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Ivan Cvitković

*University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

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# NATIONAL AND CONFESSIONAL IMAGE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA<sup>1</sup>

Ivan Cvitković

Ivan Cvitković is a professor of the sociology of religion at the University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He obtained the Master of sociological sciences degree at the University in Zagreb and the PhD at the University in Ljubljana. His field is sociology of religion, sociology of cognition and morals and religions of contemporary world. He has published 33 books, among which are *Confession in war* (2005); *Sociological views on nationality and religion* (2005 and 2012); *Social teachings in religions* (2007); and *Encountering Others* (2013). e-mail: ivo.cvitkovic@yahoo.com

The population census offers great data for discussions on the population, language, national, religious, social, and educational “map of people.” Due to multiple national and confessional identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such data have always attracted the interest of sociologists, political scientists, demographers, as well as leaders of political parties. Various political issues often arise before and after the population census take place. Most often, these relate to national and confessional affiliation. Bosnia and Herzegovina has always been a migration-affected area; therefore, population census data were eagerly expected. Migrations led to changes in the national and confessional structure of the population.

From 1991 to 2013, there was no population census in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the top three political leaders’ inability to reach an agreement. Only under the pressure of the local public and increasing pressure by the international community was the census carried

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<sup>1</sup> This text is based on the population census data from 2013 that were published only in the summer of 2016.

out in the year 2013. Nevertheless, even in the era of computerization, three years passed before the census results were finally published in the summer of 2016, despite complaints from the Republika Srpska leadership.

For those less familiar with Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is a state consisting of two entities: Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Historically, social-political partition in this state has been based on confessional and later, of national affiliation.

Is a person's national (in this case, Bosniac/Croatian/Serbian) identity his/her own primary identity? Or is it only one (and not primary) of his/her multiple identities? It seems that national identity is a part of the psychological profile of Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly for those that consider Bosniac-ism/Croatian-ism/Serbian-ism' as something sensual that can be heard, touched, and smelled. Others think that in order to be a Bosniac, Croat, or Serb, one has to be a Muslim/Catholic/Orthodox, or more so—be a practical Muslim/Catholic/Orthodox as well as a member of a “leading national party”. Bosniac-ism and Croatian-ism, as well as Serbian-ism, can be experienced and lived in different ways however. This is what individuals, the actors of the political events that occurred from the end of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, could not understand or accept for a long time. It is questionable how much they understand and accept it today as well.

The dissolution of Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the creation of new independent states led to the circumstance in which Serbs, Croats and Bosniacs no longer live in one state. which is reflective of migration movements from the 1990s to the present time. Croats in particular are the smallest population in Bosnia and Herzegovina (there are almost none of them in Republika Srpska and Bosniacs make up the absolute majority in the Federation of BiH). Even if there were ideal conditions for political and

national equality for Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it cannot stop the migration wave to Croatia, the state with the dominant Croatian population and most recently, the European Union member state. Migrations of Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia, Serbs to Serbia, and Bosniacs to Bosnia and Herzegovina had been occurring in ex-Yugoslavia, even when it was a joint state, though with far less intensity. When it comes to Croats, three important events—the independence of Croatia, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the accession to the European Union indirectly influenced the „emigration“ of Croats.

The particularly tragic consequences for the demographic state of play in Bosnia and Herzegovina were left by the so-called „war migrations“ which showed that people’s destiny were connected to the destiny of the „national army“. The ethnos shared the similar fate of a defeated army that had moved out from the territories it had been living in for centuries (the Croats moved out with the Croatian Defence Council (CDC) from Posavina and then from parts of Central Bosnia in the last war; there was a withdrawal of Serbs with the army of Republika Srpska from parts of Sarajevo, Mostar; then the Bosniacs moved out with the army of BiH from Foca and parts of East Bosnia). All fled to cities where they were more “mainstream” (Muslims<sup>2</sup> to cities where Muslims were a majority, Serbs to cities where Serbs were the majority, and Croats to cities with a majority population of Croats). Outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbs were going to Serbia and Muslims and Croats to Croatia. Once again, it was confirmed that „the war shouting did not make the moustes out of their holes but people from their homes“ (Sbutega, 2006:139)<sup>3</sup>. The wars of the twentieth century (the first and the second World Wars and the war of 1991-1995) in particular led to changes, including the decrease in the percentage of Croats and Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### ***Bosnia and Herzegovina as Per Its National Affiliation of Its Population***

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<sup>2</sup> The name of Bosniac people until June 1993

<sup>3</sup> Sbutega, Branko (2006.), *Kurosavin nemir svijeta*, Beograd: „Akvarius“.

In 2013, Bosnia and Herzegovina had 3,531,159 inhabitants (Republika Srpska had 1,228,423 and the Federation of BiH had 2,219,220). About 96.32 percent<sup>4</sup> was made up of members of three groups of people: Bosniacs (Muslims as per their religious affiliation) made up 1,769,592 or 50.11 percent; Serbs (Orthodox as per their religious affiliation) made up 1,086,733 or 30.77 percent and Croats (Catholics as per their religious affiliation) made up 544,780 or 15.42 percent. Serbs were mostly concentrated in Republika Srpska (there were 1,001,299 Serbs which was 81.51 percent of the population; there were 171,839 Bosniacs which was 13.98 percent; and there were 29,645 Croats which was 2.41 percent). Bosniacs made up the majority of the population in the Federation of BiH (there were 1,562,372 Bosniacs which was 70.40 percent; there were 497,883 Croats which was 22.44 percent; and there were 56,550 Serbs which was 2.55 percent ).

When talking about the so-called “world’s religions,” many authors think about religions that are not important for ethnical/national identities (these are not „national“ religions). To what extent is this correct? It cannot be denied that Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Islam, Buddhism, etc., had a big influence on the establishment and development of certain ethnical/national identities (e.g., among Poles, Russians, Serbs, Croats, Bosniacs). In some countries, the nations’ “boundaries“ correspond with the boundaries of religions (Shintoism in Japan; Sikhism in India; Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc.). The population census of 2013 also showed distinctive compatibility between the national and confessional identities of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is suggested that the complementarity of the national and the confessional identity among Bosniacs and Serbs is 100 percent. The confessional self-identification was higher than 0.6

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<sup>4</sup> The indicated data shows how previous researches can be incompetently made and how problematically those can be. Thwe testing population census conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2012 showed that 35% of the population has declared themselves as „Bosnians“ or „Herzegovinians“ (mostly younger persons, equally in all three peoples). What happened with them a year after, in the census of 2013?

percent compared to the national identity among Bosniacs. This is due to the fact that Albanians and some foreigners who obtained the BiH citizenship declared themselves as Muslims. The difference between national and confessional identification amongst Serbs was 0.02 percent. What is surprising is that the number of Catholics compared to the number of Croats was less than 0.71 percent (in spite of the fact that representatives of Slovenian, Slovakian, Italian, Polish, and Czech minorities also declared themselves as Catholics).

Here are the observations made about the relation between *national affiliation and religiousness* in the research „Religious and national relations in the countryside“, published by the Institute for International Relations in 1987. Among Croats, most self-identified as “I am a believer“ with it being 55.78 percent; among Muslims—the former name for today’s Bosniacs—37.32 percent; and among Serbs was 18.60 percent. Serbs had the lowest level of religious self-identification and a rather low level of practising religiousness in church. They were the most doubtful of the readiness of those that help build up society; they were most inclined to an administrative relation towards religion; and they had the strongest identification between religious and national affiliation. Croats had the strongest religious self-identification, as well as the most distinctive church-based, practising religiousness; they scored the lowest for an administrative relation towards religion; they were the most optimistic about the future of religion; and they assessed positively on the influence of religion to the establishment and development of the nation. After Croats, Muslims had the strongest religious self-identification and „connectivity” to the religious community, and they considered religion as an important value when choosing a friend.

*Bosniacs in the mirror of the population census.* There was an increase in the number of Bosniacs in 34 municipalities compared to 1991: Novi Grad Sarajevo (+ 62,182), Ilidža (+ 28,783), Tuzla (+ 18,105), Novo Sarajevo (+ 14,286), Zenica (+ 12,629), Vogošća (+ 11,852), Sanski Most (+10,208), Živinice (+9,072), Ilijaš (+7,606), Hadžići (+ 6,728), Tešanj

(+5,520), Srebrenik (+5,423), Bugojno (+4,453), Travnik (+ 3,835), Gradačac (+ 3,274), Brčko. (+ 3,236), Mostar (+ 2,896), Bihać (+ 2,813), Visoko (+ 2,324), Banovići (+ 2,212), Centar Sarajevo (+ 1,941), Kakanj (+ 1,813), Cazin (+ 1,770), Gračanica (+ 1,258), Žepče (+ 907), Lukavac (+ 481), D. Vakuf (+ 476), Novi Travnik (+ 442), Kladanj (+ 376), Maglaj (+ 241), Orašje (+ 122), Busovača (+ 110), Breza (+ 75), Jablanica (+ 36). All of these municipalities are in the territory of the Federation of BiH, including Brčko District. Not a single one is in the territory of Republika Srpska (RS). As for two of these municipalities in which the number of Bosniacs increased, Croats made up the absolute majority (Orasje) or relative majority (Busovača) in both 1991 and 2013. The only municipality in which there was neither an increase or the decrease in the number of Bosniacs is Odžak (+/- 0).

There was a *decrease in the number of Bosniacs* in 64 municipalities compared to 1991: Zvornik (- 28,247)<sup>5</sup>, Doboj (- 25,842)<sup>6</sup>, Banja Luka (- 20,907 or 73.21 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population), Prijedor (- 20,317 or 41.17 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population), Bosanska Krupa (- 19,526)<sup>7</sup>, Foča RS (- 19,520 or 93.89 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population)<sup>8</sup>, Bijeljina (- 17,139 or 56.69 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population), Vlasenica (- 14,964)<sup>9</sup>, Srebrenica (- 14,163 or 51.37 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population), Bratunac (- 13,732 or 63.77 percent of the pre-war Bosniac population), Višegrad (- 12,428; 92.21 percent of the pre-war population of the municipality in which they were the majority in 1991), Rogatica (- 12,092; 91.54 percent of the pre-war population of the municipality in which they were the majority in 1991), Lopare (- 10,619)<sup>10</sup>, Gradiška (-

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<sup>5</sup> 10,912 of Bosniacs devolved to Sapna municipality that separated from Zvornik.

<sup>6</sup> 14,221 of Bosniacs belong to municipalities that separated from Doboj, namely, 9,830 of them belong to Doboj Istok, 4,017 of them to Doboj Jug and 374 of them to Usora.

<sup>7</sup> Such a considerable decrease of Bosniacs occurred also due to devolving of a new municipality of Bužim from Bos. Krupa; 19,207 Bosniacs live in Bužim.

<sup>8</sup> A part of the pre-war Bosniac population (1,762) inhabits a newly formed municipality Foca in the Federation of BiH in which Bosniacs are the population in majority (91.15%).

<sup>9</sup> Out of that number, 4,199 Bosniacs belong to a newly established municipality Minići.

<sup>10</sup> A part of the pre-war Bosniac population (9,395) inhabits a newly established municipality Čelić in which Bosniacs make the majority with 89.46%.

8,271), Ugljevik (- 8,056)<sup>11</sup>, Novi Grad (- 7,601), Modriča (- 7,274), Kotor Varoš (- 5,856), Teslić (- 5,618), Derвента (- 5,191), Trebinje (- 4,576), Koz. Dubica (- 4,272), Pale RS (- 4,178)<sup>12</sup>, Prnjavor (- 4,164), Trnovo RS (- 3,953)<sup>13</sup>, Sokolac (- 3,822), Prozor (- 3,700), Kupres (- 3,547), Gacko (- 3,489), Čajniče (- 3,140), Čapljina (- 3,131), Mrkonjić Grad (- 2,897), Nevesinje (- 2,780), Stolac (- 2,557), Brod (- 2,579), Jajce (- 2,542), Rudo (- 2,453), Šipovo (- 2,337), Han Pijesak (- 2,112), Kiseljak (- 1,940), Bileća (- 1,921; 98.66 percent of the population from 1991), Livno (- 1,746), Kalinovik (- 1,659; 96.68 percent of the population from 1991), Ključ (- 1,566, although due to separation of the Ribnik municipality, Bosniacs became the majority population in Ključ), Vareš (- 1,267)<sup>14</sup>, Glamoč (- 1,006), Vitez (- 1,001), Čelinac (- 993), Šamac (- 968), Ljubuški (- 885), Tomislavgrad (- 681), Kneževو (- 642), Srbac (- 523), Kreševo (- 517), Ljubinje (- 320), Laktaši (- 298), Šekovići (- 219), Neum (- 127), Bos. Petrovac (- 109), Čitluk (- 82), Drvar (- 22), Bos. Grahovo (- 6), Široki Brijeg (- 3), Posušje (- 2), Grude (- 1).

In addition to the abovementioned, the number of Bosniacs also decreased in certain municipalities (8) in which they made up the majority of the population in both 1991 and 2013: Velika Kladuša (- 15,744), Stari Grad Sarajevo (- 6,616), Goražde (- 6,604), Gornji Vakuf (- 2,059), Zavidovići (- 1,463), Konjic (- 1,329), Kalesija (- 910), Fojnica (- 432).

There are 42 pre-war municipalities in Republika Srpska in which there was a decrease in the number of Bosniacs, whereas there are 29 such municipalities in the Federation of BiH. About 312,560 Bosniacs were missing in comparison to 1991, in municipalities in which Serbs made up the majority in 2013. Where Croats made up the majority, there were 22,589

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<sup>11</sup> The decrease of the number of Bosniacs occurred also due to devolving of Teočak, a newly established municipality, from Ugljevik; 7, 399 Bosniacs live in Teočak (they make 99.64% of the population of that municipality).

<sup>12</sup> A part of the pre-war Bosniac population (859) inhabits a newly established municipality of Pale in the Federation of BiH in which Bosniacs make the population in majority ( 95%).

<sup>13</sup> Out of that, 1,376 Bosniacs live in a newly established municipality of Trnovo in the Federation of BiH.

<sup>14</sup> In spite of that, they became the population in majority in Vareš, although they were not in majority in 1991.



less Bosniacs than in 1991. Interestingly, even in those municipalities in which Bosniacs made up the majority, there were 35,175 less Bosniacs than in 1991.

Out of 1,769,592 Bosniacs, 1,411,962 (or 79.79 percent) of them lived in nationally homogeneous municipalities (where they represented more than 50 percent of the population). There were 50 such municipalities in 2013 (out of 141 in total). According to the census from 1991, there were 37 such municipalities (out of 109 in total) in which 1,124,657 (or 65.64 percent) Muslims (known today as Bosniacs) lived.

According to the 1991 population census, Muslims (Bosniacs) made up the majority population in 52 municipalities (1,569,102 or 82.62 percent of Bosniacs) out of 109 in total, whereas in 2013, they represented the majority in 54 municipalities (1,486,415 or 83.99 percent of Bosniacs) out of 141 in total. Only 283,177 Bosniacs (or 16.01 percent) lived in municipalities in which they were not the majority in population.

In 1991, out of 64 binary municipalities (municipalities in which Muslims made up more than 80 percent of the population together with one of two other groups of peoples), Muslims (Bosniacs) lived with Croats in 16 of those municipalities (175,582 of Muslims or 9.24) and they lived with Serbs in 48 of those municipalities (980,062 of Muslims or 51.61 percent). As per 2013 population census, out of 40 binary municipalities,<sup>15</sup> Bosniacs made up the majority population along with Croats in 20 of those municipalities (387,576 of Croats or 21.90 percent), and in the remaining 20, they made up the majority population along with Serbs (122,808 of Bosniacs or 6.94 percent). Therefore, in 2013, Bosniacs made up the majority population along with Croats compared to what the situation was in 1991 when it was the opposite, i.e. they made up the majority population along with Serbs more than with Croats.

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<sup>15</sup> There were 109 municipalities in total in 1991 (out of which there were 64 binary municipalities for Muslims), and in 2013, there were 141 municipalities but the number of binary municipalities was decreased from 64 to 40.

A part of the Muslim population (636,256 or 33.50 percent of Muslims) lived in 22 heterogeneous municipalities in 1991. After 22 years and national homogenisations, there are only three nationally heterogenic municipalities. About 38,812 or 2.19 percent of Bosniacs live in those municipalities.

In 1991, 9,816 or 0.51 percent of Muslims participated in up to 10 percent of the national structure of the population in 16 out of 109 municipalities. As per 2013 population census, 30,350 or 1.72 percent of Bosniacs lived in municipalities (45) in which they represented up to 10 percent of the population. Out of that, they participated in less than one percent of the structure of their population in 18 municipalities out of 141 (525 or 0.03 percent of all Bosniacs in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

*Croats in the mirror of the population census.* There are 22 municipalities in which there has been an *increase of the number of Croats* compared to 1991: Čapljina (+ 12,866), Žepče (+ 8,701), Mostar (+ 8,179), Posušje (+ 3,461), Čitluk (+ 3,077), Tomislavgrad (+ 3,030), Stolac (+ 2,298), Široki Brijeg (+ 1,930), Vitez (+ 1,675), Ljubuški (+ 1,144), Grude (+ 1,006), Neum (+ 751), Glamoč (+ 722) Drvar (+ 519), Cazin (+181)<sup>16</sup>, Bos. Grahovo (+ 167), Kupres (+ 66), Bijeljina (+ 23), Rudo (+ 4), Čajniče (+ 1), Trnovo Republika Srpska (+ 1). There is neither an increase nor decrease in the number of Croats compared to 1991 in two municipalities, and both of those are located in the territory of Republika Srpska (Rogatica and Han Pijesak). Out of the municipalities in which there has been an increase in the number of Croats, Croats made up the majority in 13 of them, Serbs made up the majority in seven of those and Bosniacs made up the majority in one of the municipalities (Cazin). Out of 22 municipalities in which there has been an increase in the number of Croats, four are in Republika Srpska and 18 are in the Federation of BiH.

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<sup>16</sup> Interestingly for Cazin municipality is that 320 of its inhabitants declare in national terms as Croats and only 142 as Catholics. It is assumed that a part of those that belong to Islam in that bordering municipality with Croats declared themselves as Croats.

However, there are 85 municipalities in which there has been a *decrease in the number of Croats* compared to 1991: Banja Luka (- 23,922 or 82.42 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Derventa (- 19,383 or 88.29 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Zenica (- 14,231 or 63.22 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Kakanj (- 13,583 or 82.04 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Šamac (- 12,306)<sup>17</sup>, Doboj (- 11,419)<sup>18</sup>, Travnik (- 11,016 or 42.18 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Brod (- 10,706 or 76.51 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Bugojno (- 10,264 or 64.03 percent of the pre-war Croatian population), Konjic (- 9,960), Kotor Varoš (- 9,579), Teslić (- 8,083 percent), Gradačac (- 7,695), Tešanj (- 7,467), Zavidovići (- 6,372), Maglaj (- 6,324), Modriča (- 6,131), Tuzla (- 5,002), Brčko (- 5,000), Jajce (- 4,825), Prijedor (- 4,554), Novo Sarajevo (- 4,159), Novi Grad Sarajevo (- 3,942), Ilidža (- 3,904), Sanski Most (- 3,600), Fojnica (- 2,959), Gradiška (- 2,591), Bihać (- 2,315), Centar Sarajevo (- 2,095), Gornji Vakuf (- 2,046), Laktaši (- 2,044), Mrkonjić Grad (- 1,971), Živinice (- 1,468), Ilijaš (- 1,354), Visoko (- 1,296), Prnjavor (- 1,270), Lopare (- 1,213), Novi Travnik (- 1,160), Trebinje (- 951), Srebrenik (- 784), Vogošća (- 750), Lukavac (- 635), Donji Vakuf (- 624), Hadžići (- 567), Breza (- 537), Stari Grad Sarajevo (- 441), Ključ (- 300), Banovići (- 266), Novi Grad (- 222), Kozarska Dubica (- 215), Nevesinje (- 182), Velika Kladuša (- 104), Bosanska Krupa (- 73), Gračanica (- 60), Goražde (- 57), Foča Republika Srpska (- 39), Čelinac (- 27), Srebrenica (- 22), Zvornik (- 16), Kalesija (- 15), Ugljevik (- 14), Srbac (- 9), Vlasenica (- 8), Bileća (- 8), Bratunac (- 7), Kladanj (- 3), Pale Republika Srpska (- 1), Višegrad (- 1).

In addition to the above, the number of Croats in six municipalities where they represented the majority population in 1991 and 2013 has also decreased: Odžak (- 4,717), Orašje (- 3,963), Prozor (- 1,557), Kiseljak (- 727), Busovača (- 220), Livno (- 51).

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<sup>17</sup> The number of Croats decreased also due to devolving of a newly established municipality of Domaljevac from Šamac; 4,634 Croats lived in Domaljevac (they represented the majority of 97.13%) in 2013.

<sup>18</sup> The number of Croats decreased also due to devolving of a newly established municipality of Usora from Doboj; 6,095 Croats lived in Usora (they represented the majority of 92.31%) in 2013.

There are 29 pre-war municipalities in Republika Srpska where there has been a decrease in the number of Croats, whereas there are 56 such municipalities in the Federation of BiH. About 116,872 Croats were missing in municipalities (28) where Serbs represented the majority population in 2013 in comparison to 1991. Where Bosniacs represented the majority (39 municipalities), there were 135,980 less Croats than in 1991. Tens of thousands of Croats left Zenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bugojno, Konjic, Kakanj, Travnik, Vareš and a few other cities (in which Bosniacs were the majority) in the Federation of BiH after its constitution. Interestingly, there were 11,235 less Croats than in 1991, even in the municipalities in which Croats represented the majority population.

Out of 759,906 Croats in 1991, 242,243 (31.88 percent) lived in 14 nationally homogeneous municipalities (they represented more than 50 percent of the population). The 2013 population census showed that there were 310,724 Croats (or 57.04 percent) who lived in nationally homogeneous municipalities (22). In 1991, Croats represented (relatively or absolutely) the majority population in 20 municipalities (309,710 or 40.75 percent of Croats), and in 2013, they represented the majority in 24 municipalities (370,821 or 68.07 percent of Croats).

In 1991, out of 16 binary municipalities (municipalities in which Croats represented more than 80 percent of the population together with one of two other groups of people), 270,548 or 35.60 percent of Croats lived with Bosniacs and in five municipalities, they lived with Serbs (48,535 or 6.30 percent of Croats). The situation changed in 2013. Out of 24 binary municipalities, Croats (242,497 or 44.5 percent of them) lived with Bosniacs in 24 municipalities and they (8,592 or 1.58 percent of Croats) lived with Serbs in four of those municipalities.

A number of Croats (332,096 or 43.70 percent of them) lived in nationally heterogeneous municipalities in 1991 (they could not make up 80 percent of the population

together with one of the other two groups). National homogenization also left traces in this aspect: in 2013, Croats lived in three nationally heterogeneous municipalities (although the number of municipalities increased in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 109 to 141). About 18,934 Croats (or 3.46 percent) lived in those municipalities.

In 1991, 10.39 percent of Croats lived, as to conditionally say, in “Diaspora”— they participated in up to 10 percent of the national structure of the population. As per 2013 population census, 70,487 or 12.94 percent of Croats lived in municipalities in which they represented up to 10 percent of the population structure. Out of that, they participated in less than one percent (2,749 or 0.50 percent of all Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the structure of their population in even 98 municipalities out of 141 in total.

*Serbs in the mirror of the population census.* There has been an increase in the number of Serbs in 20 municipalities compared to 1991: Banja Luka (+ 58,924), Bijeljina (+ 34,395), Doboj (+ 12,808), Brčko (+ 10,756), Laktaši (+ 9,286), Pale Republika Srpska (+ 9,167), Prijedor (+ 8,314), Zvornik (+ 7,716), Modriča (+ 7,693), Gradiška (+ 6,110), Trebinje (+ 5,938), Višegrad (+ 2,595), Gacko (+ 1,895), Nevesinje (+ 1,642), Rogatica (+ 1,136), Sokolac (+ 1,055), Bratunac (+ 875), Brod (+88), Bileća (+18), Grude (+1). The abovementioned municipalities belong to Republika Srpska, where Serbs represent the majority population. There is also Brčko District (where Bosniacs represent the majority) and one municipality in the Federation of BiH (Grude, in which Croats represent the majority).

There has been a decrease in the number of Serbs in 89 municipalities in comparison to 1991: Novi Grad Sarajevo (- 33,224 or 88.38 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Novo Sarajevo (- 29,407 or 89.38 percent of the pre-war Serbian population)<sup>19</sup>, Sanski Most (- 23,526 or 92.75 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Ilidža (- 23,429 or 93.61

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<sup>19</sup> A part of the Serbian population (10,248) from Novi Grad Sarajevo Novo Sarajevo municipalities lived in 2013 in a newly established municipality of Novo Sarajevo Istok in which they made the majority of 96.29% of the population.

percent of the pre-war Serbian population)<sup>20</sup>, Zenica (- 20,024 or 89.26 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Ključ (- 18,233 or 98.52 percent of the pre-war Serbian population)<sup>21</sup>, Tuzla (- 16,893 or 83.34 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Centar Sarajevo (- 14,445 or 86.86 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Gračanica (- 13,401 or 98.84 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Bosanska Krupa (- 12,581 or 90.89 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Maglaj (- 12,502 or 93.91 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Bihać (- 11,779 or 92.83 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Zavidovići (- 11,067 or 95.07 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Ilijaš (- 10,904 or 96.28 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Gradačac (- 10,876 or 96.91 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Lukavac (- 10,670 or 87.68 percent of the pre-war Serbian population), Donji Vakuf (- 9,426), Goražde (- 9,136)<sup>22</sup>, Bugojno (- 8,297), Vogošća (- 8,271), Jajce (- 8,162)<sup>23</sup>, Bosanski Petrovac (- 7,698)<sup>24</sup>, Kalesija (- 7,405), Visoko (- 7,185), Travnik (- 7,137), Vlasenica (- 6,770)<sup>25</sup>, Konjic (- 6,265), Hadžići (- 6,144), Odžak (- 5,085), Srebrenik (- 4,914), Stari Grad Sarajevo (- 4,683), Kakanj (- 4,648), Kupres (- 4,546; 6.54 percent was left of the pre-war Serbian population)<sup>26</sup>, Banovići (- 4,277), Orašje (- 4,078)<sup>27</sup>, Kladanj (- 3,845), Novi Travnik (- 3,730), Stolac (- 3,638<sup>28</sup>), Livno (- 3,475), Vareš (- 3,455;

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<sup>20</sup> A part of the Serbian population (13,869) from Ilidža municipality lived in 2013 in a newly established municipality of Ilidža Istok in which they represented the majority of 93.94% of the population.

<sup>21</sup> A part of the Serbian population (6,018) from Ključ municipality lived in 2013 in a newly established municipality of Ribnik in which they represented the majority of 99.50% of the population.

<sup>22</sup> A part of the Serbian population (1,618 of them) from Goražde municipalities, in 2013 lived in a newly established municipality of Novo Goražde in which they represented the majority of 51.91% of the population.

<sup>23</sup> A part of the Serbian population (841 of them) from Jajce municipality, in 2013 lived in a newly established municipality of Jezero in which they represented the majority of 73.19% of the population.

<sup>24</sup> A part of the Serbian population (358 of them) from Bosanski Petrovac municipality, in 2013, lived in a newly established municipality of Petrovac in which they represented the majority of 99.17%.

<sup>25</sup> The decrease of the number of the Serbian population in Vlasenica occurred due to devolving of a part of municipality into a separate municipality of Milići in which Serbs are the majority population (both municipalities belong to Republika Srpska).

<sup>26</sup> The decrease of the number of the Serbian population in Kupres occurred due to devolving of a part of municipality into a separate municipality of Kupres Republika Srpska in which in 2013, 299 Serbs lived and represented the majority of 99.67% of the population.

<sup>27</sup> A part of the Serbian population (2,759 of them) from Orašje municipality, in 2013, lived in a newly established municipality of Donji Žabar in which they represented the majority of 72.43% of the population.

<sup>28</sup> A part of the Serbian population (1,942 of them) from Stolac municipality, in 2013, lived in a newly established municipality of Berkovići in which they represented the majority of 91.86% of the population.

5.18 percent was left of the pre-war Serbian population), Živinice (- 3,283), Olovo (- 3,116), Čapljina (- 3,039), Tešanj (- 2,845), Velika Kladuša (- 2,520), Srebrenica (- 2,287), Breza (- 2,001), Žepče (- 1,777), Vitez (- 1,168), Cazin (- 749), Tomislavgrad (- 554), Jablanica (- 441), Busovača (- 418), Kiseljak (- 331), Neum (- 186), Fojnica (- 109), Široki Brijeg (- 103), Gornji Vakuf (- 80), Prozor (- 42), Ljubuški (- 24), Kreševo (- 8), Posušje (- 4), Čitluk (- 1).

In addition to the above, the number of Serbs decreased in some municipalities (25) in which they represented the majority population (or they became the majority after the war) in both 1991 and in 2013: Drvar (- 10,188), Glamoč (- 8,279), Bosansko Grahovo (- 5,860), Mrkonjić Grad (- 5,007), Novi Grad (- 4,985), Lopare (- 4,374), Kneževo (- 3,975), Teslić (- 3,921), Kozarska Dubica (- 3,058), Prnjavor (- 2,835), Šipovo (- 2,757), Srbac (- 2,752), Šekovići (- 2,412), Čelinac (- 1,680), Foča Republika Srpska (- 1,559), Ugljevik (- 1,056), Kotor Varoš (- 965), Rudo (- 903), Trnovo Republika Srpska (- 881), Kalinovik (- 879), Čajniče (-737), Han Pijesak (- 606), Derventa (-542), Šamac (- 372), Ljubinje (- 279).

There are 22 pre-war municipalities in Republika Srpska in which the number of Serbs decreased, whereas there are 64 such municipalities in the Federation of BiH. Compared to 1991, 411,840 Serbs were missing in municipalities (44) where Bosniacs represented the majority population in 2013. Where Croats represented the majority (17 municipalities), there were 23,392 less Serbs than in 1991. Interestingly, there were 70,862 less Serbs compared to 1991, in those municipalities (25) where Serbs represented the majority population.

In 2013, out of 1,086,733 individuals that belonged to the Serb group, 993, 083 (or 91.30 percent) of them lived in nationally homogenous municipalities. There were 60 such municipalities out of 141 in total. As per 1991 population census, there were 32 such municipalities out of 109 in total, and 606,713 Serbs (or 44.44 percent) lived in those municipalities.

In 1991, Serbs represented the majority population in 37 out of 109 municipalities (669,073 or 49.01 percent) and in 2013, out of 141 municipalities, they represented the majority in 63 municipalities (1,003,807 or 92.37 percent). In other words, only 82,926 (or 7.63 percent) Serbs lived in municipalities in which they did not represent the majority.

In 1991, Serbs lived with Croats (47,379 or 3.47 percent) in five out of 52 binary municipalities (in which Serbs made up 80 percent of the population, together with one of two other groups of people) and they lived with Muslims in 47 such municipalities (683,212 or 50.04 percent). According to the 2013 population census, out of 24 binary municipalities, Serbs represented the majority population with Croats in four such municipalities (37,793 or 3.48 percent), and with Muslims in 20 such municipalities (286,318 or 26.35 percent).

A number of Serbs (471,518 or 34.54 percent) lived in 22 heterogeneous municipalities in 1991. According to the 2013 population census, there were three such municipalities where 32,079 or 2.955 percent of Serbs lived.

In 1991, Serbs participated in up to 10 percent of the national structure of the population in 22 municipalities (25,507 or 1.86 percent of Serbs). According to the 2013 population census, 61,894 or 5.69 percent of Serbs lived in 74 municipalities in which they represented 10 percent of the population. Out of that, in 34 municipalities (out of 141 in total), they represented less than one percent of the population structure (3,575 or 0.33 percent of all Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

There was a decrease in the Serbian population in 89 municipalities, in the number of Croats in 85 municipalities, and in the number of Bosniacs in 64 municipalities. There was an increase in the number of Serbs in 20 municipalities, the number of Croats in 22 municipalities, and the number of Bosniacs in 44 municipalities. Bosniacs had the lowest number of municipalities in which their number decreased but had the highest number of municipalities in which the participation of their population increased. The increase of the



percentage of the population (Bosniacs, Croats, Serbs) in the abovementioned municipalities occurred with the arrival of “one’s owns” and departure (under pressure or due to some other reasons) of “the others”. Homogenization was ongoing up to the point where it was absurd. Nationally homogeneous municipalities with 79 inhabitants (Drvar Istok, Republika Srpska) used to be established, much like those with 257 inhabitants (Mostar Istok, Republika Srpska), with 300 inhabitants (Kupres, Republika Srpska), with 361 inhabitants (Petrovo, Republika Srpska), with 904 inhabitants (Pale, Federation of BiH), etc. It was certainly due to the Balkans’ spite: we do not want “them,” even if there is little of “us”. In fact, municipalities that were established after 1991 were founded exclusively according to the national/confessional principle, by which municipalities that had separated from those became nationally/confessional homogeneous. Those newly established municipalities are: Bužim (Bosniacs 99.3 percent), Foča Republika Srpska (Serbs 91.53 percent), Istočna Ilidža (Serbs 93.17 percent), Milići (Serbs 62.75 percent), Sapna (Bosniacs 96.86 percent), Istočno Novo Sarajevo (Serbs 96.29 percent), Čelić (Bosniacs 88.94 percent), Doboj Istok (Bosniacs 95.92 percent) Teočak (Bosniacs 99.65 percent), Petrovo (Serbs 98.41 percent), Ribnik (Serbs 99.51 percent), Pelagićevo (Serbs 63.79 percent), Domaljevac (Croats 97.13 percent), Doboj Jug (Bosniacs 97.09 percent), Ravno (Croats 81.79 percent), Oštra Luka (Serbs 92.60 percent), Dobretići (Croats 99.82 percent), Jezero (Serbs 73.19 percent), Pale Federation of BiH (Bosniacs 95.02 percent), Kupres Republika Srpska (Serbs 99.67 percent), Mostar Istok (Serbs 64.59 percent), Istočni Drvar (Serbs 98.73 percent).

As per 1991 population census, out of 109 municipalities, 32 municipalities had one of three nationalities that were the majority, with 70 percent or more of the population (Muslims and Serbs were the majority in 11 municipalities and Croats were the majority in 10 municipalities). According to the 2013 population census, out of 18 municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, Bosniacs represented the majority in the following ten: Novi grad

Sarajevo (84.15 percent), Tuzla (72.78 percent), Zenica (84.02 percent), Ilidža (87.09 percent), Cazin (95.93 percent), Novo Sarajevo (74.35 percent), Živinice (91.90 percent), Bihać (88.07 percent), Centar Sarajevo (75.57 percent), Travnik (66.65 percent). Serbs made up the majority in six municipalities as follows: Banja Luka (89.57 percent), Bijeljina (85.18 percent), Prijedor (62.52 percent), Doboj (73.66 percent), Zvornik (65.54 percent), Gradiška (80.93 percent). Croats did not make up the majority in any of the municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants (in Mostar, there were only 48.45 percent of them). Also, in Brčko, there were 42.36 percent of Bosniacs but they did not grow to over 50 percent of the population in that municipality.

Ten municipalities with the least number of inhabitants are: Istočni Drvar (79), Mostar Istok (257), Kupres Republika Srpska (300), Petrovac (361), Pale Federation of BiH (904), Jezero (1,149), Trnovo Federation of BiH (1,502) Kupa na Uni (1,597), Dobretići (1,629) and Foča Federation of BiH (1,933).

There is no municipality in both the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska without at least one Serb living in it. In 2013, there was not a single Croat living in three municipalities (Foča Federation of BiH, Petrovac and Kupres Republika Srpska), nor a single Bosniac in five municipalities (Ribnik, Dobretići, Petrovac, Kupres Republika Srpska and Drvar Istok). As per 1991 population census, there was no municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina without Muslims (former name for today's Bosniacs), Serbs or Croats.

It is seen that in some municipalities in which Bosniacs (Muslims), Serbs (Orthodoxes) and Croats (Catholics) represented the majority population in 1991 and in 2013, the number of inhabitants of their nationality (religious affiliation) has decreased. Most often, this is the case with economically poorly-developed municipalities, so that there are 'inter-national' shifts towards developed municipalities in which those that belong to those communities make up the majority.

### ***Bosnia and Herzegovina Per Confessional Affiliation of Its Population***

As an indicator of the religious self-determination in the 2013 population census, confessional self-identification was taken: “Muslim,” “Catholic,” “Orthodox.” We are cautious in sociological research towards the self-determination of religious/confessional affiliation (“Muslim,” “Catholic,” “Orthodox,” “Others”). The point is that a part of those people who are believers and not practitioners will determine themselves as “Muslim,” “Catholic,” “Orthodox” in Bosnia and Herzegovina because of their ethnical and cultural identity. That is why there are always differences in replies to that particular question and to the question “Are you a believer?” that appears in research conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina (there are more of those who are „Muslims“, „Catholics“, „Orthodoxies“ than those that say they are believers). Therefore, the sudden rise of the confessional self-identification in the nineties over the last century does not necessarily indicate the rise of religiousness. Confessional self-identification was equal (or had a significance) to the national self-identification among a large number of interviewees.

Now, let us return to the data of the 2013 population census. In 2013, Bosnia and Herzegovina had 3,395,547 (96.16 percent) inhabitants (out of 3,531,159) that were declared as Muslims (50.7 percent; in 1991, there were 42.76 percent of them), Orthodox (30.75 percent; in 1991, there were 29.39 percent of them) and Catholics (15.19 percent; in 1991, there were 16.87 percent of them). The „Others” were 1.15 percent (in the Federation of BiH, there were 1.39 percent of them and in Republika Srpska, 0.74 percent of them). About 0.92 percent did not state their religious affiliation (there were 1.06 percent of them in the Federation of BiH and 0.68 percent of them in Republika Srpska). About 0.19 percent had no answer (0.19 percent of such cases in the Federation of BiH and 0.18 percent in Republika Srpska). There were 1.11 percent of cases that had no statement or answer.

Compared to 1991, the number of Muslims has increased by 7.94 percent, the number of Orthodox increased by 1.36 percent, while the number of Catholics decreased by 1.68 percent. About 1,201,427 or 97.80 percent of the population declared themselves as Muslims, Orthodox, or Catholics in Republika Srpska and 2,129,438 or 95.95 percent of the population did the same in the Federation of BiH. It is seen here that the political society is dominantly made up of those from three confessions (the Islamic community, Serb Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church).

Theses indicating that the socialistic system contributed to the politicising of religions by its attitude towards religions and religious communities (Ramet, 2005:103)<sup>29</sup> absolutely do not hold up. After 1990, the attitude of the authority towards religion and religious communities changed so that politicising religion has become even more pronounced than during the time of socialism.

It seems that religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a sense of ideological and political legitimisation. That must be taken into due account when analysing data on confessional affiliation from the 2013 population census. That is a dilemma that remains: whether intolerance or hatred is the result of “glut by religion” (although more than 96 percent of the population self-identified as religious, how many of those people practise religion and how many live it—that is a different question).

The real question is: what served the development of religious self-identification and a shift of religiousness from “invisible” to “visible” at the end of the last century, with which the 1991 population census results bear witness and more so by those of the 2013 population census? Political crises and the war (1991-1995) expedited the “bloom” of religiousness (at least of the manifesting one). Political changes also influenced the rise of religiousness and

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<sup>29</sup> Ramet, Sabrina (2005). *Balkanski Babilon*. Zagreb: „Alineja“.

religious self-identification although it is questionable if the “return to religion” has occurred (to which some authors are inclined) or the „return of the suppressed” (G. Vattimo) has taken place. We prefer the belief that the “return” of religion into the public sphere was not correlated to the return of people to faith. The former process was incomparably faster and stronger than the latter (which reflected the most about folk elements and confessional self-identification). The „return“ of religions were marked by two phenomena: linking to visible (external) indicators of affiliation and the connection of the return to religion with the return to the nation.

Along with all the above, these churches have not yet come to post-socialism, they are still napping in the anticommunism of the second half of the last century. For them, the word “anti” holds more significance than the word “post”.

When looking at the confessional structure of the entities, it is as follows: population-wise in the Federation of BiH, Muslims made up 71.28 percent, Catholics made up 22.10 percent and Orthodoxies made up 2.57 percent. For the population of Republika Srpska, Orthodox made up 81.39 percent, Muslims made up 14.06 percent and Catholics made up 2.35 percent. According to the 2013 population census results, Republika Srpska was both nationally, and in confessional terms, more homogenous than the Federation of BiH. About 1,245,881 inhabitants lived in 18 municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, out of which there were 806,224 (45.02 percent) Muslims, 497,377 (45.80 percent) Orthodox and 135,090 (25.19 percent) Catholics. There were only two municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants that were multiconfessional: Mostar and Brčko.

Just as Bosnia and Herzegovina lost their classical multi-confessionality (there were 50.7 percent of Muslims in 2013 and in 1991, there were 42.76 percent), 23 municipalities lost their multi-confessionality as well: there was seven of them in Republika Srpska (Prijeđor, Doboj, Derventa, Modriča, Kotor Varoš, Šamac, Brod) and 17 were in the Federation of BiH

(Novo Sarajevo, Tuzla, Ilidža, Travnik, Sanski Most, Bugojno, Žepče, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Maglaj, Ilijaš, Ključ, Stolac, Fojnica, Vareš, Kupres). Catholics became the majority in four of those once multi-confessional municipalities (Žepče, Vitez, Stoac, Kupres), Orthodoxies became the majority in seven of those municipalities (Priedor, Doboj, Derventa, Modriča, Kotor Varoš, Šamac, Brod), and Muslims in 13 (Tuzla, Ilidža, Novo Sarajevo, Travnik, Sanski Most, Bugojno, Novi Travnik, Maglaj, Ilijaš, Ključ, Fojnica, Vareš).

In 2013, there were six municipalities that still remained multi-confessional (there was none with the participation of 50 percent in the population): Mostar, Distrikt Brčko, Jajce, Busovača, Vukosavlje, Glamoč. None of those municipalities were in the territory of Republika Srpska.

*Muslims* (there were 1,790,454 of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013) made up more than 70 percent of the population in 44 municipalities, all of which were in the territory of the Federation of BiH: Novi Grad Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Ilidža, Cazin, Novo Sarajevo, Živinice, Bihać, Centar Sarajevo, Gračanica, Lukavac, Tešanj, Sanski Most, Velika Kladuša, Visoko, Srebrenik, Gradačac, Kakanj, Stari Grad Sarajevo, Zavidovići, Kalesija, Bugojno, Vogošća, Bosanska Krupa, Konjic, Hadžići, Maglaj, Banovići, Goražde, Ilijaš, Bužim, Ključ, Breza, Donji Vakuf, Kladanj, Sapna, Čelić, Doboj Istok, Olovo, Jablanica, Teočak, Doboj Jug, Trnovo Federation of BiH i Pale Federation of BiH.

According to the census in 2013, *Muslims* participated with less than five percent in the population structure in the following 15 municipalities: Banja Luka, Trebinje, Ljubuški, Srbac, Mrkonjić Grad, Čelinac, Ilidža Istok, Nevesinje, Novo Sarajevo Istok, Kneževo, Gacko, Šekovići, Kupres Federation of BiH, Neum, Kalinovik. Three municipalities were in the territory of the Federation of BiH (in which the Catholic population was the majority), and the remaining 12 municipalities were in the territory of Republika Srpska (in which the Orthodox population was the majority). Muslims made up less than one percent of the

population in the following 17 municipalities: Laktaši, Široki Brijeg, Pale Republika Srpska, Posušje, Čitluk, Grude, Bileća, Drvar, Petrovo, Pelagićevo, Domaljevac, Donji Žabar, Ljubinje, Ravno, Oštra Luka, Bosansko Grahovo, Krupa na Uni. Eight of those municipalities were in the territory of the Federation of BiH (the Catholic population was the majority in eight municipalities and the Orthodox population made up the majority in two municipalities). The remaining nine municipalities were in the territory of Republika Srpska where the Orthodox population was the majority. In 2013, there were five municipalities in which there were no Muslims: Ribnik, Dobretići, Petrovac, Kupres Republika Srpska and Drvar Istok.

In 1991, there were six municipalities in the territory of Republika Srpska in which Muslims made up the majority, which is not the case today: Zvornik (1991 – 59.16 percent; 2013 – 33.76 percent), Bratunac (1991 – 64.32 percent; 2013 – 38.38 percent), Foča (1991 – 50.98 percent; 2013 – 6.98 percent), Vlasenica (1991 -55.53 percent; 2013 – 32.75 percent), Rogatica (1991 – 59.36 percent; 2013 – 10.37 percent), Višegrad (1991 – 63.09 percent; 2013 – 9.59 percent).

The Orthodox (there were 1,085,760 of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013) made up more than 70 percent of the population in 49 municipalities: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboj, Gradiška, Teslić, Prnjavor, Laktaši, Trebinje, Derventa, Novi Grad, Modriča, Kozarska Dubica, Pale Republika Srpska, Foča Republika Srpska, Srbac, Šamac, Mrkonjić Grad, Ugljevik, Čelinac, Lopare, Ilidža Istok, Nevesinje, Sokolac, Bileća, Rogatica, Višegrad, Novo Sarajevo Istok, Šipovo, Kneževo, Gacko, Rudo, Drvar, Šekovići, Petrovo, Ribnik, Kostajnica, Čajniče, Donji Žabari, Han Pijesak, Ljubinje, Oštra Luka, Bosansko Grahovo, Berkovići, Kalinovik, Krupa na Uni, Jezero, Petrovac, Kupres Republika Srpska, Drvar Istok. Out of those municipalities, there were only two municipalities that were in the territory of the

Federation of BiH (Drvar and Bosansko Grahovo) whereas the rest were in the territory of Republika Srpska.

The Orthodox made up less than five percent of the population in 37 municipalities: Novi Grad Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Ilidža, Bihać, Centar Sarajevo, Travnik, Lukavac, Sanski Most, Srebrenik, Stari Grad Sarajevo, Zavidovići, Livno, Bugojno, Žepče, Jajce, Vogošća, Čapljina, Vitez, Bosanska Krupa, Konjic, Hadžići, Novi Travnik, Maglaj, Goražde, Kiseljak, Ilijaš, Odžak, Busovača, Ključ, Stolac, Sapna, Čelić, Vareš, Domaljevac, Federation of BiH. All of those municipalities were in the Federation of BiH and in nine of them, Catholics made up the majority (while in the remaining 28, Muslims were the majority. The Orthodoxies made up less than one percent of the population in 32 municipalities as follows: Cazin, Živinice, Gračanica, Tešanj, Velika Kladuša, Visoko, Gradačac, Kakanj, Kalesija, Tomislavgrad, Široki Brijeg, Ljubuški, Gornji Vakuf, Posušje, Orašje, Bužim, Čitluk, Grude, Prozor, Breza, Donji Vakuf, Fojnica, Kladanj, Doboj Istok, Olovo, Jablanica, Teočak, Usora, Kreševo, Neum, Doboj Jug, Dobretići. Out of the above, Catholics made up the majority population in 11 municipalities whereas in the remaining 21, Muslims were the majority. According to the 2013 census, there was not a single municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina without an Orthodox population. In 1991, the Orthodox made up the majority, taking up 78.31 percent of the population in the Glamoč municipality (Federation of BiH), while in 2013, they made up a relative majority, taking up 43.49 percent of the population.

Catholics (there were 536,333 of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013) represented more than 70 percent of the population in 18 municipalities as follows: Livno, Tomislavgrad, Žepče, Široki Brijeg, Ljubuški, Čapljina, Posušje, Orašje, Čitluk, Grude, Prozor<sup>30</sup>, Usora,

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<sup>30</sup> In end August 2013, Croats/Catholics launched the initiative (Ivan Markešić, sociologist of religion and of origin from that area was also amongst the initiators) that from now on, the Day of Prozor-Rama municipality is no longer a religious holiday of Nativity of Mary but the day of the first mentioning of Rama in the Charter of the Medieval ruler Tvrtko. „We want to show that we, Croats and Catholics, are not the only owners of this beautiful homeland but that it also belongs to Bosniacs Muslims and others “Jozo Ivančević, mayor of



Kreševo, Kupres Federation of BiH, Domaljevac, Neum, Ravno, Dobretići. All of these municipalities were in the territory of the Federation of BiH (whereas 10 of them were in Herzegovina).

Catholics represented less than five percent of the population in 27 municipalities as follows: Banja Luka<sup>31</sup>, Novi Grad Sarajevo, Prijedor, Doboj, Ilidža, Živinice, Gradiška, Lukavac, Tešanj, Sanski Most, Visoko, Gradačac, Teslić, Stari Grad Sarajevo, Zavidovići, Prnjavor, Laktaši, Trebinje, Vogošća, Banovići, Kozarska Dubica, Ilijaš, Ilidža Istok, Kostajnica, Drvar Istok, Breza, Olovo. About 11 municipalities were in the territory of Republika Srpska (with the Orthodox population being the majority) and 16 municipalities were in the territory of the Federation of BiH (with the Muslim population being the majority). Catholics made up less than one percent of the population in even 56 municipalities: Bijeljina, Cazin, Zvornik, Gračanica, Velika Kladuša, Kalesija, Novi Grad, Bosanska Krupa, Hadžići, Pale Republika Srpska, Goražde, Bratunac, Bužim, Foča Republika Srpska, Srbac, Ključ, Mrkonjić Grad, Ugljevik, Čelinac, Lopare, Donji Vakuf, Srebrenica, Nevesinje, Kladanj, Sokolac, Vlasenica, Milići, Sapna, Bileća, Rogatica, Višegrad, Novo Sarajevo Istok, Šipovo, Doboj Istok, Kneževo, Gacko, Rudo, Teočak, Bosanski Petrovac, Šekovići, Petrovo, Ribnik, Osmaci, Čajniče, Doboj Jug, Han Pijesak, Ljubinje, Novo Goražde, Berkovići, Trnovo Republika Srpska, Kalinovik, Foča Federation of BiH, Krupa na Uni, Trnovo Federation of BiH, Jezero, Pale Federation of BiH. About 29

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municipality underlined. Dr. Pero Sudar, Sarajevo auxiliary Bishop supported the idea by saying that every thinking and well-meaning believer should mind and every citizen should be worried by the practice of proclaiming the religious holidays for municipal, cantonal and state holidays. There is nothing more harmful for faith and religion than their misuse for feeding or deepening any kind of misunderstanding amongst men and people, Bishop Sudar said (<http://direktno.hr/en/2014/dijaspora/57547/Hrvati-iz-Prozor-Rame-%C5%BEEle-zamijeniti-katoli%C4%8Dki-dan-u-korist-zajedni%C4%8Dkog.htm>). It would be so good if the others in the Catholic Church, Islamic community, and especially, political and clerical leadership in Republika Srpska would think and act the same (Republika Srpska has its own Patron's Day; police sector, education sector as well). It is inappropriate that in one country in which the Church and the state are separated, the state imposes the Patron's Day to those who work in the institutions of that state and are not Orthodoxes (Muslims, Catholics etc.).

<sup>31</sup> Before the war, A Trappists' mass (Marija Zvijezda in Banja Luka) was visited by app 3,000 believers and in 2007, there were only 150. There has been no baptism for 17 years now (until 2007), but only funerals.

municipalities were in Republika Srpska and Orthodoxies made up the majority of their population (with the exception of Srebrenica). The remaining 27 municipalities belonged to the Federation of BiH and the Muslim population was the majority. There were two municipalities where there was not a single Croat in 2013--those were Petrovac and Kupres Republika Srpska.

There has been a considerable decrease in the number of Catholics in many municipalities (Republika Srpska, Central Bosnia in which there was the conflict between Muslims/the Army of BiH and Catholics/the Croatian Defence Council (CDC). It is interesting that the number of Catholics decreased even in cities where there was no conflict between CDC and the Army of BiH (Gradačac, Lukavac, Maglaj, Olovo, Visoko, Zavidovići, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Živinice). Catholics, who had the lowest number of population in cities before the war, became even fewer in number then. Furthermore, the city population was becoming extremely suburban and rural.

According to the 2013 population census, there were 38,669 or 1.09 percent of *atheists* (27,853) and *agnostics* (10,816) in total. There were 7,302 or 0.59 percent of atheists (6,014) and agnostics (1,288) in Republika Srpska. The state of play in the Federation of BiH is not that much different: there were 30,933 (or 1.39 percent) of atheists (21,508) and agnostics (9,425). If you consider those that were undeclared or had no answer to any of the above categories, then those all total to 77,939 or 2.20 percent (out of which there were 17,893 or 1.46 percent of them in Republika Srpska and 58,897 or 2.65 percent of them in the Federation of BiH). As per 1991 population census, there were 5.73 percent of atheists (in 2013, they were fewer than 4.94 percent), 0.02 percent of those that do not belong to any confession, and 2.17 percent of the undecided. If there were 5.73 percent of the population that declared themselves as atheists as according to the 1991 population census (published only a few months after the fall of socialism), and 0.02 percent of those did not belong to any

confession, and in 2013, there were 1.09 percent of atheists and agnostics, then the “accusations” for “a systematic atheism in socialism” by representatives of all three confessions that we hear nowadays seem odd.

Out of 10 municipalities with the highest number of atheists and agnostics, all, with the exception of Banja Luka, were in the Federation of BiH. Those municipalities are where the seats of universities are located and the cities in which the concentration of more educated and socially secured population are in place, including the concentration of intellectuals and cultural workers. It is shown in the table below:

Municipality	All	Atheists	Agnostics	Total
Centar Sarajevo	55,181	3,175 (5.75%)	1,560 (2.83%)	4,735 (8.58%)
Novo Sarajevo	64,814	3,195 (4.93%)	1,431 (2.20%)	4,626 (6.48%)
Tuzla	110,979	3,029 (2.73%)	1,214 (1.09%)	4,243 (3.82%)
Novi Grad Sarajevo	118,553	2,483 (2.09%)	1,098 (0.93%)	3,581 (3.02%)
Banja Luka	185,042	2,685 (1.45%)	612 (0.33%)	3,297 (1.78%)
Mostar	105,707	1,670 (1.58%)	742 (0.70%)	2,412 (2.28%)
Zenica	110,663	1,611 (1.45%)	645 (0.58%)	2,256 (2.04%)
Bihać	56,261	650 (1.16%)	315 (0.56%)	965 (1.72%)
Stari Grad Sarajevo	36,976	639 (1.73%)	315 (0.85%)	954 (2.58%)
Ilidža	66,730	619 (0.93%)	241 (0.36%)	860 (1.29%)

On the other hand, there was not a single inhabitant in six municipalities (four in Republika Srpska and two in the Federation of BiH, namely, Istočni Drvar, Mostar Istok, Kupres Republika Srpska, Krupa na Uni, Dobretići, Sapna) that declared themselves as atheist or agnostic. There was at least one atheist each in Osmaci, Pelagićevo and Ljubinje and one agnostic in Donji Žabari. These municipalities are extremely underdeveloped and have a predominantly rural population.

### **Concluding considerations**

Since the last population census in 1991, Bosnia and Herzegovina has lost 845,874 of its inhabitants. The number of Serbs has decreased the most in comparison to 1991 (279,371), followed by the number of Others (217,071)<sup>32</sup>, and then Croats (216,072). The lowest decrease was the number of Bosniacs – 133,360. The losses of five municipalities that had more than 100,000 inhabitants in 2013 should be particularly noted: Banja Luka -10,650; Novi Grad Sarajevo – 18,063; Tuzla – 20,639; Zenica – 34,854; Mostar – 20,921. If there were a population census in 2016, those numbers would surely be higher, since 2013, the outflow (especially of young people) and internal migrations have continued towards “ones' own”.

After the publication of the 2013 population census results (published only in summer 2016), we wonder what happened with the former “leopard's skin” that symbolically represented multinational and multi-confessional Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>33</sup> A myth on multiculturalism, community, and „good neighbourhood“ was broken into pieces three times

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<sup>32</sup> There are the following amongst „Others“: Italians, Slovenians, Checks, Poles, Jews, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Roma, Albanians, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Rusyns, Ukrainians, etc. Convoys of exit from the war zones to their “parent states” were organised for some of the above during the war, and the majority of them individually left Bosnia and Herzegovina, without the intention to participate in the war.

<sup>33</sup> „...today, there are almost no mixed communities in Bosnia, those in which it would not be precisely known who is in majority, and who is in minority. A community is mixed only where the Other does not feel as a national minority. Numbers and statistics are not the most important“ (Jergović, Miljenko, *Otac*, Beograd: „Rende“, p. 2010:79).

in the twentieth century (World Wars I and II, and the war of 1991-1995). Has the multinational and multi-confessional Bosnia and Herzegovina become a thing of the past? Has it been substituted by tripartite national and confessional homogenisation? Is the 2013 population census a requiem for multi-confessional Bosnia and Herzegovina?

If compared to 1991 specifically, Bosnia and Herzegovina has become nationally, and in confessional terms, homogenous: there is almost a negligible number of “Others” living in each of the three areas, meaning Bosniacs/Muslim and Croats/Catholics in Republika Srpska and Serbs/Orthodoxies in the Federation. For instance, there were 2.41 percent of Croats, 13.99 percent of Bosniacs and 81.51 percent of Serbs in Republika Srpska and there were 3.6 percent of Serbs, 22.4 percent of Croats and 70.4 percent of Bosniacs in the Federation of BiH. The census made national communities aware of the numbers of their members and of „the balance of power against one another“ (Armstrong, 2016). There should be fears about the possible exposure of “the dark side of nationalism” (K. Armstrong) and its intolerance towards minorities in national races. Each of the three groups of people in two of three nationally homogenous areas make up the minority. As Karen Armstrong said „tightly bound and isolated community can develop exclusivity that excommunicate and boycott others.“<sup>34</sup> Which of these people were nationally homogenised the most? According to the criterion of living in nationally homogenous municipalities, Serbs are at the top: 91.38 percent of them lived in such municipalities. Serbs are also in first place as per criterion of living in municipalities in which they make up the majority (relatively or absolutely) population: 92.37 percent of them lived in such municipalities. Bosniacs are in second place as per criterion of homogenisation: 79.79 percent of them lived in nationally homogenous municipalities and 83.99 percent of them lived in municipalities in which they represented the majority population. Despite representing the least populous people, Croats are the least homogenous:

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<sup>34</sup> Karen Armstrong, *Polja krvi*, (Sarajevo: „Buybook“, 2016),141.

57.04 percent of them lived in nationally homogenous municipalities and 68.07 percent of them lived in municipalities in which they represented the majority population. Most Croats lived in binary municipalities (46.08 percent of Croats, 29.83 percent of Serbs and 28.84 percent of Bosniacs) where most represent up to 10 percent in the population structure of a municipality (12.94 percent of Croats, 5.69 percent of Serbs and 1.72 percent of Bosniacs), and below one percent as well (0.50 percent of Croats, 0.33 percent of Serbs and 0.03 percent of Bosniacs).

Where does this leave Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina? It is often said, especially from Bosniacs, that Sarajevo is a unique city (which is not true) in which there is a mosque, cathedral, Orthodox Church and synagogue at close range. Sarajevo is made up today of five municipalities (Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, Novi Grad and Ilidža). In 1991, those municipalities had 429,672 inhabitants in total. There were 211,840 Bosniacs (49.30 percent), 117,300 Serbs (27.29 percent), and 31,173 Croats (7.26 percent). In 2013, there were 280,577 Bosniacs (82.12 percent), 12,022 Serbs (3.52 percent), and 16,634 Croats (4.87 percent). The confessional structure of Sarajevo inhabitants in 1991 was as follows: there were 205,065 Muslims (47.73 percent), 106,184 Orthodox (24.71 percent), and 31,440 Catholics (7.32 percent). The situation has changed considerably by 2013. Out of 342,254 inhabitants, there were 284,143 Muslims (83.02 percent), 12,221 Orthodox (3.57 percent), and 15,614 Catholics (4.56 percent). Multiculturalism in Sarajevo has been dying,, if not dead by 2016. Will the Cathedral and Orthodox Church remain as a sign that Catholics and Orthodoxies used to live there or perhaps they will have the same destiny of the former temple of the Evangelical church that is now the building of the Academy of Arts. I wrote the following in my Sarajevo war diary on 27 December 1993<sup>35</sup>: Recently, one of “mountain brigades” celebrated its anniversary in Morića han. Alija Izetbegovic was their guest. At one

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<sup>35</sup> It was the time of vehement war conflicts of Bosniacs with Croats and Serbs.

moment, he said to the journalists that they turn off their tape recorders (without knowing that guests from newly formed Croatian brigade 'King Tvrtko', ex CDC were there) and said: 'Now that we are alone, I can tell you: both Orthodox Church and the Cathedral will remain here, and the bells will ring, but there will be none to enter them'". Are we witnessing the effectuation of the words of Alija Izetbegović?

Srebrenica (Republika Srpska) is also characteristic, in which, as according to The Hague court judgement, a crime against Muslims was committed. Muslims were the majority in that municipality in 1991 and they are today as well, but in 1991, there were 75.50 percent of them and in 2013, there were 54.68 percent of them in the population of that municipality. There is also the case of Rogatica (Republika Srpska) where in 1991, Muslims made up the majority population, taking up 59.36 percent, and according to the 2013 population census, there were only 10.37 percent of them in the population of that municipality. A similar process occurred in Višegrad (Republika Srpska), where in 1991, Muslim made up the majority population, taking up 63.09 percent and in 2013, they represented 9.59 percent of the population of that municipality. In 1991, Muslims represented more than 50 percent of the population in the municipalities of Zvornik, Bratunac, Foča, Vlasenica, but it is no longer like that nowadays.

Similarly, in 1991, Croats made up the relative majority of the population of Vareš (Federation of BiH)--42.30 percent and in 2013, there were 30.77 percent of Croats (Muslims became the majority with 61.94 percent, while in 1991, there was 29.63 percent of them).

There are only 12 municipalities in which there are more inhabitants in 2013 than in 1991, as follows: Bijeljina, Laktaši, Pale Republika Srpska (the Serbian population are the majority in all three municipalities), Cazin, Živinice, Vogošća (the Bosniacs are the majority in all three municipalities), Tomislavgrad, Široki Brijeg, Posušje, Čitluk, Grude, Neum (Croats are the majority in all these municipalities).

What few hardly mention after the publication of the population census results which no one is seemingly concerned about is the data that illiteracy is on the rise: about 12.82 percent of the people are illiterate. But this is data for some other analyses.

Sarajevo, September 2016