Reconstructing the Meaning of Being "Montenegrin"

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The mushrooming number of states after the disintegration of multinational federations in Europe and Asia has revived the study of "building," "constructing," or "imagining" national and ethnic identities. Similar to *nationalism*, which James Mayall identified as a black box "into which whatever cannot be explained in any other way . . . can be filed away without further consideration," nation building and national identities cannot be grasped by a single general theory.[1] A more recent attempt at "deconstructing" the meaning of these concepts has been made by Rogers Brubaker, who criticized the classical approaches in the studies of nationalism and their use of the concept of *identity*.[2] As an alternative to constructivism, which has become both a cliché and a dictum in the analysis of modern nations, Brubaker proposes an analytical paradigm whereby concepts like *ethnicity* or *nation* are viewed not as bounded groups but as "moments of collective effervescence": moments of social organization.[3] Understanding the impact of these moments on the creation of groups (which are by no means fixed) unveils processes, frames, and categories through which ethnicity and nation are constantly reshaped from within.

Yet, while relying on Brubaker's work, this article does not abandon the concept of *identity* and substitute it with *identification*, as proposed by Brubaker and Frederick Cooper.[4] Their rejection of the notion of identity is based on its heterogeneous use, which denotes a multiplicity of reifications of social relations into particular identities. As such, *identities* denote an end process and push the analysis toward essentialism, while *identification* captures the transformation of social relations. Moving away from Brubaker and Cooper, my analysis does not view identity as a fixed portrayal of the dynamic between individuals and society. Rather, in line with Brubaker's later writings, identity, similar to ethnicity and nation, is a temporary representation of collectivity, a frame through which individuals ascribe themselves to groups.[5] In this research, the use of identity is limited to the ethnic and national frames. This helps us to unveil how political entrepreneurs sought to reify the transforming social relations and how people situate themselves amid those transforming sociopolitical conditions.

The study of national revivals after the breakup of Yugoslavia provides

This article emerged from the research project "Symbolic Nation-Building in West Balkan States: Intents and Results," which was funded by the Research Council of Norway (RCN), project number 203356.

1. James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), 5.
2. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (January 2000): 1–47.
3. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 4.
4. Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond Identity," 14–17.
5. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 4–6.

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

fertile empirical soil for applying and understanding this new approach to Brubaker's model. The ways in which ethnicity and nation have been shaped in the post-Yugoslav space reveal that they are indeed not "things in the world" but "perspectives on the world."[6] The conception of the nation in Montenegro, a country of less than seven hundred thousand inhabitants and one of the newest post-Yugoslav states, has undergone significant change. The politics and history of Montenegro in general have been studied by a mere handful of scholars outside the Balkan region, and only a few academic efforts have dealt with national identity.[7] This study fills this gap by looking exclusively at those policies that have had an impact on identity reconstruction in Montenegro. While not denigrating the significance of historical analysis, references to the country's history are made only if and when they became inseparable from policies. In other words, the analysis does not follow a historical logic or present events and processes in the order in which they happened. Rather, in line with the conceptual background and methodological approach being used, I examine those issues which have proven to be salient for the reconstruction of Montenegrin identity.

In this context, it is important to note that between the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, in the early 1990s, and mid-2006, Montenegro held two referenda and three population censuses. Their results indicate a change in what it means to be "Montenegrin."[8] According to the 1991 census, 61.9 percent of the population considered themselves to be Montenegrins, 9.4 percent Serbs, and the remainder of various minorities.[9] At the Montenegrin independence referendum held in March 1992, 95.4 percent of the 66 percent turnout voted for Montenegro to remain within a common state with other former Yugoslav republics wishing to do so.[10] As ethnic minorities boycotted the 1992 referendum, the above percentages indicate that in the early 1990s a majority among the population who fell under the Montenegrin category favored a joint state with Serbia rather than independent statehood.

The second referendum on independence, held on 21 May 2006, yielded quite different results and is an indicator of the change in the content of the

6. Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov, "Ethnicity as Cognition," *Theory and Society* 33, no. 1 (January 2004): 32.

7. For non-Balkan scholarship on Montenegro, see, for example, Florian Bieber, "Montenegrin Politics since the Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in Florian Bieber, ed., *Montenegro in Transition: Problems of Identity and Statehood* (Baden-Baden, 2003), 11–42; Florian Bieber and Jenni Winterhagen, "Erst der Staat—dann die Nation: Staats- und Nationsbildung in Montenegro," *Südosteuropa: Zeitschrift zur Politik und Gesellschaft* 57, no. 1 (2009): 2–24; Kenneth Morrison, *Montenegro: A Modern History* (London, 2009); Kenneth Morrison, "The Political Life of Milo Djukanović," *Südosteuropa* 57, no. 1 (2009): 25–54; and Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (Oxford, 2007). On Montenegrin national identity, see Amaël Cattaruzza, *Territoire et nationalisme au Montenegro* (Paris, 2011); Srđa Pavlović, "Who Are the Montenegrins? Statehood, Identity and Civic Society," in Bieber, ed., *Montenegro in Transition*, 83–106.

8. In this article, the term *Montenegrin* means exclusively those who ascribe to the Montenegrin identity schema. When referring to the legal link between an individual and the state, the term *citizen of Montenegro* will be used.

9. Federalni zavod za statistiku, *Popis stanovništva 1981, 1991* (Belgrade, 1992).

10. Centar za Demokratsku Tranziciju, *Referendum*, 1 March 1992, at www.cdtmn.org/images/stories/dokumenti/zvanicni-rezultati-referendum-1992.pdf (last accessed 21 June 2006; no longer available).

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

category of "Montenegrin." Montenegrin independence was supported by 55.5 percent of the 86.5 percent voter turnout and opposed by 44.5 percent.[11] Correlating these data with the results of the 2003 census, wherein 43.2 percent of the people in Montenegro declared their national identity as Montenegrin and 32 percent as Serb, we can infer a polarization of what was considered Montenegrin in the early 1990s.[12] With minorities favoring independence in 2006, these data indicate that the lion's share of the population who supported the preservation of the joint state defined themselves as Serb, and the majority of those who voted for independence as Montenegrins.[13]

The most recent census, conducted five years after Montenegro became independent, revealed that the categories of Serb and Montenegrin, comprising 28.7 percent and 45 percent of the population, respectively, have continued to be reshaped by the new political context.[14] The aim of my research is to shed light on the changes in the meaning of Montenegrin identity and the mechanisms through which such change has been catalyzed into the aforementioned "moments of collective effervescence." The Serb category both in- and outside Montenegro was also significantly nationalized during the period under scrutiny, but this complex issue falls beyond the scope of the present study. Examples of this process can be found in analyses of the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in work on Serbian politics before and after Slobodan Milošević and in the more recent research on Montenegro.[15]

In turn, focusing on the smallest post-Yugoslav state, this article argues that despite the significant changes in the content of Montenegrin identity, the policies that the government adopted within its nation-building project have proven only partly successful. To support this thesis, I examine popular support for the policies that have helped reconstruct Montenegrin identity after the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, focusing on the symbolic reconstruction of identity parameters in Montenegro after the split of the ruling party in 1997. By examining original quantitative and qualitative data, my analysis associates the divide related to the question of statehood with perceptions of identity, showing how the content of "Montenegrin" self-identification changed as a result of people's support for or opposition to independence.

11. Centar za Demokratsku Tranziciju, *Referendum*, 21 May 2006, at www.cdtmn.org/izbori/referendum06.php (last accessed 21 June 2006; no longer available).

12. Zavod za Statistiku Crne (Gore Statistical Office of Montenegro), "Population Census 2003", at www.monstat.org/eng/page.php?id=184&pageid=184 (last accessed 1 February 2014).

13. International Crisis Group, "Montenegro's Referendum," *Europe Briefing*, no. 42 (30 March 2006), at www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/b042_montenegro_s_referendum.pdf (last accessed 1 February 2014).

14. Zavod za Statistiku Crne Gore, "Population Census 2011," at www.monstat.org/cg/page.php?id=322&pageid=322 (last accessed 1 February 2014).

15. On the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, see, for example, Valére Philip Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, 2004), and Eric Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives* (University Park, 1999). On Serbian politics, see Sabrina Ramet and Vjeran Pavlaković, eds., *Serbia since 1989: Politics and Society under Milošević and After* (Seattle, 2005); Sabrina Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Bloomington, 2006); and Bratislav Pantelić, "Memories of a Time Forgotten: The Myth of the Perennial Nation," *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 2 (April 2011): 443–64. On this process in Montenegro, see again Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain*, and Morrison, *Montenegro*.

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The qualitative sources used, including conceptual and historical literature, newspaper articles, and legal texts, provide a contextualizing background for the empirical analysis, which is based on a survey conducted from 31 August to 18 September 2011 as part of the project "Symbolic Nation-Building in the West Balkans."[16] The sample size for the Montenegro survey was 1,516 respondents. While the survey dataset included a total of 89 questions, I present here only those issues that have proven statistically relevant for the analysis of how policies adopted by the government changed Montenegrins' identity frames.[17] However, as with any quantitative dataset, the survey is not perfect; consequently, some issues cannot be examined in the present study. In particular, there is a lack of detailed analysis of non-Montenegrins and non-Serbs, as the only other ethnic category named in the survey were "Muslims" (which included those who identified as Muslim and Bosniak). Due to the fact that Albanians and Croats in Montenegro form 5 percent and 1 percent, respectively, of the overall population, these groups were included separately in the Ipsos dataset but have been classified under "Other."[18] Hence, a separate analysis of these minorities is not possible in this study and falls beyond its scope.

In terms of structure, the first part of the article develops the framework for understanding nation building in this small post-Yugoslav state by viewing national identity as an abstract category. Here I draw on Brubaker's concept of the *schema*, which is a cognitive frame through which individuals ascribe themselves to groups.[19] Schemas consist of a core (which is less subject to change) and a periphery (composed of elements subject to alteration in different circumstances), and they provide tools helpful for understanding the cognition of the nation. The second part of the article is empirical, focusing on Montenegro's nation-building policies. In viewing national identity as a political frame, I assess the success of policies aimed at nation building by examining popular support for them in the context of the official rhetoric of what the category of Montenegrin entails. This, however, does not imply a departure from Brubaker's criticism of "groupism," as the analyzed category is considered heterogeneous. Rather, my analysis supports the idea that concepts like nation and ethnicity can be understood only by looking at the framing of abstract cognitive categories through specific, institutionalized practices.

Understanding Nation Building in Montenegro

Nation building has long been a part of the major puzzle in social and political studies. Nation building assumes an understanding of the ever-changing

16. University of Oslo, Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages, "Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in West Balkan States," at www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/research/projects/nation-w-balkan/ (last accessed 1 February 2014). Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," at www.hf.uio.no/ilos/forskning/prosjekter/nation-w-balkan/dokumenter/nb_montenegro.pdf (last accessed 1 February 2014).

17. The calculation of the statistical relevance is explained on page 5 of the report.

18. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 15.

19. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*; Brubaker, Loveman, and Stamatov, "Ethnicity as Cognition."

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

conceptions of national identity in a given polity, be it a state, a state-like entity, or a subnational or supranational polity.[20] National identity is best analyzed through two, partly overlapping, frames: cognitive and relational. First, national identity is cognitive and thus exists at the individual level. As such, it is related to the ways in which individuals realize their own national belonging and establish cognitive schemas. In turn, these schemas are essential for the self-ascription of the individuals to the perceived national group, whose boundaries are individually established and thus changeable. Second, national identity is endogenously and exogenously relational, in that it implies the assumption of "groupness" among its members and the interaction of such a group as a collectivity with other groups.

Nation building is the process of harmonizing the boundaries of the state and those of national identity. It thus implies the framing of individual cognition as belonging to a perceived collective on the grounds of commonalities such as language, culture, religion, and so on.[21] At the same time, nation building presumes the creation of associative ties among the members of the group (endogenous relationalism) and the differentiation of that group from others of the same kind by constructing cognitive boundaries acceptable to the individual members of a perceived nation (exogenous relationalism). The interconnectedness of these processes can help explain nation building in Montenegro, where groupism has evolved over time. This process has taken place both at the individual level, whereby the cognitive understanding of the nation was altered, and at the level of the group, which has sought to materialize itself in various ways, changing its relations with other groups.

Nation Building through Alternating Cognitive Frames: Different Cognitions of the Nation

Cognition of the nation in Montenegro has indisputably changed since 1991. During the wars of Yugoslavia's disintegration (1991–96), Montenegro sided with Serbia, providing individuals with a cognitive frame for imagining and understanding the nation. Montenegrin nationalism flourished under the umbrella of Milošević's politics, with only a small portion of the population demanding outright independence.[22] The categories of Montenegrin and Serbian in Montenegro were largely interchangeable and denoted belonging to the Montenegrin republic of Yugoslavia. Moreover, both of these categories were affiliated with Orthodox Christianity.[23] In the 1991 census, 72 percent of

20. Alex J. Bellamy, *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A Centuries-Old Dream?* (Manchester, 2003), 20–23.

21. Robert William Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (New York, 1966); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London, 1991).

22. Bieber, "Montenegrin Politics since the Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in Bieber, ed., *Montenegro in Transition*, 21.

23. Miroljub Jevtić, "Uloga religije u identitetu južnoslovenskih nacija," in Univerzitet u Beogradu Fakultet političkih nauka, *Godišnjak 2008* (December 2008): 172; Veseljko Koprivica, "Religija na Balkanu, u znaku dualizma," *AIM Podgorica*, at postjugo.filg.uj.edu.pl/baza/texts_display.php?id=72 (last accessed 1 February 2014).

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the respondents (that is, the total of the two categories) declared themselves to be Orthodox Christians.[24]

In 1997 there was a disruption of the cognitive frame for understanding the meaning of being Montenegrin, one that can be attributed largely to the end of the republic's monolithic political system. At that time, the ruling party of reformed communists—the Democratic Party of Socialists (Demokratska Partija Socijalista, DPS), which had captured most of the popular vote—split into two factions of almost equal size. Prime Minister Milo Đukanović discontinued the DPS's support for Milošević, a move opposed by the then president of Montenegro, Momir Bulatović.[25] Continuing to be politically linked to Milošević, in 1998 Bulatović established the Socialist People's Party (Socijalistička narodna partija, SNP), which has been the major opposition party in Montenegro ever since (apart from 2006 to 2009, when the Serbian People's Party held one more seat in parliament than the SNP). After the demise of the Milošević regime, in 2000, the internal Montenegrin debate needed a different political spin and thus provided another cognitive frame for nation building. The overall political discourse was marked by the Đukanović government's intensified demands for independence. The conflict among the political elites affected the people of Montenegro, who gradually embraced the ideas professed by the DPS or the SNP. As a result, internal political struggles progressively generated two opposing political stances: pro-independence and pro-union. By the 2003 census, Montenegrin and Serbian schemas had become defined by political agendas and tied to the debate over Montenegrin statehood. The Serb category in Montenegro became related to Serb Orthodox Christianity, the joint state with Serbia, and opposition to Đukanović. The Montenegrin identity category was linked to support for independence and what were perceived as western values, like pro-democracy rhetoric and European Union integration. The Montenegrin category also lost its religious appeal because the category now included religious minorities.

This marriage of ethnicity and politics became embodied in two competing national identities, with nationalization of the identity schema(s) at the heart of the processes described above. This shifted the cognitive frame of national identity, allowing people to ascribe themselves to one with an alternate label, thus enabling changes in the contents of the Montenegrin and Serb identity categories in the two decades following the Yugoslav disintegration.

Reconstruction of the "Montenegrin" Identity Schema: Identification versus Differentiation

Eric Hobsbawm once drew an analogy between the role of history in nationalist movements and that of poppy flowers in heroin use.[26] Historical facts

24. Federalni zavod za statistiku, *Popis stanovništva 1981, 1991.*

25. The split was triggered by Đukanović's criticism of Milošević's isolationist politics, but scholars have also noted the tension between the two factions of the DPS over control of the shadow market and assets accumulated during the early 1990s. For a detailed discussion of the reasons for the split, see Morrison, *Montenegro*, and Morrison, "The Political Life of Milo Djukanović."

26. Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (London, 1997), 6.

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and events in and of themselves are largely detached from present-day realities. They are raw material for nationalist ideologies, just like poppies for drug abuse. Hence, only when history has been processed and reproduced in national narratives do those events become a part of the way in which individuals see themselves in terms of belonging to a group and relating to other groups. Reference to past events becomes essential in the imagining of the nation because individuals build a sense of group continuity and affiliation on the grounds of history. Three points are particularly relevant here and help differentiate the dynamics of identity and statehood in Montenegro from those of other former Yugoslav republics.

First, Montenegro's small size has been a significant factor in rearticulating what it meant to be Montenegrin. Given that the country's population amounts to only slightly more than six hundred thousand, the dynamics of sociopolitical organization there differ from those in other post-Yugoslav republics. Social relations are dense, due to the high degree of personal and family connections, which has commonly been related to the extremely high rates of party membership.[27] The articulation of the Montenegrin schema became particularly relevant in this regard after 1997, when the DPS-led coalition based a share of its grievances on the asymmetry of population and territory in the common state with Serbia.[28] In turn, these grievances had greater resonance with the people due to their strong affiliations with political parties.

Second, throughout its history, identity in Montenegro has been dualistic: Serb and Montenegrin had not been mutually exclusive categories, a situation referred to as the Montenegrin *homo duplex*.[29] This fact is particularly relevant for understanding the two competing streams of identity after Đukanović's embrace of the independence project. Historically, affiliation with Orthodox Christianity denoted association with the Serb category. Montenegrin rulers were at one time also the highest authority in the national Orthodox Church and were referred to as "prince-bishops" until the separation of the church from the state leadership in 1852. Thus, for several centuries religious and state rule emanated from a single nexus. This closeness, which became the core of the identity schema, resonated in the historical ambiguity over Montenegrin identity. In particular, the Petrović prince-bishops Petar I and Petar II referred to the population as "Serb," which resulted in two distinct interpretations of identity in Montenegro that have persisted up to the present day—as Montenegrin and Serb.[30]

The conundrum created by religious affiliation as to what Montenegrin

27. Morrison, *Montenegro*; Morrison, "The Political Life of Milo Djukanović."

28. International Crisis Group, "Montenegro's Independence Drive," *Europe Report*, no. 169 (7 December 2005), at www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/montenegro/169-montenegros-independence-drive.aspx (last accessed 1 February 2014).

29. Srdjan Darmanović, "Montenegro: Destiny of a Satellite State," *East European Reporter*, no. 27 (March–April 1992): 28.

30. Cathie Carmichael and Nebojša Čagorović, "Constructing and Rethinking Montenegrin National Identity," *Narodna umjetnost: Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, no. 1 (2006): 59–74; Jevtić, "Uloga religije u identitetu južnoslovenskih nacija," in *Godišnjak 2008*. In addition to being prince-bishops, Petar I and Petar II are among the most notable literary figures in Montenegrin cultural history.

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

identity meant has become an important aspect of the identity schema's periphery in recent decades. In the early 1990s, due to the association of Montenegro's ruling elites with the Serbian nationalist movement, prevailing perceptions of the Montenegrin category were associated with (Serb) Orthodox Christianity.[31] The tendency of the ruling elites to dissociate from (Serb) Orthodox Christianity as a prevalent marker of national identity was initiated after the party split in 1997. Due to the Đukanović camp's need to attract minority votes in order to ensure electoral victories, the reconstruction of the Montenegrin identity schema required detachment from the religious strand—which had been associated with animosity toward Islam and Roman Catholicism during the Yugoslav wars—and thus a detachment from the Serb category.[32] Hence, the Montenegrin identity schema became less ascriptive through religious affiliation, as its boundaries expanded to include the adherents of several religions.

Third, an important marker in the reconstruction of the meaning of being Montenegrin was differentiation through the tension between the history of Montenegro's independent statehood and its membership in Yugoslavia. Throughout its history Montenegro existed as a separate, autonomous regional entity, which, alongside Serbia, gained international recognition at the 1878 Congress of Berlin. In 1918 Montenegro joined Serbia in what became the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In light of Brubaker's theory, this could be regarded a major event that changed the nature of the identity schema, altering the cognitive frame through which categories of belonging were perceived. The kingdom, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1928, functioned as a unitary state, detaching Montenegrin identity from the territory of Montenegro. In the first Yugoslavia, national categories were related to the Serb, Croat, and Slovene "tribes," a fact which has in recent years been reflected in the contested elements of identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia.[33] These latter three constituent parts of Yugoslavia were recognized in the second, post-World War II Yugoslavia as separate republics. Hence, Montenegrin identity developed within the Yugoslav federal frame, which since 1946 had acknowledged the existence of five nations that for the most part lived within the borders of the constituent republics.[34]

The narrative of Montenegro's independent statehood became more pronounced via the DPS's mounting drive for independence after the fall of Milošević. It helped change the content of the Montenegrin and Serb identity categories. The Montenegrin identity involved the tendency to identify oneself with independent Montenegrin statehood in 2003 rather than 1991. The Serb identity came to stand for the preservation of the joint state with Serbia in 1991 as well as in 2003. The difference in the content of Serb identity during these two time periods is that in 2003 it emphasized all elements that were related to

31. Sabrina Ramet, "The Politics of the Serbian Orthodox Church," in Ramet and Pavlaković, eds., *Serbia since 1989*, 255–85.

32. Bieber, "Montenegrin Politics since the Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in Bieber, ed., *Montenegro in Transition*, 32.

33. Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia* (Ithaca, 1984).

34. The constitution was amended in 1968, and Muslims as a group became recognized as a constituent nation within the state.

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the union of Montenegro and Serbia. In 1991, by contrast, the drive for Montenegrin independence was rather weak and included only the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (Liberalni Savez Crne Gore, LSCG) and minority parties, which comprised less than a quarter of the electorate.[35] It is safe to assume that, aside from the very small share of people who supported Montenegrin independence in 1991, interest in the preservation of the joint state with Serbia by default formed a part of both Montenegrin and Serb identities in 1991. Hence, those people whose identity was both Montenegrin and Serbian in 1991 (the *homo duplex*) likely related ethnic categories to their attitudes toward Montenegrin independence in 2003.

Institutionalized Nation Building: How "Montenegrin" Changed through Policies

The reconstruction of identity schemas does not occur in a vacuum. It is a product of a complex interaction between political and societal forces that act as sets of opportunities for and constraints on one another. In Montenegro the ruling political elites dominated the discourse related to the conception of the nation. The reconstruction of the Montenegrin schema's meaning was initiated during the period of opposition to Milošević through policies that detached Montenegro from the federal institutions. These policies, which entailed the establishment of separate customs, visa regulations, citizenship requirements, monetary policy, and the unilateral adoption of the deutschmark as Montenegro's official currency, have been referred to as "creeping independence."[36] The initial goal of the DPS's "creeping independence" was neither independent statehood nor the institutionalization of a Montenegrin national identity. Rather, this set of policies served to support Đukanović's separation from Milošević and to localize the political struggles between the DPS and the SNP.[37]

Yet, by 2000 this creeping independence had resulted in Montenegro's high degree of detachment from the federal institutions. It provided a push for Đukanović's turn toward independence after the fall of Milošević. In the period from 2001 to 2006, marked by tense political struggles between proponents and opponents of Montenegrin independence, the ruling DPS introduced a further set of policies, aimed at reinforcing the independence idea by associating it with the Montenegrin schema. As the political camp led by the DPS consisted of ethnically heterogeneous groups, representations of a Montenegrin identity were based on the rhetoric of a "civic" nation—that is, the link with the state rather than with a community of like sentiment. Still, as indicated by survey results presented later in this article, these policies did

35. International Crisis Group, "Current Legal Status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and of Serbia and Montenegro," *ICG Balkans Report*, no. 101 (19 September 2000), at www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/Serbia%2012.pdf (last accessed 5 February 2014).

36. Elizabeth Roberts, *Serbia-Montenegro—A New Federation*? (London, 2002), 6.

37. European Stability Initiative, *Rhetoric and Reform: A Case-Study of Institution Building in Montenegro, 1998–2001* (Podgorica and Berlin, 28 June 2001), at www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=16 (last accessed 5 February 2014).

https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.73.2.347 Published online by Cambridge University Press

not result in a Montenegrin identity schema with a predominant association with the state instead of ethnic affiliation. Rather, this schema was associated with affiliation with political parties, predominantly the ruling DPS.[38]

However, the reconstruction of this Montenegrin schema involved more than political elements: the process entailed a separation from Serb ethnic identity. Several policies adopted by the DPS government after 2001 aimed at introducing ethnic elements into the identity schema. These policies, analyzed in the final section of this article, are related to the reconstruction of nationhood through language and the symbols of the state. Another significant element of the policies that altered the meaning of the Montenegrin schema is the detachment of the ruling elites from the Serbian Orthodox Church, which they had largely supported in the early 1990s.[39]

Political Elements of Nation Building

The reconstruction of Montenegrin nationhood between 2001 and 2006 took place in a political environment marked by a tense struggle between parties advocating and opposing the independence project. Identification with a political party became a salient component of the Montenegrin and Serb schemas. In the 2011 survey, 68 percent of the respondents said they were affiliated with a political party, and 73 percent of those who saw themselves as Montenegrin supported the ruling DPS. By contrast, respondents who considered themselves Serb tended to support the former members of the pro-union camp, represented by the SNP and the New Serb Democracy party (Nova srpska demokratija, or NOVA)—42 percent and 34 percent, respectively)—whereas very little of the Montenegrin vote went to those parties (only 5 percent and 1 percent to the SNP and NOVA, respectively). This is further confirmation that the Montenegrin identity schema was reconstructed so as to align with the political program of the ruling DPS.

In addition to party affiliation, identification with the state is another political element in the reconstruction of the Montenegrin identity schema. Unlike in countries with a predominantly civic identity, in Montenegro identification with the state has a dual meaning. On the one hand, support for the state implies affiliation with the political project of independence. Thus, 73 percent of those who saw themselves as Montenegrins identified strongly with Montenegro, which is equivalent to the support of the Montenegrin category for the ruling DPS.[40] Moreover, 95 percent of these respondents were proud to be citizens of their country.[41] On the other hand, Montenegrin identity did not preclude the civic element in terms of respondents' views on whether Montenegro is a multiethnic and multicultural country.

38. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 18.

39. Ramet, "The Politics of the Serbian Orthodox Church," in Ramet and Pavlaković, eds., *Serbia since 1989*; Milorad Popović, *Podijeljena nacija: Identitiet, država, vlast* (Cetinje, 2010); Šerbo Rastoder, *Religija i politika 1991–1999: Pogled iz crnogorske perspective*, at postjugo.filg.uj.edu.pl/baza/texts_display.php?id=98 (last accessed 5 February 2014).

40. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 102.

41. Ibid., 23.

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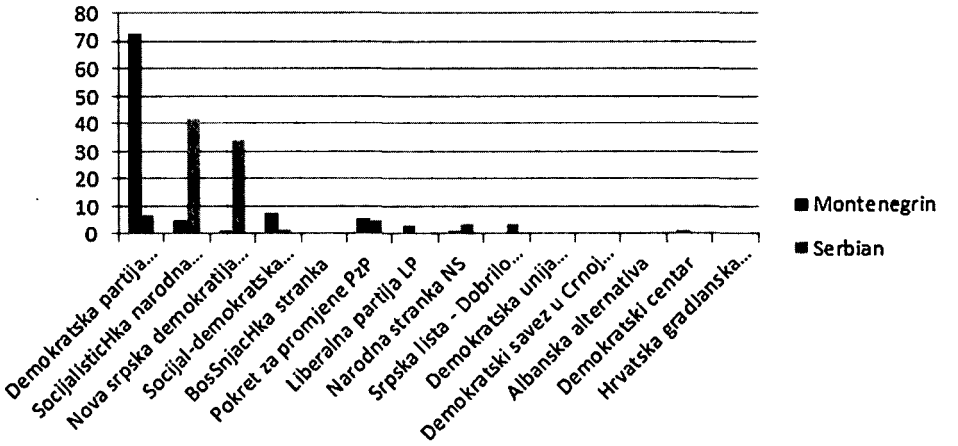


Figure 1. Identity and Party Support

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

The view of Montenegro as multiethnic and multicultural was supported by 75 percent of those who identified themselves as Montenegrins.[42] After the political split in 1997, Đukanović's DPS promoted the concept of civic identity in order to attract the minority vote pivotal to victory in the parliamentary elections of 1998, 2001, and 2002, and in the referendum on independence in 2006. What became the Montenegrin identity schema—as promoted by the Đukanović camp—came to epitomize an umbrella concept of multiculturalism. However, this notion of multiculturalism was framed by tolerance of minority differences rather than true acceptance of diversity, as confirmed by the fact that only 10 percent of those who identified as Montenegrin believe that they have more in common with people of other ethnicities who live in their country than with anyone else of their own ethnic background.[43] Yet the entrenchment of the rhetoric on Montenegro as a multiethnic and multicultural state in the political program of the ruling elites has become an essential component of Montenegrin identity. The close correlations of the above data on the number of self-identified Montenegrin supporters of the DPS (73 percent), Montenegrin supporters of the state (73 percent), and Montenegrin supporters of a multiethnic and multicultural conception of that state (75 percent) corroborate this claim.

Further political elements of Montenegrin identity were established at the time of the divide over statehood and identity and reinforced after the country became independent in 2006. These include attitudes toward military service, stances toward various international actors, and views on national holidays. Although these elements were initially at the periphery of the Montenegrin identity schema, by becoming politicized by the ruling elites as elements of DPS policy they emerged as prominent markers of the reconstructed Monte-

42. Ibid., 65.
43. Ibid., 46.

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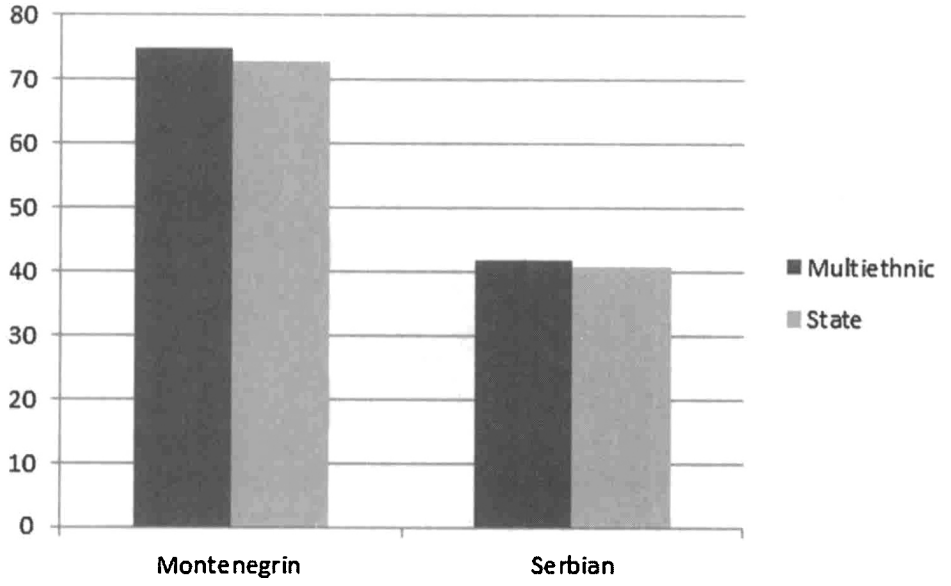


Figure 2. Multicultural State and Support for the State
Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

negrin identity, as differentiated from the Serb one. However, they were somewhat less successful than the elements directly related to the ruling elites' campaign for independence.

During the 1999 Kosovo crisis the Montenegrin authorities adopted a decision to pardon conscripts who refused the federal call to fight in the war. This was intended to distance Montenegro from Milošević's Serbia. The link between the state and military service was further highlighted in the 2002 Belgrade Agreement, which stipulated that conscripts would be allowed to do military service in their member state, confirming this policy through the constitutional setup of the transformed joint state of Montenegro and Serbia. In both the second and the third Yugoslav governments, conscripts had served in a member state other than their own—a mechanism intended to foster a sense of loyalty to the federation rather than to their ethnic kin. In August 2006, a few months after becoming an independent state, Montenegro abolished conscription, a policy supported by 53 percent of those who identified as Montenegrin and 34 percent of those who identified as Serb.[44] Part of the explanation for the limited public support for this policy lies in the historical narratives about Montenegro which highlight the militancy, "heroism and glory" of Montenegrins in their struggles against the Ottoman empire.[45] Further evidence to explain the partial support for this policy can be found in the high percentage of Montenegrins in the officer corps of the Yugoslav People's Army (Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija, JNA) and the more recent revival among Montenegrins of a warrior ethos and militancy in the wars of Yugoslav

44. Ibid., 30.
45. Banac, *National Question*, 45–52.

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disintegration. According to Florian Bieber, it was the narrative of "heroism and glory," coupled with the government's war propaganda, that induced the "enthusiastic participation of the Montenegrin soldiers and reservists" in the JNA's attacks on Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.[46]

As a consequence of these narratives and of the fact that Montenegro was closely aligned with Serbia in the early 1990s, supporting Milošević's expansionist policies, we also find polarized attitudes toward policies related to the issue of war crimes. Some 45 percent of self-identified Montenegrins supported the apology for war crimes that President Đukanović made to Croatia in 2000. Although not having majority support, the policy of apologizing for war crimes clearly demarcated those who identified as Montenegrin from those who identified as Serb, given that only 13 percent of the latter supported it.[47] The data on people's attitudes toward the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), cooperation with which is an official policy of Montenegro, are similar. While 46 percent of Montenegrins supported cooperation with the ICTY, only 13 percent of Serbs did so.[48] Similarly, 30 percent of Serbs believed that working with the ICTY is negative for Montenegrin sovereignty, and an equal percentage saw this cooperation as harmful for Montenegro's national interests. Only 13 percent of Montenegrins deemed the cooperation with the ICTY damaging for the country's sovereignty, while 11 percent of Montenegrins shared the belief that it would adversely affect national interests.[49] Although these policies related to war crimes issues were not supported by an overwhelming majority of those who ascribe themselves to the Montenegrin schema, they show a clear split in attitudes between them and those who consider themselves Serbs. As these policies were adopted at the time of the divide over statehood and identity, their primary aim was to distance Montenegro from the federation and from Serbia. Gradually, however, by being included in the political aspect of the Montenegrin identity schema they became indicators of how groupism evolved in this small Balkan state.

The polarization created by creeping independence has also affected attitudes toward the country's foreign policy among those who saw themselves as Montenegrin. After 1997 the ruling DPS oriented itself toward the west in order to receive financial and logistical support in the struggle against Milošević. From 1997 to 2000 the United States and the EU gave Montenegro notable financial assistance as "a tribute to the role being played by Montenegro in the effort to build a free and democratic Yugoslavia."[50] In subsequent years, and especially after the independence referendum, the ruling Montenegrin elites promoted EU integration as their main foreign policy objective.[51] In this con-

46. Bieber, "Montenegrin Politics since the Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in Bieber, ed., *Montenegro in Transition*, 18.

47. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 30.

48. Ibid., 40.

49. Ibid., 41.

50. Madeleine Albright, "U.S. Support for Democracy in Serbia and Montenegro," remarks at U.S.-European Union-Serbian Opposition meeting in Berlin, Germany, 17 December 1999, *U.S. Department of State Dispatch* 10, no. 10 (December 1999): 1.

51. Dragan Đurić, "Montenegro's Prospects for European Integration: On a Twin Track," *South-East Europe Review* 79, no. 4 (2004): 79–105; Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova

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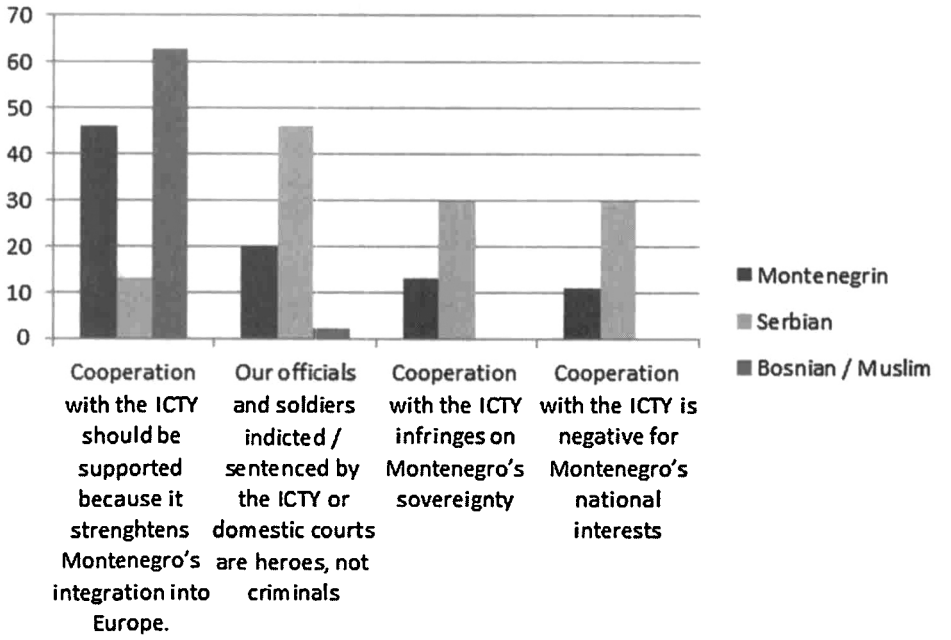


Figure 3. Attitudes toward the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

text, although 69.9 percent of the surveyed Montenegrin population reported that they generally considered EU integration as a good thing, opinions toward main foreign policy allies varied. Similar to the case of attitudes toward war crimes, these opinions have become another marker of the Montenegrin identity schema. Within this identity category, 40 percent of those surveyed saw the EU as the country's main foreign policy ally, while the United States was cited by only 18 percent. This attitude is another marker of differentiation from the Serb schema, wherein only 13 percent and 10 percent saw the EU and the United States, respectively, as Montenegro's main foreign policy allies. The majority of those who saw themselves as Serbs (53 percent) perceived their kin-state of Serbia as Montenegro's main foreign policy ally, whereas only 20 percent of the self-identified Montenegrins did so.[52]

Another politically shaped marker of the change in the identity schema in Montenegro is reflected in attitudes toward state holidays. While Statehood Day (Dan državnosti), July 13, is regarded as the most significant holiday in Montenegro by 40.1 percent of the overall population, which includes 43 percent of those who identified as Montenegrin and 38 percent of those who identified as Serb, opinion was very divided as to Independence Day (Dan neza-

i evropskih integracija, "Spoljno-politički prioriteti Crne Gore," at www.mvpei.gov.me/ministarstvo/spoljno-politicki-prioriteti (last accessed 5 February 2014).

52. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 32.

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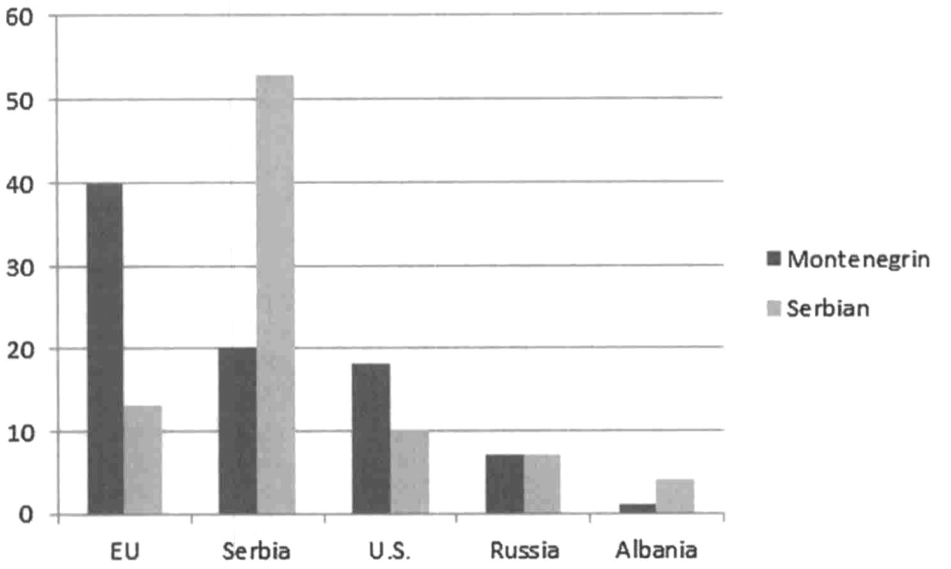


Figure 4. Main Foreign Policy Allies

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

visnosti), held May 21. The latter is considered to be the most important state holiday by 28.1 percent of the total survey sample, of which 39 percent of the Montenegrins and 8 percent of the Serbs reported holding this opinion.[53] Such polarization regarding state holidays is related to the divide over statehood and identity and as such represents another political indicator of the Montenegrin identity schema's reconstruction. Statehood Day is broadly supported because it marks the day Montenegrin statehood was recognized at the 1878 Congress of Berlin. Moreover, on 13 July 1941 the people of Montenegro started their fight for liberation in WWII. Hence, it refers to two historical events and is interchangeably referred to as "Statehood Day" and "Rebellion Day."[54] By contrast, Independence Day marks the date of the 2006 referendum. As a consequence of this association, and the victory of the DPS-led pro-independence camp (also rhetorically branded the pro-Montenegrin camp), this holiday is celebrated by 79 percent of those who identified themselves as Montenegrin and only 23 percent of those who identified as Serb.[55]

Therefore, the policies that have been adopted as a part of the DPS's political evolution since 1997 became entrenched in what was reportedly perceived by respondents as political or state-related aspects of the Montenegrin identity. These policies generate bifurcated opinions between those identifying themselves as Montenegrin and those as Serb, and thus they emerge as markers in the reconstruction of the post-Yugoslav Montenegrin identity schema.

53. Ibid., 27.
54. Miodrag Mališa Marović, *Veljko Milatović* (Podgorica, 2006).
55. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 27.

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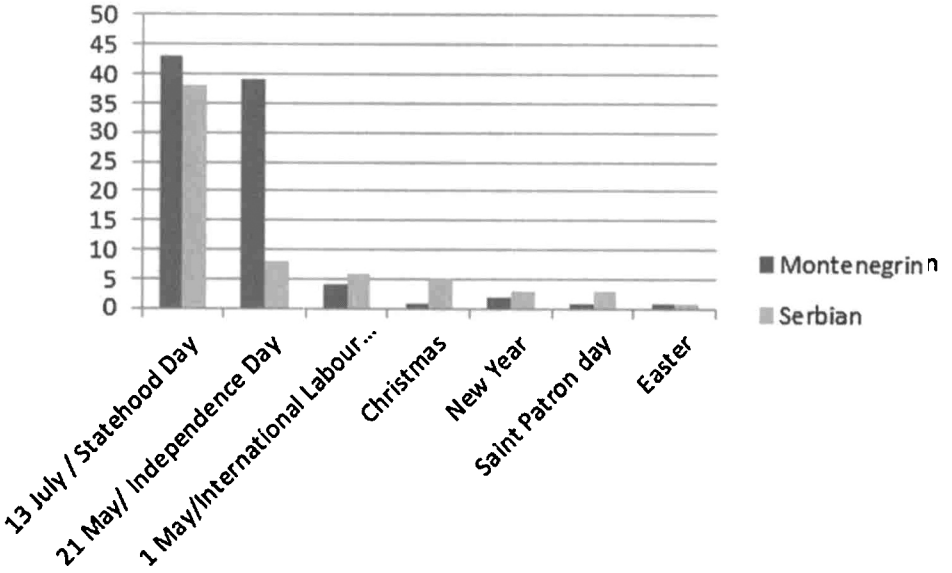


Figure 5. Most Important Holiday
Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

Ethnicized Nation Building

The reconstruction of the meaning of Montenegrin has also entailed changes to those elements of the identity schema which are perceived as ethnocultural. As a consequence of the split created in Montenegrin society by the divide over statehood and identity, the ruling elites adopted several symbolic policies in an attempt to consolidate their vision of independent statehood with that of a separate Montenegrin identity. The most significant among these policies were those related to religion, state symbols, and language. The policies adopted with respect to each of these had different backgrounds and goals, which can explain the differing degrees of popular support they have attracted. While the main aim of the religious policies has been to broaden the support for the DPS-led independence project, the policies on language and state symbols have been adopted predominantly as markers of differentiation between the Montenegrin and Serb identity schemas.

Religion in the Process of Identity Reconstruction

After the fall of the socialist regime, religious identification emerged as a pillar of the new identities across the Balkan region.[56] The cases of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 1990s are examples of how individuals' self-ascription to a given religion served as an expression their national

56. Ivan Krastev and Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, *Nationalism after Communism* (Budapest, 2004).

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positioning. Thus, religion became an important marker of the ethnonational identity schemas in the newly established post-Yugoslav states.

In the case of Montenegro, religious association as a by-product of politics (or, as Sabrina Ramet would term it, an "epipolitical phenomenon"), and not purely religious belief as such, became an identity marker.[57] Throughout most of the 1990s the government of Montenegro supported the Serbian Orthodox Church (Srpska pravoslavna crkva, SPC). Yet, with the change in the political landscape after 1997, the official policy of the ruling Montenegrin elites had been detachment from the SPC, aimed at ensuring broader support in the opposition to Milošević. With the quest for independence, this detachment intensified, because the SPC insisted on Montenegrins' "Serbian" origins and on the continuation of the joint state. The Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral declared that Serbia and Montenegro would separate only "once they separate[d] from their minds, from their memories, from their historical being, from the blood of their knights spilled in common battles, from their language, and from their religious knowledge [*kada se odvoje od pameti, od svoga pamćenja, od svoga istorijskog bića, od krvi vitezova pomešane u svim bojevima, od svog jezika, od svog sabornog saznanja*]."[58] This stance of the SPC resonated strongly with members of the opposition bloc, who, according to polls, identified primarily with this church.[59] Conversely, the role of the church among supporters of the pro-independence DPS was not emphasized to the same extent. Supporters of the DPS, which advocated independent statehood in the 2006 Montenegrin referendum, often identified themselves with the Serbian rather than the Montenegrin Orthodox Church (Crnogorska Pravoslavna Crkva, CPC).[60] As an institutional epiphenomenon, the CPC challenged the religious domination of the SPC and provided a point of reference for those in the pro-independence camp who cherished religion as a part of their identity but did not want to identify with a church whose name included the term *Serb*. Moreover, since the Orthodox churches are "national" (autocephalous, not centralized worldwide), for some members of the pro-independence camp the existence of the CPC legitimized the separateness of Montenegrin identity and the quest for statehood.

The 2011 survey data show that more Montenegrins felt that the Montenegrin rather than the Serbian Orthodox Church should be officially recognized in Montenegro—47 percent versus 33 percent.[61] In addition, 63 percent of those who self-identified as Montenegrin believed that the authorities treat all the re-

57. Ramet, "The Politics of the Serbian Orthodox Church," in Ramet and Pavlaković, eds., *Serbia since 1989*, 264.

58. "Mitropolit crnogorsko-primorski Amfilohije za 'Glas' o 'ratu' crkava u Crnoj Gori: 'Oblačak koji će proći,'" *Glas Javnosti*, 3 February 2002, at arhiva.glas-javnosti.rs/arhiva/2002/02/03/srpski/I02020201.shtml (last accessed 5 February 2014).

59. Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), *Public Opinion in Montenegro: January 2005* (Podgorica, 2005).

60. The CPC, established in 1993, was often described as the "epiphenomenon of Montenegrin politics." Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*, 264. It operated as a para-legal institution before being registered as a non-governmental organization in January 2000.

61. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 48.

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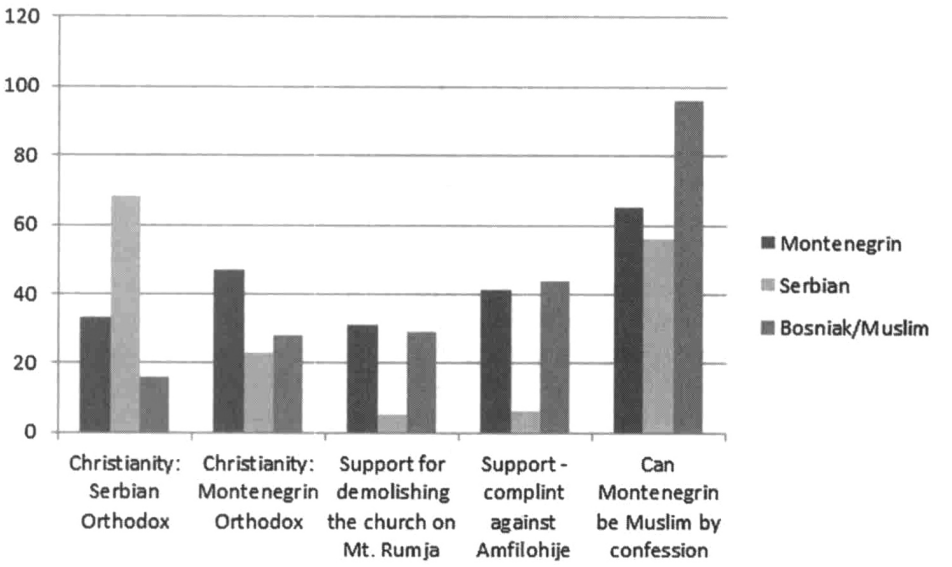


Figure 6. Religion and Identity

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

ligious communities equally, as opposed to 33 percent of those who identified as Serb.[62] This lower degree of trust in the ruling government among the latter population is arguably a consequence of a series of policies that were directly related to the SPC. In 2005 the SPC unilaterally constructed a metal church on Mount Rumija, claiming that an Orthodox church had existed there until 1571. In 2009 the Montenegrin Ministry for Spatial Planning and Environmental Protection adopted a decree that this church should be demolished, a policy opposed by 37 percent of those who identified as Montenegrin and 71 percent of those who declared themselves Serbs in the 2011 survey.[63] In addition to representing a marker of polarization in terms of people's identity, the question of the church on Mount Rumija also resulted in a criminal complaint for hate speech filed against the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, Amfilohije, who issued a formal anathema against those who sought to demolish the church.[64] This policy also indicates the change in the meaning of the Montenegrin identity schema and its detachment from the Serb one. In fact, 41 percent of those who reported seeing themselves as Montenegrin in the 2011 survey supported the criminal charges, in contrast to 6 percent of those who declared themselves Serb.[65]

In addition to differentiating the categories of Serb and Montenegrin, the plethora of policies adopted by the government of Montenegro in relation

62. Ibid., 47.

63. Ibid., 51.

64. Srđan Janković, "Amfilohije bacio anatemu i za božićne praznike," *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 10 January 2011, at www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/sve_amfilofijeve_kletve/2271881.html (last accessed 1 March 2014).

65. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 52.

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to religion have ostensibly been inclusive toward the Bosniak community, 79 percent of whose members identified with Islam in religious terms.[66] The responses to religion-related questions from those who declared themselves Bosniaks show a closer correlation with the category of Montenegrin than with that of Serb, with 29 percent supporting the demolition of the chapel on Mount Rumija and 44 percent supporting the criminal complaint against Metropolitan Amfilohije for hate speech.[67] Likewise, 96 percent of the surveyed Bosniaks held that a Montenegrin may also be a Muslim, which indicates that they generally perceive the Montenegrin identity category as being inclusive. However, the degree to which Montenegrin Muslims are accepted by non-Muslim Montenegrins was only 65 percent.[68] This indicates that the religious inclusiveness of the Montenegrin schema promoted by the ruling elites attracted the support of the non-Orthodox community, while those who identified as Christians remained divided as to whether the non-Orthodox living in Montenegro could be considered Montenegrins.

How to Symbolize a Nation? State Symbols and Language as Elements of Differentiation

The implicit meanings of the symbols of a state, like the flag, the coat of arms, or the national anthem, have often been connected to the history of the people in question.[69] And, indeed, symbols proved important in the reconstruction of the Montenegrin identity schema during the debate over statehood and identity. A law on Montenegrin national symbols was passed in 2004 that indicated another push of the ruling elites toward independence. Article 4 of the 2004 Law on State Symbols, also applied after independence, describes the coat of arms of Montenegro as "a golden-crowned double-headed eagle with its wings in flight, with a scepter in its right claw and an orb in its left, on a red base. On the eagle's chest is a shield with a golden lion passant. The lion is on a green field with a blue background. The crown above the eagle's heads and the scepter are gold topped with a cross. The orb is blue with golden sheaths and cross."[70] As stipulated in Article 5 of the same law, the flag of Montenegro is to be red, bordered in gold, and with the coat of arms in the middle. The definitions of the symbols were subject to contestation among the political representatives and followers of the two blocs, a debate that is still ongoing in public discussions. In the 2011 survey, 90 percent of those who identified themselves as Montenegrin approved of the official flag of Montenegro, as opposed to 39 percent of those who saw themselves as Serb."[71] The latter felt that a break with history had been made, as the traditional Montenegrin flag

66. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 44. Please note that although there is also a national category of Muslims in Montenegro, the survey had not differentiated between Bosniaks and Muslims.

67. Ibid., 52.

68. Ibid., 49.

69. Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings* (London, 1975), 14.

70. "Zakon o državnim simbolima i Danu državnosti Crne Gore," Službeni List Republike Crne Gore, br. 47/04 (435.) od 12. srpnja 2004.

71. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 23–24.

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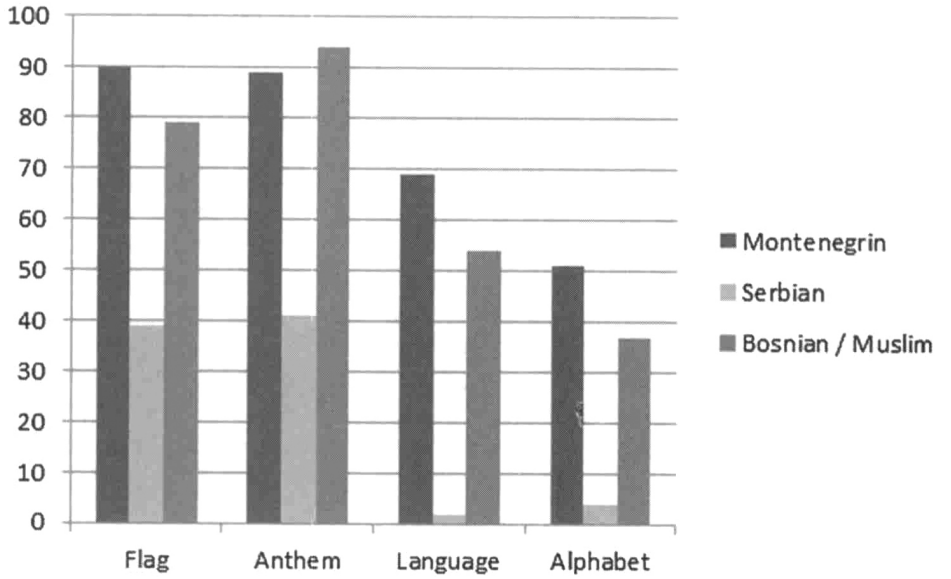


Figure 7. Support for Language and Symbols

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

had been red, blue, and white, like the Serbian one, with a white eagle (also similar to the Serbian coat of arms).[72] Moreover, the new Montenegrin flag was used by the pro-independence camp in the pre-referendum campaign, linking it closely to the Montenegrin identity schema. Consequently, in 2010 the political parties representing the Serbs in Montenegro requested the re-introduction of the tricolored flag.[73]

Article 6 of the same law identifies the national anthem as "Oh, Bright Dawn of May" ("Oj, svijetla majska zoro"), a point that provoked a similar degree of polarization among the people. The 2011 survey shows that 89 percent of those who identified as Montenegrin liked the national anthem, as opposed to only 41 percent of those who declared themselves to be Serb.[74] The anthem proved particularly divisive due to the association of two of its verses with the WWII Montenegrin nationalist movement, the Greens (Zelenaši), affiliated with fascism and fascist Italy. The interwar leader of this movement, Sekula Drljević, composed two verses of the anthem, which are now controversial due to his authorship. Similar to the case of the national flag, Montenegro's opposition parties—the SNP and NOVA—sought to have these lines deleted from the national anthem.[75]

Language has been an additional ethnocultural symbol in the reconstruc-

72. Miša Đurković, "Montenegro: Headed for New Divisions," *Conflict Studies Research Centre: Balkan Series* 7, no. 9 (March 2007), 6.

73. Milena Milošević, "Fate of Montenegro's State Symbols in Balance," *Balkan Insight*, 26 April 2012, at www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/fate-of-montenegro-s-symbols-still-uncertain (last accessed 5 February 2014).

74. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 25.

75. Milošević, "Fate of Montenegro's State Symbols in Balance."

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tion of the Montenegrin identity schema. This question is inextricably related to the education system, the press, and the general transmission of ideas, as recognized by most of the academic work on nationalism and identity.[76] In the Balkans, ever since the romantic idea of unifying the South Slavs emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, language has been an important aspect of how people viewed themselves.[77] Especially after the events of the 1990s, language acquired a political dimension and became related to territory—to the "political organization of space."[78] "Nationalizing" the language thus became one of the policies of the government of Montenegro.[79]

According to Article 9 of the 1992 Constitution of Montenegro, the "language in official use" in Montenegro is the Ijekavski dialect of Serbian.[80] Prior to Yugoslavia's disintegration, the official language of the federation was Serbo-Croatian. Both the Cyrillic and the Latin scripts, religiously, culturally, and politically symbolizing the eastern (thus Christian Orthodox) and western (thus Catholic, or mixed) republics of Yugoslavia, respectively, were in use. After the breakup of the federation, the successor states enshrined separate languages, named after the given state, in their constitutions, along with the corresponding script.[81] In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRJ), and in Montenegro, the official language remained Serbian. However, unlike the FRJ constitution, which gave clear precedence to Cyrillic (Article 15), the 1992 Constitution of Montenegro equalized the Cyrillic and the Latin scripts (Article 9). There are two reasons for Montenegro's retention of the Serbian language and both scripts in 1992. First, the Montenegrin political elites were close to those in Serbia in the early 1990s, which explains the use of the Serbian language in Montenegro during that period. The use of both scripts in Montenegro has been retained due to the particular ethnopolitical composition of the country and the cultural and historical significance of both Cyrillic and Latin. Second, in none of the previous Yugoslav constitutions had the language been termed *Montenegrin*. It was natural to call the language *Serbian*, since the joint state continued to exist.

According to Article 13 of the 2007 Constitution of Montenegro, the "official language in Montenegro is Montenegrin," with "Serbian, Bosnian, Al-

76. See Smith, *National Identity*; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); and John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago, 1985).

77. George White, "Southeastern European Nationalism in Its Temporal and Spatial Context," in White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe* (Oxford, 2000), 45–67.

78. White, *Nationalism and Territory*, 181.

79. Rajka Glušica, "Crnogorski jezik u čeljustima nacionalizma," *Riječ: Časopis za nauku o jeziku i književnosti*, no. 4 (2010): 25–47; Cattaruzza, *Territoire et nationalisme au Montenegro*.

80. According to R. Aleksić, *Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika: Sa pravopisnim rečnikom* (Novi Sad, 1960), Ijekavski is one of the three Serbian dialects (in addition to Ikavski and Ekavski). Ijekavski was predominantly spoken in Montenegro and Herzegovina. The difference between the three stems from the modern pronunciation of the old Slavic letter Ѣ (*jat*), which is today pronounced "e," "i," or "je" or "ije."

81. The Slovenian and Macedonian languages, which are linguistically different from the former Serbo-Croatian language, officially use Latin and Cyrillic scripts, respectively. The Croatian language officially uses the Latin script exclusively, and the Serbian language uses Cyrillic.

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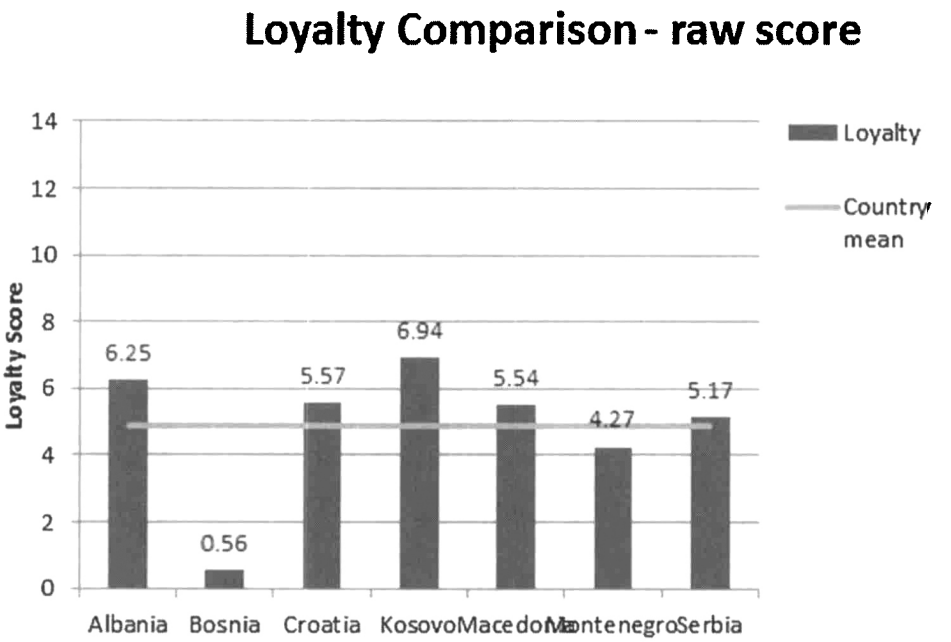


Figure 8. Loyalty Comparison in the Western Balkans

Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

banian, and Croatian" as "officially used languages."[82] As recorded in the 2003 census, 59.67 percent of the population claimed to speak Serbian, while 21.53 percent listed their language as Montenegrin.[83] In 2011, 42.88 percent of the people declared that their native language was Serbian and 36.97 percent that it was Montenegrin.[84] Data from the 2011 survey show that 69 percent of those who declared themselves Montenegrin said they spoke Montenegrin: they used it in the census and in official documentation. This sharply distinguishes them from those who declared themselves Serb, 97 percent of whom said they used the Serbian language.[85]

In July 2009 Montenegro's Ministry of Education and Science adopted new orthographic norms, according to which the Montenegrin alphabet now no longer has thirty graphemes but thirty-two (with the addition of ś and ź). Montenegro is the only former Yugoslav successor state to have altered its alphabet. This policy was supported by only 35.7 percent of the population: 51 percent of the self-identified Montenegrins and 4 percent of the Serbs.[86]

82. "Ustav Crne Gore," *Službeni List Crne Gore*, br. 1/07.

83. Zavod za Statistiku Crne Gore, "Population Census 2013," at www.monstat.org/cg/page.php?id=57&pageid=57 (last accessed 1 March 2014).

84. Zavod za Statistiku Crne Gore, "Population Census 2011."

85. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro," 14. The issue of script was not covered in the survey.

86. Ibid., 59.

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These figures suggest that the linguistic aspect of the Montenegrin identity schema's reconstruction was less than successful, because a significant percentage of those who identified themselves as Montenegrin did not support all the government's nation-building policies.

The dynamics of support for various policies adopted by the government of Montenegro is also reflected in the loyalty index computed by the Political Science Research Centre (CPI) in Zagreb. Under the auspices of the "Symbolic Nation-Building in the West Balkans" project, the CPI constructed a loyalty index based on the responses to fourteen questions in the 2011 survey. The fourteen questions, each representing a loyalty variable across all seven former Yugoslav countries, were selected by the expert coding task group. The variables were selected to represent the individuals' attitudes toward the state and those toward the state authorities' official nation-building project. The variables were generated through questions based on which country the respondents regarded as their homeland; whether they would live in that country for the rest of their lives or emigrate (two questions); whether they were proud to be the citizens of their country; which identity—civic or ethnic—was more important to them; whether the respondents approved of the country's official flag and national anthem (two questions); whether they felt the authorities' policies and actions made them feel included and as though they belonged in the country, treated all ethnic and religious communities equally, and presented the country's history in an accurate and appropriate way (four questions); whether any part of the country should be allowed to secede; and how the respondents evaluated the interethnic relations in their country at present and as compared to ten years prior (two questions). Responses to each question were coded as follows: 1 for full support (0.5 for partial support), −1 for full rejection (−0.5 for partial rejection), and 0 for neither support nor rejection. Hence, the scale ranged from −14 to +14, with 0 as the neutrality point.

The overall loyalty score for Montenegro, presented in figure 8, stands at 4.57—the second lowest in the western Balkans (though significantly higher than the lowest, which was for Bosnia and Herzegovina, at 0.56). Although the CPI score places Montenegro closer to the other western Balkan states, which scored between 5.17 (Serbia) and 6.94 (Kosovo), there were significant differences in support between the various ethnic groups.

As argued throughout this article, support for Montenegro's official nation-building policies has been professed by those who ascribe themselves to Montenegrin and Bosniak identity schemas. Figure 9 indicates the loyalty index of these two categories: 6.42 and 6.76, respectively. Interestingly, those who identify as Bosniak show slightly greater loyalty to the nation-building policies than those who see themselves as Montenegrin. This corroborates the interpretation that the ruling elite have pushed forward an inclusive agenda aimed specifically at attracting minority votes. By contrast, and unsurprisingly, the loyalty score of those who identified as Serb stands at −0.34, indicating that members of that category are not supportive of Montenegro's official nation-building agenda. On the other hand, since the results for this group lie just below the neutrality point, it could also indicate that this population is

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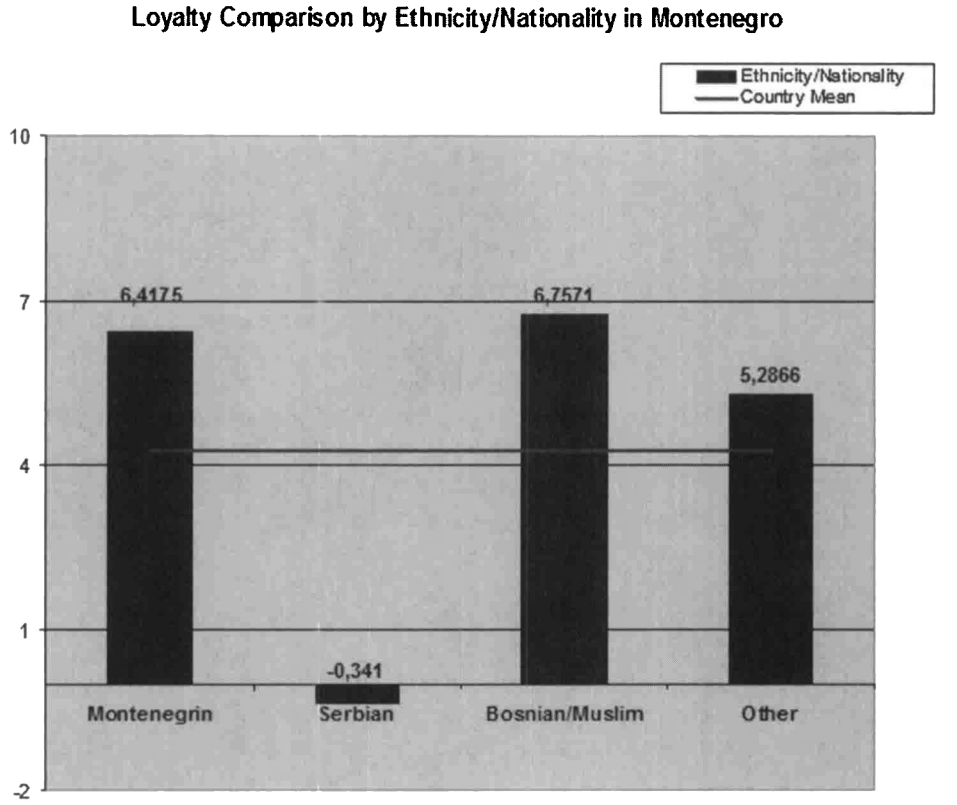


Figure 9. Loyalty Comparison by Ethnicity in Montenegro
Sources. Computed on the basis of Ipsos Strategic Marketing, "Report: Nation Building—Montenegro."

likely to challenge some aspects of the dominant nation-building project, as in the case of the national symbols.[87]

The results of the censuses conducted after the Yugoslav breakup reveal a significant change in the meaning of Montenegrin identity. Looking at national identity as an abstract category that is simultaneously cognitive and relational, this article has provided explanations for the opportunities and constraints that affected this identity change, in particular by focusing on the success of the nationalizing policies of the government of Montenegro. I began by proposing a theoretical framework for examining changes in Montenegrin identity and, using original quantitative data, followed up by investigating the reasons behind popular support for specific policies that helped change this identity.

The alterations to the Montenegrin identity schema were induced by the effects of the broader political environment in the post-Yugoslav space on the local competition for political power. As long as the ruling DPS elites supported Milošević's politics, the Montenegrin identity schema remained closely

87. Milošević, "Fate of Montenegro's State Symbols in Balance."

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related to that of Serbia. After the split of the DPS in 1997, which triggered internal power struggles, the ruling elites adopted a series of policies aimed at distancing Montenegro from the FRJ institutions. Even though these policies did not initially have nation building as their main aim, they were integrated into the political aspects of the Montenegrin identity schema. The 2011 survey reveals sharp polarization between the Serb and Montenegrin categories in terms of attitudes toward the state, the ICTY, Montenegro's foreign policy allies, and political issues such as the apology to Croatia for war crimes. This indicates that the cognition of Montenegrin nationhood was changed by the alteration of a political frame—from closeness to Serbia to distancing and detachment from it.

We have seen how the reconstruction of the meaning of being Montenegrin was made possible due to the existence of historical narratives, which resonated in recent political discourse and were used to support or contest the claims of the two competing political camps. Historical ambiguity about national identity in Montenegro provided enough reference for the rival elites to find historical justifications for their claims related to either independent Montenegrin statehood and separate Montenegrin identity or to the unification with Serbia and the blurred lines between Serb and Montenegrin identities. Precisely because of these historical ambiguities, the ruling elite resorted to policies of nationalization after their turn toward independence. These policies were used to demarcate the Montenegrin identity category from the Serb. Policies on religion had a twofold aim. While separating the Montenegrin and Serb elements of identity through acceptance of the CPC, the Montenegrin ruling elite also sought to attract the non-Orthodox population to the cause of independence and therefore distanced themselves from the SPC. In consequence, the Montenegrin identity schema became less related to religion.

The combination of political and ethnic elements in the Montenegrin identity schema induced a shift in the cognition of what it means to be Montenegrin. This has had two implications. First, this process has dismantled the conjoined Montenegrin/Serbian *homo duplex* construct, largely through the nationalizing policies that served to demarcate the Montenegrin and Serb aspects of identity. Second, as the 2011 survey showed, the polarization of the populace into Montenegrin and Serb categories follows the identity divide made clear in the 2003 and 2011 censuses. However, not all those who considered themselves Montenegrin in 1991 reported doing so in 2011, which indicates that ascription to identity categories is in flux.

Conceptually, the case of Montenegro helps us understand how individuals identify nationally by ascribing themselves to abstract communities, which they perceive as reflective of communal bonds. The individuals' perceptions of these communities can be altered if the frames for the cognition of national identities change through political action or broader social developments. The change in these frames does not change an individual's ethnonational belonging. Rather, it transforms the content and the meaning of identity categories, the perception of what "a nation" stands for, thus allowing individuals to associate with or dissociate from it.

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