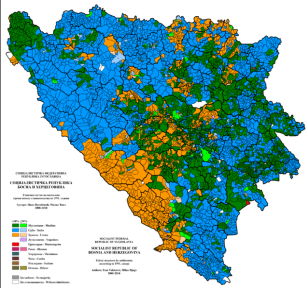




**ASN World Convention
Columbia University, 24-26 April 2014**

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

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

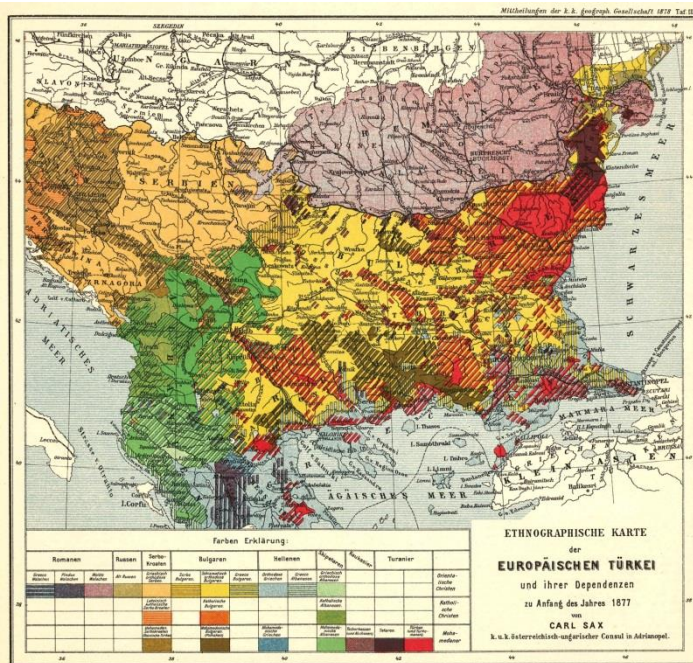


History as “early warning system”: pattern identification

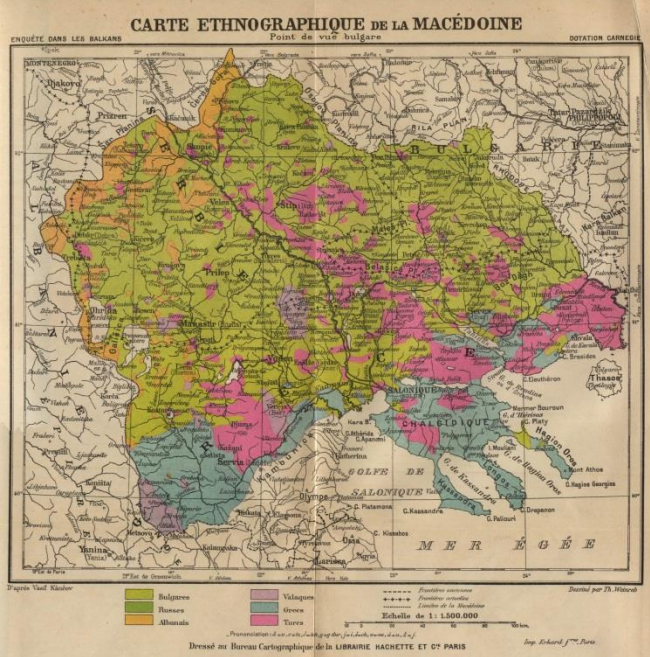


“This peacemaking... is not a solution but a source of more complications... Is it a European idea to regard peoples and nations as flocks of sheep and drive them from a sheepcote to another... in the Balkan peninsula, the most exposed region in Europe, where religious and nationality relations are so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

— Ákos Beóthy’s remark on Berlin Treaty of 1878



Scene on railroad pier, Smyrna, where refugees embarked.



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

(Kiro Gligorov)

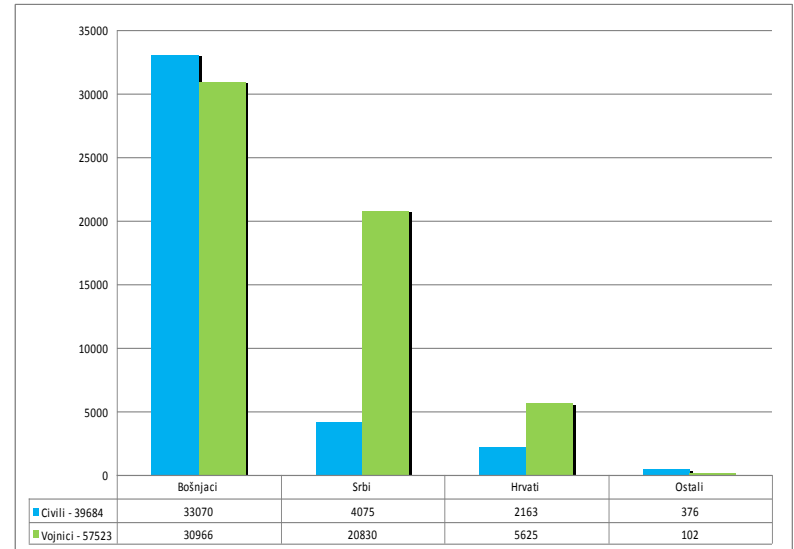
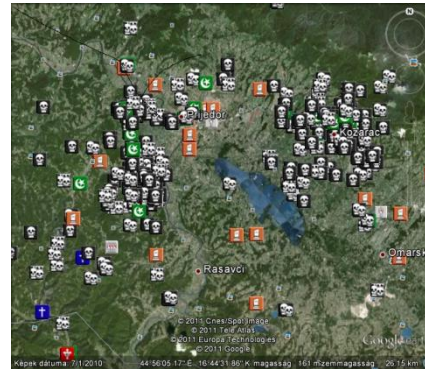
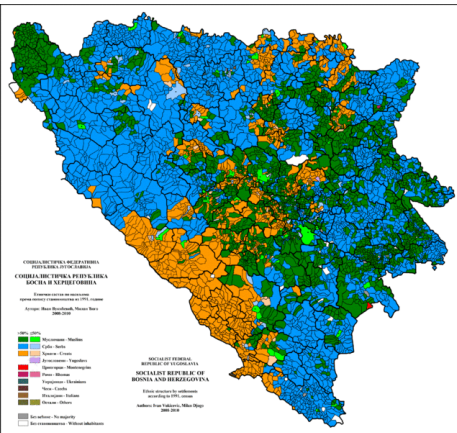


Ethnicity/Census	Bulgarian	%	Serbian	%	Greek	%	Turkish	%
Bulgarians	1 181 336	52,31	57 600	2,01	332 162	19,26	896 497	30,8
Serbs	700	0,03	2 048 320	71,35	0	0	100 000	3,4
Greeks	228 702	10,13	201 140	7,01	652 795	37,85	307 000	10,6
Albanians	128 711	5,70	165 620	5,77	0	0	0	0
Turks	499 204	22,11	231 400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

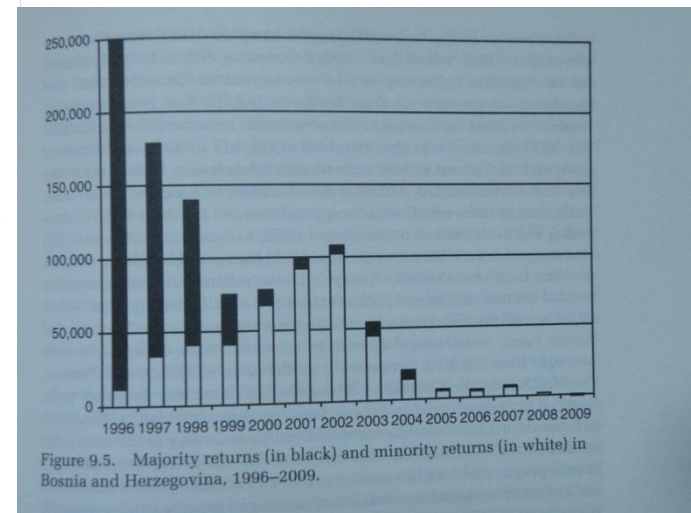
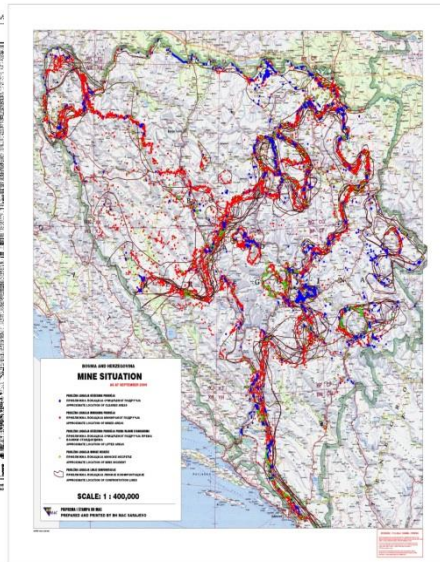
Conflicting census figures for Macedonia, 1889-1905

Source: Friedman 1996, p. 85.

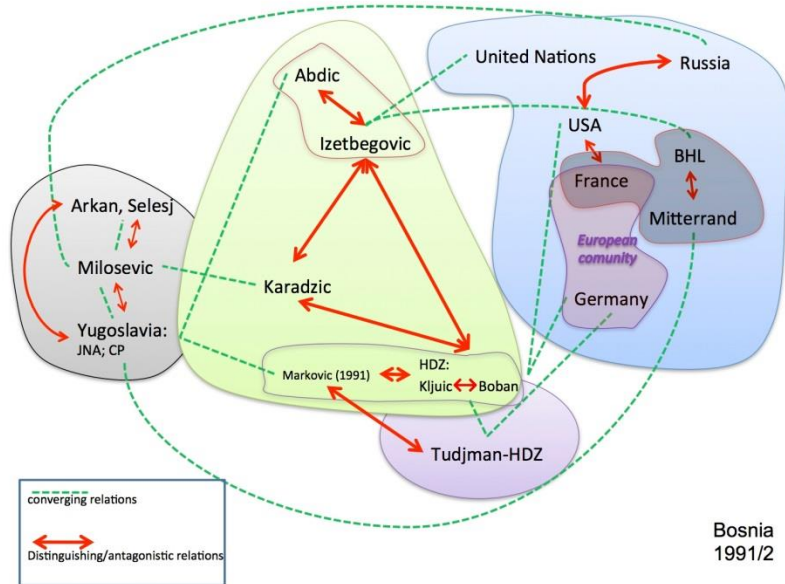
International peace plans and ethnic un/remixing (Bosnia-Herzegovina)



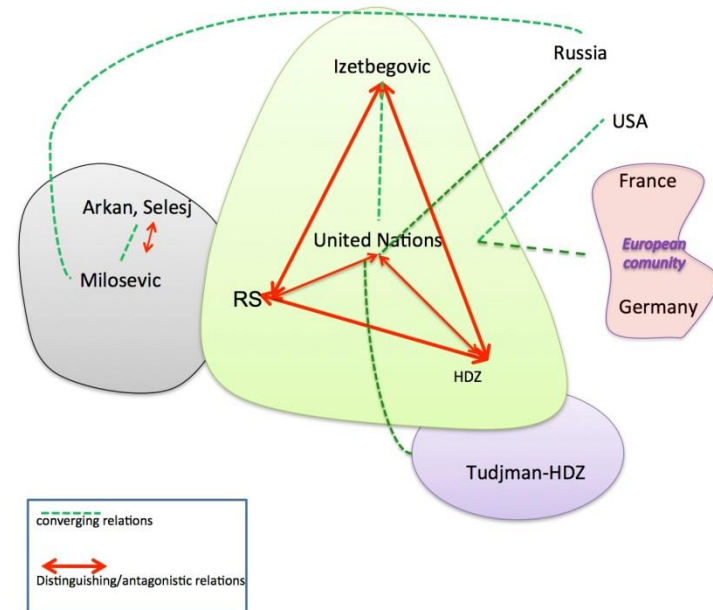
Source: Istraživačko dokumentacioni centar; EUFOR; Toal & Dahlman 2011, p. 289.



International intervention in local context: a relational approach



Bosnia
1991/2



Bosnia
1997

Source: Götze 2013



“Where you stand depends on where you sit”

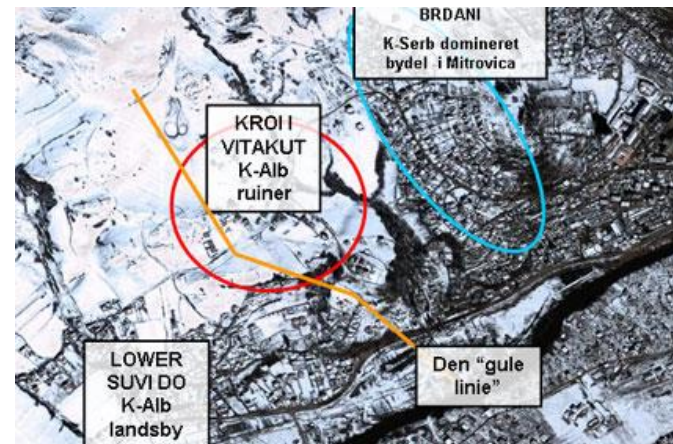
EULEX’s status-neutral position and its challengers (Kosovo)



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



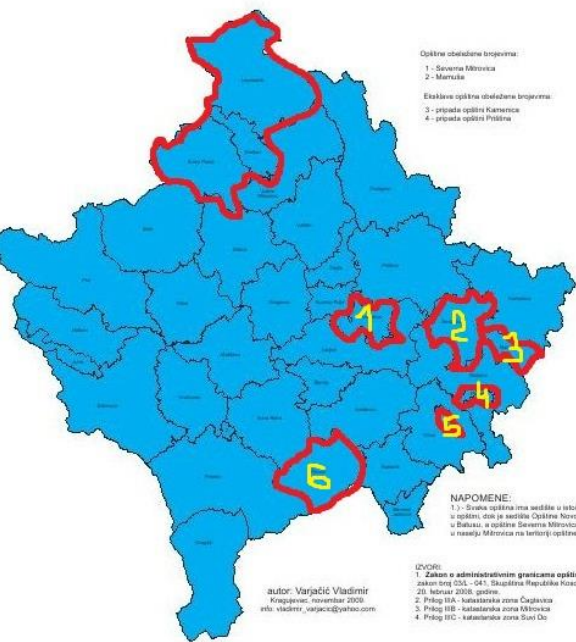
Mitrovica



Suhodoll-Mitrovica III C



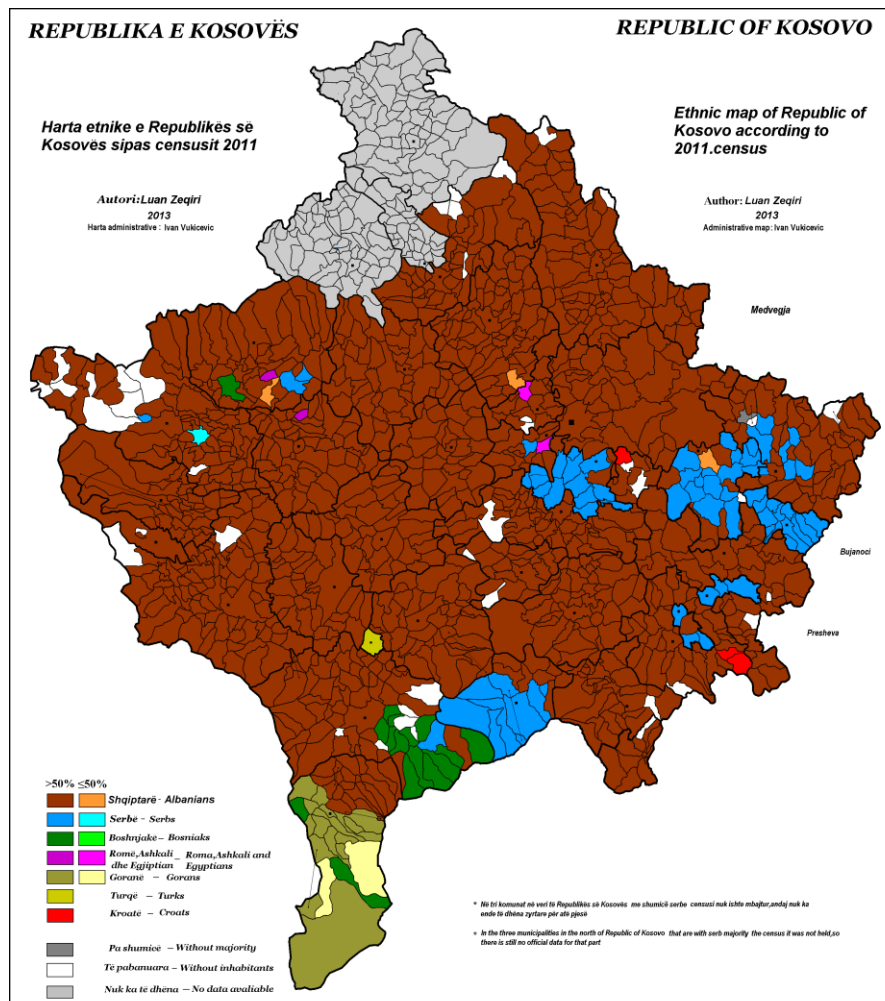




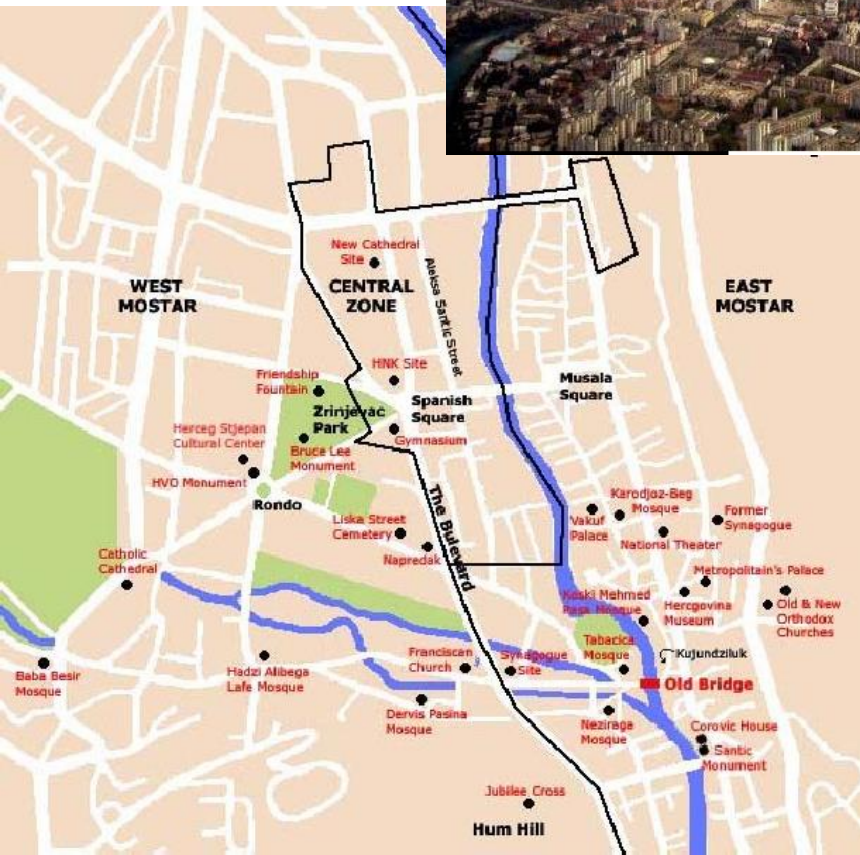
“Serbs are not foreigners in Kosovo!”

Enclaves, majorities and representatives

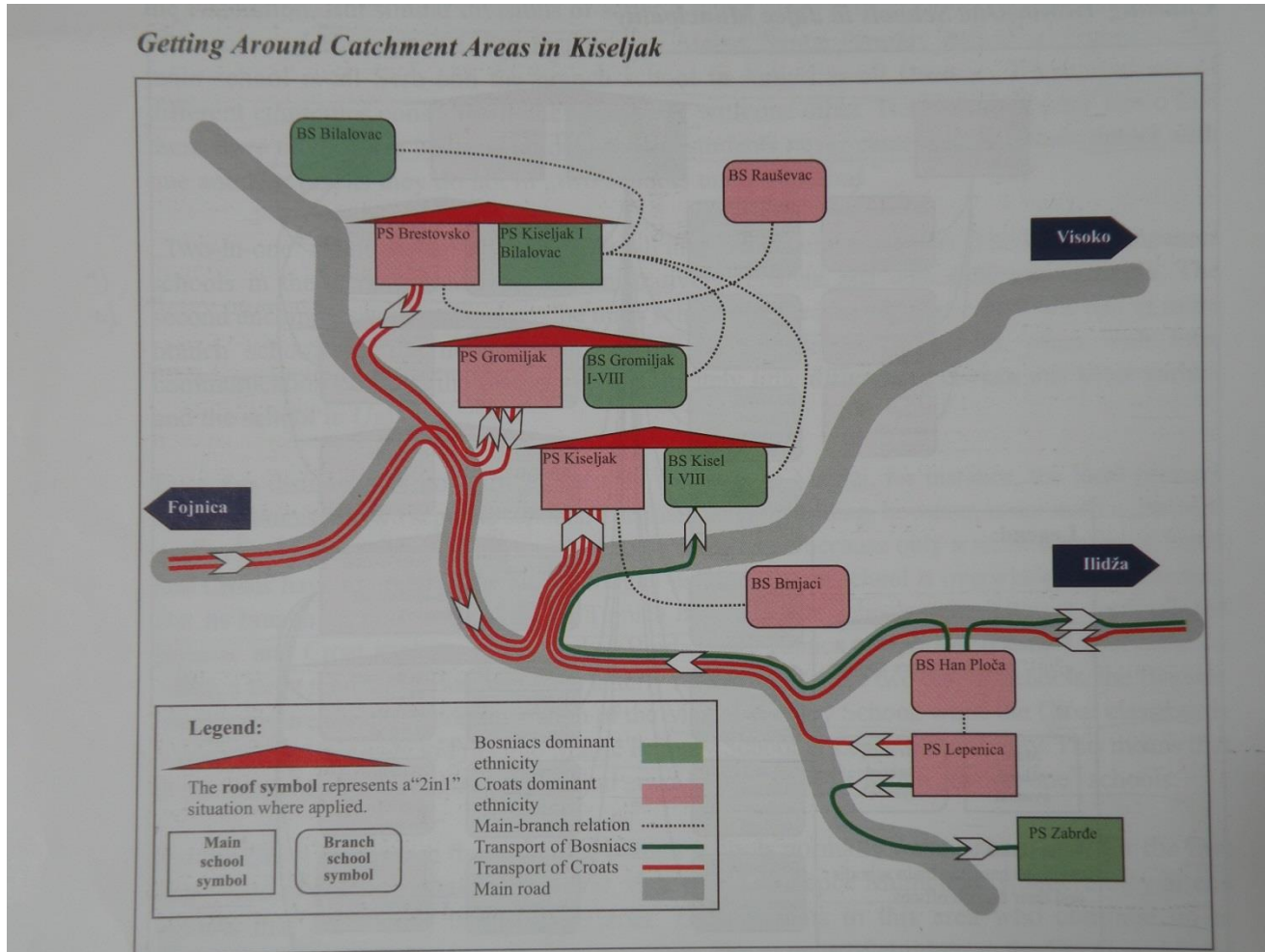
- 1 – Novo Brdo
- 2 – Gračanica
- 3 – Ranilug
- 4 – Partesh
- 5 – Klllokot
- 6 – Štrpce



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



“2 schools under 1 roof”



Source: OSCE 2007, p. 24.



“Who owns the state?”

State-society relation and everyday ethnicity



IZADI IZ TAME BOŠNЈAĀE

BUDI ONO ŠTO SI BIO, ŠTO JESI, ŠTO ĀEŠ BITI

NACIJA
Bošnjak

VJERA
Islam

JEZIK
Bosanski

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





RS

RS

Bičakčić i Hajrović donijeli pobjedu BiH

Bičakčić i Hajrović donijeli pobjedu BiH



10.09.2013 22:31 | Klix.ba

10.09.2013 22:31 | Klix.ba

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

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

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

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

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

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Imagined nation-states

