

DŽENITA SARAČ
Institute for History - Sarajevo

Bosniaks in 1980 - 2005 – Relation between National and Religious Identity

Projekat: AMBIGUOUS IDENTITIES AND NATION-STATE BUILDING IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The working title of my research is *Bosniaks in 1980-2005: Relation between National and Religious Identity*. The goals of the research is to point at the complexity of inter-ethnic relations, the use of symbols as well as the relations between religious and national (ethnic) identity among Bosniaks from 1980 to our days. I would like to examine the relations between national and religious identity, their similarities and differences. One of the key issues is that of national and religious symbols that are often confused. There are numerous examples in everyday life that testify how religious symbols can turn into national symbols (e.g., star and crescent). My aim with this research is to investigate to what extent this process has been accepted in everyday life of the people.

The use and substitution of symbols may be synthetically expressed in the media, i.e. newspapers, TV, publications, public and cultural events, as well as in private life.

Through a comparative method, I would compare the use and substitution of symbols in private lives of the members of one people vis à vis the symbols as manifested by other people living in the same territory. Magazine and public events of a certain people do represent a source of research.

The research can be divided into several stages. The first, introductory stage is gathering and introduction to the bibliographical references of both local and foreign authors who have researched this issue. Main source are the magazines and reviews where we find the positions of competent people and the reaction of *ordinary people* to the changes that accompany national identification.

The main data base for a scientific analysis of this topic is represented by extensive archival materials. The next stage would then be work in archives at our disposal, i. e. archival research of adequate materials, the focus being on the current politics and its attitude towards the national issues. Hence, the research encompasses working on available materials in archives of the Commission for religious issues at the Central Committee and processing activities of the Institute for the research of national issues in Sarajevo. For this introductory part e refers to the archival data on the eminent figures participating in the national issues in the 80's and later years. Apart from the Archive of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the National Archive, we shall attempt to consider other archives available.

Chronologically, I would divide the research into three phases: period from 1980, i.e., the death of Tito and great changes in the country until the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. The second phase covers the period from 1992 to 1995, while the third phase would be the period after the end of the war until today, i.e., the year

2005. These phases would be covered by the research with the focus on determining key elements of the change of identity. Each of the phases represents one whole, possessing its special relationship towards identity as a phenomenon of belonging, which is greatly the consequence of political and social situation in the country. It is from such complex relations that relations between religious and national aspects of identity arises, as well as their merging so that it becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. This merger of elements motivates one to start searching from one's identity. The search itself is under great influence of the circumstances and environment that define it.

In the first phase, the domain of our interest is the attitude of official politics to the frequent occurrences of raising national issue and the destiny of Muslim nation. After Tito's death, the national (i.e. ethnic) issue became important and was followed by a revival of religious identity as well. In this research, I will use the example of religious events in order to research their influence on the development of a new identity of Bosniaks. The examples used for illustration are various Muslims *dovištas* (sites of pilgrimage, e.g., Ajvatovica, as the greatest Muslim *dovište*), and, on the other hand, public religious events (e.g., the funeral ceremony in Foča in 1989, to the Bosniaks killed in WW II, etc.). Many of these events occur as development for dual identity, i.e. the identification of national and religious identities. Without differentiating these two socio-cultural notions, they have been under great influence, and even sponsored financially and ideologically by religious communities and political parties as representatives of different peoples. Many public figures were engaged in religious events, leaving certain impact on the identity of *ordinary people*.

The research comprising the archival data will enable me to observe the chronological development of these manifestations and to analyse their content. Thus we availed ourselves with important data on the way the manifestations were organised, their organisers and financiers, their religious, cultural and political importance. The goal of this research is to review the overall importance of the organised manifestations and their expected influence on *ordinary people*.

The second phase represents a certain turning point, since the change of identity happens in the conditions of war, when existential threats strengthens religious identity, regardless of one's fear of God. As a reaction to the developments in the country, but also as a reflection of official politics, religious identity gets ever stronger and represents an escape from the situation, while material assistance and the presence of foreign nationals only contributed to such a development. That is why, the co-called re-islamisation, massive use of head cover by Muslim women, numerous *masjids*, great numbers of followers at the prayers, introduction of religious studies into the school system, *sharia* marriages and similar phenomena are the consequences of unclear identity, the strengthening of religious identity and the extremes that are the results of other extremes. I would like to apply anthropological approaches in order to research the degree of these changes of identity.

The third phase begins with the end of the war, yet it also faces an unclear identity, whose reasons arise from the overall socio-political situation. Religion, as a shield during the recent war, has lost its role in the time of peace. Contrary to its role in the first phase, the unclear difference between religious and national identities among public figures,

particularly politicians alienates, to say the least, *ordinary people* in this phase from religion, which represents yet another segment of our research.

Other than research on national development, my concern is also experiences of ordinary people. Oral history will be an important component to this research and I intend to conduct extensive interviews with ordinary people. The aim of such a research is to determine the attitude of ordinary people towards identity, towards religious and national identity, more particularly their difference and interference.

I will interview people from different social layers. Other than from Sarajevo and nearby area, our fieldwork will comprise other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the regional criterium, our research will be carried out in areas which can offer particular data. Hence the research will include Krajina, and Bihać, central Bosnia and Travnik, Herzegovina and Mostar, Eastern Bosnia and Goražde, etc. The research will include urban and rural areas of these regions and will pay close attention to gender balance. The collected data will be valuable on the identity of people from different social layers and with a different educational background, which can be put to use on a micro-level once we get to compare the relations between the urban and rural, male and female, as well as between different regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The main questions will focus on different notions of identity manifested in several different ways: for instance, the use of head cover by Muslim women in both urban and rural areas or representation of urban or rural children in the classes of religious teaching at schools.

I argue that sense of identity is represented at feasts and weddings as the expression of *ordinary people*. Such events are the source that testifies about the mixing of symbols, the influence of tradition and blurry identities which are a mix of religious and national elements that can be found among people from different social and ethnic layers.

In conversations with ordinary people, I will pay special attention to symbols. The main questions will touch upon interpretation of symbols of the Bosniac nation. How much do people differentiate between the national and religious symbols? What are those symbols? How important are they to people?

In line with the three chronological periods, the people interviewed will be asked about the most important symbols in their private lives. Do these symbols change in the three periods? Is there a difference between the official national symbols and those that bear certain importance in everyday life of these people? To what extent is the use of symbols in their private lives influenced by the official national politics, region, community and media? Were the symbols forced upon them?

This way, we learn about the acceptance of national identity, which distinguishes *us from them*, and its mutual relation with local, religious, regional and European identities.

The number of interviewed people will subsequently be determined and will depend on the results of our research.

The methods of observation and interviews are an adequate method for this type of research. The approach to the problem inevitably implies ethnological research and psychological experience of dual identity, both of an individual and of one whole people. Therefore, through a combination of methods of interviews, observations, literature and

newspaper articles from the period, as well as with available archival material, this project could achieve its objectives.

Work-plan

January-March 2007: Acquainted with literature, with theory about national and religious identity, methodology and anthropology approaching of this question, preparing for methodological work-shop in March

March- October 2007: Introduction to the bibliographical references of both local and foreign authors who have researched this issue, magazines and reviews

October-December 2007: Work in archives. Archival research of adequate materials, the focus being on the current politics and its attitude towards the national issues. Working on available materials in archives of the Commission for religious issues at the Central Committee and processing activities of the Institute for the research of national issues in Sarajevo

January-March 2008: Forming main list of question, adequate interview questionnaires comparative with theory, taking, probe interviews

March-December 2008: Creation of focus groups, ethnological field work, gathering of biographic information, fieldwork will comprise different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Research will be carried out in areas which can offer particular data, hence the research will include Krajina, and Bihać, central Bosnia and Travnik, Herzegovina and Mostar, Eastern Bosnia and Goražde. The number of interviewed people will subsequently be determined and will depend on the results of our research.

January-March 2009: Systematization of collected data, comparison research results and theory

March-December 2009: Finale work, completing and writing work, making conclusion and comparison with other work, presentation

LITERATURE:

1. **Amstrong**, Jon, Nation before nationalism, Chapel Hil 1982.
2. **Anderson**, Benedict, Nacija: zamišljena zajenica. Razmatranja o porijeklu i širenju nacionalizma, Zagreb 1990.
1. **Bakić**, Ibrahim, Nacija i religija, Sarajevo 1994.
3. **Balić**, Smail, Kultura Bošnjaka, Zagreb 1994.
2. **Banac**, Ivo, Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji, Zagreb 1995.
3. **Bataković**, Dušan, Tipovi nacija kod Hrvata i Srba u Hrvatskoj, Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara II, Zagreb 2000.
4. **Bosna i Bošnjaci**, Sarajevo septembar 1990.
4. **Bringa**, Tone, Biti Musliman na bosanski način, Sarajevo 1997.
5. **Ćimić**, Esad, Politika kao sudbina, Velika edicija ideja, Beograd
6. **Ćimić**, Esad, Drama ateizacije, Sarajevo 1974.
7. **Cvitković**, Ivan, Odnosi između nacionalnog i konfesionalnog identiteta, www.soc.org.yu, Sarajevo 2006.

8. **Dega**, Vladimir-Đuro , Međunarodnopravno uređenje položaja Muslimana sa osvrtom na uređenje položaja drugih vjerskih i narodnosnih skupina na području Jugoslavije, Prilozi broj 8. Sarajevo 1972.
9. **Dizdarević**, Ismet, Proces razvoja svijesti o bošnjačkom identitetu, Godišnjak BZK Preporod, Sarajevo 2003.
10. **Dizdarević**, Tarik, Nacionalno i nacionalističko, Sarajevo 1994.
5. **Dugandžija**, Nikola, Religija i nacija, Zagreb 1983.
11. **Dugandžija**, Nikola, Religija i nacija, Zagreb 1983.
12. **Duraković**, Nijaz, Prokletvo Muslimana, Sarajevo 1993.
13. **Filandra**, Šaćir, Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću, Sarajevo 1998.
14. **Filipović**, Muhamed, Bošnjačka politika, Sarajevo 1996.
15. Godišnjak BZK Preporod, Sarajevo 2003.
16. **Hadžijahić**, Muhamed, Od tradicije do identiteta, Geneza bosanskohercegovačkih Muslimana, Sarajevo 1974.
17. **Handžić**, Mehmed, Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1940.
18. **Hobsbawm**, Eric J. , Nacije i nacionalizam, Zagreb 1993.
19. **Hroh**, Miroslav, Oblikovanje modernih nacija, Časopis za savremenu povijest I, Zagreb 1979.
20. **Imamović**, Mustafa, Bošnjački etnos, identitet i ime, Prilozi 32, Sarajevo 2003
21. **Imamović**, Mustafa, O historiji bošnjačkog pokušaja, Muslimani i bošnjaštvo, Sarajevo 1991.
22. **Isaković**, Alija , O nacionaliziranju Muslimana, Globus Zagreb, 1990..
23. **Juzbašić**, Dževad, Nekoliko napomena o etničkom razvitku u Bosni i Hercegovini, Prilozi br. 30. Sarajevo 2001.
6. **Kamberović**, Husnija, Prema modernom društvu, Bosna i Hercegovina od 1945. do 1953. godine, Tešanj 2000.
24. **Kardelj**, Edvard, Osobnosti nacije i razvoj nacionalnih odnosa u Jugoslaviji, Beograd 1971.
25. **Karić**, Esad, **Filandra**, Šaćir, Bošnjačka ideja, Zagreb 2002.
26. **Kožul**, Franjo, **Kukić**, Slavko, Država i nacija – BiH posljednji etapni prostor konsolidacije Europe, Mostar-Sarajevo 1999.
27. **Kržišnik-Bukić**, Vera, Bosanski identitet, Sarajevo 1997.
28. **Kržišnik-Bukić**, Vera, Historijske i historiografske kontroverze i dileme nacionalnog nominiranja u BiH, Prilozi br. 32, Sarajevo 2003.
29. **Kulušić**, Špiro, Razmatranje o porijeklu muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevo 1953.
30. **Mahmutćehajić**, Rusmir, Kriva politika, Tuzla-Sarajevo-Zagreb, 1998.
31. **Milosavljević**, Olivera, U tradiciji nacionalizma, Beograd 2002.
32. **Purivatra**, Atif, Nacionalni i politički razvoj Muslimana, Sarajevo 1979.
33. **Purivatra**, Atif, Nacionalnost bosanskohercegovačkih Muslimana, Osobnosti nacije i razvoj nacionalnih odnosa u Jugoslaviji, Beograd 1971.
34. **Purivatra**, **Imamović**, **Mahmutćehajić**, Muslimani i bošnjaštvo, Sarajevo 1991.
7. **Redžić**, Enver, Istorijski pogledi na vjerske i nacionalne donose u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo 1993.
35. **Redžić**, Enver, Istorijski pogledi na vjerske i nacionalne donose u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo 1993.

36. **Redžić**, Enver, Prilozi o nacionalnom pitanju, Sarajevo 1963.
37. **Redžić**, Enver, Sto godina bošnjačke politike, Sarajevo 2000.
38. **Rizvić**, Muhsin, Bosna i Bošnjaci, jezik i pismo, Sarajevo 1996.
39. **Saltaga**, Fuad, Muslimanska nacija u Jugoslaviji, Sarajevo 1991.
40. **Slijepčević**, Pero, Jugoslavija prema muslimanima, Budućnost Sarajevo 1/1919. sv. 8. O nacionaliziranju Muslimana, priredio Alija Isaković, Zagreb 1990.
8. **Smith**, Antony, The ethnic origins of nations, Oxford 1986.
41. **Suljević**, Kasim, Nacionalnost Muslimana između teorije i prakse, Otokar Krešovani, Rijeka 1981.
42. **Suljević**, Kasim, Uporedna polazišta u proučavanju nacionalnog fenomena, Pregled br. 2, Sarajevo 1978.
43. Sveske, Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa