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BOSNA HERSEK’TE POST-YUGOSLAV DÖNEMDE ETNİK-ULUSAL KURUMSALLAŞMADA SOSYAL VE POLİTİK (VE DİĞER) DIŞLAMALAR

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL (THE OTHERS) EXCLUSIONS WITHIN THE POST-YUGOSLAV ETHNONATIONAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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The paper analyzes the concepts, causes, and normative solutions of social and political exclusions in Bosnia and Herzegovina within post-Yugoslavia’s ethnonationalism paradigm and the Dayton Constitution. War, post-war neoliberalism produced economic destitution and social exclusions. Along with the clerical, ethnonationalism showed diligence as the primary determinant of patriotism, advocating the ideology of exclusion. The radicalization of certain groups became acceptable, as they would stand for homogenous countries. Lack of efficient form with a professional and robust government capable

of making autonomous reforms in the economy and social spheres influences phenomena. B&H's imposed ethno-political concept of "constituent peoples" rigidly removes the civic order, the citizen ideal, rights, and freedoms, decreasing political collectivism. The Dayton patterned ethnic-religious exclusivism and the unconstitutional "hybrid" identities. By ethno-religious criteria, three groups of citizens are given the right to make decisions, generating political representation issues for the "Others." Although they do not represent a homogeneous group, they have the right to recognize their human rights. With a revised notion (national minorities, non-nationals, Bosnians), "Others" would be given the right to be represented in all state institutions, thus eliminating discrimination. Participation in the state's formation would reduce their unconstitutionality - decision-making process. The true expression of national freedom lies in the richness of human nature instead of the violent rigidity of ethnonationalism reserve. Overcoming sociopolitical exclusions and the economic necessity by systemic institutional transformation and EU political integration is demanding. "Two schools under one roof" model negates emancipation's educational process proclaiming systemic exclusion and ethno-religious discrimination, amplifying security stalemate. Social status and stigma of trafficking-exploitation victims in socio-legal frameworks have substantial victimization dynamics consequences. More critical insight should be recognized as feminist theoretically significant to studying the phenomenon.

Keywords: Former-Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, ethnonationalism, social exclusions, political exclusions

INTRODUCTION

The author analyzes the concepts, causes, and normative solutions of social and political exclusions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) through paradigms of Yugoslavia's disintegration and the establishment of ethnonational-states and the Dayton Constitution. There have been very few attempts to operationalize socio-political exclusion in B&H,

focusing on the destitution and exclusiveness policy of a particular group within a country. The study uses secondary data sources from domestic and foreign scientific and professional literature within the theoretical literature conceptualization, analytical, and descriptive method.

The fact is that after the Second World War, socialist Yugoslavia became a kind of European success story. Between 1960-1980, it had one of the highest economic growth rates in the world, a decent standard of living, free medical care and education, a guaranteed right to work, one of the most respected passports, one-month paid vacation, a literacy rate of over 90 percent, and a life expectancy of 73 years, in terms of living standards and freedoms ahead of most Eastern European countries and certain branches of the economy ahead of some Western European countries. After Tito's death, the biggest issue was that civil democracies did not replace communism but ethnonational ones.

Some authors think that social exclusion is useless because there is no harmonized definition; a broad and unclear definition makes the concept practically unusable. The concept of exclusion leads to a policy that undermines self-reliance because it believes that what happens to others is not their fault and thus justifies demands for increasing redistribution. (Saunders, Tsoumi, 2002) Initially, the notion of exclusion appeared as a substitute for poverty. Social exclusion does not necessarily conform with poverty, nor does poverty result in exclusion; however, they can be interconnected. Exclusion generates the actions of individuals, groups, or institutions. It is often caused by structural factors and is not necessarily a consequence of the excluded persons' shortcomings, e.g., laziness, disinterest.

There is an increasingly accepted idea that exclusion should be linked to access to civil status rights. Some scholars believe that exclusion can be understood as a failure in one or more societal systems: a democratic-legal system, which ensures civic or civil integration, labor market system, which promotes economic integration, social welfare, which promotes social integration, the family system, and the local community system, which ensures interpersonal integration. (Vlemnickx,

Berghman, 2001) The opposite of social exclusion is social equality. It is not just about “inclusion” but about expanding opportunities for participation in economic, social, and civic activities, particularly “plural” civic space. The plural civic space is a central feature of a democratic society because it allows citizens to be active in the political sphere beyond elections. It should encourage governments to be transparent and accountable and highlight the limited freedoms and factors contributing to social exclusion contributory practices, unequal power relations, and institutional barriers that prevent access to public services and political participation. Politics of inclusion may imply the need to change the social “motherland,” not just the expectation that marginalized groups must adapt. The development of a democratic society’s institutions is considered a necessary precondition for freedom of human development and citizens’ active participation in political life through a critical channel of influence on its free development. Political participation is viewed through several channels. It comes first in the electoral process as the most basic form of political participation. Presence is considered political affiliation, referring to electoral participation. The degree of voluntary electoral is an essential indicator of the widespread political participation of citizens.

Approaches to social exclusion within the European Union (EU) are primarily based on two research traditions: the Anglo-Saxon tradition of poverty research, which emphasizes the impact of the distribution of financial/material goods and “social rewards” on social exclusion (distribution aspects) and the French (Francophone) tradition, which highlights the impact of social connections and relationships (relational aspects). (Bejakovic, 2009)

In B&H, social exclusion is a significant issue because 49% of the population is socially excluded for some reason, which puts this country in third place in the Western Balkans; an index is worse only in Serbia and Northern Macedonia, according to data conducted by the foundation for social inclusion and the Initiative for Better and Humane Inclusion. Moreover, B&H government institutions’ responsibility to improve the

economic and social situation through general social protection and social policy reform is not adequate. (Initiative for better and human inclusion, 2019) The current situation is exposed because it can harm the already weak socio-political cohesion. The author maintains that deprivation is the backbone of social exclusion. Social inequality in B&H is multi-layered, and it is essential to argue that gender adds a transversal and intrinsically related layer of vulnerability.

B&H is the most complex multiethnic discourse of the former Yugoslavia and place to the world's most complex public and political administration¹ and the Constitution (the Dayton Peace Agreement) in the form of ethnic-religious exclusivism. For centuries, the multiculturalism and multiethnicity of B&H have been affirmed and challenged both externally and internally. It is argued and challenged ideologically, historically, politically by coexistence, wars, conflicts, and urbanism. Simultaneously, with its thousand-year coexistence, tolerance, and multiethnicity, B&H is a survival model in Europe. It confirms this with its survival centuries before human rights declarations by both the EU and its institutions. The Constitution defines Bosniak – Croat – Serbs as a constituent people. The demographic remnant is unconstitutional in the B&H's ethnoreligious model, which is formed by agreement of the three constituent peoples. For the most part, a mere constitutional decor is appropriately enshrined in the last article of the Preamble of the discriminatory B&H Constitution. Therefore, the term „Others“ in the formulation of „hybrid“ identities (mixed ethnic marriages, other ethnicities, and those who declared themselves as Bosnians) is an unsentimental description of their position in this ethnoreligiously divided society. Those who do not belong to one of the three religious groups or do not want to show affiliation are considered a foreign element; they cannot elect representatives and are barred from running for office at any state level. (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 2) Several decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) have never been implemented. (Iseric, 2019)

1 240 000 employees in administration and public enterprises, fourteen governments, 180 ministers, 3 languages, 3 presidents, 2 entities, 1 district, 10 cantons, and 207 active political parties on 3.5 million people.

The notion of Others is associated with the fact that they are second-class citizens, citizens “for the rest,” neither Bosniaks nor Croats nor Serbs. They do not have their political representatives, nor are they a homogeneous group that could define their unique interests. Although social groups have different social interests in the constituent peoples, which makes these peoples heterogeneous, Others have no point of connection except that they do not belong to any constituent people and are not politically articulated as one political entity. The author argues that B&H’s constitutional and political construction of B&H tailored in Dayton is a natural source of the others’ political and legal existence. National political elites are not recognizing it as an issue and a threat to their legitimacy.

The intertwining of observed phenomena and activities is deeply embedded in political instability, institutional weakness, and widespread corruption and unemployment in the region, in the theoretical context of a weak state. In a broader socio-political sense, nationalism, i.e., the foremost advocates of the ideology of exclusion, “very quickly became allies in the former Yugoslavia” (Papić, 2002: pp. 33), which further weakened and impoverished all others who do not support such discourses. The author argues that the “anti-civilizational model” of “two schools under one roof” is probably the most perfidious form of segregation policies of ethnonationalism, which created the conditions for systematic alienation from another and channeled and structured teaching of nationalism. A specific (extremely negative) characteristic of the post-Yugoslav space is that religions are identified with nations (majority). “National identities built and consolidated with such confessional exclusivism (usually associated with ethnic) manifested themselves as extremely impermeable and inflexible” (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 6), and the rivalry between their national umbrella projects was almost irreconcilable. Therefore, “this form of nationalism maintained a firm position in former Yugoslav societies’ political processes.” (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 19) The result is that nationalist ideologies and identity politics have swallowed up the social themes; economic migrations in Western Balkans are among the highest in the EU. (Eurostat, 2017). The old ethnonational

parties of “war origin” have dominated coalitions, a rule for twenty-five years, and B&H could remain in its premodern political phase for a long time, only as a “failed state.” Today, the Western Balkans, in general, “remain” radical, weak, and “fragile.” (Woodward, 2010).

1. The social exclusions in B&H after the breakup of Yugoslavia

The contradictions between the political and economic spheres did not enable Yugoslavia’s self-transformation to be carried out pacifically. If we label unemployment and low levels of education as “internal” causes of poverty, wars can be treated as “external” causes. It is a fact that wars are based on war profiteering and an illegal economy. Wars destroy natural and created material means. The means of production were destroyed - factories, transport, trade, infrastructure, housing, and jobs, which caused deprivation. Four types of “capital” determine social exclusion: financial capital (provides access to goods and services), human capital (determines economic participation), social capital (determines civic and political participation), and physical capital (together with social capital enables social interaction). (Kunz, 2003)

There are specific causes of inequality in B&H because of the financial and social consequences of the 1992-1995 war devastation, internally displaced persons, social problems, poverty, and the loss of the population’s fundamental social values. As much conditioned by war, so much motivated by bad policies. The country has been in a deep recession since 2008 with a high unemployment rate and galloping indebtedness combined with falling GDP, of which public administration spends 49.3% annually. They highlight the fragility and social injustice within the labor market where minimum salaries are applied without incentives or provisions for worker skill improvement, keeping workers locked in a survival cycle. Furthermore, organized crime is often intertwined with the political structures, and some transitional effects become structural, “the effects of war are institutionalized in the social dislocation and legitimization of criminal organizations.” (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 42) War and post-war ethnopolitics have repeatedly affected the state of

socio-political exclusions through the aforementioned social disintegration, which was reflected in the existence of a “fragmented” institutional framework to counter this phenomenon. Thus, a “weak state” that is not a member of the EU is ethnically divided, with a political culture of fear. There is a noticeable pattern of the criminalization of society. (Pugh, Divjak, 2012). Poverty and unemployment could be used as a resource for criminal exploitation of impoverished populations – “potential victims of exploitation.” (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 188)

Thus, over the past post-war decades, B&H has faced a massive increase in socially excluded people. In addition to poverty, the social exclusion is generated by the social position of children and families with children, which is one of the causes of the demographic catastrophe, as well as the social exclusion of people with disabilities, the poor, the elderly, and women, which causes negative demographic processes and deepens socio-economic exclusion. Many people do not have access to public healthcare services and pensions. Around 20% of the population is without health insurance; many employers do not satisfy the required contributions; 16.5% of employed people are poor. Families with three or more children are especially vulnerable, with more than two-thirds of them living in severe poverty. (Unicef, 2016) Women with disabilities, single mothers, human trafficking sex-workers, and single women suffer social exclusion in an environment where scarcity of resources is combined with a patriarchal belief system, “often becoming second-class members of local communities.” (UNDP, 2007: pp. 43)

The “plundering” of undestroyed property of individuals, households, the economy further impoverishes society - the country. It took decades to reach the pre-war level of development. According to the author’s calculations, B&H had reached the development level since 1990 only in 2005. It is estimated that about 30 percent of GDP growth per capita comes from donations. Here is how 2005 is explained as the year of the level of development reached since 1990. 1990. GDP per capita was 2,400 USD (depending on the calculation method, the organizational principle, or the principle of the same activities, 2,383 to 2,498, average 2,415

USD). According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Federation of B&H in 2008, GDP per capita in FB&H in 2005 was 2,418 USD. As for the state of B&H, according to the Human Development Report 2007/2008. GDP per capita in 2005 was USD 2,546, which is a level of USD 2,415 compared to 1990, an index of 105. (Republic Statistical Office, 1991) We can conclude that B&H reached the pre-war level of development in 2005 - 15 years after the war, correct.

Over 100,000 dead residents should be remembered with great reverence. Two million residents have changed their place of residence. The material damage alone is estimated at far more than ten billion USD. It is still necessary to determine the exact extent of the devastation of human capital - people. The author was interested in the assessment of the social impact of traumatic events, given in the paper: "Social and psychological impact of traumatic events and torture on the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina," by Arcel, Popović, Kučukalić, Mehmedbašić, and others. It should be borne in mind that data in the proportions of the catastrophic social situation are the essential characteristics of social exclusion and poverty of the population with all the characteristics of both phenomena. The Human Development Report 2007 provided, for the first time, a methodology for calculating the social exclusion index. The very definition of social exclusion we gave in this study, to recall, describes the phenomenon of exclusion as the interdependence between poverty, long-term unemployment, social isolation, and education. Another broader definition of social exclusion considers the interdependence between living standards, health status, education, society's participation, and access to services. Based on a survey conducted in 2006 on a representative sample and other estimates, the general social exclusion index for 2006 was 50.32. It shows that half of the B&H population is excluded from society in some way.

There is no significant difference between urban and rural populations. Also, there are no significant differences between the Federation of B&H (51.01) and the Republika Srpska (49.50). Furthermore, the 2006 index of extreme social exclusion in B&H is estimated at 21.85, which

means that about 22 percent of the B&H population can be described as 'extremely socially excluded.' Differences between FB&H (24.53) and RS (20.01) are visible, as well as between urban (19.75) and rural (23, 57) populations. It expressed as a percentage means that the rural population is 19 percent more extremely socially excluded than the urban population. The index of long-term social exclusion is also calculated. It differs from other indices in that it measures the B&H population segment exposed to the risk of long-term exclusion, the cause of which is the lack of opportunities for self-improvement. Being employed but still being exposed to great insecurity and lack of opportunities can lead to future long-term exclusion. The value of this index for B&H in 2006 was 47.31, which means that 47.31 percent of people in B&H employed are at risk of remaining part of the long-term excluded. Over the past post-war decade, B&H has faced a massive increase in socially excluded people. Thus, deprivation is the backbone of social exclusion.

According to the publication "Poverty and workers poverty in B&H" (2016), below the absolute poverty line in B&H was 28% of the population. It means that about 900,000 people live below the absolute poverty line. It is indirectly confirmed by estimates international organizations from 2016. UN research shows that every sixth inhabitant of B&H lives from 3-5 KM per day (90-150 KM per month). 17% of the population is in extreme poverty, far away below the absolute poverty line; it is a 700.000 population on the brink of poverty. The other side of the paradigm is the growth of social inequalities (EUR 5 billion in savings is held by 1% of the population, 90 multi-billionaires exist in B&H). (Papic, 2016)

The poverty rate based on the current activity status of the head of household shows the following: in B&H, 16, 4 percent of employees are deficient (FB&H - 16.38 percent; RS - 15.99 percent and BD B&H - 25.66 percent); 26.76 percent of the unemployed (FB&H - 25.86; RS - 27.61 percent and BD B&H - 31.15 percent); and 35.15 percent incapable of work (FB&H - 30.28 percent; RS - 39.98 percent and BD B&H - 5.20 percent). It should be remembered that 16.4 percent of employed

persons are deficient, which means that even employment does not guarantee a way out of poverty. A lower level of education of the head of the household is already poverty. Thus, of the persons without education in B&H, 31.1 percent are deficient (in FB&H - 30.20 percent; RS - 38.39 percent and BD B&H - 19.6 percent); with primary education 24.17 percent (FB&H - 24.1 percent; RS - 23.77 percent and BD B&H - 32.21 percent); with secondary education 15.45 percent (FB&H - 14.74 percent; RS - 16.4 percent and BD B&H - 23.33 percent); and with higher education 3.23 percent (FB&H - 3.14 percent; RS - 3, 33 percent and BD B&H - 4.09 percent). To summarize, which groups are the poorest: families with more than two children, the elderly, people who cannot work or people with disabilities, the unemployed, and people with a low education level. An essential part of the poverty analysis is inequality: almost 20 percent of the poor in B&H account for only 7.2 percent of total expenditures, and the wealthiest 20 percent accounts for more than 39 percent of total consumption expenditures. When assessing the poverty level in B&H, we must keep in mind that a significant part of the population at risk of a rapid decline below the poverty line, especially informal sector workers and their families. The population at a high risk of poverty is estimated at 22.9 percent (789,385 citizens). It means that 41.5 percent of the population is below the poverty line or is very close to poverty (1,429,166 citizens).

In the last few years, unemployment has increased, and the estimate of unemployment in the first quarter of 2005 was 50%. (UNDP, 2018) With an average salary of 890 KM and a pension of 390 KM, the B&H “average” is poverty. These are circumstances that erode the economic picture and strengthen the citizens’ economic depression and political pessimism. Increased poverty strengthens the impulse for young people to leave the country; however, due to the inability to emigrate legally (non-EU passport²) there is a real danger that young people from B&H will fall victim to organized trafficking cartels. Besides, the

2 For an immigrant who is not a national of a Member State (called a third-country national) to become a European citizen and have all the rights, he or she must first become a national of a Member State.

consequence of “quasi” macroeconomic stability in B&H is the registered unemployment rate of 50%, above the unemployment rate of 48% that preceded Hitler’s coming to power in the 1930s. All of these were ideal preconditions for the expansion of the types of phenomena.

The international community created the Constitution and the Election Law in B&H (Dayton Accords), defining only the categories of collective representation, not the citizen, which is not present in any other European country. Moreover, Dayton’s B&H, due to massive public administration, within the most notably economic sphere, is non-functional and unsustainable. In a general sense, it causes the growth of inequality, exacerbates social tensions, increases poverty, and poses a serious obstacle to economic and social development. In this situation, in addition to social injustice, there is also “systemic” discrimination in specific social life segments, especially in terms of social policy and employment: discrimination against non-war persons with disabilities concerning war invalids (in categorization and amounts of benefits), territorial discrimination in terms of exercising some social rights (for example: in FB&H 5 cantons pay child allowance, different sizes, and in 5 not), discrimination in employment in the public sector based on political affiliation, the parties in power do not employ professionally qualified persons, discrimination in the Constitution and the election law, especially “others” (the cases of Sejdić - Finci- Zornic – Slaku - Pilav). Within social inequality and discrimination, the plural civic space is blocked by ethnic division.

We can conclude that the disparity between the employed and unemployed population, the war past, poverty, insecurity, and a culture of corruption are among the leading causes of economic immigration. According to Transparency International’s annual report (2018), B&H is stagnantly paralyzed by corruption. Moreover, while political elites are engaged in spreading panic from refugees and immigrants coming to B&H, the socially excluded citizens who fail to ensure a subsistence minimum - or do not want to accept the depressing thought that their lives must be reduced to a mere struggle for existence - are looking for

ways to leave. According to some research, there is no systematic statistical approach in B&H, while Germany and Austria keep very accurate records of immigration from B&H. In 2016 alone, 20,555 people from B&H came to Germany. Whole families are among them: in 2017, 2,605 children from B&H under 15 went to Germany with their parents. In the same period, 4,600 new emigrants from B&H registered in Austria. The increasingly complex political and security position leaves no alternative even for those who have relatively good employment. The citizens' consciousness can best be seen in the example of V.T., one of the most promising sound recorders in a media house. "There has been no progress here for years: Politicians are behaving in a tried and tested way" the 'divide and rule' recipe, and this has been going on since the Dayton Accords. I am not ready to spend the rest of my life waiting for national leaders' final agreement.' Until recently, I thought about leaving B&H only for economic reasons and because expertise and professional experience are not valued here, but political suitability and family ties." (DW, 2019)

Within the EU approaches to social exclusions, distributive aspects include: income, essential elements of living standards, labor market, education, housing, health, and housing, and relational aspects include: social ties, participation in civil society organizations, participation in political life, and family life. (Bejakovic, 2009) On a legislative basis, the public within local communities is not receptive to this issue. The formal and informal social control system must be adequately developed because there is no control of this negative phenomenon without the forms of control. The international community has been the driving force behind all activities, exerting political pressure on local authorities, assisting NGOs, and supporting the media. The author maintains that, in the long run, this balance must be changed in favor of domestic institutions.

Simultaneously, society limits the legal protection and reintegration of victims of human trafficking and exploitation by stigmatization. Victims of trafficking are subjected to conditions that devalue

and degrade their dignity and humanity, and societal beliefs about the types of slavery they are forced into often participate in the shadow of human rights violations. (Carol, 2011) The cooperation of relevant actors in the fight against human exploitation and sociopolitical exclusions largely depends on what is happening on the political scene and the government's political will. As a result, there is a lack of adequate mechanisms for identifying and providing legal assistance to victims of exploitation, lack of social welfare, and insufficiently developed assistance programs that are not tailored to the specific needs of unemployed and victims in which the state does not participate. (Adžajić, Dedović, 2003)

Although nationalism does not distinguish between genders, it knows only the difference between those who support or resist it. In such an environment, the last period of patriarchy is doubly coded in the sense that the seemingly complete triumph of all those misogynistic patterns of O. Weininger, which N. Moranjak spoke about in her text *Misogyny - the roots of social pathology*, with the proviso that not even some kind of individual resistance has wholly disappeared. Instead of expressing respect for dignity and equality, such a policy expresses contempt and disrespect. We can problematize that the role of free choice or free will or coercion in the Balkans is weak, by the creation from above, by the will of the party, the political propaganda of its activists, and the violent coercion to collectivism. The current situation was not only influenced by politics from the end of the last century, nor by the events that marked it, but in a broader context, we should look at historical, ideological, and religious concepts that have always created gender relations in South Slavs. (Gromača, 2004) Based on how patriarchy is defined, i.e., what makes radical and "what makes liberal," we can claim that we have never had a radical patriarchal culture or policy that would a priori exclude all the rights in the South Slavic community of others. However, gender discrimination against women and minority groups concerning social norms exists (World Bank, 2010) and creates a favorable climate for developing this problem, which serves men to maintain their traditional role of privilege and power. While the feminist cultural function within the nation's symbolic construction as a natural order has

received much attention from the feminist side, both women's complicity and the role of masculinity in establishing an ethnonational political community based on conservative values remain insufficiently explored. For example, the extent to which gender relations also have a restrictive effect on male subjectivization - especially compared to socialist constructions of masculinity-has rarely been asked.

Greater attention to victims' social construction is necessary because of the effects of such representation in judicial institutions and the community on perpetuating sexist and racist stereotypes that harm the victims' human rights and otherwise marginalized people. Moreover, the child's dependent position further exacerbates the stigma that poverty brings and the disenfranchisement at many levels to which the poor or people are excluded/marginalized based on developmental difficulties, gender, or ethnicity. (UNDP, 2009). Besides, children are not a homogeneous group and need more support and protection mechanisms.

2. Ethnonationalism and political exclusions in B&H

After the war, the state institutions were weak, conflicts of interest and inter-ethnic mistrust of the recently warring parties were significant. Such circumstances have made the fragile political situation more unstable; however - the international community has reconstructed the nationally polarized society. Instead of a developmental and social program, national and religious glorification, interethnic accusations, and conflicts have been opened, which opens space for political elites to manipulate the fear of domination over each other. "National identities built and consolidated with such confessional exclusivism (usually associated with ethnic) manifested themselves as extremely impermeable and inflexible, and the rivalry between their national umbrella projects was almost irreconcilable. (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 2)

Former Yugoslavia societies carry the specificity that ethnic or national identity is most closely linked to religion. The basis for the conflict was an effort to realize one national-political project to the detriment of another. Thus, to complete one nation-state to the detriment of another.

However, having once entered the phase of active struggle for territories, national-political projects, according to their internal logic, according to the system of connected vessels, can hardly give up the struggle to complete national territories and nation-states until they eventually experience a convincing defeat by other national projects. The existence of a “minority and majority” or “friend and enemy” relationship (the enemy is always that of another religion or the atheist) is the foundation of the symbiosis of the political, religious, and ethnonational factors in the former Yugoslavia. “This symbiosis fills part of the personal space of human intimacy and becomes the dominant form of behavior for the new generations.” (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 4) Ethnoreligious segregation is created and legitimized, and the country is far from democratic principles. Moreover, the plural civic space is blocked; citizens are excluded from fostering multiethnic dialogue, not participating in economic and political processes within the high unemployment and economic migrations.

Political projects were started by war, segregation among ethnic groups continues only through education, within the discriminated educational phenomenon of “Two schools under one roof.”³ “There are those borders, we do not agree, and we do not want to be in touch,” says a high school student from Mostar, adding that he was never on the Old Bridge⁴ out of fear, because, as he says, “someone will recognize that he is a Croat and get into trouble.” “Four students express such an opinion in the same first sentence. The same student states that he can recognize a “Muslim” crossing the bridge by “speech, movement, clothing, facial texture, and darker skin.” (Perspektiva, 2015) These phenomena show blatant indoctrination with elements that produce antagonism and violence, creating clones of ethnoreligious primogenitors and preventing

3 Schools in B&H are based on ethnic segregation. Students from two ethnic groups, Bosniaks and Croats, attend classes in the same building but are physically separated and taught separate curricula.

4 Unesco's 16th-century Ottoman bridge (rebuilt after it was destroyed during the war) in the city of Mostar in B&H crosses the river Neretva and connects the city's two parts.

young people's development into moral citizens individuals. In political life, ethnocracy replaces democracy, special ethnopolitical totalitarianism replaces national (state) political orientation, and ethnopolitics, biopolitics, and populism grow unstoppably against democratic politics. The most important feature of this approach is undoubtedly creating a discourse of "naturalness," supported by different, mostly pseudo-scientific, or mythopoetic narratives of a particular nation. Naturalness discourse aims to devalue alternative discursive patterns as "utopian" or "abnormal." "It is a kind of naturalistic delusion of the dominant ethnopolitical discourse." (Hadžić, 2020: pp. 257)

Furthermore, collective interests dominate citizens' individual preferences in the example of B&H, preventing the development of free debate and the inclusion of non-ethnic elements of society. On the example of B&H, institutions' strength in law and good governance was assessed as inferior, with deteriorations noted. This situation's reasons are inconsistent laws, "ineffective coordination within institutions and between different government levels, the fragmentation of institutional structures, and the absence of a supreme judicial body." (Hadžić, 2020: 43) The essence of democracy is reflected in the responsible conduct of public affairs and, accordingly, the possibility of government oversight by citizens as direct beneficiaries and government financiers. Therefore, citizens' policy-making approach at the national level is considered (parliament, government, president) and local. In this way, these democracies' institutions complement the institutions of participatory democracy, thus emphasizing citizen participation even outside the basic framework - elections. While the obedient serve the authorities, the ethically minded individuals should serve (all) people and humanity -not religion; and not the nation. These are different nuances and types of endangerment of human freedoms in B&H today.

The judiciary and the possibility of exercising citizens' rights is another form of participation and citizen participation in civil society organizations. Civil society represents a crucial link in political participation in several ways. Engagement in the civil sector is a vital channel

of political participation. This sector owns several functions, “such as the control function towards the government sector, educational, solidarity, integrative, civilizing, and driving function. “(Paunović, 2007: pp. 21). Public debate is how the common interest is reached and decided. In B&H, the public sphere reveals a landscape of emptied civic, national, state politics.

In addition to betraying the very essence of education as a meeting place, socialization, and integration, the mentioned above model of “two schools under one roof” is probably the most perfidious form of segregation policies of ethnonationalism, which created the conditions for systematic alienation from another and channeled and structured teaching of nationalism. The result of such an arrangement is probably the upbringing of national fundamentalists who do not know and even despise the difference. For example, a student of Croatian nationality in the Bosniak part of the school attends classes according to the B&H curriculum - or vice versa. Ethnonational aggregation, i.e., ethnic exclusion, does not only affect students. A good example is the case of the dismissal of teacher A. F. in 2003. Namely, this teacher was temporarily employed in a school that worked according to the Croatian curriculum. However, after the Croatian Association of Parents’ reaction, she lost her job precisely based on ethnicity, i.e., the language she speaks. Parents felt that a Bosniak teacher could not adequately teach their children because it endangered specific ethnic/cultural aspects of a mono-ethnic, “pure” education. (Alispahic, 2003) Several other similar examples warn us that the phenomenon of “two schools under one roof” goes beyond political and formal frameworks and, as such, represents a highly complex social problem. Parents have become agents of preserving and reproducing this concept, indicating the successful naturalization of segregation policies that cannot be addressed exclusively at the political and administrative levels.

As B&H’s constitutional order puts members of the constituent peoples privileged, it is often described as a majority country. On the other hand, those in the minority, whether they are a constitutional category

of Others or a legally recognized national minority or a de facto minority, suffer various discrimination types. B&H has ratified several international treaties regulating the rights of national minorities. More precisely, the rights of national minorities should be ensured. The existence of Others in the constitutional and political system is not caused only by its society's multiethnicity. It is conditioned, with a more significant reason, by the division of society in which nations, as constituent peoples, have a significant political role and, as such, participate in the exercise of state power. Although consociation elements in various forms have a long tradition, consociational democracy in the true sense can only be spoken of since Dayton.

The Dayton constitutional order stands out in the nation's foreground, defined as constituent peoples, as political subjects, and not only as social groups. Political processes are primarily based on tripartite negotiation and bargaining. Political institutions often resemble diplomatic conferences of representatives of three collectives negotiating compromise solutions. Others also found their place in such a constitutional system and political system. At the state level, the most important political institutions deny the others' right to be elected and have their representatives in them. The exception is the Council of Ministers of B&H because the law on the Council of Ministers states that it must include a member from the Others' ranks or that the Secretary-General's function must be guaranteed to the Others. This solution is an exception because the mentioned law was passed in 2003 when the Others' position began to change. It was related to the amendments to the entities' constitutions from 2002.

There are no others in the state's political institutions, although, after 2002, they were represented in the entities' political institutions. (Ademovic et al. 2012) The reason is that they are not a social group that some standard features and interests would characterize. They are a group simply because they do not belong to one of the three groups or one of the three ethnicities - nations. They are a group "for the rest," which leads them to be discriminated against in political life. While

Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs participate in political life on two grounds - as citizens and as members of the people, others participate in political life (at least when it comes to the state's political institutions) only as citizens. The "Others" comprise two large groups: national minorities and citizens who cannot or do not want to declare (many declare as Bosnians) themselves ethnically - nationally. These are citizens who refuse to declare their ethnic affiliation, which is also a legitimate human right. It is also possible that they feel that they cannot declare their ethnic affiliation. Of particular interest is "the numerical ratio of these two groups that make up the "Other" category." (Ademovic et al. 2012) The public gets the impression that they often stand out in the foreground of the national minority, which from the point of view of their number, even of potential political significance, is not justified if they are compared to the nationally undecided.

The author suggests that reactionary nationalism elevates specific characteristics of its national type to the heavens. However, with contempt and disparagement of others, this worship is utterly absurd since they represent a scarce typification, which disfigures and cripples one's own culture. The struggle for a nation's dignity and freedom is, first and foremost, a struggle for man's dignity. From ancient times the Greek philosophers penetrated "truths" and understood the mentality of free-minded people. True nationalism would literally, not just declaratively, care about those it represents.

Conclusion

War, post-war neoliberalism produced pervasive economic destitution and social exclusions. Lack of efficient form with a professional and robust government capable of making autonomous reforms in the economy and social spheres influences poverty and social exclusion. There is a deficit of political stability and readiness, regardless of political options, through the executive and legislative bodies; without political effort to combat crises, scarcity and social exclusion might increase. It is necessary to respond through social and development policies

to address the growing number of marginalized individuals or groups excluded from the community's daily life.

The political destiny of a country, in theory, should depend on all its citizens. The Dayton Accords patterned ethnic-religious exclusivism and the unconstitutional "hybrid" identities. Thus, by ethnoreligious criteria, three groups of citizens are given the right to make decisions, generating political representation issues for the "Others." Although they constitute a minority and do not represent a homogeneous group, they have the right to recognize their human rights. It means that their constitutional position and their role in the political system must change. With a revised notion (national minorities, non-nationals, Bosnians), "Others" would be given the right to be represented in all state institutions, thus eliminating discrimination. Participation in the state's formation would reduce their unconstitutionality. What would distinguish them from the constituent peoples, formally and legally, would be the decision-making process. As the Others cannot have their vital national interests, they would not be able to use the specific right of veto, which in the decision-making process still belongs to the constituent peoples. It means that it should be unconditionally stitched the constitutive rights and concerning the collectivity of non-constitutive. This approach is the way to fast democracy of the government system at all levels in B&H. The current situation requires changes in the collective path. B&H's imposed ethnopolitical concept of "constituent peoples" rigidly removes the civic order, the citizen ideal, rights, dignity, and freedoms, decreasing political collectivism.

Social status and stigma of trafficking-exploitation victims in sociological frameworks have substantial victimization dynamics consequences, which leaves room for further exploitation. Working on the effects of representing victims in different ways of institutional, community, and juridical stigmatization, not exclusively on enabling the occurrence, is essential. More critical insight should be recognized as feminist theoretically significant to studying the phenomenon.

Overcoming sociopolitical exclusions and the economic necessity by systemic institutional transformation and EU political integration is a demanding phenomenon that have hugely detrimental consequences. As a cause, political, economic, and cultural distress continues, and society reacts with a mass exodus from the country. If the continuous pace of economic migration in the Western Balkans continues, more citizens will live abroad in a few decades.

Without imaginatively developed democracy in B&H with all their legal and political potential, the ethnic-religious construction of nations creates an environment for further destabilization of society and deepening conflicts among ethnic groups. Ethnopolitics are mostly war politics; they contribute to the culture of fear and minimized space for citizens' meaningful participation and their influence in political and economic processes. The influence and "action" of the international community in B&H, the international centers of power, are becoming necessary and urgent within these frameworks.

Along with the clerical, ethnonationalism showed diligence as the primary determinant of patriotism, advocating the ideology of exclusion. The radicalization of certain groups became acceptable, as they would stand for homogenous countries. Harmonized interethnic relations are not developing in the spirit of centuries-old interethnic tolerance among the peoples. The phenomenon of "two schools under one roof" is part of that pattern. Let us consider that education as a process of emancipation and enlightenment should represent a dialogue of diversity, allowing and creating a plurality of ideas that would enable critical reasoning. It is clear that "two schools under one roof" negate such a statement, proclaiming systemic exclusion and ethnic-religious discrimination, amplifying conflicts and security stalemate in current local-historical circumstances. The true expression of national freedom lies in the richness of human nature instead of the violent rigidity of nationalist arrogance. In revealing the supposed national character's human side, the people's authentic dignity and authentic freedom can be achieved.

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