

THE IMPACT OF GEOPOLITICAL PROCESSES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

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Поступила в редакцию 05.04.2020 г.

После доработки 07.02.2024 г.

Принята к публикации 14.03.2024 г.

The historical-geographical development of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) in the area of the fusion of Western and Eastern Christian civilizations and the Orient resulted in ethnic and religious heterogeneity, occasional political crises and ethnic conflicts that shaped the cultural identity and character of the entire development. B&H was separated from the Yugoslav community in the conditions of the civil war. After the war in 1995, a complex administrative-territorial organization of the new state was established, based on the ethnic and religious affiliation of the population. At the same time, the transition of the socialist social system took place, as well as other geopolitical processes and social changes in the Western Balkans initiated by globalization. The paper focuses on cultural disintegration and changes in urban identity and development of cities through the analysis of the six largest urban centers as indicators of social changes in B&H. The results of the analysis suggest that there has been a cultural differentiation of society, which is reflected in changes in the ethnic and religious structure of the population and their spatial distribution. Economic stagnation and depopulation of urban centers, as a consequence of the civil war and social reforms, were confirmed by a comparative analysis of statistical indicators of economic and demographic development. Cultural changes were determined by relevant scientific methods and approaches: historical-geographical method, comparative analysis of statistics of demographic indicators and changes in spatial distribution, ethnic and religious structure of the population, and economic changes by analysis of employment in sectors of the economy. The scientific results of previously published papers devoted to some of the mentioned problems, primarily economic development and population dynamics in B&H and its large cities, were also taken into account. In this paper, social changes are observed through the cause-and-effect relationships of geopolitical and cultural processes (political, economic and cultural disintegration), social and economic reforms (ownership transition and deindustrialization) and their manifestations on cultural identity and the development of urban centers.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, geopolitical processes, cultural identity, urban centers, economic development

DOI: 10.31857/S2587556624020035, **EDN:** DTGBBA

INTRODUCTION

Geographically, historically and culturally, B&H belongs to the West Balkans as part of Southeastern Europe. Under modern circumstances, “the Balkans is a cultural concept and Southeastern Europe is a geopolitical one” (Грчић, 2014, p. 813). The aforementioned area is characterized by geographical heterogeneity: physical-geographical, geopolitical, cultural-historical, socioeconomic, and a number of similar developmental problems (Живкович et al., 2018). Geopolitical instability, cultural opposition and economic underdevelopment of the West Balkan, in the context of contemporary center–periphery theory, define it as a developmental periph-

ery and problem area. At its center there is B&H (Живковић, 2020). Formed in the centuries-old border area of interest of the great powers and the collisions of civilizations B&H is a politically unstable area. The historical-geographical development conditioned the ethnic structure of the population, the cultural identity of the area and the overall developmental processes. In recent history, B&H has repeatedly been a space of political crises and war conflicts, accompanied by the confrontation between its peoples of Serbs, Croats and Muslims (Bosniaks), as representatives of different confessions and civilizations. Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić considered B&H “the most important area for solving the Serbo-Croatian issue and the key to solving the prob-

lems and stability of the Balkans” (Цвијић, 1991, p. 171). B&H did not develop as an independent state. Only in the second half of the 20th century, B&H, as one of the six federal units within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), experienced political, economic and cultural development.

In the SFRY, B&H represented a geographical center, an ethnic and cultural mosaic, the only federal unit in which no nation had an absolute majority. In economic terms, B&H represented the raw material base, the center of energy, heavy and extractive industries of the former Yugoslavia (Марић, 1991). Continuous economic development was manifested by dynamic relocation of population from rural areas to mining and industrial urban centers. Industrialization is the most significant factor of the urban development, modernization and cultural homogenization of society. In late 1980s, industry hired around 45% of the working population and exported to the worldwide market. Over 40% of the population lived in cities. Multiconfessionalism, multiculturalism and national tolerance characterized the society of that time. Economic and cultural development was interrupted in the 1990s when Yugoslavia disintegrated in the process of changing the political map of Europe and the social system in socialist countries (Šojić, 2004). Internal antagonisms and problems fueled by foreign political factors led to the secessionist aspirations of individual federal units and ethnos of SFRY. “B&H’s ethnic and religious heterogeneity compounded the issue of separating B&H from the Yugoslavian community, making it impossible to establish a common position” (Мандић, 2017, p. 582). An armed conflict began. The Civil War (1992–1995) resulted in the large-scale physical destruction. More than 1000 settlements were devastated (about 20%) of which 400 have never been restored (Konačni ..., 2017b; Попис ..., 2013). About 110000 people were killed in the Civil War. Spatial population displacement by ethnical principle included almost half of B&H’s population (around 2.2 mln inhabitants). About 1.2 mln people have sought protection in other countries around the world (Pašalić, 2012). The war ended with the local ethnic homogenization of the area on the basis of which the Dayton Peace Agreement defined the demarcation of conflicting parties and the internal territorial-administrative organization. Politically and administratively, B&H is organized as a state of two entities (Federation of B&H – 51% of the territory and the Republic of Srpska – 49% of the territory of B&H). The Federation of B&H is organized in 10 cantons, three with Croatian majority and seven with Muslim (ethnic Bosniaks) majority. The Republic of Srpska (RS) is divided into two parts by the territory of the Brčko District. “Ethnically and religiously heterogeneous Brčko District represents a potential model of Unitarian B&H, but also a neuralgic point” (Mandić, 2018, p. 92). The political status of certain ethnic groups in B&H is le-

gally defined differently. In the RS, the three most numerous peoples, Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats, are constitutional. In the Federation of B&H, only Croats and Muslims are constitutional. Spatial distribution of ethnic groups is the basis for the territorial-administrative organization on lower level: the delimitation of municipalities and the division of 290 settlements. New ethnically homogeneous settlements were founded to meet the needs of internally relocated population. The political system and territorial-administrative organization of B&H, opposing geopolitical and national interests and cultural differences “are a constant source of latent and open conflicts at different levels of government and spatial organization” (Гњато, 2017, p. 426). Part of the public represents an opinion that the model of the national interest protection based on the administrative-political organization of B&H needs to be restructured as it currently represents an obstacle to more stable relations (Kurtić and Omerbegović, 2001). These are the views represented by Bosniaks and they stand for a unitary B&H. Serbs and Croats advocate for the preservation of the entity as a guarantor of national rights. The political representatives of the Croatian people demand the formation of their own entity, which necessarily means a change in the internal territorial organization. The administrative-territorial organization of B&H reflects three cultural circles and the crisis of the unique B&H identity and development policies. At the end of the Civil War, the transition of the social system affecting the economy, employment, life standard, population growth and the urban system sustainability began. Disintegration of the space and the transition of the society of the Western Balkans resulted in negative consequences in all newly formed states (deindustrialization, decline in GDP and living standards, urban atrophy, emigration). In early 21st century, the industry in Serbia dropped to 1/3 of its pre-transition capacity. A similar process of deindustrialization is taking place in Croatia. Negative effects of social reforms were accounted for with poor preparedness of the transition, social and political deformations and poorly implemented privatization by the oligarchs. These effects primarily refer to deindustrialization, poor productivity, decreased employment rates and income (Šojić, 2004; Veselica and Vojnić, 2000). In B&H, these processes were preceded by the Civil War which resulted great destruction, demographic losses, migrations, political and cultural differentiation, and administrative-territorial reorganization (Мандић, 2017). Deindustrialization had a negative impact on the development of urban centers (Gekić and Bidžan-Gekić, 2019).

The aim of this paper is to determine the cultural and economic changes in the largest urban centers, which are the bearers of economic development and a unique identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that occurred as a result of the breakup of Yugoslavia, the

civil war and the transition of the social system. The analyzed cities (Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, Zenica, Tuzla, and Prijedor) in this paper are regional centers of the highest economic and demographic capacities and complex ethnic structure. Social changes in the mentioned urban centers reflect cultural and socioeconomic changes in B&H. The changes were determined by a comparative analysis of the population, ethnic and confessional structure and socioeconomic structure in the analyzed period. Changes in cultural identity were followed through ethnic and confessional self-identification, because the entire political and administrative organization of B&H, the division of settlements, the organized educational system and state institutions were based on them. The ethnic and confessional heterogeneity of B&H has influenced specific cultural processes that are more complex than in other countries of the Western Balkans. In contrast, the economic transition takes place identically. Demographic statistics in B&H are kept at the entity level and are not harmonized, which is why we had more indicators for the Republic of Srpska. The time frame of the paper is focused on the 1981–2013 period.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Objective examination of the genesis of problems and consequences of geopolitical processes in the territory of B&H required a multidisciplinary approach and relevant indicators of official statistics monitored over a long period of time. The review of the historic-geographical development and the process of Islamization were based on historical resources (Васић, 2005; Краљачић, 2000); the analyses of complex geopolitical position and ethnic circumstances relied on Cvijić's studies of the Balkan Peninsula (Цвијић, 1991) and demographic statistics. The position of the Balkans within modern geopolitical processes was analyzed in terms of the contact of civilization zones (Грчић, 2014; Mandić, 2018; Митровић, 2007; Живковић, 2011; Живковић, 2020), and the said area is defined as a culturally rich and politically fragile area. The causes, character and consequences of the civil war are mostly written in a partial and ethnically biased manner in the scientific literature as well as in the media. For the purposes of the paper on the consequences of the war, sources from the RS were used (Мандић, 2017; Pašalić, 2012). The problems of internal organization, relations and political sovereignty in the mentioned sources are viewed through two opposing concepts, unitary and entity (Ѓњато, 2017; Kurtić, 2008; Kurtić and Omerbegović, 2001). The problems of functioning in the conditions of the new political, settlement and cultural reality are visible in the analysis of the settlement system of B&H/RS (Мандић, 2017; Pecelj et al., 2012; Zekanović and Ѓњато, 2018). The re-Islamization of B&H was viewed in the context of historical

development and contemporary geopolitical interests of Turkey in the Balkans (Васић, 2005; Краљачић, 2000; Танасковић, 2011). Economic development of B&H was observed over a longer period in the aforementioned sources (Делић, 2020; Марић, 1991), confirming the importance of industrialization and the positive effects on urban development. Consequences of social system transition in B&H and the region were compared on the basis of several scientific papers addressing the former SFRY (Baburin, 2019; Domljan et al., 2017; Mandić, 2019; Мандић and Делић, 2021; Šojić, 2004; Veselica and Vojnić, 2000) and the decline of Eastern European cities and cities of the liberal economy (Audirac, 2007; Buzar et al., 2007; Turok and Mykhnenko, 2007). Views on the state and perspectives of economic development B&H, and thus urban renewal, range from reindustrialization to digitalization (Baburin, 2019; Мандић and Делић, 2021). Changes in the socioeconomic structure of the observed cities are confirmed by the indicators of official statistics (Konačni ..., 2017a; Statistički ..., 1981; Statistički ..., 1991).

The base of demographic indicators (population number change, ethnic structure, migrations, natural increase, socioeconomic structure, GDP) relied on population censuses from 1991 (the latest census before the SRFY break-up) and 2013 (the first census after the civil war) (Konačni ..., 2017a, b; Popis ..., 2017; Stanovništvo ..., 1995; Štastika ..., 1880; Statistički ..., 1982, 1991). For the purpose of analyzing the ethnic structure, the population census from 1981 was also used, in which the majority of the population declared themselves Yugoslavs, that is, the common identity was the most pronounced. Comparative analysis of various indicators at the level of B&H is made difficult by the separate management of statistics by entities and methods of management. For this reason, there were more indicators of modern changes for the RS.

METHODS AND DATA

The relevant methods of geographical research (historical-geographical method, analysis, comparison, synthesis, generalization) were used in the paper. The character of developmental processes was determined by historical-geographical method. The results of the comparative analysis of statistical indicators of demographic development and ethnic structure are presented tabularly, graphically and cartographically. Indicators of changes in the total number of population confirm the weakening of the demographic capacity of urban centers. The observed urban centers are the carriers of overall economic and cultural development, and reflect the development processes in B&H. Changes in economic development were determined by a comparative analysis of the socioeconomic structure. Spatial distribution of ethnic groups and regional development centers

has been represented by cartographic method. The comparative analysis of the above indicators determined the nature of the development processes at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. The aforementioned analyzes confirmed the assumption that geopolitical processes in the Western Balkans caused the cultural and economic disintegration of the B&H with negative consequences for identity and urban development.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The ethnic and confessional heterogeneity of B&H is a consequence of cultural assimilation and complex ethnogenesis. The most significant factor in cultural transformation of population is the process of Islamization that began with the Turkish conquest of B&H and lasted for almost four centuries (Васић, 2005). The Austro-Hungarian administration replaced the Turkish one in 1878. In 1879, out of 1 158 440 inhabitants that were registered in the territory of B&H, Orthodox (Serbs) had 42.8% share in the total population and they constituted a relative majority. Muslims (mostly Islamized Slavs) made up 38.7% and Catholics (mostly ethnic Croats) about 18% (Štastika ..., 1880). Until the end of the reign (1918), Austria-Hungary tried to create the Bosnian nation and the Bosnian language through artificial ethnogenesis in order to prevent the unification of the South Slavs (Краљачић, 2000).

Demographic, political and cultural processes in the 20th century (birth rates, migrations, national awareness, opinions on Communism and religion, the idea of the Bosnian and Yugoslav nation) affected changes in ethnic and confessional groups. The share of Serbs and Croats in the total population is decreasing (Tab. 1). The Islamized population, different in ethnicity (Serbian Muslims, Croatian Muslims), declared themselves as Serbs or Croats of the Islamic confession, ethnic Muslims, Yugoslavs, and since the 1990s they have been called Bosniaks. The attempt to form a unique identity through the creation of the Yugoslav nation lasted until the 1990s, when it lost popularity in the atmosphere of strengthening national identities. The creation of a "Bosnian nation" among Bosniaks at the beginning of the 21st century is a revived idea from the Austro-Hungarian period. Under conditions of industrialization and urbanization in a socialist society, cultural integration in big cities takes place at an accelerated pace. Housing policy has contributed to the erasure of ethnic boundaries. All major cities have a heterogeneous ethnic structure at the time of the Census 1981. The share of Yugoslavs generally ranges from 10–17% (Tab. 1). The process of disintegration of the SFRY influenced the change of the national consciousness as confirmed by the Census 1991, when the proportion of Yugoslavs decreased (5.5%) and the proportion of ethnic Muslims increased. According to the 2013 Census, the share of Yugoslavs together with

20 minority ethnic groups was only (2.04%). Their decline symbolizes the disappearance of common cultural values and identity. Changes in the ethnic declaration of the three most numerous peoples are a consequence of the strengthening of individual national and cultural identities in the process of political disintegration of the SFRY. The education system of post-Dayton B&H is divided into three separate systems under the influence of history and culture of its ethnic groups. The language has three official names and two alphabets: Serbian (Cyrillic), Croatian and Bosnian (Latin) separated only by few linguistic variants. Bosniaks emphasize the Islamic elements of culture as the primary cultural determinant of B&H (Mandić, 2018). The influence of religious institutions in society is increasing. Religious education is a compulsory subject in all primary and secondary schools and strengthens confessional identities.

The mentioned facts and indicators of the comparative analysis of the population census 1981–2013 confirm the negative consequences of disintegration processes and civil war on the demographic development and multi-ethnicity of the cultural space. In 1991, 28% of the population lived in the analyzed urban centers. In the intercensal 1991–2013 period the observed six cities lost 20% of their population, which accounts for 24% of the demographic losses of B&H. An exception is the city of Banja Luka, which compensated for the population losses through immigration of Serbs from Croatia and some parts of B&H. Sarajevo and Banja Luka had the largest changes in the ethnic structure, and Prijedor had the largest depopulation (Tab. 1).

The city of Sarajevo was divided by the entity division defined by the Dayton Peace Agreement. Two parallel cities were formed, with distinctly unequal demographic, economic, cultural and functional capacity and political power (Pecelj et al., 2012). For the needs of the displaced Serbian population from Sarajevo, a new town was built on the outskirts of the city in a rural area. The unified urban-rural area in territorial-administrative sense was organized as the City of East Sarajevo with 60 000 inhabitants (Попис ..., 2017). The most part of Sarajevo was given to the Federation of B&H (more than 400 000 inhabitants in 2013). The city of Mostar has a long tradition of multiethnicity. During the civil war, three opposing ethnic communities divided the urban space and the rural periphery. The rural area under the name East Mostar was given to RS. The share of Serbs in total population of Mostar dropped from 18% prior to the Civil War to 4% 2013 (Tab. 1). The urban area belonged to the Federation of B&H as a single territorial-administrative unit called the City of Mostar. In practice, it is a divided city divided by the Neretva river into Croatian and Bosniak parts. Both parts of the city function in all aspects of life separately. Contemporary Mostar is the synonym of national, confessional and cultural divisions. In post-war ethno-cultural and ethno-confessional

Tab. 1. Changes in the total number and ethnic structure of the population of B&H and regional centers in the 1981–2013 period

Population	Sarajevo	Banja Luka	Mostar	Tuzla	Zenica	Prijedor	B&H	
							People	%
1981								
Total, people	448519	183618	110377	121717	132733	108868	4124256	100
Affiliation, %:								
Croatians	8.19	16.58	33.46	20.38	17.78	6.70	758140	18.38
Muslims	42.17	11.83	31.03	43.05	50.42	38.70	1630033	39.52
Serbs	29.57	50.86	18.37	16.65	15.97	41.59	1320738	32.02
Yugoslavs	15.95	17.07	14.96	15.66	12.36	9.70	326316	7.91
Others	4.12	3.66	2.20	4.26	3.46	3.31	27522	0.67
1991								
Total, people	527049	195692	126628	131618	145517	112543	4377033	100
Affiliation, %:								
Croatians	6.62	14.83	33.99	15.50	15.47	5.61	760852	17.38
Muslims	49.23	14.59	34.63	47.61	55.22	43.85	1902956	43.48
Serbs	29.82	54.59	18.83	15.40	15.42	42.28	1366104	31.21
Yugoslavs	10.71	12.09	10.08	16.71	10.76	5.74	242682	5.54
Others	3.62	3.90	2.46	4.78	3.13	2.52	104439	2.39
2013								
Total, people	413593	180053	105797	110979	110663	80916	3389562	100
Affiliation, %:								
Croatians	4.26	2.71	48.65	13.88	7.48	2.06	524850	15.48
Bosniaks	88.81	3.79	44.71	79.19	87.67	27.56	1768267	52.17
Serbs	3.22	90.01	4.18	3.04	2.18	67.19	1027407	30.31
Others	3.71	3.50	2.46	3.88	2.66	3.19	69038	2.04
Demographic balance 1991/2013, people (%)	−113456 (−21.53)	−15642 (−8.00)	−20870 (−14.46)	−20639 (−16.45)	−34854 (−23.96)	−31627 (−28.11)	−987471	−22.57

Compiled from: (Коначни ..., 2017b; Попис ..., 2017; Stanovništvo ..., 1995).

B&H, three urban centers articulate ethno-national interests: Sarajevo – Bosniaks, Banja Luka – Serbs and Mostar – Croats (Zekanović and Gnjata, 2018).

The share of ethnic groups in emigration is different. The largest number of Muslims immigrated, mainly to the countries of the European Union. Serbs mostly emigrated to Serbia, and Croats to Croatia, i.e. to the motherland of their people. In the 1991–2013 period, Bosniaks lost 8.07% of the pre-war population, Serbs 24.80% and Croats 32.02%. The resettlement and territorialization of ethnic groups

during the civil war (Fig. 1) are mutually characterized as ethnocide and cultural genocide because they were accompanied by the destruction of the cultural heritage of other ethnic groups and confessions. In the post-war reconstruction, religious buildings of all three denominations are being built in locations where they never existed before. This changes the cultural identity of the area and marks the ethnic territoriality. After the period of socialism in the process of “return to religion,” the re-Islamization and “Arabization” of B&H occurs. In the context of pur-

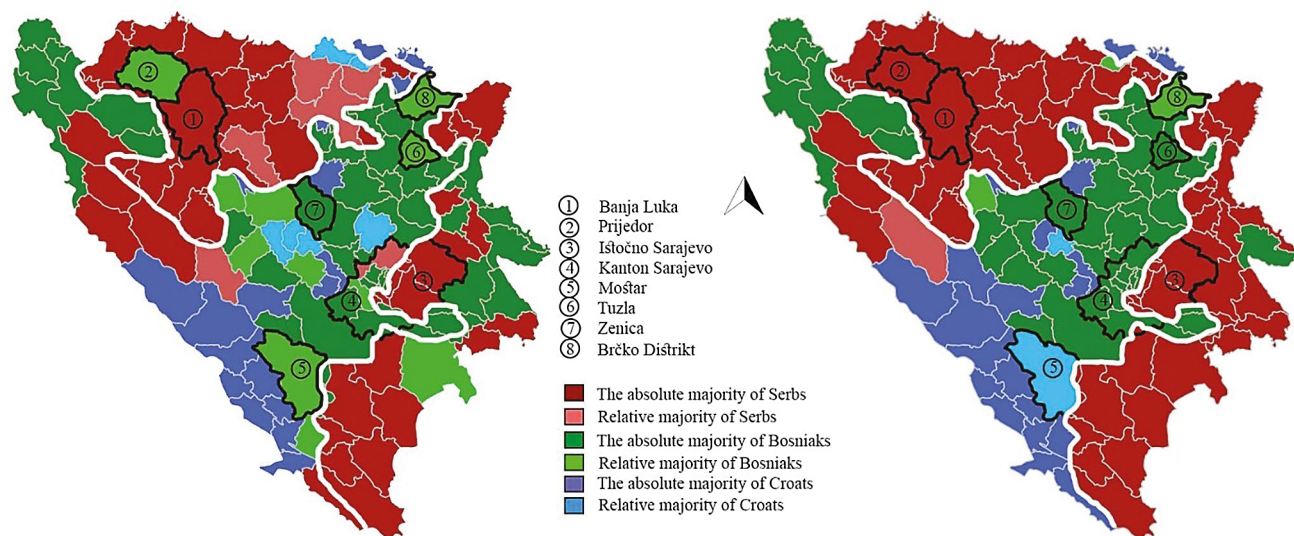


Fig. 1. Ethnic structure according to Census 1991 (left) and 2013 (right).

Compiled by authors based on: <http://www.statistika.ba/>

suings geopolitical interests, the return of Turkey to the Balkans, strengthens its political, economic and cultural influence (Танасковић, 2011). For the first time in the historical-geographical development of B&H, the strong influence of the Arab Asian countries appears. The change in the cultural identity of the Islamic population of B&H takes place in the national transformation from Yugoslavs and Muslims to Bosniaks, but from a religious aspect, there is a gap between different currents of Islam: from Turkish (Salafi) to extreme Wahhabism. Under the influence of foreign political and religious doctrines, the mental map and cultural identity of B&H Muslims are gradually becoming radicalized (Mandić, 2018). The traditional influence of Islam is a historical legacy from the period of Turkish rule that has persisted into modern times. The new influence of Islam from Asia on social processes in B&H has a complex genesis and character.

The first group consists of radical Muslims of the Wahhabi movement who participated in the civil war as volunteers and settled permanently. Their number is continuously increasing. By their actions, they contribute to political instability and cultural differentiation of society, even among Muslims. The second group consists of modern migrants of the Asian migration, which is driven by complex geopolitical processes and military interventions.

In these migrations, mainly young men participate, for whom refugee camps are formed. They are detained in B&H because of the restrictive immigration policy of the European Union. Through their actions, Turkey and the Arab countries show their intentions of a long-term political and cultural presence in B&H. These countries invest heavily in real estate, buy land and build exclusive settlements closed type. They transform the traditions of the local

Muslim population through their influence on public space and the educational system. While the population of the Islamic religion (Bosniaks) are culturally, politically, and economically oriented toward Asia, the Serbian and Croatian populations identify with Serbia and Croatia, as their national motherlands. Considering universal values, B&H has taken a big step backwards (Живковић, 2011). The adoption of “right to being different as a natural human right” would have a positive impact on the stability and an objective insight into the joint historical and anthropological and cultural values (Kurtić, 2008). In order to achieve that, the country first needs to go undergo a historic conciliation catharsis.

The process of cultural integration could start from urban centers and through the educational system, as it did in the socialist period. The process of industrialization was the most important driving factor of contemporary socioeconomic development, urbanization and cultural integration of B&H. Natural resources defined B&H as an area of mining, energy and industry, which led to rapid economic and urban development in the second half of the last century (Марић, 1991).

Several urban centers are standing out by the dynamics of overall development: Sarajevo – the capital and the most developed industrial center of B&H, Banja Luka, Zenica, Tuzla, Mostar and Prijedor (Fig. 1). These settlements are the subject of analysis. Prior to the Civil War, a quarter of the population lived in their administrative boundaries. About half of the employees in B&H worked in the industry, of which 35% were in the mentioned cities (Fig. 2). The spatial distribution of industry and the need for labor force is a basic factor that determines the directions of internal migration. Population mi-

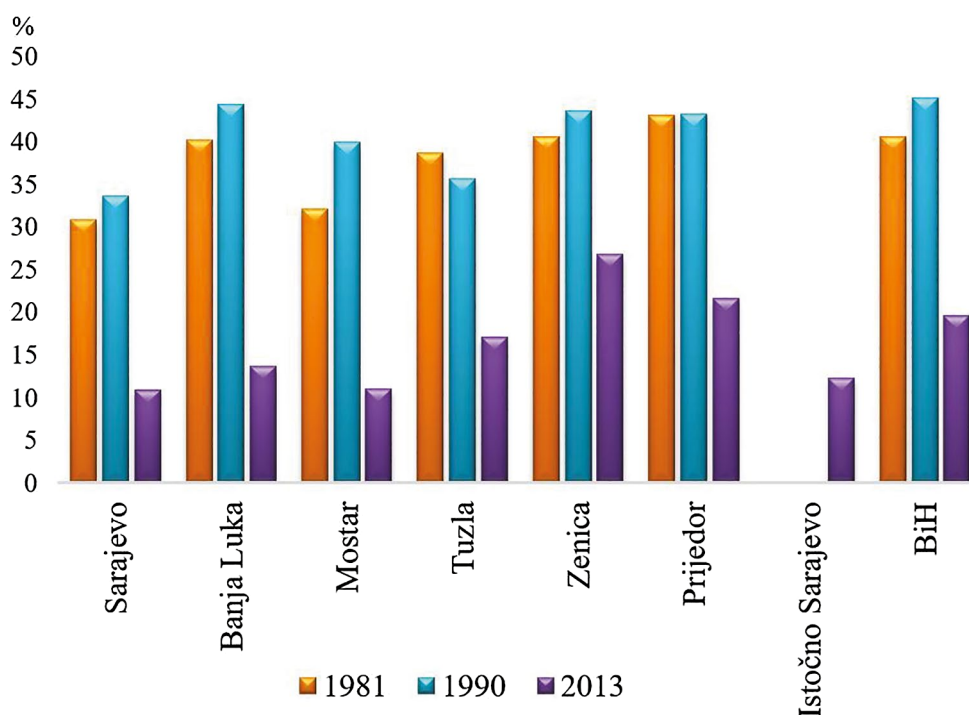


Fig. 2. Share of employees in the industrial sector in B&H and in regional centers, 1981–2013, %.
Compiled by authors based on: (Konačni ..., 2017a; Попис ..., 2017; Statistički ..., 1982, 1991).

gration intensified the blending of culture and creation of a specific cultural ambience in B&H, which had long been called a “small Yugoslavia”. The urban population had a high proportion of mixed marriages and Yugoslavs (Tab. 1). Only in Banja Luka (Serbs) and Zenica (Muslims), for historical reasons, they made up 50% of the city’s population (Stanovništvo ..., 1995; Statistički ..., 1982). Integrated into the structure of the Yugoslavian economy, B&H industry had a constant growth and a positive impact on infrastructure development, social and demographic stability.

The disintegration of the SFRY led to the disintegration of the unique economic system and cultural space. Recurrences of civil war affect political “correctness” with negative consequences on economic development and inter-ethnic relations. Economic capacities in B&H were mostly preserved during the war. Under pressure from the International Community social reforms in the direction of a liberal economy have been accepted. De-industrialization of economy was initiated through privatization process (Gekić and Bidžan-Gekić). The reforms had a negative impact on the sustainability of production and jobs. A similar process took place in the whole region (Šojić, 2004; Veselica and Vojnić, 2000). The European integration processes have bypassed most of the newly created countries of the former Yugoslavia. Analyzing the national economies in countries of Yugoslavian area, V.L. Baburin identifies three stages of development: the phase of influence of geopolitical and internal political fac-

tors (1990–2001), the phase of recovery of national economies (2001–2008) and the phase of integration with the European Union since 2009 (Baburin, 2019). The geopolitical and economic position of B&H has influenced its slow integration into European development processes, and it represents the European periphery (Живковић, 2020). In practice, the political organization of B&H excludes many elements of common development policies of its entities. The rapid collapse of industrial production began at the beginning of 21st century. The share of industry in the total number of employees in B&H decreased from 45% (1990) to 19.5% (2013) (Fig. 2). GDP per capita is 1/3 of the average GDP of the European Union. Along with Albania, B&H is the least developed country in Europe. Banja Luka and Mostar had the highest degree of deindustrialization among the observed cities. Chain lines in industrial production had a negative impact on other sectors of the economy and overall employment. Observed regional centers had a decrease in total employment, from 41 to 34%, and in industry from 34 to 25% (Fig. 3). Most of the observed cities are depopulated, but their share in the population of B&H increased from 32 to 39% compared to the pre-war period due to the demographic exodus from other areas.

The post-socialist transition destabilized the economic, demographic and spatial structure of cities in a wider geographical area; an example is Eastern Europe with similar development problems (Buzar et al., 2007; Turok and Mykhnenko, 2007). Urban

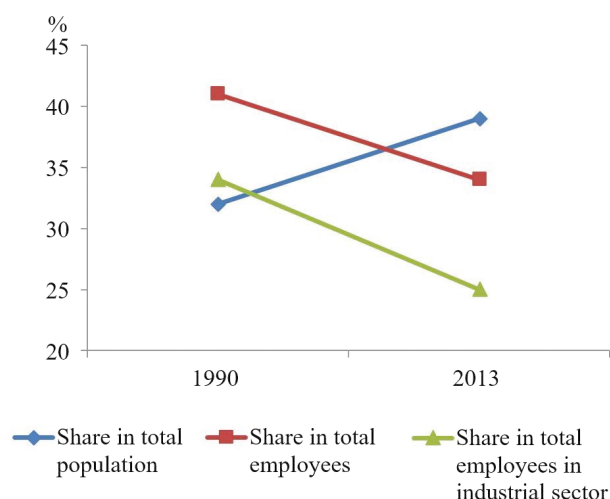


Fig. 3. Share of regional centers in total population, total employment and employment in industry 1990–2013, %. Compiled by authors based on: (Konačni ..., 2017a; Попис..., 2017; Statistički ..., 1991).

atrophy caused by local and global factors is more pronounced in countries that have difficulty integrating into the global liberal economy (Audirac, 2007). B&H industry is technologically outdated and slow to adapt to new market conditions. The above facts confirm the socioeconomic crisis of urban settlements in post-socialist B&H (Мандић и Делић, 2021). The analyzed urban centers have developed services of the tertiary quarter sector in which 70–80% of the working population work (Gekić and Bidžan-Gekić, 2019). The share of Banja Luka in the total number of employees of the RS is: 24% of employees in trade, 54% in the financial sector and 33% in state administration (Mandić, 2019). The existing socioeconomic structure cannot be the basis for the long-term sustainability of the urban system (Mandić, 2019). The least economically self-sustainable is East Sarajevo, which is dominated by the Tertiary-Quaternary sector (over 80%) (Fig. 2). The negative effects of the transition of the social system and the structure of the economy affect economic stagnation and lagging behind the region and trigger the emigration of the population. Constant depopulation is a consequence of the cumulative effects of negative natural growth (about -4%), negative migration balance, economic stagnation and high unemployment level. EU countries are liberalizing entry for population of Western Balkans, primarily by absorbing young and educated people. According to EUROSTAT data in the 2008–2018 period 228 230 inhabitants of B&H received a residence permit in European countries. Current processes diminish the prospect of urban renewal and the development of society. Some economists believe that the key sectors of economic growth could be the financial system, the diaspora and the digitization of industry (Domljan et al., 2017). Devel-

opment processes do not confirm the reality of this opinion. Analysts of the current situation in B&H mainly analyze the economic consequences of the transition and demographic processes, without proposing a potentially possible recovery model.

CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary geopolitical processes in the area of the Western Balkans are deepening the crisis of the lack of common historical values on which to restore the destroyed political integrity and cultural identity. The disintegrated, politically opposed and economically weakened states of the Western Balkans in the transition process confirm the importance of geo-economy and geo-culture in the achievement of political goals (Живковић, 2020). In those processes, B&H was transformed from the core of the Yugoslav community into a neuralgic point on the European periphery. The analysis of demographic and sociocultural processes in the urban centers of Bosnia and Herzegovina presented in the paper confirms depopulation and changes in cultural identity in the direction of losing common identity values. The divided and opposing cultural identities of the constituent peoples in B&H are manifested in the political and territorial-administrative organization of the state at all levels of administration and the settlement system. Such political arrangement and spatial organization are a guarantee of the protection of ethnic rights and cultures, but at the same time they are also an obstacle to the establishment of joint development policies. The constituent nations (Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks) are culturally, politically and economically oriented in different directions: East (Serbia, Russian Federation), West (Croatia, European Union, NATO) and Orient (Turkey, Arab states). B&H is a politically and economically unstable area and a “playground for big countries” (Митровић, 2007, p. 48). It is impossible to politically unify and economically start B&H without the development of its institutions, which requires the establishment of a minimum of common interests of the constituent nations. The socioeconomic changes established in the paper through a comparative analysis of population employment and economic structure confirm the process of de-industrialization and weakening of the economic potential of cities with a negative reflection on demographic trends and the development perspective. In order to stop negative demographic and social processes, joint development policies based on the assessment of the consequences of transition processes and the renewal of the urban economy are necessary. Respect for diversity as an adopted civilizational value could be the first step towards political stabilization and cultural and economic renewal of B&H society, thus economic and cultural renewal of cities as carriers of development.

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ВЛИЯНИЕ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПРОЦЕССОВ В БОСНИИ И ГЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ НА ГОРОДСКОЕ РАЗВИТИЕ И КУЛЬТУРНУЮ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ

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Историко-географическое развитие Боснии и Герцеговины в зоне стыка западной и восточной христианских цивилизаций и мусульманского востока привело к этнической и религиозной неоднородности и сформировало культурную самобытность населения этой страны, одновременно создав условия для политических кризисов и этнических конфликтов. Босния и Герцеговина вышла из состава Югославии в условиях гражданской войны. После войны, в 1995 г. сформировалась сложная административно-территориальная организация нового государства, с учетом этнического и религиозного состава населения его разных частей. В то же время изменились общественная система страны (политическая и экономическая) и геополитическая ситуация на Западных Балканах, произошли важные социокультурные сдвиги в этом регионе Европы, инициированные глобализацией. Статья рассматривает культурную дезинтеграцию общества и изменения в идентичности населения городов Боснии и Герцеговины. Проведено сравнение социальных и этнокультурных изменений в шести крупнейших городах страны. Результаты анализа позволяют сделать вывод, что произошла культурная дифференциация общества в Боснии и Герцеговину, отразившаяся в изменениях этнической и религиозной структуры населения и их пространственном распределении. Экономический застой и депопуляция городских центров как следствие гражданской войны и социальных реформ подтверждаются сравнительным анализом статистических показателей экономического и демографического развития. Социокультурные и экономические изменения выявлены с использованием историко-географического метода, сравнительного анализа демографических показателей, изменений пространственного размещения населения, его этнического и религиозного состава, структуры занятости в отраслях экономики городов. Учтены также научные результаты ранее опубликованных работ, посвященных некоторым из упомянутых проблем, прежде всего экономическому развитию и динамике численности населения в стране и ее крупных городах. Структурные сдвиги в городах Боснии и Герцеговины рассматриваются через призму причинно-следственных связей геополитических и культурных процессов (политической, экономической и культурной дезинтеграции), социальных и экономических реформ, изменений прав собственности, деиндустриализации хозяйства, их влияния на культурную идентичность.

Ключевые слова: Босния и Герцеговина, геополитические процессы, культурная идентичность, городские центры, экономическое развитие