

**“Self-determination in Europe:
Contemporary challenges of minorities in multinational states”
University of Bern, 9-11 October 2014**

**Dobos Edgár
(Corvinus U of Budapest)**

**Ethnic un/remixing and competing self-
determination claims in Bosnia-Herzegovina**



“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

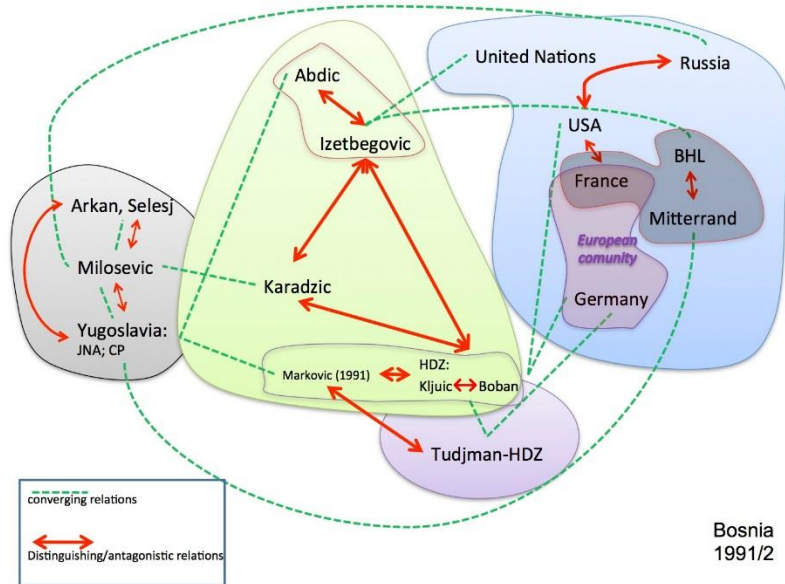
Conflicting census figures for Ottoman Macedonia, 1889-1905

Source: Friedman 1996, p. 85.

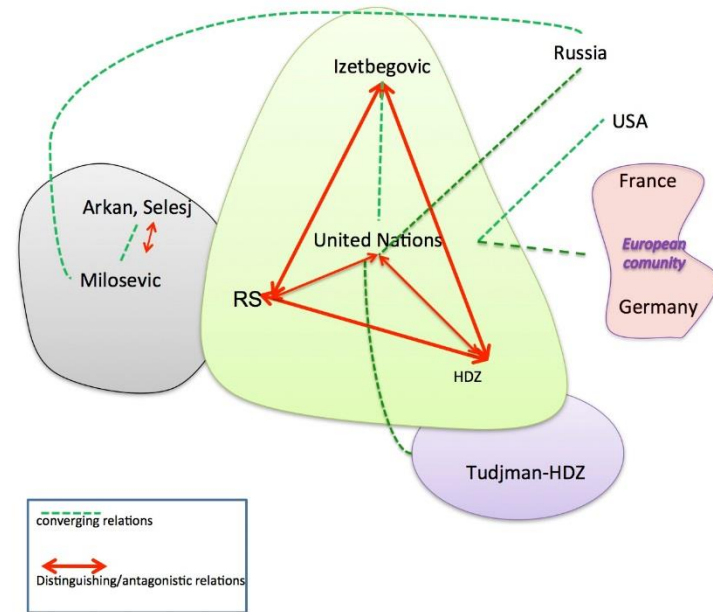
Imagined nation-states



International intervention in local context: a relational approach



Bosnia
1991/2



Bosnia
1997

Source: Götze 2013



A short guide to the Middle East

From Mr KN Al-Sabah.

Sir, Iran is backing Assad. Gulf states are against Assad!

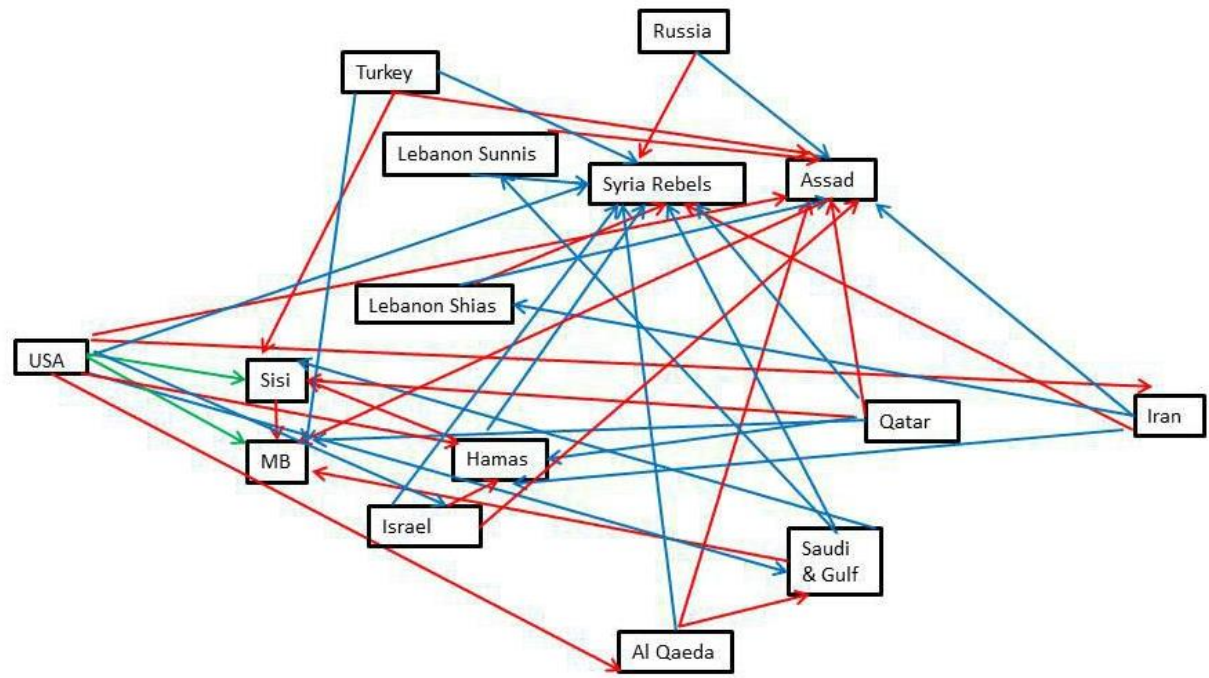
Assad is against Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood and Obama are against General Sisi. But Gulf states are pro-Sisi! Which means they are against Muslim Brotherhood!

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

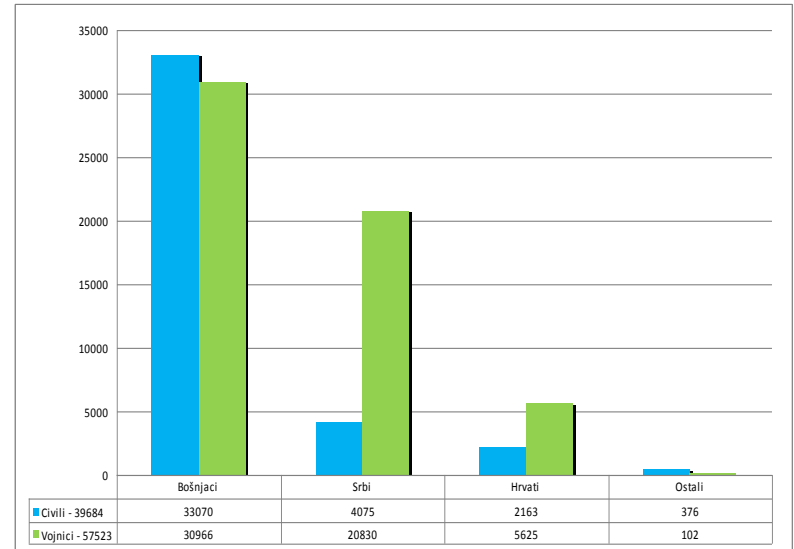
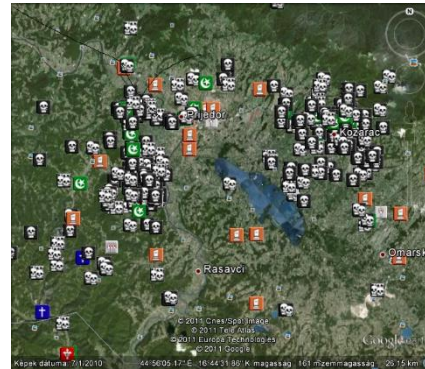
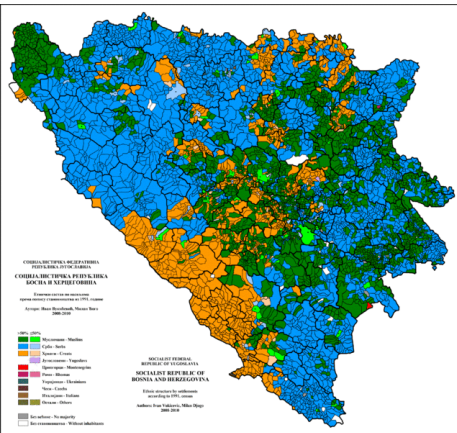


The Complete Idiot's Chart to Understanding The Middle East

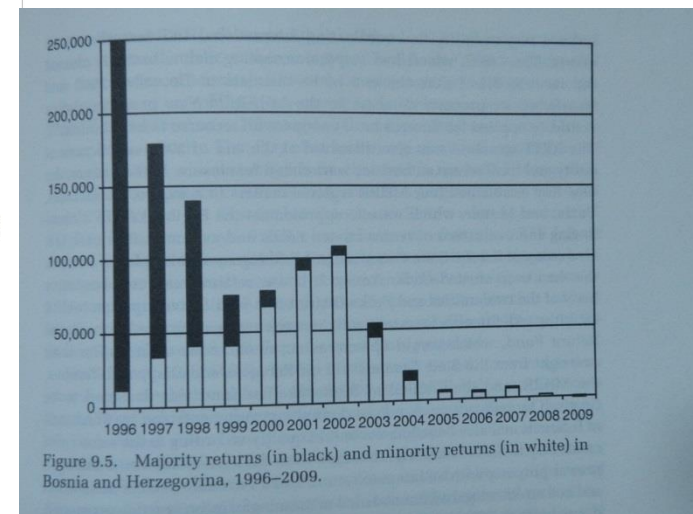
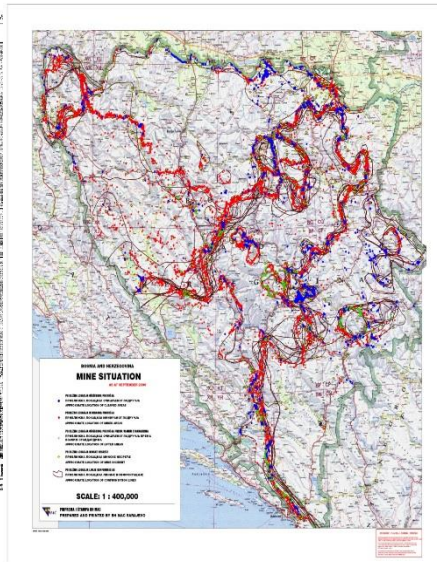
- supports
- Hates
- Has no clue

Source: Al-Sabah 2013; Fisher 2013

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



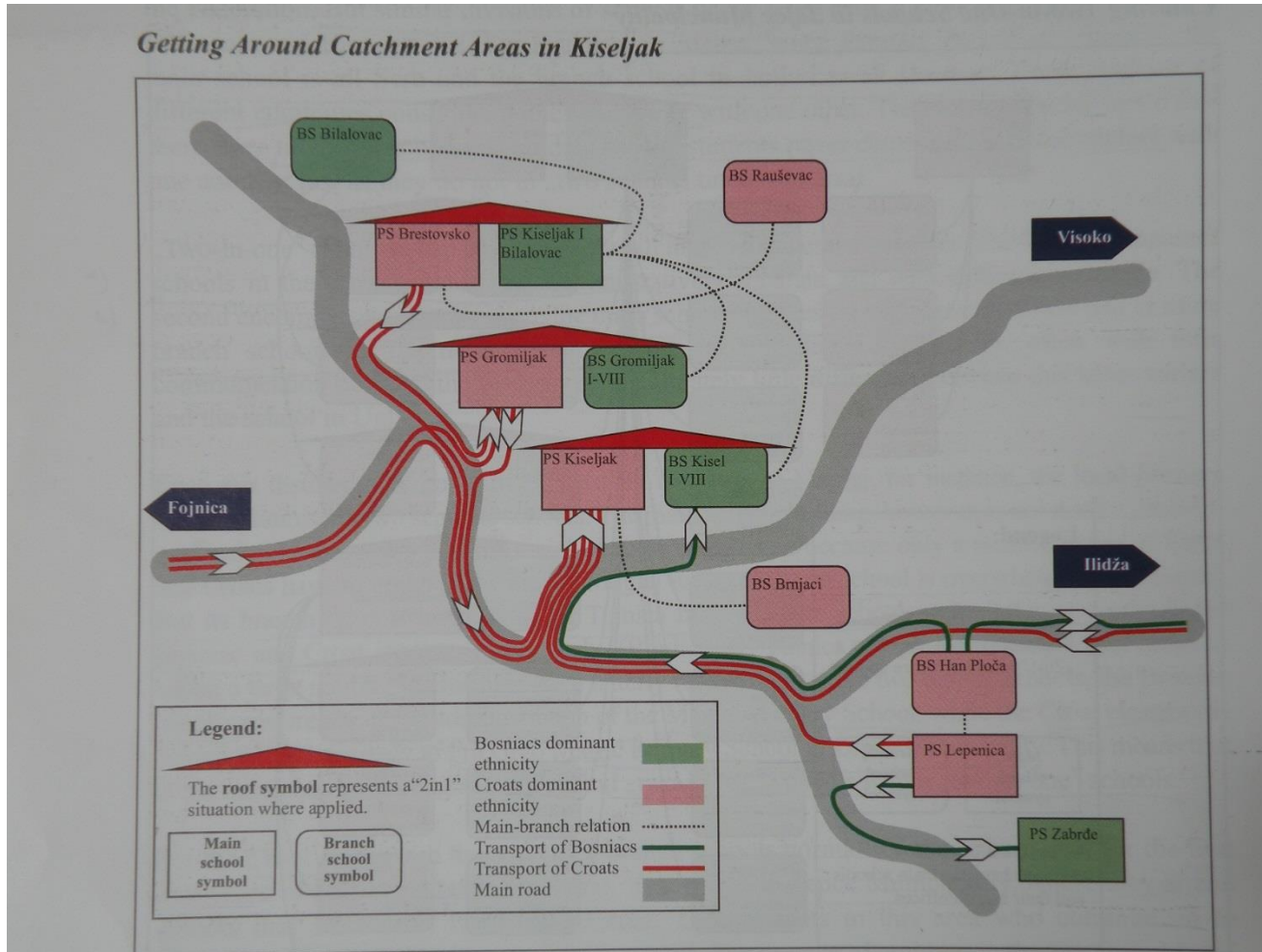
Source: Istraživačko dokumentacioni centar; EUFOR; Toal & Dahlman 2011, p. 289.



Dual transition, Dayton dynamics and nation/state-building strategies

- a) Post-war + post-socialist transition
 - Change of meaning: “self-determination” and “ethnic key”
- b) DPA’s dual nature (1 state, 2 entities, 3 constituent peoples)
 - Ethnicity, territoriality and power sharing (governance) linkage v. unitary multi-ethnic state, right of refugees and IDPs to return (and to not return)
 - State competencies: hostage of entities (entity veto)
 - Rule of law v. rule of politics
- c) Bosnian Serb, Croat and Bosniak community building
 - Majoritarian nation-state logic: two sides of the same coin
 - Double standards and inconsistencies
 - Neither “ethno-polis”, nor ethno-cultural neutrality (I man, I vote) works
 - Equality has to involve the right to be different
 - Balance between individual and group rights
- d) Legitimacy gaps in BiH “representational democracy”
 - “Legitimate” ethnic representation: “legality produces illegitimacy”
 - “Local ownership” rhetorics: who are the “owners?”
 - Sejdić-Finci v. BiH case?
 - Constitutional reform? (ESI, ICG, K-143, Expert Group etc.)
- e) Transformative power of EU integration does not work

“2 schools under 1 roof”



Source: OSCE 2007, p. 24.



“Who owns the state?” State-society relation and everyday ethnicity



RS

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 povelili 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.

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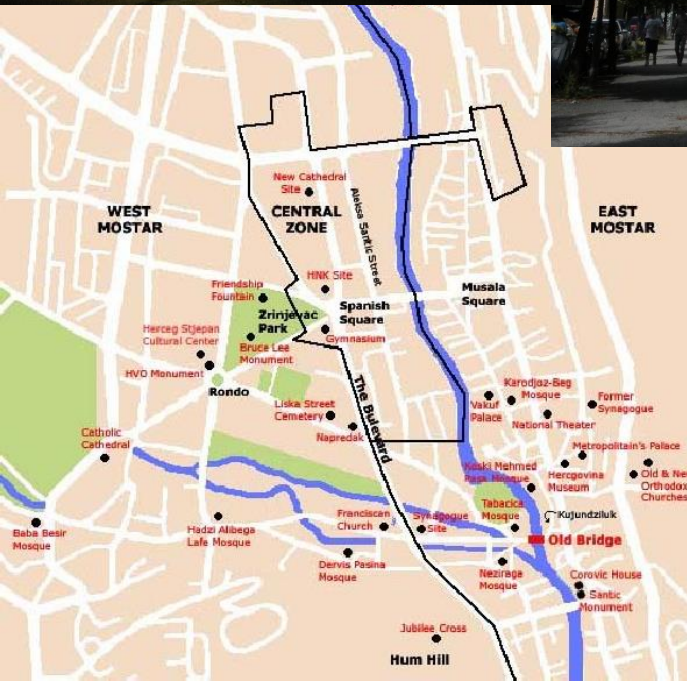
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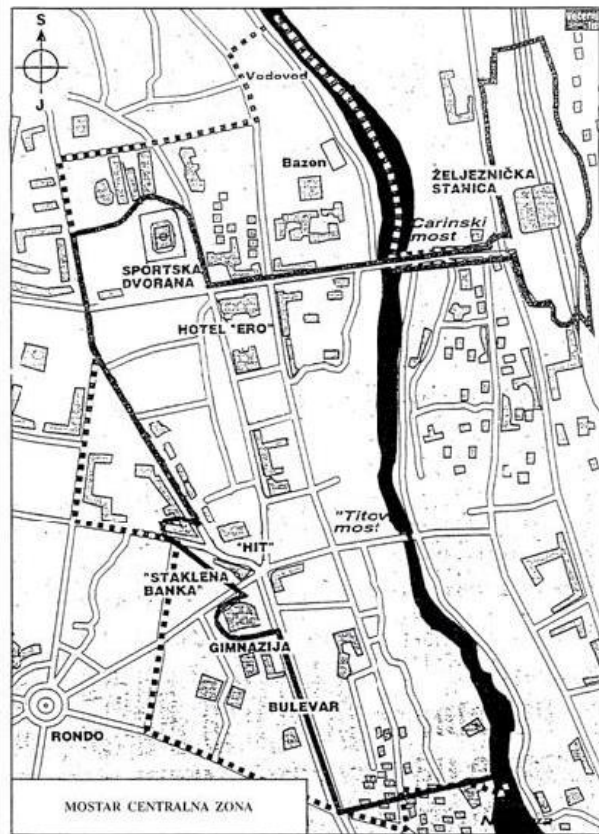
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“I cannot be minority in my country, it’s foolish!” The social life of “minority returnee” and other categories

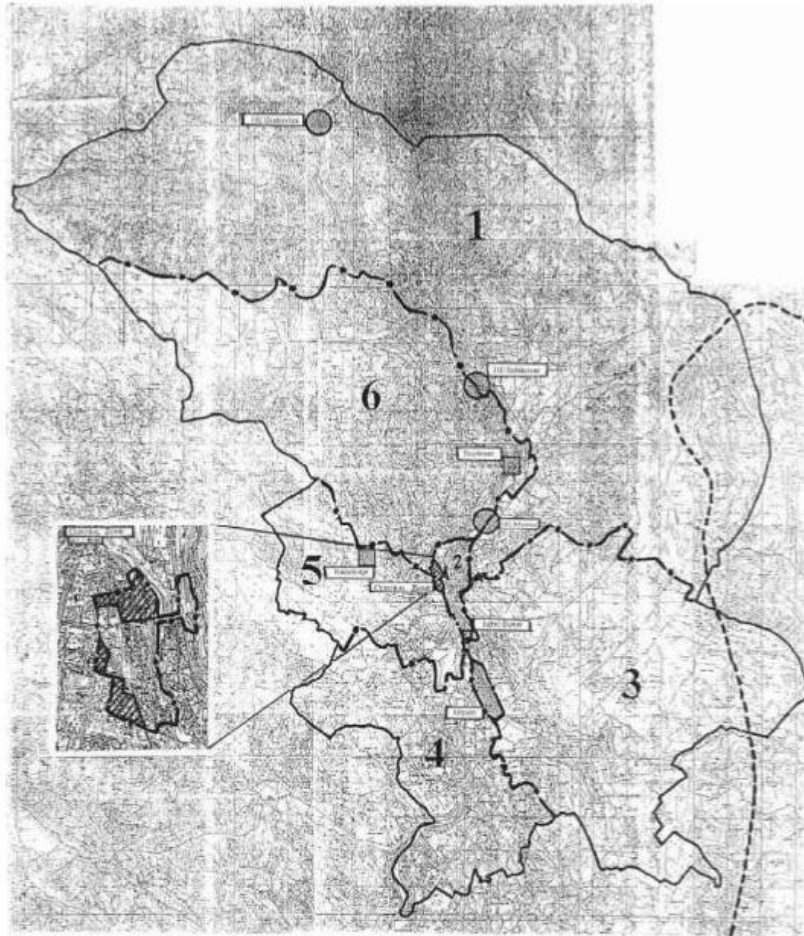


EU PROGRAM OF RECONSTRUCTION		EU PROGRAM REKONSTRUKCIJE	
Reconstruction of residential building Šantića street no.24 Mostar « RE BIH 06/1799		Rekonstrukcija stambene zgrade A.Šantića 24 Mostar « RE BIH 06/1799	
IMPLEMENTING PARTNER: DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL Mostar		IMPLEMENTATOR: DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL Mostar	
BENEFICIARY: Mostar Town		KORISNIK: Grad Mostar	



ROME AGREEMENT of 18 February, 1996

3 Map of Central District boundary agreed at the Rome conference of 18 February 1996 (published in the Official Gazette of the City of Mostar, 20 February 1996)



Source: Yarwood 1999, p. 113.

Prvi mart movement and RS reactions

Reversal of ethnic cleansing or electoral engineering?



Homeland vs. kin-state?

