UDK: 796.332(497.6)(091)

# Özgür Dirim Özkan

Virtua Research and Consultancy (Istanbul, Turkey)

### PERCEPTION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S QUALIFICATION TO FIFA WORLD CUP 2014 BY DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS

### Introduction

Any given cultural fact should be examined through the holistic context of the dynamics in which it appears. In this sense, the culture of football like many aspects of the culture should be examined within a general context of "culture". Within this context development of football in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) should be dealt considering three different periods, namely: Pre-Socialist Yugoslavia, Socialist Yugoslavia and independent BiH (post-Yugoslav Bosnia).

From 1878 to 1918, BiH was annexed to Austria-Hungary and despite the Habsburg rule did not last longer than 40 years, not only the economical and political, but also the social and cultural impacts were beyond expectations. Among other spheres, football was respectively brought to BiH by Austrians. The beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century had the first signs of establishment of football clubs in Bosnia. Among them Zrinjski was established in Mostar in 1905 as a Croat team and FK Slavija was established in Sarajevo by Bosnian Serbs in 1908. However, the political turmoil in Balkans, followed by Balkan Wars and First World War, halted development of football like many other aspects of social and cultural life.

Despite the Habsburg Empire was dispersed after the First World War, the social and cultural impacts of Austria continued to be influential in the newly established Kingdom of Serbs-Croats and Slovenes (later on changed to "Yugoslavia" in 1929). In fact, the Ecole Danube, or as also recognized as Viennese School had the golden era during the interwar period. The competitive Viennese system was recognized with highly technical skills of players which soon began to be the rival of English W-M system. (Lafranchi, 271) The impact of Ecole Danube was so much mighty that Mitropa tournament, organized by Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Austrian and Yugoslav football teams was getting more and more prestigious and popular in European football. (Lafranchi, 271) Unsurprisingly, Romania and Yugoslavia (both implying Viennese system) were the ones to represent Europe with Belgium and France in the first World Cup organized in Uruguay in 1930, under the name of Jules Rimmet Cup.

Most of the football clubs which were established in Austria at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century were formed by working class. (Horak, 310) Similarly, the football teams blossomed all over Yugoslavia were mostly established by workers in general, and in BiH respectively. The names of the clubs which were established in that era gives the hints about the general characteristics of the teams: Radnički (Workers) Lukavac (1921), Rudar (Miner) Ugljevik (1925), Proleter Teslić (1926), Rudar Prijedor (1928), Rudar Kakanj (1928) are the recognized football clubs which are still active in Bosnian football. Even if the name of the clubs did not have any denominator signifying the working class background of the teams, some clubs like Sloboda Tuzla which were established in 1919 by workers in Tuzla, did have working class dynamics as well.

Unsurprisingly, football was halted during the Second World War, and the newly emerging state socialism in Yugoslavia had also direct impacts on Bosnian football. The rapid impact was the prohibition of those football teams like Zrinjski and Slavija who were accused of collaborating with Nazis, or Croatian or Serbian nationalists, namely Ustašas and Četniks against Partisans. The new regime leaded establishment of new football clubs in all over Yugoslavia. For example, Drina Zvornik, Kozara Gradačac, Sutjeska Foča were established in 1945 honoring the legendary battle-fields of partisan warfare against Nazis. The newly emerging regime was also supporting establishment of new football clubs which were connected with working class, or newly emerging urban elites which had political connections with the Communists League of Yugoslavia. For example, in 1946, FK Sarajevo was established by the local branch of Yugoslav Communists League in Sarajevo.

Duke and Crolley mention that among the main ingredients of such a society was a system of central planning of all aspects of economy, which included sports as well. (Duke and Crolley, 85) A strong institutional structure behind sportive activities in socialist countries was a key for the international sportive success. In football, implementation of socialism was not only practiced in the sportive activities, but also into the tactics of the teams. The highly competitive Yugoslav football, following Ecole Danube was furbished with the collectivist ideological impact of game tactics. Yugoslav football was not only recognized by technically superb players, but also with their stamina and physical strength, but especially with their speed. (Wilson, 101) As a consequence, Yugoslav football unsurprisingly became one of the outshining football schools not only in Europe, but also in global scale. By 1970's and 80's, Yugoslav football players and trainers were recognized in Europe's leading national leagues. Wilson argues that; "There was a time when Yugoslavia was the Brazil of Europe. (Wilson, 98) It also has to be noted that, Yugoslav football and Yugoslavia. (Foer, 12)

Paradoxically, Yugoslav football was at its peak just before the breakup of Yugoslavia when Red Star managed to claim for the UEFA Cup in 1991. It has to be noted that Red Star had players from all of the Yugoslav republics. However, on the other side, football acted as one of the main determinants of dissolution as well. It is widely argued that the match between Red Star and Dinamo Zagreb on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1990 in Maksimir Stadium in Zagreb can be recognized as the beginning of the civil war in Yugoslavia. (Giulianotti, 13) As expressed by Vrcan and Lalić; "The 'tribal' activity of football following, particularly 'hooligan' actions, was transferred from the ends to the trenches." (Vrcan and Lalić, 176) The symbolism of fan aggression was easily transferred, first into aggressive political symbolism, then into military symbolism. During Yugoslav Wars, it was very common that the fan groups in all over Yugoslavia, which were mainly established in 1980's, became basic sources of recruitment for paramilitary units infamous by their bloody actions. Without any doubt, politicians were involved in transferring hooliganism to the bloodshed. (Vrcan and Lalić, 182)

1990's in all over East Europe was emphasized with socio-economical crisis, where in Yugoslavia it was doubled as a result of ethnic warfare. The ex-Yugoslav countries still lack in having "quality" leagues. On the other side they can keep up relative success of national football teams relying on players who are living in Diaspora. Among all ex-Yugoslav countries, BiH, suffering from one of the bloodiest warfare since The Second World War, did also suffered in re-organizing the football, not only in terms of football league, but also the national football team. The main obstacle behind this was (and still is) the ethnic tension in the country. It has to be mentioned that, Dayton Peace Agreement which was signed in December 1995, resulted in confirmation of a politically and socially fragmented country which divided BiH into two entities and 10 cantons, defined due to geographical distribution of ethnic communities. which also made it difficult to organize a football league and a national football team that could include representatives from each ethnic groups. A common league could only be established in 2000 by involvement of Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat teams, where Bosnian Serb teams were involved in 2002, which used to play previously in the league of Serbia.

Despite the institutional problems that BiH had faced, since they could have been represented in international competitions, BiH national football team has had relative successes. The new millennium brought brighter successes for the BiH national football team. Although BiH national football team missed the chances to attend any World Cup or Euro Cups until 2014, their performance in the qualification group matches were appreciated by football authorities. Finally, they succeeded to be the leader of the qualification group to attend to the World Cup 2014 in Brazil.

In fact, it would not be wrong to argue that football on international level had been one of the few occasions which made the nation to be proud of. Most of the politicians have appreciated the success of BiH national football team, since it was expected that this would help the three ethnic groups to be united under the flag of BiH for the first time. However, apparently it did not happen to be so. It is known that support for the BiH national football team among Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats is marginal. The research, presented in this paper aimed to understand the reasons behind this fact.

#### Methods

The research relies on two basic sources of information. Firstly, an ethnographic study was conducted in Bosnia in 2007/2008 as a part of PhD dissertation titled *Football Fandom as a Factor Behind Formation of Cultural Differences: A Case Study on FK Sarajevo and FK Željezničar Football Fans* and the writer of this article pursues Bosnian football since then, since he settled down in Sarajevo by December 2009 and have been living there. Secondly, deep interviews with leading football fan groups of different clubs with different ethnic backgrounds, journalists and academics were also conducted prior to "11<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference on Sport Performance".

#### Results

Unsurprisingly, it has been found out that both Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats do not have support or even a sort of sympathy for the BiH National Football Team, since they do not have a feeling of belonging for it. One of the main finding outs of the previous research in 2007 was that, the Bosnian nationalism had a more inclusionist character. (Özkan, 2009; 102) Bosnian nationalism simply is not built on the existence of an *ethos*, but more established on a territorial unity. In this sense, the ontological existence of the "nation" of BiH itself does not have any implications regarding *ethos*. However, on the other side, BiH nationalism, and even the "nation of BiH" is always regarded as Bosnian Muslims or Bosniak, since the Bosnian Muslim community have been the political authority and since they have been holding the demographical superiority in the country. On the other side, Catholic, namely Bosnian Croat, and Orthodox, namely Bosnian Serb communities have their own separated political, cultural and economical centers that are Zagreb for Bosnian Croats and Belgrade for Bosnian Serbs.

A short analysis on the logos of the clubs in BiH will give some clue about the nature of national inclusion and exclusion in BiH. Looking at the logos of football clubs in BiH, one can easily find out the predominant ethnic background of the team: Simply, if the letters on the logo are written in Cyrillic script, it is a football team from Bosnian Serb territory. A logo decorated with red-white squares is a sole gauge signifying the Croatian identity. However, on the other side, it is hard to find any symbolic sign in the logos of the clubs which are pre-dominantly Bosnian Muslim. Indeed, it is not difficult to recognize them. One can simply differentiate a predominantly Bosnian Muslim team, if the logo neither has Cyrillic scripted letters, nor it is decorated with red-white squares. Similarly, not only the club logos but also the discourse of the clubs' management and the fans' also imply the unessentialist claim of identity construction, while majority of the fans of Bosnian Muslim teams would identify their team's identity with the location, or with other cultural and sometimes political determiners. While on the other side, Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb counterparts have highly noticeable symbolic and verbal discursive action exerting the essentialist components of the process of identity construction. The issue of representation of Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs in the BiH national football team should be dealt within this contextual comparison between the inclusionist and exclusionist identity paradigms.

### Discussion

Most of the Bosnian Croat or Bosnian Serb football fans, or football professionals, or even those who are not actively taking part in football as fans or as professionals would claim that BiH national football team does not represent Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, which does not sound unrealistic when looking at the players who played in World Cup 2014 qualification group groups.

Although the management of the team seems evenly distributed as a result of political consensus, more than a sportive success based decision, where the manager Safet Susić is a Bosnian Muslim, and his assistant is Borče Sredojević, a Bosnian Serb and the goalkeeper trainer Tomislav Piplica, a Bosnian Croat, a similar scene cannot be

claimed for the players of the team. Tino Sunjić who has Bosnian Croat origins, but also nephew of the manager Safet Susić, Ognjen Vranješ and Zvijezdan Misimović who have origins from Republika Srpska (from the Serbian entity) are the regular members of the squad who does not have Bosnian Muslim origin. Moreover, Miroslav Stevanović of Bosnian Serb origin, and Ivan Sesar or Bosnian Croat origin are the irregular players in national team who do not have Muslim background.

In this sense, the argument that "there is no place for Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats in the national team" seems to be correct if we do not go deeper in the reality behind the scene. A glance over the squad of the Croatian national team would give us some clues in understanding the issue. Among the regular members of the Croatian squad, five of them are born in BİH: Nikica Jelavić (born in Čapljina, plays for Hull City), Mateo Kovačić (born in Kotor Varoš, plays for Inter Milan), Ivan Rakitić (born in Žepče, plays for Sevilla), Dejan Lovren (born in Zenica, plays for Southampton) and Vedran Čorluka (born in Derventa, plays for Lokomotiv Moscow). It has to be noted that Croatian national football team outshines among other ex-Yugoslav countries with the success in international competitions, which have been a basic motivation for Bosnian Croat football players to decide playing for Croatia since every single Bosnian Croat has right to hold Croatian citizenship. In this context, preferring to play for a more successful Croatian national team than playing in a relatively weak Bosnian national team can be identified as the basic motivation for Bosnian Croat football stars to decide to play for Croatia.

On the other side, the strong relationship between Bosnian Croat authorities and Croatia are well known. As mentioned above, every single Bosnian Croat holds Croatian citizenship as well as Bosnian citizenship, a policy which is implemented by right wing, conservatist and nationalist governments of Croatia. In fact, this have always been an issue of debate between Croatian right wing and left wing politicians, where Bosnian Croats have got the right to vote for Croat parliament and unsurprisingly they mostly vote in favor of right wing HDZ (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica – Croatian Democratic Union). Moreover, as expressed by a club professional of Široki Brijeg, one of the leading Bosnian Croat teams, the Bosnian Croats identify themselves as citizens of BiH, but member of "Hrvatski Narod", which literally means Croatian people/nation. In this sense, it is a question, if Bosnian Croats themselves construct a type of exclusionist national identity, which results isolation of themselves from social and political institutions of BiH, including the Bosnian national football team.

A similar perspective while looking at the national squad of Serbia will not show similar tendencies. The only Bosnian originated Serbian player who plays for Serbian national football team is Neven Subotić, who was born in Banja Luka / Republika Srpska. Contrary to Croatia, Serbia under Milosević rule was a semi-isolated country which had its impacts on football as well. Football in Serbia was not only isolated from the world, but also it was under heavy political influence and under dominance of mafiatic groups. (Foer, 10) It was known that neither Milosević, nor Radovan Karadzić were fond of football, but they were benefitting from it by using the fan management of the clubs as a tool for political pressure, and using fan clubs like recruitment agencies for paramilitary groups. Within this context, football in Serbia had passed through an era of relative decline. Under those conditions, despite the football players from Republika Srpska were playing in Serbian League, neither had they had the opportunity to improve their capabilities, nor display their talents.

In the meantime, for the children of Bosnian refugees in West European countries, football was one of the main tools for social upward mobility. Their parents, who had passed through Yugoslav education system and had an influential perception of sports education, backed their children's taking part in local football clubs in Western Europe. Unsurprisingly, almost all of the football players in Bosnian national team are comprised of those from Diaspora, where most of them are children of refugees who seeked asylum from the BiH. As a result of atrocity and ethnic cleansening directed towards Bosnian Muslim population, most of the refugees were Bosnian Muslims, where relatively smaller in size. Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats seeked asylum either in Croatia, or in Serbia, which can be defined as the basic reason behind the fact that the skeleton of the Bosnian national football is comprised of Bosnian Muslims. For those who were forced to leave their homeland torn by a bloody warfare, who had social and cultural, as well as economical problems as children of refugees, being part of the national football team of BiH had been an excellent symbolic mean for showing and feeling belongingness and constructing a national identity. In that sense, apart from a few exceptions like Zlatan Ibrahimović, most of the Bosnians in Diaspora have preferred to play in Bosnian team, rather than playing in the national teams of the countries where they were grown up. A similar loyalty can even be seen among the fans of national football team of BiH. The fan groups such as BH Fanaticos, Belaj Boys, BH Legion, or Armija Zmajeva are established in Diaspora and almost all of their members are not living in Bosnia. During an interview, a Bosnian journalist Boro Kontić expresses that being a member of BH Fanaticos is an indicator for identity, a mean to bind Bosnian youngsters in Diaspora to their homeland. (Özkan, 2007; 111) On the other hand, such an excitement for the national team is not visible among football fans who reside in BiH.

Keeping football fans from Zenica out, where Bosnian national football team plays most of the home matches there and recognized by fierce fan support, research conducted in 2007 shows that especially football fans of FK Sarajevo and Željezničar, leading football clubs from Sarajevo which are predominantly Bosnian Muslim, consider themselves more attached to their clubs when compared with the national football team of BiH. (Özkan, 2009; 185) Lidija Jularić, an anthropologist recognized by her ethnographic research on coffeehouses in Sarajevo mentions about the "collective ego of Sarajevo", which establishes the exclusionist discourse with the term "papak" (rural). In that sense, it can be asserted that if exclusion exists in BiH, such exclusion is not directed only towards Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, but also to Bosnian Muslims as well.

### References

Duke, V., Crolley, L. (1996). Football, Nationality and the State. Adison Wesley Longman Ltd.: New York.

Foer, F. (2004). How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization. Harper Collins Publishers: New York.

Horak, R. (2001). Viyana'da Futbol Kültürü: İngilizce Başlangıcından Avusturyalı Gelişmeye. In Bora, T. et al. (Eds.) *Futbol ve Kültürü: Takımlar, Taraftarlar, Endüstri, Efsaneler* (pp. 305-313). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Giulianotti, R. (2003). Football: A Sociology of the Global Game. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Jularić, L. (2010) Perceptions of Normality in Sarajevo: The Phenomenon of 'Papak'. Balkananalysis.com. (Accessed in: March, 14, 2014) http://www.balkanalysis.com/bosnia/2010/10/04/perceptions-of-normality-in-sarajevo-the-phenomenon-of-papak/

Lafranchi, P. (2001). 1920-1938 Döneminde Avrupa'da Futbol: Uluslararası Bir Ağın Gelişmesi. In Bora, T. et al. (Eds.) *Futbol ve Kültürü: Takımlar, Taraftarlar, Endüstri, Efsaneler* (pp. 263-275). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Özkan, Ö. D. (2007). Bosna'da İşler Karışık. Four Four Two T(Turkish edition), 15, 106-112.

Özkan, Ö. D. (2009). Saraybosna'da Futbol Taraftarlığı ve Kimlik Farklılaşması: Sarajevo ve Zeljeznicar Taraftarları. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. İstanbul: Yeditepe Üniversitesi.

Wilson, J. (2006). Behind the Curtain: Travels in Eastern European Football. Orion Books: London.

Vrcan, S., Lalić, D. (1999) From Ends to the Trenches, and Back: Football in the Former Yugoslavia. In Armstrong, G., Giulianotti, R. (Eds.) *Football Cultures and Identities* (pp.176-189). MacMillan Press: London.

## PERCEPTION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S QUALIFICATION TO FIFA WORLD CUP 2014 BY DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS

Introduction: Generally, in Balkans, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, football fandom is very much associated with the fact of ethnic tension. Football is often used as a metaphor for warfare, while in turn, during the Yugoslav Wars, ironically football terminology was used to metaphorise the significance of ethnic slaughtering. In fact, it is very commonly uttered that the starting flame of the Yugoslav Wars was sparkled in Zagreb Maksimir Stadium in May 13, 1990 after a match between Red Star Belgrade and Dinamo Zagreb. During the Yugoslav Wars, fan groups acted as recruitment agencies for organizing paramilitary groups who were convicted for organizing war crimes. This was the case in Bosnia as well. Although almost two decades have passed since the war in Bosnia, the effects of ethnic nationalism in football fandom is still inevitable. Recently, national football team of Bosnia succeeded to participate in the 2014 World Cup, which will be organized in Brazil, causing euphoria in the country. However, it is a controversial issue whether if all the ethnic groups, namely Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs respectively did attend the celebrations. In other words, it is a question mark if they perceive Bosnian National Football as their "national" team. In this sense, this paper aims to discuss the perception of this success by different ethnic groups relying on interviews with different fan groups in the country. Methods: The presentation will rely on two basic resources: [1] An ethnographic study which was conducted in Bosnia in 2007/2008 as a part of PhD dissertation titled Football Fandom as a Factor Behind Formation of Cultural Differences: A Case Study on FK Sarajevo and FK Zeljeznicar Football Fans and ongoing observations of the presenter on Bosnian football since then. [2] Deep interviews with leading football fan groups of different clubs with different ethnic backgrounds like Velež Mostar, Čelik Zenica, Sloboda Tuzla (predominantly Bosnian Muslim), Zrinjski, Široki Brijeg (predominantly Bosnian Croat), Borac Banja Luka, FK Slavija (predominantly Bosnian Serb) which will be organized due to the start of the second half of the Premier League of Bosnia and Herzegovina by March 2014. Results: The results of the interviews will be analyzed at the end of the interviews. On the other side, it has been observed that Bosnian Serbs' and Bosnian Croats' perception of national team of BIH differs from Bosnian Muslims'. The paper will discuss this perceptional difference due to different dynamics of identity construction. Discussion: The discussion will discuss the inclusionist and exclusionist cultural dynamics and their effect on the process of identity formation. The concept of identity deriving from the Latin origin idem, which means "sameness" does not in fact only refer to absolute sameness, but also to differentiation. In this sense, it is not enough only to construct identity through similarities, but also it is important to construct differences as well. *Constructing, or defining differences is not only important on how we define the others,* but also how others define us. References: Duke V, Crolley L (1996) Football, Nationality and the State, 83-100. Giulianotti R (2003) Football: A Sociology of the Global Game, 1-39. Jenkins, R. (1996) Social Identity. Kuper S (2003). Futbol Asla Sadece Futbol Değildir (Football Against Enemey), 7-74. Wilson J (2006). Behind the Curtain: Travels in Eastern European Football, 98-183. Vrcan S, Lalic D (1999) From Ends to the Trenches, and Back: Football in the Former Yugoslavia (in Armstrong G, Giulianotti R, Football Cultures and Identities), 176-189.