ASN World Convention Columbia University, 24-26 April 2014

> Edgár Dobos (Corvinus U of Budapest)

International actors, local inter- and intra-ethnic relations in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina

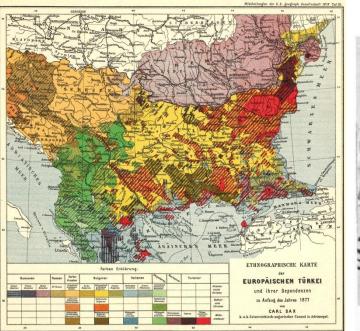
History as "early warning system": pattern identification





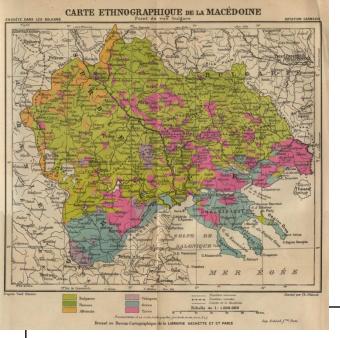
"This peacemaking... is not a solution but a source of more complications... Is it a European idea to regard peoples and nations as flocks of sheep and drive them from a sheepcote to another... in the Balkan peninsula, the most exposed region in Europe, where religious and nationality relations are so complicated?"

— Ákos Beőthy's remark on Berlin Treaty of 1878





Scene on railroad pier, Smyrna, where refugees embarked.



"Why should I be a minority in your state when you can be a minority in my state?"

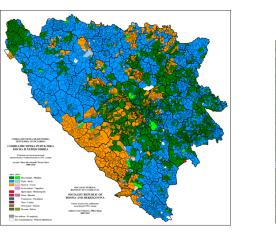
(Kiro Gligorov)

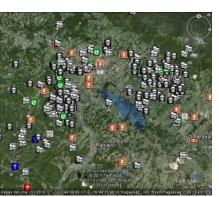


Ethnicity/Census	Bulgarian	%	Serbian	%	Greek	%	Turkish	%
Bulgarians	1 181 336	52,31	57 600	2,01	332 162	19,26	896 497	30,8
Serbs	700	0,03	2 048 320	71,35	0	0	100 000	3,4
Greeks	228 702	10,13	201 140	7,01	652 795	37,85	307 000	10,6
Albanians	128 711	5,70	165 620	5,77	0	0	0	0
Turks	499 204	22,11	231 400	8,06	634 017	36,76	1 508 507	51,8
Other	219 571	9,72	166 540	13,86	105 844	6,13	99 000	3,4
All	2 258 224	100	2 870 620	100	1 724 818	100	2 911 004	100

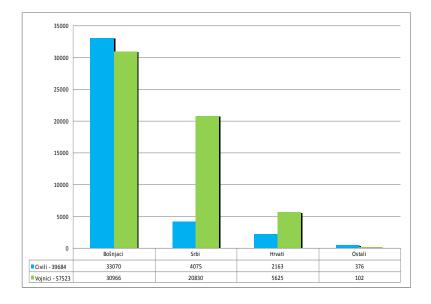
Conflicting census figures for Macedonia, 1889-1905 *Source:* Friedman 1996, p. 85.

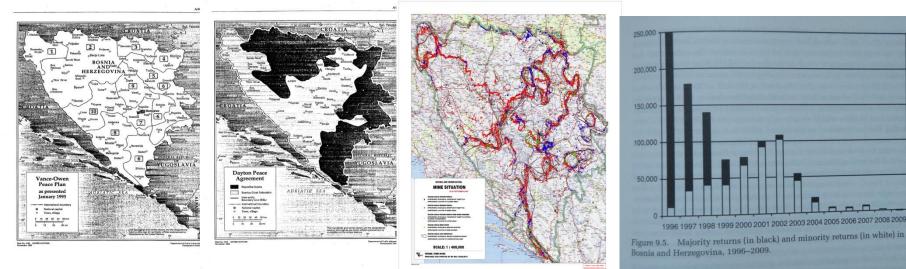
International peace plans and ethnic un/remixing (Bosnia-Herzegovina)



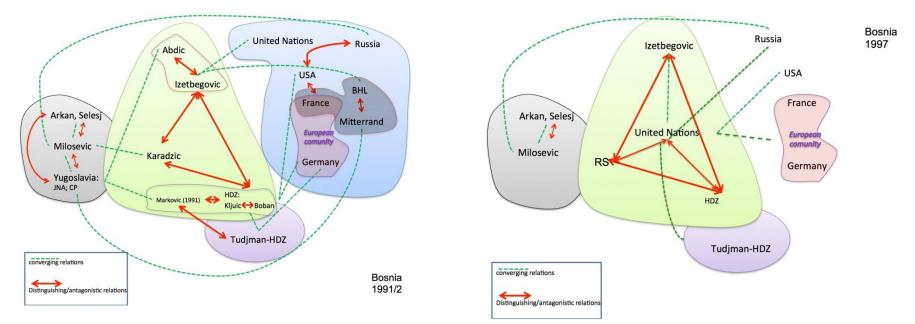


Source: Istraživačko dokumentacioni centar; EUFOR; Toal & Dahlman 2011, p. 289.





International intervention in local context: a relational approach





Source: Götze 2013

ns n". It who eting for that an he

ancy. It

ted their

ore, your

ence of

ne snide

h the

usiness

rrect

king

ionneurs.

rld, I

ies

nost

ter.

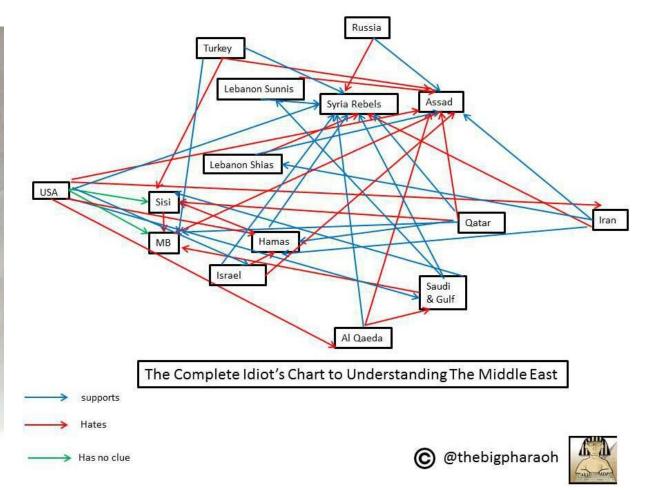
is

l", to

A short guide to the Middle East

From Mr KN Al-Sabah. Sir, Iran is backing Assad. Gulf states are against Assad! Assad is against Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood and Obama are against General Sisi. But Gulf states are pro-Sisi! Which means they are against Muslim Brotherhood! Iran is pro-Hamas, but Hamas is backing Muslim Brotherhood! Obama is backing Muslim Brotherhood, yet Hamas is against the US! Gulf states are pro-US. But Turkey is with Gulf states against Assad; yet Turkey is pro-Muslim Brotherhood against General Sisi. And General Sisi is being backed by the Gulf states! Welcome to the Middle East and have a nice day. KN Al-Sabah, London EC4, UK f from the

COMMENT ON



Source: Al-Sabah 2013; Fisher 2013

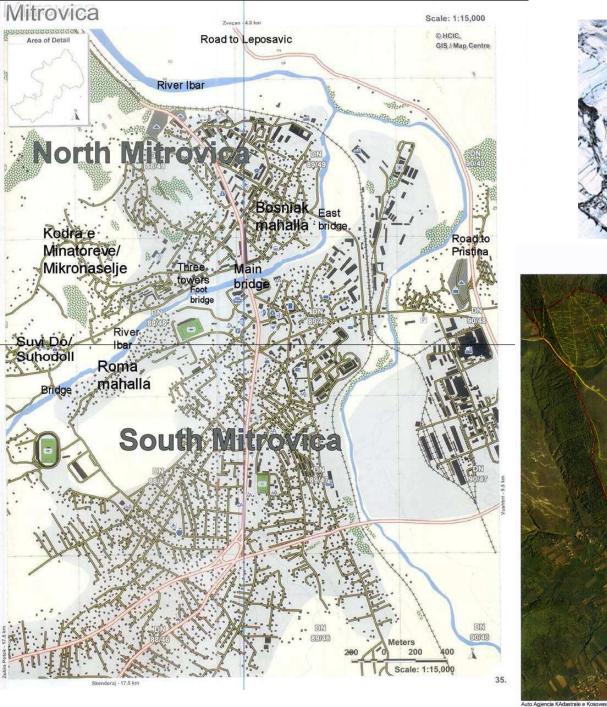
"Where you stand depends on where you sit" EULEX's status-neutral position and its challengers (Kosovo)

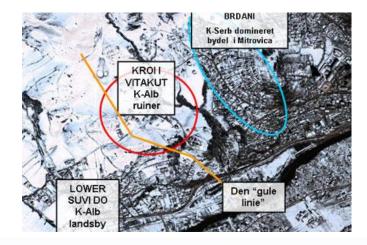




"If there is a dispute between two parties, and you ... take a decision, and this is ... the decision for one party, the other party will always playing you that you are on the other side. ... I repeat that what a clear line of EULEX is we are really not on side of one single party. We try to be on the side of the law. And therefore I take really very very seriously the situation you described, that some people who never really lived here building up without any permission houses, we will check this, and let's say investigate in that ... This is the point. Therefore, yes, we are party, but party of the law."







Suhodoll-Mitrovica



Shkalla 1:3500

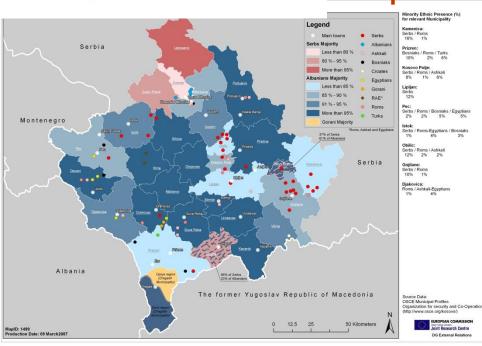
Copyright: Te gjitha te drejtat mbrohen



Štine Kosova po zakonima samoproglašene Republike Kosovo -stanje 20. novembar 2009. godineimena optiina su data po zvanichim razivima koja korski institucije sampordašene Republike Kosovo

"Serbs are not foreigners in Kosovo!" Enclaves, majorities and representatives

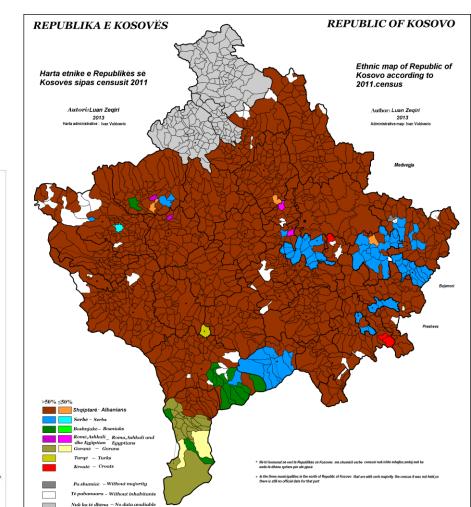




Eksklava opištna obeležena brojevima

3 - pripada opšilni Kamerica 4 - pripada opšilni Prtilina



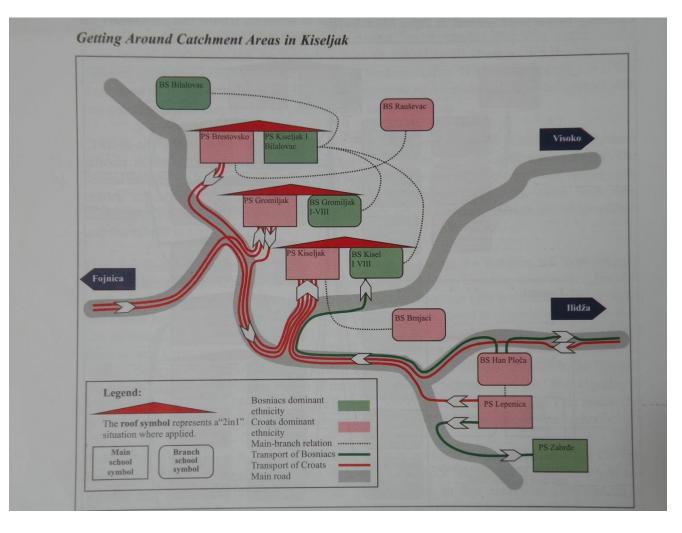




"I cannot be minority in my country, it's foolish!" The social life of "minority returnee" and other categories (BiH)



"2 schools under I roof"



Source: OSCE 2007, p. 24.



Сребреница

TOHOCA

СРПСКИХ ЖРТАВО

рутова прашни

осле мум страшних павајте краз арума ном предачких сенки, IABAJTE MAAAHTH

POPIS U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI 01 - 15.APRIL.2013

Bošnjaci ne piju kavu ili kafu oni piju od VAJKAD KAHVU. Ona je njihov dnevni ĆEIF, što znači poziv na razvovor. Ona se samelje mlinom i isneče

IZAĐI IZ TAME BOŠNJAČE BUDI ONO ŠTO SI BIO, ŠTO JESI, ŠTO ĆEŠ BITI







Pokaži-dokaži svoj pravi indetitet na popisu stanovništva u BiH OKTOBAR 2013





Bičakčić i Hajrović donijeli pobjedu BiH



10.09.2013 22:31 | Klix.ba

Žilina - Fudbalska reprezentacija BiH pobijedila je Slovačku u Žilini rezultatom 2:1.

Na taj način naši su ostali lideri grupe G i napravili korak ka plasmanu na Mundijal u Brazil.

Domaći su poveli u 42. minutu kada je Hamšik matirao Begovića. Izjednačio je Bičakčić u 69. minutu, : pobjedu "Zmajevima" donio je Izet Hajrović fantastičnim pogotkom u 78. minutu.

BiH sad ima 19 bodova na tabeli. "Zmajevi" u oktobru igraju sa Lihtenštajnom u Zenici i Litvanijom u gostima. Sa dvije pobjede reprezentacija BiH je siguran putnik na Svjetsko prvenstvo.

Bičakčić i Hajrović donijeli pobjedu BiH



^{10.09.2013 22:31 |} Klix.ba

Žilina - Fudbalska reprezentacija BiH pobijedila je Slovačku u Žilini rezultatom 2:1.

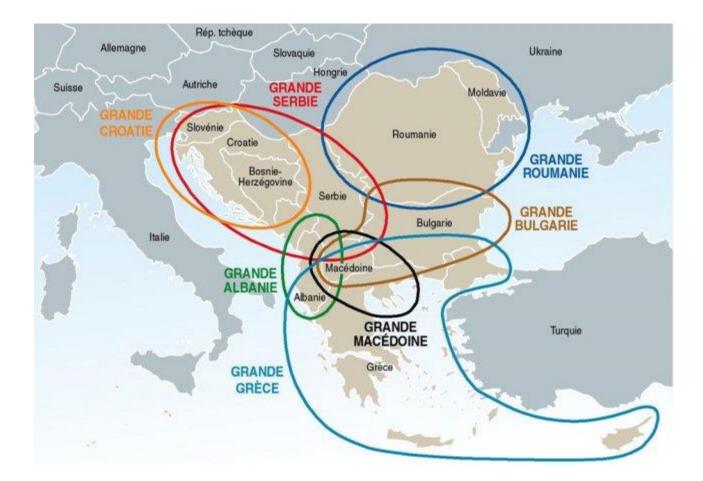
Na taj način reprezentacija BiH je ostala lider grupe G i napravila korak ka plasmanu na Mundijal u Brazil.

Domaći su poveli u 42. minutu kada je Hamšik matirao Begovića. Izjednačio je Bičakčić u 69. minutu, a pobjedu "Zmajevima" donio je Izet Hajrović fantastičnim pogotkom u 78. minutu.

BiH sad ima 19 bodova na tabeli. "Zmajevi" u oktobru igraju sa Lihtenštajnom u Zenici i Litvanijom u gostima. Sa dvije pobjede reprezentacija BiH je siguran putnik na Svjetsko prvenstvo.



Imagined nation-states



Home vs. homeland

