



Research Article

Educational segregation and discrimination in Bosnia and Herzegovina and critical peace: transgression of ethnic-ideological utilization of youth

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Abstract

The paper examines the ontological and normative origins of the "Two schools under one roof" phenomena (existing for decades but negligibly elaborated), particularly the broader multidisciplinary approach to the educational framework- legislative, future sociopolitical relations, critical peace, and the youth's psychosocial well-being. Finally, this paper determines these phenomena as a spectrum of sociopolitical coercion and competition affecting the peacebuilding and state-building process. The manuscript argues that segregation and discrimination in education are indisputable within the legislative democratic legitimacy of the ethnopolitical exploitation, designating individualism over the survival of shared collectivism, disregarding society's ethics and morality in the educational enlightenment process. It is objectionable that the temporary solutions - organizational units of the "two schools under one roof" model established in 1997, held in addition to the fulfillment of all until the present day, representing the potential and capacity to preserve the ethnopolitical power and reproduce destructive practices of ethnopolitics. The paradigm "Two schools under one roof" does not respect diversity and does not contribute to youth's individual development within critical judgment, attitudes, and multicultural/interreligious perceptions. Ethnoreligious collectivism rises above individualism and does not liberate the human capacity to build a democratic society. The inclusive education movement should build a democratic, inclusive, multiethnic, and multireligious society. Education has elevated strength and significant power and should be used for the good of society. Educational diversity inclusion is the intention for both a moral and ethical society. Educational segregation and discrimination create, intensify, and rationalize ethnoreligious disputes. The change of education from a cognitive segregated ethnopolitical matrix to a school organized according to the measure of "human enlightenment" is long-term and the most critical path in order not only to provide a good ground for educational inclusion satisfying the students' needs but the future of multicultural moral and ethical society. It reflects in brought up and educated non-ethnonationalism and non-xenophobes individuals- personalities in fragile post-conflict Balkan societies. Any form of segregation cannot be abolished without changing the Constitution, so every other form of solution will produce additional intricacies. Affirmative indications of the adverse effects of B&H educational policies, ethnopolitical ideologies, philosophies, and ethnopolitical nonobjective party interests are required. Those policies obstruct critical peace and conflict transformation processes and potential initiatives necessary to establish peace, conflict resolution, and nonviolence. Peace education and inter- ethnic communication can reduce disagreement sentiments ("enemy") between ethnoreligious groups, maintained by ethnopolitical separation propaganda.

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Introduction

At the beginning of the study of the legislative framework, we must point out the following: Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is a country consisting of two entities - the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H), the Republika Srpska (RS), and the District, Brčko District (DB B&H). In the B&H federal arrangement, the complex structure of two entities, one district, the ethnoreligious division, and EU and NATO integration is complicated. Moreover, the entities have increased the possibilities of monopoly and power over the territories. Furthermore, B&H carries the consequences of the complexity of the former Yugoslavia's multiethnic paradigm ("small" Yugoslavia). Dayton Peace Accords (1995) created the Constitution based on "ethnoreligious doctrines." Thus, it is a form of religious exclusivism. B&H is a fragile state with centrifugal ethnonationalism and the world's most complex public administration. It has 14 governments, 180

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ministers, two entities, "three languages," one district, 10 cantons, and 207 political parties in a country of 3.5 million people. The pre-election campaigns last permanently, and it has become a barrier to the country's progress (Hadžić, 2020). The Constitution defines Bosniak, Croat, and Serbs as constituent people. For the most part, a mere constitutional decor is consecrated in the last article of the discriminatory B&H Constitution's Preamble. The term "Others" in formulating "hybrid" identities is an unsentimental description of their discriminational classification in an ethnoreligiously divided society. Those who do not belong to one of the three religious groups or do not want to show affiliation are considered an unfamiliar/foreign component. They cannot elect representatives and are barred from running for office at any state level (Hadžić, 2020). Moreover, considering these factors, a constant secessionist antagonistic rhetoric in the political space of B&H is present. The ideological ethnonationalism has metastasized into a daily political discourse that produces uncritical subjects' adherence to their ethnic government and mono-ethnicized, violent territory (Hadžić, 2021). There is a perception that in a better position in the Region are those peoples of B&H who have a political and geopolitical sponsor. Thus, political, economic, or moral support. In B&H, where the population is predominantly Serb and Croat, these areas are characterized by Serbian (orthodox) or Croatian (catholic) awareness.

There are "minority and majority" or "friend and enemy" sociopolitical contexts in the former Yugoslavia. In that social relationship, the enemy is always that of another ethnoreligious group. It is the foundation of the political, religious, and ethnonational symbiosis in the former -Yugoslav communities, supplying part of the personal space of human intimacy, becoming the dominant form of behavior that marks generations. A specific (extremely negative) characteristic of the post-Yugoslav spaces is that religions are identified with nations (majority). After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, fear of losing identity within global communities led to the sudden "emergence" of antagonistic individual national identities, becoming indivisible and exclusive. By instrumentalizing the issue of ethnicity and religion within the radicalization of political discourse, ethnic homogenization occurs. The result is that ethnopolitical parties remain in power. In an environment where politics is extreme, many avoid concerns about the very nature of extremism and the process of radicalization. Thus, the discourse of "peacetime" extremism. Extremism originates from discovering two basic human needs: the need for cognitive closure and personal significance. Subordination of the individual to the national community, i.e., the political leader, is a psychological form of political behavior marked by an obsessive preoccupation with the cult of unification while abandoning democratic freedoms with redemptive violence and, regardless of moral and legal constraints. It aspires to achieve ethnoreligious threatening collectivity, the form of tribal identity. (Hadžić, 2020)

Education is the whole process of social life which implies that individuals and social groups learn about conscious development within and for the benefit of national and international communities: from their capacities, attitudes, readiness, and knowledge. (Canivez, 1990). The two schools under one roof concept are "a school building in which two or more schools of the same or different levels of compulsory primary, or secondary general or vocational education located as separate legal entities founded by municipalities or cantons. It operates according to the same curricula or provides different levels of education and teaching in different languages of the constituent peoples" (OSCE, 2018). The establishment of the anti-civilizational educational model of "two schools under one roof" was immediately after the war, in 1997. The Federal Ministry of Education and the Office of the High Representative (OHR) Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Agreement, i.e., the return of refugees and displaced persons, tried to ensure that their children attend classes in their mother tongue and according to the corresponding ethnonational curriculum" (Trkulja, 2017).

At the same time, there are disputable linguistical contests in the Balkans, notably in B&H. Moreover, its descriptions are inaccurate facts related to traditional Balkan historical revisionism and ethnopolitical homogenization policies. Furthermore, many in B&H do not endorse or entirely acknowledge the Bosnian language and its documented status and accurate historical position. Historically and chronologically, the abolition of the name of the Bosnian language and Bosnian language in 1908 is a "world precedent." It was a decree of the occupying state, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in 1907. The decree stated that "the Bosnian language will be called the "Serbian-Croatian" language in the future." The act was a crime and discrimination against Bosnia, Bosnians, and the Bosnian language. Muhamed Hevajic Uskufi wrote

the first Dictionary of the Bosnian language in 1631, 187 years before the first Serbian Dictionary, Vuk Karadžić. Thus, the first Serbian Dictionary was written by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in 1818. Moreover, the Bosnian language is considered a variety of Serbo-Croatian, as mutually intelligible with the Croatian and Serbian languages, which are all based on the Shtokavian dialect. "*Nauk krstjanski za Narod slovinski*" (Christian Doctrine for Slavonic People) is an early Bosnian and Herzegovinian printed book, printed in Venice in 1611 by the Bosnian Franciscan Matija Divković (1563-1631). The book is a compilation of the catechisms published by Jacobus Ledesma (1519-1575) and Roberto Bellarmino, translated from Latin into Bosnian, arranged, and interpreted by Divković. (Grba, 2014) Furthermore, Fra Antun Knežević² (9 January 1834 – 22 September 1889) was a staunch proponent of Bosnian (or Bosniak) national identity while being an active member of the Illyrian Movement. Finally, Ivan Franjo Jukić³ (8 July 1818 – 20 May 1857) mainly wrote under the pseudonym Slavoljub Bošnjak (lit. "Slavophile Bosniak"). Consequently, both were Bosnian Catholics. However, the author of this paper, attempting to remain outside the linguistic-political framework related to the cultural assimilation of Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs (by Bosniaks), indicates that Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian are the equivalent language, with particular distinctions.

Proof of discrimination and violation of the principle of equal treatment due to segregation on the ethnic principle in educational institutions through the so-called "two schools under one roof" system is evidenced by various reports. From UN bodies, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and others; report by the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg, who stated in a 2008 report: "The Commissioner is extremely concerned about the situation in education in B&H. Separating children based on their ethnicity can only strengthen prejudice and intolerance towards others and further ethnic isolation. The measures that should have been taken to unify the education system are long overdue. An ethnically based and divided education system is an obstacle to sustainable return." (European Commission, 2008) The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (Geneva; 2006), considering B&H reports submitted under the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, recommended and stated: "The Committee strongly urges the State party to abolish segregation in public schools, which means structured as "two schools under one roof" as soon as possible. The Committee urges that the responsible authorities within the State party consolidate previously separated schools into one administration, put up efforts to withdraw ethnically-religiously discriminatory elements from textbooks, mono-ethnic/mono-religious symbols or flags, and implement a more modern standard core school curriculum. Thus, it applies to the territory of a Member State, which is sensitive to the different characteristics of diverse ethnic groups, and in the territory of a Member State (Recommendation Number 23). (Institution of the Human Rights Ombudsman, 2012) In the CERD document entitled "Seventh and Eighth Periodic Report on the Implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in B&H(2008), prepared by the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, the comment made by the Member State (B&H), without denying the existence of segregation, on that recommendation was, among other things (paragraph 177). "Despite intense calls and efforts by the Council for the implementation of peace, the Office of the High Representative, and pressure from the international community, there are still schools organized by the principle of "two schools under one roof." This issue is present in the Central Bosnia Canton and the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton. The cantonal authorities have considerably addressed this concern. However, the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in B&H provisions prescribe legislation. Under the Constitution, institutions that are registered under the applicable B&H laws for the provision of services in the domain of preschool, primary and secondary teaching, adult education, and other professional institutions in the educational field are obliged to apply and respect the principles and norms to guarantee education under equal conditions for all students" (Article 1; the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in B&H). (Ministry for human rights and refugees, 2008)

² He was a Bosnian Franciscan friar, historian, and writer from Varchar Vakuf, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³ He was a Bosnian writer and Franciscan friar from Bosnia and Herzegovina whose life and cultural and political legacy have left an indelible mark on the cultural history of the country, where he is remembered as one of the founders of Bosnian modernism.

The cognitive ethnopolitical model of education cannot meet the demands and requirements of educational inclusion. It is essential to build a school for human beings, an educational institution promoting diversity and valuing individuality. The cognitive, educational forms followed by segregation and ethnopolitical ideological contents do not have multidimensionality which is the personification of people. Education can guide to peace and be a part of "building a more promising future," "conflict transformation," and "conflict resolution" by supporting the transformation of the security circumstances, political institutions, economic regeneration, and social development/social capital. However, education policies can escalate conflict if they are poorly designed or implemented, specifically if it reinforces ethnic-religious-national segregation and supports discrimination and prejudice.

Former Yugoslavia's historical conflicting memory cultures from WW2 to the Yugoslav wars present enduring processes within sociopolitical ethnic-religious traditions. The consequence of populist political orders in ethno-religious partitioned post-socialism is ethnic-symbolic collectivism, oppressing individual identity, excluding the possibility of distinct classification. Instead of socialism's challenging and axiologically exclusive atheism, today, we have three equally exclusive "theologies or clerical forces" in the function of a new, radical-revaluing ideologizing and dismemberment of society on a religious basis. Over three decades after the conflicts, hybrid wars and peace stalemates in B&H are associated with constant secessionism, historical revisionism, victimization, genocide denial, genocide "festivity," and reinforcement, leading to parallel memory politics. Thus persistent sociopolitical fragility. Antagonistic rhetorics are presented daily in the political space, social capital, and educational institutions. B&H is a place and space characterized by a high degree of ethnic-religious carefulness, complexity, and ethnopolitical manipulation influencing sociopolitical shifting and inter-social relations. These linear processes affect the peace stalemate, sociopolitical development, education, enlightenment of a new generation of "Bosnians," multiculturalism and inter-culturalism, and the country's general progression.

At the same time, geopolitically and economically, the Balkans are among the most sensitive regions to developments concerning the Ukraine/Russian conflict, related to Serbia's and the Republic of Srpska (RS), B&H Entity's longtime political understanding with Russia. B&H is the region's most complex multiethnic paradigm of former Yugoslavia and was most devastated by the 90s wars. The persistent political instability in the Western Balkans can spark contemporary crises on the EU's immediate borders. Political tensions are exceptionally high in Macedonia, B&H, and Kosovo. Many EU policymakers are concerned that Russia aims to exacerbate this disorder. It is a concern that has intensified since elements of the Russian intelligence service were recently implicated in a failed coup in Montenegro. Nevertheless, the region's crises are rooted in a general winner-takes-all party politics and flaws inherent in the political settlements forged to end the Yugo-slav wars. While Russia has deep-seated interests in the Balkans, its interventions are more opportunistic than strategic. (International Crisis Group, 2017)

Research in two cases of late-stage intervention, B&H and Kosovo, confirms that "local structures" is a problematic concept. In both cases, international and locals feel trapped in an intervention that has become obstructed. (Martin and Moser, 2012) Moreover, the communication pipelines between the international community, local authorities, civil society, and grassroots are low-grade and ineffectual, resulting in mutual distrust, resentment, and weak expectations. However, the focus should be on critical human security peacebuilding arrangements, the transformation of communications strategies, and re-thinking the importance of the "local" dimension of critical peace and conflict transformation. Local ownership is a desirable outcome of international peace operations, enabling local people to control reform and reconstruction processes and internationals to scale down or end their presence in a country eventually. Nevertheless, beyond this broad characterization, local ownership is an unclear and contested idea, which provokes misunderstanding among local and international constituencies, and makes it harder to achieve satisfactory outcomes for all of these groups. (Martin and Moser, 2012) Furthermore, Critical Peace and Conflict Studies should be primarily concerned with the quality and nature of peace in cultural (ethnic/religious), social, economic, and political terms, ranging from the international system to the state and communities. Peace has a profound effect on education. Peace can help achieve the right to primary quality education. In areas of intractable conflict between specific groups,

such as former Yugoslavia, peace education should seek to promote alternate narratives of the conflict to encourage mutual understanding, respect, and collaboration. In areas where there is no active conflict or violation of human rights, peace education seeks to promote individual skills that reject the use of violence and create stronger communities. However, peace education is almost non-existent and not supported in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, it is fundamental and critical in divided societies. As history has shown, tensions between ethnic/religious groups can lead to violence. Moreover, it remarkably leads to post-conflict hybrid wars, peace and progression stalemates, and sociopolitical, economic, and critical security deterioration. Education is a crucial element of preventive action. Moreover, in fragile contexts like the Western Balkans, education for peace can support bridging ethnic and religious divisions.

Research Problem

The research focuses on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian (B&H) educational segregation and discrimination concerning critical peace and conflict within the historical, legislative, sociopolitical, educational, ethical, and psychological framework of the "two schools under one roof" model. It is objectionable that the temporary solutions - organizational units of the "two schools under one roof" model established in 1997, held in addition to the fulfillment of all until the present day, representing the potential and capacity to preserve the ethnopolitical potential and reproduce destructive practices of ethnoreligious segregation concerning the moral and ethical growth of the future generation within the fragile ethnic divided society. Furthermore, the separate curricula aimed at segregating students on ethnic/religious backgrounds, defiant to the provisions of the State law, are controvertible.

The paper aims to observe the epistemological origins of the topic itself, which has been current for decades but very little elaborated on by domestic authors, especially the broader multidisciplinary approach to the educational framework—particularly legislative and future sociopolitical relations, critical peace, and the youth's psychosocial well-being. The manuscript argues that segregation and discrimination in education are indisputable within the legislative democratic legitimacy of the ethnopolitical exploitation, designating individualism over the survival of shared collectivism, disregarding society's ethics in the educational enlightenment process. The paper will highlight several critical categorical concepts (discrimination, segregation, education, conflict, war, curriculum, ethnonationalism, enlightenment, human rights, Bosnian history, and the model "two schools under one roof"). Finally, this paper determines these phenomena as a spectrum of sociopolitical coercion and competition affecting the peace-building and state-building process.

Method

Research Design

The paper presents a theoretical and legislative examination of educational segregation and discrimination in B&H, conceptualizing the synergy transgression of ethnic-ideological exploitation of youth and its consequences on B&H's next generations within the in-depth literature review and descriptive, discursive content analysis, analytical, and comparative methods. Analytical and descriptive parts add to comprehension for foreign readers who are not familiar with this Balkan phenomenon. The peace and conflict process requires interdisciplinary deconstruction into peace and conflict dynamics, combining post-colonial studies, anthropology, sociology (political, ethnicity and religion), human geography, social psychology, critical security studies, human security, development studies, political science, peace economics, communication studies, international relations, and others.

Collecting Data and Documents

The secondary data relates to official references, legislations, books, research papers, international reports accessed through the databases, and policy reports from international NGOs and media narratives. The data evaluated is external and foreign research, legislative orders, and NGOs funded projects of comparable intention in some areas. Two main qualitative data analysis techniques used are content analysis and discourse analysis. The data and notice studies were analyzed and prepared to convert raw data into a meaningful and legible framework, including data validation. Some of

the documents analyzed are: The Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) Constitutional Law, EU Commission working documents and Reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina; Documents associated with the Institution of the Human Rights Ombudsman; Various historical registers, Monnesland, S. (2005) *Jezik u Bosni i Hercegovini (B&H)* [Language in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H)], Institut for East-European languages and oriental studies, Oslo; Statements and narratives of politicians in the Balkan region; A diverse Media sources and texts; Delors, J. (1996). *Learning: The treasure within*. UNESCO Publishing, Paris; Kuburić, Z. Chrisian Moe, C. (2006). *Religious Education in Croatia- Religion, and Pluralism in Education: Comparative Approaches in the Western Balkans*, Canivez, P. (1990), *Éduquer le citoyen?* Hatier, Paris, Trkulja, A. (2017) *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom u Bosni i Hercegovini (B&H): (ne) razumijevanje problema i moguća rješenja* [Two schools under one roof in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H): (mis) understanding of the problem and possible solutions]. *Analitika – Centar za društvena istraživanja*, Sarajevo, and many others.

Theoretically, the knowledge and expertise formulated multidisciplinary approaches and scholarship such as political science, sociology, philosophy, peace and conflict studies, ethics, critical security studies, social and political psychology, and law, comprising a robust conceptual framework. Finally, the study underscores future research that could lead to more insights into the importance of the global correspondence between phenomena, construction, and sophistication of the normative explications in ethnoreligious, divided post-conflict cultures and their ethical paradigm.

Educational Segregation and Discrimination in B&H

What is the origin of the terms discrimination, and what is their connection? This section highlights two crucial categorical concepts (discrimination and segregation), presenting specific definitions, relationships, and distinctions. When and how they appear and represent enormous obstacles in all pores of social life, especially in the education system. Therefore, it is necessary to start from the very definition of what exactly is discrimination and segregation? When we talk about the concept of discrimination, we can say that it represents a "negative social phenomenon. Unfortunately, it is global - there is no society without discrimination. Therefore, we often view it as a "normal" phenomenon, which makes it impossible to challenge. Many people often do not even notice it while performing daily routines. In this context, it is necessary to develop society's awareness and critical potential to recognize it and fight against various forms of discrimination.

The "two schools under one roof" phenomenon is an element of the education system. What does this phenomenon bring with it? What adverse connotations can we attach to it? Is this temporary, that is, a long-term solution is the culmination of the success of the competent institutions? Is this resolution suitable for Bosnian children and youth? Does it consider the existence of children, and is it normal? What do they learn? How does it affect sociopolitical and sociocultural relations and the transformation of conflict? These are all rhetorical questions that should occupy the thoughts of every parent and global citizen. The curriculum is a school document that prescribes teaching content's scope, profundity, and directive. In other words, the curriculum specifies the explicit contents of a particular subject and topic. It concretizes the curriculum that determines the number of instructing hours by subjects and grades. The curriculum is presented in a tabular overview, and the curriculum is presented textually on several pages. The implementation of the curriculum ends with a check of the adoption of the content, for example, the Croatian History curriculum, which can be overviewed in the paper "History teaching focused on learning outcomes" (Marinovic, 2014).

If we go back to the historical origins, in its almost thousand-year existence, B&H was an independent state, then part of the Ottoman Empire, part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, then one of the Yugoslavia republics, and again an independent state (the UN member since May 1992). However, the B&H independence encouraged aggression against its people and territory, causing one of the bloodiest conflicts in Europe since World War II. The violent conflict from 1992 to 1995 "resulted in more than 100,000 dead and more than 2.2 million displaced (demographically, it remains today). Cantons with a mixed Croat and Bosniak population (Zenica-Doboj, Central B&H-Neretva Canton) were areas of intense fighting, leading to significant displacement of one of the two ethnic/religious groups (OSCE, 2018). During the war, the devastation of towns, villages, mass killings of civilians, human rights violations, genocide, culturcide, ethnic cleansing, systemic rapes, crimes against humanity and international humanitarian law, and other inhumane acts in B&H

occurred. The Dayton Peace accords "ended" tragic conflict after some time. The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed, which "ended organized violence in B&H." That is the most rudimentary attribution of this contradictory international peace arrangement.

How does the Constitution of B&H regulate the education system? When we approach the "B&H Constitution" and Article III, Paragraph 1 unquestionably defines and enumerates the competencies of the B&H as a country. The competence of the B&H as a state does not include education. All competencies that are not explicitly listed are under the entity's jurisdiction. In the Constitution of B&H, the issue of education is mentioned only in one place: in Article II, which deals with human rights, in paragraph 2: Catalog of Rights, where the penultimate place is, under the letter I, "the right to education." The author notices that the minor changes within the organization of education systems in B&H occurred primarily due to the reference to fundamental human rights and international declarations listed (in Annex I of the same Constitution). International conventions are an integral part and prioritize application concerning domestic legislation. With the Dayton construction, B&H has presumably become the only country globally that does not have sovereignty concerning education system (s) on its territory. The B&H Constitution does not specify the provisions related to education and how citizens can be protected against discrimination in education. It follows that any state law in education has no basis in the B&H Constitution, which leaves a vast gray area for these issues to be regulated by local levels of government in a way that suits the majority ethnic group." (Ademovic et al., 2012)

The emergence of the concept known as "two schools under one roof" initiates specific problems, analyzes different opinions of education experts, and offers many models for eliminating this rigorous practice, but what is important to emphasize is how to take the first step towards eliminating this phenomenon. How can the individual, the family, the international community, political elites, and other actors improve and resolve the crisis segment we call segregation in education. Why should children suffer because of the imposed nationalist rhetoric that reigned in the 80s and 90s? Why it must be present today. These are just some crucial issues related to this phenomenon in the B&H education system. Therefore, what is the process we call "two schools under one roof"? When does it appear, materialize, and how has it ministered? Or to problematize if it results from compromise or grounding in B&H legislation?

The paradigm "two schools under one roof" has no foundation in B&H's laws and other country acts. It resulted from a compromise in the FB&H; in those municipalities wherein the post-war period, it was necessary to rebuild the war-torn trust between Bosniaks and Croats. This educational "unethical" phenomenon has emerged as a temporary solution after the war, but that temporary solution has deprived hundreds and hundreds of high school students of so much more love of friendship and cooperation. Based on ethnicity, separate schools lead to a kind of segregation in the educational process in such a way that children are excluded, limited, and prevented from recognizing and realization, on equal fundamental rights and educational freedoms, as places and spaces of public and shared life, due to the circumstances of belonging to another. On the other hand, Republika Srpska (RS) Entity has announced the introduction of a curriculum from Serbia in the following school year to protect the "national identity of the Serbian people." It is an entity that disputes the name of the language for Bosniaks - the Bosnian language - which is why returnee children in two municipalities did not attend school until an improvised school was opened according to the curriculum from the FB&H. (Sadikovic and Veladic, 2014) This move forms a homogeneous Serbian identity, regardless of its regional conditions and differences in regional identity procedures. In this way, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats are extracted from B&H, their cultural heritage, and their Bosnian tradition. The educational phenomenon of "two schools under one roof" is the most visible example of segregation in B&H schools and has often been the subject of sharp international criticism, condemnation, and pressure due to slowness and obstruction at local government levels. Despite all efforts to abolish ethnic segregation, these schools still exist (today, there are 54 in certain cantons in the FB&H) (Politika, 2010). Moreover, this Western Balkan phenomenon represents an anti-civilizational ethnopolitical effort and directly affects critical peace, inter-state institutions, and future social relations.

Children and young people of different ethnicities/religions/nationalities are divided physically in such schools, just like their teachers, and have no shared interaction. However, contrary to the Law provisions, the curricula aimed at

segregating children on ethnic/religious grounds are questionable or exorbitant. Consequently, this has led to the quality of returnee (limited numbers) children's education being questioned because the curricula and programs were realized on unconditional premises and without the necessary teaching aids. However, we can problematize that segregation, in general, in the form of non-post conflict occurrences, does not necessarily imply a discriminatory connotation. Furthermore, the focus should be on eliminating all forms of discrimination; in the B&H context, educational legislation should not be limiting but a stimulating factor.

Consequently, one of the consequences of the war in B&H (1992-1995) is educational segregation and discrimination through which, according to reports from representatives of the international community, Bosnian (B&H) society remains divided. Therefore, they often send messages to the representatives of the education authorities in B&H that the priority should be eliminating segregation and discrimination in schools. Accordingly, a condition of educational segregation, "two schools under one roof," refers to teaching organized in two different curricula in "all subjects/courses." In order to integrate the education system, the education authorities adopted and implemented the Common Core Curriculum. However, this did not lead to the dissolution of "two schools under one roof," nor did it stop the process of dividing B&H society ethnically/religiously. Any attempt to integrate the education system is doomed in advance because the Bosnian society did not divide education but the constitutional order. The different curricula result from the constitutional recognition of the three official languages: Bosnian (Bosniaks), Croatian, and Serbian. Thus, the recognition of the right of constituent peoples to education in their "native" language. Therefore, challenging the right to education in one's language is understood as a form of discrimination. However, is the unanimous condemnation of the Declaration⁴ on a Common Language of all states of the former Yugoslavia sufficient? Is this the fate of the "Yugoslavs" crisis and Yugoslav social memory in this Region? For example, according to the laws of nature, the Croatian (Republic of Croatia) intellectual community reacted and called this the provocation with a quality philippic, according to the laws of nature - but thus, the danger of "Yugoslavism" is not remotely remote suppressed. Moreover, there are also private - therefore secret - manifestations of deviant behavior in addition to those in public.

If we study all the laws and bylaws regulating education in B&H, we conclude that it is impossible to eliminate segregation and discrimination. The example of the language issue in education legislation is the basis for segregation. According to the current Law on Primary Education, "school teaching is conducted in the languages of the constituent peoples of B&H, which are named after one of three names: Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian. In addition, both alphabets of B&H (Latin and Cyrillic) are used." According to the adopted Draft of the new Law on Primary Education of Sarajevo Canton, classes are conducted "in one of the three official languages of the constituent peoples of B&H, which are named in one of three names: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian." However, Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs speak essentially the same language. Moreover, historically, Bosnian people have always spoken the exact language.

Muhammad Hewai Uskufi laid a strong foundation for the Bosnian language, as evidenced by the opinion of modern British historian Noel Malcolm on the subject, who says: "As Bosnian was the third language of the Ottoman Empire, it is no wonder that part of Ottoman literature was written in that language." (Malcolm, 1996) An 18th-century Bosnian writer, the chronicler Mula Mustafa Baseski, who added a collection of poems in Bosnian to his annals, argued that the language was much more prosperous than Arabic because it had 45 words for the verb "to go." (Skaric, 1927) Even in 1601, Marvo Orbini wrote that "Of all the peoples who speak Slavic, Bosnians have the smoothest and most elegant language and are proud that they are the only one's today who care about the purity of the Slavic language." (Magas, 2003) Subsequently, the Bosnian language was prohibited at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The Serbo-Croatian language was declared, and no one was engaged and authorized to protest. Therefore, using the Bosnian language as an official language in a unified B&H could not be regarded as a policy of assimilation of Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs and a violation of European law on cultural rights.

⁴ Jezici i nacionalizmi, <http://jezicinacionalizmi.com/deklaracija/>

Accordingly, it divides Bosnian society: language, history, and geography are allowed by law to be specially organized in school institutions. Given this legal constellation, the project of the Common Core Curriculum in B&H was condemned from the commencement. A Common Core Curriculum for History and Geography has been developed, but the contents do not refer to the history of B&H but contents from world history. Thus, the educational phenomenon of "two schools under one roof" is not the lone state of segregation in B&H schools and educational institutions. Additionally, segregation is carried out through religious education and a "national group" of subjects/courses. Religious and ethnic segregation is provided among students belonging to the constituent peoples and national minorities. It can be said that the segregation of constituent peoples is voluntary (mostly), and the segregation of national minorities is forced. For example, Jews perceive B&H as their homeland, and for them, as one of the B&H national minorities, particular classes from the national group of subjects are planned. We can ask a question: in what language - Yiddish? Bosnian Jews use the language used by all three constituent peoples in their mutual communication.

Unlike the socialist model, the basic directions of changes in the education system start not more from the collectivity (communism working class) but the individual or ethnoreligious collectivity within the autonomy of education as basic parameters shaping the current education system. The public education system - practically the only school system in the country - was hermetically sealed from any religious influence in communism. In several institutions outside of that system where religion was taught, such as religious schools for Catholic and Orthodox priests and Muslim clerics and religious instruction for children in parishes, and mektebs⁵, religious instruction was carefully controlled. It was generally expected that religion would soon disappear from private life and socialist society in the way it was expelled from public spheres. Several generations have believed that such a development is a matter of time, but it is beyond any doubt. However, circumstances changed dramatically in the late 1980s. Confessional or denominational religious education has become part of primary and secondary schools' curricula a few years later. Religious education is a compulsory elective subject in Serbia, and it is represented in the curricula for primary and secondary schools for one hour per week. According to official information, more than half of students in Serbia attend religious classes, and high school students are more interested in religious education than elementary school students. (Bilić, 2017) In Croatia and B&H, it is a voluntary elective subject. However, at the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) request, religious education could be compulsory in B&H, Republika Srpska (RS) Entity high schools (Orthodox majority). (Veselinovic, 2018) In Republika Srpska (RS), a grade in religious education is valued the same as a grade in, for example, mathematics or physics. In primary schools, the subject is called Society, Culture, Religion, and in secondary schools, the Culture of Religion. Grades from both subjects, like the Republic of Srpska (RS) Entity, incorporate GPA in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H) entity. For example, a Sarajevo Canton (Bosniaks/Muslim majority). Catholic school religious education is integrated into the general educational goals of the modern Croatian democratic school. According to its goals and contents, it is grafted into the entirety of the Croatian (Republic of Croatia) educational system. It comprises Bosnian (B&H) Croats.

Nevertheless, this doctrine provokes controversies since it is already being studied as an elective subject in primary school. A comprehensive legal framework followed in 2003 and 2004, B&H Parliament embraced the Framework Law on Religious Freedom/Position of churches and religious communities. B&H has signed similar basic agreements with the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox Churches. Despite different and changing statuses, religious education in Croatia and other Western Balkans countries acquired a sound - accepted subject (Kuburic and Moe, 2006).

The B&H should establish an educational model in public schools that prevents indoctrination. Thus, it is a violation of the right of parents to educate their children in following their own religious or philosophical beliefs. Moreover, it instills understanding, tolerance, and respect for a pluralistic society and enlightens students on the principle of religious freedom as one of the fundamental elements of freedom and democracy. In such a model of education, religious education could promote tolerance and understanding between individuals, groups, and nations by transmitting

⁵ Mekteb, in Arabic Kuttub, means school. The term mekteb in the Bosnian language represents a primary Islamic religious school.

knowledge. Thus, the values relating to religious tendencies are inclusive so that individuals understand that they are part of the same community and discover to create their own identity in harmony and carefulness correlated to different identities and "others."

The draft document of the Stabilization and Association Council of the European Union and B&H called for the abolition of the phenomenon of the existence of "two schools under one roof." (European Commission, 2020). The document was submitted for consideration before the meeting of the joint body, but there is no definite consent of all representatives, both in the EU and in B&H. Representatives of the German administration especially insist on its implementation, stating that it is a matter of segregation of children and the continuation of national divisions in the country. In doing so, they advocate introducing a unified curriculum and joint education of children, regardless of their language and other specifics. This proposal is still not a formal position of the European Union (EU) because it is opposed by the representatives of Croatia in its institutions. The argument for that is the existence of a final judgment of the Supreme Court of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H). It rejected the attempt to present the preservation of cultural and linguistic identity as segregation and the practice of "two schools under one roof" as an issue that should be instinctively withdrawn. Namely, the Supreme Court of the FB&H, which is the highest court instance in this entity, thus rejected the request for revision of the judgment of the Cantonal Court in Travnik (a town in central B&H, part of FB&H), who also assessed that working according to unique national plans and programs is not a form of discrimination and segregation of children. "The possibility and existence of two curricula in Bosnian and Croatian with a common core are in line with the Convention against Discrimination in Education, ratified by B&H," reads the verdict of the FB&H Supreme Court signed by Council Chairman Fatima Imamovic. In that decision, it was specified that a situation could be considered discrimination in which children would not have the right to retain their linguistic specificity. "The ruling stated that inaugurating or maintaining special educational institutions and systems for religious or linguistic reasons does not constitute discrimination."

If we examine peacebuilding and conflict transformation in the post-conflict, fragile societies, ethnically and religiously impacted, consequently explore the "future" of the Peace and Conflict path, there is the dysfunctionality of relationships between international and local. It is reflected in how the peacebuilding agenda is negotiated and enforced. The case studies in Kosovo and B&H "Exiting Conflict, Owning the Peace Local Ownership and Peacebuilding Relationships in the cases of Bosnia and Kosovo" reveal the need to find new ways of framing and organizing relationships between external actors and locals to restore peace operations' trust, efficacy, and legitimacy. Nevertheless, local ownership provokes misunderstanding among local and international constituencies and makes it harder to achieve satisfactory outcomes for all groups. (Martin and Moser, 2012) However, we should incorporate critical human security peacebuilding arrangements. A focus should be on transforming communications strategies and rethinking the "local" dimension in conflict-affected societies. Thus, particularly Western Balkans and its historical and current explicit circumstances. Moreover, B&H is a place and space characterized by a high degree of ethnic-religious carefulness, complexity, and ethno-political manipulation influencing sociopolitical shifting and inter-social relations. These linear processes affect the peace stalemate, sociopolitical development, education, enlightenment of a new generation of "Bosnians," multiculturalism and inter-culturalism, and the country's general progression.

Although less visible in the media, new and distinguishable agents have emerged in education policy and research over the past decade, reaching for deeper reflection on the purpose of education and conceivably a rethinking of religion and education. In the UNESCO International Commission on Education for the 21st Century Publication "Learning: Inner Treasures," editor Jacques Delors points to the "tension between the spiritual and the material. Frequently, without realizing it, the globe longs for the models and values we will call "morality." Thus the noble task of education is to encourage everyone full respect for pluralism, elevate one's mind and spirit to the universal level, and transcend oneself to some extent" (Delors, 1996). The report reaches for a renewed focus and priority on the moral and cultural dimensions of education, with a process "that must begin with self-understanding through an inner journey whose signposts are knowledge, meditation, and the practice of self-criticism" (Delors, 1996).

Peace has a profound influence on education. Peace can support achieving the right to primary quality education. Peace education helps young people gain knowledge, enhance their skills in the area of peace, and form an attitude about the meaning of peace in human life. The goals of peace education globally vary widely. In some developing countries, where there is no specific "enemy or conflict" but a general lack of human rights, peace education seeks to elucidate sources of inequality to promote a more equitable, stable future. It should encourage collaboration in diverse groups and give voice to excluded on the micro (schools) and macro-levels. It should encourage students who are commonly excluded from speaking up in class on a micro-level. It means incorporating the narratives of people who have been historically discriminated against or excluded on a macro level. Have students think critically about why the knowledge and experiences of some groups of people are privileged over the knowledge and experiences of others. Emphasize collaboration and teamwork and deemphasize competition and self-interest. Structure long-term projects that allow children from different social or ethnic groups to work together toward a common goal. Opportunities in which children get to know one another as individuals "may help break prejudices and establish caring relationships among members of diverse groups," according to Silvia Ferrás. (Shafer, 2015)

Dragana, born into a Serbian family in a small, multiethnic town called Hrvatska Kostajnica (Republic of Croatia), after witnessing these events at just 17 years old, fled her home did many other families living in Yugoslavia's multiethnic communities. The wars left behind ruined lives, homes, and strained relations across ethnic lines. Decades after the war, although borders still exist on maps and in people's minds, Dragana utilizes the power of education to bridge the separation created by the wars and conflicts. For Dragana, the norms and values of a multiethnic life stemmed from the presence of mixed marriages and gatherings in the family and community in which she grew up. Dragana's belief in these values shaped her into today's person. A critical moment for Dragana on her path to peacebuilding was when she attended the Democracy, Human Rights, and Peaceful Conflict Resolution course at the Nansen Academy in Lillehammer, Norway, in 1998. Here, Dragana found herself in an environment where she was engaged with Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, and Albanians for the first time since the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. All shared the stories, and there were apparent disagreements between different views of ethnic groups. This event highlighted how propaganda and the separation of these ethnic groups during the war created different narratives about the same events and narratives. Thus, the "other" was no longer seen as an "enemy" through communication. As the course participants communicated, all existing tensions caused by the war were dissolved (Global Campaign for Peace Education, 2020)

Transgression of Ethnic-ideological Utilization of the Next Generation

In socialist/communist Yugoslavia, the concepts of brotherhood and unity were the foundation of a multinational/multiethnic/multireligious state and became constitutional values. However, these ideas turned to themselves in the 1990s, during the first democratic elections held in Yugoslavia and the collapse of communism. The victorious nationalist ideologies in the elections of the 1990s eradicated a multiethnic identity, and the ethnic-nationalist rhetoric of the new leaders incited hatred towards other ethnic/religious groups. It created a fabrication of the "other" as the enemy. Other "manipulating" and adverse factors led to the disintegration of the six previously settled Yugoslav republics (today seven republics) into independent states and the outbreak of violence and armed conflict. Consequently, the national identities in the former Yugoslav countries built and consolidated with the help of confessional exclusivism (often associated with ethnicity) manifested themselves as extremely impermeable and inflexible, and the rivalry between their national projects was almost irreconcilable. Therefore, this form of nationalism (ethnonationalism) maintained a powerful position in these societies' sociopolitical processes. Moreover, politically motivated ethnic mobilization encourages and extends a sense of homogeneity, equality, and security. Thus, there is power in the collective "We" in the Balkans. Moreover, this form of radicalism and extremism uses the properties of consciousness: ethnicity, religiousness, and thinking in absolute categories (in a destructive aspect to add naturalness to its ideas) to justify activities with a sacred or "patriotic" will. Although the violent potential of nationalism in the Balkans should be overlooked, the inflammatory rhetoric is just a method used by political elites to manipulate/influence the public (Hadžić, 2020).

Mass destruction, which occurred during the war, left a severe problem on the education system and gave it burning problems towards its practical solution. Many schools were destroyed or partially destroyed. The teaching staff was eliminated. Some teachers/professors sought a livelihood outside the B&H, some perished, and some remained stationed in their area. On the other hand, children remained on the brink of collapse due to dominant nationalist policies. Many childhoods have been destroyed, education, xenophobia, nationalism, discrimination, hatred, and separation of schoolmates into different classrooms. National division after 1995 also affected education. A school system has been introduced that segregates children on a national basis. In the Republika Srpska (RS) entity, schools are organized on the Serbian standard and with a Serbian program, and in the Federation of B&H (FB&H), there are many independent national schools or classes with different curricula - Bosnian and Croatian. Under pressure from the international community, authorities in ethnically mixed territories were forced to integrate students into single schools, leading to a "pathological and anti-civilizational" phenomenon - "two schools under one roof." Students are in the same building, but classes are in separate allotments, with special programs, courses, and textbooks" (Monnesland, 2005).

Conflict, in psychology, is the arousal of two or more strong motives that cannot be solved together. Conflict refers to disagreement between two or more people or ideologies. It is a situation in which one individual or group's goals, values, interests, and perceptions are incompatible with another individual or group. "It is a dynamic process that occurs between independent parties as they experience a negative emotional response to perceived disagreements and interference with the attainment of their goals." (Roloff and Chiles, 2011) Interaction conflict refers to the conflict manifested as the discomfort members feel while interacting with each other due to their behavior towards each other. Structural conflict arises due to the size, bureaucratic structure, diversity of team members, levels of involvement of members, and other internal process and structure-related aspects of an organization. (O'Rourke and Singh, 2006) "Defining war, conflict, and competition is vital, particularly for war professionals. How can we adequately advise policymakers or statespersons without understanding what war is? It is difficult to recognize the differences between war, conflict, and competition if we cannot define war. In modern parlance, the word "war" is used to describe a range of coercive situations that are military and non-military, violent and non-violent. Nevertheless, using "war" to describe everything has turned the term into a rhetorical device, leading it to signify nothing. Having no definition causes some to think war is defined by technology. Others confuse it with strategic competition and realpolitik, calling it the political war." (Dickey et al. 2015)

Ethnopolitical projects in the Balkans were started by war/conflicts. The segregation among ethnic/religious groups continues through education, within the discriminated educational phenomenon - "Two schools under one roof." The narratives of youth, part of the educational segregation, tell the horrid position of B&H and its prospective critical peace. "There are those borders, we do not agree, and we do not want to interact," says a high school student from Mostar, adding that he was never on the „Old Bridge“⁶ out of fear because, as he says, "someone will recognize that he is a Croat/Catholic and get into danger." Four students express such an opinion in the exact first sentence. The first student states that he can recognize a "Muslim" crossing the bridge by "speech, movement, clothing, facial texture, and darker skin." (Perspektiva, 2015). Thus, ethnopolitics and extremist ideologies are exclusively a continuation of the war by other means- the hybrid conflicts. They have entered education and initiated metastasizing, which affects the entire B&H social tissue and social capital. "This approach's most crucial feature undoubtedly creates a discourse of "naturalness," supported by different, primarily pseudo-scientific, or mythopoetic narratives of a particular ethnic group - nation. Naturalness discourse aims to devalue alternative discursive patterns as "utopian" or "abnormal." It is a kind of naturalistic delusion of the dominant ethnopolitical discourse." (Hadžić, 2020).

It is essential to point out their connection, i.e., that "segregation is one of the forms of endangering the dignity of the person and one of the forms of discrimination. Thus, it is a socially deviant phenomenon and is most often defined as the social, physical, political, and economic separation of different social groups, often based on ideological and social

⁶ Unesco's 16th-century Ottoman bridge in Mostar. It was rebuilt after the Croatian army destroyed it. It crosses the river Neretva and connects its two continually divided parts of town.

obstacles to civil liberties, equal opportunities, and participation. According to the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination of B&H, segregation is an act by which a person (natural or legal) separates other persons based on one of the listed grounds from the definition of discrimination. Such are race, skin color, language, religion, ethnicity, or another ground. From the above definition, we can conclude that segregation can be identified or discriminated against because it implies the act of separation, segregation, or exclusion.

Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear from the attached definition whether segregation is a form of discrimination only against certain groups of people or whether segregation can also be carried out against an individual? As indicated by the above definition, let us assume that segregation is the distinction or exclusion of one group of people concerning another group—alternatively, other groups on a distinctly restricted basis. Thus, we could conclude that the fundamental difference between segregation and discrimination is that segregation is a form of separation of groups of persons from other groups of persons. In the case of discrimination, differentiation and exclusion can also be made in individual cases. Most international mechanisms similarly define segregation, including the 1965 UN Convention for the Suppression of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It states that "member states specifically condemn racial segregation and apartheid and undertake to prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of this nature in the areas under their jurisdiction" (Beslagic, 2017).

At the same time, in addition to betraying the very essence of education as a meeting place, socialization, and integration, we can maintain that the "two schools under one roof" is presumably the most perfidious form of segregation policies of ethnonationalism, which created the conditions for systematic alienation from another. It channeled and structured the teaching of ethnonationalism. The result of such an arrangement is assumably the upbringing of national fundamentalists who do not know and even despise the difference. (Hadžić, 2021) For example, a student of Croatian nationality in the Bosniak part of the school attends classes according to the B&H curriculum - or vice versa. Ethnonational aggregation, i.e., ethnic/religious exclusion, does not exclusively affect students and young Bosnian people.

A suitable example related to the B&H educational policies is the matter of the dismissal of teacher A. F. in 2003. Namely, this teacher was temporarily employed in a school that worked according to the Croatian curriculum. However, after the Croatian Association of Parents' reaction, she lost her job precisely based on ethnicity/religion, i.e., the language she speaks. Parents felt that a Bosniak (Muslim) teacher could not adequately teach their children because it endangered specific ethnic/cultural aspects of a mono-ethnic, "pure" education. (Alispahic, 2003) Numerous other comparable examples warn us that the phenomenon of "two schools under one roof" goes beyond political and formal frameworks. Thus, it represents a highly complex social and critical security concern. Parents have become agents of preserving and reproducing this concept, indicating the successful naturalization of segregation policies that cannot be addressed exclusively at the political and administrative levels. (Hadžić, 2021) "The system of two schools under one roof is sound because it does not mix pears and apples," is a quote from the former Minister of Education of the Central Bosnia Canton, Greta Kune, from 2007. The fundamental rebuttal to this statement fits the narration of one parent: "Whenever I look at my daughter, a child from a "mixed marriage," I will think of her and wonder what he will call her some future ministers, where they will be allowed to sit in the classroom, and with whom they will mix and [...]." (ACIPS, 2012) Thus, such schools are a surrogate of the Berlin Wall, whose function is to prevent the integration of Bosniak and Croat children into one society - a plural civic space. Thus, it directly affects critical peace, sociocultural development, the transformation of conflict, and conflict resolution.

Industry of National Consciousness Since the time of Plato, progressive Western educators turned to society and man in order to functionalize and harmonize civilized, civic, social relations in the service of quality of human life, constantly insisting on two primary educational goals, namely: integration of overall bits of knowledge; and student personality development. Achieving these goals has never been more urgent than today when the hyper-production of specialist knowledge ("knowledge explosion"), despite the enormous efforts of students at all levels, calls into question the real possibility of adopting a permanent scientific fund. It has been more than half a century since the Spanish philosopher

Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) warned us of the need for an urgent response to this kind of educational challenge: "Finding a technique to overcome accumulated knowledge has become a burning problem that can no longer be avoided (Ortega y Gasset, 1991).

If a practical way of overcoming this abundance is not found, man will finally become a victim of his knowledge", i.e., ignorance. The educational system is in a very critical condition. It leads, but in a primitive and life-inappropriate way. Instead of the existential training of students (knowledge, abilities), his ideological, religious-national depiction is on the scene. Instead of reforming the outdated educational system according to the modern pedagogical-information symbiosis of the most developed countries globally, by nationalizing the school, B&H nationalists, under the guise of preserving the "national being," actually care about maintaining and functioning the Bolshevik-Leninist principle of "ideology in teaching." now, in another - nationalist packaging. Moreover, "ideology" is possible only against knowledge and against the education of students' healthy, complete and creative personalities.

What future can these generations create for B&H and Western Balkans in general- mainly when/if they come to the country's helm one day? One of the strategic goals of B&H is to join the European Union (EU), and for successful integration, it is necessary to make the transition of the education system under international standards. The question that arises is, can the solutions we asserted in the previous observations be achieved? Are these solutions not attractive or acceptable to various actors in B&H? Segregation in education has long been a form of manipulation by political elites seeking to pursue their private sociopolitical interests. Do B&H schools educate future xenophobes and nationalists? It is evident that the "two schools under one roof" contribute to future ethnonationalism amplifying security and peace stalemate. Because "education in B&H is not, therefore, civic, but ethnic-religious, and ironically remarkably multiethnic. It means that children of different ethnic backgrounds attend different classes in different classrooms, floors, shifts, and under the same roof. In this way, "ethnopolitics takes care of its reproduction by cultivating new generations of future xenophobes" (Mujkic et al., 2012).

The consequence of populist political orders in ethnoreligious partitioned post-socialism is ethnic-symbolic collectivism, oppressing individual identity, excluding the possibility of distinct classification. Instead of socialism's challenging and axiologically exclusive atheism, today, we have three equally exclusive "theologies or clerical forces" in the function of a new, radical-revaluing ideologizing and dismemberment of society on a religious basis. Otherwise civilized and civilly indisputable "freedom of religion," the ideologization practically grows into an alarming abuse of religion in life, school, and society. If we apply Carl von Clausewitz's saying about politics and war to the current B&H moment, then we get the paraphrase according to which today's "ethnicized and theologized" B&H education is simply a "continuation of the war by different tools." Specifically: while the whole progressive world is fighting for knowledge as a condition of life survival, in the Balkans, national ideologues, under the guise of protecting "national interests" objectively (regardless of the possible sincerity of their confused intentions), fight - against knowledge and enlightenment. In this way, education and necessary knowledge are sacrificed to ideology and politics. National-religious ideologizing educational programs carry out mental mutilation of children. Just like once ideologically directed learning of the Russian language. In this way, regardless of the public duration of the "destroyers" of communism, it structurally remains against the background of the aggressively attacked communist ideological-educational matrix of producing "people of a special kind": Because, never and nowhere is "education of consciousness," "mass consciousness" and they did not take their manipulation more seriously than in communist countries" (Enzensberger, 1982).

Presently, B&H and its exemplary environment form a complex ideological and axiological level. It is a matter of cunning exploitation of nations and peoples to benefit established ethnopolitics. Only through rigid Bolshevik control of consciousness can a well-grown socio-economic crisis successfully prolong their survival on an enormously well-paid political scene (the highest paid in Europe; eight average salaries) (Boračić, 2019) despite all the existential difficulties of a well-grown socio-economic crisis. According to Hans Enzensberger, "exploitation is not only an economic fact but also a fact of consciousness. Who is the master, and who is the servant, is decided not only based on who has capital, factories, and weapons but - the further, the clearer - who has the consciousness of others." (Enzensberger, 1982). Thus, the

pragmatic instrumentalization of the educational system, despite the urgency of the growing need to introduce opposed educational logic and practice. Given the current political power of national parties insisting on national education and the significant influence of religious organizations, the author maintains that education reform is sociopolitically undesirable. Nevertheless, reform must not be abandoned because education is the most significant social capital issue and, at the same time, the most sensitive issue. History cannot be traced back, many chances for reform have been missed, and many decisions have been made that are now difficult to withdraw or eliminate, such as the introduction of confessional religious education.

The messianic ethnonationalism on the phenomenological level of everyday life achieves its ideological counterpoint by the simultaneous production of "enemies of the people," on the one hand (which, by the way, the ideologue smoothly, and without expected disgust, took over from his despised predecessors, communists), and intensive production of national consciousness, on the other hand. It ensures the (pseudo) logical *raison d'être* of their inviolable rule. In this sense, it becomes interesting to see how the cynicism of protecting the "vital national interest" is reflected in one of the most existentially sensitive social areas, such as the educational system, the backbone of every civilized society in the modern world. Perhaps more clearly than elsewhere, the ideological-practical mode of preferring the national to the universal and the civic is openly forced here. B&H ethnonational policies are policies of endangerment within vital national interests. The protection of the national interest is something like a non-aggression pact, like a social contract based on Hobbes' model: no one renounces their right to self-preservation but renounces the right to interfere in and prevent others from self-preservation. However, unlike Hobbes' theory, the place of the one who has the right to decide on behalf of all is vacant. Thus, to protect their (ethno)national interest, each group is a hostage to the others. As a national collective's notion of its position, vulnerability closely corresponds to the antagonism that should be understood in society as an inevitable fact, but in political terms, it means the destruction of the political. It implies the totalization of exclusivity, abolishing politics as the art of balancing between inclusion and exclusion. Thus, it is only one of the views of the concept of justice (Hadžić, 2021).

Peace education is not in service in Western Balkan educational institutions. This form of education should emphasize understanding the dynamics of social conflict, warfare, conflict resolution, and peace dynamics. In particular, participants in peace education are introduced to the distinctions between negative and positive peace. Peace education activities promote the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that assist people in preventing the occurrence of conflict, resolving conflicts peacefully, or creating social conditions conducive to peace. Core values of nonviolence and social justice are central to peace education. Peace education could prevent segregation and increase social cohesion among youth. It can administer youth understand the values of dialogue, peace, and constructive conflict resolution. In addition, it emphasizes the importance of respecting diversity and helping children understand the concept of the "other" as a non-enemy. Thus, it is directly related to the traditional former Yugoslavia's sociopolitical and ethnoreligious polarization and constant disputes, significantly in B&H.

Conclusion

It is objectionable that the temporary solutions - organizational units of "two schools under one roof" model established in 1997, held in addition to the fulfillment of all until the present day. The existing educational institutions in B&H contribute to the country's disintegration, representing an established practice of ignoring and neglecting human rights and the needs of young people and non-compliance with applicable legislation. Sociopolitical and educational reality exists between extremes. Nevertheless, it represents the potential and capacity to preserve the ethno-political power and reproduce destructive practices of ethno-politics. Educational segregation and discrimination create, intensify, and rationalize ethnoreligious disputes. Any form of segregation cannot be abolished without changing the Constitution, so every other form of solution will produce additional intricacies.

The change of education from a cognitive segregated ethno-political matrix to a school organized according to the measure of "human enlightenment" is long-term and the most critical path in order not only to provide a good ground

for educational inclusion satisfying the students' needs but the future of multicultural moral and ethical society. It reflects in brought up and educated non-ethnonationalism and non-xenophobes individuals-personalities in fragile post-conflict Balkan societies. Educational inclusion represents an exceptional prospect to focus on education reform attention to the construction of a school shaped by the needs of liberal society as a whole. The "Two schools under one roof" model do not respect diversity and contribute to individual development within critical judgment, attitudes, and multicultural perceptions. This educational phenomenon does not support inclusion. Ethnoreligious collectivism rises above individualism and does not liberate the human capacity to build a democratic society. The inclusive education movement should build a democratic, inclusive, multiethnic, and multireligious society. Education has elevated strength and significant power and should be used for the good of society. Educational diversity inclusion is the intention for both a moral and ethical society. Peace education and communication can reduce disagreement sentiments ("enemy") between ethnoreligious groups within ethno-political separation propaganda. The wars created different narratives and robust antagonistic sociopolitical frameworks visible decades after the wars. Communication can reduce "other" as an enemy, and existing tensions caused by the war can be dissolved.

The Western Balkans are an area of lasting geopolitical power contest, but local sensitivities are more robust drivers of events and risks in the region than geopolitics and global affairs. Affirmative indications of the adverse effects of B&H educational policies, ethno-political ideologies, philosophies, and ethno-political nonobjective party interests are required. Those policies obstruct critical peace and conflict transformation processes and potential initiatives necessary to establish peace, conflict resolution, and nonviolence. Moreover, students should be part of debates held by policymakers, civil society personnel, and scholars related to the education system and approaches to pedagogy. There should be a focus on local peace agencies, peace infrastructures, and non-violent state formation dynamics. More appropriate and constructive consensus instruments and considerably more critical peace agents are needed in this region. To support international-led peace, they should contend against different power types to defend essential needs and rights that may otherwise be ignored in the B&H. Therefore, to profess critical peace processes.

Recommendations for Further Research

The paper underlines future research that could lead to more insights into the importance of the global correspondence between phenomena, construction, and refinement of the normative explications in ethnoreligiously divided post-conflict societies and their ethical paradigm. Analytical and descriptive parts with critical analysis add to comprehension for foreign readers who are not familiar with this Balkan phenomenon. This topic is very actual and not recognized enough in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Region, and globally. However, complex country and multifaceted topic, the author's multidisciplinary approach aim to familiarize foreign readers in a good direction - rationally.

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