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## **RADICALIZATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE BOSNIAN FEDERATION: IS THERE A POSSIBILITY?**

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## **RADICALIZATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE BOSNIAN FEDERATION: IS THERE A POSSIBILITY?**

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## ABSTRACT

In the two decades since the end of Bosnian war, Bosnia has been pierced with incidents related to radical and militant Islam. The Wahhabis have become part of Bosnian mosaic along with a narrative that securitizes religion and ethnicity. There are concerns that Bosnia is or will become breeding and training grounds for Islamic radicals at the footsteps of Europe. This paper identifies some of incidents related to radical Islam and provides a perspective on the presence of foreign Islamic actors and their activities in Bosnia. The history of Islam and its influence was researched to confirm that Islam has always been a part of the Bosnian fabric regardless of the ideology of rulers, whether Christian Austro-Hungary Empire or atheist communist. The last two decades are marked with revival of Islam which greatly influenced mindset of post-war Bosnia. Religion and politics are closely related in today's Bosnia where politicians use religion as a tool to keep reconciliation process from progressing.

Radicalization theories have been discussed to conclude that poor economy, corrupt inefficient governments and narratives contribute to the radicalization process. Bosnia has historically had a very weak and corrupt governance structure that is not trusted by either locals or the international community. This prevents stakeholders from investing in Bosnia and gives Bosnia the status of being the poorest county in south-east Europe. Therefore, the Bosnian narrative is one of intolerance and securitization of religion and ethnicity. Although, there are signs of radical and militant Islam taking root within Muslim communities in the Bosnian Federation, this can be reversed by improving governance structures which will in turn improve economy and the state's narrative. These structural and policy reforms will reduce radical and militant Islamic influences to insignificant annoyance.

## CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

It has been almost twenty years after the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia), also known as Dayton Peace Agreement or Dayton Accord, came into effect on 21 November 1995. After three years of bloodshed, the war ended when the Dayton Accord was signed.<sup>1</sup> The agreement separated warring parties into two entities under one central government. The larger entity became the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is comprised of two ethnic groups of people: Bosniaks, who are Muslims; and Croats, who are Roman Catholic Christians. The second entity became the Republika Srpska (RS), which is predominantly made up of Serbian Orthodox Christians.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement paved the way to peace, and the Dayton Peace Agreement is often cited as an example of success by the international community in resolving conflict. This is of particular importance with regards to the managing of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>3</sup> However, there are many critics of the agreement because despite stopping hostility, this arrangement did not effectively prepare Bosnia for reconciliation, political stability and economic prosperity. Since the war, Bosnia has been riddled with corruption, ineffective governance, economical despair, political instability and ethnical intolerance, which are rooted in war. The Bosnian ruling class is unwilling to put differences aside and work for the best interest of its people.

The last twenty years in Bosnia have been laced with a political and religious narrative of intolerance, hate and the rise of radical Islamism, mainly Wahhabism. The Wahhabi ideology was brought to Bosnian Muslims during the war by the foreign fighters, mujahidin, and Non-

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<sup>1</sup> "Fact Sheet: Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement." U.S.Department of State Dispatch 6, no. 48 (Dec 1995), 24.

<sup>2</sup> William Hunt, et al., *Bosnia Today: Despair, Hope, and History*. Dissent (00123846) 60, no. 3 (Summer 2013), 23.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher S. Chivvis, *The Dayton Dilemma*. Survival (00396338) 52, no. 5 (Oct, 2010), 49.

Government Organizations (NGOs) from mostly from Saudi Arabia.<sup>4</sup> It is an ideology that does not fit into secular Bosnia and encounters resistance among the locals, but it has nonetheless taken a root. The devastation of the war and the removal of atheist communist regime opened a path for religion to take a prominent role in people's lives. Religion and ethnicity became very important to the people of Bosnia. There is discourse which claims that the Bosnian Federation has become a place where radical Islam flourishes and that Bosnia is going to become a logistical base for European Islamic terrorism. There are claims that the Bosnian Federation is aspiring to implement Shari'a law, although there is little evidence of this. The current political and government structure of Bosnia is not predisposed to allow non-democratic governance. The Peace Implementation Council led by the international community and its representative, Office of High Representative, has the authority and power to prevent any undesired regime changes. Books such as *The Coming Balkan Caliphate: The Threat of Radical Islam to Europe and the West* by Christopher Deliso<sup>5</sup>, *Unholy Terror: Bosnia, Al-Qa'ida, and the Rise of Global Jihad* by John R. Schindler<sup>6</sup> and *Al-Qaida's Jihad in Europe: The Afghan-Bosnian Network* by Evan F. Kohlmann<sup>7</sup> paint a picture of where militant Islamic radicals live, train and launch attacks from within the Bosnian Federation. However, there are others such as Marko Attila Hoare who argues that no radical Islam exists in Bosnia and that those accusations are part of ethnic propaganda.

There have been number of incidents in Bosnia that are attributed to activities of radical Islamists. These incidents for most part go unnoticed by the international community.

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<sup>4</sup> Eldar Sarajlic, *The Return of the Consuls: Islamic Networks and Foreign Policy Perspectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies 11, no. 2 , 2011), 183.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Deliso, *The Coming Balkan Caliphate: The Threat of Radical Islam to Europe and the West* (Westport, Conn: Praeger Security International, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> John R. Schindler, *Unholy Terror : Bosnia, Al-Qa'ida, and the Rise of Global Jihad* (St. Paul: Zenith Press, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Evan F. Kohlmann, *Al-Qaida's Jihad in Europe : The Afghan-Bosnian Network* (Oxford : Berg, 2004).

International attention is turned to other parts of the world while Bosnia is left to its own devices to deal with the potential radical occurrences and their consequences. The incidents are dealt with to the best of the local abilities. Local actions are largely restrained by political will and influence. The Bosnian situation merits some attention to help shed light on the existence of militant and radical Islamism in the Bosnian Federation. Historical lessons suggest that if the situation in the Balkans is not dealt with the fall out will be significant. We only have to remember that World War I was started in Sarajevo with assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, bloody World War II and the recent war of 1990s. Bosnia might be disregarded and considered benign, but the international community should consider the situation and trends in the region to avoid further conflict, with the potential that Bosnia could become a failed state. Bosnia's geopolitical location is quite important as a potential transport hub between Europe and the Middle East. As such, it has the potential to create unrest across the Balkans, which can spread to Europe at large if its internal situation is not regulated. If there is another conflict in Bosnia, or even if Bosnia becomes classified as a failing state, Europe will once more be flooded with refugees and another intervention will be required to bring stability.

Historically, wars have easily started in Balkans. Only in 2013, a local NGO from the Bosnian town of Tuzla, Vehid Sehic stated the following:

"In the 1990s, when ideas emerged urging intolerant behavior toward others, we said, 'They are fools; it's nothing,'" Sehic says. "However, they quickly moved from graffiti and pens to a situation in which hundreds of thousands became victims. So I am not among those who look at these current messages in an uncritical way, because in the present vulnerable Bosnian society they are very dangerous."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Coalson and Maja Nikolic, *Radical Islamists Seek to Exploit Frustration in Bosnia* (United States, Lanham: Federal Information & News Dispatch, Inc., 2013).

This paper will shed some light on the possibility of radicalization of Muslims in the Bosnian Federation. It will also investigate the reasons why limited radical Islam is currently tolerated in some parts of Bosnian Federation, and consider its impact on the state. This paper will begin with a brief overview in chapter one of incidents that have raised flags that there are militant Islamic activities taking place in Bosnia. The second chapter will review some radicalization theories, in order to demonstrate that narrative, governance and economic outlook play an important factor in the radicalization process. Chapter three will examine Bosnian Islamic history, its governance model, political and religious narrative and the state of its economy. The final chapter will conclude the paper with recommendations for policy changes that will allow Bosnia to be a fully functional state. Bosnia needs to improve its governance model, which will improve the country's narrative and economy. This will minimize radical Islamist appeal and reduce such groups to a negligible annoyance in Bosnia.

### **Incidents in Bosnia related to Militant Islamic Radicals**

In 2001, following the World Trade Center attacks in New York and the Pentagon, it was revealed that the mastermind behind the attacks, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, fought in Bosnia in 1992, financed Bosnia's al-Qa'eda training camps and had Bosnian citizenship. At least two other 9/11 hijackers, Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi, were Bosnian mujahidin in 1990.<sup>9</sup> This connection caused the United States of America (USA) to exert pressure on the Bosnian government to annul Bosnian citizenship that was given to mujahidin. Foreign fighters were given Bosnian citizenship following the war. The Dayton Agreement of 1995 stipulated that all

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<sup>9</sup> Brendan O'Neill, Don't Blame the Neocons (The Spectator, Aug 27, 2005).

foreign fighters who were in Bosnia had to leave within 30 days.<sup>10</sup> Instead of expelling mujahidin, the Bosnian government granted them passports, employment in local NGOs and allowed them to stay in the country.<sup>11</sup> The first president of Bosnia and his administration, Alija Izetbegovic, saw foreign Islamic fighters as martyrs who sacrificed themselves for betterment of Bosnia; and that they deserved to be recognized and given the right to stay in Bosnia<sup>12</sup> despite Dayton Agreement stipulations. The International Crisis Group states that 12,000 passports were issued to foreigners by the ruling party, the Party for Democratic Action (SDA), under Izetbegovic's leadership.<sup>13</sup> These actions were in clear violation of the Dayton Agreement which was signed by Izetbegovic. Some of the mujahidin went to local villages where they married Bosnian women and established autonomous communities ruled by the Islamic Shari'a law.<sup>14</sup> Wahhabi villages such as Bocinja Donja and Gornja Maoca are now governed by Shari'a law. People in those villages conduct their daily lives following Wahhabi ideology with full disregard for Bosnian laws and authority.<sup>15</sup> Those communities are guarded by male inhabitants and no ordinary visitor is permitted access.<sup>16</sup> Journalists who try to enter and report on the situation are physically and verbally attacked.<sup>17</sup> Local police and international forces<sup>18</sup> force their way into

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<sup>10</sup> Dayton Peace Agreement (Presidents & Prime Ministers 5, no. 1, Jan 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *Les Reseaux Transnationaux Islamique En Bosnie-Herzegovine*, in *Le Nouvel Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans, Acteurs Du Post-Communism 1990-2000* ed Xavier Bougarel and Nathalie Clayer (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), 449.

<sup>12</sup> Karmen Erjavec, *The "Bosnian War on Terrorism"*, (Journal of Language & Politics 8, no. 1, 2009), 11.

<sup>13</sup> The International Crisis Group, *Bin Laden And The Balkans: The Politics Of Anti-Terrorism* (ICG Balkans Report N° 119, 9 Nov 2001) last accessed 26 Apr 2015  
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/Balkans%202.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *Les Reseaux Transnationaux Islamique En Bosnie-Herzegovine*, in *Le Nouvel Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans, Acteurs Du Post-Communism 1990-2000* ed Xavier Bougarel and Nathalie Clayer (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), 449

<sup>15</sup> Birnidžara Ahmetašević, "Emissaries of Militant Islam Make Headway in Bosnia," B92 Opinions and Analyses, modified 22 March 2007 [http://www.b92.net/eng/insight/opinions.php?nav\\_id=40280](http://www.b92.net/eng/insight/opinions.php?nav_id=40280)

<sup>16</sup> *Bosnian Wahhabis Said Storing Arms in Abandoned Underground Depot - Serb Report* (BBC Monitoring European, Feb 11, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> Lejla Mazlic, *Group of journalists attacked in Gornja Maoca* ( Human Rights House Network) Modified on 4 February 2010. <http://humanrightshouse.org/Articles/13288.html>

villages but even they are subjected to verbal harassment and physical threats. Their vehicles are often vandalized and their tires get slashed.<sup>19</sup>

The signs that radical militant Islamist were present in Bosnia materialized almost immediately after the war, but those incidents were either ignored or not considered as a reflection of radicalism. The international community considered them of little importance and viewed them as isolated incidents despite making an effort to stop militant activity. In 1996, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) soldiers raided an Iranian sponsored terrorist training camp on mountain Pogorelica.<sup>20</sup> At the training camp, plans to attack NATO installations were discovered. The camp was staffed by Iranian instructors and the commandant of the camp was Alija Izetbegovic's personal intelligence chief.<sup>21</sup> Another connection between Bosnia and militant Islamic radicals was Al-Qa'eda veteran, Abu Hajer al-Iraqi. He was indicted for bombing of two USA embassies in Africa in August 1998 and responsible for death of 400 people. He had a Bosnian visa and visited Bosnia for three days only weeks prior to the bombing. It is largely speculated that he was refining his attack plan while in Bosnia.<sup>22</sup> Another Bosnian mujahidin, "Juma al-Dosari, was involved in the June 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Riyadh which killed sixteen US citizens."<sup>23</sup> In December 1999, a former Bosnian mujahidin, Ahmed Ressam, was arrested at the border between Canada and the USA with explosives that were to be used to bomb Los Angeles airport. This plot is known as the Millennium bomb plot.

<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey R. Smith, *Village's Ties to Terrorism Worry West: Mujaheddin Become Bosnians by Marrying Local War Widows* (The Gazette, Mar 12, 2000).

<sup>19</sup> Lejla Mazlic, *Group of journalists attacked in Gornja Maoca* (Human Rights House Network) Modified on 4 February 2010. <http://humanrightshouse.org/Articles/13288.html>

<sup>20</sup> Bagherzadeh, Alireza. *L'ingerence iraniene en Bosnie-Herzegovine*, in *Le Nouvel Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans, Acteurs Du Post-Communism 1990-2000* ed Bougarel, Xavier and Nathalie Clayer (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Gordon N. Bardos, The Balkans: Militant Islamism's New Front (*Jerusalem Post*, Aug 21, 2012).

<sup>22</sup> Brendan O'Neill, Don't Blame the Neocons (*The Spectator*, Aug 27, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Gordon N. Bardos, The Balkans: Militant Islamism's New Front (*Jerusalem Post*, Aug 21, 2012).

His collaborator, Karim Said Atmani, was a resident of the Bosnian Wahhabi village of Bocinja Donja.<sup>24</sup> Former Bosnian mujahidin, Mohammed al-Ahdal, admitted to planning a successful attack on the *USS Cole* in Aden Harbor in 2000, which killed seventeen USA servicemen and damaged the French oil tanker *Limburg* off the coast of Yemen.<sup>25</sup> Even Bin Laden himself spent time in Bosnia in Alija Izetbegovic's company and had a Bosnian passport. Osama Bin Laden was seen and identified by a journalist for German *Der Spiegel*, Renate Flottau<sup>26</sup> and *London Times* reporter Eve-Ann Prentice in Izetbegovic's office.<sup>27</sup> However, Alija Izebegovic never publicly admitted that he hosted Bin Laden but instead said that many Islamic figures visited him during the war, but he did not remember most of them, including Bin Laden.

Prior to 9/11 attacks, the USA administration attempted to exert pressure on President Izetbegovic to expel foreign fighters and revoke citizenships, but Izetbegovic refused. It was only when the USA would threaten to cut off all economic aid that he complied, but only for short period of time. Those who were expelled were seen back in Bosnia moving freely within a year. *Los Angeles Times* reported that "...after the U.S. went a step further and threatened to stop all economic aid, Izetbegovic agreed to deport El Maali. But the Algerian was back in Bosnia within a year."<sup>28</sup> However, following 9/11, the USA was much more assertive and forced Bosnia to revoke suspicious citizenships. This pressure cumulated in Bosnia establishing "...the BH State Commission for the Revision of Decisions on Naturalization of Foreign Citizens (hereafter

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Martin Bright, *Terror Suspect Admits Yemen Plot* (The Observer, Dec 14, 2003). .

<sup>26</sup> John R. Schindler, *Unholy Terror : Bosnia, Al-Qa'Ida, and the Rise of Global Jihad* (St. Paul: Zenith Press, 2007), 123-125.

<sup>27</sup> International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 3 Feb 2006 last accessed 27 April 2015 [http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan\\_milosevic/trans/en/060203IT.htm](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/trans/en/060203IT.htm) 47950

<sup>28</sup> Craig Pyes, Josh Meyer and William C. Rempel, *Bosnia Seen as Hospitable Base and Sanctuary for Terrorists* (Los Angeles Times, 7 Oct 2001), last accessed 28 April 2015. <http://articles.latimes.com/2001/oct/07/news/mn-54505>

Commission) [which ] is tasked with reviewing the status of citizens who were granted Bosnian citizenship between April 6, 1992 and January 1, 2006,”<sup>29</sup> in November 2005. This commission revoked over 1,100 Bosnian citizenships that were issued to foreigners. The work of commission was met with protests and heated debates in Bosnian media and society. It was perceived as anti-Muslim and anti-Arab, and being unappreciative of the assistance that those foreigners provided during the war. To show that the country was not supporting terrorists, but was working with international community to uproot terrorists, Bosnia handed over six Algerians who were suspected of planning attacks on U.S. and UK embassies, to the U.S. in February of 2002. The extradition of Algerians was met with severe opposition in Bosnia especially since the men were imprisoned in Guantanamo Bay in Cuba without charges.<sup>30</sup> In 2008, five of the six Algerians were released by the USA and three who had Bosnian citizenship returned to Bosnia.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the temporary pressure after 9/11 to control and extradite foreign fighters and their ideologies from Bosnia, they continued to influence Bosnian society and world events. Bosnian mujahidin, Omar Saeed Sheik, was involved in the beheading of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl in February 2002. On Christmas Eve 2002, Muamer Topalovic, a Bosnian Muslim, killed in cold blood three members of a Croatian family in Bosnian town of Konjic. The family had recently returned to their pre-war home. They were killed because of their Croatian ethnicity and for returning. The murderer admitted that his motivation for killings was religious.<sup>32</sup> He was part of a Wahhabi sect. The alleged mastermind of the Madrid 2004

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<sup>29</sup> Karmen Erjavec, *The “Bosnian War on Terrorism”*, (Journal of Language & Politics 8, no. 1, 2009), 5.

<sup>30</sup> Filip Verhoest, *Legal Proceedings Instituted in Belgium to Obtain Release of ‘Algerian Six’* (BBC Monitoring European, 22 Nov 2006).

<sup>31</sup> G. Leko. Bosnian review body head says Algerian group members stripped of citizenship (BBC Monitoring European [London], 27 Nov 2008).

<sup>32</sup> *Bosnian Muslim Sentenced to 35 Years in Prison for Murder of Croat Family* (BBC Monitoring European - Political, Mar 13, 2003).

bombings,<sup>33</sup> along with some of his comrades, were trained in Bosnian military camps.<sup>34</sup> Italian and Croatian police arrested five Bosniaks for allegedly planning to bomb Pope John Paul II's funeral in 2005.<sup>35</sup> In another incident in February 2006, a young Bosniak cut his mother's throat because she did not want to pray with him. After the murder, he went to the Wahhabi mosque and said that he made a sacrifice to God.<sup>36</sup> In 2008, a bomb was placed in a shopping center in the Bosnian town of Vitez that killed a security guard and injured a number of shoppers. It is largely suspected that this was a terrorist act.<sup>37</sup> On 27 June 2010, six militant Islamists attacked a police station in the Bosnian city of Bugonjo, killing one police officer, wounding six and causing substantial damage with the planted explosive device.<sup>38</sup> They conducted the attack "...to intimidate the population, coerce the authorities and destabilize the country,"<sup>39</sup> and acted in the name of religion.<sup>40</sup> On 28 October 2011, a local Bosnian Muslim, Mevlid Jasarevic, attacked the USA embassy in Sarajevo, wounding one police officer. His motivation was to bring to light the plight of Muslims in the Middle East. He was member of a radical Islamist Wahhabi sect<sup>41</sup> and lived in Gornja Maoca for three years.<sup>42</sup> In July 2013, a large illegal arms cache was found in the

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<sup>33</sup> Brendan O'Neill, Don't Blame the Neocons (The Spectator, Aug 27, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> Christopher Deliso. *After Madrid, Terror Leader's "Balkan Map" Worries Italy*, last accessed 25 April 2015, <http://www.balkananalysis.com/blog/2004/03/28/after-madrid-terror-leaders-balkan-map-worries-italy/>.

<sup>35</sup> "Italy, Croatia Jointly Foil Group's Suspected Plan for Attack in Italy – Press ( *BBC Monitoring European*, Aug 26, 2005) last accessed on 25 April 2015.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/459664567?accountid=9867>.

<sup>36</sup> Rusmir Smajilhodzic, *Moderate Bosnian Muslims Fear Extremist Takeover* (National Post, Jun 17, 2006).

<sup>37</sup> *Bosnian Appeals Board Orders Bomb-Attack Suspect's Return to Custody* (BBC Monitoring European, Jan 22, 2009 last accessed on 25 April 2015, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/459562588?accountid=9867>.

<sup>38</sup> *One killed in central Bosnia bombing* (BBC News. 27 June 2010), last accessed 28 April 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/10428626>

<sup>39</sup> Daria Sito-Sucic, *Bosnian court jails Islamist for 45 years over bomb attack* (Reuters, 20 Dec 2013), last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/20/us-bosnia-verdict-attack-idUSBRE9BJ14L20131220>

<sup>40</sup> Daria Sito-Sucic, *Bosnian court jails Islamist for 45 years over bomb attack* (Reuters, 20 Dec 2013), last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/20/us-bosnia-verdict-attack-idUSBRE9BJ14L20131220>

<sup>41</sup> Aida Cerkez, *Sentence cut for Bosnian who attacked US embassy* (Associated Press 20 Nov 2013).

Bosnian town of Tesanj. This arms cache contained over five hundred 84mm grenades for rocket-propelled grenade launchers. According to the reports Tesanj is located in the heart of the territory where foreign mujahedin and their local Bosnian allies operate.<sup>43</sup> According to analysts and local authorities it is "...believed the weapons could have been used for terrorist attacks or provided for use on other jihad fronts."<sup>44</sup>

Along with number of major incidents in Bosnia that are largely attributed to militant Islamist, there are many minor incidents. There are reports of fights in the mosques where ultra conservative Muslims clash with secular Bosniaks. Ordinary citizens who go about their lives are harassed and attacked by Wahhabi followers for presumably being indecent.

Young men and women who were kissing in the street were beaten in Zenica, as well as several dozen girls sunbathing in their bathing suits on the banks of the Bosnia River. Moreover, girls in Brcko, Zenica, and Sarajevo were attacked for being "half naked and shameless," as they were wearing mini skirts while walking around the town. There is speculation that the Wahhabis established a Shari'ah police in the major towns of Bosnia-Herzegovina whose members are touring the favourite hangouts for young people at night, chasing young couples away.<sup>45</sup>

In public places, young people get harassed and attacked for not following certain rules that they do not endorse. Sources in 2008<sup>46</sup> and 2012<sup>47</sup> reported that Wahhabis were paying 100 euros to every new member who joins. This initial joining allowance continues in the form of payments as long as each person is practicing the Wahhabi teachings. Each man is paid 300 euros and

<sup>42</sup> International Business Times, *Bosnia's US Embassy Attacker Apologises for 'Stupid Act'* (International Business Times, 14 Nov 2013).

<sup>43</sup> *Daily Says Large Cache found in Bosnia, Party Official Implicated*, (BBC Monitoring European, Jul 15, 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Gordon N. Bardos. *Exclusive: "Our Goal is Jerusalem" - Militant Islamists in Southeast Europe* (American Center for Democracy 11 Feb 2014) last accessed 2 May 2015. <http://www.ewb.rs/editone.aspx?id=189>.

<sup>45</sup> *Ex-Wahhabi Says Bosnia Under Threat of Islamic Radicals* (BBC Monitoring European, Aug 22, 2006).

<sup>46</sup> *Bosnian Daily Says Muslims Get Money for Membership of Wahhabi Movement*, (BBC Monitoring European, May 3, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> *Bosnians Receive Wages for Joining Wahhabi Movement - Banja Luka Daily*, (BBC Monitoring European, Aug 30, 2008)

“their wives are being offered about 1,000 KM, provided they wear a "nikab" [veil],...”<sup>48</sup> In addition to reports of Wahhabis paying Bosnian people to join their movement, there are reports that they are buying Bosnian land from Croats and Serbs, who left during the war, with aspirations to build Wahhabi villages.<sup>49</sup>

Other incidents that occurred in Bosnia in the last year include a moderate Bosnian Imam, who was attacked seven times for speaking out against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and for advising Muslims not to join the movement. He was physically assaulted with a knife for his sermons.<sup>50</sup> Another Bosnian Imam, Bilal Bosnic, who is a Wahhabi Imam, found himself being prosecuted by Bosnian police for publicly preaching and encouraging people to commit terrorist acts and join ISIS.<sup>51</sup> A Bosniak, Emrah Fojnica executed a suicide mission on 7 August in 2014 in a Bagdad market, killing 24 people and wounding a hundred. Emrah Fojnica came from Gornja Maoci, a Wahhabi village in Bosnia. After Fojnica’s death, his father publicly praised his son’s sacrifice and said that a video of his son’s death will be posted online to inspire others to fight for the caliphate.<sup>52</sup> On 3 September 2014, Bosnian police reported that they arrested sixteen suspected Islamic militants who might have come back from fighting in Syria, or were recruiting for the war in Syria.<sup>53</sup> It is estimated that about 530 fighters from Bosnia went to

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<sup>48</sup> *Bosnians Receive Wages for Joining Wahhabi Movement - Banja Luka Daily*, (BBC Monitoring European, Aug 30, 2008).

<sup>49</sup> S. Misljenovic, *Wahhabis Buying Up Serb Villages With Money From Vienna* (Biyokulule on line, 5 Jan 2012), last accessed 28 Apr 2015 [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=4534](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=4534).

<sup>50</sup> *Bosnian imam attacked 7 times over call to stay out of Syria* (Associated press, Daily Mail, 5 Jan 2015) last accessed on 2 May 2015 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-2897470/Bosnian-imam-attacked-7-times-call-stay-Syria.html>.

<sup>51</sup> *Bosnian imam on trial for recruiting ISIS fighters* (Haaretz, 11 Feb 2015) last accessed on 2 May 2015. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/middle-east-updates/1.641980>.

<sup>52</sup> *Bosanski Kalifat Povratak „svetih ratnika“* (Slobodna Bosna, 22 Aug 2014), last accessed on 2 May 2015. [http://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/15916/bosanski\\_kalifat\\_povratak\\_svetih\\_ratnika.html](http://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/15916/bosanski_kalifat_povratak_svetih_ratnika.html).

<sup>53</sup> Fabiola Sanchez and Joshua Goodman, *16 Suspected Islamic Militants Arrested in Bosnia*, (DBA Associated Press Association, 3 Sept 2014).

fight in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq in last two years.<sup>54</sup> It is estimated that per capita Bosnia has been the largest supplier of foreign fighters to ISIS. There are enough major and minor incidents to merit an investigation into state of radical Islam that appears to be present in Bosnia.

## CHAPTER 2 – THEORIES OF RADICALIZATION

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was marked by the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center Towers in New York and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C.. As a result of the attacks, terrorism, ideological violence and radicalization became popular subjects. Despite extensive interest and research in the topic it is still very challenging to truly identify the reasons for radicalization. In attempting to understand radicalization it is worthwhile to acknowledge that the concept of radicalization is contextual. Something that one person or nation considers radical, might not be regarded as such by others. The common saying that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” leads to conclusions that the radicalization concept is in the “eye of beholder.” One example of this is that most North Americans and Western Europeans would consider the theological governance model of Saudi Arabia radical, but Saudi Arabians consider the Western governance model radical. Western societies favor the separation of the state and religion, while there are places in the world where the state and religion are closely related. The definition of *radical* in the on-line Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines it as “very new and different from what is traditional or ordinary” along with “having extreme political or social views that are not shared by most people.”<sup>55</sup> From this definition, radical can be seen as being

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<sup>54</sup> *Bosnia Serves as Training Camp for Wahhabis Fighting in Afghanistan*, (Expert BBC Monitoring European, 24 May 2013).

different from what is the accepted norm,<sup>56</sup> but it does not necessarily mean that is damaging or unhealthy for society. Radicalism as advocacy is focused on bringing changes and reforms that deviate from the tradition and status quo. It is worth noting that at some point in the past, centrist and liberal parties were considered radical because they deviated what was societally accepted at the time.<sup>57</sup> This chapter will discuss some of theories of the Islamic radicalization process. At the present, Islamic radicalization is not considered to be beneficial to Western society because conservative Islamic values deviate significantly from Western secular societal values. Various radicalization models such as significance-quest, Mogdaddam's staircase to terrorism, Randy Borum's model, conveyor belt and the social movement theory are applied to explain why radicalization occurs. There is also a theory that narrative and discourse play a significant role in the process of radicalization. Despite studies and resources dedicated to radicalization there is no specific model that explains how an individual or society becomes radicalized. This chapter will discuss the definition of radicalization, Islamic radicalization, and some of the radicalization models. The chapter will end with a discussion on narrative and it will identify commonalities in the radicalization process.

The 2004 General Intelligence and Security Service of the Netherlands (AIVD) report describes radicalization as:

The (active) pursuit of and/or support to far-reaching changes in society which may constitute a danger to (the continued existence of) the democratic legal order (aim), which may involve the use of undemocratic methods (means) that may harm the functioning of the democratic legal order (effect).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> An Encyclopedia Britannica Company. Last accessed on 25 April 2015. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/radical>.

<sup>56</sup> Peter R. Neumann, *The Trouble with Radicalization* (International Affairs 89, no. 4, Jul 2013), 876.

<sup>57</sup> European Commission's Expert Group. *Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism*, 5 May 2008. Last accessed on 2 May 2015. [http://www.rikcoolsaet.be/files/art\\_ip\\_wz/Expert%20Group%20Report%20Violent%20Radicalisation%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.rikcoolsaet.be/files/art_ip_wz/Expert%20Group%20Report%20Violent%20Radicalisation%20FINAL.pdf), 5.

The AIVD thus identifies radicalization as a threat to the democratic state because it attempts to undermine its functions by making changes that are not compatible with democratic values. The same report provides a definition of a democratic legal order using the terms vertical and horizontal relation. Vertical relation is relationship that government enjoys with its citizens and horizontal relation is relation between citizens themselves. These two relationships, among other factors, make a democratic system work. In vertical relation, citizens give the ruling government authority to govern the state according to principles that are established by society. These principles and accompanying rules form a democratic legal order system. These principles are constantly evolving as society is changing. The horizontal relation is based on the citizen behavior and their trust in the governing body. The horizontal relation is characterized by expectations and interactions that citizens have between themselves. In a well-functioning democracy citizens will operate and act within existing legal frameworks to solve their grievances. They will not seek alternate means of conflict resolution if they have well-functioning horizontal and vertical relations within their state. If citizens chose to find alternative means to resolve their grievances, they will undermine functioning of a democratic society. The democratic society functions well when there is social trust, social cohesion, solidarity, active citizenship and loyalty within a society.<sup>59</sup> The ways to undermine and challenge democratic society is to introduce antidemocratic radicalism, undemocratic radicalism or radicalism undermining democracy.<sup>60</sup> In a democratic society that values the freedom of speech, religion, self-expression and individuality it is very difficult to control ways that it can be undermined.

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<sup>58</sup> Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. *From Dawa to Jihad: The various Threats from Radical Islam to the Democratic Legal Order*, (The Hauge: General Intelligence and Security Service, 2004). Last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/dawa.pdf>, 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

This allows groups and/or individuals who reside in democratic liberal societies, who do not appreciate and do not support Western democratic values, to work towards undermining the democratic legal order without fear of legal repercussion. This is caveated that they continue to operate within the legal framework. One way to sabotage democracy is to use democratic means to promote an agenda that is not compatible with the principles and values of democratic society, or refuse to use the established legal system by adopting a parallel legal system to resolve civic complaints. An example of this would be workings of Hizb-ut-Tahrir in Australia<sup>61</sup>, who wants to establish an Islamic state through non-violent means.<sup>62</sup> Australian society is not in favor of this agenda. However, as long as Hizb-ut-Tahrir exercises its democratic right of free speech and operates within a democratic framework, Australian options to prevent them from operating are limited.<sup>63</sup>

The degree of radicalization can be defined as “the extent of imbalance between the focal goal served by the extreme behavior and other common ends that people have.”<sup>64</sup> According to Kruglanski et al, a person who supports radical ideas is less radicalized than someone who is actively involved in terrorist activities. In his pyramid model of participation in terrorism, the passive participants who are ordinary supporters of the cause are placed in the bottom of the pyramid. The degree of support and radicalization increases as the pyramid narrows. However, the number of supporters/participants decreases as the pyramid narrows. This means that there

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<sup>61</sup> *About Hizb ut-Tahrir*, (Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia, 1 March 2012), last accessed on 3 May 2015, <http://www.hizb-australia.org/hizb-ut-tahrir/about-us>.

<sup>62</sup> Reissa Su, *Islamist Group Hizb ut-Tahrir in Australia Calls For Army To Replace Government With 'Islamic Caliphate'*, (International Business Times, 20 Jan 2015), last accessed 3 May 2015, <http://au.ibtimes.com/islamist-group-hizb-ut-tahrir-australia-calls-army-replace-government-islamic-caliphate-1413233>.

<sup>63</sup> *Hizb ut-Tahrir: The Islamic extremist group in Tony Abbott's sights*, (News.com.au, 10 Feb 2015), last accessed 3 May 2015 <http://www.news.com.au/national/hizb-ut-tahrir-the-islamic-extremist-group-in-tony-abbotts-sights/story-fncynjr2-1227214935992>.

<sup>64</sup> Arie W. Kruglanski et al., *The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism*, (Political Psychology, 2 Feb 2014), 71.

are much fewer of those who are completely focused on pursuing the focal goal at the top of pyramid than at the bottom. This pyramid model of radicalization illustrates that there is only a small number of those who are fully focused on the pursuit of an idea/ideal, and those who become highly radicalized come from a large pool of potential radicals.

## **Radical Islam**

Radical Islam is defined as “The politico-religious pursuit of establishing - if necessary by extreme means - a society which reflects the perceived values from the original sources of Islam as purely as possible.”<sup>65</sup> Radical Islam can be categorized into two groups: violent radicalism and non-violent radicalism. Both groups have an end goal of returning to “Golden Age of Islam” that sees life being led as it was taught and practiced in time of the Prophet Mohammed. The essence of the belief is that if people live the same way as the Prophet then the world will be “perfect”. The final goal is the Islamisation and creation of the Islamic state. To achieve this, some groups turn to *Dawa* and others embrace violence or jihad. *Dawa* is the call to Islam through various teachings and non-violent methods. The radically oriented *Dawa*’s goal is to re-Islamize all Muslims who are influenced by Western ideas, and by extension oppressed by the Western way of life. The teachings promote intolerance towards others, isolation from Western society and encouragement to apply Islamic laws to resolve disputes. This approach undermines democratic legal order.<sup>66</sup> In contrast to peaceful *Dawa*, jihad is the violent struggle between Dar Al Islam, which is “house of Islam,” versus Dar Al Harb, which is “house of the

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<sup>65</sup> Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. *From Dawa to Jihad: The various Threats from Radical Islam to the Democratic Legal Order*, (The Hauge: General Intelligence and Security Service, 2004). Last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/dawa.pdf>, 7.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

heretical world.” The principle of jihad teaching is that violent struggle will bring about the end of times. At end of times, the apocalypse will occur and the “good” will win over “evil,” bringing the Jihadist martyrs to the enteral paradise and the way will be clear for Islamic dominance.<sup>67</sup> Although, jihad is often associated with violence it does not necessarily need to be violent. Michael Waller, a professor at the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C., identifies various types of jihad to be:

1. The personal spiritual struggle and/or development;
2. The struggle for personal moral improvement. This can include warfare to protect the faith; and
3. The historical phenomena in the holy wars of the past.

Depending on beliefs, jihad can have a non-violent meaning and be a reflection of a personal religious struggle. Although, *Dawa* and Jihad are working towards the same goal of bringing the global Muslim community together under *Ummah*<sup>68</sup> and the re-establishment of the Islamic state, i.e. the Caliphate, they are following different paths to the realization of their goals.<sup>69</sup>

*Dawa* and jihad are fairly overt strategies that are employed by radicals, but radicals also employ clandestine means to accomplish their goals. Islamic radicals infiltrate various Muslim groups and in those groups they search for sympathizers whom they can indoctrinate into radical causes. The radicals employ *Takiyya* which is Islamic principle that allows someone to hide their true religious convictions in order to protect themselves from being persecuted for their religious

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>68</sup> In Islamic thought, "The Ummah" represents a universal world order, ruled by an Islamic government (the Caliph) in accordance with the "Law of God" (the Shariah, Islamic religious law), and patterned after the community founded by Muhammad at Medina. Taken from [http://www.cbn.com/spirituallife/onlinediscipleship/understandingislam/What\\_is\\_the\\_Muslim\\_understanding\\_of\\_Ummah.aspx](http://www.cbn.com/spirituallife/onlinediscipleship/understandingislam/What_is_the_Muslim_understanding_of_Ummah.aspx)

<sup>69</sup> Angela Gendron, *Militant Jihadism: Radicalization, Conversion, Recruitment* (The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Apr 2006). Last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://www.itac.gc.ca/pblctns/pdf/2006-4-eng.pdf,3>.

beliefs, or to deceive and gain advantage over the enemy of Islam.<sup>70</sup> Islamic radicals perceive *Dawa* and *Taqiyya* as an obligation to spread Islam. The relatively small but visible number of Islamic radicals have caused security worries and provoked reactions from Western societies who are concerned about their safety. Mieke van Dijk and Edien Bartels found that people in the Western societies are very concerned with

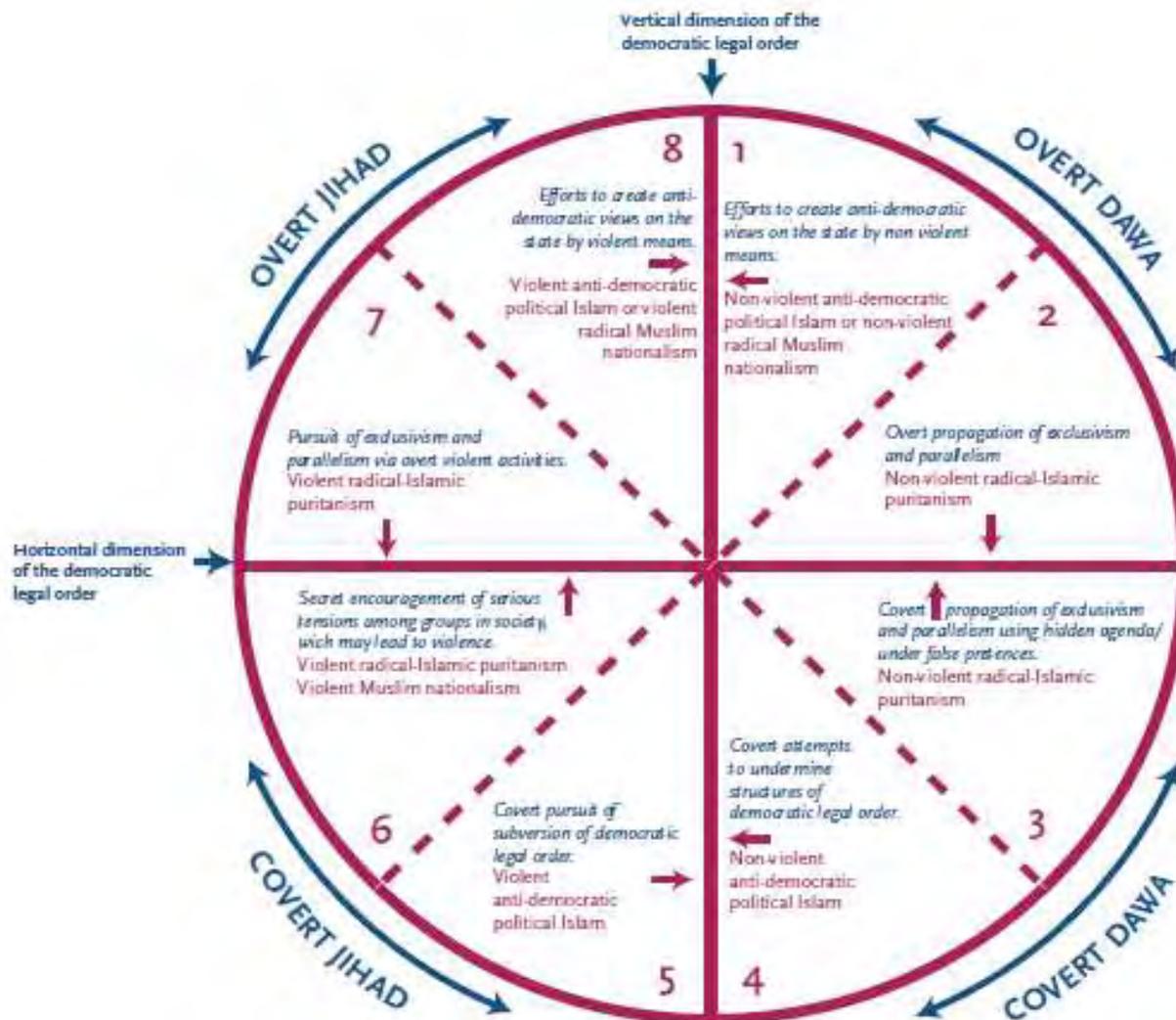
...the future of Western democracy and the fear of it being jeopardized by the religious convictions and activism of Muslim citizens. This fear is primarily informed by the assumption that Muslims are supposed to attach more authority to Islamic shar'iah law than to human law and the voice of the people.<sup>71</sup>

People in Western society are afraid and worried that their way of life will be forcibly changed because of Islamic radicals. The threats that can arise from *Dawa* and jihad in a democratic society are illustrated in Dutch Intelligence. The Figure 1.1 illustrates how *Dawa* and jihad function at different levels in a democratic society.

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<sup>70</sup> Raymond Ibrahim, *How Taqiyya Alters Islam's Rules of War Defeating Jihadist Terrorism* (Middle East Forum, Winter 2010) last accessed on 3 May 2015, <http://www.meforum.org/2538/taqiyya-islam-rules-of-war>.

<sup>71</sup> Van Dijk, Mieke and Edien Bartels. "“European Islam” in Practice—in the Bosnian City of Sarajevo." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 32, no. 4 (12, 2012), 468.



**Figure 1.1 - Eight types of threat from Radical Islam**

Source: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. "From Dawa to Jihad: The various Threats from Radical Islam to the Democratic Legal Order" The Hague: General Intelligence and Security Service, 2004. Last accessed 3 May 2015, <http://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/dawa.pdf>, 36.

The Canadian Center for Intelligence and Security Issues, notes that a common feature of revivalist movements is that they are oriented towards anti-intellectualism, which results in

greater willingness to accept dogma and fideism. This anti-intellectualism usually stems from the limited knowledge of charismatic leaders who discourage educational debate on religious subjects<sup>72</sup> and do not accept the concept that some teachings can be interpreted differently. Revivalist movements adopt one ideology and refuse to acknowledge other intellectual approaches. An example of this is that in radical circles those Muslims who do not support radical Islamic ideology are labeled as non-believers and traitors. In radical circles there is no discussion on ideology as everything is taken at face value.<sup>73</sup>

### **Models and Means to Radicalization**

The radicalization experts and academic community are divided on the issue of whether the path to violent radicalization is more of an individual or collective process. Professor McCauley states that those who engage in terrorist actions do not have any specific pathology that identifies them as potential terrorists. Violent radicals are not psychopaths or irrational people, but they do feel insulted, frustrated and marginalized. Potential violent radicals are created slowly through indoctrination into the cause. They are not uneducated and disadvantaged but they do feel that they are the target of some societal injustice.<sup>74</sup> Professor Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalkenko who work at the National Consortium for Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism in the USA, identified eleven ways in which a person can be radicalized

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<sup>72</sup> Angela Gendron, *Militant Jihadism: Radicalization, Conversion, Recruitment* (The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Apr 2006). Last accessed 3 May 2015. <http://www.itac.gc.ca/pblctns/pdf/2006-4-eng.pdf>,4.

<sup>73</sup> Article what ISIS really wants in Atlantic. <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

<sup>74</sup> McCauley, Clark. *Chapter 2: Psychological Issues in Understanding Terrorism and the Response to Terrorism.* In , 13-31: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2006.

through individual, group, or mass means. Their findings are shown in Table 1.1 – Pathways to Violence.<sup>75</sup>

**Table 1.1 - Pathways to Violence**

**Table 1.** Pathways to violence: Mechanisms of political radicalization at individual, group, and mass-public levels

Level of radicalization	Mechanism
Individual	1. Personal victimization
	2. Political grievance
	3. Joining a radical group—the slippery slope
	4. Joining a radical group—the power of love
	5. Extremity shift in like-minded groups
Group	6. Extreme cohesion under isolation and threat
	7. Competition for the same base of support
	8. Competition with state power—condensation
	9. Within-group competition—fissioning
Mass	10. Jujitsu politics
	11. Hate
	12. Martyrdom

Source: Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko. Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09546550802073367> 418.

These pathways to violence are not all inclusive ways that someone becomes radical or violent. The table demonstrates that there are many factors that influence the radicalization process, which spans from individual reasons to group and mass influences. The reasons for individual radicalization usually arise from a variety of personal reasons, such as personal victimization or system grievance. A person who feels unjustly treated seeks sympathizers in a support group.

<sup>75</sup> Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko. Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09546550802073367> Pg 418

Once someone is part of a group, group dynamics come into play to further radicalize a person. The group becomes influenced by their own ideologies, internal workings and outside influences. The mass radicalization occurs when all elements come together to create a discourse that only way to defeat the enemy is through violence. Governments, think tanks and academics expend much effort to understand the causes, evolution and connections between radicalization, violence and terrorism, but despite their efforts there are no concrete answers. The concepts are interrelated and sometimes mutually supporting but having one does not mean that the others will materialize.

### **Significance-Quest Model of Radicalization**

Kruglanski et al, introduced a radicalization model that is based on the quest for personal significance. He and his team argue that the root motivator for someone to engage in extreme behavior is the quest for personal significance, regardless of what the surface reason might appear to be.<sup>76</sup> This radicalization process takes time and moves through various stages. At its base this process requires presences of the three following elements:

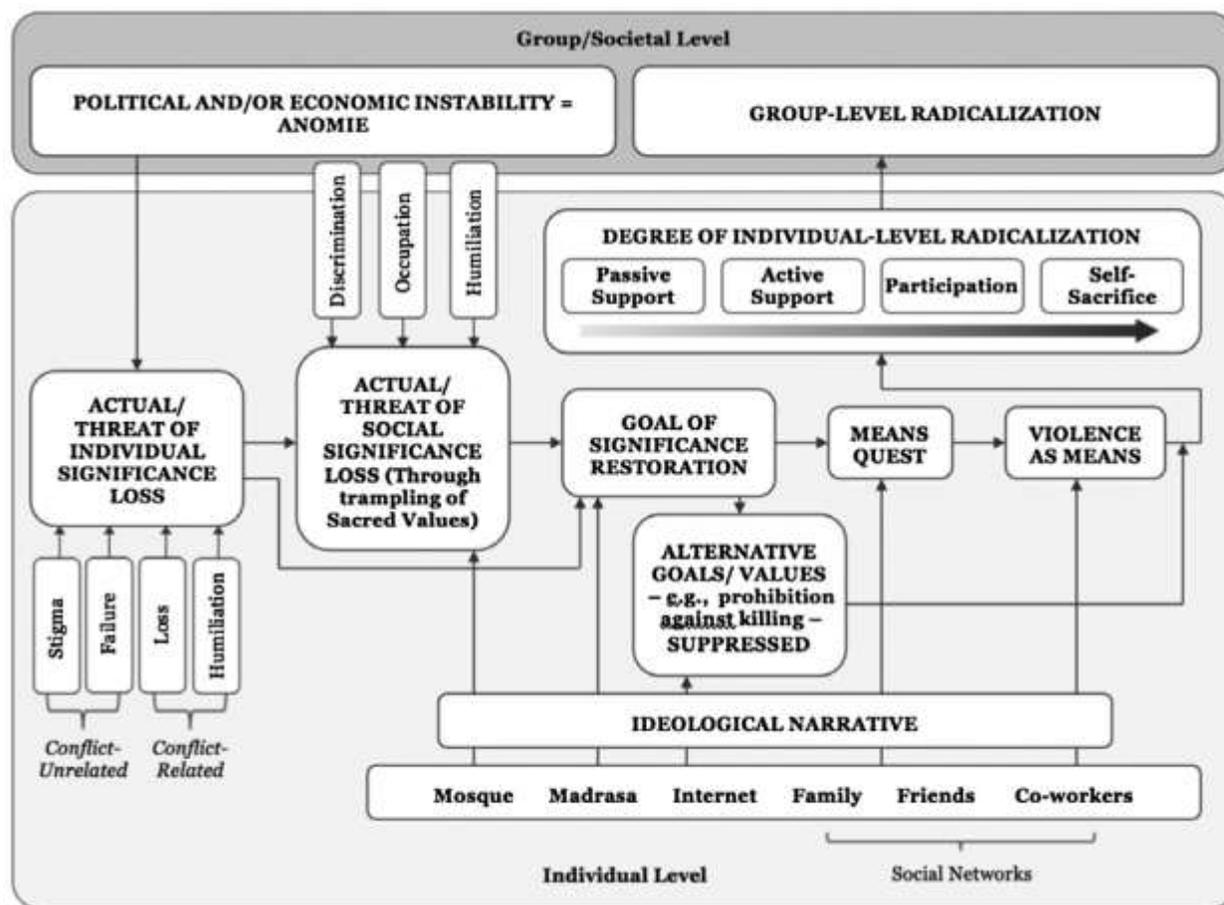
1. The motivational element. This is the quest for personal significance that defines the goal of one's activity;
2. The ideology. This is a belief system that identifies the means of accomplishing goal. This supports gain of significance; and

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<sup>76</sup> Arie W. Kruglanski et al., *The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism*, (Political Psychology, 2 Feb 2014).

3. The social process. This is the social networking and group dynamics that introduces and indoctrinates someone into the ideology.<sup>77</sup>

The graphic illustration of Kruglanski et al's radicalization model is shown in Figure 1.2.



**Figure 1.2 - A Significance-Quest Model of Radicalization**

Source: Arie W. Kruglanski et al., *The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism*, (Political Psychology, 2 Feb 2014), 79.

This model states that the personal quest for significance is the root motivator in the radicalization process. When someone feels that they are not significant or that they are losing significance they attempt to reverse the process. Someone's pursuit for significance can occur for

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

number of reasons stemming from individual loss or from collective loss, such as economic hardships or destruction that is result of the war. The loss of personal significance can be felt if a person cannot find employment, does not feel that the future will be better, or that they are being discriminated against because of who they are in terms of religion, race, etc. Once the quest for personal significance is aroused, a person will look for means to re-gain significance. This is the stage in the radicalization process where ideologies are influential. Social networks and groups will show how personal significance can be restored through an ideology. As a person becomes indoctrinated into an ideology, their degree of radicalization will depend on the initial grievance and personality. The degree of radicalization can vary from passive supporter to active participant who undertakes self-sacrificing tasks. This radicalization process occurs against the backdrop of unfavorable social conditions such as economic or political instability. Kruglanski et al argue that people who report lower life successes and who feel that their personal significance is not high are more inclined to identify themselves as members of collectivities, such as nation or religion rather than individuals. People who feel that they can influence the outcome of their lives, feel empowered and have more of internal locus of control are much less likely to feel lacking in personal significance. For those who feel that their personal significance is jeopardized and reduced, being active part of an ideological group makes them feel important and empowered. The radical group provides praise, status and recognition to those who show unwavering dedication to the ideology. Radical Islamic ideology promises heaven to those who perish in fight for the ideology and gives them the status of martyr. This recognition and promise is important to those who seek acceptance and meaning. Once a person is indoctrinated and becomes part of the group, group think and group dynamics come to play an important role. The individual becomes part of a collective identity and feels that (s)he has to fully support group

ideology, live by the established set rules and make sacrifices for the collective good. If they do not fully participate, they feel guilty and might feel that their personal significance will be reduced. The threat of reducing personal significance is a strong motivator to continue within the framework of the collective ideology.<sup>78</sup> The *Guardian* states that “Factors such as anger at injustice, moral superiority, a sense of identity and purpose, the promise of adventure, and becoming a hero have all been implicated in case studies of radicalisation.”<sup>79</sup> In essence, this model states that people want to feel important and when they find that their importance is reduced, they will search for ways to regain their importance, prestige or self-significance.

### **Moghaddam’s Staircase to Terrorism and Randy Borum's Four-Stage Model**

Both, Fathali M. Moghaddam, professor at Georgetown University, and Randy Borum, forensic psychologist and associate professor at the University of South Florida, designed models that illustrate how someone becomes a violent radical. Both models are very similar and they portray how a person shifts from having feelings of injustice/depravation to becoming a violent radical willing to commit violence in the name of ideology. Professor Moghaddam’s argument is that those who find themselves on the ground floor of his staircase terrorism model have identified perceived depravation in their life, which can be an egoistical or fraternal form of depravation. Egoistical depravation is one that affects individual standing within a group and fraternal depravation is one that affects group’s standing within the larger society. This reduction in standing can be caused by lack of economical opportunities or by losing social/political

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

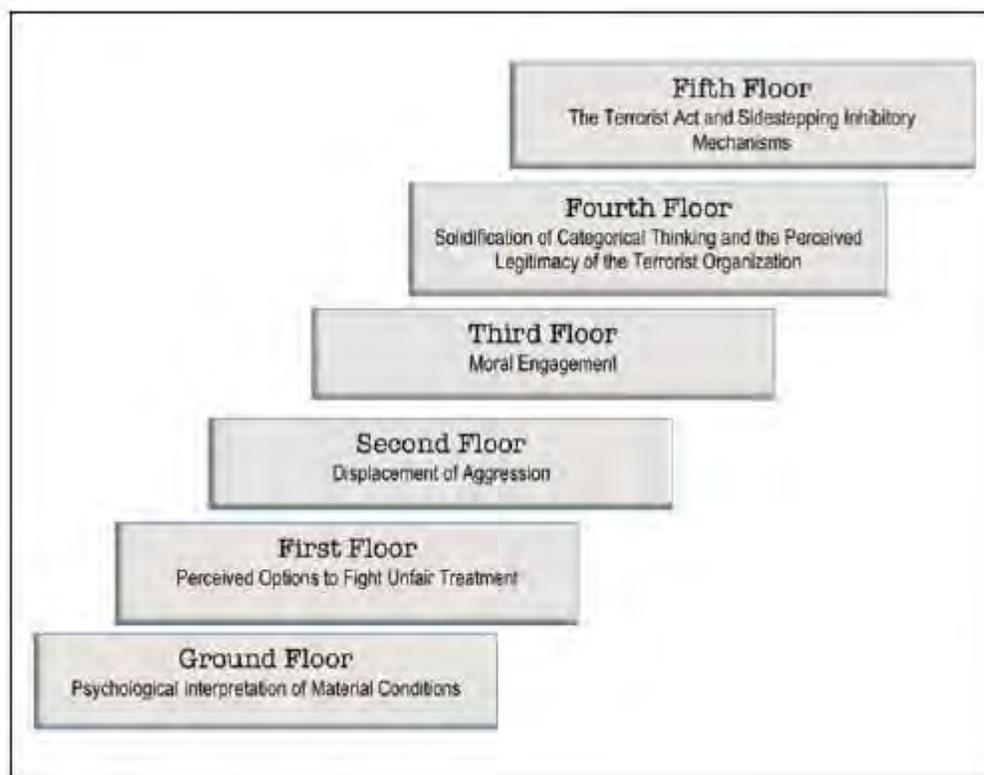
<sup>79</sup> Aly, Anne. “The role of Islam in radicalisation is grossly overestimated .” Australia news, 14 Jan 2015. Last accessed 3 May 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/14/the-role-of-islam-in-radicalisation-is-grossly-overestimated>

influence. It is not the most impoverished or uneducated who feel that they are deprived or that they have lost their standing. It is also not the absolute material conditions that indicate who will find themselves on the ground floor, but rather, the individual's perception of his surroundings that has explanatory value. Randy Borum echoes these observations with his statements on grievance and injustice which are terms that he uses in his model to identify loss of personal significance or standing. People want to have the perception that they have the ability to move through the social hierarchy to improve their economical conditions and to have a perception of procedural justice. Fundamentally, they are searching for fair and just treatment, and opportunities to improve their economic and social standing. If they do not find that perceived justice, they will look for someone/something to blame for the injustice and lack of opportunities, which can lead to misplaced aggression and anger. The cause of injustice is assigned to something/someone and that scapegoat becomes evil. Once the evil institution/person is identified it becomes dehumanized and deserves to be punished in order to resolve the root causes of the perceived grievances/injustices. At this point in person's struggle with injustices/grievances, Moghaddam identifies three important factors that influence outcome:

1. Role of leaders. Group leaders will identify who is to blame for injustices and lack of economic opportunities and provide solutions;
2. Outsiders. Outsiders are a group that is blamed for injustices, grievances and lack of opportunities. The outsiders are ones who are responsible for the situation; and
3. In-group cohesion. In-group cohesion results from the perceived threat that outsiders pose.

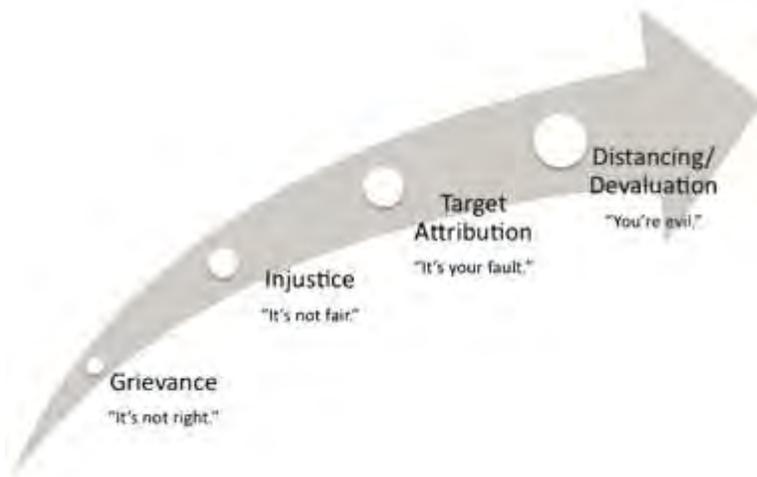
Once there is active misplaced aggression, the ideology and moral engagement manifest themselves and the person is deemed to be fairly engaged in the process of radicalization and on

its way to becoming a violent ideological terrorist. If they continue on this path, they can eventually become fully engaged in terrorist activities. Once they find themselves actively fighting for the ideology, the opportunity to disengage and leave the organization alive is almost non-existent. Modhaddam's staircase model of terrorism is shown in Figure 1.3 and Randy Borum model is shown in Figure 1.4.



**Figure 1.3 - Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism**

Source: Randy Borum. *Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research*, (Journal of Strategic Security 4, no. 4, Nov 2011), 40.



**Figure 1.4 - Randy Borum's Four-Stage Model of the Terrorist Mindset**

Source: Randy Borum. *Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research*, (Journal of Strategic Security 4, no. 4, Nov 2011), 39.

### **Social Movement Theory**

Social Movement Theory (SMT) focuses on understanding the underlying mechanisms of collective action. This theory can be adapted to explain radicalization processes. SMT is used to explain societal changes such as the struggle of African Americans in the USA and other revolutionary movements that occurred in last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Aspect of the theory that can be applied to the radicalization process is the SMT's struggle to change society because of injustices/grievances. Wiktorowicz states that social movements were mechanism for alleviating

psychological discomfort caused by the structural restraints.<sup>80</sup> The masses would collectively mobilize to demand changes that they perceived as unjust. Zald and McCarthy define a social movement as: "A set of opinions and beliefs in a population, which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society."<sup>81</sup> For someone to participate in a social movement there are two main motivators which are individual preferences and social networking. Passy and Giugni identify four factors that are important in an individual's decision to participate in a social movement. The factors are "...the effectiveness of the action, the risk implied by the action, the behavior of political authorities, and personal availability."<sup>82</sup> If an individual feels that the risk of partaking in a movement is reasonable, they are more likely to join it and support it. A second motivator for joining movement is the social networks that a person has. Those networks can be formal or informal. Formal networks are considered memberships in organizations; whereas informal networks are made up of family, friends and acquaintances. Passy and Giugni argue that those individuals that get introduced to a movement through an informal network are more likely to participate in a movement. Social networks are based on certain commonalities such as culture and experiences, and this can create a certain amount of trust, especially in times of uncertainty. The combination of trust and social network influence provides a person with a greater sense of being able to positively contribute to the movement. Therefore the relationship between the individual desire to participate and social networks is highly correlated.<sup>83</sup> McCarthy and Zald state that "...grievances and discontent may

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<sup>80</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 192.

<sup>81</sup> McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (05, 1977), 1217.

<sup>82</sup> Florence Passy and Marco Giugni. Social Networks and Individual Preferences: Explaining deferential participation in social movements. <http://www3.nd.edu/~dmyers/cbsm/vol2/passy.pdf> Pg 3

<sup>83</sup> Florence Passy and Marco Giugni. Social Networks and Individual Preferences: Explaining deferential participation in social movements. <http://www3.nd.edu/~dmyers/cbsm/vol2/passy.pdf>

be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations.”<sup>84</sup> This statement can be understood that in some cases grievances that are used to create social movements might not necessarily be grievances that require a societal change but that they are manipulated by some actors to make them seem so. The online journal *The Current Analyst* in their article *Drivers of Youth Radicalization in the East Africa* reinforces same concept.

In a way radicalization is ultimately an individual process particularly linked to social networks and personal relationships. In this particular context the role of social networks and group dynamics is critical. Compounding this is the influence of relatives, a neighbour or a charismatic local preacher.<sup>85</sup>

In any process, whether social movement or radicalization, the social network has a great deal of influence because it promulgates ideologies and ideas.

Wiktorowicz analyzed the SMT with respect to Islamic activism and he argues that there are elements of SMT in movements within Islamic activism. The first generation of SMT “... was rooted in functionalism and focused on the structural and psychological causes of mass mobilization...structural strains produce psychological discomfort, which, in turn produces collective action.”<sup>86</sup> He uses example of the Middle East and North Africa when they went through modernization. The goal of modernization was to stimulate economic growth but in the process the local elite adapted many Western practices, such as culture, dress, secularization and language, to name a few. The modernization that occurred within the elite class morphed into a state of culture clash. The rest of society did not change with the affluent class and this created a divide between elites who were seen as having been influenced by Western practices. These

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<sup>84</sup> McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (05, 1977), 1215.

<sup>85</sup> The Current Analyst (online journal). Article Drivers of youth radicalization in the East Africa <http://currentanalyst.com/index.php/conflictsregional/165-drivers-of-youth-radicalization-in-east-africa>

<sup>86</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 191.

Western practices were not welcomed and were seen as threat to the existing culture and society. The rapid socio-economic transformation in the Middle East cities saw many people moving from rural areas to the cities in search of economic prosperity. Newcomers in the Arab cities experienced economic hardship, suffered a reduction in their standard of living and had no influence in the political and social domain. The large influx of people in the cities increased unemployment rate and demand for goods which in turn increased prices. This situation marginalized many people.<sup>87</sup> Economic hardship combined with exclusion from political power in the cities led to the perception that the local culture and identity were being attacked and undermined by the West. Western ways were easily observed in the cities and they became scapegoats for hardship. Wiktorowicz argues that those regimes that were seen as cooperating with Western governments are considered as puppets of the West and corrupt.<sup>88</sup> This led to the creation of mass movements that are very anti-Western, which blame the West and Muslim disunity for economic and standard of life decline. According to the General Intelligence and Security Service of the Netherlands (AIVD) report radical Islamists use the following explanations to rationalize the world's problems:

1. Radical caliphatism. The root of this grievance is the political power of the West and the influence that it has in the world. Radicals believe that it should be replaced by the political power of Islam to make the world a better place;
2. Radical-Islamic puritanism. This is the notion that Western lifestyle is a threat to pure Islam and it should be rejected. This also encompasses the duty to convert non-believers to Islam; and

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<sup>87</sup> Khashan, Hilal. "The Curse of Underdevelopment and the Radicalization of the Arab City." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 1 (Fall, 2010): 7-18.

<sup>88</sup> McCauley, Clark. "Chapter 2: Psychological Issues in Understanding Terrorism and the Response to Terrorism." In , 13-31: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2006. 18.

3. Radical Muslim nationalism/communitarianism. This is the concept that all Muslims in the world should be united in their solidarity.<sup>89</sup>

The social movements identify collective problem, those who are responsible for it and offer solution to the societal problem. The movement provides rationale to motivate collective action of people.<sup>90</sup> By properly framing a grievance, the social movements are able to generate mass support for the social cause and demand societal changes.

### **The Narrative in Islamic Radicalization**

The narrative or discourse, although it does not provide a model for radicalization, is very important in the process of radicalization. The power of words and images in shaping people's opinions are immeasurable. Michael Waller<sup>91</sup> argues that words and ideas which are in fact narratives have significant power in the process of radicalization.

When discussing Islamic radicalization, the discourse that is often used by those who want to move the masses and gain support is the promotion of anti-Western sentiment. This narrative identifies the West as an enemy that has been conspiring and fighting against Islam since time of the Christian crusades. Images that show the suffering of Muslims across the world are widely distributed and Muslim suffering is solely blamed on the West and its policies. The Bosnian war was marketed to the Islamic world as the slaughter of white European Muslims by its Christian neighbors, while rest of the Christian world supported the slaughter.<sup>92</sup> The images

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<sup>89</sup> From Dawa to Jihad The various threats from radical Islam to the democratic legal order  
<http://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/dawa.pdf> pg 21

<sup>90</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 202.

<sup>91</sup> J. Michael Waller. Fighting the War of Ideas like a Real War.  
[http://jmw.typepad.com/political\\_warfare/files/War\\_of\\_Ideas\\_Waller.pdf](http://jmw.typepad.com/political_warfare/files/War_of_Ideas_Waller.pdf)

around the world on “...Arabic-language satellite TV channels saturate viewers with ceaseless, bloody images of maimed and slain Iraqi children and grandparents, cut down and blasted apart either by the day’s bombings or Coalition operations.”<sup>93</sup> These images show the unnecessary suffering and pain of those who are the most vulnerable and unprotected in the conflicts. Once the images are shown, the reasons for conflict are forgotten and people are left with images of innocent hurt and suffering. The feelings of anger and injustice are triggered. This leads to people wanting to correct injustice and the West is offered up as a scapegoat. The solution to end suffering is to adopt the “Islam is the solution” strategy that is often heard in discourse.<sup>94</sup> This strategy creates a divide between Western and Muslim societies because the discourse is that the two cannot co-exist. Michael Waller argues that the West does not conduct an effective media campaign to explain or send its own media messages or create its own narrative. This lack of engagement in discourse allows for anti-West narrative to be accepted as the truth. When Muslim people are told that the West is on mission “...to weaken Muslim societies for economic, political, and military purposes,”<sup>95</sup> and to start war with Muslims, people get motivated to protect themselves and believe the rationality of the presented narrative/discourse.

Marc Sageman who is a former operations officer at the Central Intelligence Agency in the USA, concluded that narrative has a significant impact on the radicalization process. He came to his conclusion after interviewing 500 radical Muslims. His findings on radicalization are as follows:

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<sup>92</sup> Azeem Ibrahim, Tackling Muslim Radicalization: Lessons from Scotland, <http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ispu%20-%20radicalization%20report.pdf> pg 8

<sup>93</sup> J. Michael Waller. Fighting the War of Ideas like a Real War. [http://jmw.typepad.com/political\\_warfare/files/War\\_of\\_Ideas\\_Waller.pdf](http://jmw.typepad.com/political_warfare/files/War_of_Ideas_Waller.pdf) Pg 13

<sup>94</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 204.

<sup>95</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 203.

1. It is sparked when the individual reacts with moral outrage to stories of Muslims suffering around the world;
2. For some, that spark is inflamed by an interpretation that explains such suffering in the context of consistent policies in Western countries that are viewed as hostile to Muslims around the world;
3. The ensuing resentment is fuelled by negative personal experiences in Western countries (e.g., discrimination, inequality, or just an inability to get on despite good qualifications); and
4. The individual joins a terrorist network that becomes like a second family, albeit one closed to the outside world. This situation stokes the radical worldview and prepares the initiate for action and, in some cases, martyrdom.<sup>96</sup>

The importance of narrative cannot be underestimated as it is one of the most engaging tools that radicals have at their disposal. Once there are conditions that cause people to feel insignificant the narrative can provide explanations and ways to improve someone's situation.

The discourse is very easily transmitted across the globe through various means of communication. The spread of narrative is easy due to communication technology that allows messages to reach even the most isolated people.<sup>97</sup> Usually narrative is adapted to its audiences and it is communicated through various means such as internet, magazines, social networks, personal networks, digital media, mosques and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), to name a few. An example of narrative adaptability to its audience is Susan Currie Sivek's study where she analyzed Al Qaeda digital magazine, *Inspire*, and found that it adapted its language and style to appeal to gullible people in the West.<sup>98</sup> Information can be easily made accessible, adaptable to certain audiences, and distributed using technology. The transmission of a message can occur very quickly with almost no associated cost due to the technology.

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<sup>96</sup> <http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ispu%20-%20radicalization%20report.pdf>

<sup>97</sup> Archetti, Cristina. "Constructing the Al-Qaida Narrative: Media and Communication in the Radicalization Process." *Conference Papers -- International Studies Association* (2010).

<sup>98</sup> Sivek, Susan Currie. "Packaging Inspiration: Al Qaeda's Digital Magazine *Inspire* in the Self-Radicalization Process." *International Journal of Communication (19328036)* 7, (01, 2013): 584-606.

The transmission of discourse to Muslims is also facilitated through mosques. It is an ideal place to spread messages because people are inclined to believe what their religious leaders are preaching and they trust their mosque-going peers. It is also where personal networks are established. Islamic NGOs play a significant role in the establishment of narrative. Their message “Islam is the solution” can be very appealing when it is associated with the provision of basic goods and services, such as food, medical care and education.<sup>99</sup>

Zeyno Baran, an American-Turkish scholar and senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, argues in her conveyor belt theory that some religious organizations set conditions for violent radicalization by their teachings. This theory is based on the fact that groups such as Hiz ut-Tahrir (HT), also known as Party of Liberation, do not openly support violence to achieve its ends, but they covertly encourage violence by supporting radical ideas. Baran argues that this leads to organizations such as HT to act as a conveyor belt to produce violent radicals. She explains how this particular group is active in a number of countries with the goal of uniting all Muslims in an Islamic state. The group is appealing to many Muslims because it does not discriminate by ethnicity, skin color, or nationality, as it only wants to unite all Muslims, regardless of who or where they are. Baran splits group’s strategy into three stages:

1. Build a party and indoctrinate its members into the ideology.
2. Create tension between the government and its people. The idea is to create enough momentum for people to start demanding changes that reflect those of HT ideology. Once this tension is created, society will be ready for the Islamic state. “When the second stage is complete, the ground will supposedly be ripe for an Islamic revolution

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<sup>99</sup> Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (11, 2002), 197.

to establish a state ruled by Sharia.”<sup>100</sup> This stage is about undermining democracy and democratic legal processes to create tension within society.

3. The Islamic state will be created under Shari’a law. This transition will occur peacefully. The goal of the HT is to indoctrinate key officials into their ideology and penetrate key government offices. This will bring key officials and offices under HT’s influence. Once society is prepared and ready for social change, those officials will non-violently transition and create an Islamic state.

This group does not subscribe to violence and their work is conducted through political means. They are not too concerned with recruiting foot soldiers but they want to reach supporters who are in influential positions in the society. The idea is that these supporters will facilitate regime change. Liberal democratic societies cannot prohibit HT and similar groups from operating in their societies because HT is not promoting violence or conducting any illegal activities. Zeyno Baran identifies that HT it is very apt at using modern communication means and networks to disseminate its ideology and discourse which is very anti-western.<sup>101</sup>

### **Radicalization Foundations**

The short and brief overview of radicalization theories and means identified that personal insignificance/grievances/injustices, which are rooted in lack of economic prospects, are one of reasons for radicalization. The failure or inability of the state to deal with those grievances is considered as one of the causes of radicalization. People want injustices to be dealt with in a just

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<sup>100</sup> Baran, Zeyno. "Fighting the War of Ideas." *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 6 (Nov, 2005), 4.

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.hizb-australia.org/hizb-ut-tahrir/about-us>

and fair manner. Those injustices can appear in many forms, ranging from the lack of economic prospects to not being able to participate in the social and political domain. The online journal *The Current Analyst* in their article *Drivers of Youth Radicalization in the East Africa* offers its observations on radicalization causes:

Radicalization has continued to spread, building both on the economic decline, violent conflicts and lack of strong and legitimate states. It is also argued that the strength of political Islam...lies in its ability to address the needs of certain groups that have been marginalized by both political processes and resource conflicts.<sup>102</sup>

The journal further expands on its observation to conclude that causes for people to become receptive to radical ideologies and embark on the radicalization path are:

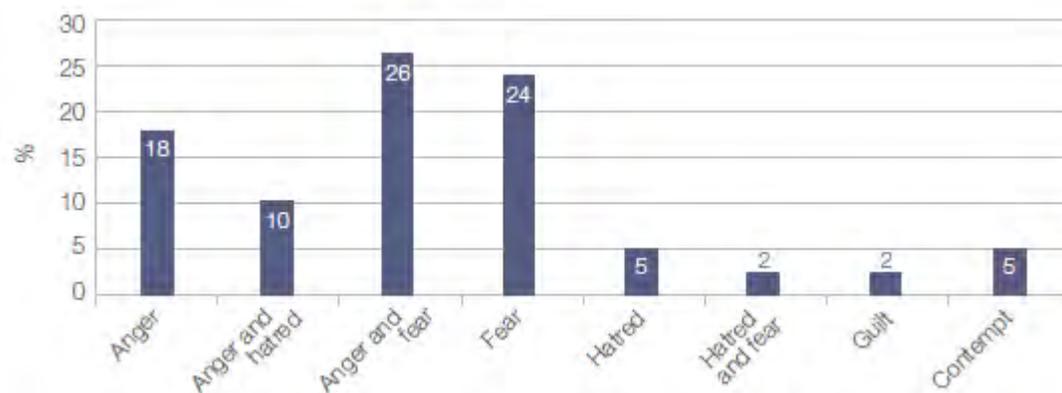
1. The crisis of the states or its complete absence;
2. The bankruptcy of modern ideologies;
3. The lack of strong institutions and social service delivery; and
4. International connectedness.<sup>103</sup>

Studies of African countries such as Nigeria and Somalia offer some insight into reasons for Islamic radicalization. Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile, in their study of recruitment for Al-Shabaab, a militant Islamic group in Somalia, found that most people join Al-Shabaab due to anger, fear, and economic reasons. Figures 1.5 and 1.6 show their findings.

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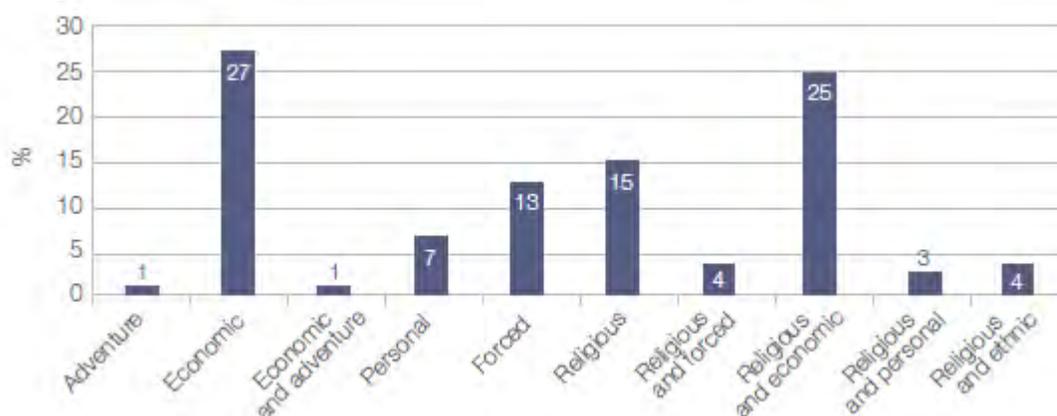
<sup>102</sup> The Current Analyst (online journal). Article Drivers of youth radicalization in the East Africa <http://currentanalyst.com/index.php/conflictsregional/165-drivers-of-youth-radicalization-in-east-africa>

<sup>103</sup> The Current Analyst (online journal). Article Drivers of youth radicalization in the East Africa <http://currentanalyst.com/index.php/conflictsregional/165-drivers-of-youth-radicalization-in-east-africa>



**Figure 1.5 - Emotion Associated with Joining Al-Shabaab<sup>104</sup>**

Source: Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile. Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia.  
<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper266.pdf> pg 4



**Figure 1.6 - Interviewees' Reasons for Joining Al-Shabaab<sup>105</sup>**

Source: Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile. Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia.  
<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper266.pdf> pg 5

<sup>104</sup> Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile. Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia.  
<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper266.pdf> pg 4

<sup>105</sup> Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile. Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia.  
<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper266.pdf> pg 5

Figures 1.5 and 1.6 show that the main reasons for joining a radical group is the failure of the state to provide for its people. This is echoed by the situation in Pakistan as well. Khurshid Khan and Afifa Kiran, researchers at the Islamabad National Defence University, argue that the difficulties that Pakistan has with Islamic radicalization, extremism and terrorism stems from a number of factors such as "...social insecurities, religious disharmony, fragmented and unjust society, failing economy, directionless education system, political turmoil and a dysfunctional government..."<sup>106</sup> Despite listing a number of factors that are responsible for Pakistan's difficulties, they point out that a major factor that is driving people to radical ideas is the state of the economy. Donatella Della Porta and Gary LaFree reinforce the concept that radicalization has many levels and that radicalization should be considered within economic, social and political framework. According to them, the attention is usually focused on radical groups or individuals, but their actions are usually the "...result of larger conflict and societal and political conditions."<sup>107</sup>

This brief overview of radicalization causes and processes draws conclusion that radicalization is a complex, intertwined and multi-leveled phenomenon. There is no definite model that demonstrates how radicalization occurs. It can however be concluded that poor economy, corrupt inefficient governments and narratives contribute significantly to thrust people to embrace radical ideologies.

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<sup>106</sup> Khan, Khurshid and Afifa Kiran. "Emerging Tendencies of Radicalization in Pakistan: A Proposed Counter-Radicalization Strategy." *Strategic Studies* 32, no. 2 (09, 2012), 20.

<sup>107</sup> Porta, Donatella Della and Gary LaFree. *Guest Editorial: Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization*. Vol. 6 Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict & Violence, 2012, pg 7.

## CHAPTER 3 – BOSNIA

### Brief History of Islam in Bosnia

Islam has a long history in Bosnia and Balkans. It was introduced to the Bosnian region in the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the Ottoman conquests. The history of Islam in Bosnia can be divided into six distinctive segments:

1. The Ottoman Empire rule from 1463 to 1878;
2. The Habsburg or Austria-Hungary Empire rule from 1876 to 1918;
3. The period of the First Yugoslavia, called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from 1918 to 1941;
4. The Second World War;
5. The period of the Second Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1990; and
6. The post-Yugoslavia period.<sup>108</sup>

When the Ottoman Empire arrived in Bosnia there were three religious groups of people in the region. They were Bogomils, Roman Catholic Christians and Serbian Orthodox Christians. It is highly contested whether the indigenous people in Bosnia were forced to convert to Islam by the Ottomans or if they did it voluntary. The fact that Muslims were privileged, educated, placed in positions of authority and enjoyed great economic prosperity under the Ottoman Empire it is not contested. Religion was major determinant of status in the Ottoman Empire, which allowed Muslims in Bosnia to enjoy much greater prosperity and privileges over non-Muslims. Non-Muslims were obliged to pay hefty taxes and levies which impacted their economic prosperity.<sup>109</sup>

The Ottomans used an administrative system called *millet*s, which were self-governing

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<sup>108</sup> Sancaktar, Caner. "Historical Construction and Development of Bosniak Nation." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2012, 2012): 1-17.

<sup>109</sup> Friedman, Francine. "The Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Reference to the Sandzak of Novi Pazar): Islam as National Identity." *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 1 (03, 2000): 165-180.

communities that were formed based on people's religion, rather than ethnicity or language. Each *millet* was sub-divided and governed by a religious figure. This system promoted the creation of different nationalities in Bosnia and secularized each religious group. Given the Ottoman's preference for the Islamic religion, they recruited civic and army leadership from the Muslim population which allowed Bosnian Muslims to emerge as the elites of Bosnia.<sup>110</sup> As the Westernmost Ottoman province, named Bosnian Krajiste, Bosnia enjoyed the full privileges of being constituent province of the Empire. In Bosnia, Christians identified with their own religion and were loyal to their own political and religious leaders, giving the Ottoman Empire only what it demanded of them and nothing more. Bosnian Muslims were much more loyal to the Ottoman Empire, given the benefits they received from the Empire. The *millet* system is considered to be at the root of nationalistic and religious divisions in Bosnia.<sup>111</sup>

After the Berlin Conference of 1878, Austro-Hungarian forces entered Bosnia and Bosnia found itself under the Catholic Christian Habsburg rule. The Austro-Hungary Empire did not make Muslims landlords relinquish their landholdings which preserved their economic wealth. Bosnian Muslims did find themselves losing their political influence due to Habsburg Empire's preference for Christians.<sup>112</sup> During Habsburg rule, Bosnian Muslims were allowed to rule themselves according to Islamic Shari'a law and run their own theological institutions for religious education.<sup>113</sup> During this time Christians began to show signs of restlessness and nationalism, mostly because Austro-Hungary did not make any changes to agrarian relations. The Habsburg Empire attempted to create a Bosnian civil community where everyone would

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<sup>110</sup> Van Dijk, Mieke and Edien Bartels. "'European Islam' in Practice—in the Bosnian City of Sarajevo." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 32, no. 4 (12, 2012): 467-482.

<sup>111</sup> Friedman, Francine. "The Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Reference to the Sandzak of Novi Pazar): Islam as National Identity." *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 1 (03, 2000): 165-180.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 169.

<sup>113</sup> Van Dijk, Mieke and Edien Bartels. "'European Islam' in Practice—in the Bosnian City of Sarajevo." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 32, no. 4 (12, 2012): 467-482.

identify as Bosnian, but it only forced Christians and Muslims apart. Muslims who believed that they were losing their status started to organize themselves in order to avoid being Christianized, and demanded that their former status of being society's elite be reinstated. During this time Bosnian Muslims formed first Muslim political party, the Muslim National Organization (MNO), in 1906. The party participated in the 1910 elections, winning 24 seats. This is when the first Bosniak publications emerged and there was evidence of struggle among conservative Islamic clergy and the more secular segment of Bosnian Muslims.<sup>114</sup>

After the fall of the Habsburg Empire, the first Yugoslavia emerged under a Serbian king's rule. Bosnia was not recognized as a state and Bosnian Muslims were not given a role in the public life of the country. The outcome of this repression was a formation of a Muslim party called the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO) in 1919 to represent Bosnian Muslim interests. Wealthy Muslims, despite working to build their own identity and status, pledged allegiance to the central authority and shifted their allegiance between Serb and Croat political forces.<sup>115</sup> According to Friedman, "the JMO was moderately successful in protecting the Bosnian Muslim population and gaining a fair amount of tolerance for their religious, educational, and cultural institutions and practices."<sup>116</sup> Bosnian territorial integrity was preserved until 1929 when the king expunged historic geographic boundaries in an attempt to impose the concept of Yugoslavism.<sup>117</sup> The post-World War I period was marked with economic decline in Bosnia which secularized "...the wealthier part of the population living in the urban centers. In the year

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<sup>114</sup> Sancaktar, Caner. "Historical Construction and Development of Bosniak Nation." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2012, 2012): 1-17.

<sup>115</sup> Xavier Bougarel. *Islam and Politics in the Post-Communist Balkans (1990-2000)*. Dimitris Keridis/Charles Perry (eds.), *New Approaches to Balkan Studies*, Brassey's, pp.345-360, 2003.

<sup>116</sup> Friedman, Francine. "The Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Reference to the Sandzak of Novi Pazar): Islam as National Identity." *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 1 (03, 2000), 171.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, 172.

1927, heated debates filled the Islamic religious arena,..”<sup>118</sup> The debate created a *Reforma* movement that stated that Muslim women were not obliged to wear a veil and men were not obliged to wear the Ottoman hat called *fez*. The movement “...stroved for better education for Bosnian Muslims, women’s participation in education and economic productivity and the abolishment of the hijab.”<sup>119</sup> The *Reforma* movement did not exist for too long because there was too strong of an opposition from conservatives and no proposed reforms were accepted.<sup>120</sup>

During World War II, Bosnia was occupied by Germans and annexed by the Independent State of Croatia that was created with support of the Germans. The Bosnian Muslims were not given a predominant role to in the new state but they were seen as Croats that practiced another Croatian religion. Croats were prepared to grant Muslims educational and religious autonomy.<sup>121</sup> In 1943, a predominately Muslim SS *Handschar* division was established in Bosnia. This division fought against Serbs, partisans, and was responsible for the slaughter of 90% of Bosnian Jews and a large portion of Gypsies. Each battalion in the SS *Handschar* division was assigned a fundamentalist Imam.<sup>122</sup> After the war, the second Yugoslavia was created where Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized as a republic. Communist Yugoslavia recognized Bosniaks as a Muslim nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1968<sup>123</sup> and the census of 1971 reflected this status.

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<sup>118</sup> Van Dijk, Mieke and Edien Bartels. ““European Islam” in Practice—in the Bosnian City of Sarajevo.” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 32, no. 4 (12, 2012), 470.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Giomi, Fabio. "Reforma—The Organization of Progressive Muslims and its Role in Interwar Bosnia." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 4 (12, 2009): 495-510.

<sup>121</sup> Friedman, Francine. "The Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Reference to the Sandzak of Novi Pazar): Islam as National Identity." *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 1 (03, 2000), 172.

Tziampiris, Aristotle. "Assessing Islamic Terrorism in the Western Balkans: The State of the Debate." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 11, no. 2 (06/01, 2009): 209-219.

<sup>123</sup> Sancaktar, Caner. "Historical Construction and Development of Bosniak Nation." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 1-17.

The Islamic revival commenced in Bosnia after the vice president of Yugoslavian internal security service, Aleksander Rankovic, was removed in 1966. After his removal, a gradual Islamic awaking occurred and the 1970s were marked with the rise of prominent Islamic intellectuals who were educated in the Middle East and locally. This was followed with the construction of mosques and masjids which are smaller prayer areas. Yugoslavia, being a secular atheist state and not in support of any religion, did not assist with the construction of religious buildings. The construction funding was left to local Muslims, migrant Bosnian Muslim workers and the diaspora. They provided funds to build mosques, as the local Muslim Community (IZ) did not have required resources. This period was also marked with an increase in Islamic education, an increase in Islamic practices, such as fasting and celebration of Islamic holidays, an increase in attendance to mosques, the publishing of local and translated Islamic books, the use of Islamic symbols, and the formation of cultural Muslim organizations. The Faculty of Islamic Studies opened, the female section of the Gazi Husrev Beg's madrasa was established and Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals formed a Congress during this revival period. During the 1970s, Yugoslavia became much more liberal and allowed trade with the West and tourism. These exchanges allowed many Muslims to gain economic momentum and assert their presence.<sup>124</sup> The nationalist parties were forbidden by the Yugoslav regime in the 1980s, but Alija Izetbegovic, with members of a pan-Islamist current, was able to found the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) two years after his release from prison in 1990.<sup>125</sup>

Alija Izetbegovic was born on 8 August 1925 in Bosnia to a Muslim family. His SDA party won elections in 1992 and he became the first president of Bosnia and Hercegovina,

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<sup>124</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects.*

<sup>125</sup> Xavier Bougarel. *Islam and Politics in the Post-Communist Balkans (1990-2000).* Dimitris Keridis/Charles Perry (eds.), *New Approaches to Balkan Studies*, Brassey's, pp.345-360, 2003.

earning the nickname “Father of the Nation”. In the early 1940s, Izetbegovic, with his likeminded comrades, was inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and founded a similar group in Yugoslavia called Young Muslims.<sup>126</sup> The Yugoslavian regime imprisoned him twice for his political involvement and promotion of Islam. His first time in prison was in 1946 for supporting and recruiting for the pro-Nazi regime<sup>127</sup> during World War II, and for his involvement with Young Muslims. He served a three year sentence during the post war period. He was on back on trial in 1983 with twelve of his peers for an attempt to create an Islamic state in Yugoslavia. He was given a fourteen year sentence but he served five years prior to his release.<sup>128</sup>

Izetbegovic wrote the Islamic Declaration in 1970. In this declaration, he expresses deep concern for the colonization of the Muslim world, which he saw as being exploited by foreign governments and its puppet regimes for its natural resources. He also expressed concern for the impact that atheism had on the spiritual and moral development of an individual. He argued that Islamic upbringing was required to deal with the ills of the modern world. Izetbegovic identified four facts about the Muslim world that Muslims had to endure:

1. We [Muslims] are enslaved;
2. We [Muslims] are not enlightened;
3. We [Muslims] are poor; and
4. We [Muslims] are a divided community.<sup>129</sup>

Furthermore, in his declaration he stated that “There can be no co-existence between the ‘Islamic creed’ and non-Islamic systems;” and he promoted the “establishment of a united Islamic

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<sup>126</sup> Bardos, Gordon N. "Jihad in the Balkans." *World Affairs* 177, no. 3 (Sep, 2014), 61.

<sup>127</sup> Clark, Niel. "A Warrior Who Achieved Nothing." *New Statesman* 132, no. 4661 (10/27, 2003): 16.

<sup>128</sup> "Alija Izetbegovic." *Background Information Summaries* (08/11, 2008): 2-2.

<sup>129</sup> Huran Karcic. *Alija Izetbegovic and the Myth of the Islamic State: Separating Fact from Fiction*. Nov 2009. Pg 34

community from Morocco to Indonesia.”<sup>130</sup> Izetbegovic’s Islamic Declaration and its meaning has been much disputed. Those who portray Izetbegovic as a promoter of an Islamic law and Islamic empire say that he wanted to territorially unite all Muslims and create an Islamic physical state under Islamic rule and law. Others, who do not consider Izetbegovic as an Islamic empire builder, argue that he was figuratively speaking and that he wanted all Muslims to be united in spirit, and that it was understood that unity was spiritual, not physical.<sup>131</sup> Charles Pena, a director of defense policy studies at the Cato Institute, indicates that although Izetbegovic was not a champion of Western liberal democracy he was not envisioning a Taliban style regime in Bosnia. He understood Izetbegovic’s writings to be of a moderate nature because Izetbegovic stated that Islam should not be used to disenfranchise women and he publicly announced that other religions should be tolerated.<sup>132</sup>

The Islamic revival of the 1970s and 1980s in Bosnia can be considered as part of the global trend that saw Muslims returning to their religion through increased “...prayer, fasting, dress and values...”<sup>133</sup> Globally, in the Muslim community there was feeling that Muslims were being humiliated by the anti-Islamic pro-Western Christians. Muslim politicians used global events such as the Israel War of 1967, the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1990, the Iranian revolution of 1979, and the occupations of the holy lands in Saudi Arabia and Israel to politicize Islam. During this time Islamisation emerged as a concept. This discourse argued that the Muslim world was in distress and that a return to Islam was in order to restore Muslim influence. Those who politicized Islam argued:

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<sup>130</sup> Huran Karcic. *Alija Izetbegovic and the Myth of the Islamic State: Separating Fact from Fiction*. Nov 2009. Pg 34

<sup>131</sup> Huran Karcic. *Alija Izetbegovic and the Myth of the Islamic State: Separating Fact from Fiction*. Nov 2009.

<sup>132</sup> Peña, Charles V. "Al Qaeda: The Balkans Connection." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (Fall2005): 65-76. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>133</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*. Pg 153

- the Muslim world is in a state of decline;
- the cause of this decline is Muslims' departure from the straight path of Islam;
- its cure is a return to Islam in personal and public life that will ensure the restoration of Islamic identity, values and power; and
- Islam is a total or comprehensive way of life, as stipulated in the Koran: God's revelation, mirrored in the example of the Prophet Muhammad and the nature of the first Muslim community-state (Ummah), and embodied in the comprehensive nature of the Shari'a, God's revealed law. Thus, the renewal and revitalisation of Muslim governments and societies require the restoration or reimplementation of Islamic law, the blueprint for an Islamically-guided and socially just state and society.<sup>134</sup>

These messages reached Bosnian Muslims through the media, such as radio, television and intellectual connections with the Middle East. There were intellectual, academic and religious exchanges between Middle Eastern Muslim states and Bosnian Muslim community. At that time the Yugoslavian regime was not controlling travel and flow of information, which allowed these narratives to be formed without the state's input.

Until the independence of Bosnia in 1992, all Muslims in Yugoslavia were governed by the Islamic Religious Community or *Islamska Vjerska Zajednica*. Yugoslavian Muslims belonged to the Hanafi School of Islamic Law and the Maturidi School of Creed. This branch of Islam accepts secularity and is tolerant of others within their community. Once Yugoslavia disappeared in the early 1990s, the Islamic Religious Community moved from Belgrade to Sarajevo to become the Islamic Community or *Islamska Zajednica (IZ)* of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>135</sup> IZ is a religious organization, but during the war it became a political actor that shaped Bosniaks' national identity. The organization was led by grand mufti Mustafa Cerić until 2012 when he was replaced by Husein Kavazović. The IZ was closely aligned with Alija Izetbegović and SDA which allowed it to become a pillar of Bosniak national identity and powerful political influencer. Former grand mufti Cerić was one of founders of SDA with

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<sup>134</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*. Pg 154

<sup>135</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*

Izetbegovic.<sup>136</sup> Until 2001, SDA and IZ were closely related and mutually supporting which blended religion and politics in Bosnia. The SDA and IZ had a partial falling-out in 2001 when Izetbegovic was replaced as SDA leader with a lawyer who was not part of the Bosnian IZ religious circle. IZ's goal is to "nationalize Bosniaks."<sup>137</sup> In last couple of years, IZ has made some effort to distance itself from Bosnian political scene and orient its efforts towards religious issues with limited success.<sup>138</sup> Former grand mufti Cerić has established the World Bosniak Congress (SBK) in Sarajevo in December 2012. The goal of SBK is to work towards "...a self-aware nation and a sovereign state"<sup>139</sup> of Bosnia.

Xavier Bougarel, a French academic and an expert in European Islam, discussed three Bosniaks who had much influence on the development of Islam's discourse in Bosnia in last two decades.<sup>140</sup> They are Fikret Karčić, Enes Karčić and Adnan Jahić. Each of these individuals promotes a different role for Islam in Bosnia. Bougarel states that Fikret Karčić sees Islam as an individual faith which should not be politicized. Karčić did not consider the Bosnian war as a civil and religious struggle, but more of conquest for territory and an act of aggression. Fikret Karčić was in Bosnia prior to the war, but just before it began he went to Malaysia to teach at the Islamic University. Enes Karčić understands Islam as a common culture that unites Bosnia. Enes Karčić was involved with IZ until the start of war when he became a politician. In 1996, when he was defeated in an election, he started to work for a religious organization supported by Iran. He promotes Bosnia as a secular state, but wants Islam to be its culture. When he was the Minister of Education and Culture, he was known for forbidding the broadcasting of music from Croatia and

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<sup>136</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Pg 3

<sup>137</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Pg 12

<sup>138</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism pg 9

<sup>139</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Pg 13

<sup>140</sup> Same as 34

Serbia, and for publishing textbooks that emphasized a religious view of science. In contrast, Bougarel finds that Adnan Jahic wants Islam to be the political and religious ideology of Bosnia with no difference between the two. Jahic is a journalist and politician who aligned himself with SDA ideology. He rejects Western values and culture and is in favor of creating an Islamic state in Bosnia, which he states was Alija Izetbegovic's ultimate goal.<sup>141</sup> The teaching of Karcic, Karic and Jahic influenced Bosnian people and their perceptions of the role that Islam should play in their country and lives.

### **Foreign Presence in Bosnia**

As the Bosnian war started and chaos became the everyday norm, "the Islamic Community frantically lobbied the Muslim world for help, constantly reiterating that Bosnian Islam and Muslims were in grave danger."<sup>142</sup> The world Muslim community answered the appeal for help and sent their Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and mujahidin to Bosnia to assist with humanitarian relief and the war. The most active Islamic countries in Bosnia are Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey.

### **Saudi Arabia's Influence**

Saudi Arabia answered the Bosnian call for help by providing financial and humanitarian aid and by bringing Salafi or Wahhabi ideology into the country. It is reported that Saudi Arabia invested almost \$ one billion U.S. in Bosnia, but all the money was spent on spreading Wahhabi ideology. The Saudi High Committee for Assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina, an NGO, was

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<sup>141</sup> Xavier Bougarel. Bosnia Islam as European Islam': Limits and Shifts of a Concept.

<sup>142</sup> Harun Karcic. Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects. Pg 155

funded at the beginning of the war along with a number of other Saudi NGO institutions. These institutions concentrated their efforts on financing

...kindergartens, schools, orphanages, Islamic centres and mosques. It was not uncommon for them to supply these institutions with Salafi literature, or even to straightforwardly teach the Salafi interpretation of Islam in such institutions. The Saudi High Committee also financed and distributed numerous books, again mainly from Salafi authors ...The Saudi government and various religious endowments in the Kingdom also provide scholarships for Bosnian students to study in Saudi Arabia,...<sup>143</sup>

During the war, Saudi Arabia's humanitarian institutions distributed food, but they would include Salafist literature and propaganda with free bread. People initially refused this food because it promoted a message that was not acceptable to Bosnians. However, after hardships continued and lack of food became more pronounced, people gave in, accepted food donations and started to think that the message was not unreasonable.<sup>144</sup> Funds from Saudi Arabia were only used for religious objectives and could not be used to finance any efforts to reconstruct the war-torn country. When Izetbegovic was questioned about reasons for which aid money was not being used to improve the economy and build factories to provide jobs, he responded "They [Saudi Arabia] would never give me money for factories!"<sup>145</sup>

After the war, five Wahhabi communities in Bosnia were established: "...one in the village of Maoce near Travnik, two in villages near Zenica, one in the vicinity of Kakanj and another in the village of Bocinja..."<sup>146</sup> However, despite Wahhabis being concentrated in five small communities their influence is felt throughout the country. There is a debate as to how many Wahhabis are in Bosnia. The Serbian and Croatian side inflate numbers while Bosniaks

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<sup>143</sup> Harun Karcic. Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects. Pg 157

<sup>144</sup> Ivana Machek, "Imitation of Life": Negotiating Normality in Sarajevo Siege', in Xavier Bougarel, Elissa Helms and Ger Duijzings (eds), *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-war Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 44.

<sup>145</sup> Nenad Pajic. Wahhabist Militancy in Bosnia Profits from Local and International Inaction. 17 Nov 2011 pg 5

<sup>146</sup> Emissaries of Militant Islam Make Headway in Bosnia  
[http://www6.b92.net/eng/insight/opinions.php?yyyy=2007&mm=03&nav\\_id=40280](http://www6.b92.net/eng/insight/opinions.php?yyyy=2007&mm=03&nav_id=40280)

down play them. The estimates range from few hundred to 16% of Bosniaks.<sup>147</sup> Despite not knowing or not admitting to real Wahhabi strength in Bosnia, their presence is very visible. For instance, during the Wahhabi leader Jusuf Barčić's funeral in 2007, television cameras recorded a gathering of three thousand very angry and aggressive Wahhabis. The "Advantage Shari'a and the Failure of Democracy" summit, which was organized by a local radical Wahhabi leader in one of Tuzla's hotels, was attended by 500 young men. A protest against that same summit was a small gathering of 30 people.<sup>148</sup> These events are signaling that Wahhabi ideas are taking root, that more people are becoming accepting of Wahhabi ideology and less are speaking out against it. Bosnian people are constantly inundated by religious propaganda calling on them to convert to Islam and adapt Wahhabi ideology. According to one source, the "...Wahhabi organization has launched a campaign in Bosnia-Herzegovina calling on non-Muslims to convert to Islam..." and "...has been putting up slick billboards and posters and distributing leaflets..."<sup>149</sup> The pressure and attempts to convince Bosniaks to adapt stricter forms of Islam are very strong and consistent.

Men dressed in short trousers, vests and beards are quite common sight<sup>150</sup> along with the sight of women "...with their heads wrapped in tight scarves, concealing every strand of hair, they stand out against the secular traditions of modern Sarajevo." There "are now hundreds of women dressed like Husic and her friends in Sarajevo, where such styles had long since yielded to Western fashion."<sup>151</sup> There are reports of women being harassed in public because they are not veiled and of couples being attacked for displaying personal affection. The shopping centers that

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<sup>147</sup> Bećirević, Edina. "The Bosnian Approach to the Fight against Terrorism." *Fight Against Terrorism & Crisis Management In The Western Balkans* 32, no. 1 (February 2008): 77-94. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed May 3, 2015). Pg 86

<sup>148</sup> Robert Coalson and Maja Nikolic. *Radical Islamists Seek To Exploit Frustration In Bosnia*. 1 March 2013

<sup>149</sup> Dzenana Karabegovic. *Wahhabi Group Launches Conversion Campaign In Bosnia*. [http://www.rferl.org/content/Wahhabi\\_Group\\_Launches\\_Conversion\\_Campaign\\_In\\_Bosnia/2001137.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Wahhabi_Group_Launches_Conversion_Campaign_In_Bosnia/2001137.html)

<sup>150</sup> Kenneth Morrison. *Wahhabism in the Balkans*. February 2008.

<sup>151</sup> Vivienne Walt. *Islamic Revival*. *Time International (South Pacific Edition)*. 6/15/2009, Vol. 173 Issue 23, p20-22.

prohibit alcohol and gambling are other examples of Bosnia becoming more prohibitive and less secular.<sup>152</sup> The Bosnian people are changing their attitudes towards dress code, public behavior; and it appears that their tolerance for accepting different interpretation of Islamic teachings is higher. Dino Abazovic, a sociologist of religion at the University of Sarajevo, recently conducted a detailed survey of 600 Bosnian Muslims where he found that 40% of respondents felt that religion was a public matter and not private one.<sup>153</sup> There are signs that Bosniaks are slowly adapting anti-secular sentiments and moving slowly towards idea that religion should be part of the public sphere.

One of the ways that Saudi Arabia has continued to influence Bosnian Muslims is through continued religious (re)education, building of religious objects, and sponsorship of youth organizations. It is reported that Saudi-funded organizations spent 500 million Euros to build mosques in Bosnia since the war.<sup>154</sup> In 2000 Saudi Arabia built a "...huge King Fahd Mosque and cultural center,... at a cost of about \$12 million [U.S.]--and still maintains."<sup>155</sup> Saudis continue to support and sponsor youth organizations such as the Active Islamic Youth and the al-Furkan organization. These organizations were founded by former members of El Mudzahid units and students who studied in the Middle East. These youth groups are known for their anti-American rhetoric and inflammatory speeches. They organize Shiri'a camps, courses, and seminars; and have their own magazine called *Saff* with a circulation of 5,000 copies. In the mid-2000s, the USA State Department forced these youth organizations to close because of their

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<sup>152</sup> Vivienne Walt. Islamic Revival. Time International (South Pacific Edition). 6/15/2009, Vol. 173 Issue 23, p20-22.

<sup>153</sup> Dan Bilefsky. Bosnia experiencing an Islamic revival But some warn of a sharp culture clash. 27 Dec 2008.

<sup>154</sup> Dan Bilefsky. Bosnia experiencing an Islamic revival But some warn of a sharp culture clash. 27 Dec 2008.

<sup>155</sup> Vivienne Walt. Islamic Revival. Time International (South Pacific Edition). 6/15/2009, Vol. 173 Issue 23, p20-22.

pomposity.<sup>156</sup> After being forced to close, they re-emerged under a different name. Wahhabis also influence local Muslims through websites, such as a militant Salafi website called *Put Vjernika*, and by the continuous distribution of Wahhabi-inspired literature that is distributed at no cost to Bosniaks. Sarajlic states that:

...the Saudi government and non-government networks pioneered this process. They have published dozens of books on the history of Islam and the Prophet, distributed the Saudi authored and printed translation of the Koran (500,000 copies are claimed to be distributed), as well as other publications aimed at promoting their vision of Islam. Most of the authors whose books found their way to Saudi distribution in Bosnia had a distinct Salafi inclination, ... One of the most renowned publishing efforts of the High Saudi Committee was the so called 'Family Library' that had included some 20 titles, ... All of these publications have been distributed free of charge.<sup>157</sup>

A large portion of Bosniaks does not endorse Wahhabi teachings because they follow the Hanafi branch of Islam and find Wahhabi's teachings too different.<sup>158</sup> Ordinary Bosniaks have tried to repel Wahhabi influence but they are not given much assistance in rejecting Wahhabi ideology. Huran Karcic states that locals developed negative attitudes towards Salafis and sometimes they engage in verbal and physical confrontations with them in mosques. The Imam of Sarajevo's Careva mosque locked the mosque's doors for the first time in 500 years in February 2007 when Wahhabbi leader, Jusuf Barcic and his followers, wanted to perform Wahhabi prayer rites.<sup>159</sup> Salafis are very aggressive with their attempts to convince Bosniaks to adapt their version of Islam. "...there had been a massive brawl in the town of Kalesija after the Wahhabis occupied the local mosque there and chased off the Imam."<sup>160</sup> Karcic observes that

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<sup>156</sup> Harun Karcic. Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects.

<sup>157</sup> Eldar Sarajlic. The return of the consuls: Islamic networks and foreign policy perspectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina. pg 180

<sup>158</sup> Eldar Sarajlic. The return of the consuls: Islamic networks and foreign policy perspectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina. pg 178

<sup>159</sup> Boris Kanzleiter. Wahhabi Rules: Islamic Extremism Comes to Bosnia. 2 May 2007.  
<http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/747/wahhabi-rules-islamic-extremism-comes-to-bosnia#>

although people are against Salafism, the governing Bosnian Islamic body, IZ, refuses to condemn Wahhabi ideology and allows them to continue with propaganda activities.<sup>161</sup> IZ has been very quiet on the Wahhabi presence in Bosnia. It is "...impossible not to notice that the Islamic Community in our country has never officially disowned the Wahhabi movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the conduct of its members or their radical interpretation of Islam... ." <sup>162</sup>

There are Muslim religious scholars like Adnan Silajdzic who speak out against Wahhabis and their influences:

"All the things in Bosniak/Muslim culture that do not fit in with their perception of Islam gets declared a heresy. This is why the Wahhabis - and I warned about this in the media a long time ago - truly pose a great threat and problem for the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina..."<sup>163</sup>

The official Muslim body in Bosnia appears to be accepting of the Wahhabi influence and presence in the country. It is only on very rare occasions such as following the bombing of a Bosnian police station or attack at the USA embassy in Sarajevo, that the Grand Mufti will mildly condemn Islamic militant actions. The speculation for this silence is that the religious community feels indebted to the movement for their assistance; and that many members of IZ have worked with Wahhabis followers during the war so there is resistance to publicly denounce former colleagues.<sup>164</sup>

## **Iranian Influence**

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<sup>160</sup> Boris Kanzleiter. Wahhabi Rules: Islamic Extremism Comes to Bosnia. 2 May 2007.  
<http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/747/wahhabi-rules-islamic-extremism-comes-to-bosnia#>

<sup>161</sup> Harun Karcic. Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects. Pg 164 and 165

<sup>162</sup> Bosnian TV calls Islamic Community to task for tolerating Islamic radicals Anonymous. BBC Monitoring European [London] 29 June 2010

<sup>163</sup> Bosnian TV calls Islamic Community to task for tolerating Islamic radicals Anonymous. BBC Monitoring European [London] 29 June 2010

<sup>164</sup> Bosnian TV calls Islamic Community to task for tolerating Islamic radicals Anonymous. BBC Monitoring European [London] 29 June 2010

Iran assisted Bosniaks by providing humanitarian, financial and military aid during and after the war. Despite having a United Nation's arms embargo imposed on the whole of former Yugoslavia, Iran shipped arms to Bosnia through Croatia with the knowledge and approval of the Clinton's administration.<sup>165</sup> Iran also sent military instructors and intelligence officers to Bosnia and established a military exchange between the two armies. It is widely known that Iran ran military training camps that were widespread throughout Bosnia in the 1990s and the Bosnian government was fully aware of them.<sup>166</sup> After the war, the USA government pressured the Bosnian government to abolish its ties with Iran. However, those ties were not broken and Iran remained in Bosnia. It opened the largest European-Iranian embassy in Sarajevo, along with number of charities and cultural centers. The embassy itself opened a cultural center that offers free Persian language lessons, Islamic books and movies. There are reports that president Izetbegovic was on the Iranian payroll and that he fully supported a continued Iranian presence in Bosnia. There are reports that Iran provided \$ 500,000 USA to finance the SDA electoral campaign in 1996.<sup>167</sup>

The Iranians provided humanitarian assistance during, and after the war by sponsoring hospitals, cultural centers, educational institutions and charities. Bagherzadeh argues that Iran does this to build a positive reputation and demonstrate to the world that Iran is a kind, humanitarian and charitable country, despite the bad reputation that it receives. This is the reason

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<sup>165</sup> James Risen and Doyle McManus. Clinton 'allowed arms shipments into Bosnia' despite UN embargo: U.S. sources say the White House ignored the creation of an arms pipeline from Iran to Muslims fighting in the war. The Vancouver Sun [Vancouver, B.C] 06 Apr 1996

<sup>166</sup> Zimmermann, Tim, and Colin Soloway. 1996. "An Iranian foothold in the Balkans." U.S. News & World Report 120, no. 10: 39. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>167</sup> Alirez Bagherzadeh, L'ingerence iranienne en Bosnie-Herzegovine, in Xavier Bougarel and Nathalie Clayer (eds), *Le Nouvel Islam balkanique: Les musulmans, acteurs du post-communisme 1990-2000* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), p. 405

that Iran operates clandestinely.<sup>168</sup> It does not appear that Iran is overtly attempting to impose Shia teachings onto Bosnian Muslims, even if there are some signs that Shia Muslims are present in Bosnia.<sup>169</sup> In institutions that are sponsored by Iran, Shia teachings are predominant.

The Iranians strive to engage Bosnian academia in discussions, presumably in an attempt to gain the sympathies of Bosnian intellectual elites. They have sponsored two academic institutions in Bosnia; the Mula Sadera Foundation and the Ibn Sina Institute. They also have a boarding school located near Sarajevo that was opened in 1999, which offers trips to Iran for graduates. The Iranians have reached out to Bosnian women by sponsoring an organization that specifically targets women through choir, magazine publications, such as *Preporod*, radio and television stations.<sup>170</sup>

According to Karcic, Iranian influence in Bosnia is very difficult to gauge. Bosniaks who support Iran and Iranian Shia teachings are difficult to identify. The reasons for this might be that they are taught to hide their identity for fear of persecution and their appearances blend into the local mosaic. It is known that university professors from the Faculty of Islamic Studies in Sarajevo are working on translating Iranian books into the Bosnian language, and they often speak at events organized by Iranian institutions in Bosnia. Iranians have not engaged much with ordinary Bosniaks and appear to have concentrated their effort in charming Bosnian intellectuals and elite. It is reported that "...Alija Izetbegovic's son, Bakir Izetbegovic, currently a member of the three-man Bosnian presidency, is widely seen as the leader of the pro-Iranian faction in Bosnian Muslim political circles."<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Alirez Bagherzadeh, L'ingerence iranienne en Bosnie-Herzegovine, in Xavier Bougarel and Nathalie Clayer (eds), *Le Nouvel Islam balkanique: Les musulmans, acteurs du post-communisme 1990-2000* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001)

<sup>170</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects.*

In recent years “The American and British ambassadors to Sarajevo reportedly warned Bosnian officials to cut their ties to Iran, and a former international high representative in Bosnia publicly lectured the Bosnians about how their future lay with the EU, not with Tehran.”<sup>172</sup> The local news magazine reported that “...two hundred Iranian “businessmen” had been granted visas to enter Bosnia in the first six months of 2012 alone..”<sup>173</sup> These Iranians are suspected to have terrorist ties and that they could use Bosnia as a logistical base in case Israel attacks Teheran, although there is no concrete evidence of this occurring at this point. Despite Iranians attempting to adopt a clandestine approach to Bosnia, their presence is seen and felt.

### **Turkey’s Influence**

Turkey also participated in humanitarian efforts in Bosnia during and after the war. Turkish agencies focused their efforts on promoting education, culture, and to some extent commerce within Bosnia. The 1990s saw emergence of the Turkish International Cooperation Agency, the Supreme Religious Council of Turkey, and non-state actors such as Turkish neo-Sufi *cemaats*.<sup>174</sup> One of the *cemaats* branches is the Gueln movement, a conservative Muslim social movement, which has been active in Bosnia. The Gueln movement has five schools in Bosnia.<sup>175</sup> Turkish organizations in Bosnia restore mosques, run religious classes, teach the Turkish language, provide tightly controlled student dormitories, and send Imams to Bosnia

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<sup>171</sup> Bardos, Gordon N. "Iran in the Balkans." *World Affairs* 175, no. 5 (January 2013): 59-66. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015). Pg 65

<sup>172</sup> Bardos, Gordon N. "Iran in the Balkans." *World Affairs* 175, no. 5 (January 2013): 59-66. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015). Pg 59

<sup>173</sup> Bardos, Gordon N. "Iran in the Balkans." *World Affairs* 175, no. 5 (January 2013): 59-66. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015). Pg 59

<sup>174</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*. Pg 159

<sup>175</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*. Pg 160

during holy periods. They also send Bosnian students to Turkey to study religion and technical programs at the undergraduate and graduate level. Turkey has established two universities: the University of Sarajevo and Burch International University. In addition, Turkey has sponsored two Turkish-Bosnian colleges, one in Sarajevo and one in Bihac.<sup>176</sup>

The Turkish actors have not clashed with local Bosniaks as much as the Wahhabis have. Turkish Islamic teachings and practices are fairly similar to those of the pre-war Bosniaks and they are able to blend into the local environment without much difficulty. The past leader of IZ in Bosnia, Grand Mufti Ceric, appears to have a great relationship with the Grand Mufti of Turkey. They have pledged to work together on preserving the Hanafi branch of Islam. Ceric has often publicly declared that Turkey is the mother of Muslims in Bosnia and Bosniaks should be thankful and proud that the Ottoman Empire brought Islam to Bosnia.<sup>177</sup>

Turkish political leadership has shown much interest in Bosnia. One visible sign of this is the victory speech by Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in which he mentioned Bosnia. In 2009, Turkish diplomats were key players in resolving the political and religious falling-out between Serbia and Bosnia.<sup>178</sup> Turkey has been actively supporting Bosnia's desire to join NATO and the EU.<sup>179</sup> Turkey's policy has been to invest in Bosnia to win the hearts and minds of Bosnian people by investing in a religious and cultural revival. Bosniaks are appreciative of Turkey's efforts, but Bosnian Serbs and Croats are wary. One criticism of Turkey's approach is that despite large sums of money being spent in Bosnia, none of the 10.7

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<sup>176</sup> Harun Karcic. *Globalisation and Islam in Bosnia: Foreign Influences and their Effects*.

<sup>177</sup> Rucker-Chang, Sunnie. "The Turkish Connection: Neo-Ottoman Influence in Post-Dayton Bosnia." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2014): 152.

<sup>178</sup> PETROVIĆ, ŽARKO, and DUŠAN RELJIĆ. "Turkish Interests and Involvement in the Western Balkans: A Score-Card." *Insight Turkey* 13, no. 3 (July 2011): 159-172. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>179</sup> Linden, Ronald H., and Yasemin İrepoğlu. "Turkey and the Balkans: New Forms of Political Community?." *Turkish Studies* 14, no. 2 (June 2013): 229-255. Political Science Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

million Euros is invested in the economy, which is lacking in Bosnia.<sup>180</sup> Turkey and Bosnia signed a free trade agreement and Turkey is in the top five foreign investors in Bosnia.<sup>181</sup>

### **Mujahidin Influence**

The mujahidin are foreign fighters that arrived in Bosnia during the war. These mujahidin arrived from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Afghanistan, and other Arab states to defend Bosnian Muslims against the Serb and Croat threat. These fighters were mostly Wahhabis that were sent to fight against infidels to protect Islam and Muslims. They were ruthless fighters who did not hesitate to commit "...numerous and serious war crimes, including torture, murder, and the establishment of prison camps<sup>182</sup> in the name of Islam. The mujahidin were fearless and extremely savage towards non-Muslims that were in Bosnia. In August 1993, the mujahidin were formally integrated into Bosnian army and given their own unit called the El Mudzahid.<sup>183</sup> Despite having a centralized unit, the mujahidin were dispersed throughout ten different units in the Bosnian Army.<sup>184</sup> The deputy commander of the Bosnian army stated that the mujahidin "...commit most of the atrocities and work against the interests of the Muslim people. They have been killing, looting and stealing."<sup>185</sup> Despite the fact that the Bosnian army considered the

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<sup>180</sup> Vračić, Alida. "A POLITICAL ROMANCE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOSNIA AND TURKEY." *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 183-190. Political Science Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>181</sup> Rucker-Chang, Sunnie. "The Turkish Connection: Neo-Ottoman Influence in Post-Dayton Bosnia." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2014): 152.

<sup>182</sup> Jeni Mitchell. *The Contradictory Effects of Ideology on Jihadist War-Fighting: The Bosnia Precedent*. 2008 Pg 812

<sup>183</sup> Karmen Erjavec. "The 'Bosnian war on terrorism'". 1 Apr 2009

<sup>184</sup> Tziampiris, Aristotle. "Assessing Islamic terrorism in the Western Balkans: the state of the debate." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 11, no. 2 (June 1, 2009): 209-219. E-Journals, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015). Pg 213

<sup>185</sup> Jeni Mitchell. *The Contradictory Effects of Ideology on Jihadist War-Fighting: The Bosnia Precedent*. 2008 822

mujahidin to be working against best interest of Muslim people they did not hesitate to use them to reap the strategic effects of mujahidin atrocities.<sup>186</sup> In Bosnia, the mujahidin did not hesitate to attack any non-Muslim regardless of what their role was in the war. They "...attacked Western peacekeepers and aid workers even though they were ostensibly trying to help Bosnian Muslims."<sup>187</sup> Jeni Mitchell states that mujahidin Wahhabi ideology perceives anyone who is non-Muslim as the enemy and therefore supporting the infidel Westerners. The West had imposed an arms embargo on Bosnia, and was negotiating with Serbs in an effort to stop the atrocities. Those actions were perceived by the mujahidin that the international community was working against Muslim interests and that they deserved to be punished.

The Mujahidin were appalled by the Islam that was practiced in Bosnia and started to re-Islamize Bosnians. A report by the Bosnian Army Center for Analytics and Security indicated "The El-Mujahid commanders and soldiers are showing less interest in combat but instead increasing their activity in persuading Bosnian Muslims in central Bosnia to practice radical Islam."<sup>188</sup> Ordinary Bosnians and soldiers were impressed by the bravery and dedication of these foreign fighters and they listened to them. The foreign fighters showed no fear and were very vocal that they came to Bosnia to die fighting for the protection of Islam. This attitude towards death was not shared among Bosnian soldiers and it sometimes created conflicts. The mujahidin disregard towards death and convictions appealed to some Bosniaks at a time when destruction was all too common and the future seemed bleak. The mujahidin told Bosnians that they were practicing Islam incorrectly and that they knew how to do it properly since they have been

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<sup>186</sup> Jeni Mitchell. The Contradictory Effects of Ideology on Jihadist War-Fighting: The Bosnia Precedent. 2008 822

<sup>187</sup> Jeni Mitchell. The Contradictory Effects of Ideology on Jihadist War-Fighting: The Bosnia Precedent. 2008 815

<sup>188</sup> Anes Alic and Damir Kaletovic, 'Al-Qaida's Bosnian War Move', *ISN Security Watch*, 3 October 2008, available at: [www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?lng=en&id=92320](http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?lng=en&id=92320)

formally educated in Islamic practices in their countries. Bosniaks who did not have much religious education and felt that they did not know much about true Islam believed them. This is not to say that Bosniaks did not resist the teaching of the mujahidin, as some were wary of mujahidin intentions. According to a *Newsweek* report:

While Bosnians want their freedom, they worry about the price. Some fear the mujahedin haven't yet shown their extremist side. "If they want to offer the people religion, culture and language, that's good," says 27-year-old Zafir, a Muslim from Travnik who asked that his last name not be used. "But if they insist on it, that's not good." Bektas, the platoon leader, is concerned the mujahedin are really fighting for Islam, not Bosnia. "It's good for us that they are here," he says. "But after the war, who knows?" So far, at least, locals have been more eager to embrace Kalashnikovs than the Koran: men still drink beer unmolested, and women have resisted the chador...<sup>189</sup>

Once the war was over, some mujahidin were rewarded with Bosnian passports and citizenship, which allowed them to stay in Bosnia to continue their undertaking of spreading Wahhabism.

## **Bosnian Governance**

The Bosnian governance model was established by the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995.

The Dayton Accord created a Bosnia that consists

...of three nations [Muslim, Serb and Croat], two entities [Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska], one district [Brcko District] and ten cantons; and has thirteen constitutions and parliaments, and thirteen governments with 158 ministers and thousands of government officials.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Post, Tom, and Joel Brand. "Help from the holy warriors." *Newsweek* 120, no. 14 (October 5, 1992): 52. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>190</sup> Damir Miljevic. Bosnia and Herzegovina - future stuck in the past. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=9ea692e7-df73-42f0-8000-96ff09b7831c%40sessionmgr4004&vid=1&hid=4208> pg 253

This complicated governance model is in place for about 3.8 million Bosnians and for an area of about 51,129 square kilometers.<sup>191</sup> Time has proven that Dayton Accord governance model does not work well for Bosnia. The model is very complex, convoluted, inefficient, and expensive. It also allows ethnic issues to be exploited to full potential. Following the war, many financial and human resources were invested in Bosnia. McMahon and Western describe extent of the aid that went to post war Bosnia.

Soon after the war's end, the country was flooded with attention and over \$14 billion in international aid, .... By the end of 1996, 17 different foreign governments, 18 UN agencies, 27 intergovernmental organizations, and about 200 nongovernmental organizations (NGOS)--not to mention tens of thousands of troops from across the globe--were involved in reconstruction efforts.<sup>192</sup>

However, despite the investment, Bosnia is still a very poor country that is divided along ethnic lines. Christopher S. Chivvis, a political scientist and a professor, attributes the current situation to the effort to stop the war instead of building a nation. He argues that the building of a nation-state requires physical post-war reconstruction and social healing to allow warring parties to rebuild a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. The international community was focused on building a democratic society that was able to hold elections, but neglected physical and social rebuilding. Damir Miljevic, an economist from Bosnia agrees:

... Western way of thinking, ... which means: 'what is important is the establishment of governmental and other social systems, housing and the recovery of infrastructure. Businesses will be revitalised by themselves.' This is completely wrong if you take into

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<sup>191</sup> Background Notes on Countries of the World: Bosnia & Herzegovina  
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?sid=f843cb79-7641-4f5d-83f4-c0d96048758c%40sessionmgr4001&vid=0&hid=4208&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=bth&AN=51829445>

<sup>192</sup> Patrice C. McMahon and Jon Western. The Death of Dayton.  
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?sid=14af34be-cd34-4893-a1cd-27db1926a40a@sessionmgr4002&vid=0&hid=4208&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=43787302>

account that we are talking about businesses which were part of a war economy and which predominantly come from the socialist system.”<sup>193</sup>

Chivvis notes that progress towards a prosperous and economically strong Bosnia did not materialize because of “...divergent interests and strategies within the international community, lack of civilian resources and planning, ...narrow and often criminal interests of Bosnia’s wartime leadership.”<sup>194</sup>

The Dayton Agreement stipulated that each major ethnic group will be represented at each level of government. Time proved that this model reinforced a system of patronage, promoted corruption, weakened political minorities, impeded economic development, and was highly inefficient.<sup>195</sup> When it became apparent in 1997 that Bosnia was not functioning well, due to political unwillingness to work together and resolve differences, the Office of the High Representative (OHR) was given increased powers by the Peace Implementation Council to remove elected politicians who did not want to conform, impose legislation as required,<sup>196</sup> and implement reforms. There were many attempts at reforms in Bosnia by the OHR but those reforms always faced a strong resistance and each time the country drifted further into political chaos with ordinary people growing more impatient and frustrated with their own government and international community for failing to provide a reasonable standard of living. The OHR asserted its authority and created number of departments and agencies. Agencies such as the state aid agency, foreign investment promotion agency and about twenty others have no clear tasks,

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<sup>193</sup> Damir Miljevic. Bosnia and Herzegovina - future stuck in the past.  
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=9ea692e7-df73-42f0-8000-96ff09b7831c%40sessionmgr4004&vid=1&hid=4208> pg 266

<sup>194</sup> Christopher S. Chivvis. The Dayton Dilemma.  
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=2bc14f8d-2dcd-4db1-9abe-7d5295321c2d%40sessionmgr4004&vid=2&hid=4208> pg 48

<sup>195</sup> Patrice C and Jon Western. The Death of Dayton. Foreign Affairs. Sept/Oct 2009.

<sup>196</sup> Philip Stabback. Common Curriculum, core curriculum or common curriculum standards – finding a solution for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

but they all contribute to “...zombie administration, providing full employment for civil servants but few services to citizens.”<sup>197</sup> The public service in Bosnia is not functional despite attempts at reforms.

The common Bosnian discourse in the international and local circles is “...BiH is widely perceived as a country of corruption, crime, gray economy, unprotected economic freedoms, human rights breaches, limitations to the freedom of the media.”<sup>198</sup> Unfortunately, this discourse is not far from the truth. An example where the international community has demonstrated that it lost confidence in the Bosnian system is reflected in the actions of the Japanese ambassador. He publicly criticized Bosnian politicians for not having a re-construction plan two months after the spring floods of 2014, and made Japan’s aid of five million Euros conditional. He refused to release any money to Bosnian officials, knowing that funds would be misused. He would only finance projects directly.<sup>199</sup>

Bosnia continuously ranks high on the corruption perception index published by Transparency International. It was placed 80<sup>th</sup> of 175 countries and territories with score of 39 out of 100<sup>200</sup> on a scale where 100 indicates no corruption. Bosnia dropped three points from 42 to 39 from 2013 to 2014. Transparency International identified a lack of political will, almost no criminal prosecution for those who are accused of corruption, and no protection for whistleblowers, as demonstrative of the acceptance of widespread corruption in Bosnia. They recommend that Bosnia requires political will, a functional and independent anti-corruption agency, judicial reforms, tougher sanctions, transparency, and budget oversight to reduce

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<sup>197</sup> Bosnia’s Future. Crisis Group Europe Report N 232, 10 July 2014. Pg 28

<sup>198</sup> Rajko Tomaš. Causes of slow and inefficient transition of economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Possibilities For Its Improvement. <http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=760d84b7-4cfc-4759-bb84-3b22fa34f8c9%40sessionmgr112&vid=1&hid=127> pg 103

<sup>199</sup> BOSNIA: Misuse of flood aid carries longer-term risks. OxResearch Daily Brief Service. (Jul 24, 2014). <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1547901377/85C3556D3D994565PQ/113?accountid=9867#>

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results>

corruption. The Bosnian government does acknowledge that there is widespread corruption, which is a problem and they created the Anti-Corruption Agency and adopted the State Aid law;<sup>201</sup> but those agencies have not been given resources or authority to commence their fight against corruption.

KnowYourContry, a compliance research organization, places Bosnia 166<sup>th</sup> of 219 for risk of laundering money. This organization indicates that Bosnia is in the mid-to-high range for risk of engaging in money laundering activities.<sup>202</sup> On 15 April 2015, the Council of Europe's anti-money laundering committee issued a negative press release with respect to Bosnian money laundering practices and referred Bosnia to

...the International Cooperation Review Group (ICRG) process of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) for failing to make sufficient progress in amending its legislation to remedy outstanding inefficiencies in its anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT) regime.<sup>203</sup>

The Bosnian government often agrees that it will adapt certain policies, but when politicians realize its impact, they either choose to ignore or pretend to be working on it. This public statement that identifies Bosnia as unwilling to amend legislation to prevent money laundering and financing of terrorism along with corruption statistics will prevent foreign investment in Bosnia and reinforce corrupt practices. It also sends a message to the international community and radicals about its level of dedication to addressing corruption in Bosnia.

There have been calls for reforms in Bosnia. In 2008, Bosnia wanted to become a candidate for joining the EU. The EU gave a list of reforms that Bosnia had to implement before it would be considered as a candidate for EU membership. Those requests for reforms were

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<sup>201</sup> The State Aid is to regulate misused budget finances in the country.

<sup>202</sup> <http://www.knowyourcountry.com/1ratingtable.html>

<sup>203</sup> <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/moneyval/Publications/PressRelease%20-%20Bosnia%20and%20Herzegovina%2004.15.pdf>

ignored on the part of Bosnian politicians until early 2015, mostly because they would have limited the power of political elites who are very protective of their status.<sup>204</sup> Bosnian political elites have not shown signs of being willing to support any reforms that would reduce their own significance and power.

The current Bosnian governance model is not allowing Bosnia to develop into a sovereign and independent state. The HRO has almost unlimited power to force reforms in Bosnia that rarely make any improvements. The mandate to have each major ethnic group represented at all levels of government only serves to reinforce corruption which, in turn, obstructs economic development.

### **Bosnian Economy**

The Bosnian economy is in a state of disarray and outlook is not positive. Bosnia has the lowest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in South-East Europe; just 3,392 Euro per capita, according to 2011 statistics. The 2011 GDP is 80% of the 1990 GDP, when adjusted for today's prices.<sup>205</sup> Despite the aid and effort that the international community invested in Bosnia, the country is less prosperous than it was 19 years ago. A BMI research report on Bosnia-Herzegovina infrastructure is not too optimistic that the Bosnian economy will improve in the short term:

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<sup>204</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina: Country outlook, 3 Mar 2015. EIU ViewsWire. The Economist Intelligence Unit N.A., Incorporated.

<sup>205</sup> Rajko Tomaš. Causes of slow and inefficient transition of economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Possibilities For Its Improvement. <http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=760d84b7-4cfc-4759-bb84-3b22fa34f8c9%40sessionmgr112&vid=1&hid=127> pg 104

...we maintain our weak outlook for 2014. Bosnia's short-term economic outlook remains gloomy as post-election political uncertainty, a weak investment climate and regional headwinds weigh on the already challenging recovery from major flooding.<sup>206</sup>

The Economist Intelligence Unit's country report on Bosnia stated "...that real GDP growth slowed to 0.9% in 2014, from 2.5% in 2013."<sup>207</sup> This report states that there are some indicators that GDP could grow in the future. The growth would come from the international community's assistance with the 2014 flood recovery. The infrastructure report indicates that there is interest from the international community to invest in the development of transportation systems that would allow Bosnia to develop as a transport hub within Europe. Currently, Bosnia does not have any major industries and thus foreign investment would provide Bosnia a way towards economic recovery. The current Bosnian economy is divided into the industrial, construction, retail and catering sector, with none of them having a strong showing.<sup>208</sup>

The Bosnian unemployment rate is hovering around 44%,<sup>209</sup> and youth unemployment is at 57%.<sup>210</sup> The Bosnian report, Decent Work Country Programme Document 2012 – 2015, states that about 50% of those who are unemployed have been out of the labor market for at least five years, and that about 25% of those who are unemployed have been out of the labor market for ten years. The unemployment is long-term and there is little chance of finding a job once it is lost.<sup>211</sup> In order to obtain employment in Bosnia in any sector, one needs to be part of the patronage system. The International Crisis Group states "...the system generates popular

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<sup>206</sup> Bosnia-Herzegovina Infrastructure Report - Q2 2015. Business Monitor International, London, United Kingdom, London. Pg 11

<sup>207</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit. Country Report Bosnia and Herzegovina. 10 Mar 2015. Pg 2

<sup>208</sup> Damir Miljevic. Bosnia and Herzegovina – future stuck in the past. Feb 2012.

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/unemployment-rate>

<sup>210</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/02/14/improving-opportunities-young-people-Bosnia-Herzegovina.print>

<sup>211</sup> Bosnian report, Decent Work Country Programme Document 2012 – 2015 issued by Minister of Civil Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and International Labor Office

frustration, cynicism and anger and erodes stability.”<sup>212</sup> About 25% of the population lives in poverty.<sup>213</sup>

There are many obstacles for foreign investors in Bosnia. The World Bank Group in 2015 ranked Bosnia 107<sup>th</sup> of 189 economies for ease of doing business. This was a drop from 104<sup>th</sup> place in 2014. The ease to start a business in Bosnia it is listed at 147<sup>th</sup> of 189 places.<sup>214</sup> This is not an environment that either a foreign or local business person can easily navigate. The system in place has not established policies and procedures to promote foreign investment or start-up of local businesses. The European Union (EU) and IMF are putting pressure on Bosnia to implement economic and procedural reforms that will be conducive to the start-up and success of businesses.

The International Crisis Group’s report on Bosnia identified the existence of “Sextet”. This is a group of six, sometimes seven, individuals who control the economy in Bosnia. Nothing is done without their direction or approval. They are the leaders of the two largest parties from each of the three communities that exist in Bosnia. They are well connected within the system and even when they are not in the office they still run the government and economy. Sextet power is “...buttressed by control of hiring, investment and commercial decision at state-owned firms, a situation that chokes private investment and growth.”<sup>215</sup> They operate on a patronage system and even the international community uses them to achieve their objectives. The reforms pushed by the EU were intended to create a non-partisan public service, but that has failed as “Sextet” continues to control all important aspects of Bosnian society, including the economy.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Bosnia’s Future. Crisis Group Europe Report N 232, 10 July 2014. Pg 14

<sup>213</sup> McMahon, Patrice C., and Jon Western. "The Death of Dayton." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 5 (September 2009): 69-83. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2015). .

<sup>214</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/data/exploreeconomies/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

<sup>215</sup> Bosnia’s Future. Crisis Group Europe Report N 232, 10 July 2014. Pg ii

<sup>216</sup> Bosnia’s Future. Crisis Group Europe Report N 232, 10 July 2014. Pg 11

Recent 2014 protests showed how fragile the peace is in Bosnia. An Austrian diplomat was considering the option of sending EU troops to keep peace after violent protests in the city of Tuzla.<sup>217</sup> Bosnian people are getting very frustrated with their low standard of living and the hardships that they regularly experience in trying to survive. Their displeasure was clearly evident during the 2014 protests.<sup>218</sup> People feel that they are powerless and have no influence on the state of the economy, which is controlled by self-serving and corrupt political elites. The United Kingdom and Germany's foreign secretaries publicly declared in January 2015 that Bosnian leaders need to start working together to implement social, legal and economic reforms, or country will face social upheaval.<sup>219</sup> This echoed statements made by the International High Representative, Valentin Inzko, in May of 2014, when he told Bosnian politicians to stop being self-serving and to help average citizens with their hardships.<sup>220</sup>

### **Bosnian Narrative**

Bosnian narrative is strongly affected by the influential local political and religious elite. The discourse persistently securitizes ethnic and religious intolerance. This division has been in effect since the war. This narrative of blame, untruthfulness, fear and selfishness becomes credible when it's combined with and reinforced by the dire economic situation. One of the primary means ensuring longevity of this narrative is the education system. Other means are religious and political discourses that are projected through various mediums.

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<sup>217</sup> Edith M. Laderer. Canadian Press. Administrator Lashes out at Bosnia's politicians for putting their interests ahead of Citizens. 15 May 2014.

<sup>218</sup> Luigi Serenelli and Dino Jahic. Bosnia protesters push for change. USA today. 28 Feb 2014.

<sup>219</sup> UK, Germany tell Bosnian leaders to get on with EU-requested reforms or brace for turmoil Canadian Press, The, Jan 16, 2015

<sup>220</sup> Edith M. Laderer. Canadian Press. Administrator Lashes out at Bosnia's politicians for putting their interests ahead of Citizens. 15 May 2014.

Each canton's leadership has full authority and responsibility for the decentralized education system in Bosnia. The churches and mosques are given full autonomy and authority over religious education in public schools without any oversight. There are 13 education ministries in Bosnia and multiple curricula. The Bosnian Federation has implemented a "two schools under one roof" system in areas where there are multiple nationalities present. The premise behind this system is to prevent children of different ethnicity and nationality to learn together and ensure their physical separation. This school system is used only in the Bosnian Federation in areas where school buildings are not available to separate children. Clark found that there are 54 schools that are considered "two schools under one roof" in Bosnia. Children that are attending "two schools under one roof" schools are forced to use separate entrances, have separate classrooms or have class at different time to prevent them from seen children of other ethnicity. These schools have their own ethnic teachers and administrations.<sup>221</sup> Safia Swimelar states that in places where there are not enough children to create separate schools or have "two schools under one roof", children are transported to other schools that are part of their ethnicity. This physical separation never allows children to interact with children of other religions, which prevents them from learning to get along.

The reason for this separation is politicization and securitization of education. Politicians and religious leaders are hard at work creating and promoting feelings of nationalism and ethnic divide to ensure their own prosperity and longevity. Clark found that local Bosnian people did not trust each other and that they wanted physical separation of children because "...children had

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<sup>221</sup> Clark, Janine Natalya. "Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Case for Root-and-Branch Reform." *Journal Of Human Rights* 9, no. 3 (July 2010): 344-362. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2015).

right to be educated in their own language,...”<sup>222</sup> ignoring the fact that all languages in Bosnia are very similar. For context, they are more similar than American English and British English. The only exception is that Serbs use Cyrillic letters.<sup>223</sup> Swimelar, found that education was securitized in Bosnia to exploit fears and to be a tool for self-serving politicians who use it to keep country in state of chaos for their own benefit. “Control of social, political and cultural institutions is equated with greater power and influence in the state overall...”<sup>224</sup> The discourse ensures that parents are constantly reminded of the war and that the *other* side was the aggressor. The message that the aggressor is still attempting to assimilate children into its religion and steal children’s national and religious identity is reinforced.<sup>225</sup> This discourse ensures that parents never agree to allow their children to attend ethnically mixed school. When one school attempted to create administratively ethno-national mixed school in 2003, it was set on fire.<sup>226</sup>

The curriculums that are taught to Bosnian children twist history, culture, religion, geography, literature and language to fit ethnic and nationalistic discourse. The curriculums are designed to teach children that their religious group is the victim of other religions.<sup>227</sup> This approach ensures that the next generation is indoctrinated into a hate discourse of *them* versus *us*. Young people are taught that they are the victims and to ignore presence of others in their

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<sup>222</sup> Clark, Janine Natalya. "Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Case for Root-and-Branch Reform." *Journal Of Human Rights* 9, no. 3 (July 2010): 344-362. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2015). Pg 350

<sup>223</sup> Clark, Janine Natalya. "Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Case for Root-and-Branch Reform." *Journal Of Human Rights* 9, no. 3 (July 2010): 344-362. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2015). Pg 350

<sup>224</sup> Safia Swimelar. *Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism*. 173

<sup>225</sup> Safia Swimelar. *Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism*.

<sup>226</sup> Clark, Janine Natalya. "Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Case for Root-and-Branch Reform." *Journal Of Human Rights* 9, no. 3 (July 2010): 344-362. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2015). Pg 349

<sup>227</sup> Safia Swimelar. *Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism*. 171

country. The education system dehumanizes *others* and teaches children that *others* do not belong in Bosnia. Discourse that is taught in schools is not allowing Bosnia to form its own common identity where everybody will feel part of Bosnia; instead it is used to create a culture of hate and intolerance.<sup>228</sup> Swimelar found that divide between ethnic groups was larger in 2008 than ten years prior, right after the end of the war. Gordon N. Bardos found that grade school textbooks were interlaced with messages of intolerance. Messages in the textbooks were oriented towards intolerance of Western society because West was portrayed as conspiring against Muslims and Muslim interests.<sup>229</sup> The major drawback faced by the Bosnian education system is that "...teaching is divided, interpretations are ethnocentric, the superiority of one group and the inferiority of the others is central, as is the victimization of 'our' group."<sup>230</sup>

Safia Swimelar warns that handling of education in conflict or in post-war society can have significant impact on the future peace. She states:

Education and conflict have always had a double-edged relationship. Education can be a tool in the hands of nationalists of multiple stripes to foment inter-ethnic tension and violence (e.g. 1990s Yugoslavia and Rwanda) or to forge a collective national identity (e.g. Tito's Yugoslavia, nineteenth century France). Related to the latter, it also has the potential to promote inter-ethnic accommodation, spread norms of human rights and tolerance, and thus increase long-term social stability and security....Education can be seen as both constructive and destructive , hence the "two faces of education".<sup>231</sup>

She argues that the Bosnian education system is highly political, which does not support peace and reconciliation, but instead poses threat to the peace. Given the fact that education is a socialization tool, it can critically impact future security and stability. The North Ireland conflict

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<sup>228</sup> Adila Pasalic Kreso. The War and Post-War Impact on the Educational System of Bosnia and Herzegovina

<sup>229</sup> Gordon N. Bardos. Jihad in the Balkans. World Affairs. Sept/Oct 2014. Pg 77

<sup>230</sup> Pilvi Torsti. How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pg 90

<sup>231</sup> Safia Swimelar. Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism. Pg 166

proved that "...segregation of education and prejudices in teaching have long played key roles in sustaining that conflict"<sup>232</sup> and it seems that the same methods are being used in Bosnia to prevent reconciliation progress. This leads to the conclusion that

...in the long-term, nationally-divided schooling and the teaching of history through 'us' and 'them' as hostile groups, and with great emphasis on wars, can become the central factor in maintaining conflict. School is a central form of political socialization for young people.<sup>233</sup>

### **Religious and Political Narrative in Bosnia**

Religious and political leaders in Bosnia offer narratives that promote intolerance and blame difficult situation on the ethnic groups that they are not part of. They use this narrative to keep war memories alive and not allow people to go through reconciliation processes. Religion and ethnicity are constantly used as securitization tools. The narrative is spread through the places of worship, schools, personal networks and media such as radio, television, newspapers and internet. Often, there is very little difference between political or religious speeches as they all have same theme. Srecko Latal, a Balkan analyst, found that programs on the radio in Bosnia as recently as January 2014 were very inflammatory and it sounded just as if the war was still ongoing.<sup>234</sup>

...heroic songs, boisterous rhetoric, new threats that Republika Srpska would split from the country, discussion about postcards showing victims dug out of mass graves, political disputes and petty fights, and finally cries for the international community to do something about this.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Pilvi Torsti. How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pg 92

<sup>233</sup> Pilvi Torsti. How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pg 92

<sup>234</sup> Srecko Latal. Neither War Nor Peace in Bosnia. <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/blog/neither-war-nor-peace-in-bosnia>

This programming sounded just like programs that were featured in 1991, before Bosnia engaged in a long, bloody war. The internet is flooded with web sites that promote intolerance, hate and create a sense of fear and physical insecurity. The web sites such as *Saff*<sup>236</sup>, *Vjesti Umeta*<sup>237</sup>, *Preporod*<sup>238</sup> and many others twist information to suit their own radical views.

The leader of IZ does not hesitate to publicly blame the international community for the past and current situation in Bosnia. He affirms “...that the international community, having failed to prevent genocide in his country and then imposed a flawed constitution at Dayton, has a responsibility to help Bosniaks build a strong and viable state.”<sup>239</sup> Comments like this from the top religious figures serve to spread distrust and blame while providing credibility to those who are attempting to further divide Bosnia. The discourse that the international community did not and still does not help Bosnia resonates well within Bosnian population when they are faced with everyday hardships of survival.

The religious leaders use people’s distrust towards politicians as a reason for filling the political void. Clergy argues that people want them to take over responsibly for running the state and they publicly claim “...people have lost faith in politicians. These people do not care for ordinary citizens, and that is why people turn to the Islamic Community. I would like that politicians take over responsibility, but ordinary citizens do not trust them and ask for our

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<sup>235</sup> Srecko Latal. Neither War Nor Peace in Bosnia. <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/blog/neither-war-nor-peace-in-bosnia>

<sup>236</sup> <http://saff.ba/>

<sup>237</sup> <http://vijestiummeta.com/>

<sup>238</sup> <http://preporod.com/>

<sup>239</sup> Bosnia’s Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Crisis Group Europe Report N 70, 26 Feb 2013. [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/balkans/bosnia-herzegovina/b070-bosnias-dangerous-tango-islam-and-nationalism.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/balkans/bosnia-herzegovina/b070-bosnias-dangerous-tango-islam-and-nationalism.pdf) Pg 10

intervention.”<sup>240</sup> Clergy is involved frequently with local politics. In 2012, when Mostar (a city in Bosnia where the divide between Croats and Bosniak is deep) was attempting to form a government, local Mufti was giving inflammatory sermons against Croats. The message to Muslims in Mostar was that Croats were back to conquer Muslims same as they tried to do during the war.<sup>241</sup> That same Mufti publicly preached anti-Semitic and anti-Christian statements saying that if only Muslims were in charge that everything would be fine.<sup>242</sup> Speeches from spiritual leaders against non-Muslims are common and they continue to re-enforce the divide among people of Bosnia.

The Serbs committed genocide against us, raped our women, made us refugees in our own country," said Mustafa Efendi Ceric, the Grand Mufti and main spiritual leader of Bosnia's Muslim community. "And now we have a tribal constitution that says we have to share political power and land with our killers. We Bosnian Muslims still feel besieged in the city of Sarajevo."<sup>243</sup>

Roman Catholic and Serbian Orthodox propaganda are principally led by politicians, and the two churches are keeping more on the sidelines even if they do occasionally involve themselves into politics. They do not get involved as much into state politics as do Islamic religious organizations. The reason for this is that churches are not supported by the international networks like Islamic religious organizations, and there is a larger separation between clergy and politicians. The Christian community does put forth strong effort to regenerate Serbian and Croatian religious and cultural spirit. They use Bosnian war and incidents of militant Islam to

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<sup>240</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Crisis Group Europe Report N 70, 26 Feb 2013. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/balkans/bosnia-herzegovina/b070-bosnias-dangerous-tango-islam-and-nationalism.pdf> Pg 6

<sup>241</sup> Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism. Crisis Group Europe Report N 70, 26 Feb 2013. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/balkans/bosnia-herzegovina/b070-bosnias-dangerous-tango-islam-and-nationalism.pdf> Pg 7

<sup>242</sup> Alenko Zornija. How Mufti Smajkic Imagines Bosnia-Herzegovina. 17 Feb 2004

<sup>243</sup> Dan Bilefsky. Bosnia experiencing an Islamic revival But some warn of a sharp culture clash. 27 Dec 2008.

portray Islam as threat to the Bosnian security. The church attendance is on rise. Public institutions such as police and ministries in Republika Srpska have instituted Orthodox patron saints.<sup>244</sup> There are also occasions where Serbian priests provided blessings to the Serbian soldiers during the war although the Serbian Orthodox church condemned those acts.<sup>245</sup>

#### **CHAPTER 4 - RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

Bosnia has many challenges which stem from inefficient governance, almost non-existent economy and narrative that is focused on securitization of religion and ethnicity. These challenges are exacerbated by the Bosnian history and post-war religious revival. Bosnian narrative is concentrated on fueling religious divide and intolerance. This narrative causes Bosnian people to be weary of each other and to internalize their fears. People feel that they are treated unjustly in social and economic sense which makes them feel that they are losing their self-significance. Bosnians do not have trust in their state as it is riddled with corruption, complicated inefficient administrative processes and patronage politics.

Chapter two illustrated that weak governance, weak economy and narrative are elements that influence radicalization. Chapter 3 shed some light on Bosnia's dysfunctional governance system that local Bosnians and the international community does not trust. The system is known to be highly corrupt and based on patronage, which creates friction and breeds discontent. With unemployment as high as 47%, and 25% of people living in poverty, there is little hope that future will be much better without major reforms. The country's narrative is concentrated on

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<sup>244</sup> Dan Bilefsky. Bosnia experiencing an Islamic revival But some warn of a sharp culture clash. 27 Dec 2008.

<sup>245</sup> Edina Becirevic. The Fight Against Terrorism and Crisis Management in the Western Balkans. 2008

securitizing religion and ethnicity to keep people in constant state of uneasiness about their safety and future. The foreign religious actors from the Middle East having arrived *en masse* to Bosnia during the war, with unlimited financing for religious awakening activities, offer radical Islam as the solution to Bosnian Muslims. Bosnian Muslims, exhausted from the war, post-war struggle to survive, inefficient government and their historical struggle since Ottoman times, turn to those Islamist who promise to provide stability, safety and prosperity. At present, only a small portion of Bosnian Muslims has adapted radical Islamist views. About 3.3% of Muslims declare themselves Wahhabi and 12.5% support Wahhabi's ideals.<sup>246</sup> That is about 16% of Bosnian Muslims who, in two decades, have learned enough about Wahhabism to feel that it is an ideology that they want to be part of their lives.

The Significance-Quest radicalization model along with other radicalization models argues that people will turn to look for solutions to resolve their grievances and to restore their self-significance when they feel threatened either socially or economically. For Muslims in Bosnia, one of ways to restore their self-significance is through religion. The radical militant Islamists that are present in Bosnia use this search for self-significance to lure people into their ideology. The Wahhabis are ones that are most visible in Bosnia but there are the others which act as conveyor belt to groom and prep those who are willing to transition to militant Islamists.

To diminish influence that radicals can have on Bosnian Muslims following policy changes and recommendations are made. First, Bosnia needs to be helped to establish a governance model that is efficient and effective. The current Dayton model is not working and it only serves to promote corruption, inefficiencies and nourish ethnic and religious animosities.

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<sup>246</sup> Bećirević, Edina. "The Bosnian Approach to the Fight against Terrorism." *Fight Against Terrorism & Crisis Management In The Western Balkans* 32, no. 1 (February 2008): 77-94. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed May 3, 2015). Pg 86

With more than two-thirds of Bosnians felling that "...the country is going in the wrong direction, with large numbers indicating that their lives have gotten worse since 2006"<sup>247</sup> something needs to be done. The religious and ethnic quotas should be abolished but minorities' rights should be protected and respected. This would allow people to start feeling safer and desecuritize religion and ethnicity. Prosperous European countries such as Belgium and Switzerland that have managed to effectively balance multi-ethnic and religious differences can serve as the example for Bosnia. Bosnia could adapt similar governance models.

The international community needs to allow Bosnians to govern themselves without interference of the OHR who randomly is authorized to modify legislature, remove officials and force reforms. The OHR cannot act as a "big brother" that overrules local democratically elected officials. This approach where OHR along with the international community can modify anything in Bosnia institutionalizes a temporary solution mindset, which does not allow Bosnia to work towards permanent long term solutions<sup>248</sup>. The radicalization models show that people need to feel empowered and able to influence their future, which is not the case currently in Bosnia. The international community has ultimate power over affairs in Bosnia and that reduces the self-significance of Bosnians. This demotivates elites to do anything positive for Bosnia, and allows radicals to use that as a wedge to promote radical religion as a solution.

The religion and politics need to be separated in Bosnia. There is too much interaction between these institutions. This close relationship allows securitization of religion and ethnicity. The religious institutions should be responsible for spiritual development of their followers and

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<sup>247</sup> Christopher S. Chivvis. The Dayton Dilemma.  
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=2bc14f8d-2dcd-4db1-9abe-7d5295321c2d%40sessionmgr4004&vid=2&hid=4208> pg 65

<sup>248</sup> Robert Coalson and Maja Nikolic. Radical Islamists seek to Exploit Frustration in Bosnia. Radio Free Europe. 1 Mar 2013

allow politicians to run the county. The reconciliation process will never occur if religious and political leaders continue to use religion as a tool for their own advancement. Ethnic groups are afraid of each other and until people feel that they are mutually safe the radicals will have opening to promote their ideologies. The Bosnian narrative needs to be modified starting with reforms in the schools. Children need to be taught tolerance of others along with fact that multi-ethnic, multi-religious society can function well and that all nations can live together peacefully and respectfully of each other's differences.

The improvement of governance model will create a responsible, efficient, just and effective system that garners the confidence of locals and the international community. This in turn will allow economy to develop because local and foreign investors will feel confident that they can safely invest in Bosnia if Bosnia has stable and functional government with little appetite for corrupt practices. Currently, there is almost no foreign investment in Bosnia due to the dysfunctional practices of Bosnian authorities. It is too complicated and risky for foreign and local businesses to invest in Bosnian economy.

Bosnia needs reforms to allow it to become a true sovereign state responsible for all of its policies, legislations and laws without fear that the international community will impose their will. Bosnians need to accept responsibly for their own well-being. More efficient and transparent governance would support economic development which would in turn allow people to commence the reconciliation process. The narrative would be improved and this would greatly diminish radical forces' influences. Until such time as the Bosnians feel that they do not have a future in Bosnia, the radicals will be able to influence Bosnians. Bosnians have potential to make

Bosnia a great county, and there are many creative young people who would be willing to make Bosnia a better place if they are given opportunity.<sup>249</sup>

To summarize, Islamic radicals are present in Bosnia and they have some influence on Bosnian Muslims in the Bosnian Federation. The radical Islamic influence is limited for the time being but if there are no changes made to Bosnian governance their influence could become more pronounced. To ensure that radical influences do not become part of Bosnia, Bosnia needs to improve governance, economy and change its narrative from securitization of religion and ethnicity to one of reconciliation and tolerance.

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<sup>249</sup> William Hunt with Ferida Durakovic and Zvonimir Radeljkovic. Bosnia Today: Despair, Hope, and History. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=06149bb3-2a96-4b06-8011-c9e80d9656e7%40sessionmgr4005&vid=1&hid=4208> pg 26

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