

Between a Rock and a Hard Place: How Roma Populations are marginalized in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

By
Snezana Dimic

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of International Relations and European Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Supervisor: Professor Erin Kristin Jenne
Word count: 14,058

Budapest, Hungary
2014

Abstract

The status of minorities in post-conflict societies across the globe is one of the greatest preoccupations in social science research. The Dayton Peace Agreement signed in 1995 and later adopted as the Constitution of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian state was found to be discriminatory against minorities. Still, the position of the Roma populations is poorly represented within the academic discussions. This thesis provides criticism of the Dayton Peace Agreement and analysis of behavior and political representation of constitutionally excluded minorities in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian post-conflict society. Conducting interviews and focus group research in Roma settlements “Gorica and “Poljice” in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I argue that even with the adoption of the Dayton Peace Agreement the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continued just with other resources. By encouraging ethnic and religious divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and promoting disintegration between the two entities, the balance of political power has generated a new war between “constituent people” and the category of “others”. Consequently, the existing Constitution provides a milieu where minorities are at ‘risk’ of not being a part of three-member presidency political system in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, which further leads to the failure of the international community’s goal of achieving democracy through the Dayton Peace Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Acknowledgments

This piece is made with great inspiration and in the memory of all the Roma victims of the Balkan wars. I would like to thank to Professor Erin Jenne for her advice and supervision during the thesis writing period.

I would also like to thank to Professor Michael Merlingen for his great support and encouragement throughout my two years of education at Central European University; he was and remains my best role model for a scholar, mentor, and professor. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support provided from Open Society Institute's Program: the Roma Initiatives Office in Budapest - Hungary, without whom the fieldwork for this study would not be possible.

Thank you

Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	4
1.1 The Dayton Peace Agreement and the Roma populations.....	4
1.2. Research Question.....	6
1.3. The Argument.....	8
1.4. Literature review	10
1.5. Key Concepts: Political Representation and Minorities at risk.....	14
Chapter 2	18
2.1. Methodology	18
2.2. Operationalizing the Research Question.....	18
2.3. Choosing a test site - Gorica and Poljice	21
2.4. Methods of Data Collection.....	26
2.5. Methods of Data Analysis	29
Chapter 3	32
3.1. The Argument.....	32
3.2. Focus Groups: Poljice and Gorica	33
3.2.1. Case 1 - Poljice	33
3.2.2 Case study 2 - Gorica	36
3.3. Power sharing ...No Power sharing: The “Constituent people” and the Roma populations	39
3.4 Building the Alliances or Creating the Leadership?	44
3.5 The factor of the Roma complexity	47
Conclusion	50
Bibliography	51

Introduction

“Some individuals wish to ignore the fact that Roma people live in difficult conditions. We are still the poorest population category, not only in the Western Balkans, but also in the whole Europe. We have had that status for centuries. Nowadays, regardless of all the efforts made by the state, international institutions, organizations and individuals, we still live in unhygienic Roma settlements which lack elementary infrastructure elements, with the largest number of children who are out of the educational system, with the shortest life expectancy due to poor living conditions...”¹

Since the beginning when I became actively involved with the movement of resolving Roma issues I have witnessed many violations of Roma rights. Throughout time there have been adjustments devoted to the Roma populations in the system in order to maintain a minimal standard of life. Currently in the 21st century we are in a period of progress and development; however, the Roma people are still behind the citizens in their respective countries. One of the most prevalent areas where the Roma people are pushed behind other citizens is their right to proper political participation.

As I have lived a life like any other middle class Roma citizen in Serbia I did not know anything about the one practiced in the Roma settlements. What often happens with many Roma families, it happened to mine as well that was assimilated within the majority society; in this case Serbian. Unfortunately, that was one of the reasons why my family did not practice that much of a Roma culture but the Roma language only. This significantly affected my knowledge about the nature of different life styles Roma people have. When I joined the Roma Inclusion Office, the

¹ Dusko Jovanovic, A Monthly Periodical of the Roma Inclusion Office, “Battle of Knowledge”, Addition No. 4, March, 2012.

Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Serbia, that was the time, when in the age of twenty three, I have stepped in the Roma settlement for the first time in my life. Being part of the Roma Inclusion Office, I have passed through many learning process stages and field works.

The first thing I have learned, is that none of the academic literature acknowledges that there is a certain type of politics already constructed under the Roma settlements. By just seeing one image of the organizational structure and passing through the Roma settlements I have realized that there is a system and pattern through which members of these settlements act towards each other and interact with the outside society. The next step now is to discover whether this feature is characteristic for each of the Roma settlement or it differs from one to another. Also, there needs to be examined what types of behavior are constructed in such settings. Until there is no any literature provided to answer to this phenomenon, pieces using the Roma populations as their case studies will keep to ignore an immense feature which defines Roma populations the most.

On this note I have decided that in the end of my master studies put all of my practical and theoretical knowledge together and construct the piece that will analyze this phenomenon. My thesis explores types and degrees of Roma political formations under ethnically fractionalized post-war Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, this study provides theoretical contributions to work of several international relations and post ethnic-conflict scholars, but the most prominently to the work of Arend Lijphart, Zoltan Barany and Ted Gurr. By way of conducting interviews in two different Roma settlements, “Gorica and “Poljice”, this study shows how local factors interact with the consociational systems to influence Roma political behavior in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cross-community variations

between these two Roma settlements offers crucial support for the claim that the Dayton Peace Agreement has perverse effects on the non-constituent peoples in Bosnia. I conclude that the findings of this study can be used to draw conclusions about the general effect of power-sharing agreements on the political behavior of marginalized minorities.

Chapter 1

1.1 The Dayton Peace Agreement and the Roma populations

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-95) led to the political arrangements of the Dayton Peace Agreement becoming adopted as the Constitution creating, two entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic Srpska) where the officially recognized ethnic groups are: Serbians, Bosnians and Croats. The Roma population has no specific designation but is listed within the category of “others”. Having being excluded from the category of three “constituent people” and being categorized as “others”, the Roma population is shut out and is invisible in the political system in today’s state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a the direct consequence of the existing Constitution, which mandates a system of government based on ethnicity allowing exclusion of category of “others” in their access to high political offices. This kind of setting formulated the platform for unequal proportions of shared political power between the majority; only there, the conflict is between the three “constituent people” and the category of “others”.

According to the 1991 Census, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is officially recorded as: (43.5%) Bosnians, (31.2%) Serbs, (17.4%), Croats, (5.5% self-declared) Yugoslavs and (2.4%) categorized as “others” (a group that comprises seventeen national minorities).² However, the official data made by the Support Team of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Roma Issues in July 2012 reveals an estimated number of forty thousand Roma living in the territory of today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina.

² Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina on Legal and Other Measures on Implementation of the Principles Determined in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Council of Ministers, Sarajevo, December, 2003, available at: <http://www.coe.int/>, last accessed on May 18th, 2014.

Besides, Minority Rights Group International estimates records of Bosnian and Herzegovinian population as: Bosniaks 2.1 million (48%), Serbs 1.7 million (37%), Croats 637,000 (14%), Roma 30,000-50,000.³ Today, the Roma populations are still in the category of “others” and have no political parties established in the new formulated party system of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Dayton Peace Agreement had two main goals: to end tensions and reconstruct a Bosnian and Herzegovinian state.⁴ Still, recognizing only three major sides, which fought in the war as “constituent people” the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina failed to give legal recognition to its all citizens. In fact, with the Dayton Peace Agreement being adopted as the Constitution, two entities the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been constructed, above which sits a central government with a rotating three-member presidency and central parliament. The central parliament is comprised of the House of Representatives which has forty two members who are elected by proportional representation and the House of Peoples which is constructed of fifteen members who belong to the “constituent people”, five Bosniaks, five Croats and five Serbs, neither of the institutions includes the presence any of the seventeen national minorities listed within the category of “others”. All this follows the legal procedure requiring consent of both chambers, which further suggests Roma being excluded not just from the new created political system but being dependent on the decisions made by the ‘constituent people’

³ Data for Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats comes from the CIA World Factbook, 2007, which reports 2000 population estimates. The number for Roma is taken from Advisory Committee's opinion on the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

⁴ For further information please see the Official Web page of the United States Department portal of information on U.S. foreign policy and information about the State Department, <http://www.state.gov/>, last accessed April 2, 2014.

1.2. Research Question

At the moment Roma populations are one of the most politically deprived minority groups in Europe. Roma people live in dire conditions, they are excluded from most communities, and they face discrimination on almost every possible human dimension.⁵ For that reason, the complexity of “Roma issues” have been connected to the “political issues” of the state. This particular situation of Roma has led many scholars and policy makers to question the political stance of states in which many Roma populations currently reside. The “Roma issue” has been treated within Europe and the Western Balkan states as a unified phenomenon disregarding the complexities of the historical and political issues each state has. Therefore, the “Roma issue” in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina requires a broader look into the domestic politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the context of the above presented situation, this thesis raises as its central question: *‘How Roma populations are discriminated by the power-sharing models of democracy in the post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina and what leads to different responses?’*

Answering this question is important from a theoretical perspective because it contributes to the expansion of the academic literature which offers academic discourse on the post-conflict societies and second class citizens. Under this question the evaluation of the peace process of one of the major wars in the Balkans is offered together with the analysis of the position of a minority in the post-conflict society. Scholars like Arend Lijphart call the attention of that *"Minorities that are excluded from power will probably remain excluded and will almost*

⁵ Preliminary Report By Mr Alvaro Gil-Robles, Commissioner for Human Rights on the Human Rights Situation of the Roma, Sinti and Travellers in Europe, Strasbourg, May 2005.

inevitably lose their allegiance to the regime."⁶ On the same side, the recommendations provided from the Open Society Foundations advise that solutions for the Roma population's cholerick problems would not be possible without Roma's equal participation in political and public life. Therefore, in the Open Society Foundations recommendations it is emphasized that of great importance for each underrepresented or excluded group is to act upon its low political participation level.⁷

In the very first place, the answer to this particular question is the milestone in the academic literature that studies Roma populations and other ethnic classes under the power-sharing systems in the post-conflict societies. The answer to this question is equally valuable for the Roma populations that reside within the state which constitutionally excludes them but also for the other politically disadvantaged minorities and ethnic groups who reside in the states that treats them as 'second class citizens'. In the second place, this answer provides explanations for the sphere of the Roma population's life that is barely touched within the academic discussions. This question discovers and puts on the table of academic discussions patterns and mechanisms of political organization developed under the consequences of the war and specific living conditions of ethnic classes such as Roma populations. Moreover, looking at the local and very community level, this research goes beyond all the other studies that examine the post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the position of minorities. It is important to underline that under this question the explanation of the essence of the Roma population's political behavior on the community level will be provided for the first time within the academic literature.

⁶ Arend Lijphart. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 32-33.

⁷ For the further information please see Official Website of Roma Initiative Office, Open Society Foundations, *Why Roma Political Participation Matters*, last updated September 2013, last accessed May 31th, 2014.

1.3. The Argument

“Unlike many others, Roma people do not have a promised land to return to and yet they are still struggling to survive living as world citizens...”⁸

Roma people do not have a state nor do they have a state under consideration; they only have the presumption of India being their country of origin. The Council of Europe projected the number of 10-12 million Roma people who currently reside within Europe. According to official data made by the Support Team of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Roma Issues in July 2012, there is an estimated number of forty thousand Roma living in the territory of today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) and the Balkan wars in general occupy significant space within the academic discussion on ethnic conflict and post-conflict societies. These discussions vary to research puzzles examining the peacebuilding and reconciliation process⁹ between three main fought sides to questioning the nature and sources of the conflict itself.¹⁰ Still, when discussing the post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are some research puzzles focusing on the political status of the category of “others”.¹¹ Still, the new reconstructions build up a political structure that allows for enfranchisement of marginalized minorities. Instead, it set up a two-tiered system between the “constituent people” and the

⁸ For the further information please see Official Website of Roma Initiative Office, Open Society Foundations, Why Roma Political Participation Matters, last updated September 2013, last accessed May 31th, 2014.

⁹ Roberto Belloni Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 38. No. 2 (Mar., 2001), pp. 163-180.

¹⁰ Stefano Costalli and Francesco Niccolo Moro, Ethnicity and Strategy in the Bosnian civil war: Explanations for the severity of violence in Bosnian Municipalities, Journal of Peace Research, November 2012 49: 801-815, doi: 10.1177/0022343312453593.

¹¹ Zlatan Begic and Zlatan Delic, Constituency of people in the constitutional system of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Chasing fair solution, Int J Constitutional Law (2013) 11 (2): 447-465 doi: 10.1093/icon/mot003.

“category of others”. In terms of political representation that suggests dependence category of “others” on the “constituent people”.

This thesis demonstrates the disparity in political power between the “constituent people” and the category of “others”. I argue that in this context, there are increased chances for former tensions to escalate and create a conflict-war situation once more. From one side, there is the problem that the Roma populations are confronting the situation created after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and from the other side there is a problem which results out from the complexity of the Roma populations itself. The situation that Roma populations are facing under the Constitution is further complicated by the fact that Roma are stateless, making it difficult for them to achieve their space in the political system of the state they live in. I suggest that two of the above mentioned complexities force Roma to search for alternative solutions in order to realize their share of the political participation and representation in current post-war society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My academic interest in the treatment of the Roma people within the newly created state of Bosnia and Herzegovina lies within the complexity of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian state itself and the assumption that political representation of the Roma population is being affected by the current formation of domestic politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Within the division of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina “ethnic fractionalization” has escalated, and the Roma population classified as “second class citizens”, which undermines their political rights.

I argue that the core of the problem has its roots in the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the constitution gives individuals that fall into the “category of other groups” a lower level of political rights in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, it cannot

be ignored that this setting promotes conflict between the “constituent people” and the “category of others”.

Therefore, the Roma populations are treated as “second class citizens” in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the position of the Roma populations at present depends on an ad hoc collection of international resolutions, implications, agreements, and minority recommendations. In that context, I argue that the Dayton Peace Agreement set out by the international community opened the door for peace among the three conflicting sides and formulated the platform for unequal proportions of political power sharing between majority and the Roma, as a peculiarly marginalized minority.

1.4. Literature review

After the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina went through a serious internal reconstructions. Still, the new reconstructions did not build up a political structure that allows for enfranchisement of marginalized minorities. Instead, it set up a two- tiered system between the “constituent people” and the category of “others”.

The crucial theory for understanding the ways in which the Bosnian system discriminates against marginalized minorities is given in "Constitutional Design For Divided Societies" by Arend Lijphart, who points out how such structures can exclude groups that are not recognized as constitutional categories or minorities. Lijphart’s study suggests that states that are still in the process of establishing democracy reflect higher ethnic separation and division than homogenous states; that mirrors the suggestion that ethnically divided settings face great challenges for democracy. A functioning democracy has two main elements: “power sharing and group autonomy”, where power sharing stands for active participation of all communal groups in political decision making process and group autonomy refers to authority to voice for their

rights.¹² Although Lijphart earlier argued that “consociational” democracy or power-sharing systems have higher chances for building democracy and stability in ethnically divided societies, Lijphart says that one must choose the right model for each setting. In this spirit, provides nine power-sharing models and methods for how each of them can be implemented. This study is central for any research that examines power-sharing systems, especially for mine that focuses on status of marginalized group under the power-sharing system Bosnia and Herzegovina has. However, Lijphart analysis does not account for variation in effects of power-sharing at the local level. There is where my research contributes to the literature on power-sharing, by showing what effect power-sharing systems have on the local level, too; this is the direct theoretical contribution my project will provide for theory of Consociational democracy.

Others have explored the determinants of political activism by marginalized groups in the region, particularly the Roma. In his piece “Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior”, Zoltan Barany states that Roma are poorly represented in Eastern European politics.¹³ Therefore, by looking at correlation between Roma and mainstream political organizations, Barany examines Roma’s voting behavior and challenges which disturb the success of their electoral achievements. From beginning to the end, Barany emphasizes several characteristics of Roma populations that need to be considered while conducting a research such as mine. Those characteristics refer to the Roma’s populations “weak ethnic identity, infighting, poor leadership, the proliferation of organizations, the relative absence of ethnic solidarity and substantial resources, and low voter participation.”¹⁴ Moreover, Barany estimates that with the “Gypsy mobilization” - evolution of number of Roma Non-Governmental Organizations, the attention of

¹² Arendt, Lijphart. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* Volume 15: 96-109.

¹³ Zoltan Barany. "Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior." *Journal of Ethno politics and Minority Issues in Europe*.

¹⁴ Zoltan Barany. "Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior, pg11.

the Roma populations to gain larger share of political participation significantly rose on higher scale. Finally, Barany concludes that “the Roma have gained a political presence that states and societies have had to accept as legitimate” and as ‘Gypsy movement’ and its effectiveness continues to increase the presence of the Roma populations in the context of political participation will increase, too. Undoubtedly, the conclusion which Barany provides for the Roma politics in the Eastern Europe is not applicable to the Roma politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even though, in this piece Barany fails to address the specifics which correspond to the particular place where Roma populations reside, he does provide the valuable ground where discussion can be led for comparing the Roma political behavior in constitutionally excluded states and the one in which Roma enjoy the status of national minority. Also, Barany’s work is highly valuable as it emphasizes the characteristics and features of the Roma population’s political behavior in interaction with the mainstream political parties in Eastern Europe; this piece is one of the first theoretical frameworks which review Roma population’s political behavior.

In his other piece “The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethno politics”, Zoltan Barany examined the socio-political and economic situations of the Roma in post-communist Eastern Europe and therefore provided analysis of the dangers Roma populations face within the setting of international community. This piece is the basis of theoretical perspectives of Roma complexity as a “world’s citizens”.¹⁵ Even though, significantly valid Barany’s work emphasizes significant features that describe Roma populations in general it still does not provide an overview of complexities which describe Roma

¹⁵ Barany, Zoltan. 2002. *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵

¹⁵

populations in each state. Barany's work is a skeleton on which this thesis will draw on attention to complexities of four groups of Roma populations residing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the Bosnian war, the situation of Roma remained grim. Slavo Kukic argues that the position of minorities is even worse. Kukic emphasizes that "war itself is destructive and as such it reflected its anomalies" in the Bosnia and Herzegovinian society as a whole.¹⁶ Kukic notes that the Roma populations are not just given as "others", but they are pushed to choose between constitutionally established identities in order to participate in political, economic, social and even cultural life within the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society. In this way the Roma populations is not just forced to "choose sides" but it is restricted from the right to express and develop their own culture, religion and language. Kukic does not provide a deeper analysis of why it is important for the Roma population to be represented in the political sphere within the context of post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Another perspective in approaching the topic of post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the position of the Roma people is given by, Jennifer Erickson, who offers a gender analysis. Erickson examines the socio economic status of Roma and Non-Roma women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. More importantly, Erickson uses W.E.B. DuBois' notion of dual identity¹⁷ to explain how race, class and feminism within the situation of Roma. The author's findings indicate that the position of Roma women is worse than that of non-Roma. Moreover, when it comes to Roma women and self-declaration they "declare themselves to be at once "Bosnian" and "Roma" but not as either fully Roma or non-Roma. Erickson is one of the rare authors whose focus on post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina includes the gender angle of Roma

¹⁶ Kukic, Slavo. *Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Position of Roma* (Forum Bosne), issue: 44 / 2008, pages: 148-159.

¹⁷ DuBois, W.E.B. 1989. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Bantam Books: New York.

¹⁷

population. Within the relevant research this perspective provides innovative approach however the author does not elaborate on the specific aspect of “*double identity*”.

The authors Pitkin and Protsyk and Garaz, together with the World Movement for Democracy offer a ground and theoretical formulations which this thesis uses in order to operate with its two main theoretical concepts: ‘political representation’ and ‘minorities at risk’.

According to Hanna Pitkin, one of the best definitions of representation is “to make present again” which in the context of political representation means “the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions, and perspectives 'present' in the public policy making process.” Pitkin states that 'political representation' happens when political actors speak, advocate, symbolize and act on the behalf of others in the political arena.¹⁸ Also, Oleh Protsyk and Stela Garaz emphasize that parliamentary representation of both minorities and indigenous people is necessary as it is the reflection of ‘effective participation’ in politics. Therefore, Protsyk and Garaz underline that important indicators for minority/indigenous participation in the decision making process on a national level is their presence in legislatures, where their voices and interests can be taken into consideration, as this as a setting that benefits society as a whole. Protsyk points out that society as such will positively impact the democratic processes, political life quality and it will provide great contributions in terms of social integration and conflict preventions.¹⁹

1.5. Key Concepts: Political Representation and Minorities at risk

The perspective on power-shared systems of democracy and its impact on status and political marginalization of minorities, requires a clear theoretical conceptualization. Without theoretical clarifications the measurement of the effects of independent variables (power-sharing

¹⁸ Hanna Pitkin, Fenichel. *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

¹⁹ S. Garaz, and Oleh Protsyk. "Politicization of ethnicity in party manifestos." *Party Politics*: 296-318.

models of democracy) on the dependent variable (political status of Roma populations) would be imprecise.

Political representation defined simply as “to make present” is given by Hanna Pitkins. According to Pitkins, “political representation is the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions, and perspectives “present” in the public policy making processes”²⁰. The moment in which political representation takes place is the one in which political leaders speak up, advocate and act in the favor of others in the political arena.²¹ Pitkin explains this in terms of a simplified example of “the driver of the car” (the Thomas Hobbes Problem), where it is very important to make differentiation between ‘the right of the ownership’ and the ‘right to perform the action’. When it comes to Roma populations owning the action for practicing political rights in the state they live in, it is more than clear that the category of “constituent people” is the one who performs that action. But, with the establishment of the Constitution after the war, it is an open question who owns the political rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina and who do not. In order to better understand these complexities and the nature of the groups operating the political scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I will review the main types of political representation. Pitkin provides four types of representation:

1. Authorized – representative is legally empowered to for another
2. Descriptive – the representative stands for a group that shares similar characteristics such as: race, ethnicity, residence.
3. Symbolic –the leader stands for national ideas.
4. Substantive – the representative strives for group’s policy preferences and interests.

²⁰ Hanna, Pitkin Fenichel, *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

²¹.Hanna, Pitkin Fenichel *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Creating divisions and types of representation in general is a significant theoretical contribution, especially understanding the political representation of constitutionally excluded groups. Pitkin is one of the greatest theorists on the topic of political representation. Still, her work like that of many others scholars, does not offer a theoretical framework that examines representation of constitutionally excluded minorities such as Roma populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the other side, the World Movement for Democracy points out that minorities are the ones that are usually underrepresented when it comes to: voting, running for elected office, participating in budgeting processes, accessing the justice system and legal resources. Therefore, the World Movement for Democracy states that: “There is no blanket agenda or best practice for ensuring political inclusion of minorities; rather the most suitable course should be determined by the members of the society who must evaluate the appropriateness of possible tools and mechanism. In democracy, “diversity is the rule, not the exception.”²² This definition raises a very significant point which above everything else clarifies the complexity of political representation of excluded or underrepresented groups themselves. When exploring the political representation of marginalized groups, in this case Roma populations, the initial step is firstly to understand the complexity of the Roma communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general and therefore to look for adequate modifications and instruments which will fit into another complexity of domestic politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ted Gurr provides the following classic definition of minorities: “minority peoples have a defined socio-economic or political status within a larger society - based on some combination of their race, ethnicity, immigrant origins, economic roles, and religion - and are concerned mainly

²² For further information please visit Official web page of World Movement for Democracy, “How to Enhance Political Participation of Minority Peoples?” available at: <http://www.wmd.org/>, last accessed May 20, 2014.

about protecting or improving that status". When it comes to discrimination, Jonathan Fox provides definition of minority discrimination in his discussion of "at risk" minorities: "minorities are condemned to be at 'risk' if they face past or current discrimination or are in situation to lack from political support and legal or illegal political bodies whose main aim is to improve minority's status"²³. Fox offers a scheme which consists of several stages of discrimination and concludes that 'ethnic groups' that face discrimination are likely to develop grievances and, organize in order to act upon their grievances and achieve their plans for the future.

This thesis use the concept of political representation and minorities to show how the minority Roma populations have attempted to break out of vulnerability and marginalization of national minorities under the Dayton Peace Agreement in Bosnia. Therefore in my work I am going to use Pitkins definition of political representation and Fox's explanation for minorities in risk.

²³ Jonathan Fox. "Patterns of Discrimination, Grievances and Political Activity among Europe's Roma: A Cross-Sectional Analysis." *Journal on Ethno politics and Minority Issues in Europe*.

Chapter 2

2.1. Methodology

I am to demonstrate how the power-sharing models of democracy interact with local level factors to influence the political status of Roma populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, yielding differences in political activism across communities. To show this, this thesis uses qualitative research approach that employs methodology of two comparative case studies. By examining the political participation of two significantly distinctive Roma settlements, this thesis explains the problematic nature and complexities of consociational systems operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina at both central and local level.

2.2. Operationalizing the Research Question

This thesis explores: *‘How Roma populations are discriminated by the power-sharing models of democracy in the post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina and what leads to different responses?’*

The balance of political power at the state level is a new internal war for Bosnian and Herzegovinian society as a whole; in this war, vulnerable groups are making ‘beneficial agreements’ with the groups who own the power. This kind of setting in post-conflict societies does not motivate marginalized groups to actively participate in governing procedures. I formulated following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1. The promotion of ethnic division culture under the Dayton Peace Agreement causes Roma populations to divide into subgroups which therefore leads to weak political organization of Roma community.

When it comes to ‘ethnic division’ I refer to Andreas Wimmer, who states that ‘ethnic division’ distinguishes ‘the people’ who are appointed to represent the legitimate foundation of the new state (“owners of the state”) and the one who do not belong to this category and therefore do not own legitimate rights to own the state.²⁴ The definition by Wimmer perfectly puts in the words the situation of ‘ethnic division’ between the category of “constituent people” and the category of “others”, and this is the definition this hypothesis will consider adequate for purposes of this research. The ‘political organization’ concept is more general term and here I simply refer to Yash Ghai, who explains how minorities can give its contributions to the state, but that they are isolated from making political arrangements because they do not identify themselves as statesmen.²⁵ In addition to this, I refer to ‘political organization’ as an act initiated by any group upon the improvement of their current political situation. As there is a hierarchy in political power relations between the “constituent people” and the Roma populations, I decide to examine the level of political organization of Roma populations by looking into several indicators. These include structure and the nature of the relationship between members of the Roma community, to what extent members of the Roma community cooperate together to politically organize themselves, the estimated number of initiated actions by members of the Roma community directed towards the progress of their political status, and the degree of ethnic division members of the Roma community face in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The responses of the interviewees to these indicators are the evidence which will decide if this hypothesis is significant or insignificant to this and similar studies.

In order to show mechanisms of political organization Roma populations establish under post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina I have developed the following hypothesis as Hypothesis

²⁴ Andreas, Wimmer. *Ethnic Exclusion in Nationalizing States*. London: SAGE, 2006.

²⁵ Ghai, Yash P. *Public participation and minorities*. London: Minority Rights Group, 2001.

1a and Hypothesis 1b. These hypotheses H1a and H1b are not alternatives to H1; rather, they are causal hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1a. At the socio-political scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina there is no trace of framed political identity of Roma populations, which results in Roma populations constructing alliances with one of the three members of the political presidencies at the cost of losing their own ethnic identity.

The literature indicates existing types and potential forms of political participation of both majority and minorities in the post-war political system. This hypothesis finds its roots within the Zoltan Barany argument that articulates Roma's failure in exploit their political opportunities.²⁶ It is highly important to indicate mechanisms through which constitutionally excluded minorities create and form political circles under the condition of politically polarized and constitutionally constructed political systems. Also, it is very important to analyze how the combination of the war context and complexity of Roma community shape political organization of Roma.

Hypothesis 1b. The ethnic fractionalization under the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina shuts out the Roma populations from its political scene which results in manifestation of the Roma populations various political behavior between the Roma settlements.

The correlation this hypothesis explores finds its ground with the work of Zoltan Barany who states that the Roma populations manifest certain behaviour while practising their political rights. Barany states that the Roma populations are “unable to form effective electoral

²⁶ Zoltan D. Barany, Living on the Edge: *The East European Roma in Post Communist Politics and Societies*, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 321-344.

²⁶

coalitions”²⁷. With this hypothesis I challenge the argument Barany provides by examining the political behavior of the Roma populations under the specific conditions Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina provides.

2.3. Choosing a test site - Gorica and Poljice

When searching for a suitable place for examining the impact power-sharing systems of democracy have on marginalization of the Roma populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are several criteria that need to be considered. As I have stated before, the Roma populations are dispersed all over the globe. Still, for many it is characteristic to reside within abandoned urban areas or unused territories at the outskirts of villages. Eventually, these become known as “Roma settlements”. Even though these dwellings are characteristic for the majority of the Roma community, the Roma settlements extremely differ from one another. These settlements offer inadequate living conditions, closed access to services and no transportation facilities. This is how the Roma community lives in physical and legal marginalization in comparison to their broader urban community. The main difference among these settlements is the legal status they have under the government’s provisions. Here, I talk about formal (legal) and informal (illegal) settlements. According to the Official Report on Roma Informal Settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina made by Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, “*an informal settlement is any human settlement where housing has been constructed without the requisite permits or legal title for use of the land.*”²⁸ With that said, I reveal that the first criteria for

²⁷ Zoltan Barany. "Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior." *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*.

²⁷

²⁸ For further information please see the Official Report on Roma Informal Settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2003.

choosing “Gorica” and “Poljice” as the research scenery is the legal status for “Roma settlements”.

Taking into consideration, the time framework this research covers, the post-Dayton period of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is very important to investigate environments which were affected directly by the war and the ones which were not. In that sense, the next criterion I am taking as essential for choosing the location of my research is direct and indirect involvement of the war in the Roma settlements

Because of the discrimination Roma populations face because of their ethnicity, they often hide their ethnicity and officially declare themselves as part of the official nationality in the state in which they live. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, this happens even more often, as according to the Dayton Peace Agreement, belonging to a certain ethnicity is the only way to be recognized as a citizen who enjoys all the rights ensured by the Bosnian and Herzegovinian state. With this idea, the fourth criteria for conducting this research in the Roma settlements “Gorica” and “Poljice” is the incentives to mix ethnic identities.

The very last criterion I found of the same importance as the other three, which is the location of the two selected Roma settlements. In the beginning, I emphasized that among themselves Roma settlements differ in the access to public and private service facilities. Living in the settlement close to the city and at the outskirts in the village makes a significant difference in socialization and networking processes Roma populations might establish with the rest of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.

Selected case study “Poljice”

Poljice is one of the oldest and one of the most endangered illegal Roma settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is 20 km away from its Municipality Lukavac and more than 4 km

away from the real village Poljice. The settlement is surrounded by the woods and hills, and it is practically located in the middle of the forest. The front side of the settlement is covered by a dump where some of the local meat products companies throw away the meat of dead animals and wasted bones, which attracts many of the stray dogs who basically patrol around the settlement. Many do not even know about the existence of the Poljice Roma settlement.

The residents of this settlement live a very simple and modest life. According to the Census, in 1991 this settlement counted 4,216 residents and today there are forty-two families from which thirty-two fought in the war. These families live in very humble houses (shacks, properly speaking) made from the mud and trees. Some of the houses lack a proper floor and/or roof. Moreover, there is no electricity or running water. In the settlement, there is a shared water tap, which likely dispenses polluted water as it is located just by the hill of a dump.



90% of the population living in this settlement have not finished high school. Therefore, one can conclude that there is a high level of illiteracy. At the moment, there is only around 10 children enrolled in the high school which they do not even attend regularly. There is a low rate of employed people in this settlement. In fact, there are not any officially employed people since people within this community earn by collecting and selling scrap metal, cardboard, wrecked cars, old machinery and metal drums. In addition, residents of this settlement do not possess health insurance and other personal documents, which furthermore leads to the case Roma

children not possessing birth certificates. In addition, the settlement does not have main facilities such as pharmacy, school, police office, etc....and in order for Roma children to go to school and their parents to get basic supplies, they need to walk more 4 km to nearby village, as there is no public transportation in this area



Considering the settlement's isolation from the rest of the community, Roma population in this settlement do not just lack basic human necessities, but their mobility out of the settlement is very challenging, limited to the daylight as there is no electricity during the night so it is more than dangerous walking through the woods.

Within foundation of an NGO "Roma Poljice" there were some efforts initiated towards the development of the settlement. The founder of the NGO is Nazif Mujić. Mujic and his brother have fought in the war by taking the side of Bosniaks; his brother unfortunately did not survive.

Mujic shares opinion of active participation Roma populations should have within the electoral system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the 2010 national elections Mujic cooperated

with other Roma Association "Budi mi Prijatelj" who was conducting a campaign that aimed to increase Roma turnout to vote.

Selected case study "Gorica"

Gorica is the biggest and only legalized Roma settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is located in Sarajevo under the Municipality Center. Its land is partly owned by the state and partly by the municipality. At the moment, 60 Roma families are living in this settlement. Before the war, there were 105 Roma families who lived in Gorica. In 1998, residents of this settlement faced the threat of eviction from the territory of Gorica as the local government developed a strategic plan to build a park. This was the first time when the Roma populations voice and campaign for their prosperity. They addressed several letters to international organizations who at the time were working on peace-building process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By organizing meetings with organizations such as: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and public protests which resulted in 60 Roma families getting the right to ownership of their houses. Still, the main actor in getting the Roma community together was the president of the Association "Roma B i H" who devoted his efforts to promoting the elective course of Roma language, books in Roma languages and in primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina and establishing a monthly magazine that would write about Roma culture and tradition.

With this said, one can conclude that Roma residing within this settlement have a life as any other community in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and this is not even half-way true. Even though the settlement is set in the location that allows Roma children easy access to the schools at any education level, they must choose whether they will sign up for the Bosnian, Croatian, or

Serbian school. If their parents want to work they need to choose again among the three ethnic identities for which employer they will work. But if members do not want only through protests to gain their voices heard and want to be the owners of the right to decide about their future, they again need to choose with which ethnic group they will cooperate.



In contrast, to achieve something else, Dervo Sejdic, today's formal leader of this community and vice president of NGO Kali Sara Roma Information Center did not make alliances with any of the three constitutionally recognized categories in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but instead with the Jewish community, which is just vulnerable as Roma are. Together, they addressed the complaint the European Court of Human Rights as Bosnia's Constitution does not allow them to legally govern their interest as other three ethnic groups.

2.4. Methods of Data Collection

My study takes a formulation which consists of interviews and focus groups carried out with carefully chosen sample and location to explore. These methods are selected as they are effective agents to answer how vulnerable members of the post-conflict society perceive certain situations, communicate their point views and attitudes.

The Roma populations have their side of story during and after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even though, that side was not said as many times as some others was. it does not mean it is not worth of telling it now. Speaking to former, current and potential Roma leaders, Roma non-governmental representatives, journalists, and residents of Roma settlements I provide validations of my hypotheses. In Poljice I formed three focus groups. The selection into this specific categories was of extreme importance in order to get constructive feedback on my questions. In order to investigate the discriminatory provisions Roma populations face under the force of power-sharing models of democracy in post-war setting I conduct interviews with people of different backgrounds, profiles, age and occupations.

I choose not to speak with government officials, and the main reason I have not chosen them as my research target group lies within the explanation with definition “minorities at risk” provided by Fox. Fox argues that: *“minorities are condemned to be at ‘risk’ if they face past or current discrimination or are in situation to lack from political support and legal or illegal political bodies whose main aim is to improve minority’s status.* According to this definition and the example of power-sharing models in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is in the front discussions that Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian official governments are the direct agents who lead political models which have bad influence on minorities in their state. Still, the discussions on what is the outcome of the process when leading the state as such needs to be communicated directly with discriminated minorities such as Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If this study would target the group of governments official represented from all of the three constitutionally ethnic categories there would be a high risk for research contain personal justifications already familiar to the literature in this field. In that reason, a target group as such would not provide any validation or constructive feedback for my hypotheses.

Also, including in the sample youngsters of the Roma populations I would be able to find about the opinions and evaluations by the very first residents of newly created environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As this is the generation that has no real experience of the war but lives from the very beginning in the post-war setting I would also be able to question lessons this populations learn from the ones who lived and participated in the war. The disproportion between these two experiences is significant as perceptions of the marginalization of the Roma populations by the power-sharing systems of democracy differ if compared to experience before these political system was enforced.

Prior to the implementation of practical component of this research I used my contacts in Sarajevo in order to approach research locations. There are many studies made about the Roma and their lifestyles in the settlements which after many visits of different researchers provoked uncomfortable and hostile positions of many in these settlements. Knowing this fact and wishing to avoid such situations I turned to the person the residents of these settlements trust. The first and only officially employed Roma journalist in Bosnia and Herzegovina, opened the door of both settlements for me and helped me to create more pleasant and enjoyable environment where after I introduce myself and my work and get positive answer to my invite for cooperation from the residents of both settlements.

The interviews with the most of the interviewees were scheduled after my short visit to both of the settlements and municipalities they belong to. I used this first visit to make observations about the setting of the settlements, their conditions, interpersonal communications between the residents and local government's officials. In order to make the first step to implementation of my research I proceeded with the semi-structured interviews. I chose this type of framework as it is the best fit to the nature of the research and the needs of the settlements and

interviewees I question. The Roma settlements are very diverse environments, there can be found extreme of any kind; from illiterate to highly emancipated person, from poor to the rich families, from excluded assimilated individuals, from monolingual to three lingual groups...etc. Taking into account how these extremes will talk during my interviews I knew the language adjustments will be more than necessary. Even though, I did not need the assistance of the translator I needed to pay attention of which of the four languages (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian or Roma) I will use with certain focus group and what level of the used language I will articulate in order for my questions to be clear and transparent. The method I use allows me to overcome all the potential obstacles while interviewing my target group. As well, by use of this method, interviewees do have space to articulate all the other issues they find important apart the ones they identify in the questions they were asked to answer. But, also it gives me the space to investigate all the problematic features this topic undertakes. For exploring the ground with ethnic diverse strands such as Bosnia and Herzegovina it is very important to pay attention to cultural differences these strands reflect body languages of interviewed people. In that context, this study takes notice of what Lee Ann Fujii calls on “meta data”²⁹ (information that goes beyond the interview itself). This specific study puts interviewees on the light to reveal their life and wartime realities which leads to expression of floods of emotions and feelings accompanied with tears, embarrassment, timidity, and anxiety. Understanding how people articulate answers on particular questions through both verbal and nonverbal communication is a valid finding which can say more to the researcher than just empty words.

2.5. Methods of Data Analysis

²⁹ Lee Ann Fujii, “Shades of Truth and Lies: Interpreting Testimonies of War and Violence,” *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2 (2010): 231–41.

Therefore, I analyze the data in three steps. The first aims to discover data which supports formulated hypotheses. Corresponding to this I search for testimonies about discrimination, and approach if interviewees make correlations with power-sharing systems of democracy in post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Underlying the strands of that correlation I call my intention to the testimonies that express opposite and therefore underestimate my hypotheses. Lastly, I process the other features which are not directly correlated with my hypotheses but are importantly significant.

This analysis uses the indicators described under the section for operationalization of the research question. In order to demonstrate the strand of impact power-sharing systems of democracy in post-conflict states have at the society as whole, I focus on positive and negative perceptions members of Roma community have when compare their current political status with other ethnic groups, and what according to their opinions creates opportunities or limitations in new established state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As to approach the process of formulation of alliances between marginalized groups and “constituent people” I look for statements which testified about the concrete actions initiated from Roma populations to build partnerships with “constituent people”. In this way I will be able to track potential patterns or mechanisms that will show how marginalized groups are pushed to certain actions when power-sharing systems of democracy govern a post-war state. With the intention to illustrate the level of upper and lower aspirations of Roma populations participatory role and interest behind to be part of political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina I look for statements that follow up on expressed dissatisfaction, discouragements, frustrations, anxieties with Bosnian and Herzegovinian state’s lack in support to progress positions of its minorities.

I use as a model Howard Becker's inputs 'quasi-statistics'³⁰ to validate interview and focus group data. The procedure of 'quasi-statistics' undertakes counting of numbers how many times something was repeated. As I have implemented interviews in the languages very familiar to me I can make analysis of the number and the context of the words pronounced. In that context, I have satisfied all the criteria to use of this method in my study.

³⁰ Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J, Wendy B. Dickinson, Nancy L. Leech, and Annmarie G Zoran. "A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research." *International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta*.

³⁰

Chapter 3

3.1. The Argument

Having evaluated the collected data I can progress to resolve the puzzle of this study. The main question this study raises is how Roma populations are discriminated by the power-sharing models of democracy in the post-war period of Bosnia and Herzegovina and what leads to different responses. This question opens the discussion from the bottom to the top of political interactions under the governed power-sharing systems of democracy in the post-conflict society.

I started this piece by presenting the general picture of the current political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Close to that, I examined the flourished power-balance dynamics between the groups formed under the principles of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Therefore in the consultations with the Roma populations I explore directions in which power-sharing systems of democracy lead discrimination from the national to the community level in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. The evidence collected shows that the political power for constitutionally excluded minorities in the post-conflict societies is ‘out of reach’.

While conducting interviews, the Roma populations openly expressed positive and negative perceptions of their positions in the context of political arrangements of the state. Majority articulated their dissatisfactions when their political stand is compared to the one of the constituent people. But, that comparison is not as significant as when daily life structure of the Roma populations is compared with the majority of the society. Economic disturbance prevails over any discrimination as this populations consider. Here, I provide arguments that link the war and the consequences of the war with marginalization of the Roma populations. Thus, this chapter access arguments of manifested political behavior of the Roma populations in order to test if it is based on their nature only or there is some anomaly of them when applied to the post-

Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. This chapter will bring out into open dialogue the rationalization behind my choice of H1, using theoretical frameworks which support my H1a and H1b. Placing these hypotheses in the strands of the existing literature, I provide validation academic contribution to the literature in this topic.

3.2. Focus Groups: Poljice and Gorica

3.2.1. Case 1 - Poljice

In the first look Poljice seems like a settlement of a homogeneous group, where only Bosnian Roma live. In the closer look, this small settlement placed in the woods, which accounts forty two families, is a community with a rather strongly manifested Roma identity. As one of the residents stated: “You know lady we are not ‘gadze’³¹we are Roma, look at us, we live like real Roma”. Still, there is a number of people who state that there are Gypsy, as one youngster stated:” oooh Roma...I am not Roma like you! We are Gypsy, I did not go to school like you, and we live like real Gypsies”. And there is a very small number of five people who states they are Bosnians, as the oldest resident of the settlement states: “I fought in the war in the side of Muslims, I am Muslim, my children are Muslims and they will only marry a Muslim, we are Muslims”, “Please ask him and him and him they were in the war, too, our leader lost his brother to be a Muslim in Bosnia.” The very significant input is that all the communication I established with the residents of Poljice was in Roma language, but none of the residents brought this as one of the potential determinants to declaration of their ethnicity.

There is a very complex structure when ethnic background of the residents in Poljice is being examined. As, what can be concluded, for this particular case, is that beside the education level, living conditions and the participation in the war there seem not be any other indicators which determine Roma populations ethnic background.

³¹ The word in Roma language which stands to mark ‘White’ - Non Roma person.

Furthermore, I structured a group of eight members, each of those who declare themselves as Roma, Gypsy and Bosnians. The main topic I selected for discussion was the political status of the Roma populations under the Dayton Peace Agreement. All the members of the group were men, as women themselves declared they do not want to participate in discussions directed to politics as they “are not interested nor have any knowledge about it.” Here, I have to note, this settlement is cut out from the access to electricity, which means that they cannot track the events that happen in the state through channels of mass media, the information with which they communicate in this discussion is part of their real life experience and how they interacted through that specific situation, and not information extracted through channels of media for the public.



Before the actual discussion have started, the other seven men waited for the non-verbal confirmation by a newly selected leader of this community, demonstrated in the expression of the node of the head. The conversation had a very dynamic flow as the residents found this

subject more than challenging. The word ‘discrimination’ was repeated 33 times during the whole conversation. Even though, there was a group who not just ally themselves to Bosnians but consider they are part of the Bosnian ethnic group agreed that the Dayton Peace Agreement was discriminatory in particular to the Roma populations. Moreover, they have emphasized the disproportion of ‘power’ that Serbians, Bosnians, and Croatians have. What came out through the discussion was that according to their opinion the Dayton Peace Agreement is the only reason why the ‘constituent people’ are fighting between each other. The two residents who ally themselves as Bosnians stated that “all three of them want the power” because all of them want to own Bosnia but nobody does not care about the people. That argument was contrasted with the argument from the residents who declare themselves as Gypsy who stated that “yes they care about their people, but not about us”...lady you should go and see how they live and how we live, they want power and we, us a decent life”. The all eight members agreed on great disproportion in terms of

Living conditions between the Roma populations and the “constituent peoples”, also they highlighted how after the war the “constituent people” had a greater priorities to gain their properties back. The residents of Poljice do not even have legal documents, personal identification and health cards, as the leader of this community noted: “we were not priority under the Dayton nor we are today”.

The second thing that was discussed was the political organization of this settlement and cooperation between the Roma populations in terms of initiation of political movement. The residents of this settlement did not articulate about a single action that was directed towards the change of their current political status. Still, the focus group did emphasize the importance of the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as that is the most fruitful period for them to gain basic

necessities. As their leader stated: “they always come to us and we know what to do then”. In return for votes for one of the “constituent peoples” political party, the residents of this settlement gain some basic necessities, in terms of food and clothes. Even after, they do not forget us sometimes they come and they made the water tap just before the elections, noted one of the participants of the focus group. None of the participants said anything positive about cooperation with other Roma, “as the leader stated but they are Serbian Roma and we are Muslim Roma, how we can cooperate?...And the ones Muslim Roma, they go and fight against gadze and we need gazde since they are helping us”, nobody did not say anything except looking down on the floor.

The balance of political power is a new war for Bosnian and Herzegovinian society as a whole.

3.2.2 Case study 2 - Gorica

Up on the hill not so far from the city of Sarajevo there is a Roma settlement Gorica, where life within the first impressions seems very cheerful and dynamic. In this settlement there are people who rather declare themselves as Roma. Out of sixty two families residing with this settlement, twenty two consider themselves as Bosnian Roma while thirty eight declare themselves as Roma. Here, the focus group was structured of a very mix profiles. There were eight members, two Bosnian Roma male and female youngsters enrolled in the high school and actively involved in the Non-Governmental Organization which operates in Gorice, two Roma male and female youngsters who are not regular primary school students, two Bosnian Roma males who directly cooperate with the leader of the settlement and two Roma women who are housewives.

The heterogeneity of this group was not reflected within the ethnic background residents of this settlement declare about themselves, but mostly within the occupations and roles

members of the focus group have in the settlement. On the note to the occupations residents of this settlement have I must point out that this was one of the most diverse settlements I have visited. I did not include the official leader of this settlement either in the focus group or in the part of my interviews, as he as a public person expressed to remain silent, but still he gave authorization to two of his assistants to talk to me. Both interviews and discussion within the focus group were led in Roma language.

The topic discussed was the political status of the Roma populations under the Dayton Peace Agreement. The first reaction I captured after the topic was introduced is from one of the Roma male high school youngsters who stated: “Lady you hit the right question, this is not even something that the Decade can resolve itself”. By the face expressions on other participants I could conclude that the topic was not so interested for them. Still, the first who raise its voice was one of the assistants of the settlements leader who pointed that “the Dayton Peace Agreement was a dead hole for Roma, maybe we were not the direct target during the war, but now we are”. Later on, the assistant shortly summarized the case “Sejdic and Finci versus Bosnia and Herzegovina” which is directly initiated by the leader of this settlement. Immediately, the conversation culminated at the next level. Firstly, each of the participant expressed his/her gratitude and respect towards the leader of this settlement, to whom they grateful for “putting all his efforts to create a better future for all of them”, as one of the Roma housewives noted. Therefore, the high school youngsters emphasized how much political participation is important for them. As they are involved in the Non-Governmental sector and they have supported many charity actions in and out of Bosnia and Herzegovina they came to realization that other Roma live better than they do. “As if you for example you look at Roma in Serbia they are a national minority there, and then oooh yes Macedonia they had a, you know a Roma Minister”, notes

female high school youngster. All the participants of the focus group agreed that political participation is very important for them and that under the Dayton Peace Agreement that is not allow to them. The term political participation was mentioned 23 times. In addition, one of the Roma housewives raised more of a rhetorical question in the following form “Are we in the fight with them now?” on which the other assistant responded (with hit his hand on a table) and stating “damn we are, they want their share of power, we want also ours”. All from the beginning of the conversation, it seemed that two primary school student were not able to follow the discussion and as I can conclude it was not part of their interest. Therefore, the assistants led the discussion towards the Decade of Roma Inclusion, for whom he considers a very important to be implemented but since there is no any Roma government official to as he states “to push it through” it’s just states signed in the paper. Then, the high school youngsters emphasized call on the attention to all the opportunities Roma community would have only if the Decade is implemented like in neighboring countries. As a female high school youngster noted we would be able to “work and go to university, all thanks to the positive discrimination proclaimed under the Decade.” The term positive discrimination was mentioned 16 times. On the note to the political organization of this settlement, the assistants of the leader emphasized the presence of the Roma political party who would initiate such an action I am asking about.

Also one of them stated, we need more people like our leader if you would only go to the other settlements you would see: Roma people are not interested in this, they are hungry they need fast money, Bosnians, Serbians come and give them some small things and they will take it. I do not blame them I understand their situation.”

Also, when it comes to cooperation with other Roma from other settlements all the participants agreed that that is very hard to achieve as majority does not even want to say that

they are Roma. One of the woman stated, “They are white Gypsies” pretended to be gadze. But, most of the days we need to the same, ask this children when they want to go to school they have to say that they are Bosnians, you know we are Muslims so Serbians we cannot be.



When my husband was looking for a job again he needed to say he is Croatian as this is what they ask “so how we Roma can be Roma here.” The other two primary school students remain silent till the end of the discussion.

3.3. Power sharing ...No Power sharing: The “Constituent people” and the Roma populations

Hypothesis 1. The promotion of ethnic division culture under the Dayton Peace Agreement causes Roma populations to divide into subgroups which therefore leads to weak political organization of Roma community.

The Roma populations live in a very complex settings. In the most of the times the Roma settlements are portrayed with physical and social division of Roma community from majority

society of the state they live in. Using two comparative cases and conducting research at the local and a very community level, this study shows that that within the context such as post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is, the Roma settlements are characterized with significantly deep ethnic division which creates alarming situation for the Roma community as a whole to achieve active political organization.

In his piece “Thinking about Democracy, Power-sharing and majority rule in theory and practice”, Arendt Lijphart explains the concept of “consociationalism”³² in reference to deeply divided societies. There were many scholars, such as Adrian Guelke, who already make the point for Bosnia and Herzegovina being characterised as such. Moreover, Guelke argues that the main difference which distinguishes deeply divided societies from fragmented one is their failure in not establishing peace, common decision process and reconciliation.³³ According to state in the existing literature it is suggestive that the Bosnia and Herzegovina is a “deeply divided society” with high risk to establish peace and reconciliation process. Thus, that therefore allows me to suggest that the same mirrors and therefore accounts for the Roma settlements located in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hence, to test the assumption made I have developed hypothesis H1, which I have tested by implementing Semi-structured interviews and observing two set focus groups in the Roma settlements, Poljice and Gocia.

In order to examine why any link between the Dayton Peace Agreement and division of the Roma populations into subgroups should be identified as positive, I found appropriate to look into several acts of the Roma populations in this created situation.

Firstly, I observe in what kind of setting Roma populations reside. Here, I do not focus on their living conditions but the factor of the ethnic background of the Roma populations

³² Arend, Lijphart. *Thinking about democracy: power sharing and majority rule in theory and practice*. London: Routledge, 2008.

³³ Adrian, Guelke. *Politics in deeply divided societies*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012.

themselves. Then, I establish a guided discussion by forming a focus group for both Roma settlements in order to examine the structure of the relationship among the settlements members and processes of making decisions. Therefore, by asking specific questions to residents of both settlements I collect the information about the number, process, challenges, personal opinions, observations in respect to their concrete action to politically organize themselves.

In both case studies Case1 and Case2 it is indicated that under the Roma settlements there is no just one ethnicity declared by the residents of these settlements. The diversity explored within the ethnic declarations under one Roma settlement does not impose any negative effects toward the organization of the group from inside. Still, this phenomenon significantly affects mutual political cooperation between the Roma settlements themselves. For example, in the Case 1 (but they are Serbian Roma and we are Muslim Roma, how we can cooperate?) it is clearly indicated that the first reason is the ethnic division that prevents Roma to cooperate with each other. The second obstacle (Muslim Roma, they go and fight against gadze and we need gazde since they are helping us) is the division created from by the different interest the members of these settlements have towards their political actions. In the second case C2, there is also indicated that one of the reasons why political cooperation between the members of different communities cannot be achieved is the reason of created ethnic division (“they are white Gypsies” pretended to be gadze; majority does not even want to say that they are Roma) and the second is again the difference in interest (Roma people are not interested in this) the residents of these settlement have towards their political status.

As I have stated before the crucial theory which the most appropriate to explain the effect power-sharing systems of democracy created under the Dayton Peace Agreement have on two Roma settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the one developed by Arend Lijphart. On the

grounds of the Theory of Consociational Democracy, it can be stated that the Roma populations are constitutionally ignored category prevented to participate in the power-sharing systems of democracy in the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The fact that leader of the Case 2 case initiated to advocate for the access of Roma to equally participate in governing the state is the first evidence that proves this point in the case of the Roma populations. The second evidence I provide is extracted from the interview made with one of the journalist of Roma ethnic background who states that: “until today there is no selected person to coordinate and implement the Decade of Roma Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Roma are not present either in national or local institutions, there is no single Roma political party but there is no also space for us in the political scene as the state governs three members presidency political system which includes Serbians, Bosnians and Croatians”. The third evidence I provide is the interview made with a Non-Roma journalists who states that: we cannot even vote for Roma representatives, when the system does not allow them to be in the list of political candidates.”

Therefore, Lijphart suggests that states which are in the process of establishing democracies mirror higher ethnic separation. This is demonstrated within the Roma populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina the most. As the whole system in the state is structured through three options, in their everyday life Roma do have to make adjustments and choose the option that best fits for them. In this context, when every Roma family chose their option of ethnic group Roma Serbian, Roma Bosnian, or Roma Croatian, Roma as whole get deeper and deeper divided community as whole. Consequently, as Roma get ethnically divided by choosing ethnic group offered from the power-sharing system their chances to create unified political status get lower and lower.

Beside this evidence, it is very important to note down one more significant finding. While observing the discussions led in the focus groups I discovered that the Roma populations manifest significant differences in their attitudes, especially their interests vary when it is discussed their political status and changes directed towards it. Even though, put in the same condition state, the Case 1 rather indicates lack of interest for political organization and their satisfaction with cooperation with the local political parties while on the contrast the Case 2 initiates concrete actions to achieve the missing right to political participation.

According to this, I can conclude that there is a strong link between power-sharing systems of democracy and weak political organization of the Roma community as a whole. The power-sharing systems significantly disturb everyday life of the Roma populations in both of the explored settlements. Even though, within the appreciation of the Case 2, in which is shown strong will to raise the level of their political organization, the residents of this settlement rather expressed their objections to go down this path with members of other Roma settlements than that they demonstrated an open call to cooperate together. Still, in none of the Roma settlements there is no formed a single Roma political party through which this community will advocate for its rights.

With this said I confirm the significance of the Hypothesis 1, which therefore accounts at theoretical contribution to Lijphart analysis that did not account variations at the local level when it comes to effect made by power-sharing systems. This is the very first stage of how my study advances the existing literature on power-sharing systems and Lijphart's Theory of Consociational democracy.

3.4 Building the Alliances or Creating the Leadership?

Hypothesis 1a. At the socio-political scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina there is no trace of framed political identity of Roma populations, which results in Roma populations constructing alliances with one of the three members of the political presidencies at the cost of losing their own ethnic identity.

As state of Bosnia and Herzegovina governs the power-sharing systems in which Roma populations are not allow to enter I made an assumption that there is no constructed political identity of this group and that therefore Roma populations need to ally with one of the represented groups of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian political system.

This assumption is developed into the hypothesis H1a which I tested by using some parts of the discussions from created focus groups and conducting interviews with some of the potential and current Roma leaders from Bosnia and Herzegovina. While conducting this research I have noticed that in both Roma settlements there is only one person who immediately distinguishes by his acts in comparison to others. In both of the cases, that is the Roma male leader who tend to lead the Roma community according to his vision and ambitions.

Zoltan Barany points out that within the Roma society there are two types of Roma leaders ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’. Therefore he states that traditional leaders tend to be older, older, little formal education, “ethnic entrepreneurs”, make outrageous demands and threats while modern ones tend to be younger, well-educated, multilingual, more focused, can communicate with officials. It is very important to note down that the two categories of Roma leaders offered by Barany are extracted features of Roma communities in Eastern Europe who already achieved their political rights. And the second thing that needs to be emphasized when it

comes to Barany's work in this field is that he acknowledges the presence of the Roma leaders but he does not explain what happens so that each Roma community has its Roma leader. In this context, with testing this hypothesis I go one step behind Barany. Here, I treat Roma leader position as the first step in establishing the political system under the Roma settlement.

On that side, a Roma human rights activists states that the political position in Bosnia and Herzegovina is critical but "as while each Roma settlement has its leader there is hope something to be achieved in this field." In addition, a Roma journalist explained to me that even though Roma are definitely not present either at the political scene or agendas of major political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but each leader of the Roma settlement emerges when the elections start.

In following to this I must emphasize that while testing the hypothesis H1 I have noted down several times that my respondents told me that they cooperated with local political parties. So, for example the leader of the Roma settlement Poljice had stated that during the elections representatives of Bosnian local political parties support the residents with basic necessities in return for their votes. On the contrast, in the Roma settlement Gorica it was clearly stated that their leader does not partner with major political parties and instead he fights instead of system to gain political right for the settlement.

According to the spotted differences and similarities that exists between the two settlements I can conclude that there is a certain pattern that the residents of the Roma settlement follow in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first similarity points to the existence of the male Roma leaders in both of the settlements. This seems to be the first step that leads Roma to their improvised political system under the settlement. The second similarity indicates that the

Roma leader is the one that decides in the name of the community. In the case of Poljice I discover this by just observing non-verbal communication between the Roma leader and other participants while the discussion was led in the focus group.

In the second case, even though the Roma leader was not physically present during the discussion in the focus group and while I was conducting the interviews the role he has in this settlement was articulated and emphasized numerous times by the residents themselves. More precisely, during the focus group discussions the word leader was mentioned 77 times.

In terms of concrete actions for political organization there is one main difference between these two Roma settlements. The Roma leader from Poljice established partnerships with leading political parties while the one from Gorice does not. In terms of their daily activities, like for example choosing the school which Roma children will attend residents of the both Roma settlements expressed that they are forced to make adjustments and choose one of the three offered options.

With this said, I confirm that in order to participate in everyday life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Roma populations needs to give up their Roma ethnic identity and ally to one of the three offered. This allows me to conclude that there is a strong link between the Bosnian and Herzegovinian power-sharing systems and not framed political identity of Roma; with this I confirm the hypothesis H1a. Even though, Barany explores different setting where the Roma leaders perform their roles, I can still contribute to this work and state that under the effect of power-sharing systems there are also two types of Roma leaders the one who are leaders and the one who make partnerships.

3.5 The factor of the Roma complexity

Hypothesis 1b: The level of adjustment to the power-sharing systems produces variations in the Roma population's political behavior. The Dayton Peace Agreement made radical changes and restructured today's Bosnia and Herzegovina towards its ignorance to the respect of minorities. The next thing, which results out of this situations is that in Bosnia and Herzegovina rules a simple law you exist if you belong to one of the three main fought sides in the war: Serbian, Bosnian, or Croatian. This follows that the Roma populations only belong to the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina when they decide to become part of one of the three sides, when they adjust to the power-sharing system. In this context, I suggest that the Roma populations adjust to the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina by manifestation of various behavior. This hypothesis tends to explore what produces these variations.

Carol Silverman highlights the existence of great diversity among the Roma's. This is all reflected through variations in their language, customs, beliefs and class. Silverman argues that the Roma are "a diaspora people with unclaimed land, and that therefore this is one of the greatest obstacles for them to build a unified political movement."³⁴ On the same side, Rajko Djuric argues that the fact that Roma miss a concrete territory is the reason why they miss to negotiate their much more beneficial political status. Silverman explain two main consequences for Roma being stateless: their political demands are not noted as Roma political demands and no one does not pay attention to Roma except themselves as there is no state actor to stand for them.

³⁴ For further information please see the Official Web page of Cultural Survival, available at: <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/>, last accessed May 30th, 2014.

I choose these two Roma settlements according to three criteria: the legal status of the settlement, the presence of the war and the location of the settlement Silverman and Djuric put in the connection unclaimed land of the Roma populations and the negotiation of their political status.

That is exactly the ground on which I have formulated the hypothesis H1b. There will be always one complexity from which the Roma populations will suffer no matter about what state in the international political arena we talk about. Roma populations being stateless. Because of this, the Roma populations are scattered all over the globe. While they are settling in one of the states they retake the main specifics of that state, like the presence of the war which is a very important feature for the Roma populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, they are usually accommodated in the Roma settlements which in most of the cases happen not to be in their legal property. Because of their complexity of being stateless the Roma populations in most of the cases adjust with the system they live in. In both of the cases Poljice and Gorice these adjustments can be easily identified especially when it comes to the examples when they need to negotiate with their own identity in order to coexist within the majority society. The indicators such as location and the legal status can determine the differences in their behavior especially when it comes to the partnerships with leaders who govern the systems they are discriminated from. The residents in Poljice live in illegal settlement, which is in the property of the government, this situation puts the residents of this settlement in a serious security risk. Still, according to the interview with the leader of this settlement, I discover that partnership he established with the leaders of political party is beneficial for both of the sides. On contrast the Roma populations from Gorice not just that they do not have such partnerships with governments officials they even rejected such a thing but there must be taken into consideration that the

settlement in which they live is in their legal property. With this said, I can conclude that there are certain variations in behavior between the two Roma settlements. The ground on which these differences are created mostly depends from the level they adjusted or resisted the power-sharing system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With this I confirm the hypothesis H1b.

Conclusion

The Roma populations live in Bosnia and Herzegovina without being politically represented. At the moment, the political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is designed so that only the official “constituent peoples” can participate in political and public sphere of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Behind that scene just lies the Roma populations political ambitions to wander around. This means that at the moment political power for the Roma populations is out of reach. While three-member presidency system is in force the Roma populations will continue to be situated beyond the lines of marginalization. The aim of this thesis was to access the process of discrimination of the Roma populations under the governance of the power-sharing systems of democracy in the post war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Using data collected from the field work I conclude that the Roma populations are discriminated by not having the access to achieve their political rights, they is a deeper ethnic division between the Roma communities as whole, there are not created political partnerships between the Roma populations themselves and Roma populations differ in the process of political organization by creating alliances or leadership.

This thesis contributed to the theoretical frameworks within the existing literature by placing the question of the political participation of the Roma populations in the post-conflict societies. Therefore this thesis tested the political behavior on the local level of the constitutionally excluded minorities. This study has great positional to be further developed and enriched with perspectives and theories.

Bibliography

- Barany, Zoltan. "Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior." *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*.
- Barany, Zoltan. 2002. *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zoltan Barany. "Romani Electoral Politics and Behavior." *Journal of Ethno politics and Minority Issues in Europe*.
- Barany, Zoltan. Living on the Edge: *The East European Roma in Post-Communist Politics and Societies*, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (summer, 1994), pp. 321-344.
- Begic Begic and Zlatan Delic, Constituency of people in the constitutional system of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Chasing fair solution, *Int. J Constitutional Law* (2013) 11 (2): 447-465 doi: 10.1093/icon/mot003.
- Belloni, Roberto *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38. No. 2 (Mar., 2001), pp. 163-180.
- Costalli Stefano and Francesco Niccolo Moro, Ethnicity and Strategy in the Bosnian civil war: Explanations for the severity of violence in Bosnian Municipalities, *Journal of Peace Research*, November 2012 49: 801-815, doi: 10.1177/0022343312453593.
- Data for Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats comes from the CIA World Factbook, 2007, which reports 2000 population estimates. The number for Roma is taken from Advisory Committee's opinion on the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.
- DuBois, W.E.B. 1989. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Bantam Books: New York.
- Fox, Jonathan. "Patterns of Discrimination, Grievances and Political Activity among Europe's Roma: A Cross-Sectional Analysis." *Journal on Ethno politics and Minority Issues in Europe*.
- Fujji, Lee Ann. "Shades of Truth and Lies: Interpreting Testimonies of War and Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2 (2010): 231-41.
- Garaz S. and Oleh Protsyk. "Politicization of ethnicity in party manifestos." *Party Politics*: 296-318.
- Guelke, Adrian. *Politics in deeply divided societies*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012.
- Jovanovic, Dusko, A Monthly Periodical of the Roma Inclusion Office, "Battle of Knowledge", Addition No. 4, March, 2012.
- Kukic, Slavo. *Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Position of Forum Bosne* (Forum Bosne), issue: 44 / 2008, pages: 148159.
- Lijphart, Arend *Thinking about democracy: power sharing and majority rule in theory and practice*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Lijphart, Arend. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* Volume 15: 96-109
- Lijphart, Arend 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 32-33.
- Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J, Wendy B. Dickinson, Nancy L. Leech, and Annmarie G Zoran. "A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research." *International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta*.
- Pitkin, Hanna, Fenichel, *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Preliminary Report By Mr Alvaro Gil-Robles, Commissioner for Human Rights on the Human Rights Situation of the Roma, Sinti and Travellers in Europe, Strasbourg, May 2005.

Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina on Legal and Other Measures on Implementation of the Principles Determined in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Council of Ministers, Sarajevo, December, 2003, available at: <http://www.coe.int/>, last accessed on May 18th, 2014.

The Official Report on Roma Informal Settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2003.

The Official Web page of Cultural Survival, available at: <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/>, last accessed May 30th, 2014.

The Official web page of World Movement for Democracy, “How to Enhance Political Participation of Minority Peoples?” available at: <http://www.wmd.org/>, last accessed May 20, 2014.

The Official Website of Roma Initiative Office, Open Society Foundations, Why Roma Political Participation Matters, last updated September 2013, last accessed May 31th, 2014.

The Official Web page of the United States Department portal of information on U.S. foreign policy and information about the State Department, <http://www.state.gov/>, last accessed April 2, 2014.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Ethnic Exclusion in Nationalizing States*. London: SAGE, 2006.

Yash, Ghai... *Public participation and minorities*. London: Minority Rights Group, 2001.