



CLIMATE CHANGE AND HUMAN SECURITIZATION SPECIFIC TO THE 2014 SOUTHEASTERN EUROPEAN FLOODS; CIVIL SOLIDARITY AS AN ETHNIC CONFLICT RESISTANCE

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Abstract

The paper presents insight into the consequences of emergency-based climate and crisis applications in the Balkans related to solidarity behavior, i.e., human securitization within civic pluralism, offering ethnic conflict opposition. Prior research in post-conflict countries focused on rebuilding destroyed and fragmented societies, liberal peacebuilding, state-building, transitional justice, income generation, or restoring people's sense of opportunity. However, the solidarity paradigm lacks administering climate change related to emergencies in the ethnoreligious divided nations (i.e., former Yugoslavia; Bosnia and Herzegovina). The paper examines human securitization cooperation in climate change, emphasizing the 2014 Balkans floods associating the post-Yugoslav citizenship paradigm within solidarity as an ethnic conflict resistance, arguing that the institutions had an abortion, and civic solidarity became requisite transforming an ethnic conflict. Through joint action and a systemic approach, it is possible to limit climate change consequences and work on capacity building and create a more resilient community capable of protecting its individuals. The resolutions to existing ethnic policies come from above through reactive civic solidarity, an ambivalence where citizen activists filled the gap in the crisis sensitively. Solidarity must also have a "polarity" to be symmetrical, not equalized with charity. An essential factor is the motive of proactivity, which neoliberalism and emerging ethnopolitics often confront. Political value and a certain level of nostalgia within socialist memory might have occurred through the solemnity of narratives. There must be effective counter-narratives to effectively change the subjectivity of citizenship and improve the ethnopolitical solidarity calculations. The comprehensive transformation of conflict means that even those organizations that are pillars of collective identity, which often exclude, alienate other communities in the process, must find a way to become active participants in civil society.

Keywords: Climate change, Southeast Europe floods, Bosnia and Herzegovina, former Yugoslavia, Civic solidarity, Human security, Conflict resistance, Ethnicity, Water management, Crisis



1.INTRODUCTION

Research in post-conflict countries focused on rebuilding destroyed and fragmented societies, liberal peacebuilding, state-building, transitional justice, employment, and income generation, or the more profound challenge of restoring people's sense of opportunity, dignity, and hope. However, the solidarity paradigm lacks administering climate change related to emergencies in the ethnoreligious divided nations (i.e., the solidarity paradigm lacks administering climate change related to emergencies in the ethnoreligious divided nations (i.e., former-Yugoslavia; Bosnia and Herzegovina inter-state international relations paradigm). The paper examines human securitization cooperation in climate change, emphasizing the 2014 Balkans floods associating the post-Yugoslav citizenship paradigm within solidarity as an ethnic conflict resistance, arguing that the institutions (Bosnia and Herzegovina) had an abortion, and civic solidarity became requisite transforming an ethnic conflict. Thus, no state institutional solidarity was exemplar, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). Moreover, by raising awareness of the problem and the active participation of all social structures, an inevitable shift can be expected in the struggle for the environment's survival, peacebuilding, and human security. In the following lines, the focus will be on how these climate changes are reflected in the territory of B&H, emphasizing the significant floods in Southeast Europe in 2014 and how they opened the discourse of conflict transformation within the framework of solidarity.

Climate change over the years has been one of the most controversial topics globally. Although there is strong evidence of the genesis, manifestation, and consequences, some scientists and authors deny the view that they violate and negatively affect human security. Thus, Stephen Walt believes that spreading the concept of security, which would include threats such as poverty, AIDS, natural disasters, would lead to excessive stretching of the concept of security, and thus everything would become a threat and make it difficult to make decisions significant problems. (Baysal, 2017) Other primary opponents, representatives of the Copenhagen School of Security, believe that climate change is being securitized, which, following the logic of security, would have problematic consequences such as the militarization of the problem and the legitimization undemocratic decisions. (Trabletta, 2009) Despite skeptical views that climate change should not be perceived as a security problem, Brown points out that we need to understand that the speed and scale of climate change and the way it affects our habitats, food, and water resources can very quickly undermine economic and political stability in many regions of the world in the coming years. By doing so, climate change will act as a threat booster and make existing problems such as water and food shortages more complex and challenging to solve. (Brown et al., 2009) Climate change can affect some or all of the factors at once.

States of acute threats such as famine, conflict, and socio-political instability are caused by the interaction of several factors. For many populations and communities that are socially marginalized and with insufficient natural resources, human security will continue to be progressively threatened as these climate changes take hold. In mid-May 2014, in the northern, eastern, and central parts of B&H, on the border with Croatia and Serbia, were the most damaging floods in 120 years. The natural disaster affected a quarter of the country's



territory and about a million people, approximately 30% of B&H's total 3.5-3.8 million inhabitants. The floods brought enormous devastation to the country, which is still recovering from the effects of the 1992-1995 war, where many people suffer from a perpetual deficit, unemployment, and constant political instability. The total estimated economic damage amounts to more than four billion convertible marks (KM) or 15% of B&H's total gross domestic product. Heavy rains have caused numerous rivers to overflow their banks, devastating more than 100,000 individual homes and buildings, more than 230 schools, and health facilities and causing enormous damage to farms. (UNDP, 2015) Thus, numerous industrial facilities, traffic infrastructure were destroyed. It is a well-established practice in most developed democracies that each state assumes responsibility for the care of victims and timely assistance in emergencies on its territory. Consequently, civil emergency planning is primarily the responsibility of state institutions, and it is common practice for funds earmarked for this purpose to also be under the control of those institutions.

However, considering that B&H has one of the most complex constitutional structures, planning and financing in civil emergencies are characterized by a slightly different form of organization and management of this sector. The complexity of the constitutional structure of B&H results in the existence of several similar laws that define the same area but relate to different levels of government. At the very beginning of the analysis of the legislative framework, we must indicate the following: B&H is a state consisting of two entities - the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federation of B&H) and the Republika Srpska (RS), and the Brčko District (DB B&H). The federal state of B&H, the complex structure of two entities and one district, the ethnonationalist division, EU and NATO integration, is complicated. At the same time, in B&H, the entities have increased the possibilities of monopoly and power over the territory. The ideological ethnonationalism has metastasized into a social organization's daily political discourse that produces uncritical subjects in all three constitutive ethnic governments. (Hadžić, 2021) Like many other issues in B&H, water management issues are primarily political issues. (Vucijak et al., 2011) The existing administrative-institutional structure of the water sector in B&H fully reflects the existing administrative-political structure of B&H. Coordinating activities and activities of international cooperation are within the competence of the state, and those crucial for the safety and living standards of B&H citizens, operational activities related to water management in B&H are the responsibility of the entities and the Brčko District (BD B&H).

The notion of solidarity has experienced inevitable progression in the Balkans 2014, although all the processes in which it occurs reopen many questions that accompanied the phenomenon of solidarity in some earlier times. Thus, for example, when it comes to counter-narratives within anti-war movements, the question is who are we in solidarity with and why? What is the community of our joint affiliation, and what rights do we enjoy in it? Are we left with self-exclusion as solidarity with the excluded? Moreover, where does the motive for solidarity come from? Due to the political and the growing economic crisis, people are developing a network of solidarity that is often understood as a set of behavior practices. Also, there is a need for solidarity in this context due to the lack of state institutional assistance, which offers less and less support in neoliberal conditions. State disaster prevention should have included action to prevent human security violations and to



avoid the historical accumulation of violations of economic, social, and cultural rights, including the right to food. Humanitarian aid is based on legal and operational frameworks at international, regional, national, and local levels. Experience and lessons learned should be considered for emergency response planning and implementation. A multilevel approach facilitates the decentralization of emergency response. However, in the months after the scale floods, the public focused on self-organization, unity, and solidarity (Grbesic, 2014) in ethnoreligious divided societies. Thus, a framework of civic pluralism to effectively improve the damage from the floods. In the context of today's policies of the post-Yugoslav space, solidarity is something that goes beyond certain borders and passes through the overall model of citizenship. The rhetorical power of solidarity depends on the constitution of citizens.

For the actual demonstration of the multiethnic nation's construction and, most importantly, its memory, the Yugoslav case is one of the better examples, not only because the whole construction of Yugoslavia was built and dismantled in more than a century. Hence, it is available for research and that in this framework, the Yugoslav state was quite successful for a certain period. (Wachtel, 1998) The most significant issue after Tito died in 1980 was that civil democracies did not replace communism but ethnonational ones, not supporting pacific self-transformation but extensive violence. Suddenly, in the mid-1980s, a new wave came that he no longer called it a counter-revolution, meaning in the socialist-style: revolution and counter-revolution - but called it an ethnic-religious threat. The thematization of the Yugoslav case is inspiring because it can simultaneously point out the advantages and limitations of the functions of shared social memory of solidarity in multiethnic and multireligious societies and the deep dependence of the state's survival on the skill of working on national memory. However, the short spring of civil society concepts and the formation of social capital in the 1980s quickly turned into the ethnicization of Yugoslav society. (Hadžić, 2020) The consequences were, in principle, ethno religiously homogeneous communities whose internal social capital was produced to the detriment of restrictions and the struggle against other ethnic communities. Historically, and presently, Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is the most critical area of former Yugoslavia multiethnic discourse (some call it a "small" Yugoslavia). The "complex" nation of so-called constituent peoples- Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims, the most numerous ethnic group), Bosnian Croats (Catholics), and Bosnian Serbs (Orthodox).

Subjects of solidarity, legally and politically, are additionally found through discursive reactions within the narratives of today's citizens. The "political" that constitutes the community changes over time, as does the idea of who we are and how we will function. The "brotherhood and unity" community has best defined the concept of solidarity, but in today's societies, the citizen must be responsible as a citizen entrepreneur in the neoliberal citizenship agendas. The diversity of normative articulations of citizenship is interpreted differently in societies worldwide, and changes occur when radical regime changes occur. The period of socialist Yugoslavia until the disintegration, the repetition of the mantra "brotherhood and unity," socialism, a civil status inclination, led to the fact that this mantra was, in fact, a recognition that different peoples live together in the same community and carry the idea that woven into legal, political, everyday practices that were like, e.g., labor



actions or military service practices. The counter-narratives were nationalistic, and the constitutional solutions removed all those who did not have an adequate origin, and that is the case when the existing community destroyed the imagined one. Destructive solidarity called "we against them" was very much present in Serbia in the 1990s, and anti-war narratives were constructed in feminist movements. (Vasiljevic, 2019) Counter-narratives and advocating for different citizenship agendas (different reasoning of solidarity) were used in various ways to accumulate capital in the post-Yugoslav period, striving for economic equalization. However, this move of solidarity through partial concealment and change of subjectivity affected power that no longer comes only from specific points. It is already becoming a way of thinking and overlaps with all the accompanying processes. The idea of who is a citizen in an ethical sense, who is a minority, and how he behaves changes the original idea of citizenship, and people must earn the status of a citizen who has their rights. The socialist past is used as a legitimizing narrative that justifies the position of people relying on the state instead of taking matters into their own hands. (Vasiljevic, 2019)

Due to new national-state theoretical inadequacy (i.e., nationalism as an ideology), religion is used as an instrument of socialization and legitimization of new national-political state subjects. When nation and religion become "controversial" identification and mark others as potentially dangerous, through a policy that allegedly aims to "affirm" and "protect" its people and their faith, then in local historical and current circumstances, it essentially implies antagonism in the most dramatic conflicts. Historical revisionism and the "evil" memory developed into a behavioral practice. (Hadžić, 2020) In deeply divided societies such as the Balkans, where groups fear each other, the option of leaving the current group is often limited, either because the costs of social solidarity are too high or simply because no groups are willing to accept a new member. For example, it was practically impossible for the Orthodox community to accept a Catholic as its member or a Muslim, and vice versa. For the reasons stated above, it is apparent that we need to begin to appreciate the potential that identity change brings with it.

From a sociological point of view, conflict is genuinely an inevitable fact of social life. Nonviolent methods, in contrast, strive for a more communicative approach and provide opportunities for trust and relationship development. Moreover, violence polarizes groups, while less violent forms of conflict open up the possibility of developing solidarity among rivals. Because violence and intimidation cause trauma and undermine trust, which only prolongs violent conflict, one of the main challenges of all peace initiatives is the "end of violence," as John Brewer (2003) points out in the title of his book. (Smithey, 2011) Furthermore, the liberal peace debates have produced a body of critical research that has analyzed the theory and practice of contemporary peace interventions from different positions. These debates have questioned the paradigm of liberal peace, inquiring about how liberal and prosperous these interventions are. For Vivianne Jabri (2016), peacebuilding signals a much more profound transformation of the nature of war and the maintenance of international order where war and peace have an intimate and co-constitutive relationship. (Jabri, 2016) Within the conflict transformation paradigm, concerning the international organizations, independently of the principle, good intentions, support for the development of the civil society gave inferior results in the last 30 years in the Western Balkans. One of the



main reasons is the focus on NGOs, neglecting other important "sectors" civil society, trade unions, religious communities, and academia. It appears that they are left with party influences and manipulations. (Papic and Buric, 2013)

Although human individuality must be respected as the foundation of human dignity, it can only be defended based on collective solidarity from the infliction of unnecessary pain and suffering by the state or some other institution or organization. Tischner states elegantly and confidently to people of all times looking for solidarity that they must come together in collectively grounded actions: "People willing to do something good become members of a spontaneously based community of people of goodwill. Those in their hearts have a love for those they act. Those on the lips feel the taste of courage. (Tischner, 1984) Furthermore, social problems that need to be addressed systematically, such as intolerance, hate speech, discrimination and violence, and hate-motivated violence, are responded to superficially and reactively, often only after they escalate, failing to protect the most vulnerable in society. In addition, children and young people are not learning sufficient about human rights, equality, and solidarity, while at the same time, distrust in institutions is growing (Turcilo et al., 2019) and opportunities for civic participation are weak.

Prior research in post-conflict countries focused on rebuilding destroyed and fragmented societies, liberal peacebuilding, state-building, transitional justice, income generation, or restoring people's sense of opportunity. However, the solidarity paradigm lacks administering climate change related to emergencies in the ethnoreligious divided nations (i.e., former Yugoslavia; Bosnia and Herzegovina). The paper examines human securitization cooperation in climate change, emphasizing the 2014 Balkans floods associating the post-Yugoslav citizenship paradigm within solidarity as an ethnic conflict resistance, arguing that the institutions had an abortion, and civic solidarity became requisite transforming an ethnic conflict. The paper presents insight into the consequences of emergency-based climate and crisis applications in the Balkans related to solidarity behavior, i.e., human securitization within civic pluralism, offering ethnic conflict opposition.

2.METHOD AND MATERIALS

Besides general scientific (analysis and synthesis) and specific scientific methods (comparative-legal, formal legal), the study applies descriptive, discursive, content analysis, and in-depth literature review within the theoretical and conceptual discussion to initiate the research gap. Therefore, research considerations of distinct appearances interrelation are lacking. In the sociopolitical and security context, the paper aims to simplify administering climate change related to emergencies in the post-conflict ethnoreligious divided nations (former Yugoslavia) within the solidarity paradigm. The paper is based on secondary data analysis, current literature review, and theoretical and Regional and International legislative discussion focusing on the massive SouthEast Europe floods and 2014 Western Balkan crises. It included various literature such as Environmental Assessment of the Water Management Plans, Strategic and Legislative Frameworks in Forestry and



Related Sectors, research on the adverse effects of climate change in the European Union and Region, Framework law on protection and rescue of people and material goods from natural or other disasters, numerous media extracts including grey literature, civic nationalism, ethnicity, and philosophy of *solidarity literature*, natural disasters and institutional reports, global environmental change, and human security research, evaluation of development, and others.

3. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

3.1. Western Balkans, B&H and 2014. severe floods

Climate change threatens human security because it disrupts housing, livelihoods, threatens culture and individuality, increases migration that people would rather avoid, and can undermine the ability of the state apparatus to provide the conditions necessary for human security. Climate change can cause current insecurity, such as hunger, conflict, and socio-political instability, and almost always occur with multiple factors. The circumstances that served to open the perceptions of both state institutions and the entire public and show what problems we will face soon were the catastrophic floods in the Western Balkans and B&H in 2014. Floods in the Western Balkans and B&H can occur throughout the year and peak in the spring when high precipitation and melting snow from the mountains. The 2014 floods damaged flood protection infrastructure (mostly embankments). It failed to prevent floods due to underground erosion beneath their foundations. The consequences of the floods, except in the most affected municipalities and cities, were felt throughout the country. From the harmful impact on the environment, health, and human lives, through the enormous economic consequences, all citizens have experienced adverse effects. Besides, the state has shown unwillingness and lack of resources to deal with the emergency. (Centri civilnih inicijativa, 2014) Without the help of the international community, civic solidarity, and humanity, it is questionable whether the state would guarantee the security of its citizens.

Nevertheless, what do human security and climate change have in common? Human security is achieved when individuals and communities have the solutions necessary to end, diminish or adapt to threats to their human, social, and healthy environmental rights; or when they have the capacity and freedom to practice potential responses to threats and to participate in acquiring the necessary knowledge to do so actively. (GECHS, 2013) Globally, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change addressed security for the first time in a 2015 report, including them in the human security subsection. The report states that climate change will increase the forced migration of people due to a lack of natural resources and extreme weather conditions, both in rural and urban regions and especially in developing countries.

Climate change can indirectly increase the risk of armed conflict, civil wars, and intergroup violence by exacerbating poverty and causing economic shocks. (McKim, 2015) It is evident that B&H citizens, having in mind the experiences from the past, do not have sufficient capacity to face the consequences successfully. The National Council prepared vulnerability



assessments for the hydrology and water resources, forestry, agriculture, and health sectors and confirmed that these sectors were affected by the changed climatic conditions. However, nowhere is it explicitly stated that climate change harms human security, nor is there a strategy to address these adverse effects. In addition to drowning, the indirect danger during floods is the potential contamination of surface and groundwater and surrounding lands with hazardous substances and wastewater. Human health is generally very dependent on weather conditions, but the diseases that are expected to have the most pronounced impact on climate change are:

- 1) asthma, respiratory allergies, and diseases of the respiratory system;
- 2) malignant diseases;
- 3) vascular diseases;
- 4) diet and foodborne illness, heat stress-dependent illness and mortality;
- 5) mental health disorders and stress-induced disorders, neurological disorders, vector-borne diseases, and zoonoses;
- 6) water-borne diseases. (Aberle et al., 2012)

The event marked 2014 is undoubtedly the floods that hit Southeast Europe and B&H. The May floods were catastrophic, with human casualties and significant material damage. Large amounts of rain caused numerous rivers to overflow their banks. One million residents were displaced from their homes, more than 100,000 individual residential buildings and buildings, more than 230 schools and health institutions were devastated, and huge damages were inflicted on agricultural properties. Numerous industrial facilities, transport infrastructure were also destroyed. During floods, vast precipitation caused large floods in the northern, eastern, and central parts, and Croatia and Serbia. These were the worst floods in 120 years, bringing enormous devastation to a country still recovering from the 1992-1995 war, where a significant number of residents suffer from chronic poverty and unemployment. A report created by the United States Development Agency (USAID) from 2017, which refers to climate risks, predicts that reducing temperature and precipitation will affect the cereal crops that dominate B&H agriculture. Maize production could fall by as much as 58 percent due to reduced rainfall and higher temperatures during the summer. The increase in temperature has already led to increased fungal diseases and pests that reduce crop production. (USAID, 2017) Food security also builds on agricultural production and is evident in how they are linked: from shortening the production season, lack of irrigation water, loss of fertile soil due to desertification or floods, to problems in supply chains. (Advisory Committee on the Microbiological Safety of Food Annual Report. 2018.) In addition to the impact on the economy, changes in biodiversity are expected. B&H has various relief, forest, and water resources and numerous species that inhabit them. It is estimated that there will be significant changes in grasslands, coastal habitats, and forest ecosystems in response to changes in the amount and seasonal distribution of precipitation. As climate zones change, some species will adjust their geographical range, while others will not keep up with climate change and will decline. (Institut za građevinarstvo, 2021). Elevated temperatures combined with more frequent and intense droughts can increase the risk of forest fires. It directly affects a safe and healthy environment, thus jeopardizing another dimension of human security. (Rankovic et al., 2016) All these effects of climate change on health security, economic, food security, and a healthy environment compromise the



security of the individual. If more than one individual is affected, we cannot talk about community security. Finally, if the state cannot ensure that its individuals live in a healthy environment, have access to resources, a secure supply of food, their economic needs are met, and adequate health care is provided, then indeed the human security of these individuals is threatened.

Nature showed in May 2014 that it does not recognize any administrative boundaries, and rivers have mercilessly overflowed in both the Republika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of B&H (FB&H). The B&H citizens did not regard which side of the entity border to flee to save lives and material goods. Citizens turned to each other when it was most needed, and in those moments, all administrative boundaries, national tensions, was erased. For example, only in B&H was it easier to declare three states of emergency, in the Republika Srpska (RS), in the Federation of B&H (FB&H), and the Brcko District (BD B&H), instead of the so-called coordination team at the Ministry of Security submitted a request for a state of emergency at the state level. We cannot escape the impression that specific centers of power also saw a danger of the potential possibility of strengthening the power of the state and state institutions and weakening the entity ones. According to the Framework Law on Protection and Rescue of People and Material Goods from Natural and Other Disasters in BH, the BH Council of Ministers was formed by the Coordination Body of Bosnia and Herzegovina, consisting of representatives of

1. B&H Council of Ministers - (nine members),
2. Republika Srpska Government - (five members),
3. Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina - (five members),
and

the Government of the Brčko District - (two members).¹

At the regular session of the Association of Independent Intellectuals Krug 99 in 2019. the theme was "The constitution of the people against the citizens and the democratic state of B&H." Senadin Lavic states that today's state of "peace in B&H" is based on satisfying the needs of Serbia and Croatia to dominate B&H rather than on the internal process of democratization of B&H society and the development of civil liberties. (Lavic, 2017) Since Dayton Peace Accords divided B&H into two entities, one District, along ethnoreligious lines, genuine civic initiatives remain essentially blocked. "All parties address one particular ethnic group. Therefore, there is no civic awareness. For example, there are educational textbooks for the Croatian and Serbian curricula. It is the same as living in Croatia or Serbia. Sadly, the Bosnian civic identity has never developed. B&H urgently needs citizens' awareness." (Stieger, 2017). However, the catastrophe showed that instead of today's entities

¹ Okvirni zakon o zaštiti i spašavanju ljudi i materijalnih Dobra od prirodnih ili drugih nesreća u Bosni i Hercegovini [Legislative law on protection and rescue of humans and material goods from natural or other disasters in Bosnia and Herzegovina] <http://msb.gov.ba/Zakoni/zakoni/default.aspx?id=1721&langTag=bs-BA>



segmentation by the authorities in B&H, civic pluralism and solidarity problematized the development of a "single state behavioral model" that was operational in the event of natural disasters.

The Council of Ministers B&H had not declared a state of natural or other disasters in complete B&H. Therefore, the protection and rescue activities with the institutions and bodies of the entities and the Brcko District (BD) were not within the Coordination bodies' competence. This arrangement of competencies did not accommodate the entity centers of power. The representatives of the Republika Srpska (RS) were not particularly interested in participating in the work of this body during the first days of the disaster. However, one of the competencies of the Coordinating Body forced them to change their position. Namely, the Coordination Body of B&H for Protection and Rescue is in charge of coordinating the reception and provision of international assistance and donations in protection and rescue after declaring a state of natural or other disasters.

Given that international assistance in the form of helicopters, boats, and other forms of assistance from other countries were needed for the RS entity, representatives of this entity also became involved in joint coordination at the state level. The European Commission has approved a 65 million euros emergency financial assistance package to Serbia and B&H. In addition, over 30 countries provided assistance to B&H during the floods, and 850 members of international specialized protection and rescue teams were received and deployed. In addition to inter-entity, inter-ministerial divisions, considerable fragmentation in planning, uneven funding, and organization of protection measures, the system is not fully developed due to a lack of continuity in planning and delays in government institutions in adopting key documents relevant to water management and protection. For example, the adoption of the first FB&H Water Management Strategy was delayed by three years; in RS, the strategy has not yet been adopted, while at the state level, it does not even exist in a framework form. Given the efficiency shown in the actions of the B&H authorities over the past years, the complex state structure of government in the country, the still high degree of manipulative policy, the high level of corruption, and other problems that characterize the country. This natural disaster had been used for political purposes in the political scene, suspecting the abuse in collecting and distributing aid. In the RS, it is suspected that political reasons were the basis for the lack of greater coordination and integrated approach to crisis management. The level of the catastrophe could undoubtedly have been avoided by monitoring and timely radical decisions. However, as a rule, political staffing was never ready for that by professional systems. The space, and even its catchments, must be managed based on cognition and scientific logic. (Sterc, 2014) As a result, the study "Floods in B&H - Natural disasters and institutional inefficiency concludes," we express-open fears that B&H could face the aforementioned worse scenario and a much slower economic recovery. (Centri civilnih inicijativa, 2014)

The apparent fact is that the floods and landslides in B&H in 2014 took many human lives. In addition, the financial damage is estimated at almost 4 billion KM. Therefore, the data reflect the final assessment of the damage suffered by domestic institutions and experts of the international community. However, the political elites of entities could not agree on a



"national grief day." Therefore, the state of B&H as a whole did not signify during the crisis. For example, the Council of Ministers, the government of B&H, held an extraordinary session only six days after the floods began. However, the council did not declare a state of emergency at the state level. Request for an emergency state had not been received. (Centri Civilnih Incijativa, 2014)

In the outcome, the European Union's relationship came down to the fact that Croatia, since it is a member of the EU, has no difficulties accessing European solidarity funds, that Serbia, as a candidate country, can use EU assistance according to the same model, and B&H, which is not a member, neither the candidate has that right. Due to the political agitation, B&H was only given potential candidate status in 2003 and is covered by the current EU enlargement policy. The application for membership in the EU was officially submitted on 15 February 2016. However, the damage in B&H is three times greater than in Croatia and Serbia combined. One million people were displaced, a third of the economy of B&H was destroyed.

In order to conclude what is the attitude of regional political parties towards the issues of water management, catastrophes, natural disasters, and human security, a much more studious examination of party programs and legal practices should be approached, especially in the period when parties participate in government. Such an examination should focus on the (programmatic) attitudes and solutions that individual parties advocate concerning various critical issues within observed phenomena. It includes exercising social rights and access to services, in particular issues of protection and cares; but also other issues related to the economic development strategy, exit measures from the crisis, and especially austerity measures, and questions about the position of these parties in response to the catastrophic floods or social unrest and civil self-organization from the beginning of 2014.

3.2. Civic solidarity as a Transformation of the Conflict

In the post-Dayton Peace Accords B&H, the NGO sector, dependent on international donors, followed the logic of "enlightening the people" with continuous training and round tables on peacebuilding, democracy, human rights, the so-called "change of awareness." Each subsequent election round demonstrated the failure of this concept. The fact is that "old-new ethnonational parties are constantly winning at elections." At the same time, the NGO sector has become part of the "industry of projects," losing its civic character and not sticking to its practice for the values of civil society. The fundamental mistake was that, conceptually, civil society itself was the opposite of ethnonational identity, which did not develop civil society concepts in specific B&H conditions, multiethnic and multireligious communities. (Papic and Buric, 2013) Besides, through the concept of the constitutiveness of the people, Serbia and Croatia directly implement "their policies on the soil of the B&H state and affect the internal sovereignty, turning into an obstacle to civic pluralism prosperity.

One of the preconditions for the creation and functioning of democratic public opinion relies on the category of personal autonomy, which makes every citizen a political subject, able to resonate critically and participate in the community's political life. Thus, the definition of



one's identity includes his view of moral and spiritual issues and his relationship to a defined community. The constant fabrication of dangers (stimulant) that threaten the alleged survival of an ethnic group creates a psychosis of fear and uncertainty, defensive internal cohesiveness, making it impossible to discern the dangers to the existence of peoples coming from that group. It is rapidly transferred from one religious group (nation) to another in which the same processes occur, creating a chain of imaginary interethnic threats. According to Integrated threat theory, ingroup members who are relatively unfamiliar with outgroup tend to be prone to experience threats than those who know each other. Because of all of the above, national identity is an essential component of integrated threat theory. (Hadžić, 2021) Starting from the hypothesis that changing the ideas and opinions of an individual and a group (elite) can create new interests/identities of a religiously divided community (nation), it certainly opens opportunities for establishing radically different interethnic relations, thus opening a new area of political communication in the Balkans.

Due to the complexity of legislation, institutional organization, interdepartmental and even regional connections of the "water sector" and protection against natural disasters, in just one analysis, it is impossible to cover the general issue of water management in B&H, and the author focuses on the part that talks about floods as a concept of solidarity of the specific population, but also flood risk management. It was more "natural" to declare three states of emergency in the Republika Srpska (RS), in the Federation of B&H (FBIH), and the Brčko District (BD B&H), instead of the so-called coordination team at the Ministry of Security², submitted a request for a state of emergency at the state level. However, we cannot avoid the impression that specific centers of power also saw a danger of the potential possibility of strengthening the power of the state and state institutions and weakening the entity ones. Indomitable ethnopolitical conflicts, which some scientists call "identity conflicts," are primarily resilient because they are driven by deep psychological and emotional forces that overlap with wide-ranging structural forces. (Smithey, 2011) Before negotiations and cooperation of any kind, communities within themselves must reconsider their mutual relations, adjust their relations with members of other communities, and adjust their views to a more communicative framework, which is more open to cooperation. Despite knowing what is needed to transform the conflict and move it to a calmer, political framework, within which the option of negotiation and peace is most feasible, several individuals cannot just change and forget all acts of violence of the Balkans past. For these reasons, members of certain groups are so defensive and "closed" to any possibility of peaceful coexistence - because they have experienced nothing but violent methods of trying to impose their views and their identity, after all. In extreme conflict situations, the opponents' identities become defined so that they are proportionally opposed to each other, indivisible, and inaccessible to negotiation. They become inseparable from the conflict that is beginning to be understood

² According to the Framework Law on Protection and Rescue of People and Material Goods from Natural and Other Disasters in B&H, the B&H Council of Ministers was formed by the Coordination Body of Bosnia and Herzegovina, consisting of representatives of a) B&H Council of Ministers - (nine members), b) Republika Srpska Government - (five members), c) the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina - (five members), and d) the Government of the Brčko District - (two members).



in terms of zero-sum, "us," and "them." Neither Bosniaks, Orthodox, nor Catholics saw the possibility of mutual "victory" in their conflict or the possibility that their worldviews were considered equally valuable.

For this reason, the very transformation of identity complicates the solidarity process, which requires a lot of attention and effort because it requires a change that comes from within, from the very foundations. Primordialists or fundamentalists attribute the permanence and resilience of ethnic solidarity to the generational transmission of emotionally charged kinship ties. A person is, one might say, born in an ethnic identity, which is based on a profoundly emotional perception of "emotional kinship" developed from race, language, religion, and customs. The individual has explained his origin, where he comes from, and certain attitudes are built-in, especially those concerning relations with other communities, especially those with which his community conflicts. Whether he likes it or not, an individual develops consciousness by everything he is taught - he cannot know otherwise than what is transmitted to him through related connections, nor can he develop his own opinion. He is forced to "continue" the conflict with another community because his teaching requires it. Constructivists, on the other hand, inspired by the work of Fredrik Barth (1969), hold that ethnic identity emerges from categories constantly reconstructed through processes of connection that produce a sense of social cohesion and integrity. Identities are considered reflections of connections maintained and shaped through narratives and discourses. Categories of identification or connections transcend groups; that is, groups are the effect of processes in which people identify with particular categories. (Smithey, 2011) Jenkins' (2008) "basic anthropological model" of ethnicity concisely shows a constructivist approach. Ethnicity is a matter of "cultural" differentiation (bearing in mind that identity is always a negotiation between similarities and differences). Ethnicity is a matter of "culture" of shared meanings - but it is also constructed and reconstructed during the interaction. Ethnicity is determined to the extent of the way of life. It is a part of the situation in which it is produced. Ethnicity is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and categorization and internalized in personal self-identification. (Jenkins, 2008)

To what extent has the enormous solidarity shown during the floods in B&H managed to suppress national intolerance? Nature showed in May 2014 that it does not recognize any administrative boundaries, and rivers have mercilessly overflowed in both the Republika Srpska and the Federation of B&H. It is worth all the political, sociological, and anthropological attention. Many issues have turned out slightly different from those in the previous 30 years in the Balkans, but it is such a controversial topic that it should be discussed very carefully. Examples of help and solidarity of people from different municipalities, entities, and cantons have broadened the narrow horizons of people secured in ethnic spaces.



After the catastrophic flood that devastated Dobož³ in mid-May, citizens from the neighboring municipalities of Tešanj⁴ and Usora⁵ were among the first to aid the endangered residents. Inter-neighborly solidarity thus came to the fore in the area intersected by war lines of separation during the B&H war. The first quantities of bread and drinking water after the floods in Dobož, inhabited mainly by Serbs, arrived from Tešanj, where most of the population are Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims). For Muha Berberović, the bakery owner in Tešanj, that was logical because they were the first neighbors hit by a natural disaster. The bread was also prepared in his bakery for the endangered population in Dobož. "We are the first neighbors of Dobož. We walked over the hill. We could not get across the bridge. We will always send and help our neighbors. Tešanj is like that. They used to go to Dobož for 300 loaves a day until their bakeries started working", Berberović remembers. The other residents of Tešanj maintain the same way.

The Dobož citizens assessed the aid from Tešanj and other parts of the Federation of B&H as the most humane progress of the year in this region. Patients from Dobož were admitted to the Tešanj hospital for hemodialysis. After the catastrophic flood, the neighboring Usora, where most Croatian (Catholic) nationality residents live, also joined. They formed a point for the distribution of humanitarian aid in the yard of the Catholic Church in Dobož. "At least I distributed over 40,000 packages to the people," says Dobož parish priest Pero Iljkić. In those days, it turned out that ordinary people managed much better and came to each other's aid than all levels of government in B&H, which could not even agree on declaring a joint Day of Mourning for flood victims in this country." The government had no share. It resembled helping a man because nothing is worth a human life, but it was done without authority. The government did not order anything. If the government had ordered or asked, such situations might not have occurred at all. The people themselves organized that ", believes the professor of sociology and philosophy from Dobož, Simeuna Jevtić. The parish priest of Dobož, Pero Iljkić, believes that a lot depends on the characteristics of each individual. "Good is good, and evil shows what a man he is. If we could be good in evil, why could we not be suitable in good? That is the question of all people, to each of us. It can only be done if I want to. The only question is whether I will or not ", concludes Iljkić. (Grbesic, 2014)

Furthermore, Croatian emigrants have launched an action to help flood-prone B&H and Croatian Slavonia. They collected clothes, shoes, and food on their initiative, under the motto, "It does not matter who is who, in this story, a man helps man." In addition, some Croatian cultural and sports societies joined collecting aid for the most endangered areas. (Fenix, 2014)

³ It is a city located in Republika Srpska (RS), an entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is situated on the banks of the Bosna river, in the northern region of the Republika Srpska.

⁴ It is a town and municipality located in the Zenica-Dobož Canton of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁵ It is a village and municipality located in Zenica-Dobož Canton of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H), Bosnia and Herzegovina. It borders Dobož and Tešanj municipality, and it is named after the Usora River.



Consequently, the region within the geographical, transnational, transethnic, trans religious paradigm in post-conflict antagonism infected region, and particularly B&H's social capital was emancipated from ethnocentric restraints and divisions along ethnic lines. Therefore, their objectively common position overcame the appeal of ethnonationalism, and the strength of that position produced a sense of empathy among citizens—policies of convergence, the will to unite in the class struggle, and a transnational culture of solidarity.

Former Yugoslavia is an example of a country that disappeared when it gave up on constructing a standard memory. However, it disappeared when it could no longer control the public imagination of different "communities of memory." Considering that social memory is usually constructed in one of three ways that often coincide and mix, it evaporates down to establishing and symbolically representing social cohesion, legitimizing institutions, and the status of authority. Ultimately, strengthening socialization, shared beliefs, and values, then it is clear that the post-war Yugoslav society applied all these procedures and that, in that period, given the previous non-consolidation, it did so with great success. (Wachtel, 1998) The formation of youth is described in the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was accepted at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (April 22-26, 1958 in Ljubljana): "The primary goals of education and upbringing in our conditions are: developing the creative attitude of the young generation towards the future vocation and towards work in general; developing socialist social awareness and training of youth for participation in the social life of the country, in the bodies of social self-government and management; getting to know and adopting the achievements of our peoples and all of humanity in various fields of social, scientific, technical, artistic and other cultural creativity; developing the spirit of brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples; developing internationalism, the spirit of international solidarity of working people and the idea of equality and rapprochement of all peoples in the interests of peace and progress in the world; adoption of the basics of a scientific, materialistic worldview; developing a versatile activist personality with the intellectual and moral characteristics of the citizens of the socialist community; improving physical health, especially by developing physical culture and physical education as a condition for an everyday creative life." (Duda, 2017)

Affection and respect for the symbols of socialist Yugoslavia (Josip Broz Tito, National liberation movement (NOB) and Yugoslav peoples Army (JNA), Non-Aligned Movement, self-government, and "brotherhood and unity") were recognized and promoted among all ethnicities-nations. The construction projects and hundreds of work actions aligned with socialist ideology and involved youth work brigades from different parts of the country, promoting brotherhood and unity, and collectivity in work. However, newcomers' ethnocultural identities in the former Yugoslavia were found in the inevitable phase of subsequent consolidation of national identities and state creations, creating antagonistic new generations.



3.3. Conclusion

Civic solidarity and emerging self-organized behavior and performance are crucial aspects of the post-conflict joint promotion of human securitization and social protection systems. Through joint action and a systemic approach, it is possible to limit the consequences and work on capacity building and create a more resilient community capable of protecting its individuals. Therefore, activities for repairing existing damages and vigorous action toward preventing new floods, for which there are no guarantees that they will not be repeated soon, must be realized in parallel. Unfortunately, this is not the case in B&H. It is a priority, but the authorities should also work parallelly to revise existing and develop new strategies, programs, and action plans to build more advanced protection systems to prevent further floods in the western Balkans. However, it is questionable given the efficiency shown in the actions of the B&H ethnopolitical authorities, the complex state structure of government, the still high degree of manipulative policy, and other issues that are characteristic of the Western Balkans.

The resolutions to existing ethnic policies come from above through reactive civic solidarity. In some situations, people are forced to show solidarity. For example, in the 2014 Balkan floods, the state had an abortion, and civic solidarity became a requisite as no institutional solidarity was exemplar. Thus, the resolutions to existing ethnic policies come from above through reactive civic solidarity, an ambivalence where citizen activists filled the gap in the crisis sensitively. However, solidarity must have a "polarity" and be symmetrical, not equalized with charity. Also, an essential factor is the motive of proactivity, which neoliberalism and emerging ethnopolitics often confront. Moreover, political value and a specific level of nostalgia within socialist memory might have occurred through the solemnity of narratives.

The history of citizenship can be interpreted as a history of change of citizenship, and reasons and changes in citizenship play an imperative role. The attitude towards solidarity should not be overemphasized institutionalized because of the solidarity itself or even the false solidarity gaining dominant ethnopolitical prevalence. Very often, solidarity changes the way we think. There must be effective counter-narratives to effectively change the subjectivity of citizenship and improve the ethnopolitical solidarity calculations. The comprehensive transformation of conflict means that even those organizations that are pillars of collective identity, which often exclude, alienate other communities in the process, must find a way to become active participants in civil society. Only when such organizations, particularly ethnopolitical structures and religious officials, act in the way mentioned above will other groups find meaning and act in the same way. A complete transformation of the conflict is undoubtedly possible through a series of such related actions.



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Received: 10 July 2021

Accepted 13 November 2021