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The İmpacts of Ethnicwar in Bosnia and Herzegovina on Education

Bosna Hersek'teki Etnik Savaşın Eğitime Yansımaları

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ABSTRACT	ÖZ
This paper attempts to explore the factors triggering segregated education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BİH) is one of the post conflict societies suffering from damages the ethnic war created. Before starting to war BiH belonged to the Yugoslavia where people from different ethnic groups lived side by side in peace. Along with the onset of the war in Yugoslavia, everything was changed and reversed in BiH. Individuals from different ethnic groups became adversaries to each other. The war created deep ethnic, religious and national segregations in BiH which formerly famous with its multiethnic and multicultural tradition. These divisions extended to education system. The war caused destruction and divided schools, curriculums, teachers, and overall education system of the society. In this study using documentary analysis all sub-themes have been explored and discussed in detail that impact segregated education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Findings display that parents opposition to integrity, lack of trust and international support, politicians and politicized text book and multiple ministries and curriculums are among the factors triggering segregation in education.	Bu makalenin amacı Bosna- Hersek' teki parçalanmış eğitimin sebeplerini, altında yatan faktörleri tarihsel boyutlarıyla derinlemesine analiz ederek, bazı çözüm önerileri sunmaktır. Bosna-Hersek, etnik savaşın derin yaralar açtığı toplumlardan biridir. Savaştan önce Bosna-Hersek Yugoslavya Sosyalist Federal Cumhuriyeti'nin bir parçasıydı. Eski Bosna Hersek'te farklı etnik gruplardan insanlar barış içinde yan yana yaşarlarken, Yugoslavya savaşının başlamasıyla birlikte Bosna-Hersek' te her şey değişmiş ve tersine donmuştur. Öncesinde dostluk içerisinde yasayan farklı etnik gruplardan bireyler birbirlerine düşman olmuşlardır. Savaş, eskiden barışçıl, çok ırklı ve çok kültürlü geleneğiyle ünlü olan Bosna-Hersek 'te derin etnik, dini ve ulusal bölünmeler yaratmıştır ve bu bölünmeler eğitim sistemine kadar uzanmıştır. Savaş, Bosna-Hersek'in eğitim sistemini yıkıma uğratırken getirdiği en büyük sorun ayrımcılık olmuştur. Dokuman analizi tekniği kullanılarak elde edilen bulgulara bakıldığında ailelerin eğitimin birleşmesine karşı çıkması, politikacılar, siyasallaştırılmış ders kitapları, çoklu bakanlık ve müfredatlar, güven eksikliği ve uluslararası desteğin az olması eğitimde ayrışmayı etkileyen temel faktörlerdir.
Keywords	**Anahtar Kelimeler**
War, Ethnic Discrimination, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Segregated Education	Savaş, Etnik Soykırım, Bosna-Hersek, Ayrıştırıcı Eğitim

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1. Introduction

The area of education has paved the way for reconstructing the post conflict countries and undevelop nations. In post-conflict societies education has been used as a psychological tool to remedy broken society and rebuild trust and humanity in divided countries (Hill, 2011). If education is correctly appplied, it can bring community members together providing dialogue, preventing hate speech and decreasing violence. Otherwise, it might cause political indoctrination and social division. Indoctrination is related to authority relationship in which the representative of the authority use power on ones indetified as less legitimate or less powerful (Momano, 2012). In post-conflict societies like BIH, education can be used by the totalarian regime to propagate their ideolgy by brainwashing children. Since totalarian regime have the enough authority to exercise power on individuals suffered from war and conflict (Momano, 2012).

Drawn upon the studies of Danesh (2006) and Schweisfurth (2006), Hill (2011) emphasizes the crucial role of education in reconstruction of post-conflict societies. Accordingly, education can make a great contribution in the reconstruction process of post-conflict societies implementing a new curriculum and inclusive education in which the themes like keeping national identity, resolving conflict, thinking critically are emhasized.

In post-conflict societies, younger generations are seen as those who stand for the hope of the future (Clark, 2010). They may also be seen as agents who will bring freedom, peace and prosperity to society. Hence, educating the younger generations is a highly important and crucial prerequisite in order to build a greater society consisting of productive citizens.

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Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the post-conflict societies suffering from destruction as a consequence of the ethnic war (Clark, 2009). Before starting to ethnic war, BiH belonged to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which people from different ethnic groups lived peacefully. However, the onset of the war in Yugoslavia reversed the situation. Individuals from different ethnic groups ethnically, religiously divided and became adversaries to each other. The war destroyed the peaceful nature of the BiH which was once known for its multicultural society (McDermot & Lenohan, 2012).

 The war in Bosnia divided the country into two entities and many cantons. The fragmentation in political structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina extended into almost all reas including the education system. While schools are already dealing with lack of infrastructure, qualified teachers, and ethnic discrimination, other political issues added on the problem. Schooling is identified by the lack of a common curriculum, opposing education policies, segregated schools, and mono-ethnic classroom and instruction (Hill, 2011 & Stabback, 2007). The role of education in reconstruction of post-conflict countries is indisputable. It is not expected that schooling can shoulder the entire burden for restoring and improving the society, but education is seen as one of the remedies to rebuild and reconcile the society. It is used as a tool in these societies, serving as a means for communal healing and reconciliation of a traumatized and broken society. In these societies, "education can play a critical role in psychological interventions for children and adults, rebuilding trust and relationships and cultivating social cohesion in divided and torn communities"(Hill, 2011, p.158). If education is implemented thoughtfully, it can facilitate dialogue among people of different groups; prevent hate speech,

and the outbreak of violence. Amidst these challenges, segregated schools are the major issue in education which the war brought to country.

Previous studies discuss that segregated education in BiH serves as an obstacle for social cohesion and creates challenges to maintain peace (Torsti, 2009; Hill, 2011). Segregated education does not allow the new generation in BiH to interact with individuals from the other side. Consequently, those who did not witness the war unquestionably see the other side as the enemy without even knowing or listening to them.

International organizations have taken initiatives to abolish segregated education, but their efforts have mostly failed. The reason for the failure of these initiatives is that reforms are initiated without having detailed knowledge of structure of the BiH and its social context (Bantwini, 2010). Educational reformers did not notice the factors that triggered the application of segregated education policy.

This study aims at exploring and analyzing the challenges, complexities, contradictions related to segregated education in Bosnia. More specifically, I will analyze following questions relating to segregated education in BiH:

1-What factors are lying behind segregated education?

2-What efforts have already been taking to unify the education system?

It is worth mentioning here that factors increasing segregation in the education system of BiH are deeply rooted and most of them are the result of the social, economic and political conditions. In this essay, I have focused merely on the major challenges of segregated education. In the following section, I briefly relay information about the background of Bosnia and Herzegovina so that the reader may understand the current situation.

2. Literature

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the post conflict societies suffering from destruction as a consequence of the ethnic war (Clark, 2009). Prior to the war, BiH was a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. People from different ethnic groups used to live peacefully.

The former Yugoslavia housed various ethnic group including Serbs, Croats, Bosnians and Romans. These different groups lived in peace and had very close relationships with each other such as inter-ethnic marriages, which were very common. According to Mcdermott & Lanahan (2012) study, there was a high level of tolerance among Jews, Muslims, Christians, and they lived in harmony. They go on to say that churches, synagogues and mosques were built only a few blocks away from each other. At that time, Yugoslavia maintained its peace among their various ethnic groups.

Diagram 1. Brief background of BIH

However the onset of the war in Yugoslavia reversed the situation. Individuals from different ethnic groups became adversaries to each other. The war created deep ethnic, religious and national divisions in BiH. The war destroyed the peaceful nature of the BiH which was once known for its multicultural society (McDermot & Lenohan, 2012). While former BiH was highly effective with its multicultural education, the separation between ethnicities and social changes occurring in BiH have thus created an enormous disruption in the educational system, and resulted in eliminating multicultural approaches from schooling

Among the former Yugoslav republics, the most extreme conflict and fights among dominant ethnic groups which included Serbs, Bosnians and Croats took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even in same ethnic group, people are divided and conflict with each other depending on their religions. For instance, Muslim Bosnians fight with non-Muslim Bosnians; Catholic Croats fight with Orthodox Croats. According to statistics, 250,000 people, including children and soldiers, lost their lives during the war between 1992- 1994 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war was ended signing a ceasefire agreement, the Dayton Peace Agreement, in 1995. The aggrement stopped the weapons but did not offer a long term solution for Bosnia, furthermore it divided Bosnia into two parts as the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian Republic. Croats and Bosnians were the dominant ethnic groups in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Serbs were the dominant in the Serbian Republic. The disintegration in Bosnia caused new fragmentations in the political structure of the state. The Republic of Serbia was divided into seven regions; BiH was divided into ten cantons. All these fragmentations in the structure of BiH divided the society more than even before. Consequently, the fragmentations extended into the education system. Because there are 14 ministries of education in total, there is a lack of a common national education policy. For instance, while the Republic of Serbia embraced a centralized curriculum across its regions, BiH followed a decentralized curriculum.

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While the former BiH was good at sustaining its multicultural education, the separation between ethnicities and social changes occurring in BiH worsening the situation resulted in eliminating multicultural approaches from schooling. Different ethnic groups were reluctant to come together and consequently, it influenced schooling profoundly. The war triggered the proliferation of rhetoric of nationalism among BiH's citizens, including children. For instance, Serbians wish to put their children in Serbian schools so that they may be taught in the Serbian language.

 While schools are already dealing with lack of infrastructure, qualified teachers, and ethnic discrimination, other political issues added on the problem. Schooling is identified by the lack of a common curriculum, opposing education policies, segregated schools, and mono-ethnic

classroom and instruction (Hill, 2011 & Stabback, 2007). Amidst these challenges, segregated schools are the major issue in education which the war brought to country.

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International organizations have taken initiatives to abolish segregated education, but their efforts have mostly failed. The reason for the failure of these initiatives is that reforms are initiated without having detailed knowledge of structure of the BiH and its social context. Educational reformers did not notice the factors that triggered the application of segregated education policy. Bantwini (2010) draws attention to the requirement of recognizing social culture prior to implemeting education reform. She says that " reforms continuosuly fail to achieve the desired outcomes because they neglect the social issues that surround each school and district" (p.88).

The current approach in education which occurred as a result of ethnic war is named the " *two schools under one roof approach*" which referred to diverse ethnic groups took educatin in different classroom within the same school building. If, for instance, a school consists of Croats and Bosnians, both Croats and Bosnians would share the responsibilities of school director, student council, and secretary. Although many educators find this division in education very inconvenient, they cannot afford to change the system. The attempts to reform schools face strong resistance.

It is worth mentioning that the factors increasing segregation in the education system of BiH are deeply rooted and most of them are the result of the social, economic and political conditions. In this essay, the focus is merely placed on the major challenges of segregated education.

3. Methods

In attempting to explore segregated education in Bosnia and Herzegovina the method of documentary analysis has been used (Bowen, 2009). Documentary analysis is one type of qualitative research approach includes a procedure for reviewing and examining both written and online documents in detail to acquire in-depth information (Bowen, 2009). As other qualitative methods, in documentary analysis the collected data is carefully reviewed and analyzed to create the themes. Fort his study the data collected from websites compiling existing records and documents as well published books and articles. For this study main sources were written articles and doctoral dissertations. Collected data had been analyzed applying thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Data analysis process was consisted of multiple stages. In the first stage, each source was reviewed carefully, and written materials were read line by line. As sources were analyzed descriptive notes were taken. In the second stage, I looked for similarities and differences across sources to get a general picture of patterns and themes related to segregated education. In the final stage, patterns were integrated to create themes. As a result of the data analysis six themes are found and each theme will be discussed in detail in the findings section.

In order to attempted to describe and analyze the challenges, complexities, and the contradictions related to segregated education in Bosnia, findings will be presented undersubtitles. In the following part, the factors behind segregated education are subsequently explored. Later, I introduce the reforms that aim at eliminating segregation from the education system. The article ends with some suggestions on preventing segregation in the BiH.

4. Findings

According to findings there are numerous factors found triggering segregation in education. As a result of the thematic analysis, six factors were found. Emerged themes are presented in the following diagram (Diagram 2) and will be explained in detail in as following.
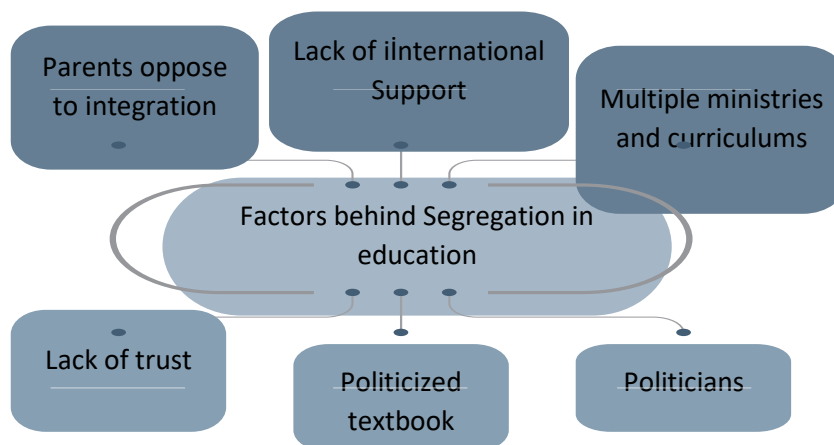

Diagram 2. Emerged Themes

4.1. A High numbers of Ministries and Educational Curriculums

Before the war was initiated, BiH had one stable education system. The war divided BiH in two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian Republic. After division each entity set up their own ministry of education. The federation is comprised 51 percent of country, while the remainder belongs to the Serbian Republic. The Federation itself is divided into ten cantons, three of which have a Croat majority, two are ethnically mixed, and seven have a Bosnian majority. Also each of the ten cantons have their own Ministry of Education. This means that there are 14 ministries responsible for educating a population of 4 million in BiH. This plethora of education ministries in BiH prevents the development of a unified educational policy.

In addition to the abundant number of ministries, there are also many different curriculums. The enacted curriculum in any given area varies depending on the dominant ethnic group. For instance, while Posavina Canton applies the curriculum developed by the Mostar Institute for School Affairs, Una- Sana Canton follows the curriculum developed by BiH Federation Ministry of Education (Clark, 2010, p. 346). Also some cantons use curriculums they borrowed from other countries. Serbian schools tend to borrow curriculums from Serbia, while Croats borrow from Croatia. Each canton as well as each school applies its own preferred curriculum.

4.2. Politicians

Although education was cited as a right every human have in Dayton Peace Agreement, no information is given about who is responsible for the implementation and maintenance of the

education policy, nor how. Also, international organizations are not given any mandate to lead educational reforms (Torsti, 2009, p. 72). The Serb Republic followed a more centralized education policy, while ten cantons in Bosnia and Herzegovina applied a different policy.

Due to the fact that the implementation of educational reforms is left to local governments, the international community has had only a limited impact on reforming the education system. (Torsti. 2009, p. 72). These entities create their own policies and enacted their own curriculums.

The lack of a national plan for education creates a gap which is utilized by political parties and politicians. Instead of putting effort to solve problems in education, they use education for their own political agendas and in conveying their own ideological beliefs. Drawing upon the ideology, each political party constructs their own educational policy. Sometimes they borrowed policies from neighboring countries, but this resulted in various ethno-nationalistic policies that increased political conflict among parties.

The second problem related to politicians is they have limited communication localbased community member and international NGOs. Their reluctance to interact with local, state, and international entrepreneurs prevents the creation of a unified education system. A great number of educational reforms sponsored by international organizations have failed due to the lack of communication with local politicians. Some of the reform movements initiated by international organizations have stopped at the pedagogical institutes or education ministries (Torsti, 2009, p. 75). All these issues echoed Cole and Barsalou's (2006) ideas that it could be difficult for international organizations, who are considered to be outsiders, to address the educational problems in any nation. According to the study of Diagoli (2007), Torsti (2009) claims that the reforms carried out by international organizations are considered to be imposed by foreign movements and therefore, meaningless.

4.3.Politicized textbook

Politicized curriculums are one of the biggest problems in BiH. In particular, the history textbooks are full of biased and stereotypical knowledge According to Torsti (2007), this is the case because the Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs have used different curricula and different textbooks. One particularly problematic issue pertaining to textbooks is how historical events are portrayed. History is portrayed differently in the Bosnian, Croat and Serbian curriculums (Torsti, 2003). Each ethnic group sees the issues or events from their point of view.

Baranovizc's (2001) examination of history textbooks used in 1996 and 1997 reveals that history textbooks were written with ethnocentric focus. This means that each ethnic group in BiH focuses on their own histories. They disregard the history of other groups. Also, each ethnic group's textbooks portray its own ethnic group as having suffered the most as a result of the war.

In a similar way, Torsti (2003) analyzed history textbooks used between 1999 and 2000. According to his findings, the war is represented very differently in each curriculum. He found that the textbooks frequently use "us/ them" expressions. His study also reveals that history textbooks include hostile, stereotypical images of the other national groups. According to recent analysis on history textbooks used in 2006-2007, the stereotypical images and hostile statements still exist there (Torsti, 2009).

4.4. Lack of Trust

The war destroyed the trust and friendship among Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. Clark's (2009) interview study depicts how mistrust has spread in the country. In particular, Bosnian interviewees reflected on how their former Serb and Croats friends and neighbors misbehaving and betraying them.

The major obstacle for building trust among ethnic groups is the lack of communication. Serbs, Croats and Bosnians tend to frequent different places and attend different educational institutes. For instance, in Gornji Vakuf- Uskoplje, there are separate post offices, telecommunications, nurseries, and schools for Croats and Muslim Bosnians. Croats do not pass the Bosnian part of the town, and vice-versa. The situation is very similar in schools. Students of different ethnic groups are taught by different teachers and they have little contact with eachother

4.5. Parents Oppose İntegration of Schools

This type of segregated education in BiH has gained increased attention from the international community (Hill,2011, p.161). International organizations including UNESCO believe that social cohesion cannot be built in a society without integrating the different ethnic groups in it. Their efforts in integrating schools are challenged by local groups, especially by the parents of the students who attend the schools. Parents do not want their children to come into contact with students from different ethnic backgrounds. The attempts to integrate schools have faced strong resistance.

This anti-integration sentiment at the local level has led to the international community to step back and follow a different policy. Rather than focusing on the integration of schools, they pushed for the unification of schools (Hill, 2011). They believe that unification would be a step forward towards the integration of the education system. According to this approach, different ethnic groups use the same school building. Even though this approach may appear as if it would be a success in terms of unifying the schools, in fact, very little has changed. Even while attending school in the same building, students from different ethnic groups do not interact with each other, since they use different entrances. They are schooled in different classrooms and taught by different teachers who use different curriculums and textbooks.

4.6. Lack of International Support

Even though the international community has taken some initiatives for reforming education system of BiH, their efforts were unsuccessful in addressing segregation and stereotypical teaching materials (Torsti, 2009). There are a few of reasons for this. Firstly, although international reforms supplied materials to the reconstruction of schools, they ignored the division problem in schools. Secondly, according to Diegoli (2007), the initiatives started by international organizations aimed at quick fixes in the short run rather than providing long term solutions.

The lack of organization among different forces within the international community is yet another factor for why it has little influence in addressing the problems created by segregated education. Starting in 2002, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has led in coordinating international supports and initiatives. Even though OSCE has taken initiatives to reform segregated education, their efforts have failed due to the fact that they did

not cooperate with local politician and organizations. They have launched some educational reforms, but they did not monitor or control the implementation of reforms.

5.Current International Reforms in BiH

Though many important international initiatives failed to prevent segregation in education, some of them successfully address the segregation issue in education. The Education for Peace (EFP) is one initiative which is supported by Luxembourg. The program was initially ımplemented as a pilot study in five schools in BiH. The program was maintained with a high level of success, so that the BiH Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested the extension of the EFP. The main purpose of the EFP is to train teachers and school staff on how they might help people and children who have been psychologically affected by the war. For instance, EFP educate teachers on how they may educate people about the dynamics of violence, the elements of the healing process, and the psychological needs of traumatized children.

 The other task of the EFP is to increase the level of peace. In 2004, they arranged 14 regional peace events through which students came together from the 100 selected schools. In 2005, regional peace events were hosted by the participating schools in order to bringing together children from diverse ethnic groups. Approximately 5,000 teachers and 60,000 students from 100 schools are currently participating in the EFP project (Clark, 2010).

OSCE has initiated very important attempts to bring peace to the country. It began two important projects: "Live it call it" is implemented in Srebrenica and the other, "Framing the future" is in Stolac. These two projects were initiated in order to increase the contact among the individuals from different ethnic groups. The main rationale of the projects is to develop mutual understanding bringing students together and to give up their preconceptions and stereotypes.

The other initiative called, "*Culture of Religions*" is being implemented in BiH with the help of OSCE. This initiative teaches students about the four main religions in BiH, namely Catholism, Judaism, Islam and Orthodoxy. This project was initiated with the sponsorship of the Goethe Institute. The main purpose of the program is to help children recognize commonalities in their culture and history. It is believed that gaining awareness about commonalities will help children increase their level of understanding, and acceptance, and tolerance of others.

Child Friendly Schools is another successful program maintained by UNICEF. Child Friendly Schools has been successful in terms of bringing teachers, families, stakeholders and politicians together. The program was first launched in 2002 with the purpose of improving the quality of teaching children. According to a UNESCO report (2010), 103,000 students (24 %) from 500 elementary schools were taught in Child Friendly Schools between 2002 and 2008.

The second purpose of the program is to create a multicultural environment in schools. They arrange welcome events in cantons and invite both children and their families from different ethnic groups. With these events, they had access to about 58,500 parents.

6.Conclusion/Discussion/Suggestions

The role of education in reconstruction of the post conflict countries is indisputable. Education is used as a tool in post conflict societies, serving as a means for communal healing and reconciliation of a traumatized and broken society. In these societies, " education can play a critical role in psychological interventions for children and adults, rebuilding trust and

relationships and cultivating social cohesion in divided and torn communities"(Hill, 2011, p.158). If education is implemented thoughtfully, it can facilitate dialogue among people of different groups, prevent hatred speech, and outbreak of violence.

According to findings of this study, the lack of trust and interaction among different ethnic groups, politicized textbooks, the lack of national plan in education, the actions of politicians are among the main factors leading to segregated education. International community have taken some initiatives to unify schools, however their efforts were not efficient in addressing segregation and stereotypical teaching materials. The reason is they have given much attention to supply materials to reconstruction of schools; they have ignored the division problem.

In BiH, as usual in post-coflict societies, education is used as remedy for the challenges the war brought to country. However the education plan had not been worked as planned due to the many obstacles. In post-conflict societies, as in other areas, numerous challenges related to education exist. In BiH the factors triggering segregated education are not as simple as seen by outsiders; they are very deep-rooted. Policy makers and educational reformers should keep the idea in their mind that it is impossible to unify schools without destroying the factors underpinning segregated education. As a new state that has recently emerged from an ethnic war, eliminating the problems and conflicts which the war brought into the education system is challenging in the short run, but some initiatives could be taken at least to alleviate the problems.

Today, the absence of conflict is accepted as peace in BIH. In practice, different ethnic groups live side by side but not together. In a similar way, the "two schools under one roof approach" allows for education for all in a common building, but in separate classrooms. The high level of mistrust, lack of communication, actions of politicians, influence of parents, and politicized textbooks are among the major factors underlying segregated schools.

Rebuilding trust among ethnic groups is the main step to abolish segregated education. In order to build trust, the interaction among ethnic groups must be increased. Increasing interaction among parents could be challenging since they witnessed the war, but it is possible and imperative for the current younger generation. At this point, education could be used to rebuild trust among children. As a suggestion, the "two schools under one roof approach" should be abolished, since it is fostering segregation and decreasing communication among young generations. Most students see others from different ethnic groups as enemies without even knowing them.

The second recommendation is that education must be considered to be the primary means that will accelerate the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thereby, politicians may put their best efforts to improve education. Recognizing education as an issue for long-term development may allow the creation of long-term projects rather than focusing on quick-fixes.

One of the critical problems in BiH is the absence of a political structure which willingly undertakes systematic educational reform. My recommendation is that there should be an organization at the state level that executes a common education policy. That organization, as an authority, should mandate and control the implementation of educational reforms. At the same time, this authority must evaluate and analyze the success of applied reforms. In relation to educational reforms, the curriculums, especially national subject curriculums used throughout the country, must be controlled. Also, politicians and stake holders must find

appropriate and sufficient incentives to come together to develop and implement a united vision.

The final recommendation is that there should be a shared vision and a common long term goal which all international stakeholders aim at. Having common goals would help international organizations work in collaboration, follow a coherent strategy, and use resources efficiently. Another important issue is the cooperation among international organizations with local policies. Fostering cooperation among them will accelerate the implementation process of reforms.

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