

Zitierhinweis

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To conclude, the book offers useful insight into how the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s affected the sense of belonging of migrants from the former Yugoslavia in Britain. It also has the merit of giving pride of place to the complexity of individual identities, challenging prefabricated labels imposed by institutional actors to classify migrants. This is timely and relevant given the current migration crisis. However, the book does have certain regrettable shortcomings. Methodologically, it does not explain whether and how interviews and surveys differ, nor what questions were asked and how they were analysed. Moreover, the fact that extracts from survey participants and interviews are not contextualised and that ethnic identity received so much of the author's attention makes the illustrated nuances less powerful in challenging and problematising essentialist visions of transnational ties and diasporas.

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Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić, eds, *Politicization of Religion. The Power of Symbolism. The Case of Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014 (Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy). 223 pp., ISBN 978-1-137-48412-3, \$106.99

Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić, eds, *Politicization of Religion. The Power of State, Nation, and Faith. The Case of Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014 (Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy). 226 pp., ISBN 978-1-137-48413-0, \$106.99

In two volumes, Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić scrutinize the (re)appearance of religions in the public sphere within

the states that re-emerged from former Yugoslavia. The first volume focusses on the counterfeiting of religious symbols and their use or abuse in politics, while the second volume underlines the significance of religions and confessions to develop national identities. Those things became especially important when Yugoslavia collapsed in a bloody war that had not been expected within 'Europe' as it approached its third millennium. The existing religions in Yugoslavia were bound up with the wars, as their symbols, their representatives and their objectives were politicized by the war leaders in their attempts to mobilize the different nationalities for political and military goals. Hence in both West and East Europe the impression arose and indeed was intentionally fostered that the Yugoslav wars were 'religious wars'.

Even more than twenty years after the wars' end, the discussion remains in progress. Still today, when Slovenia and Croatia are in the European Union and other states are keen for EU-membership, governments and politicians still misuse religion to 'explain' present dysfunction of political institutions, weakness of social systems and economic failure. This argumentation successfully reaches the societies in the Yugoslav 'successor states' as they are far from being secularized. On the contrary, religion is much more present in the public sphere there than it is in the West, as sociological surveys reveal. So religion, religious values, and conflict with religious implications have a clear impact on societies there. Alas, that is not common knowledge in the secular 'West', so that the books, with their questions and explanations enter a very interesting field and argue in a methodologically innovative way. In accordance with Keith Tester's plea for a differentiated sociological approach to the Yugoslav case study, the bulk of the authors apply socio-

logical methods and analyses. But rather refreshingly they incorporate into their studies political considerations too, and historical processes.

Beginning programmatically, Gorana Ognjenović develops a somewhat pessimistic view of the force of self-repeating religious and historical myths. She decodes the nationalistic essay of a Serbian author from the beginning of the 20th century which in her eyes reveals still-prevailing mechanisms able to create a collective homogeneous idea of a nation. In the core of the books is the story of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There three religions prevail —Christianity in the Catholic and Orthodox confession, Islam and Judaism—and the most severe fighting and massacres occurred there during the wars in 1992-1995. That left a legacy of not only the still unstable political situation in a now fractured country but also trauma unhealed in society and within the direct victims of the wars. In these two books the post-war societal situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina plays a significant role. Jasna Jozelić focusses on the politicization of Islam and the development of nationalist mechanisms, Sergej Flere traces the endeavours of representatives of the three religions to instigate war efforts, while Clemens Vavallina and Sead S. Fetahagić study the historical role of the Catholic Church in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Meanwhile, Marjan Smrke detects ethno-religious mimicry in the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nena Močnik points at sexual violence and rape during the wars in 1992-1995, and Adam Lindhagen conducts a long journey back into ancient Narona in the Neretva valley and examines the political control in that period. Amra Hadžimuhamedović's contribution brings to the fore the changing of 'Bosnian identity' reflected in religious architecture. The crucial role of women in building the Bosniak (Muslim) nation is in-

terpreted by Zilka Spahić Šiljak on the basis of articles and images from a women's magazine.

The endeavour within the Serbian Orthodox Church to find a place within a pluralist, democratic and modern society while fearing the loss of its identity is diligently discussed by Milan Vukomanović. Kosovo as Serbian 'sacred land' deserves a special consideration presented by Filip Ejduš and Jelena Subotić. In their balanced contribution Kenneth Morrison and Nebojša Čagorović depict the politically motivated conflict between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Montenegrin Orthodox Church after the latter's proclamation of autocephaly in 1993.

On the other hand the Catholic Church, actually a global player, need not concern itself with national or state frontiers. Unfortunately however, as Frano Prcela critically remarks, the Catholic Church in Croatia missed necessary discussions on the self-commitment of 'the Croats' although it did transmit Croat identity during the anti-religious time of Titoism and again during the Homeland War in Croatia. Instead, Prcela asks the Catholic Church for new authority and an 'open Christian identity'. Lack of openness to other religious communities is a prevailing problem in Slovenia, where according to Srećko Dragoš the separation between Church and State remains a 'political fiasco'. Astonishingly—or perhaps not—Anton K. Berishaj describes good interfaith relations in secular Kosovo, where the population is tolerant of different faiths. Nevertheless, the Islamic Community and the Catholic Church in Kosovo were unable to establish a reliable connection to the Serbian Orthodox Church because of political influence by the Serbian Orthodox Church there. Smaller religious communities too can find a voice, with Kosta Milkov stating that the free Evangelical churches

had no intention of lobbying for their own interests as evangelicals during the Yugoslav wars but chose rather to seek 'biblical responses' to 'alleviate the human suffering of neighbor and enemy alike' (Politization of Religion, the Power of State, Nation, and Faith, 111).

In their summaries at the ends of the books, the editors are right to underscore once again that the post-Yugoslav situation is a matter not only of the old and new states in Southeastern Europe but of the whole of Europe which had interfered both actively and passively in the Yugoslav wars. The editors also point out the danger of the self-reproduction of religious symbols by religious institutions which operate as their own judge, jury—and executioner. But according to the editors, that is a 'constellation [...] always doomed at birth', especially in the 'Age of Information' (Politization of Religion, the Power of Symbolism, 211-212). At the end of the second book the editors evince deep concern and scepticism concerning solutions they see as 'too easy' for a multiethnic environment. In their opinion, the Dayton Agreement especially, signed in 1995 to partition Bosnia into two entities has caused the forces of nationalism to increase.

Generally speaking each chapter offers enough innovative potential and insight into the specific and complex social conditions in the Yugoslav 'successor states'. It is a pity then that some of the articles lack what would have been useful distinctions to give a clearer notion of the actors than does the general use of the term 'the church'. So it is up to the reader to deduce who is actually in charge of 'the church' in question; is it their 'officers,' the bishops and priests? Or all the believers in a country, its religious institutions and organizations? Or perhaps some combination of all of them? What must however be empha-

sized is that the authors treat their subjects mostly dispassionately and scholarly. Their ability to stand off from a national viewpoint and their willingness to criticise the failures and short-sightedness of 'their own' is a remarkable characteristic of most of the contributions. At the same time, this is real progress in the discussion of the past, present and perhaps even the future of religion in Post-Yugoslavia.

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Jana Bacevic, *From Class to Identity. The Politics of Education Reforms in Former Yugoslavia*, Budapest et al.: CEU Press 2014. 253 pp., ISBN 978-615-5225-72-7, €55.00

In the more than twenty-five years since the beginning of the Yugoslav breakup, the literature on ethnic conflict and national mobilization in the Balkans has been widely enriched by new studies and theories. Dismissing essentialist approaches once and for all, the latest research has stressed the importance of analyzing the concrete mechanisms by which ethnic and national identities are produced and reinforced through specific social and political dynamics, thus underlining the role of diverse factors such as cultural policy and the production of public intellectuals and political discourses and traditions. Ironically enough, the roles of education and education policies in these processes have nevertheless received relatively little attention. In this context, *From Class to Identity* takes on the task of at least partially filling that gap. And it does so with proficiency.

The book analyzes the development of different education policies in the former Yugoslavia, as well as in some of its former constituent parts, during different periods