- The creation of identities in Former Yugoslavia and Bosnia Herzegovina
ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the identity and the state, more specifically the identity in former Yugoslavia and the identity in Bosnia Herzegovina today. How can there suddenly be such a change in the identity of the people when the state capacity collapses? Are norms and language important in order to maintain the same identity? My analysis about the Yugoslavian identity, how it was constructed, and later on the identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, supports my hypothesis; that the state and the identity have a connection. The main purpose of my thesis is to see the difference between the Yugoslavian identity and the identity in Bosnia Herzegovina today, and to find out if the state capacity is important in the construction of identities.

Key words: identity, state capacity, state failure, former Yugoslavia, Bosnia Herzegovina
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1. INTRODUCTION
From a country where everyone lived together to a country where suddenly I was Croatian, You were Serbian and the third was Bosnia, the identities got a broader part of the society, politics and everyday life. I write about this in order to be able to see if the state failure in former Yugoslavia had an impact on the different identities of the population, what the differences are between the Yugoslavian identity and the ones in Bosnia Herzegovina today, and the identity/identities in Bosnia Herzegovina today.

I want to go deeper into the subject and actually see through other literature and materials in order to see if there was a connection between the state and the identity of the people in Former Yugoslavia, and what this connection was. Thus, my interest in this has been there but the opportunity to write about it has not. My hypothesis as I mentioned earlier has to do with the state and the identity. The state and Tito is linked to the identity in former Yugoslavia and the creation of the Yugoslav identity. Later on, the Bosnian identity on the other hand is created through historical and language aspects; whereas the three collective presidencies have an importance in valuing and maintaining an ethnical identity in the country. In this thesis I would like to find out if I am right. If there is a connection between the state and the creation of the identity; the vision and discussion of why individuals act the way they do; why “us” and “them” exists and how language and history can affect an identity will be clearer.

From the time my parents were born in the 1960s, until they became a family in 1988, they lived a peaceful life with their families and friends, as did many other families. The interest in ethnicities such as Muslim Bosniaks or Orthodox Serbians was not a question mark or a hesitation. Citizens and devotees of all ethnicities lived in Yugoslavia, a country that had many ethnicities but they were unimportant since the societies managed to live together, and a successful state made it easier.

The topic and the questions are to me relevant because it shaped who I am today, my identity, and even if it was 21 years ago when the state failed, people today still live with the memories of a country such as former Yugoslavia and I can look forward upon the day where we can all live together besides our ethnicities.
1.1 Problem and Research Questions

The problem in my thesis is the identity in Former Yugoslavia and the identities in Bosnia Herzegovina today; if the state failure of former Yugoslavia had an impact on the identities of the people in that time, and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, where the identities are diverse since the Balkan war in 1991. The problem in this case is relevant to the world today, because people are still being affected by the state failure of former Yugoslavia. The conflict among the different ethnicities is still visible, i.e. through hate among the individuals, and the division in the country among the ethnicities.

The research questions are formulated as below:

- **How was Former Yugoslavia constructed and how was the identity in Former Yugoslavia before the state failure?**

- **How has the Bosnian identity been constructed after the war? Has the state capacity, history and the language had any impact on the identities?**

These research questions are appropriate to the information and understanding of the construction of identities when a country fails both economically and socially, in this matter it is former Yugoslavia. I first explain the concepts of state failure and identity since it gives a broader and deeper consideration to the issue and a good background to understand what is seen as state failure and what identity is. I then go on with those concepts, analyze and discuss them with my choice of method and theory to the situation in former Yugoslavia and the situation in Bosnia today. Bosnia is relevant since this is the country which was mostly affected by the state failure in former Yugoslavia, the country that today has different ethnicities which were all included in Yugoslavia and later on mostly affected by the war.

1.2 Structure of thesis

My thesis is divided in five different parts. I begin with the problem and research questions which are the first parts of the thesis. The second part describes the method and the material that I use, and after that the third part is the theoretical approach of the thesis. The
methodological and theoretical part includes some introduction into the main core of the thesis, which is the analysis, but also definition of identity and definition of state capacity, and how these two are connected in a general way. The third part includes a background of some history of former Yugoslavia, which is necessary in order to understand the problem. The fourth part provides the analysis, where I discuss the identity in former Yugoslavia; the identity before the state failure and the identity today in Bosnia in order to answer my research questions. The fifth and last part of the thesis includes a conclusion and my hypothesis.

1.3 Previous Studies

Because of the time limit, I have been reading and looking at different secondary sources about former Yugoslavia and Bosnia. I have read and analyzed various articles and chosen parts which I felt was more important and relevant to my thesis. The snowball effect, reading one article, looking at the references and finding new articles, helped me in a way where I found new articles and new writers. There is a wide selection of articles about former Yugoslavia and Bosnia when we speak about development, but there is a rare selection of the topic which I am writing about; the topic of connection between the state, state failure, identity, norms and the people. Since the topic is rare, I have focused and based my thesis on articles, books; basically through secondary sources, and I have created my own interpretation and analysis.

Since the end of the war in former Yugoslavia in 1995, and especially the end of the ethnic conflicts in Bosnia, there have been publications and researches on the topic. The issue of the state failure in former Yugoslavia, the identities in both Former Yugoslavia and Bosnia Herzegovina, the religions and the people has engaged a large number of scholars to the subject. The situation in Bosnia today with the different religions in one country, the different people and the three collective presidencies all with different ethnic backgrounds have brought attention to the political and social matter of International

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Relations. Bosnia is ranked as the 79th failed state in the world, Former Yugoslavia is not on the map since the country does not exist anymore.

Many of the previous studies and materials comment the state and identities of former Yugoslavia and Bosnia in other ways than me. Hall examines the identity in former Yugoslavia with the connection to tourism and how the people in former Yugoslavia had to accept a new national identity in order to provide an economic solution to the Former states. According to Hall, the communist state of former Yugoslavia has to be seen as a background and not a future, in order for the former states to develop. I agree with that statement, but I focus and analyze the state, identity and the leaders of former Yugoslavia and Bosnia in order to see the construction of the identities. Since Bosnia is a country with multiple ethnicities, previous studies has been written on how to keep the peace in Bosnia Herzegovina, mainly with the three collective presidencies, even if I am not focusing on the presidencies, they are still worth mentioning. Previous studies often refer to the background and problem of former Yugoslavia or the current problem in Bosnia; I analyze both of the countries because they have a connection to each other. Bosnia and Herzegovina was and is a consequent of the state failure in former Yugoslavia.

1.4 Method and material

My thesis is a thesis in International Relations concentrating on former Yugoslavia and its identity over time. There will be a focus on the identity concept, further on the Yugoslavian identity and also the identity in Bosnia today, since that is the country with multiple ethnicities and also the one that was mostly affected by the Balkan war in 1991. I will examine the relationship between the identity and the state failure in Former Yugoslavia, and what connection it had. I will analyze the relationship of the one identity in Former Yugoslavia and the shared ones in Bosnia: Serbs, Croatians, and Bosniaks today. The qualitative method will be used to analyze and study this relationship and to describe group norms, which will be useful in this thesis.

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6 http://www.ccs.neu.edu/course/is4800sp12/resources/qualmethods.pdf (2013-08-14)
I will use the qualitative method, with focus on secondary sources. I do not use statistics in order to answer the research question since I am not using quantitative method. The qualitative method with focus on secondary sources suits my research question and my thesis because I search to understand and explain how an issue or process happened. In my case state capacity and realization of identity is what I focus on, and I ask questions that I believe can be answered by using the qualitative method, since the qualitative method is described with the aspects of social life, and trying to understand the form of words and not numbers when analyzing data.  

I’m not using the quantitative method since I’m not asking questions of “how many” but rather seeking for information and text-based and personal reflections of something that happened, often historical. The qualitative method includes case studies, text, discourse analysis, searches for answers to different questions, importantly it gives us the information we need to know about the social part of the issue which can be diverse opinions, behaviors, emotions etc. and through material such as secondary sources one can find evidence to the questions. I am discussing the identity if former Yugoslavia and the identities in today’s Bosnia Herzegovina with the help of secondary sources.

The material I am using is focusing on a specific country (former Yugoslavia and Bosnia), the problem on the identity and state failure and the situation today. Mainly I used books for the section of the background of former Yugoslavia, and for Bosnia-Herzegovina I used media, such as articles from the internet, because I want to highlight how the identities are in the current moment. The first part of the analysis will be with the focus on the identity before the state failure in 1991, further I look on the identity in Bosnia with some new ideas, such as recent articles from newspapers and the internet.

The Yugoslavia I know about is a place where people could live together and it didn’t matter what ethnicity you had since now all were Yugoslavians. It was a communist Yugoslavia, the citizens couldn’t always express their feelings or religions but the good lives were a compromise to the negative side. In order to answer my research questions, I wanted a wide selection of materials, which is the reason why I did not focus on a specific documents or reports. For the identity theory, I use articles from well-known authors such as

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8 http://www.ccs.neu.edu/course/is4800sp12/resources/qualmethods.pdf (2013-08-14)
as Hall. Andersons book “Imagined Communities”, gave me a good view in how to think of the identity in former Yugoslavia and Bosnia.

1.3.1 Delimitations

One part which I was concerned about was the collection of materials such as articles or books in the library since the selection in this topic is not updated in my city. The internet provided more for me than the library. I searched for material as much as I could and I used secondary sources. The only problem I was concerned about with the material was that there would not be enough material for me to answer the research questions. When collecting material about the concepts of state capacity and identity, I had no problem finding material since that kind of secondary sources can be written by researchers all over the world.

I searched on the internet for secondary sources before the war, and how it was back then. Articles that are published online and in Croatian, Bosnian or Serbian I have an advantage since I can speak Serbo-Croatian.

When I provide the background of former Yugoslavia, I delimitate the background to a certain couple of years, since former Yugoslavia has not always been a “country”. The background is from when the country was formed for the first time, in 1918 and the second time in 1945, until the state failure (when Tito died) and the war in 1991. One thing that should be said as well is that, when I talk about former Yugoslavia, I mainly speak about Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, since I see them as the main actors of Former Yugoslavia in that time before 1991, even though Slovenia was also I part, I will not highlight that country. My focus later in the thesis is on Bosnia, where mostly Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks live, and it is not relevant to discuss Slovenia or Macedonia in that matter.

I do not use a theory to explain state capacity or state failure since I am focusing on the construction of the identities through the states. The identity is the importance of the thesis, but the state capacity is important in order to explain that construction.
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Mind can never be intelligent-only no-mind is intelligent. Only no-mind is original and radical.

Only no-mind is revolutionary - revolution in action. The mind gives you a sort of stupor. Burdened by the memories of the past, burdened by the projections of the future, you go on living - at the minimum. You don’t live at the maximum. Your flame remains very dim.

Once you start dropping thoughts, he dust that you have collected in the past, the flame arises - clean, clear, alive, young. Your whole life becomes a flame, and a flame without any smoke. That is what awareness is.”

- Osho, an Indian Spiritual Leader

In this part of my thesis I will concentrate on two theories, identity theory and constructivism. The reason why I chose two theories and specifically identity theory and constructivism is because they suit my topic since I am discussing the capacity of the state in the matter of constructing the identities of the people in Former Yugoslavia and Bosnia Herzegovina. Constructivism and identity theory are relevant to the questions I want to answer and there is a connection between them; constructivism provides answers to my discussion about the construction of identities, and how they were/are constructed in the two countries. I start by explaining identity theory and then move on to constructivism. There will be a stronger focus on identity theory, with a base of constructivism; they will complement each other. I will also outline some basic definitions about identity, state capacity, and explain the connection between them, since both definitions are an important part of this thesis.

2.1 Identity Theory and the definition of identity

Before I can discuss the topic of my thesis, I should explain what is meant when speaking about identity theory. This term is quite new, and used more and more since the time of globalization; things being noticed when they first disappear; identity being a discussion in this subject. I am mainly discussing scholars such as Hall and Keen, among others, when providing identity theory and the concept of identity. Without right explanation of identity

theory, examination and analysis would be inadequate which would make it difficult for me to answer my research questions.

If identity theory is a theory or not is not easy to say since identity theory is quite new in the academic world, but I will use it in this thesis as a theory, which will work as a “tool” and support for constructivism. Identity theory can for some be a bit blurring, but I will provide the best definition of the theory in order to make it easier for the reader to understand how identity theory suits my thesis and specifically the research questions. The theory suits my thesis since I am talking about the constructed identity in former Yugoslavia and the identity in Bosnia today, and important aspects which are included in identity theory such as history, norms, language, culture and values.

Identity theory highlights different symbols that can be connected to someone’s identity and which are important to the identity; such as i.e. history or values of a certain country. The core of identity theory is “the self” and how you behave in a certain society which connects you to certain group of people in that country or another; how people see themselves in a group and/or compared to another group.\(^{11}\) The theory can be seen as the theory that explains how and why you feel/ or don’t feel a connection to others, who you see as the “others” and what identity is. Hall writes in his article “Who needs identity” that identity and the construction of identity are based on common or shared characteristics with a group, a person, or with an ideal.\(^{12}\) Tito and the communists in former Yugoslavia shared these beliefs when they created the Yugoslav identity, which will be discussed further on in the thesis. Tomlinson points out that once upon a time identity was something fragile; it was a treasure that needed to be protected in order to be preserved. It was something people had from the past, an inheritance.\(^{14}\)

According to Anderson and his book “Imagined Communities”, communities are created, the identity of the people are created for the nation, and his main question is: What makes people live and die for nations, as well as hate and kill in their name? He is focusing more on the national identity, but the discussion of his book is useful since nations usually have


an identity which the people are considered to follow, even though the members of a nation probably never will meet everyone in that nation, but similarities such as identity or interests make them feel as a part of the same nation.\textsuperscript{15} This statement will come through later on in the thesis when I talk about former Yugoslavia.

Another important author in the subject of identity and identity theory is Keen. He writes about the importance of “us”, “them” and the paranoia when it comes to identity. According to Keen, and I quote him, “paranoids begin with imagined enemies and end up with real ones as the cycle of reaction turns into a complex historical conflict”\textsuperscript{16}. He speaks about the enemy; “them”, the ones you usually blame when things go wrong\textsuperscript{17}. When one knows its identity, one knows who the “others” are, the ones not sharing the same identity as another. One’s social identity is a construction of culture, religion, language and historical aspects which are difficult to change.\textsuperscript{18}

According to Hall, this is how we should think about identity, I quote him: “Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, with the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a production, which is never complete, always in process….”\textsuperscript{19} Important is how Hall speaks about the cultural identity; it is constructed through memories, fantasies, narratives and myths, and brings the sense of belonging in the individuals.\textsuperscript{20} Much of the identity theory contains the relationship between the individual, the society and the others; how people see themselves in a group, or outside of the group. Having the same cultural identity or social identity and feeling a connection to that group can depend on language, religion or even norms\textsuperscript{21}.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, pp. 86
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, pp. 226
2.2 Constructivism

Constructivism and its rise determined on four factors. First, constructivists searched for their own explanations and concepts of theories and the world politics. Second, the Cold war gave theories other than neo-liberals and neo-realists to explain the transformation which changed the global order. Third, because of the Cold war, new questions came up and young scholars started to arise and the theory started to develop. Fourth, the young scholars who emerged the theory and also the concept showed in theory and in debate an enthusiastic side which brought new generations of constructivists.

Constructivism suits as theory in explaining the structure of identities; the Yugoslavian identity and later on the identity in Bosnia Herzegovina. With the theory, the explanation of the construct of Yugoslavian identity can be provided. Constructivists argue that “that to construct something is an act which brings into being a subject or object that otherwise would not exist”; the Yugoslavian identity was constructed; if there was no construction of the identity, people living there would have been more specific about their identities and would have lived more separately than together, as one can see in the discussion about Bosnia later in the thesis.

The core concepts of constructivism, which are also important for my thesis, are such as norms, language, identity, deliberation, discourses and persuasion. Constructivism and the supporters of the theory, constructivists, see the world as being socially constructed. It means that they are not focusing on the material subjects in the world but rather the social and they believe that the world is constructed through relations between different type of agents such as states and individuals. Constructivists also put a weight on how a change could happen in the first place, and I applied the theory in the identity of the different ethnicities in former Yugoslavia and how and why their identities had to change in the first place. People, they live in a society, but they can be formed to separate thoughts and experiences.

Using constructivism we can see and understand a change, in this case the situation I highlight in former Yugoslavia, at the international level. Constructivists also emphasize the social dimensions of international relations and they lay an importance in norms, rules and language which I can connect to my thesis and my research question. For the constructivists the identity matters; they give us benefits about those identities and can tell us how actors will act in a certain situation or what goals they want to pursue.25

The fact that constructivists highlight identity in their discussions, constructivism supports my other theory; identity theory, thesis since I analyze and discuss the highlights of identity and the importance of identity after the state failure in former Yugoslavia. Knowing the identity of the Former Yugoslavian leaders, we can analyze how and why the state failure occurred, and why the identities of the people changed afterwards, with my example of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since this is the country from Former Yugoslavia where the ethnicities are mostly mixed. Constructivism suits my research question since I want to see how the identities of the people got stronger after the state failure, and as Durkheim (1984[1893]) said, human societies are held together because of the “social facts” of culture26.

Former Yugoslavia was constructed because the different countries shared similar cultures, languages and norms. The construction was a part of a purpose that wouldn’t exist if there was no Yugoslavia, and it was created by human creations. For example, wood exists in the nature but can be transformed into different objects such as paper, or a wooden chair. These things do not exist in nature but they are created by human constructions.27 This can be drawn to a more serious situation such as the one in former Yugoslavia; leaders forming a special bond between the people who shared same history, culture and political meanings, and the one right now in Bosnia and Herzegovina; where the identities are stronger than ever and the Yugoslavian identity is disappearing more and more.

I find a connection between constructivism and the research question of my thesis since constructivist argue how we live in landscapes such as geography and resources and this is relevant to my thesis since people in former Yugoslavia could share the same identities and

live a good life because of the fact that the state was so strong and could provide some security and people didn’t have to “defend” their own culture and where they were born. But after the state failure the citizens had to defend their own identities since the country was fragmented because of the failure. Under the shell of the Yugoslavian identity, there were identities such as the Bosnian one, Croatian one or Serbian one, and this can especially be seen in Bosnia even today.

2.3 Definition of State capacity

“State capacity varies—across different states, between areas of state activity, and across time.”

I explain the definition of state capacity in order to see the state failure. When a state is strong enough to provide the same opportunities and same possibilities for the whole population, not just a part of it, the chance of less conflicts and the successfulness of a good and strong state will grow. Let us continue with the definition of state capacity, i.e. former Yugoslavia, which can be seen as a good example from my side.

Samuel Huntington says that “the most important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but their degree of government”. Even if a country has democracy but a weak state or government, the state capacity can be low and the responsibility for its citizens can be violated. The lack of government and specifically government capacity can be a factor of the state failure in former Yugoslavia and the identity progress that occurred at that time. Also, there should be a good and clear ruler in order to provide autonomous establishment in decisions and provide a good government with clear visions for the state.

State capacity can be discussed in different ways, such as external interactions with non-state actors, organizational capability of state agencies, a state’s territorial reach, military power, bureaucratic/ administrative capacity, political institutional coherence and quality, etc. Something as domestic violence or domestic conflicts can affect the state capacity

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30 Hendrix, S. C., “Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict”, Department of Political Science, University of North Texas, 2010, pp. 274
and provide state failure, as the situation in former Yugoslavia. State capacity is also shaped by the historical aspects of a state and the development of that state through political decisions etc.\footnote{Hau, V. M., “State capacity and inclusive development: new challenges and directions”, \textit{Institut Varcelona d’Estudis Internacional (IBEI)}, Barcelona, 2012, pp. 3} The state capacity can sometimes be a failure or more difficult when the country is big or has become big suddenly,\footnote{Hendrix, S. C., “Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict”, \textit{Department of Political Science, University of North Texas}, 2010, pp. 273} such as former Yugoslavia when six republics (Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia) became one state.

One part of the state capacity which is relevant to my study and this research is the political capacity and the state’s territorial reach. State capacity goes back in history and is evolved through history. When and if there is a state failure and a minor strong state capacity there is a high risk of non-development and failure within that state; failures such as civil wars or some kind of conflicts.\footnote{Persson T., & Besley T., “The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics”. Stockholm \& London, 2007, pp. 2} If there is a strong state capacity this means that the state is usually strong and that it can provide security, such as economic security, to its population. The weak state therefore usually has a problem with the economy or the survival of political and social challenges from population or non-state actors.\footnote{Acemoglu D., (2005), “Politics and Economics in Weak and Strong States”, \textit{Cambridge USA}, pp. 2} A strong state is usually one which has a territorial ground and centralization,\footnote{http://yalejournal.org/2010/07/20/state-capacity-as-a-conceptual-variable/ (2013-04-17)} in former Yugoslavia this was a problem since the different republics became one country but the power was mainly coming from Serbia controlling all the republics. The territorial weakness in Former Yugoslavia was a part of the rise of the weak state.

A strong state is often seen as a state that has strong military power that can provide with many numbers of soldiers who will win wars, or a strong economical state. Max Weber says that “the state cannot be defined in terms of its functions or tasks since over time and across units, it has performed a great variety of them and, hence, has needed a shifting set of capacities”\footnote{Schmitter P. S., with Wagemann C \& Obydenkova A., (2005) “ Democratization and State Capacity”, Chile, pp. 1}.

It is not odd that if the state doesn’t have a study base and is not economically stable that it cannot provide stability for its citizens. The state usually has to have some stable economic
resources in order to provide that stability. One mistake with Former Yugoslavia was that they thought after Titos death the country would have the same stability, but since the government more or less collapsed after it, there was no such thing as economic stability, resources, stability in the society and the point of who to blame became more and more out there since the state was so weak. The state shapes development\textsuperscript{37}, and if there is not state capacity the development will not be successful, and the responsibility of the state becomes the responsibility of the people.

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 Background of Former Yugoslavia

“Nations are held together largely by force and emotion”

– Reinhold Niebuhr

It is important to provide a background of Former Yugoslavia in order to provide a better understanding to the readers who are not familiar with the situation or what happened there in the past, but also to the readers that wants to know more or are interested in the subject overall. The background also works as a strong basic for the analysis, and is necessary in order to understand the problem which I bring up in this thesis.

How come there was a possibility for Yugoslavia and how did it all start? It actually started after the First World War in 1918. The Turks, who were a leading group earlier, disappeared from Balkan and Austria-Hungary became separate. Finally, the South Slavs had their freedom which they had searched for in a long time. During this time, the Serbians were the majority and had also the strongest power of them all, and they provided the suggestion that Balkan countries should become a united kingdom. There were hesitations from the other countries about this suggestion, but they believed it would be possible to accomplish this united realm, so the other countries agreed in the end. In 1918, Yugoslavia was formed, but then called SHS (Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian) kingdom, since they were the main countries on Balkan. In 1929, SHS was renamed to Yugoslavia, in order to provide the same identity to the people, and to make them feel as a united group sharing the same nationality.

Yugoslavia was formed after the Second World War, and had its main rule in Belgrade, but the other states such as Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, had a certain self-rule anyway. Yugoslavia means “the country of the South Slavs”, and included nationalities who spoke languages closely related, and the language was very important to the people as was the religion as well. The federation consisted of 6 different republics: Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Bosnia- Herzegovina.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Serbia</th>
<th>Croatia</th>
<th>Bosnia- Herzegovina</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65 %</td>
<td>75 %</td>
<td>40 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanians</td>
<td>11,5 %</td>
<td>32 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>8,2 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavians</td>
<td>5,3 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosniaks</td>
<td>4,2 %</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Diagram from 1981, is not 100 % reliable, more a brief example.

The diagram above shows the different nationalities in the different “country-areas” in Former Yugoslavia. The diagram from 1981 is relevant since that is the time when the country was most intense, and few years later it collapsed. Even though it was called Yugoslavia, it was known what areas belonged to what country. Example from the picture:

42 Rady, M., “Konflikter i det forna Jugoslavien”, Gleerups Förlag, 1994, pp. 6
43 Ibid, pp. 8
Nikolina Ladan

2013

the first country Serbia, 65 % was Serbians, 14 % Albanians etc. I am providing this diagram in order to show a percentage view of how the situation was.

All of these nationalities then became Yugoslavia. I did not bring the rest of the countries such as Slovenia or Macedonia since I am not focusing on those countries, and those identities, which I explained earlier in the thesis.

The idea of a united Balkan was not as easy to deliver, as the Serbians, Croatians and the Slovenians thought. Different nationalistic movements started to develop from the different nations, problems of boundaries and what belonged to who started to become an issue. There was a tension between the politicians and the people in former Yugoslavia, a tension that was soon about to explode. Josip Broz Tito, mostly known and called Tito, became president in 1952 and brought some light in most people’s lives. He was able to maintain stability between the different ethnicities, and the Yugoslavian identity became stronger because of him.

Josip Broz Tito, was president of Yugoslavia from 1952-1980. From the time he started to be involved in the political life of Yugoslavia until his death in 1980, he was, among other things, the supreme commander of the Yugoslav military; he received multiple decorations abroad because of his favorable reputation. The Yugoslav communists came to power in 1945, claiming they had a solution to the national question; the solution was that the different republics should be treated the same and the principles of national equality were important. The solution was based on the slogan: “Brotherhood and unity”, and the concept was held by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; thus the solution to a multinational Yugoslavia was a united Yugoslavia. The communists shaped and constructed Yugoslavia through social, political, cultural and ideological processes, and their aim was to create a socialist society. Instead of providing a natural sense to the different nationalities and religions in former Yugoslavia, the communists are said to have covered the boiling pot instead of confronting conflicts between different nationalities. Thus, the construction of identity in former Yugoslavia was a short resolution to a historical problem and consequent to conflicts in the 1990s.

44 Resic, S., “En historia om Balkan, Jugoslaviens uppgång och fall”, Historiska Media, 2006, pp. 188-190
48 Ibid, pp. 14
4. ANALYSIS

“In the modern world one can have, and should have an identity”\(^{49}\)

- Benedict Anderson

In this part of my thesis, I will analyze the identity in Former Yugoslavia and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina today. This part is where I will tie the bag and discuss my research questions and the answers to them. To clear your mind, my research questions are; **How was Former Yugoslavia constructed and how was the identity in Former Yugoslavia before the state failure?** How was the Bosnian identity constructed through state capacity, history and language?

4.1 Identity in Former Yugoslavia before 1991

“I had to follow the road, even if my steps were confused and indecisive. Otherwise I would not remain a man in my own eyes. For if I know something with certainty and I am convinced of its truth, how can I deny it, hide it from my closest friends; from the world and from myself?”\(^{50}\)

- Milovan Djilas, Yugoslavian Communist Politician and Writer

**How was Former Yugoslavia constructed and how was the identity in Former Yugoslavia before the state failure?**

The Yugoslavian identity- Also called the Yugoslav idea: an idea that the south Slav people should share and express the same identity, which will lead to a common state.\(^{51}\)

Before the collapse, the identity in Former Yugoslavia had been brought up by politicians and people learned to live close to each other even though they had different ethnicities or different religions, I know this since my parent grew up during that time. People had jobs, the country had a positive development economically and socially, and people lived quite...
good lives.\textsuperscript{52} When there was a decision of bringing six republics into one country, people didn’t know how the different ethnicities would work together, but neither western nor eastern Yugoslavia felt that they were left outside, but that they actually shared the same, common Yugoslavian identity.\textsuperscript{53}

Tito and other politicians had a dream of a common identity, in order to forgive and forget about the conflicts between the countries in the past.\textsuperscript{54} The Yugoslavian identity was much about the language, and about the quite similar values and everyday life situations, such as religion being a big part of people’s lives. It was something which hadn’t always been there but actually constructed because of the similarities in the different ethnicities. The construction of the Yugoslavian identity was a success in the outset because the people needed to share something important together and move on from the hate between the Serbians, Croatians and Bosniaks. Benedict Anderson mentions in his book: an identity makes the bond to your nation stronger, and you can share your identity with thousand or millions of people, often with historical events or important aspects for that nation\textsuperscript{55}. Even though the historical events of the Balkan citizens were not all positive, they could still share memories and from those memories move on with the same identity.

The people in Yugoslavia were fragile after first and second world war and mostly wanted to see a difference in the society. Hall writes that, cultural identity is something that is self-hiding inside many people, and these people share the same history and holds this in common.\textsuperscript{56} I can see how this argument holds, since the history is important in order to understand why certain events occur, as we can see in Former Yugoslavia where the self-hiding in people came out and was appreciated because people lived good lives during the time of Former Yugoslavia, and whether your neighbor was a Serbian or a Muslim or a Croatian didn’t matter because you all lived in the same country.

It is interesting how identities can be created and formulated through history, language, values etc. The Yugoslavian identity was filled with joy and respect for the “others” at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} http://www.sport.ba/kosarka/mirza-teletovic-bilo-je lijepo-zivjeti-u-jugoslaviji/ (2013-05-18)
\item \textsuperscript{53} Volcic, Zala, Neither “East” nor “West”: The Past and Present Life of Yugoslav Identity. CAS Working Paper Series No. 2/2009: Sofia 2009. Roles, Identities and Hybrids, a project of CAS supported by the Volkswagen Foundation, Germany, pp. 6
\item \textsuperscript{54} Agrell, W., (1994), “Från början för sent: Väst och de Jugoslaviska Nationalitetskrigen”, Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, pp. 60
\end{itemize}
least when Tito was alive, the time after Tito was the time when the Yugoslavian identity fell apart and the real identities of the people came to the surface after the neutralized society, and the gap between “us” and “them” started to be wider. The Yugoslavian identity was successful because countries such as Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina shared a similar identity, with a common language, history, habits and it was probably a political statement of developing a future where there would be no conflicts. The creation of Yugoslavia meant that there needed to be a creation of a new identity, the Yugoslav identity. Robert Joseph Kerner writes, and I quote him: “If there are miracles in history, the Jugo-Slav movement is a miracle… Religious differences, political rivalries, linguistic quibbles and the petty foibles of centuries appeared to be forgotten”. Within this quote, there is an understanding of how the new identity could be constructed and the presence of will of having a strong Yugoslavian identity is there.

When we look at the Yugoslavian identity and the wish of a common identity in the Balkans, we can see how the construction of that identity was made through the state and the wish of great power and state sovereignty. It most certainly was constructed to fit the need of that time; the desperate need for some kind of abstinence between the ethnicities after WWI and WWII. Interesting is, how this could have been a conflict resolution in order to keep peace between the different ethnicities, to enlarge the same history, the similar religions (at least Serbians and Croatians who both are Christians), and also the same values and everyday life.

The state failure occurred after Tito’s death in 1980, and I count this as state failure because after Tito’s death was the time former Yugoslavia started to collapse. As I mentioned earlier, Huntington claims that “the most important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but their degree of government”, no positive degree of government was seen after Tito’s death since no one could reach his level. Where there is no state capacity, there will most certainly be state failure. After the war in early 1990s, and even before that- the time after Tito’s death, Yugoslavia went

58 Ibid
through some difficult times. Even though Tito and his regime were all communists and Yugoslavia was communistic the country had succeeded with worlds view on them, and Yugoslavia was seen as a country of faith and reliance. The British historian Hugh Seton-Watson had in 1964 said that the Yugoslavian nation was a success for the habitants and would soon also be for the rest of the world.\textsuperscript{62} I believe his words, but the importance here is the people and I can criticize the state for building up a nationalistic identity, under the name Yugoslavs, when in fact all there was in mind was a need to cover up the earlier identities such as Serbians, Croatians and Muslims. The myth of the Yugoslavian identity and the construction of it were soon to be seen as a failure; the death of Tito came to be a state failure from an earlier “great” state capacity but also a turning point to millions of identities in Former Yugoslavia. Tito was the initiator of the Yugoslavian identity, but also the Yugoslav identity.\textsuperscript{63}

One American professor, whose name is not mentioned, was able to meet Tito before he died, asked him what had been Tito’s greatest failure during his time in the communist party and during his time as the leader. The answer which the professor received was that the greatest failure was that he failed to bring the people of Yugoslavia together in a real community.\textsuperscript{64}


\textsuperscript{64} Meier, V., (1999), “Yugoslavia: History of Its Demise”, Routledge USA, pp. 1
4.2 Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina today

“All my life I considered myself a Yugoslav, not a Muslim. Now I am a Muslim because that has been forced upon me” – Unknown

How has the Bosnian identity been constructed after the war? Has the state capacity, history and the language had any impact on the identities?

When we look at Bosnia Herzegovina today, the different angles of the country; political and social, there is ethnical equality. Terms such as “us” and “them” are used with a sense of respect. Hau mentions that state capacity is shaped by the historical aspects of a state and the development of that state through political decisions; this can be seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the country has three collective presidencies; Nebojsa Radmanovic (Serb), Bakir Izetbegovic (Bosniak), and Zeljko Komisic (Croatian). Having three collective presidencies provides a sense of belonging to each ethnicity, a reasonable distribution of power, and some way of keeping the ongoing peace between the different ethnics. The historical aspects of former Yugoslavia shape the current situation in Bosnia Herzegovina with its multiple presidencies because there is a caution of conflict.

The construction of identities in Bosnia Herzegovina lies in the proudness of belonging to a certain group let it be Serbian, Croatian or Bosniak. The country is an example of a society with different cultural identities. The identities are closely related in politics, religion and historical aspects, but with the emphasis on their own identity. When we look at the political situation in Bosnia Herzegovina, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, they have three collective presidencies. Having these three presidencies gives room for three identities and ethnicities to take place in one country.

68 Bringa, T R., ”Nationality Categories, National Identification and identity formation in “multinational” Bosnia”, University of Bergen, Norway, pp. 81
After the war in 1991, Bosnia had to rebuild their national identity, but it was more difficult since the country consisted of three national identities and not one. Instead of bringing the communistic resolution back, one national identity became three. Separate nations were under the pressure of becoming united, but the construction became instead a progress in potential identities. The Dayton Agreement in 1995 divided the country into two parts: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. The first one was controlled mainly by the Bosniaks and the Croats; the second one was mainly controlled by the Serbs. This was done in order to provide an identification that would be peaceful towards the other ethnicities. The political decision of dividing the country into two parts could provide its impact on identity by building up a democratic and accepting view towards the other ethnicities. What there should have been a focus on is the construction of the Bosnian identity, bringing individuals together; with a sharing history and language, instead the division among the ethnicities became wider. The division of the country creates problems for the Bosnian identity; the governmental level of state capacity is not there for development, and the state failure is visible through the un-development of the country. People don’t have enough money; they dream of a better community; they worry about life; and governance is low.

Looking beyond the political angel of constructing identities in Bosnia, I will now look at the social identities of the individuals. The concept which Keen brings out that “us” and “them” is important, is showed in Bosnia. The paranoia began when the country was a part of former Yugoslavia and when Yugoslavia fell apart the gap between “us” and “them” became wider, but that is a part of the identity in Bosnia; the multi-ethno society is the identity.

As I mentioned earlier, the core of identity theory is “the self” and how you behave in a certain society which connects you to certain group of people in that country or another; how people see themselves in a group and/or compared to another group. In Bosnia, this core of identity is mainly the religion; Bosniaks are Muslims, Serbs are Orthodox, and

Croats are Catholics\textsuperscript{73}, since many of the people in Bosnia are strongly religious their main focus of their identity is the practice of the religion. The constructed identity/identities in Bosnia are interactions in the society\textsuperscript{74}, with a combination of religious values and the similar languages; so called Serbo-Croatian language. Individuals that are Serbs, Croats or Bosniaks share the same historical home, and the historical aspects are important in concept but also in theory\textsuperscript{75}. Considering the identities in Bosnia; shared historical happenings, myths, heroes and shared challenges are what bring the different identities together. The history of norms and values are strong enough to provide peace between the ethnicities; in Bosnia, people appreciate and respect the history and historical events.

According to Gupta and Ferguson it is taken for granted that each country has its own identity; society and the culture are connected to the name of the country; i.e. one travels to India in order to experience the Indian culture\textsuperscript{76}. As I mentioned before, the state capacity is generally defined by the effectiveness of the government; Bosnia having three collective presidencies makes it difficult having that Bosnian identity based on the society and culture that Gupta and Ferguson discusses. Instead there is a multi-ethnical society of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks with similar history and values that create the Bosnian identity, with territories belonging to Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. All of the ethnicities are family oriented; the family names should be connected to honor. One’s last name says much, and from it you can tell if someone is Serb, Croat or Bosniak. Gupta and Ferguson speak about the “ethnographic- maps”; where same ethnicities are living together with same cultures\textsuperscript{77}, and these spaces and maps being socially constructed. Studying the map of Bosnia, the identities are shaped from where individuals live, i.e. Serbs mostly live in Republika Srpska in Bosnia, where they can practice their religion and share values with other Serbian individuals; this regards Bosniaks and Croats as well\textsuperscript{78}.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, pp. 7
\textsuperscript{78} http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/features/interactive-map-understanding-the-dayton-accords/ (2013-08-20)
From the study of identity in Bosnia, one can say that the religion is a big impact and contribution to the construction of identities. The practice of religion is seen in many places. Taking my hometown Jajce as an example of the importance of religion; there is a mosque in the center of the city. Not far from the mosque is a big church. Both of the religions are seen in the city and are the identity of the people there, but you practice your religion with the respect of the others. The gap between “us” and “them” lies in if you go to church or the mosque.

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis and this research were interesting, inspirational and learning. I learned a lot about the history of the two countries, but also the history of the Balkans. This subject is important to me since former Yugoslavia is where I am born; but the country I never experienced. Bosnia is the country where I go every summer, and see the consequences of the state failure from former Yugoslavia. I am aware of the identities in Bosnia and how they are constructed, whereas analyzing former Yugoslavia has given me a better understanding of why the identities are the way they are in today’s Bosnia. In former Yugoslavia, brotherhood was an important concept, while in Bosnia there is a brotherhood among the ethnicity or religion you belong to.

After analyzing different materials and books, such as Benedict Andersons “Imagined Communities” I find that the state; its failure or capacity predicts and shapes the identity of the individuals living in that state. The stronger the state is in providing a sense of belonging to the people, and especially if that state has a good leader, the more will the shape of identities be shown and realized. Better state will provide better and stronger identity of that state. As I mentioned in the abstract and the introduction, my hypothesis is that the state and the identity have a connection; generally but I provide answers with the discussion and analysis of former Yugoslavia and Bosnia.

Former Yugoslavia was a successful country up until Tito’s death since he brought the people of former Yugoslavia together and showed them a country where everyone could live together. He constructed the Yugoslav identity, and his popularity was not only domestic but international as well. The time after his death was a difficult time for the
individuals in former Yugoslavia; the multi-ethnicities started to become an issue because of the state failure. Tito shared and valued the Yugoslav identity and people were proud of being Yugoslavian. The people in former Yugoslavia constructed their own representations of objective reality after the state failure and this can be an explanation to why people suddenly became strangers when being friends for many years. An effective state and an effective government will provide pride to the individuals of that certain country and a pride of belonging to something.

As the materials I have analyzed, former Yugoslavia had a shared identity because the effectiveness of the leader, Tito, was high and involved in the social identities and the creation of an identity which was connected to pride and not shame. Even though it was a republic with “us” and “them”, because of the multi-ethnicities, people lived as Yugoslavians.

The Bosnian identity is shaped on the multi-ethnicities which Tito wanted to avoid in former Yugoslavia. Since Bosnia is a consequence of the state failure in former Yugoslavia the political context of the country is careful in order to not have the same faith as former Yugoslavia. State capacity does not have to provide certain securities such as economic, whereas Bosnia is not strong, it can provide a sense of belonging to the people in other matters. Even though Bosnia is ranked 79th failed state in the world, they have still managed to provide political security in some degree to the people; an example is the three collective presidencies. As I mentioned before, when a state is strong enough to provide the same opportunities and same possibilities for the whole population the chance of less conflicts, and a strong state will grow. Nonetheless, even though the choice of three presidencies has made Bosnia more divided; the gap of “us” and “them” grew, that is a part of the Bosnian identity; multi-ethnicity. The state capacity of Bosnia is shaped through historical aspects, one aspect being the fact that all ethnicities in Bosnia were a part of former Yugoslavia.

From both former Yugoslavia and Bosnia, one can see the construction of communities and identities. In Bosnia, language brings the people together but the religions tare them apart. Nonetheless, this is acceptable. The Yugoslavian identity was constructed through high standards of state capacity in order for the republic to have brotherhood. The Bosnian,

identity does not share those standards of state capacity, thus has instead created an identity based on the multi-ethnicities, where one knows who is “us” and who is “them”. An importance of the identities in Bosnia is the respect of the religion, Serbs Orthodox, Croats Catholics and Bosniaks Muslims; an unwritten “rule” which most people in Bosnia knows about. Nevertheless, values and history brings the people together, but the share of a same identity is an ongoing progress, since most Bosniaks see themselves as Bosnians, whereas Serbs or Croats see themselves as just that because of the religions, and the occupations/divisions of Bosnia. It was not my attempt to focus on the three collective presidencies in Bosnia today, but it was worth mentioning since the government provides the picture of an unstable Bosnia where people see and category themselves after their real ethnicities and not the Bosnian identity. Governmental approach in Bosnia has from the start (after the Dayton Treaty in 1995), focused on wrong achievements. The care of individuals is on a low level, and the country is as corrupt as it can be.

Applying state capacity in Bosnia, one can see the state failure. When a state is strong enough to provide same opportunities for the whole country, the chance of fewer conflicts in that country will grow. Today, Bosnia is on the edge of having an internal conflict where Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks all want their fair share, looking on individual identities and not the Bosnian one which should be the case.

The clear vision for a state or country, which is an important factor for positive state capacity, is violated in Bosnia. Politicians more or less act in the way that suits them and there area best, not considering the whole country. In former Yugoslavia, Tito was able to provide same opportunities for the people, but the consequence of Yugoslavia is what slows down the development of a shared Bosnian identity in Bosnia. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is a shadow that follows people in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia, and contributes to the state failure. A weak state usually has a problem with the economy, a clear and visible point which one can see in Bosnia whereas the government can’t provide economic security for the people. To conclude, by the discussion and analysis of material, I can say that my hypothesis was correct.
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