How can international educational initiatives contribute to a decrease of ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth?

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Executive summary

This study was aimed at analysing the international community's efforts in relation to decreasing youth segregation in Bosnia with a focus on educational reforms. The central research question of this study is: "How can international educational initiatives contribute to a decrease of ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth?"

Sixteen years ago, several international organizations started with proposing reforms for Bosnia's segregated education system. The proposed reforms were aimed at reducing ethnic segregation and reforming the ethnic curriculums used in schools. News articles in 2017 depicted Bosnia's education system as divided as it was before. To illustrate this, Bosnian students made the news for protesting against the establishment of another ethnically segregated school.

Considering that this study aims to illustrate and analyse the initiatives of the international community, this study was conducted through extensive desk research. Different sorts of secondary data were collected through databases and other means accessible online. This study is based on a wide collection of different types of data — journals, academic papers, international organization reports, project reports to news segments and newspapers.

This study showed that despite former failure, the international community appears to be the main initiator of educational reform aimed at decreasing ethnic segregation among youth. Nevertheless, ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth, in particular segregated education, still poses a problem to modern-day Bosnia. There appear to be various ways for the IC to initiate reforms more successfully. This study suggests three ways of improvement for the international community's efforts in relation to decreasing segregation among youth in Bosnia. First, the incorporation of best practices from other post-conflict countries is recommended. Secondly, a cooperation between international organization and local actors is proposed. Last but not least, this study advocates the use of a bottom-up approach to initiate reforms and changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Further research appears to be crucial to analyse the success and implementation of recent initiatives. The issue of ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth has certainly not been resolved, for this reason progressive efforts, such as initiatives, projects, studies and other means to contribute to resolving this issue are highly recommendable. Considering the lack of academic literature in the light of specific initiatives, undertaking fieldwork would be highly recommendable since it could provide new insights.

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List of abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CCC	Common Core Curriculum
CoE	Council of Europe
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
EU	European Union
FBiH	The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
GCO	Global Children's Organisation
IB	International Baccalaureate
IC	International Community
ICMP	International Commission on Missing persons
IDP	Internally Displaced Peoples
MOCA	Ministry of Civil Affairs
MSYP	Mostar Summer Youth Program
NGO	Non-government Organization
NI	Northern Ireland
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RS	Republika Srpska
SEP	Shared Education Programme
UC	Berkeley University of California, Berkeley
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN	United Nations
UWCiM	United World College in Mostar
UWC	United World College
YUP	Young United in Peace

Country Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Figure 1. Bosnia and Herzegovina (U.S. Department of State, n.d.).

Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), one of the former republics of Yugoslavia, "continues to face enormous political, social and economic challenges" (Duilović, 2004, p. 21, para 2). Moreover, 23 years after the Bosnian war (1992-1995) the country continues to be heavily divided along ethnic and territorial lines. As a consequence of the war, multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina has experienced a dramatic population decline. In the past 25 years, the country experienced a demographic decline of 20 percent (Ahmetasevic, 2016). Bosnia's population is estimated to be around 3.5 million people, excluding the big number of refugees residing abroad and internally displaced persons. In 1995, the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) was signed, which ended three and half years of brutal war between Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs (Duilović, 2004).

The DPA was not merely a peace agreement aiming at ending the years of violent war; the agreement provided Bosnia's current political framework and constitution. Instead of establishing a reintegrated state, the agreement divided the country into two autonomous entities — the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS) — within an ordinary unified state. Whereas predominantly Serb and centralized Republika Srpska allocated 49 percent of the Bosnia's territory, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina comprises 51 percent of the territory. In contrast to RS, The Federation is inhabited primarily by Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats, together with a minority of Serbs, Jews, Roma and other ethnic minorities. Moreover, the Federation is highly decentralized into cantons (Orentlicher, 2018). The Brčko district was established as the third entity of BiH by international arbitration. This independent self-governing district does not belong to either entities. In more detail, Brčko is a protectorate governed by the United States (Petersen, 2011).

Besides the war's devastating impact on Bosnia's education system; the country's education system became one of the first victims of the DPA (Duilović, 2004). In more detail, Bosnia's division along ethnic lines continues in its education system. By means of illustration, three different educational programs are in place: a Bosniak, Croat and Serb curriculum (Tanović, 2013). Most students attend mono-ethnic schools, separate from the other ethnic group, where they learn their separate 'language', history, religion and alphabets. The current state of affairs in Bosnia concerning education is in contrast with the aims and efforts of the international community. Moreover, it leads to the impoverishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's future citizens (Pašalić Kreso, 2008). The country's education system was complicated even further by the DPA's complex state structure. To indicate,

"BiH has 13 ministries of education: two at entity level (The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb Republic), ten at cantonal level, and one at district level (Brčko District)" (Magill, 2010, p. 23, para 2). In contrast, the Brčko protectorate appears to be successful in terms of their education system which is comprised of integrated schools (Shewfelt, 2007).

The international community has been present in Bosnia since their intervention in the Bosnian war. Moreover, the U.S. brokered Dayton Peace Agreement created an international organization called the Office of the High Representative (OHR) to oversee its implementation (Lanahan, 2016) Through the so-called Bonn powers, the OHR has "…the right to dismiss public officials and issue binding decisions by decree" (Couses and Cater, 2001, p. 147, para 2). Both the OHR and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe have impacted education in Bosnia. Ever since the signing of the DPA, Bosnia has been highly dependent on foreign aid provided by the international community — the United States, the United States Educational, UNESCO and the European Union. The international community who has been the main actor in terms of initiating educational reforms (Emkic, 2018). Other relevant organizations involved in educational reform that have not been mentioned include the Council of Europe (CoE), the World Bank and the European Commission (Magill, 2010).

Similar to Bosnia's political situation ruled by the ethno-nationalist political elites, the education system in the country is dominated by ethnic politics (Lanahan, 2016). The past 16 years the international community started with proposing reforms for Bosnia's education system. This was done in order to reduce ethnic segregation and to reform the ethnic curriculums in schools (The Bertelsmann Transformation Index, 2016). Torsti (2009) states that there are two major problems in Bosnia's education system that hinder sustainable peacebuilding. Namely, the segregation of pupils into the three ethnic groups and the instruction of national subjects. National subjects, especially history education, "fosters enemy images and stereotypes of the other national groups" (Torsti, 2009, p. 66, para 2). Consequently, the international community put a lot of effort into reforming history education.

News articles in 2017 highlight that Bosnia's education system remains deeply divided and ethnically segregated. By means of illustration, students in the town of Jajce protested against the establishment of another segregated school (Spaic, 2017). Recognizing the current education system's harmful impact on sustainable peacebuilding and its citizens, this study focuses on the international community's efforts aimed at decreasing ethnic

segregation among youth. The aim of this study is to analyse a selection of the attempts undertaken by the international community focused on decreasing ethnic segregation among youth. The different initiatives all use a different approach, namely history education projects, summer programs and camps, school reforms and an international integrated curriculum will be studied. This analysis will clarify which international initiatives have been less successful in reforming Bosnia's current education system. Moreover, it will acknowledge the successful initiatives that deserve continuation. In consideration of Bosnia not being the only post-conflict country struggling with education, this study incorporated the practices of other post-conflict countries.

Owing to the fact that ethnic segregation is still a pressing issue in modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, one might wonder about the successfulness of international efforts. Nevertheless, most research about Bosnia's segregated education is focused on the system in general and only briefly states some of the efforts that have been undertaken. In more detail, most research does not analyse the efforts and reforms which leaves us to the question whether these practices are successful. This analysis appears to be of great importance considering the current segregated education system's impact on sustainable peacebuilding and the future of its citizens. In this regard, this study aims to map out various undertaken initiatives to provide interesting insights into the current situation.

Methodology

This study aims to map out and analyse youth educational initiative undertaken by the international community aimed at decreasing segregation in Bosnia. Taking this into account, this study was conducted through extensive desk research. Academic literature was mostly obtained through the use of databases. Taylor and Francis online and Springerlink appeared to be very helpful in this regard. Moreover, specific databases such as the Education Research Information Center and Anthrosource were consulted. Furthermore, the databases of universities provided most of the recent studies on the topic of segregated education in Bosnia. Considering the aim of this study, a significant part of the secondary data is comprised of reports published by international organizations, NGOs and other stakeholders. To ensure the accuracy of this study, news articles and the information on the involved NGOs websites provided missing information and illustrated recent developments.

The complex matter of ethnic segregation among youth challenged the search for data. In more detail, academic literature and other secondary data tend to focus on specific themes; segregated education in general, the 'two under one roof schools' and the reunification of the *Stara Gimnazija*. In addition, in many reports and studies specific implemented reforms and initiatives are mentioned without providing a corresponding evaluation. Correspondingly, reports and studies mention the most recent developments at the time without providing a corresponding evaluation a few years after its implementation. Another major challenge encountered during this study was the little academic research on educational summer programs or camps in post-conflict Bosnia. Moreover, there appears to be a literature gap which is recognizable by the divergent publication years of academic literature. A critical evaluation was needed in order to judge whether the theories mentioned in the older literature still apply to the current situation

Literature review

The role of education

The environments where pupils spend the most time growing up are schools. Taking into account that the average school shift lasts about seven hours, one can presume that the school environment can and might influence pupils. The school environment can influence a pupil in terms of how one makes sense of him and herself and their surroundings. In addition, it could influence the interaction with others (Čustović, 2015). For this section, Čustović's Nationalism Studies master's thesis entitled *Ethnically Divided Education and Its Contradictions: The Case of the Croatian Program in Bosnia and Herzegovina* turned out to be very useful. According to Čustović (2015, p. 11, para 2), "the role of education is multi-dimensional." Moreover, the primary role of education is the creation of cohesion and social mobility. Asim Mujkić (2012, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015, p. 11, para 2) states the general purpose of education would be the "transmission of knowledge and values on younger generations with the goal of creating a societal, cultural and political continuity of a socio-political community". Dr Asim Mujkić is a Bosnian philosopher and sociologist, who lectures at the University of Sarajevo.

Considering Mujkić's depictions of education, it could be presumed that achieving such goals could be an extremely difficult job in a post-conflict society such as Bosnia's (Čustović, 2015). According to Weinstein (2007, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015), post-conflict societies encounter the difficult task of establishing a common framework that allows for previous belligerents to reconstruct the country's infrastructure. Moreover, perhaps even to develop social networks which could cause the shared sense of common good to revive/reawaken. In a post-conflict society, education can play a big role in terms of facilitating the processes Weinstein describes. However, it could be questioned whether an educational system that is ethnically divided could become the solid ground for achieving such goals. Čustović (2015) states that this is clearly not the case. Weinstein, Freedman and Hughson (2007, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015) remark that in an environment where preserving the social identity comes first, the social interaction of youth of different national identities is not encouraged. In more detail, the youth are not encouraged to build bridges, nor to learn together. Weinstein, Freedman and Hughson (2007, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015, p. 11, para 2) conclude that the aforementioned state of affairs are a 'recipe for disaster'.

Future conflict and negative outcomes of education

For this particular section Lanahan's book *Post-Conflict Education for Democracy and Reform – Bosnian Education in the Post-War Era 1995-2015* deemed to very insightful. Lanahan is an Associate Professor of Citizenship Education at the College of Charleston in the United States. Previously, he was a Fulbright scholar in Sarajevo where he functioned as a guest lecturer and where he researched democracy and post-conflict education. According to Lanahan (2016), whether post-conflict settings are helped with education is not subject to questioning. Education is essential when it comes to the success of any form of government including any democracy. (Wiseman et al, 2011, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016) (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber & Serf, 2011, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). Moreover, it can play a critical role in terms of peacebuilding, bringing countries to a development path and can undo the damages caused by war (Buckland, 2006, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). The importance of post-conflict education is further supported by the notion that education in itself can prevent a conflict from reoccurring (World Bank, 2005, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016).

Nevertheless, as Davies (2004) remarks, education in a post-conflict environment is often connected with negative outcomes (As mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). To illustrate, "excluding or humiliating minorities, exacerbating class and gender differences, and indoctrinating students through a hate curriculum (Davies, 2004, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016, p. 33, para 3). Other negative outcomes include a segregated education system, textbooks being manipulated and used for political purposes, education as an instrument for cultural repression, and unequal access to educational opportunities (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). The World Bank (2005, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016) points out that there are also a number of negative social outcomes. As an illustration, education in post-conflict contexts could result in an intensification of the conflict amid the ethnic, religious and other social communities. Furthermore, accommodating and/or denying cultural diversity causes not only inequalities amid ethnic groups, it also causes ethnic groups to be socioeconomically divided (Brown, 2011, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). As Degu (2005) claims, schools in post-conflict environments carry the responsibility for the creation of economic inequality (As mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). It is important to be aware of the fact that when it comes to the negative outcomes of post-conflict education, these outcomes can be triggered and/or intensified by the unawareness of external actors. To be more specific, the unawareness of external actors in relation to pre-existent circumstances which instigated the conflict. Additionally, external actors might

not identify the new forms of discrimination and power that are in existence as a consequence of the war (INEE, 2011, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016).

Post-conflict education

As illustrated above and emphasized by Brian Lanahan (2016), education in post-conflict societies after an ethnic conflict and/or civil war poses distinct and consequential challenges. As Lai and Thyne (2007) explain, schools in post-conflict societies after ethnic conflict or civil war are doomed to be so-called "ideological battlegrounds". In more detail, the rights and wrongs of the ethnic conflict and/or civil war will be continued to be challenged at educational institutions (Lai and Thyne, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). In addition, the curriculum and language of instruction will become a matter of public debate (World Bank, 2005, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). "To address these tensions, segregated education is often seen as a short-term solution to support initial peace and the return of displaced people" (Bowder & Perry, 2013, as paraphrased in Lanahan, 2016, p. 40)

The "two schools under one roof' system, which will be covered in detail later in this thesis, was introduced as a reform to motivate the return of internally displaced persons (Čustović, 2015). However, as Čustović stresses, "the system set its roots and presents an obstacle not only for the issues of identity construction, but also a much needed process of reconciliation" (Čustović, 2015, pg. 13, para 1). Brown (2011) claims that maintaining segregated education as time progresses will cause a delay in terms of the growth of social cohesion. Moreover, maintaining segregated education will only support the divisions within society. As Brown (2011) points out, education is oftentimes being used as an instrument by a dominant majority to exclude and marginalize minority communities. As a matter of fact, segregated education is in favour of a dominant majority (Brown, 2011, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). As a consequence, in ethnically segregated education different types of history textbooks are being utilized, "with each learning a history of victimization at the hand of the other" (Cole & Barsalou, 2006, as paraphrased in Lanahan, 2016, p. 40, para 2). Koneska (2012) emphasises that when a segregated education system has existed for a longer period of time it becomes institutionalized (As mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). "Local political elites will often successfully resist integration unless external actors possess executive powers or withdraw funding to force integration" (Lanahan, p. 40, para 2). In Bosnia's present-day political climate, the government is satisfied to keep the status quo with reference to Bosnia's education system, for the reason of education's vulnerability. Considering education's sensitive nature, education can be easily used as a tool for political

indoctrination, which causes the teachers and students to be directly manipulated and the student's parents indirectly (Pašalić Kreso, 2008).

Peace education

The UNESCO charter of 1946 asserted the following: "wars begin 'in the minds' as well as from 'ignorance of each other's ways and lives', it is through education that 'defences of peace' must be built" (Nelles, p. 229, 2006, as mentioned in Emkic, 2018, p. 1, para 1). Peace studies academics claim that peace education is beneficial in post-conflict environments in terms of building peace (Emkic, 2018). Peace education is known for reducing economic, social, and ethnic polarisation. In addition, it generates the right provisions for sustainable peace. With peace education, a culture of dialogue is created instead of a culture of violence (Dewey, 1897, Curle, 1971, Buckland, 2005, Samaroo, 2006 & Bajaj/Chiu, 2009, as mentioned in Emkic, 2018). It is important to acknowledge that under Bosnia's current segregated education system there is a little chance that children get the opportunity to meet the others from a different ethnic group and to establish friendships with them. Moreover, the current system encourages a "them" versus "us" mentality, Pašalić Kreso (2008) stresses that this will have a long-term effect on Bosnia's future and its citizens. Emkic (2018) suggests that peace education could serve as a remedy for Bosnia and Herzegovina's divided education system. In like manner for other divided countries.

Education can be considered a long-term component of a functional civil society (Torsti, 2007). Therefore, Torsti (2007) acknowledges that education should be an integral part of political documents such as the Dayton Agreement. To be more specific, education should be dependent on decision making and the public interest. As Kaldor (1999) claims, the investment in education and free media is crucial in order to not only stop the constant particularistic propaganda, but also to construct an active civil society (As mentioned in Torsti, 2007) Moreover, Kaldor (1999) points out that "These conditions are much more important than the formal procedures of democracy" (As cited in Torsti, 2007, p. 92, para 3). Torsti (2007) stresses the need for such preconditions. To illustrate, the elections held in Bosnia ended up legitimizing the former warring parties (Torsti, 2007). Torsti (2007) is known for her study on the national division of history teaching in BiH during the war and the post-war period. In her study, she analysed textbooks that were used by the three different nations. According to Torsti (2009) in *Segregated education and texts: a challenge to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, there have been numerous attempts by the international community to address BIH's segregated education. Likewise, to revise hatred-spreading history textbooks. Nevertheless, the results of the International Community's

attempts are modest (Torsti, 2009). According to Weinstein (2007) and Buyukcanga (2011), not only textbook reform, but also education reform and peace education can cause tolerance to increase and will bring peace to the country (as mentioned in Emkic, 2018). Nevertheless, Emkic (2018) points out that even though many scholars recognize the gaps in BiH's post-war education system, it is hard to find a study that suggests how BiH's post-war education system should be organized in order to promote tolerance and social cohesion.

Failure of the international community

As mentioned before, the results of the international community attempts are modest (Torsti, 2009). In order for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be recognized by the Council of Europe in 1999, they had to meet several requirements. One of them being the removal of offensive and objectionable material in school textbooks before the 1999-2000 school year. This resulted in the new textbooks only being partly printed and the old textbooks still being in use, even in the 2002-2003 school year. The old textbooks that contained blackened passages of offensive material, however these passages were still readable against the window. As one might expect, these forbidden texts only gained extra attention from the pupils. (Torsti, 2007). In addition, the two schools under one roof concept, described by Čustović (2015, p. 21, para 1) as "Ethnically divided education", was introduced by the international community. As Piggot (1995) points out, Yugoslavia had an education policy for 50 years were cultural diversity was extremely valuable. When UNICEF policymakers came to Yugoslavia after the war they appeared to be unaware of this fact (Piggot, 1995, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). According to Davies (2004), it is crucial for external actors to respect the local conditions and customs, considering that the absence of such sensitivity and awareness about the regional situation could cause inaccuracies.

As Lanahan (2016) states, when one dismisses or ignores a country´s context and copies policies or systems from abroad in an uncritical manner, it could result "in what Mijatovic (1999) calls the 'Frankenstein syndrome", which often leads to failure (as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016, p. 38, para 1). However, Emkic (2018) explains that the IC has realized that education plays a major role in terms of the shaping of one's worldview of human rights and diversity. For this reason, the IC took the initiative to make an effort to repair the damages caused to education. Not only the damages that were caused by the war but also the damages caused by Bosnia's constitution after the war. Besides international organizations, private organizations have also been playing a role in enhancing Bosnia's education system. These organizations include The Organization for Security and Co-

operation in Europe, United Nations Development Program, Open Society Foundation and the Council of Europe. To illustrate the IC's initiatives, policies have been designed that allow for curriculum reform and the skills of education professionals have been developed. In addition, there have been initiatives at the state level. To exemplify, this includes "the creation of a short-term education strategy (2008), a mid-term education strategy (2008–2010) and a long-term education strategy (2011–2015)" (Emkic, 2018, p. 2, para 3). These initiatives have not only supported political and legislative changes; they have assisted in the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina's education system into a more comprehensive system. Namely, a system that is more "accessible, acceptable and effective for all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic background, gender or socio-economic status" (Emkic, 2018, p. 3, para 1). Nonetheless, Emkic (2018) concludes that despite the international community's efforts there are still some issues that need to be dealt with.

Experiences from other countries

Pašalić Kreso (2008) states that the institutions, agencies and organizations that are in charge of Bosnia's educational system have done little when it comes to learning from other post-conflict countries who dealt with the same difficulties in terms of their education system. These countries include the United States, France, Germany and South Africa, all of them are known for succeeding when it comes to conquering difficulties connected with division and segregation (Pašalić Kreso, 2008). As Pašalić Kreso (2008) emphasizes in regard to BiH's educational policy, other countries' experiences need to be included. "If for no other reason than to remind us, as we attempt to find a solution, that we are not the only country subject to such problems." (Pašalić Kreso, 2008, p. 369, para 4). According to Pašalić Kreso (2008), in regard to European countries, nearly all of them are multi-ethnic. In addition, they are multicultural and multilingual. Čustović (2015) remarks Gallagher's (2004) research, who is known for his historical analysis of educational systems in divided societies in Spain, Switzerland, Northern Ireland and Belgium.

In particular, the example of Northern Ireland is interesting for Bosnia. In Northern Ireland, there is a majority of separate "Catholic" and "Protestant" schools. The number of integrated schools remains relatively small and new in the country that has been affected by a conflict for a quarter of a century (Gallagher, 2004, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015). On the grounds of Northern Ireland's context, it may be wondered whether there are any similarities between Northern Ireland and Bosnia. Čustović (2015) claims there are indeed remarkable similarities between Northern Ireland and Bosnia. One of them being, as Buckland (2005) and Gallagher (2004) describe, the fragility of the education system. Likewise, both

countries lack a vision that is politically unified, which causes possible reforms to come to a halt (Buckland, 2005, Gallagher, 2004, as mentioned in Čustović, 2015). Torsti (2007) also mentions the experience and research that has been done in Northern Ireland in her study about textbook reform. As Pingel (2003) suggests, post-conflict societies that are trying to deal with their contentious past should do so by discussing other post-conflict examples, besides the country's own. To illustrate, Bosnia's case could be discussed together with the case of Northern Ireland, Cyprus and Israel and Palestine. For the reason that a comparative context would allow for a more critical managing of the past than limiting the discussion of the country's past to merely a national discussion (Pingel, 2003, as mentioned in Torsti, 2007).

When there is an absence of a role model for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Pašalić Kreso (2008) proposes the adoption of EU standards in education. Moreover, according to Pašalić Kreso (2008), it appears that the most powerful incentive would be European Union membership. European Union membership would not only advance the country in general. To be more specific, it could contribute to the improvement of the educational system since Bosnia's administrative abilities across the system will be strengthened.

National point of view

Asim Mujkic (2007) in *We, the Citizens of Ethnopolis* clearly illustrates the link between education and ethnopolitics. Moreover, it is about the "production of the national being". Mujkic (2007, p. 23, para 1) states, "universal rights and respect for different cultures in all spheres of social life are implemented in the most particularistic and segregationist way." The curriculum of the constituent people's (Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian) in a majority position is imposed on the other. When there is no clear majority, it is solved by the physical separation of the students according to their ethnic background, which often results in the "two schools under one roof" concept. "There is no segregation in our schools. For segregation we need blacks", Jago Musa (as cited in Mujkic, 2007, p. 123, para 1) once said defending the segregationist approach to education. Musa served as a minister of Education of the Herzegovina-Neretva canton and is one of the implementers of the segregationist education policy. As Mujkic states this particular racist statement shows that ethnopolitical party leaders do not regard segregated education as an issue. Ivan Lovrenovic (2005, as cited in Mujkic, 2007, p. 123, para 1) states:

> Education is merely the means to the realization of certain nationalist party politics, and as such, has no internal, autonomous value, neither humanistic nor social, and

in such a context segregation is not a phenomenon deserving a serious attention (since scandalous relativist and racist allusion are permitted)

To Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian political representatives education is not about producing future citizens of democracy. It is about creating a loyal member of one's own ethnic group, namely a good Bosniak, Croat or Serb. Bosnia and Herzegovina's segregated education is ethnic, not civic. Furthermore, Bosnia's education is multi-ethnic in an ironic manner, students of different backgrounds receive their education in different classrooms but often in the same building. Consequently, this allows for the production of new generations of xenophobes and results in the reproduction of ethnopolitics.

Nelles (2011) acknowledges that Bosnia's education sector seems to be infused with pessimism. To illustrate, the World Bank donated English language and computer texts to the Bosnian-Croat federation. A Croatian principal in Stolac refused to accept the World Bank's donated computers. For the reason that he would rather refuse his pupils from using a computer, than sharing a computer with a Muslim (Nelles, 2011). In 2003, Lord Ashdown, the former Bosnian High Representative fined the Croatian nationalist party for not unifying the administration of two "two under one roof schools" in two cantons. As local politicians claimed the reason for not unifying these schools was the fear for the protection of the Croatian language once these schools are administratively unified (Magill, 2010). As Magill points out when it comes to Bosnia's political climate, politicians play a big role in destabilizing the situation. One of them being Milorad Dodik, Republika Srpska's president. Dodik wants to introduce mandatory religious education with the start of the 2018-2019 school year. This decision caused criticism among the public opinion. Momcinovic, a sociology professor at the University of East Sarajevo, explains that religion is about uniting people, however in Bosnia it is mostly used as a tool for discrimination and segregation (As mentioned in Lakic, 2018).

1. Bosnia's current education system and education in relation to the Dayton Peace Agreement

1.1 Before the war

Josip Broz Tito, the man who rose to power after the devastating second world war, fought with the partisans against the Nazi occupation, which eventually led to liberation in 1945 and the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Until his death in 1980, Tito served as a life-long president (Lanahan, 2016). Unlike his Stalinist counterparts, Tito was a well-respected man not just in Yugoslavia, but outside his country as well (McDermott & Panjeta, 2013). This may have to do with the fact that Tito was quite liberal and more open to the west in comparison to other socialist leaders at the time. As Lanahan (2016, p. 2, para 1) claims, "Tito ruled Yugoslavia with an iron fist by Western standards…". Often overlooked is the fact that Yugoslavia's socialist "self-management" socialism differs greatly from socialism in the former Soviet Union and in the Eastern Bloc (Bogic, 2018). To exemplify, unlike in the Former Soviet Union, enterprises in Tito's Yugoslavia were controlled by the workers themselves through managers and special workers' committees (Brkic, 2013). Furthermore, Tito established the Non-aligned movement and distanced himself from Stalin.

Tito considered education to be of crucial importance to the reconstruction and development of post Second World War Yugoslavia, for this reason education became his key priority (Russo, 2000). According to Russo (2000, p. 951, para 1), this resulted in compulsory attendance laws which generated high levels of educational attendance, "if not achievement, on at least elementary school level." Moreover, the free education system was open to all citizens disregarding one's religious, ethnic or social background with its communist ideology bounded the citizens of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia together (Russo, 2000). Tito Joseph Broz, the man who held Yugoslavia together all these years under the banner of "Brotherhood and Unity", favoured education and culture over religion. Moreover, mixed marriages were highly encouraged since this symbolized Yugoslavia's unity and the foundation of brotherhood (Dizdarevic, 2012). This also reflected Yugoslavia's school curriculum where the uniqueness of Yugoslavia's cultural diversity regarding its nations and nationalities was emphasized (Pupavac, 2005).

As Lanahan (2016) states, Bosnia due to its multi-ethnic composition was considered to be *Jugoslavija u malom*, which literally means "small Yugoslavia". As a matter of fact, in Bosnia there was no ethnic group that predominated, in contrast to the other Yugoslav republics. To demonstrate, Bosnia's multi-ethnic make-up was composed of Bosniaks

(43%), Serbs (32%), Croats (18%), and others (7%). Bosnia as a Yugoslav state was underdeveloped in the political and economic sense, yet Yugoslavia's development did much to ameliorate this condition. To be more specific, when BiH became part of Yugoslavia it gained influence and enjoyed prosperity. In like manner, Bosnia also lagged behind in the education department compared to other Yugoslav republics. The Yugoslav republics that were part of the Austro-Hungarian empire were more developed in terms of education than the republics that belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Bosnia's underdeveloped education is associated with its predominant population of Muslims, who mostly only attended the first, two or three grades. Moreover, education for boys was often perceived as uncalled for and was often defied. Nonetheless being underdeveloped, Bosnia followed the same path in terms of education as other Yugoslav states.

Unlike in the Soviet Union, where Russian became the main language of instruction, the languages and alphabets of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities were acknowledged and treated equally. This language law also applied to education. This meant that besides the three official main languages — Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian — ten minority languages were added (Lanahan, 2016). Moreover, Serbo-Croatian served as the main language in Bosnia during Tito's reign (Magill, 2010).

Unfortunately, all good things must come to an end, this was also the case for Tito's Yugoslavia. With Tito's death in 1980, the country was thrust into an economic crisis that "laid the groundwork for the rise of ethno-nationalist tensions" (Lanahan, 2016, p. 12, para 3). As Korac (1998, as mentioned in Bogic, 2018) illustrates, before the ethno-nationalist tensions nobody identified someone as a Bosniak, Croat or Serb just by their names, for the reason that no one paid attention to one's ethnicity. When nationalist parties started with separating people along their nationality, children started questioning their parents about "their" nationality. As Bogic (2018) points out the "Yugoslav" identity no longer existed anymore.

Due to Yugoslavia's growing economic problems combined with its political instability its educational system was thrusted into a decade of stagnation (Russo, 2000). "At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the education system was in a dreadful state, there was no budget for development, and teachers went on strike for the first time" (Dizdar, 1996, as mentioned in Batarilo-Henschen & Lenhart, 2015, p. 120, para 1). The 1990-1992 period was characterized by a strong shift towards hypernationalism alongside the efforts to preserve the Yugoslav state (Weber, 2007, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2017). In terms of internal politics, the year of 1990 marked the conquest of nationalistic parties.

Unfortunately, the education system could not be spared from the nationalistic rhetoric, namely higher education was coerced into partaking in the current ethnic and religious conflicts. According to Weber (2007), "academic elites played a key role in this transformation. The political elite in power needed them to lend scholarly legitimacy to their ethnonationalism" (as cited in Lanahan, 2016, p. 14, para 4). Ethno-nationalism now predominated also in education which brought about requests for segregated education. Namely, there were calls for physical division within faculties on the basis of ethnicity (Mujkic, 2009, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). Russo (2000) states that Tito's strictly centralized education system was now neglected, nevertheless in the parts where Serbs dominated the education system remained centralized. This being said, the situation in the start of the 1990s was unsustainable and the failure of the Yugoslav state together with its education system seemed inevitable (Lanahan, 2016).

1.2 During the war

The Bosnian war that took place from 1992 to 1995 caused children's education to be highly interrupted. Education facilities were greatly affected by the war all across Bosnia. To illustrate, half of the school buildings were either vandalized or ruined, taken over by one of the armies, or utilized for accommodating displaced people. (Stabback, 2007, as mentioned in Magill). Moreover, there was an obvious lack of not only infrastructure and premises but also teachers and teaching materials such as textbooks. Some school buildings did keep their original function during the war. Nevertheless, schooling was often organized in other places such as basements, houses and other places somewhat safe from shelling (Aganović and Delić, 2014). However, as Aganović and Delić (2014, p. 123, para 3) state, "War schools were part of the illusion of normality because they offered hope that one could live in impossible conditions." The Ministry of Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina passed provisions to organize these war schools. These provisions were published in the newspaper *Oslobođenje* in September 1992. September 1992, did not only mark the beginning of the Siege of Sarajevo; it marked the start of the 1992-1993 school year. These provisions included certain regulations concerning the start of the lessons. Moreover, it included a transfer of responsibility. Namely, to the local community who was now responsible for the safety of the schoolchildren and its teachers. Controversially, when these war schools started the absence of students were to be registered, students were to be awarded marks and even undertook excursions. It is important to note that these provisions did not apply to the Serbian part of Bosnia, the Republika Srpska (RS) (Batarilo-Henschen & Lenhart, 2015).

Education became a sensitive matter already at the beginning of the devastating war, this is ascribable to the divided schooling which undermined BiH's former multi-ethnic existence (Aganović and Delić, 2014). During Tito's Yugoslavia, religion was seen as the enemy and therefore banned from education. However, during the war, religious education was reintroduced (Marusic, 2011). Not to mention, religion proved to be a proper tool for manipulation since it is connected to national and religious affiliation (Aganović and Delić, 2014). It should be pointed out that shortly before the war broke out education was already heavily influenced by the three nationalist and ethno-religious nations' conflicted motives, which resulted in stereotyping and the promotion of the political history of one's own group (Nelles, 2006).

During the war, more distinctions between ethnic groups were drawn which resulted in the growing of one's national awareness (Marusic, 2011). More notably, this affected education. As Russo (2000, p. 122, para 2) claims: "The war crested more pronounced differentiations – including who could attend classes, the language of instruction, and the content of the curriculum – depending upon which of the three constituent national groups predominated in a region." Obviously, this resulted in the teaching of 3 different curriculums. As Mujkic (2007) stresses, the only valid distinction between Bosnia's three nations is one's religion (Catholic, Islam, and Christian Orthodox). The other distinctions that have been brought forward between ethnic groups are pseudo-scientific and highly politicized. To illustrate, there is no such thing as language barriers between the three nations, since all three kinships share the same language. Bosnia's inhabitants are divided into autochthonous or foreign groups from the start by the ethno-political elite. For the reason that Bosnia's citizens' cultural traditions are not distinct from one other, they are rather interwoven. Moreover, one cannot comprehend a Bosniak/Croat/Serb's history unaccompanied by studying the other two ethnic groups (Mujkic, 2007).

McDermott and Panjeta (2013) argue that Tito's vision of the importance of education was embraced by its citizens, this explains their risk-taking to attend school or university during the war. Moreover, Tito's free and open education system was considered to be a basic birthright. According to Pašalić Kreso (2008), the quality of Yugoslavia's education system was reflected by its refugees. In more detail, it was reflected by refugee children's high school accomplishments throughout Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, among others. Moreover, in 2015, the Dutch *Volkskrant* published an article by Bolwijn and De Mooij about the highly integrated Yugoslav refugees in the Netherlands. This article also acknowledges the high level of education, which obviously contributed not only to the high

employment rate amongst Yugoslav refugees, but also to their integration in the Netherlands.

It could be questioned how this nationalist fever could affect Yugoslavia's highly educated citizens. Ivo Andric (1920, p. 1, para 3), a Nobel prize winner and Yugoslav novelist whose writings dealt with life in Bosnia during Ottoman rule, wrote in his *Letter from 1920*, "Bosnia is a country of hatred and fear". As McDermott and Panjeta (2013, p. 280-281, para 5) state: "Fear of contact with those who are different creates a nationalistic and religious beast of a man, and erases all the knowledge and breadth of education." Nonetheless, religion only being the only distinct difference between the three nations, McDermott and Panjeta believe that this fear of others led to the destruction of Yugoslavia. As McDermott and Panjeta (2013) claim, Tito's education system lacked two major things, namely the development of critical thinking and instilling individual confidence. Since fearing the teacher was a common occurrence during one's early school years where the development of one's personality is central, the development of critical thinking was obstructed. This insecurity was anticipated upon by ethno-political leaders and their conflicted agenda. People were unawarely divided between "us" and "them", which led to homogenization with severe nationalist affinities. Furthermore, it led to the evil propaganda of the others, identified as "them" (McDermott and Panjeta, 2013).

1.3 After the war

Under intense international pressure, the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed by all three leaders in November 1995 which putted an end to the devastating war. Plenty of teachers fled their country and or profession during the war. As a consequence, many unqualified teachers were employed during the war, who have now been fully integrated into the school system. Moreover, these unqualified teachers have integrated to such an extent that the introduction of modern teaching methods appears to be quite difficult (Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015). According to Magill (2010, p. 52, par 3), "…the success of education reforms is likely to be dependent on the quality of teachers and their commitment to the reform process." As mentioned before, in 1992 three separate curricula emerged. The Serbian and Croatian curriculum in Bosnia were adopted from abroad, namely from Serbia and Croatia. The Bosnian curriculum was mainly based on Bosnia's pre-war education, yet it an adjusted version since it now included Islamic religious education and greetings. It is important to realize that after the war three separate curricula continued to be taught. Whilst other children in Europe mostly grow up in a multicultural and rich society, children in Bosnia are separated based on one's ethnicity. Not only are these children physically separated in

education, they are often taught to hate the others who are different from "them" (Pašalić Kreso, 2008). As Pašalić Kreso (2008, p. 359, para 2) believes: "Separate curricula, separate ''languages'', separate history textbooks, separate alphabets, separate religious studies... all of these lead to the impoverishment of future Bosnian and Herzegovinian nationals as citizens of Europe".

Dayton's problematic legacy

Lamentably, Bosnia's education system was one of the first victims of BiH's new Constitution also known as Annex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) (Duilović, 2004). "…from the very beginning, the Constitution created a decentralized, asymmetric, and defective education management system that has undermined unity in educational policies, common educational goals, common values, positive and patriotic feelings for one's country and homeland, etcetera" (Pašalić Kreso, 2008, p.360, para 6).

the Constitution divides the country into two separate entities. Namely, into The Federation of BiH (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS). In addition, there is the Brčko district which functions as a self-governing district independent from both entities. To clarify, the Brčko district became a United States-run protectorate within the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the educational administration in RS is rather centralized with only one Ministry of Education. In contrast to RS, the FBiH is quite decentralized, for the reason that it is organized in 10 cantons with each its own Minister of Education. Moreover, they have one Ministry of Education on Entity level, which means that FBiH has 11 Ministries of Education. With RS and the Brčko district both having only 1 Ministry of Education, Bosnia has a total of 13 Ministries of Education (Pašalić Kreso, 2008). Consequently, as both Pašalić Kreso (2008) and Duilović (2004) point out Bosnia's disintegrated education system and its 13 Ministries of Education come at a high cost. Additionally, it is "very expensive and inefficient in terms of unit costs, and most inequitable in terms of who benefits from the public funding" (Duilović, 2004, p. 24, par 4). Bosnia with its four million inhabitants remains, as a matter of fact, one of the poorest countries in Europe. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that this duplicitous bureaucracy is a waste of money (Lanahan, 2016). Considering Bosnia's state structure, it may be wondered why the Bosnian Federation is extremely decentralized in comparison to Republika Srpska. Srzić (2013) states that the decentralization of the Bosnian federation was an obligatory requirement for Croat engagement in state institutions. As Roberts (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) emphasizes, educational institutions are in a bad shape and are even lacking basic

necessities as simple as toilet paper. In June 2016, Balkan Insight published an article by Burdzevic entitled *Toilet Paper and Televisions: A Sarajevo Paradox*. Burdzevic talks about the state being extremely poor which results in parents buying toilet paper for their children's kindergartens. Nevertheless, the Minister of education bought a new 2.500 euro television for his office.

According to Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart (2015, p. 121, para 3), "…the education system in Bosnia is heavily reliant on socioeconomic factors." An example being school attendance, non-rural children attend two years longer than rural children (Batarlo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015). Costs of accommodation, public transport, meals and even textbooks have heavily increased over the years. Due to these costs being increased, whether a pupil continues their education beyond the compulsory period is heavily reliant on a family's financial ability to cover these expenses (World Bank, 2007, Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015). For numerous rural households and the Roma minority covering the costs for primary school textbooks and meals have even become problematic, since it has become too prohibitive for them to do so.

In regard to the teaching staff, there seems to be a significant pay gap. In the FBiH a teacher's salary is reliant on one's canton and region. In 2009, a teacher in FBiH earned a monthly 600 and 900 Bosnian convertible marks (KM) (300-450 euros). Teachers in Republika Srpska have a slightly lower salary in comparison to their counterparts in the Federation. On the contrary, teachers in the independent Brčko receive 510 euros monthly. Importantly, there are also inequalities between the wages of teachers working at a private or public school. Generally speaking, teachers working at a public school earn 100 euros per month less than teachers working at private schools (Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015).

As Lanahan (2016) points out "The right to education", is the only mention of education in the entire Dayton Peace Agreement. It can be found under Annex 4, Article II: "Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms". There is no escaping the fact that the lack of inclusion of education in the DPA reflects its negotiators (Lanahan, 2016). As Elizabeth (As interviewed in Lanahan, 2017) argues, education was overlooked and therefore excluded. Moreover, most of the people involved in drafting peace agreements such as the DPA have a military background. There is a lack of human rights experts during these negotiations). The exclusion of education in the DPA caused serious consequences in the long run. Roberts (As interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) states that education is often regarded as a lower government or administrative matter in countries such as Bosnia. To be more specific,

it is definitely not a matter of high politics. In addition, Robert acknowledges that the mention of education only as a human right was not enough. It would have been better if education was covered more thoroughly in the DPA, considering that the International Community has barely any legal standing when influencing educational reforms as a cause of the DPA. As Elizabeth (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2017) points out, when education is not mentioned in the DPA, it means that it will not become a first priority, which is exactly what happened in terms of financing education. Ascribable to the fact that education was not really included in the DPA, it resulted in a serious lack of financing in Bosnia's initial reconstruction period (Lanahan, 2016). "It's easier for a country to scrape up money from donors if they can point to a certain Annex in the agreement on education" (Elizabeth, as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016, p. 53, para 5). The importance of education as a catalyst for preventing future conflict, peacebuilding and security were only acknowledged by the international community in the recent past, namely in 2002 (Nelles, 2011).

Bosnia's education system is organized in a very complex manner which appears to be inefficient and very costly. It comes as no surprise that "this division of education governance flows directly from the overarching structure created by the DPA and the room left for interpretation in the DPA" (Lanahan, 2016, p. 55, para 1). According to Zoric (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016), since the country is divided, generally speaking how everything is organized is up to their discretion. He points out that the DPA does not suggest education along ethnic lines, however it does exist. The creation of ethnically divided education could be the aftermath of the room left for interpretation in the DPA. Post-Dayton Bosnia's extreme decentralism is to blame for making it somewhat impossible to implement policies on state-level.

Until 2003, there was no state-level mechanism for coordinating education. In 2003, the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MOCA) was given the responsibility to coordinate and oversee education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, it appears that education and other affairs regarded as soft political issues were assigned to MOCA for the reason that no one appears to know how to go about these specific issues. Surprisingly, MOCA lacks legal authority, its only purpose being the coordination of the several education ministries and acting as a reporting agency to the IC (Lanahan, 2016). As Elizabeth (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) explains MOCA lacks influence and is mostly politically driven. To exemplify, MOCA organizes conferences and calls for meetings of the several educational ministers. The education ministers are unwilling to be coordinated, which makes MOCA's attempts to do so very ineffective. The unwillingness of ministers to be coordinated is obviously ascribed to the fact that the majority of the politicians in BiH want to remain the

status quo when it concerns education. Owing to the fact that education addresses controversial and sensitive topics, which makes it a perfect tool for political indoctrination (Pašalić Kreso, 2008). As Lanahan (2016) explains, in the FBiH there is a so-called "Ministry of Education and Science whose role is very similar to MOCA's. It's main purpose being the coordination of education in the federation, nevertheless this ministry also lacks legal authority. When in 2010, the Ministry of Education and Science of the Federation of BiH tried to ameliorate harmonization in Bosnian Federation, it ended up being sued. A Canton controlled by a Croat majority sued the Ministry of Education for the reason that education is a competency that belongs to the canton not to the ministry. The court ruled in favour of the Croat controlled canton affirming that Education is indeed a cantonal competency (Perry, 2015, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). To conclude, education can only be regulated at local level, since there is a lack of a legal mechanism that could regulate education at other levels than the local one (Lanahan, 2016).

Bewilderingly, the Dayton Peace Agreement acknowledges and protects the Bosnian, Croat and Serbian language as Bosnia's three official languages. Despite, Bosnia's citizens having no trouble understanding all three versions (Farell, 2001, as mentioned in Magill, 2010). As a matter of fact, in pre-war Bosnia Serbo Croatian served as the primary language. During the war, the new Bosnian language was created and codified. Furthermore, Bosnian Serbs did no longer want to speak their native dialect, they wanted to speak the Serbian that was spoken in Belgrade. By neglecting their native dialect, they hoped to eventually achieve a linguistic 'Greater Serbia' (Greenberg, 2004, as mentioned in Magill, 2010). According to Magill (2010), the differentiations between the Serbian and Croatian language were magnified by Croatian language modifications post-1991. The main difference being the employed alphabet. Namely, the Bosnian and Croatian language both use the Latin alphabet whilst the Serbian language utilizes both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabet. "Thus, the language issue has clear educational implications in BiH – for not only the language of instruction, but also the alphabet of instruction" (Magill, 2010, p. 32, para 2).

Besides the DPA recognizing the three separate languages, various international human rights conventions have been included in the peace agreement. Specifically, the Convention on the Rights of the Child has been included. This convention, among other things, states that every child has the right to receive education in one's own language. This right combined with the recognition of the three languages as separate and official is often used as a justification for Bosnia's segregated education. There appear to be two other major consequences of the DPA. Namely, "the decentralized logic of Dayton has

made education hostage to latent nationalism" (OECD, 2003, as mentioned in Coles, 2011). Moreover, it has "institutionalized the war-time educational divisions" (Torsti, 2003, as mentioned in Coles, 2011).

Reforms

Emkic (2018) affirms that all reforms focused on education are initiated by the international community. In 1999, all Ministries signed an agreement for the removal of objectionable material from textbooks. The following year, a law passed which banned the import of textbooks from abroad to Bosnia and Herzegovina. As mentioned before, Nelles (2006) stated that the International Community did not realize the importance of education as a conflict prevention tool until the year of 2002. Nevertheless, Nelles acknowledges that practices and perspectives appear to be changing. Moreover, the international community, acting as de facto governor in BiH, saw a role for education in state development and peacebuilding." (Nelles, 2006, p. 230, para 3). Leading to the OSCE receiving a mandate to coordinate Bosnia's education in the interest of the international community in 2002. It is important to acknowledge the fact that in no other OSCE mission a direct mandate was assigned to the OSCE considering education. In addition, the OSCE in correspondence with their human rights mandate as stated in the DPA had only dealt with education issues relating to human rights protection (Rollins, as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016).

August 2003, marked the adoption of the Common Core Curricula (CCC) at state-level (Emkic, 2018). The CCC was designed in order to foster the harmonization of the three curricula utilized in BiH. The CCC consists 70 percent of standardized subjects like math and science. With introduction of the CCC, amidst the Bosniak, Croat and Serbian curriculum these subjects are now standardized. Nevertheless, 30 percent of the CCC is hands of the several ministers, who have the right to change this percentage of the curriculum. As expected, this includes the "national subjects". To illustrate, this includes subjects such as history, literature, language, music, religion, geography and fine arts. Noteworthy, it was the IC pushing for a common curriculum, that led to the "State Framework Law on Primary and General Secondary Education" in 2003, the CCC being part of this law (Lanahan, 2016).

Such policies like the CCC that are imposed on BiH caused criticism among local authorities. According to them, policymakers in Brussels or Washington do not know about Bosnian citizens' needs and conditions which led them to think that these policies were a sinking ship (Duilović, 2004). On the contrary, the international community regarded the

CCC as a big step in the right direction with reference to the unification of education and beating segregation amongst the three curricula. Not to mention, an opportunity for dialogue was created amidst the various education stakeholders. Most importantly, the discussion of BiH's students' collective shared values (Emkic, 2018).

Nevertheless, the CCC was characterized by its slow implementation, namely six years after its introduction the Agency for Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education was founded to coordinate the implementation of the CCC. Apart from this agency lacking once again legal authority, the CCC did not serve its purpose unlike how it was initially envisioned (Lanahan, 2016) (Emkic, 2018). One of the reasons being the fact that the introduction of the CCC was mainly to foster the mobilisation of Bosnian pupils. For instance, when a Bosnian pupil moves from the Bosnian Federation to Republika Srpska, he or she would not be able to follow another curriculum without the introduction of the CCC. In 2013, the CCC still had not been introduced nor integrated at several schools. This is mainly attributable to the fact that the implementation process has not been monitored properly in combination with the absence of state-level governance (Emkic, 2018). Zoric (As interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) emphasizes that in relation to reconciliation, the segregated curricula still acted as a major hindrance even in 2015.

Two schools under one roof

In 1997, The "two schools under one roof" system was initiated by the international community as a stimulus for fostering the return of internally displaced people (IDP) (Čustović, 2015). This school system was intended as a temporary solution, nevertheless there are still around 50 schools following this practice (Lanahan, 2016). This practice is organized around the aforementioned "national subjects" which serve as a tool for division and differentiation among pupils. Both Croats and Bosniaks are educated in separate classrooms in their own language and curriculum. Often there is a Croat and a Bosnian side of the school building. Moreover, physical interaction between the children is kept to a bare minimum. For this reason, Bosniak and Croatian children each attend separate shifts and often enter through a separate entrance. This practice only prevails in two cantons of the Bosnian Federation where its population mainly consists of Croats and Bosniaks (Čustović, 2015).

This practice has not gone unnoticed by the International Community and especially not by the European Union who are in favour of eliminating this practice. As Smith (as interviewed in Lahanah, 2017) argues it might have to do with the fact that segregation within this practice is more tangible and visual. Nonetheless, this system is only practiced in 50

schools. As Zoric (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) mono-ethnic schools where national subjects of the majority are taught are more representative of Bosnia's education system. In 2018, the EU mentioned the two under one roof practice in their progress report stating that its practice still has not been eradicated, which means Bosnia is breaching its own court's ruling (European Commission, 2018). In more detail, the Supreme Court of the Federation of Bosnia ruled in 2014 that this practice is in violation with the country's legislation prohibiting discrimination (Jelin, 2012).

Segregated education

In reality, there are more issues that are less well-known that need to be addressed in Bosnia. Namely, "In connection with this "two schools under one roof" phenomenon, there is also the issue of transporting pupils in mono-national schools across entity borders." (Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015). Some parents believe that attending a mono-ethnic school of their own ethnic group is the only option. Since their child will not face discrimination, moreover they prefer a school that takes notice of their national group and that teaches their curriculum over quality education. A number of 5.000 up to 10.000 students crossed entity borders daily in order to attend mono-ethnic schools in 2002. The introduction of the interim agreement, which ensures the effort for the accommodation of returnee needs in school at every layer of government, led to a considerable drop in numbers (Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015) (Perry, 2014). On the other hand, there are also parents who choose for quality education over mono-ethnic schools where their own nation predominates. By means of illustration, in Pale, a city situated in Republika Srpska, children attend the Catholic School in Sarajevo. Due to its excellent reputation and quality of education, despite the fact that they will become a minority group within the school (Batarilo-Henschen and Lenhart, 2015).

As Lanahan (2016) explains segregation often comes with "separate and unequal" situations. Namely, Bosniak pupils attend branch schools in RS that are not up to standards. Not only does the quality of instruction, materials and facilities differ, some branch schools even lacked basic facilities. To illustrate, in Konjevic Polje situated in Republika Srpska, Bosniak children attend a school that lacks sanitary and technical facilities. In more detail, the school does not have running water and bathroom visits are undertaken in neighbouring houses. (Kamber, 2014) In 2014, a group of parents refused to enrol their children in Republika Srpska's substandard schools. These parents protested in front of the OHR building by organizing a sleep-in protest which lasted for a month. The OHR refused to make use of its Bonn powers and did nothing which caused the parents to stop their protest

(Lanahan, 2016). (Smith, as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) Furthermore, Republika Srpska's authorities did not pursue these parents who refused to send their children to school. According to Denison (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016), Bosniak pupils who are not attending school will benefit the RS authorities in the long run. In addition, Bosniak parents are concerned about the educators who instruct Bosnian language classes in Republika Srpska. As claimed by Bosniak parents, teachers trained under the Yugoslav system do not teach the Bosnian language, in other words they teach Serbo-Croatian and are therefore not qualified (Smith, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). As mentioned before the Bosniak, Croat and Serbian language, a variation of the same tongue, are the three official languages of Bosnia and are secured in the Dayton Agreement. Nevertheless, Republika Srpska's Education Minister decided that the Bosnian language will now be described as "Bosniak". This decision was made on the grounds that the term "Bosnian Language" is not acknowledged in RS's constitution. Undoubtedly, this policy, which is regarded as ethnic discrimination, has disturbed Bosniaks residing in Republika Srpska. Moreover, the "renaming" of the Bosnian language is seen as a means for embarrassing the Bosniak people which will eventually lead to Bosniaks leaving the entity. The reverse effect takes place in Mostar, where the Bosnian and Croat dominating ethnic groups prevail, where pupils are not allowed to use the Serbian language (Lakic, 2018).

The role of the international community

It comes as no surprise that education reform is pushed, organized and funded by the International Community. Since there seems to be no aspiration nor capacity to initiate education reforms at entity or state level (Duilović, 2004, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). Nevertheless, some are sceptical when it comes some NGOs operating in Bosnia. Whilst a lot of NGOs are successful, others are known for wasting money (Lovrenovic, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016). The wasting of money is not just ascribable to mismanagement, there appears to be a lack of commitment in the long run and sustainability was disregarded. Moreover, there has been a scattering of efforts due to the fact there are 300 NGOs operating with similar interests which results in a duplication of efforts (Lanahan, 2016). As Mirsad Tokaca, a local NGO director, states "…the international community made a big mistake in Bosnia; it basically threw a lot of money at the country's problems without agreeing on the solution" (as cited in McMahon, 2015, p. 223, para 3).

The OSCE plays the role of an international coordinator of Bosnia's education. However, the OHR who oversees the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement is the one with the executive powers, known as the Bonn powers. It is important to note that, during Paddy

Ashdown´s reign as high representative, education was high on the agenda which even resulted in the use of his Bonn powers. Moreover, Robert Beecroft at the OSCE also noticed the importance of education, therefore under both Beecroft and Ashdown numerous controversial concerns in education were tackled. Unfortunately, education being a high priority was only temporary, since with Ashdown leaving in 2006 it was no longer part of the agenda (Elizabeth, as mentioned in Lanahan, 2016) (Robert, as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) (Lanahan, 2016).

Despite the international community's efforts, there are still a lot of issues concerning Bosnia's education system that need to be addressed. The elimination of the two schools under one roof phenomenon is one of the requirements of the EU accession process. As Pašalić Kreso (2008) believes European Union membership seems to be the best incentive for the improvement of not only Bosnia as a country, but it will also lead to advancement of its education system. Unfortunately, until this very day, ethnic cleansing which characterized the Bosnian war, carries on in the classroom. It is not surprising to find educational institutions named after war 'heroes' in Bosnia. Moreover, to find portraits in the classroom glorifying these ethnic war heroes. It could also take the form of using religious expressions or greetings such as "salaam aleikum" [peace be upon you] in classrooms. Education officials in BiH would deny these practices and would refer to the laws that declare a ban of discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds. This includes, the utilization of ethnic symbols in educational institutions being prohibited (Lanahan, 2016). Moreover, 'ethnic cleansing is usually accompanied with the efforts to remove physical and cultural evidence of the targeted group'. (Ethnic Cleansing, 2016, as quoted in Lanahan, 2016, p. 83, para 1). Keeping this in mind, academics have often been confronted with pupils residing in the RS that lack knowledge about their fellow Bosniaks (Lanahan, 2016). Smith (as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016) administered a questionnaire in Banja Luka (Republika Srpska) at high school. The questionnaire utilized the term "Bosniak" which confused most of the students. It proved to be the case that the students had no knowledge about Bosniaks being one of the "constituent people" in Bosnia (Smith, as interviewed in Lanahan, 2016). Regardless of several laws being in practice, the harsh reality of Bosnia's education today shows that ethnic cleaning still prevails.

2. Educational initiatives by the international community with the aim of decreasing ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth

In this chapter, various initiatives carried out by the international community will be presented aimed at reducing ethnic segregation among youth. Whilst all initiatives are aimed at reducing ethnic segregation, they all use a different approach to do so. To illustrate, EUROCLIO uses textbook reform and teacher training whilst other organizations organize summer camps to bring Bosnia's youth together. Moreover, the restoration of Mostar's Gymnasium and the establishment of the International United World College will be discussed.

2.1 History education

Not only did the Bosnian war have a devastating effect on education in general, it specifically affected history education. To illustrate, history education has been misused for the legitimization of war, including the promotion of rivalry images. Moreover, history education is characterized by negative stereotypes of national groups considered as "others". (Seitz, 2004, Smith and Vaux, 2002, & Bush and Saterelli, 2000, as mentioned in Pingel, 2017). It is crucial to acknowledge history education's importance, since hatred-spreading textbooks could have an impact on ethnic segregation. There have been several reforms concerning history education, besides thee as previously mentioned textbook reform. As Alibašić (2008) points out, a major step towards history education took place when "the Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina" were established in 2005. These guidelines were designed by the OSCE, the Council of Europe (COJE) and the Georg Eckert Institute (Haroff-Tavel, 2005). The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research is known for their Israeli-Palestinian textbook project, which will be elaborated on in chapter four. These guidelines, endorsed by each one of BiH's education ministries, stated certain ground rules for developing textbooks. Namely, 1) Bosnia and Herzegovina being the main point of reference, 2) Pupils ought to receive basic understanding of both the "constituent peoples" and national minorities´ history and geography, 3) controversial interpretations concerning curriculum content need appropriate explaining, 4) the impartial (unprejudiced) presentation of neighbouring countries (Alibašić, 2008) (Harroff-Tavel, 2005).

in 2000, the Council of Europe had already recommended to stop history teaching about the recent war. To be more specific, a fixed term moratoria was proposed until local historians could agree on a narrative of the recent war that is accepted by all stakeholders

in 2000. To this day, the acceptance of one narrative accepted by all stakeholders, clearly has not happened yet (Engelhart, 2014). The role of a textbook should not be underestimated. Even though a textbooks prime role is to pass on desired knowledge and information from generation to generation, textbooks are often at the heart of political controversy. Textbooks might advocate prejudice and animosity. In like manner, textbooks can assist peacebuilding and reconciliation (The Georg Eckert Institute, n.d,-b).

2.2 EUROCLIO

1992 was the founding year of the European Association of History Educators also known as EUROCLIO. Around this time Europe was recently reunified. For this reason, the Council of Europe requested bridge building among professionals of history educations from all over the new reunified Europe. This led to the creation of EUROCLIO. EUROCLIO´s work focusses on the issues connected to history learning and teaching and they have been present in Europe and beyond. EUROCLIO focuses mainly on countries who are undergoing a political transformation, specifically the ones where inter-religious and inter-ethnic conflict occur. For illustrative purposes, this includes Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Estonia, Latvia and Bulgaria. Moreover, they are present in countries who have recently suffered violent conflict — Cyprus, Former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus and Lebanon. According to the organization itself, EUROCLIO's work has unified hundreds of history educators and historians for the purpose of sharing experiences and implementing innovational learning regarding the past. Furthermore, controversial and sensitive matters are negotiated which paves the way for modern and inclusive historic narratives (EUROCLIO, n.d, -b).

The stability pact projects

EUROCLIO conducted several projects in former Yugoslavia that also concerned Bosnia. In 2003, the first stability project took place, which led to the creation of the professional history teacher associations in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. Not only networks of history educators were developed, a sudden will for cooperation among Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia arose. Training seminars took place one on national level and two on regional level and local teams were established. These teams consisted of experts, managers and authors. This project had several results. Namely, the usage of information and communication technology was improved. Second, the needs for history teaching and learning were identified (Brouwer & Westering, 2009). More in detail, "a growing awareness for the need of innovative history curricula respecting the diversity of history arose; it became clear that

both a regional and international dimension were needed in history education" (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009, p. 13, para 3).

In 2004 until 2005, EUROCLIO's second Stability Pact project took place. The project's main objective included strengthening and democratization of the newly established National History Teachers' associations, respectively in all three countries. The other objective being the development of teaching materials with a regional and innovative nature. This project was organized in collaboration with the Danish History Teachers' Association. In comparison with the first project, the second project's outcomes were plenty. To point out, a school network between Danish and Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian schools were established. The creation of this school network led to study visits of both pupils and teachers. Not to mention, the Bosnian History Teachers' association managed to get registered on state-level. Furthermore, the history academics and educators network, which was not only strengthened and extended, also unified within the independent History Teacher's associations in all three countries. More training seminars were held and balanced project teams were set up which consisted of both history academics and educators. In regard to BiH, the project teams consisted of members of the different ethnic and religious groups. A direct effect of the above mentioned was the growing involvement of ordinary history educators in the development of teaching material and textbooks (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009). In the light of this direct effect, "…finally the work showed first results of innovative cross-border materials for teaching history in the region" (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009, p. 14, para 2).

History in action project

One project I would like to highlight is the History in Action project (2005-2008) which brought on the creation of a model cross-border history textbook. This project was once again focused on regional cooperation, despite both stability pact projects being successful there was still plenty of work that needed to be executed. The main result of this project was the publication of history school textbook entitled *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Every-Day Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990.Yugoslavia between East and West*. The book was published in four languages, namely in English, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Apart from covering the region's history in twenty informative lessons, this textbook allows for a point of view that is multi-perspectional. Due to the genuine collaborative writing and multi-perspective point of view of the history teachers and authors involved (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009). As stated in a teacher explanation of one of the workshops in *the ordinary people in an extraordinary country*

textbook, it is important to show the students various types of sources both negative and positive about Yugoslavia from 1960 to its collapse. By doing so, the students are given the opportunity to conclude and form an opinion by themselves about Yugoslavia (EUROCLIO, 2008). This shows the efforts of collaborative writing and providing a multi perspective point of view. In more detail, some post-Yugoslav states such as Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro are known for being very Yugo-nostalgic, in comparison to Croatia and Kosovo, where there is an absence of Yugonostalgia (Knezevic, 2017). It could be assumed that a country such as Serbia is prone to paint a rosy picture when it comes to depicting life in Yugoslavia, whilst Croats tend to be more negative when doing so. Besides the production of the cross-border textbook, "the third project organized three regional training seminars, five regional workshops, a variety of national and regional working sessions and two editing meetings" (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009, p. 15, para 2). Memberships of the National History Teacher's associations increased in the three countries and the relationship of these associations with the Council of Europe, UNESCO, the EU and OSCE improved. Eventually, more than 500 history academics and teachers became involved in the project. Furthermore, there was a significant international outreach in the form of lectures and seminars concerning the project throughout Europe (Brouwer & Westerink, 2009).

David Macdonald (as mentioned in van der Leeuw-Roord, n.d.) advocates the existing need to question the predominant pessimistic national narratives. Moreover, Macdonald acknowledges the need for emphasizing the more positive encounters connected to living together. As EUROCLIO's director Joke van der Leeuw-Roord (n.d.), points out in EUROCLIO's work from beginning to end, they aim to broaden the traditional narrative. To illustrate "*Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country…",* includes lessons on film culture, sports and tourism (van der Leeuw-Roord, n.d.). In the same fashion, it is important to realize the importance of multiperspectivity, which is clearly present in the cross-border textbook. As Maric and Jovanovic (2017, p. 7, para 4) state, "multiperspectivity is fundamental to history as a discipline as it helps students to understand that there are other possible ways of viewing the world beyond one's own, which may be equally valid and equally partial." The acceptance of different point of views, and dealing with proof and the rationale underpinning these perspectives, appear to be an efficient way of helping students to become accustomed to relativity. Moreover, to enhance connected skills and values. (Maric and Jovanovic, 2017).

2.3 Summer camps

Many youngsters in Bosnia prefer travelling abroad over travelling in their own country and discovering Bosnia's other regions they know very little about. It might sound surprising that many of the Bosnian Serb youth have never visited Sarajevo; a tolerant and multicultural city before the war which became a predominantly Bosniak city after the war. In the same fashion, many of the Bosniak youth have never visited Banja Luka, a predominantly Serb city situated in RS. The reasons for not visiting cities in other entities vary from groundless prejudice to having no reason for visiting or even lacking the opportunity to do so. Despite no official border between the RS and federation, both largely function as independent states. The generation in BiH that was born briefly before and just after the Bosnian war lack knowledge about the life in the other's entity. Moreover, the media and or their ancestors have passed down prejudices which often causes fear to cross entity borders (Ajnadžić, 2011). Robert Jandric from Mostar (as interviewed in Ajnadžić, 2011) states that over the years the public has become more and more isolated, due to the division along both ethnic and entity lines. Moreover, this increased isolation is paired with the loss of interest in whatever occurs apart from one's own territory (Ajnadžić, 2011) Therefore it comes as no surprise that summer camps are often the first opportunity for children to interact and play with children from other ethnic and religious backgrounds (Darvin, 2009).

Over the years there have been several summer camps for Bosnian children which were mostly organized by international NGOs. The Committee for Fundamental Rights and Democracy is a German non-profit organization organizing such summer camps. The first aim was to organize a so-called "vacation from war" for the Bosnian youth which resulted in a two-week summer camp taking place at the seaside. Considering the multi-ethnic nature of this summer camp, the children were encouraged to make interethnic friendships. In addition, the summer camp allowed for an interethnic exchange and provided an escape from the everyday violence during the Bosnian war. After a few years had passed, the camp improved and established new main objectives. Namely, not only fostering peacebuilding was included, but also activism for peace was included. Furthermore, they aimed to provide an opportunity for the youth across former Yugoslavia to cope with the past (Ferien vom Krieg, n.d.).

GCO summer camp's bookmaking project

Jacqueline Darvin, an Associate Professor of Secondary Literature Education wrote an academic article about her time volunteering at a Global Children's Organisation (GCO)

summer camp. GCO summer camps gather children from Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia together to undertake various activities. To clarify, activities include art and athletics, as well as conflict resolution and academics. Darvin focuses on a specific bookmaking project carried out by young Bosniak and Serbian girls (Darvin, 2009). "The literacy workshops that were offered gave the children the opportunity to write, illustrate and construct their own books about topics such as peace, friendship and the preservation of nature in Bosnia" (Darvin, 2009, p. 1, para 1). With regard to the language of instruction during the workshop, both the English and Serbo-Croatian language were used. Moreover, several pedagogical approaches were employed (Darvin, 2009).

The bookmaking project confirmed Darvin's (2009) previous beliefs concerning the power of literacy in the light of uniting people. Moreover, in which ways writing could be utilized to foster not just communication between separate groups; it could foster healing and resilience amidst them. Not merely Bosnian children could enjoy the perks of writing when it comes to healing societies and respectively their futures. Children in other war-torn countries or who have suffered other traumatic experiences could benefit from writing. Moreover, Darvin (2009) points out Bosnia's extraordinary connection with both ancient and recent history which one encounters when working with children or adults residing in Bosnia. To illustrate, "In the Balkans, you don't need to ask for history lessons, because they come at you all the time, uninvited and long-winded, with the same kind of odd enthusiasm that a stranger in America might tell you about his children, pulling a picture out of his wallet" (Maas, 1996, as cited in Darvin, 2009, p. 1 para 5).

Darvin (2009) remarks that the success of this bookmaking project is reliant on the social interactions of positive nature. To exemplify, the willingness of the girls to exchange one's ideas with the "other". In more detail, to help others and the sharing of one's stories and or work with the "other". At the start of the project, the girls seemed hesitant to participate. When the girls were assured that the books did not have to be written in English and instead could be written in one's own language, an atmospheric shift took place. Namely, from defiance to socializing and engaging. With reference to this atmospheric shift, the project was indeed successful since goals concerning social interactions amidst children were achieved. Moreover, the themes the girls wrote about concerns all members of Bosnian society. Moreover, Darvin (2009) states that this project uses storytelling as a medium for constructing oneself and perceiving oneself in relation to others. Along with the appreciation of each other's differences and the evaluation of oneself as an individual, others and experiences (Dyson and Genishi, 1994, as mentioned in Darvin, 2009).

Neutral space

The successes of joint activities in the form of summer camps might have to do with the fact that they take place in a "safe neutral place". Howell (2017) writes about the divided city of Mostar, where a Pavarotti Music Centre for joint activities was opened in 1997. Howell acknowledges the impact of war on a person's life space. In more detail, apart from evident physical destruction, war transforms a person's relationship towards one's environment and space. By way of illustration, "The city's routes and boundaries are redrawn on paper and in the mind, dividing the environment into hostile, safe, and neutral zones, identified with symbols and markers of the conflict and the resultant damage to social fabric" (Howell, 2017, p. 47, para 2). In addition, war impacts one's *physical* space which is usually not only reduced, but also covered with reminders of the recent war. In terms of *internal* space, the war experiences related trauma, grief and fear can cause a reduction of one's internal space (Howell, 2017). The Bosnian war was clearly an identity-based conflict, for this reason "…the *social* space contracts along ethno-religious lines, and trust between groups is destroyed" (Howell, 2017, p. 47, para 3). The Pavarotti Music Centre became a "contact place", a place where individuals who desired to engage socially with the other ethnic groups could meet. Moreover, it became a safe neutral space where the Bosnian youth could gather (Howell, 2017).

2.4 The restoration of the Mostar Gymnasium

Mostar, a city situated in the Bosnian Federation, is famous for its Ottoman-style bridge also known as the *Stari Most* or Old Bridge. The Stari Most was a symbol of multiculturalism and coexistence within the Yugoslav State. During the 1990s war the Old Bridge was destroyed and the new *Stari Most* could no longer retain its former symbolism (Hromadžic, 2015). Namely, Mostar's city landscape and the daily life of its citizens changed dramatically after the war. In more detail, Mostar, a predominantly Bosniak and Croat city, became segregated between its two predominant ethnic groups (Laketa, 2016).

Apart from the Old Bridge, the *Stara Gimnazija* is another symbol of pre-war coexistence (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015). Mostar's gymnasium, located in an appealing Habsburg building, opened in the year of 1898. Before the Bosnian war, the Old Grammar School, *Stara Gimnazija*, was a mixed high school with an outstanding reputation (Hromadžic, 2015) (Palmberger, 2016). "It was one of the most famous and academically prestigious educational institutions in former Yugoslavia, and among the best in Bosnia-Herzegovina"

(Hromadžic, 2015, p. 3, para 3). Due to the school's excellent reputation it attracted achieving and privileged students who later on became scientists, academics, freedom fighters, famous revolutionaries and artists. Almost every Mostarian has at least one family member who attended this particular high school. By the same token, the symbolism and importance of the *Stara Gimnazija* is intensified by its whereabouts. In more detail, it was located in the true centre of Mostar on the west side of the boulevard. The boulevard used to be not merely an economic centre; it was a centre of social life (Hromadžic, 2015). During the war the *Stara Gimnazija* was situated on the Croat west side of the Boulevard which served as the frontline. *Stara Gimnazija*, being situated just a few meters inwards Croat territory, became practically part of no man's land. Due to its location, *Stara Gimnazija* was destroyed during the war. Nowadays, the building is still located on the frontline amidst the Bosniak Muslim and Croat communities in Mostar (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015).

On the grounds of *Stara Gimnazija*'s symbolism, the International Community wanted to play a big role in the restoration of the school (Yarwood, 1999, as mentioned in Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015). In more detail, "both for the international community and a number of citizens of Mostar, the Old Gymnasium is emblematic of pre-war coexistence and post-war social reconstruction in BiH" (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015, p. 122, para 2). The reconstruction of the Mostar gymnasium was seen as a perfect opportunity for was not just the reunification of the school (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015). According to Wimmen (2004, as mentioned in Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015), reconstruction could allow for the reunification of Mostar as a city and the undoing of the Croat's separation strategies. Moreover, the reconstruction would allow *Stara Gimnazija* to transform into an exemplar of "…the benefits of cross-communal coexistence and cooperation" (Wimmen, 2004, Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015, p. 122, para 2). In the west wing of the Old Grammar School building, the United World College (UWC) opened its Mostar Campus in 2006. The UWC, an educational NGO, hosts both international and Bosniak, Croat and Serb students.

The reunification of the *Stara Gimnazija*

in 1999, when the city was formally separated into Bosniak and Croat municipalities, *Stara Gimnazija*, was located on Croat territory, for this reasons the Croats claimed ownership. The building was renamed after a Bosnian Croat Franciscan priest and five classrooms were reconstructed, furthermore they started teaching 257 students according to the Croat curriculum in the Croatian language. As a consequence, the pre-war Bosniak students were now educated at a temporary gymnasium located in a Primary School in the eastern Bosniak part of the city. 2004, marked the reunification of the Old Grammar School. The

International Community and some local politicians saw Bosnia's segregated education system as a hindrance to refugee return. For this reason, the IC devoted a large sum of money and political power to BiH's education with regard to reunification and reintegration.

The OSCE, who played the main role in overseeing of Bosnia's education, selected *Stara Gimnazija* to become the first integrated high-school (OSCE, 2005, as mentioned in Hromadžić, 2016). The OSCE's presence at the Stara Gimnazija was facilitated by various donations from Western states. To illustrate, inside the building one comes across a Japanese computer lab, French language lab, a Spanish Facade etc (Hromadžić, 2015). Moreover, The United States' government invested one million dollars in the restoration of the Mostar Gymnasium under the provision that the Bosniak students who were educated in the temporary Gymnasium could return. It is important to note that initiatives concerning integration are generally accepted more positively by Bosniaks than their counterparts. This is related to the Croat's fear of assimilation, which will be elaborated upon in chapter three (Barbieri, Vrgova and Bliznakovski, 2013). In September 2004, the reunified high school was opened to both Bosniak and Croat students, an occurrence which has not taken place since the break out of the war in 1992. The reunification did not just cause a lot of attention; it also caused hope (OSCE, 2005, as mentioned in Hromadžić, 2016). Nevertheless, the high school was only unified on an administrative level. In more detail, Bosniak and Croat students are still taught in their own curriculum and language in separate classrooms, "…thus preserving ethnic segregation through unification" (Hromadžić, 2016 p.188, para 2).

The *Stara Gimnazija* is reunited in the sense of integrated classes and extracurricular activities for both Bosniaks and Croats (Ashton, 2007). To illustrate, there is a joint student council and debate club. Within the school building there are shared spaces which are open to all, these include the student council and duty room, the library, the teachers' room and the computer lab (Hromadžić, 2011). During Hromadžić's fieldwork she stumbled upon so called "bathroom mixing". Students of both ethnic groups meeting during breaks to smoke in the students' bathroom. The students found the bathroom mixing to be more unifying than the high school's integrated classes and joined activities. Surprisingly, even non-smoking students became part of this "smoking community", for the reason that spaces of "mixing" with the other ethnic group are quite limited. Notwithstanding, "…the restricted opportunity for spontaneous interaction in the bathroom provides a minimal but promising prospect for the acknowledgement of "the other" and it offers a space for deepening social sensibility and democratic possibility, even if imperfect and provisional" (Hromadžić, 2011, p. 283, para. 5).

In 2014, Björkdahl and Strömbom (2015) interviewed a student and a security guard at the *Stara Gimnazija* and found that the students have become less self-governing. To be more specific, "mixing" takes place in other places since there is no hiding in the students' bathroom anymore to do so. The Spanish Square, situated in front of *Stara Gimnazija*, became new spot for socializing with the "other" during the break. The "American corner" is situated in the School's basement and attracts a lot of students due to the provision of internet and computers. It is an ideal place for Bosniak and Croat students to meet each other, moreover here they have the opportunity to meet UWC students as well. Lastly, there seems to be an increase in participation when it comes to the integrated extra-curricular activities. The history club, geography club, social clubs and activities by the joint student council provide new social spaces for socialization with the other group (Björkdahl and Strömbom, 2015).

In the light of the Two Schools Under One Roof system which is characterized by its duplication of everything, the reunification of the school's administration and management cuts a lot of unnecessary costs. Instead of two student councils, two directors and two teachers' councils, the *Stara Gimnazija* has a joint student and teachers' council and one director. In addition, there is joined equipment and the use of the same entrance and same sports hall. Considering that there is only one school director, there is a rotation system of directors based on ethnicity. Whereas students in the Two Schools Under One Roof system have separate shifts organized along ethnicity; students at the *Stara Gimnazija* study at the same shifts (Ashton, 2007). Even though complete integration or reformation has not taken place yet at the gymnasium, the unification is a step in the right direction. "…These positive cases should be more talked about, and used as examples to achieve this reformation and integration" (Barbieri, Vrgova and Bliznakovski, 2013, p. 6, para 5).

Ashton (2007) acknowledges that the joint activities are a great opportunity for students to learn they are not that different from the "other". To illustrate, a Bosniak student said the following after participating in a joint activity "They (Croats) have the same sense of humour we do!" (Ashton, 2007, p. 25, para 1). The joint classes or activities were not observed as a threat to one's national identity anymore (Palmberger, 2016). Over time it dawned on the students that fighting over one's language is a silly thing to do. "This did not happen because they were forced to integrate language in school, but because they made contact with each other and, over time, began to accept each other's language" (Ashton, 2007, p. 39, para 1). Palmberger (2016) finds that encounters between Bosniak and Croat do indeed have a significant effect, notwithstanding the limitedness of these encounters. It comes as

no surprise therefore that a lack of contact and encounters is often linked with the fosterage of prejudice and distrust.

2.5 United World College in Mostar

In comparison to the *Stara Gimnazija,* the United World College in Mostar (UWCiM) is a fully integrated International Baccalaureate (IB) high school. UWCiM is located on the upper floor of the *Stara Gimazija* building. This IB high school hosts students from different national backgrounds and forges them to study and live together. In more detail, Bosniak, Croat and Serbian students and international students study the same curriculum in the English language and even live together. UWC Mostar accepts a hundred students every year, fifty percent of the students are from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the other half are international students from all over the world. UWCiM students are selected on the basis of academic excellence, disregarding one's financial ability to pay for their tuition. Moreover, the selected students that are from Bosnia will receive a full scholarship, which will not only cover their tuition fee, but their living costs as well. The United World College movement consists of 17 international high schools worldwide (Malkamäki, 2017) (Alic, Ceric and Habibovic, 2017) (Hefferan, 2009). Never before had any UWC aimed at contributing "to the reconstruction of a post-conflict society" (Alic, Ceric and Habibovic, 2017, p. 5, para 2).

The UWC is known for the education of values such as the appreciation of each other's differences, the promotion of equality, tolerance and critical thinking among its students. The UWC campus in Mostar was perceived with suspicion by the local community, despite the fact that it has provided a space for socialization for Bosnian and international students. In addition, the presence of the UWC has promoted multiculturalism in the divided city of Mostar. This suspicion is ascribable to the local circumstances, namely a so-called "united world" is perceived as strange and unusual by the local citizens. Locals are not familiar with this type of behaviour and are therefore suspicious. An important part of the UWC's philosophy is experienced-based learning, which includes activities, volunteering and activism. Mostar's citizens have noticed the positive impact on its community and have now developed a more positive attitude towards this institution. To illustrate some of the organized activities: promotions of human rights, clothing collections, food fests and cleaning campaigns. Without the UWC presence in the building, there would be no meeting point for Bosnian and international students. Furthermore, physics competitions are financed by the UWC so that everyone could compete together on the federal level, Bosniak and Croat students from the *Stara Gimnazija* included. Last but not least, without the UWC's

presence, the reduction of xenophobia and the growth of tolerance to a certain extent would not have taken place. (Alic, Ceric and Habibovic, 2017) (Heffernan, 2009).

3. An evaluation of the educational initiatives undertaken by the international community with the aim of decreasing ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth

Whilst chapter 2 mainly describes international projects aimed at decreasing ethnic segregation among youth and their successes. This chapter evaluates the projects carried out by the international NGOs as elaborated in chapter 2.

3.1 EUROCLIO

After extensive desk research and trying to get in contact with EUROCLIO to gain insight into the classroom use of EUROCLIO's cross-border textbook, I came across Palmberger's (2008) study. Palmberger was in contact with one of the author's involved in the textbook. According to this author, the exemplar multi-perspective history textbook that was created to provide Bosnia's pupils a more differentiated picture of Yugoslavia's socialist history was only used in a small number of classrooms. Which is unfortunate, since pupils who are exposed to such a textbook containing multiperspectivity are in a better position to judge Yugoslavia's socialist past more critically. In more detail, they "are in the position to judge which aspects of life in Yugoslavia are worth reviving and which are better left behind" (Palmberger, 2008, p. 368, para 1). Moreover, this process is only facilitated by the pupils loose emotional ties to former Yugoslavia, in comparison to their parents. Despite a limited use of EUROCLIO's textbook, the project can be considered a step in the right direction. Especially when bearing in mind the failure of other projects. To illustrate, a multi-perspective history textbook project between the Canton of Mostar and the OSCE failed because of a lack of consensus concerning the content addressing the 1990s war events. Moreover, as a consequence of a protest of war veterans, two brand new textbooks were removed from one canton (Magill, 2010, as mentioned in George, 2014).

George (2014) acknowledges that EUROCLIO was one of the organizations that recognized the ineffective top-down approach. EUROCLIO's bottom-up approach led them to work with educators and to produce their own teaching materials. In addition, the establishment of history teacher associations only facilitated this production (George, 2014). It must be noted that the lack of official approval of the EUROCLIO's cross-border textbook might have to do with the extremely sensitive nature of the 1990s war events. To illustrate, it is not part of most cantons in the FBiH's curriculum, however it is included in the curriculum in RS. Most cantons appear to follow the moratorium concerning history teaching of the recent war (Palmberger, 2016).

Once Upon a Time… We Lived Together

In 2014, the EUROCLIO history workbook "Once Upon a Time… We Lived Together" was published online — a follow up project after the production of the first cross-border history textbook for Former Yugoslav states. This specific workbook focusses on the regional history taking place between 1900 to 1945. Batarilo-Henschen (n.d.) acknowledges that both supplementary training for educators and the educational authorities' consent of teaching materials facilitate classroom usage of such textbooks or workbooks. It must be noted that, as Van der Leeuw Roord (n.d.) states, educators who work on these sensitive and controversial history projects are required to have true civil courage. To be more specific, there is a risk of being condemned by not only local historians or history academics and educators, but also by the media or local politicians. To prevent harmful pressure on the engaging educators working on EUROCLIO's projects they often work in silence. This strategy allows for evasion of accusations of foreign interference. Contact with the media, politicians, opposition historians and educational authorities is only established when the local teams wish to speak out and are confident enough to do so (Van der Leeuw-Roord, n.d.).

In 2009, EUROCLIO's project named *Bridging Histories in Bosnia and Herzegovina* aimed to reach out to more educators in Bosnia to promote the use of the produced cross-border history textbook. Furthermore, they aimed to develop materials that address other sensitive matters that are not yet covered in the curricula and textbooks. It could be stated that with the publishing of the new workbook "Once Upon a Time… We Lived Together" in 2014, which covers the controversial regional history, this has succeeded. Moreover, EUROCLIO stated in 2009's project that they wanted to develop more positive relations with the authorities. To point out, the project that led to the production of the first EUROCLIO history textbook in former Yugoslavia was merely seen as a contribution to society by the authorities. In other words, there was a lack of official support. In 2009, when the Bridging History project took place, the relations with educational authorities were indeed improved. To exemplify, two representatives of the Education Ministries agreed to present a welcome speech during the teacher workshops in Bihać, and Tuzla (EUROCLIO, 2009). It should be pointed out that Education Ministries undergo pressure as well, namely former Bosnian Serb education minister Nenad Suzic's car was blown up after signing an agreement on joint textbook reform in 2000 (OHR, 2000) (Murphy and Becatoros, 2001, as mentioned in Nelles, 2006).

Not yet history

Even 22 years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, "most children do not know the established facts about what happened" (Brkanic, 2017, para 5). Most children learn about the war events from their parents, namely they hear stories about how they were able to survive during the war. Taking the pupils enrolled at a gymnasium in Sarajevo as an example, "…they only know that the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina was "created after the fall of Yugoslavia" and that "the war began due to misunderstandings" (Brkanic, 2017, para 6). The Sarajevo Canton has proposed a new law concerning Primary and Secondary education in the Sarajevo Canton. This new law contains learning about the 1990s war facts dictated by both local and international court verdicts. To be more specific, pupils residing in the Sarajevo Canton, with the approval of this law, will learn about the genocide that took place in Srebrenica as well as the Siege of Sarajevo (Brkanic, 2017). This new law that came into force with the start of the new school year in 2017 (Sarajevo Times, 2017), sparked a lot of outrage in Republika Srpksa. Milorad Dodik, Republika Sprska's president, has stated that lessons about the siege of Sarajevo as well as the genocide in Srebrenica will not be taught in Republika Srpska. Moreover, textbooks originating from the Bosnian Federation which include passages about these two major events will be banned for the reason that they are simply untrue according to Republica Srpska's authorities. Republika Srpska's minister of education and culture pointed out the signing of the OSCE agreement by all education ministries banning the 1990s war in school history textbooks. Nevertheless, a history textbook containing the two war events has been approved of for use in the entire Bosnian entity. The OSCE seemed unaware of the approval of these textbooks, moreover they were oblivious to textbooks covering the war (Kovacevic, 2017). As Brkanic (2017) states both historians and sociologists appear to be concerned about these war lessons. It should be taken into account that the lessons about the Srebrenica genocide and the siege of Sarajevo may be one-sided which may enhance divisions among children.

George (2014) remarks that experts have acknowledged that coming to grips with the past is inevitable in regard to the reconciliation process. EUROCLIO seem to be fully aware of this fact with launching of their new project in 2016 called Learning a History that is 'not yet History.' This project is mainly focused on how the 1990s war events should be studied in former Yugoslavia. A database was created containing a wide set of sources such as newspapers, books, articles and video material covering the 1990s war that respect the notion of multiperspectivity. The website devedesete.net (translated *nineties*) containing this database was launched in April 2018. The free access to resources and materials

applicable for teaching about the 1990s will facilitate teachers when teaching about such sensitive topics. "Strengthening competencies and motivating teachers to teach controversial and sensitive subjects from a recent past is the main goal of the project" (Devedesete, n.d.). The teaching of such sensitive subjects should be encouraged in a critical and responsible manner. *Devedesete* acknowledges the necessity to teach children about the 1990's war. Moreover, through this project the message will be conveyed that young people should resist current divisions and prejudice for the sake of preventing new conflicts.

Despite the contradiction of Bosnia's history education not being a high priority on Bosnia's national agenda (Maric and Jovanovic, 2017), EUROCLIO has carried out several projects with regard to history education in Bosnia and former Yugoslavia. In this regard, the aforementioned project launched in 2016 is still taking place. As George (2014) points out EUROCLIO's creation of alternative teaching materials is highly recommendable. Batarilo-Henschen (n.d.) states that the workbook covering the 1940-1945 period stimulates pupils to act as historians and to think like one. Whilst it encourages pupils to express their own views, at the same time it allows for the development of critical thinking and drawing conclusions. Nevertheless, EUROCLIO projects and similar initiatives can solely reach a restricted number of active educators (George, 2014). It could be argued that with the implementation of several projects and EUROCLIO's presence in the region over the years, including the development of the National History Teacher Associations in the Former Yugoslav states, the number of reached teachers has only grown. Nonetheless, George (2014, p. 38, para 1) states that "without significant change at the top of the educational structure in BiH, such projects will remain only as beacons of hope in the gloom." International and local organizations can only reform history education to a certain extent. Sooner or later institutional change in a country such as Bosnia has to come about on its own (George, 2014). Notwithstanding, EUROCLIO's projects appear to be a big step in the right direction if only because of the cooperation of educators, historians and history academics of different ethnic groups in former Yugoslavia. In this regard, the limited classroom usage of the produced cross-border history textbook does not imply a failure of the project.

3.2 Summer camps

GCO summer camp

Darvin (2009) volunteered at a GCO summer camp where children from different ethnic groups meet to undertake various activities such as athletics, arts, conflict resolution and academics. Nonetheless, children attending GCO summer camps also undertake creative activities such as the bookmaking project. Freeman (2012) in *The psychosocial need for intergroup contact: practical suggestions for reconciliation initiatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond* emphasizes the importance of creativity in relation to conflict resolution. Namely, "it appears that participation in activities that promote creative thinking can open the mind to new perspectives on conflict analysis, increase individual autonomy and critical thinking, and thereby facilitate the development of increased complexity of social identity" (Freeman, 2012, p 23, para 4). The aforementioned type of activities seem to be very effective, nevertheless they appear difficult to put into practice in Bosnia's post-communist society. In a post-communist society not merely critical thinking was suppressed; in like manner creative self-expression was suppressed. Both "…were often suppressed in the interest of group cohesiveness" (Freeman, 2012, p. 23, para 4). To illustrate, individual experimentation of a child is disregarded, considering that pupils were encouraged to copy the teachers' example in order to learn.

Bosnian organizations seem to be successful in the implementation of positive contact methods amidst members of different ethnic groups, despite the difficulty of applying such activities in a post-communist country. By means of illustration, the International Commission on Missing persons (ICMP) in Bosnia assists family members from different ethnic backgrounds of missing persons as a consequence of the 1990s war. ICMP unifies these families in a support group with one common goal: to find their dissapeared loved ones. The ICMP appears to be successful in terms of the implementation of positive contact methods amidst members of different ethnic groups, which proves that such methods can be applied in Bosnia's society (Freeman, 2012). Despite the GCO summer camp and its bookmaking project being organized by an international organization, this specific creative project provides evidence that such projects that include creative thinking can be undertaken in a post-communist society such as Bosnia's.

The role of international actors

It comes as no surprise that such projects of interethnic character are in fact unpopular among local politicians. For this reason, Freeman (2012) suggest that international

organizations have to not only assist local organizations, they should also help them develop. Stovel (1998) points out that many international NGOs employ locals, for the reason that their presence will accentuate local observations and priorities. In general, international NGOs have more funds available to them in comparison to local NGOs. As a consequence, international organizations can afford to make mistakes which results in more risk-taking when it comes to project planning (Stovel, 1998). It is important to note that international organizations in Bosnia are perceived with great suspicion and often stir feelings of resentment (Carey and Richmond, 2004). This reaction "…towards International NGOs and international governmental organizations is rooted, at least in part, in their reluctance to engage the local population actively (Carey and Richmond, 2004, p. 110, para 2). The presence of local camp counsellors and volunteers who have experienced the war themselves in their late teens or twenties during the Global Children's Organisation (GCO) summer camp (Darvin, 2009) presumably contributed to the success of the project.

Challenges

It is important to remark that the Global Children's Organization does not exist any longer, the motives behind the disappearance of GCO seem untraceable. When taking a closer look at local organizations hosting summer camps it appears to be that they are suffering from a lack of funding. The Mostar Summer Youth Program (MSYP), a free of charge summer school for kids between the age of 14-18, note on their closed Indiegogo crowdfunding page that Bosnia is no longer a priority when it comes to international funding (Our Children Foundation, n.d.). During my desk research, I encountered that most summer camps or programs appear to be free of charge, which is understandable in a country with high unemployment rates and low wages. The no-cost structure of most of these camps is what makes them accessible to all children, including unprivileged children. Nevertheless, this no cost-structure is also what makes such initiatives heavily reliant on donations. As stated on the MSYP website, the MSYP English summer program is organized by volunteers and relies on funds, donations and grants to undertake its activities. Since education is not a matter of high politics in Bosnia, it could be assumed that projects such as the MSYP are depended upon foreign donations.

it is crucial to remark the importance of inter-ethnic summer camps or programs. Darvin (2009) states that for a lot of children an inter-ethnic summer camp is the first opportunity to meet and interact with children from other ethnic backgrounds. As Čalkić (2018) points out, these children often harbour feelings of fear and prejudice, which disappear after they get to know each other during the first few workshops of the Young United in Peace (YUP)

summer camp. A shift of atmosphere takes place from negative energy to positive energy pervaded by love and laughter. The Young United in Peace summer camps is the follow-up initiative of the Vacation from War program. This specific summer camp brings young peacemakers from Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia together for 12 days at the seaside to undertake activities that promote peace. Isidora Mihaljčić (as cited Čalkić, 2018, para 18), one of the participants at the YUP summer camp, states:

> My experience as part of the YUP network has been truly wonderful, I made a lot of new friends and learned a lot about myself and others during my time at the Baško Polje camp. We really get along and we have our own little empire of friendship, love, and harmony that is invaluable. We've realized that borders only exist for the physical division of territory, but there are no borders or customs controls in our hearts. There's room for everyone there.

Children are taught to hate from an early age. Prejudice and hate are passed down from parents to their children. In addition, it is passed down from teachers to children (Becatoros and Murphy, 2001, as mentioned in Nelles, 2006). Bearing this in mind, it may be questioned whether prejudiced parents would send their children to a summer camp of interethnic nature.

The effect of bringing in a foreign ethnic group

In 1996, just after the war, a summer camp was organized for Mostarian youth which took place at a coastal town in Croatia. This summer camp was a collaboration between Mladi Most and the German youth organization Schüler Helfen Leben. What is interesting about this summer camp is that besides the presence of Mostarians, German youth was present. Not only did the location of the camp contribute to its success, since it is a more "neutral" meeting place (Kuftinec, 1998) Moreover, "…the presence of German youth at the camp impacted the enaction of ethnic difference and unity" (Kuftinec, 1998, p. 145, par. 3). While Bosniaks and Croats are known for living a divided live in the city of Mostar, when confronted with a more "different" ethnic group, "…the Mostarians enacted unity through opposition to the Germans" (Kuftinec, 1998, p. 146, para 1). CAMPUS15, a German non-profit organization, organizes summer camps where they invite teenagers from conflict areas, together with teenagers from European countries. In 2016 CAMPUS15 organized a youth summer camp for 15 and 16 years old in Germany for teens from Bosnia, Croatia, Albania, Montenegro and Serbia, together with teens from Poland and Germany. CAMPUS15 aims at creating a more 'supportive' environment so that teenagers from post-

conflict areas get the opportunity to interact in a more positive way with the "other" ethnic groups, together with Central Europeans (CAMPUS15, n.d.). Such projects could have the same impact when it comes to creating unity as experienced during the summer camp described by Kuftinec (1998). The only downside of this specific project could be the sufficient level of English needed for participation, which is not common among youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The role of special interest groups

Freeman (2012) notes the importance of supporting and developing 'interethnic special interest groups' because of its potentiality to generate a common in-group. To illustrate, "1) women's groups and youth groups bringing members together on the basis of shared life experiences; 2) music and dance groups in which participants participate in an intergroup ensemble creating the feeling of teamwork; and 3) sports groups, although teams must be ethnically mixed in order for team sport to foster intergroup cooperation, instead of competition" (Freeman, 2012, p. 23, para 3). Taking this into account it is important that International NGOs keep organizing or funding such summer camps, be it sport, music, theatre or language camps. Children participating in youth camps appear to welcome the chance to work together with the others from other ethnic backgrounds (Stovel, 1998). Taking a closer look at sports camps in relation to peacebuilding, sports can play a role in the reconciliation process. In more detail, sports can contribute to building trust and raising confidence among divided ethnic groups. Sports has the potential to generate new identities, which could result in different ethnic groups overcoming their differences (SDP IWG, as mentioned in Coehoorn, 2017). Kosic and Tauber (2010) who studied youth reconciliation in post-war Vukovar (Croatia), mention they are in doubt whether interethnic contact in itself results in more optimistic attitudes towards the other. After all, individuals engaging in interethnic contact could already harbour positive feelings towards the other.

3.3 Mostar Gymnasium

The ethnicization of space

The reunification of the *Stara Gimnazija* was promoted by the OSCE, the main organization active in its reunification, as a great success. Nevertheless, students still follow their own respective Bosniak or Croat curriculum, with the exception of integrated classes (Palmberger, 2010). Unlike, the Two Schools Under One Roof system, the *Stara Gimnazija* management and administration is unified. Nonetheless, Hromadzic (2008, as mentioned

in Palmberger, 2016, p. 96, para 3) argues that the *Stara Gimnazija* incorporates Dayton's paradoxical character, wherein "…simultaneous segregation (in the name of ethnic groups' survival) and unification (in the name of democratization, reconciliation, and the common national identity) of citizens take place." Namely, whilst the *Stara Gimnazija* is not a fully integrated school it is not entirely segregated either (Hromadžić, 2008, as mentioned in Palmberger, 2016). Despite the building's public spaces such as the computer lab, the school building's ethnicization of space remains undisguised. To illustrate, the Croat classrooms are marked with a Roman numbering system to indicate a particular class or grade in combination along with an English lower-case letter. Whereas a Bosniak classroom is marked with Roman numbers together with Arabic numbers to indicate the grade. By mentioning the number of the classroom any other student would immediately recognize whether they are studying in a Bosniak or Croat classroom, respectively which one of the two curriculums they study. The *Stara Gimnazija*'s ethnicization of the school building becomes even more controversial knowing that it was designed by the International Community. Especially when bearing in mind that the IC has imposed a ban on the display of ethnic markers on school walls, this includes maps, pictures and flags (Hromadžić, 2008).

In the interest of avoiding absolute segregation, the International Community alongside with *Stara Gimnazija*'s management decided upon a specific classroom sequence that alternates Croat and Bosniak classrooms. Put more simply, Bosniak students study in the classroom next to the Croat's classroom and the other way around (Hromadžić, 2008). "This process of spatial governmentality at the school reduces potentially dynamic social life to conceptions of homogeneous ethnic territories, thereby reducing complexity and contingency" (Hromadžić, 2008, p. 275, para 2). A teacher at the *Stara Gimnazija* explains that pupils often learn at a younger age in primary school that Bosniaks go here and that their Croat neighbours go there. This procedure is mostly continued in secondary school and even in university. By doing this *degenerike* (degenerates) are generated that cannot become creative members of society. In more detail, their unpreparedness prevents them from becoming a creative member of any society for that matter (Hromadžić, 2008). Ivo Miro Jocic, a Bosnian Croat member of BiH's parliament and supporter of the Two Under One Roof system, argues that the perpetuated divisions in Bosnia's society could not be blamed on schools. According to Jocic, every child is raised in a different way. Jocic argues that the perpetuated divisions start at home instead of at school since a child is brought up by his family who will instil a sense of community belonging in their child. Instilling a sense of community belonging is not insulting to anyone, nor should studying different curricula be a complication for anybody (TRI, 2011, as cited in Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015). A member of the OKC Abrašević Youth Cultural Center in Mostar states that ethnic

segregation in a city such as Mostar is regarded as a usual commodity by its society (as interviewed in Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015).

A foreign invasion

Ascribable to the European and non-European international donations for *Stara Gimnazija*'s restoration, the international presence and visits are often imposed on the school. The "invasion" of these *stranci* (foreigners) often takes place in the form of foreign researches, NGOs, ambassadors, journalists and film crews constantly visiting the *Stara Gimnazija*. Notwithstanding the gratefulness of the international donations, this "invasion" has caused a growing resentment towards the presence of international organizations among teachers, staff and even students (Hromadžić, 2015) A member of staff at the *Stara Gimnazija* states that the foreign investors of the restoration of Mostar's Gymnasium present themselves as benefactors and as the owners of the school. Moreover, he believes that their interest is beyond personal, they want to be part of this project to secure one's own persona, to get a promotion and to climb up the ladder. Whilst Mostarians are coerced to embrace this kind of foreign aid, it becomes clear that this foreign aid came accompanied by a distinct purpose (as cited in Hromadžić, 2015). The aforementioned clearly illustrates "…the double nature of peace-building and school/state-making in Bosnia-Herzegovina — its simultaneously emancipatory and regulative character" (Hromadžić, 2015, p. 21, para 4). As expressed in a teachers' meeting, the constant observation and examination of *stranci* does not only distract students from attending a regular class, it also causes feelings of being in a zoo instead of being in an educational institution. The constant foreign presence at the *Stara Gimnazija* resulted in teachers harbouring feelings of Bosnia's education being a playground for experimentation (Hromadžić, 2015).

Joint extracurricular classes

According to Strömbom and Björkdahl (2015), an increase in participation has taken place with regards to the integrated classes. Igor, a teacher of two curriculums, created two joint extracurricular classes, i.e. animation and internet classes, open to all students hosted in the Japanese computer lab. By contrast, Hromadžić (2015) found during her fieldwork in the year of 2005-6 that many students were never able to use the Japanese computer lab. Due to the reason that the students' curricula are quite overloaded which leaves little time for extracurricular activities. Moreover, for the information technology classes, both the Bosniak and Croat curriculum did not make use of the new computer lab. Instead, they used an old computer facility with outdated equipment. "While open to all, during the year 2005-6, the lab remained empty of its intended beneficiaries" (Hromadžić, 2015, p 7, para

3). This empty computer lab evidently symbolises the tension between integration and segregation. Nevertheless, Hromadžić (2015) points out that by the end of her research in 2008 she was informed that the information science classes were finally integrated. Considering this, it can be stated that the situation concerning integrated classes has improved over the years.

The complexity of integration

It is important to note that the complexity of integration is very observable at a geopolitical site such as Mostar's Gymnasium. One of the apparent effects of spatial governmentality at *Stara Gimnazija* is bringing students closer whilst, at the same time, not encouraging meaningful contact among students. As a matter of fact, the silence and the absence of a vision of Bosnia's common future among the public and politicians allow for an atmosphere of fear and mistrust. Especially among Bosnia's youth who still carry around unhealed wounds of the war (Hromadžić, 2011). "The consociational model of a "safe" coexistence at the school does not address the conflict of living asymmetries. As a result, there are no clear school policies to engage students in meaningful cross-ethnic activities; that is left to the students to negotiate" (Hromadžić, 2011, p. 281, para 4). It comes as no surprise that in such an atmosphere of fear and mistrust verbal and even physical violence takes place. To illustrate, Hromadzic (2011) tells the story of a girl who got called out when passing the other ethnic's group classroom in the hallway. Such encounters in the reunified *Stara Gimnazija* often remain unacknowledged. This laissez-faire approach appears to be ascribable to the presence of various clashing agendas and the expectations that came with the school's reunification. It should be acknowledged that the International Community's vision for the Stara Gimnazija appears to be quite controversial. Namely, the IC wants to generate reconciliation among Mostarian students, whilst at the same accepting and systematizing the separation of the ethnic groups within the school. "Caught in this political and social limbo, the students at the school were left to balance the larger political climate, the IC governmentality, and their own aspiration" (Hromadžić, 2011, p. 282, para 1). Remarkably, positive encounters have taken place as a result of *Stara Gimnazija's* reunification. By means of illustration, more mixing and integration among pupils from different ethnic backgrounds has taken place (Palmberger, 2016). Taking this into account, the reunification of the *Stara Gimnazija* could be considered as a step in the right direction, especially in comparison to the two schools under one roof system.

The reunified high school does not appear as unified as it may seem. At *Stara Gimnazija* and at many other educational institutions in BiH, "…the crucial role of education in ensuring

social reproduction of a society comes to the fore" (Laketa, 2015, p. 59, para 1). Namely, it is about teaching students how to become a good Bosniak, Croat or Serb; not about becoming a good member for the sake of BiH's society. It could be questioned whether full integration of educational institutions could ever take place knowing the meaning of integration to both Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs. Namely, integration is interpreted in two different ways. First, it could mean the reestablishment of the type of ethnic relations that were in place before the Yugoslav war (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015) To clarify, Tito's reign was characterized by his policy of Brotherhood and Unity. Moreover, as Oberschall (2000) states Socialist Yugoslavia was characterized by their cooperative ethnic relations. Secondly, it could mean assimilation, in other words adopting the ways of the larger, dominant group. This assimilation is accompanied with the assimilated group losing their ethno-cultural identity. Both interpretations of integration are observed as a threat to the continuity of the Bosnian Croat's or Bosnian Serb's ethnically based communities. In consequence, Croats and Serbs residing in BiH are opposed to any type of integration whatsoever (Strömbom and Björkdahl, 2015). To emphasize, a united Bosnia is simply not part of the Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb elite's vision for BiH's future. Moreover, Bosnia is regarded as their second homeland. According to Hromadžić (2011, as mentioned in Laketa, 2015, p. 66, para 1), Bosnia's problem of integration is untenable, given the reason that it rests on the preconception of ethnic groups in Bosnia Herzegovina being "bounded, homogenous and mutually hostile". Laketa (2015) states that the aforementioned notion is further supported by the DPA. To be more specific, the DPA institutionalized the wartime divisions along ethnic lines. Moreover, the Dayton Peace Agreement provides incentives for more ethnic segregation, namely political and territorial segregation (Slye, 1996).

3.4 The United World College in Mostar

integrated education as an incentive for quality education

The international UWC campus in Mostar hosts both local and international students and is known for its quality education. The quality education that the UWC offers is often accompanied by a more hopeful future, for this reason UWC appears to be a great incentive for BiH's citizens. The reasons for not applying at UWC range from the lack of desire to move away from home, not being skilled and confident enough in the English language to simply being indifferent towards education. Obviously, there are also children that would not attend UWC because of their parents' prejudice. In other words, there are parents that are opposed to the idea of their children studying together with members of different ethnic groups. Bosnian citizens attending UWC are often raised with more tolerant attitudes,

furthermore they appear to be raised with open-minded attitudes towards BiH's other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, UWC students can still encounter prejudice in their community for choosing to study and to live in UWC's multi-ethnic and multicultural environment. The fear of loss of one's identity is still present among parents, for the reason that their children are being exposed to very different religions, cultures and ethnic backgrounds (Malkamäki, 2017).

Exposion to a very different national group could result in the encouragement of unity among BiH's ethnic groups. Nonetheless, some students at the UWCiM are not as open-minded as they appear to be. During the interviews for the selection process, some students use strategies of rational opportunism that are led by self-interest. In more detail, students portray themselves as being open-minded and accepting of UWC's ideals to get through the selection process (Malkamäki, 2017) As Malkamäki (2017) uses the example of an interviewed student to depict this prejudice against others. Namely, some students are not open-minded to one's sexual orientation, obviously they will not express this prejudice during the selection process. According to another interviewed student, some students believe that their peers develop friendships build on mutual benefits that one might obtain from the established companionship.

According to Malkamäki (2017), UWC staff members emphasize that UWC graduates enrolling in a university located in Bosnia and Herzegovina stand out right away during lectures. This is ascribable to their enhanced critical thinking and self-confidence which has developed through UWC's open classroom climate. In more detail, the open classroom climate promotes "democratic decision-making, equality, co-operation and mutual respect among students" (Johnson, 2007, and Dilworth, 2008, as mentioned in Malkamäki, 2017, p. 79, para 4). With regard to history education, UWC graduates are able to analyse history in a critical manner. In more detail, UWC graduates know how to analyse and evaluate historical information and how to comprehend multiple perspectives. Malkamäki (2017, p. 80, para 2) considers such skills to "…be at the core of reconciliation in BiH."

A big number of students decide to study abroad after graduating from UWCiM. The UWC is often regarded as "…a kind of catapult "catapult" for "launching" students into different countries (especially EU countries and the USA)…" (Alić, Cerić and Habibović, 2017, p. 15, para 11). Bosnian students studying at the UWC Mostar campus are "…among the most academically advanced in their home communities, with a considerable amount of potential, and have great career ambitions" (Malkamäki, 2017, p. 55, para 2). As a matter of fact, Bosnia and Herzegovina is ranked fifth as the world's worst brain drain country by the World

Economic Forum. The WEF's ranking specifically refers to the number of students and well-educated individuals going abroad (Balkan insight,). Since this "catapult" could obviously affect Bosnia's future, Alić et al (2017) recommend the UWC to encourage graduated local UWC students attending university abroad to come back after finishing their studies. Moreover, to encourage them to "professionally engage" in their home country BiH (Alić et al, 2017, p. 15, para 11).

The UWCiM's integration in Mostar's community

Mostarians seem to be more accepting of the UWC's presence in Mostar in comparison to the period of the campus' opening. Nevertheless, as Laketa (2015, p. 113, para 1) emphasizes, "…for many Mostarian students, organizations such as UWC often represent 'foreigners' whose ideas of 'division' and 'unity' do not correspond with their own accounts." By means of illustration, the UWC hosted an event in Mostar in the interest of unifying Mostar's youth. Three hundred students from divided east and west Mostar marched towards the Tito bridge. The purpose of the east and west marches meeting up at the Tito's bridge was to meet the other ethnic group who lives across the bridge. One of the students participating in the event named Jasa explains, for international UWC students holding up a sign calling for the unification of Mostar is effortless. According to international students, Mostar is already more united, to be more specific it is not a problem for them to cross the divide to the other's territory. Unlike locals, they will not be intimidated by doing so (Jasa, as interviewed in Laketa, 2015).

Disregarding the improved relationship between local and international students, the UWC could be perceived as another foreign organization who wishes to impose their vision of living together on Bosnia's society (Hayden and Thompson, 2012). As Alić et al (2017) state, the lifestyle of UWC's students is perceived by *Stara Gimnazija's* students as too liberal. In more detail, "…the way they dress, their too liberal behaviour, and the school's educational philosophy, which, according to the opinions of these students, offend the local tradition and value system" (Alić et al, 2017, p. 12, para 5). Taking this into account, one may recommend a dress code for UWC's students and staff. Namely, students attending the *Stara Gimnazija* must comply with a certain dress code, whilst the UWC students dress however they please. Hence, extra social distance is created between *Stara Gimnazija* and UWC students (Alić et al, 2017).

4. Lessons learned from Northern Ireland and other post-conflict countries

4.1 Northern Ireland

An ethnically and politically divided society, such as the case of Northern Ireland (NI), is often identified by not merely the notion of social separation; it is characterized by a separation of institutions. Comparable with the situation in Bosnia, there is a duplication of institutions and services in Northern Ireland aimed at the Catholic and Protestant communities (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017). As Duffy and Gallagher point out, education in Northern Ireland is a social significant exemplar of these separate and duplicated institutions. In more detail, "…the education system where a parallel system of Catholic and Protestant schools has been in place since the establishment of a national school system in the 1830s" (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017, p. 107, para 1). During Northern Ireland's thirty years of political violence also known as "the Troubles", many believed the conflict to be connected to or even possibly a result of the parallel system of Catholic and Protestant schools (Heskin, 1980, as mentioned in Gallagher, 2016). In 1968, the Troubles started and the conflict revolved around two protagonists, namely two religious groups: The Protestants versus the Catholics (Murphy, 2017). In more detail, "…Protestants are affiliated with Loyalism and Unionism, which favours connection to Great Britain, while Catholics are affiliated with Republicanism and Nationalism, which locates a future with the Republic of Ireland and identifies the current arrangement as part of a long history of imperialism" (Murphy, 2017, p. 82, para 3).

During the Troubles, education was often considered as a means to promote reconciliation. As a result, various educational interventions were attempted during the years of violent conflict. These educational interventions aimed at reconciliation met with little success, in more detail there was a lack of systemic change (Gallagher, 2016) (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017). In 1998, a peace agreement was signed which ended the thirty-year long violent conflict. The peace agreement became known as the Good Friday Agreement (GFA), also referred to as the Belfast Agreement. The GFA acknowledged the encouragement and facilitation of integrated education to be an essential component of Northern Ireland's reconciliation process. Nevertheless, twenty years after the signing of the GFA, Northern Ireland remains highly separated among religious lines. In 2014, 93 percent of Northern Ireland's youth attended segregated schools (Murphy, 2017). By way of illustration, there are two types of segregated schools, namely the Protestant state "controlled" schools and the Catholic "maintained" schools. Generally speaking, only a small number of students in Northern Ireland attend a "mixed" integrated school (Borooah and Knox, 2013).

Shared Education initiative

In Northern Ireland one's school uniform could act as a "marker of difference". To clarify, the school uniform acts as a perceptual cue for identifying another student's religion (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017, p. 109, para 1). Moreover, segregated schools are classified as a 'contested space', considering the fact that segregated school serve as an institutional barrier among Northern Ireland's youth. The Shared Education initiative, which has been developed over the past eleven years, has one main objective: to change "the 'contested space' between separate schools into 'shared space'" (Duffy and Gallager, 2017, p. 109, para 2). Instead of regarding schools in NI as a combination of autonomous units, The Shared Education initiative looks at schools as if they belong to a network. Furthermore, 'Shared Education' aims at fostering positive interdependence among segregated and integrated schools by the promotion of a system of cross-community collaboration (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017). To exemplify, "students and teachers move between schools to take and give classes" (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017, p. 109, para 2). In such manner, the Shared Education initiative aims at separate schools to connect Northern Ireland's communities by attempting to initiate dissimilar patterns of relationships among students, parents, teachers and schools. In this way, the separated schools do not serve as an institutional barrier any longer among them (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017).

Unlike at Bosnia's *Stara Gimnazija*, the joint activities are not intended as extra-curricular. To specify, its intention is to deliver the curriculum elements in a joint manner where cross-community work is put at the centre of the process. In this way of collaborating, the interdependencies that are developed across institutional barriers are not perceived as threatening. Taking this into account, the Shared Education initiative allows for educational collaboration whilst preserving one's communal identity in contrast to formal integrated education (Borooah and Knox, 2013). According to Fishkin, parents approve of these types of collaborations considering that it ameliorates the education of their children. In addition, the importance of the provider of the education is reduced (2007, as mentioned in Borooah and Knox, 2013).

In 2007, the Shared Education Initiative started with the *Shared Education Programme* (SEP). SEP consisted of twelve partnerships composed of sixty Northern Ireland' schools. This initiative inspired external funders such as the International Fund for Ireland and the Atlantic Philanthropies, for the reason that there was a lack of progress in terms of integrated education in combination with the uninterrupted power of the church in terms of safeguarding single identity education. External funders decided to extend funding for three years more, which allowed for an extension of the duration of the programme and allowed

for the engagement of more schools and students (Borooah and Knox, 2013). Over the years, the Shared Education initiatives have continued in Northern Ireland. As of 2018, more than 538 educational settings and 59.000 students in Northern Ireland have been involved in Shared Education (Department of Education, 2018).

More students and schools are expected to engage in Shared Education with the implementation of the Peace IV programme, which came into operation in late 2017 (Baker, 2018). The Special EU Programmes Body is in charge of the Peace IV programme, moreover they provide 35.3 million euros of funding. The funding is composed of 30 million euros donated by the European Union and the resting 5.3 million euros consists of government funding. Peace IV aims "to encourage the development and delivery of Shared Education within education settings that have limited or no prior experience" (Education Department, n.d., Peace IV Shared Education Programme section, para 14). Remarkably, in The Shared Education Act (2016) Shared Education was given legal provision. The act provides a set of minimum core obligations concerning Shared Education. The Shared Education act has given the Department of Education together with the Education Authority the duty to stimulate, facilitate and advocate Shared Education. Furthermore, the act empowers arm's length bodies to advance and support Shared Education (Department of Education, n.d.). As Gallagher (as interviewed in The Social Change Initiative, n.d.) indicates, the Shared Education Act is important considering the fact that Shared Education is given a legal definition. Additionally, the act provides a legal obligation for the Department of Education and the Education Authority.

Criticism of the Shared Education initiative

The primary criticism against Shared Education is the abandonment of the integrated education concept. To indicate, it gives "already ambivalent policymakers a way around committing to a "shared future" through integrated education." (Murphy, 2017, p. 85, para 5). Borooah and Knox (2013) emphasize the request for more integrated schools, to demonstrate two integrated colleges in Northern Ireland appear to be the most oversubscribed educational institutions. Despite the presence of high level of public support for integrated schools, a shift has taken place towards Shared Education. The discussion revolving around Shared Education takes it as given that the majority of Northern Ireland's youth will receive their education in separate educational settings (Hansson, Bones and McCord, 2013, as mentioned in Murphy, 2017). "By accepting this political parties move towards education policies that plan for separate development rather than structural change and reform of the separate school system" (Hansson et al., 2013, as cited in Murphy, 2017,

p. 86, para 1). Encouraging and assisting the concept of integrated education is part of the Department for Education's statutory duty. The Department of Education goes about this duty by using a broader perspective of area planning made up from contributions of all sectors of education.

As expected, the concept of integrated education has encountered strong resistance from the Catholic Church. In more detail, the Catholic Church believes that integrated schools threaten their ethos, the moral foundation of the "maintained" Catholic schools. In addition, criticism has been directed towards the integrated schools, by way of explanation integrated schools are accused of being unsuccessful regarding the exploration of cultural diversity and are accused of minimizing cultural differences (Borooah and Knox, 2013). According to Gallagher (2016), "…the education system in Northern Ireland often demonstrates a risk-averse culture and often encourages, implicitly or explicitly, the avoidance of controversial or difficult issues." The aforementioned criticized practices of integrated schools will undoubtedly obstruct, rather than assist, the advancement of proper intercommunity relations (Donelly, 2008, as cited in Borooah and Knox, 2013). Borooah and Knox (2013) state that generally speaking the concept of Catholic and Protestant schools fusing into one integrated school appears to be beneficial. Yet, in practice the approval of such a solution seems to be unfeasible.

The benefits of the Shared Education Initiative

Hughes (2011, as mentioned in McMurray and Thompson, 2016) found that children's involvement in shared education programmes in NI was connected to the decrease of intergroup bias and increases trust towards the out-group. Moreover, there was a decrease of anxiety when working collaboratively with out-group members and a display of increased positive behaviour directed towards the "other". Even an aspiration for future contact was expressed among the children (Hughes, 2011, as mentioned in McMurray and Thompson, 2016). According to McMurray and Thompson (2016), the Young Life and Times (YLT) survey conducted in Northern Ireland outcomes presented promising feedback from the pupils engaged in Shared Education programmes. Namely, it provided the pupils with the opportunity to establish new friendships. Likewise, an improvement of the learning process took place, which could be ascribable to the access to technology which was prior to the Shared Education Programme unavailable to pupils. The improvement of the learning process could be a consequence of the stimulation of the pupils' interest caused by the change of their study location. In addition, Shared Education provides a wider range of subjects for pupils. (McMurray and Thompson, 2016). To explain the change of study

location within the Shared Education Programme, pupils are often transported to the out-group's community to break down divisions. By doing so, pupils are encouraged to not merely visit the other's schools and communities; they are encouraged to learn in the out-group's school (Duffy and Gallagher, 2017).

According to The Department of Education (2018, p. 5, par. 2), "In practice, Shared Education covers a broad spectrum of structures and activities, including joint curricular delivery, joint extra-curricular activities and shared campuses." A good example of such a shared campus is the Strule Shared Education Campus which will be opened in 2021. The campus will consist of six different schools with facilities open to all such as a shared sports and education centre (Meredith, 2017). The Two Under One Roof system in Bosnia initiated by the International Community to foster refugee return is a prime example of why the practice of shared campuses might not be a proper solution for Northern Ireland. The system heightened animosities among pupils to such a degree that the Federation's Constitutional Court declared this type of schools to be illegal (Smith, 2014). Moreover, it was declared "…unconstitutional because it represented a form of segregation and discrimination" (Toe, 2016, para 28). The Northern Ireland's shared campuses not replicating the unsuccessful practice of Two Under One Roof should be a matter of great concern (McMurray and Thompson, 2016).

The shared education initiative, a model for post-conflict countries

The model of Shared Education designed in Northern Ireland has attracted a lot of interest from abroad. To specify, similar work is being undertaken in other countries with divided societies such as Macedonia and Israel (Gallagher, 2016). In the year of 2017 the Queen's University Belfast started a project on Shared Education in Bosnia together with the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology (Sarajevo School of Science and Technology, 2018). Dr Hughes and the Centre of Shared Education at Queen's University Belfast lead the project (Rural Centre for Shared Education, n.d.). Dr Hughes research has been influential in the Government's decision for the prioritization of Shared Education in Northern Ireland (UNESCO, n.d.). The project in Bosnia is funded by the United Kingdom's main research council —e.g., the Economic Social and Research Council. The first year of the project mainly consisted of establishing essential networks of education experts, academics and policymakers who play a role in reforming divided societies. Up to this day, research is being undertaken on how Shared Education in Bosnia should be developed and put in to practice in time to come. An expert meeting was organized by the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology on the topic which took place last April. The meeting was

attended by representatives of the Queen's University Belfast together with supporters and people involved in the project (Sarajevo School of Science and Technology, 2018).

Considering that the project is still taking place, Only time will tell if Shared Education will become a solution for education in post-Dayton Bosnia. With regard to the practices of *Stara Gimnazija*, partnerships among separate schools delivering curriculum and extra-curricular classes might be a big step in the right direction. Especially considering that the acceptance of fully integrated schools in Bosnia remains highly unlikely in the current political climate. Nevertheless, for its implementation Bosnia needs funding. To illustrate, "funding for staffing, equipment and programmatic running costs" (Gallagher, 2016, p. 7, para 3). The post-war period in Bosnia was characterized by the mushrooming of NGOs, which resulted in the presence of 12.000 active NGOs in Bosnia in 2008. Nevertheless, between the year of 2006 and 2014 a massive decrease in the presence of international NGOs has taken place (Milan, 2017). "The underlying reason for this change of strategy ought to be sought in the diminishing geopolitical importance of the Balkans in the global relations, as well as in the end of the state emergency of in the area, which led foreign donors to drive their efforts towards other war-torn countries (Milan, 2017, p. 280, para 3).

The international community's shift of strategy is further supported by the notion that the IC's influence should no longer be focused on direct involvement in BiH's internal politics. Instead, their influence should be carried out through more indirect means such as the European Union accession process (Milan, 2017). Besides Bosnia being in an economic recession and the absence of funding, there appears to be not only a lack of political pressure, but also an absence of financial assistance from the European Commission on behalf of the EU accession process (Opening Doors, n.d.). Despite the possible positive outcomes of Shared Education, it could be questioned whether there are funds available for the implementation of the Shared Education in Bosnia.

4.2 Practices of history education in other post-conflict countries

Comparative context

There are several lessons to be learned from history education in other post-conflict countries that could inspire Bosnia. To start with Cambodia, where the Cambodian genocide took place from 1976 to 1979 during the rule of Pol Pot. The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DCCAM) founded by Yale University is a partnership between the university and Cambodians to document the Cambodian Genocide. With regards to history

education, DCCAM produced a history textbook and developed a programme of teacher training focused on the Cambodian Genocide. Both have been officially approved by Cambodia's Ministry of Education (Rafferty, 2013). The approval resulted in the training of more than three thousand educators in Cambodia and the distribution of the created history textbooks to every secondary school in the country (Dy, 2013). Nevertheless, the multiperspectivity of this textbook seems questionable since it rather focuses on the true representation of the atrocities committed during the genocide, instead of teaching empathy by the depiction of different perspectives.

What makes DCCAM of interest for Bosnia is their encouragement of teaching comparative genocide. Drawing parallels with other conflicted countries does not only allow for a better overall understanding of one's own conflict and thereby preventing future conflict; the practice allows for emotional benefits for pupils. To specify, by learning about other conflicts and by widening the student's perspectives about conflicts it could reduce the pupils' collective psychological baggage of being a post-conflict society member (Rafferty, 2013). Pingel (2003) suggests that post-conflict societies, such as Bosnia's, should deal with their conflicts past by the discussion of other post-conflict examples. Given the reason that a comparative context would allow for a more critical managing of the past than limiting the discussion of the country's past to just a national discussion. Rafferty (2013) emphasizes that a cautionary approach appears to be crucial when utilizing the practice of drawing parallels. Namely, too simplistic parallels could be drawn which could "…be damaging to social cohesion if connections are made which use other conflicts to provide evidence of one group's sole claim to victimhood in the local context" (Rafferty, 2013, p. 29, para 7). Moreover, some believe to it is better to steer clear from drawing parallels of sensitive topics to present day issues. Therefore, the teacher plays a big role determining the way how parallels should be drawn and under what circumstances. In addition, the teacher's "role in presenting multiple perspectives and facilitating a balanced dialogue based on historical evidence" appears to be of crucial importance (Rafferty, 2013, p. 30, para 2).

Moratoria and the passage of time

Besides Bosnia, many other post-conflict and even post-communist countries have established history education moratoria — Germany, Japan, Moldova, Afghanistan, Iraq etc. (De Baets, 2015). In post-conflict Cambodia, the government agreed on an 'official silence of the past'. It took the DCCAM in Cambodia ten years of persistent lobbying to persuade the government of approval and nation-wide implementation of their history textbook and teacher training programme (Rafferty, p. 41, para 6). It may be wondered

whether the history of country's recent violent conflict should be taught at all. Nevertheless, the United Nations explicitly mention history in both the *Reparation Principles* and in the *Impunity Principles* (De Baets, 2015) To clarify, the *Reparation Principles* state that "…Satisfaction should include, where applicable, any or all of the following: […] Inclusion of an accurate account of the violations occurred in international human rights law and international humanitarian law training and in educational material at all levels" (United Nations Assembly, 2006, principle 22[h], as cited in De Baets, 2015, p. 18, para 3). Moreover, as De Baets (2015, p. 18, par 4) states the *Impunity Principles* prescribe "that States, in their fight to punish perpetrators of human rights violations, have a 'duty to preserve memory'." Taking this into account, it is not surprising that the importance of history education was also realised in peace agreements such as the Potsdam agreement (1945) for Germany. Similarly, in Croatia where the Erdut agreement was signed in 1995. The Erdut agreement governed a peaceful reintegration of the formerly Serb-held Eastern Slavonian territories into Croatia, specifically states a moratorium. To be specific, an addendum was signed in 1997 to secure the Serbian minority's educational rights, which incorporated an embargo on recent history teaching on former Yugoslavia to Serbian minorities.

There are various reasons for establishing moratoria, one of them being the safety of history educators and textbook writers (De Baets, 2015). Besides EUROCLIO working in silence during their projects, the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany went even further. Namely, to ensure the safety of history educators and academics working on a joint Israeli-Palestinian history project meetings took place in Germany and Turkey (Cole and Barsalou, 2005). In addition, there are reconciliation reasons. By means of illustration, after a religious, racial or ethnic conflict or genocide the country's society is not only in need of reconstructing itself. The society needs to "…choose the path of reconciliation and unity". (De Baets, 2015, p. 22, para 4). The aforementioned path requires agreement to certain extent about the country's recent violent past. If there is no 'minimum agreement', the country's society is in need of "…taking time to think and reflect' (De Baets, 2015, p. 22, para 4). To exemplify, the Council of Europe proposed a fixed term moratorium in Bosnia until local historians could agree on a common narrative of the recent war accepted by all stakeholders (Englehart, 2014).

De Baets (2015) points out that 'the passage of time' is a frequent reason for supporting moratoria. To be more specific, it is often considered to be too soon to teach about the recent violent conflict. Often there appears to be too little historical distance to the recent past. Furthermore, there is a common believe that the progression of time will do the trick.

As De Baets (2015) points out that the arguments supporting this reason are valid to a certain degree, nevertheless they are limited. In addition, it raises the all-important question —the duration of moratoria. Argentine sociologist Jelin (as mentioned in Cole and Barsalou, 2006) found that, contrary to popular belief, within the passage of time resentment between enemies will not necessarily fade. Which goes against the common belief that time heals all wounds. Within the existence of human beings in different societies recalling the contentious past happens at different life stages. This phenomenon occurs due to various reasons. Political change and conflict bring about a constant alteration of the meaning of past events (Cole and Barsalou, 2005). "If society does not address the origins of the conflict effectively, they tend to be the bases of future instability and conflict" (Cole and Barsalou, 2006, p. 5, para 5).

According to Cole and Barsalou (2005), popular culture, e.g. music, film and theatre often take the first step in regard to dealing with the painful truths of the past. Nonetheless, educational systems often need more time to deal with the uncomfortable past. Namely, educational systems appear to belong to the slower public institutions in the light of realizing crucial changes. Stakeholders engaging in the reform of history education ought to know when it is the right time to implement certain changes, since acknowledging the problem of time appears to be an important part whether implementations will either succeed or fail. A significant passage of time is needed for progress in other sectors to percolate downward into classroom practice. The Polish-German Textbook Commission required ten years to realize Polish and German history textbooks and programs. According to De Baets (2015), this is also a more practical reason for establishing moratoria, since abolishing certain controversial content in history textbooks leads to a shortage of textbooks, while on the other hand, writing and producing new textbooks takes a significant amount of time.

Cole and Barselou (2005) found that there appears to be quite an interval between the scholarship of history academics and the writing of history texts intended for secondary school pupils established on their work. It is important to realize the concept of generational change regarding history teaching. "…the history of a conflict can be taught one way when the conflict is only recently "over" and another way when half-a-century has passed." (Cole and Barselou, 2005, p. 6, para 2). Time does make a difference, especially taking into account that five years after an violent conflict pupils, alongside their parents and teachers, carry around painful memories of the war since they are likely to have experienced the violence themselves. Whilst pupils who start secondary school ten years after the conflict might only have blurred memories in regard to the recent violent past; during which their guardians and educators were involved. Pupils enrolling into secondary school fifteen years

after the end of the conflict might regard the conflict itself as "practically irrelevant to their own lives" (Cole and Barselou, 2005, p. 6, para 2).

It is crucial to acknowledge the fact that a conflict does not just end with the signing of a peace agreement, the acknowledgement of a one-sided victory or a regime change. It has been found that within the post-conflict landscape violence tends to proceed at some level; violence tends to manifest itself in a new form. To exemplify, not only sexual violence but also gang and criminal violence appears to be one of the main challenges in post-apartheid South Africa. With reference to Bosnia, during the war, many paramilitary units took part in military operations. "Many of these had developed close ties to – and indeed were often indistinguishable from – organized criminal groups turned warlords" (Berdal, Collantes-Celador, Buzadzic, 2012, p. 2-3, par 3). During the war, these units have partaken in a various range of criminal activities and even war crimes. It is important to realize that the alliances formed during the war among the criminal and political elite often continued to exist after the war. Henceforth, leading to a further increase of organized crime in Bosnia and its region (Berdal et al., 2012). Cole and Barselou (2005) note that post-conflict countries where the violence has continued in a new form often look for new history education methods. Notwithstanding, in such a post-conflict country, factors such as economic injustice, unequal access to public resources and ethnic segregation only weakens the educational system (Cole and Barselou, 2005).

Teacher training

It is important to take into account that in certain post-conflict countries educators appear to be fearful in regard to teaching about the controversial recent conflict. On the contrary, there is also a significant number of educators that believe that is their responsibility to teach controversial history that supports their own ethnic or national group and in-group pride. Whether a school is integrated or segregated can be problematic for history teachers. Namely, in Croatia history educators working at an integrated school appear to be notably fearful when addressing controversial history themes. Whereas in segregated education in Northern Ireland, history educators face difficulty when encouraging purposeful debates among pupils since they mostly belong to the same ethnic group. At the same time, the role of the teacher, with reference to history education in post-conflict countries, is often regarded as an all-important element of good practice. Many projects have been employed in post-conflict countries focused on working together with teachers or providing teacher training (Rafferty, 2013). As Smith (2010, as cited in Barrios-Tao, Siciliani-Barraza and Bonilla-Barrios, 2016, p. 9, para 3) states, "…Teachers are probably the single most

important factors in mediating the curriculum and the values it conveys, and any education strategy needed to take account of their central role."

In Liberia, a country that suffered from a civil war for fourteen years, many teachers lacked proper teaching qualifications. This affected the children's education greatly, since many left primary school with reading or writing problems. For this reason, teacher training was an important part when it came to improving the quality of Liberia's education. In particular, Liberia's government approach to educators appears to be interesting. In more detail, an educator's responsibility is not confined to the classroom, namely an educator educates the community as a whole (IBIS Education for Development, 2015, as mentioned in Barrios-Tao et al., 2016). As Rafferty (2013) remarks educators need to acknowledge their role and its social impact, especially the probable consequences of in what way they present controversial historical topics to their pupils. Pedagogy reform is often perceived as less threatening than curriculum reform to change historical narratives in post-conflict countries (Cole and Barselou, 2005). Rafferty (2013, p. 31, para 1) notes that an essential part of the educator's "role is to create a structured space where differing points of view can be heard in a respectful manner." Moreover, it is important that educators challenge prejudiced and inaccurate communal narratives (Rafferty, 2013).

Cole and Barselou (2005) note that educators in post-conflict countries face immense pressure. To be more specific, they are not merely a teacher, they play the role of a "…psychologist and guidance counsellor to conflict resolution expert and mediator" (Cole and Barselou, 2005, p. 11, para 2). And yet the international actors who aim to reform education often regard educators as agents of revolutionary social development. Moreover, in Northern Ireland this preassumed role makes educators uncomfortable. Considering that educators believe that they are powerless with reference to countering historical narratives learned at home. It is important to take into account that teachers in extremely tense political climates reforming education in the form of using new texts or teaching approaches could pose a danger to their physical safety. Which in consequence leads them to steer clear from innovation (Cole and Barselou, 2005).

Regardless, teacher training seems to be crucial in post-conflict countries. Especially in a country like Bosnia, that not only suffered from a war but also from a regime change. To exemplify, Croatia's education system is still mainly focused on a knowledge-based type of teaching inherited from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia instead of the teaching of skills. Teachers appear to be unfamiliar with the countless skills they could teach their pupils (Maran, as interviewed in Rafferty, 2013). Furthermore, in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia there appears to be an insufficiency of resources. Educators in

Macedonia appear to be willing to change, yet they were not educated in University nor did they ever receive any form of teacher training. The main problem being that these educators imitated their former teachers (Jan, as interviewed in Rafferty, 2013). EUROCLIO's projects reached a big number of teachers. Considering this, EUROCLIO's book not being accepted by state authorities does not mean the project itself had failed. Besides providing teacher training, EUROCLIO's projects brought teachers together and made them work together regardless of their ethnic background.

In Israel and Palestine a similar project was undertaken in the middle of the conflict by PRIME in collaboration with the Georg Eckert Institute (NGO). More specifically, a binational history textbook was created which juxtaposes both the Palestinian and Israeli narratives of the conflicted "history of Israeli-Palestinian bilateral relations" (Bentratovo, 2017, p. 52, para 2). This project gathered Israeli and Palestinian educators together to work in mixed teams on a joint textbook which resulted in the production of a history textbook with both narratives translated into English, Hebrew and Arabic. Since Israel and Palestine where still in the middle of the conflict, a joint narrative seemed impossible, therefore a dual narrative approach was chosen. In this way, students learn to acknowledge and respect the other's narrative (Bar-On and Adwan, 2006).

Many educators involved in the Israeli-Palestine textbook project left the project as a result of the pressure of the intensifying Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, new educators got involved, who started to work on a teacher's guide to facilitate the use of the textbook (Georg Eckert Institute, n.d. -a). To guarantee the teachers' safety they often met in Germany or Turkey (Cole and Barselou, 2005). In 2010, the Israeli and Palestinian authorities both decided upon banning the created history textbook (Georg Eckert Institute, n.d. –a). Taking this into account, this project could be dismissed as failed. In contrast, the major achievements of the project could be acknowledged. Namely, to bring both ethnic groups together in the middle of the conflict to work on a joint project. In addition, the provided teacher training on how to use such a dual narrative textbook in the classroom. As Jan (as interviewed in Rafferty, 2013) points out, the training of teachers as individuals might be very rewarding. Jan, who works for EUROCLIO, explains that teachers trained by EUROCLIO in Ukraine suddenly got involved in writing a new curriculum. As Rafferty (2013, p. 36, para 3) points out "structural change does not come about only from direct lobbying of ministries of Education, but can also result when previously-trained teachers rise to a position of educational leadership".

The practice of oral history

With reference to the *devedesete* database created by EUROCLIO, Cole and Barselou (2005) point out that there appears to be a major dispute among educators concerning the teaching method of using documentary films, the use of heart-wrenching and vivid images and first-hand accounts in class. For this reason, the Epilogues project carried out in Northern Ireland appears to be very interesting since within this project the practice of oral history seems to be the fundamental learning resource (Rafferty, 2013). This community education project constructed a unique approach to address and discuss the period of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The duo that founded the Epilogues project, both have experience in film-making and documented various testimonials of first-hand accounts of individuals involved or affected by the Troubles (Rafferty, 2013). The documented testimonials are ordered in such a way that it provides multiperspectivity "on a series of universal themes, including 'violence', 'loss', 'justice' and 'human rights" (Rafferty, p. 46, para 3). In addition to the video material, workshops were created based on each topic for in-class use to inspire dialogue and discussion among students.

Rafferty (2013) remarks that the material assumes that students possess a specific amount of knowledge about the troubles. It is important to take in to account that the young generation of school pupils might not be in possession of this certain knowledge. "Nonetheless offers an interesting model of how personal testimonies can introduce an ethical and affective dimension to historical discussion." (Rafferty, 2013, p. 47, para 1). A senior manager of one of the funders of the project proposed that the Epilogues project would be appealing for other conflicted countries where the occasions of intercultural or intergroup communication are kept to a bare minimum. Carrying out the Epilogues Educational program requires minimum resources, the interactive learning tool is composed of a DVD and a website supporting the in-class workshops (Arlow, 2009). Considering the requirement of minimum resources, Arlow (2009) suggest that the Epilogues project might be appealing to undertake in the Basque region or even in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. In terms of financing the undertaking of such a project, Arlow (2009) suggests checking whether the European Union or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has funds available for such projects.

The role of outside actors

Chandler (1999, as mentioned in Torsti and Ahonen, 2009) remarked BiH's unhealthy relationship with the international community, namely the DPA advanced the Bosnians

overdependence on the IC. Moreover, a significant portion of Bosnians considers themselves as victims of European Union countries' abstinence from intervening in the Bosnian war. To specify they believe that if these countries would have intervened more promptly the war's atrocities could have been intercepted (Torsti and Ahonen, 2009). The DPA is an exemplar of how "outsiders" or in other words the international community can unintentionally further complicate post-conflict educational reforms. Namely, the Dayton Peace Agreement inspired the transition from Tito's unitary education system towards a segregated system with the absence of state authority and coordination (Cole and Barselou, 2005). As Cole and Barselou (2005, p. 8, para 5) claim, "the agreements' negotiators did not intend to create a polarizing educational system, but constructing a Bosnian government through negotiation with warring parties made the education system truly unworkable." According to Cole and Barselou (2005), eight years later the "outsiders" attempted to rectify Bosnia's post-Dayton segregated education system. Nevertheless, the International Community's top-down modus operandi only seemed to aggravate the situation at the time. In more detail, their interference showed mixed results considering that "those who opposed reunifying the education system successfully galvanized opposition among parents and teachers" (Cole and Barselou, 2005, p. 8, para 6).

The perception that educational reforms are a domestic matter and therefore are best to be dealt with by insiders is usually shared amidst influential outside actors, especially among financial backers. Notwithstanding, there are positive encounters that prove otherwise. Outside actors are able to gather insiders to take part in reforms of contentious nature since such reforms are difficult for insiders to be dealt with unassisted. Moreover as shown earlier, outside actors are able to mobilize ethnic groups together who are originally opposed to working with the other ethnic group(s) (Cole and Barselou, 2005). Cole and Barselou (2005) mention the good practice of history education reform in Rwanda. Ten years after the Rwandan genocide, a moratorium for history teaching was still in place. In Rwanda outside actors gave the impetus for Rwanda's education ministry to reform Rwanda's history curriculum and to bring an end to the moratorium.

In the case of Rwanda, The Human Rights Center at The University of California, Berkeley, gathered and united an age-diverse group of stakeholders from different backgrounds. To clarify, government officials, Non-Governmental Organisation representatives, returned exiles, internally displaced people and different members of distinct ethnic and linguistic groups were connected and gathered together. Besides collaborating with Rwandan history academics, teacher trainers and people involved in the construction of the curriculum, the UC Berkeley managed to work directly with the Rwandan ministry of education. Together

with education ministry officials, the various historical narratives were defined and conforming teacher handbooks and training was arranged. Once the UC Berkeley's work was finished their work was praised by the national curriculum department of Rwanda's ministry of education. The UC Berkeley's work not only contributed to the end of a ten-year-long moratorium; they also motivated the ministry of education to tackle contentious matters (Cole and Barselou, 2005).

As Cole and Barselou (2005, p. 8, para 2) exclaim, "outsiders can ask questions that seem naïve or obvious to insiders but provide insiders with opportunities to reassess or challenge received wisdom." Additionally, outsiders are often able to provide resources that appear to be lacking in post-conflict countries. Even in supportive environments, a lack of proper resources could hinder favourable reforms. To exemplify, Shikaya, an education initiative organized by insiders in post-apartheid South Africa, gathered educators together from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds who were appointed to instruct the novel "multicultural civics curricula" (Cole and Barselou, 2005, p. 8, para 3). Apart from their well-intentioned initiative, Shikaya lacked proper resources to provide the means for these gatherings, for this reason an international NGO named Facing History and Ourselves got involved. The majority of the educators never engaged in professional communication with the 'other', furthermore this project created the first opportunity for educators of different backgrounds to get together.

Outside actors could also provide resources when it concerns politically contested education reforms. That is to say that the local governments do not finance education reform projects on the grounds of their controversial or politically unsafe nature. To exemplify, the aforementioned Israeli-Palestine joint textbook initiative the premises of the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany were utilized as a safe gathering place where both ethnic groups could collaborate and work on the joint project. Bearing in mind that outside actors are able to provide resources with reference to controversial education reforms (Cole and Barselou, 2005), it is to be expected that progressive educators situated in Bosnia rather get involved with outside actors, such as donors and agencies, than with the Bosnian Educational Ministries (Rafferty, 2013).

Conclusion

This research analysed the international community's efforts to decrease ethnic segregation among youth through an analysis of the undertaken initiatives. In addition, practices in other post-conflict countries struggling with education and youth segregation have been mentioned to provide interesting insights.

The Dayton Peace Agreement might have been the best solution to stop the violent war, however it did not do any good in terms of education in relation to ethnic segregation. Since the DPA does not specifically mention education, the ethnopolitical elites are free to organize education in the way they envision. This makes it possible to have three contradictory curriculums based on nationalistic rhetoric. Moreover, the DPA recognizes and protects the Bosnian, Croat and Serb language as three official languages. This seems quite remarkable considering that the Bosnian, Croat and Serb language are three variations of the same language. Despite being able to understand one other perfectly, this language right seems to be the perfect excuse to hinder reforms. By means of illustration, the Croats failed to administratively unify some of the two under one roof schools, for the reason that they feared the protection of the Croat language. Moreover, it allows the ethnic groups to have their own curriculum in their own language and to attend class separately. As a consequence, an integrated school such as the international UWC use English as the language of instruction. The same goes for the MSYP and other summer programs or camps where English is used as the main language of instruction. The choice of using English as the language of instruction is obviously ascribable to the politicization of language in Bosnia. Dayton's complex structure of education that resulted in 13 ministries of education appears to be very costly and inefficient. With reference to the stakeholders involved in the coordination of education, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, Agency for Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education and the OSCE all lack legal authority. Bearing this in mind, it comes as no surprise that initiatives such as the Common Core Curriculum are not fully implemented.

This study clearly depicts the controversial role of the International Community with regards to segregated education. Whilst the IC wishes to establish a common curriculum and integrated schools, they also recognize the right of groups to be ethnically isolated. An example of the latter being the reunified *Stara Gimnazija.* At *Stara Gimnazija* there is the presence of spatial governmentality and different ethnic curriculums, whilst at the same time joint extracurricular classes are being organized. With regards to Bosnia, the efforts of the IC have not always been successful. The 'two schools under one roof' system proposed

by the IC aimed at fostering refugee return did more harm than good. Namely, the school system promotes segregated education and is ruled by the Federation of Bosnia Supreme Court to be in violation with the country's law that prohibits discrimination. Nevertheless, this practice has still not been eradicated, which means that the Bosnia is breaching its own court's ruling. Despite the IC's controversial role, they still appear to be the ones who not only funds the initiatives or reforms aimed at youth segregation and education; the IC also initiates most of them. Which is most likely ascribable to the fact that the ethnopolitical elites in power want to remain the status quo with reference to the education system. Meaning that the IC could either impose their wished reforms on Bosnia or organize themselves at grassroots level using a bottom-up approach to realize reforms or projects. To illustrate, EUROCLIO employed this bottom-up approach in their projects. Nevertheless, the produced textbooks were never officially approved by the state authorities, which hindered the classroom use of the produced textbook. Nevertheless, this study shows that it is extremely hard to realize reforms using a top-down approach in Bosnia's political climate. On the grounds of the aforementioned observation, employing a bottom-up approach appears to be a good starting point for realizing reforms and projects to realize a decrease in ethnic segregation among youth.

EUROCLIO's projects acknowledge the significance of teachers in regard to reforming education. EUROCLIO, the organization that aims to reform history education, has trained a big number of teachers in Bosnia. EUROCLIO trained teachers with the intention to enhance critical thinking skills and the use of multiperspectivity among students. Nevertheless, it appears that teachers in Bosnia are in an extremely difficult position. To illustrate, a teacher could be progressive but the teacher does not decide on the curriculum and what is being taught in class. If the school or other educational authorities prefer a more nationalist rhetoric, the teacher has no other choice than to follow their instructions. In like manner, it could be questioned whether the teacher is allowed to use the EUROCLIO textbook and *devedesete* database in class. Considering that both are in contrast with the ethnic curriculums. As a consequence, the academics and teachers involved in EUROCLIO's textbook projects tend to work in silence to avoid political pressure. In like manner, more progressive politicians with reference to education tend to be under pressure.

The Bosnian youth grow up in their separate ethnic communities and the opportunities to meet the other ethnic groups are kept to a bare minimum. The current pupils do not have any memories of the war, nevertheless they learn about the war from their parents and relatives. The ethnic curriculum, in particular history education, often provides stereotypes and biased rhetoric on the other ethnic groups. As a consequence, the children undoubtedly

develop negative attitudes, such as prejudice, about the other ethnic groups at an early age. Nonetheless, there are also children who are raised to be open-minded, these children are often the ones who choose to study at an integrated school such as the international UWC. For most children attending a multi-ethnic summer camp is the first opportunity to meet others from the different ethnic groups. When encountering the other ethnic group in the neutral camp setting children often realize that they are not that different from each other. In regard to reducing ethnic segregation among Bosnia's youth, organizing grassroots summer camps or programs appear to be crucial. It could be assumed that only open-minded parents would allow their children to attend a multi-ethnic summer camp. Nevertheless, the example of the international UWC where children pretend to be open-minded to enjoy quality education shows otherwise. Considering this, prejudiced children could attend a English Summer camp or program in the interest of improving their language skills. Likewise, a prejudiced teenager could join the multi-ethnic CAMPUS15 summer camp in Germany in the interest of visiting another country. The only downside to organizing such initiatives are the no-cost structure and the language issue. Organizations need a significant amount of donations to provide a no cost structure, without a no-cost structure only privileged children are able to join. Referring to the language issue, most summer camps or programs use English as the language of instruction. This could be an issue, since an average level of English is not common among youth in Bosnia. In addition, the practice of bringing in a foreign ethnic group appears to foster group cohesiveness amongst Bosnia's different ethnic groups. CAMPUS15 in Germany uses the same practice to create group cohesiveness among Croats, Bosniaks, Serbs, Albanians and Montenegrins.

In general, Bosnia could learn a lot from the practices in other post-conflict countries in terms of educational initiatives aimed at decreasing youth segregation. In particular, the Shared Education Initiative in Northern Ireland would be very applicable in Post-Dayton Bosnia. The bottom-up nature of this initiative only benefits the implementation of such a project in Bosnia, considering the uncooperative authorities. Furthermore, this initiative allows the ethnic groups to retain their own curriculums. As a result, parents, schools and other stakeholders are more willing to agree on such initiatives considering that it does not threaten their ethnic communities' identity. With reference to the joint classes and school visits within the Shared Education Initiative, it may be wondered whether such a project is achievable in Bosnia. Owing to the fact that most subjects taught in school are highly politicized, which limits the possible options for shared classes. Once again, the language of instruction could complicate matters. Keeping in mind that it is not in the interest of the ruling politicians to provide children with the opportunity to meet members of the other ethnic groups, they are likely to be unsupportive. As a result, the finances to cover the

expenses of the project are likely to be provided by outside actors. Moreover, since Bosnia is not a priority anymore the search for outside donors is likely going to be quite difficult. Nevertheless, there are less expensive initiatives learned from abroad such as the comparative context teaching method and the practice of oral history. The outcome of the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology's shared education project will tell whether this good practice is applicable in Bosnia.

Last but not least, it is important to consider that the recovery of an ethnic conflict in combination with a regime change takes time. Whilst the children only know stories, their parents and teachers are likely to have experienced the war themselves. Nonetheless, history education of the recent wars should not be permanently sidestepped since it is an important part of the reconciliation process. With that in mind, history education should be taught in a responsible manner with a common narrative agreed upon by all stakeholders. The latter might seem impossible, however the experience in other post-conflict countries tells otherwise. Integrated schools, common curriculums, common history education might be too big of a step for Bosnia today. Nevertheless, pushing and initiating reforms like the ones mentioned in this study could one day lead to the achievement of such goals. Eliminating the Dayton's constitution might seem like the structural solution to segregated education and the segregation among youth in general. Nonetheless, the political elites would never allow this to happen considering that they benefit from the current state of affairs. Generational change in combination with progressive politicians and incentives provided by the IC (such as EU membership) are more likely to contribute to progress and structural reforms.

In the light of the current state of affairs, Bosnia still has a long road to go when it comes down to decreasing ethnic segregation among youth. The main part of this problem being segregated education. The IC's former failure should not keep them from inspiring reforms. The former failure should be utilized as a motivational tool for the IC to continue their work with local progressive actors. The collaboration of local progressive actors and international organizations are crucial. To illustrate, the local actors have the knowledge whilst the international organizations have the means to realize the project. As a matter of fact, Bosnia as of today remains financially dependent on international institutions which makes the continuation of the IC's efforts in light of decreasing youth segregation even more important.

Recommendations

The study reveals that the international community, despite their former failure, remains to be the main actor in initiating educational initiatives and reforms aimed at Bosnia's segregated youth. The current state of affairs proves that there is still a long road to go to decrease segregation among Bosnia's youth. In particular, the alarming practice of segregated education and the two under one roof school system which needs to be eliminated. Taking this into account, the continuation of the international community's efforts appears to be crucial in regard to decreasing ethnic segregation. The international community's progressive efforts can take various forms – reforms, initiatives, projects, studies. In more detail, contributing to resolving this issue by any means are highly recommendable.

Considering the lack of academic research on specific initiatives, undertaking fieldwork would be highly recommendable considering that it could provide new insights. Moreover, further research appears to be crucial to evaluate the implementation of recent initiatives.

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