

**Ethnically Divided Education and Its Contradictions: The Case of the
Croatian Program in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

By

Zlatko Čustović

Submitted to

Central European University

Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Luca Varadi

Budapest, Hungary

2015

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the complications which ethnically divided education creates in post-conflict societies such as the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina. More specifically, the research deals with the issues which can arise from ethnically driven programs, such as the Croatian one in the Grammar School in Mostar which exists parallel to the Bosnian program. The contradiction which the program can create for the way the students engage in processes of identity construction and the realization of basic human existence is the main focus of this thesis. The goal is to question the proposed contradiction and investigate whether such an educational set-up is valuable for the students. The way the topic is approached is through interviews conducted with students who graduated from the Croatian program and continued their studies in BiH or Croatia, two currently enrolled students in both programs and a director of a documentary series which recently addressed issues related to the topic and caused a large media coverage.

The data collected indicate that the Croatian program does indeed create a contradiction for the students who were or still are enrolled. Faced with an environment which emphasizes belonging to another country, not only can it affect the process of identity construction, but create real obstacles for students who stay in BiH. In addition, it is realized that the school itself presents a meeting point for otherwise divided young people. However, all the contact is established voluntarily by the students with little incentive provided by the schools or the surrounding political discourse.

This research concentrated on students who graduated from ethnically divided schools which gives an in-depth look into the overall experience which such education provides and the complications it creates for students.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Ms. Luca Varadi, for the invaluable advices and guidance during very stressful periods and beyond helpful assistance in making this research possible. I would also like to thank Professor Szabolcs Pogonyi for inspiring me to deal with this topic during my first year in the Nationalism Studies Program. Also, I express my deepest gratitude to the people who helped me get into contact with the participants, as well as the participants for their time and willingness to engage into this research.

I would like to thank my family for always being there and providing me with all the support I needed in the past two years. I would especially like to thank my nephew for being a constant source of genuine happiness. A special thanks goes to my family of friends in Sarajevo for always being there to listen (sometimes more than enough, sorry) and encouraging me all the way.

After two years spent at the Central European University, the number of people I met and became friends with is immense. I am deeply grateful for every moment we have spent together in laughter, sadness and procrastination. I am deeply sorry for every time I brought up the topic of 'two schools under one roof' and unintentionally bothered you with it. All the road trips (Cesky Krumlov, Belgrade and Balaton, I am looking at you!), days and nights out, group study sessions, meals made together, have made me an incredibly richer person and made Budapest an unforgettable experience full of memories which I will always carry with me.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to the Nationalism Studies Program and all the incredibly interesting colleagues with whom I shared the, without exaggeration, two best years of my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Thesis Structure | 3 |
| 2. Theoretical Framework | 6 |
| 2.1. Construction of Social Identity | 6 |
| 2.2. Education in Ethnically Divided Communities | 11 |
| 2.3. Why Ethnically Divided Education? | 20 |
| 3. Background | 23 |
| 3.1. A Brief Overview of the History of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina | 24 |
| 3.2. From the 1990s onwards: The War and Political Developments | 30 |
| 4. Two Schools under One Roof | 33 |
| 4.2. Mostar | 40 |
| 4.3. Grammar School in Mostar | 41 |
| 4.4. Why the Croatian program? | 43 |
| 5. The Research | 48 |
| 5.1. Why students who graduated from the Croatian program? | 48 |
| 5.2. Research Design | 50 |
| 5.2. Research Changes | 51 |
| 5.3. Perspektiva: Mostar | 52 |
| 6. Research Methods | 56 |
| 6.1. Qualitative Research Methods | 56 |
| 6.2. Participants, data collection and data analysis | 58 |
| 7. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion | 60 |
| 7.1. Ethnically Divided Schools and Participants' Experience | 61 |
| 7.2. The Cultural/Existential Dimension | 64 |
| 7.2.1. The Role of the Language Discourse | 70 |
| 7.3. The Larger Discourse on Ethnically Divided Education | 72 |
| 7.4. Contact | 76 |
| 7.5. Perspective on 'Perspektiva' | 80 |
| 8. Conclusion(s) | 86 |
| 9. Bibliography | 92 |
| Appendix I | 98 |

1. Introduction

'Marija and Nedim - the Romeo and Juliet of Stolac'¹. This is the title of a blog post I came across in late 2013. With such an intriguing title, I presumed that the article would tackle the issue of inter-ethnic relations in the city of Stolac in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was true, the blog post did talk about Marija and Nedim having different ethnic backgrounds and the issues they have encountered as an inter-ethnic couple. What the blog post briefly mentioned was that they come from different schools which are placed within the premises of the same building, Marija being from a Croatian program and Nedim from a Bosnian one.

I was not aware at the time how complex in its depth the whole story of 'two schools under one roof' is. Appearing to be quite simple and straightforward, that this is *just a case of plain* 'segregation'² in schools, the 'two schools under one roof' seems as something which could be easily presented. Thus, I decided to write my first paper at the Central European University on this issue. For the purpose of understanding the issue better, I was very eager to find someone who at the time went or graduated from such schools. Through mutual friends, I had the pleasure of meeting a girl who graduated from the Croatian program in the Grammar School in Mostar, a city in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We talked about her experiences and her views on such a type of education. What caught my attention during our conversation was when she said that she wanted to study literature and language in Sarajevo, but she wasn't qualified enough because she graduated from the Croatian program in high-school. From a program in a high school which is located in Mostar, a city two hours away from Sarajevo, both cities in the

¹ Maxissa (*pseudonim*). Marija and Nedim - Stolački Romeo i Julija. (Maria and Nedim - the Romeo and Juliet of Stolac).<http://maxisa.blogger.ba/arhiva/2007/10/23/1187170>

²The reason for putting quotation marks is something which will be explored further, as this thesis approaches the issue of 'two schools under one roof' as an ethnically 'divided' education.

same country. The reason behind it was, as she said, that the program which she attended never covered Bosnian and Herzegovinian literature during her high-school education. This specific experience got me thinking about the obstacles which divided education presents for multi-ethnic societies. Such a type of education can be assumed to work in favor of each community as everyone's interests are protected. However, protection of interests can also be done at the expense of creating boundaries, both individual and collective. What obstacles does divided education create for people in multi-ethnic societies? My aim is to address this question and many others. While theoretical debates on the role of education in multi-ethnic societies are helpful and numerous, they often cannot portray exactly how schools operate in such environments and what are the real obstacles that come out of it.

In terms of education, schools have always been perceived as agents of socialization. However, in the 20th century the role has decreased, as other channels emerged. Why is education in diverse societies such a contested concept? Instead of it being a very useful tool for bringing war-torn societies together, it seems its impact does the opposite. The theory on education in multi-ethnic societies is vast. Most of the authors focus on issues such as student contact, the integrative role the education can have as well as its potential to foster conflict. All these concepts are relevant for this thesis. However, talking about the obstacles which divided education creates and how it influences the process of what students make of themselves has to be done on a context-specific basis. While the literature on segregation in schools is useful as similar notions emerge in the case I present in this research, I refer to 'two schools under one roof' as ethnically divided schools rather than schools perpetuating segregation, which opened other possibilities in exploring the topic of this research.

Considering that the above mentioned anecdote pointed an existential issue for pupils who graduate from the Croatian program, this thesis explores the influence of education on how an ethnic community comes to realize their processes of cultural identity construction and the mere human existence in one country, as pointed out by Šaćir Filandra, whose work will be elaborated in the following chapters. Ethnically divided education can have a big impact on both dimensions. It can either advance both, halt them or advance one or the other in relation to a different environment. If not designed properly, it can create barriers for and between the populations. Attitudes on such phenomena by people who graduated from divided schools can give an insightful explanation on the overarching question this research tackles - Why ethnically divided education is not an appropriate method of schooling in multi-ethnic societies and what the concrete complications of it are.

The way this thesis approached the topic of ethnically divided education is through qualitative research methods, by applying semi-structured interviews. Nine people overall were interviewed. Three participants graduated from the Croatian program in the Mostar Grammar School and left to Croatia to continue their studies, three have stayed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Additionally, two participants of the research are currently students in the Mostar Grammar School. The ninth person interviewed is the director of a documentary series about inter-ethnic relations in Mostar, which is discussed in this thesis.

1.1. Thesis Structure

In order to do justice to the complex educational system known as 'two schools under one roof', we need to first understand the particularities of education in divided societies. The second chapter will therefore refer to the main theoretical contributions to

the field of identity construction and the role of education in divided societies. For the specific case of 'two schools under one roof', how education in divided societies operates, consequences of divisive curricula and the overall effect on boundaries between communities is something which will be explored as well. In addition to this, I will elaborate on why I chose to approach the issue as a case of ethnically divided education rather than segregation.

In the third chapter we will take a closer look at the background of the issue of 'two schools under one roof'. In order to better conceptualize what the difficulties of such education are, we first need to understand the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the context of the Croat community.

The fourth chapter will be more specific in terms of background information. Here I mainly focus on 'two schools under one roof'. How does the system work, its specifications in terms of education and mutual contact between students, why was it set-up, and the developments since its introduction will be covered. Additionally, the context of the city of Mostar as well as the Grammar School is something which I will briefly cover to get a more in-depth look into where such education is provided, since the people that I have interviewed graduated from the Croatian program in Mostar.

Following the previous chapter, in the fifth one I discuss the recent developments on the phenomenon of 'two schools under one roof' as well as the way they influenced the course of this research. The documentary series "Perspektiva" which dealt with divided education in Mostar and the topics it covered is something which I will analyze in short notes in order to understand its significance. The documentary series itself is something that has been discussed with the interviewees. Additionally, I have also spoken to the director of the documentary series

so that I could better understand her experience while filming and her perception on the following reception by both the media and the public.

The sixth chapter will shortly explain and justify the methodology used for the research. I relied on qualitative methods while collecting data and the analysis which followed. I used semi-structured interviews which focused on several topics in order to cover the issues this research addresses. I have discussed the topic with students who graduated from the Croatian program and stayed in Bosnia and Herzegovina or went to Croatia, and two students who will graduate this year and the director of the documentary. Additionally, limitations in terms of methodology and research are also mentioned.

Chapter seven focuses on analyzing the data collected about students' experiences which will be followed by chapter eight where I will discuss the obtained data in reference to the theoretical framework and follow it with (possible) conclusion(s) which can be derived from it.

This thesis adds to the existing literature done on education in multi-ethnic societies. Education and its role in general are debated concepts disregarding the ethnic make-up of a society. In ethnically divided communities it is even more complex as education and all the cultural traits it carries is contested by the major actors as it is seen as a powerful tool of socialization. Education itself is a very broad concept and incorporates a number of different phenomena within. Focusing only on one might take away from the discussion. In this thesis the focus is on students who graduated from the Croatian program. Keeping in mind that the Croatian program, as it is elaborated on in the fourth chapter, navigates the educational discourse in reference to Croatia, it is important to see how, if at all, such an environment influences the cultural-existential dimension. Divided education incorporates a lot of topics - contact,

curriculum, culture, opportunities, and political discourse - and all of them influence each other. Discussing these topics in an academic manner is important for any society that has experienced conflict in the recent past, despite the wide range of issues presented. In addition to this, the influence of education on the cultural-existential dimension of an individual is a fresh approach to the issues which divided societies face. Thus, this research will provide insight into more in-depth issues that ethnically divided education creates which could contribute to the existing literature on the topic.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Construction of Social Identity

By understanding how does the complex schooling system in Bosnia and Herzegovina influence how Croat youth identify and 'make sense of themselves', how they interact with people identifying differently and what life choices derive from such processes, one can investigate the role that the ethnically divided education plays in the process of ethnic identity formation, boundary maintenance and contact. Literature on the role that education has in the construction of social identity and its influence on boundary maintenance is vast. Selected major readings on education, identity formation processes and multiculturalism will be presented in the following paragraphs in order to better conceptualize the case of this thesis and place it in a broader context.

To better understand the issues around identity construction among Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and what role education plays in the process, the notion of what constitutes identity and ethnicity, must first be defined. This thesis follows the conceptual shift in regard to the two terms in question. Taking into consideration the fact that this thesis tackles a very complex and

specific environment where identity, ethnicity and group membership play a major role in how one perceives himself and his surroundings, these three concepts follow the line of thought developed by Rogers Brubaker. In his work 'Beyond Identity'³, together with Frederick Cooper, Brubaker raises the issue of the term 'identity' and the analytical obstacles emerging from it. What the authors suggest is to, in order to better understand the different ways through which perception and self-perception are created, one must not look at 'identity' as a stable entity, but rather emphasize the process of situation and the processes through which people identify themselves. They suggest a few other terms to use when one speaks of identity or the multiple meanings that come with it. This thesis will thus derive from the concepts of self and external identification and categorization⁴ as the guiding principles when talking about the issues of ethnic identity formation, boundary maintenance and people's perception of themselves and their surroundings. Following this thought of line in the conceptual shift, ethnicity is to be viewed as a perspective on the world, rather than a thing in the world. In order to avoid reifying groups as ethnic entrepreneurs do, ethnicity is to be examined from a cognitive perspective as a dynamic process instead of a substantive entity. Treating these concepts in such a way encourages to explore the course of identification by asking "how, when, and why people interpret social experience in racial, ethnic, or national terms"⁵. Ethnicity as such is a matter of 'practices of classification and categorization', both internally and externally.⁶

Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov further argue that there are two clusters of categorization - a 'historical, political, and institutional' and a 'micro-interactionist' one.⁷ The

³Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'". In *Ethnicity Without Groups*, by Rogers Brubaker, 28-63.

⁵Brubaker, Rogers, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. "Ethnicity as Cognition." In 'Ethnicity as Cognition'. p. 53

⁶ Ibid, p. 32

⁷ Ibid, p.33

former relates to formalized ways of categorization - mainly by states, while the latter to informal, 'everyday' ways of categorization by ordinary people. In terms of this paper, both of the clusters are useful. On the one hand, there is the direct involvement of the state and political elites into these formalized ways of categorizing - by first explicitly stating in the Constitution that there are (only) three constituent peoples (Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs), and being the authority that keeps the very decentralized educational system in place. On the other hand, the second cluster is, or it can be, influenced by such a discourse employed by the state. This is something to be observed, whether such formal ways of categorization influence pupil's attitudes.

To further substantiate this fresh approach in studying social phenomena such as ethnicity and identification, in 'Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town'⁸ the authors, while investigating the effects of manifestations of one's ethnicity on everyday life further elaborate on the categorization and explain how everyday people notice or ignore their own ethnic features but also the ethnic features of others. To empirically investigate such issues, Fox and Miller-Idriss⁹ offer a very useful framework on how to examine the processes through which ordinary people produce nationhood. It consists of four categories (performing-consuming-choosing-talking the nation) from which, for the purpose of this research, analyzing how students from the Croat program ignore/notice ethnic features, 'choose' and 'talk' their nation and the effects such processes had on their perception of themselves in and of their surroundings are very useful.

Henri Tajfel, one of the pioneers of social identity theory stated that groups are cognitive entities that are meaningful to an individual at a particular point of time. As such, a consequence

⁸ Brubaker, Rogers, Margit Feischmidt, John Fox, and Liana Grancea. "Nationalists Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town."

⁹ Fox, Jon E. , and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. "Everyday Nationhood." pp. 537-538

of group membership is social identity - 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups)' ¹⁰ and as such can be defined through the processes of categorization. Fredrik Barth, in his work "Ethnic groups and boundaries" states that it is the boundaries that define groups that matter, not the 'cultural stuff that it encloses'. ¹¹ Boundaries as such can be influenced by the diversity of the environment in which an ethnic group can exist. However, it is not only the 'ecologic variations' that promote the differences, but also cultural features, or cultural content which are used by specific actors to emphasize differences, ignore them or deny them. What cultural features are is an extensive list, but language, ethnically designated education and all the courses it entails can be one of them. For the context of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it might be that the categories employed by the state (administrative division, education policies) do not need to be the ones that individuals deploy to 'make sense of themselves'. ¹²

What this thesis asks is do and how do these state-employed divisions influence the processes through which students who graduated from the Croatian program 'make sense of themselves' in the ethnically rigid environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Just as Barth said, the surrounding diversity affects the boundaries. However, we deal here with an ethnically divided education within a diverse environment. Anthony Cohen explains that the boundaries 'may be thought of, rather, as existing in the minds of the beholders'. ¹³ As such they might be perceived differently from the inside and the outside. Influences might be coming from different sources. Just as Fredrik Barth stated, 'where persons of different culture interact, one would

¹⁰Tajfel, Henri. "Social categorization, social identity and social comparison." pp. 254-255

¹¹Barth, Fredrik. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." p. 15

¹²Brubaker, Rogers, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. "Ethnicity as Cognition." In 'Ethnicity as Cognition'. p. 35

¹³Cohen, Anthony P. The Symbolic Construction of Community. p.12

expect these differences to be reduced (...)'¹⁴ as it requires a similarity or community of culture. Such statements are to be investigated through the course of conducting interviews with pupils who graduated from the Croatian program within the ethnically divided schools.

Benedict Anderson's work on 'Imagined communities' can further expand such ideas on societal relations. His ideas revolve around the notion that an imagined community, in comparison to an actual one, is and cannot be defined in terms of face-to-face everyday interaction. As such, a nation is a socially constructed community by people who perceive themselves to be members of it, and as already explained, they do not need face-to-face interaction to believe in the existence of it. What plays huge part in the establishment and continuation of the imagined community is the print-language which gave fixity and a sense of unity to hundreds of thousands of other people who do not interact on a daily basis, but who now perceive that they share a unique trait. As such, a print-language which is easily distributable enhanced people's beliefs and perceptions of belonging to a community.¹⁵ As described in the 'Background' chapter where the history of the Croat community in BiH is explained, the trends Anderson mentions become clearer.

With the general conceptual framework set-up, I will now follow this chapter by depicting the major work done in relation to education and identity. In the following paragraphs, the relationship between the two concepts will be explored in order to frame the issue of the Croat identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina in an academic manner based on which the empirical work done for this thesis is conducted.

¹⁴Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. p. 16

¹⁵Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. In *Nationalism*. Ed by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford University Press. 1994. p. 94

2.2. Education in Ethnically Divided Communities

Schools are environments where pupils spend most time. Taking only into consideration that an average shift in school lasts for approximately seven hours, it is to be expected that the school environment can and might influence a lot in terms of how students make sense of themselves and their surroundings and how they interact with others.

The role of education is multi-dimensional. Its initial role is the creation of cohesion and social mobility.¹⁶ The overall purpose of education would be the "transmission of knowledge and values on younger generations with the goal of creating a societal, cultural and political continuity of a socio-political community."¹⁷ If these depictions of education are taken into consideration, it can be presumed that achieving such goals can be a hard task for post-conflict societies. As Brian Weinstein et al. noticed, post-conflict societies "face the unenviable task of forging a common framework that allows previously warring groups to rebuild infrastructure and perhaps, even more critically, to build social networks that rekindle a shared sense of common good."¹⁸ In such an environment, education can be of crucial importance to facilitate such processes. Can we then expect from an ethnically divided educational system to become firm ground for such a goal? Not really. As Weinstein et al. point out, an environment in which the main concern is preserving the social identity does not encourage youth to socially interact, learn together or create 'bridges' to the 'other', and as such, it is a "recipe for disaster."¹⁹

¹⁶Hawrylenko, James. "Education in Post-Conflict Societies."

¹⁷Mujkić, Asim. *Obrazovanje kao proces naturaliziranja etnonacionalne ideologije (Education as a process of naturalization of ethnonational ideologies)*. In. *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom – Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju*. p.2

¹⁸Weinstein, H. M., S.W. Freedman, and H. Hughson. 2007. "School Voices: Challenges Facing Education Systems after Identity-Based Conflicts." p. 66

¹⁹Ibid.

The literature on the vast effects education can have on how one perceives him/herself is extensive. Some authors deal with context-specific issues, others rather develop comprehensive frameworks upon which such issues are to be studied, but each contributes to what this thesis deals with, and that is educational policies affect the processes of social identity construction amongst the pupils who graduated from the Croatian program within the ethnically divided schools. .

In the modern era, where most of the states are very much heterogeneous, 'state nationalism' was challenged by ongoing requirements coming from different communities living within state's borders. Thus, as Tomiak et al.²⁰ suggest, education and language policies were recognized as a very powerful channel through which they could seek recognition and construct their own nationess. Lynn Davies²¹ in her book 'Education and Conflict - Complexity and Chaos' gives an extensive overview of schooling and education in diverse environments. She advocates that the climate in schools directly affects the attitudes of children in their future towards 'others'. Moreover, Lynn argues that education can foster conflict by reproducing an environment of hostility in schools through adopting nationalist curricula or using books which stereotypically represent the 'other'. Although in her book, Davies deals mostly with inter-school environments, her approach very much resonates what the topics of this thesis deals with. The processes Davies describes can be applied to the intra-school environment, since 'Two Schools under One Roof' work on the principle of separated education within the premises of a same building. As it is further depicted in the 'Background' chapter, such a climate can influence children's attitudes towards 'others' and nationalist curricula employed by the Croatian program can serve as a sound

²⁰Tomiak, Janusz (in collaboration with Knut Eriksen, Andreas Kazamias and Robin Okey). Schooling, educational policy, and ethnic identity.

²¹Davies, Lynn. Education and Conflict - Complexity and Chaos..

basis for the reproduction of hostile attitudes between Bosniaks and Croats. Similar to this, Peter Buckland²² in "Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction" tackles the issue of schools being sound grounds for enhancement of hostility, but goes further by exploring education in post-conflict societies. He explains that state reconstruction and reforms often make it hard for the educational system to be shaped in a way which would enhance its resilience to conflict and it can thus foster mutual hostile attitudes. This argument points to an important issue in most post-conflict societies. 'Two Schools under One Roof' as it will be explained more in detail later, has been introduced as a reform which would motivate internally displaced persons to return to their former addresses of residence. However, the system set its roots and presents an obstacle not only for the issues of identity construction, but also a much needed process of reconciliation.

When discussing reconciliation and the peace processes in post-conflict societies in relation to education, Tony Gallagher²³ provides an excellent overview and analysis of educational systems in divided societies in his book "Education in Divided Societies." Providing the reader with a historical analysis of Switzerland, Belgium, Spain and Northern Ireland, Gallagher engages into a discussion over how education can operate in two dimensions, either contribute or halt the process of reconciliation and inter-group relations. The example Gallagher gives of Northern Ireland provides a good reference point for the issues he tackles in his book. In the country, there are parallel 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' schools. He further examines the small and young initiative of integrated schools and points out that the divided schools are still in majority in a country that has been struck with a quarter century long conflict. By referring to this example of divided education, Gallagher discusses two interesting alternatives which

²²Buckland, Peter. "Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction.

²³Gallagher, Tony. "Education in Divided Societies."

emphasize the impact that segregated education had on the society of Northern Ireland. First being the 'cultural hypothesis' where segregated schools perpetuate societal divisions and introduce people into different environments which have the potential of becoming 'opposing'. Second, the 'social hypothesis' stresses that disregarding what has been taught in these schools, such a system puts youth into a hostile environment by simply highlighting and affirming differences which further generate mutual suspicion. It is to be discussed below whether these alternatives are relatable to the case of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most importantly, what Gallagher advocates is that schools should be considered as the most important ground for promoting dialogue. Communities should be connected as much as possible in order for dialogue to occur. But how is this to happen if the system is designed to prevent such occurrences? Another aspect Gallagher tackles are the actual reforms which were introduced in order to reduce segregation (curricula reforms - with topics about community relations, contact programs, integrated schools or compulsory cross-curricular topics). Such reforms are very complex and require a lot of careful guidance in order to be successful. Moreover, reforms have not been of great presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the number of schools has been reduced, it took a very long time for initial success to occur. What is mutual for Northern Ireland and BiH is what Gallagher and Buckland similarly describe as the fragility of the system and little evidence of politically unified vision of the country which halts the potential structural reforms.

What the previous literature has not dealt with much is the issue of curricula and its role in this whole story of education in divided societies. Considering that the topic of this thesis deals particularly with curriculum and how it affects and frames what and how pupils from the Croatian program make of themselves in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to tackle these

issues as well. Landon E. Beyer and Daniel Patrick Liston²⁴ argue that "the curriculum is the centerpiece of educational activity. It includes the formal, overt knowledge that is central to the activities of teaching, as well as more tacit, subliminal messages transmitted through the process of acting and interacting within a particular kind of institution that foster the inculcation of particular values, attitudes, and dispositions." As they note, it is hard to understand the changes curricula go through without understanding their close link to the larger social reality in which the curricula is constructed. Curriculum then is a reflection of how the society around it works.

David Gillborn²⁵ and James Ryan²⁶ both recognize that curriculum has long been neglected as a separate issue within multi-ethnic schools. Gillborn interestingly notices that while the political institutions within multi-ethnic environments advocate multicultural education, most of the policies aimed at integration are actually ill-conceived and partial. In a similar way, James Ryan points out the issue of ethnicity representation in curriculum and how curricula are the driving force which will shape students' world views. If this is the case, curricula which is filled with stereotypical images of 'others' does not present a positive force to shape their views. Additionally, Ryan expresses his view that curricula in such diverse environments can present an advantage for some and a disadvantage for others. But how is this idea to be framed in a context where there are separate curricula on the premises of a same building? Gillborn does discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a National Curriculum in Britain, but the case is quite context-specific. Does one or the other curriculum provide advantages or not is discussed in the 'Background' chapter based on reports done by international organizations which carefully analyzed such issues.

²⁴Beyer, Landon E.; Liston, Daniel Patrick. Curriculum in Conflict : Social Visions, Educational Agendas, and Progressive School Reform. p.16

²⁵Gillborn, David. "Race', Ethnicity & Education: Teaching and Learning in Multi-Ethnic Schools."

²⁶Ryan, James. "Race and Ethnicity in Multiethnic Schools: A Critical Case Study.

Adding to this is the Kenneth D. Bush and Diana Saltarelli's²⁷ work "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict - Towards a Peace building Education for Children". Here, the authors go into more specific issues regarding curricula which relate to the topic of this research. Adding to the work previously done by the above mentioned authors, Bush and Saltarelli argue that education can promote peace through linguistic tolerance, providing children with specialized skills which would enable them to properly analyze historical facts. Besides the possibility for curricula to, if the system structure allows it, promote hostility towards the other, the authors introduce another contributing factor to such an environment - linguistic intolerance. Referring to its opposite side (linguistic tolerance of minority languages) as a possible positive contribution to peaceful resolution of ethnic tensions, intolerance of language choices is what might further contribute to social divisions. However, the authors here give examples (such as Senegal), where linguistic differences are more serious and complex. It will be further discussed in the 'Background' chapter how real are the differences between Bosnian and Croatian. However, this is not to say that the pupils which are subjects of this research are to be approached with the pre-notion of Bosnian and Croat language to be different or not. These issues are the ones which are tackled through the interview, but a brief overview of the linguistic environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina is provided in the 'Background' chapter in order to conceptualize the issue better.

Although I refer to it as an ethnically diverse environment, or for the case of the places where 'two schools under one roof' exist as ethnically divided, one would also refer to Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural country. A lot of literature that deals with education is aware of one issue: much of the recent trends in educational policies continue to make it

²⁷Bush, Kenneth D., and Diana Saltarelli. "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict - Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children."

exclusive in both political and social terms instead of encouraging its development in a more inclusive manner.

Literature on education and its role in societies refers to it often as multicultural education. In fact, there has been a vast number of work done on the topic by James A. Banks. In his book "The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education" he refers to the term as an "approach to school reform designed to actualize educational equality for students from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic groups."²⁸ Pointing out that multicultural education was initially referred to as multiethnic education, the term evolved to cover and reflect the broader number of problems and groups which emerged during the twentieth century. The concept revolves around equality in opportunities to learn. Together with this, he further argues that the "inequality that exists within society is reflected in the curriculum, textbooks, teacher attitudes (...)".²⁹ Furthermore, it is about providing pupils with the knowledge and experience which would allow them to function in the "national civic culture and community."³⁰ Banks also suggests four different dimensions of multicultural education from which two are relevant for this research: *an empowering school culture* which would encourage interaction across ethnic lines and *content integration* which rests on the principle of professors using diverse cultural examples in explaining concepts and theories in their field of expertise.³¹ Ethno-centrism is something not welcomed as people need to learn to live with individuals who identify differently.³² In relation to previously mentioned theories on boundaries and inter-ethnic relations, Banks promotes a similar idea, that interaction and familiarity with the 'other' is

²⁸ Banks, James A. The Routledge International companion to Multicultural Education. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. New York and London, 2009. p. 34

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 14

³¹ Ibid.

³² Banks, James A. Race, Culture and Education - the selected works of James A. Banks. Routledge, 2006. p. 75

necessary. As he calls it, schools need to encourage children breaking out of their "ethnic enclaves" and broaden their perspectives.³³ Similar to this, Richard Race finds that one community needs the others to "understand itself better (and) expand its intellectual and moral horizon"³⁴. Modern trends in education, however, show a different path. Places where pupils spend most of their time - schools - seem to be fertile ground for their separation and boundary maintenance.³⁵

A discussion on multiculturalism requires the ideas developed by Will Kymlicka. When mentioning multiculturalism Kymlicka states that in countries which are going through the process of democratic transition, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is still a likely possibility for them to evolve and introduce liberal ideas of multiculturalism.³⁶ A good point as BiH is a young country with a very complex system of consociational democracy, so it would be fair to expect for the country to evolve and introduce liberal multicultural ideas. Referring to multiculturalism in general terms as equal treatment of all as citizens³⁷, Kymlicka talks about national minorities (forced into the majority culture) and polyethnic groups (immigrants) when talking about equality.³⁸ For the context of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the context of this thesis it is very hard to assess such a scenario in reference to the two terms mentioned above. Croats are not considered to be national minorities, per se, in BiH. They are one of the three

³³ Ibid. p. 71

³⁴ Race, Richard. *Multiculturalism and Education - Contemporary Issues in Education Studies*. Continuum International Publishing Group. 2011. p. 4.

³⁵ Phillips, Trevor. After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation. Speech given by CRE Chair Trevor Phillips at the Manchester Council for Community Relations. In *Multiculturalism and Education - Contemporary Issues in Education Studies*. p. 52 - 59

³⁶ Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural odysseys: Navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Vol. 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007. p. 305

³⁷ However, Kymlicka adds: "This is one of many areas in which true equality requires not identical treatment, but rather differential treatment in order to accommodate differential needs." In. *Multicultural Citizenship - A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford University Press. 1995. p. 113

³⁸ Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship - A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford University Press. 1995. pp. 113-115

constituent peoples. Nor can one talk about polyethnic rights, since the history of the country in general and Croats in more specific terms is complex, as it will be shown below. When it comes to education, Kymlicka speaks again in terms of national minorities and polyethnic groups, saying that education for national minorities presents a protection mechanism against the majority, while for polyethnic groups temporary solutions, such as bilingual education, can be ways of achieving better conditions of integration. I will not here discuss Kymlicka's overall approach to multiculturalism and his opinion on education due to the length restrictions of the thesis. His views on education and national minorities do resonate the claims coming from the Croat community, as it is elaborated more on in the 'Background' chapter. Kymlicka does give some useful insights when it comes to languages - views as tools which can subvert minority rights - which will be useful for the discussion on the language discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹ The discussion on multiculturalism can be an exhaustive one. Some of the critics of multiculturalism reflect on its reference to cultures per se. As Sarah Song noticed, "cultures are not distinct, self-contained wholes", which to some extent is the way much of the philosophy approaches it.⁴⁰ Cultures have a long history of interaction and influencing each other. Available options can come from various cultures to an individual.⁴¹

As it is discussed in the following chapters, the history and environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina is complex. What was theoretically framed above will become more apparent in the 'Background' chapter where the issues covered by authors that deal with identity, education and inter-community relations are going to be presented through the specific case of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³⁹ Claiming that language could be a tool to subvert minority rights.

⁴⁰ Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism". The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. Ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Spring 2014 Edition). Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/multiculturalism>

⁴¹ Waldron, J. Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," in The Rights of Minority Cultures, Oxford: Oxford University Press. In Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism".

2.3. Why Ethnically Divided Education?

The Oxford dictionary defines segregation as "the action or state of setting someone or something apart from others." Another explanation defines it as "the enforced separation of different racial groups in a country, community, or establishment."⁴² In relation to 'two schools under one roof', the first definition can be relevant. The children attending different curricula within the same school are set apart because of the way they ethnically identify. The second definition is also to be taken into consideration. Although it refers to 'racial groups', the 'two schools under one roof' were introduced as an enforced measure by the international community in order to encourage minority return. However, if we take a closer look into international provisions regarding segregation in schools, another aspect arises. The Convention against Discrimination in Education (CADE)⁴³ follows the line of thought of the first Oxford Dictionary definition by stating that it prohibits any discrimination in education, or "establishing or maintaining separate educational system or institutions for persons or groups of persons." What is of interest here is the second part to who they conceptualize the issue. It says that "limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standards" is prohibited.⁴⁴ Another approach in international law to explaining segregation is promoting equal opportunities for access to education⁴⁵⁴⁶.

⁴² Oxford Dictionaries. Oxford University Press. 2015. Available at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/segregation>

⁴³ The Convention Against Discrimination in Education. Article 1 (c). UNESCO. Available at: <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php->

⁴⁴ Ibid. Article 1 (b).

⁴⁵ The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Article 12. Council of Europe - Treaties. Available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>

⁴⁶ Protocol Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Council of Europe - Treaties. Available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/005.htm>

From the above it can be said that there are various ways to approach the issue of segregation in schools. From describing it as separation to equal access opportunities. The reason why the above description is provided is because this thesis approaches the 'two schools under one roof' from a somewhat different viewpoint. I do not refer to it as segregation. Rather, I describe it as 'ethnically divided education'. The reason why such conceptualization is provided is a result of the thesis workshop we had the opportunity to attend. During one of the discussions a question was raised whether 'two schools under one roof' are something to be defined as segregation. After an interesting discussion I decided to take the comment into consideration and start thinking about the topic in these terms. Segregation is a value-loaded concept. Much of the scholarship done on segregation has been concentrated on specific cases of racial segregation in the United States of America, Apartheid, cases during the period of Western colonialism.⁴⁷ In all these instances, the focus is mostly on equal access opportunities, discrimination within the right to education and minority-majority relations. For the case of Croats, as it is elaborated in this thesis, the case is not like this. They are one of the three constitutionally recognized communities with equal access to education.

In the case of 'two schools under one roof' it is not a matter of equal access opportunities to the schools. Pupils can enroll into these schools, but in one or the other ethnically designated program. According to the first definitions (both Oxford and CADE), it does qualify as segregation. Following the existing scholarship and other international provisions, focusing on equal access opportunities would narrow down the theoretical approach. United Nations defines that a system which is based on voluntary assignment to linguistically

⁴⁷ Yudof, Mark G. International Human Rights and School Desegregation in the United States. 15 Tex. Int'l L. J. 1. 1980. Available at: <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/2219/>

separated classes (and schools) is not to be considered impermissible segregation.⁴⁸⁴⁹ All research and reports done on the topic, both by regional and international authors and organizations address the issue in segregationist terms. This whole discussion is not to say that 'two schools under one roof' are not to be considered as segregation. Considering the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such an occurrence which is new in nature, was/is something that has not been dealt with from the start, both academically and institutional wise. Approaching it in terms of segregation is presumably a way to reinforce the importance of the difficulties that such an education carries and the impact it has on inter-ethnic relations in a post-war country. Looking into it from an 'ethnically divided education' perspective might add to the issue. Besides, the participants of the research were also asked whether they perceive 'two schools under one roof' to be segregationist or in some other terms.

To approach an issue as complex as education in multicultural societies, a number of research questions arise - Why does an ethnically designated program in one country create a paradox in the community's pursuit of realization of its cultural and existential matters? Why is ethnically divided education not an appropriate method of schooling in multi-ethnic societies? Why is divided education considered a legitimate tool for the upbringing of pupils in divided societies? Is divided education in the interest of the students? How is contact, if there is any, between students attending different programs facilitated and what are the consequences that come out of it? In general, these questions help understand better the realization of the cultural and existential matters of one community in a multi-ethnic society. What are the possibilities and

⁴⁸ United Nations. General Assembly - Promotion And Protection Of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social And Cultural Rights, Including The Right To Development. 2009. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/10session/A.HRC.10.11.Add.1.pdf>

⁴⁹ It is further explained in the 'Background' chapter why this definition in relation to language is raised in this paragraph.

difficulties that can arise from all the phenomena involved in the process are what this thesis addresses and illustrates through the research done on the topic.

3. Background

To better understand the issue of divided education that this research tackles, a historical overview of Bosnia and Herzegovina is needed. The specific case this research focuses on is influenced by the environment in which it occurs. The aim is to contextualize better the consequences of ethnically divided education in the country. Being concise when explaining Bosnia and Herzegovina's history is challenging, but it is something I will do in the following paragraphs. First, I will describe the context of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to obtain a more in-depth overview of some key historical developments that paved the way to the establishment of 'two schools under one roof.' Next, I will explain the current status of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following this, an overview of what 'two schools under one roof' system is and how it functions will be provided based on which the focus of this research, that is, talking to people who graduated from it, is based in the following chapters.

Throughout its history, Bosnia and Herzegovina was hardly ever an independent state. It is a very young independent (*consociational*⁵⁰) democracy which still very much struggles to deal with the rigidly complex ethnic structure. Being under the rule of many outside powers, the country underwent many internal changes that heavily affected not only the institutional design of it, but also the ethnic make-up. Although very interesting and revealing history, for the purposes of this research I will mainly focus on the second half of the twentieth and twenty-first century which will best add to understanding the focus of this thesis. Much of

⁵⁰The relevance of mentioning 'consociational' will be explained in the following chapters, when explaining ethnically divided education, how it came to exist and the obstacles surrounding it.

the twentieth century and long before, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been home to many ethnic, religious and national communities. Although at different periods throughout history these communities would engage in conflict with one another, much of the history has also seen these communities co-habiting in a stable surrounding making Bosnia and Herzegovina a very unique country from a standpoint of inter-group relations.

However, as much as the diversity which characterizes the country adds to its uniqueness and makes it a continuous point of much research, such diversity has not always played in favor of the country's inhabitants. Such were the unfortunate events of the late twentieth century which sparked an era in the country's history portrayed by inter-ethnic conflict, mutual mistrust, complex institutional design and a very stagnant post-conflict environment which seems to be hard to change.

3.1. A Brief Overview of the History of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Croat community in Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes one of the three main ethnic communities which hold power and have historically been involved into a power-struggle over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If looked at from a geographical perspective, Croats in BiH live Mostly in Herzegovina, Western Herzegovina and small parts of Central Bosnia. Historically a very complex picture, the Croat community in Bosnia and Herzegovina has gone through several changes in different historical circumstances. The narrative spread by the ethno-nationalist elites about Croatia's involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina builds itself on the argumentation that the modern day territory of BiH belonged to

Croatian 'cultural and political model'.⁵¹ On the other hand, the Bosnian narrative understands the Croat's presence on the territory as a 'marginal phenomenon' or small communities that settled in the country.⁵²

Historical sources show that the Croat community in Bosnia and Herzegovina dates back to the days of the Kingdom of Croatia which incorporated a large part of BiH (ca. tenth-eleventh century).⁵³ The centuries which followed saw both the Croat community and BiH under each other's influence and under the influence of different rulers and empires, mainly the Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians. During the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the cultural ties between the Catholics in BiH and Croats in Dubrovnik, Slavonia and Dalmatia intensified and they started to actively participate and contribute to the creation and development of the Croatian literary and linguistic discourse. The language itself, starting in this period, became a big part of their identification or part of their (imagined) community.⁵⁴ After being subject to discrimination by the Ottomans, the Croats were finally granted equal rights.⁵⁵

When it comes to the cultural development of all three communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats) it must be noted that it is the cultural identity that makes the basis for the national one. Bosnia and Herzegovina is more of a geographical term than a national one.^{56,57} A long struggle for their survival in different historical circumstances

⁵¹ Džaja, Srećko M. "The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats: A Historical-Cultural Profile." *Croatian Studies Review*, Vol. 8. Munich, Germany. 2012. p. 65

⁵² Ibid. p. 66

⁵³ Domin, Thierry. *History of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the origins to 1992*. SFOR Informer No. 121. September 5, 2001.; Belammy, Alex J. "The formation of Croatian national identity: a centuries-old dream." Manchester University Press, 2003. p. 36

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 79

⁵⁵ Džaja, Srećko M. "The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats: A Historical-Cultural Profile." pp.77-82

⁵⁶ Cvitković, Ivan. "Hrvatski identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Croatian Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009. p. 113 ;

⁵⁷ Mesić, Stjepan. "Bez entitetska Bosna i Hercegovina - rješenje za postizanje i održavanje konstitutivnosti i ravnopravnosti Hrvata u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Non-entity Bosnia and Herzegovina - solution for achieving and

gave the Croatian people more incentive to keep their cultural traits strong which enabled them to preserve their name and self-worth.⁵⁸

In 1943 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established, a one-party communist state with six republics. As such, it presented a very complex system. However, it did manage for a certain period of time to keep it stable and even prosperous for the republics. During the late 1960s, early 1970s, Bosnian Muslims were recognized as a modern nation by being constitutionally described as such. The Croatian elites now had to deal with a newly recognized nation within the boundaries of a neighboring country once thought to be part of their own territory. It was not until the late 1980s when the ongoing political struggles culminated in what came to be known as the dissolution of Yugoslavia. In 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence from Yugoslavia and it became a fully sovereign state. A sovereign state left with a very complex ethnic structure and nationalistic discourses promoting different claims over the territory.

One of the territorial claims came already in the beginning of 1990s, when Mate Boban, the leader of the newly established Croat Democratic Union Party of BiH (CDUBiH) proclaimed the existence of Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia as a "separate political, cultural, economic, and territorial entity" on November 18, 1991. The Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosna imposed Croatia's ideas and propaganda and took control over the parts of the territory populated by Croats by introducing Croatian currency (kuna), symbols, school curricula

maintaining and keeping the constitutionality and equality of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009. p. 4.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 4.

and language.⁵⁹ Already here it can be seen that part of such a set-up would remain for the following years. The devastating war which lasted from 1992-1995 mainly revolved around the conflict between Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Although the war between Bosniaks and Serbs broke out already in 1992, it was not until 1993 that Bosniaks and Croats engaged in conflict.⁶⁰ Due to growing tensions and mutual mistrust that was sparked by the violent acts already committed in the country and the region, the war between Bosniaks and Croats was an intense one which ended two years later. Proposals for ending the war and keeping the integrity of the state intact were negotiated even during the war, which had profound impacts on the end-result. However, the final resolution was finalized in 1995 when the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed by the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia with the supervision coming from the international community, mostly from the United States of America.

A few months before the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed, Bosniak and Croat leaders signed the Washington agreement (1995) which established the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reason behind the Agreement was mostly to establish the alliance between Croats and Bosniaks which could fight against the growing power of the Serbian forces. The Washington agreement was a 'precursor' to the Dayton Peace Agreement. As such, it abolished the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna and established a territorial unit which still functions to this day - the Federation of BiH.⁶¹ Although envisaged as a model which could potentially unite the former warring sides, it was designed in such a way that now it presents a big administrative obstacle which nourishes fertile grounds for an ethno-nationalist rhetoric under which 'two schools under one roof' operate.

⁵⁹Israeli, Raphael & Albert Benabou. *Savagery in the Heart of Europe: The Bosnian War (1992-1995) Context, Perspectives, Personal Experiences, and Memoirs*. Strategic Book Publishing, 2013.pp.63-69

⁶⁰Ibid. p. 61.

⁶¹Israeli, Raphael & Albert Benabou. *Savagery in the Heart of Europe: The Bosnian War (1992-1995) Context, Perspectives, Personal Experiences, and Memoirs*. p. 64

When discussing the role of boundaries, some would say that the whole region of the Balkans is a region of cultural, religious, etc. boundaries between 'us' and 'them'.⁶² However, it must be noted here that the boundaries themselves are not something to be taken for granted. History has proven that there have been many instances and there still are where people of different cultural, religious, etc. traits cross those boundaries and co-exist in a same area/city/country. This has especially been the case for Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the three communities (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs) have coexisted for centuries together as well as with the 'Others'⁶³. It must be nevertheless acknowledged that these boundaries have been from time to time altered. With the three competing nationalist and political discourses such occurrences can be expected. And the alterations did not only come from the inside. The discourse of Croat elites had more influences from the outside. As Ivan Cvitković⁶⁴ notices, Croats have throughout most of history lived in one country, or were part of a larger country/unit. It was in 1992 when they became divided by a sovereign geographical boundary with the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such a geographical shift influenced the cultural boundaries as well. The role of Croatia became more prominent. In this way, defining itself as the homeland of all Croats it created a more complex picture for the Croats residing in BiH. With such a discourse, the elites sent a message to Croats about *where* they belong.⁶⁵ The proactive role of the former Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, in the matters of Croats in BiH gives a broader picture of this trend.

⁶² Cvitković, Ivan. "Hrvatski Identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Croatian Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). p. 112

⁶³ As a constitutionally recognized category of 'Others' - everyone who does not identify with the three ethnic communities

⁶⁴ "Hrvatski Identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Croatian Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). p. 113

⁶⁵ Filandra, Šaćir. "Bošnjaci i Hrvati: od jednakosti do razlika" (Bosniaks and Croats: from similarities to differences). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.p. 28

The lobby coming from Croats in BiH gave him a large amount of political and economic support. Additionally, he believed himself to be the president of all Croats and as such he had the right to guide and influence all of the Croats who were now dispersed.⁶⁶ During one of his visits to Mostar, a city on which it will be elaborated more in the following paragraphs, Tuđman said that the Croats in BiH are the 'ideal to all others in Croatia in many aspects' and the region of Herzegovina is one of the pillars of Croatia.⁶⁷

Although the influence from outside was very obvious, it must be noted that Tuđman's or anyone else's' more nationalist notion of what being a Croat was and is very different from that of many parties in opposition or intellectuals. Also, Herzegovina, where most of Croats resided and still do, did not have a positive connotation in Croatia itself as it was believed that it is from these parts that the Croatian extreme nationalist discourse and Ustašas emerged.⁶⁸

What does it mean to be Croat in Bosnia and Herzegovina? For most, or according to most of the literature, a Croat in BiH is split off between the Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Croatian state component.⁶⁹ While culturally and nationally identifying with Croatia, participating in its 'integrative identitarian processes', watching Croatian TV, cheering for their national team, a Croat person still realizes his/her everyday life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷⁰ As Cvitkovic further noticed, although being citizens of BiH in a political sense, they are citizens of Croatia in a national-cultural one.⁷¹ After all, they are one of the constituent

⁶⁶Belammy, Alex J. "The formation of Croatian national identity: a centuries-old dream." Manchester University Press, 2003. p. 72

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸Belammy, Alex J. "The formation of Croatian national identity: a centuries-old dream." Manchester University Press, 2003.p.73

⁶⁹ Filandra, Šaćir. p. 29.; Cvitković Ivan. p. 111.

⁷⁰ Cvitković, Ivan. p. 111

⁷¹Ibid. p. 114.

peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and from that they derive their right to equality in the country. According to this, they could not be considered as minority.⁷² Although the number of Croats has dropped since the war, they still do enjoy the full set of rights in the country as constituent peoples, although some would argue otherwise.⁷³

3.2. From the 1990s onwards: The War and Political Developments

With such a complex historical narrative which relates only to one of the communities residing on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one would expect a political system which would enable the communities in the country to co-exist, cooperate and interact. However, this is not the case. What the international community and the regional political leaders came up with after the devastating 1992-1993 war was a constitutional and geographical design for which they hoped it would appease all the warring sides involved in the 1992-1995 war. Although it did at the moment, the Dayton Peace Agreement created a strong basis for a political gridlock with which the country is still dealing. The Agreement itself was set out to stop the physical violence, momentarily accommodate the interests of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats and create the conditions for successful democratization of the state and facilitate reconciliation among the population. However, what was envisaged as a temporary solution, took roots in the society. Consequently, the Annex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement became the constitution of

⁷² Mesić, Stjepan. p. 25

⁷³ The number of Bosnian Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1991 (780.000) has dropped (Ćurić, p.1). Recent preliminary results of the 2013 census show that the number of Croats has dropped to 550.000 (Pavković, 2014). Questioning the status of Croats in BiH comes from the fact that Bosniaks can influence Croat's politics in the Federation of BiH. The point of reference usually goes back to 2006 and 2010 general elections when the then elected Croat president Željko Komšić was chosen by a Bosniak majority, as the electoral law allows for inter-ethnic voting in the Federation of BiH (Pehar, n.d.).

the country which very much functions on the principle of allocating all the power to the three ethnic communities.⁷⁴

Consisting of two entities, the country has been split up between the Federation of BiH (FBiH), RepublikaSrpska and the District of Brčko. Three constituent peoples are recognized - Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. The way it was established was according to the principles of consociational democracy, where each side's interests are to be represented and protected. The Federation of BiH entity is a territory predominantly shared by Croats and Bosniaks, which is not to exclude the fact that people who identify themselves differently also reside on the territory. However, when it comes to the political discourse, policy making and overall issues in the FBiH, it mostly revolves around Bosniaks and Croats. In order to deal with the heterogeneous environment of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the territory has been further divided into ten cantons, with each canton having considerable autonomy over its territory and local issues (such as health care, education, etc.).⁷⁵ In return, such a institutional division created a tangled web over 'who's' issues are to be put forward in each canton. Some cantons are predominantly populated by Bosniaks, some by Croats and a few represent a mixed environment between the two.

Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats represent the constitutive communities as recognized by the Constitution of country itself. Thus, they are not either majorities nor minorities.⁷⁶ Demographically, the Federation presents a more complex environment. Thus, the solutions that were introduced after the war had to be more sensitive and consequently, more complex for such

⁷⁴OHR. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁷⁵Nardelli, Alberto, Dzidic, Denis & Elvira Jukic. Bosnia and Herzegovina: the world's most complicated system of government? The Guardian. October 8, 2014.

⁷⁶ Džaja, Srećko. p. 64

a mixed entity. As Peter Rado⁷⁷ explains, what was supposed to be decentralization of the state, actually ended up furthering social and political cleavages between the former warring sides. Consequently, education is subject to these divisions and is being regulated by the three units separately, which further “results in over-centralization and, at the same time, over-fragmentation of this sector.”⁷⁸

Education in the FBiH is being regulated by each canton. Article 2 from Section V of the Constitution of the Federation of BiH states that each canton can “delegate its jurisdiction in relation to education (...), and it is obligatory to do so towards the municipalities in which the majority population, based on the national structure, is not the population that makes the national majority in the canton as a whole”.⁷⁹ Following the line of such constitutional provisions, in 1997, a school system where children of different ethnic affiliations would attend different curricula was introduced. What this meant was that separate classes were introduced too, thus separating the children both academically and physically. Initially, the system was introduced as an incentive by the international community to encourage minority return due to a high number of internally displaced persons and people who fled the country.⁸⁰ However, the system proved to be a very powerful one which allowed, and still does, for elites and people willing to maintain it, to enforce a divisive discourse which allows advocacy of nationalistic and exclusivist discourses, thus becoming a “hostage to latent

⁷⁷ Rado, Peter. *Decentralization and the Governance of Education „The State of Education Systems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Poland and Romania“*. Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Open Society Institute. Budapest. 2004. p. 22

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 22.

⁷⁹ Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁸⁰ Antidiskriminacija.org. Dvije škole pod jednim krovom („Two Schools Under One Roof“).

nationalism” in the country.⁸¹ There are currently 36 schools in the Federation of BiH that work under such a system.⁸² To understand the scope, there are in total 311 high schools in BiH, out of which 56 high schools are present in the two cantons (Hercegovina-Neretva and Srednjobosanski) where the 'two schools under one roof' operate.⁸³ It can be said that the 'two schools under one roof', although not significantly large in number on a general level, still are a strong presence in the two cantons affected by them. More on the numbers is elaborated in the subchapter 'Mostar'.

4. Two Schools under One Roof

The previous chapters captured the background of Bosnia and Herzegovina so we could better understand the environment in which 'two schools under one roof' actually operate. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on these schools specifically and explain how they actually function, why were they set-up and the developments since their introduction. The case of the city of Mostar is also briefly explained to describe the environment from which the interviewees came from.

As already explained, 'two schools under one roof' was introduced in 1997 as an incentive by the international community to encourage the return of people to their old addresses after the war was stopped. At the point of their introduction, the system seemed to be a temporary solution for possible long-lasting effects on reconciliation and reconstruction. These schools work on the principle of “national subjects” which include language, geography, history,

⁸¹ Magill, Clare. Education and Fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris, 2010. p. 72

⁸² Antidiskriminacija.org. Dvije škole pod jednim krovom („Two Schools Under One Roof“).

⁸³ Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Education Statistics, year 2013/2014. ; Federal Ministry of Education and Science. Directory of secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

nature and society, but also arts.⁸⁴ This means that these subjects are taken as a point for differentiation and division among students, and leads to an environment where the students of different ethnicities learn completely different things, and even things which are not particularly related to Bosnia and Herzegovina (in the case of Bosnian Croats, which will be further explained below). Although physical interaction between the students is minimal during classes, many reports find that outside the classroom inter-student contact is on quite a low level too. The Foundation “SchuelerHelfenLeben” fights against discrimination in schools and it made a documentary series back in 2009 which included interviews with participants of such a program, including teachers, principles, students etc. Interaction between the students even in the playgrounds around the schools is relatively low, school entrances are separate. Besides being physically divided inside the same building, the students of different ethnicities also attend classes at different times. They either attend different school shifts, or attend the same shift but a physical barrier is set up in order to abolish any contact between the students. The division which occurs in the schools is not only confined to the premises of the schools themselves. A lot of statements from the documentary confirm that there is division even in the larger community where, e.g. Bosniaks have never visited or rarely do visit parts where Bosnian Croats live. An interesting example presents a Croat girl from Mostar who has never seen the “Old Bridge” on the East side of the city, which is the main architectural and historical point of the city.⁸⁵

It must be taken into consideration that these schools exist in two different cantons and several different municipalities within the cantons. Following this, the schools and the larger community around it may interact and perceive it differently. A brief description of the

⁸⁴Low-Beer, Ann. Politics, school textbooks and cultural identity: The struggle in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Paradigm*, Vol. 2 (3). July, 2001.

⁸⁵Čengić, Nejra N. Podijeljeno školstvo u BiH ili „volimo se po razlici“! (*Divided education in BiH or „love each other based on our differences“!*). In. *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom – Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju*, pp. 91-137. Center for Human Rights of University of Sarajevo & ACIPS. 2012. pp. 108-109

city of Mostar and inter-ethnic relations will be given below in order to better understand the direct environment in which the people I spoke to grew up and were educated in. Additionally, a documentary series which is analyzed in chapter five will serve as an additional point of reference to discuss how the city functions.

The 'two schools under one roof' type of educational system created the basis for homogenization of students of one or the other program.⁸⁶ As already explained, it was at first designed to introduce the principle of 'national subjects' (language, nature and society, arts, history, and geography) which would separate the students based on their ethnic affiliation and the 'corresponding' language. Even if only these courses are taken into account, it still presented a problem for the larger context. In relation to this is the Open Society Fund report. In the case of, e.g. history and geography, Croat students learn things that are not even particularly related to their area, or to be more general, country of residence. The books which are used in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina come from different sources. For example, the Croatian program uses books from publishers in Mostar - which is a Croat-Bosniak mixed city ("Alfa" and "Školskanaklada"). What is interesting is the fact that the Ministry of Education of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina does allow for different publishers to compete in releasing books that might be used in schools. Each of the three Ministries in the country that are in charge of education are run by the Croatian, Serbian and Bosniak nationalist leaders.⁸⁷ Due to high levels of corruption, the schools receive books of different quality. The books used in Croat schools 'suspiciously' resemble the books that are published in Zagreb, Croatia, for people living in Croatia. What makes them somewhat different is that they are slightly 'enriched' by authors

⁸⁶Sadiković, Melina. Kako učimo našu djecu? (How do we teach our children?). In *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom - Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju*. pp. 26-28

⁸⁷Veličković, Nenad. "Školokrečina: nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, hrvatskim i srpskim čitankama" ("Školokrečina: Nationalism in Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian Textbooks"). *Fabrika knjiga* Beograd. 2012. p. 10

from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Previously, the used books were actual books from Croatia, and some still are, depending on the course and location.⁸⁸

History books accentuate belonging to another country, Croatia. The books ask students to elaborate on the Homeland war in Croatia, or to elaborate on the geographical traits of Croatia. The research itself concluded that the negative examples are mostly present in the Croatian program, where the information is more exclusive, and not much of it is in relation to the context of these children living in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸⁹ In addition, ‘multi-ethnic-cultural’ societies as represented as something wrong, un-natural. In a history book from the Croatian curriculum for the third grade of high-school it is stated, when referring to an Austro-Hungarian Empire’s attempt to connect Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks living in the country into one Bosnian and Herzegovinian multi-ethnic nation that “Of course, this type of unnatural political action had to encounter a failure.”⁹⁰ Such instances of curriculum design can be dangerous and foster further division among the future generations, as stated by Lynn Davies.

These types of historical representations are problematic for a multi-ethnic society. Taking into consideration the very rich history that Bosnia and Herzegovina has, essentializing the history of one over the other creates clear-cut boundaries between the pupils. No emphasis on a shared heritage, shared history or cooperative actions which included the three constituent peoples can make the children who read these materials think only in terms of their community. Consequently, it can be assumed that the students who will probably spend their

⁸⁸ Veličković, Nenad. "Školokrečina: nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, hrvatskim i srpskim čitankama" ("Školokrečina: Nationalism in Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian Textbooks"). Fabrika knjiga Beograd. 2012. pp. 8-10

⁸⁹ Husremović, Dženana, Powell, S., Šišić, A., & Dolić, A. Obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini: Čemu učimo našu djecu? Analiza sadržaja udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta („Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What do we teach our children? Analysis of the content of books from the national group of subjects“).

⁹⁰ Husremović, Dženana, Powell, S., Šišić, A., & Dolić, A. Obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini: Čemu učimo našu djecu? Analiza sadržaja udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta („Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What do we teach our children? Analysis of the content of books from the national group of subjects“). p.100

lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina learn for most of their life about the neighboring country with small levels of reference to the context of their direct surrounding.

The mother tongue is what is used as a basis to separate the group of 'national subjects'. Denis Lacorne and Tony Judt describe the role of language(s) in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the following, "it is important to remember that Bosnia offers a particularly homogenous linguistic landscape, but a highly divided one from a cultural standpoint."⁹¹ Through the books they use, students are predominantly thought about the literature and language of exclusively one community, while the cultural heritage of other communities living in BiH are rarely mentioned or used. In a country where the three languages and two alphabets (Latin and Cyrillic) are official⁹², such construction of one language appearing more important or above the other languages is what can create additional boundaries between the students. The three languages, or in this case, Bosnian and Croatian specifically, are mutually intelligible⁹³. Language became a prominent 'flag' with which one's independence and sovereignty were to be asserted. It became a tool which serves the purpose of reinforcing of a mutually exclusive political and educational discourse.

What is interesting here is that the Constitutional Court of BiH states that it is in contradiction to the civic rights the "exclusive usage of one language."⁹⁴ In contrary to this, the Law on Secondary Education of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (where 'two schools under one roof' exist) states is that the classes in school are to be held in one of the languages of the

⁹¹ Lacorne, Denis and Tony Judt. *Language, Nation, and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age*. Palgrave Macmillan. October 15, 2004. p. 224

⁹² The Constitution of the FBiH. "Amendment XXIX".; The Constitution of Republika Srpska . "Amendment LXXI".

⁹³ Greenberg, Robert D. *Jezik i Identitet na Balkanu – Raspad srpsko-hrvatskog* (Language and identity in the Balkans : Serbo-Croat and its disintegration Croatian). Zagreb : Srednja Europa, 2005.p. 19

⁹⁴ Čengić, Nejra N. *Podijeljeno školstvo u BiH ili „volimo se po razlici“!* (*Divided education in BiH or „love each other based on our differences“!*). In. *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom – Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju*, pp. 91-137. Center for Human Rights of University of Sarajevo & ACIPS. 2012. p. 95

constituent peoples of BiH (Article 21)⁹⁵, which goes against the Constitutional measure mentioned above. Interestingly, the law later stipulates that through the educational process it is expected to develop a positive relationship and feeling of belonging to the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the mutual intelligibility of the three (or in the case of this thesis, Bosnian and Croatian) languages, they are still 'mutually differentiated' through the political discourse which emphasizes opposing political and cultural identities and thus creates different 'national narratives'.⁹⁶ According to Azra Hromadžić, the Croat political elite used divided education to protect their culture, specifically emphasizing the importance of language which helped solidify the imagined community and connect all the Croats in the region. Thus, the medium of instruction became the main tool which halted any prospects of unification.⁹⁷ As Kymlicka and Grin argued, the language can go beyond the “communicative reach” as it is used to protect and reinforce autonomy, loyalties, political and ethnic goals, cultural values, etc.⁹⁸ According to the European Convention on the Rights of the Child, every child is guaranteed the right to be educated in their own language. Clare Magill explains that this provision, in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, means that there is a strong basis for an ongoing justification for segregated schools, although the three languages in question are very much similar.⁹⁹

⁹⁵Law on Secondary Education in Hercegovina-Neretva Canton.

⁹⁶ Džaja, Srećko. "The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats: A Historical-Cultural Profile." p. 64

⁹⁷Hromadzic, Azra. *Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

⁹⁸Kymlicka, Will and Francois Grin. Nation-Building, Ethnicity and Language Politics in Transition Countries. Ed by Farimah Daftary and Fracois Grin. Volume 2, March 1, 2004. pp. 10-11

⁹⁹ Magill, Clare. Education and fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. International Institute for Educational Planning, 2010. p. 32

Although initially introduced by it, the international community has put considerable effort into eradicating divided education. Initially having 54 schools operating on such principles until 2009¹⁰⁰, there are now only 34 of them left¹⁰¹.

Direct reminders of their difference which students are presented with in separate programs, a history of conflict between the two communities, constantly advocated differences in cultural settings (such as the language ones), can all increase the salience of social identity. This can affect the 'boundaries' between Bosniaks and Croats. Just as Barth wrote, the surrounding diversity affects the boundaries. Anthony Cohen stated, the boundaries 'may be thought of, rather, as existing in the minds of the beholders'. As such they might be perceived differently from the inside and the outside.¹⁰² Influences might be coming from different sources, which is one of limitations of this research as it mainly focuses on students' experiences from school. However, potential influences from their direct surrounding outside of schools have been covered in the interviews which will be presented below. Just as Fredrik Barth stated, 'where persons of different culture interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced (...)'¹⁰³ as it requires a similarity or community of culture. Structuring of 'interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences' is what sets up and keeps the boundaries. Maybe not directly implemented by the schools, but it might happen in contexts outside of schools. This persistence is what characterizes the 'two schools under one roof' where people identifying differently share the same area of living, attend an educational system structured in such a way allowing the 'persistence of the differences'.

¹⁰⁰Tajmel, Tanja and Klaus Starl. *Science Education Unlimited: Approaches to Equal Opportunities in Learning Science*. Waxmann Publishing Co. 2009. p. 29

¹⁰¹Džebo, Aldina. "Two Schools Under One Roof" Ruled Discriminatory. *Open Equal Free*. Available at: <http://www.openequalfree.org/archives/ed-news/two-schools-under-one-roof-ruled-discriminatory>

¹⁰²Cohen, Anthony P. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. In *Key Ideas*, editor: Peter Hamilton. Ellis Horwood Ltd. 1985. p. 12

¹⁰³Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, Sweden. 1969.p.16

As much as many might advocate for the integrative role that education can have amongst the youth, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, education has been transformed into something different. Realizing the power of it, those in charge took advantage of the fragile post-conflict environment and shaped the educational system in such a way to fit their interests. The transitions that the educational systems went through were not only structural. Once the conflicts were over, there was an overtly present need to monopolize all possible channels of national/ethnic discourses. Thus, education itself started to mirror the division among ethnic lines.

4.2. Mostar

One of the cities in which 'two schools under one roof' were introduced is Mostar. Mostar is a city in the southern part of the country (Herzegovina). Historically being recognized as a symbol of ethnic co-existence, the consequences of the war both on the city's infrastructure and relations between different communities changed its outlook. The events of the 1992-1995 war were and to some extent still are destructive in the city. The war first broke out with the Serb forces which forced Bosniaks and Croats to fight against them together. However, not long after, the war broke out between Bosniaks and Croats as well. This caused the city to become completely divided between the West (Croat) and East (Bosniak) side. The moment which sparked division of the two communities was the destruction of the four hundred years old bridge, the Old Bridge, by the Croatian nationalist forces in 1994.¹⁰⁴ Although the bridge was reconstructed ten years later, the city still remained divided, despite the political leaders' insisting on its unification. The East side and the West side were subject to different patterns of

¹⁰⁴Hromadžić, Azra. Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina. pp. 546-548

after-war reconstruction and redevelopment. The East side was almost completely demolished during the war. However, this is not to say that people on one or the other side live under better conditions. On both sides the most noticeable gap in the standard of living is still among the wealthy elites and the poor and less powerful ones.¹⁰⁵ According to the research conducted by Azra Hromadžić, it seems that the crossing from one side to the other is still relatively low, and people are not keen on mutual interaction. Such issues of inter-communal contact and the overall effects of divided education are something that this research tackles and the perspective on them from people who graduated from the Croatian program are to be elaborated on in the following chapters.

In the following sub-chapter I will briefly elaborate on the more specific context of Mostar and the Grammar School from which the participants come from. The reasons why I chose to focus on the Croatian program will also be presented.

4.3. Grammar School in Mostar

In order to better understand what the Grammar School in Mostar represents, a small overview of its historical developments is necessary. The paragraphs below illustrate when was the school established and all the structural and political changes the school was under influence and subject to.

The Grammar School in Mostar has a very long history. Built in 1898, the school has, at different time periods, proved to be in center of different claims and discussions. It has a

¹⁰⁵Hromadžić, Azra. Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina. pp. 546-548

very special place, both symbolically and geographically. It is located in the pure center of Mostar, the center where the 'Bosniak' and 'Croat' side split.¹⁰⁶¹⁰⁷

As such, the school has always presented a point of interaction. Not because it was in-between two sides, but because the mere geographic location was the center of the city. The symbolism of the school has always been present. Generations of families from Mostar have gone through its doors and graduated at some point.

With a very long history, multiple generations of Mostar families graduating from it and being one of the highest ranking schools in the country, the Grammar School was victim to the political discourse happening around it, especially during the 1990s. Always being an ethnically diverse school, in 1999 the authority over the school was taken over by the Croats. As Azra Hromadžić noticed, the professors of philosophy used to refer to the school as a 'Croat school' as it is located in the Croat territory.¹⁰⁸ The 1990s political discourse very much downgraded the long established reputation the school had. Although being among the first ones to become integrated, it was only in 2004 when the school merged on a administrative and pupils level, when Bosniaks and Croats started attending the same shift in the school. With a facade of being unified, the school presents a 'best practice school' example in terms of ethnically divided communities and schools. However, the premise of having the 'two schools' administratively merged does not necessarily mean that everything else is. The curricula is still separated on national grounds. As Hromadžić puts it, such a model enables for the preservation of "ethnic

¹⁰⁶Hromadzic, Azra. *Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Special Issue on Education in Conflict and Postconflict Societies. Guest Editors Lynn Davies and Christopher Talbot. November 2008, pp. 549-550

¹⁰⁷See Appendix I for the map of Mostar with the school marked with yellow.

¹⁰⁸Hromadzic, Azra. "Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina". p. 550

segregation through unification."¹⁰⁹ The classes are separate, as is the faculty staff. Students, in this case, are still subject to very different information and possibly very different outcomes. The only class which is taught to a mixed student body is the computer science class. Interestingly, the class is taught by a Serb professor.¹¹⁰¹¹¹

In terms of the general situation in the school, Azra Hromadžić has spent a considerable amount of time in the school. During the 22 months spent there, she has noticed patterns in behavior. As she explains, after the school day would finish she would see some 300 students running out of the school which would split into "two symmetrical, ethnically separate, snakelike shapes - one marching east, the other going west."¹¹² The school presents a very paradoxical institution. With the premise of unification, the school employs division along national (*and linguistic*) lines. Just as Hromadžić explains, the school fully embodies the spirit of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

4.4. Why the Croatian program?

The role of Croatia in Bosnia and Herzegovina has historically been very prominent. As it can be seen from above, Bosnia and Herzegovina has had a long history of being a place where different communities interacted, peacefully or in conflict with each other. Croatia, in its different titular and geographical forms has always had a role in the country's political and societal landscape. What adds to this is the fact that the languages in the Balkans, or Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia are mutually intelligible, so there was never a language barrier for the communities to interact or one's elites to influence the other country's

¹⁰⁹Ibid. p. 549

¹¹⁰Ibid. p. 560

¹¹¹As it was learned through an interview done with a student who continued her studies in Croatia, the computer science class is taught together only for the practical part. The theory of it is taught in, again, ethnically divided classes.

¹¹²Ibid. p. 551

political landscape or communal relations in any way. On the issue of language politics more will be said below.

Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' is good points of reference when talking about the national narratives in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the Croatian one in BiH more specifically. As Srećko Džaja explained, all the national narratives present in BiH are a 'product of political projects that were tested in BiH at the time of its entry into modern history.'¹¹³ Such national discourses changed over time and reached their culminating point at the end of the 1990s with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina's path to independence and the outbreak of the war.

As already explained, Croatian elites during the late 1980s and early 1990s sent out a clear message that Croatia is the motherland of all Croats and, as Filandra¹¹⁴ noted, created a contradiction in the 'political and general identity of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina.' An everyday Croat in Bosnia and Herzegovina is presented with two opposing challenges. Furthermore, he argues, culturally, the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina follow the discourse of Croatian identity construction processes (through Croatian television, cheering for the Croatian national football team, being involved in Croatian politics through voting mechanisms, etc.). This might have been a result of the Croatian elites' direct influence on the discourses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and through such mechanisms, in a way, exploited the national feelings of Croats in BiH for their own prosperity in Croatia. The second challenge is, as Filandra refers to it, the 'realization of one's concrete human existence.'¹¹⁵ Although this statement sounds over-exaggerated, the challenge exists. As it is seen from the research questions below, this kind of

¹¹³ Džaja, Srećko. "The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats: A Historical-Cultural Profile."

¹¹⁴ Filandra, Šaćir. "Bošnjaci i Hrvati: od jednakosti do razlika" (Bosniaks and Croats: from similarities to differences), p. 28

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

challenge is what this thesis focuses on. Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, being culturally tied to Croatia which is a neighboring sovereign country, still have to 'realizetheir concrete human existence' in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reality is that it is not only about the role that Croatia has in educational institutions, but also domestic political elites. Unfortunately, not much attention has been given to the issue of 'two schools under one roof' by the local leaders. For the ruling coalition between SDA and HDZ parties (one Bosniak the other Croatian) in the canton where Mostar is, 'two schools under one roof' do not present an issue raised on the agenda.¹¹⁶ One of the tools available for the Croat elite to protect its community's culture was through education, and consequently language.¹¹⁷ Although the international community pressured to end ethnically divided education, the Croat leaders resisted such claims by pointing their "right to segmental autonomy."¹¹⁸¹¹⁹ "The politicians are mostly ignorant about what such education entails. It could be that such an educational set-up raises new generations of voters which will keep them in power and cancelling such ethnically designated education might shatter the ethnically rigid political discourse that they perform. Much can be speculated here, and this is not the focus of this research. The reason why this research did not focus on the Bosnian program was because it was assumed, based on previous research, that the Bosnian program does not create such contradictions, and as Hromadžić pointed out, the Bosnian program has been less resistant to the possibilities of reforms. This, of course, should be subject to further research.

¹¹⁶Blagovčanin, Predrag. Dvije škole pod jednim krovom kao glavni rasadnik nacionalizma i rasizma. (Two Schools under One Roof as the main root for nationalism and racism). Radio Sarajevo, April 10, 2015. Available at: <http://www.radiosarajevo.ba/novost/185508>

¹¹⁷Hromadžić, Azra. *Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. 553

¹¹⁸Ibid. p. 558

¹¹⁹Wimmen, H. "Territory, Nation and the Power of Language: Implications of Education Reform in the Herzegovinian Town of Mostar." GSC Quarterly 11:1-21. In Clair McGlynn. "Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies". Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. p. 111

One might ask why would the Croatian program present a challenge? A country of many contradictions, Bosnia and Herzegovina's institutional design prevents any chances of cooperation or sense of belonging to a larger community. Most of the political discourse, or the one that is most important for the everyday life - such as education - is done on the local level. Ethnically mixed local environments are present, but the institutional framework encourages each community to deal only with its own interests, rarely promoting possibilities for inter-ethnic cooperation. The reality is that the environment in which Croats live pushes them to develop their own processes of identification or practice their everyday life which does not necessarily have anything to do with their direct surrounding. Following this, Ivo Komšić, a professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, stated that Croats in BiH are politically 'desubjectivized'¹²⁰, or that they are losing their political identity. Komšić goes further by saying that not a single community can live in one country and look for or realize its political identity and subjectivity in another¹²¹.

One of the mechanisms which adds to the mentioned statements by Komšić and Filandra is education. As already explained, the power of education in shaping one's processes of identification is, or can be, strong. Educational institutions are something that a large proportion of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is subject to.¹²² For the Herzegovacko - Neretvanski Canton which is inhabited by 270.000 people¹²³, and the area where Mostar is, 2.091

¹²⁰Komšić, Ivo. Ustavnopravni položaj Hrvata nakon Dayton - Kontinuitet Depolitizacije. In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009. p. 7; individual translation - meaning: losing its subjectivity, being depoliticized.

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 8

¹²² The data for the beginning of the 2013/2014 academic year shows that there have been 156.350 pupils enrolled in high-schools of all kinds. Available at:

http://www.bhas.ba/saopstenja/2014/EDU_2014_001_02_bos_i.pdf

¹²³Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs. Herzegovina - Neretva Canton. Available at: <http://www.fmup.gov.ba/bs/text.php?id=37>

pupils enrolled in high-schools during the 2014/2015 academic year. In total there have been 9.898 students in the Canton.

Mostar in general has a population of 113.449.¹²⁴ The projections from 2009 show that the city was inhabited almost equally by Bosniaks (47%) and Croats (48%) (and 3% of Serbs).¹²⁵ What the preliminary data in general shows is that there has been a decrease in the number of people in the Hercegovina-Neretva Canton area.¹²⁶ More specifically, there is also an ongoing trend of Croats leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus, a consequent drop in their numbers. According to MirkoPejanović¹²⁷, one of the reasons for such a trend, besides the events of 1992-1995 is the impossibility for Croats to realize their cultural rights. This is something that can be challenged. BiH is a country where cultural rights of a Croats protected by the fact that the community is one of only three constituent groups, it is institutionally guarded and there is an educational structure which, at the expense of dividing pupils, adds to the protection of cultural rights of both Croats and Bosniaks. In relation to this, what this research touches upon is not the actual realization of cultural rights, but what does the realization of such rights through divided education create for pupils who attend the Croatian program in terms of their existence in the environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and how they make sense of themselves.

¹²⁴ Milović, Tvrtko. Analiza dostupnih rezulta popisa stanovništva u BiH 2013. godine. Institute for Social-Political Research. *These numbers should be taken with caution. The first census after the 1991 one has been conducted in 2013 but no official results have been published. These numbers are projections by institutions.* <http://www.idpi.ba/analiza-dostupnih-rezultata-popisa-stanovnistva-u-bih-2013-godine/>

¹²⁵ Pejanović, Mirko. Demografsko-migracijski problemi u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini. In In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.p.39

¹²⁶Pejanović, Mirko. Demografsko-migracijski problemi u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini. In In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.p.39

¹²⁷Ibid.

From all the above, the Croatian program caught my attention because it presents an interesting case of an educational set-up for students in a country where division along ethnic lines still exists. The resistance from the Croatian leadership to end ethnically divided education is an interesting trend to follow. This is not to say that resistance does not exist among the Bosniak political leaders, but it is stronger among the Croat ones.^{128,129} As a consequence of such a discourse, it can be said that the Croatian program presents a bigger challenge, not only for the Croat community but for the whole society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The political discourse regarding the program presents a cultural-existential challenge for Croats themselves, and creates obstacles for any possibility of inter-ethnic co-existence in the divided communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to such a discourse, the actual set-up of the program itself, as explained above, creates a contradicting environment for the students who attend it. This is the reason why this research focuses on the Croatian program.

Following this sub-chapter, I will now elaborate more on the research conducted for this thesis. After this, I will go into the specifics of the research methods applied, briefly describe the participants and expand on the methods applied and limitations.

5.The Research

5.1. Why students who graduated from the Croatian program?

As Cvitković points out, what is going to happen to the new generations that were educated or grew up in an environment without having an experience of the 'other' is a question

¹²⁸Hromadzic, Azra. "Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina". p. 546

¹²⁹Wimmen, H. "Territory, Nation and the Power of Language: Implications of Education Reform in the Herzegovinian Town of Mostar."

to be worried about.¹³⁰ Most of the research and reports done on the topic deal with the current issues of the system and the issues of children who are at the moment subject to such an education. In all the research done on the topic there has not been any report on what happens once these students graduate from these schools. Almost all research done on the topic concentrates more on currently enrolled students and the obstacles they encounter in such divided environments. This is not to say that the issues currently enrolled students encounter are not important, but the overall effects of such divided education are rarely approached from an academic, or empirical perspective. Not only in case of 'two schools under one roof', but in general as well, including the literature provided in the second chapter of this thesis.

This research focuses on students who have graduated from 'two schools under one roof.' More specifically, I focus here on students who have graduated from the Croatian program within the Grammar School in Mostar. The general research questions, already presented in chapter two, put the topic of this thesis into a broader theoretical framework which deals with education in ethnically divided societies. In order to cover the issues which such education creates for Bosnia and Herzegovina, a number of specific questions arise. The main questions which I have dealt with through the research conducted revolve around the conditions which the Croatian program creates for the students. The goal was to obtain answers to the following questions: - Why does an ethnically designated program in one country create a paradox in the community's pursuit of realization of its cultural and existential matters? Why do some students decide to leave the country and continue their studies in Croatia? Does the

¹³⁰Cvitković, Ivan. Hrvatski identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini. In In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.p. 108

Croatian program create obstacles for those who wish to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of their education and overall existence in the country?

In order to understand the conditions the program creates better, the participants were also asked to speak about their experiences while they were enrolled. What experiences did these students gather from such an education in terms of their own perception of the program and how they perceive the levels of communication between the two separated groups of students are also some of the issues touched upon in the research? These questions served as the basis to deal with the dichotomy of the cultural and existential realization of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina mentioned in the 'Introduction'. Raising such questions will help us gain a better understanding of the issue of 'two schools under one roof' and what its actual effects are. Not only this, but understanding how education within the ethnically complex environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and all it entails - intergroup relations, identity construction and political discourses - functions, can help us understand the general scholarship that deals with these issues, especially in post-conflict societies.

5.2. Research Design

The following questions are part of a larger set of issues which were considered during the interviews. The questions presented below are just a small set of questions which served as the interview guideline, but individual anecdotes and personal experiences were topics that emerged through the discussions.

1. How do you perceive the 'two schools under one roof' system?
2. How much would you say was the level of contact between students of the Bosnian and Croatian program?

3. What opportunities has the Croatian program created for you?
4. You have left to continue your studies in Croatia/ stayed in BiH to continue your studies. Was there any particular reason behind it? Did you ever consider doing the opposite?
5. Is there anything that you wish the Croatian program focused more on? Is there anything from the Bosnian program that you found interesting but haven't had the opportunity to explore it more?

As a point of comparison, two interviews were conducted with students currently enrolled in the Gymnasium, one in the Bosnian and the other in the Croatian program. The questions, or topics, raised in these interviews were of very similar nature to the ones covered with the students who already graduated, thus covering their perception on their experience from the school and future plans about studying (i.e. staying in Bosnia and Herzegovina or going to Croatia). The reason for introducing a set of participants who are currently enrolled was to see how their perceptions at least to some extent compare to the ones who already graduated.

5.2. Research Changes

Due to external circumstances, including the wide media coverage of the documentary on the two schools under one roof system in early 2015, several schools denied to participate in my study. Therefore, certain adjustment had to be made to the initial research design to ensure that the study is completed in the time-frame of the present thesis project. These adjustments have not affected the original research questions, but the focus has slightly shifted from visiting the schools, including the Grammar School in Mostar, and having a more diverse set of participants currently enrolled to focusing more on people who graduated where 'two schools under one roof' are present to focusing more on the case of Mostar.

During the period I was contacting the schools, a four episode documentary series called 'Perspektiva' (*Perspective*) started airing with the focus on education in Mostar. The series in general deals with inter-ethnic relations in some of the more complex regions and cities in the Balkans and how different ethnic communities interact. In the following sub-chapter I will briefly present the main points raised in the documentary series and the obstacles that followed.

5.3. Perspektiva: Mostar

'Perspektiva' is the name of a documentary series project initiated by the 'Radio Free Europe' and the National Endowment for Democracy. The documentary-series' goal is to cover sensitive inter-ethnic issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to better understand the societal relations in the post-war environment and turn the focus to real existing problems and possible ways to facilitate reconciliation. The first episode (or the first four parts of episode number one) focused on Mostar.¹³¹ As it can be seen in the sub-chapter on Mostar, it is not surprising that a documentary-series dealing with inter-ethnic relations would take Mostar as a case-study. The complex ethnic composition of the city and the recent historical events all added to Mostar being an interesting example to explore how people, identifying differently, perceive each other.

The premise of the 'Mostar' episode was to talk about the relations between the Bosniak and Croat youth. More specifically, the episode focused on the issue of 'two schools under one roof' and how it influences the perception pupils have on each other. The method revolved around individual and group interviews with students from both programs and each other's reactions to the attitudes they have expressed in their separate interviews.

¹³¹ "Perspektiva": Mostar - First Episode. Radio Free Europe. Available at: <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/media/video/perspektiva-prva-epizoda-mostar/26835252.html>

Throughout the four episodes different issues were raised. From basic questions like "do you have Croat/Bosniak friends"; "could you imagine falling in love with someone who is Bosniak/Croat", to more complex situations such as their own personal experiences, good or bad, that they had with each other. The overall discussion that developed through the four episodes pointed out different opinions the youth from the divided programs have. The final part concentrated on bringing all the students together in one room, meeting each other and discussing the topics covered previously. Some opinions were striking in their nature, as a few students from both sides said that they would never have a relationship with someone who is 'not theirs' (Bosniak or Croat). As a participant from the Croatian program said, "Mostar is just not the environment for a relationship between people from two ethnic backgrounds."¹³² Another student from the Bosnian program said that these things cannot be influenced, they are natural, and if they happen - they happen, she would have nothing against it even though her parents would probably oppose it.¹³³ Not to go into much details about what was said in the documentary series, as in total it is more than two hours of program, I will point out some major issues raised by the documentary. In the very beginning of the first part one of the Croatian students' representatives state that the issues attached to divided education bothers them all, and especially the people who are graduating.¹³⁴ It was interesting to hear that in the very beginning, as the focus of this thesis are people who graduated from the Croatian program.

A student from the Croatian program, when asked about her interaction with the Bosniak side said that she almost never goes there except when she has to wait for the bus. The

¹³² Episode 1, 08:42 minute

¹³³ Episode 3, 04:02

¹³⁴ Episode 1, 03:10 minute

reason for this, as she said, is that she feels afraid and considers herself as an intruder.¹³⁵ In relation to this is one of the Croatian participants (A.H.) whose attitudes raised media's attention. During his speech he said that he would like to go to study to Sarajevo. However, he thinks that he will not be able to fit in, as his perception is that Sarajevo is a 'Muslim majority' city and he as a Croat would become a minority.¹³⁶ He added that he never visited the Old Bridge (a historic monument on the 'Bosniak' side) and that he avoids interacting with Bosniaks. He is able to recognize them on the street by their darker tone of skin and the way they dress up.¹³⁷ After the documentary aired, people on social-media heavily focused on his attitude and condemned it as well.¹³⁸ The eruption of media coverage that followed took away other issues which were raised in the documentary series. The majority of the interviewed students were very much aware that the instances of Bosniak-Croat tensions mostly revolve around hooligans and the supporters of the opposing teams. Another issue raised by the majority of the participants from both programs was the role of their parents. Most of the interviewed students from both programs, including A.H., recognize that it is their parents who played a big role in the boundary maintenance between Bosniaks and Croats. What the majority said is, that it was the parents who transmitted their own negative attitudes about the 'other' to them. One of the students interviewed from the Bosnian program stated that they - referring to students in general - are trying to fight the invisible boundary between them and that it is hard to do so. Another participant from the Croatian program stated, "We don't have opportunities to meet each other."¹³⁹ The participant

¹³⁵ Episode 2, 04:45

¹³⁶ Episode 2, 07:15

¹³⁷ Episode 2, 17:25

¹³⁸ For example, there is a Facebook page dedicated to him with daily updates mostly revolving around mocking his opinions. It has over 4.000 members. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/ante.sa.one.strane>

¹³⁹ Episode 2, 14:18

who never visited the Old Bridge further said that (reformed) education is one of the essential tools which can bring the students together.¹⁴⁰

Overall, the documentary series showcased different and opposing views. The media very much focused on the negatives. While everyone became aware that these children are victims of the ethnically divisive state system in general and education specifically, the media did not mention the positive attitudes expressed in the film. The film showed the sad reality of the ethnically rigid environments in which they grow up and which do not allow interaction thus creating a future generation of pupils living in very close proximity but never meeting each other. It should be considered a failure if a student who grew up on one side of a (small) city feels like an intruder on the other. The students in the documentary series have, in majority, condemned the system of divided education and showed willingness to be part of projects that would bring them together. The media, however, did not pick up on these attitudes.

What was largely neglected by the media in the aftermath of airing the documentary was to commend the students who participated for their honesty. Expressing attitudes which point out to their parents' fault why the ethnic divisions exist, accusing the political leadership for setting up a system which emphasizes the cultural differences between the Bosniaks and Croats and in general expressing views which do not follow the principles upon which the system of divided education is set-up is something that should be emphasized more. In general, the movie serves as a very good example upon which to analyze the general theory on education in ethnically divided communities. How formal ways of categorizing influence people's attitudes was not only observable in the interviews conducted for this research, but in the documentary as well. The way such practices affect the boundary maintenance was

¹⁴⁰ Episode 2, 09:45

observable in the movie, since even the mere geo-ethnic division of the city influences the way the youth interacts and the attitudes they have towards each other. The documentary did cover a lot of important issues that the currently enrolled students face in Mostar. However, the issues or opportunities which they could face in the aftermath of their graduation were covered mainly on a basis of predicting the effects of such education. Thus, this research adds to the current discourse in BiH by pointing the obstacles which some students might have to face after they graduated.

As much as it seemed encouraging that people and media finally started paying attention to the issue of 'two schools under one roof', the consequences of media's concentration on the negative attitudes which the series portrayed is assumed to have influenced the course of this research. The media accusations which revolved around schools' inability to deal with ethnically divided education and political elites' unwillingness to eradicate the system presumably made the schools close their doors to any further research. This should not imply that the media was not right about their accusations. But the overflow of media articles could have caused the schools to become reluctant on letting anyone do any more interviews with the students who attend the separate programs.

6. Research Methods

6.1. Qualitative Research Methods

For the purposes of this research I have relied on the qualitative research methods. Much of the previous research and reports done on the topic of 'two schools under one roof' has relied on expert opinions on what the complications of such education are, and a low number of social inquiries which directly talked to the pupils affected by it. As already explained, no

research dealt directly with the consequences of such and educational set-up nor talked to people who have graduated from one or the other program. Thus, as Holloway and Wheeler explain, qualitative research is a form of "social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live."¹⁴¹ In other words, qualitative research is a method used in order to better understand our surroundings and try to develop explanations about specific social phenomena.¹⁴²

This research intends to take a deeper look into how students who have graduated from 'two schools under one roof' interpret their experiences from the Croatian program and the previously mentioned, presumed, difficulties that come with it. In applying qualitative research methods, one tries to gather the feelings, experiences and opinions which individuals have thus producing a set of subjective data on a specific issue. There are various ways through which a researcher can collect qualitative data: observation, group interviews or individual interviews.¹⁴³ For the purposes of this thesis, I relied on conducting individual interviews with graduates from the Croatian program, the current students and the director of the documentary.

There are different ways in which one can conduct an interview. They can be unstructured, semi-structured or highly-structured.¹⁴⁴ I have applied semi-structured interviews. The way semi-structured interviews are conducted is such that several "topical areas" and open-ended questions are the guiding principles.¹⁴⁵ In this way, more topics were available to be covered. Considering the peculiarities that 'two schools under one roof' entail, semi-structured

¹⁴¹Holloway, Immy and Stephanie Wheeler. *Qualitative Research in Nursing*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2nd edition. September 2, 2002. p.3.

¹⁴² Hancock, Beverley. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Trent Focus Group, 1998 (2002). p. 2

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Hancock, Beverley. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Trent Focus Group, 1998 (2002). p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ Flick, Uwe. *An introduction to qualitative research*. SAGE publications. p. 156

interviews seemed like an appropriate method which would allow the participants to feel free to touch upon topics that might have not been covered in the questions.¹⁴⁶ Some of the examples of such topical questions are briefly mentioned above in the previous chapter. Both the interviewee and the interviewer can influence the interview process. In this way, one can gather new information that has not been discovered while researching on the background of the topic. Interestingly, such a thing happened even during the first interview that I have conducted. Through the conversation with the interviewee, I have found out that the students under 'two schools under one roof' have an opportunity to participate in unified French classes and spend additional time together within the premises of the divided school. Also, the first interviewee's perspectives on the obstacles one might encounter (such as entering, e.g. a Bosnian university) have also given new incentive to ask other participants about their perceptions on the Bosnian program and curriculum as well, whether they thought if there was something they have missed out on. More about these discoveries will be elaborated when the analysis of the data is presented. Therefore, the selected method seemed to be well-suited for the present study.

6.2. Participants, data collection and data analysis

Nine people were interviewed for this research: three people who stayed in BiH after they graduated from the Croatian program, three people who went to Croatia, a student currently enrolled in the Croatian program, a student currently enrolled in the Bosnian program and the director of the documentary series "Perspektiva." With the help from people in BiH and colleagues at the Central European University I was introduced to the students who participated in this research. The director of the documentary series is someone I know personally. I am

¹⁴⁶ Hancock, Beverley. p. 9.

aware of the risks that come with interviewing people someone knows personally, but valuable data was obtained. The table below present basic demographic data of the participants.

Table 1. Demographic Data of the Participants

| Participant | Code | Age | Current status |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Participant I | P1 | 22 | Studying in Sarajevo |
| Participant II | P2 | 22 | Studying in Sarajevo |
| Participant III | P3 | 25 | Studying in Mostar |
| Participant IV | P4 | 23 | Studying in Zagreb |
| Participant V | P5 | 24 | Studying in Zagreb |
| Participant VI | P6 | 25 | Studying in Zagreb |
| Participant VII | P7 | 18 | Attends Bosnian program |
| Participant VIII | P8 | 18 | Attends Croatian program |
| Participant XIX | Director of the documentary | 25 | Works in Sarajevo |

I was able to conduct eight interviews with people who have or had a direct experience with 'two schools under one roof' and an interview with the director of the documentary. Three of those participants are the ones who have left to continue their studies in Croatia. Another three are the ones who have decided to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a point of comparison, I have also conducted two interviews with currently enrolled students, one in the Bosnian and the other in the Croatian program.

The collection of data happened throughout April and the first half of May 2015 in Bosnia and Herzegovina and over Skype. Each participant was approached with the disclaimer that the data obtained is to be used solely for academic purposes and that all of their personal information is to remain anonymous. The reason for this was to be able to approach the

participants with less challenges as the topic is a sensitive one. After the interviews were conducted, I have written down all of the important notes from each interview and managed to discover several important topics that have emerged, or in this case, several categories of analysis important for the questions raised through this thesis. These include "Ethnically Divided Schools and Participants' Experience"; "The Cultural/Existential Dimension"; "The Role of the Language Discourse"; The Larger Discourse on Ethnically Divided Education"; "Contact".

One of the major criticisms of qualitative research methods is that the results or data obtained on specific issues may not be generalized or used to describe the broader population.¹⁴⁷ The aim of this thesis is not to make generalizations in any way on the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The focus of the research is the pupils from the Croatian program and their experience from the same and how investigating this phenomenon can contribute to the broader theoretical framework on education in ethnically divided societies.

In the following chapter, I will present the data collected through the interviews conducted as well as the analysis of the topics which have emerged.

7. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

Dealing with education in divided societies includes a lot of topics - contact, identity construction, language, school's faculty, existential opportunities created, political discourse. Excluding some topics could give an incomplete picture of an overall experience a student can obtain in such an environment. Considering that the cultural- existential dimensions include, among others, the concepts mentioned above, these topics were included in the field work to better understand why the paradox of realizing one's cultural and existential dimensions

¹⁴⁷Hancock, Beverley. p. 3

in different country can be problematic. Every topic mentioned above influences each other in one way or another, and each of them have been addressed in this research and with the participants. In this chapter I present the information gathered from the participants. With the quotes provided below, this chapter illustrates how the participants' attitudes towards ethnically divided education can help better understand the challenges ethnically divided education poses for people who are/were subject to it.

7.1. Ethnically Divided Schools and Participants' Experience

To better understand the issues this research deals with and introduce the topic of the research to the participants in order to make them feel comfortable, I first asked them "How would you generally describe your experience from high-school and are you satisfied with the program?". Many of those I spoke to had different answers and understandings of the question. But one thing remained similar in their answers. Overall, they were all satisfied with the quality of the program, including the two students currently enrolled in the Bosnian and Croatian program. This result leads to the reasons why the participants enrolled into the Grammar School in Mostar. The first person I talked to (P1) stated, "The reason people enroll into the Grammar School is because it is a school of high quality."¹⁴⁸ Similar attitudes were observed by the majority of the participants (P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P8). It was interesting to see that none of the participants explicitly mentioned that the reason why they entered the program they did was because of their ethnic affiliation. Maybe the practices of classification and categorization propagated by the political discourse do not have such a strong impact on their decisions to enter a specific program solely because of the ethnic connotations. After all, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, the Grammar School in Mostar represents a school of a very long tradition and has

¹⁴⁸All translations are author's own.

always been considered a prestigious institution. What was surprising here was that, as it is presented below, their experiences point into a different direction. As much as the school might be prestigious and does in a way offer quality education, the quality itself is something to be discussed.

Further into their answers, the participants touched upon more specific experiences which expand more on their general attitudes towards ethnically divided education. A participant who graduated from the Croatian program and stayed to study in Mostar (P3) said the following:

In order for me to portray my experience, I have to divide it into two parts. First part refers to the curriculum which we covered and I am satisfied with it. In that field we can, as a school system, commend the width and knowledge offered on the platter. The reason I say 'offered on the platter' leads me to the second part, which is the teaching methods. Throughout my education I had the privilege to learn from 3-4 professors who deserve respect and know how to transfer the knowledge to adolescents. Even if they're not interested in it. But, most of the professors are lost in between the old system of teaching¹⁴⁹ and some new methods, thus making the students expiate because of it."

In relation to this answer, a different issue emerged. Although the question did not explicitly ask about it, three participants who continued their studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina mentioned the role of their teachers (including the reference in the quote above). Although all of them mentioned that the teachers are older, all three seemed to have recognized the drawbacks of their teaching methods. One student (P1) who graduated stated that what she found the most surprising in the Croatian program was that they never covered some of the Bosnia and Herzegovina literary classic. That is, as pointed out earlier, the Croatian curriculum refers little to the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As she continued, it was only due to the free will of

¹⁴⁹ In BiH, when someone states 'old way of teaching' it usually refers to the teaching methods used during Yugoslavia.

the teacher she had who decided to introduce the students to Aleksa Šantić¹⁵⁰. However, they have never talked about e.g. Meša Selimović.¹⁵¹ She then continued:

One time I got into an argument with one of my professors over how to say the word "thousand".¹⁵² She just could not accept me saying 'hiljada' instead of 'tisuća' explaining that it's the incorrect way to say the number.

Another participant (P2) had stronger views on the methods employed by the teachers. Following the line of thought of the other participants, she found the teachers, in general, to be good. However, there were exceptions:

Most of the professors were older and by that they have guided us to be open minded towards all situations we might encounter. But, there were also some who were, let's call them, primitive, with some nationalistic points of view.

Later on in the conversation, she continued:

We had a professor who at one of his classes said that mixed marriages do not make sense and that they fall apart, to which my whole class objected.

The professors are very important actors in the case of ethnically divided schools. They are the channel through which the students absorb information on their surroundings and consequently, information which can influence the realization of their cultural and existential matters. In a way, the professors can be either the carriers of the principles upon which the ethnically divided schools operate, or they can be actors which defy such a discourse. The experiences which the participants brought up rather point out to the fact that the professors

¹⁵⁰ A late 19th early 20th century poet born in Mostar.

¹⁵¹ A Yugoslav writer born in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹⁵² In Bosnian, thousand is "hiljada", while in Croatian, thousand is "tisuća". Although they are different words, both terms can be regarded as mutually intelligible.

mirror the attitude of the political environment around them, which is to keep the boundaries present and provide children with information which is contradicting to their existence and experience with their culture.

A professor who states in front of a whole class that mixed marriages are something wrong does not empower any incentive for socialization between the two programs. Also, if they are reluctant on introducing the students in the Croatian program to the literature produced by Bosnian authors, it cannot be concluded that their teaching methods are based on using diverse cultural examples. Thus, the empowering school culture or content integration are not very much present in the case of the Grammar School. In this way, the professors directly influence how the students realize their cultural existence which can further influence how they realize their existential matters by guiding them in an environment which is not necessarily in the students' direct surrounding.

7.2. The Cultural/Existential Dimension

The introductory questions already opened interesting discussions. When asked specifically about the program and how comparable is it to the Bosnian, students who already graduated and the two still attending the Croatian and Bosnian program had interesting views. This sub-chapter offers an overview of participants attitudes towards the drawbacks and benefits one or the other program create. With the information obtained, the obstacles which the realization of the cultural/existential dimensions creates are addressed through specific examples and thus, understood better. In the final paragraph, similar to the structure of the sub-chapter above, the discussion of the results is provided.

The participants, when asked if they think that the Bosnian program offers something which they would be interested in, had several examples to provide. In general, all of the participants did not explicitly state in the beginning that one or the other has drawbacks or if the other offers something more than the one they're enrolled in. They emphasized that the Croatian program itself is of good quality - program/curriculum wise. As mentioned earlier, the participants have found some professors to be good, but there were exceptions, as quoted above. The student currently enrolled in the Croatian program (P8) mentioned a very specific example of one of the drawbacks of the Croatian program and how it affects her:

Well, they have more dynamic events. For example the [*referring to the Bosnian program*] book fair in Sarajevo which happens each year. For them [*the students in the Bosnian program*] it is a tradition, for us not even an excursion. It is an example of a drawback, a typical one. According to which logic they as the Bosnian program have the opportunity to go, and we don't? We are talking here about the capital city of the country in which we live.

It is interesting to observe the last sentence in the quote, where the participant referred to BiH as a country in which they all live. A contradiction in the cultural/existential dichotomy is obvious even from this very simple example regarding the book fair. One could state that the Croatian program does not want its students to associate with anything that is not related to Croatia. Thus, sending the students to a book fair in the capital city of the country in which they live might awaken their interest in the country. More of similar sentiments are provided in the following paragraphs.

Two participants who stayed in BiH (P1; P2) and a participant now studying in Croatia in Zagreb had a more in-depth look into the issues surrounding the opportunities that the Croatian program creates. Although generally satisfied with the quality of the program, the participant currently in Croatia (P4) said the following:

My objection [referring to the Croatian program] is that learning about the literature of Croatian language does not cover the writers from Bosnia and Herzegovina. For example, the author from Mostar, Aleksa Šantić, we did not even mention. The program and courses are the same as in Croatia, which was good for me taking the Croatian state graduation, but because of that, in some way, we are destroying our cultural heritage. (...) 'Politics and Economy' as a course never mentioned the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina so my assumption is that a large number of people after they finish high-school don't know how to explain the way their country functions.

From the quote above two phrases stand out. The overall complications which the participant pointed out are discussed at the end of this sub-chapter, but it is interesting to follow the way she frames her relationship to BiH and the program - "*We* are destroying *our* cultural heritage" and "the way *their* country functions." Already here, we can notice a contradiction which the program creates. Should a student feel responsible for the ethnically driven program not covering one of the most important local literary authors? He/she should not. Thus, not only does the ethnically designed program culturally drives the students away from the country in which they live, but for some such an occurrence presents a point of frustration. In addition to this, realizing existential matters in a country about which, *allegedly*, most of the students do not know much about can be challenging. More of the examples are provided below.

The participant who studies in Zagreb (P4) continued:

There certainly are some courses, for example, history, Bosnian language and literature which would be interesting to be attend in the Bosnian program. I am not quite sure how that program actually works, but nevertheless I think that the students from that program are better prepared for studying in universities in Bosnia.

A similar opinion was expressed by a participant who stayed in BiH (P2):

It would have been better if the textbooks for history and geography are the same, for students to learn more about BiH, and less on Croatian geography and history, at least concerning the Croatian program.

These attitudes resembled the attitudes of a participant who now studies in Sarajevo (P1). Additionally, some issues regarding the drawbacks of the Croatian program mentioned above, emerged again. When asked the same as the previously mentioned participant, she said:

I actually wanted to study literature in Sarajevo. The funny thing about it was that I was not qualified enough. By qualified here I mean that the program I attended [*referring to the Croatian program*] did not cover Bosnian literature at all. Not to say that I could not prepare myself for the exam, but the entrance exam requires general knowledge in Bosnian literature with which I am not very familiar nor did my previous education introduce me to it at all.

Similar to the previous statement, the other participant who stayed in BiH (P2) found the obstacles to be the same, although she was not referring to a personal experience. When talking about whether the program creates good conditions for students to continue their studies, she stated, "I don't think it does for those who decided to enroll into History after they graduated, because it has been taught very little on the history of BiH, and a lot more about Croatia."

Students who wish to continue their studies in Croatia have to pass the (Croatia's) state graduation exam.¹⁵³ A requirement for all high-school students in Croatia, the state graduation exam is something that the students in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or in this case, a portion of them, get ready for as well. This is something that I personally was not very familiar with. Thus, it emerged as a new interesting topic in relation to the questions raised in this thesis.

¹⁵³The state graduation exam in Croatia is a compulsory exam for students who graduated from grammar schools. It is a "collection of exams from specific classes which the student took during his/her at least four yearlong high-school education. The goal of the state graduation exam is to check and evaluate of the obtained knowledge and skills of the students (...)". The overarching goal is to ensure objectivity regarding the students' academic achievements. In a way, it is a way to ensure objectivity in the process of students' enrollment to universities.

Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of Republic of Croatia. *State graduation exam*. Available at: <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2246>. Accessed May 30, 2015.

It was something mentioned by most of the people I spoke to. The participants currently studying in Croatia agreed that the Croatian program did prepare them well for their studies in Croatia. One of the participants (P4) currently studying in Croatia mentioned the graduation exam, after talking about the level of preparation that the Croatian program provided her with:

I had no problem mastering the state graduation exam, and after that the entrance exam for the faculty, with no big effort to be honest. The students of our school actually can compete with students from better schools in Croatia.

One of the participants who decided to continue her studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (P1) expressed her views on the state graduation. In her opinion, the Croatian program directs the students to continue their studies in Croatia. She has raised an interesting fact which is that the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (where Mostar is located) pays trips to Split (Croatia) for students of the Croatian program to go there and do the Croatia's state graduation exam.¹⁵⁴

The Croatian program does influence the realization of cultural and existential matters for the students who attend it. As much as one can speak about the Mostar Grammar School being the 'best practice' example in ethnically divided education, it can be concluded already here that the 'best' part does indeed refer to the fact that they managed to unite administratively. If a former student who attended one ethnically driven program states that the students from the other program are prepared better to continue their studies in the country in which they both live, a problem is present. On the other hand, the school financing students' trips and attendance at the Croatia's state graduation exam does not necessarily inspire them to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina, even if they want to. The discouraging environment in which the

¹⁵⁴After extensive research on this, no proper reference to substantiate this claim was found. Thus, no further speculation about it should be made.

students spend four years of their lives does not offer much of an integrative curriculum which provides them with the essential knowledge to stay in the country in which they were born and not feel unwelcome or feel like there is not much to relate to.

The participants of this research presented attitudes different from what one would expect. They are aware of the drawbacks that such an educational design provides and they try to navigate through it the best way possible to avoid any extremes. But the program however creates a challenging environment for them once they finish their high-school education, and any prospect of resolving such issues by the political leadership is not present. A student who wanted to study literature ended up in a completely different field due to her 'unpreparedness' to study literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such occurrences are problematic for any multi-ethnic/diverse country. In terms of processes of social identity construction, such an environment provides the students with conflicting ideas and notions based on which they are supposed to make sense of themselves and their surroundings.

As much as each community's cultural heritage should be preserved, should that be done at the expense of the youth encountering barriers in any way due to their ethnic affiliations or ethnically driven divided programs they attend(ed)? Finding a solution for such an environment is hard, but it is something that the focus should be shifted to. Many underestimate the obstacles an ethnically divided education can create. As long as the interests of the communities are protected, the political leadership will pay little attention to what such an environment creates. This is why shifting the focus when dealing with ethnically divided education to students who already experienced the 'consequences' of such a set-up is important.

7.2.1. The Role of the Language Discourse

A student currently enrolled in the Bosnian program (P7), when asked about her perception of the Croatian program, had important input as well. Although on a general level she did not see any program to be more beneficial than the other (as most students did not in general), she did point out an interesting fact:

I know that [*in*] the Bosnian program every second essay must be written in Cyrillic, while the Croatian program touches upon the Cyrillic script only in the block letters form and only in the third grade of elementary school, so the high-school students in the Croatian program hardly know it and know how to read block letters Cyrillic, let alone write essays using the same.

Cyrillic is one of the official alphabets in the BiH. Not learning an official alphabet of the state in a manner which would ensure its application can create obstacles for the students who decide to stay in the country.

As explained in the 'Background' chapter, the language discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as simple as it may seem, still presents an obstacle in certain fields, especially education, or in this case, ethnically divided education. The cultural value which the language carries, especially in the political arena, becomes obvious from the participants answers. Additionally, they all seem to be frustrated with the ethno-language politics as they find it to be a major source of division. A student who continued her studies in Croatia (P4), referring to the Bosnian and Croatian language discourse in the Grammar School in Mostar, explains:

"It is as any other school, except that in this one they speak two languages. Well, actually, one language, but *someone* ordered us that it is two, so we have to differentiate them."

The quote above points out to an important process happening in the country. On the one hand, the students are aware of the differences being so small that keeping the programs divided based on linguistic differences is not necessary. On the other hand, they are aware that such a discourse is being promoted by the political elites, as it is shown in the examples below.

In the 'Introduction' chapter to this thesis I have explained that the language differences and their impact are something to be discussed with the participants. The question revolving the influence of language could not been ignored as the system of 'two schools under one roof' was established under the premise of language differences. From the research and the interviews, it became clear that language itself is not only what matters, but what it carries with itself. In this case, it relates to the issues of history and literature. All of the people I spoke to agree that the language division is not a legitimate reason enough to keep the system going. As the participant currently enrolled in the Bosnian program (P7) said:

Of course I think that they could be taught together. The differences are very small. Grammatical exceptions could be made. Actually, the only thing that keeps the programs divided is the language. In the end, if nothing else works, we can learn the language separately, but why then learn a double history?

A participant (P2) who continued the studies in BiH agrees with the option of teaching the languages separately if it is that important, but have other courses thought by the same professor. She continues:

The languages are the same and the grammatical differences are very small. We had no literature in Bosnian. I am studying in Sarajevo now, and I have learned about the beginning of Bosnian literature and language and I don't think the differences are big at all. If you ask me, all the languages are the same.

Language, as the medium of teaching in ethnically divided schools and schools in general plays a very important role. Considering that the whole system is set-up based on linguistic differences, focusing on the opportunities that the linguistic discourse carries is important. The symbolism that the information transmitted through language carries influences how people realize their cultural and existential matters. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the linguistic discourse, as already explained, is heavily politicized. Although in theory the differences are minimal, the school and political discourse teaches the students otherwise.

Not only is language the tool that keeps the realization of the cultural identification of students from the Croatian program in contradiction to their immediate surroundings, but it also presents obstacles the way they navigate through it. The program does not teach the students Cyrillic alphabet in manner that would ensure that they apply it in everyday life situations. This would not present a problem if the Cyrillic letter was not an official one in BiH and used in everyday life in some parts of the country (mostly Republika Srpska).

Thus, not only does the linguistic discourse influence the cultural - existential dichotomy, it also perpetuates further division. The language intolerance upon which the system is based, as explained in the second chapter, can only contribute to social divisions. If students come to school every day and enter separate classrooms because their languages are *different*, , they are subject to an 'us' vs. 'them' discourse. In post-conflict societies such ideas can hardly contribute to any possibility of reconciliation.

7.3. The Larger Discourse on Ethnically Divided Education

The following paragraphs will focus on participants' attitudes towards the larger discourse surrounding the ethnically divided programs in the Mostar Grammar School. The

participants talked about their general perception on how the school leadership and the political leadership in their environment act towards their school. Exploring these topics can help add to this research and point out to some of the major processes which influence the cultural/existential dimensions. In addition to this, the participants also discussed whether the way the school operates is considered as segregation. The terminology revolving the principles upon which the programs work was tackled in order to add to current research and the literature on divided education and help understand more closely what segregation is, or what is considered to be.

Most of the participants (P2,P3, P5, P6, P7,P8) do not consider the Grammar School in Mostar to be a representative example of 'two schools under one roof.' This might be a result of the school being labeled as the 'best practice school' for an ethnically divided education by the fact that it achieved unification on an administrative level. However, the experiences presented above in the following quotes portray a different picture. A participant currently enrolled in the Croatian program (P8) said:

It's is not bad at all when we work together. We unify, for example, in creativity, wits, organization and many other skills. It is then when you realize that we are one school. Unfortunately, very often, they try to divide us. The mere fact that you're entering a school in which two programs operate, puts a burden on your back that there are differences. We are we, they are there. Completely unnecessary.

Already here it is interesting to observe that she refers to 'them' separating the students. Later on in the conversation, she gives an example of a hypothetical situation where a student is 'thought' by the system to follow the nationalist discourse and not engage into contact with the other. Here she explains that it would be wrong if someone said that the student in the situation above did not understand. She says:

He understood the message of his government and elites very well.

Similar to this, another participant who continued his studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (P3) expressed his views on the role of the political elites in keeping the system going:

In BiH they say that there are three truths regarding history and as long as it is like that these two programs will be far from being unified. (...) Not any side in our region is ready to be subject to the imposed truth from the other and I believe exactly this is a very useful weapon of the 'big fish' which take advantage of the state in which our society is.

These quotes portray the ethnically rigid environment that the students need to grow up and be educated in. All the historical events already mentioned have led to a surrounding where the interests of each community rest upon the accentuation of differences, which one might argue to be small or not big enough for institutional divisions. A political discourse that affirms differences can increase mutual suspicion among the population. Furthermore, the affirmation of differences of one community in comparison to the rest and affirmation of similarities to a neighboring country complicates the cultural/existential dichotomy in a way that it detaches that one community from their direct environment.

A participant who continued her studies in BiH (P2) had similar opinions. However, her example is narrower as it points out to the school administration. She says:

I think that the top of the school did not want to work together, it was not us. (...) Here is an example - When we wanted to have a unified prom, we from the Croatian program and the students from the Bosnian, they (referring to the school administration) told us that it is impossible, because it would lead to problems. Which I consider to be ridiculous and completely unnecessary creation of boundaries between us.

She later on states that such examples prove that there is some type of segregation since the leadership top of the schools would not allow them to *exist* as one generation, which she thinks they all were.

Together with the comments made about professors mentioned in the first part of this chapter, these quotes portray an important trend. The school follows the same pattern promoted by the political discourse which rests upon keeping the students separate. In broader terms, this points to the fact that ethnically divided environments are very complex ones which function on the principle on, as the name says, keeping the communities divided. Such a political discourse is harder to resist in countries which are heavily decentralized. If education is brought down to the local level, as much as it can contribute to answering to the communities' immediate needs, it can also present an obstacle as it leaves a lot of open space for manipulation and adjustments which would fit the local elites.

The majority of people I spoke to do consider the 'two schools under one roof' system as segregationist (P1, P3, P4, P5, P7, and P8). As already explained, they do not necessarily perceive the Grammar School in Mostar to be a representative example of such education. Taking into consideration that most of the participants think of segregation as "mere division" (P1), their experiences from the Grammar School do in a way follow their understanding of segregation, and thus, 'two schools under one roof'. A participant who currently studies in Croatia (P4) frames the answer in an interesting manner by saying that "the system as segregationist as is life in Bosnia and Herzegovina." A participant who stayed in BiH (P3) to continue his studies adds:

In the beginning it [*referring to 'two schools under one roof'*] was a positive thing which presented itself as a tool for integration (...) As the time passed, the system itself created segregation and instead of finding new methods and forget about the divisions, we still remain on the same system which always reminds us how divided we are.

The participants' views on segregation add to this research in a way that they point out to the general discourse which considers segregation to be division. This is not to say

that this is not correct, but it must be noted that not focusing on a concept as value loaded as segregation is a lot of topics, as the ones provided in this chapter, emerged in tackling the issue of 'two schools under one roof' and education in diverse and divided societies.

7.4. Contact

This sub-chapter presents the participants' level of contact that they have managed to establish during their high-school education in the Grammar School. Contact, as explained in the second chapter, influences the boundaries which are constructed between communities. In divided societies where the communities live in close proximity to each other, contact can play a major role in not only inter-communal relations but how and what one makes of him/herself in relation to the environment. The gathered answers further present participants' experiences with students from the other program. Possible conclusions based on the information are provided.

One of the first interviews I conducted was the one where the student currently studying in Bosnia and Herzegovina stated that the school staff would not let them have a prom together with the Bosnian program. At this point it became obvious that discussing the possibilities provided for contact between the programs would become necessary. All of the participants agreed that contact between the students of the two programs was present. Or, as a student who stayed to study in BiH (P1) said, it was there for those who wanted to establish it. For the interested students from both programs, there is a possibility while in school to attend the French language extra-curriculum class together. Most of the participants did attend the class and they all confirmed that there were never any problems. In relation to this, a participant who currently studies in BiH (P2) stated:

We who attended the class, went together to France for ten days supported by the French embassy and it was very nice. Other united trips we unfortunately did not have. I think there should be more initiatives like that.

School facilitated contact exists after all. This to some extent adds to the school description being "best practice" since other schools, according to the previous research, do not offer such opportunities. However, as the participant(s) noted, there is not enough contact. As much as opportunities offered present a step forward in the ethnic division which happens in the city, the previously mentioned experiences with the faculty show that achieving any spontaneous, bottom-up contact within the premises of the school is very challenging.

In addition to this, she gives an example of another common project:

We had a project when we were hosting students from Denmark for a few days in our houses and they also joined us in classes. We all spent the free time all together, went out at night to clubs, walks. It was because we made a deal to be like that and we wanted to spend time together.

In relation to the observation on the previous quote, this shows that the contact which happened, happened bottom-up, by the students themselves, not something which was suggested by the school.

When asked whether there was any interaction outside of the premises of the school, they all said there was, to a different degree. As the student who currently studies in Croatia (P5) puts it:

Our city does not offer a lot of places for going out at night, but just a couple of them. The places where we went to, students from the Bosnian program would come as well, so communication was very possible.

As much as the city as a whole is divided, the reality is that Mostar is not a very large city. With an area size of a little more over 1100 km², the geographical restrictions do influence the geo-ethnic ones. Especially for youth who spends more time outside in the city, going to one or the other side might be inevitable at some point in their lives.

It was interesting to hear from the participants (P3, P2, P7) that, as much as simple it may sound, smoking and exchanging cigarettes during lunch breaks was a way through which the students interact and break the boundaries.¹⁵⁵ There were also instances where, during the lunch breaks or after the classes, the students from both programs would go to a cafe bar very close to the school so it is close for everyone to go back home, as a student who stayed to study in BiH (P1) explained.

These instances of contact between the students from the two programs reaffirm that contact, again, is initiated by the students themselves. In a way, they defy the discourse which is pushed on them and fight against the norms upon which ethnically divided communities operate.

All these small instances of interaction during their high school years provided some with long-lasting friendships as one participant who stayed in BiH (P2) explains:

For example, even today I am in contact with a lot of students from the Bosnian program even though I am in university, and with some people from my class I have no contact whatsoever.

¹⁵⁵This finding was very similar to the research done by Azra Hromadžić, where similar instances of bathroom smoke-breaks were grounds for mutual contact. *By Hromadžić, Azra. Bathroom Mixing: Youth Negotiate Democratization in Postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* Volume 34, Issue 2, pages 268–289, November 2011.

All of the participants expressed their willingness to be part of more programs which would facilitate interaction between the two programs. The Student Council is a mixed one. Two of the people I spoke to are/were members of it, a student currently enrolled in the Bosnian program and the one who graduated from the Croatian program and stayed in BiH (P1). In addition to this, the extra-curriculum activities are held together. The student who stayed in BiH (P3) reflects:

We went to the same shifts, exchanged cigarettes on small breaks and after a year or two we knew each other more or less. There were also chances to meet someone during the big lunch breaks and the communication was completely normal. Also, we had the same facultative activities (drama, chemistry, physics, computer classes...) and in such workshops we had that unified education although it was *only* once a week or even less.

The student currently enrolled in the Bosnian program (P7) explains, referring to both the Student Council and the computer science class:

Disregarding the program, joining the forces together we team up in one body trying to reach the same goals that matter to all of us. Another example is the practical classes in computer classes where we had the chance to get closer and to know each other, on which the professor especially insisted. "

Contrary to popular belief, a thing must be noted here. As much as ethnically divided education reaffirms differences and strengthens the boundaries, the case of the Grammar School in Mostar is a peculiar one. This school in a way presents a meeting point for students from ethnically different sides of the city who otherwise maybe never would interact on a daily basis. The interaction itself is something which depends on a case-to-case basis, but in one way or another they get to experience the 'other'. In addition to this, as much as the school itself presents an environment for interaction, some of the participants' experiences show that the

school provided them with lasting friendships outside of its premises and after they graduated. Although this presents a step forward, much of this contact is in the end done voluntarily by the students with little or no help from the school itself.

The above examples support the idea that although the institutions in multi-ethnic societies advocate multicultural education, the policies they create are often ill-conceived. A unified school administration does not necessarily mean that all the issues facing ethnically divided education have been resolved. Far from that, it only disguises the real issues which happen in everyday life of the students who attend such programs. Contact within ethnically divided schools is one of the vital ingredients which can enable any possibility of reconciliation in ethnically rigid post-conflict societies. Besides, by getting to know the 'other', a student can directly experience the immediate surroundings in which they are born, thus the realization of the cultural/existential dichotomy can be made easier for any community which does not necessarily identify with their larger environment.

7.5. Perspective on 'Perspektiva'

At the end of the interviews with the participants, a question about their attitudes towards the discourse revolving the documentary-series was raised. As all the participants come from the city and school where the series was recorded, it was a necessary topic to be covered. Through all the responses, a pattern became obvious in their attitudes towards the series. Some of the attitudes are presented in this sub-chapter.

All of the participants had a negative attitude towards the series. They all seemed to be frustrated by how the series represented the ethnic relations and the city of Mostar.

Interestingly, the aftermath of the airing had effects stronger than expected. As the student currently enrolled in the Bosnian program says:

I was witness to many bickering, tensions and arguments which emerged immediately after the airing of the series. These things were not present before.

This was an interesting finding especially coming from a student who is currently enrolled in one of the schools which were covered in series. This shows how fragile ethnically divided societies are and that it is only a matter of a small trigger to reignite tensions between the communities. This is especially true for an environment where small steps have already been taken to reunite the formerly warring sides, like in the case of Mostar and the Grammar School in Mostar.

The participant who is currently enrolled in the Bosnian program continues by stating that not enough positive sides of the city were pointed out. After the media picked up on the movie, as she explains, the students felt the need to have a voice in all of it and they actually went to talk to journalists and point out the positive attitudes what Mostar youth has and their "readiness to unite", which adds to her belief that the school itself is a joint school for Bosniaks and Croats.

The events above show that the students will take a step further to go against what is being pushed on them by the larger discourse around them, as previously mentioned. The fact that students from both program felt that the way they were being portrayed was wrong shows a positive development in terms of inter-communal relations in an ethnically divided city. The cultural and existential dimension to some extent balanced each other in this case since the students discovered a common interest.

A participant who stayed to study in Bosnia and Herzegovina (P2), by pointing out to the social media 'obsession' with the statements made by A.H., said:

I feel the city was completely deconstructed and the media portrayal of the same awoke some of the old discourse which was happening right after the war. I wish they had concentrated on the positive sides and showed the progress that both the school and the city had since the war ended. I mean, there are exceptions, but I would say the majority is passed the negativity and bridges have been built between the two sides.

The participant currently studying in Croatia (P4) further explained:

I still do not see a point of a series except to raise viewership by picking a socially sensitive topic. The high-school students said all with utmost honesty, without any pretending. Most of them will probably regret it in the future (...) I feel sorry for Mostar always and forcefully being portrayed a case-city and for that even when you enter on Google, including the Croatian version) the term *division* automatically suggests *division of Mostar*. The difficulty of living in the city is always pointed out, and I witnessed that there are even bigger obstacles, but they are either ethnically homogenous or one nation is in majority, so they do not stick out and do not get media attention. I was surprised by the reaction of people on the views of one high school student. Social media was flooded with mockery and gloating on what way a hasty and clumsy statement made by a high-school student who will hopefully abhor it when he grows up. It is here where I saw how intolerant can be those who present themselves as tolerant.

It is clear from the answers that the documentary-series did indeed leave a mark on people from the Grammar School in Mostar. They were left disappointed and angry at the way it was framed and how the media picked up on their school and the city they live in. Even from their reactions it can be said that the movie did cause quite a turbulence in the discourse of not only the media, but everyday people as well. As much as there are people who might agree with A.H. or any other student who had a more negative attitude towards any possibility of contact between the students from both programs, it is hard to generalize each of the sides. What the interviews showed was that the series did indeed raise the discussion about ethnically divided education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The good or the bad sides of it, the series may trigger a

larger conversation not only between students from both programs, but more importantly, between the elites representing both Bosniaks and Croats.

The conversation I had with the director of the documentary revealed important data which pointed out towards a somewhat different perspective on the whole series and the discourse around it which emerged. Referring to the more extreme views that some of the participants had, she said that she was not surprised by such statements at all as she was quite aware of the situation surrounding divided education, which is why she specifically chose Mostar as a case-study. When it comes to the contact the students from the two programs have, she adds:

In my opinion, their interaction goes from one extreme to another and I think somehow there is no middle there. They don't sit together and drink coffees which was demonstrated in the documentary as they do not cross from one side to another. On the other hand, we have cases of relationships and love between two students, one from the Bosnian and the other from the Croatian program, who hide in the school basements and shadows of Mostar in order to preserve their relationship.

This was an interesting observation. In the data obtained from the participants of the research, quite a different image was portrayed regarding contact and boundaries between the two programs. Most of the participants confirmed everyday interaction, even outside of the schools. Whether it was smoking cigarettes together in bathrooms or going to the closest bar to have coffee after school point out that the students have indeed an established everyday contact. Also, as explained above, some participants pointed out that even outside of the school environment they spend time together in the city, including the weekend nights. The contrasting information that gathered from the participants and the director might be a result of just different experiences that the people from the documentary and the ones who graduated had. Both results cannot be generalized. However, it is important to emphasize that, against the general perception, students do interact and defy the boundaries pushed on them.

Another interesting comment raised by the director was regarding her experience during the filming of the documentary:

At every scene shooting there was one professor present. When it comes to Mostar, in the Croatian program that was the professor of religious studies. And the same was with the Bosnian program, but I honestly cannot remember a professor of which class. They were present and listening to everything. No one reacted to anything, so I believe that they were supporting what the students had to say, and thus teach them to have such attitudes.

Interestingly, this somewhat corresponds to the attitudes raised about the professors by the participants of this research. The participants have also raised concerns regarding the professors through the negative experiences some of them had. Not reacting towards xenophobic attitudes expressed by the students is something that can solidify boundary maintenance. Not only this, but it can perpetuate the cultural-existential paradox if the students are left to believe that going to the 'other' side is something out of ordinary or that studying in the capital city of the country in which they were born would be bad for them because they believe they would be a minority there. If such attitudes are not challenged by the professors themselves, the realization of the cultural and existential dimensions could become problematic, as the students, such as A.H., would like to do their studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but culturally they do not feel welcome in the environment.

On the role of the political elites and the parents, she explains that as long as we have a government that propagates that 'apples and pears should not be mixed' there is little hope for any progress. By dividing the children "they automatically put them (children) in groups and that results in a dialogue in which focuses on 'us' and 'them'", she says. In addition to this, she adds that such a narrative, besides being promoted by the elites, usually comes from the family as well. Although the participants of this research did not focus much on the role of the parents,

both the students in the documentary and the director stressed their role. The students of the divided education are thus victims of a very complex discourse pushed not only by the political leadership, but also by their most direct environment - their family. Maintaining the paradox that the cultural-existential dimension is then is not a very hard task, since the students have little channels through which they can fight against it.

Considering that the media coverage did to a certain extent not only influence the general discourse on 'two schools under one roof', but this research as well, I had to ask the director what was her experience after the documentary series aired. She explains:

I have not slept for nights because of Mostar. As I said, I became immune to such situations because of the environment in which we live. I was not completely clear why the series was such a big deal, like no one knew what the situation was like. We all live in it, my friends from Mostar live like that, and when you express your beliefs out loud, everyone goes crazy. Until when are we supposed to live in silence? Media like media, they reported all sorts of things. I heard how everything was staged, that the goal was to actually infuriate people even more. I even read somewhere that I was actually a CIA agent, and as a spy I was involved into some sort of a project."

The media coverage has definitely caused quite a disturbance in the discourse on relation to education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It affected both the director of the series and the participants in it. It divided the population and it initiated a process of social media shaming of one of the participants. However, the media coverage did start a discussion which would rarely happen before. A large proportion of the population became aware of the issues that ethnically divided education causes, and the topic is still, after months since the airing of the documentary, debated. Any future prospect of the current situation will might lead to a more concrete discussion which can open the door for the much needed reforms in education.

Ethnically divided communities need dialogue to create any possibility for contact. In order for the dialogue to happen, issues which such communities face need to be pointed out. Media is one way of addressing the issues. However, taking the example above, divided societies exist on very fragile grounds. Any abruptness of the status-quo can lead into two directions. It may either provide a channel through which the obstacles or boundaries faced by the communities can be taken down, or it can deepen the mutual mistrust and downgrade years of effort put into creating an environment in which two communities could co-exist. The result depends on many factors. This just goes to say that any media portrayal of inter-ethnic relations needs to be done carefully. In the case of 'Perspektiva', the documentary presented both the good and the bad. The media reacted mainly to the negative and triggered an intense period of inter-ethnic relations in the city of Mostar. If a positive outcome is to be taken from the experience is that it raised the discussion on ethnically divided education. The outcome of the discussion itself is yet to be known.

8. Conclusion(s)

This research analyzed education in ethnically divided communities. Through a case study on the Grammar School in Mostar which operates on the principle of ethnically divided programs, the cultural and existential contradictions that such systems create have been discussed.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina it is the cultural identity which makes the basis for the national one. Croatian people, culturally attached to the country of Croatia have had a long struggle for the preservation of their cultural traits in BiH. The devastating consequences of the 1990s conflict in BiH created an institutionally divided system which perpetuates an ethnically rigid system. As an incentive to encourage return of internally displaced persons, an ethnically

divided educational system has been created to accommodate the interests of all the parties involved - commonly known as 'two schools under one roof'.

In order to understand the circumstances that ethnically divided education creates, students from an ethnically divided school were chosen. The Grammar School in Mostar, which is divided on an ethno-linguistic basis between the Bosnian and Croatian program was the case-study. The focus of this thesis was the Croatian program. The reason for that was that the interests of the parties involved have been protected, it was done at the expense of how the students culturally identify and realize their existential matters. Such an environment created a paradox in regard to their imminent surroundings, which is Bosnia and Herzegovina. This research argued that in terms of their existence in BiH, students who attend the Croatian program are subject to contradicting realities. One is the knowledge which they obtain in the program which almost exclusively focuses on Croatia with little or no reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus it is assumed that it navigates them to culturally identify with Croatia. On the other hand, it was assumed that in case they decide to spend their lives in BiH, such an ethnically driven program would create obstacles for the realization of their basic human existence, e.g. even studying.

Students who have graduated from the school and continued their studies in either BiH or Croatia were the focus of the research. In addition to this, two students currently enrolled in the Bosnian and Croatian program. Recent developments on the topic, such as an highly publicized documentary series which focused on Mostar was an item analyzed and an interview with the director of the documentary has been conducted.

The information obtained through the interviews brought up several important topics, all related to the broader field of education in ethnically divided societies and the topics discussed about the case-study in the 'Background' chapter.

As expected, the participants asserted the contradictions which the Croatian program can create in terms of how they culturally identify and realize their 'basic human existence.' Their overall experience points to the school, or the program itself, influencing their processes of social identity construction in a way that navigates them to Croatia rather than Bosnia and Herzegovina. The topics covered in the classes, such as history, geography and geography focus on Croatia with either small or no references to the country of their residence, Bosnia and Herzegovina. This would not be a problem if such an educational discourse did not create obstacles for the students. Most of the participants confirmed that they, in one way or another, have been deprived of information which could have either advanced their future education or basic human existence in the country. Language, as the medium of instruction, proved to play a crucial role. As much as the linguistic discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina is contested, the accentuated differences between Croatian and Bosnian, advocated even by the professors, keep the divisions in place, which goes in line with the theory on linguistic intolerance.

The experiences the participants had with the professors who taught the classes point out to a deeper problem. The teaching staff perpetuated what the political discourse, which established and still preserves the ethnically divided education, created. No integrative curriculum nor encouraging environment is facilitated by the school. In addition to this, the participants were aware and disapproving of the political discourse which surrounds the ethnically divided system as well.

Little incentive is shown from both the school and the elites to facilitate any chances of contact for the students between the two programs. Besides some basic levels of contact which the environment provides, any further chance of interaction is initiated by the students themselves. This is a positive development which proves that, at least a small part, of, students are ready to defy and go against what the discourse pushes on them, which is to keep them divided. Contact itself can reduce boundaries, as illustrated in many theories which deal with these phenomena, including the ones mentioned in this research. The school in question is referred to as the 'best practice example' in terms of ethnically divided education. However, as previous research has shown, many of the school who advocated multi-cultural education create ill-conceived policies. Contact in ethnically divided communities and schools is of crucial importance to enable any possibility of co-existence of communities in post-conflict societies. In relation to what this research focused on - the cultural/existential dimensions, interaction between ethnically divided pupils can provide them with the experience of the 'other' which can reduce the complications that might emerge with how they culturally identify and realized the basic human existence in the surrounding in which they live.

The Grammar School in Mostar, as already explained, presents a 'best practice example' for an ethnically divided educational institution. However, administrative unification does not necessarily mean that the issues mentioned above have been resolved. The obstacles which the ethnically divided schools create are a lot more complex. However, what has been realized through this research was that the school itself presents a meeting point for students who are otherwise divided. In a way, an additional contradiction considering that the school operates on the principle of division. In a way, it goes in line with what the theory on schools says, which

is that they are a point of socialization. With all the obstacles presented in this thesis, the participants manage to find a way to overcome them.

The documentary series raised the discussion on ethnically divided education to an important level where most of the people became aware that this is an issue which needs reforms. As much as the way the media approached it can be challenged, it was interesting to see that people were talking about an issue which has been long neglected. Where will the discussion lead is a matter of time.

Education in ethnically divided societies is a much contested concept. As much as it tries to accommodate the interests of all the parties in question, it does so at the expense of the students. This is why this research focused on students who already graduated from these schools. As much as the research which concentrates on currently enrolled students enriches the study of education in ethnically divided societies, concentrating on students who graduated can give an in-depth look into the overall experience which such education provides and the consequences it has on students. Such research is rarely presented, especially for the case of BiH.

Further research on the case of ethnically divided education in Bosnia and Herzegovina is much needed, considering that a large number of schools still operate on such a principle. It would also be valuable to look into the experiences of students who did not decide to pursue a future in academia, but rather concentrated on other aspects of life. In addition to this, BiH has a complex ethnic make-up, meaning that Croats inhabit other areas where ethnically divided schools do not exist. Investigating on their experiences in different environments from the one in Mostar can provide valuable data.

Ethnically divided education is a phenomenon which happens in a large number of countries in the world. Due to the important role that education has in a society, the concept is highly contested everywhere. Out of such contestation, the contradictions mentioned above can emerge. Such contradictions can have adverse effect on students who attend the program. This thesis, although limited in its conclusions and scope of participants, presents specific trends which can help understand all the processes which such schooling encompasses. In a way, the research presented adds to the current scholarship in nationalism studies on education in multicultural societies and suggests additional ways in which this topic could be approached in order to understand it better and discuss the much needed reforms which ethnically divided educational institutions need.

9. Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. In *Nationalism*. Ed by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford University Press. 1994.

Banks, James A. *Race, Culture and Education - the selected works of James A. Banks*. Routledge, 2006.

Banks, James A. *The Routledge International companion to Multicultural Education*. Routledge, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. New York and London, 2009.

Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, Sweden. 1969.

Belammy, Alex J. "The formation of Croatian national identity: a centuries-old dream." Manchester University Press, 2003.

Beyer, Landon E.; Liston, Daniel Patrick. *Curriculum in Conflict : Social Visions, Educational Agendas, and Progressive School Reform*. Teachers College Press. April 1, 1996.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'". In *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February 1, 2000): 1-47.

Brubaker, Rogers, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. "Ethnicity as Cognition." ". In *Theory and Society* 33, no. 1 (February 1, 2004): 31-64

Brubaker, Rogers, Margit Feischmidt, John Fox, and Liana Grancea. "Nationalists Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Buckland, Peter. "Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction." *The World Bank*. Washington, 2005.

Bush, Kenneth D., and Diana Saltarelli. "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict - Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children." UNICEF. August, 2000.

Čengić, Nejra N. Podijeljeno školstvo u BiH ili „volimo se po razlici“! (*Divided education in BiH or „love each other based on our differences“!*). In *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom – Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju*, pp. 91-137. Center for Human Rights of University of Sarajevo & ACIPS. 2012.

Cohen, Anthony P. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. In *Key Ideas*, editor: Peter Hamilton. Ellis Horwood Ltd. 1985.

Cvitković, Ivan. "Hrvatski Identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Croatian Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.

Davies, Lynn. *Education and Conflict - Complexity and Chaos*. RoutledgeFlamer. 2004.

Domin, Thierry. Hisotry of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the origins to 1992. SFOR Informer No. 121. September 5, 2001.;

Džaja, Srećko M. "The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats: A Historical-Cultural Profile." *Croatian Studies Review*, Vol. 8. Munich, Germany. 2012.

Džebo, Aldina. "Two Schools Under One Roof" Ruled Discriminatory. Opean Equal Free. Available at: <http://www.openequalfree.org/archives/ed-news/two-schools-under-one-roof-ruled-discriminatory>

Filandra, Šaćir. "Bošnjaci i Hrvati: od jednakosti do razlika" (Bosniaks and Croats: from similarities to differences). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb Universtiy. September, 2009.

Flick, Uwe. *An introduction to qualitative research*. SAGE publications. Free University Berlin, Germany. 2014.

Fox, Jon E. , and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. "Everyday Nationhood." *In Ethnicities*. Vol. 8, no. 4, 536-563. Sage Journals. December, 2008.

Gallagher, Tony. "Education in Divided Societies." Palgrave Macmillan. 2004.

Gillborn, David. "'Race', Ethnicity & Education: Teaching and Learning in Multi-Ethnic Schools."

Greenberg, Robert D. *Jezik i Identitet na Balkanu – Raspad srpsko-hrvatskog* (Language and identity in the Balkans : Serbo-Croat and its disintegration Croatian). Zagreb : Srednja Europa, 2005.

Hancock, Beverley. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Trent Focus Group, 1998 (2002). Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1990.

Hawrylenko, James. "Education in Post-Conflict Societies." Athabasca University. August, 2010.

Holloway, Immy and Stephanie Wheeler. *Qualitative Research in Nursing*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2nd edition. September 2, 2002.

Hromadzic, Azra. *Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Special Issue on Education in Conflict and Postconflict Societies. *Guest Editors* Lynn Davies and Christopher Talbot. November 2008,

Husremović, Dženana, Powell, S., Šišić, A., & Dolić, A. *Obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini: Čemu učimo našu djecu? Analiza sadržaja udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta („Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What do we teach our children? Analysis of the content of books from the national group of subjects“)*.

Israeli, Raphael & Albert Benabou. *Savagery in the Heart of Europe: The Bosnian War (1992-1995) Context, Perspectives, Personal Experiences, and Memoirs*. Strategic Book Publishing, 2013.

Komšić, Ivo. *Ustavnopravni položaj Hrvata nakon Dayton - Kontinuitet Depolitizacije*. In *'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity)*. Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009.

Kymlicka, Will and Francois Grin. *Nation-Building, Ethnicity and Language Politics in Transition Countries*. Ed by Farimah Daftary and Fracois Grin. Volume 2, March 1, 2004.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural odysseys: Navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Vol. 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship - A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford University Press. 1995.

Lacorne, Denis and Tony Judt. *Language, Nation, and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age*. Palgrave Macmillan. October 15, 2004.

Low-Beer, Ann. *Politics, school textbooks and cultural identity: The struggle in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. *Paradigm*, Vol. 2 (3). July, 2001.

Magill, Clare. *Education and Fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris, 2010.

Maxissa (*pseudonim*). *Marija and Nedim - Stolački Romeo i Julija*. (Maria and Nedim - the Romeo and Juliet of Stolac). <http://maxisa.blogger.ba/arhiva/2007/10/23/1187170>

Mesić, Stjepan. "Bezentitetska Bosna i Hercegovina - rješenje za postizanje i održavanje konstitutivnosti i ravnopravnosti Hrvata u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Non-entity Bosnia and Herzegovina - solution for achieving and maintaining and keeping the constitutionality and equality of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina). In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009.

Mujić, Asim. Obrazovanje kao proces naturaliziranja etnonacionalne ideologije (*Education as a process of naturalization of ethnonational ideologies*). In: Dvije škole pod jednim krovom – Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju. Center for Human Rights of University of Sarajevo & ACIPS. 2012.

Nardelli, Alberto, Dzidic, Denis & Elvira Jukic. Bosnia and Herzegovina: the world's most complicated system of government? The Guardian. October 8, 2014.

Pejanović, Mirko. Demografsko-migracijski problemi u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini. In 'Hrvati u BiH: Ustavni položaj, kulturni razvoj i nacionalni identitet' (Croats in BiH: Constitutional position, cultural development and national identity). Ed. by Ivan Markešić. Center for democratization and law Miko Tripalo and Law Faculty of Zagreb University. September, 2009.

Phillips, Trevor. After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation. Speech given by CRE Chair Trevor Phillips at the Manchester Council for Community Relations. In Multiculturalism and Education - Contemporary Issues in Education Studies.

Race, Richard. "Multiculturalism and Education - Contemporary Issues in Education Studies." Continuum International Publishing Group. 2011.

Rado, Peter. "Decentralization and the Governance of Education „The State of Education Systems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Poland and Romania“. Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Open Society Institute. Budapest. 2004. p. 22

Ryan, James. "Race and Ethnicity in Multiethnic Schools: A Critical Case Study." Multilingual Matters, 1999.

Sadiković, Melina. Kako učimo našu djecu? (How do we teach our children?). In Dvije škole pod jednim krovom - Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju. pp. 26-28

Tajfel, Henri. "Social categorization, social identity and social comparison." In Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology. CUP Archive. April 23, 1981.

Tajmel, Tanja and Klaus Starl. "Science Education Unlimited: Approaches to Equal Opportunities in Learning Science." Waxmann Publishing Co. 2009.

Tomiak, Janusz J in collaboration with Knut Eriksen, Andreas Kazamias and Robin Okey. "Schooling, educational policy, and ethnic identity." Dartmouth Publishing Co Ltd. July 4, 1991.

Veličković, Nenad. "Školokrečina: nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, hrvatskim i srpskim čitankama" ("Školokrečina: Nationalism in Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian Textbooks"). Fabrika knjiga Beograd. 2012.

Waldron, J. "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative." *In* The Rights of Minority Cultures, Oxford: Oxford University Press. *In* Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism". The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Spring 2014 Edition).

Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism". The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Spring 2014 Edition).

Weinstein, H. M., S.W. Freedman, and H. Hughson. 2007. "School Voices: Challenges Facing Education Systems after Identity-Based Conflicts."

Wimmen, H. "Territory, Nation and the Power of Language: Implications of Education Reform in the Herzegovinian Town of Mostar." GSC Quarterly 11:1-21. *In* Clair McGlynn. "Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies". Palgrave Macmillan. 2009.

Yudof, Mark G. International Human Rights and School Desegregation in the United States. 15 Tex. Int'l L. J. 1. 1980. Available at: <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/2219/>

Internet Sources

Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Education Statistics, year 2013/2014. Accessed April 11, 2015.

Antidiskriminacija.org. Dvije škole pod jednim krovom („Two Schools Under One Roof“). Accessed April 20, 2015.

Blagovčanin, Predrag. Dvije škole pod jednim krovom kao glavni rasadnik nacionalizma i rasizma. (Two Schools under One Roof as the main root for nationalism and racism). Radio Sarajevo, April 10, 2015. Available at: <http://www.radiosarajevo.ba/novost/185508>

Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs. Herzegovina - Neretva Canton. Available at: <http://www.fmup.gov.ba/bs/text.php?id=37>

Federal Ministry of Education and Science. Directory of secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Law on Secondary Education in Hercegovina-Neretva Canton.

OHR. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Political, Economic, Social And Cultural Rights, Including The Right To Development. 2009. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/10session/A.HRC.10.11.Add.1.pdf>

Protocol Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Council of Europe - Treaties. Available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/005.htm>

Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism". The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Spring 2014 Edition). Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/multiculturalism>

Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of Republic of Croatia. *State graduation exam*. Available at: <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2246>. Accessed May 30, 2015.

The Constitution of the FBiH. "Amendment XXIX".; The Constitution of Republika Srpska . "Amendment LXXI".

The Convention Against Discrimination in Education. Article 1 (c). UNESCO. Available at: <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php->

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Article 12. Council of Europe - Treaties. Available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>

United Nations. General Assembly - Promotion And Protection Of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social And Cultural Rights, Including The Right To Development. 2009. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/10session/A.HRC.10.11.Add.1.pdf>

Appendix I

Image 1. A satellite view of Mostar (the highlighted building is the Grammar School in Mostar)

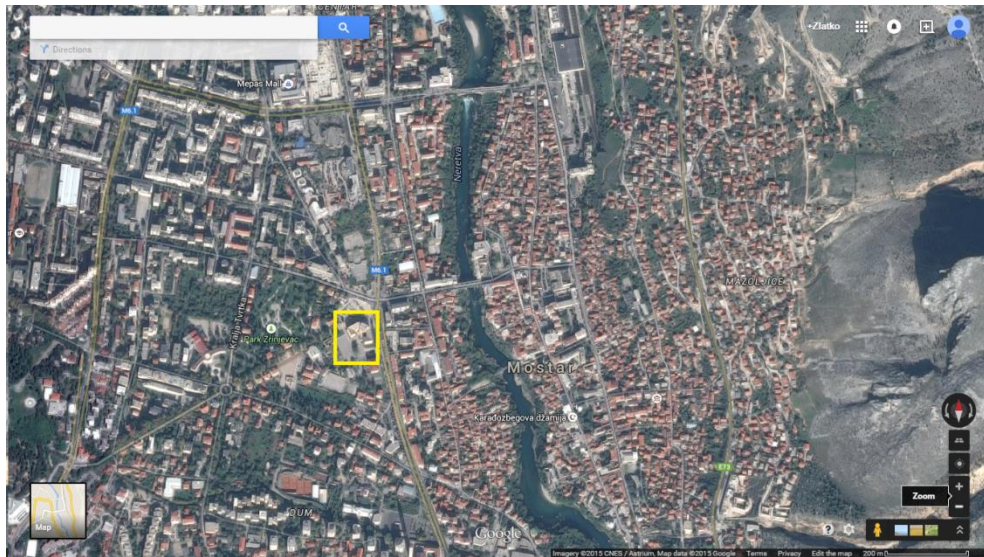


Image taken from Google Maps