslobodjenje 2013, 14.
158 Ibid.
159 Misha Glenny, 652.
161 Anca Doina Cretu, Twenty Years After: The Dayton Accords, Legacies and Opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Fondation Pierre du Bois: 2015), 14.
162 Ibid.
4. Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

As discussed in previous chapters symbolic aspects play a very important role in ethnic security politics. There has been extensive use of symbolic instruments in evoking the stereotypes regarding ethnicity in the post-war period as well. This also has a great impact on security perceptions of the nationalist parties.\textsuperscript{163} Just as it was discussed when analyzing the rise of ethno-religious nationalism in the late 1980s, there has been almost the same tendency today and this process is seen as an effect of the Dayton Agreement.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the simplest things such as renaming of streets, town names, or public buildings all have nationalist background. Furthermore, intentionally showing religious signs in order to demonstrate one group’s dominance over a particular territory, or the persistence to have special television channels because of the linguistic difference, only add up to the rising ethnic tensions.\textsuperscript{164} Another symbolic moves include “the use of wartime Bosnian Croat state emblem on utility bills or the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in order to reaffirm ethno-religious identity of Bosnian Serbs in Republika Srpska”.\textsuperscript{165} Consequently, such offensive and defensive nationalism has evoked the fear of differences among different ethno-religious groups. This greatly discourages movements and interactions among peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina as it encourages the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ way of thinking.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
especially among younger generations, which has been regarded as one of the main principles of the successful securitization of a particular issue.\textsuperscript{166}

However, it becomes evident that all of these ethnic tensions come primarily from the political elites and are imported and imposed upon all of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite of this, there is an urge for coexistence and desire for normality when it comes to everyday interactions among these ethno-religious groups.\textsuperscript{167} Through various data on social distance it becomes evident that the social distance has increased since 2006, but that it has resonated with political dynamics during the same period. Prior to 2006 it was narrowed before increasing significantly after the political situation deteriorated.\textsuperscript{168} It has been also shown that over time the distance between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats has been reduced primarily because of their similar views regarding the constitution reforms; while the social distance between these two peoples and Bosniaks has increased.\textsuperscript{169}

According to Puhalo, the social interaction operates on collective and personal level. The former has the tendency to contain ethnic stereotypes and avoid inter-ethnic interaction; while in the latter there is very little regard to ethnic factors whatsoever.\textsuperscript{170} This furthermore supports the argument that inter-ethnic relations are primarily influenced by the political elites, their relations and how issues are presented in public discourse.\textsuperscript{171} According to the research of ethnic tensions, it has been reported that 77 percent of population feel no ethnic tension in their

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} Puhalo, S. \textit{Etnicka distance i (auto)stereotipi gradjana Bosne i Hercegovine}. Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2009.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
neighborhood, with 15 percent of those who feel only a small degree of tension.\textsuperscript{172} Recent polls found that more than half of the population preferred a society with no ethnic separation, which proves that ethnic security is not the primarily concern for the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.\textsuperscript{173} Rather the main concern is high unemployment and issues regarding health and housing, implying that better situation regarding these issues would improve inter-ethnic relations.\textsuperscript{174}

Furthermore, there is a strong general mistrust of government by all three ethno-religious groups.\textsuperscript{175} Ethnic threat is not seen as a threat at the personal level, but the uncertainties of the economic and political dynamics are seen as the greatest threat and the main source of insecurities in the post-war period.\textsuperscript{176} According to Dzelilovic “ethno-national elites actively manufacture ethnic fear through institutional and symbolic means.”\textsuperscript{177}

All three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina have different visions for the country. The largest group, Bosniaks, remains focused on strengthening the central capacities of the state and tends towards the EU. On the other hand, Serbs have greatly blocked any moves forward the centralization of the country, because any centralization of commands undermines the importance of the Dayton Agreement and their entity.\textsuperscript{178} When it comes to the Croats, there were several attempts to carve out a third entity with majority of Croat population, which has been heavily supported by Croatia. However, with Croatia’s accession to the EU, the goals have changed for the Croat population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since Croats who are living in there

\textsuperscript{173} Kostrebic, K. “Gradjani ne zele etnicke podjele”, 7 April 2014.
\textsuperscript{174} Eastmond, M. \textit{Introduction: Reconciliation}, 12.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid. 14
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
are eligible for Croatian citizenship, which makes it more simple for them to move to Croatia and look for better job opportunities in the EU.\textsuperscript{179} According to Chandler, leaders of all three national groups resort to ethno-national politics as a consequence of the Dayton Agreement and often encourage nationalism within their national groups.\textsuperscript{180}

Furthermore, in recent years there is a rise in the use of hate speech mostly as a notion of a collective national victim. The notion of victimization was the main mobilization tool in 1980s in Yugoslavia among the Serbian people, and now it was further developed in Republika Srpska among the Bosnian Serbs, especially Milorad Dodik, who constantly emphasized that various enemies, especially Bosniaks, collectively threaten Republika Srpska and the Bosnian Srbs.\textsuperscript{181} According to Dodik, the Republika Srpska is threatened by those who want to destroy it including the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, because if Republika Srpska would gain independence it “would be able to fulfill all requirements for the secession to the European Union in a period of only five years, while if they remain within Bosnia and Herzegovina that would not be accomplished even in thirty years.”\textsuperscript{182} Moreover, in his attacks against Bosniaks, Dodik has included anti-Islamic elements and the alleged collective threat they pose to Bosnian Serbs. By equalizing Bosniaks, Islam and Islamic fundamentalism, Dodik revives ideological motives used in Serbian anti-Muslim anti-Bosniak propaganda before the war.\textsuperscript{183} Also, he uses these motives of Islamism on the elaboration of his thesis on so-called Srebrenization that was

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{179}] Fagan, Adam and Indraneel Sircar. \textit{Europeanization of the Western Balkans: Environmental Governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia}. New Perspectives on South-East Europe. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 40.
\item[\textsuperscript{181}] “Dodik: BiH ce se raspasti” Tanjug 2011.
\item[\textsuperscript{182}] “Bosnian Srbs are ‘victims’”, Associated Press, 2011.
\item[\textsuperscript{183}] “Izokrenuta prica” Nezavisne novine, 2009.
\end{itemize}
developed by the elites from Republika Srpska. Through this, they ignore the international court’s decisions regarding the characterization of Srebrenica massacre as a genocide, but rather they argue it is only used as a political and social tool against the Republika Srpska and Bosnian Serbs.\footnote{184 “Srebrenica kao udar na kolektivnu srpsku svijest” 2011.}

Moreover, the myth of the collective ethnic victim was also used by the Bosnian Croats in context of their demand of a third entity for their ethno-religious group. They have been arguing that the Federation BiH is turning into a Bosniak entity leaving Bosnian Croats as the victims of Bosniak domination.\footnote{185 “Krecemo u gradjanski neposluh” Nezavisne novine 2011.} Furthermore, the political elites of the Bosnian Croats have often compared their group to the Jews and this comparison with the Jewish destiny was a traditional element of Serbian myths of victims throughout the history.\footnote{186 “Sa SDP-om i SDA-om necemo razgovarati” Oslobodjenje 2011.} The media also has a great influence in promotion of collective victimization and imminent threats. It is evident that since 2010 there was a clear and rapid rise of hate speech overall, and particularly concerning the topic of the break-up of the country and the possibility of a new war.

In the following parts of this chapter the thesis will examine the constructed divisions and securitization of ethnic identity when it comes to the role of the international actors, political parties and elections, civil unrest, treatment of refugees, violence, as well as the education segregation. When analyzing the education segregation the thesis will especially focus on the phenomenon of “two schools under one roof” as well as the controversy over introducing religious teachings in kindergartens, since it represents the direct impact of the Dayton Agreement.
4.1. The Role of International Actors

In order to understand to what extent has the Dayton Agreement influenced the current divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to analyze the role of international actors and examine the extent of their impact through their interactions with the political elites. The international community has been largely monitoring the political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina through forming the multilateral Peace Implementation Council (PIC). It was established after the Dayton Agreement and its main role is to select and define role of the High Representative. Initially, the role of the High Representative was to monitor the situation in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it further gained more powers after the Bonn Meeting in 1997, allowing them to impose legislation and remove elected officials. One of the first consequences of legislation imposed by the High Representative was a new Bosnian national anthem and flag, which are seen as the direct effects of the Dayton Agreement. Given the fact that the High Representative has such far-reaching powers despite being unelected provokes an assumption of neocolonial situation where the citizens have less influence than external powers in the political process.

In 2001, Peace Implementation Council brought a more specific framework for European Union’s involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina through forming the Stabilization and Association process. In this way the European Union urges Bosnia and Herzegovina to build functioning institutions and to focus on economic reform as well as to fully co-operate with International Criminal Court of Yugoslavia (ICTY) and respect the human rights. These are considered as prerequisites for Bosnia and

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188 Ibid.
189 Ibid.
190 Ibid.
Herzegovina’s possible membership to the EU.\textsuperscript{191} This process of so-called Europeanization is seen as the impact on domestic politics and public policy of EU laws, decision-making, and process of governance.\textsuperscript{192} Hence, it becomes evident that in the past fifteen years, the focus shifted from encouraging full implementation of the Dayton Agreement, to promoting European aspirations.\textsuperscript{193}

The most significant document issued by the EU is the ‘EU Road Map’ from 2000, which lists all necessary reforms that Bosnia and Herzegovina must undertake before it is possible for the Stabilization and Association Agreement to come to partition.\textsuperscript{194} The EU has made both the short-term and long-term economic and political practices that should be implemented.\textsuperscript{195} However, it must be noted that Bosnia and Herzegovina could face unspecified sanctions from the EU if not complied with certain criteria.\textsuperscript{196}

Since 2007, the EU has pushed for the police reform, which is urgently needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Currently, the police is canton-based or entity-based, and there is no centralized command structure based at the state level. In a country with around four million people, there are sixteen thousand officers in various police agencies in two entities and the district that act independently and without coordination, and hence making it impossible to have a “security space” within the whole country.\textsuperscript{197} Another reason for the police reform is the possibility to overcome the ethno-national separation that illustrates the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{193} Chandler, David. International.
\textsuperscript{194} Fagan, Adam and Indraneel Sircar. Europeanization, 36.
\textsuperscript{196} Fagan, Adam and Indraneel Sircar. Europeanization, 40.
However, a more centralized command structure within the police would threaten the mere existence of the Republika Srpska which uses every opportunity to emphasize its autonomy given by the Dayton Agreement. Because of this, the leaders of the Republika Srpska appear uninterested in meeting the deadlines set by the High Representative for the police reform, and on the other hand, the EU has been criticized for not being able to push harder to accomplish the goal given its weak conditionality.

Furthermore, in 2007, the European Union pushed for the constitutional reform. However, even after two years since the start of negotiations, there was still no agreed package. Several meetings, including mini-Dayton meeting held in 2009 by the members of all three constituent peoples, did not have make progress. The issue got even more complicated when the European Court of Human Rights found that the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina violated human rights by protecting the three constituent peoples and excluding other groups from the Presidency or Parliament. The case was initially brought by Sejdić and Finci, who are Roma and Jewish, respectively. Since the ruling, the EU has demanded that the new constitution reform must have this issue included, but the Bosnian leaders have only started to make small steps on the issue in late 2013. Following this verdict, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs have become more skeptical about the state feasibility as it would greatly influence the existing power structures given by the Dayton Agreement. Consequently, the implementation of the verdict has been blocked for several years.

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201 Ibid.
and hence Bosnia and Herzegovina’s path towards the accession to the European Union has been interrupted.\(^{203}\)

In 2008 Former High Representative Miroslav Lajčák described the elections process in Bosnia saying that “a decade and a half after the war, the vast majority of Bosnia and Herzegovina politicians remain to view almost every matter through a nationalist prism”.\(^{204}\) Furthermore, referring to inefficiency that the Dayton Agreement has brought, he said “Two entities for three constituent peoples; five presidents. Four vice presidents, thirteen prime ministers, fourteen parliaments, one hundred and seven ministers and seven hundred members of the Parliament, all of whom serve a population of just under four million people.”\(^{205}\) Dayton Agreement indeed brought a complex institutional structure of four levels of local government: the central state, entity, cantons and municipalities.\(^{206}\)

The main problem is that the central state is very weak and it has no authority over the most issues and policies. Although it may seem like the change in political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is inevitable, there is a strong lack of political will among Bosnian elites to truly do so. They rather prefer to focus on ethnic tensions to stay in power.\(^{207}\) However, it must be noted that there is a lack of political will on the side of the European Union as well.

Furthermore, the Dayton Agreement has created reserved seats and proportional representation rules, which ensure that groups are represented even in places where they are not the majority.\(^{208}\) Each group has the veto right to be used in cases when they may regard some issue as being against their ‘vital national

\(^{203}\) Ibid.
\(^{204}\) Joseph, E.P. & R.B. Hitchner, Making Bosnia.
\(^{205}\) Ibid.
\(^{206}\) Fagan, Adam and Indraneel Sircar. Europeanization, 42.
\(^{207}\) Ibid., 41.
interests’.

The veto right was employed in order to assure that no law is passed without agreement between the three groups, but the imprecision of the term ‘vital national interests’ has made the elites often using this right in various cases.

Consequently, the use of veto has maintained the status quo when it comes to the accession to the EU.

The rising nationalist rhetoric became prominent in the period following the unsuccessful implementation of necessary reforms. In 2010 Milorad Dodik stated that he might call for referendum on the judiciary, because of the point that state courts mostly prosecute Serbs and were hence biased since they are not working in the interest of all ethnic groups. This referendum would in fact tackle the legitimacy of the OHR and the state itself, and at the same time it would set a precedent for other referendums in the future, primarily concerned to the Republika Srpska’s secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Furthermore, the OSCE Assessment of the 2014 general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina suggested that “the lack of political will to move beyond the Dayton Accords prevents the country from moving away from the current inter-ethnic divides and towards real progress for the country.” The EU Special Representative Peter Sorensen emphasized the complex internal structures and a need to address these weaknesses noting that: “Bosnia and Herzegovina has a complex constitutional structure. (…) Despite this complexity we believe-based on out experiences that there are ways that Bosnia and Herzegovina can withstand the economic, social, and

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209 Ibid.
211 Ibid.
212 Fako, Edin. Strategies of Desecuritization.
215 Anca Doina Cretu, Twenty Years After, 10.
political and other pressures that eventual membership will bring upon the country. However it requires that Bosnia and Herzegovina steps up to the challenge and addresses some of the current apparent weaknesses in the way that governance and reforms are conducted.”

216 Ibid., 12.
4.2. Political Parties and the Elections

This part will analyze the role of political parties especially at the times of elections in using the Dayton Agreement as a way to justify the ongoing securitization of ethnic identity. All three ethno-religious nationalist political parties SDA, SDS and HDZ BiH representing Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs respectively still remain active and continue to exercise political authority at many levels. SDA Party eventually split to create SBiH, which ran on a platform of ‘100% BiH’ for the country that is unified without entities. The party’s campaign was influenced by the International Criminal Court’s decision that the Srebrenica massacre in 1995 was genocide and they argued that Republika Srpska was hence ‘a genocide construction’. At the same time, the SNSD’s campaign was revolved around the call for Republika Srpska’s secession from the Bosnia and Herzegovina. This shows that there is a strong offensive and defensive nationalism existing among the political elites.

Furthermore, HDZ BiH also split to create HDZ1990 while SDS was opposed by the SNSD in 2006 elections and has since then remained the main party in Republika Srpska. In 2010 elections, it got the absolute majority, and in 2014 despite a decline in its popularity, the party won the mandate as well. It furthermore managed to remove the SDS from power with the help of OHR on a basis of radical nationalist ideas that have become more severe in the past few years because of the ethnic security claims. Although it may seem that the motives of such move by the SNSD was just, it is evident that they in fact did it because of SDS’s ongoing cooperation with other ethnic groups and the international community in building

218 Ibid.
219 Ibid., 6.
220 Ibid.
central state institutions. Furthermore, SNSD condemned the SDS because of its 2004 apology to the victims of the Srebrenica genocide.\textsuperscript{221} Moreover, SNSD has a strong anti-state rhetoric on the ground that Republika Srpska and the Bosnian Serbs are under the constant collective threat from other ethno-religious groups.\textsuperscript{222} This proves that despite its social democratic identifications, the party has become more radical than the SDS. It becomes evident that no politician in Bosnia today benefits more from the Dayton framework than Milorad Dodik.\textsuperscript{223} Even though independence for the Republika Srpska is a popular idea, it is not really in Milorad Dodik’s interest, because his impact and authority is greatest with the present arrangement thanks to the Dayton Agreement.\textsuperscript{224} Basically, Bosnian Serb leadership was given the independence and international legitimacy through the Dayton Agreement and this is what years of warfare could not have achieved.\textsuperscript{225}

The main goal of SNSD’s party is to preserve existing territorial borders and establishments of Republika Srpska under the Dayton Agreement and for the HDZ BiH, it is to achieve more territorial autonomy within Federation BiH and perhaps create third entity for the Bosnian Croats.\textsuperscript{226} SDA, on the other hand, supports unified country, centralized institutions and constitutional reform. It becomes evident that the political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the ones who speak in the name of security for their particular ethno-religious groups.\textsuperscript{227} They remain unchallenged both politically and by the divided civil society, while at the same time they are kept

\textsuperscript{221} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{223} Dzelilovic, Vesna Bojic, \textit{The Politics, Practice and Paradox}. 7.
\textsuperscript{224} Fako, Edin. Strategies of Desecuritization. Central European University, 2012.
\textsuperscript{225} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{226} Dzelilovic, Vesna Bojic, \textit{The Politics, Practice and Paradox}. 7.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid.
upheld by the controlled media.\textsuperscript{228} Almost every attempt to centralize the state institutions was stopped through the evocation of ethnic differences by the political elites. According to Dino Abazovic “political pluralism represents one party, one religion, one nation, and political and territorial exclusivity and hegemony on at least one part of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.\textsuperscript{229} The political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina have “worked actively to preserve the war-induced symbolic, institutional and territorial divisions or which they are the key beneficiaries and they have been unintentionally endorsed by international actors despite their detrimental effect on citizen security.”\textsuperscript{230} This radicalization of political parties was in fact eased by the insufficient engagement from the international actors in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and this was justified by the claim that there should be more local participation in this process.\textsuperscript{231} Furthermore, the hate speech is also another tool that political elites use extensively, especially prior to the elections. According to Azinovic, the elites mostly threaten the future of the state, talk about secession and destruction and also even warn of the prospect of another war.\textsuperscript{232} All of these elements were greatly present during the last elections of 2014, suggesting that Bosnia and Herzegovina looks like it is back to the start of the war.\textsuperscript{233}

However, it must be said that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the protection of the rights and privileges of a particular ethno-religious group is not only done by the nationalist parties and political elites, but that other social actors, such as war veterans, play an important role as well. According to Grabovac, president of the war
\begin{footnotes}
\item[228] Ibid.
\item[232] Ibid.
\item[233] Kojovic, P. Bojim se da ce nam primarna zadaca u mandate biti kako sprijeciti pakao, Vijesti.ba, 2014.
\end{footnotes}
veterans associations for the Bosnian Croats, has also publicly called for the formation of the third entity for the ethno-religious group that he belongs to and he warned that all Bosnian Croat politicians who do not share this idea and are not doing everything possible to accomplish this goal would be considered traitors.\textsuperscript{234} It must be noted that the war veterans have been the strongest electoral bases for all nationalist parties in most of period since the end of the war.\textsuperscript{235}

Although the hate speech dominates the political sphere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many believe that its success is very upheld by the existing institutional context that has been established by the Dayton Agreement and that in fact that is what provides the ‘fertile soil’ for many ethnic tensions.\textsuperscript{236} Because of the unclear international policy towards the Bosnia and Herzegovina, many central state institutions have weakened over time. Moreover, intensive political crisis since 2010 elections has greatly caused social discontent and the rise of social anger. People were particularly disappointed in social democratic parties such as SDP in Federation BiH and SNSD in Republika Srpska.\textsuperscript{237} These parties did not lead its politics according to the norms of social justice, but in direction of creating political crisis and ethnic tensions. These parties have caused the largest crisis of government with obvious practices of nepotism and corruption, instead of working on the stabilization and economic recovery of the country.\textsuperscript{238}

According to Dzelilovic, the constant support for the nationalist ethnic parties is only a product of the effects of practice of political elites and also form the

\textsuperscript{234} Grabovac, M. Hrvati moraju dobiti svoju republiku, Mojusk, 2013.
\textsuperscript{235} Dzelilovic, Vesna Bojic, \textit{The Politics, Practice and Paradox}. 10.
\textsuperscript{237} Dzelilovic, Vesna Bojic, \textit{The Politics, Practice and Paradox}. 6.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid.
experience shaped by the international intervention after the war.\textsuperscript{239} However, it remains true that the victims of all ethno-religious political strategies are the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the ethnic tensions bring political and economic mismanagement and stalemate in country’s path towards the accession to the European Union.

\textsuperscript{239} Ibid., 2.
4.3. The Treatment of Returnees and Minorities

The relationship between the so-called minority returnees and the ethnic majority population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is another basic element in assessment of the possibility of ethnic violence and the ongoing securitization of ethnic identity by the political elites. One of the aims of the war was to change the demographic structure, as the creation of “ethnically homogeneous” territories was its primary goal. This was done through ethnic cleansing, mass murders, systematic rape, massive expulsion of population and the genocide. Demographic consequences of the war are dramatic as of 4.4 million people, during the war around 2.2 million were displaced, of which 1.2 million found their asylum abroad, while around 1 million people were internally displaced.\textsuperscript{240}

The Dayton Peace Agreement that ended the war has many contradictions making the return of refugees and internally displaced people to their pre-war homes one of the focal points of inter-ethnic conflicts and violent incidents after the war. By its decentralized constitutional order divided along the ethnic lines it can be said that the results of ethnic warfare were legitimized. However, Annex 7 of the Dayton Agreement, which deals with the refugees and displaced people, has set at least the legal ground for the annulment of the results of the war. Annex 7 states that “All refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin. They shall have the right to have restored to them property of which they were; deprived in the course of hostilities since 1991.”\textsuperscript{241} However, special group of returnees, the so-called minority returnees, have become the target of ethno-nationalist politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their return presented a direct threat

\textsuperscript{240} “Bosnia: Peaceful, Rebuilt, but Still Divided”, The Economist, 2005.
\textsuperscript{241} Dayton Peace Agreement, OHR Office of High Representative, December 14, 1995
on local, regional and entity level, which caused a severe resistance. In many municipalities, ethnic majority population is now greatly different than its pre-war ethnic structure. This means that the return of minorities from Bosniak and Bosnian Croat groups in their pre-war homes in Republika Srpska was seen as the destroying of one of the main war aims as Bosnian Serbs would no longer consist the majority of population in many municipalities and regions. When the first wave of the return of refugees has stared many local elites and citizens would often react violently. Every year there were hundreds of cases of inter-ethnic incidents, physical attacks, murders, molestation and the destruction of property. Many minority returnees have faced difficulties in finding the jobs, claiming social compensation and receiving health care, pension and proper education.

Furthermore, the threats of secession of the Republika Srpska, presenting Muslims as Islamic fundamentalists and the denial of the genocide in Srebrenica greatly influence the atmosphere between the minority group of returnees and the majority ethnic population. Prevocational political moves have hence greatly added to the feeling of insecurity. Moreover, the incidents that the returnees face are in fact the cases of planned intimidation in which the police reaction is absent. In some cases even though police were present, they were unable to intervene which highlighted the minority’s difficulty to trust the government. There are a lot of cases of vandalism against mosques and churches, desecration of cemeteries and gravestones, as well as the physical attacks on religious officials that are based on hatred.

243 Ibid.
244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
246 Ibid.
However, one of the cases that caught a particular attention is construction of an Orthodox Church in Potočari in east part of Republika Srpska, which caused loud resistance of local minority returnees, Bosniaks, because of the provocative nature of such case.\textsuperscript{248} The place for the planned church is located directly above the memorial center in Potočari, which is dedicated to the victims of Srebrenica genocide. The church is being built on a private property in the immediate vicinity of one of the mass graves. Furthermore, the construction is completely illegal without necessary permits. Moreover, in this place there are no any Bosnian Serb people who live there or would go to the church.\textsuperscript{249} This case also caused a great concern of the international organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina because of the possibility to cause serious inter-ethnic violence.\textsuperscript{250}

Furthermore, when it comes to the police, often in the case of returnees and refugees, it is unable to provide necessary services and is at times instigator of violence.\textsuperscript{251} Moreover, people do not trust the police enough because of the large number of individuals who were involved in war crimes that are now part of the state institutions and hold public office.\textsuperscript{252} This is why the returnees are not encouraged to go back to their homes especially if their hometown is now under authority of another ethno-religious group. Furthermore, there has been a strong breach of existing legal entitlements, which has left the refugees unable to return to their homes that are now illegally inhabited by other people.\textsuperscript{253} Also given the fact that the country has a high unemployment rate, discrimination in recruitment for public administration jobs, the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{248} “Zaustavljenja Gradnja Inat Crkve”, Oslobodjenje, 24 June 2011, 7.
\textsuperscript{249} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{251} Azinovic, V. Assessing Potential for Renewed Ethnic Violence.
\textsuperscript{252} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
returnees who have started their lives somewhere else are reluctant to go back to their pre-war homes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.254

There is no doubt that the more nationalist political environment after the establishment of the Dayton Agreement has created a strong subjective feeling of insecurity among the minority returnees, which negatively influences their relationship with the majority ethnic population in communities where they live, especially in the Republika Srpska. It becomes evident that with the current political context of ye Dayton Agreement there is a great possibility that some of the incidents may escalate into wider violent inter-ethnic conflict.

254 Ibid.
4.4. Ethno-Religious Violence and the Media

Although direct ethno-religiously motivated violence was very common right after the war, it has greatly subsided over time. Ever since the 2008 global recession and degraded standard of living, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been in a state of political crisis since the worsened economic environment is a deep source of discontent. In places such as Mostar where there is a strong division between two ethnic groups, some clashes occur typically among the young people, but much less frequently than in the immediate after war period.

One of the worst cases of such violence occurred in 2009 when a football fan from Sarajevo was killed by a police officer during a match in the town of Siroki Brijeg, which is predominantly populated by the Bosnian Croats.²⁵⁵ The media coverage on the incident played a crucial role in the return of war rhetoric in public speech and in establishment of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a reference framework for interpreting current political situations. Various media articles ethicized violent conflicts describing them as conflict between two groups – Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats.²⁵⁶ Media commentators from Sarajevo claimed that the shooting has political background and they perceived the incident as a targeted provocation from the political elites on side of Bosnian Croats in order to destabilize the situation in Federation BiH. In one of such articles it stated that “the bloody history teaches us that on the soil of the Western Balkans national conflicts and wars had their overture and testing first on stadiums and among the football fans.”²⁵⁷ At the same time, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats media accused Bosniak political elites for

²⁵⁶ Ibid.
conspiracy arguing that it had “the political background and it was a well planned incident of the SDA political party which promotes violence first through the government institutions and then also physically by attacking Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.” Various printed media had their front page covered in statements such as “It is all the same as in 1992, only difference is that the grenades are not falling down” and similar. Because of the large demonstrations in Sarajevo after the incident, public transport and some streets were blocked which reminded many people of the demonstrations that proceeded the war in 1992. Since then “the war” remains the word used in everyday media reports on current political crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and since the 2010 elections, the media has used it extensively. It becomes evident that in Bosnia and Herzegovina nowadays such violence only appears when the political situation worsens and when the ethnic rhetoric is on the rise and that inter-ethnic violence is more likely to happen during the mass public events.

259 Dnevni Avaz, 6 October, 2009.
260 Ibid.
4.5. Civil Unrest

Bosnia and Herzegovina is experiencing constant deterioration of social situation and the absence of full economic recovery due to the inability and lack of interest of the political elites to solve real economic and social issues. Despite of this, there have been only two more serious instances of civil unrest in the past few years. This could be due to the fact that the society is Bosnia and Herzegovina is generally seen as lethargic and that the fear of violence is still present, which is very evident through the most common post-war slogan of “may there only not be another war” that many people use in everyday life to comfort themselves when everything else is going in the wrong direction. Furthermore, there is a clear absence of effective civil society and the fact that most of the people are employed in the public sector and are hence dependent on the government, explains why there may not be enough cases of civil unrest in a country such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, which may be seen as a direct impact of the Dayton Agreement.

However, as it is evident in many cases worldwide the poverty has its limits and when these limits are crossed any spark can cause the eruption of civil unrest that may overrun the government. In 2014, around 27 percent of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina have lived below the absolute line of poverty. By comparison, in 2008, that amount was around 18 percent of population, which is a rather dramatic increase.261 Furthermore, the catastrophic floods that hit Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 2014 have greatly hurt its economy and have dramatically increased social problems and poverty.262 Those consequences are doubled by the government’s inefficiency to act fast and efficient. At the same time it was found out that the

262 Ibid.
budget, which is meant to be allocated for civil protection, and other ways of preventing the consequences of natural disasters have been spent on filling the gaps in the budget, which is a crime that was committed on all levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina.\textsuperscript{263}

The first wave of protests occurred in June 2013 and has caught a lot of attention nationwide after a tragic death of an infant. This came as a consequence of the prolonged process of creation of new the law regarding the citizen’s unique identification number. Because of such a prolonged process that occurred due to the lack of interest of the political elites, an infant was not able to go abroad and receive necessary medical treatments since it was impossible to get necessary documents to travel. Thousands of citizens blocked the Parliament building and although by character these were peaceful civil protests, the government reacted fiercely arguing that the institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been threatened by such acts and consequently many representatives refused to come to the Parliament.\textsuperscript{264} Hence, it becomes evident that the political elites reacted with arrogance and the boycott of own legislature and executive institutions, which, by its definition, should serve the citizens of the country. Despite of this, these protests have showed that although interactions among ethnic groups are not very common, they do happen when the people are motivated enough as these protests united the whole nation.\textsuperscript{265}

Furthermore, the second wave occurred in the beginning of 2014 with peaceful workers demonstrations in front of the government building of Tuzla Canton, and soon they spread to other major cities throughout the country. The government of Tuzla Canton at first ignored the protests, but as soon as they realized that other groups of people were joining the workers they begun to fear massive civil

\textsuperscript{263} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{264} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{265} Ibid.
unrest and they ordered police to react violently in order to stop the civil unrest by any means. The protests in Sarajevo erupted and culminated with setting the Presidency building on fire, while in Zenica and Bihać it led to the stoning of the local government headquarters.\textsuperscript{266}

In order to explain such violent protests, it is important to understand the position of the workers whom have vainly sought for their basic rights that are regulated by the law, and the ongoing corruption and illegal privatization by the political oligarchies. The government has completely ignored these issues for two decades and by the way it was culminated it was evident that it may erupt violently. The protests have put focus on the existing model of governance because they were directed against all political elites. Such character of the protests point out to the clear attitude of the protesters which is that the politics and the way of governance, and not just this or another political party, are what is destroying Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the social questions and the principles of social justice have finally become the main political question in a country whose government has been only focusing on producing various kinds of inter-ethnic conflicts and political crises. For the first time, the politics of ethnic conflicts was not dominating in public sphere, which can be seen as the first instance of long awaited awakening of social consciousness among the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The protests have led to the resignation of several cantonal governments under the pressure of dissatisfied citizens. It is important to also add that most of the dissatisfaction was directed towards these cantonal levels of government because the cantons are perceived as bureaucratic excess and the burden for financial stability of the country. The civil unrests from 2014 resulted in the creation of “plenums” of

\textsuperscript{266} Ibid.
debate, which was seen as a remarkably unusual practice of democracy for the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The protests and plenums changed the character of political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina providing it with a new democratic character. It also became evident that the government leaned on the existing model of ignoring the protests, believing that there is not enough social energy that would start massive civil unrest. The ignorance was soon replaced with violence, but in the end it was evident that the accumulated social discontent was much stronger than anyone would have thought. The protests have, regardless of the propaganda machinery form all three ethno-political elites, been seen by the majority of the citizens as social and not ethnic and accordingly they have opened a space for trans-ethnic social solidarity and the new kinds of social identification which are social and class before all other. The slogan “We are hungry in three languages” served as a response to the elites who have tried to argue that the protests were on ethnic lines.

These protests were the most important social event in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they stressed that people are not afraid of the threat of violence based on the ethnicity but that they are more worried about the deteriorating standards of living and many other issues. According to this, it becomes evident that there is a way to break the existing model of social consciousness and open new possibilities for the activity of the so-called direct democracy in a country where the representative democracy proved to be in fact led by the ethnic divisions without any concept of collective identity.

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267 Ibid.
268 Cretu, Anca Doina, Twenty Years After: The Dayton Accords, 6.
269 Ibid.
4.6. Education Segregation

“What you come from, depends on genetics – what you turn into - on politics.” 270

Just as Bosnia and Herzegovina has a very complex structure itself, so does the education sector. At the state level education is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Civil Affairs, which coordinates the activities and agendas for the entities and also defines the strategy at the international level. It is in charge of dealing with the international agreements in the field of education. However, the creation of policy education is left to the lower levels of government. It is evident that complex situation of educational system is very uncoordinated. At the entity level in Federation BiH exists the decentralized educational system at the levels of ten cantons, while in the Republika Srpska the educational system is centralized. 271 In Federation BiH, the federal Ministry of Education and Science has a coordinating role in planning and implementation of activities that are related to the education policy, while the cantonal ministries of education have the jurisdiction to create the education policy individually. In Republika Srpska the entity Ministry of Education represents the highest administrative command. Brčko District also has the separate educational system. This means that, in 1995, after the division of the country by the Dayton Agreement, 13 autonomous ministries for education were established, within whom there was no cooperation at all at the very beginning. 272 Furthermore, in 2008 the Conference of the Ministers of Education in BiH was established as a permanent and

270 Stanislaw Jerzy Lec
272 Ibid.
highest body for coordination of the educational sector despite of the large number of relevant institutions. Its mandate was to provide counseling and legal advices for the harmonization of educational development.\textsuperscript{273} However, it has been noted that the meetings were held irregularly and rarely in full capacity which greatly reflects its effectiveness.\textsuperscript{274} The success of such institution is probably best illustrated through the fact that “two schools under one roof” still exist although the matter was put on the agenda in 2008 as one of the issues that needed to be abolished by 2012. The report of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance states that the discrimination in schools is still not eliminated and it is primarily evident on the ethnic basis in divided schools.\textsuperscript{275}

The fragmentation of the educational systems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the result of the Dayton Agreement, is made along the existing lines of ethnic divisions.\textsuperscript{276} Hence, the existing curriculums and programs reflect the differences between the three constituents peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina and are separated on the basis of “national group of courses” which include three different language, history, geography and religious courses.\textsuperscript{277} According to the research regarding the curriculums it is evident that through the form of legitimization of ‘the knowledge’, which is interpreted as scientific and neutral, the students are forced, without the right to question, to adopt the views which lead to the linguistic, historical and cultural separation on ethno-national basis.\textsuperscript{278} Furthermore, according to this research it is evident that the content and concept of the curriculums encourage

\textsuperscript{273} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{275} Vijece Evrope, Izvjestaj Evropske Komisije protiv Rasizma I Netolerancije o Bosni I Hercegovini, Strassbourg, 2011.
\textsuperscript{276} Izvjestaj Savjeta Evrope za Svjetsku Banku. Environment Council of Europe, Strassbourg, 1999. 10
\textsuperscript{278} Ibid., 33.
‘national’ homogenization and adoption of stereotypes about one’s own and other groups. One of the conclusions of this research is that the content and values in educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still being used as mechanisms for legitimization of ethnic division and maintenance of social order created in war.279

According to the research study conducted by the UNICEF in 2009, the educational division is not seen as a consequence of natural division of the people, but as a phenomenon that arose and was produced by the everyday politics.280 All categories that were including in the research (students, parents, teachers) confirm that the politicians are the ones who have the most influence on the educational system.281 Furthermore, those same groups believe that students of different ethno-religious background should be encouraged to attend the same school so that they could be introduced through the educational programme with the culture, language and tradition of all peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that the feeling of belongingness to the country would grow regardless of one’s own ethno-religious group.282 According to UNICEF, this imposed educational division that is manipulated by the everyday politics and supported by the subjective media information, has a larger role in influencing one’s formation of attitude towards ‘the other’ and ‘the different’ than it has the role of the parents.283 Ethno-religious authority lies on the constant generation of fear as a prerequisite of its existence, the fear of the other groups under which it presents itself as a democratically elected guarantor of the existence and the self-preservation of its ethnic group. Hence, for ordinary people, “it is the life of constant terror, limited freedom, and fear”.284

279 Ibid.
281 Ibid., 16.
282 Ibid., 13.
283 Ibid., 12.
This is why every political crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a question of “to be or not to be” of one’s own ethno-religious group, and this is why with every new election people commit to another four years of its existence by choosing the ethno-religious elite to lead through this existential struggle against assimilation. According to UNICEF, the fear is the main generator of ethnic divisions, because those who are minority react by closing themselves towards the others wanting to protect themselves against assimilation and the losing of their identity. In times like these, only the political elites benefit by the wave of fear, because they realized it is the most efficient way of holding onto power, thus they opt to create the fear even in period when there are no ‘real’ sources of danger to society.

The lack of open dialogue, qualitative and critical debate between the professionals as well as the lack of research in the field of education does not eliminate the fact that the education in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is some sort of a social experiment. One of the main goals of education is to enable us to utilize what we learn in class in some future situation. Education of the youth has the profound effect on the society and its development. Ensuring the requisites for the optimum intellectual and social development of children and the youth presents one of the main priorities in the process of education. Accordingly, the education in Bosnia and Herzegovina should contribute to the creating of society that is funded on the rule of law and the respect for the human rights, following the goals defined by the law that come from the “common universal values of democratic society, and own system of values based on specific national, historical, cultural and religious traditions

286 UNICEF, 2009: 15
287 Hasimbegovic Aida, “Psihologija poducavanja”
288 Sluzbeni list 18/03
of nations and national minorities who live in Bosnia and Herzegovina”.\textsuperscript{289} Having in mind the values on which the common goals of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina are set, as well as the situation in schools, it becomes evident that little is done in promoting the common universal values of democratic society.

\textsuperscript{289} Okvirni zakon o osnovnom I srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni I Hercegovini, 2003.
4.6.1. Two Schools Under One Roof

The depth of the inter-ethnic separation reflects the segregated-education present in many parts of the country. The phenomenon called “two schools under one roof” in which students follow completely different ethnic curricula, occupy different classrooms, or simply attend school at different times of the day. Today, there are 54 schools existing with such practices usually in ethnically mixed parts of the Federation BiH. Furthermore, children who attend primary school are often denied the right to a ‘national curriculum’.\textsuperscript{290} The case from Konjevic polje in Republika Srpska has caught attention of the whole nation at large in 2013. The parents of children from one of such schools organized protests in Sarajevo that lasted several weeks. They demanded a national curriculum for their Bosniak children and the right to be a part of school’s governing board; which was permitted to schools with non-Serb children, but was denied to them.\textsuperscript{291}

It is very important to note that the cases of “two schools under one roof” exist since 1998. In this period that was characterized by the massive return of refugees, one of the main problems that the returnees had to face was the issue of obstructing the access to education to the children by the local governments in hope to block every attempt to reintegrate the returnees into the local community.\textsuperscript{292} In order to solve this issue, already in 1997, the Office of the High Representative (OHR) initiated the talks that resulted in creating “two schools under one roof” as a temporary solution, with the aim to increase trust among the returnees whose children

\textsuperscript{290} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{292} OSCE. Reforma nastavnih planova i programa, 2010.
were, at a time, attending schools in inadequate premises. Since this temporary solution did not yield with the expected results or solved various problems, which the returnees faced, another agreement called the “Temporary Agreement on Fulfilling Special Needs and Rights of the Returnees’ Children” was established in 2002. By this agreement the children got the right to attend alternative curriculum and use study materials for ‘national group of courses’. In this way the children got the opportunity to study courses from their national group in the place where they leave without the need to travel to schools in other places, which was up to then the only way to attend school with their national group. Even though this temporary agreement has obliged the authorities to look for permanent solutions for all children, they did not fulfill their obligations, according to the OSCE.

Even though the institutions that are in charge of the educational reform have the obligation towards the legal framework to eliminate already existing discriminatory practices, the schools still apply divisional practices, which does not exist in any valid document on primary and high school education. In “Law on Primary and High School Education in BiH” from 2003 it says that “in all public and private schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina it will be implemented the common core of educational programs and curriculums.”

With this case it is evident that very severe cases of discrimination based on ethno-religious identity still exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, what is more striking is the fact that local authorities did nothing or even promote such cases of discrimination and that there is a strong belief that only international intervention

294 Ibid.
295 OSCE. Reforma nastavnih planova i programa, 2010.
296 Okvirni zakon o osnovnom i srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2003.
297 “Sluzbeni list BiH” broj 18/03
could possible solve such issues. This furthermore encourages parents to send their children to schools that are geographically much far away only so that they would avoid such cases in dealing with the schools that will make their children feel alienated and isolated.298

While the education in rest of the world is shifting towards the centralization with the principles of true knowledge and education, in Bosnia and Herzegovina it remains fragmented through the principles of differentiation and separation. Since the education is brought to the canton levels, it assumed a local character. The worst cases are evident in primary and high school education in the Federation BiH. The phenomenon “two schools under one roof” could be analyzed as a form of “educational apartheid”, where in one school exist two separate boards, the children remain completely divided and study different curricula.299 Very often these “two schools under one roof” have completely different names and rules and children attend the classes in different shifts so that they could not possibly interact with children from other ethnic groups. This kind of education does not offer children with any prospect for prosperity and development.300

There is no doubt that the school is a crucial agent of secondary socialization, which continues the process of socialization that begins in one’s family.301 At the same time schools are crucial agents of social control that encourage children to learn and to adjust to socially expected norms and values.302 Because of the often involvement in questions regarding identity and ideology, the educational sector is the

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298 Ibid.
300 Ibid.
301 Ibid.
302 Ibid.
most politicized sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it very easily and often
becomes the victim of ethnic and national interests.\textsuperscript{303}
4.6.2. Religious Teachings at Kindergartens

Another case that has caught the attention nationwide was the introduction of religious teaching classes in public kindergartens of Sarajevo Canton in 2008. The initiators of such classes referred the whole case on fundamental unalienable human right and the freedom of religion with the intention to suppress the public dialogue regarding the issue. Many examples of juvenile delinquency were cited as the main reasons for the introduction of religious teachings at kindergartens. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is often considered that if one does not believe in God, one is unmoral, so the opposition to the religious teachings in such an early age of children were thought to be without moral principles and the one who do not respect human rights and freedoms and that it is their children that often follow the path of juvenile delinquency.\(^{304}\)

However, the introduction of religious teaching in public institutions presents rather a political than a spiritual question. It is very evident that the religion presents the main point of differentiation between ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that political elites use religion anytime they want to homogenize ‘ours’ and eliminate ‘the others’.\(^{305}\) To teach children of religion as a social phenomenon has its educational validity; but to teach children in public pre-schools of multiethnic society about religion so that they can learn that they are different than others and make them feel special within the group of their own – only serves to narrow their imagination horizons, which is why this is considered as indoctrination.\(^{306}\) The state is obliged to protect basic rights and freedoms, but not also to create its contents. By introducing

\(^{304}\) "Dvije skole pod jednim krovom”, Studija o segregaciji u obrazovnju. ACIPS, Sarajevo, 2012, 17.

\(^{305}\) Ibid.

\(^{306}\) Ibid.
religious teachings in a public educational institution, the state is imposing and verifying its plan and programme, which represents the classic form of state interventionism.\textsuperscript{307}

It is very important to note that the religious institutions already offer religious teachings in their premises and through that the basic human right of religion is respected. However, when the state takes over the role of the provider of religious studies at its institutions, then it represents the sort of “cultural revolution” whose first victim is an individual.\textsuperscript{308} When it comes to these issues, the most important is the question of what kind of citizen is one expected to become at the end of one’s education? Is it more important to become a religious person and proud member of one’s own ethno-religious group; or is it more important to become a free citizen who will be able to discuss freely about all issues related to religion, moral and ethnicity while being able to make rational decisions?

As it is evident from the results and reports up until today, the dynamics of the education reform did not contribute much in eliminating the discrimination and segregation in education. The fact is that the long-term consequences of the segregated education will be known by time – and which of “the two faces of education” will leave the profound effect on the society. By this, it is meant that the education can be used in purpose of deepening of ethnic tensions in the society and the promotion of the separation, or it can have an enormous potential to reconcile and develop the society after the conflict.\textsuperscript{309}

\textsuperscript{307} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{308} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{309} Trbic, Dzenana. “Obrazovanje u BiH, 12.
5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to investigate to what extent the Dayton Agreement has solidified the divisions and hatreds between the ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the process through which the rise of ethno-religious nationalism was carried. It did so by providing the theoretical framework of the constructivist approach to the theories of ethno-religious nationalism and the securitization theory in examining the various aspects and issues that the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina is facing.

Through examining the role of the international actors in the post-Dayton period it becomes evident that there is a lack of political will on both sides; the political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the international community, when it comes to implementing necessary reforms. This part of the thesis emphasizes the preference of the political elites to encourage ethnic tensions despite of the conditionality brought by the international community; and that the veto right that was established by the Dayton Agreement, has maintained the status quo when it comes to the accession to the European Union.

When it comes to the examining the actions of the political parties in promoting ethnic tensions and securitization of ethnic identity of the respective groups in order to remain in power and win elections it becomes clear that there is a strong offensive and defensive nationalism existing among the political elites as a direct consequence of the existing power structures given by the Dayton Agreement.

With regards to the treatment of returnees and minorities in the context of the Dayton Agreement given the legal framework through the Annex 7 it becomes clear that the returnees and minorities are not treated in the right way and are in fact often
threatened and attacked by the citizens or the political elites. Furthermore, it becomes evident that the police are not able to provide necessary protection, which creates a strong feeling of insecurity among the minority returnees given the more nationalist political environment.

When it comes to the actual violence, it becomes apparent that the incidents of violence appear when the political situation worsens and when the ethnic rhetoric is on the rise. The thesis also emphasizes the role of the media in further deliberately igniting the ethnic tensions when such incidents occur.

Furthermore, the civil unrest and the lack of civil activism are seen as a direct consequence of the structure of the Dayton Agreement. The thesis examined the two largest waves of the protests that occurred since the end of the war and it stressed the importance of these events due to the fact that the majority of the citizens have seen them as social and not ethnic despite of the propaganda machinery from all three sides of the political elites.

Also, the thesis regards the education segregation as being the direct and most straightforward consequence of the Dayton Agreement. It shows that the educational system is very uncoordinated and decentralized, which has produced serious fragmentation along the existing lines of ethnic divisions, and that education is highly influenced by the political elites in their quest to maintain social order created in war. This part furthermore analyzed the phenomenon of “two schools under one roof” that reflects the depth of the inter-ethnic separation which is regarded as an “educational apartheid” that does not offer any prospect for prosperity and development. Moreover, this part examined another case of forcefully introducing the religious teachings in kindergartens, which through its analysis emphasizes that the religion presents the main point of differentiation between the respective ethnic groups and that the
political elites use religion whenever they want to homogenize “ours” and eliminate “the others”. Through examining the education sector it becomes clear that it is the most politicized sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it very often becomes the victim of ethnic and national interests of the political elites.

The purpose of this research was to provide an answer to the fundamental question on the extent of influence of the Dayton Agreement on the ongoing securitization of ethnic identity by the political elites and it has been evident that the existing structures greatly solidify the constructed ethnic divisions. It also provides the reader with a comprehensive review of the overall situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially on the period after the Dayton Agreement until today.

The thesis concludes that the rising ethno-religious nationalism is what led to the brutal war and was accomplished through the political elites’ quest for emphasizing ethnic tensions. Furthermore, though analyzing the specific issues in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, it becomes evident that the Dayton Agreement has in fact facilitated and legitimized these political elites’ quest for securitizing the ethnic identity of their respective groups by regarding their vital national interests, a notion brought by the Dayton Agreement, as existentially threatened by the other ethnic groups. It becomes evident that the strategy of the political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina is to make use of history rather than being dictated by history, which implies that identity does not drive individuals; but that individuals drive identity.

When analyzing the theories of ethno-religious nationalism it is apparent that the rise of nationalism was promoted through various myths, symbols, rituals, and carefully selected historical memories in which religion was crucially important. Furthermore, the thesis concludes that in Bosnia and Herzegovina securitizing an
issue is in fact a conscious political choice and that by definition something is a security problem when the elites declare it so, which is seen throughout the thesis.

Even though the Dayton Peace Agreement did bring peace and ended the war it has also further divided the country making it impossible to create a common national identity. It becomes evident that Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a complex, post-conflict, and ethno-territorially fragmented country, as the politics remains dominated by the nationalist rhetoric and ethnic group interests with the ongoing securitization of ethnic identity. Throughout the thesis it is evident that the tendency to securitize ethnic identity has become the social reality and because of this the country is stagnating in many ways.

The main problem lies within political elites, who are willingly emphasizing the differences between the ethnic groups, in order to fulfill their own interests and stay in power for as much as it is possible. The lack of civil activism and the lethargic acceptance of the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as something that is ‘still better than a war’, comes as a direct consequence of the Dayton Agreement. Hence, the thesis suggests that achieving good and effective government is not so much about nation building, but about de-securitizing ethnic relations.
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