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“Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)

Teachers’ dilemma in BiH: between supporting ethno-nationalist ambitions and
promoting social transformation

How do teachers perceive the current educational situation in their country?”

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For my dear godmother Brigitte

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Table of content

Acknowledgement.....	i
Table of content.....	iii
List of abbreviations.....	vii
List of figures	vii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Personal motivation	2
1.2 Outline of the problem.....	3
1.3 Aims.....	4
1.4 Chapter overview	5
2. BiH in history	7
2.1 Historical overview – 6 th to 20 th century.....	7
2.1.1 Pre-Ottoman period.....	8
2.1.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina in medieval times.....	8
2.1.3 The Ottoman period	9
2.1.4 Austro-Hungarian rule and World War I.....	10
2.1.5 First Yugoslavia	12
2.1.6 World War II.....	13
2.1.7 Tito’s Yugoslavia.....	15
2.1.8 Stances towards Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.....	17
2.2 The war and its consequences	19
2.2.1 Dayton Peace Agreement.....	20
2.2.2 Ethno-nationalism, ethnocracy, ethnic clientelism	22
2.2.3 Bosnia and Herzegovina’s transformation.....	25
3. Current educational situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	30
3.1 Its genesis and status quo.....	30
3.2 Reactions of the academic discourse – a literature overview	35
3.3 The role of education in development cooperation in post-war in BiH	36
4. Education and transformation	42

4.1 Definition of education.....	42
4.2 Transformation, development and transition.....	45
4.3 Education and development.....	46
4.3.1 Education in the development discourse.....	46
4.3.2 Education in the practice of development cooperation.....	49
4.3.3 Education in humanitarian aid	50
4.4 Peacebuilding.....	51
4.5 Education in conflict and post-conflict situations	54
4.6 Complexity theory's perspective on education and conflict	56
4.7 Teachers' role in the context of development	59
5. Methodology	62
5.1 The methodological background	62
5.2 Subject matter and target group.....	62
5.3 Research set-up.....	63
5.3.1 Primary goals	63
5.3.2 Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM)	64
5.3.3 Sample.....	65
5.3.4 Data generation	67
5.4 Limitations of the research set-up	68
5.4.1 Data limitations.....	68
5.4.2 Methodological limitations	69
6. Interpretation of the empirical findings.....	71
6.1 Relations within the educational system	71
6.1.1 Relation among teachers	72
6.1.2 Relations between teachers and the school management	73
6.1.3 Relation with educational authorities.....	75
6.1.4 Relations with parents.....	77
6.1.5 Relation with students.....	79
6.2 Ethno-nationalist impact on educational practice.....	84
6.2.1 Ethnic fragmentation of the curricula as an obstacle.....	84
6.2.2 Patronage.....	87
6.2.3 Consequences of intransparent mechanisms in the educational sector.....	89
6.2.4 Incompatibility of teachers' concerns and ethno-political priorities	90

6.3 Transformative potential.....	94
6.3.1 The imaginary front line	94
6.3.2 The classroom - a place where diversity meets	95
6.3.3 Teachers' attempts to promote transformation	98
6.3.4 The role of pedagogical material and other support	100
7. Conclusion.....	102
Bibliography.....	107
Annex	115
Abstract	118
Zusammenfassung.....	119
Kratak pregled	120
Curriculum Vitae.....	121

List of abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CAS	Complex Adaptive System
CoE	Council of Europe
CPY	Communist Party Yugoslavia
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
EFA	Education for All
EFP	Education for Peace
ESSU	Education Sector Strategy Update
EU	European Union
FBiH	Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
HR	High Representative
IC	International Community
IDP	Internally displaced person
LCY	League of Communist of Yugoslavia
MoE	Ministry of Education
OHR	Office of the High Representative
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PI	Pedagogical Institute
RS	<i>Republika Srpska</i>
SFYR	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UN	United Nations
YPA	Yugoslav People's Army

List of figures

Figure 1	The structure of BiH's educational system	32
Figure 2	Sample Fuzzy Cognitive Map	64

1. Introduction

What does one teach the post-war generation about the war enemy? What can be guiding principles in this context? Who decides which these are? It has been eighteen years since the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) ended the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)¹. Still it took until October 2013 for the first census since 1991 to be conducted. The results will give evidence about the current size of the population of the country as well as about the ethnic composition of local communities. One of the major reasons responsible for the delay of the census is the critical nature of the question of ethnic belonging. While the identity of the three constituent people foreseen by the constitution – Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs – is to a large extent based on religious grounds. No representation for people who do not want to or cannot associate with any of these religiously determined groups is provided. Thus, the political organisation of the country supports very much the interest of the different ethnic groups, while it poses a disadvantage for all other citizens of BiH. As there is a tendency of the representatives of the ethnic groups to sympathise with ethno-nationalist notions a radicalisation in this respect has taken place. The result is an increasing number of groups making separatist notions. In consequence the status quo of BiH as sovereign state is constantly challenged by ethno-nationalists. Such observations give evidence for the presence of tensions, rivalries and subsequent conflicts associated with ethnic belonging.

These circumstances are considered alarming. The ethnic divide is particularly obvious in the educational sector with its ethnically separated curricula. This way of organising education is a legacy of the changes introduced during the war. Correspondingly, the association of the educational situation with the conflict is plausible as well as the suspicion that this setup might contribute to or is even intended to contribute to the continuation of the conflict is relevant. In theory the current educational setup foresees separate schooling as well as university education for students belonging to different ethnic groups. What are the actual implications of letting the current youth going to ethnically separated schools? How practical is this setup in BiH, where despite efforts of ethnic cleansing during the war citizens with different ethnic background often live close by? These unsolved questions have turned education into a central topic of those national and international actors intending to support the country in its transformation to a peaceful and consolidated state. Nonetheless, the debate

¹ When referring to the state founded in 1995 from now on the acronym BiH (Bosna i Hercegovina) will be used. References to the territory and country before 1995 will use Bosnia and Herzegovina. The spelling with z instead of c was chosen as it corresponds to the current official name.

has been rather policy and output oriented. In consequence the problems that have arisen during the implementation of a multitude of projects, programmes and reform efforts have been widely neglected. The problems though have turned out to be crucial as national and local politics have been fairly hesitant with respect to educational reforms or even opposed them. This raises three questions: What are the driving forces allowing the continuation of ethnic separation in the educational sector? Which actors have the ambition of turning education into a tool promoting a peaceful condominium in BiH? And how do they want to achieve this?

The aim of the underlying investigation is to get a better understanding of the working of the educational sphere by analysing it from a systems' perspective. Due to its limited scope it focusses on how teachers perceive the educational structures only. This seems to be particularly relevant as their perspective has not been considered in the academic discourse very much so far. For the investigation teachers throughout BiH have been asked to describe and visualise their understanding of their work in school and of the role they personally hold in the multi-ethnic society of BiH. Subsequently, the collected data has been used for comparative analysis. The intention of this thesis is to outline general tendencies as well as underline transformative potential.

1.1 Personal motivation

As an International Development scholar the nexus of development and education has always intrigued me. When I started to research my theory based glimpse of it made education appear to me as the additional ingredient to allow for the successful implementation of development strategies. My approach was naïve. I wanted to get to know this magical tool. I wanted to see how it was used in practice. BiH seemed the perfect case study. The discourse on the educational situation of the country is well documented and somewhat limited with respect to the time period that would need to be covered. That the issue of education has been intensely discussed and stances differed extremely made it even more interesting. This interest was not shared though by the people I met during my first trip to BiH in autumn 2010. When I asked them for reasons, why there was an ethnic division in the educational sector, their answers could all be summarised as: It is a complex issue. Most of them even used the term complex, which in the end was the key to my methodological approach. This experience left me with the feeling that my challenge was to grasp the way regular citizens perceive the issue of education. The particular value of a participatory investigation dedicated to teachers' views in the context of education seemed to be a move towards bridging the gap of educational planning and practice. I approached the research being deeply convinced of the academic

discourse so far missing out on taking into consideration teachers' opinions towards the strengths and weaknesses as well as the impact on society of the current educational situation. The reasons for that can be found with the hierarchies characterising the development as well as the political discourse on education. Subsequently, I intended to process the data I collected and the experience I made during my time in BiH in such a way that it would be possible to integrate teachers' perspectives more easily in the discourse and to encourage a closer cooperation with teachers in the educational reform processes.

1.2 Outline of the problem

For a long time the development discourse has assumed that including educational activities in development strategies is crucial for achieving the objectives pursued by development programmes. The practical experience often differed from this supportive role assigned to education. This experience has also been made in the context of post-war BiH. Eighteen years after the war the educational situations theoretically still foresees separate schooling for members of different ethnic background. This status quo drastically contrasts the ambitions pursued by the International Community (IC), which at least since the turn of the century has tried to initiate a reform process with the long-term aim of establishing a single educational system for the whole of BiH. Contrary to these intentions, it is feared that state education as it is organised at the moment has a counterproductive impact on the development of the country as it contributes to the continuation of the ethnic segregation characterising society of BiH since the war.

The way how the education is solved in BiH highlights the need to overcome the gap between theoretical approaches to the use of education in the development context and the practical experience. In consequence, it is suggested for the development discourse to break with the notion of any educational activities having a positive impact on the changes a society is going through. The result of these insights is a discussion with highly differing stances with respect to how the role of education in the context of transformative processes should be judged. The mainstream discourse has started shifting towards an understanding of education as having two faces. Either it can be of positive or of negative impact. A more critical approach is proposed by Lynn Davies. She leaves the assumption of causal relations determining the impact of education behind and claims that education is a complex adaptive system (CAS). Hence a multitude of dynamics working in manifold ways would be decisive for the workings of the system instead of causal relationships. Hence the assumption that education has a

particular impact on development processes is not valid anymore. In consequence it is not possible to predict the direction of a process supported by educational activities beforehand. Much rather it would be necessary to work on different aspects trying to promote a general dynamic working in the way intended. The only way to confirm that the dynamics within the CAS shifted would be to conduct qualitative evaluations.

1.3 Aims

So far there are only qualitative case studies, which deal with the situation of individual schools. They do not compare results of different schools. Hence local specificities influencing the organisation of education in different communities are not taken into consideration. The reasoning behind this approach is usually the assumption that the local specificities differed too much to allow for comparison. Having the nationwide perspective in mind, which characterises the IC's discourse in BiH, it would be, nonetheless, necessary to analyse data collected in all parts of the country for it to become the basis for the elaboration of new strategies with regard to education in BiH.

Therefore, the overall aim of this thesis is to present how teachers understand the role of education in the post-conflict context of BiH. Due to the fact that the conflict component that still very much influences the development of the country the analysis will pay particular attention to the perspectives found in the peacebuilding discourse. Hereof the nexus of education and (post-) conflict will be elaborated. In this context the term development becomes secondary as transforming the conflict bearing structures prevails. Therefore, this thesis will mainly use the term transformation when referring to processes taking place when dealing with the change of former patterns; regarding as much conflict structures directly as questions of economic, political, social and cultural development. Considering this theoretical framework the outline of teachers' perception is meant to indicate where structures entailing or even actively promoting conflict dynamics can be found in practice and how teachers explain them. By relating the individual accounts more general tendencies characterising the current situation shall be outlined. Due to its dominant role in this context ethno-nationalism will be elaborated in detail. At last it will be presented how teachers create spaces to promote conflict transformation. This shall give some positive outlook. To cover the spectrum between preconditioning structures and possibilities for work on transformation this thesis will try to answer the following question:

- Which elements do teachers mention when they describe their working environment?

- How are these elements related to each other and thus affecting each other?
- Which attractors can be made out when looking at teachers' environment from a complex adaptive system's (CAS) perspective?
- To what extent do the identified attractors support ethno-nationalist tendencies or social and conflict transformation?
- How do teachers promote social and conflict transformation through their work?

1.4 Chapter overview

The next chapter will be dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina's past, since it has had a decisive impact on the latest development of the country. The historical overview is meant to give an insight into the circumstances that allowed for the cultural and ethnic diversity to develop that nowadays characterises BiH and how the condominium was handled in different periods. Correspondingly, it will be elaborated how this diversity has an impact on the fact that in contemporary BiH one finds different versions of historical consciousness; i.e. interpretations of this past (see Torsti 2003:50 ff.). The next sub-section will deal with the post-war development and the role that the diverging stances on the past play in society nowadays. These dynamics and lines of thought present the immediate context of the current educational system. As logical consequence the following chapter will be dedicated to how the current educational set-up developed, emphasising the influence of the socio-political constellation, and how education is institutionalised today. To complement this presentation of the current educational situation the academic discourse on this matter will be summarised and the contribution of development cooperation to the development of the educational situation in BiH will be presented.

After the situational analysis the theoretical background to this thesis will be elaborated in the chapter on education and transformation. Its aim is to distinguish between the function of education in the context of socio-political transformation and the role assigned to education in the development discourse. With regard to BiH the role of education in conflict situations is particularly relevant and will thus be stressed. In this context the approaches of peacebuilding and comparative pedagogics with respect to the nexus of education and conflict will be presented as well. By outlining the different stances it is meant to be explained, how different approaches to the situation in BiH can be argued.

In preparation to the discussion of the findings, this aims and procedure of this research will be presented in the following chapter. As the investigation is intended to be conducted as participatory research Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping is chosen as method. Subsequently, it will be explained how the maps in combination with the background information mentioned during the interviews helped by gaining an insight into teachers' perspectives on the current educational situation.

The discussion of the findings will be split into three parts. The first part will only try to present the relationship between teachers and other elements of the educational situation looked at as CAS. Secondly, the impact of the ethno-political system on the teachers and their environment will be discussed. At last teachers' actions will be contrasted to the ethno-nationalist tendencies. This part aims to present situations in which a critical perspective on the current situation in the country can be fostered, as well as methods teacher apply to promote such critical thinking.

The summary will underline the interrelations between the different findings and how the latter are related to the general question on conflict transformation in BiH. Additionally, it will be pointed out which conclusions can be drawn from the research and their relevance for the overall debate on education in BiH. At last future research options in the field of education considering participatory methods will be presented.

2. BiH in history

2.1 Historical overview – 6th to 20th century

As an introductory thought to the historical overview it is important to highlight that the following paragraphs aim at outlining Bosnia and Herzegovina's historical development focussing on certain events and periods and their contribution and implications for the ethnically and religiously diverse composition of the current population of the country. This has to be seen in radical contrast to the common use of different interpretations of history for justifying political stances in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, it seems important to underline that historical events cannot be fully understood in their nature and impact neglecting the circumstances under which they took place. This detail is, nevertheless, often neglected in the current discourse. Although it will only be possible to consider selected events and processes, the initial chronological account is meant to serve as a basic orientation. In a next step decisive socio-cultural consequences of the general development will be covered. At last the question of the role of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina over time is to be discussed.

To understand the composition of the current population of BiH it is worthwhile to look into its development. Similarly to other parts of Europe the territory, which now makes up BiH, has been populated by different groups over time. They originally differed in ethnic and migration background as well as in their religious beliefs. In the turn of the Migration Period groups came to live next to each other due to various reasons at different points of time. Overall it can be summarised that this meant as much a confrontation of different ethnicities as well as religions. The question on why this happened seems to be redundant in this paper's context when referring to time periods as early as the 6th century. The outcome, nonetheless, is of utter importance up until today as the confrontation of different communities and their traditions has posed a considerable challenge ever since because the groups have had to find a way of condominium despite their differences. This has required adaptations with respect to the organisational nature, value systems and hence social structures of these communities and the whole population. This did not always happen smoothly and without conflict. On the contrary, over time it came to major clashes, which were followed by dynamics of reorganisation. That is why the question on what made up Bosnia and Herzegovina at different points of time is a complicated one. Subsequently there are ambiguous stance regarding issues of identification with the territory, the history and the culture of present

Bosnia and Herzegovina. Giving an insight into these complex structures is the aim of the following elaborations on the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.1.1 Pre-Ottoman period

Before Slav tribes migrated to the Balkan region, other groups had already settled on the territory of present BiH. The two largest groups were the Illyrics and the Celts, but the region was also inhabited by various other groups. Some of them were pagan, others early Christians. It has to be pointed out that it is difficult to give a general idea of these times in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to its geographical impassibility the development of different regions was very diverse and mostly independent. Overall, this led to a dynamic which promoted localism, an attitude which centred on the particular local identity (see Donia; Fine 1994:17). In consequence, there is very little documentation on how the whole territory developed in this period. A new wave of migration took place in the 6th and 7th century, when two pagan groups who originated from the Slaveni, a Slavic confederation, migrated to the Balkans (see Torsti 2003:77; Žanić 2007:293). These two groups would soon be referred to as Croats and Serbs and as such they are still considered points of reference for a good part of the region's contemporary population with respect to identity. Nevertheless, there is insufficient evidence on how the distinction between the two groups took place.

2.1.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina in medieval times

Medieval times were characterised by instability. There were two major threads of conflict. Internally, different noble families bound to a certain territory fought against each other over territory. Externally, Hungary put pressure on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian leadership mainly because of its interest in turning the territory into a Catholic country and thus an ally (see Malcolm 1994:15). This was a critical undertaking regarding that Bosnia and Herzegovina's population followed different Churches; initially the Catholic and the Orthodox Church were officially present. Though, it is questionable to what extent the population truly followed the respective teachings. Additionally, due to the schism in the 13th century the Bosnian Church came into existence and competed particularly with the Catholic Church for followers (see Malcolm 1994:14). Indirectly, the religious affiliation stood for loyalty towards the different centres of Christianity; being Rome, Constantinople or Bosnia itself. The latter was particularly for Rome a rather unacceptable situation. Accordingly, the Bosnian royal family

was pressured to become devotees of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1459 when the Turks were moving north towards Bosnia and Herzegovina the Bosnian king ordered the abolition of the Bosnian Church (see Malcolm 1994:23). This step was meant to consolidate the country's unity and hence the base for resisting the Muslim enemy. As well as it was hoped to encourage other Catholic powers to support them when fighting the invasion.

All in all it can be summarised that there were three aspects which made persistent control over the whole kingdom barely possible; the geographical impassibility, the conflict between the local nobility and the different beliefs. In the period from 1180 to 1463 only three kings achieved to unite the Kingdom of Bosnia and rule it as an independent state (see Malcolm 1994:13). This puts the argument into perspective which claims that the medieval Bosnian state was a stable, independent state, which served as unique point of identification for its whole population and subsequently its borders should be respected in the present.

2.1.3 The Ottoman period

The Ottoman invasion presents the beginning of a whole range of changes for Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the Balkans. It brought an essentially new aspect onto the scene: Islam. The latter established itself over the centuries and became an inherent part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that from the Ottoman conquest up to the early 1990s Bosnia and Herzegovina formed part of an empire of foreign rule or a federation of states. This is of fundamental concern for any social dynamics registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the coming five centuries. It feels like there has been an, although changing, but continuous external point of reference which dominated for the whole time the social and political development of the country by highly affecting the self-perception of the country and the role it played in the overall political constellation.

From the invasion onwards the administration of different regions was not left to the local nobility anymore, but it was handed over to Muslims loyal to the Ottoman Caliphate. Initially, Turkish settlers of Muslim belief took on these positions. Since most positions of power, influence and the access to big financial revenues during this period were bound to the Muslim belief the population reacted partly due to strategic reasons with conversion (see Malcolm 1994:65). "The Bosnian upper crust [which] had little loyalty to Western Christian notions, after their experience with the Hungarians, [...] [was] all too ready to convert to Islam. The desire to retain their hard-earned privileges was not the only motivation here"

(Meier 1999:202). They were followed by other social classes up until the nineteenth century. Meier argues “In this way, there arose in Bosnia – in contrast to other regions in the Balkans where sections of the population had converted to Islam – a differentiated and perfected Muslim society, which developed its own economic and cultural life, embracing a comprehensive identity” (Meier 1999:202). It has been extensively discussed and stances on it vary greatly, if it can really be considered a *comprehensive identity*, or if it was much rather a *superordinate identity*, or if such identification did not really happen at all. An undeniable essence of this discourse, arguing it in detail goes beyond the scope of this thesis, is that during Ottoman times religion and national identity were used synonymously. This can be seen from the term Muslims of that time used to call themselves: “*Osmanli* or *Turkuš* “ (Malcolm 1994:54; highlighted in the original). At the same time this might have expressed the identification with or the positioning within the socio-political order. This process though took various generations and approximately 150 years until Muslims made up the solid majority of the population. Particularly in towns the number increased. This can be explained by the encounter with foreigners settling in towns for trade, who were devoted to Allah. The more, slaves taken during Ottoman wars settled there after achieving freedom thanks to their conversion to Islam. At last, the presence of the Ottoman administration in towns made it easier to directly influence the people even in matters of belief.

The final years of the Ottoman rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina were little glorious. Bosnia and Herzegovina’s fate was very much influenced by the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Resources were scarce and usually used for war purposes. There was simply no capacity to work on the country’s development. Additionally, internal conflicts between the different religious groups destabilised the country even more. Under these circumstances the support given to Bosnian Serbs by Serbia and in particular the Orthodox Church triggered the rivalry even more. From this time onwards the political nexus between the different ethnic groups and the respective religious institutions would be a central element of the socio-political organisation, which would become particularly apparent during wars.

2.1.4 Austro-Hungarian rule and World War I

To avoid the escalation of the internal conflict between the different ethnic groups living in the region a crucial decision was taken at the Berlin Congress in July 1878: “Bosnia and Herzegovina [sic!], while still in theory under Ottoman suzerainty, would be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary” (Malcolm 1994:134). These news were not warmly

welcomed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, the inhabitants prepared to welcome Austro-Hungarian troops with gunfire to express their resistance. In the end, it took the latter until October of that year to occupy and gain control over the whole country (see Malcolm 1994:135). Although the resistance had been tough, the military supremacy of Austria-Hungary was undeniable.

Austria-Hungary being the dominant central-European Catholic power almost intuitively started working with the Catholic infrastructure she found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The religious tie seemed necessary to have a stable grip on the freshly occupied territory. Additionally, it is said that one of the major motivations of the Austro-Hungarian crown to get engaged in Bosnia and Herzegovina was to use the territory as a buffer in case of Turkish uproar started spreading in Europe (Malcolm 1994:150 f.).

The Empire's strategy was complex. It consisted of various strands. On the one hand, the administrative body was enlarged from 120 officials in Ottoman times to 9533 in 1908 (Malcolm 1994:138). All of them were Austro-Hungarian citizens, but they originated from other parts of the Empire. On the other hand, the new rulers were cautious with respect to socio-political reforms. They feared that too drastic changes would backfire by causing rebellions. Not even a land reform favouring Christian peasants, which had suffered disadvantages from Muslim land law for centuries, was implemented (see Malcolm 1994:140; Donia; Fine 1994:96).

The less active they were in the socio-political sphere, the more they focussed on developing the country's economy. Infrastructure was built to help with the resource-rich nature's exploitation. A process of modernising the agricultural sector was initiated as well, but it was challenged by farmers who thought that the development was too fast (see Malcolm 1994:142).

Two of the central elements to this thesis – education and the question of ethnic belonging – were already prominent under Austro-Hungarian rule. To balance the three big ethnic-religious groups' interests was a crucial task of the new administration. Looking back Donia and Fine differentiate three phases, each of which was determined by a different attitude towards the multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina's population. At first, the authorities “encouraged the revival of religious hierarchies and the growth of religious education” (Donia; Fine 1994:97) disregarding of the type of religion. At the same time they promoted the settlement of foreign Catholic settler particularly in the

Herzegovina. This was meant to help with fostering the local Catholic community (see Malcolm 1994:143). Furthermore, it was tried to introduce and establish the “notion of *bošnjaštvo* (Bosnianism)” (see Donia; Fine 1994:97), which mainly consisted in the identification with Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent political entity with its own history based on regional patriotism instead of recalling the ethnic identities. This approach was abolished after the death of its initiator the then-Minister of Finance Benjámín Kállay. His parting was the moment when the lacking feasibility of a joint identity for Bosnia and Herzegovina could be admitted (see Donia; Fine 1994:97). Giving in to the ethnic pressure at the time the different groups were allowed political representation and activism. This way it was hoped that the authorities would be able to control each dimension the local rebellion against the Empire took on. As Serbia had doubled its size by annexing territory which formerly had been under Ottoman control, the pressure on the Empire increased to such an extent that it felt the need to restrict Bosnian Serbs’ freedom of political expression (see Malcolm 1994:154). In this context it becomes clear that the act of assassinating Archduke Franz Ferdinand was an expression of the scale of resentment there was towards the Austro-Hungarian occupation.

This event, contrary to how it has often been presented, did not lead to the outbreak of World War I. Political interests of Prussia and Austria-Hungary were far more decisive than this event. The internal instability of the Empire, nevertheless, might be understood as another factor pressuring the emperor to join the Central Powers and opposed together the Entente of France, England and Russia (Donia; Fine 1994:103). On the Balkans the main confrontation took place between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Therefore, very few manoeuvres did take place on Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory. Nevertheless, World War I describes the first period in Bosnian-Herzegovinian history in which strategic killing along ethnic lines occurred (see Donia; Fine 1994:119). Ethno-political discrepancies had been noticed before, but from this point onwards another factor, the political bipolarity of capitalism vs. communism, became more important.

2.1.5 First Yugoslavia

Considering that the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire caused a power vacuum a unified South Slav state was the most promising solution (see Donia; Fine 1994:119). As internationally agreed upon the first Yugoslavia was a “‘constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy’ under the Serbian Karadjordjević dynasty” (Donia; Fine 1994:120).

The kingdom was meant to equally consider Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as the name already indicated. Still Serbs strove for a dominant position in this constellation from the beginning. They tried to immediately take over administrative posts all over the kingdom, which were formerly held by representatives of the Empire. Even more obvious became the intention of turning royal Yugoslavia into a Greater Serbia, when in 1929 King Alexander declared the royal dictatorship (see Donia; Fine 1994:124). Decisive changes during this period were the administrative reform which divided Yugoslavia into 9 *banovinas*, so that in 6 of them the population's majority was Serb (see Malcolm 1994:168). This re-organisation took away the entity status from Bosnia and Herzegovina for the first time in centuries. Secondly, due to the lack of consideration towards the Muslim population on the territory of now-BiH, attempts were started to politically associate Muslims with either Serbs or Croats. It is questionable though how this dynamic developed (see Malcolm 1994:166).

2.1.6 World War II

After a short intermezzo of Serbs and Croats trying to split power between the two of them in the Cvetković-Maček agreement neglecting any other groups' interests, Yugoslavia gave in to the wider geopolitical dynamic of the 1940s and aligned with Germany, which annexed it and divided the territory into two zones; one controlled by Italy, the other by Germany (see Donia; Fine 1994:132; Malcolm 1994:171). This implied that Bosnia and Herzegovina was at war. Nevertheless, there were differences concerning the nature of the conflict's development in comparison to World War I. Foremost, it was significant that a good part of the battles took place on Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory. Subsequently, internal issues were able to be included step by step into the conflict. This led to a differentiation of the war. To distinguish the different camps in practice was difficult as there were also major shifts in fault lines.

In literature different strands of conflict are distinguished (see Malcolm 1994:174; Donia; Fine 1994:136). There was the war with Germany and its ally Italy, but since different groupings within Yugoslavia had diverging stances towards their occupation there was no common Yugoslav approach towards treating them. On the contrary, the different approaches and interests caused internal dissent. Croats were soon politically represented by the Ustaša, which eagerly collaborated with the occupiers, since those supported the establishment of the "Independent State of Croatia (NDH)" (see Malcolm 1994:174f.). In its nature it was a fascist state which ruled over the territory of historical Croatia, Bosnia and the Herzegovina. The Ustaša aimed according to its fascist ideological conviction at killing Jews, Roma and Sinti. Towards the Serbs it "adopted a tripartite strategy [consisting of] extermination, deportation

and conversion” (Donia; Fine 1994:139). The latter gave reason for the Croatian Catholic Church often being associated with the fascist past of Croatia. Muslims were not on the list of Ustaša’s immediate target groups for tactical purposes. Muslim support was indispensable, when the NDH was meant to have a future. Therefore, the Ustaša tried to win Muslim for its cause and even achieved to be supported by a fraction of Muslims. The ideological background deterred many though.

Ustaša’s local opposition consisted mainly of two groups. The first called themselves Četniks. It was a resistance movement, which at the same time pursued the idea of a Greater Serbia (see Malcolm 1994:177). This ideological base guaranteed it support by Serbs all over the region, although not all of them. The other grouping were the communist Partisans with their revolutionary agenda. Similarly, to the Ustaša those two groups needed to gain Muslim support for sustaining their claim for power. To do so was not an easy task. Četniks included ideas of ethnic cleansing in their vision of Greater Serbia. These implied that Muslims would either be killed or would have to leave the region. A foretaste of the latter was already to be experienced during the World War II. The Partisans initially did not appear to be a real alternative as communism and atheism were thought of as complimentary (see Malcolm 1994:187). Over time the Partisans gave in to Muslims’ request for a group identity and hence their political representation as well as promising Bosnia and Herzegovina an independent status within the future federation of Yugoslav states (see Malcolm 1994:181). It seemed to be a strategic necessity while paving the way towards a communist Yugoslavia. In comparison with the other approaches “the Partisan policy was a refreshing blend of national liberation and a centrally-imposed discipline that could preclude nationalist excesses” (Donia; Fine 1994:148) not only for Muslims, but anyone who opposed nationalism or sympathised with communism. Nonetheless, each of these three major factions had as much political as ethnic aims, sometimes building upon each other. This complex background might explain why in reality there were major shifts in their tactics. That is why at a later stage of the war Četniks even collaborated with their former enemy Germany hoping to improve their position in the internal conflict (Donia; Fine 1994:150). This complexity makes it difficult to come to terms with the role of World War II played for the development of socio-political relations within the region.

The war came to an end by the Partisans not only defeating the extreme nationalist factions, but also seizing power over the whole of Yugoslavia (Donia; Fine 1994:155). This lay the base for the implementation of their socialist revolution.

2.1.7 Tito's Yugoslavia

Bosnia and Herzegovina under Tito can only be understood when putting it into relation with the rest of Yugoslavia. As it had already been the case during World War II the fault lines of conflict did not consider territorial boundaries, but rather cut through the whole region. Regardless of these circumstances Tito intended to create a Yugoslav framework and hence stabilise the situation between the federal republics and overall. The advantage of the Yugoslav solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina was that it stayed a federal unit and was not taken over by either Serbia or Croatia, as it had been pursued by both countries' nationalist movements before (see Malcolm 1994:191).

Economically, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have a lot to offer after the war, but it had strategically important resources. Being afraid of retaliation Tito planned to use Bosnian resources for the production of weapons. Furthermore, the resources were also meant to serve as raw materials for the whole of Yugoslavia's industrial upsurge. The plans were bound to fail due to a lack of logistic infrastructure and poor quality of the resources (see Malcolm 1994:201). In the long run this led to a decrease in economic productivity of the country (see Malcolm 1994:210). Another aspect which discriminated Bosnian-Herzegovinian economy against other parts of Yugoslavia was the fact that financial power was located mainly in Serbia and Croatia (see Malcolm 1994:203). Therefore it was of Croat and Serb interest to re-invest in these republics instead of redistributing financial means. This dynamic was facilitated by the close collaboration between politicians and economic corporations (see Malcolm 1994:210 f.).

The socialist transformation initiated by the Communist Party Yugoslavia (CPY) based to a large extent on an economic transformation. One part of it foresaw an agricultural reform. In consequence of this reform the maximum of 35 hectares per single producer was introduced (see Donia; Fine 1994:166). Hence the reform implied as much that land was expropriated as well as redistributed. Particularly the Catholic Church and the Muslim landowners suffered from it, while it was welcomed by ex-Partisan fighters and formerly landless farmers. This process strengthened the support of the regime by the latter social groups, while it challenged the position of the Catholic Church and Muslim landowners, two groups which had a rather sceptic attitude towards Tito and his plans (see Donia; Fine 1994:166). The transformation's next step consisted in the introduction of centrally planned schemes as base for economic production. In the beginning these were harshly enforced. To achieve the set aims the federal

government suggested collectivised production, but efforts to implement it were insignificant and after a while the plans turned out to be inapplicable. This instability with respect to its economic capacities would stay one of Yugoslavia's weaknesses.

While parts of the opposition were silenced by taking away their economic power and hence societal influence, others were killed; particularly during the first years of Tito's rule (see Malcolm 1994:198). Generally, this phase was dominated by constraints of all types of freedom. Especially religious life was restricted. Religion was not considered secondary, since the Yugoslav ideology at the time still assumed that the communist ideal would lead to the dissolution of ethnic and religious identities (see Malcolm 1994:207f.). After a phase of adaptation the population of all six republics were meant to live together according to the notion of "*bratstvo i jedinstvo*" (Stefansson 2010:62; Donia; Fine 1994:147) meaning brotherhood and unity, which at the same time was thought to be their common point of reference.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was a stronghold of the Yugoslav idea, since the Muslim population, due to a lack of external support, identified to a large extent with it. This resulted from the security Bosnian Muslims associated with the Yugoslav super-structure. The latter was highly appreciated, especially after experiencing the two World Wars. Tito built upon their tight and supportive attitude in many ways. Internally, he considered them a factor of guarantee that Bosnia and Herzegovina would stay loyal to his rule, although Muslims did not present an absolute majority of the country's population until 1980 (see Lampe 2000:335). Furthermore, when reality forced the regime to adopt new strategies due to the ceased cooperation with the Soviet Union after 1948, Tito re-oriented Yugoslav foreign policy towards the Non-Aligned-Movement (see Donia; Fine 1994:198). Tito's strategy mainly relied on the ties between Muslim member states. Therefore, the diplomatic service was reorganised so that Muslim delegates, particularly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, would represent Yugoslavia internationally. Doing so requested internal political concessions to the Muslim population. This led to the re-introduction of the right to freedom of religion in 1954 and the acknowledgement of a Muslim identity in an ethnic sense in 1961 (see Malcolm 1994:196, 198). The latter meant a drastic change with respect to the attitude taken on towards religion being a possible criterion to define social groups. Malcolm argues that these changes strengthened the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslim self-confidence to such an extent that they felt encouraged to use the additional power of economic self-administration concurrently gained to promote the revival of the Bosnian economy (see Malcolm 1994). The fact that the

latter was mainly financed by foreign loans would prove a major challenge in terms of sustainability in the long term. Furthermore, as rhetoric would confirm this prosperity with respect to the Muslim identity was not really appreciated by the neighbouring republics.

2.1.8 Stances towards Yugoslavia in the early 1990s

In general the development of official policies towards Yugoslavia's socio-cultural heritage and the increasing toleration of diversity was paralleled by the ideological shift from "integral Yugoslavism" (see Malcolm 1994:198) to a more open and decentralised concept of Yugoslavism. This way the central party distanced itself from promoting a system which intrinsically oppressed notions of diversity. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina the aim was not so much about developing a common identity for the state of Muslim, Croat and Serb population anymore, but to allow each group a certain freedom as long as it did not challenge the overall stability of the federation. While a majority of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population adjusted to it, others, particularly Serbs migrated (see Lampe 2000:335).

As time showed the issue of ethnic diversity as well as the progressing dissolution of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the rise and the manifestation of extremist nationalism paired with increasing national liberties and a deficient economy posed major challenges to the republic's commitment to the federation. Individual group interests became more dominant. The latter were justified in the political discourse by ethnic inequalities due to the differences in ratio of the various groups in Bosnia and -Herzegovina or the position of a particular national group in the Yugoslav context. The difference between nation and ethnic group was rather blurry as five of the six republics had been created around an ethnic majority (see Ramet 1992:26). The "decremental deprivation" (Guss in Ramet 1999:48) which negatively affected the Yugoslav population's attitude, whose expectations had stayed the same while the economic performance had gone down, supported notions requesting the improvement of one group's situation. The other groups' behaviour was presented as the reason for the unacceptable economic situation of the own group. This argumentative logic, nevertheless, has frequently been challenged to the point that it had a tendency to abuse the situation for artificially creating animosities (see Lampe 2000:333). In consequence the joint image of an enemy should tie the particular group together following the principles of a populist rhetoric.

Another substantial change that took place in the turn of the 1980s was the development of power relations within Yugoslavia. Milošević intended to shape a Serb dominated or sympathising faction within the Yugoslav federation with the aim to ensure that financial means and hence political influence would be channelled towards Serbia (see Malcolm 1994:223). Later he even challenged other republics' integrity by his pursuits to take over those parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia which had an ethnically Serb majority (see Ramet 1999:205). These ideas were not conform to the Yugoslav spirit and contributed to its decay.

With the federal framework breaking away the incoherence of national interests became even more evident. The dissolution of the LCY, one of the three major institutions promoting Yugoslav cohesion can be interpreted as a clear indicator for this process (see Donia; Fine 1994:194). The same is the case for the re-orientation of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) towards Milošević's regime (see Donia; Fine 1994:195). The last of the pro-Yugoslav institutions, the federal government, lost its authority latest when multi-party elections were conducted on republican level (see Lampe 2000:357; Donia; Fine 1994:210 f.). Nevertheless, before elections on a federal level could be organised Slovenia and Croatia declared independence and fought successfully for becoming sovereign states (see Donia; Fine 1994:218).

The strive for national independence in the region promoted the ethnic cleavages within Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was unclear which impact its multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature would have this time. Once again a separate solution had to be found, but this time the territorial boundaries were rather challenged from the outside than protected. Additionally, the Croatian and Serb governments contributed to stir up the internal opposition to the country's existence by supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina's population, which ethnically identified itself with either of the two neighbouring countries. They went as far as presenting themselves as "external national homelands" (Bose 2002:260) and hence the defender of the Bosnian Croats respectively Serbs. This notion was supported by negotiations between the two parties which aimed at partitioning Bosnia and Herzegovina in such a way that the whole territory would be absorbed by Croatia on the one hand and Serbia on the other (see Donia; Fine 1994:212).

Internally, politicians were very much aware of their country's difficult standing in this new dynamic. Therefore, Bosnian-Herzegovinian politicians tried to keep up the framework Yugoslavia had presented for the country (see Malcolm 1994:224). Taking this situation into

account it is questionable, if the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government voluntarily chose to opt for promoting the continuation of Yugoslavia or if it seemed the only possible approach. This is interesting as up to today BiH's population is often presented as pro-Yugoslav. When such conclusions are drawn though they usually do not distinguish well between the support of the Yugoslav ideology or Yugoslavia as a federation of republics in which the central government balanced out inter-republican and inter-ethnic conflicts.

2.2 The war and its consequences

The outbreak of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian war had its precedents. In the end it was the third war of succession after the LCY's dissolution. The former two wars had increased the gap between the different factions that had shaped within Yugoslavia. On the one hand, there was Serbia dominated rump Yugoslavia, while, on the other hand, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia opposed any notion of Greater Serbia, but could not agree on a joint strategy either. When a referendum on independence was conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina on February 29 and March 1, 1992 Bosnian-Serbs boycotted it (see Malcolm 1994:231). Their intention was to challenge the result's legitimisation, which was nevertheless very clear. 99.4 per cent of the valid votes supported the country's independence (see Rathfelder 2007:352). The Bosnian-Serb leadership around Karadžić, on the contrary, thought of the political consequences, particularly as the independent state was within days recognised by the International Community's major powers, as unacceptable. Bosnia and Herzegovina was strategically important for gaining control over the bigger share of the former Yugoslav republics so that Serbian plans could be implemented. Izetbegović, the newly elected president of Bosnia and Herzegovina was initially closer to Serbia, as he did not pursue the country's independence (see Lampe 2000:362). A federal setup was considered the best guarantee for the continued national existence. The latter belief was finally destroyed in April 1992, when shortly after Bosnia and Herzegovina's declaration of independence (Bosnian) Serbs attacked Bosnian Muslims and Croats in territories under their control (see Lampe 2000:364).

In the subsequent three years the notion of Bosnia and Herzegovina being a nation with a multi-ethnic population was seriously put into question. It would reveal the hypocrisy of Tito's identity politics, which had strengthened national identities, but had suppressed the development of national culture and values (see Kaser 2007:403). Against this background and in combination with the general state of the country the Croat and Serb population was

very liable to accept the support promised by the neighbouring countries. Bosnian Serb troops highly supported by the YPA's successor started to gain control over Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory by running a military offensive. In the long term they managed to take over about 60 per cent of the country's territory (see Malcolm 1994:238). Bosnian Croat tactics, on the other hand, foresaw the finding of the "'Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna' ... [as] a self-governing community" (Donia; Fine 1994:250; Lampe 2000:376), while officially still collaborating with the national government's troops to counter the Bosnian Serb expansion. This joint effort came to an end when both sides, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims, feared that a division of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina into cantons as suggested by the Vance-Owen-Plan would cause disadvantages for either side (see Lampe 2000:377). At the same time rumours spread about Bosnian Croat groups having started to kill Muslims in regions which were under their control. This challenged the relationship between the two ethnic groups. The role of Bosnian Muslims is often presented as one of simple defence. Looking back accounts can be found that prove that the latter also committed war crimes going beyond sole self-defence. Generally, it can be stated that the war polarised group identities once more. Any notion related to the idea of what had formerly presented a Yugoslav identity got missing. Instead the distinction along ethnic lines was taken to justify the conflict (see Lampe 2000:364). In reality this took shapes like ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, abuse of women and children, as well as the flight of over 2 million people (see Almond 2007:449). Experiencing all that was the best confirmation of the concept of the respective enemy.

Although the International Community has been often accused of having intervened too late and with too little commitment, its diplomatic negotiations played an important role on the way to a final ceasefire. In a first step the US-American diplomats facilitated the creation of a federation of those territories mainly populated by Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats by March 1994 (see Lampe 2000:378). The next step, the signing of the final settlement, took until November 1995.

2.2.1 Dayton Peace Agreement

One of the reasons why it took so long to come to terms was that on the battlefield there was no clarity on the different forces' power relation. Therefore, it could not be taken as indicator for the post-war situation. The task was rather to negotiate a compromise that all parties would agree on. By signing the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) it was agreed on behalf of

the war parties, which corresponded to the three dominant ethnic groups, that a ceasefire and the demilitarization were to be implemented (see Almond 2007:442). Additionally, Annex 4 of the DPA provided the country with a basic political and institutional structure. The former two were readily accepted and lived up to, the latter have been boycotted, undermined and contested ever since.

On paper the new constitution for Bosnia i Herzegovina (BiH) stated that the country would be split in two entities, the Federation Bosnia i Herzegovina (FBiH) with its 10 cantons and the centrally organised *Republika Srpska* (RS). At that point it was not decided on the fate of the strategically important and by its pre-war population ethnically very heterogeneous area around Brčko. Initially it was under international administration. By March 1999 it became an independent unit equipped with all political powers (see Perry 2003:77). The authority was mainly assigned to the entity level. This would result in a lack of coherence in terms of the political development of the different political units. Furthermore, raising the question of responsibility has been frequently used as an excuse for delays in decision making processes, especially with respect to the alignment of legislation.

The federal level follows the logic of a consociational democracy. This type of democracy

can be defined in terms of four characteristics. The two primary characteristics are the participation of the representatives of all significant ethnic groups in political decision making and a high degree of autonomy for these groups to run their own internal affairs. The secondary characteristics are proportionality and the minority veto. (Lijphart 1995:856)

This implies for BiH that key-positions, like the presidency, are held by three persons, each one representing one of the constituent people – Bosnian Muslims also referred to as Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs. Here it has to be pointed out that the 17 officially recognised minorities have no such right.

Another particularity of the constitution was the introduction of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), a representative of the International Community, sent by the UN with the right to veto any political decision taken in BiH as well as having the power to introduce reforms and impose regulations. The High Representative (HR) “is answerable to the 55 governments and organizations that comprise the Peace Implementation Council, but not to the Bosnian people.” (Bose 2002:275) Initially, thought of as arbiter and supporter in difficult situations his powers were extended by 1997 so the HR was capable to overcome the political standstill post-war BiH was facing at that point (see Gromes 2007:180, 210; Almond 2007:442). Chandler criticises this approach. He argues that the OHR “inevitably [restricts]

... the importance of the political sphere of political party competition and policy making by elected representatives.” (Chandler 2007:73) This implies that foreign actors, in particular the OHR, can function as state-building agents and therefore compensate for the lack of commitment on national level. It is disputable, if this reliance on independent agents is counterproductive in the long term.

2.2.2 Ethno-nationalism, ethnocracy, ethnic clientelism

To understand the transformation BiH went through in the post-war period it is helpful to relate the processes and dynamics with the phenomenon of ethno-nationalism. Correspondingly, firstly a theoretical introduction to ethno-nationalism will be given. Secondly, the role of ethno-nationalism in differentiating between a consociational democracy and an ethnocracy will be explained. Thirdly, the informal working of ethno-nationalism in clientelist networks will be outlined. After this theoretical input the intertwined nature of these aspects in the post-war reality of BiH will be described.

2.2.2.1 Ethno-nationalism

Ethno-nationalism is a specific form of nationalism. It foots in a specific ethnic group being the point of reference for identification. This group’s identity is to a large extent determined in opposition to other groups. Linguistic, religious and historic specificities can serve as criteria of identification of the particular group. The exclusivist character of an ethnic group is achieved by presenting itself as being distinctive (see Džihic 2008:63). While the ethno-nationalist rhetoric presents their group’s existence as something natural, the academic discourse distinguishes between an essentialist, objective understanding of an ethnic group’s identity and it being adaptable to its social and historical context and thus being subjectively constructed. Usually, ethno-nationalism does not only imply the creation of a group identity only including member of the specific ethnic group, but it also pursues aims. Conversi states in this context: “(Ethnonationalism) [sic!] denotes both the legacy to a nation deprived of its own state and the loyalty to an ethnic group embodied in a specific state, particularly where the latter is conceived as a ‘nation-state’.” (Conversi in Džihic 2008:66 in the original) In consequence ethno-nationalism is often combined with the ambition to achieve more ethnic autonomy; either by extending their group rights within the state they live in or by claiming their right for an autonomous state.

For its continued existence ethno-nationalism relies on a double mechanism. While the construction of an ethno-nationalist ideology is mainly undertaken by a group’s leadership,

22

the unfolding of ethno-nationalism in practice cannot be fully comprehended, if it is not analysed against the background of the situation the group's base finds itself in. Such a perspective gives an insight into the reproductive dynamics responsible for the persistence of an ethno-nationalist stance (Džihic 2008:69). Correspondingly, concludes Senghaas: "Ethno-nationalist mobilisation cannot be imagined without social mobilisation and the resulting politicisation of communities" (Senghaas in Džihic 2008:65; translation A.B.). As mentioned before a consociational democratic set-up ascribes certain rights for ethnic groups. Hence it is liable of being exploited for ethno-nationalist mobilisation. When this takes place within the political institutions the academic discourse refers to ethnocracies. The more informal variation is clientelism based on ethnic links.

2.2.2.2 Ethnocracy

The term ethnocracy describes a "'diminished subtype' of consociational democracy." (Howard 2012:158) It describes the case in which the group right for political representation guaranteed to the different ethnic communities limits the individual's choice as "political and social organisation are founded on ethnic belonging [solely]." (Howard 2012:155) Personal political convictions apart from one's ethnic group's interests cannot be expressed in an election as the party landscape only foresees political parties which are formed around ethnic interests. In the public sector ethnic quotas can be found. Similarly, each ethnic group develops public institutions serving specifically their needs. All this aims at manifesting an ethnic group's fixed identity and exclusivity (see Howard 2012:159). From a democratic perspective ethnocracy is considered critical as it hinders central elements for the working of a consociational democracy to develop. The "ethnoreligious [sic!] or linguistic group membership" (Howard 2012:158) underlying the ethnocratic logic does not leave the possibility for decisive shifts with respect of the groups' boundaries as group identity is perceived as primordial. Additionally, to the implied inflexibility it poses a considerable difficulty when it comes to the fate of those citizens who do not belong to any of the considered consociational groups. They are simply not represented in the system, which in itself is a major human rights violation. Secondly, the development of ethnocracies in the past gives evidence that the cooperation of the elites of the respective groups "across segmented cultural divides" (Howard 2012:158) necessary for a consociational democracy to work constructively is often difficult to be arranged. This can result in "immobilism, inefficiency, instability, [and] reification of social cleavages." (Howard 2012:160) Subsequently, academics like Howard contest the suitability of the consociationalist democratic systems for societies emerging from conflict or which showed dearth of elite cooperation in the past.

Further drawbacks of ethnocratic systems are that it is comparatively hard to turn them into liberal democracies and “religious-based ethnocracy stifles the emergence of a secular state.” (Howard 2012:60) The latter aspect may be of utmost importance when it comes to transforming ethnic conflict closely connected with religion. Furthermore, a secular state would open the possibility of a new formation of groups and by doing so allow a break with the ethnocratic legacy.

2.2.2.3 Clientelism

A frequently found practice to consolidate such ethnocratic structures and ensure that they are supported by the population is clientelism. It describes a dynamic in which a network around patrons and clients is found. The former are in control of assets and privileges needed by the clients. The clients, on the contrary, are willing to give in return for receiving the desired assets their vote or more generally speaking their loyalty to the patrons. According to the degree of inequality between the different parties' position in the networks horizontal and vertical clientelism can be distinguished (see Ziemer 2010:465). The former was frequently found in societies where mutual support was necessary to overcome the lack of provision with essential goods. The vertical type is characterised by the clients' dependence on the patrons. This is caused by a highly unequal distribution of access to goods, which is partly reinforced by the patrons to ensure the continuation of the clientelist relationship. The reasons why clients enter such relationships are manifold. Most frequently found in literature are the access to economic goods, which otherwise would be denied, ensuring security and protection or provision with services where the state does not provide for it (see Stokes 2007:606). These needs in many cases result from living in a weak state or individually being in a position which makes the trade-off of entering a clientelist relation appear less of a restriction than not having the asset received due to the cooperation. The patrons' intentions differ, but generally they pursue the interest of ensuring their clients' loyalty to their cause. Nonetheless, it has to be pointed out that the power coming from the inherent asymmetric relations enables patrons to consolidate their power by increasing clients' dependence on the assets under their control. The assets and privileges can be of different nature and can concern all spheres of life. Often clientelism is linked to politics or the public sector. In this context patronage a subclass of clientelism can be made out. It “is *the proffering of public resources (most typically, public employment) by office holders in return for electoral support.*” (Stokes 2007:606; emphasis in the original) Generally, due to the combination of political and socio-economic factors clientelism can permeate all spheres of social life. This way the inequality underlying the

original clientist relationship can be passed onto other spheres as well, which contributes to a consolidation of the power relation.

2.2.3 Bosnia and Herzegovina's transformation

The impact ethno-nationalist dynamics had on BiH in the post-war period can only be understood when considering the past's legacy the newly founded country had to confront. In detail the past has been covered by previous parts of this chapter. At this point, nonetheless, three aspects shall be pointed out that appeared of utmost importance with respect to the consolidation of ethno-nationalist structures in BiH's post-war society. Firstly, the physical and also psychological damage caused by the war has to be mentioned. Secondly, the war fought along ethnic fault lines had promoted social structures based on the belonging to a particular ethnic groups. The latter had ensured people's survival, but had also promoted inter-ethnic hostility. Thirdly, by the end of the war the country, whose public structures had been completely destroyed, was given a new political system. This requested not only the implementation of a consociational democracy, but a series of other changes. In the following the dynamics underlying this transformational process will be described. Furthermore, the interrelations between the changes taking place in different spheres will be highlighted.

The war left the country in ruins. The destruction of infrastructure amounted USD 15-20 billion and 60 per cent of people's housing was not inhabitable anymore (see Ramet 2005:186, 194). Due to the massive destruction of economic plants production only made up approximately 10 per cent of the pre-war level, which in comparison to other countries of the region had been a low output already (see Ramet 2005:186). Another intrinsic deficit of BiH's economy is that local products lack in international competitiveness. The disintegration of the Yugoslav market, which had formerly presented BiH's foreign demand and hence major export market for the local production, showed that although it had been possible to export products of low quality in communist times this has not been the case after the breakdown of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFYR) anymore. This results in BiH's economy being limited to its internal market. These circumstances have been considering unemployment rates rising to up to 80 per cent in the post-war period and the subsequently limited purchasing capacities of the population posing major obstacles to BiH's recovery.

Instead of a determined response by the political forces the internal power relations resulted in political stagnation. As formerly mentioned consociational systems tend to promote, due to

the concessions made to the constituent people in terms of rights, a party landscape developed along ethnic fault lines. Given the already existing clientelist networks based on ethnic belonging these structures established quickly in the new political framework. An additional particularity was that in the first years after BiH's foundation the political leaders were to a large extent the same persons who had played significant roles on either side during the war. This contributed allegedly to a further polarisation of the ethnic groups' stances. They used the political discourse to keep up the ethnic divide achieved during the war.

In practice this resulted in politics, which have been structurally weak on the federal level anyway, being even more limited in their scope of action. The most determining reason has been that the interests of the different groups have been presented as incompatible. This playing of the ethnic card and a widely spread reluctance to inter-ethnic cooperation caused major delays during legislative and other reform processes. Up until today the political discussion at times gives the impression that the parties reject each other's suggestions according to the principle that the other's interest cannot be the own party's interest. In consequence the distinction between the necessity of factual reasoning and ethno-nationalist demagoguery is often not drawn. That is why the current political dynamic is interpreted by some authors as the "continuation of war by other means." (Chandler 2007:79; also see Gromes 2007:208)

Overall the focus on ethno-political views has resulted in a neglect of issues related to the country's general recovery and wellbeing, which would at least require some priority assigned to efficiency instead. A large scale recovery process has not wholeheartedly been initiated yet, although it would have been necessary for a more general stimulation of the country's development. The latter does not seem to be the foremost interest of the economic and political elite (see Bose 2002:32). On the contrary, their clientelist networking ensures their personal prosperity, which people impute to be most politicians' and business men's major interest.

This becomes particularly apparent with respect to the way in which political decisions have influenced the economic transformation taking place in the course the dissolving of the centrally organised economic system. Former state enterprises were privatised with the aim of allowing them this way to work according to the market's logic. Obviously, the state had to let go of much of its immediate influence on this sector, but as political and economic networks have been intertwined for as long as Tito's era the privatisation process was arranged according to clientelist connections. By pursuing an "ethnic privatisation" (Stojanov

2003:90) the respective ethnic groups were able to keep control over vast parts of the economy. This, in consequence, strengthened the position of the clientelist networks. While patronage promotes ethnic loyalty with respect to the public sector, ethnic privatisation turned the new owners of former state enterprises into patrons being in control over one of the most valuable assets – jobs. The entrepreneurs serve as guarantors for the respective ethnic groups' employment. This in combination with the economic hardship of vast parts of the population are confronting presents an essential incentive for the population to support such businesses. The socio-economic situation has often forced the population into relying on clientelist support. Alternatives consisted in international aid and remittances.

Ever since the war broke out the diaspora has stepped in by generously sending remittances to support of their relatives in BiH. This is still the most continuous financial support of BiH's population. The Official Development Assistance amounting USD 5.1 billion provided by diverse actors from the International Community was the other main financial inflow (see Lampe 2000:404). These financial means were the immediate remedies provided by external actors to tackle the ruins the war had left. Nevertheless, this did not promote a sustainable development of BiH's economy. On the contrary, it led to a continuous dependency on external actors. While immediately after the war economic support was mainly provided by IGOs, NGOs and privately transferred remittances, the first two decreased over time. Instead an increasing presence of foreign private investors can be registered. The majority of them comes from Croatia, Serbia, Turkey and the European Union (EU), in particular Austria. Cooperation with the first three is often based on the link of having a common religion or belonging to the same ethnic group. One might claim that the approach pursued by these new trade partners makes use of the country's religious polarisation and, therefore, it is questionable how positive their long-term contribution is with respect to BiH's general recovery. Personally, I view these business relations as rather critical.

As the example taken from the economic sphere was meant to show societal fragmentation is a central issue in post-war BiH. Initially *ethnic othering* presented the main fault line. As time has passed other fault lines have become more determining. These range from diverging political views, unequal socio-economic opportunities, gender division, and (non-) participation in military operation or local defence during the war. Herein I refer to the individuals' experience of the war. Nowadays people distinguish between those who stayed behind, those who took refuge, or others who were internally displaced (see Jansen 2007:207). These different circumstances under which one lived the war supposedly led to

diverging individual experiences and hence different roles in the country's past. Furthermore, due to the different "local anatom[ies] of the conflict" (Jansen 2007:207) even the place where one experienced the war matters, disregarding the already urban-rural divide that has existed since before the war. Correspondingly a variety of motives promote societal fragmentation on all kinds of levels. It appears as if a whole range of centripetal forces are undermining any kind of social cohesion. Kolouh-Westin describes this situation as cultural clash, not only internally, but also externally:

This cultural clash creates many tensions, which can be traced at all levels of society. The tensions between the introvert and protectionist ideology [which is mainly found in the countryside or in people who migrate from rural areas to the cities] and the more extrovert and open ideology is a reality between urban and rural regions as well as between BiH as a country and the international community. (2004:48)

Due to the ethnic division determining most of people's lives and the ethnic polarisation determining the media's organisation discussion of these issues on a societal level is very limited, if it takes place at all. It can be summarised that ethnic division is fostered on various levels and by manifold mechanisms, which often are not immediately connected to the ethno-political structures, but indirectly support their existence as well as they are fuelled by them.

The instability associated with the social fragmentation caused by the country's situation has a considerable impact on the general atmosphere in society. Overall, various groups can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are the supporters of the ethno-nationalist ideology, who consider the political aims more important than issues such as economic recovery or the improvement of the educational sector. On the other hand, there are those who are disappointed by the country's state and its prospects. Within this group two major strands of reaction can be made out. While some agree on the fact that politics is to blame for the situation and choose to develop a certain political apathy, yet others engage in societal activities, NGOs etc. trying to promote change, amongst other by offering support and alternatives to the reliance on ethnic clientelist structures or at least by expressing their discontent.

With respect to attitude people frequently express their desire for something better. The elder reminisce the Yugoslav era by praising the living standards and peace during these times. In the academic debate this "*jugonostalgija*" (Jansen 2007:199; emphasis in the original) is widely rejected or presented as invalid. The younger generations tend to see their future abroad. This is confirmed by a pole in 2002, in which 62 per cent of the youth participants stated that they wanted to leave the country sooner or later (see Almond 2007:449). Basically,

they want to follow their relatives, who they only see in summer when they come back on vacation often with enough money on the side to really enjoy their stay. The impact of this tendency to migrate has already had a major impact on BiH's society. A considerable *brain drain* has taken place and continues to channel the young generation's potential to other countries (see Ramet 2005:192); Duilović 2004:21). This leaves the country behind with a decimated intellectual elite. The people left behind lament this dynamic very much as they consider the support by these skilled people as a necessity to help BiH develop positively. At the same time they fully understand those who migrate.

An explanation for the formerly outlined processes can be found in Kolouh-Westin's argument: "The idea of liberal democracy can be interpreted very differently and used by some states as an entrance ticket to the trans-national market economy without necessarily implementing comprehensive political, social and structural reforms. This seems to be the case in BiH." (Kolouh-Westin 2002:110) Instead of reforms being implemented to consolidate the country the ethno-nationalist logic took over a majority of sectors and hence determines the way they are working. The result has been a dearth of structural adjustment which is a central aspect lamented with respect to the development of the educational sector. The next chapter will be dedicated to how the general situation and ethno-politics in particular have had an impact on the current state of the educational sector.

3. Current educational situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Three aspects will be covered in this chapter on the current educational situation of BiH. At first the background and the genesis of the current educational situation will be outlined. In a second step the academic discourse on this development will be presented. At last the relation of educational matters and development cooperation in post-war BiH will be elaborated to relate the implementation of concrete development projects and programmes to the theoretical ideas that will be at the centre of the following chapter.

3.1 Its genesis and status quo

To better understand the current educational situation it is worthwhile to look at the processes which paralleled the establishment of the post-war educational structures. Similarly to its impact on other parts of the social sphere the dissolution of the SFYR presents a decisive break also to the way in which education is organised. The Yugoslav educational system foresaw that students from all republics were taught the same curriculum in the same language, namely in Serb-Croatian. Religious education was mostly banned, particularly towards the end of the Yugoslav period it was feared that too much emphasis on religious differences would stir up internal tensions between different ethnic groups. Instead students had to attend classes on Marxism. In summary, education served the creation of a common identity during Tito's era. During the slowly progressing dissolution of the SFYR after Tito's death, the republics used their increasing autonomy to implement first changes in the educational field. By 1990 the Serbian government followed by the Croatian government replaced classes on Marxism with religious education (see Ramet 1999:112). In consequence of this change the different religious identities were underlined in the educational sphere and hence paralleled the general dissolution of the Yugoslav identity. The tendency towards promoting religion which was closely associated with the respective ethnic groups subsequently undermined the commonalities which the Yugoslav framework had provided before. The drifting apart of the ethnic groups became obvious in Bosnia and Herzegovina when ethnic division with respect to schooling was introduced for Sarajevo two years later (see Lampe 2000:362). The examples mentioned above shall give an idea of the changes which were undertaken previously to the war.

With respect to the educational orientation "a heavy emphasis [was put] on technical and vocational training on secondary level." (Kolouh-Westin 2002:120) The focus on such

expertise corresponded to the economic structures of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, the adaptation of the curricula to the post-war economic order would pose a significant challenge to educational reform efforts after the war. “BiH’s economic policy for the future [...] [would aim] at moving away from heavy industry production, secondary schools [...] [would] be forced to adapt to the future labor market and become more flexible.” (Kolouh-Westin 2002:120)

The break out of the war caused the provision with an educational infrastructure by the state to break down. During the years 1992-1995 the state was not the general provider of schooling as it had been in Yugoslav times. Instead each war fraction looked for improvised solutions with respect to location, teaching and materials to match the demand for schooling in their communities. Ethnically mixed schools, although they had been common practice in pre-war times, were perceived as wrong as they posed a contradiction to the ethno-nationalist logic of the fault lines characterising the war. Correspondingly, mono-ethnic schools were introduced and the content of teaching was adapted to the respective ethnic ideologies. This shift was facilitated by Croatia or Serbia in providing Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb schools with books (see Torsti 2003:153). In consequence Croats and Serbs living on Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory were taught the same content and attitudes as if they were living in Croatia or Serbia. This was a particularly delicate issue, since the latter two countries at that time contested the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign state and wanted to take it over. Such aspirations were supported by the way curricula presented the nexus of ethnic differences and the groups’ claim for founding sovereign states. Bosnian Muslim pupils continued to be taught based on the old Yugoslav books although some adaptations were made. Latest during the war all three curricula included religious education (Ramet 1999:254). This was a commonality, but it did not work as a link, on the contrary. Religious education underlined the separating aspect of people’s religious background and hence gave reason for the ethnic conflict. All in all, schooling continued during the war. Lessons took place, nevertheless, under conditions characterised by irregularity, improvisation, the distress caused by the circumstances and an ethnical bias.

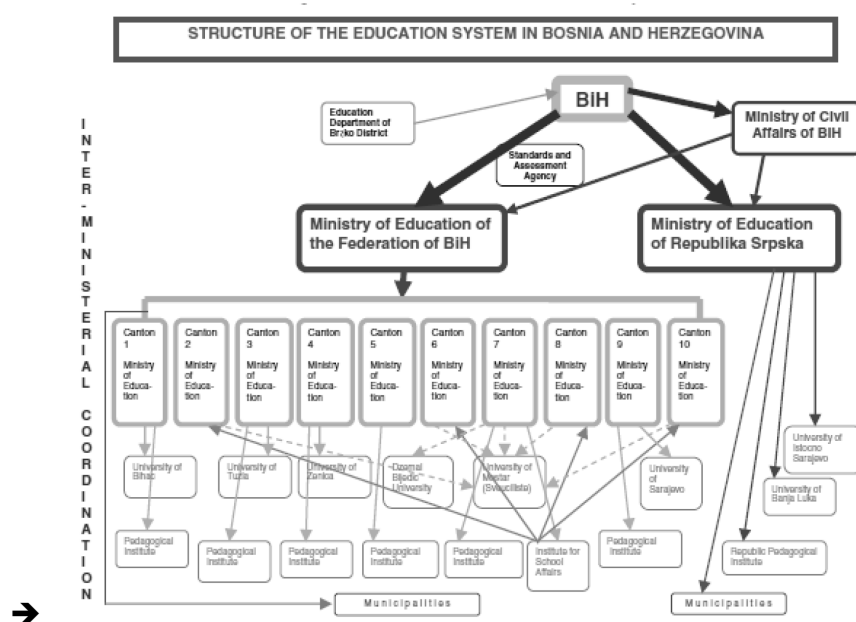
At the end of the war the Dayton Peace Agreement and its annexes did not explicitly deal with the issue of education as education did not seem to be a priority for the IC when it prepared the ceasefire (see Perry 2003:42).² Therefore, the task of organising the post-war educational

² Legal regulation of the educational question: On the national level: Article III of BiH’s constitution; for FBiH Section III, article 4 (b) and for *Republika Srpska* Article 38 of the corresponding constitution (see Perry 2003, 25)

situation was left to national politics. Soon it became one of the most obvious areas in which the war dynamic would be directly continued within the institutions of the new state. The triparted educational logic stayed in place. The post-war educational sphere had to compromise the country's general political organisation. It also had to live up to the claims of the different ethnic groups for cultural autonomy and hence the educational sovereignty. At last, local peculiarities with respect to the composition of the population led in many cases to individual adaptations. What had been improvised during the war turned out to be established in the post-war institutional setup and hence achieve a certain degree of legitimisation. The latter is considered particularly critical (see Bozić 2006:327). Amra Sabić-El-Rayess comments on this development: "In post-war Bosnia, ethnic politics has replaced communist ideology, [...] [under these circumstances] the dissection of [...] education into less powerful units remains essential for the survival of the current political system" (Sabić-El-Rayess 2009:426).

Educational reality nowadays can be characterised as follows:

Figure 1: The structure of BiH's educational system



(Pašalić Kreso 2008:362)

Each of the three political units developed its own educational policy. The RS's curriculum is centralised and aligned according to Bosnian Serb political ideas. Pašalic-Kreso and Russo describe the ethno-political influence on it as follows:

The [RS's] Ministry of Education defines educational laws and policies while the government decides on the formation of new educational institutions. School management in RS is delegated

to school boards composed of founding representatives and parents. School boards in RS nominate candidates for the directorship, the equivalent of a head teacher, one of whom is then appointed by the Ministry of Education. (2000:103)

Concerning the curriculum this political interest becomes particularly evident when looking at language, literature, history, geography, religious education, music, and arts syllabi (see Kolouh-Westin 2002:128 f.). They make up the so called *national group subjects*, which are paid particular attention to in the academic discourse as their content appears particularly dangerous for BiH's future as a multi-ethnic state, while they are also presented as vital for the ethnic survival in the national ethno-political rhetoric (see Perry 2003:33). It has to be underlined that while the rights of Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs are stressed, the rights of other ethnic or religious groups are overridden. The advantage of the decentralised decision making process is that the respective interests of local majorities are enforced. Therefore groups, which present the smaller part of the population of an administrative unit, face a situation similar to the one the 17 recognised minorities find themselves in. Basically, neither group has a chance to see their interest enforced (see Musa; Rogosić 2006:19). This would not be the case, if education issues were to be decided on entity or national level.

In District Brčko a common curriculum was introduced under international supervision and supported by external agents in the early 2000s, which enables pupils from all ethnic backgrounds to go to the same school (see Perry 2003:79). They are only instructed separately during language and culture classes (see Perry 2003:79). At the same time concessions were made when it comes to freedom of expression in their own language and official documents are issued in the language/alphabet requested. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the teaching body is meant to equal the ethnic composition of the student body. Claire Magill argues that for this reform to be successful incentives were needed. Teachers received higher salaries (see Magill 2010:35). Additionally, the protectorate-like status of the district gave external actors the power to overcome local resistance, which initially existed. Due to all these particularities it would be unsound to assume that a reform such as the one conducted in Brčko was possible on a large scale (see Perry 2003:80 f.).

The Federation BiH's educational situation is more complicated in its outline. From the very beginning the entity had to satisfy the two dominant constituent people's urge to see their right for cultural autonomy to be fulfilled in the educational sphere (see Kolouh-Westin 2002:111). As the ratio of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats depends on the locality solutions had to be found on canton or even municipality level. In many cases it has been

made use of the law of subsidiarity, which allows for passing on legal issues to a lower administrative level, if it cannot be adequately solved on a higher level (see Fischer 2006:300 f.). This way of solving the educational question often became an immediate and central matter of local politics. The individual outcomes vary. Overall the educational landscape turned out to be very fragmented.

The fragmentation³ took place rather quickly and the actual challenge it presented to state building processes only became clear when the OHR started promoting the internally displaced persons' (IDP) return to their original homes and former refugees started coming back as well (see Fischer 2006:301). These circumstances led to the particular educational setups which had been based on the immediate post-war ethnic composition of communities to become partly obsolete. In March 2003 the Ministers of Education agreed that returnees were offered the opportunity of being taught in their ethnic curriculum. If the group requesting to be taught in a different curriculum is larger than 18 students, a separate class has to be organised. Even one single student is entitled to be taught the core subjects in the respective curriculum (see Magill 2010:40).

Due to these circumstances the solutions found vary according to the localities. In some cases separate schools for the different ethnic groups are founded. Sometimes, these different schools are even located in the same building. Overall there are 54 schools of the type "two schools under one roof" (see Clark 2010:349). Another alternative presents bussing children belonging to a local minority to the closest community in which the curriculum of their ethnic group is taught. This context leads Stef Jansen to come to the conclusion that schools in BiH are an institutionalised form of segregation, although in some cases more obvious than in others (see Jansen 2012:xxi). Furthermore, the ethnic symmetry pursued by the adjustment of the educational setup to the particular circumstances resulted in a polarisation of the youth as Azra Hromadžić concluded (see 2008:542). The population has mixed feelings towards the way education is organised. According to polls held in the early 2000s 54 – 79% of parents are not content with separate schooling (see Pašalić Kreso 2008:368). The empirical part will analyse how teachers perceive the stance parents take on towards ethnic segregation in education.

³ "Fragmentation refers to decentralization of education to entities and cantons. Unlike the latter, fragmentation has a negative connotation because of its roots in the current political structure and its exploitation of educational protectionism." (Bozic 2006:320)

3.2 Reactions of the academic discourse – a literature overview

Considering the topic's complexity and the fact that since the early 2000s BiH's educational situation has been treated as urgent matter on the international agenda (Duilović 2004:31) a reasonable amount of background research has been conducted. One of its purposes is to form the base for policy development. As part of this strand, Perry (2003) analyses which political aspects have supported the continuation of the ethnically separated educational situation. This high-politics approach comes to the conclusion that national politics and the IC pursue fundamentally different ideas with respect to education. The problem detected is that given this disaccord the IC cannot count on local political support. Hence the IC does not have the means to implement its vision of an educational system which is more supportive for the transformation process in BiH. This poses the question on the scope of action of the different actors. Another strand focuses on the analysis of the power relations, the social complexity and the obstacles encountered in the implementation process of programmes. In this context Péter Radó counters the policy-oriented argumentation of the educational question by emphasising the role of civil society, in particular teachers, pupils and parents (see 2004:22 ff.). Closely connected to this is the discussion of possibilities and difficulties of bottom-up initiatives. As it becomes clear in most of the case studies the bottom-up approach is missing a consensus as well, although the disagreement may consist in other aspects than those put forward by politicians. This argument will be considered in chapter 6.

Kolouh-Westin (2002; 2004) and Davies (2002), on the contrary, try to show with their research, to what extent the principles of the IC, such as democratisation, peacebuilding and human rights can currently be found in the educational field or how they can be introduced in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context. The data used for such research mainly originates from the evaluation of the impact which externally initiated programmes aiming to promote these principles have had on the establishment of these concepts in the educational sphere. Particularly relevant for this research is the anthropological, sociological and pedagogic research which focuses on the impact of the current educational situation on society or how education can contribute to achieving certain aims, as well as how society has an impact on the educational situation. This quantitative and qualitative research has the objective of showing the relation of education, the institutional setup, the formal base, such as curricula and books, and the process, and social phenomena. Authors like Pašalić Kreso (2008) stress issues such as human rights violations resulting from the theoretically mono-ethnic teaching, which in reality frequently is not the case. Especially, the automatic discrimination of members of minority is criticised. Constitutively on these findings the question is posed, how

can education function in a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious post-conflict setting as it is to be found in BiH? Here it is suggested to apply theoretical approaches such as the contact hypothesis on BiH (see Clark 2010). Furthermore, case studies are used to give evidence of different scenarios; some documenting the development of particular schools or the educational situation in a particular community, others evaluating the impact of externally funded programmes aimed at helping the individual schools to improve. A good share of these case studies is dedicated to *two schools under one roof* (see Hromadžić 2008; Jansen 2012), an educational setup, which some multi-ethnic communities chose to avoid that children of different ethnic background go to the same classroom and hence get to know each other. Others, like the research conducted by Gordana Božić, takes political reforms, in this case the OHR's decree on the right to refugee return, to investigate the adaptation of the educational question on the change in the ethnic composition of a community.

At last the strand in literature arguing the ethno-nationalist stance has to be mentioned. Although mostly published in Bosnian/Croatian/Serb it is not less valid for the international discourse. Opposing most of the stances presented earlier, it outlines justifications for the continuation of the educational status quo by making reference to the right of the constituent people to cultural autonomy, difference in language, religion and ethnic background including all its implications. Dizdar even goes as far as claiming that ethnic segregation would prevent future conflicts to rise (Dizdar 1998:31). In consequence the current educational situation is present by national politicians as the best way to guarantee peace. This allows the status quo to be justified as follows: "Divided schools are [...] presented as the appropriate institutionalised form of multicultural education in a democratic ethnationally diverse society. Integration, on the other hand, is in principle feared as a negation of this diversity" (Jansen 2012: xxiv).

3.3 The role of education in development cooperation in post-war in BiH

The Dayton Peace Agreement did not deal with education in detail. It only referred to it implicitly by the right on cultural autonomy ascribed to the constituent people. Institutionally the matter was delegated to the entity level. Additionally, the binding character of the Human Right to education as established in Annex 6 of the peace treaty implied that certain standards in education would need to be complied to: These included general access and non-discrimination (see Pašalić Kreso 2008:370). The fact that so little attention was paid to education stemmed from it not being a priority to the IC during the negotiation process (see

Perry 2003:2). Furthermore, during the peace negotiations lobbying for education was not particularly strong (see Perry 2003:42 ff.). Nonetheless, the IC invested a considerable amount of money into education in the period from 1996 – 2013. Only in the time period 1996 to 1998 USD 172 million were spent on education, while overall expenditures resulted in USD 3.8 billion (see Perry 2003:46). This corresponds to less than 5 per cent of the development assistance given to BiH. This money was primarily used for reconstruction work and infrastructure's recovery as well as covering for teachers' salaries so that educational institutions could return to do their work. This corresponded with the IC's plan of not committing long-term (see Perry 2003:43). Instead its focus consisted in implementing activities which helped with stabilising the new political set up to allow for an early exit (see Perry 2003:2). Matters such as allocation of funds according to the needs of a particular school were widely neglected, which resulted in rural areas often suffering disadvantages over urban areas (see Fischer 2006:302). The general trend with respect to financing education has been decreasing. This is the result of two tendencies. For one a smaller portion of development assistance is directed to the educational sector. Additionally, the general flows have been decreasing.⁴ The latest numbers are from 2011, when educational expenditures propped from around 5 per cent to 2.8 per cent. Overall they amounted to USD 16.21 million in comparison to USD 585.48 million official development finance. In summary, it can be said that the amount spent on education is rather small.

These numbers contrast that in December 1997 the Peace Implementation Council (PIC) Communiqué stressed the importance of cooperation between national politics and the IC with respect to educational reform efforts. Correspondingly, the OHR put an effort into initiating talks and negotiations on educational reform and textbook review (see Magill 2010:44; Ramet 2005:189; Perry 2003:48). At the same time manifold activities in the field of education were conducted by a whole range of international actors. Within this group ideas fundamentally differed on how the issue of education could be addressed appropriately. There were “those which sought immediate, even imposed, solutions to urgent problems and those which sought sustainable, locally-supported redevelopment and modernization of systems, including education systems and curriculum.” (Stabback 2008:454) Under these circumstances and considering the limited amount of financial means designated for education the external support for the field of education was incapable of challenging the lack of interest in educational reform efforts by Bosnian-Herzegovinian officials. The persistent

⁴ For more detailed numbers see annex 2

unwillingness to cooperate and general inactivity on national and local level was interpreted by the IC in the way that political attitude towards education gave priority to ideological matters instead of working on education from a pedagogical perspective. Similarly to “divided schooling [being] an expression of that nationalism” (Torsti 2003:54) ethno-nationalism determined educational policy overall. This became particularly evident when the political level rather made use of the law of subsidiarity with respect to educational question. This allows for a passing of issues onto another lower administrative level instead of having to find one common solution. In practice this led to highly complex tasks such as the development of curricula being the job of the local administration. In consequence, the lack of professional expertise on these levels and not making use of synergies drastically slowed down the development process of post-war schooling. Furthermore, it is questionable, if the fragmentation caused will contribute to long-term peace or if it will rather contribute to disputes. Contrary to the claim of members of the IC and professional pedagogues, who claim that a multi-cultural state’s educational system needs to provide a way of openly handling the existing diversity, the ethno-political stance on it is that the division of schools was the appropriate measure to deal with multiculturalism (see Jansen 2012). This notion has been perceived as a threat to any intent of promoting social cohesion within the multi-ethnic state BiH (see Hill 2011:157). To challenge this has become a major objective of different external actors. Witnessing this dynamic has caused a change in the IC’s focus: Dealing with education as a technical matter is not considered sufficient anymore. On the contrary, the impact of education on and its role in post-conflict development of BiH would need to be underlined. Hence reacting on the ever more dominating nexus of ethno-nationalism and education the IC agreed that a harmonisation of the educational setup is an essential prerequisite for peace- and statebuilding activities. Furthermore, it is perceived as necessary for the Human Right of education being ensured for members of minorities; as much with respect to the composition of the local population as well as regarding their legal status as minority (see Pašalić Kreso 2008:370). On a more technical note, the financial burden the fragmented system posed with 80 per cent of all expenditures in this field being absorbed by teachers’ salaries is identified as a major hindrance for schools to modernise (see Magill 2010:36).

With the intention that these needs are strategically addressed and the aims are consistently pursued in practice, in 2002 the IC handed the coordinating function of any educational initiatives conducted by the Council of Europe (CoE), EU, World Bank, different UN

agencies or NGOs⁵ over to the OSCE (see Perry 2003:82; Magill 2010:45; Nelles 2006:233). The fact that the coordination of educational matters is institutionally ascribed to the OSCE highlights that the field has turned into a priority area in the long-term peace-and state-building strategy of the IC. While the OHR had focussed on “policy change and [...] [promoting] an atmosphere in which educational reforms could take place” (Perry 2003:48), the OSCE formulated broader aims: ensuring educational access and non-discrimination, quality and modernisation, financing and management, and education legislation with the aim of harmonising the fragmented educational programmes (see Perry 2003:83). Accordingly, the tasks are more oriented towards working on education’s organisational structure, its content and the conflict-education nexus (see Perry 2003:48). Generally, the harmonisation of the different curricula by replacing them by a Common Core Curriculum has been demanded (see Nelles 2006:234). Presenting the latter as a prerequisite for accession of BiH to the CoE was the political measure taken to promote the cooperation between the activities of the IC and national politics (see Stabback 2008:454).

So far it had only been possible due to the Brčko supervisor’s far-reaching mandate to impose “a single Law on Education and a harmonized curriculum [...] [in District Brčko by] 5 July 2001.” (Perry 2003:78) The political pressure resulting from binding CoE accession to educational reform is used to pass the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education on national level (see Nelles 2006:234). Its main purpose is to form the legal base for educational harmonisation. Its implementation process, nevertheless, is slowed down by the lack of cooperation on the local political level and the fact that all the irregular school arrangements make it almost impossible to keep track on the progress of the individual schools. The extensive use of the subsidiarity law leads to such a fragmentation of the system that it is administratively very difficult to supervise the adaptation of the new law in the whole country, as much with respect to legal adaptation as practical implementation in schools. Perry excuses further shortcomings in the implementation process of this law by stating that “it must be emphasised that while the OSCE has the mandate and the means to serve as the primary coordinator of the effort, it lacks the funds to implement specific technical assistance projects itself, and is therefore dependent on the various implementing agencies involved as partners in reform.” (2003:90) Furthermore, it is interesting to point out that minority interests and rights “were mostly left out of education reform debates” (Nelles 2006:234) as this would most probably have asked too much to reach an agreement of the IC and national politicians.

⁵ “[A]lmost 300 NGOs working in BiH in 2001-2002 listed ‘education and training’ among their areas of interest.” (Stabback 2008:454)

That activities promoting harmonisation and reconnection of the different educational setups are necessary becomes particularly apparent when social cohesion is challenged. This has happened on various levels: Physically, the demographic changes due to the return of IDPs and former refugees are in many cases interpreted as a contradiction to the mono-ethnic pursuits of various communities. That is why ways and means have to be found to continue mono-ethnic education. Additionally, the psychological dimension of war trauma causes a complexly emotionally divided society. Working towards alleviation, nevertheless, is often neither considered a priority of national politics nor of individuals. These circumstances have motivated external actors to stress the necessity of educational institutions to work as transforming agents in this societal setting, and not “helping to fuel division.” (Clark 2010:349) A critical step forward is the decree by which diplomas issued in BiH have to be recognised in the whole country (see Pašalić Kreso 2009:76). Although this is only a formal achievement it supports return efforts by protecting the returnees’ rights, which before have been liable to be violated.

As a reaction to the critical situation of the education sector a whole range of projects has been launched. Some have approached the situation rather systematically. Others have focussed on specific schools and their needs. The approach chosen has very much depended on the type of size as well as the financial means of the supporting organisation. Additionally, the respective central ideals have been determining the programmes’ approach. This becomes particularly visible with the different approaches on how to integrate peacebuilding into the Bosnian and Herzegovinian curricula. Most prominently two initiatives to promote peace in the educational sphere have been launched on a large scale. The subject Human Rights and Civic Education is obligatory throughout BiH (see Perry 2003:52). It can be attributed to the category of “peace education as human rights awareness training.” (Clarke-Habibi 2005, 35) The other programme is called Education for Peace (EFP). It pursues a “whole-school approach.” (Clarke-Habibi 2012:19) Therefore, all members of the school community as well as the immediate environment are to be included in the project. The overall aim of the EFP is to transform people’s attitude towards a peace-orientated worldview. This perspective “challenges us to establish peace within ourselves, to engage peacefully with others, to prepare ourselves and our children for the creation and maintenance of peace in their profession and personal lives, and to recount the great strides toward peace and unity that our cultures and societies have been making.” (Clarke-Habibi 2005:40) These aims are meant to be achieved by a training process preparing all members of staff for integrating the EFP principles in their teaching. It consists in “extensive self-reflection and group discussions on

40

peace concepts and [other related] themes.” (Clarke-Habibi 2012:19) In a subsequent step “educators are then encouraged to engage, indeed ‘immerse’ their students in the cross-curricular study and exploration of peace themes, making connections between peace concepts, academic subjects, and students’ everyday social and cultural realities.” (Clarke-Habibi 2012:19) At last the environment of the school is to be included by inviting it to so called Peace Events, which serve the purpose of bringing across message of peace-orientation that EFP promotes.

Nonetheless, not only peacebuilding has been a concern of external organisations trying to support the educational sector’s rehabilitation. Particularly in the immediate aftermath of the war activities helped with infrastructural reconstruction and the provision of basic materials. Over time international actors became more involved in providing content related aid. They started covering gaps in the curriculum by developing syllabi for classes such as “cultures of religion” (Magill 2010:40) as well as conducting textbook revision (see Nelles 2006:234). By engaging in this field members of the IC intended to “encourage multi-perspective approaches” (Nelles 2006:234) being introduced into teaching. Furthermore, innovative teaching methods were introduced by offering seminars, workshops and materials. For foreign languages, English and German mostly, these have been mainly provided by organisations promoting the language and culture of a particular country. In the case of German as a foreign language the *Goethe Institut* and the Austrian agency *Kulturkontakt* have taken the lead. For one, they offer specific training for German teachers to make them familiar with new teaching materials and methods. Furthermore, they establish cooperations with individual schools to support them in implementing programmes on environmental education, intercultural dialog and practice-oriented business and economics classes, as well as in qualifying for offering the German Language Diploma (see Schulen: Partner der Zukunft 2013). Seminars and workshops to promote English as foreign language are organized as much by publishers, like Oxford University Press, Macmillan, Cambridge or Longman as by cultural institutions. The British Council and the US embassy offer online seminars as a part of their teachers’ development programme. Another focus area has been the promotion of activities aimed at bringing youth from different ethnic background together to allow for inter-ethnic contact to take place which so far does not form part of the official educational policy (OSCE 2010).

4. Education and transformation

The aim of this chapter is to present the framework of education in the context of development and specifically development cooperation. At the beginning the purpose of education in transformation will be discussed. At first a definition of the understanding of education underlying this thesis will be given. As the nexus between education and social transformation is emphasised in literature the phenomenon of social transformation will be explained. This serves as link to the development discourse on education which will subsequently be covered. Peacebuilding, although it nowadays it forms part of the mainstream development discourse, will be dedicated an entire section, since it looks differently at education than most of the technocratic development discourse. Additionally, the impact of conflict and post-conflict is of particularly pressing the case of BiH. In a next step the particularities characterising education in the context of conflict will be presented. As theoretical input Lynn Davies' complexity theory approach will be presented, which complements the systems theory approach used for the empirical part of this research. Considering that the empirical part focuses on teachers their role in the context of social transformation will be dealt with in a separate section.

4.1 Definition of education

“Education as a field of study, although not necessarily of research, was first introduced at German universities in the late eighteenth century.” (Husén 1990:59) Since then educational issues have formed part of an academic, but also political, practical debate. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish between them. Torsten Husén explains this by referring to education's cross-cutting nature with regard to disciplines related to it as well as due to its orientation towards theory and practice. “Education constitutes a vast field of practice and application but does not in itself constitute a scientific discipline. Scientific disciplines relevant to educational problems fall into two broad categories: those with philosophical and historical and those with instrumental and empirical bearings.” (Husén 1990:91)

A more specific or more pedagogical definition of education points out that education is as much about the transmitted content, as about the structures through which it is passed on, i.e. educational institutions but also organisations such as NGOs, and about the content it delivers (Rappleye; Paulson 2007:252). Hence education can be distinguished in formal, non-formal, and informal education. Formal education describes the type of learning that happens in

institutions designated for this purpose, such as schools, colleges, and universities. All organised opportunities to convey knowledge, from NGOs giving workshops to the scouts' movement, are considered non-formal education. Informal education refers to all one learns in daily life; as much unintentionally, as well as autodidactically (see Kolouh-Westin 2004:17 f.).

While a broad consensus can be found in literature with respect to the categorisation outlined above, opinions vary fundamentally when it comes to the purpose of education. The Western, particularly German speaking discourse on education's purpose has been very much influenced by Humboldt's concept of education. He claims education should serve the creation of a *whole*, it should complete the individuals by enabling them to unfold their full potential. Humboldt assumes that this could be achieved when the individuals considered every interaction with their environment as part of this process. With respect to society the learning process and the facilitation of this process by society as a collective presented the central notion (see Koller 2012:71 ff.). Kant already adds to Humboldt's understanding of education the need for it to prepare individuals for their personal and also society's future. The economic factor is latest integrated by Campe and Basedow whose *Pädagogik der Brauchbarkeit* (pedagogy of utility) foresaw that the individual's way of thinking and action should correspond to the economic requirements and the expectations with respect to qualifications of the existing social order (see Koller 2012:72 f.).

In Europe, the relation of education and society has been a central aspect to sociology of education ever since. One of this discipline's most prominent authors, Emile Durkheim (1885-1917) considers education being vital for society's survival as the latter could only be guaranteed, if "there exists among members a sufficient degree of homogeneity." (Durkheim in Kibera; Kimokoti 2007:20) Hence education is meant to serve as one of the social institutions ensuring that the population shares the same values, which forms according to Durkheim the foundation for social order (see Kibera; Kimokoti 2007:21). Subsequently, it would always require an educational system which was adapted to the respective value system. Mannheim and Stewart state with respect to the need for correspondence of social values and education: "The principle contribution of the sociological approach to the history and theory of education is to draw to the fact that neither educational aims nor educational techniques can be conceived without a context, but rather that they, are to a very large extent, socially directed." (Mannheim; Stewart in Kibera; Kimokoti 2007:22 f.) Hence they see education as a social institution with the task to fulfil the mandate society has passed on to it.

A break with the tradition of education serving the perpetuation of existing social structures took place in the 20th century. From then onwards the question of how education can empower individuals to work against social asymmetries has presented a central issue in the pedagogical discourse. Hence the aim of preserving social hierarchies has been questioned. Furthermore, those actively involved in the process of learning are thought of as possible agents for change; the change they strive for. One of the most famous proponents of this approach is Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, whose elaborations have been a point of reference for critical pedagogics ever since. One of the aims he pursues is to reform the teacher-student relationship. He promotes the idea that interaction in the classroom should be understood as learning from each other regardless the status of the person. The implication of breaking with the traditional knowledge-authority nexus is meant to pave the way for more equal relations in society and thus the opportunity of reducing social inequalities. Additionally, Freire implies that people who were formerly only referred to as students, would not only learn, but would become subjects of their own lives. People should “not only stand one’s ground in a situation, but [they should] shape them.” (Zimmer 2001:164) To do so consciously and regardless of the initial situation is Freire’s central concern. “Criticism, dialectics, dialog and democracy [are] [...] at the center of Freire’s thought and action.” (Novy 2009:3) With these tools and methods he hopes to empower people to live up to his vision. One aspect to be kept in mind, when working with reference to his work, is that his writings are based on his personal experience in the North-East of Brazil where he started an alphabetisation campaign for illiterate adult farmers. Correspondingly, his theoretical framework should not be applied without thorough reflection on educational setups for children and teenagers. Nonetheless, Paulo Freire’s ideas have been an inspiration for many so that the pedagogic discourse keeps on building upon his legacy.

While the early and conservative perspectives on education combined the individual’s aims with those of society, one finds approaches to pedagogy which put the individual at its centre. Along these lines the comparative pedagogue Robert Arnove defines education as follows: “[E]ducation should be viewed more comprehensively as an agent for nurturing in individuals a critical conscience, analytical abilities, ethical commitment, and tolerance of diversity as well as a desire to contribute to the well-being of others not only at home but across the globe.” (2010:829) Herein one finds the focus set on the learner, which currently is the state of art in pedagogy. This, nonetheless, could be seen as contradictory to the formerly mentioned purpose of education which focused on the reproduction of social structures.

In summary, education has particular functions or much rather these functions are assigned to it by different strands of thought. Still education is as formerly mentioned not monolithic. On the contrary, it has to be divided in various layers and sub-systems, in the process and its aims. This leads to a particular complexity of the issue (see Kibera; Kimokoti 2007:30). The rest of the chapter will outline how the role of education is perceived in the development context generally and particularly in the case of BiH.

4.2 Transformation, development and transition

Before giving an overview of the way education is taken up in the development discourse, the differences between the terms transition, development and transformation shall be outlined. This is necessary as the concepts underlying these terms differ. Nevertheless, the use of the terms in practice does not always take these nuances into consideration. Partly the connotation of the terms also depends on the political orientation or professional perspective of the one referring to a specific term.

As a matter of fact the terms transition and development are very much taken over by the economic and technical strand within the development discourse. Therefore, they are closely linked to the idea of development being a rather technical, mostly linear process. By passing through phases a higher level of development is achieved in the end. Transition in this respect is the phase, when a society changes towards a new type of organisation. This can happen in the economic sphere as Rostow describes it in his *Stufenmodell*, which foresees that less developed economies could gain economic strength by pursuing certain economic policies (see Rostow 2008:40ff.). In the political context the term transition is particularly used for former socialist and communist countries introducing a democratic system. The common notion is the predetermined vision with respect to in which direction such a transition has to lead. In the case of BiH, literature often mentions that the country would need to undergo various types of transition: the transition from war to peace, from a self-management system to a market economy, from a socialist country to a democracy, and from being a member state of Yugoslavia to being an independent country (see Bieber 2006:35; Perry 2003:7).

Theories on social transformation as well as the peacebuilding discourse use the term transformation. In contrast to the term transition transformation usually does not imply linear changes or anticipates a concrete goal, but rather tries to describe the way in which a system changes. This may very well include backlashes, phases of standstill and reorientation. It has

to be added that while Marxist and neo-Marxist theories on social change have quite a clear on how what the result of transformation is supposed to look like, peacebuilding promotes the idea of letting go of old patterns and creating something new. Its immediate aim is rather that the newly established order needs to function than that there is a distinct idea of how a conflict is to be resolved. Hans J. Giessmann stresses the positive characteristics of conflict: “Conflict transformation understands social conflict as a natural form of human existence, i.e. not as something negative *per se* but as a potential catalyst of change of systems, and thus something that is indispensable for any civilized development” (2011:7). Another aspect of relevance is the fact that transformation often implies a more active form of agency. Therefore it is also commonly used in the discourse on participatory approaches. Subsequently, for this thesis the idea of transformation seems to be more appropriate when analysing the changes socio-political system of BiH has undergone and still undergoes.

4.3 Education and development

4.3.1 Education in the development discourse

The establishment of the right to education on an international level traces back to 1948 when it was included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Up to today the latter is taken as the legal foundation of the international discourse on education. Only 44 years later education was considered as a specific right of children in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). It foresees that “[e]very child has a right to education regardless of the context in which he or she lives.” (Sigsgaard 2012:53) The nexus of the aspects social justice and freedom, which are meant to be closely related to education, turn out to be the moral background to the current debate. But before dealing with the current debate the genesis of the discourse is to be outlined.

In the discourse on development – in its broadest sense understood as any type of change taking place in society – education has ever since been paid attention to. Over the last few decades it was ascribed different functions. Building upon the functionalist notion of education being a tool of socialisation and modernisation, theorists pushed for the unfolding of the individual’s potential through development education:

[Development] education aimed at the modernisation of [...] technological activities in order to provide better for their [i.e. the people provided with development education] material and cultural needs, and at the adaptation of their political machinery and other societal institutions in such a way as to make possible the most effective use of this modernisation in the satisfying of those needs. (Parkyn in Little 2000:280)

Human capital theory still argued in line with the modernisation paradigm, but focussed more on society's profit of the increase in the individual's educational level. It considered the expenses for education as investment in skills and knowledge, summarised as human capital, which presented the foundation for as much economic progress as for the political implications of modernisation (see Arnove 2010:827; Little 2000:287).

From the 1970s onwards the modernisation paradigm has been harshly criticised. The main notion of this criticism is the dearth of proof that there is a causal relation of modernisation efforts automatically leading to an improvement of people's lives. It was rather imputed that modernisation theorists wanted to achieve that people fit in with their aim. In accordance with the neo-Marxist criticism that such aims would be decided upon by the dominant group(s) in society dependency theorists challenged the notion that education is an agent of socialisation. Hence they state that such kind of socialisation much rather implies an act of domination (see Little 2000:288). The problem about this implication is that under such circumstances those dominated by others are not able to live up to their potential and subsequently, to initiate the development they considered desirable. Correspondingly, ever since these critical approaches have stepped in for education that promotes social equity (see Little 2000:288).

Amartya Sen greatly contributes to the contemporary paradigm by the elaboration of his "capability approach." (Andresen 2009:84) Herein he argues in favour of "human development" (Andresen 2009:84), which is achieved through the development of the individual's capabilities; one of them being education. The particularity of education in this process results from it being a prerequisite for other capabilities to develop. According to Amartya Sen the efforts undertaken to unfold one's potential present the background for living an empowered life. The UN took up this argument in their concept for quality education, which forms the current base for educational activities pursued or supported by the UN. These are the guiding principles:

Quality education includes:

„- Learners who are healthy, well-nourished and ready to participate and learn, and supported in learning by their families and communities;

„- Environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities;

„- Content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace.

„- Processes through which trained teachers use child-centred teaching approaches in well-managed classrooms and schools and skilful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities.

„- Outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes, and are linked to national goals for education and positive participation in society. (UNICEF 2000:3)

An even vaguer understanding present in the development discourse can be found in a report by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “Education is a precondition for development.” (Brock-Utne 2006:35) The subsequent question is what kind of development do organisations supporting this notion refer to. In this context it is important to point out that the overall discourse on development is to a large extent influenced by those priorities set on the agenda by the major transnational organisations. Currently sustainable development presents the paradigm according to which development strategies are designed. To ensure sustainability it is considered essential that the discrepancies between poorer and richer parts of the world do not increase. On the contrary, the goal is to reduce the distance between more and less privileged citizens of the world by working on circumstances that are more favourable for all. The promotion of global justice and the enforcement of human rights are intended to help in this process as they theoretically guarantee everyone the least one needs to live. Programmes dedicated to poverty reduction, but also those aiming to provide free education strive for helping their target groups to achieve higher living standards and hence to have access to more opportunities to reach for prosperity. While these aspects widely determine the thematic orientation, “liberal internationalism” (Pfaffenholz 2006:14) is recommended for development practice to achieve these aims (see Davies 2002:252). The following elements form the base for this approach: the promotion of economic progress through market mechanisms and the transformation of political systems towards democracies. Given these circumstances states are meant to turn into stable market economies, which again allow for good governance.

Practice, contrary to theoretical elaborations, often presents a decisive obstacle to achieving these strategic aims. While they require political and institutional reforms, these are in most cases not initiated from the internal structures of a country that has currently faced a conflict. Therefore, external stimuli need to be activated. The dominant development organisations tend to suggest in such situations interventions to start the process of the desired changes. Accordingly, development cooperation in this context tries to bridge the status quo and the aims that theory suggests. Subsequently, development cooperation is throughout confronted

with the dilemma of theory and practice and the dynamics inherent to either. The disadvantages that result from accepting international aid are manifold. First of all, support is usually not unconditional. On the contrary, donor agencies often take advantage of the recipient countries' dependency on the development programmes offered by bilateral and multilateral organisations (see Pfaffenholz 2006:16 ff.). Hence they only provide aid given that criteria are fulfilled. The discourse summarises these conditions as good governance. To comply with the latter is often presented as a prerequisite to receive development assistance. This strategy is criticised in many ways. Another downside is that it is doubtful, whether recipient countries agree to the conditions set by development cooperation to ensure the continuation of financial flows and technical assistance or if they fully support the cause of the agreement. Secondly, such interventions do not always have to contribute to positive changes. Thirdly, due to the emphasis put on the macro-level the meso-level and micro-level are mostly neglected (see Körppen und Ropers 2011:14).

4.3.2 Education in the practice of development cooperation

The ways in which education is integrated in development projects and programmes are manifold. It depends on the aims pursued, the funding organisation, and the ideological background underlying particular activities. In the recent past practice has been guided by international agreements on educational aims. These goals serve as guidelines, according to which funding is given to projects. Considering that funding is a scarce resource for organisations working in the field, they have tended to align to these principles.

This emphasis on education was underlined by the World Conference on Education for all in 1990. Ten years later the Millennium Development Goals 2 and 3 were to support the same aims. While the goal 2 foresees to achieve primary education for all and hence directly concerns education, goal 3 aims at promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women. Education herein is taken as an indicator to measure this field's progress (UN Secretary General; UN Development group 2006). Launching the Education for All (EFA) campaign, based on the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000 was another step to facilitate the implementation of educational aims in the development sector. Due to its unsatisfactory mid-term achievements the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was additionally introduced to support the efforts for achieving the MDGs.

The EFA and FTI share additionally to the formerly mentioned noble aims common key-concepts such as cost-sharing and the diversification of educational providers with respect to

their implementation. A frequently found effect is that market-forces take over the educational sector and thus promote privatisation, which again weakens the influence of a state on the educational system. Furthermore, it is criticised by those aiming for promoting social justice via education. The Education Sector Strategy Update (ESSU) aims to guarantee free access to primary education to avoid the mentioned side-effects of activities in the educational sector (see Brock-Utne 2006:28). Although goals have been set and initiatives have been organised the results are not satisfactory. Under these circumstances the UN Secretary General launched in 2012 the Global Education First Initiative. It strives towards:

***First, putting every child in school.** The global community pledged to achieve universal primary education by 2015. We need to make all the necessary investments to ensure that every child has equal access to schooling.*

***Second, improving the quality of learning.** Access to education is critical. But it is not enough. We must make sure that people acquire relevant skills to participate successfully in today's knowledge-based society.*

***Third, fostering global citizenship.** Education is much more than an entry to the job market. It has the power to shape a sustainable future and better world. Education policies should promote peace, mutual respect and environmental care. (UN Global Education First Initiative 2012a)*

The initiative also stresses that “the need to fulfill the right to education is greatest in humanitarian crises [...] [since in] emergency situations, education can save and sustain lives.” (UN Global Education First Initiative 2012b) This leads to the focus the next paragraph will be dedicated to: education in humanitarian aid.

4.3.3 Education in humanitarian aid

The most recent advancement was a resolution by the UN General Assembly which pointed out the importance of the right to education in emergency situations (A/64L.58) (Sigsgaard 2012:53). The emphasis of this principle resulted in emergency relief focussing more on education. In general, natural disaster and conflict are considered emergency situations (see UN Global Education First Initiative 2012b). This is where humanitarian aid, the more immediate and spontaneous branch of development assistance, steps in. Its priority is to ensure the provision of food and water, shelter, health care and education (Paulson; Rappleye 2007:341). The importance of education under such circumstances is argued along five aspects which form part of essential principles of development aid. First of all, education is a human right. Therefore it is not meant to be violated in any moment. Secondly, education, in particular schooling, is considered a protection of children. Thirdly, the economic

consequences are predicted to be positive throughout. Furthermore, health issues and gender equality are supposedly positively influenced (see Sigsgaard 2012:12 f.). Conflict, on the contrary, causes irregularities in the individual's education by reducing attendance or even causing the interruption of schooling, having negative psychosocial effects, reducing the budgets for educational activities and hindering the provision of educational institutions with materials (see Sigsgaard 2012:14). Therefore, it can be argued that "waiting to begin educational interventions until conditions have stabilised may itself exacerbate instability." (Education for All Forum in Davies 2004:145) Nonetheless, the "precise educational response is highly context-specific" (Davies 2004:147) or rather should be. This has to be taken into consideration when in conflict situations emergency relief operations facilitate educational support as much for people directly involved in conflict as for those who fled the actual conflict and now live as IDPs or refugees. Overall, educational activities have to reflect the particular dynamic of a conflict. That is why Margaret Sinclair reasons: "Orienting education towards peace requires critical reflection on the ways in which education has contributed to exclusion and aggression in a particular context." (Sinclair in Davies 2004:157) Thus education in the context of conflict has to be understood as a decisive institution as well as mechanism in a conflict's formation, but also transformation. Before elaborating more on the nexus of education and conflict respectively post-conflict situations, a general introduction to peacebuilding will be given.

4.4 Peacebuilding

"Since ancient history different actors have made contributions to peacebuilding. But only in the 20th century did peacebuilding become institutionalised in international law as a means of peaceful resolution of conflicts between states." (Pfaffenholz 2006:9) Contrary to the liberal internationalism, which is widely perceived as the current development paradigm, peacebuilding as a research discipline has set its focus on the analysis and practice of conflict management. By doing so it aims to transform armed conflict into positive conflict. Positive conflict describes a social constellation which entails some kind of tension, but these circumstances present a crucial momentum for social change as they provoke changes and adaptation of societies (see Giessmann 2011:7). Correspondingly, peacebuilding aims at preventing "armed outbreak of conflict" (Pfaffenholz 2006:8) in the first place or to end it as soon as possible. The UN Agenda for Peace of 1992 officially introduced the peacebuilding approach to the mainstream development discourse. Herein

several types of work for peace [were delineated]: preventive diplomacy designed to prevent the outbreak of war, peacemaking aimed at ceasing war making and bringing warring parties to the negotiation table to forge a peace settlement; peacekeeping dedicated to providing security through the presence of peacekeeping forces; and peacebuilding focused on consolidating peace in the aftermath of war and violence and preventing a further round of bloodshed. (Woodrow und Chigas 2009:3 emphasis in the original).

Its focus nevertheless was on post-conflict peacebuilding. The change in mindset that paralleled this report was the rejection of the claim that any kind of development aid would automatically contribute to a long-term peacebuilding process (see Pfaffenholz 2006:12). While political conflicts for a long time had been analysed on a macro-level, peacebuilding, in particular with the help of systemic approaches, tried to bridge the gap between micro-level interventions and macro-level policy decision making (see Körppen und Ropers 2011:14). This also explains why the debate on peacebuilding was initially considered “a very political issue and has then shifted into a tool-based discussion.” (Pfaffenholz 2006:26) In consequence of the integration into the development discourse one can detect in practice a “conflation of peacebuilding and conflict sensitivity [which] undermines the effectiveness of peacebuilding practice, as agencies in the field think that they are accomplishing peacebuilding as long as they are being conflict sensitive.” (Woodrow und Chigas 2009:4) In the midst of this debate Woodrow and Chigas saw the need to clarify what peacebuilding should mean in the implementation process instead: “Peacebuilding refers to measures designed to consolidate peaceful relations and strengthen viable political, socio-economic, and cultural institutions capable of handling conflict, and to strengthen other mechanisms that will wither create or support the necessary conditions for sustained peace.” (Woodrow und Chigas 2009:10) In conclusion, peacebuilding’s main aims are the “work **ON** conflict, seeking to reduce key drivers of violent conflict and to contribute to Peace Writ Large (the broader societal-level peace).” (Woodrow; Chigas 2009, 10; *emphasis in the original*)

The discrepancies between the development paradigm and the peacebuilding approach become most evident in post-conflict situations (Uvin 2002:10). This is not so much the case for the provision of humanitarian aid as it presumes circumstances in which conflict is overt. Other than with the lack of clear distinction between conflict and post-conflict situations humanitarian aid and development assistance are to a large extent institutionally separated. In consequence, the step from the former to the latter poses a big challenge to the development sector. The complaint about meagre cooperation between the two fields in practice and lacking coherence of their work is frequently raised (see Uvin 2002:9). This can be partly explained by the importance assigned to conflict. From the peacebuilding perspective it is

crucial to ask in post-conflict situations: What impact do the underlying dynamics of the former conflict still have on the environment's development as well as on the implementation process of any assistance provided by external actors? The development approach prioritises in conflict situations the political implications of intervention. Getting engaged in a conflict situation implies that there is a political side to such interventions. To avoid such implications is a frequently found strategy in development assistance. Peacebuilding, in contrast, underlines the inevitability of this political connotation of interventions. At the same time it criticises that due to the hesitant stance of external agents towards intervention for a long time measures taken to prevent conflict from outbreak or relapse did not form part of the development mandate (see Uvin 2002:5). Nevertheless, in practice so far rhetorical means have helped to find ways around this delicate issue: Offers of cooperation are presented as being based on altruist ideas, while political intentions are withheld. Overall, it is the major aim of peacebuilders to achieve a higher level of awareness with those working in the field of development on their impact on (post-)conflict dynamics; as much directly as indirectly. That is why they request that development actors take responsibility for their actions as well as for their implications.

In practice peacebuilders worry that, despite all actions taken to integrate the two approaches, their aim to promote and to accompany a process of transformation is not applied adequately in development projects. They wish to work towards resolving a conflict situation in such a way that due to the newly achieved social, cultural, political and economic order all parties involved can accept this transformed state. They clearly distinguish this type of transformation, even though it may imply changes in the economic sector, from the approach prevalent in the development discourse, which focuses mostly on political and economic consolidation. Based on or related to modernisation theory, the development approach often promoted economic prosperity as the best way to prevent conflict (see Stedmann in Uvin 2002:7). Peacebuilding, on the other hand, rejects this determinism. It much rather highlights that to avoid conflict it often does not take to return to the pre-war state. On the contrary, re-establishing pre-war structures may be counterproductive as they may have followed the same dynamic as the former conflict (see Davies 2004:34). By highlighting this peacebuilding breaks with the perception of conflict being an unfortunate interruption of development processes and the actions taken to promote them. It much rather underlines the centrality of conflict for transformation processes, also those aiming for economic recovery or upsurge. In peacebuilding the principle of negative conflicts having to be turned into positive contributors to social transformation presents a priority to any other notion of desirable development.

On another level the integration of the two approaches results difficult due to the way in which research and analysis in both fields are conducted. While peacebuilding stresses the work on a micro- or meso-level, development policy, and thus the research supporting it, has the tendency to prioritise the macro-level. Correspondingly, peacebuilding analysis and research often do not allow for drawing conclusions relevant to the macro-level. Thus the different foci of research and policy agendas pose an obstacle to use the micro-level and meso-level results to constructively challenge the approaches targeting the macro-level (see Paffenholz; Abu-Nimer; McCandless 2005:2). The insights achieved by analysing on such different levels, nevertheless, could be extremely helpful in identifying more interfaces between development cooperation and peacebuilding as well as aspects which need to be more thoroughly discussed.

4.5 Education in conflict and post-conflict situations

As education presents a central pillar of development the question arises: Which implications does conflict⁶ have on the provision of development assistance in this sector? As discussed above there are significant differences between the development and the peacebuilding approach when dealing with conflict. Hence the question is how is this discrepancy reflected in the discourse on education in development? As one can draw “parallels and interfaces between political conflict and within-school conflict” (Davies 2004:13) Lynn Davies argues that educational issues require particular attention as conflict tends to permeate the educational sphere. Personally, I would add that an educational system as such can also be interrelated with conflict. Herein I want to refer to the background of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian educational setup, which to a large extent stems from the country’s war legacy. The before mentioned nexus between education and society makes educational systems particularly liable for being exploited in (post-)conflict situations. This leads to the following question: “If one of the principal functions of education is to ensure social cohesion, what do violent breakdowns of social cohesion tell us about the content and function of formal education? [...] Conversely, in what ways can formal education contribute to the reinforcement or rebuilding of social cohesion?” (Tawil in Davies 2004:6) In consequence, particular attention should be paid to the role of education in specific contexts.

⁶ Throughout this section the term *conflict* will refer to *negative conflict* as it is used in the peacebuilding discourse. Due to the fact that the development discourse usually does not distinguish between *positive* and *negative conflict* it can be assumed that the usual point of reference is *negative conflict*.

“In the aftermath of the Rwandan crisis of 1994, a major debate began among development actors about the role of development [i.e. planned, externally funded activities subsumed under the framework of development assistance] in conflict affected countries.” (Pfaffenholz 2006:6) The probably most important conclusion of this discussion with respect to educational activities is that contrary to former assumptions development aid provided in the field of education does not automatically need to contribute to a positive long-term development. On the contrary, education is said to be able to have as much a positive as a negative impact on conflicts. Bush et. al (2000) used the metaphor of education having two faces to describe this ambiguous way in which education can influence the conflict dynamics. Similarly, to any other aid provided it can also fuel the continuation of a conflict. Hence it is obvious that the negative face, the way in which education promotes negative conflict is meant to be avoided. Due to the attribution-gap of the impact of education and peacebuilding on transformation, it poses a particular challenge to understand the quality of the consequences resulting from educational activities. Concretely, the attribution-gap describes that it is impossible to definitely attribute the achievement of certain advances with respect to conflict transformation or other development processes to education. Experience, nevertheless, shows that education usually affects various areas in which transformation is promoted (see Bush et al. 2000, 27 f.). In any case, education is one of the very few tools peacebuilders have at their hand. This is why authors like Lynn Davies want it to be considered and to be applied constructively. She urges for “the creation of opportunities and spaces, physical and mental” (Davies 2013:6) in which education can be used as a sphere for dialog, reflection and problem identification and analysis (see Bush et al. 2000:29). Due to education’s manifold interrelations with other levels on which conflict can take place Kotite argues that education can support peacebuilding in three ways: “Education can alter societal contradictions (structural), improve relations and interactions (behavioural) and encourage changes in attitude (attitudinal) in ways that can reduce the risk of conflict and help to build a sustainable peace.” (Kotite 2012:13) The last aspect is understood as the most important prerequisite for the sustainability of any other transformation; political, social, cultural or economic.

From the peacebuilding perspective there is one general problem related to education. It is the difficulty of setting an intervention in the educational sphere in such a way that it actually addresses the current conflict’s dynamics. Due to the constant change of such dynamics and its self-organising character, understanding the underlying patterns is highly problematic (see Burns 2011:104). Additionally, the intervention’s impact changes the conflicts dynamic to

such an extent that one cannot assume linearity anymore as latest the interventions interrupted a linear relation (see Burns 2011:104). This prevents the dynamics from continuing to follow the same pattern. Another aspect to be looked at when it comes to interventions is that they are driven by certain aims. In the context of development aid these may even clash with the immediate stakeholders' interests. In the long run this may cause a conflict between the stakeholders and those working on development projects. Overall, peacebuilding is a long-term process. Therefore, it has to be taken into consideration how an intervention due to its external character will affect a conflict dynamic in the long-term. Subsequently, constant analysis and evaluation of such an intervention is required to prevent undesirable backlashes (see Davies 2013:1). Furthermore, sustainability of conflict transformation asks for the inclusion of the local population. Local commitment to initiatives is essential for ensuring that the solutions sought will last (see Bush et al. 2000:27 f.). Based on this insight the local population is regarded a central actor in peacebuilding (see Bush et al.. 2000:27). At last this thought leads to the claim, "[f]or a society to emerge, the key skills for students are to learn to be change agents themselves." (Davies 2013, 6)

4.6 Complexity theory's perspective on education and conflict

Lynn Davies challenges the understanding of education being liable for having either a positive or a negative impact on (post-)conflict situations. She considers this approach as too reductionist. Due to her perception of education as a system, which follows its own particular logic and which is related in many ways to other systems, she much rather thinks it indispensable that for change to happen in the educational system its logic has to change. She contests that interventions have the capacity to trigger such fundamental processes. Instead she urges people working on and in education to look at the complexity responsible for the working of a specific educational system and the effects of the existing dynamics. With this approach she sees the possibility of understanding the simpler "in terms of its origins in the more complex." (Byrne 1998:16) Subsequently this new perspective may give a better clue on the points from which change can be effectively promoted. In the development context this asks for analysing the respective educational system and its environment as a whole instead of limiting the focus on the evaluation of individual projects (see Paffenholz; Abu-Nimer; McCandless 2005:4).

The following paragraphs will outline the theoretical approach suggested by Lynn Davies that allows for a more holistic approach to analysis of education: Concretely her aim is to provide

a “theoretical framework which can explain the macro issues of how education can act to reproduce conflict” (Davies 2004:19) as well as where possibilities can open up to transform conflict. Her argumentative base is complexity theory. Her approach follows the realist stance, therefore, everything is looked at as the “product of complex and causal mechanisms.” (Byrne 1998:37) Correspondingly, her theory tries to find explanations for dynamics by analysing the relationships between different agents. As model for this understanding serves the concept of “‘complex adaptive systems’ (CASs), otherwise called dynamic or non-linear systems.” (Davies 2004:20) This foresees that CASs are as much physical as social systems, but they comprise more than institutional systems. Hence the CAS of education is not only one of the substantial organisational structures of a state, but it refers to other factors which influence the educational sphere from outside the actual structures as well. This implies that when analysing an educational system or situation from the perspective of complexity theory additional elements may be taken into account that one would not perceive as part of education in its organisational and institutional form. These aspects nevertheless also have an impact on the internal working of a CAS. In the context of stimulating transformation it might be easier to start with adaptations of those aspects which are not institutionalised, as these may be more flexible.

Complexity theory understands a system as characterised by its self-organising nature. This implies that there is the aim inherent to a system to strive for survival or even improvement (see Davies 2004:26). This is achieved by intense interaction and hence communication among elements of the CAS, which results in knowledge creation (see Davies 2004:24). The obtained knowledge is used to create schemata of the system as well as it continuously models them (see Davies 2004:26). This process is not driven by leadership (see Davies 2005:358), but “the mechanism for selection is ‘communicative success’.” (Davies 2004:32) Such a successful communication takes place when its outcome contributes to the survival or improvement of a system.

Complexity theory assumes that “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.” (Davies 2004:20) This additional value results from non-linearity being the prevailing dynamic of a CAS. This describes the fact that elements can be interrelated in manifold ways. In fact they cannot act independently because due to communication between different elements of the system they react on each other’s’ changes (see Davies 2004:20). Hence their relational impact on each other provokes multiple and contingent causations (see Byrne 1998:5). Therefore, their outcome is widely unpredictable. In case other elements react positively on

the perceived change they amplify the original change by taking over the dynamic. Other elements can also answer with rejection to certain inputs or even with backlashes to the change. Overall, most complex systems have a preferential way of organisation, a state at which they eventually settle. Mathematicians call it “attractor.” (Davies 2004:27) The effect on systems is that internal reactions usually very much tend into certain directions. Nonetheless, since education is a dynamic system, it has multiple attractors. “[I]t contains within it other attractors” (Davies 2004:28) In consequence the dynamic within an educational system is not easily understood and also highly dependent on the orientation of related CAS. Therefore, “[a]n education system is itself a strange attractor.”(Davies 2004:28) “[S]trange because it is not always explicable to us.” (Davies 2004:27) This is additionally caused by the fact that different CASs are not isolated from each other, but are closely interrelated similarly to the relation of elements within a system. Thus an educational system can be considered a “*complex nested system*” (Davies 2004:21; emphasis in the original), since it is one of many systems that make up our world and it is integrated in a wider socio-political system.

The orientation of attractors may change over time, since CASs can be near or far from equilibrium (see Davies 2004:21). In consequence of this dynamic nature a CAS may face a point, the so called bifurcation, where the system can choose between two paths which both lead to a new type of equilibrium (see Byrne 1998:22; see Davies 2004:28). When working with the education CAS in the context of transformation the challenge is according to Lynn Davies to find the point which promotes the amplification of a certain change to such an extent that it leads to bifurcation (see Davies 2004:23). Although this is the state furthest away from equilibrium this is the point which entails most potential for substantial change. That is why “new departures and [the] risk-taking” (Davies 2004:34) associated with bifurcation are needed for conflict transformation. Hence a shift with respect to attractors as it would be needed for conflict transformation is not as easy to be achieved. The role conflict plays in CASs is most likely to have a remarkable impact on the education system as well as other sub-systems. Hence for a sustainable transformation conflict needs to be challenged in different systems. Although each system by itself can achieve major successes, it is the joint result that counts in the end.

This leads Lynn Davies to underline that the use of education as a tool for conflict transformation is a delicate undertaking, which, nevertheless, has the potential to contribute greatly to conflict transformation. As the impact of education on conflict cannot be predicted she urges for caution when it comes to interventions in an educational system or to the

introduction of educational programmes aimed at promoting peace. Such activities present disturbances to the system, which in any case at first cause adjustments of the already inherent relations of the elements of the system. These might cause fundamental changes in the dynamic of attractors before actually working on the issue of conflict. In the worst case the overall effect can be counterproductive to the original aim of transforming a conflict. To avoid backlashes Lynn Davies proposes that any activity in the field of education should be constantly evaluated with respect to its immediate effects as well as the overall situation. To react to the evaluation's insights might require adjustments to guarantee a more effective continuation of the project. Space for such variations is often not considered in the planning of the implementation of projects. Neither do reform efforts usually foresee such evaluations. Another aspect to be considered in the design of education for peace programmes results from the principle of self-organisation. Due to the fact that the generation and the processing of information within a CASs is essential for its development, it is highly recommended to launch participatory projects or at least include networking and exchange elements in a project. The former is more desirable though.⁷

4.7 Teachers' role in the context of development

So far when in this thesis reference has been made to education in the development context it has rather been looked at as an abstract concept implemented by a technically organised system. To allow for such a perspective the educational system has to be reduced to the educational infrastructure of buildings, technological equipment, but also curricula and aims pursued. Correspondingly, teachers are ascribed in this context a rather technical role. They are meant to support the implementation of the plan developed by educational planners and politicians. Hence it is the task of teachers in this context to facilitate the learning process designed to achieve particular knowledge and skills as well as the general dissemination of certain ideas. In the end, their performance is measured according to preset objectives. The fact that this approach is very common in development cooperation becomes apparent in the prioritisation of the development of curricula and the emphasis on teacher training in development cooperation. This way of thinking corresponds to the notion that teachers are "the most critical resource in educational reconstruction." (Buckland in Rose und Greeley 2006:11) The question in this context, nevertheless, is, in which way are teachers meant to be critical. While development programmes often leave the impression of teachers being

⁷ For a more detailed elaboration of the theoretical background to Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) and education see (Davies 2004, chapter 2 Complexity theory and conflict)

considered as actors who after being given the right content to impart and being taught the state of art of pedagogical methodology are meant to complete the task of implementing these ideas of education in their classrooms. Such a perspective perceives the educational process as if it can be widely modelled and shaped according to the interests of those designing the curricula and the educational setup overall. In the context of development cooperation in the field of education the issue at stake can usually be described as the adaptation of the existing system so that it fits better the current socio-economic, political and cultural constellation or as the introduction of more fundamental changes in the education system, which in many cases are meant to parallel transformation processes taking place in society. Since the planning of these changes is mostly done by professionals and technocrats, the fact that the actual educational process is to a large extent controlled by those directly involved, namely teachers and students, is often neglected. In consequence of this splitting of the theoretical and strategic aspect of education and the practice cooperation with teachers and including local and practical expertise is missed out on. The effect is that a

history of centralisation in education [...] can mean a lack of reflexivity in teachers or practitioners, with problems always externalised as emanating from administration, parents, students or curriculum designers. Critical reflection is irrelevant, if there is no sense of agency, and there is the argument that this has to be developed first. (Davies 2002:259)

This attitude is considered as critical, since a lack of understanding of agency creates a distance between the teachers and their different functions in society. Pedagogues who underline that the actual educational interaction takes place during the encounter of teachers and students also stress that the individual choice and personal commitment of teachers to contribute not only to the learning process of their students, but also to the wider aims that are intended to be achieved with education or which they aim for personally are crucial. They are decisive since during the interaction of teachers and students a space for questions, reflection, critical stances and personal interests can be created. When this individual capacity to shape the educational experience is taken into consideration, teachers cannot only be regarded as technicians. On the contrary, the possibility for them to be agents in the immediate school context, but also with respect to the wider social context and its development becomes apparent. The importance of being conscious about this broader context of schooling and the necessity for agency in this field is emphasised by Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux as well as many others, who built upon their ideas. Both of them agree that the individual is decisive for shaping his or her environment. Nevertheless, the scope of action of an individual is to a large extent influenced by the surroundings of the respective individual. Reflecting this constellation is presented as the starting point for either person to consciously start shaping

60

his or her reality. The need for this is particularly seen when the existing structures needed to be challenged as this is usually the case with development projects. During their daily work with students teachers have the chance to consciously challenge general perceptions by raising issues and questioning ideas which are widely taken for granted. Henry Giroux refers to this as an intellectual activity (see Giroux 1988). Paulo Freire, who mostly worked with adults, goes as far as claiming that it is even a political job (see Freire 1981). The issue at stake is, if teachers complete these tasks consciously or not, and if they use their work inside the socio-political system as a chance to work against this particular power constellation or not. The idea underlying their argument corresponds to the core element of participatory projects in development cooperation and peacebuilding. The common ground is that individuals who are directly affected by a situation can also promote the wished change. The peacebuilding and participatory approach even emphasise that the integration of stakeholders is wished for to ensure the sustainability of transformative processes. Bringing these concepts together it can be concluded that teachers due to their central position inside the existing socio-political system and the outreach of their work can play an important role in transformation processes (see Freire 1981:97). For them to unfold their potential they have to support the pursued cause.

As peacebuilding sees the need to provide support for the actual actors in a country struck by conflict to find solutions to the problem themselves (see Pfaffenholz 2006:13), it stresses the necessity for the concerned persons being integrated as agents. In the educational sphere this poses a challenge as “[p]articularly during and after conflict, teachers may be untrained or poorly trained” (Davies; Talbot 2008:514), which may lead to a lack of confidence. Nelles argues that this may not be accepted as an excuse for “teachers, [and] their associations [...] [remaining] outside of the process.” (2006:237) Considering that in BiH the post-conflict impact still plays a particular role it has to be taken into consideration when reforming the educational situation in BiH. She stresses that in this process the role of teachers is critical, since they are indispensable when initiating activities which allow for confrontation of different perspectives. Having these shortcomings in mind this research wants to investigate what teachers can contribute to a better understanding of the current state of the educational system, to what extent it affects their work and how they deal with it respectively, where they need more support to be able to develop solutions for the problem.

5. Methodology

5.1 The methodological background

The idea of conducting participatory research can be seen as a reaction to the preparatory literature review. As outlined above, the discourse on education in BiH distinguishes between the political debate and the academic debate. Herein I do not refer to the nature of the debate since it is always highly political, but rather I refer to the terrain on which it takes place. A feature frequently found in the existing research is that it is led by ideals. These can be political ideologies, the development paradigm, technocratic ideas on how to best reform an educational system (see Duilović 2004:35) or a pre-set idea of what is the actual problem with the educational system. In some cases this is way too obvious and hence raises the question on the extent to which it considers the implications on the daily reality in the educational sector. Although teachers were assigned a key role in specific projects, overall their understanding of the current situation at schools has been widely neglected. Therefore this research aims at taking a first step into this direction and to open the opportunity of better integrating other stakeholders' points of view and experiences into the debate. Additionally, I want to stress the importance of teachers' attitude towards their work as its impact on the social environment is undeniable and very influential. Due to this interconnectedness their contribution to social transformation should not be underestimated. Going in line with Gramscian argumentation, *organic intellectuals* are needed to lead the formation of a counter hegemonic bloc. Teacher's role in society predestines them for taking up this function (Bozić 2006:342).

5.2 Subject matter and target group

The current educational situation in BiH is very much influenced by the interest of the national political sphere of continuing the ethnic segregation in education as it supports its cause (see Bozić 2006:320). At the same time the IC tries to turn education into a tool which works as multiplier for the peacebuilding efforts of the IC. Subsequently, there are diverging stances towards the development of the educational sphere. While there might be a way to promote transformation through education despite the intricate situation, other stakeholders of the educational system, such as teachers, see the need for something about the current situation to be changed at first (see Magill 2010:35). This thesis aims to address the issue of

how the educational situation in BiH can be adapted to enhance its impact the social transformation of the country.

These are aspects highly relevant to any discussion on education and its relation to the socio-political situation it originates from. As the approach underlying this investigation is bottom-up the readership to be addressed comprises as much those people and organisations working on education in BiH as those members of civil society who are interested in bottom-up approaches to transformation.

5.3 Research set-up

5.3.1 Primary goals

Despite the objections frequently raised that there are theoretical, political and conceptual limitations to participation in research (see Skogey; Skov 2008:195), for this thesis a participatory approach was chosen. This investigation sets an emphasis on getting a better insight into teachers' experience of their work and their working environment. FCM seems to be the suitable method as "the purpose of an FCM, according to Kosko (1986), is to capture and map the belief system of an expert in a specific domain." (Skogey; Skov 2008:196) Furthermore, it "is well suited to represent relatively unstructured knowledge and causalities expressed in imprecise terms." (Khan; Quaddus in Skogey; Skov 2008:196). That way, teachers themselves could live up to their potential as experts, due to their immediate involvement in the field of education by teaching on a daily base. The subsequent aim is to find out where teachers detect problems in the educational sphere. Herein their explanation for the origin of the problems and the dynamic perpetuating them is of particular interest. Reason for this gives Wildenberg by stating:

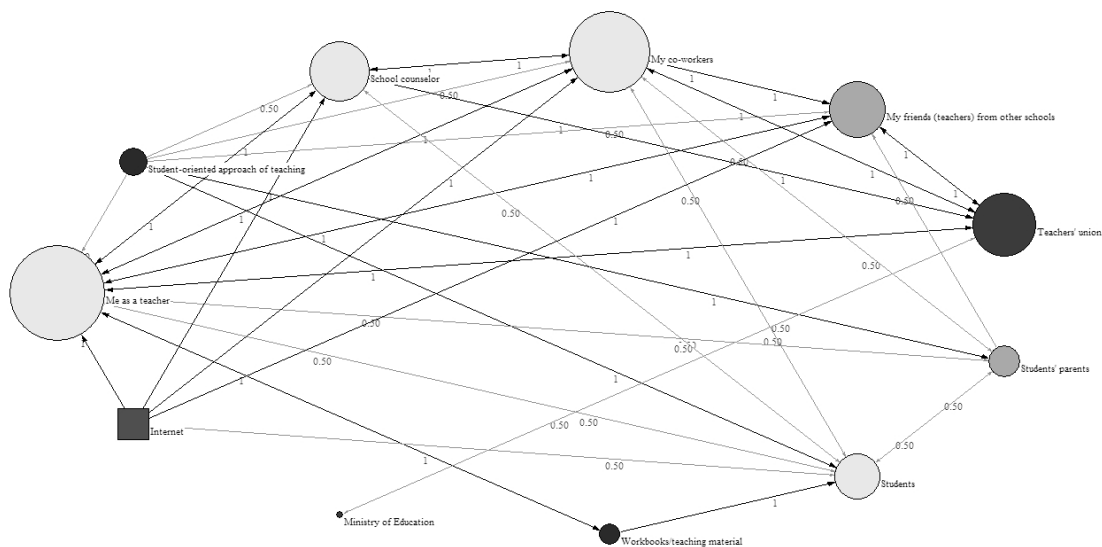
In a society, it is possible to distinguish between different bodies of knowledge held in different social groups and organisations. The different bodies of knowledge reflect the different forms of engagement agents have with the environment and can provide different perspectives on the same complex issue. (Ingold; Giampietro in Wildenberg 2011:86)

The benefit expected from studying teachers perspective is the possibility of comparing the insights generated in cooperation with teachers with those understandings of the problems already found in academic research.

5.3.2 Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM)

The idea underlying the method of FCM is that it helps with capturing the cognitive model individuals develop to understand or make sense of certain dynamics, problems and their interrelations (see Wildenberg 2011:85f.). This is achieved by depicting the elements, also called variables central to the individual understanding of the particular issue and their interrelations. Elements can be persons, groups of people, institutions, but also abstract concepts such as legislation, history, ideology, emotions or any other aspect considered essential to the respective system. By connecting the different elements with directed arrows a network of causal relations is created. At the end the maps visualise the system people consider the background to the phenomena they witness in daily life. Hence system thinking can be applied when analysing the maps.

Figure 2: Sample of a Fuzzy Cognitive Map



The complexity of a network depends on the person or group developing the map. In theory FCM allows for unlimited complexity (see Özesmi und Özesmi 2004:46). By connecting the elements with each other they are ascribed different roles.

[W]e can separate the variables according to their type, whether they are a transmitter, ordinary, or receiver variable [...] The type of variable reveals how people think about the variables. For instance, if someone views a variable as a transmitter variable, it is seen as a forcing function, which cannot be controlled by any other variables. In contrast a receiver

variable is seen as not affecting any of the other variables in the system. (Özesmi und Özesmi 2004:53)

Ordinary variables are those that are as much influenced by other elements as well as they have an impact on others elements. Having a network, each relation between two variables can be ascribed a value indicating the quality of the respective relation. At first, positive and negative relations have to be identified. Each of these can be valued even more specifically by ascribing a value between 0 and 1 to the relation. A value of zero '0' or close to zero indicates little or no impact of the transmitting elements on the receiving element while a value of one '1' or close to one indicates a bigger impact of the transmitting element of the receiving element, respectively. Hence these values help to identify the role of the different elements and their impact on the network.

5.3.3 Sample

The sample consists in secondary school teachers due to the assumption that their pupils have a higher political awareness than primary school children, and hence might demand more feedback on such issues from the teachers. At the same time secondary school is the last compulsory educational level. Subsequently, this educational level is supposed to be accessible to all pupils of the age group 14 to 19. This is the decisive criteria for limiting my sample to secondary school teachers. It has to be mentioned though that there are different types of secondary schools: gymnasias and schools offering vocational, technical and polytechnic education (see Kolouh-Westin 2002:115). Personal experience gave me a deeper understanding of what these differences meant for the status of a particular school.

As a matter of fact, in either type of secondary school at least one foreign language is taught. Therefore, the sample is made up of as much German as English teachers working in different types of schools. This group of teachers was chosen as their subject does not form part of the *national group subjects*, which in the ethno-political argument are considered vital for the protection of the right to cultural autonomy of the three constituent people (see Božić 2006:330). On the contrary, these foreign language classes are an opportunity of raising issues such as culture, politics and personal opinion.

Being aware of some of the variations which exist in the educational landscape of BiH this thesis aims at covering these. Most awareness and emphasis on this matter could be found in the research set-up Pilvi Torsti (see 2003:64) previously chose for her dissertation. The locations at which she conducted her research were selected according to the following

criteria: Firstly, all three political units were covered. Secondly, different places in the FBiH were chosen due to the specificity of their population's composition or their pre-war background (see Torsti 2003:64).

Based on these criteria the following locations are chosen for this investigation. In the FBiH Sarajevo forms an exception due to it being the capital, its culturally and ethnically rich pre-war history and the current presence of foreign organisations. The latter's impact on the development of the city even in the educational sphere is undeniable. The Canton Zenica-Doboj was chosen as example for a Muslim dominated area, since it has a predominant Muslim population. This partly results from the fact that even during the war major parts of the Canton remained under the control of the Muslim army. The contrary ethnic situation can be found in Livno, the capital of the Bosnian Croat dominated Canton 10. In the early 1990s this region formed part of the Herceg-Bosna, an area where up until today claims for independence or integration into the state of Croatia can be frequently heard. Mostar is exemplary for the on-going tension between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, who happen to live there in the same city, but not side by side. They rather live in fairly separate areas. The sample for RS in comparison only consists in one location due to the centralised organisation of the educational sector in this entity the educational framework is comparatively consistent. Nevertheless, it would be worthwhile to cover other cleavages such as the urban-rural divide and the situation in communities with a high number of refugee and IDP returnees. The most harmonised situation can be found in the District Brčko. There "[t]he Law on Education and the newly developed curriculum were imposed by the Brcko District Supervisor on 5 July 2001" (OSCE in Magill 2010:35).

Up to three teachers were interviewed per school, depending on their availability,. Getting to know one school setting through various perspectives was meant to balance out the personal bias to a certain degree and put personal interpretations into perspective. This seemed to be particularly important since the interview partners differed to a large extent in their personal background with respect to age, their individual identification with concepts such as nationality, ethnicity and religion. Furthermore, they had distinct political views, incomparable work experience and different attitudes towards engaging with organisations at grassroot level. In total eleven interviews with teachers were chosen for analysis. Four had to be taken out of the sample as they did not fulfil the criteria or their maps were incomplete. Of the eleven sessions two were conducted in RS, two in District Brčko and seven in FBiH.

Three of these were held in Canton Zenica Dobož, two in Sarajevo, and one each in Mostar and Livno.

The individual sessions were held between September 22, 2013 and November 2, 2013. All teachers who declared their willingness to take part in the research and fulfilled the formerly outlined criteria happened to be women. The conversation took either part in English or German depending on the language the teacher was teaching. The length of the session varied between around thirty minutes and two hours. These differences resulted from the limited availability and the interest the teachers showed in the investigation. Each meeting comprised an introduction to the research I was conducting, an explanation of FCM, the method that each teacher was meant to use to complete their task. The latter consisted in visualising their personal perception of their working situation, their work itself and all aspects they considered relevant. To make it easier for the teachers to find the initial key elements for their map I asked them to speak for some time about their work in general. While they were talking I took notes of those topics and aspects that appeared central to me. After some time, usually indicated by a natural pause which took place after they thought to have told everything, they were asked to name those points they considered central and to start drawing the map. In some cases I used the notes to give some inspiration. Thinking of their environment in such abstract terms as elements and concepts came out to present a major challenge to the teachers. The maps were developed at individual pace. In some cases the process was interactive and at times they asked me for help or if they did this correctly. Sometimes I interrupted the process to reassure that I understood right what they meant. In other sessions the teachers chose to finish their map by themselves and explain them to me afterwards.

5.3.4 Data generation

The data generation consisted of various steps. An initial literature review served to identify different strands on how education is understood in the context of contemporary BiH. Additionally, it helped to learn that very little attention is paid to the actual experience of people working in the educational sphere, especially in schools. This can be explained by the policy-oriented bias of the debate. At the same time the motivation for this thesis' empirical research was to focus on teachers' views.

To collect data individual sessions with teachers were held. Their task was to construct their individual map during this time. The exact procedure can be found in the section above. After

collecting all the maps and sorting out for the relevant information they contained. They were compared and analysed. Due to relatively free interpretations on how to draw a FCM it was not possible to continue the data evaluation following the procedure foreseen by FCM. For applying the methods of computer-based network analysis and data aggregation the maps were too inconsistent in their representation. Therefore, I decided to analyse the raw material itself. Herein the different maps were compared with respect to their correspondence and divergence when it came to the named variables and their relations to each other. To explain the contexts and relations, I frequently consulted the transcripts of the sessions as I tried to stick to the wording used by interviewees to avoid over-interpretation. Background information necessary for the understanding of the individual's logic was often found in the transcripts only. Often such information was considered irrelevant for the maps. For further processing the data was grouped in categories as it is the usual practice when evaluating qualitative data. The categories chosen also allowed for linking the findings more directly with the general debate on transformation in BiH.

5.4 Limitations of the research set-up

5.4.1 Data limitations

During the research and its evaluation the following limitations became apparent. With respect to the sample the claim that the results are representative for communities in the same political entity or simply a parish with a similar composition of the population cannot be satisfactorily held. The information given showed that the development of the individual community is in many cases very specific and incomparable to neighbouring communities. An example for this specificity is the town of Kakanj in the Muslim dominated Zenica-Doboj Canton. This town was only founded at the turn of the twentieth century when the local mine opened. This opportunity for work attracted people from all over the region regardless of their ethnic background. As a consequence, over time a multi-ethnic community developed. To some extent this heritage remains until today.

Another weakness of this research is that due to the gender composition of the sample it does not reflect possible differences in how the educational situation in BiH is perceived by either gender. Additionally, the sample is too small to allow for making comparisons with respect to the relation of age and teachers' perception of their work at schools nowadays. It would be particularly interesting to analyse, to what extent the view of teachers who taught before the

war differs from those who started teaching when the ethnically separated curricula were already in place.

5.4.2 Methodological limitations

The inconsistencies found in the maps which did not allow for continuing with the FCM methodology would make it rather difficult to work with a bigger sample. It would be helpful to work with the interview partners for longer so that they can embrace the methodology a little more. Sticking more closely to the pattern of FCM would be necessary, if a higher level of representativeness was meant to be achieved. This would be a prerequisite for the findings to be used in the development of large scale projects aiming at including teachers in the educational reform process as well as on initiating a debate on how teachers can contribute to social transformation in BiH.

The main reason responsible for the inconsistencies is the degree of abstraction needed when constructing the maps. This appeared to be fairly alien to the participating teachers. It resulted in twofold insecurity. On the one hand, several teachers feared to relate variables incorrectly to another. On the other hand, it was difficult for the participants to reconstruct the maps and decide whether it represented what they thought. Under these circumstances it needed a lot of interaction to keep the process going. This made data collection a time consuming and personally demanding endeavour. The researcher's contribution in it was crucial. Due to that I had to limit the sample to teachers who spoke English or German as I did not want to rely on an interpreter to guide through the process. Instead I wanted to be able to interact with the teachers at any point. The conclusion drawn from this experience is that any person conducting such research needs to be well trained for leading through the process of constructing a FCM, possibly have had the chance to gain experience with the method, and be well prepared for the specific topic.

Two more aspects with respect to language proved to be limitations. The fact that my dominion of German and in many cases even my dominion of English was better than the my interview partners' language skills caused some insecurities and in some cases a reluctance to speak a lot. This presented a major challenge for cooperating on a par. To some extent the language issue coincided with a general shyness due to the differentiation drawn by the interview partners due to my academic background. The second aspect to be taken into consideration is the bias inherent to the fact that my information originates from Bosnians and

Herzegovinians who speak German or English. These skills they acquired during their studies or due to their individual experience of living abroad. Correspondingly, their points of view are not representative for the population of BiH, but rather represent a very specific interpretation of the situation in the country. For a more general representativeness of the sample it would be recommendable to include teachers from all kinds of subjects and also to consider the different positions within the hierarchy of a school. Hence conducting the research in the local languages would be possible and correspond more to the ethos of participatory research, which aims at enable the persons immediately to contribute and even model a research endeavour. Integrating stakeholders to such a degree would present a major step towards a real participation and hence engaging research into action.

6. Interpretation of the empirical findings

Overall different types of elements could be made out when analysing and comparing the FCMs created by the participating teachers. They can be categorised as follows: people, institutions, materialist aspects summarising facilities, equipment and funding, as well as immaterialist aspects, which cover values, ideology, emotions and complex dynamics. Therefore, as first part of the interpretation it will be outlined, which of these elements teachers perceive as central to their work and how these are related to each other. In a next step the relationships of these elements will be categorised according to the two central notions found in the research question: On the one hand, when are teachers trapped in the ethno-nationalist dynamic, and in consequence their work contributes to the reproduction of the current system? On the other hand, where do teachers make out space for action and where can they promote social transformation? By doing this a teachers' perspective on the systemic patterns underlying the current educational situation is meant to be presented.

6.1 Relations within the educational system

This thesis focusses on how teachers perceive their working environment. The maps drawn by the teachers who participated in the investigation visualise this. To a large extent, their perception is shaped by the relations they have with different actors they interact with at school or due to their work at school. Considering the research set-up chosen, the differences between the different school settings have an impact on how teachers judge their relations with other elements of the system they are working in. Nevertheless, certain tendencies were frequently found. Although the immediate work with the students is their main task, it only takes up a minor part of the interaction teachers are actually having. The institutional environment determined by the principal, the school administration and more indirectly by the school boards and educational authorities is more decisive for the conditions teachers work in. Furthermore, parents and the social environment in general have a profound impact on teachers. These relationships can be roughly distinguished by their quality. While some are based on personal contact and interaction, others stem from the hierarchical structures of the educational system.

6.1.1 Relation among teachers

Among colleagues the quality of relationships ranges from formalised to very close cooperation. While the former stems from institutionalised forms of cooperation, the latter can be considered the result of voluntary cooperation of colleagues. Obligatory team meetings can be found in some schools. How far these rules are implemented in other schools would have to be analysed in detail. “Bosnian, English and German teachers have a meetings [sic!] once a month, where they talk about issues or some innovations they could go through [sic!] in the future classes and lessons.” (Interview 9 2012: line 149ff.) Furthermore, in some Cantons it is required to give an introduction on the history of a class and its dynamics, specificities about the students and the formerly covered topics when a new teacher takes over the class. “[A]s your colleague, I am obligated to inform you about the classroom itself and the kids that are involved.” (Interview 9 2012: line 157f.) Others perceive the cooperation among colleagues as mutual support as well as constructive criticism helps them to improve their performance. More personal connections form the base for relations that do not only strive to ensure the running of a school, but also aim at professional development of the individual and a general progress of the performance of schools. “I really have great colleagues and ever since I first came to the school, if I had any problems, I could go and talk to them about whatever.” (Interview 4 2012: line 14f.) While the former quote highlighted the value of cooperation among colleagues for the individual teacher, another teacher draws the connection between cooperation in school and the performance of a school.

I like the atmosphere. It is, well, everybody says that we are strict and serious, but we take our work very seriously, we are ready to help each other, so [for] me, my colleagues are the biggest influence on me [...] [T]hey also show me sometimes that I really make a mistake about something. (Interview 11 2012: line 217ff.)

Apart from two of the interviewed teachers the cooperation of teachers was presented as something internal to schools. In many cases teachers admitted that they did not know how things work in neighbouring schools. They were even less informed about the educational situation in other political units of the country. The little exchange between teachers working at different schools leads to a very limited transfer of know-how from one school to another. Subsequently, it takes externally organised seminars and teachers’ associations, such as the *Udruženje nastavnika njemačkog jezika Bosne i Hercegovine* (the Bosnian and Herzegovinian German Teachers’ Association), to give a platform for teachers to learn from each other and to network. Particularly the offers supported or initiated by foreign institutions see the necessity of overcoming the administrative obstacles resulting from the political setup to allow for pedagogic and subject-specific professional development of teachers, which is a

more independent from national politics. Therefore, these international and non-governmental organisations tend to work with already existing structures. They try to strengthen them and encourage increasing cooperation of teachers within BiH.

The work of teachers' unions has a different focus. It may be summarised as dealing with structural problems. Thus, their work is rather to be considered as political lobbying. Examples given covered the number of students per class and teachers' salary (see Interview 11 2012: line 314f.; line 330ff.). Although this work is considered essential for teachers working conditions, the lack of success, when it comes to negotiations, reduces the importance of unions for teachers. In addition, the close alignment with the ethno-political parties limits teachers in their degree of identification with the unions. The ethno-political aspect which is closely connected to most kind of teachers' associations or unions explains why many teachers hesitated to talk when the conversation touched on this topic.

6.1.2 Relations between teachers and the school management

The relation between teachers and principals is very much determined by the different hierarchical status of the two. Due to the higher position of principals they have to fulfil several functions. The bureaucratic side of their work includes communication with the ministerial level and the management of the schools. Other tasks include organising facilities and equipment as well as being in touch with actors external to the educational sphere to get further support for the development of the school they are presiding. At last, principals play a central role in pedagogic and educational issues in their own school. These different functions give a considerable amount of power to principals. Nevertheless, it is not clear to what extent they can exercise this power according to their own discretion or if the actual decisions are taken at a higher level and principals only have to implement them. In consequence, the individual personality and attitude towards his or her job matters greatly when it comes to principals: "So a lot of what is going on in school depends on the principal. If the principal is not the kind of person who will [...] work for the benefit of the students and teachers as well, but for his own benefit, then we have a very big problem." (Interview 7 2012: line 184ff.) The arbitrary character of the actions of principals is judged differently by the participating individuals. On the one hand, there are those claiming that principals "are just delegating things." (Interview 8 2012: line 42f.) Subsequently, they ascribe close to no opportunity for individual initiative to principals, but rather understand them as extended arms of the ministerial level. One of the reasons for closely associating principals with the educational

authorities and thus the political sphere of the educational system is that it has become common practice that principals are assigned according to their relations with the local ruling party. "It is not foreseen by law that a school is meant to belong to a party. It is not mandated like this [...], but posts are distributed accordingly because the function of a principal in a school is somehow a prestigious position." (Interview 1 2012: line 34ff.; translation A.B.) On the other hand, it is mentioned that there are principals who share teachers' ambitions of offering high quality education. For this a close cooperation between both teachers and principals is necessary. In this context principals can turn into main facilitators of modern ways of teaching by providing the teachers with the materials necessary. Taking into account that teachers throughout express their discontent about the availability of materials and particularly electronic equipment underlines the urgency of this factor.

I really need a lot of additional material for my classes and everything. And I think that's where the principle and the others in charge of the school also play an important role because if there is something I need for my classes, no matter what it is, I will get it. (Interview 4 2012: line 34ff.)

Nonetheless, it is also mentioned that if a school puts an effort into looking for ways to be supported in the process of getting more equipment for the schools there are ways; sometimes programmes are run by the ministry, external funding by local firms or cooperating with NGOs.

[W]e also got [a] donation for the wireless internet because [we live] in [...] a very small town, but there are three or four big firms. And when you have this in [a] small town there is a lot of money in circulation and you can use this for [your school or to support students]. (Interview 9 2012: line 403ff.)

With respect to teachers' contribution to a good performance of a school principals can require of their teachers a considerable amount of investment of time into their personal development.

We have some strict supervisors beginning with the principal of our school and then we have those [...] who come from the Canton, who come once in four years. They check our work. [...] We have lots and lots of seminars that we have to participate even though they are not paid. (Interview 11 2012: line 59ff.)

Another interview partner mentioned that considering the restrictive institutional frame which the current educational system is presenting principals are decisive for the freedom they give to teachers (see interview 10 2012: line 366f.). In this particular case it was referred to the way in which ethno-nationalist issues or more generally speaking matters concerning the social development of BiH can be addressed during class.

Not to be forgotten are those schools in which cooperation between the management of the school and teachers is not very good.

[W]hen I talk about my work every day I cannot say that the principal of the school or [...] the others at the top of the school influence [sic!] my work in a way that they interfere. [...] They leave us do our work and if it sometimes maybe happens that [...] something is not quite good they intervene with their opinion and they want us to [...] make it better. (Interview 7 2012: line 8ff.)

It can be concluded that despite all the differences due to the different school settings the principals' personality, attitude towards education and other issues such as the state of the country or ethno-politics and their motivation to promote the development of their school are crucial for the general working environment of teachers.

Politics can be positive in the choosing of that headmaster, but I would not say. I don't know. I think that [for] the headmaster [it] depends on what kind of person he is. And politics can help or cannot. Usually [they] don't help. If [...] you get a headmaster who is in [a] certain party, but doesn't know how to do his job or has [...] certain people around him and only these people can get privileges, you cannot do anything. He will stop you in doing things you want to do in school. Or if he feels threatened by you, he can [...] But usually headmaster cooperate with the teachers. (Interview 9 2012: line 414ff.)

Overall it is questionable to what extent it goes in line with democratic principles in public institutions that principals take on such a central role and that the opportunities for teachers to have an impact on principals' actions are so limited. This observation is of particular interest as it confirms the fear mentioned by the OSCE that schools are liable for intransparent procedures. Considering this problem the OSCE started its *good governance* programme to strengthen democratic structures and hence processes in schools (see OSCE 2010).

6.1.3 Relation with educational authorities

With respect to the educational authorities two different types of institutions have to be distinguished additionally to the structural fragmentation due to the political setup. On the one hand, the Ministries of Education (MoE) and on the other hand, there are the Pedagogical Institutes (PI). While each of the two Entities has a MoE, in the FBiH each Canton has its MoE as well as its PI. In District Brčko the tasks are split between the so called Department of Education and the PI. While the former are in charge of creating and maintaining the political framework of education, the professional and technical aspects were officially handed over to the PIs. Nevertheless, this distribution of tasks is perceived critically. The main criticism brought forward by the teachers is the questionable independence of the PIs:

[F]or two years now there is the Pedagogical Institute and they are responsible for the development plans, for the programmes, for the work at school, at every school, and for those projects [...] one wants to implement; competitions, for mentors, tutors and student teachers. But this institution can barely decide anything by itself, instead they again need the signature from [...] the Department of Education. [...] It is something like an intermediary between those in power and the schools, the principals and teachers. (Interview 2 2012: line 210ff.; translation A.B.)

Another point brought forward by teachers from the same school is the question to what extent the responsible person on ministerial level, being a biology teacher by profession, is capable of taking an adequate decision on the introduction of a German Language Certificate (see interview 2 2012: line 70). This example is meant to show that the decisions to be taken cannot always be measured by party- or ethno-political interests, but need expertise, which according to the interviewed teacher's statement is not given in this particular situation. Similar examples are given throughout.

This lack of institutional independence and expertise, which has a negative impact on the level of authority of these institutions, is confirmed by all of the interviewed teachers. They even claim that the current form of organisation shows how little importance is given to the educational process itself. Evidence could be found in various areas: For one, in the way teachers are treated. "The whole Ministry of Education does not seem to have any interest in teachers [...] because they absolutely have no methods. They have no structure when it comes to educating new teachers." (Interview 4 2012: line 54ff.) Similarly the lack of regularity and quality when it comes to professional development has been highlighted as a major weakness of the current institutional framework.

Another thing which is not such a positive impact [...] is the impact of [...] ministries and this – we call it – pedagoški zavod. That is some kind of institution that is supposed to take care of teachers in a way that we have counsellors for each subject and the counsellors are in charge of coming up with the syllabus, coming up with a lot of interesting seminars, which they don't do by the way. (Interview 4 2012: line 41ff.)

Another aspect concerns the way professional cooperation between the authority level and teachers works. Here a hierarchical matter is pointed out. While instructions are passed from the authority level to teachers, usually via the respective PI or principals, there is very little possibility for teachers to make their notion. The consequence does not satisfy either side:

So we know what we are expected [by the educational authorities]. We are well informed. [...] [B]ut when we have some question, when we have some problems we can ask [...], but we get rarely an answer [...]. And we forget and then we do the things as we can, but often they come and they check us and they are not satisfied (Interview 11 2012: line 295ff.)

Herein the gap between strategic planning and the actual implementation becomes apparent. For the latter pedagogical expertise, long-term planning and particularly allowing students to be the centre of attention are presented as crucial to teachers. A discrepancy between these priorities and those of the educational authorities was believed to exist as otherwise it would be difficult to explain the diverging approaches of teachers and the educational authorities (see interview 8 2012: line 317ff.). To what extent the politicisation of the educational sphere is responsible for these observations will be discussed below in section 6.2.3.

6.1.4 Relations with parents

Due to the mandate given to teachers by law it is their task not only to teach students, but also to contribute to their upbringing. This is expressed in the definition of schools in BiH. It states that schools are as much institutions dedicated to education as well as to raising its students (see interview 2 2012: line 440). At this point the question arises in which way teachers and parents, who are seen as crucial agents in the upbringing of children, can work together to complement their efforts. To allow for such cooperation two major platforms for communication have been introduced as part of the reform aiming at creating a more student-centred educational system in BiH: regular consultation-hours, in which parents have the possibility to talk to their children's teachers, and parental class representatives, which are elected every year. The fact that these opportunities were created does not automatically imply that they are used constructively. As it is so often the case with participatory elements dedication can be lacking.

There was no cooperation [before] and now because of that reform we have all three parts, we also[sic!] have the teacher[s], the students and their parents, who have work together for a better [...] educational system. So that would be the change, a very big change now. And it is very hard for the parents to accept that because they are not used to that. They'd just send their kids to school and they expected teachers to take care of them and nothing else. [...] When we have those meetings with parents, we have failures because parents don't show up. (Interview 11 2012: line 257ff.)

Their experience shows that at various occasions teachers are not working in a complementary manner with parents, but that the opposite is the case. Parents' actions are perceived as driven by their individual interests and priorities. The latter tend to be highly affected by the country's general state as well as the individual's situation. This explains why the miserable economic situation many families live in leads to a higher valuation of the economic benefits resulting from education than the actual level of knowledge achieved. In consequence the value of the educational process is reduced because it is primarily considered

elementary for getting a job. Another difficulty concerning the valuation of education is the high competition between institutions. A major change in comparison to pre-war times is that degrees can be received not only from public institutions, but also from private institutions, whose credibility is at times questionable. Therefore, it appears even more important to have excellent grades. Those, nonetheless, do not always need to be achieved by the individual child's effort.

[U]nfortunately, students whose parents are wealthier have greater chances [to get an excellent diploma] because their parents can influence some teachers and maybe the principal of a school, but students who don't have well-known parents are somehow in the worst position. (Interview 7 2012: line 123ff.)

Apart from this causing inequality between students due to their different socio-economic background teachers often perceive this dynamic as undermining their authority. In a rather cynical comment one of the interviewed teachers questions the whole point of being a teacher: "If anyone [referring to parents in particular] can tell you how you should do your job then, I mean, why study [...] in the future?" (Interview 8 2012: line 292f.) The circumstance that parents insist on being right and hence having the right to enforce what they consider correct seems to be a phenomenon more frequently found with people having a higher educational level and in urban areas than with less educated persons living in the countryside (Interview 9 2012: line 413ff.). This generalisation can be drawn as the correspondence of the educational level and place of residence is fairly typical for BiH⁸. The lack of appreciation of teachers' work by parents was presented as particularly upsetting as teachers felt that the appreciation of their profession in society has decreased over time anyhow. This partly results from there not being any qualitative restrictions to being admitted as a teacher. "I know in the English department [at university] there are some students who chose to become teachers because they have very low grades and they cannot choose any of the other departments." (Interview 4 2012: line 57ff.) This and the fact that jobs are not always assigned according to the qualification of the applicants but to other criteria as outlined below in section 6.2.2 gives reason for scepticism, which the interviewed teachers want to challenge though.

⁸ In a different context Kolouh-Westin reports that in the past when it came to migration from rural areas to cities it was noted as side effect that radicalisation took place. This is explained by the differences in attitudes. It can be assumed that these dynamics even exist today:

This cultural clash creates many tensions, which can be traced at all levels of society. The tensions between the introvert and protectionist ideology [which is mainly found in the countryside or in people who migrate from rural areas to the cities] and the more extrovert and open ideology is a reality between urban and rural regions as well as between BiH as a country and the international community. (Kolouh-Westin 2004:48)

From a child's perspective parents are the most immediate link to civil society including its prevalent attitudes and to the generation which experienced the war. Correspondingly, opinions and prejudices are likely to be passed on from parents to their children. This presents a particular challenge to those teachers, who made up the majority of the sample, who feel it is their task to promote tolerance and open-mindedness albeit this may oppose to parents' views. This becomes apparent in the following quote: "But what if a student comes up to you and says: Well, my mother, my father told me differently! You cannot ever tell a student, well, your mother, your father are [sic!] wrong or something like that, can you?" (Interview 1 2012: line 692ff.; translation A.B.) Neither do teachers have an impact on the social pre-selection that takes place when parents take their decision on the type of school they send their children.

They're [referring to students favouring a joint educational programme] here, but they are the best children from the town and probably they come from the open-minded families because those who are quite nationally oriented they have two other gymnasiums; one is for Croat children and the other is for [...] Bosnian [Muslim] children. And those who are oriented in a way of they should be separated, they send their children to this school. (Interview 10 2012: line 247ff.)

As this quote points out the immediate environment has a strong impact on young people in BiH as decisions taken by parents decide over the chances children and teenagers get. This is a generational issue found everywhere. In the case of BiH one, nevertheless, has to consider that the parent generation experienced the war, while current students have not. Therefore, it is crucial how these two generations deal with the post-conflict situation.

6.1.5 Relation with students

"We are actually there for the student, and not because there is meant to be an educational system." (Interview 2 2012: line 274) This quote indicates very well that teachers believe that they should concentrate on students in the first place. It should be either possible to take the functioning of the educational system for granted, other people should take care of the organisational issues or there should be enough time for as much dealing with the students as doing other things necessary to run the system. As already mentioned another aspect frequently found is that teachers perceive their work with students not only as teaching, but also as contributing to their upbringing. Hence students should be given the opportunity to learn in class not only subject specific content, but should be able to develop their personality.

The focus on students is stressed due to the fact that the considerable amount of time teachers spend with their students gives them the unique opportunity to be in very close contact with them. Teachers inevitably have to deal with students' attitudes, ways of thinking and lives in general. Incorporating this input forms a central part of working with the students. The reasons given for why such work, which embraces the students' perspective, is so important are manifold. It is emphasised that the current situation of the country is not favourable for the generation growing up. There has to be distinguished between different aspects. One of them is the lack of positive prospects for the future of BiH. Another is the segregation taking place in different spheres of society. This is also the case in the One of them is the educational system. Under these circumstances there is very little support for the individual young persons to be promoted in their development as priorities are set differently and the capacities for support are very limited. The immediate consequence of ethnic segregation in the educational sphere can be summarised as: "[...] I stress twenty generations being brought up [...] in a sense [...] that they enjoy this separation, that they think that it's ok to be separated like this then it's difficult to change them and they become adults." (Interview 10 2012: line 181ff.) The former quote implies that the current educational system is not a state institution which considers its role in society as in to promote a positive attitude towards living together in diversity. This status quo is considered dangerous by the interviewed teachers. Where to sow the seed, if not in school, the public institution dedicated to stimulating the development of a society? It stays an open question to what kind of future social development schooling contributes to as long as ethnic segregation is enforced by the way education is organised in BiH. It is a particular contradiction to the young people's perspective which according to the teachers interviewed is characterised by a different focus. "At the end I would say[...]the younger generation in BiH today is completely indifferent which religion one belongs to or nationality one has, but simply let us learn, let us get educated, let us finally earn our living [is what counts to them]." (Interview 6 2012: 133ff.; translation A.B.) Correspondingly, the opportunities created through education and the employability of education are stressed by the current students. In this context the issue of inequalities with regard to educational possibilities was raised. On various levels there are structural deficiencies in BiH's educational system. These pose obstacles for the individual students' educational development.

Of course, as everywhere there are those who are, well I wouldn't say bad, but maybe not that much interested in the language because of the basis that they somehow [...] didn't get at primary school and that is an obstacle for them to [...] work harder. It should be the other way around. [...] This year I [...] noticed [...] that some students wanted to change something and

they entered the course and they are now trying to do their best to learn all the other things they somehow did not manage to learn in the previous, let's say, two years in high school and in [...] primary school. (Interview 7 2012: line 16ff.)

The lack of consistence of expectations due to meagre coordination in the educational system causes challenging conditions under which students pursue their school career. Such an educational experience can be partly explained by a fragmented educational planning process, in which pedagogical expertise is secondary.

One of the consequences is that Bosnian and Herzegovinian students have a disadvantage in comparison to their peers in other countries when it comes to the opportunities they have in their environment. In consequence, their achievements mostly depend on their intrinsic motivation and ability and not so much on being provided with supporting materials.

[O]ur students can perform really well. [...] [Therefore,] it would be nice, if our students had a fair chance to study under the same conditions as Italians, French people, Germans, Austrians. [...] [Under the current circumstances] the young man has to establish himself. It is very hard[...]. (Interview 6 2012: line 119ff.; translation A.B.)

Despite their intentions teachers feel restricted in their possibilities to create a learning environment adequate for fostering students' interest and motivation. The material and equipment available at the respective schools present a major limitation. "[W]e don't [have] many facilities or resources. I work in a classroom and my main facilities, if I can put it this way, are the board, the chalk and the sponge, and three rows of desks and students." (Interview 8 2012: line 17ff.) Another teacher specifically added, "free time and creativity" (Interview 6 2012: line 65f.; translation A.B.), which underlines their personal contribution when putting together a class adapted to students' interests. Contrariwise, the offers introducing innovative techniques are often perceived as less helpful due to the fact that they do not consider the actual conditions under which teachers give classes in BiH.

And mostly in those seminars we are introduced with [sic!] some [...] new methods how to approach students and what to do with them, but for that it's [...] necessary to have more modern equipment and maybe have less students in the specifically [sic!] classroom. It is much better now. There are thirty of them. It used to be forty-eight. (Interview 7 2012: line 47ff.)

Similarly the technological infrastructure is fairly limited. Sometimes it is still the case that this equipment is not available at all. "[Since] I didn't even have a laptop, I, unfortunately, cannot integrate it in my teaching due to this simple reason." (Interview 6 2012: line 64f.; translation A.B.) The limitations concerning resources nevertheless do not only exist on the side of the schools, but also with respect to the students' capacity to buy material. In fact it is impossible to work with different resources as long as students would have to provide these

for themselves. “[W]e don’t just use one book [...] to [...] teach our students because you cannot find all in one book. We use five, six books [therefore] [i]t’s hard to work with them because [...] they cannot buy five, six books.” (Interview 7 2012: line 427ff.)

Given these conditions it was presented as a central task of teachers to help young people to learn what is beneficial and supportive for them when looking for their place in society albeit the obstacles the current situation is presenting to them. Following the logic of the student-centred approach of teaching teachers emphasise the individual needs of learners. “[A student] [...] will need your attention when [s/]he is working at a certain activity or in understanding the lesson or whatever. If [s/]he needs your attention [then] as a teacher, not as a Muslim teacher or Croatian teacher or whatever.” (Interview 9 2012: line 177ff.) Therefore teachers see the need of paying particular attention when being in personal contact with the respective students. Nevertheless, it is questionable, if the students request some help from teachers with the issues teachers come to know about due to their close contact. Still, teachers are highly aware of a wide range of issues that their students deal with. These can be personal as well as they result from the structures of the environment students live in. On a personal level fears, lack of future prospects, which has an impact on the motivation, hatred, but also love matters can be named. The structural concerns rather refer to segregation in society, which students are aware of.

To illustrate these facets, examples from ethnically heterogeneous communities were chosen as they show how ripped apart youth can be. The following two quotes were taken from a context where children with different ethnic background had some contact in school. Either they went to the same class for all classes but mother tongue or they only had extra-curricular sessions together. “[T]hey told me that for the last two years, which was unimaginable before, they [teenagers of different ethnic background] start to fall in love with each other. They are, they become friends. When I came [...] here they didn’t know even their names.” (Interview 10 2012: line 224ff.) Taken from an interview conducted in Brčko, where students have joint classes for all subjects but mother tongue:

I can say that over the last ten years the situation became ever more spontaneous. And, let’s say, for four, five years one cannot notice at all that there are any conflicts [because of ethnic differences]; at least it does not occur to one with students. They sit together. They go into town together. They even have their love-relationships with each other and just like that it is normal life. (Interview 2 2012: line 39ff.; translation A.B.)

On the contrary, the attitude found with students who do not have the chance of inter-ethnic contact in school although they live close by was described as difficult. “If they [i.e.

researchers] go to speak to the children [going to a mono-ethnic school] they would see how frightened and how ignorant they are about the other and they still are [...] filled with hatred and [...] fear because of the last war and so on.” (Interview 10 2012: line .241ff.) These examples show why teachers under the given circumstances see a particular need for their work with students to a good part consisting in responding to the needs, concerns and wishes of the students. Hence students demand from their teachers that their teaching contributes to their individual development in such a way that they have the feeling of getting prepared for what expects them in the future. Here foreign language teachers can stress how important English and German are on BiH’s job market, which is highly dependent on foreign investment. “So they can go anywhere and they can get a job anywhere because that is today the first condition to know English and here we really pay attention to English.” (Interview 11 2012: line 130f.) Apart from the linguistic skills students are meant to have the opportunity to gain familiarity with a range of other aspects that are related to the respective foreign language: differences in culture, life-style, political systems and ways of thinking. In that sense foreign language classes constantly present a possibility to address these topics. The wider perspective gained from discussing globally relevant issues and applying them in a second step on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context is considered essential when educating young people to become open-minded citizens. Furthermore, a particular need for enhancing this critical perspective is deduced from the lack of values which partly results from not questioning what the young generation takes over from others.

I think children should learn more about multiculturalism, for sure. Or just being aware that being different is nothing bad because people live here with a lot of stereotypes and children learn about stereotypes at home. [...] [I]t’s embedded in jokes. It’s embedded in [...] culture. It’s embedded in tradition [...]. And [...] I think most people are very afraid of it [i.e. the difference] because they don’t understand things that are different. So they don’t even want to learn about them or embrace these things. (Interview 4 2012: line 84ff.)

At last teachers’ intentions with regard to what they want to impart have to be contextualised. Due to their embedment in the social web via their relations resulting from their position as teacher, as presented in this subchapter, as much as from their life as private person they seem to be very much concerned about ideological motivations behind the upholding of the current educational situation.

[T]hat the country is in a recession, we can understand that, but [the] fact that they really [...] don’t pay attention to education as much as they should? It’s easy for politicians to cut on education. [...] I don’t think that present politicians [...] are aware how much education is important in [a] country, not just this one. To me sometimes it seems that they prefer people with less education. [Since they] can be more easily [...] manipulated. (Interview 10 2012: line 409ff.)

Undermining the purpose of education understood as the unfolding of an individual's potential encounters resistance from pedagogues as it goes against their professional understanding of education. Particularly when pedagogues have to give in to an ethno-nationalist agenda they fear for the educational experience of their students.

6.2 Ethno-nationalist impact on educational practice

6.2.1 Ethnic fragmentation of the curricula as an obstacle

The most obvious impact of ethno-nationalist influence on the educational situation is the existence of ethnically segregated curricula and school settings. Interestingly, teachers take this particularity for granted during their daily routine. They notice the consequences of the fragmentation more in the context of cooperation among teachers or between schools. Due to the differences with respect to curricula and materials used for class, but also due to the varying regulations of schooling such cooperation is fairly difficult to establish. The lack of direct benefit often discourages people from looking for cooperation. That is why an organisation like the Bosnian-Herzegovinian German Teachers' Association has to be considered a positive exception. Its particular value stems from its focus on a common aim instead of the aspects separating teachers from each other.

Thank God, we [i.e. the members of the association] are all teaching German and we are connected through our nice Bosnian-Herzegovinian German Teachers' Association. [...] We have in common that we have different curricula, but we work together as good as we can, in the sense that we have the aim to promote German as a foreign language as much as possible in our country. (Interview 6 2012: line 18ff.; translation A.B.)⁹

This contrasts to the way the general discourse on education is perceived by teachers. “[Teachers] have in common that educational content, educational infrastructure and educational policy are outdated. [...] The Ministry of Education is responsible for this, thus unfortunately politicians are in charge and responsible for education policy.” (Interview 6 2012: line 28ff.; own translation) Similar remarks have been found in other interviews. One of them highlighted the difference in reasoning as politicians refer to the right of a nation for cultural autonomy when justifying ethnic segregation in the educational sphere.

I'm teaching English [...]. There is no significant difference, but when you are teaching History or [...] mother tongue language or History of Art of whatever the stress is being given to [...] [it depends] on the programme. And this is how our politicians argue or [...] how they justify

⁹ Since the interview was conducted a separate German teachers association for RS (DLVRS) was officially registered. For more information see DLVRS's website (2013). This latest development shows how the process of having separate structures for the two entities is still progressing instead of being reversed.

the fact that we have to work like this. They say it is not possible to organise one programme for all children as their national or nationality rights, or whatever they call this, would be jeopardised by making them go to school under the same programme. (Interview 10 2012: line 68ff.)

That the assumption of mono-ethnic schools does not correspond to reality is widely neglected in the political discourse. But the practical experience of the sample of interviewed teachers shows that there is a clear discrepancy between the mono-ethnically designed educational setup and their real working environment, in which students belonging to local ethnic minorities attend their classes. For the interviewed teachers these students presented an exception. This might be argued by the fact that they only make up a minimal percentage of the student body of a particular school. “I am working in [...] rather homogenic [sic!] classes and [a] homogenic [sic!] school, where most of the kids and most of the teachers are Muslims, so the children who are Serbian or even Croat are in minority.” (Interview 9 2012: line3f.) The comparison of the different cases in the sample shows that apart from one interview in which the ethnic composition of the student body was not brought up, all teachers mentioned that children having a different ethnic background than the one the curriculum was designed for attended their classes. That is why, although these students who belong to a local minority are almost negligible in number in a specific school, the fact that they can be found throughout the country gives reason to address these exceptions more generally in the educational discourse. The results of my investigation give the impression that these small exceptions to the mono-ethnic rule are pretty much standard. Hence they correspond to Adila Pašalić Kreso’s argument that particular attention has to be paid local minorities, when discussing students’ needs and their right to be treated equally (see 2002:7).

The interviewed foreign language teachers appreciate when students belonging to a local ethnic minority attend their classes, since they consider their cultural and religious heritage enriching. Critical notions in this respect are related to subjects such as mother tongue, History or Religious Education. In the context of such classes the fragmentation becomes more apparent. On the one hand, during Religious Education children devoted to a different religion have to leave the classroom at least in FBiH.

For example, in one of my classes I have three Serb children and they are going with [...] Bosnian [Muslim] children [into the same class] [...] [T]hey get along quite well [...], but still when there is this religious class theses three go out because they don’t attend these classes. [...] I don’t think it’s a [...] nice thing to have at school. (Interview 10 2012: line 103ff.)

On the other hand, students officially have the choice to be taught in these subjects according to the curriculum of their ethnic group. This choice asks parents and students to openly

position themselves, respectively their child in this ethno-politically biased setup. A teacher from a school teaching the Bosnian Muslim curriculum described the situation as follows: “So if you have at least one child who is for example Croat or Serb they have a right to their own religious education [...] if a child wants to learn Serbian or Croatian they have the right to do so and the school is obligated to provide the teacher who will do this classes.” (Interview 9 2012: line 8ff.) To avoid such direct confrontations when it comes to these decisions, parents often opt for alternative school settings, in which the curriculum corresponding to their ethnic group is taught. Here the attitude towards ethno-nationalism becomes a decisive aspect. Although wanting to stay in one’s comfort zone is understandable for the parents and children, alternative practices to all children going to the same school such as bussing children to a different school leads to the continuation of the social segregation. This has to be looked at critically.

[...] [Bosnian Muslim] parents [living among Croats] will send their children [...] five kilometres further to school just because they want that children to be educated under [sic!] [the] Bosnian [Muslim] programme. Which is understandable in a way. because they [...] [are] afraid, they don’t know how it looks like. They are afraid that their children would be influenced or would be taught differently and they feel safe within their nation [sic!] [...] limits. (Interview 10 2012: line 142ff.)

This example should not be reduced to the combination of ethnic groups explicitly expressed in this quote. On the contrary, the focus should be much more on the aspect of fear, which motivates parents regardless of their particular ethnic background to support the continuation of ethnic segregation in the educational sphere by sending their children to schools which belong to their comfort zone. This reaction is representative for the consequences resulting from the weaknesses of the current educational system. It does not promote the confidence necessary for parents and students to believe in the possibility of a peaceful way of living and learning together. This wide spread perception is challenged by a number of schools which try to bring students from different ethnic origin together so that they can study together. Informal conversations as singular references in literature showed that the Terza Gimnasija in Sarajevo, a school in Skelani (see Božić 2006:336) as well as a school near Tuzla called Simin Han (see Pašalić Kreso 2009:84) declared their aim as cross-ethnic teaching. Furthermore, there are schools like the United World College in Mostar using the International Baccalaureate to teach students of all ethnic backgrounds in the same school (see Hayden; Thompson 2010; Scheifinger; Kampfmüller 2011). Similarly, at the First Gymnasium Mostar, which is one of the 54 two-under-one-roof schools, students can sign up for extra-curricular activities offered for both programmes at the same time.

So, here [...] we are trying as teachers [...] to find a common ground for that [i.e. students meeting each other regardless of their ethnic background] by making them participate together in all the sports activities, organising some extra-curriculum classes for them; in biology, in science, in computer science or any other programmes that come from Europe. [...] [W]e try to include the same number of [students] from both sides. (Interview 10 2012: line 43ff.)

The common feature to all these initiative is that they have to compromise the limitations of cross-ethnic schooling caused by the current educational situation. The far easier option is by opting for a different educational programme such as the International Baccalaureate, which is taught in a growing number of schools throughout BiH.

6.2.2 Patronage

The ethnically separated structures officially introduced with the implementation of the consociational system enabled the ethno-nationalist clientelist logic to gain ground in the public structures of BiH. Given that the schools, apart from some private institutes, form part of the public sector the appointment of jobs in this sphere is predestined for patronage. As mentioned above patronage is a way to bind members of a group to the group by ensuring their employment in the public sector and hence causing a dependency relationship. In the case of education there is the strategic interest of appointing people for powerful positions who are highly supportive of the current ethno-political structures. This seems of particular importance in the context that education is considered a decisive tool for promoting the ethno-nationalist ideology, which forms the base of the general ethnic division in the country.

Starting at the top of the administrative hierarchy with respect to the educational system employment on the ministerial level will be covered. Employees in these ranks are in charge of administering the budget of schools, approving the development of curricula, ensuring quality standards as well as enforcing regulations. Teachers remarked that the ethno-nationalist or politically strategic bias can be detected in the fact that many of the people in charge are not specifically qualified for the job they are doing. Teachers explained this circumstance by pointing out the fact that the people working on ministerial level often owed their job to political connections.

The posts on the authority level are of particular strategic relevance as the power associated to these positions allows for managing the educational development in the area under their supervision. These bureaucrats exert extensive control over schools and teachers and can promote the ethno-nationalist logic within their subordinates. Schools usually do not have their own budget. Instead any expenditure has to be accredited by the authority in charge. As

a consequence, schools and teachers are directly dependent on the approval of funds and projects. Thus with their reaction authorities can directly influence the daily routine at school.

One cannot implement projects, when the Ministry respectively the Department of Education does not give permission to do so. [...] [a]nd if you need a little money [for a project] the school cannot decide this on its own, which sometimes is not that good. Instead one has to wait for the permission, the approval of the Government, of the Department [of Education]. (Interview 2 2012: line 63ff.; translation A.B.)

Likewise to the ministerial level ensuring control over the development of schools by keeping the final decision up to themselves teachers question, if the way the newly introduced school boards are used is not only another attempt to undermine the autonomy of schools by pushing ethno-nationalist interests through these panels.

Politics is never good, when it goes into schools in every place. [...] Place for politics is in [...] the councils and whatever, but now there is [sic!] boards, you know, they are [...] responsible for every decision that is made in a [...] school. And with important school issues [...] they come from parties. (Interview 9 2012: line 309ff.)

The absurdity in this context stems from these boards being introduced to foster democratic structures in schools, which would allow for more transparency. The OSCE as major agent in promoting these panels describes the divergence between their intentions and the current way the boards work as follows: “School boards provide an opportunity for the effective implementation of relevant legislation at the school level. However, school boards need to become more transparent and independent.” (OSCE 2013) Contrary to the original intention with which they were introduced, teacher witnessed that these boards were used to implement ethno-nationalist interests by pushing aside pedagogical aims. The following quote seems to underline this observation: “Who puts an engineer for [sic!] head of board? What does he know about education?” (Interview 9 2012: line 314) A central position in facilitating the cooperation between the ministerial level and the routine at schools are principals. They are the lowest rank which exercises patronage in the educational sphere. That is why an increasing tendency of ethno-political bias when it comes to their appointment was detected. An explanation for this nexus is that they present another link in the ethno-nationalist chain of patronage.

It is of advantage, if the principal of a school belongs to a particular party, to the party which at the moment represents [i.e. is in charge of] the school. This is not a law. [...] This is not a regulation, but offices are distributed, and the role of a principle of a school is somehow such a prestigious position. (Interview 1 2012: line 32ff.; translation A.B.)

The reasoning behind the prestige of the job of a principal is the power stemming from being in charge of employing people. “[As a principal] [o]ne can employ people [...]. If one gives

jobs to people, one already has power because I come to an interview with a principal and ask him for a job as a teacher.” (Interview 1 2012: line 38f.; own translation) The fact that the choice of teachers is increasingly tainted by ethno-political connections shows that there is patronage taking place. “[I]t’s a fact that nowadays when teachers get a job in most schools, they get [the] job due to the fact that they belong to a certain party which rules in the particular town.” (Interview 10 2012: line 389f.) Teachers’ views on this were not unanimous. They judge the effect of this ethno-politicisation in various ways. While some interpreted it as rather negligible, others feared the tendency of teachers increasingly joining parties for ensuring their individual employment. Such a dynamic would imply an increase in the ethno-political identification of teachers, whose impacts are unpredictable. The reasons why this is considered problematic will be elaborated later on. At last the discriminatory aspect of patronage was pointed out. It does not only discriminate other ethnic groups, but it also discriminates people who do not support the ethno-political perspective. As these consequences indicate the problematic nature of patronage the criticism raised does not only concern the act of patronage, but also its implications. These can be summarised as an increasing presence of ethnic reasoning in the educational sphere.

6.2.3 Consequences of intransparent mechanisms in the educational sector

The increasing presence of connections between the ethno-political structures in BiH and the educational sphere allowed for clientelist relations to undermine the institutional setup. This led to interactions and cooperation between the two spheres being increasingly influenced by interpersonal relations. Due to this development issues such as the allocation of resources like electronic equipment, but also funds is found to be ever more dependent on personal connections with deciding agents. The result is that distribution takes place according to intransparent mechanisms of distribution. In the interviews two types of incentives for taking part in these activities were mentioned. On the one hand, there is the possibility of intransparent structures promoting an informal flow of money, which contributes to the individual gain. On the other hand, clientelist connections can be used to help schools to improve the facilities at their disposal.

Teachers suspect that the monetary aspect motivates some principals to accept bribery by parents, while others would use their power to enrich themselves. The following cases can be taken as exemplary: “[U]nfortunately, students whose parents are wealthier have greater

changes [in obtaining better grades or even diplomas] because their parents can influence some teachers and maybe the principal of a school.” (Interview 7 2012: line 123ff.) Or

This school used to have a room with the [sic!] computers [...]. Unfortunately [...] the principal at that time decided to transfer that room into another classroom. So we never found out what happened with the computers and everything. [...] If it [had] stayed in school, it would be perfect. But unfortunately it didn't. (Interview 7 2012: line 52ff.)

The circumstance that it did not stay in school led to the assumption that the electronic devices were sold and that the principal as initiator benefited from it. The fact that teachers in situations like the one described above have not got means to ask for a justification shows that there is more power backing the principal than they have. Although they are not necessarily ethno-political phenomena such dynamics are supported by structures working according to a logic which is determined by unequal power relations and by increasing importance assigned to the individual person instead of his or her office. These are two of the central characteristics of clientelism. “So a lot of what is going on in school depends on the principal. If the principal is not the kind of person who will work for the benefit of the students and teachers as well, but his own benefit, then we have a very big problem.” (Interview 7 2012: line 184ff.) As this quote indicates the implications of personal relations can also be beneficial for the respective schools development. The particular relevance of this aspect stems from the dependency of availability of resources from the political situation with respect to education. Personal relations can lessen the dearth of equipment and hence is appreciated by those interested in providing students with quality teaching.

6.2.4 Incompatibility of teachers' concerns and ethno-political priorities

The interviewed teachers reveal the need for quality teaching when putting education into perspective with the general situation of BiH. “We are a poor [...] country, but we have a lot of inner wealth. [...] And we have [...] potential. [...] [W]ith very few things we can achieve a lot” (Interview 6 2012: line 148ff.; translation A.B.) That there is the ambition of achieving a lot has often to do with the hope for promoting change in the country. Along these lines different teachers express repeatedly that they are inclined to support the generation currently growing up by preparing them for the confrontation of the poor state of the country. Generally, current students are considered to be the ones who would actually be able to work towards a prosperous development of BiH. This argument is based on the circumstance that those children who at the moment go to school have not personally been affected by the war. Much rather the issue at stake is which opportunities they are given to unfold their individual

potential. Another decisive aspect is what kind of input they are given to dealing with the post-conflict situation, which has an impact on the society of BiH up to the present day. Hence teachers underline that education should not only make them become aware of their tasks and responsibilities in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context, but also allow them to develop the skills necessary to live up to those tasks. “[...] I believe they [i.e. teachers] [...] cooperate with the parents in order to raise their kids as useful part of the society in the future” (Interview 9 2012: line 22ff.) While the teacher above refers to the future role of students in society, the dearth of preparation for this role is presented by the next quote:

Because we are bringing up generations that [...] are being learnt to live separately to think about the others as ‘the others’ or ‘different’ to be afraid of them because they don’t know them. [...] [W]e have already had almost twenty generations brought up like this. And I can imagine them as future politicians. They don’t know any other way of living and they would probably insist on [...] the same patterns [...]. So in the next twenty years I cannot see any change and probably as long as this programme, this kind of education exists I am not optimistic about a better future for this country. (Interview 10 2012: line 77ff.)

Herein the wish is expressed that teachers can contribute with their work to the changes necessary for BiH to be transformed into a more peaceful and prosperous country. As the example above indicates, teachers’ motivation results from the awareness of the broader impact of the current educational system on the social development of BiH. Different areas in which the possibility for promotion of transformative potential exists are mentioned. While some teachers consider the negative prospects for the future and the limited outlook of opportunities of self-realisation as major obstacle, others stress the general dearth of competitiveness due to the deficient educational outcomes and standards of the current system as well as the internal inequalities with respect to educational opportunities. Both ways of reasoning have in common that an emphasis should be placed on motivating students to study eagerly and to work on their individual potential regardless of the circumstances.

So far teachers only saw an opportunity for working against these insufficiencies by personally taking initiative or relying on constructive intra-school cooperation. For the impact of education to be more sustainable and for it not only to reach a number of privileged students teachers identify the need of creating a stronger educational infrastructure, improve the organisation of educational processes and the development of the system, as well as a clear assignation of responsibilities and tasks. The need for a large scale approach is indirectly expressed by how a teacher describes her students:

[M]ost of my students, they would like to have a common school. But again these students that we have in this school are the best students from the town. So they are some kind of minority,

when you think of a town in general. And we cannot make this mistake to [...] base hopes on their way of thinking. (Interview 10 2012: line 129ff.)

Instead of leaving it up to the individuals how they approach education teachers insist that focussing on target outcomes is not enough. On the contrary, they show concern about the educational input. They can have an influence on this as long as they teach themselves. Nonetheless, they are aware of the fact how big the impact of the infrastructural background is. In this area teachers identify a range of flaws. When comparing these and their origin with teachers' concerns the controversial relation of the political approach and teachers' perspective reveals. "[C]urriculum is something that influences on [sic!] us [...] in [sic!] a great extent" (Interview 7 2012: line 390) Teachers do not only remark critically the content of the curricula determined by the MoEs and PIs and the reappearing inconsistencies of curricula, of their implementation or between programmes, but they also criticise the outdated approaches promoted by the curricula. Furthermore, they highlight that curricula do not answer to students' needs and the educational reality, which is partly affected by the limited resources disposable for educational expenditures. As last point the hypocrisy between the constant urge for modernisation of education in BiH and politicians' unwillingness to spend more money on the strengthening of the educational sphere is brought forward. "[E]very year they want us to bring something new into the classroom and into our work with the students, but it's quite hard [...] knowing your school cannot provide you with that [i.e. the needed materials]" (Interview 7 2012: line 45ff.) Reasons for this lack of material can be found in another comment: "It's a general situation in the country. First of all, [...] the country is in a recession. We can understand this, but fact is that they [i.e. politicians] really don't give or don't pay attention to education as much as they should! It's easy for politicians to cut on education. (Interview 10 2012: line 409ff.) The thought underlying this argument is the necessity of a minimal commitment with respect to provision of materials as well as setting of standards to ensure quality teaching. With respect to teachers' role within the educational sphere teachers express that they are missing a clear prioritisation of qualification when distributing jobs. "Such a teacher [a little motivated one] can cause so much damage in a classroom" (Interview 6 2012: line 36f.; translation A.B.) This leads to the conclusion that it has to be prevented that patronage outdates selection criteria such as teachers' professional qualification and motivation. The issue of qualification is also at stake when teachers are mandated to take on tasks like the drafting of new curricula that go beyond their qualification. Here reference is made to the PIs, which are officially in charge of the educational

programmes' development. As practice shows the support by these institutions is not particularly valued.

Another thing which is not such a positive impact is the impact of the let's say ministries and this – we call it pedagoški zavod. That is some kind of institution that is supposed to take care of teacher in a way that we have counsellors for each subject. And the counsellors are in charge of coming up with the syllabus, coming up with a lot of seminars, which they don't do, by the way. (Interview 4 2012: line 41ff.)

This might be explained by the fact that the fragmentation of the educational system is according to teachers the foremost obstacle with respect to harmonisation and improvement of the curricula. In consequence of the fragmentation expertise and financial means are used inefficiently. Instead of all potential input being directed towards one aim the ethno-political structures lead to a dispersal of the input. The implied decrease in quality of education is how according to the interviewed teachers the political setup has an indirect impact on children and their possibilities to learn. This is considered as highly unacceptable from a pedagogical perspective. That teachers feel that they do not have the means to change something about these dynamics can be explained by the hierarchical order, which leaves very limited space for bottom-up input. “[T]he canton sets the rules which come to the principal who then present it [sic!] to us.” (Interview 11 2012: line 85) Communication the other way around is described as follows:

[W]e send in a written form and we address that [the teachers are unsure about how to implement a regulation] and we, well, I can't say never, but [in] 95% of the cases, we don't get an answer. [...] And we forget and then we do the things as we can, but often they come and they check us and they are not satisfied, even though they don't give us [...] the basic things to [...] work with. (Interview 11 2012: line 299ff.)

This section has given evidence for the way in which ethno-political structures determine the functioning of the educational sector in BiH. This impedes due to the divergent interests of the educational authorities and teachers that they complement each other in their work. On the contrary, the fact that their approaches are rather incompatible leads to them rather working towards different aims. Hence they do not support each other, but weaken their respective impact. This bothers teachers as they have to put an extra effort into achieving their pedagogical objectives. At the same time it has been shown that politics is interested in reducing the resistance found with teachers. From a more general perspective the discrepancy between the stance of the educational authorities and the aims of teachers is partly a sign for the resistance against the absolute takeover of the ethno-nationalist ideology. Therefore, it is not only an organisational and technical issue. Instead it should be taken seriously in its socio-political dimension.

6.3 Transformative potential

6.3.1 The imaginary front line

[W]hen I speak to [...] some of my students, a lot of them still don't cross this imaginary front line which still exists in this town. And as this front line exists in Mostar I believe it exists as such between the Republika Srpska and the rest of the Federation because some years ago I used to work in the Republika Srpska as an English teacher and I could see that children there were brought up the way that they [...] don't want to [...] be part of Bosnia [and Herzegovina] (Interview 10 2012: line 113ff.)

The metaphor of the imaginary front line describes very well what teachers identify as central when it comes to the need of transformation. The front line refers to the armed conflict that took place in the first half of the 1990s. At the same time the physical and psychological traces of the war can still be found. Indirectly it is responsible of the relationship of members of different ethnic background within BiH up to today. This second aspect forms the base for the use of the term imaginary. It implies that the front line which people, in this case students, have on their mind is not as concrete as the front line was during the war, but it stems from the continuation of the hostile patterns that still characterise the contemporary public discourse and the condominium in general. The discursive prolongation of the hostility results from the general presence of the past in BiH. In this context it has to be considered that those generations currently going to school were born well after the war and hence they have no personal experience of the tragic past. Nonetheless, the excessive referencing to the past when bringing forward ethno-nationalist claims imposes the importance of the past on students' lives as well. In contrast to the one-sidedness of the ethno-nationalist reasoning it is mentioned that the younger generation requests a shift towards the focus being set on the present and the future with its associated challenges. This divergence can be observed in the tendency that generally the reasoning of the post-war generation differs from the one of the public discourse. "At the end [...]the younger generation in BiH today is completely indifferent which religion one belongs to or nationality one has, but simply 'let us learn, let us get educated, let us finally earn our living' [is what counts to them]" (Interview 6 2012: line 133ff.; translation A.B.) Teachers do see that they are needed to support their students in their strive for a prosperous future. Still they remark that only focussing on these individual interests is not sufficient to actually achieve a prosperous future. Superficially, students' viewpoints may appear more tolerant. They may be summarised as "after the war people just [...] emphasise that [i.e. the ethnic conflict] too much and they are more interested in some other things, but they are aware of the problems. But I don't think it [...] is such a big problem among these young people ages 14 til 18." (Interview 11 2012: line 66ff.)

Nevertheless, teachers fear that this attitude could backfire. A lack of interest in actively dealing with the issues related to ethnic diversity and the prioritisation of the prosperity of the individual. In the long run it is feared that it may cause problems. Too much attention on individual interests reduces the willingness to get engaged in civil society to challenge the current social divide. This would be very important to lessen the impact of the structures created by the conflict. The fact that imaginary front lines are perceived with the post-war generation motivates teachers to use the time in the classroom to work of the transformation of the corresponding mindsets. A particular obstacle in this context poses the fact that the environment in which the students grow up in widely tries to convey the conviction that ethnic segregation is the best way to deal with the ethnic diversity found in the country. With respect to education this is in accordance with the notion found in Stef Jansen's argument that segregated education is the appropriate way of handling ethnic diversity in BiH's multi-ethnic society (see Jansen 2012:xxiv). Hence teachers try despite the segregationist tendencies of the environment to enable their students to gain personal experience regarding alternative ways of handling multiculturalism and what the actual meaning of ethnic difference for personal interaction is. This will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.2 The classroom - a place where diversity meets

Contrary to the mono-ethnically conceptualised educational programmes, which only foresee exceptions for students of different ethnic background, reality shows that in almost all schools that were covered some kind of ethnic heterogeneity can be found. Either there are students belonging to a different ethnic group than the majority, which was decisive for the selection of the curriculum. Or teachers teach curricula that do not match their personal ethnic background. Thanks to the presence of different ethnic and religious backgrounds in class schooling can turn into an opportunity of personally encountering ethnic and religious diversity. Herein school presents one of the few places where immediate contact between young people can take place on a regular base. This is particularly relevant considering that schools reflect the incomplete segregation of the ethnic groups when it comes to place of residence and thus the ethnic composition of communities. As a consequence the ethnic composition of the student bodies contrasts mono-ethnic notions with respect to schooling. During class, nevertheless, young people can as much present their own religion and traditions as they are confronted with ethnic diversity. Teachers emphasise this aspect since

their experience matches the contact hypothesis. The thought underlying this theory is that personal experience works against generalisations of difference and stereotyping.

By giving students the space in class to present their religion the individuals have the chance to personally present their personal approach to their religious and in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context hence also their ethnic background. The exposure to such an individualist viewpoint adds a less absolutist touch to the otherwise very abstractly used concepts of religious and ethnic belonging. A Bosnian Muslim teacher summarised the dynamic in class like this:

[If] for example the girl is called Ivana, which [sic!] is Catholic. She has Christmas and [...] we talk about [it]. It is good to have kids that celebrate this kind of holiday because she can tell her peers how is it like to celebrate Christmas and it is also [a] help to the teachers because they [i.e. the students] will always listen to their peers other than a teacher and they will memorise and remember it. (Interview 9 2012: line 39ff.)

Subsequently, the positive side effect of students of different ethnic background having the chance to learn from each other is that they personally experience as much their similarities as well as their differences. Going to the same class can in itself be a bonding experience as the students all share the identity of being a member of the class. This puts other differences such as ethnic background into relation. By challenging the notion of a single and fixed identity as it is common for ethno-nationalist politics in BiH space for reflection of the status quo can be created. Nonetheless, this requires from the teachers that they consciously use the diversity in their classroom. Reasons for why such questioning of matters of identity is possible in the school context stem from the more informal relationship between teachers and students. These differ greatly from those aspects characterising interaction in public, although it needs to be highlighted that as formerly shown the ethno-nationalist dynamics have their ways to have an impact on the teaching process as well. Young people often give the impression that they do not comply with general attitudes found in society, but much rather are guided by their personal understanding of what is valuable. One of these aspects is what we refer to as tolerance. “[T]he children are more tolerant than adults because they don’t see this difference.” (Interview 9 2012: line 47f.) One could probably argue that children since they are not fully aware of the abstract concepts and dynamics underlying social differentiation set their focus on different things. That their focus shifts over time becomes apparent in the pragmatic twist added to this tolerance when approaching graduation. At this point as formerly outlined the individual economic interests prevail any other aspect. Teachers have an ambiguous stance towards this attitude. Although they wish to support students in their cause,

they are aware of the multiplicity of factors determining social development in BiH. Therefore, the interviewed teachers consider it necessary to address these obstacles to work on a more sustainable base for the future development of society in BiH. Particularly the embracement of the multi-ethnic nature of the country is presented as an aspect that needs to be worked on. Actual tolerance would imply an appreciation of diversity. This is not necessarily the case when shifting priorities towards economic interests. An interesting observation in this context is: “[T]his generation is so subordinate [...]. And in general, people are just putting up with things. They are not trying to change them.” (Interview 10 2012: line 171ff.) Considering the already existing tendencies of promoting the ethno-nationalist logic as normal it is feared that the dearth of activism against the ethno-political omnipresence leads to a continuation of the status quo. “Being silent means to agree and in this period we cannot always agree to politicians.” (Interview 6 2012: line 107f.; translation A.B.) To stimulate that students look into the matter of condominium in BiH the interviewed teachers state that they purposefully challenge their students’ position towards questions on diversity. Others try to promote skills and values underlying a more tolerant and embracing stance towards diversity. The starting point for teachers, nevertheless, appears to be the fact that students have needs as individuals and learners. This aspect is considered most substantial for their interaction. Furthermore, this focus is said to help in distancing oneself when working in class from the educational framework with its ethno-political bias.

If [s/]he needs your attention as a teacher, [s/he does] not [need it] as a Muslim teacher or a Croat teacher or whatever. [S/]he needs your attention as a teacher and [s/]he needs attention from the peers as the other kids do. [S/]h e needs to social [sic!] with them, play with them. (Interview 9 2012: line 177ff.)

Therefore, a student’s ethnic identity becomes secondary in this context. That is why teachers emphasise so much why they are concerned about trying to impede that ethno-nationalist tendencies completely take over young people’s development by reducing its impact on classroom interactions.

[Y]ou cannot influence the environment they live in, the families they live in. You cannot influence what their parents are going to teach them, how they are going to treat them. But you can do as much as you can in school. So I am willing and I am working as much as possible on doing that when they are with me. To teach them [...] that every difference is a normal difference, whether it is in [i.e. with respect to individual] development or in religious [denomination]. (Interview 9 2012: line 107ff.)

Another teacher confirms this when she states that there is one thing one can always do: To look at students from a humanitarian perspective after all. When focussing on their equality as humans categorising them would be an obstacle.

6.3.3 Teachers' attempts to promote transformation

The teachers contributing to this investigation all show some interest in supporting the post-war generation in the process of developing their own stances on how multi-ethnic condominium could look like in BiH. The strategies chosen vary greatly, but a common feature to all these attempts encountered during the investigation is that the teacher plays a central role. In this context the notion is made that teachers' centrality is underestimated. Above it was elaborated how the prestige of teachers has decreased and their work is not as valued as it was e.g. during Yugoslav times by society anymore. The alarming consequence resulting from these circumstances is that even those people who choose to become teachers sometimes do not see the various roles they have to live up to.

It is [sic!] teachers [who] are not aware of the power they are having over children. Because children really look up to teachers and at a certain point in their life, when they are students, [...] they are very susceptible to what teachers tell them. So a teacher can create a more tolerant environment in the head of the student. [S/]he can lead them [i.e. the students] on to thinking. (Interview 4 2012: line 217ff.)

The consequence of an attitude characterised by ignorance can be that the chance is missed to initiate a process within the students that may contribute positively to the transformation of the society of BiH towards a more peaceful and tolerant environment. That is why the interviewed teachers throughout are motivated to set action. Promoting ideas underlying social transformation should support the post-war generation in developing the necessary attitude.

A rather direct approach to it is to directly address inter-ethnic hostility. Trigger for such discussions can be actual occurrences or the connection of a general topic discussed in class with the current situation in BiH. The former, nonetheless, bares the risk of not being regarded positively due to the students already feeling overstimulated by the public discourse. The attempt to lead from the question of national identity in the UK over to its relevance in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context proofed to be a very constructive way of including social issues in foreign language teaching. The positive impact is pointed out by underlining the eagerness with which students take part in discussions, offer solutions and the way they show their dedication to these questions when writing essays on the topic. This contrasts the impression of lacking interest in resistance. This particular outcome can be taken as an indicator for the protective environment of a class community having the potential of turning into a place where students are willing to exchange their point of views and hence to consider the stances brought forward in such situations.

[W]e talked about the situation [with respect to national identity] in our country, so we don't have those problems [i.e. ethnic extremism] in our school. [...] I don't know what happens when they are not in class, but in terms of [...] animosity based within students [...] I have never noticed any problems. (Interview 11 2012: line 19ff.)

As this example shows the occasion for such indirect confrontation can come from books used in class. While this is still a fairly directed approach, other ways leave more space for the students to engage in the issues. The most exceptional project found during the investigation appeared to be a partnership between two classes; one in BiH and one in the USA. The task each class had to complete was to investigate multiculturalism in the respective community and country overall to then present it to the partners. The exchange enables Bosnian and Herzegovinian students not only to improve their language skills, but also to get a more thorough understanding of the social structures they were living in. Additionally, they are exposed to how multiculturalism is perceived in a different context. This poses a momentum for reflection. This interactive dynamic helps students to integrate the newly achieved knowledge more substantially. One of the particular characteristics of this project is that instead of presenting multiculturalism as a critical issue, students were simply asked to relate the concept to their environment without specification on the meaning of the concept being made beforehand. Another way to catch students' interest in these peculiar topics is to work with movies. These cause emotional reactions with students, which later on can be used as base for discussions and often by themselves initiate a process of personal reflection. The most subtle way to confront students with diversity is, nonetheless, facilitating their personal contact. Above it has been described how ethnically mixed school settings are developed or in case that this is not possible to be implemented at least extra-curricular activities for groups of diverse ethnic background were initiated. These activities are unfortunately not very frequent yet.

To circumvent the institutional obstacles with respect to inter-ethnic contact in school teachers frequently chose to make use of social media. Herein their personal contact with their current and former students helps in establishing contacts across ethnic fault lines. This is somewhat of the continuation of what to some extent took place in class, but might not be continued outside school due to the segregation of the students' environment outside school or afterwards due to the segregation at university level. The common habit of regularly using the internet and the interest in the foreign language serves as a link to connect teachers and their students in this virtual space created by social media. Another reason for engaging with young people online is the aim of encouraging the latter to use the resources accessible to them via the internet responsibly. A particular need for such emphasis stems from the lack of

censorship that characterises the internet and social media. On the one hand, the internet gives the opportunity to have access to otherwise inaccessible information, knowledge and possibilities, but, on the other hand, there is the risk that it is used as platform for spreading hostility and other notions which have a negative impact on the social transformation of the country. Teachers warn about the polarising tendencies found online. “But also these social networks serve for football fans to send offenses to each other [...] because [...] on [the] internet they do not [...] control this. So the [...] offenses are put on [...] air in a way.” (Interview 10 2012: line 265) Under these circumstances this informal contact between teachers and students has to be understood as a way for teachers to have an insight into students’ interests and the impact the internet has on them. The subsequent aim is to be able to intervene in the case they consider it necessary.

6.3.4 The role of pedagogical material and other support

As already mentioned in the last section the internet is a frequently used resource. This is also the case when preparing classes or investigating creative ways of teaching. The advantage is the seemingly infinite number of sources found online, which are freely accessible. For foreign language teachers this is particularly enriching as the number of available and affordable resources in BiH is fairly limited. Therefore, teachers aiming at designing their classes appealing, informative and varied note that external support is highly appreciated, if not even requested. The need for externally provided support originates from the PIs only insufficiently fulfilling their task of offering seminars and content related information and material for teachers.

The whole Ministry of Education does not seem to have any interest in teachers and so on because they absolutely have no methods they have no structure when it comes to educating [...] teachers [i.e. working on teachers’ professional development]. [...] Everything is left to the teachers. (Interview 4 2012: line 54ff.)

This poses a particular difficulty considering that after the war fundamental changes were undertaken to leave the former Yugoslav educational system behind. Instead the new approach tries to introduce European standards and adapt the style in teaching. “So that is maybe the biggest problem: We have that reform, but [sic!] many things are expected of us and not many things are given.” (Interview 11 2012: line 280f.) External agents, such as the OSCE and the CoE, put pressure on BiH with respect to the introduction of such an educational reform (see Stabback 2008:454). They hoped that this step would encourage the population of the country to quickly adapt to the rest of the EU. This was understood as

prerequisite to EU accession. Considering the drastic changes implied by the reform it would be sensible to facilitate support in the adaptation process. Nonetheless, teachers described their experience with external offers as ambivalent. Often they make the experience that the techniques and approaches presented to them at seminars would be impossible to be implemented in their working environment. Hence they are considered little helpful. “We have seminars quite [...] often. And mostly in those seminars we are introduced with [sic!] some very new methods how to approach students and what do with them, but for that it’s necessary to have more modern equipment and maybe to have less students in a classroom.” (Interview 7 2012: line 47ff.)

The fact that projects offering such workshops, which to a large extent form part of Official Development Assistance (ODA), widely neglect the particular needs of teachers in BiH can stem from the intention of these projects rather being to sell the newest pedagogical trend and material or even from an ideological bias. The feedback raises the question to what extent the existing offers are a response to teachers’ experience during their work and the questions related to this.

The examples above outline that there is a lot of potential to be found in practice as a good share of teachers is inclined to promote values and knowledge which can contribute to the transformation process BiH has to go through to overcome its post-conflict legacy. The aims of the interviewed teachers are very similar to those pursued by international actors discussing educational issues in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context. Teachers are inclined to work on a transformation that allows social structures to become a more stable and sustainably peaceful. Another objective is the development of an identity embracing all citizens of the country. In contrast to these very positive insights, it has to be underlined that it would be short-sighted to assume that the approaches presented in this last section are representative. This becomes apparent in the repeated comments referring to the circumstance that so many teachers, who are not included in the sample, are hesitant to work with students on issues related to ethnic diversity. “Teachers in general do not want to talk about these things because they [...]do not want to create this kind of connection to the students. As in: Why should I talk about this? I talk about geography. That is my subject. I do not talk about these things.” (Interview 4: line 234ff.) The impression is created that teachers addressing the critical social issues are not the majority. Similarly as this is the case with those students who explicitly wish for joint schooling. Hence their impact is questionable. Even the majority of parents which according to polls is not content with the segregation in the educational sphere had so

far the power to insist in officially stopping ethnically separated schooling (see Pašalić Kreso 2008:368). In the end it can be concluded that the personal contact is one of the most central aspects characterising the relationship between teachers and students. It can be used for promoting tolerance towards diversity as well as supporting ethno-nationalist purposes. In this context, nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that teacher belonging to the second group have the political backup and enjoy subsequent advantages. In consequence those teachers interviewed for this investigation perceive their position as working against general tendencies.

7. Conclusion

How to deal with ethnic diversity is one of the central challenges that BiH's post-war society is confronted with. Its urgency stems from the immediate war legacy, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, the multi-ethnic nature of the country persists. These two aspects entail potential for future conflict, if they are not managed adequately. That is why it is considered alarming that BiH has not achieved ground-breaking progress with respect to reconciliation. On the contrary, ethno-nationalist notions dominate the political and public discourse. Under these circumstances ethnically separated curricula are presented and enforced as plausible solution for the situation of the country. The claim for absoluteness in this approach conflicts with the IC's ambition to consolidate BiH as a multi-ethnic state. Therefore, a central aspect guiding the projects and programmes launched by the IC is to work on the reduction of the ethnic divide. To allow the post-war generation to create new social structures and thus overcome the conflict patterns. The solution suggested by ethnically separate education contrasts the former aim drastically.

Following the argumentative structure of this thesis the historical overview pointed out that in the past various social constellations developed and ceased in the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The specific historical contexts give reason for the changes that took place as the social order had to adjust to political, cultural and economic development. This historical specificity has to be underlined. It contradicts as much any attempt to reinstall former forms of condominium in Bosnia and Herzegovina as it challenges the absolutist character of current ethno-nationalist claims. The past gives evidence that the ethnically diverse population of the Balkans lived peacefully together at certain points in time. Hence this retrospect gives reason to argue for the need of working on a social order that enables people to achieve this quality

of life again. Sole *jugosnostalgija*, on the contrary, cannot be considered a constructive contribution to solving the problems contemporary BiH is facing. Additionally, history gives evidence that ethno-nationalist and separatist ambitions bared high conflict potential.

Assuming that the priority for development assistance in the case of BiH is to consolidate the country its aim should be to reduce any institutionalised structures promoting the differentiation of citizens due to their ethnic background. It is a fact that the educational sector, however, is a particularly evident part of public life where ethnic segregation takes place. That is why it is worthwhile for the discourse on the development of BiH to consider how social and conflict transformation can be initiated. Herein schools and other educational institutions can be understood as a starting point as well as a means for dissemination of the transformative approach. By interviewing teachers this thesis tries to find evidence showing what the nexus of education and social transformation currently looks like in BiH. The aggregation of the FCMs drawn by the interviewees forms the base that allows looking at the current educational practice as a CAS. The analysis of the relationships found in the FCMs shows that there is an imbalance of teachers' aims and the priorities of other actors decisive for the working of the CAS. While it became evident that ethno-nationalist tendencies dominate a good share of formal cooperation, this logic is partly left behind in informal interactions. Especially, the interaction with students is frequently presented as an opportunity to leave the ethno-nationalist strait-jacket behind. With respect to individuals' attitude to resisting the ethno-nationalist paradigm it could be observed that due to the poor economic situation in the country individual persons show to be relatively liable to give in to clientelist practices. In these cases gaining personal economic security presents a priority to the fact that such cooperation often supports ethno-political networks, which in this case benefit from people's dependency on economic support. For society overall the prioritisation of the individual benefit results in the weakening of general state structures, which in itself promotes the pursuit of individual opportunities even more. In the case of education corruption to achieve better results can be mentioned as well as an increasing offer of private educational institutions. The quality of the state system suffers from these challenges. An intriguing detail in this respect is that economic usability of education dominates the actual process of acquiring knowledge. In consequence, parents in many cases focus on their children's grades instead of supporting teachers in their efforts for a more holistic approach to learning. The lack of support from regular citizens poses another challenge to teachers' ambition to provide their students with quality teaching. Teachers' position in this respect is weakened by the educational administration which has turned into an ethno-nationalist stronghold and thus

often pursues other interests. Subsequently, it can be summarised that the education CAS is dominated by an ethno-nationalist tendency.

The analysis of the ways in which the ethno-nationalist logic has increased its influence and thus control over the educational sphere shows that patronage has led to intransparent structures, which made it more difficult to track how clientelist practices flourished in the school environment. The interviewed teachers gave the impression that ethno-nationalist dynamics undermined a good share of the institutional body. This advanced progress into the educational sphere is even noticeable when teaching foreign languages, which per se has little to do with the situation of the country. However, foreign language classes present opportunities to address critical issues such as ethnic diversity. Such activities and teachers' motivation to respond to their students' interest is in many cases driven by a different dynamic, if not even contradictory dynamic to ethno-nationalist tendencies. Thus, according to the CAS's logic the action taken by teachers presents a second attractor. Although it is comparatively weak in comparison to the seemingly omnipresence of ethno-nationalism it is also decisive for the direction taken by the education CAS. Nevertheless, it has to be remarked that the examples mentioned have all been initiated by individual teachers. Cooperation and thus joint action is only found within a particular school or in the few organisations dedicated to subject matters like the German teachers' associations. Generally, it is mentioned repeatedly that teachers are reluctant to take part in organised action as it is easily associated with political convictions. This can be explained by the fact that taking a political stand opposing ethno-political notions under the current circumstances bares the risk of losing one's job and in the long term the possibility of falling back on clientelist support networks.

The combination of the formerly mentioned dearth of support by civil society and the poor cooperation among teachers results in school being a place where only occasionally stances challenging the ethno-nationalist ideology are promoted. I want to highlight at this point how deeply impressed I am by the dedication those teachers who considered it important implement their activities. This reaction partly originates from the fear that the long-term outcome of the process witnessed in the educational sector would be that the ethno-nationalist logic becomes uncontested overall. The current imbalance of forces characterising the education CAS make this appear reasonable.

These insights are relevant for the development discourse as they show how the ethno-political power structures foreseen by the Dayton constitution have allowed ethno-nationalism

to gain influence over the educational sphere. Due to this process the potential of education to contribute to social and conflict transformation processes has been diminished or has not been promoted successfully. Generally, the situation demands strategies to counter the ethno-nationalist omnipresence. Additionally, alternative approaches to living in multi-ethnic society need to be strengthened. Personally, I, believe that for education becoming a tool for the promotion of attitudes towards ethnic diversity that differ from the segregationist views of ethno-nationalism it would be supportive, if the ethno-nationalist influence in BiH was generally reduced. I reach this conclusion as teachers indicated that their means are relatively restricted due to the hierarchical structures favouring ethno-political interests. As changing the political structures of BiH is unlikely to be initiated from abroad I therefore suggest that international cooperation should look for other ways how to help opposing stance to become more influential. The following suggestions for further research will point out the direction I consider to be promising.

As this investigation shows there is some momentum among teachers. Some of them strive for ethnic diversity to make it a less segregating aspect in the educational setup of BiH. Hence they attempt to initiated conflict transformation and hence social transformation in their working environment. Although the current ethno-nationalist domination of the discourse on this matter only allows for scattered activities by individuals or sometimes on the basis of inner-school cooperation, the possible scope of such action should not be underestimated. As teachers work in public institutions with a fairly big number of students their outreach is comparatively big. Since this does not equal to the multiplication effect of their work, it would be necessary to see how teachers and schools can be supported in their efforts and thus can be better included as a resource in the transformation process aiming for a more sustainable way of dealing with ethnic diversity in BiH. Generally, I recommend more participatory research to be conducted. For one, it allows for a deeper problem analysis. Secondly, it gives space for the development of new approaches based on the input given by those immediately involved. To increase the relevance of my investigation's results for political and social action it would be helpful to extend the sample to teachers teaching all subjects as well as including more schools. Based on this information more research could be conducted on how cooperation between teachers, also cross-disciplinary, can be facilitated. These insights could be used by actors from civil society and abroad when planning their support for teachers and schools. As their work presents an important attempt of strengthening dynamics which try to positively affect society's attitude towards its multi-ethnic nature.

Another aspect to be taken into consideration is the introduction of participatory planning processes in the sphere of education. This approach might present an alternative to current democratic processes in Bosnian and Herzegovinian schools, which were presented as being used by the ethno-nationalist lobby for their purposes. Although this dynamic to take over a participatory planning process as well cannot be prevented, it still might offer an opportunity for the people involved to address and fight for issues central to them on a local level.

At last I want to come back to the recent census. Its outcome will show how local communities are ethnically composed in reality. The evidence it will give with respect to the current situation will revive the discussion on local minorities and how their rights can be ensured across the country. Due to the fact that this also concerns the question of education it would be very relevant to follow the debate to see how the census results changes the stances towards education. Additionally, new possibilities for action might appear. For these to be used appropriately it would be worthwhile to investigate where there is potential organised or still to be mobilised to use the issue of minority discrimination for purposes such as the promotion of the introduction of joint schooling all over the country or at least in FBiH.

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Annex

Annex 1: Overview over interviews conducted

Interview No.	Location	Subject taught	Date	Length	Explanatory notes
1	Zenica	German	Sept 22, 2012	01:39:07	FCM
2	Brčko	German	Sept 28, 2012	01:10:35	FCM
3	Brčko	German	Sept 28, 2012	-	Not allowed to be recorded, FCM only
4	Sarajevo	English	Sept 30, 2012	00:47:43	FCM
5	Sarajevo	English	Oct 3, 2012	-	Not allowed to be recorded, FCM only
6	Livno	German	Oct 13, 2012	00:25:15	No FCM
7	Banja Luka	English	Oct 16, 2012	01:31:04	FCM
8	Banja Luka	English	Oct 16, 2012	00:55:54	No FCM
9	Kakanj	English	Oct 22, 2012	01:12:18	FCM
10	Mostar	English	Oct 29, 2012	00:51:25	No FCM
11	Kakanj	English	Nov 2, 2012	01:01:41	FCM

Type of interview	Location	Organisation	Date	Explanatory notes
Expert	Sarajevo	PILPG employee	Sept 17, 2012	Not to be quoted
Expert	Sarajevo	Bosnian and Herzegovinian German Teachers' Association	Sept 21, 2012	informal
Expert	Banja Luka	German Academic Exchange Service	Oct 16, 2012	Not to be recorded
Expert	Sarajevo	German Embassy	Oct 31, 2012	Not to be recorded
Expert	Sarajevo	CIVITAS Sarajevo	Nov 4, 2012	informal
Expert	Sarajevo	OSCE	Nov 5, 2012	Not to be quoted

Annex 2: Overview over total Official Development Finance by all donors and sector specific for education

Dataset: DACref_Reference Total Official Development Finance

Part	1 - Developing countries															
Amount type	Current Prices (USD millions)															
Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Recipient																
Bosnia-Herzegovina	826,71	869,13	934,83	1403,8	874,52	657,36	573,2	566,32	737,78	578,38	634,1	784,83	635,18	586,66	710,41	585,48

1996 -1998:

Education (in USD millions)	172	37.79	40.34	36.79	35.29	16.21
Percentage		4.8%	6.4%	6.3%	5.0%	2.8%

Adapted from:

http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=REF_TOTAL_ODF#

http://www.aidflows.org/BA_Beneficiary_View.pdf

Abstract

During the war (1992-1995) state provision of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) collapsed. Due to the frontline separating the opposing ethnic groups – Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs –the respective groups had to improvise separate educational solutions for their members. The constitutional concession of cultural autonomy to these three groups allowed ethnic segregation to continue in the post-war educational system of BiH. In politics this step is often justified by claiming that segregation was the best way to handle multiculturalism in BiH. Since 2002 the International Community promoting the consolidation of the young state has taken coordinated action to work towards a harmonised educational system. These efforts have had meagre success. Based on a systems approach, this qualitative investigation analysed teachers' work and their environment and thus aims to present teachers' understanding of the dynamics responsible for the current educational situation. The Fuzzy Cognitive Maps drawn by the interview partners to visualise their situation at work showed that ethno-nationalist structures are increasingly dominating the educational sphere. However, the dynamics in class often challenge the notion that ethnic questions are meant to be prioritised. Working with unbalanced, but ethnically mixed classes as well as the post-war generation's striving for economic progress and brighter prospects requires of teachers to take these facts into account as well. This puts teachers in a fairly tense situation. Their subsequent reactions showed that the principles they try to uphold in class are educational quality and presenting alternative perspectives. This approach was presented as a contribution to the upbringing of responsible, tolerant and future-oriented citizens, who interested in a peaceful BiH.

Zusammenfassung

Während des Krieges (1992-1995) brach das staatliche Bildungssystem in Bosnien und Herzegowina (BiH) zusammen. Um Abhilfe zu schaffen organisierten die sich bekriegenden ethnischen Gruppen – Bosnische Kroaten, Bosnische Muslime und Bosnische Serben – separate, improvisierte Bildungseinrichtungen. Da die Verfassung von Dayton den früheren Kriegsparteien die Kulturhoheit zugestand, konnten diese die Aufteilung des Bildungssystems auch nach dem Krieg aufrechterhalten. In der Politik wurde dieser Schritt damit gerechtfertigt, dass getrennter Unterricht den besten Umgang mit ethnischer Diversität in BiH erlaube. Diese Überzeugung teilt die Internationale Gemeinschaft nicht. Daher setzt sie sich seit 2002 vermehrt für die Vereinheitlichung von Lehrplänen ein. Diese Bestrebungen sind jedoch weitgehend erfolglos gewesen.

Mit Hilfe des Systemansatzes analysiert diese qualitative Forschungsarbeit das Wirken von Lehrern und deren Arbeitsumfeld. Ziel ist es darzustellen, wie sich Lehrer jene Dynamiken erklären, die für die gegenwärtige Bildungssituation verantwortlich sind. Im Zuge der bildlichen Darstellung ihrer Arbeitssituation entsprechend der Methode des Fuzzy Cognitive Mappings wird festgestellt, dass das Bildungswesen unter zunehmendem ethnonationalistischen Einfluss steht. Dessen Anspruch auf absolute Trennung der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen steht im Widerspruch zur in der Realität angetroffenen, wenn auch sehr ungleichen ethnischen Diversität im Klassenzimmer. Ferner misst ein Großteil der Nachkriegsgeneration der Frage um ethnische Zugehörigkeit geringere Bedeutung bei als dem Wunsch nach wirtschaftlichem Aufschwung und positiven Zukunftsaussichten für sich selbst und ihr Land. Inmitten dieses Spannungsfeldes scheint es Lehrern ein besonderes Anliegen zu sein, qualitative Standards zu wahren und Alternativen zur ethnonationalistischen Ideologie aufzuzeigen. Auf diese Weise versuchen sie ihren Beitrag zur Konflikttransformation zu leisten.

Kratak pregled

Tokom rata (1992-1995) je kolabirao državni sistem obrazovanja u BiH. Zaraćene etničke grupe- Bosanski Hrvati, Bosanski Srbi i Bošnjaci su organizovali tri improvizovane ponude obrazovanja, namjenjene pripadnicima tih naroda. Pošto je Dejton zagarantovao očuvanje kultura nekadašnjih zaraćenih strana, svaka od njih je mogla ovu preraspodjelu školskog sistema očuvati i poslije rata. Ovaj korak je politički bio opravdan, jer su različiti nastavni planovi bili najbolji način da se uvaže etničke razlike u BiH. Od 2002. godine se Međunarodna zajednica, koja brine o stabilnosti ove mlade zemlje, snažnije zalaže za uvođenje jedinstvenog nastavnog plana. Ali ovaj trud je do sada bio prilično bezuspješan.

Uz pomoć sistematskog pristupa, ovaj naučni rad analizira djelovanje nastavnika i profesora i njihovo radno okruženje. Cilj je bio prikazati, kako nastavnici i profesori objašnjavaju te međusobne odnose, koji su odgovorni za sadašnju situaciju u obrazovanju. U toku slikovitog prikazivanja svoje radne situacije, po metodi *Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping* je zaključeno, da obrazovanje stoji pod rastućim etnonacionalnim uticajem. Takvi zahtjevi za apsolutno razdvajanje različitih etničkih grupa je kontradiktorno u odnosu na u realnosti zatečenoj, iako veoma nejednakoj etničkoj raznolikosti u učionici. Većina poslijeratne generacije ne pridaje toliko značaj pitanju o etničkoj pripadnosti, koliko želji za ekonomskom razvoju i pozitivnim izgledima za budućnost za sebe i svoju državu. Nastavnicima i profesorima je očigledno posebna želja, da u žiži sukoba različitih uticaja ipak sačuvaju kvalitativne standarde i pokažu alternativu etnonacionalnoj ideologiji. Na taj način pokušavaju da pridonesu transformaciji konflikta.

Curriculum Vitae

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Sept. 2007 – Dec 2013	International Development, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria
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Work experience

Since July 2011	Volunteer at Grenzenlos@schools, Vienna, Austria
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German	native
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Spanish	fluent
Italian	basic conversation ability
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	basic knowledge

References

Available on request