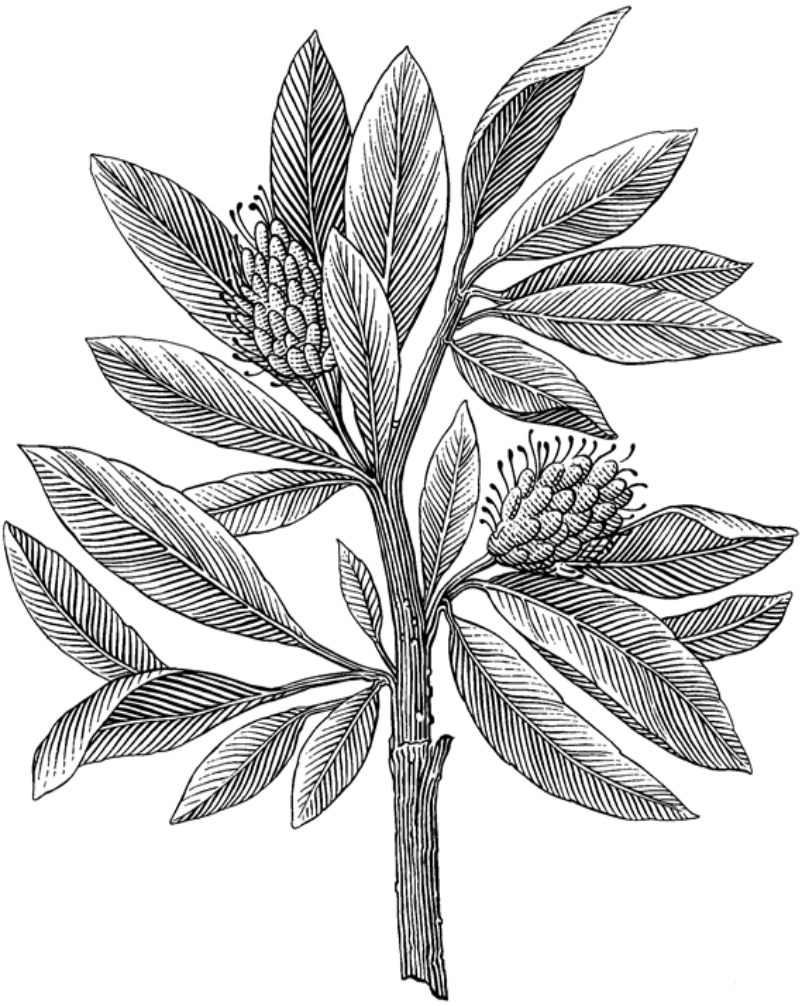
Linnéuniversitetet
Kalmar Växjö

Bachelor Thesis

Education-Modern Guns

A qualitative study about role of educational processes on peace consolidation in BiH



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Abstract

This research examines the role of five educational processes; curriculum, language, religion, culture, history, and geography and teachers, teacher education and teaching methods, on the perception of students of other constitutive people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and if it might have an impact on the longevity of the peace within the state. The importance of this research lays in the fact that BiH has experienced ethnic conflict in recent history which affected education and created ethnic division in the educational system. The aim of this research is to look at if the current educational system in BiH works on mending social cleavages that erupted as an aftermath of the war. By doing abductive qualitative field study and focusing on the educational system known as "two schools under one roof" findings show that all of the five previously mentioned processes carry to bigger or smaller extent threat and risk for social cohesion and peace in the country. Pupils are exposed to teachings filled with bias and prejudice and teachings that emphasize differences between different groups while ignoring similarities that could bring them together. Findings also suggest that the problem of the segregated educational system in BiH will most likely not end in the foreseeable future due to lack of will from teachers, parents, pupils and decision-makers.

Keywords: segregation, educational system, peace, conflict, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abbreviations

Dayton Peace Agreement	(DPA)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	(BiH)
Mjesovita Srednja Skola “Travnik”	(MSS “Travnik”)
Katolicki Skolski Centar “Petar Barbaric”	(KSC “Petar Barbaric”)
Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine	(FBiH)
Republika Srpska	(RS)

1. Introduction and research topic

Having three presidents in one country, three national tv channels and three constitutive languages with rather small distinctions might sound odd and confusing for others. But for people living in BiH, it was and still is an everyday reality. From food to the way of behaving there are only a handful of things that are not divided into "ours" and "theirs". Visiting Srebrenica, coming from Sarajevo, always felt like entering some other country because, amongst many things, police did not have the same uniform, everything was written in Cyrillic, phone operator changed to national Serbian phone operator and Serbian flags were everywhere. On the surface, it looked like any city in the world but it always felt like there is an invisible line that should not be crossed. Additionally, many families that I know decided not to move back to their homes, in RS, after the war because they did not want their kids to be taught "their education". I did not even know who "they" were or what "their education" meant. I thought it was normal because I had friends who took a bus and drove for 30 minutes to attend "their schools" instead of walking ten minutes to "our school".

Even though the war ended 24 years ago the ethnic divisions did not end with it, on the contrary, it could be argued that it even got more intensified and emphasised. The war in BiH that lasted for three and half years ended by signing The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or more commonly referred to as the Dayton Peace Agreement (Aolain 1996). DPA is one of the few peace agreements that includes the most comprehensive chapter on human rights. Additionally, the DPA is seen as unique because it is not only peace agreement in a classical sense but it also provided the instruction manual for the state of BiH (Torsti 2009).

The administrative structure of BiH was created by DPA with three constituent people; Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. Further on, DPA divided the country into two entities, Federation of BiH (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS). FBiH is dominated by a Bosniaks and Croats majority, while RS is dominated by Serbs. Additionally, FBiH is divided into 10 Cantons of which 3 are dominated by Croats and the rest by Bosniaks (*Dayton Peace Agreemen*t 1995). Further on, each canton has its own administration and government. Due to this, the government is decentralized and decision making in most sectors, such as education, health, employment and such, are left on a local level. Consequently, systems in previously mentioned sectors can minorly and majorly differ from Canton to Canton. Despite the territorial division, that is based

on the ethnic makeup of the area, when it comes to constitution of BiH and both of its entities it is important to note that they embody comprehensive chapters on ethnic discrimination to ensure equal treatment. However, it can be argued that DPA itself is discriminatory in the sense that it allows only people who identify themselves as one of the three constitutive people to run in elections (*Dayton Peace Agreement* 1995). Nevertheless, Human Rights Watch (2017) reports that, despite efforts to eliminate discrimination, ethnic and religious discrimination are common practice within the country. Even though the examples of ethnic and religious discrimination can be found in various areas this is the most visible in the educational sector.

After the war, many cantons with mixed population became ethnically homogeneous due to the displacement of one group which lead to polarization of these areas. It was not uncommon in these areas to change the name of the schools in order to pay tribute to people or events from the conflict period. Additionally, curriculum and textbooks used in these schools were characterised by ethnic interest (OSCE 2018). OSCE (2018) reports that some textbooks even went so far to victimize one of the constitutive people by putting the other constitutive people in a negative context. As previously mentioned, many displaced people refused to return to their homes because they did not want to send their kids to these schools but those who decided to return sent their kids to *ad hoc* schools that were usually located in private areas without adequate resources.

In order to cope with this problem, OSCE informed and formulated in a 2000 new system of schooling where students from different ethnicity attend schools with two different curriculums but in one building (OSCE 2018). This phenomenon in BiH is usually referred to as "two schools under one roof". Even though the lectures are taught in one building, schools have "separate administrations and teaching staff and follow distinct curricula" (Kovac et al., 2017). Additionally, it is common practice for students to attend different shifts or if they attend the same shift they use different entrances to make sure that students do not interact with each other during the break. Even though this type of schooling was implemented as a temporary solution, 18 years later this practice is still very much common and existing in Bosnia. Courts in Capljina and Stolac ruled that the "two schools under one roof" practice as discriminatory, however, this decision is still to be implemented (OSCE 2018). Despite efforts by international and national institutions to stop this practice, the estimation is that there are 60 schools in BiH that operates this way and they are mostly located in bigger cities with or areas with high populations of different ethnic groups (Kovac et al., 2017). Unfortunately, the end of this

practice does not appear to be happening in the foreseeable future because authorities and even parents and students have shown no intention to abandon it (Tolomelli 2015). On the contrary, there have been attempts, such as those in Jajce, to establish even more schools that operate in the same manner. However, students opposed this idea and by organising protests they managed to stop politicians to proceed with making this idea into reality and to keep their old school system which had one curriculum for all students. Even though the major problem that erupts from this type of education is ethnic segregation that affects students that attend these schools it is also important to note that it leads to discrimination during the process of employment since the appointments of teachers is based on their ethnic belonging (Tolomelli 2015). Consequently, the next subchapter will present the relevance of examining education in multi-ethnic states.

1.1 Research relevance

Tollomeli (2015:92) argues that "school should be the environment where students belonging to distinct entities start to develop the sense of difference seen as an opportunity and not as a danger". He (2015:91) goes further on and notes that "it is the fundamental bond of the civil coexistence between people belonging to different backgrounds yet living inside the same community". Additionally, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue that education is an important tool that can be used to prevent racism and misogyny. Education also contributes to shaping attitudes of students and their understandings of things which ultimately affects their behaviour. Lastly, they argue that education does not only have a positive face but that it equally can have a socially destructive impact if not done properly.

Further on, Kovac et al (2017) claim that the schools, in general, tend to represent powerful environments where a relatively basic sense of "to whom I belong" is established. Similarly, Padilla, Ruiz and Brand (1974) (as cited in Bush and Saltarelli 2000:3) state that "ethnic attitudes are formed early, and that once positive or negative prejudices are formed, they tend to increase with time". However, if the education and school have adopted negative environment and stance to other ethnicities it could foster ethnic tensions that could even erupt in violence and conflict (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Smith and Vaux 2003; Davies 2010). Due to this, it is important to look if the education of certain state fosters positive processes that will positively affect its students or if unfortunately, education is used as a way to increase differences between groups and foster a negative perception of other. Role of education is especially important if there is a history of ethnic conflict or if there are tensions between

different inter-groups. Seitz argues that "through support for education, and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, development agencies have a crucial, if sensitive, role to play in furthering nonviolent solutions to inter-group conflict and breaking the cycle of inter-group hostility and conflict along ethnic, cultural and sectarian lines" (2014:11).

The reason why BiH is chosen as a country to examine its education is due to it being one of the few countries, if not the only, in Europe that still practice educational system that can be seen as discriminatory. Additionally, since BiH has experienced ethnic conflict in recent history it is important to examine if and how segregated education and its processes affect students' perception of other groups in society. Moreover, this study can show to what extent the education system in BiH is encouraging social cohesion and unity or emphasize the differences between different groups and pushes for greater division within the state. This, in the long run, could have an impact on existing borders or even on longevity and sustainability of the peace in the country.

Further on, by looking at the educational processes within "two schools under one roof" the results could be used to if not completely argue for abandoning and abolishing this practice to at least improve and change those areas and processes that are seen as most critical and dangerous. The following chapter focuses on a research problem for this specific topic.

1.2 Research problem

Many researchers, both national and international have contributed to the debate of "two schools under one roof" by writing reports, academic papers, filming documentaries and similar (Kovac et al. 2017; Torsti 2009; Tolomelli 2015; Clark 2010; Bozic 2006; Brkic and Brkic 2003). Scholars have looked at the possible causes behind this type of phenomena, how it could affect the reconciliation process in BiH and other possible effects of it. Usually, studies were conducted by interviewing teachers who work at this type of institutions, students who attend it, and parents who have children enrolled in these schools. Additionally, there has been a focus on how does this contribute to mental health and self-identification of the youths exposed to this type of discrimination. Further on, existing literature looks at the attempts and efforts made by international actors to stop this problem. Some articles bring up effects of education on peace but only briefly by stating that it could indeed undermine the reconciliation process and foster the hostility between different ethnic groups. However, there are no studies that examine processes of education and educational policies and how those might affect the

attitude of the people towards each other, and ultimately, push for further division in the state. Consequently, this research aims to fill that gap by doing in-depth case study to examine to what extent do educational sector contribute to the forming of perception of other groups in Bosnia according to five processes presented in the analytical framework; (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history and geography, and (5) teachers, teacher education and teaching methods. The next subchapter will focus on the research objective and research questions of the thesis.

1.3.Research Objective and Research question

The overall aim of this research is to get a deeper understanding of the relationship between educational system known as "two schools under one roof" and the sustainability of the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to achieve my aim following question have been developed.

1. *What role do educational processes at secondary school level in "two schools under one roof" system play for lasting peace consolidation in BiH?*

Research will be guided by following sub questions:

2. *How are curriculum, language, religion and national subjects expressed and taught in MSS "Travnik" and KSC "Petar Barbaric"?*
3. *What is the role of teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods in these schools?*

1.4 Methodology

In order to answer previously the presented question, abductive qualitative field study will be conducted and necessary data will be collected through the semi-structured interviews and relevant existing documents. The reason why the qualitative method was chosen is due to its characteristic of being able to get more specific and deeper understanding of the research topic, and we are not interested in collecting data in the form of numbers, that is characteristics of quantitative research, but in the forms of the words (Bryman 2016). Since the main question of this research is concerned with the processes of education and the processes cannot be described with numbers qualitative method is more fitting. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with teachers, students, and parents of both parts of the school. The interviews will

provide information about curriculum, attitudes towards this type of educational system as well as towards neighbouring school staff and students.

1.5 Analytical framework

As previously stated the research is of abductive nature thus the analytical framework is an important part of the research. The second section will outline the analytical framework that will be used to analyse main findings. The analytical framework chosen for this research is framework developed by scholars Smith and Vaux (2003), that explains the relationship between education and likelihood that it will contribute to the tensions and outbreak of conflict. This analytical framework is chosen because it focuses on five crucial processes of education (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history and geography, and (5) teachers, teacher education and teaching methods. By focusing on all of these five processes rather than only one the more holistic picture of the educational system and teaching will be provided.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This paper will be divided into 7 chapters.

The first chapter will firstly present a broader picture of ethnic division in BiH and its implications on education. Introduction will also provide subchapters on research problem and its relevance as well as research objectives and questions. Additionally, it will give a brief overview of the analytical framework and methodology of the thesis.

When it comes to the second chapter, the main domain of it will be a literature review. This chapter will provide information about what has been written on this topic so far. Various academic work that contributed to the discussion will be cited.

Analytical framework will be a focus of the third chapter. In the fourth chapter, methodology will be presented more in depth. It will discuss the type of data collecting, sampling, ethical considerations and limitations and delimitations.

Fifth chapter will contain findings and analysis of the findings will be provided in the sixth chapter. Lastly, thesis will be wrapped up in the seventh chapter with conclusion that will contain summary of the key points.

2. Literature review

This chapter will provide an overview of what has been already written about this subject.. Lastly, relevant existing literature on the topic "two schools under one roof" in BiH will be presented. A literature review is an important aspect in conducting the research since it does not only gives background information about the topic but it also gives a picture about what is not known and thus justify research problem and research relevance (Bryman 2016).

When it comes to the topic of education and its role in the conflicts Lynn Davies (2010) contributed to the discussion with her article *The different faces of Education in Conflict* where she gives an overview of current understandings of the relationship between education and conflict. She does this by examining how education can be a unifying force or a cause of violent disagreement. She aims to answer whether education can help to transform a situation or culture of conflict by looking at the diverse ways education is positioned in conflict, beginning with the bad news before moving on to better news. Findings suggest that for schools to have any effect on conflict they have to stop reinforcing elements in society that are part of the cause of conflict.

With their article *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* Bush and Saltarelli (2010) contributed to the discussion of the relationship between education and conflict. Authors suggest that education can have both positive and negative impact based on how education is transmitted. They recognize seven negative faces of education, from distribution and denial of using education as a weapon to manipulating textbooks, and eight positive faces such as education and the desegregation of the mind and linguistic tolerance. Additionally, they outline the importance of ethnicity in the contemporary world and how it can influence education. This article gives comprehensive a picture of how education and ethnicity can be used as a weapon to spread the political agenda that could undermine the peace and lead to conflict.

Tolomelli (2015) contributed to the discussion of "two schools under one roof" by answering following questions:

Is school a ground of discrimination?

Have political and religious authorities the right to intervene in the education policies?

What role does education hold within the ethnic conflicts?

In his article *"Two schools under one roof": The role of education in the reconciliation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina* Tolomelli (2015) points out that even though various courts have ruled that this type of educational organization is indeed discriminatory there have been little to none efforts from the local governments to implement rulings and abolish this practice. This publication is important for this research because it gives an explanation why there is a need to have three different education systems. He cites language, perception of history, and religion as the reasons behind segregation. It also displays how the need for division on "we" and "them" is embodied in the school system where hate speech in textbooks is both subtle and blatant. However, it is not focused on "two schools under one roof" educational system. In addition to that, he gives the example of how education systems differ based on in which entity school is placed. Lastly, this article gives a brief but comprehensive overview of the educational system in Bosnia.

The second scholar who contributed to the discussion within the area of education in Bosnia is Torsti (2009) with her article *Segregated Education and Texts: A challenge to Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.* In her article, she examines the schooling system 12 years after the war with the specific focus on why the efforts of the international community to solve this problem were unsuccessful. She also specifically focuses on how history textbooks could undermine peace in Bosnia. However, her focus is not on "two schools under one roof system" but she draws on the comparison of the historic books used by Serb population and Muslim population. Additionally, she states that the war in BiH continued using education as a mean. Reading this article, the reader gets the picture of how teaching history can cause further division in the society and why the international efforts to stop this had little to no effect (Torsti 2009)

Kovac et al., (2017), contribute to the debate of "two schools under one roof" by focusing on the interaction between teachers who work in this type of schools and how each group constructs and negotiates its ethnic identity through the education. This article gives more in-depth and subjective view of the issue and also briefly looks if the teachers believe that one school system is possible to construct. Findings suggest that teacher who identifies themselves as Bosnians have the bigger wish and need for more interaction between two schools but they do not have high hopes for that while Croatian teacher are happy with the situation as it is and do not feel the need to change anything. Additionally, authors stress language as one of the key

aspects of ethnic identity. Lastly, they point out that their findings indicate that the two-school solution endangers unified identity and it is against a inclusion of all people and multicultural society. Also, they hint that it is not farfetched to believe that this type of educational system could bring the armed conflicts to this region (Kovac et al., 2017).

3. Analytical framework

This chapter will present analytical framework that will be used for analysing findings. In their paper *Education, Conflict and International Development,* Smith and Vaux (2003) attempt to explain and present various ways the education and conflict are interlinked. Smith and Vaux (2003) argue that state education can add to tensions within borders and even fuel conflict in various ways, however, they recognize five processes of education that have different implications for the likelihood of conflict within the broader society. These are (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history and geography, and (5) teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods. This framework is chosen above others due to its coverage and because it takes into account different spheres of education. Additionally, this framework has not been used for in-depth case study of the "two schools under one roof".

3.1 The curriculum

It is not surprising that curriculum is perceived as the main aspect of the education that can increase tensions and fuel the conflict since it is the main instrument for the organization of teaching and learning in formal education. Knowledge-based concepts of curriculum could be seen as a challenge to peace since it becomes a powerful tool to teach and promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions without leaving the space to question or challenge curriculum. What is meant by the knowledge-based concept of curriculum is the type of curriculum characterized by overcrowded syllabuses that only state facts and information that needs to be learnt. However, this type of curriculum ignores so-called "learning outcomes". Learning outcomes refer not only to factual knowledge but also skills, attitudes and values (Smith and Vaux 2003).

Nevertheless, Smith and Vaux (2003:29) argue that even though all aspects of the curriculum are valuable there are three particular aspects of it that may contribute towards or mitigate conflicts and these are:

- "The way in which the curriculum deals with identity issues such as language, religion and culture;
- The role of traditional subject areas such as the arts, music, literature, history and geography;
- 'New' or innovative areas with descriptive labels that claim a preventative role and seek a place within the curriculum"

3.2 Language

The second important aspect of education in relation to the onset of the conflict is language. One of the ways the language is related to education and the conflict is when it comes highly politicised used to argue for separate schools. Consequently, the division that is created by separated schools can lead to divisions within the wider society and even become a focal point for conflict. Further on, Smith and Vaux (2003) argue that the role and status of languages within the curriculum may also create tensions. This is the most visible in the cases where there are not only one "national" or "official" language but few "local" or "mother tongue" languages. This leads to struggle "between the need for a common language to promote national unity and a language policy for education that reflects the diversity that exists within most societies" (Smith and Vaux 2003:29). Therefore, it becomes easier to "mobilise political dissention around the denial of linguistic rights" (Smith and Vox 2003:29) . It is not only what language is used in education that can lead to conflict but also vocabulary that is used regardless of if it is local, national, or international language. Used vocabulary has a power "to convey, in an implicit way, highly politicised messages". The terms that are used during the lectures are especially important "in situations of tension between different groups and where conflict exists". Smith and Vaux (2003:29) suggest that

"Descriptions of people, places and events will carry different connotations depending on whether the words chosen refer to, for example, 'rebels', 'freedom fighters' or 'terrorists' and such language will help construct a child's developing view of reality."

Additionally, used language should encourage a sense of self-respect and pride in one's heritage. However, there is a challenge when it comes to doing this without denigrating others. Consequently, educators are accountable for the implicit messages conveyed by the language they use. Thus, the language that is used in education can provide students with the "linguistic

tools that develop a predisposition towards either inflaming or resolving conflict" (Smith and Vaux 2003:29).

3.3 Religion

The third aspect of education that could be linked to the conflict is religion. Smith and Vaux (2003:30) note that "identity issues are also reflected in the relationship between religion and schooling". Further on "religious identity transcends national boundaries and may command a loyalty that is set above other aspects of identity" (Smith and Vaux 2003:30). It is simplistic to suggest that the existence of faith-based schools leads to separatist thinking or intolerance, but arguments for secular education or multi-faith schools usually emphasise how church involvement in education can be a source of tension. The problem with segregated schools is that it can intensify belonging to those who share the same religion while seeing others as strangers. Instructing children in the practices of their faith is also one of the controversies related to religion and schooling since pupils should have right to choose themselves if they want to practice it or not and it should not be pushed to them by the curriculum. Lastly, "church influence in the appointment of teachers and rights of access to pupils; the extent to which school values have a particular faith base and the influence that these might have on, for example, school holidays, assemblies, celebration of religious festivals and display of religious symbols or icons within the school" can be seen as controversial (Smith and Vaux 2003:30).

3.4 Culture, history, and geography

Culture, history, and geography are the fourth aspect that could be lead to increased violence and conflict. This subject are in some countries referred to as "national subjects" because they are "seen as an important way of consolidating a common sense of national identity" (Smith and Vaux 2003:31). However, if the cultural heritage and traditions in the curriculum are representing only the majority group there is the potential for conflict to arise. History is especially important in "contested societies and stands out as an area of the curriculum particularly open to charges of bias and prejudice" (Smith and Vaux 2003:31). To avoid this the syllabus of history should not be based on a single text that tells the national story, often to the detriment of other peoples and nations. Further on, teaching political geography can have similar issues if the descriptive terms carry political bias or if there is an emphasis on boundaries and territory which could contribute towards an ethnocentric view of the world.

3.5 Teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods

And the last aspect of education that is crucial to examine when looking at the relationship between education and conflict is pedagogy used during teaching. The role of teachers is important to be taken into account when making reform strategy in order to have education as a positive force which could ameliorate or avert conflict. However, if this aspect of education is ignored, Smith and Vaux argue that it "may undermine a crucial aspect of social cohesion and add to tensions that could lead to conflict" (Smith and Vaux 2003:33). Beside the factors that will affect morale and motivation such as entry qualifications, rates of pay and terms and conditions of employment, it is important to have conflict-sensitive recruitment and deployment policies. This means that there needs to be a positive ratio of male and female teachers from different ethnic groups as well as the importance of having teachers who can provide education to students in their first language. Additionally, it is important to have teachers who are trained in the basics of human rights education. Lastly, teachers should be able to address controversial issues in society to develop critical thinking (Smith and Vaux 2003).

4. Methodology

This chapter will present and justify methodological approach of conducting this research. It is important to know how the research was conducted, how the data was gathered and analysed in order to achieve credibility and validity of the research. The first subchapter will present the chosen research approach and methodological choice while the second subchapter will focus on research design. Data gathering will be discussed in the third subchapter.

4.1 Research approach and methodological choice

When we talk about methodology we talk about the way in which we approach problems and seek answers. Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault, (2015:3) notes that in the "social sciences the term applies to how research is conducted". Additionally, they (2015) note that the decision behind which methodology will be used for conducting research is usually shaped and influenced by our assumptions, purposes, and interests. The chosen methodology for this research is qualitative study with an abductive approach which through the case study will examine how the important processes of education and educational policies affect the attitude and behaviours of pupils and teachers towards other ethnic groups in the country and how this in its turn can affect the stability and duration of the peace.

In this research, qualitative method was chosen over the quantitative because in order to answer the research question the role of education need to be described and explained and this cannot be done with quantitative data. In the book *Research in Social Science* Bryman (2016:374) states that *qualitative research* is "a research that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. Similarly, However, Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault, (2015) argue that qualitative research is interested in descriptive data in the form of the words, written and spoken, and observable behaviour. Thus, in order to explain processes of education words need to be used and not numbers. Additionally, Bryman (2016:375) argues that qualitative research is a more suitable strategy to use when trying to conduct a deeper analysis of certain phenomena. Another characteristic of qualitative research is that it is "broadly inductivist, constructivist, and interpretivist" (Bryman, 2016:374).

Abductive approach was chosen for this thesis since the main aim is to establish an understanding of the influence of educational processes and educational policies on the sustainability of the peace and abductive approach can assist in translating the language,

meanings, and perspectives of the data to reach a theoretical understanding. This means that the analytical framework was used to make sense of gathered qualitative data. Since this research does not aim to test any hypothesis or produce new theory, the abductive approach is the most convincing approach to use. Abduction shares strong ties with induction, but abduction puts more focus on perspectives and meanings of the social world (Bryman 2016).

4.2 Research design

When it comes to research designs, Bryman (2016) discusses five different types that are mostly used in social research; experimental design, cross-sectional or survey design, longitudinal design, case study design, and comparative design. For the purpose of this research case study design and comparative design have been chosen. The reason why case study is chosen for this research is that it allows a detailed analysis of one specific case (Bryman 2016:60). MSS "Travnik" and KSC "Petar Barbaric" are chosen as the case studies. The main criterion used when choosing cases was that they have to operate according to two different curriculums but share the same building, to have the "two schools under one roof" system. Additionally, a secondary level of schooling was chosen as another criterion in order to be able to interview students who are 18 years old or older. A decision was made to focus only on general secondary education, that is education that in BiH lasts for 4 years and after successfully completing general secondary education, in BiH referred to as Gymnasium, students have the possibility of continuing education at tertiary level. The vocational secondary was not chosen because it lasts for 3 years and it does not give the possibility to enrol at university. Additionally, national subjects are given more time at general secondary education while vocational secondary education base its curriculum around practical skills that are relevant for one profession, for example, hairdresser or mechanic. Nevertheless, it is important to note that general secondary education can have different programs within its system, such as philological gymnasium, maths-IT gymnasium, medical gymnasium, language gymnasium and more. Regardless of program students are eligible to continue their studies at higher education after secondary education.

MSS "Travnik" and KSC "Petar Barbaric" were seen as suitable for this research as they are located in the same building but have different entrances and curriculum, hence they operate under "two schools under one roof" system. MSS "Travnik" follows Bosnian curriculum and is a state run school (EU monitoring 2015). Additionally, MSS "Travnik" provides four years of general secondary education and currently it offers gymnasium with four different programs

general gymnasium, philological gymnasium and maths-IT gymnasium, as well as medical gymnasium. Students of all four programs graduate from the same school, MSS “Travnik” but from different programs. Beside the regular lectures, students are encouraged to participate in extracurricular activities such as arts, science and sports in order to express their creativity and abilities (MSS “Travnik” 2019).

KSC “Petar Barbaric” which shares building with MSS “Travnik” is run by church and follows Croatian curriculum. KSC “Petar Barbaric” offers both primary and general secondary education. When it comes to general secondary education, there are currently 6 different programs; language, social subjects, science, maths and physics gymnasium, sports, and arts gymnasium (KSC “Petar Barbaric” 2019). Similarly to neighbouring school MSS “Travnik”, all students enrolled in any program of general secondary education can continue with higher education.

It is important to note that there are many schools that could fit previously presented criteria but MSS “Travnik” and KSC “Petar Barbaric” are also chosen because it is one of the only schools that has a fence between playground in order to minimize any interaction between students. The differences of the schools are even visible in the building where KSC “Petar Barbaric” is restored while the MSS “Travnik” is not. These two schools have become a symbol of “two schools under one roof” phenomenon.

This research has the comparative design in the sense that it examines two schools with more or less identical methods (Bryman 2016). Bryman argues that comparative design “embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations” (Bryman 2016:64-65). In this research, by comparing the educational processes of two schools their impacts on students will be easier to spot and understand.

Next subchapter will present how the data was gathered.

4.3 Data collection

In order to answer the research question, relevant data had to be collected. There is a number of different ways to gather data including gathering primary data through interviews, observations, surveys and similar and secondary data using already existing material such as articles, reports, documentaries and more. For the purpose of this research, interviews were used to collect primary data. Primary data was backed up by the usage of secondary data in the form of articles, reports and documentaries.

4.3.1 Interviews

As previously mentioned interviews were used to collect primary data. According to Bryman "the interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research" (2016:466). Two of the most common types of interviews in qualitative research are unstructured and semi-structured interviews. In this research, semi-structured interviews were used. What is meant by semi-structured interviews is that prior to conducting interviews a list of specific questions had been made. However, the questions are not one-ended which gives more freedom to interviewees to answer them in the way that they prefer. Additionally, questions might not be asked in the same order and some questions might be added during the interview if deemed necessary (Bryman 2016).

Semi-structured interviews were chosen over structured in order to not limit interviewees and thus miss on maybe important information that is not covered by the questionnaire. On the other hand, the decision was made to not do unstructured interviews since there is necessary data that needs to be collected to answer the question and achieve the objective. By doing the unstructured interviews there is a risk of having access to data that is not relevant while the necessary data can be lacking. By choosing semi-structured interviews one can have more specific questions but also leave the space for additional remarks and knowledge.

Interviews were conducted with three groups of people; students of both schools, parents, and teachers. However, it is important to note that interviewed teachers are not employed in any of the two schools. Unfortunately, none of the employed teachers wanted to participate as they deemed it to be insensitive to the schools. Nevertheless, I decided to proceed with interviewing other teachers who are of relevance for this topic as they have valuable knowledge about for example teaching of national subjects and how these subjects are taught in universities. It is

important to note that all participants are over 18 years and have willingly accepted to participate. In total 10 interviews have been conducted, two with parents, six with students, and two with teachers. Both parents are parents of students who attend MSS "Travnik" and four out of six interviewed students also attend MSS "Travnik" while remaining two attend KSC "Travnik". All interviews were conducted in Bosnian/Croatian language which are native languages of both author and interviewees.

Snowball sampling was used as a technique in which suitable people were sampled. What is meant by snowball sampling is that one person that was relevant for the research was sampled and that person purposed other participants that were relevant for the research (Bryman 2016). Respective schools were approached in order to get help with getting in touch with students and staff but no help was provided by them. Fortunately, both schools have their own Facebook pages where it was easier to get in touch with students. One student was willing to participate and she further on purposed another student. Parents were sampled through the students.

All interviews were conducted online, either via skype or in written form via e-mail or social media such as Facebook. Interviewees were given three options to choose from when it comes to conducting interviews, either face to face or online via skype or written form. Majority of the participant decided to do in written form because it would give them time to think about answers and they could do it in the time frame and tact that works for them. Nevertheless, all participants were encouraged to answer as thoroughly as possible. Questions for students differed from the questions for teachers, and questions for parents differed from both questions for students and teachers. Questionnaires for all three groups will be attached in Appendix 1.

4.4 Ethical consideration

When it comes to ethical considerations it is important to note that since the interviews will be conducted there are some important ethical aspects to be considered. There are four ethical principles that were considered. Firstly, it was important to make sure that none of the participants will be harmed in any shape, type or form for participating. To protect participants from any type of consequences they will be anonymised. Secondly, all participants will be asked to give me permission to publish everything they say during the interviews in order to avoid the lack of informed consent. The emphasis is on the word "everything" and the participants will be encouraged to only share information that they feel comfortable with being published in my research thesis. Thirdly, if any of the participants deny answering on any of

the questions due to different reasons they will not be pushed to do so. In order to avoid deception, all interviewees will be, prior to interviewing, informed of the purpose of interviews and will be asked to voluntarily participate. None of the participants will be rewarded for participation in any shape or form.

Additionally, when it comes to secondary sources, such as documentaries, reports and articles, that will be used there are some ethical consideration to be taken. Firstly, it is important to be impartial and use sources written by both ethnic groups involved. Further on, since some used sources are written on Bosnian and Croatian language it is important to properly cite and quote them and not only directly translate them and use as my own.

4.5 Limitations and delimitations

Since I originally come from BiH, my name comes with certain connotations. When I say my name interviewees can directly know what ethnic group I belong to, regardless of my own perception whether I myself see me as a part of the said group. Thus, they can feel uncomfortable to share some information that can be perceived as sensitive or condescending. However, all participants were encouraged to share any information, regardless of its nature, and that they will not be judged in any form. Additionally, all participants were offered to be provided with the finished product of this research to ensure that their words were not twisted or misinterpreted. They were made aware that the purpose of the research is not to show that one school is better than the other or that one people is better than the other but to show how the schools differ or even, that they do not differ massively.

I delimited myself only to schools that practice this type of segregation and not schools that are ethnically mixed with one curriculum since there have not been reports that this type of schooling is problem. The reason why I delimited myself to these two particular schools is because they are known as the most rigorous and the most negative to the merging schools. Additionally, it is one of the only schools that put the fence between playgrounds to even further minimize the contact between pupils.

5. Findings

This chapter will present main findings of the five educational processes (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history and geography, and (5) teachers, teacher education and teaching methods. Findings were acquired through the previously mentioned qualitative methods and peer-reviewed secondary sources. Additionally, documentaries done in Travnik in earlier presented schools were utilised. This chapter will be divided into five subchapters with each subchapter presenting one of the five educational processes.

5.1 Curriculum

One of the main differences between curriculums in these two schools is that MSS "Travnik" follows BiH curriculum that is approved and formed by Bosnian scholars and politicians within the FBiH educational system while KSC "Petar Barbaric" follows Croatian curriculum that is also used in Croatia. Thus, the curriculum aims more attention to one or another national group. This is especially visible when it comes to national subjects, for instance, history curriculum in KSC "Petar Barbaric" focuses on events that are important for Croatian state, culture, religion and heritage while MSS "Travnik" focuses on Bosnian. This will be further developed in subchapter four. According to the official curriculum statement of the MSS "Travnik" the main aim of the curriculum is "to provide a basis for optimal development of students while still respecting individual differences" (MSS "Travnik" 2019). Additionally, it is stated that the curriculum is created in the way in which students can express and develop their abilities while requiring knowledge and practical skills crucial for life. The emphasis in the official curriculum statement is on, besides the acquiring relevant knowledge and skills, facilitating creative and logical thinking as well as self-learning. Lastly, the curriculum does not only have educational dimension but also individual and societal aspect because it encourages "personality acquisition, acquisition of knowledge, development of ability and sensibility, an affirmation of social values, and development of culture and civilization" (MSS "Travnik" 2019).

However, while interviewing one of the students, who is currently enrolled in the fourth grade of medical gymnasium in MSS "Travnik", it could be seen that there is difference from the official curriculum statement and reality. She stated that *"*Our curriculum is broad and it emphasizes the learning of facts, which from my point of view can be rather excessive and sometimes unimportant, while practical skills are greatly neglected". When asked about the critical thinking and creativity during the lectures she said that little to no space is left for it.

She highlighted that methods are not innovative or interactive and that lectures are often monotone where the teacher is saying facts and students write them down without questioning and discussing. However, she states that there are few teachers who are more open to discussion and analysing the content. Lastly, she states that the curriculum does not deal with recent history in an adequate way and the war in Bosnia is only briefly touched upon in maximum of two lectures for the whole four years of education. Religion is not seen as important aspects in education and it is discussed only on religion lectures which are only once a week.

Another student, who is enrolled in the last year of philological gymnasium gave a similar answer when asked about the curriculum. According to her curriculum is based on " I talk you write method" which is boring and not motivating. When it comes to national subjects she states that not enough attention is paid to the recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that she still did not have whole lectures on the subject of the war in Bosnia but it is only briefly mentioned during history lectures.

Third participant, a student who is enrolled in the General Gymnasium program, shares identical sentiment as two previous participants. According to her curriculum is "outdated and leave no space for discussion and questions". Further on she states that she often learns facts by heart only to get good grades and forget them soon after without even reflecting over the learnt facts. This is also due to the comprehensive curriculum in all subjects (14 subjects per academic year) and students are expected to be prepared for every subject every day (six subjects per day) which often results in little time to process learned knowledge. Lastly, she states that when it comes to national subjects such as geography and history they learn more about other countries in the world than about BiH and its neighbouring countries. Usually, the knowledge about neighbouring countries is cramped in one lecture. Additionally, the war in BiH is not comprehensively taught in lectures. According to the student, she knows more about the Civil war in the USA than Bosnian war. Religion is an optional subject and is not necessary to have in order to a obtain high school diploma. All students are obligated to take a subject called "Democracy and Human rights" in order to complete their studies and it is offered only in the third year of all programs twice a week.

Parents of the interviewed students have few to none comments about school curriculum. One said, "I do not feel adequate enough to comment on it since I myslef do not have higher education" while one said, "It is state that decides what students study, there is not much parents

can change". Further on, both parents opposed the idea of their children attending schools based on Croatian curriculum, but are not against having one system that is fair for everyone. Additionally, they do not mind if the teachers are not Bosniaks as long as they are fair to students.

When it comes to Croatian curriculum, view of the students differed to an extent. All interviewed students were satisfied with the curriculum and school system which according to them gave them a broad spectrum of knowledge in different subjects. One student said, "I would like if there were more practical lectures, where it is not only about learning facts but learning different skills". The main difference that could be spotted from the interviews is that students of KSC "Petar Barbaric" perceive that their school is encouraging critical thinking. However, the interesting thing was that one student said "in some aspects" but did not further elaborate what is meant by "in some aspects". Nevertheless, even Croatian students believe that it is not enough learnt about other people in the BiH. Lastly, both students expressed that there is no need for the divided school system and that fence is excessive and should be removed.

Comparable findings can be seen in the documentary done on these schools. Students are encouraged to learn facts about different things in all subjects and their knowledge is tested based on how well they memorise this facts. However, they are not encouraged to analyse or question these facts (Saranac 2016). For example, all questions during the classes are factual only during the classes of Bosnian/Croatian language students are encouraged to analyse themes and patterns of two novels.

Additionally findings from already existing researches shows that the concept of curriculum

"through the form of the legitimization of 'knowledge' that is interpreted as scientifically and neutrally, they urge students to adopt views without rethinking which lead to a linguistic, historical and cultural division on an ethnonational basis" (Sadikovic 2012:39)

5.2 Language

When it comes to language findings suggest that it is one of the central aspects that is brought up by those who are in favour of the segregated educational system. Sadikovic (2012) notes that securing the right to education in your own language, freedom of expression in your own language, preservation of your own culture is used as a main argument of a large number of participants of this kind of education: pupils, teachers, managers of such schools, parents of pupils, representatives of education authorities.

Minister of education, science, culture and sports of Sredjnobosanski Canton (SBK) Katica Cerkez (Dnevnik 2018) states that
" We have to give to the pupils and their parents the right to choose and attend schools in the languages that are guaranteed by the DPA and constitution of BiH. As long as in Dayton it stays Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian language schools have the right to carry out teaching in those languages."

Similarly, a student from KSC "Petar Barbaric" in Travnik says
" I do not hang out with the students from MSS "Travnik" here in the neighbouring building, we do not talk and we do not have any contact with them. I do not have any need to hang out or to be friends with them. History is separating us, we are studying more Croatian history. Religion. Language. We are studying Croatian language and they surely do not" (Saranac 2016).

Further on, language, concepts and words that are used during the lectures carry certain connotations. The teacher from the KSC "Petar Barbaric" during his lectures states that there are three constitutive people and that all other that do not identify with one of the three are minorities. However, he goes on to emphasise that one can talk about Bosniaks as a nationality only after 1995 and that before that they were Muslims. He does not carry on with the explanation of why or more about term Bosniaks that has existed in some type of form even before 1995 (Saranac 2016). Also, during the lecture the pattern of using words such as "victim" to describe their people can be seen while more hostile language is when describing other nations. For example, when talking about Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes Serbs are described as "radical" and that they only want "Serbian ideology" where everything is controlled by them (Saranac 2016).

When asked about the language used during the lectures most of the interviewees said that the language is neutral and that they do not have time to reflect too much about it in order to keep up with writing the notes. One said, "Sometimes I am not even aware of the things teachers say because I am too busy writing notes, they could say whatever and I would write it down".

However, when asked if they would attend a school that is taught in Croatian language the answers were negative. The reasoning behind it was that they live in Bosnia and their language is Bosnian. However, they were more keen on the idea to attend the school were Bosnian and Croatian were used interchangeably. Parents of Bosniak students were somewhat more negative towards changing the name of language subject so that it includes both Bosnian and Croatian. One said, "We understand each other perfectly fine regardless of the name of the language, but we live in Bosnia and school's main language should be Bosnian, any other language should be treated as second or modern language". In both curriculums, other two constitutive languages are completely excluded (KSC "Petar Barbaric" 2019, MSS "Travnik" 2019). This is not in compliance with the domestic law since BiH Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in article 7 which states that constitutive languages will be used in all schools.

5.3 Religion

Religion is another crucial aspect brought up when talking about reasons behind the segregated educational system. Parents, teachers, as well as politicians argue, that students have the right to pursue religious education that is in accordance with students religious belief. Thus, school that operates under Croatian curriculum start every school day with the prayer and classes in religion are based around the Catholic religion (Saranac 2016). Students who follow Bosnian curriculum are not obligated by school to perform prayer in the school premises. Additionally, it is not even one of mandatory subjects in the school and it is up to the students to decide whether they want to take this subject. However, besides classes in religion students have a class called "history of religion, ethics and moral" in the third year of high school education where students have opportunity to learn about other religions and their customs (MSS "Travnik" 2019).

When asked about religion, four out of the four interviewees from the Bosnian part of the school said that it is not an important aspect in their educational system even though they all

attended it. A similar answer was given by students who attend KSC “Petar Barbaric”, despite the involvement of the church. Further on, they all stated that religion is only discussed during the lectures of religion and not outside of it.

When asked about the attendance of lectures on Friday during the Friday prayer, in Bosnian part of the school, the answers slightly differed. Students from general gymnasium said that if they decide to attend it and miss the lectures they will get marked for invalid non-attendance. However, students from the other programs stated that it is up to the teacher to decide if it is a valid reason for non-attendance or not. However, all students were united in that it is not common practice to miss school in order to go to Friday prayer. When it comes to religious holidays, all teachers and students are free from school during the Muslim major holidays for two-three days while only the students who celebrate other religious holidays (Christmas and Easter) are allowed valid non-attendance during these times. The situation is similar in the Croatian part of the school where students are free from school during the Catholic holidays.

Even though religion is, as stated above, one of the arguments usually used for separated education in Travnik it is one of the only things that brings pupils from two ethnic groups together. Namely, every December pupils from both parts of the school get together to play “Christmas football match”. This the only time pupils from both parts of the school have any interaction whatsoever, during the school hours. However, even during this time when they get together, they play against each other (Saranac 2016).

Additionally, it is not uncommon for Croatian part of the school to have a word Catholic in the name of the school. This directly means that school is grounded on Catholic beliefs and morals. In this case, school is also run and founded by the church which can also be seen, by reading the philosophy and history of KSC “Petar Barbaric”. Schools usually have chapels and seminary. Additionally, it is not uncommon for students to perform religious songs (KSC “Travnik” 2019). However, the neighbouring school does not have any visible ties, in the form of the name of the school or rooms that could be used for performing religious acts.

5.4 Culture, history, and geography

According to Croatian Curriculum, the aim of history subject is to give students the knowledge to understand and adopt ethical norms and views on life as well as an understanding of different cultures and ways of living. By looking at the official curriculum for all four years of high school it is easy to spot that themes that are an important part of Croatian history are more prevalent than the history of BiH. The first grade of history is mostly focused on the life and culture of people in prehistoric times. History of the second year of high school is characterized by the history of Croatia from V till the beginning of the XVIII century, including themes such as the Kingdom of Croatia. The region under the Ottoman empire is also discussed with emphasis on the unfair treatment of Turkish authorities towards Christian church. The liberation of the Croatian regions from the Turkish authorities is also discussed in the second grade as well as cultural development in Croatia in XVI and institutions and symbols of Croatian statehood. Croatia and the world in the XVIII and XIX century are the topics covered in the third grade (Szabo n.d). History of BiH in the XVIII century is briefly presented with the focus on the tough position of Catholics and the Catholic church. Lastly, the fourth grade covers XX century and events such as the First and Second World War, Croatia in the time of the Great Depression, Cold War, Croatia in Yugoslavia and Fall of Yugoslavia. What is strikingly visible when looking at the curriculum is that the War in BiH is mentioned as *Serbian aggression in BiH* and what is discussed during this lecture is how it affected Croatia but not effects of it on BiH as a state or other people in BiH. The war in Croatia is characterized as a "war of Great Serbian forces against Croatia" (Szabo n.d). Similar themes are covered at a similar pace in the MSS "Travnik" according to Bosnian Curriculum. However, the emphasis is on BiH state during the history and people living in BiH. For example, during the lectures that cover ruling of the Ottoman Empire the focal point of Bosnian Curriculum is socio-economic development of the state, such as building infrastructures, schools and having strong administration in the state.

When it comes to textbooks findings suggest that the deep national division in BiH is especially visible in the textbooks used for the so-called national subjects. The most visible contrasts are when it comes to the recent history of the region including the fall of Yugoslavia and conflicts which took place after its fall. Findings show that when it comes to the fall of Yugoslavia textbooks have a different outlook on the causes behind the fall but also on the date of when the whole process started (Katz n.d). History textbook approved for the Bosnian curriculum

take death of the Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia's president at the time, as the main event that prompted the fall of Yugoslavia. Additionally, in the chapter "Fall of Yugoslavia", it is implied that Serbia is the main reason behind the fall of the joint state. Following paragraph is taken from the same chapter

(...) While the Croats and Slovenes rightly complained about the Serbian domination, the Serbs, for their part, perceived themselves as the greatest victims of the Tito's regime, as the victims of "the Croatian-Slovenian alliance" that would deny Serbia the rights it could claim. In fact, Tito's federal constitution, which granted sovereignty to the member republics, deprived Serbia of its leading position in the country. It was no longer the only ruling power in the country, but just one among the six equal republics, and not even the richest one. Serbian politicians considered that Serbia was the only republic without full sovereignty over its territory, as its two provinces, Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south, retained autonomy under the federal constitution, and were in effect no longer controlled by the Belgrade government. In addition, the Serbs complained that although the Serbian people suffered more losses during World War II than any other Yugoslav people, it was now reduced to a second-class level. These allegations were not founded in reality, but nevertheless produced a terrible effect. At this point, Slobodan Milošević, leader of the Communist Party of Serbia since 1987, entered the political scene. Aware that socialism was over and that the emerging nationalisms would take its place, he decided to heat up that process. During mass gatherings attended by peasants from across Serbia, he would add fuel to the fire by using the Kosovo issue as a pretext. Thus, in 1989 Serbia abolished Kosovo's autonomy. That marked the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. Serbia's aspiration for dominance within Yugoslavia made the other republics also consider their own separate path into the future" (Sehic and Kucuk-Sorguc 2005:162-163 as cited in (Katz n.d).

When it comes to independence of other states, findings suggest that Bosnian textbook does not pay a lot of attention to this topic and is usually addressed in just one or two sentences. For example, it only mentioned that the armed conflicts took a place in Croatia and Slovenia before their independence but nothing else while Croatian textbooks explain these conflicts more thoroughly (Katz n.d). However, the independence of BiH is covered in the last unite of the Bosnian textbook. What is notable in this unit is that the text starts with the "After that" but it is not explained what is meant with that. Further on text present the referendum for independence and its results, 99% voted for sovereign and independent BiH. Soon after the

referendum, that took a place on 1 March, BiH was internationally recognized and since 7 April 1992 it ceased to be a part of Yugoslavia (Katz n.d).

Croatian textbooks, share similar information but from the Croatian perspective with the emphasis on the units and institution of the Croatian people. However, the Bosnian textbook does not mention any events after the independence and since it is textbook for the fourth, and last, grade of high school, one could assume that it does not cover events that came after the referendum and BiH's recognition, including the war. When it comes to maps Bosnian textbook has only two maps, one of Yugoslavia and one of BiH. Lastly, findings suggest that some important events are not dedicated enough attention and those that are positive for own national history are emphasized (Katz n.d).

When students were asked about lectures on recent history the answers were somewhat similar. There was a common pattern in their answers that it is not talked enough about recent history, especially the war in BiH. One student from MSS "Travnik" stated "We only talked about numbers, when it started, how many casualties were there, when it ended. It just a lot of numbers without a lot of explanation". When asked more about casualties, the same student said that they only talked about Bosniaks casualties. One student, that is enrolled in the philological program of the same school, said that she did not yet have a whole lecture on the war in BiH despite being in the fourth grade. Similar answer was given by two other students who did not talk about the war in BiH at all during their studies. Further on, when asked about the history of other two constitutive people in BiH, all participants answered that it is not discussed often and if discussed it is briefly without a lot of information. All students answered that they do not reflect upon if the history lectures are objective and if the facts that they learn are reliable and credible. However, when asked if their opinions on different topics and people are changed due to history lectures they answered yes. One student said, "Maybe not knowingly and continuously but yes, probably".

Croatian textbook, on the other hand, focuses on the Croatian way to independence. However, when talking about the fall of Yugoslavia, Croatian textbook is to an extent similar to Bosnian in the sense that both textbooks see Serbia as the main reason for the fall of Yugoslavia (Katz n.d).

War in BiH is only, briefly discussed and presented in the Croatian textbook. However, it is still more than in Bosnian one. It is stated that Serb forces are the aggressor who committed genocide on Croats and Muslims in occupied areas. When it comes to the conflicts between Croats and Muslims in BiH they are characterized as short-term armed conflicts without describing them more (Katz n.d)

Even students cite history as one of the reasons why they do not want to befriend pupils from other ethnicities because it differs and during the history classes other ethnicities are presented as enemies of your own ethnicity (Saranac 2016).

One student states that “Peace, love and understanding are not really in the curriculum, everyone wants to tell their own version, we cannot agree on one version of it especially when it comes to the war in Bosnia” (Deutsche Welle 2018).

5.5 Teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods

The last process of education is teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods. One of the biggest patterns that can be seen when looking at employed teachers is that they all belong to one ethnic group. In KSC “Petar Barbic” there is not a single teacher who is not Croat (KSC Travnik 2019). However, in the neighbouring school of 53 employed teachers four are not Bosniaks (MSS Travnik 2019). Additionally, findings show that more females are employed in the educational sector than males (KSC Travnik 2019, MSS Travnik 2019). Many teachers expressed their reluctance to not only merging schools and having one curriculum but also to any interaction and collaboration with the teachers from neighbouring schools (Kovač et al., 2017). Additionally, during their higher education teachers do not have a mandatory examination on human rights. Teaching methods are considered non-modern with teachers only listing facts to students who are writing it down. There is little to none interaction between pupils and teachers during the lectures. Additionally, teachers do not use various methods of learning out that encourage critical thinking but they rely on old methods that are based on fact telling (Saranac 2016).

One of the history teachers that was interviewed stated that

“It is hard to teach about recent history, not only in high schools but also to university students who study history. When it comes to the recent events, such as fall of Yugoslavia, war in BiH and region, they are usually presented shortly but also from the national perspective. How can

I teach my students more if I, myself, after three years of university studies do not know more than few numbers and dates."

Another teacher said, "History should not be tailored to a certain person, group of people or nationality. History needs to be explored with as little prejudice as possible, and objectively presents events from the past. He added "anything else is just political question".

6. Analysis

As stated in the subchapter *Structure of thesis* this chapter will analyse educational processes and how they influence and relate to the sustainability of the peace in the case study of "two schools under one roof" educational system in BiH. The analytical framework that will be used for analysis is the one developed by Smith and Vux (2003) that stress the importance of (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history, and geography, (5) teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods in shaping the attitudes of students towards other ethnic groups. Analysis of each process will be presented in separated subchapters.

6.1 Curriculum

As the findings suggest, despite official statement on curriculum that encourages to have broad perspective and critical thinking, curriculum that is used in the teaching and learning process of students emphasises and identifies cultural events and values of one group while majorly or completely ignoring those of other groups which leads to more ethnocentric attitudes of the pupils and further ethnic divisions in BiH. The curriculum is very much knowledge based which means that students are encouraged to learn facts presented in the textbooks, that usually also give national story and describe events only from their side, and given by teachers, who are all of the same ethnicity as students, without encouraging students to question or analyse these facts from other standpoints. Further on, due to an extensive number of lectures, students do not have time to process learned information and question them, instead, they automatically take them as a factual. As a result of this teaching and learning method students adopt views and ideas without questioning and rethinking which lead to a linguistic, historical and cultural division on an ethnonational basis. This type of knowledge-based curriculum is, according to Smith and Vaux, one of the major ways education can increase tensions and fuel the conflict. In this case, in order to get good grade, students learn things by their heart without questioning whether it is true or not. This way they adopt views on people and event without being conscious about it.

Additionally, the curriculum used during the history classes is based only on the history of the ethnicity of the students and ignores other parts of history that are not seen as important for their ethnicity. Students do not learn enough about other constitutive people of BiH and thus, it is easier to see them as strangers and further push for ethnocentric view. The only classes where students are encouraged to analyse is during language literature classes when reading

novels. However, novels that students have to read are chosen by teachers and they usually bring up and present historical events or themes that emphasize national belonging to one group. Due to this, students learn only about "their" history and language while not knowing anything about the history of the country they live in and people they share cities and even school with. It leads to thinking that "we" are not like "them" and we cannot be friends. Recent history of BiH and region is not discussed enough and the lectures on these topics are usually based on numbers, such as dates and number of casualties. Due to this, students get their knowledge on these matters outside the school realm which can be highly subjective and factually not correct. Lastly, the curriculum is not often updated and it follows old patterns. However, the will for having one school and an educational system that will be fair for all people is visible and existing in all students, even parents and teachers.

Thus, to summarize, currently existing curriculum, according to Smith and Vaux, can likely be problem for sustainability of the peace in BiH since it aims to push one sided knowledge to pupils without leaving the space for questioning or analysing said knowledge from different standpoints. Additionally, "national subjects" are used to further division by colouring other sides as enemies and highlighting struggles of own people to set emotional boundaries between different groups. Curriculum push forward culture, language and religion that is characteristic for the ethnicity of students. Thus, it does not adequately deal with identity issues such as language, religion and cultures. There are no new or innovative areas within education that seek to play a preventative role.

6.2 Language

When talking about language in educational setting findings show that it is one of the most politicised aspects, not only in the educational system in BiH but overall, and it is used to argue for separate schools. One of the major arguments for "two schools under one roof" is that all students have the right to be taught all subjects in their national language. DPA is often brought up to legitimize the existence of separated educational system since in the DPA is stated that three official languages of BiH are Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian language. Thus, according to Smith and Vaux the division that is created by separated schools can lead to divisions within the wider society and even become a focal point for conflict. The division is even more evident when pupils themselves recognize language as one of the reasons why they do not feel the need to interact with students who do not share the same language even though they could understanding each other perfectly fine when each talks in their own national language.

However, it is not only what language is used for teaching that can negatively affect peace but also the vocabulary and words used during lectures. How teachers describe other ethnic groups as well as events affects the perception of pupils of said events and groups. Findings show that vocabulary used during lectures usually portrays their group as victims while other are negatively described and it usually highlights the negative doings of other groups. This leads to bigger division in society because students do not want to interact with other groups whose people did wrong to their people. It accentuates differences between groups while completely ignoring similarities. Additionally, findings show that teachers have a tendency to not further on explain terms that concerns nationality and religion but only briefly mention them to highlight other points. This can lead to pupils using terms, in this case Muslim and Bosniaks, interchangeable without actually knowing the connotation and meaning behind these terms. Additionally, describing Serbs as a radical and implying that they still fight for "Serbian ideology" has stronger connotation than just stating that power was centralised. One of the patterns that could be noticed is that students from both schools use "we" and "them" when talking about each other which furthers division between ethnic groups.

From this, it can be concluded that the argument of having separated education is often, if not always backed up by the right to be taught in own national language. This learns students that we cannot cooperate and "live" together because we have different languages which further decrease interaction between pupils even outside the school. Smith and Vaux highlight this as a potential trigger for conflict. Additionally, the vocabulary used during lectures helps construct a student's developing view of reality in a way where other groups are seen as threat and enemies. Further on, teachers do not put enough time on explaining each term they used but leave it to students to interpret it on their own. Lastly, all this gives more tools for inflaming tensions that can lastly erupt in conflict.

6.3 Religion

Religion is the third important process of education that can either have a negative or positive impact on peace. When analysing findings presented in the previous chapter, it can be seen that in some cases it can have a somewhat positive effect by uniting students of different religious belief in the name of holiday spirits. Similarly to language, it is used as an argument for division and separation in the educational system. Thus, according to Smith and Vaux it can be seen as a problem for peace. It sends message to pupils that due to religious differences they need to be separated and not interact with each other. Further on, even though it is not uncommon for

schools to have their own chapels and seminary for praying and performing other religious acts there is no information if the curriculum, teaching, and learning are affected by the church or if the church is involved in any of the previously stated.

From this, it can be concluded that in the case of "two schools under one roof" religion can be perceived as having a negative impact on peace because it urges for division between students of different religious beliefs. Additionally, students have the possibility to perform religious acts during certain hours and get classes in religion that are in accordance with their religion. However, there is information about whether the Church has any say in the curriculum, employment process and school holidays, assemblies, the celebration of religious festivals and display of religious symbols or icons within the school. In that regard, it cannot be assumed that "two schools under one roof" has a negative impact on the durability of the peace in BiH.

6.4 Culture, history, and geography

Regarding the national subjects, findings indicate that these subjects are taught from textbooks that are often one-sided and that leave little to none space for culture, history, and geography of other groups in the country. If pupils who live in the same country and share to an extent similar history are thought two completely different histories, pupils who follow Croatian curriculum learn about events that are of more significance for Croatian people and students that follow Bosnian curriculum are taught about history and events that are more important for their people, it will not consolidate a common sense of national identity but it further on divides students. In addition to that, findings show that teachers sometimes bring their own personal interpretations of the events from recent history or their own perception and views on said events. This can lead to bias and prejudice which, as Smith and Vaux argue can have a negative impact on peace. If students are only taught about wrong-doings of their neighbours without further explanation of events it can lead to the permanent perception that other constitutive people are, and always been, enemies. This can negatively affect the interaction of the groups and encourage division. Additionally, current history of BiH and region is not enough paid attention to which means that the students are not taught about important events that led to the state being what it is today.

From this, it can be concluded that curriculum and teaching national subjects such as culture, geography, and history in the cases of "two schools under one roof" educational system can have a rather negative effect on peace and fuel the conflict because textbook used are one-sided

and they promote the national story. Additionally, teachers make the situation even more tricky by using their own assumptions and perception of history and presenting them as facts which leads to bias and prejudice.

6.5 Teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods

And the last process that was presented in chapter *Finding* and that will be analysed is teachers, teacher education, and teaching methods. Here findings suggest that schools usually employ teachers that share the same ethnicity as the students. However, this means that the students get teachers who can teach them in their first language which, according to Smith and Vaux, is positive. Further on, the ratio of male and female teachers is not positive and it is mostly females who work in the schools. This leads to conflict-sensitive recruitment and deployment policies. Pupils are exposed only to teachers who share the same ethnicity and they do not learn how to interact with people who have a different ethnic or religious background. The fact that teachers themselves refuse and protest the idea of having one school for all pupils that would be sensitive and aware of all groups can make one wonder if those teachers are capable of teaching their students about acceptance of other groups. Additionally, teaching methods are not up to date and they are based on fact telling and writing down notes which leaves little to no space for interaction between students.

When it comes to teachers and teaching methods it can be concluded that current teaching methods and teachers are not inclusive and sensitive of other groups which further on gets forwarded to pupils who also foster similar attitudes and opinions about other groups. This leads to even more division within society which can ultimately undermine the sustainability of the peace and even lead to conflict.

Conclusively, by summarizing findings for all five processes, it can be concluded that educational processes at secondary level in “two schools under one roof” systems play a negative role for lasting peace consolidation in BiH by separating students based on ethnicity/religion and creating further division in society by using “we” and “them” narrative within educational processes. According to these five educational processes, “two schools under one roof” systems do not promote social cohesion and multicultural state but focuses on the ethnic group that is of more importance to them which can undermine the sense of belonging to the state, BiH.

7. Conclusion

War that took place in BiH between 1992 and 1995 have left considerable marks and the effects and aftermath of it can still be seen 25 years later. Even though DPA, that stopped the fighting in the country, is known as one of the few peace agreements with comprehensive chapter on human rights and discrimination reports show that, unfortunately, division and discrimination on ethnic basis is commonplace in the country. Educational system is one of the sectors that has been majorly affected by not only war but also accords of DPA that geographically divided country along the ethnic lines and left decision making on local level. This is the most visible in cases of "two schools under one roof" educational system where students from different ethnicities go to same school but attend two different curriculum system based on their ethnicities. The aim of this research was to examine if and how the five important processes of education (1) curriculum, (2) language, (3) religion, (4) culture, history and geography, and (5) teachers, teacher education and teaching methods, contribute to students perception of others. Findings show that language, religion, and often history are used as arguments for legitimizing the existence of this type of educational system. Curriculum is often "knowledge based" which means that pupils are encouraged to learn factual knowledge without letting them to analyse and question it. Additionally, findings suggest that pupils who attend this type of educational system are exposed only to teachings that are of the interest of their own ethnicity while other groups in the country are not represented or if represented they are coloured as enemies. Religion is another aspect of this type of educational system that might undermine the peace in BiH as it divides pupils on religious bases and it sends message that just because we do not have the same religion it means that we are not the same and thus should be in separated parts of the building. Further on, findings show that "national subjects" often tell only one side of the party and curriculum does not leave much space for analysing or questioning knowledge, especially in these subjects. Teaching of history is sometimes weakened by personal interpretations of teachers that teach it which leaves space for bias and prejudice. This leads to conclusion that teaching methods are flawed and contribute to further rift in the society. Further on, employment in these schools is usually based around ethnicity which means that employment process is not conflict sensitive. By analysing the findings through the analytical framework developed by Smith and Vaux it can be concluded that all of the five aspect carry threat for further division in BiH to some extent. Unfortunately, the end of this educational practice is not to be seen in foreseeable future due to lack of engagement of local and national decision-makers.

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9. Appendix 1

Questionnaire guide for students

1. What do you think about educational system in general?
2. Do you like your school? What are you the most/least favourite things about your school?
3. What is your opinion on curriculum? Does it leave space for critical thinking, creativity and discussion? How does the curriculum deal with the subjects such as language, religion, and culture?
4. What do you think about vocabulary of teachers used during the lectures, is it neutral? How do teachers describe and talk about other constitutive people in the country?
5. What role does the religion have in education? Are any religious ideologies present in any shape or form in other classes beside religion? Do you have classes during the national and religious holidays?
6. How do the "national subjects" deal with recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Do you learn about history, culture and art of other constitutive people?
7. Do you think that teacher in an adequate way teach about controversial topics such as history and war?
8. Do you feel that there is a need for "two schools under one roof system"?

Questionnaire guide for parents

1. Do you consider that the educational system in Bosnia is good and do you think that your child has quality education with a good curriculum?
2. What is your attitude towards merging schools and having one curriculum for all students?
3. Would you mind if your child attended school that is not based on Bosnian language
4. Do you think there is a need for an education system on an ethnic / religious basis?

Questionnaire guide for teachers

1. What do you think about the quality of the Faculty of History?
2. Do you think that during the course of the study at the University, enough attention is given to events from the recent history of BiH and the region (the break-up of Yugoslavia, the war in BiH and the region)?
3. Do you learn how to teach these topics in schools?
4. Do you have courses on basic human rights?
5. What do you think about teaching of history on the secondary level?
6. What would you change in the educational system if you could?