

**FROM SEGREGATION TO SUSTAINABLE
POSITIVE PEACE THROUGH RECONCILIATION
AND A SUSTAINABLE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CCC	Common Core Curriculum
CHB	Curriculum Harmonization Board
COE	Council of Europe
DPA	Dayton Peace Accord
EFP	Education for Peace
EU	European Union
FBIH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
IC	International Community
IEBL	Inter Entity Boundary Line
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDC	Nansen Dialogue Centre
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OHR	Office of High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PE	Peace Education
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Standards and Assessments Agency
SAO	Serb Autonomous Region
SCPE	Social Cohesion and Peace Education
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SFOR	Stabilization Forces

SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMBiH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
VRS	Vojska Republike Srpske/Army of Republic of Srpska

**DARI PENGASINGAN KE PERDAMAIAN POSITIF YANG BERKEKALAN
MELALUI REKONSILIASI SERTA SISTEM PENDIDIKAN MAMPAN DI
BOSNIA DAN HERZEGOVINA**

ABSTRAK

Sembilan belas tahun selepas perang, Bosnia dan Herzegovina (BiH) masih menghadapi masalah identiti negara yang lemah. Sistem pendidikan juga turut terbahagi. Dengan mengesan punca permasalahan ini, kajian ini dijalankan untuk menjawab persoalan kajian tentang cabaran yang dihadapi oleh BiH dalam usahanya ke arah transformasi perdamaian; tentang hubungan antara sistem pendidikan semasa dan pembangunan perdamaian yang berkesinambungan di BiH; dan juga untuk menjawab bagaimana untuk mencapai perdamaian positif dan berterusan di BiH melalui pendidikan perdamaian. Pengumpulan data yang digunakan merupakan analisis daripada data sekunder dan juga temubual separa berstruktur yang mendalam dengan pihak berkepentingan dalam BiH. Pihak-pihak berkepentingan yang ditemubual dibahagikan kepada kategori-kategori berikut: wakil di peringkat negeri, wakil di peringkat entiti, wakil di peringkat daerah, wakil-wakil daripada pertubuhan antarabangsa dan juga wakil-wakil daripada bahagian akademik. Dengan menggunakan kaedah kualitatif (tiga langkah urutan iaitu terbuka, paksi dan pengkodan selektif dan juga model anggaran berturutan) untuk analisis data, penemuan untuk kajian ini adalah seperti berikut:

Konflik yang berpunca dari agama dan etnik yang diwarisi merupakan satu sejarah yang panjang di BiH, dan tidak pernah di tangani dan merupakan satu cabaran yang dihadapi oleh BiH dalam usahanya menuju perdamaian yang positif dan berterusan: Ideologi

kebangsaan, Radikalisme agama; Pengaruh negatif dari negara jiran; Ketiadaan pentadbiran negeri; Kekurangan sokongan masyarakat antarabangsa; Perlembagaan BiH yang tidak sesuai serta Sistem pendidikan yang rapuh dan bukan berasaskan keamanan. Sistem pendidikan semasa tidak boleh menyumbang kepada pembentukan perdamaian positif dan mampan kepada BiH.

Perdamaian positif dan mampan di BiH boleh dicapai dengan penerapan dan pengintegrasian pendidikan perdamaian dalam sistem pendidikan.

Integrasi dan penerapan secara formal pendidikan perdamaian ke dalam sistem pendidikan ditawarkan sebagai teras kepada platform transformasi, di mana pendekatan bawah ke atas dan atas ke bawah dilihat sebagai pendekatan yang paling sesuai dalam membina perdamaian yang berkekalan di Bosnia dan Herzegovina.

Kata Kunci: Pendidikan perdamaian, Transformasi konflik, Perdamaian positif yang berkekalan, Bosnia Herzegovina

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ABSTRACT

Nineteenth years after the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is still facing a problem of weak national identity and ethnic and religious divisions that are further preventing the country from reaching sustainable peace and development. The educational system is divided too. By tracing the roots of these problems, this study tries to answer research questions about challenges that BiH has been facing on its way to peace transformation; about relation between current educational system and development of sustainable peace in BiH; as well as to answer how to achieve positive and sustainable peace in BiH through peace education. The data collection included secondary data analysis and semi-structured in-depth interview with stakeholders in BiH. Interviewed stakeholders are grouped into the following categories: Representatives at the State level, Entity level and Cantonal level; representatives from International organizations; and representatives from Academia.

By using qualitative methodology for data analysis (three steps sequences with open, axial and selective coding as well as successive approximation model), the study came up with the following findings:

The roots of inherited religious and ethnical conflict, that have a long history in BiH, has never been addressed, which created many obstacles that BiH has been facing on its way to positive and sustainable peace: Nationalistic ideology; Religious radicalism;

Negative influence from neighbouring countries; Absence of state governance; Lack of international community support; Ill composed Constitution of BiH; and Fragile and non-peace promoting educational system.

Current educational system cannot contribute to creation of positive and sustainable peace in BiH.

Positive and sustainable peace in BiH is achievable by institutionalizing and integrating peace education into the educational system.

The study recommends Lederach's conflict transformation platform as the main theoretical framework for creation of sustainable peace in BiH. Integration and institutionalization of peace education into the educational system are offered as the backbone of the transformational platform where bottom-up and top-down directions are seen as the most suitable approach for peace building in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key Words: Peace education, Conflict transformation, Positive and sustainable peace, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) went through a period of transition from the socialist system to capitalism during the 1990's. The transition from one political system to another political system is a difficult process by itself. This transition period was even more difficult for Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) which went through an ethnic war that lasted for four years. The war ended in 1995 with the social and infrastructure system being severely damaged (Pasalic 2008). Nineteen years after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina the consequences can still be felt. These days the Bosnian people are very eager to join the European Union. A lot of preconditions have to be fulfilled. The majority of all three ethnicities in Bosnia have the same goal to join the European community but not within the same state. Serbs politicians in Bosnia see Bosnian Serbs in European Union but as a part of Serbia State (they would like to separate Republika Srpska from Bosnia and to attach it to the neighbouring Serbia). Bosnian Croats would like to separate from Bosnia and to become part of neighbouring Croatia. Bosnian Muslims see a unified Bosnia joining the EU. As can be seen all three major ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have different wishes and goals. This is just one example of many incompatible goals that drive conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina nowadays. The conflict in political and social sphere has also affected the educational system of BiH too. During the war the education was used to divide the country and then to uphold these divisions. The educational system has become a tool for division of youth

according to religion, language and nationality (Pasalic 2008). The newly formed educational systems after the war aimed to emphasise national identities and cultures within each ethnicity, rather than to build State identity and culture. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Charter of 1946 asserted that since wars begin 'in the minds' as well as from 'ignorance of each other's ways and lives, it is through education that 'defences of peace' must be built (Nelles 2006, p 229). Many authors in the field of peace studies claim that peace education is very useful in building peace in post-conflict environments by reducing economic, social, and ethnic polarization and by creating conditions for sustainable peace and culture of dialogue rather than violence (Dewey 1897; Curle 1971; Buckland 2005; Samaroo 2006; Bajaj and Chiu 2009). This is why this study suggests peace education as a remedy for the divided educational system in BiH as well as for the divided country. Beside education the division of BiH has been supported by the Dayton Peace Accord and its Annex 4, which serves as the Constitution of BiH. The Constitution of BiH legitimize further division of the country by creating two entities: the Federation of BiH with its predominant Bosniac (Moslem) and Croat (Catholic) population occupying 51% of the territory and the Republika Srpska occupying 49% of the territory, whose population is mostly Serb (Orthodox) (later to include the Brcko District formed by means of arbitration) (Rado 2004). Bosnia and Herzegovina has three constitutive "nations" (Bosnian Moslems, Serbian-Orthodox Christians and Croat-Catholics). Although the Constitution was created with the aim to settle the war and to give equal representation to all constitutive nations, still in the long run the Constitution created a lot of obstacles for building peace in BiH. Professor Dr. Pasalic Adila explained that the Constitution

created problems in all facets of the BiH society with education the most affected.

According to Pasalic (2008):

“The Constitution created a decentralized, asymmetric, and defective education management system that has undermined unity in educational policies, common educational goals, common values, positive and patriotic feelings for one’s country and homeland” (Pasalic 2008, p. 360)

Therefore it is important to restore broken relationships and to reestablish positive and patriotic feelings amongst BiH citizens regardless of their religious and ethnic backgrounds. Lederach (1997) suggests that it is a good practice to involve the whole community into peace building process. He suggested to work with stakeholders on three levels¹, and to work from both bottom -up and top- down directions in order to transform relationships. This study agrees with this and suggests that both directions of approach are important as far as peace education is concerned as a tool for reconciliation of broken political and social relationships in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Realizing that education plays a critical role in shaping the worldview of youth and their families about human rights and diversity, the international community² in Bosnia and Herzegovina took the lead in trying to fix the damages that war and later the Constitution made to education. There have been different projects run by international organizations that have been dealing with education, ranging from those that had been working on creation of policies, curriculum reform and building capacities of educational professionals (OSCE, UNDP, SOROS and COE). Much has been done at the

¹ See Lederach (1997), *Building peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, for insightful explanation about Actors and Approaches to peacebuilding , Figure No. 2, (p.39)

² The following international organisations have been involved in the field of education in BiH:

OSCE – Organization for Security and Cooperation Europe

UNDP– United Nations Development Programme Bosnia and Herzegovina

SOROS– Open Society Fond Bosnia and Herzegovina

COE – Council of Europe Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina

State level too, including the creation of a short-term educational strategy (2008), mid-term educational strategy (2008-2010) and long-term educational strategy (2011-2015). All of these have been done to promote political and legislative changes and help Bosnia and Herzegovina to develop a holistic educational system, accessible, acceptable and effective for all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic background, gender or socio-economic status. However, despite these efforts, there are still problems that need to be addressed (Pasalic, Muratovic et al.2006; Pasalic 2008; UNICEF 2010; Bratovic, Lepic et al. 2011; European Commission 2011). This study discusses how the current educational system in BiH influences building unity and peace in the country and how peace education can contribute to the same goal.

1.2. Basic Information about the Country and a Short Historical Background

Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula. It borders with Croatia to the north, west and south and with Serbia to the east. It covers an area of 51,129 square kilometres, with an estimated population of 3.791.662 from the last 2013 censuses (European Parliamentary Research Service 2014). The capital and the largest city is Sarajevo with a population of 608,000 (World Population Review 2014). Ethnic groups include the following: Bosniak 48.4%, Serb 32.7%, Croat 14.6% (European Parliamentary Research Service 2014). Religions are as follows: Muslim (45%), Serbs Orthodox (36%), Roman Catholic (15%), Protestant (3%), others (1%) (World Population Review 2014). Languages spoken are: Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian (formerly "Serbo-Croatian"). As can be seen from the data above, the population is composed of "constituent peoples" (Serbs, Croats and Bosniak) as well as "others" (Jewish and Roma minorities). Being situated on the crossroads in between West and

North Europe and Eastern Mediterranean and Asia, made BiH become a multi cultural and multi religious country. At the same time, its good strategic position has also influenced BiH's long history of conflict and conquest³ (Stabback 2007).

The background of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be traced after Former President Josip Broz Tito died. Tito was keeping united Yugoslavia under the slogan "Brotherhood and Unity," merging together Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and two self-governing provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina. This political arrangement of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was done after the World War I as a geo-political reason for making second-rank power in the region that will be able to defend territory against any regional rival (Mann 2005). Moreover, according to Mann (2005), the same geo-political arrangement stayed unchanged after World War II and was especially important during the Cold War where SFRY took the neutral part in between east and west. With this geo-political arrangement and "modified version of communism", Tito managed to repress any signs of nationalistic ideas and developed state identity over ethnic identity. With the death of President Tito and with the fall of the Soviet Union, the SFRY lost its primary function and at the same time many nationalistic ideas emerge. After Tito died, the first democratic elections after fifty years of communism took part in 1990 (Bieber 2006). Fifty years of suppressed nationalistic tension in Yugoslavia resulted with the winning of nationalistic ethnic parties in each Yugoslavian Republics (Bieber 2006). That was the sign of emerging ethnic identity over the state identity.

³ According to Stabback (2007) during the history BiH was a part of Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and Austro- Hungarian Empires.

The division of SFRY started with Slovenia and Croatia separating from SFRY (Table 1.2). Inspired with the idea that was coming from Serbia, Bosnian Serbs declared autonomy under BiH and established the self-proclaimed “Serb Autonomous Regions (SAO) “in Bosnia and voted on referendum in favor of remaining in Yugoslavia⁴. Very soon after Radovan Karadzic proclaimed the full independence of “Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” the Bosnian parliament declared the republic’s independence. Bosnian Serbs, supported by neighboring Serbia, responded with armed forces in an effort to partition the republic along ethnic lines. In March 1994, Muslims and Croats in Bosnia signed an agreement creating the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ending a period of Muslim-Croat conflict.

⁴ After secession of Slovenia, Croatia and BiH from SFRY, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro formed country called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The population of that newly formed Yugoslavia shared the same religious with the Bosnian Serbs who wanted to separate part of Bosnia and to attach it to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Table 1.2 Chronology of Events that Led to War in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Developed by author

Date	Events
May, 1980	The President of SFRY Josip Broz Tito died
1990	The first multi-party elections took part in each republic
June, 1991	Former Republics of Yugoslavia both Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from SFRY.
September, 1991	Bosnian Serb Radovan Karadzic (Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) declared a self-proclaimed "Serb Autonomous Regions (SAO)" in Bosnia.
October, 1991	Bosnian Serbs announced the formation within Bosnia of a "Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina" that would have its own constitution and parliamentary assembly.
November, 1991	Serbs representatives voted in their own referendum in favor of BiH remaining in Yugoslavia.
January, 1992	Radovan Karadzic publicly proclaimed a fully independent "Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina."
March, 1992	Bosnian Government held a referendum on independence.
April, 1992	The Bosnian parliament declared the republic's independence

The conflict with the Bosnian Serbs continued through most of 1995. Many atrocities were committed, including acts of genocide committed by members of the Army of Republika Srpska in and around Srebrenica in July 1995, killing approximately 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys. The conflict ended with the November 21, 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement, which was formally signed on December 14, 1995 in Paris (COE 2011). Around 250,000 people died in the war between 1992 and 1995.

In 1995, the Dayton agreement and the Constitution within the agreement divided the country by IEBL (Inter-Entity-Boundary Line) and formed the Croat Muslim federation and a Serb entity within the larger federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bieber 2006; Unidas 2008). The very complex political arrangement is the main feature of political system in BiH. Each entity has its own Government, President, Parliament and various

administrative bodies⁵. In addition, the District of Brcko is a self-governing administrative unit (Unidas 2008). The State-level comprises a tripartite rotating Presidency, where three presidents are elected, one from each of the constituent people (Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats) serving for four years, rotating every eight months. The judicial branch established by Dayton consists of a State-level Constitutional Court, with the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council being established later. All legislations passed have to have approval from both houses.

The idea behind this political structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina is to give reassurance and equal representation to all Bosnian citizens.

a) ***Entities level.*** Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided on three administrative entities. Federation of Bosnia that is mainly populated with Bosniak and Herzegovina that is mainly populated with Croat. Republika Srpska is the second entity that is mainly populated by Serbs population. Brcko District is counted as the third administrative entity that was internationally supervised (Bieber 2006). The territorial organisation of each Entity is regulated by its own Constitution (Figure 1.2). The Federation has its own House of Representatives (58 seats) and House of Peoples (98 seats). Republika Srpska has a National Assembly (83 seats) and Republika Srpska Council of Peoples (28 seats). Brcko District is self-governing but technically belongs to both the Federation and Republika Srpska (Car 2010).

⁵Bieber, F. (2006). *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance*. London, Palgrave School. Political system of BiH is characterised by seven different levels of governance, passed thirteen constitutions, named 100 ministries and 600 deputies in all. Furthermore, the presidency of the country was composed by seven members: two Bosnians, two Serbs, two Croats and one belonging to a minority group.



Figure 1.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina Three Entities, Source: <http://mapsof.net/map/map-bih-entities#.U41FJYqwrGU>

b) ***Federation-Canton Level:*** The Federation is further divided into 10 Federal unities or cantons each with its own assembly, Figure 1.2.1. Cantons have its own government headed by the Premier. Each canton has its own Constitution with legislative and taxing power. Responsibilities in between the Federation and the Cantons are regulated by Constitution of Federation and most of the responsibilities are transferred to the Cantons (Hajdu, Illes et al.2007). The competence of the Federation is limited and it is related to defence, energy policy, planning, reconstruction and land use at the Federal level. Cantons have responsibilities related to police forces, education, culture, housing, zoning, radio and television, the implementation of the welfare policy and the provision of welfare services (Constitution of the Federation of BiH 2002).



Figure 1.2.1. Cantons in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Source: <http://mapsof.net/map/federation-of-bosnia-and-herzegovina>

c) **Municipality level.** Each municipality has its own municipal council and administrative structure. The municipal assembly and the heads of municipalities are directly elected by the citizens for a four years mandate (Hajdu, Illes et al.2007).

According to UNDP (2009) the economic situation in BiH has been characterised by stable macroeconomic growth. Since 2000, GDP growth has been stable, averaging around 6% per year. The unemployment rate is high. The current rate of 23.4% (21.4% for men and 26.8% for women) is down from 29.0% in 2007 (26.7% for men and 32.9% for women) (UNDP 2009).

1.3. Basic Information about the Education System in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The post-First World War multi-ethnic Yugoslavia and post-Second World War Yugoslavia had been held together partly by a national education system that kept ethnic, nationalist or cultural differences together. After 1943, Tito promoted a common national-ethnic identity through Yugoslav socialist political unity (Nelles 2006). After

the war in BiH educational system that will quell division according to ethnicities, religion and cultures is needed more than ever. Contrary to that, as Pasalic (2008) explained, today the BiH educational system is struggling with a number of questions: how to become independent from political influence and nationalisms; how to meet the needs and to develop tolerance in between other nations and cultures; how to build teachers' capacities; how to make better governance over education on state level; as well as; how to improve school infrastructure. Curriculums are ethnically colored and in that way separate rather than to bring students together (Pasalic 2008). Governance over education is defragmented and decentralized, and decision making power has been transferred to a lower level. This resulted with having school directors appointed by political parties. Moreover, directors can solely make decisions about the curriculum that should be taught in their schools, as well as the way the curriculum is taught. Because the country is divided, the governance over the educational system is divided too.

The system of governance is divided into two subsystems:

1. Management of organization-responsible for financial, legal and administrative aspects of education.
2. Quality management-responsible for methods, evaluation and teaching contests.

Table 1.3 Competencies over Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Developed by the author

STATE LEVEL		
Department for education, science, culture and sports of Ministry of civil affairs	Agency for preschool, primary and secondary education	
ENTITY LEVEL		
THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA	BRCKO DISTRICT
The Federal Ministry of Education and Science	Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Srpska and Republican Pedagogical Institute	Department of Education of Brcko District
CANTONAL LEVEL		
<p>The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided into 10 cantons. Each canton has its own ministry of education and its own cantonal law on education.</p> <p>Seven Pedagogical Institutes operate within the cantonal ministries in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p>	<p>Republic of Srpska does not have any cantons. Authority over education is centralized and assigned to entity level (Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Srpska and Republican Pedagogical Institute)</p>	<p>Brcko District does not have any cantons. Authority over education is centralized and assigned to entity level (Department of Education of Brcko District)</p>

At the **State level** the *Department for Education, Science, Culture and Sports of Ministry of Civil Affairs* and *Agency for preschool, primary and secondary education* are in charge of educational issues (Table 1.3). The functions, responsibilities and capacities of the Department for Education, Science, Culture and Sports of Ministry of Civil Affairs are limited and mostly related to the coordination of the lower administrative educational bodies. The Agencies' activities are focused on ensuring quality of education, through the establishment of standards of students' achievements, evaluation of the results and

development of common core of curricula⁶ in preschool, primary and secondary education (Government of BiH 2003).

According to the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in BiH (2003) at the **Entity level**, there are two ministries responsible for educational matters (Table 1.3).

In the entity of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is the *Federal Ministry of Education and Science*, and in the entity of Republika Srpska, it is the *Ministry of Education and Culture* (Government of BiH 2003). In Brčko District, responsibility for educational matters is assigned to the *Department of Education of Brčko District Government*.

The role of the *Federal Ministry of Education and Science* is coordination and its role is very limited. The main function of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science is to coordinate activities among the ten cantonal ministries of education. This Ministry does not have the power to manage the educational system in the Federation. It further depends on the powers and functions of the state (Bratovic, Lepic et al.2011). In the Federation, responsibility for education is further classified into ten cantons. Each canton has its own ministry of education as well as cantonal laws on education. The role of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science is very limited.

In the Republika Srpska authority over education is centralized and assigned to the *Ministry of Education and Culture of Republika Srpska* and is performed by republican and municipal authorities. The Republican Pedagogical Institute is responsible for preschool, primary and secondary education.

⁶Stabback (2007) *Common curriculum, core curriculum or common curriculum standards—finding a solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Springer. Common core curriculum (CCC) was adopted in 2003.CCC introduces framework within which all students in BiH should be taught and which would be incorporated into the curricula of all entities and cantons. Unfortunately many reports said that implementation of CCC is not followed in many parts in BiH.

Brcko District has the smallest and the most concentrated model of public administration of education. Responsibility for education is assigned to the *Education Department of Brcko District Government*.

At the **Cantonal level** in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, responsibility for education is further classified into *10 cantons* (Table 1.3). Each canton has its own ministry of education, as well as cantonal laws on education. According to the Constitution of BiH (Article 3 of the Constitution of BiH) direct jurisdiction for education is at the cantonal level in the Federation of BiH and at the Entity level in Republika Srpska and Brcko District (Constitution of BiH 1995). *Pedagogical Institutes* in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina operate within the cantonal ministries and are not independent legal entities. The functions and capacities of seven Pedagogical Institutes vary from institute to institute, and there is an overlap of functions between ministries and pedagogical institutes (Bratovic, Lepic et al.2011). Pedagogical Institutes perform functions that are directly related to determining curriculum and monitoring of its implementation, exercising pedagogical supervision, providing of technical assistance to teachers and training of teachers.

1.4. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina makes an integral part of the Dayton Peace Agreement which was agreed on November 21st 1995 in Dayton (USA) and signed on December 14th 1995 in Paris. The Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia

and Herzegovina, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia)⁷ signed the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Paris. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina was approved by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska and was signed on their behalf by Muhamed Šaćirbegović, Krešimir Zubak and Nikola Koljević. The following states were witnesses to the initialisation and signing of the Agreement: the European Union, France, the Russian Federation, Germany, Great Britain and the United States of America) (Ademovic 2010; O’Briens 2010).

The Dayton Agreement is a series of agreements. It consists of one framework agreement and 12 special agreements, referred to as Annexes to the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the “Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina No.25/09, Ademovic (2010) further explained that the special agreements, which were signed by different signatories, are related to civilian (Annexes 2 through 11) and military components of the Peace Agreement (Annexes 1-A and 1-B). Annex 4 to the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina contains the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (OHR 2009).

Pursuant to Article I (3) of the Constitution, the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina obtained a new internal constitutional and administrative-territorial structure consisting of two Entities - the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. With amendment I to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brčko District was finally incorporated as a condominium into the state constitutional-legal system (Ademovic 2010).

⁷ Serbia and Montenegro was two remaining republics of Yugoslavia that stayed together after separation in Yugoslavia. The republics of Serbia and Montenegro together established a federation in 1992 as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

There have been a lot of political negotiations to amend the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A formal attempt to amend the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina was made on April 26, 2006 and is known as “April Package”. The adoption of those amendments failed due to the lack of a parliamentary majority required under Article X (1) of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ademovic 2010).

Today, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been criticized a lot and is seen as one of the main obstacles for unification of BiH. According to O’Briens (2010), one of the main criticisms is that Constitution allocates political positions by ethnicity and “allows for a huge governmental structure in order to provide equal representation of each fraction’s followers” (O’Briens 2010, p.347). Besides that, the Peace Accord was signed by the people who led the war in BiH, leaving a bad feeling that Bosnian’s future would be determined by these people. Although international actors wanted to bring all three parties to the table for negotiation and to cease the conflict in BiH by creating peace agreement, still their role “was more intrusive and longer lasting than was expected or agreed upon at Dayton” (O’Briens 2010, p.347). Although the Constitution gave equal representation to all three majority groups in the country, O’Briens (2010) doubts whether the Constitution manages to prevent nationalists’ control over the country’s resources, employment, culture, political agenda and education (O’Briens 2010). Moreover, the most important part for this study is how the nationalistic ideas that are in power in all three fractions influence the educational system in BiH and whether this kind of Constitution obstructs the creation of a unified educational system for the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1.5. Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

The literature review for this study deals with two subjects: peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina and education in post-war BiH. After the Dayton agreement settled the political arrangement of the country, many scholars started to observe and analyze implementation of the Dayton agreement, as well as benefits of that political arrangement for the state building and peacebuilding in the country. The way in which the peace process has developed, with both advances and setbacks, has raised a number of debates. Some scholars agree that Bosnian ownership has been held back by the Dayton framework, which created a weak central state and a country division (Chandler 2006; Belloni 2007; Kostic 2008). The peacebuilding process in BiH has been criticized as being externally administered. Although financial support and expertise that came from outside were huge, it still seems that it could not help in building viable and legitimate state institutions. Division and segregation in BiH society are so deep that many scholars start to doubt “Whether or not Bosnia can survive as a multinational state? Can Bosnia’s three main communities, deeply divided by profound mutual distrust, manage their differences peacefully and continue to live in the same geographical and political space?” (Belloni 2007, p 2). According to Kostic (2008) the evidence from Bosnia and Herzegovina brings into question the appropriateness of external nation building in the context of peacebuilding after ethnic conflict. In criticizing the approach that the International Community applied in the case of peacebuilding of BiH, Bieber (2002) makes a very sharp comment explaining that “the international organizations have, while opposing extremist parties, continued to

emphasize ethnicity in both the institutions and informal arrangements”(Bieber 2002,p 347).

Scholars agree that Bosnia and Herzegovina went through a peacebuilding process that was not appropriate for the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The following gaps have been noticed in the peacebuilding process of BiH:

- 1) Lack of local stakeholders involvement in the peacebuilding process
- 2) Lack of state identity development
- 3) Lack of building local capacities
- 4) Preservation of stability but neglecting the need for change and conflict transformation
- 5) Support to the dysfunctional political structures that emerged from the war, while failing to buttress the development of alternative political and social projects in civil society
- 6) Focus on a top-down approach with absence of a bottom-up approach (Hulsey 2011; Kostic 2008; Chandler 2006; Belloni 2007; Clark 2009).

Yordan (2003) argues that traditional peacebuilding known as state-building mechanisms that has been applied in the case of BiH failed to unite the nation and to build sustainable peace to the country. Instead he suggests that a self-sustaining peace can be achieved by way of “society-building mechanisms of conflict resolution “(Yordan 2003, p. 60). Some other authors argue that the best way to start with peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina is to start with the reconciliation process first (Hjort&Frisen 2006; Clark 2009).

Most scholars agree that education in BiH should be the most powerful agent that can help in peacebuilding in BiH (Perry 2003; Weinstein, Freedman & Hughson 2007; Pasalic 2008; Stabback 2008; Kostic 2008; Torsti 2009; Buyukcanga 2011; Komatsu 2012; Ellison & Smith 2013). It has been argued that the manner in which education was delivered during the war supported the conflicting agendas of the three constituent peoples by stereotyping and promoting divisive histories. After the war, education was manipulated to perpetuate these divisions (Magill 2010). Intolerance towards other nationalities is displayed through curriculum, national subjects, textbooks and teaching approach. This kind of education resulted with very clear segregation and discrimination according to nationality, religion or language.

Analyzing education after the war, many scholars agree that the two main characteristics of education in BiH are:

- 1) Segregation that divides children into separate groups and
- 2) Teaching with stereotypes of the other national groups (Torsti 2009; Pasalic 2008; Buyukcanga 2011; Ellison & Smith 2013; Kostic 2008).

The same scholars argued that if these issues are not addressed, the divisive nature of the educational system will cement fear and distrust among new generations and prevent the country from developing sustainable peace.

While there have been numerous attempts to address the segregation of education and to change hatred-spreading education, results so far have been modest (Torsti 2009). Addressing how education can contribute to the creation of sustainable peace some scholars claim that textbook reform, educational reform as well as peace education can contribute to increasing tolerance and to bring peace to the country (Weinstein, Freedman & Hughson 2007; Buyukcanga 2011). At the same time, the review of the

literature revealed that even though so many scholars recognized the gaps in the post-war educational system in BiH, still it is hard to find the work that suggests how to arrange educational system in a way to promote tolerance and social cohesion in BiH.

Much effort has been put forth in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to raise awareness about the consequences of division. This includes trainings, workshops, seminars and working camps at different levels (grass root leaders and middle range leaders). The main goal has been to transform the conflict and to create citizens who are aware of divisions in the country and who are ready and willing to contribute to conflict transformation in BiH. At the same time, a few projects were run on top and middle range levels in the field of education. Those projects aimed to bring stakeholders from all three entities in BiH to work together on creation of school curriculums that will have integrated peace values. Unfortunately, either the activities have not been adequate, or the activities have been conducted in an ad hoc manner without having a clear vision of how to produce programs with long-term and sustainable results. In Bosnia and Herzegovina 19 years after the war divisions can be seen in all aspects of life: divided Government, divided education, divided cities, even divided children within one school. The European Commission in a report from 2011 explains:

“Little progress was achieved in making schools more inclusive. Some municipalities through the country started applying the Index for inclusion which is self-assessment tool allowing schools to improve inclusion with the support of the community. Much more needs to be done to effectively address the number of divided schools. Separation of children within schools along ethnic lines and the existence of two schools under one roof in three Cantons and mono ethnic schools continued. De facto ethnic-based separation and discrimination in public schools remain a serious concern (European Commission 2011, p 18).

A review of the literature makes clear the importance of education in bringing about social cohesion in a post conflict environment. Still there is no a clear suggestion on how

to arrange education in a long-term and a systematic way, so the education can be seen as the agent of change in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The purpose of this study is to explore two core problems in BiH society and to give recommendations how to overcome these problems and to create positive sustainable peace in the country. Two core problems are going to be explored:

- a) Absence of positive and sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina caused by educational system that inspires segregation and divisions.
- b) Absence of ideas, initiatives and knowledge on how to produce educational system at the State level that will result in creation of long-term and sustainable peace in the country.

Bosnia and Herzegovina today is multiethnic and multireligious country where different religious and ethnicities do not live with each other but next to each other. The violence and the war stopped, but a negative peace came after the war. Although a lot of effort has been put forth to develop peace in the country, there are still so many challenges that prevent the country from reaching positive and sustainable peace. One of these challenges is educational system that deepening division and segregation in the country. A lot of effort has been put forth to integrate peace values into curriculum and teaching approach and to make education more inclusive. The study is going to explore the results and effectiveness of all work that has been done in education. Moreover, the study will explore the current gaps in educational system, like do the local stake holders have enough knowledge and willingness to make educational system in BiH more united and inclusive and acceptable for all children in BiH. Instead of being seen as an obstacle for achieving peace, this study is going to explore how education especially peace education can contribute to creation of sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1.5.1. Research Questions

1. What are the challenges facing Bosnia and Herzegovina on its way to peace transformation?
2. Can the current educational system contribute to the development of sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
3. How can positive and sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina be achieved through education especially peace education?

1.5.2. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To explore challenges to the process of (peace) transformation in Bosnia and Herzegovina
2. To analyse gaps in the educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina
3. To generate a platform for conflict transformation in BiH

1.5.3. Significance of the Study

There have been many studies that have dealt with divisive education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the influence of the Constitution on Governance on the educational system. This study aims specifically to focus on the engagement of Lederach's conflict transformation platform in order to analyse the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to generate a platform for long term sustainable solutions. In order to enrich and to expand on what previous scholars and practitioners have done, this study for the first time discusses the culture of peace in the higher, middle and grassroots levels of educational institutions, institutionalized peace education,

coordination of education at the state level and peace education integration in school curriculum. The thesis sees these elements as the main prerequisite for the creation of a sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So far, there hasn't been any study about integration of peace education in education curriculum as a tool for sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This study can be of importance to all scholars worldwide who have been dealing with education in post conflict area, to all those who would like to contribute in the process of making long term plan for education system in their post conflict countries. Since this study will verify problems that educational system meets on its way towards building sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina this study might be of interest to International organizations that are dealing with education in BiH like OSCE, Open Society Fund, UNDP, Council of Europe and all other International and local organizations. Finally and maybe the most important is that this study can be of great significance to all stakeholders who have been engaged in policy creation in the field of education at the national level in post conflict environment.

1.6. Methodology

This study uses the qualitative method. Qualitative method is the collection and interpretation of nonnumeric narrative and visual data. This method was chosen because of its effectiveness in capturing a broad range of information and data that are going to be collected through the interviews, as well as its ability to gather detailed and in-depth information regarding the school system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This methodology seeks to obtain deep understandings about the way things are, why they are that way, and how the participants in the context perceive them. Data were collected utilizing a semi-

structured in-depth interview format. In-depth interviews give possibilities to continue asking questions in order to contribute to the depth and the richness of the data.

1.6.1. Selection of participants for Interview

Mertens (2005) states that the number of participants for interview must be large enough to ensure that the researcher will hear most, if not all of the perceptions from the participants that may be important to the study (Mertens 2005). The sample size for this study explained below is felt to be large enough to ensure that the researcher would be able to gather enough data from participants in order to perform the study. The selection of participants does not rely on chance, but on the researcher's judgment. As mentioned before, the educational system in BiH is very decentralized and defragmented. In this sense it seems impossible to visit all stakeholders and to do the interviews with all of them. However, the interviews were conducted with some of the stakeholders that have important roles when it comes to the creation and decision making process in the field of education in BiH. Since education is decentralized on the State level and Entity levels and later on Cantonal levels interviews were done with representatives from the state level, entities level and cantonal level. Besides that the interviews were conducted with some of the famous Bosnian academics in the field of education and Constitution of BiH.

For state level: representatives from:

- The Department for Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the Ministry of Civil Affairs; and Agency for preschool, primary and secondary education were interviewed.

On entity level: representatives from:

- Brčko District: Department of Education of Brčko District Government;