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Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit onderzoek richt zich met name op de fundamentele vraag van hoe het geschade vertrouwen als gevolg van de oorlog in Bosnië en Herzegovina gedurende de periode 1992 – 1995 en de herinneringen van etnische zuivering die zij met zich meebracht, hersteld kan worden.

Ik heb mij toegespitst op de relatie tussen de ulama die fungeren als beschermheren met het doel de percepties en de houding van Bosniërs vorm te geven, dat wil zeggen de cliënten, in hun relaties met Bosniërs uit die niet moslim zijn. Laatstgenoemde wordt herinnerd als vrienden in het socialistische Joegoslavië en is afhankelijk van herpositionering van huidige- en toekomstige verwachtingen.

Ik heb gekozen voor islamistische leiderschap vanwege drie redenen die allen een rol spelen in het representeren van krachterevenwicht dat aan het veranderen is. Als eerste is er de wijdverspreide acceptatie van de positie van Bosniërs als slachtoffers van geschade intercommunale banden. Ten tweede is er de toenemende Bosnische rol in de politieke ontwikkelingen van het huidige Bosnië. Als derde is er ten opzichte van het voormalige Joegoslavië sprake van een toenemende rol van het onafhankelijke Islamistische gemeenschap.

De ulama is in toenemende mate naar voren gekomen als een belangrijke factor als het gaat om het interpreteren en bepalen van de kenmerken van intercommunale banden in Bosnië. Dit is niet alleen het gevolg van de identificatie van een religieuze- en nationale identiteit, maar ook vanwege een tekort aan sterke en unificerende Bosnisch politieke leiderschap, wanneer men dit met name vergelijkt met het Bosnisch-Servisch leiderschap. Dit heeft zich verder ontwikkelt door het tekortschieten van de internationale gemeenschap als het gaat om het nakomen van beloften die zijn gemaakt de afgelopen 16 jaar.

Gebaseerd op de analyses van religieus adviesgerichte meningen (*fatwas*), religieuze onderwijs materialen, officiële resoluties en herdenkingen van toespraken van Bosnische ulama gepresenteerd op drie niveaus in dit reconstructie proces, heb ik twee fundamentele argumenten gepresenteerd die centraal staan als het gaat om het begrijpen van de rol van de Bosnische ulama die bezig zijn met het opnieuw opbouwen van vertrouwen tussen de Bosnische gemeenschappen.

Mijn eerste argument is dat zelfs wanneer het vertrouwen wordt gezien als een essentiële hulpbron voor blijvende vrede, het een beperkte rol heeft als deze niet wordt ondersteund door alternatieve mechanismen. In deze termen, als tweede argument, denk ik dat de Bosnische ulama alsmede de Bosnische gemeenschappen in het algemeen, een bijdrage kunnen leveren aan het opbouwen van vrede in het na-oorlogse Bosnië met hun gemeenschappelijke waarden genererende rol. In het bijzonder kunnen zij het conflict transformeren door te focussen op de hoofdoorzaken en het promoten van verzoening door het herstellen van waardigheid van de eigenpartij en de ander.

Terwijl de IZ in het algemeen voorstander is van multi-religieuze coëxistentie en wederzijdse tolerantie van religieuze gemeenschappen, geef ik een samenvatting van diverse mechanismen die gebruikt is door de Bosnische ulama. Allereerst heeft zij het gewillige nationalisme tegengewerkt door de Bosnische ervaring met betrekking tot intercommunale coëxistentie opnieuw te contextualiseren. Ten tweede heeft de ulama gezorgd voor verheldering door de fundamentele waarden te koppelen aan de na-oorlogse intercommunale relaties door terug te keren naar de religieuze leer.. Als derde punt heeft de ulama zich in het bijzonder gericht op Srebrenica, om zo de Bosnische vastberadenheid te demonstreren in de zoektocht naar gerechtigheid en het verzoek aan de internationale gemeenschap om te voldoen aan beloften en verplichtingen. Een vierde strategie is dat de ulama een moslim Bosnische identiteit heeft gereconstrueerd door het gebruik van diverse instrumenten. Hier zal ik vasthouden aan drie mechanismen die zijn toegeschreven aan Islam en Moslimse religiositeit om een neo-ethnische identiteit te definiëren en voor het bepalen van de percepties en houdingen van Bosniërs inzake intercommunale relaties.

Deze zijn het geloof (hier, Islam) als (a) een nationaliserende factor, (b) een morele catharsis, (c) als een tegen-discours. Zij zijn met name geconstrueerd in relatie met de internationale gemeenschap, Bosniërs die niet moslim zijn, en moslims met een niet-Bosnische achtergrond. Religieuze gedachtenisvieringen en in het bijzonder Ajvatovica, zijn ontstaan als vertegenwoordiging van het nationaliseren van religie en de zegening van de natie.

Samengevat denk ik, terwijl er kritieke punten zijn waar er verantwoordelijkheid ligt in het politieke domein, dat de religieuze gemeenschappen en IZ in het bijzonder een constructieve rol kunnen spelen in het voorkomen van conflicten en de transformatie met als

doel het opbouwen van vrede. Hun gemeenschappelijke waarden genererende rol geeft de mogelijkheid om de boodschap van vrede te interpreteren en een morele justificatie te verschaffen door het uitleggen van beelden van de eigen partij en de ander gestoeld op respect.

Dit kan betekenen dat een overkoepelende gemeenschappelijke ruimte wordt verzekerd om hiermee vreedzame co-existentie te delen. Het is beter om te zoeken naar geschikte gronden waarbij structuren die gewillige etno-politieke prijzen worden tenietgedaan en actieve samenwerking gepromoot, dan een te grote nadruk te leggen op de intrinsieke waarden van vertrouwen door de internationale gemeenschap.

Curriculum vitae

Önder Çetin (1979) werd geboren in Meriç-Edirne, waar hij zijn middelbare school afrondde aan het Edirne Anatolian High School. In 2001 behaalde hij zijn diploma Internationale Betrekkingen aan de Faith Universiteit, waarna hij in 2005 afstudeerde aan de Sabanci Universiteit met een onderwerp betreffende “Conflict-analyse en Oplossing”. Van 2005 tot 2009 was hij als Ph.D. Fellow verbonden aan het International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM). Sinds 2009 is hij werkzaam aan zijn promotie aan het Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS). Intussen verzorgt hij colleges sociologie aan de Fatih Universiteit.

