COMPLEX NATURE OF ETHNICITY

Mgr. at Mgr. Michaela Straapcova

Population groups

Map labels:

SLOVAKIA · Bratislava · AUSTRIA · HUNGARY · Budapest · UKRAINE · MOLDOVA · UKRAINE · Chisinau

Danube · LAKE BALATON

Serbia and Montenegro: war aftermath and return of refugees (Kosovo, Serbia) Serbian refugees from Croatia (Vojvodina)

Serbian minority in East-Slavonia

Ljubljana · SLOVENIA · Zagreb · Drave · Drava · CROATIA · Mures · T rgu-Mures · Brasov · Braila · Danube

Rijeka · Bihac · Banja Luka · Sava · Vukovar · Novi Sad · Vojvodina · ROMANIA

Zadar · BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA · Brcko · Tuzla · Bosna · Pancevo · Belgrade · Bucharest

Knin · Sarajevo · Gorazde · SERBIA · Kragujevac · Craiova · Constanta

ADRIATIC SEA · Mostar · Drina · Danube

Bosnia-Herzegovina: refugees return · MONTENERGO · Novi Pazar · Morava · Nis · Iskar · Varna

Dubrovnik · Podgorica · Pec · Pristina · Sofia · BLACK SEA · Burgas

Kosovo · Prizren · Drin · Tundza · Bosphorus

Kuk s · Tetovo · Skopje · Kocani · BULGARIA · Edirne

ITALY · Durr s · Tirana · MACEDONIA · Vardar · TURKEY · Istanbul · MARMARA SEA

Bitola · ALBANIA · Albanian minority in Macedonia · GREECE · AEGEAN SEA · Dardanelles · TURKEY

0 50 100 150 200 km

Legend:

Croats	Montenegrins
Bosniaks[1]	Macedonians
Serbs	Albanians
Greeks	Turks
Bulgarians	Romanians
Hungarians	Germans
Valachs	Political tensions

1. Muslims according to the former Yugoslavia census.

PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE AND UNEP/GRID-ARENDAL MAY 2007

Outline

- Syllabus, Questions

- Theoretical aspects of Ethnicity

- Citizenship as a Part of Identity

- History and its impact on Kosovo's character and development

- Group projects

- Next lecture

2 Theoretical aspects of Ethnicity

- Identity
- Ethnicity
- Approaches to ethnicity
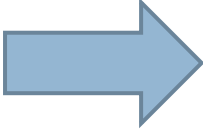- What does it bring? Why does it matter?

Identity

- The fact of being who or what a person or thing is

- The characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is

(Oxford dictionaries)

What is IDENTITY

- "people's **concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are,** and **how they relate to others**" (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2).

- „the way individuals and groups **define themselves and are defined by others** on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture" (Deng 1995, 1).

- „the ways in which **individuals and collectivities are distinguished** in their social relations **with other individuals and collectivities**" (Jenkins 1996, 4).

- "**relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self**" (Wendt 1992, 397).

IDENTITY

☐ unique self

☐ sense of sameness → **social identity**

☐ multifaceted, deeply contextual character

☐ by referring to those who lie outside the identity group (females vs. males, Serbs vs. Albanians)
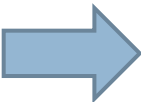
What is Ethnicity?

- a component of the identity profile

- ascriptive identity based primarily upon assumed kinship

- expressed by a combination of appearance, culture, language, religion, origin, and so on

(Horowitz 1985)

- central to understanding ethnic conflict and interethnic relations

Primordialism

- natural, objective feature of human identity
- genetic bonds
- equal footing with race and gender
- Conflict ➡ outcome of essential differences

- obsolete in the academic world
- holds power with many people

Constructivism

- socially imagined
- Constructed and reconstructed
- Created throw social interaction
- Contextual
- Dynamic, changeable

- dominant paradigm in the study of ethnicity and nationalism
- Re-constructed when changes occur in the subjective identification of individuals or in the entry rules for belonging to a community

Max Weber

- *„mode of drawing boundaries between individuals and hence group-making.“*
- Common origin
- *Role of political community* in fostering sense of common *ethnie and solidarity*
- Perceived non-members avoided, despised
- Subjective aspects of reciprocal reaction (sexual relationship)

Percentage of heterogamous marriages in Yugoslavia by republics and autonomous regions

	196288	196264	197072	198082	198688
YUGOSLAVIA	12.4	11.4	12.7	12.7	
BosniaHercegovina		11.2	9.3	12.1	11.9
Montenegro	17.8	14.4	12.9	12.4	
Croatia	15.3	14.9	16.5	16.9	
Macedonia	1	3.4	9.7	8.2	7.5
Slovenia	7.6	7.8	10.8	11.7	
Serbia	11.9	11.4	12.5	12.6	
Proper	8.2	7.4	9.3	9.8	
Vojvodina	22.3	24.2	26.4	28.0	
Kosovo	9.4	7.6	5.9	5.0	

Source: Savezni Zavod Statistiki. 19611988. Demografska Statistika. Belgrad: SZS

Thomas H. Eriksen

- *Identity and its relation with a culture* is a key component of ethnicity

- „aspect of social relationship between *agents, which consider themselves as culturally distinctive* from members of *other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction*

- infinite number of versions of each culture - none of which is more true than the others

Gerd Baumann

- concept of ethnicity is often reflexively **'reified'** in a way that places ethnicities beyond change
- ' *Thingification' or turning concepts into things*
- Putative identity is turned into something hard, unchangeable and absolute
- *„Intuitive sceptics"* over entry rules

Slavenka Drakulic

.. As the battlefront is nearing Zagreb and stories about atrocities are creeping in, a certain transformation begins to shape. *Whereas before, she felt Yugoslavian and her putative Croatianess meant nothing to her, she now feels this identity is closing in on her.*

She compares national identity with wearing an ill-fitting shirt. … its tight, short you don't like the colour but there is nothing else to wear… Its hard to shrug off this Croatianess when at the same time people are killed and massacred only because they are Croats.

In new state of Croatia, no one is allowed not to be a Croat. Even if this is not what one would called freedom, perhaps it would be morally unjust to tear off the shirt of the suffering nation …

(Balkan Express 1993: 52)

Anthony D. Smith

- Ethnie

- *"human population with shared ancestry myths, cultures, histories, specific territory association sense of solidarity"* <u>*widespread in history*</u>*,* <u>*emerged and reemerged*</u> *in different period, continents, culture areas right up to the modern area*

- *ethnie as a* <u>*precursor of nations*</u>*, power of symbols, rituals, traditions in construction of shared identity among members of particular group*

3 Ethno-symbolic components underlie all nations and explain PERSISTANCE & VARIETY:

1. Ethno-Histories: the Golden Age of ethnic groups
2. Ethnic Election: the ethnic community as a Chosen People
3. The Ancestral Homeland

Nationalism   *ethnic / civic*

Benedict Anderson

- Cultural roots of the nation

- Convergence of **capitalism, print technology** and **rise of certain languages** created a **new form of imagined community** which set the stage for the **modern nation**

- <u>imagined</u> political <u>community</u> inherently <u>limited</u> and <u>sovereign</u>

(Anderson 1991: 6-7).

Ernest Gellner

- "Nations as a natural , God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent…political destiny, are a *myth*: nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is reality." (1983: 48).

- <u>Focus on socio-economic conditions</u>.

- *Ethnicity matters because modern nation-state is build on ethno-national principals of political legitimacy*

Eric Hobsbawm

- liberal nationalism, economic expansion and unification
- I. economic or liberal nationalism based on **economic viability**.
- the nation was based on the THRESHOLD principle

  a state had to be of sufficient size to form a viable unit of development. If it fell below this threshold, it had no historic justification

- Issues such as *language, ethnicity, religion* were not relevant
- <u>Nationalism as a political programme</u>.

Rogers Brubaker

- group as core concept for many fields

- a _discrete,_ _sharply_ _differentiated_, _internally homogenous_ and _externally bounded_, _basic constituent of social life_, _fundamental unit of social analysis_, _interest and agency_ can be _attributed_, _unitary collective actor with common purpose_

- ethnic, racial, national conflict still often framed as a conflict of ethnicities, nations and races

- How categories are transformed into groups?

(political, psychological, social process)

- High level of groupness is *result* not the *cause* of conflict

- *Organisations = Protagonist/ icons* NOT ethnic group (PLO, LTTE)
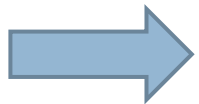
UNITARY TRAP

EVERYDAY PRIMORDIALISM

(Brubaker 2004, Fearon and Laitin 2000)

?

3 Citizenship as a Part of Identity

- Outline
- Definition
- Citizenship / Nationality
- State/ Democratic
- State heterogeneity?
- Citizenship regime in Western Balkans
- Kosovo citizenship

CITIZENSHIP

- Identity & status in society
- Objective / subjective
- rights &duties
- universality & equality, solidarity
- Active / passive
- inclusion/ exclusion
- Political / ethno-cultural
- CITIZENSHIP V. NATIONALITY

- □ STATE CITIZENSHIP
  - ◘ FORMAL   *general membership status*
  - ◘ WELFARE

- □ DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

- *Common membership of a shared and imminent community* *(citizenship as a political activity addressing collective and general concerns)*

- Political state-centric identity
- *Marginalization* of groups (race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, nationality, sexuality..)
- **Community membership** (inclusive and occlusive) X **heterogeneity**
- Universal identity X particular interests (Purvis, Hunt 1999: 461)

Citizenship regime in Western Balkans

- Dissolution?

- Redefinition of citizenship status

- Political tool
  - Nation-building
  - Ethnic engineering

- Legal continuity of only republican citizenship
  - Self-designed criteria

  (national state Croatia, diasporas right, near abroad

Kosovo

- Nationhood political/ ethno-cultural (Brubaker)
- Joppke´s Citizenship
  - Status openness/ inclusiveness (all pre-war citizens, dual citizenship Serbs/diaspora? , public service)
  - Rights *(individual supplemented by community)*
  - Identity *(international design, post-national state, Kosovo nation?)*

4 History and its impact on Kosovo's character and development

- Map
- Pre-war
- Post-war
- Post-Independece

Ethnic Distribution in the Balkans

Legend:
- Albanian
- Croat
- Hungarian
- Macedonian
- Montenegrin
- Muslim
- Serb
- Slovene
- No clear majority
- Former Yugoslavia, 1992
- Current Border

Source: CIA Reference Map Series, 1993, 1995;
Yugoslavian Census of 1991

Map labels: AUSTRIA, ITALY, HUNGARY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA, GREECE, ALBANIA, SLOVENIA, CROATIA, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, SERBIA, MONTENEGRO, MACEDONIA, Adriatic Sea

0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers

Political tensions and refugee movements in the former Yugoslavia

SLOVENIA

Zagreb

CROATIA

Rijeka

Drava

Vukovar

in East Slavonia

Vojvodina

Novi Sad

Sava

Mures

Brasov

ROMANIA

Braila

Danube

Bihac

Banja Luka

Bosna

Brcko

Pancevo

Belgrade

Bucharest

Zadar

BOSNIA and Tuzla

HERZEGOVINA

Knin

Sarajevo

Gorazde

Drina

SERBIA

Kragujevac

Craiova

Danube

Mostar

Bosnia-Herzegovina: refugees return

Novi Pazar

Morava

Nis

Iskar

Varna

ADRIATIC SEA

MONTENERGO

Podgorica

Dubrovnik

Pec

Kosovo

Pristina

Sofia

Burgas

Drin

Prizren

Tetovo

Kuk s

Skopje

MACEDONIA

Kocani

BULGARIA

Edirne

TURKEY

ITALY

Tirana

Durr s

Bitola

Vardar

Albanian minority in Macedonia

MARMARA SEA

ALBANIA

GREECE

AEGEAN SEA

Dardanelles

0 50 100 150 200 km

Legend					
Croats	Montenegrins	Greeks	Romanians	Valachs	Political tensions
Bosniaks[1]	Macedonians	Turks	Hungarians		
Serbs	Albanians	Bulgarians	Germans		

1. Muslims according to the former Yugoslavia census

PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE
AND UNEP/GRID-ARENDAL, MAY 2007

Population displacements 1991 to 2001

- Croats
- Muslims
- Serbs
- Others (Albanians, Hungarians)

PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE UNEP-GRID ARENDAL MAY 2003

Ethnic diversity in Kosovo

Legend:
- Albanians
- Serbs
- Bosniaks
- Gorani
- Croats
- Romans and Egiptians
- Ashkalli
- Turks

Labels on map:

SERBIA

Novi Pazar

MONTENEGRO

Leposaviq/ Leposavic

Zvecan

Zubin Potok

Podujeve/ Podujevo

Mitrovice/Mitrovica

Vushtrri/Vucitrn

Istog/Istok

Skenderaj/ Srbica

Vrelle/Vrelo

Obiliq/ Obilic

Peje/Pec

Cirez

Gracanice/ Gracanica

Novoberde/ Novo Brdo

Vitomirice/ Vitomirica

Kline/Klina

Fushe Kosove/ Kosovo Polje

Pristina

Vranje

Decan/Decani

Kraljane

Komorane

Janjevo

Kamenice/ Kamenica

Malisheve Malisevo

Lipjan/Lipljan

Junik

Rahovec/ Orahovac

Pagarusa/ Pagarusha

Stimlje

Gjilan/ Gnjilane

Gjakove Djakovica

Therranda/ Suva Reka

Ferizaj/ Urosevac

Vitina

Shterpca/ Strpce

Kacanik

Prizren

Dragash/ Dragas

MACEDONIA

ALBANIA

Skopje

Source: UNMIK; Ninth assessment of the situation of
ethnic minorities in Kosovo (2002), OSCE-UNHCR;
Kosovo Humanitarian Community Information Center, Kosovo road Altas.

0   25   50 km

'Kosovo is a plain

where the Serbs bend over to work the soil,

Albanians sweat in the mining shafts underground,

Turks (largely spent and reminiscing about past fame) grow poppies and peppers,

while the Gypsies fill the air with the sounds of life.'

A. N. Dragnich and S. Todorovich, The Saga of Kosovo, East European Monographs, New York, 1984, p. 5

Early history

Illyrians

12th century Serbian kingdom

June 28 1389

1974

80s

1990

1993-97

March 1998

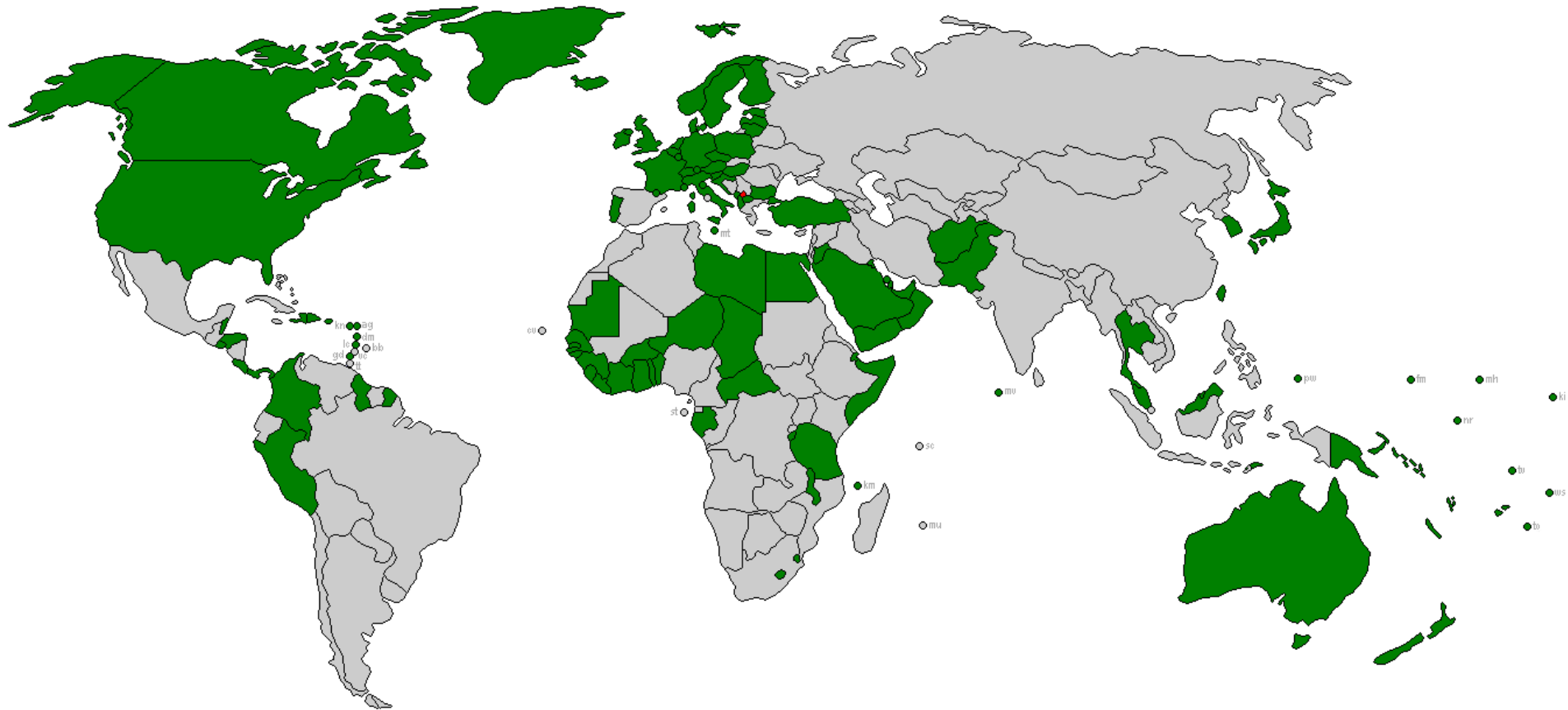March 1999

June 1999

Post-war

2003	First direct talks between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian
2003 March	Mitrovica clashes
2006 July	First direct talks between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian about the future status
2007 February	Ahtisaari plan
2008 February	Kosovo declares independence (111/193; 23/28)

Entities that recognise Kosovo as an independent state

Post-Independence

2008	December Eulex takes over police, justice and custom services
2011 March	Serbia and Kosovo begin direct talks
2011 December	Agreement on regulating border crossing
2012 September	the end of international supervision (Eulex monitors, NATO peacekeepers)
2013 April	The Brussels Agreement
2013 September	opening talks with Kosovo on an AA
2013 November	first local elections supported by Serbia
2014 June	parliament election
Now	War Crimes Court, an Association of Serbian Municipalities