

Critical Analysis of Sociology and Social Research Studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract

Although sociology is a modern discipline, sociologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina must consider distant past and present to tackle the questions of identity, nationality, ethnicity, language and religion. Sociological prominence had gained its focus in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina because of conflict resolution, peace building and overall social transformations and emerging challenges and issues. Such transformation of post-war Bosnian society coupled with a socio-political and economic crisis had opened the door for sociological and anthropological studies and research. Post-war society that eventually aims at a just peace, as Bosnia and Herzegovina where genocide had taken place, cannot without addressing sociological dimensions of war, justice, law and morality. Sociology as a discipline, within the institutional context, has also undergone significant changes and transformations. Using a survey approach, this paper aims to analyze why sociology is significant discipline in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, it is significant to analyze sociological and institutional transformations and their influence on the creation of new social models related to identity, nationality, religion, language, ethnicity, conflict resolution, war and justice.

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1. Introduction

Throughout its turbulent cyclical historical processes, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been going through cultural, religious and social changes and transformations. Being at the cultural and civilization crossroads, Bosnia and Herzegovina was influenced and shaped by oriental and occidental civilizations, empires and states (Mulalic, 2014: 55-66). Consequently, there has always been a need of cultural, historical, ethnographic, religious and sociological study of Bosnian social changes and transformations. This became more apparent after the 1990s because of the war, conflict-resolution, peace-building, institutions-building and state-building processes. These developments consequently provoked sociologists to study the development and transformations of the Bosnian society. A provocative question emerged, why Bosnian society had fragmented during the 1990s and how sociologists can make sense of a new ethnically divided societies that are destined either to live together or to live side-by-side. More importantly, it is worth reassessing how sociology responded to the revival of nationalism and the right-wing politics that have been ruining the very fabrics of the Bosnian society. Using nationalism, the ethnic political leaders try to create “new national identities” and, consequently, ‘ethnic sociology.’ Such ethnic sociology upholds extremely divided society along ethnic, religious, national and linguistic lines (Mulalic, 2015: 5299-5307). These serious changes and transformations certainly require a systematic sociological endeavour and answers to the sociological causes of the conflict in the 1990s and possible sociological post-conflict alternatives for the Bosnian society. Certainly, Bosnian sociologists have tremendous challenge because they must give meaning, direction and justification for the pattern and the structure of present-day Bosnian society.

The research on different socio-political issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina has gone through different phases of development. Certainly, institutional developments of sociology and research interests before and after 1990s were different. After the 1990s, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the collapse of socialism opened the door for local and international sociologists to explore socio-political topics not only in Bosnia and

Herzegovina but in the entire Balkans region. Apart from the socio-political studies by the international authors, especially during the 1990s, limited number of books, journal articles and research projects have been completed or published by the Bosnian sociologists. Today Bosnia and Herzegovina grapples with numerous sociological challenges that need urgent studies by sociologists. Some of these neglected topics include: unemployment, social exclusiveness, social consciousness, social cohesion, patriotism, poverty, violence, alcohol and drug addiction, culture, religion, identity, demography and depopulation, social apathy, terrorism and other topics.

This handy survey aims to paint the picture of the sociological prospects and challenges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with special emphasis on history of sociology, sociological institutional developments, sociological studies by international organizations, sociology of religion and Bosnian society in transitions and encountering justice, law and peace. In this work the survey of the main sociological literature, identification of the leading sociologists and articulation of the main sociological issues and challenges could serve as a milestone towards the empirical and case-based sociological studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the course of writing a survey of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina the author could rely on the limited number of sources. However, few of them are worth mentioning as serious references on this subject. Under the sponsorship of the Academy of Sciences and Arts Bosnia and Herzegovina (ANUBiH) Ivan Cvitkovic, a leading Bosnian sociologist, edited the work entitled *The Role Position of Sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. This edited publication is unique as it included the works of leading Bosnian sociologists on the role of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then, Muhamed Filipovic, a leading Bosnian philosopher and thinker, published a journal article entitled "Status sociologije kao nauke u danasnoj Bosni i Hercegovini i neki primjeri koji se odnose na to pitanje" (*Status of sociology as a science in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and some examples related to this question*). This is excellent historical and socio-philosophical article on the development of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Perhaps, it would be worth translating this article in English language because no similar article exists in other languages on this subject. It is important to mention that there is no significant study that surveys and analyzes the sociological studies by international organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Bosnia and Herzegovina religion is related to almost all other research subjects,

therefore there are more sociological studies on sociology of religion than on some specialized sociological topics. Perhaps, due to inseparable relationship between the nation and religion, sociology of religion as a subject became very important in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such relationship is clearly illustrated in the titles of published works on sociology of religion. Djordjevic (2008) in his book *Role Models and Friends: A Sketch for a Portrait of YU Sociologist of Religion Sociology of Religion* provided thorough history of sociology of religion in former Yugoslavia. Then, Dino Abazović enriched the sociology of religion with the following works: *Religija u tranziciji: Eseji o religijskom i politickom (Religion in Transition: Essays on Religion and Politics)*; *Za naciju i Boga: Sociolosko odredjenje religijskog nacionalizma (For the Nation and God: A Sociological Determination of Religious Nationalism)*. In addition, Ivan Cvitkovic also published the number of works on sociology of religion such as *Drustvo, religija i mladi (Society, Religion and Youth)*, *Socioloski pogledi na naciju i religiju II (Sociological Perceptions of Nation and Religion II)*, *Sociologija religije (Sociology of Religion)*, *Religije suvremenog svijeta (Religions of the Modern World)* and many others.

2. History of Sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Forthcoming survey of sociology will clearly indicate the significance of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As in other colonized and agrarian states between world wars, sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina had no significant place within the educational system, scientific journals and scientific associations. Therefore, after the World War I, sociological issues and topics in Bosnia and Herzegovina were mostly presented in the daily newspapers and magazines. By the 1930s, few scholars among them Slavoljub Dubic and Ljubomir Zivkovic developed first sociology textbooks and articles on the sociology of village (Filipovic, 2004: 3). However, some argue that these topics were not addressed from the sociological perspective but from ethnographic, linguistic and cultural perspectives. At the institutions of higher learning sociological themes were addressed by the disciplines of philosophy, history, law, ethnology and others (Vukadinovic, 2010: 16; Kukic, 2010: 35). During this time, Bosnia and Herzegovina had no professional, trained and educated sociologists as in developed Western European countries. Therefore, "even in Yugoslavia, with the most developed structure of undergraduate and graduate training for

sociologists, the professional journals complain that a substantial number of persons doing research or training social science and sociology are trained in other disciplines (philosophy and history primarily)" (Denitch, 1971: 318).

Sociology continued to be covered by the other disciplines after the World War II. These disciplines, mostly humanities, were 'enriched' with the Marxist ideology, whereby the sociological topics were no an exception. Marxism and the Marxist orientation to sociology became very popular among the Yugoslav intellectuals. Marxist approaches to the social issues were starting point and the state of justification for sociologists. Therefore, the nature and significance of sociology was defined by the reference to the Marxist premises (Allcock, 1975: 491-494). The Marxist ideology within these disciplines had primarily aim to identify the "state enemies" (Vukadinovic, 2010: 16; Kukic, 2010: 35). In this regard, during this time "some of the older sociologists continue to write papers and books that attempt to relate sociology to orthodox (official) Marxism-Leninism, thus defining the discipline as legitimate" (Denitch, 1971: 321-322). Under the influence of Marxist conception of reality and historical materialism, an ideology that was the basis of all social sciences and humanities, 'European' conception of sociology was moved aside. Sociology was a kind of bourgeoisie science that had the task to show an organic and coherent society and to hide real class differences (Filipovic, 2004: 3).

In the 1960s, the first institutional forms of sociology, characterized by the Marxist ideology, appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In comparison to the beginnings of sociology in Europe in 1750s, sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was lagging behind Europe. An institutional development of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was not following European phases of development because only with the establishment of the first departments of sociology sociological societies, sociological journals, research centres, articles and books on sociology emerged (Vukadinovic, 2010: 18). During this time some of the most prominent sociologists who attempted to revive the position of sociology as the science included: Rudi Supek, Radomir Lukic, Joze Gorica, Ante Fiamengo and others. These scholars were using the sociological methodology in the study of sociology of the village and the family. Their research studies were gradually moving sociology away from historical materialism to sociology as the science of the society. It is important to mention that Ante Fiamengo was the first writer and professor of sociology at the University in Sarajevo. Thanks to

him sociology as the course and as the study program entered Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo (Filipovic, 2004: 5; Kukic, 2010: 35).

After the 1960s sociology began with the process of emancipation and gradually moved from mere theoretical studies towards the empirical research of the society. Some of the topics of the study, as the need of a socialist state, during this time included: mass culture, popular culture, child delinquency, family changes and transformations, crime and others. Sociology also studied the socialist society in making and articulated the questions on what is the sociology; what constitutes the society; what are the elements for the social stability; and what social realities are. These topics were addressed by Esad Cimic, Zoran Vidakovic and Rudi Stojak (Kukic, 2010: 36). For instance, Supek was among the first to study "the public opinion," using sociological empirical methodology. This was the time during which sociologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina were also using positivist theory in the study of the society. Supek also articulated an idea of how to apply the scientific methods in the study of man and the society. Considering the above Supek was certainly the most important sociologist during this time that put sociology into empirical and scientific contexts; far beyond mere theoretical analysis (Filipovic, 2004: 9; Kukic, 2010: 37). Actually, the socialist government and the society were relying on sociologists for answers and knowledge on the questions of industry, work, family relations, village, city, urbanism, social change, demography, migrations, popular culture, social stratification, poverty, trade unions, socialist alliance, youth, women's organizations, media, public opinion and others (Filipovic, 2004: 7; Denitch, 1971: 336).

In 1965, the first Department of Sociology was founded at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo. However, this department had focus on philosophy and sociology at the same time. Then, in 1964 at the Department of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo the Department of Sociology was established (Vukadinovic, 2010: 18). In the same year the sociological institute was founded within the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo. Then, the *Center for Marxist Studies* and the *Institute of International Relations*, which was founded in 1978, were addressing the sociological themes. During the 1990s this centre was destroyed and has not been reconstructed. Sociologists were also working at the technical and natural research centres side-by-side with other researchers (Vukadinovic, 2010: 19-20; Cvitkovic, 2010: 9). In 1970, the first Association of Sociologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded. By the 1990s this association

numbered 335 members and was the biggest itself in the former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, after the 1990s this association was closed and has never ever been re-opened (Vukadinovic, 2010: 20-21).

Sociology was represented in research and publications, especially with the foundations of sociological journals. The foundation of the three major Yugoslav journals in the field of sociology included: *Sociologija* (Belgrade, 1959); *Sociologija sela* (Zagreb, 1963); *Revija za sociologiju* (Zagreb, 1971) (Allcock, 1975: 491). Other journals include *Socioloski pregled* (1961), *Teorija i praksa* (1963). Few journals were addressing the sociological topics in Bosnia and Herzegovina such as *Pregled* (1971), *Marksisticke sveske* (1972), *Opredjeljenja* (1974). Unfortunately, most of these journals didn't continued to exist after 1990s (Vukadinovic, 2010: 21; Filipovic, 2004: 3). Some journals today occasionally publish sociological topics such as *Status*, *Motrista*, *Dijalog* and *Pregled* (see journal contents at www.ceeol.com).

Sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was flourishing within the Yugoslavian Marxist ideology. However, after the 1990s Marxist ideology was gradually excluded from sociology, except as a theory and historical survey. The Bosnian sociologists readdressed the Marxist ideology in educational institutions, placing it only in a symbolic historical context. Besides turning back to Marxist ideology, as a result of post-war developments, the Bosnian sociologists began turning more to sociology and the study of the society. Therefore, Bosnian sociologists began to reconsider an institutional sociology and its practical applications. This discussion on the development of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina clearly indicated gradual development of this discipline within the social state system of governance. Denitch (1971: 335-339) was right in explaining that there were three phases of these developments including, foundation of sociological disciplines, empirical studies of the sociological themes for the purpose of servicing ever-evolutionary conception of the socialist society and critical sociology.

The 1990s were characterized with the social crisis and the transition of both the society and the state. This was the time of state disintegration, creation of new states, wars and the socio-political transitions. The 1990s and years after were rich with local and international empirical research studies on different subjects. Actually, the international publications on Bosnia during the 1990s were more frequent than today. One of the reasons was the war and post-war periods that created the new context for the sociologists. Sociologists began using interdisciplinary approaches

connecting sociology with economics, gender studies, law, sports, education and other fields. In addition, the questions of national identity, national hegemony, migrations, national consciousness and entity division of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state posed new research challenges to the sociologists.

Before the 1990s there were two departments of sociology but today there are departments of sociology at the following universities: University of Dzemal Bijedic, University of Banja Luka, University of Tuzla, University of East Sarajevo and others. Therefore, today there are more departments of sociology, more professors and sociology students. These universities also opened graduate studies and included in undergraduate curricula courses like sociology of language, political sociology, gender sociology, global sociology, national identity, multicultural sociology, organizational sociology and others (Vukadinovic, 2010: 19). By 2004, sociology became a compulsory course in the natural, technical, medical and social sciences and humanities. Today, this trend has been changed and it is difficult to find sociology in technical, natural and bio-medical sciences. Even some departments at humanities and social sciences have excluded sociology from their curricula. Yet, some of these faculties do offer one course on sociology as an elective. According to Kukic (2010) among faculties that worked the most on sociological issues based on serious scientific and empirical methodology is the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo. In the past ten years, this faculty published the greatest number of socio-political researches.

Today sociology is presented differently across the Bosnian universities. The following courses are offered by different departments and faculties: Sociology for economists; Industrial sociology; Sociology; Sociology of sports; Sociology of medicine; Sociology of pedagogy and education; Sociology of work; Teacher's sociology; Sociology and sociology of law; Introduction to sociology; Sociology of arts; City sociology and marginal groups; Society, culture and fashion; Systematic sociology; Sociology of media; Sociology of education; Sociology of village. These enlisted courses are offered across different departments and faculties whereby a course of sociology as an elective or required is offered for the students of a specialisation (Demirovic, 2010: 47-54). For instance, Sociology of sports course is offered for students who take the degree at the Faculty of Sports. Similarly, other faculties like faculty of medicine, agriculture, security or education offer sociology only as a course to their students.

Considering the above developments, it is significant to articulate that the approach and status of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not changed since 1970s until today. Allock (1975: 491) stated.

“the teaching of sociology is normally carried on within large, multi-disciplinary faculties, within which sociology forms but a small enclave. The sociology component has usually been added to faculties which were ongoing concerns, into which sociologists have had to be integrated. In both an academic and in a political sense, therefore, sociology finds itself towards the periphery, rather than at the centre, of affairs. Furthermore, the teachers of sociology within any one university will usually find themselves distributed throughout several of the faculties.”

Currently offered courses at different faculties in Bosnia and Herzegovina were derived from sociological sub-classification that emerged between 1960s and 1980s. Such sociological sub-classification include: sociology of work, sociology of industry, sociology of self-governance, sociology of village, sociology of city, urban sociology, sociology of politics, sociology of religion, sociology of culture, sociology of knowledge, sociology of arts and others (Filipovic, 2004: 8).

3. Sociological Studies by International Organizations

The 1990s were the years of the emergence of the new world order, as the consequence of the end of the Cold War. These developments contributed towards increased interests of the great powers, policy-makers, international organizations and researchers to explore the former Yugoslavia. Bosnia and Herzegovina became the most significant place of the interest for the policy-makers and researchers. Therefore, since the 1990s international organizations presence has been increasing due to political, economic and security reasons. The international organizations began with an interest to study different issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus, providing valuable data and the information for diplomats, policy-makers and the great powers. Therefore, among different research projects supports by the international organization, projects on sociology were significantly supported (Kukic, 2010: 37).

This paper will present selected international organizations and their support for the research projects between 2012 until today that cover in one

or the other way the sociological topics. In this regard, this paper starts with the *Gallup Balkan Monitor*. This organization supported projects and explored some of the following issues “social & economic conditions, employment prospects, business conditions, attitudes and perceptions about the EU and international community, good governance, corruption, crime & safety, political activity in the region, ethnic & cultural identities and perceptions of other ethnic groups, religion, well-being & life satisfaction, migratory patterns and the future: outlook and aspiration”. The research project entitled *Gallup Balkan Monitor: Insights and Perceptions, Voices from the Balkans* (2010: 11) explored socio-economic issues including unemployment, social apathy, migrations, EU accession, religion and organized crime. The report on an unemployment and social apathy in the society articulated that “the proportion of respondents thinking that economic conditions in the country were getting worse has remained more or less stable (68%, up 2 points) and jobless respondents have grown much more pessimistic about finding a job in the year after the interview: three-quarters (74%) now thought that there was no job in sight (up from 42% in 2009)”. Then, the research project entitled *20 Years after 1991: The Tale of Two Generations* (2012: 7) was surveying the socio-political and economic conditions, cultural identification, ethnicity, social life, conflicts and national feelings in Tito’s Yugoslavia and other Balkan’s countries, including in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the question “in your opinion, what would life in our country be like if Yugoslavia (SFRY) had survived with the same political system and the same relationships between republics (current independent countries) as existed in the period of Tito's reign?” according to the results of this study 13% responded worse, 25% the same and 58% better, which shows significant nostalgia for the past and lack of socio-political direction of the society. Then, *Media Freedom and the Integrity in the Western Balkans: Recent Developments* (2015: 12-13) addressed the issue of media freedom in the Western Balkans countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. This report articulated media violations by the ruling establishment and raiding of web portal *klix.ba* because of published recording of a high ranking official involved in apparent bribe of two opposition parliamentarians. The *Gallup Balkan Monitor* has been mostly interested in surveying public views on the EU membership. Their latest project entitled *EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans in a Time of Certainly* (2016) has indicated that the public significantly support Bosnian path towards the EU.

The United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) "goal is the sustainable, democratic and peaceful development of BiH within current borders, where social, economic and environmental aspects of development coexist in harmony, augmenting the quality of life equitably for all BiH citizens". UNDP conducted different research projects on rural and regional development, social inclusion and democratic governance, justice and security and energy and environment. These projects were attuned with the millennium development goals. Among many projects it is worth beginning with *Local Communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What Do Citizens Say* (2016)? This project aimed to survey the local governments, their functioning, services, democratic accountability and social inclusion. Similar project entitled the *Rural Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Myth or Reality* (2013) assessed the socio-political, educational and economic aspects of life in the rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then, another project entitled *Closing the Gap: An Overview of UNDP Results in Gender Equality in Europe and CIS* (2016: 3), explored gender equality, women's empowerment and the realization of women's rights as being critical in sustainable human development. The report provided significant data and "highlights successful initiatives that have had measurable impact in a range of areas: economic empowerment, access to resources and essential services, combating discriminatory social norms, promoting participation in decision-making, and building resilience". UNDP also supported research projects on transnational justice and one of the projects that deal with these issues is *Access to Justice: Facing the Past and Building Confidence for the Future* (2012). This and similar projects were purposefully prepared as to prepare the society to deal effectively with the violent past and to move the society from a state of conflict and denial to reconciliation.

The scope of the *Transparency International* is wide; however the issues related to judiciary, prosecution and corruption are at the same time sociological in nature as they affect the society at large. Its mission clearly indicates that this organization "fights for systematic changes in society and articulates citizens demands for accountable, transparent and efficient governance". Among numerous projects it is worth to start with *BiH Academy for Women Empowerment in politics* (2016). This project had sole purpose of building "women's capacity to effectively and actively participate in politics, enhancing the quality of their political participation and gender justice, and to promote women's equal right to political representation." Then, *The Accountability 2015* (2015) project aimed at monitoring the integrity and

accountability of the public officials before the citizens. *BiH School Integrity* project targeted students who were given an opportunity to gain knowledge in importance of the rule of law, good governance and the consequences of corruption. The *Transparency International* has created the significant awareness on the level of the corruption in Bosnian society. According to the report *Corruption Perception Index 2015* Bosnia and Herzegovina is at the rank of 76 among 168 countries with regard to the corruption, with the score of 38.

In 1993, the *Open Society* or widely known as Soros Foundation was founded in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The *Open Society* has sponsored numerous projects and many of them were directly or indirectly exploring sociological topics. An interest in sociological issues is clearly visible from their mission "to develop open society in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Kukic, 2010: 39). There are some of the most important *Open Society* sociology related projects between 2016 and 2017. *AD Coalition Equality for All* deals with the issue of discrimination as one of main problems of Bosnian society. It targets the efficiency of law prohibiting discrimination and as well as widespread discriminatory practices within the society. Then, *The Trial of Ratko Mladic Documentary Film* aims to articulate the questions of justice, law and peace. Mladic's trial and expected verdict in November 2017 will certainly help Bosnian society to come at terms with the past war and its implications. Then, the project *In School I am Safe* articulates the sociological issues of violence in the school, its prevention and raising awareness of the school violence among students, parents, teachers and wider community. *Debate on Peace and Non-Violence* is the project that supports publications which content brings discussions, reflections, theoretical and critical evaluations of contemporary society. *Integrated Education in Segregated School* project examines "two schools under one roof" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, its legal, educational, social, pedagogical and political challenges.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was founded in 1994, supporting democracy and civil society, historical past and future, economics and justice, youth in political parties, syndicates and European Union. Therefore, this organization has significant publications in socio-political and economic fields of study. For the sake of socio-political affirmation of this organization this research will randomly select completed publications between 2016 and 2017:

- Edlira Xhafa. 2017. *Pravo na strajk - na udaru. Analiza novijih trendova (Right to Strike under Attack: An Analysis of new Trends)*.
- Igor Kostic. 2017. *Politicka analiza: Ciljevi održivog razvoja u BiH, reformski procesi u koje su svi uključeni (Political Analysis: Aims of sustainable development in BiH, Reform Processes Integrated All)*.
- Sasa Savicic. 2016. *Ka ostvarivanju ravnopravnosti polova u Kantonima Federacije BiH: Pravila, institucije, politike (Towards an Achievement of Gender Equality in Cantons of Federation of BiH: Rules, institutions, politics)*.
- Ognjen Dukic and Nikolina Obradovic. 2016. *Nejednakosti u Bosni i Hercegovini: od praznih sefova do punih džepova (Inequalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina: From Empty Treasuries to Full Pockets)*.
- Goran Stankovic. 2016. *Radni odnosi i socijalni dijalog u Jugoistočnoj Evropi (Work Relations and Social Dialogue in Southeast Europe)*.
- Darel Kapetanovic. 2016. *Između sjećanja, poricanja i zaborava – o kulturi sjećanja u BiH 20 godina nakon rata (Between Remembrance, Neglecting and Forgetfulness – About the Culture of Remembrance in BiH 20 Years after the War)*.

In 1997, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, as political foundation closely associated with Christian Democratic Union (CDU), was founded in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to its website mission this foundation, upholding freedom, justice and solidarity, “use integrated concept that supports political, administrative, economic and scientific projects that could be related and used for the development of democratic consciousness.” Some of the main activities of this foundation are directed towards functioning of the political parties, EU integrations and dealing with the past. Therefore, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung supported numerous projects related to interreligious dialogues, religion and secular state, the process of decision-making in parliamentary assembly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, political parties, EU integration, mass media, the rule of law, the prevention of genocide and others. Among numerous projects of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organization we will select few related to sociology of religion. Therefore, it is worth to start with *Religion as a Conversation Starter: Interreligious Dialogue for Peacebuilding in the Balkans* (2014). This organization supported a three-year project on interreligious dialogue and peace in the Balkans. Then, the project *Islamic Scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2011: 104-105) explores:

discussions focused on so-called "alternative" aspects of Islam. Even the term "alternative" requires explanation. What does it mean? To what extent are the views of these groups combatable with Islam? Are they compatible with European values? And finally, how is the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina responding to this challenge? These are issues that play an increasing role in the debate about Islam in Europe, including in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The prospect of European Union membership in Bosnia and Herzegovina is real, and the country has agreed to comply with European standards. Despite this, there is frequent confusion regarding the extent to which Islam is compatible with the lifestyles of modern European societies. Lack of knowledge leads to stereotypes and cause Islam or certain Muslim groups to be labelled as unfit for democracy. Radical factions or groups exist within Islam, as they do in every religion, and must be taken seriously in order to decrease risks faced by society. However, it is wrong to make sweeping generalizations.

In 1999, Heinrich-Boell-Stiftung was founded, being linked to the German Green foundation. This foundation aims at "democratization, political education, the protection of environment and sustainable development" (Kukic, 2010: 39-40). Some of the main issues and themes that this foundation deals with include youth and democratization process, corruption, education, dialogue, environment, EU integration, freedom, religion and others.

4. Sociology of Religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Due to rapid socio-political and economic changes and developments sociology of religion began to focus more on new religious movements, new sects and denominations and religious spirituality. Therefore, classical sociological approach in studying major world religions and their impact on the society has changed. Then, sociological study of religions in Bosnia and Herzegovina was mostly directed towards negative religious subjects such as religion and politics, religion and nationalism, fundamentalism and religious extremism. Therefore, fundamental sociological dimensions of religions were not properly addressed in the sociological studies and unfortunately there are but few sociologists who are experts in sociology of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This part provides a brief survey of the development of sociology of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Filipovic (2004) made an extensive analysis of historical developments of sociology as the discipline in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then, Djordjevic (2008) in his book *Role Models and Friends: A Sketch for a Portrait of YU Sociologist of Religion* provided thorough history of sociology of religion in former Yugoslavia. In this book, he attempted to defend an idea that in former Yugoslavia sociology of religion was very important discipline and was studied by sociologists in the same manner as sociologists in the West. Together with group of authors Djordjevic analyzed history of sociology of religion in former Yugoslav republics between 1991-2007 titled *The Sociology of Religion in the Former Yugoslav Republics*.

Sociology of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina began with Esad Cimic in the 1960s. In his approach sociology of religion was integrated into sociology of culture (Ljubovic, 2005). Contributions and significance of Prof. Cimic towards the field of sociology is illustrated in the fact that honoring his 80th birthday the University of Zadar in 2011 published *Anthology Honoring Eighty Years of Life of Esad Cimic*. Then, in 1960s sociology of religion became integral part of the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo. In the 1991 and in the following decade's sociology and sociology of religion as subjects were introduced in other faculties across Bosnia and Herzegovina (Demirovic, 2010: 48-54). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of published works on religious studies has increased tremendously. Such works cover wide range of subjects from sociology of religion, theology, psychology of religion, history of religions, philosophy of religion, pedagogy and religion. Interest in religious studies started because of increasing role of religion and ethnicity on socio-political aspects of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then, due to sociological needs and the role of religion in our society were conducted by different researchers who were addressing questions of religion, ethnicity, religious discrimination, education and religion, media and religion and nation. Most of these research projects were financed by the international organizations such as Save the Children Norway, Foundation Konrad-Adenauer, Open Society and others (Abazovic, 2010: 71-74).

Leading two sociologists who are the experts in the field of sociology of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina are Ivan Cvitkovic and Dino Abazovic (2008). In their works, they described the development of sociology of religion by focusing on the relationship between religion, ethnicity,

confession and nation. They also presented an idea that the emergence of national consciousness in the 1990s contributed towards the return to religion. However, a return to nation and a return to religion became two sides of the same coin (Cvitkovic, 2004: 13-19; Abazovic, 2006: 15-67). Due to inseparable relationship between nation and religion, sociology of religion as a subject became very important in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From sociological and religious point of view, one of the most important characteristics of the modern time is the emergence of new forms of religiosity, spirituality and new religious movements. These forms emerged as an alternative to the major world religions and their religious systems. In the 21st century religion again began to play significant role in our society and this was the reason for the emergence of new religious movements who started to challenge not only existing religious systems but also existing socio-political, legal, economic and educational norms (Cvitkovic, 2005: 249; Beckford, 1987: 390-394). With a major shift in the secularisation thesis, namely that processes of secularisation will bring about a significant decline in the role of religion in society, one can in fact empirically observe that revitalisation of religions taking place through the rise of mega-churches, religious conversions to Buddhism and Islam, the rise of Charismatic and New Religious Movements (Barker 1982) as well as the commodification of religion and spirituality. Issues of security and terrorism are also either correctly or erroneously connected to the use of religious beliefs and ideologies in the recruitment of individuals into terrorist organisations.

Since emergence of new religious movements and sects increased rapidly, after the 1990s limited number of works began to be written on this subject in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Still there are but few specialized publications including: Kovacevic (2012) *Nove religije (New Religions)*, Jusic (2011) *Islamic Movements in the Twentieth Century and their Presence in BiH*, Nikic (1997) *Novi religijski pokreti (New Religious Movements)*, Toprak, et. al., (2016) *Facts and Perceptions toward Religion-Oriented NGOs: The Case of BiH* and some other minor authors. It is also important to mention that influence of new religious movements contributed towards studying the same at the institutions of higher learning, especially at faculties of theology. For instance, at University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Islamic Studies a course *New Religious Movements* is offered to third year students. Similarly, so, at the University of Zenica a course *Islam and New Religious Movements* is offered to master's students.

Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state had to deal with growing demand from new religious movements, granting freedom and liberties to all religious orientations other than formal religions. In this regard, in 2004 Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted the *Law on Religious Freedom and Legal Position of Churches and Religious Communities*. Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees was authorized to deal with newly registered religious movements. However, actual registration of new religious movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina is conducted by the Ministry of Justice. Three hundred adults with BiH citizenship are permitted to register legally new religious movement. Yet they are not permitted to use formal names and symbols of formal religions.

5. Conclusion and Encountering Justice, Law and Peace

The above survey of sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina again projected the question on how and why sociologists couldn't predict the disintegration of former Yugoslavian socialist society in terrible violent ways. Such violent social transformation had not taken place in any other socialist state in transition in the Eastern Europe. This shed doubt on the relevance and scientific approach of sociology in previous decades, as the logic and the scientific methodology of sociology were defeated in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Perhaps, this was the reason why Doubt (2000) wrote a book *Sociology after Bosnia and Kosovo*. In addition, the above survey clearly indicated that sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina has returned back to 1960s to its theoretical state of existence as sociologists today do not tackle real social issues by using empirical methods (Filipovic, 2004: 21-22) and they have significantly neglected the sociological study of genocide.

More than twenty years after there is no societal consensus on the war, justice and the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus, unresolved past is still hunting present-day Bosnian society. After the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) the first elections made no restrictions on the nationalist parties that participated in the war, therefore, the conflict had continued by the political means. The Dayton Peace Agreement gave preferences to ethno-nationalist division of power with regards to political, economic, ethnic, territorial and other divisions of the state and the society. Therefore, there was an articulation of mono-ethnic interests, which gave no chance to the reconciliation, peace and the common future (Mulalic & Korkut, 2012: 107-117). Hopes for transitional justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as

inevitable process of the peace-building, have been seen as an international “experiment” that will not bring any justice to any of the conflicting parties during the war. Hopes and expectations from the International Crime Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) as a result of long trials, lack of transparency, questionable and low sentences for the surviving genocide victims is lost and there is apathy with regards to an institutional delivery of justice. Even serious attempts of the International Community to articulate justice, peace and reconciliation have been tremendously questioned because of reemergence of nationalist political parties that are negating genocide and threatening the secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since genocide had taken place in Bosnia and Herzegovina sociologists and social psychologists and therapists began exploring these subjects. The term genocide from the very beginnings had a strong sociological, legal and linguistics focus (Jones, 2006). Some of the most important works that had integrated sociological dimension of genocide were written by Helen Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*. The question of the destruction of the state identity has become very popular subject among sociologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ziga, 2010: 26-28). It is interesting that for some Bosnia and Herzegovina is not their country but the constituency of three ethnicities within one state. Bosnian state is only represented through state symbols such as passport, flag, and state institutions; however there is no affection and feelings about belonging to the state by significant strata of the Bosnian society. This implies that Bosnia and Herzegovina and its society have been encountering the significant sociological crisis (Velagic, 2010: 26-27).

Terms justice, law and peace are closely interconnected and interrelated and they are often used by Bosniaks in articulating the genocide and impossibility of the future without justice and peace. Most of the Bosniaks believe in common future with Serbs and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and with Serbia and Croatia as good neighbours only if justice determined by the law is accepted by all sides. However, Bosnian society has been struggling to achieve post-war justice, truth and peace. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are three dimensions of the truth. On the contrary, political leaders do not acknowledge crimes committed by their people against others during the war. These dilemmas prevent Bosnia to build its future on social consensus and understanding. Due to complexity of these

concepts and their political implications sociologists have not explored them to deserved extent.

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