



CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN THE TERRITORIALISATION OF REGIONAL IDENTITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ON THE EXAMPLE OF CROATS IN HERZEGOVINA

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Abstract

The article analyses new trends in the territorialisation of regional identities in the case of Croats in Herzegovina and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. An analysis of media reports, popular culture and field research revealed a shift in the perception of Herzegovina's regional identity. It spread northwest into the area of Canton 10 with a predominantly Croat population, persisted in the areas of Herzegovina's historical borders, and decreased to some extent in eastern Herzegovina with a Serb ethnic majority.

Keywords: region, regional identity, Herzegovina, Croats, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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SODOBNI TRENDI V TERITORIALIZACIJI REGIONALNIH IDENTITET V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI NA PRIMERU HERCEGOVSKIH HRVATOV

Izvleček

Prispevek analizira nove trende v teritorializaciji regionalnih identitet na primeru Hrvatov v Hercegovini in drugih delih Bosne in Hercegovine. Z analizo medijskih poročil, popularne kulture in terenske raziskave je bil ugotovljen premik v dojetanju hercegovske regionalne identitete. Ta se je razširila severozahodno na območje Kantona 10 s pretežno hrvaškim prebivalstvom, zadržala na območjih zgodovinskih meja Hercegovine in do neke mere zmanjšala v Vzhodni Hercegovini s srbsko etnično večino.

Ključne besede: regija, regionalna identiteta, Hercegovina, Hrvati, Bosna in Hercegovina

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1 INTRODUCTION

Changes in the identification features of the group also affect the personal identity of the individual. Ethnic and regional identities are some of the most important forms of group identity. Considering the variability of regional identities, the article deals with new trends in the territorialisation of regional identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) on the example of Croats in Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia. Among this population, there are changes in the understanding of Herzegovinian regional identity in relation to the traditional spatial coverage of Herzegovina.

By deviating from its historical borders, the border areas of Bosnia inhabited by Croats are added to Herzegovina, which leads to a new territorialisation of the Herzegovinian regional identity that is intertwined with the Croatian national identity. The territorial-political development of Herzegovina and the spatial distribution of the Croatian population will be presented below. The article will try to determine the link between the change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the strength of national identity due to post-war socio-political circumstances.

The objectives of this research are to identify: changes in the spatial perception of Herzegovina among Croats in the territories of B&H; changes in the regional identity of Croats in the areas of their settlement in B&H; typical indicators of the described changes in the media and popular culture; the impact of changes in the spatial coverage of Herzegovinian identity on the socio-political occasions in B&H. Accordingly, a hypothesis is put forward: by establishing the Dayton administrative-territorial arrangement of B&H and the strengthening of Croatian national identity, a new trend

of territorialisation of the Herzegovinian regional identity develops, which is reflected among Croats in Herzegovina and other areas of Croatian settlement in the country through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In methodological terms, the article analyses the spatial distribution of the Croatian population in Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia and provides an overview of the spatial perception of Herzegovina in contemporary media reports and popular culture. In addition, a survey was conducted to determine the spatial perception of Herzegovina among Croats in the area. The data analysis of the target census years determines the link between the research results and the spatial distribution of the Croatian population in the observed area. The article uses census data for 1971 and 2013 because in 1971 the Muslim national category was introduced, which provides a more realistic insight into the national composition. The 2013 census is important for its insight into the post-war population structure.

Researching the media reports and popular culture, the elements of the new spatial perception of Herzegovina are determined. The research covered twenty electronic media operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighbouring Croatia and a total of fifty media reports from which one can clearly recognize or implicitly sense the spatial perception of Herzegovina and belonging to the Herzegovinian regional identity. Elements of popular culture, i.e. popular songs, videos and promotional messages that promote the sale of products with regional origin, were treated in the same way. The research was conducted from August 2019 to February 2020. Based on the established spatial framework, in order to test the hypothesis, examples have been singled out that indicate changes in the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the Herzegovinian regional identity among the Croats of the observed area.

The survey determines the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the identity features of the Croatian population of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia through research on the perception of the spatial coverage of Herzegovina among this population. The questionnaire survey was conducted in the period from May to October 2019 on a sample of 190 randomly selected respondents among the residents of this area exclusively of Croatian ethnicity. The sample is not sufficient to be considered representative, but it is indicative. The survey included both men and women of all age groups. Despite the excessive share of respondents aged 30 and under, which does not reflect the actual age structure, the sample is a useful indicator of future identity trends. The survey results were processed in the SPSS program by conducting chi-square testing of responses. Conducting chi-square testing determined differences in attitudes and answers to questions based on gender and age, place of birth and sense of belonging to the Herzegovinian identity.

3 REGIONAL IDENTITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AS FACTORS IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

A region is defined as an intermediate territorial level, between state and locality, distinguished by special natural and social features (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 162). Regions are not only spatial forms, but also territorial configuration set in relation to the governance and identity formation. Omhae sees the region as a flexible unit with multiple territorialisations for economic, political or cultural interests (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 162). Due to the political aspect of regionalism, regions are also politically defined territories subject to change (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 163). Life in border and peripheral areas has influenced community development and the creation of regions (Zorko, 2018, p. 44). Such processes have encouraged the development of regional identities. In the relation between ethnic and regional identification, a two-dimensional model is applicable where the variability of identity dimensions is determined by two continuities: weak-strong and latent-manifest (Banovac, 1998, p. 250). In B&H, there is a strong ethnic identity in a manifest form, which creates a conflict over the redistribution of major resources (territorial, political, economic, and cultural) among the dominant ethnic groups. Ethnicity is aimed at protecting collective interests leading to ethnic-based mobilization that often includes demands for administrative and territorial autonomy within the state. Territory is a reference form in which there are historical features of one's own identity, but also a significant element in the conception of future political autonomy, i.e. secession (Banovac, 1998, p. 252). There are four types of relation between regionalism and ethnicity: 1) overlapping ethnic and territorial aspects of identification; 2) attempts to construct ethnic identification on a regional basis; 3) non-institutionalized ethnicity (ethnic groups and national minorities without regionalist requirements); 4) regional institutionalization on a non-ethnic basis, i.e. regionalization as an administrative-political division of the state territory (Banovac, 1998, p. 254).

Territorialisation presupposes an understanding of the logic of space for the purpose of understanding political, economic and historical phenomena through the analysis of their spatial features. Territories are a combination of space, the people who inhabit it and the concept of power, whereby the territory creates the preconditions for population and power, and the population gives that space meaning in attempts to exercise power (Zorko, 2018, p. 17). Territory is a product or consequence of territoriality (Tunjić, 2004, p. 27). Theses about the end of history, ideology and geography after the end of the Cold War order claim that in a virtual, globalized World, territory and borders are losing their meaning. Deterritorialisation implies the loss of the importance of territoriality in the exercise of power, the end of geography and the shift of geopolitics to geoeconomics. However, critical geopolitics and real events in the international arena have shown that territory remains a crucial source of power.

Reterritorialisation respects changes in the perception of territory without denying it or diminishing its importance (Zorko, 2018, 24). The background and motives of the one who depicts the space are important, but also of the one who reads it. Hiding behind the geopolitical tools of depicting space, official state policies can influence people's emotions and attitudes (Zorko, 2018, p. 73). While practical geopolitics refers to geopolitical practice visible in public appearances, popular geopolitics refers to expression in popular culture (O'Tuathail, 2007, p. 23). Mental maps of individuals have common parameters with various communities, nations or like-minded people, and are based on similar or the same impacts from the environment: education, socialization or pop culture products (Zorko, 2018, p. 82). Since different geopolitical discourses shape different spatial perceptions, in the case of Herzegovina, differences in perceptions of its spatial coverage are to be expected depending on the geopolitical discourse or national identity.

4 CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN THE TERRITORIALISATION OF THE REGIONAL IDENTITY OF CROATS IN HERZEGOVINA

Herzegovina is a geographical, historical and functional region in B&H at the southern corner of its spatial triangle (Figure 1), which is separated from Bosnia in the north by the dissected shale zone of Bitvonja, Ivan-saddle and the southern slopes of Bjelašnica, Visočica, Treskavica, Zelengora, Volujak and Lebršnik, and in the north-west by the mountain range of Zavelim, Midena, Lip-planina, Čvrstica, Vran, Ljubuša and Raduša (Markotić, 1983, p. 30). Among Croats in Herzegovina, the feeling of belonging to a regional identity is very pronounced. Although the spatial framework of this region does not coincide with the ethnic borders, a significant part of Herzegovina, especially the western one, is the most ethnically compact part of B&H inhabited by Croats. Therefore, Croats are expected to have a close link between regional and national identity.

Figure 1: Historical borders of Herzegovina.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021b.

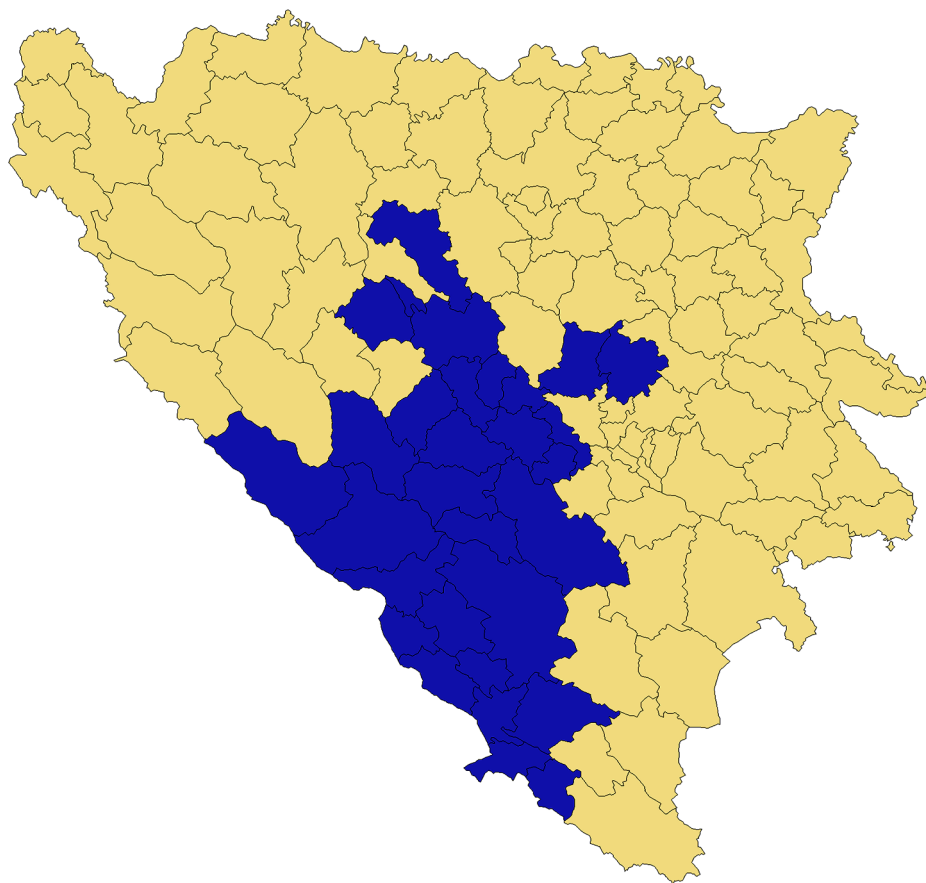
4.1 Territorial-political development of Herzegovina

Herzegovina has changed its spatial extent throughout history. Some parts of today's Herzegovina were partly or entirely within historical areas: *Neretva (Paganja)* (Čapljina, Ljubuški, Grude, Posušje), *Hum* (Mostar, Blagaj, Konjic, Nevesinje, Stolac, Ljubinje), *Podrinja* (Gacko), *Travunia* (Trebinje, Bileća), *Rama* (Prozor, Jablanica), and *Završje* (part of the Posušje Municipality) (Markotić, 1983, p. 29). The first mention of the name of Herzegovina is related to Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, who proclaimed himself Duke (Herzog) of Hum and Primorje in 1448 with the aim of emphasizing

autonomy. Since the original Herzegovina spatially coincided with the territory under Kosača's rule, its borders exceeded the borders of present-day Herzegovina and included parts of neighbouring countries. In 1482, the Ottomans occupied most of Herzegovina. The borders of Herzegovina in the Ottoman period changed in accordance with the administrative-territorial organization of the Empire. The status of Herzegovina was changing from the level of the sanjak to the level of the vilayet, and towards the end of the Ottoman rule Herzegovina became one of the six sanjaks of the Bosnian vilayet. With the occupation of B&H in 1878, Herzegovina came under Austro-Hungarian rule, which lasted until 1918. The Dual Monarchy retained the Ottoman territorial organization in such a way that the former sanjaks became districts, and the Mostar district included almost the whole of Herzegovina, except for the peripheral parts in the northeast and northwest. Abolished in the time of the Ottomans, who allowed religious service only to the Franciscans, the regular Catholic Church organization was restored during the Austro-Hungarian rule, whereby Herzegovina was organized into two dioceses, Mostar-Duvno Diocese and Trebinje-Mrkan Diocese.

From 1918 to 1941, Herzegovina was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (from 1929). Within the administrative-territorial organization of the kingdom in 33 counties (oblast) in 1922, Herzegovina largely preserved its borders within the Mostar County. With the reorganization of the state into nine banates in 1929, the territory of Herzegovina was divided between the Littoral Banate (Primorska banovina) and Zeta Banate, and in 1939 the part of Herzegovina from the Littoral Banate became part of the Banate of Croatia. In 1941, Herzegovina became part of the Independent State of Croatia, founded under the auspices of the fascist powers, and from 1945 to 1991 it was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In socialist Yugoslavia, Herzegovina did not have a special administrative status, but was mostly gathered as part of the Mostar district until the abolition of the districts, after which the territory of Herzegovina was organized into great municipalities. During the last war, after Owen-Stoltenberg plan for the administrative-territorial organization of B&H, in 1993 the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia was proclaimed (Figure 2), which was abolished by the Washington and Dayton Agreements and its accession to the Federation of B&H. Herzegovina gained a significant role in the then territorialisation of Croatian self-government, which included about thirty Herzegovinian municipalities and parts of Bosnia with a significant share of Croats. Since western Herzegovina was the political core and space of ethnic compactness of Croats in B&H, the Herzegovinian regional identity gradually took on more and more national connotations among Croats. This phenomenon is especially pronounced after the abolition of Herzeg-Bosnia when the Herzegovinian regional identity began to serve as a mimicry of the Croatian national identity, and regionalism as a substitute for the non-existence of the Croatian territorial unit within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 2: Municipalities declared as a part of Herzeg-Bosnia.



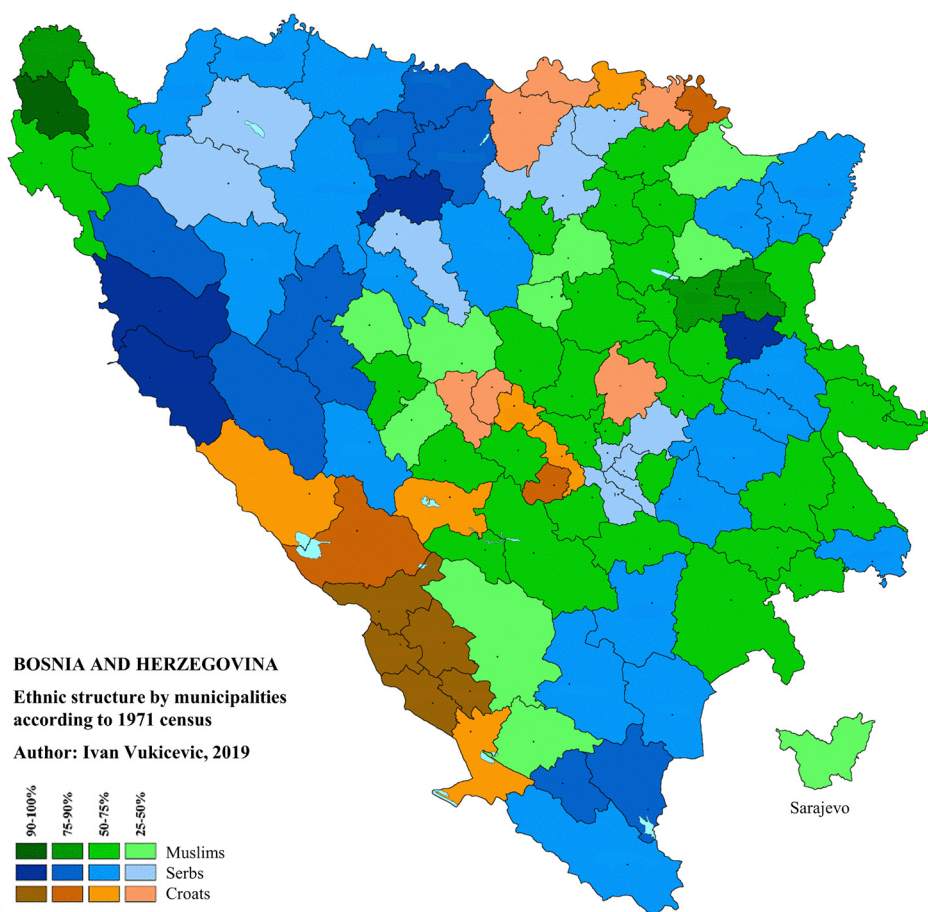
Source: Wikimedia, 2021 d.

4.2 Spatial distribution of Croats in Herzegovina

The 1971 census showed that Herzegovina was a nationally heterogeneous area (Figure 3), especially in developed areas and municipal centres, while rural areas were mostly nationally homogeneous. Despite the mixture, especially in the area of Mostar, nationally homogeneous areas stand out: a) western Herzegovina (Čitluk, Grude, Lištica, Ljubuški and Posušje) as a homogeneous area of Croats; b) eastern Herzegovina (Bileća, Gacko, Ljubinje, Nevesinje and Trebinje) as a homogeneous area of Serbs; and c) central Herzegovina (Čapljina, Jablanica, Konjic, Mostar, Prozor and Stolac) as a heterogeneous area with a dominant share of Muslims (except in the municipalities of Čapljina and Prozor). In 1971, Croats made up 48.7% of the region's total population.

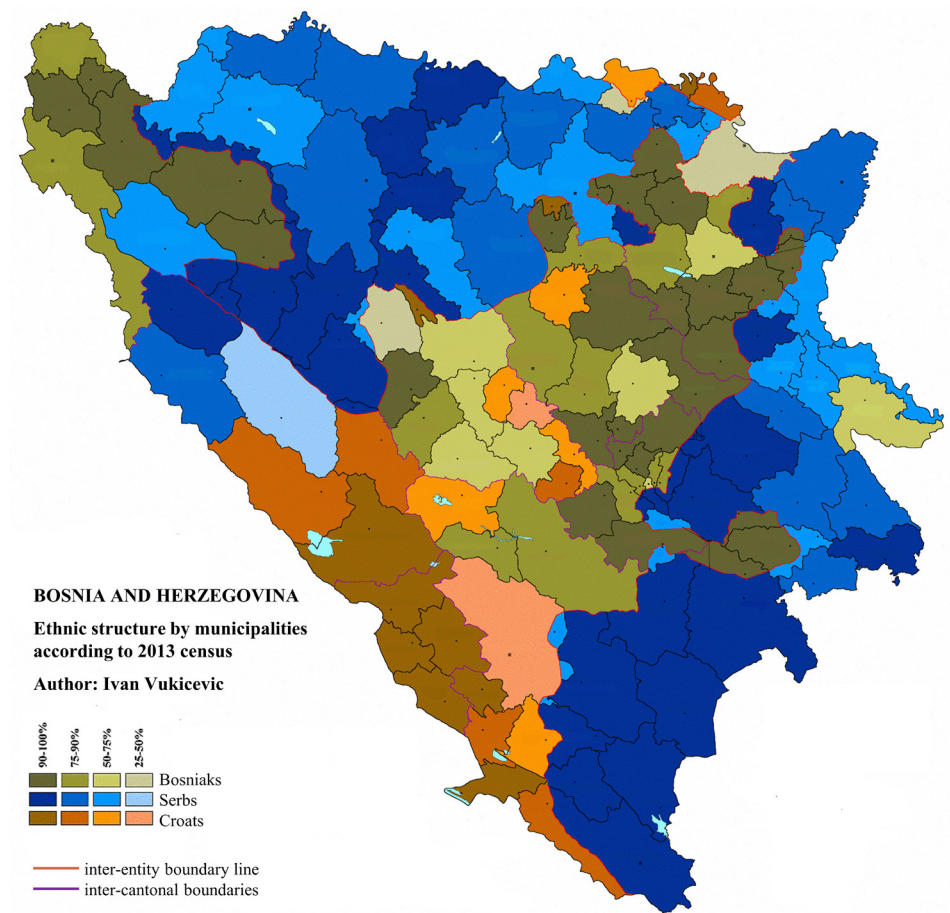
Muslims made up 25.7% of the region's population and Serbs 23.5%. Croats lived in all municipalities of Herzegovina with a share from 0.1% in Gacko to 99.5% in Grude. In seven municipalities (Čapljina, Čitluk, Grude, Lištica, Ljubuški, Posušje, Prozor) Croats formed an absolute or relative majority, while in four municipalities they were second in terms of share (Jablanica, Konjic, Mostar, Stolac). The largest number and share of Croats lived in western Herzegovina as one of the most nationally homogeneous areas in the former Yugoslavia (Markotić, 1983, pp. 186–192).

Figure 3: Ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities according to 1971 census.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021a.

Figure 4: Ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities according to 2013 census.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021c.

From 1991 to 2013, no census was conducted in B&H. Although they do not traditionally belong to Herzegovina, in the context of this research, the analysis will also include the municipalities of Drvar, Kupres and Livno. The analysis also includes the entire municipality of Tomislavgrad, whose peripheral parts cross the traditional borders of Herzegovina. The increase in the number of Croats compared to 1991 occurred in the municipalities of Čapljina, Mostar, Posušje, Čitluk, Stolac, Široki Brijeg, Ljubuški, Grude, Neum, Tomislavgrad, Glamoč, Drvar and Kupres. The municipalities with a reduced number of Croats are Konjic, Trebinje, Nevesinje and Bileća, but

also Prozor, although Croats made up the majority there in 1991 and 2013. Religious affiliation deviates slightly from national, since national identities are formed on the ethno-religious principle. The war ethnic homogenization resulted in the loss of multiethnicity of the largest number of municipalities in B&H (Figure 4), with the exception of Mostar, and further differentiated the three Herzegovinian areas: western with a Croat majority, heterogeneous central with Bosniak and Croat domination, and eastern with a Serb majority. Ethnic homogenization was transferred beyond the traditional framework of Herzegovina to Kupres and Livno (Census..., 2016).

4.3 Contemporary perceptions of the spatial definition of Herzegovina and the regional identity of the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia

By the Dayton organization, the territorial autonomy of national segments was constitutionalized at two levels: at the level of the state of B&H in the form of entities and at the level of the Federation of B&H in the form of cantons (Kasapović, 2005, p. 152). Empowered national identities have become the basis of personal identification, and regional identities are identified with the dominant ethnic community. With a territorial organization without foundation in geography, history or economy, Herzegovina found itself divided between two entities. Consequently, among the Croats of Herzegovina and the peripheral parts of Bosnia, a change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina is observed. Also, in the same area, there is a trend of equating the Herzegovinian regional with the Croatian national identity.

Such phenomena are confirmed by numerous examples in the media and pop culture. The song in which Herzegovina was sung as “our holy Croatian land for a thousand years” was promoted into the informal anthem of Herzegovinian Croats (Kasapović, 2005, p. 116). A similar example are the verses “I am a Croat, it is written in my heart, Croatian genes are in my blood, a Herzegovinian breathes for Croatia”. The song *Herzegovinian Girl from Mostar* begins with the verses “I loved a lot of girls from Neum to Drvar”, rounding off the space under Croatian ethnic or political domination. Examples of adding non-Herzegovinian space to Herzegovina can also be found in the media. Enumerating the cities in Herzegovina, host Joško Lokas also mentioned Livno on Croatian state television (Kviz potjera, 2019). There are statements in the media such as: “We investigated how the famous Herzegovinian ski resorts and tourist destinations of Kupres and Blidinje welcomed the beginning of the winter season” (Cvitković, 2011), or that Livno cheese is a Herzegovinian product (okusihercegovinu.com, 2020), and “Herzegovina – Livno is preparing a great welcome for Zlatko Dalić” (Livno sprema..., 2018), Croatian football selector originally from Livno, often characterized in the media as “Herzegovinian” (bhfudbal.ba, 2017). For some media, “wild horses” living on the plateaus “between Kupres and Livno” are “in north-western Herzegovina” (Prizori koji ..., 2018). However, the omission

of Trebinje or Konjic from Herzegovina confirms the key role of Croatian national identity as a criterion for belonging to the region. Among the above examples of the equating of Herzegovinian and Croatian identity, such a phenomenon is surprising in the media of non-Croatian ethnic origin.

As stated in the chapter on methodology, the survey presents the perception of the spatial coverage of Herzegovina and the Herzegovinian regional identity among the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring areas of Bosnia. The questionnaire was conducted on a sample of 190 randomly selected residents of this area, all of Croatian ethnicity, and a chi-square test was performed using SPSS software. The sample is not sufficient to be considered representative, but it is indicative. 115 men and 75 women participated in the survey, with 1.6% of respondents under the age of 18, 62.1% aged 19 to 30, 27.4% aged 31 to 45, 7.4% were between 46 and 60 years old, and only 1.6% were over 60 years old. Despite the excessive proportion of respondents aged 30 and under, which does not reflect the actual age structure, the sample is a useful indicator of future identity trends. The largest number of respondents was born in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (42.1%), while 14.7% were born in the Canton 10, 14.2% each in the West Herzegovina and Central Bosnia Canton, and 8.9% in other cantons in the Federation of B&H, and 5.8% of them in another entity or state. A similar ratio applies to the place of residence, with 50.5% of them living in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, 20% in the West Herzegovina Canton, 12.6% in the Canton 10, 10.5% in the Central Bosnia Canton, 4.2% in other cantons, and 1.6% in another entity or state.

Of the 190 respondents, over two-thirds (69.5%) said they considered themselves Herzegovinians, about a quarter (25.3%) did not share that identity, and 5.3% were unsure (Table 1). As expected, this identity is shared by almost all respondents born in the Herzegovina-Neretva and West Herzegovina Canton, about half born in the Canton 10 and almost none born in other cantons of the Federation of B&H, another entity or state. Almost half of the respondents (45.3%) believe that the borders of Herzegovina have not changed since the last war. However, it is indicative that 17.4% of respondents believe that the borders of the region have changed, while 37.4% of them do not know or are not sure. Chi-square testing found no differences in attitudes depending on gender or age. More than half of the respondents (54.2%) believe that Herzegovina should be a single administrative-territorial unit, 32.6% do not agree with that, while 13.2% did not know how to answer (Table 2). Chi-square testing found no differences in attitudes depending on gender or age, but it did in the case of place of birth or residence. Herzegovina is mostly seen as a single region by those born or living in the Herzegovina-Neretva and West Herzegovina Canton, while about half of those born and residing in Canton 10 agree, but almost no one born or residing in other cantons, entity or state. The largest number of advocates of Herzegovina as a single administrative-territorial unit is among respondents who consider themselves Herzegovinians (71.2%), and only 12.5% among those who do not share that identity.

Table 1: A sense of belonging to the Herzegovinian identity.

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	132	69.5	69.5
No	48	25.3	94.7
Unsure	10	5.3	100.0
Total	190	100.0	

Table 2: Herzegovina as a single administrative-territorial unit.

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	103	54.2	54.2
No	62	32.6	86.8
Other	25	13.2	100.0
Total	190	100.0	

Examining the perception of the affiliation of a particular settlement to Herzegovina, it was expected that almost all respondents (99.5%) believe that Mostar is located in Herzegovina. Even 96.3% of respondents think that Ljubuški is in Herzegovina, 89.5% of them think the same for Stolac, and 88.9% for Neum. Over half of the respondents (61.6%) see Tomislavgrad as part of Herzegovina, while 38.4% of them do not consider this settlement on the north-western edge of the region to be Herzegovinian. The respondents have a similar attitude for Prozor/Rama, which only 55.4% of them consider part of Herzegovina, and even 44.7% do not consider it. There are interesting views on settlements where Croats do not form an absolute or relative ethnic majority. Although 78.9% of respondents consider Trebinje to be part of the region, even one fifth of respondents do not consider this town to be in Herzegovina. Bearing in mind that the respondents are ethnically Croats, the small share of Croats in the population of Trebinje certainly influenced the reduced perception of this town as Herzegovinian. The conditionality of the attitude towards the ethnicity of the inhabitants is even more visible in the cases of Konjic and Gacko. Only 53.7% of respondents see Konjic in Herzegovina, while 46.3% do not think so. Gacko is the only Herzegovinian settlement in the questionnaire that more respondents (58.4%) believe does not belong to Herzegovina than vice versa (41.6%). The reduced perception of the affiliation of the settlements of eastern Herzegovina to this region can be explained by the fact that due to the entity organization of B&H, this

part of Herzegovina does not belong to any administrative-territorial unit named after this region (Botić, 2014, p. 966).

In the case of traditionally non-Herzegovinian settlements, even 42.6% of respondents consider Livno to be part of Herzegovina, while 57.4% do not think so. However, only 28.5% of those born in the Canton 10 see Livno in Herzegovina, as opposed to 48.8% of those born in the Herzegovina-Neretva and 40.7% of those born in the West Herzegovina Canton. Half of the respondents who consider themselves Herzegovinians believe that Livno is located in Herzegovina. Even 31.1% of respondents see Kupres as a Herzegovinian settlement, as opposed to 68.9% who disagree with them. The perception is clearest in the case of Drvar, which only 3.2% of respondents see as part of Herzegovina, while a convincing majority of 96.8% of respondents reject it. It is indicative that the perception is clear only in the case of Drvar, where Croats are a convincing ethnic minority, while the dilemma increases with the increase in the share of Croats and approaching the traditional borders of Herzegovina.

The largest number of respondents believe that Herzegovinians are determined by regional affiliation (85.8%), while 21.1% of them believe that they are determined by nationality, and 11.6% by religion. Although this was expected, when selecting settlements that belong to Herzegovina, respondents were still more inclined to choose settlements with a Croatian majority. This statement is further valid when respondents were asked to support their selection with a concrete answer, whereby 53.7% of those who opted for regional affiliation thought of the southern part of B&H, while a quarter of respondents thought of the southwestern part of B&H inhabited by Croatian majority. Even 92.3% of respondents to whom Herzegovinians are determined by national identity thought of Croatian identity, and even 95.5% of those who emphasize the religious affiliation thought of Catholic religion.

The analysis of media reports, elements of popular culture and survey mainly confirmed the hypothesis that with the establishment of the Dayton administrative-territorial organization of B&H and the strengthening of the Croatian national identity, a new trend in the territorialisation of regional identity develops, which manifests itself among Croats in Herzegovina and peripheral areas of Bosnia through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina. Although the perception of the traditional borders of Herzegovina is mostly preserved, the results indicate tendencies of shifting the spatial perception of Herzegovina towards the northwest, with respondents showing much less doubt about belonging to Herzegovina in relation to settlements with Croatian ethnic majority. Therefore, changes in perception indicate that in belonging to the Herzegovinian regional identity in the area of Croatian ethnic continuity, Croats seek a substitute for the non-existence of a single Croatian administrative-territorial unit within B&H.

5 CONCLUSION

Herzegovina is the name for a historical region located in the south of B&H. The Croatian population predominates in its western and partly central part. With the entity division, the Federation of B&H is organized into predominantly Bosniak, Croat or mixed cantons, while the Republic of Srpska has no medium level of government. Such an administrative-territorial organization has initiated new trends in regional identities. In the case of the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia, the Herzegovinian regional identity is identified with the Croatian national identity. Such trends are manifested by a change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina by including the entire Canton 10 and excluding the area mostly inhabited by Bosniaks and Serbs.

By the analysis of media reports, elements of popular culture and survey, the hypothesis that with the establishment of the Dayton administrative-territorial organization of B&H and the strengthening of the Croatian national identity, a new trend in the territorialisation of regional identity develops, which manifests itself among Croats in Herzegovina and peripheral areas of Bosnia through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina, is mostly confirmed. Despite the fact that Herzegovina is still viewed within a more or less unchanged historical spatial framework, the research indicates significant trends that inaugurate changes in perception by shifting the Herzegovina's borders to the northwest, depending on the ethnicity of the majority of the population. Finally, the changes indicate that in the Herzegovinian regional identity in the area of Croatian ethnic continuity, Croats are seeking a substitute for the non-existence of a single Croatian administrative-territorial unit within B&H.

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SODOBNI TRENDI V TERITORIALIZACIJI REGIONALNIH IDENTITET V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI NA PRIMERU HERCEGOVSKIH HRVATOV

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava sodobne trende teritorializacije regionalnih identitet v Bosni in Hercegovini na primeru Hrvatov v Hercegovini in sosednjih območjih Bosne. Razumevanje hercegovske regionalne identitete, ki je bila doslej vezana na zgodovinsko

opredeljeno pokrajino Hercegovino, se pri hrvaškem prebivalstvu sedaj spreminja. Tradicionalnemu pojmovanju Hercegovine se dodajajo nekatera sosednja območja Bosne, naseljena s Hrvati, kar vodi do nove teritorialnosti hercegovske regionalne identitete, ki upošteva predvsem hrvaško narodno identiteto. Cilji te raziskave so bili: ugotoviti spremembe v prostorskem dojemanju Hercegovine med Hrvati na območjih Bosne in Hercegovine; opredeliti spremembe regionalne identitete Hrvatov na območjih njihove poselitve v BiH; opredeliti vzorce sprememb v geografski opredeljenosti hercegovske regionalne identitete; ugotoviti, kateri so značilni indikatorji opisanih sprememb v medijih in popularni kulturi ter oceniti vpliv sprememb prostorske razširjenosti hercegovske identitete na družbene razmere v BiH. V raziskavi je bila postavljena hipoteza, da se z vzpostavitvijo daytonske upravno-teritorialne ureditve BiH in s krepitvijo hrvaške nacionalne identitete razvija nov trend teritorializacije hercegovske regionalne identitete, ki se kaže med Hrvati v Hercegovini in drugih območjih hrvaške poselitve v državi prek spreminjanja prostorskega dojemanja. Raziskava je zajela (poleg Hercegovine) tudi občine Drvar, Kupres, Livno in Tomislavgrad. Slednja je posebna, ker njeni obrobni deli prečkajo tradicionalne meje Hercegovine. Vojna (1992–1995) je povzročila etnično homogenizacijo določenih območij. Večina občin BiH je izgubila predvojni multietnični značaj, z izjemo Mostarja. Oblikovale so se tri hercegovske teritorialne entitete: zahodna ima hrvaško večino, osrednja je ostala heterogena z bošnjaškim in hrvaškim prebivalstvom, vzhodna pa ima srbsko večino.

Raziskava je ugotavljala sedanje prostorsko dojemanje Hercegovine in identitete značilnosti prebivalstva Hercegovine in sosednjih delov Bosne (kot zgodovinsko opredeljenih regij). Poglavitna delovna metoda je bila analiza medijskih poročil in popularne kulture ter dopolnjena z anketiranjem prebivalstva na večjem vzorcu ($n = 190$; anketiranci so bili po etnični pripadnosti Hrvati). Prvi del je vključeval predvsem analizo pesmi, ki povezujejo hercegovsko regionalno in hrvaško nacionalno identiteto, ter pesmi in medijskih člankov, v katerih prostorski okvir Hercegovine bistveno odstopa od tradicionalnih meja te regije in v njih prevladuje hrvaško prebivalstvo. S tem so bili sistematično opredeljeni številni primeri novega prostorskega dojemanja Hercegovine in hercegovske regionalne identitete. Rezultati raziskave so bili obdelani v programu SPSS. Od 190 anketiranih Hrvatov v Hercegovini in sosednjih delih Bosne se jih je več kot dve tretjini opredelilo za Hercegovce. Pričakovano si to identiteto delijo skoraj vsi anketiranci, rojeni v Hercegovsko-neretvanskem in Zahodnohercegovskem kantonu, pridružuje pa se jim tudi približno polovica rojenih v Kantonu 10, ki pa ni del zgodovinsko opredeljene Hercegovine. Oseb s hercegovsko regionalno identiteto v drugih kantonih Federacije BiH in Republike Srbske skoraj ni. Pri preučevanju dojemanja pripadnosti določenega naselja k Hercegovini je bilo ugotovljeno, da so anketiranci pričakovano vključevali vsa hercegovska naselja s hrvaško etnično večino v Hercegovino. Poleg tega pa je hercegovsko regionalno identiteto izražal visok odstotek naselij s hrvaško etnično večino, ki tradicionalno niso del te regije. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da se z zmanjšanjem deleža hrvaškega prebivalstva v naselju, ki sicer

pripada zgodovinski Hercegovini, zmanjšuje odstotek vprašanih s hercegovsko regionalno identiteto. Omejeno dožemanje pripadnosti naselij vzhodne Hercegovine (s srbsko etnično večino in pripadnostjo Republiki Srbski) k hercegovski identiteti je do neke mere mogoče razložiti z dejstvom, da po zaslugi daytonske administrativno-politične organizacije BiH ta del Hercegovine ne pripada nobeni upravno-teritorialni enoti, ki bi v svojem imenu omenjala Hercegovino. Čeprav največ vprašanih meni, da so Hercegovci odvisni od regionalne pripadnosti (85,8 %), so bili anketiranci pri izbiri naselij, ki pripadajo Hercegovini, vseeno bolj nagnjeni k izbiri naselij s hrvaško večino. Poglavitni indikator določanja hercegovske regionalne identitete je postala (hrvaška) etnična pripadnost. Tak sklep podpira dejstvo, da so se anketiranci po pozivu, naj svojo odločitev utemeljijo s konkretnim odgovorom, v 53,7 % primerov odločili za hercegovsko regionalno pripadnost glede na lego te regije na jugu BiH, četrtina vprašanih pa je kot Hercegovino izrecno izpostavila jugozahodni del BiH s hrvaškim prebivalstvom. Kar 92,3 % vprašanih, ki so se za Hercegovce odločali glede na svojo narodno pripadnost, je mislilo na hrvaško identiteto, kar 95,5 % tistih, ki so med indikatorji poudarjali svojo versko pripadnost, pa je navedlo katoliško veroizpoved.

Analiza poročil v medijih, elementov popularne kulture in terenska raziskava z anketiranjem prebivalcev je v glavnem potrdila hipotezo, da se z vzpostavitvijo daytonske upravno-teritorialne ureditve BiH in krepitevijo narodnih identitet razvijajo novi trendi v teritorializaciji regionalnih identitet. Pojem Hercegovine kot regije se je prostorsko razširil proti severozahodu, pri čemer je hrvaška narodna pripadnost prebivalstva poglavitni indikator tega novega teritorialnega opredeljevanja, medtem ko se hercegovska regionalna identiteta na območju zgodovinskih meja te pokrajine večinoma ohranja. Spremembe v teritorialni percepciji kažejo, da Hrvati, ki pripadajo hercegovski regionalni identiteti na območju hrvaške etnične poselitve, na nek način iščejo nadomestilo za odsotnost enovite hrvaške upravno-teritorialne enote znotraj BiH.

(Prevod: Jernej Zupančič)