

Reinforcing the Divisions: Lack of Political Will and Continuation of Segregation in Education in the Federation of BiH

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Abstract: Divided education in the Federation of BiH remains a significant issue plaguing democratic transition and influencing further divisions in an already divided society. Introduced as a provisional solution, the system of two schools under one roof has remained deeply embedded in the educational framework, with few efforts to have it removed. Aim of this article is to, by referring to both Central Bosnia Canton (CBC) and Neretva-Herzegovina Canton (HNC) where majority of these schools is located, demonstrate that lack of political will on the domestic political scene is to blame for further continuation of the educational segregation. The lack of political will is understood as unpreparedness of political elites to tackle and do away with the segregation issue.

Keywords: FBiH, education, segregation, political will

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Introduction: Divided We Stand

Divided education in BiH, particularly in the Federation of BiH, has been chiefly understood as reflecting deep ethnic divisions that were created and deepened during the Yugoslav conflicts in the 1990s. Conflict in BiH marked the most brutal phase of the wars of Yugoslav succession, and resolving the crisis became particularly problematic for the international community that ultimately decided to support ethnic division and de facto pillarization in order to save the country.¹ This approach of the international community has unfortunately had disastrous effects on the country as BiH has effectively remained in a sort of a limbo: although the joint state got saved and has somewhat democratized over the years, deep ethnic divisions continue to rule the day in rather instable domestic politics. Ethnic-based discourses and respective political agendas have essentially shaped the country in such a considerable way that, for instance, the issue of segregation in Bosnian education system has politically come to be understood as a matter of fact, and thus given *per se*, rather than a reality introduced, acquiesced to, and therefore maintained by chiefly domestic political actors.²

It is in this regard important to highlight that it was the international community that in 2000 presented plans for the so-called two schools under one roof system in the Federation of BiH: the OSCE plan was supposed to be, very much reflecting the overall approach of the international community in BiH, a provisional solution aimed particularly at establishing previously lost interaction and contact between different ethnic groups,³ in this case mainly Bosniaks and Croats, and was to additionally allow these groups to gradually re-establish long-lost trust by attending same schools in different hours. Therefore, the international community's idea was chiefly geared towards gradual inclusion rather than exclusion in education, but unfortunately, the reality has turned out to be different in the Federation of BiH, where around 32 segregated schools still operate. Mind you, segregation also exists in Republika Srpska, where, for instance, issues of school curricula and language of instruction still pose as problems among other issues; however, it is only in the Federation that the system of two schools under one roof is in operation.

An important point to note about the education in BiH is that the joint state does not have any Ministry of Education as a centrally based government organ, but rather an ethnified system where all decisions related to education are made by respective entities, with the Federation having 12 Ministries of Education and a Department for Education in the District of Brčko.⁴ This complicated structure, reflecting very much the intricate nature of the state of BiH, has produced a situation in which education has been organized in a rather inept manner that is witnessed, for instance, in the fact that the education in the Federation of BiH is highly decentralized, while in the entity of Republika Srpska it is deeply centralized. In addition, political arrangements on the ethnic principle have effectively resulted in the politicization of education, chiefly so in those parts (of the Federation of BiH) where there are ethnically mixed populations. Since the Federation of BiH consists of ten cantons in the ratio of 5:3:2, reflecting Bosniak (Muslim) majority in five cantons, Croat majority in three, and last two cantons having no ethnic majority, it comes as no wonder that the education has become a victim of ethnic politics.⁵

Although institutional changes over the years have indeed allowed for new bodies to be created, with, for instance, Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH (coordinating strategies and plans of the entity bodies, and also defining international strategies), Conference of Ministers of Education (created in 2008 to coordinate cantonal Ministers of Education and to provide advice in this respect), and Education Agency of BiH (designing curricula standards) having been created, the fact is that the educational system has not seen any political agenda aimed at solving the issue of segregation and transforming the two schools under one roof system.⁶ This is primarily seen in the refusal of political leadership in the Federation of BiH to even acknowledge this as an issue and to act on it accordingly. The very existence of segregated schools has proven that, on the one hand, teaching history, culture, and religion in manners critical of other ethnic groups has led to multiplying ideational differences in an already divided society, and, on the other hand, that physical separation of students by allocating them with different teaching hours has served to fully cement the (ethnic) differences by turning them into reality.⁷

It was only in 2012 that a municipal court, in this case in the south-eastern town of Mostar, produced a ruling on the segregation in education in schools in two smaller nearby towns, thus highlighting the necessity to abolish this discriminatory practice. A local non-governmental and non-profit organisation Vaša Prava (Your Rights) filed a suit and won the case against the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (HNC) at that time, but this decision was later appealed. Then in late 2014, the Supreme Court of the Federation of BiH (FBiH) came to rule in favour of the initial decision by the municipal court in Mostar, thus confirming segregation and effectively ordering the cessation of this practice. The decision, mind you, has still not been enforced by February 2018, and it is almost certain that its enforcement in Central Bosnian Canton (CBC) is not viable in the near future.

Methodological and Theoretical Assumptions

Since this article is based on the notion of (the lack of) political will of political elites in the FBiH, thus reflecting the general political attitude in the whole country, it is necessary to start with a definition of these two terms and the way they are understood in this article.

The first term of the lack of political will is rather vague but chiefly popular notion used in academic scholarship on democratization and respective state transformation, and this notion highlights preparedness of political elites to engage in and drive societal reform. Therefore, the lack of political will is primarily thought of in terms of the lack of this sort of commitment and readiness of political elites to seek particular (democratic) change. This notion has come, as already mentioned, to be used quite often in democratization and post-conflict studies, whereby it has become mostly discussed in terms of political elites' willingness to institute social changes in respect to democratic political principles and thus contribute to their respective state democratic transformation.⁸

In addition, as for political elites, they are understood as being main and most influential actors in a political arena of a particular state, i.e. these are those actors who perform various functions in structures of a government and its numerous bodies, and those who are responsible for policies either being accepted and turned into practice, or refused and rejected

as such.⁹ This is an important point to remember as vast academic scholarship discussing democratization and state transformation processes in general underlines importance of political elites' role in this regard, with these elites being main political actors playing either a positive, sort of an accommodating, role if you will or ultimately a negative role in this regard.¹⁰ This means that political elites can, therefore, either contribute to, enhance, and consequently provide legitimation, or, on the other hand, block and halt the democratization process. The authors of this article are in this respect inclined to agree with research highlighting the crucial importance of political elites' role in state transformation and democratization. It is additionally essential to acknowledge that political elites' role is even greater and more important in post-conflict societies, particularly those, for instance, that are ethnically divided or where parochial interests of different social groups represent an obstruction in state functioning, since it is the elites that can assist in achieving political accommodation, institutionalization, and legitimacy.¹¹ Last but not least, the authors are fully aware, in accordance with the aforementioned research in the field, of the fact that other important actors can indeed play crucial roles in state transformation, such as, for instance, NGOs, political parties, military structures, etc., and they do not deny their role, but this article is solely aimed at political elites' role.

Hence, the main argument of this article is that political elites in the FBiH have in respect to the research issue of segregation in education acted so as not to support and foster principles of an open and truly democratic society, whereby ethnic segregation (in education) is considered to be contrary to these principles and values. This means that these political elites have not contributed to further democratization of the country, but rather assisted willingly and intentionally to deepening and strengthening of already existing (ethnic) divisions in the country. This article, therefore, purports to answer the following research questions:

- 1- How does the segregation issue manifest itself?
- 2- How have the political elites in question responded to the segregation so far?

These questions have been chosen so as to, on the one hand, confirm the existence of the segregation and analyse its manifestations, and, on the other hand, to show that domestically little, or actually nothing, has been done by the political elites to have the segregation terminated.

The article addresses the period between 2012 and early 2018, as this period has been marked by several important events. On the one hand, civic society initiatives aimed at terminating the educational segregation have climaxed (for example, lawsuits on the basis of discrimination filed by Vaša Prava BiH and student protests in Jajce), and, on the other hand, the Supreme Court of the Federation of BiH reached a decision in 2014 asking for cessation of the two schools under one roof system but the decision, very much like the failure of the civic initiatives, regrettably fell on deaf ears with the political elites. Results of the political elites' (in)actions in this particular time frame have been identified and qualitatively assessed as these results are easily observable and can, therefore, be used to support the main argument presented in this article. For that matter, the attention has been particularly paid to the FBiH

with its deeply fragmented system of cantons, where two cantons, Central Bosnia Canton (CBC) and Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (HNC), have been taken as exemplary for the purpose of this article, with segregated schools in the following towns: Mostar, Kiseljak, Travnik, Jajce, Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, Busovača, Bugojno, and Stolac.¹² It is worthy to mention that majority of the aforementioned schools are located in the previously mentioned cantons, but also to take into account that there are these schools in Žepče, Zenica-Doboj Canton, and the Brčko District as well.

Contribution to the Field

In respect to the contribution to academic scholarship, survey of the field indicates that the issue of (segregation in) education in BiH has so far been addressed by a number of authors in the form of academic volumes, whereby mainly perspectives of role of education in post-conflict transformation and democratization in general and in BiH, as well as institutionalization of the Bosnian education and respective changes, have been discussed.¹³

In addition to this, academic articles have also been produced on this and related topics, whereby authors paid significant attention to segregation, history and religion teaching, separate curricula, as well as minority inclusion and (common) cultural identity in BiH.¹⁴ Last but not least, non-academic scholarship has also been fruitful in this regard, with numerous reports and analyses addressing needs of institutional changes in the education system of the country and highlighting problems related to politicization of education and entrenched segregation based on ethnic divisions being reinforced.¹⁵ In that respect, it is interesting to point out that academic discussions on the lack of political will to initiate change in the Bosnian education have so far been sporadic at best and mostly included in other research, some of which has been already mentioned.

Therefore, this article may serve not only as an addition to already done research in the field but also as to fill gaps in the literature at hand and thus be an invitation for other (similar) research to be produced. The issue of segregation, and more importantly ethnic pillarization and problems related to it that BiH has been facing for years now, have significantly endangered future of the joint Bosnian state that has suffered serious blows by nationalists and that has survived chiefly due to the international community's assistance. Hence, the article stands as a reminder that unless the respective problems are resolved, there can be no common future for the ethnic groups living in BiH since segregated education in an already highly ethnic-oriented environment can only strengthen and reproduce rather than alleviate or disperse the existing divisions.

Two Schools Under One Roof, or How One Should Not Mix Apples and Pears

The system of two schools under one roof refers to the schools in the FBiH where children from two ethnic groups, Bosniaks and Croats, attend classes in the same building but are physically separated from each other. In some cases, students from one ethnic group enter the school

using one door, while children from another ethnic group use other entrance to the same building. Children use different textbooks, have different teachers, and even an entirely different administrative system. Even in the so-called 'unified' schools, such as the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosniak and Croat students are enrolled in different curricula. Two schools under one roof framework was created as an effort to ensure access of returnee children to classrooms, as there were cases in divided communities,¹⁶ in CBC in particular, where Bosniak students were deterred from using public school buildings by the very clear pro-Croat symbols, school names, curricular materials, and similar. However, the phenomenon has continued well after the end of the war, and there are still tens of schools of this type of schools in the FBiH, with the exact number unfortunately unknown. Interestingly so, the cantonal government of the HNC refused to provide any information to the authors on this particular issue, as will be explained further on in this article.

Very much reflecting deeply divided society in BiH and domestic political platforms chiefly based on nationalist, and thus ethno-oriented agendas, divided education in BiH has essentially remained alive and well to this day although it has lately come to face more public scrutiny. While, on the one hand, (some) students and their parents from various parts of the Federation have come to see the issue as being entirely a negative phenomenon, local political elites have tended to disagree in this regard. For instance, early summer protests of 2016 in the aforementioned town of Jajce, when several hundred students came from all over the country in order to express their dissatisfaction with the educational system, proved the fact that educating students on ethnic-based agendas can only strengthen already existing divisions. As pointed out on that occasion, it was 'quality education and not divisions... ..and being returned to the past' that the students actually wanted.¹⁷

Hence, educating students by emphasizing their ethnic differences through different curricula and subjects such as history, geography, religion, and language, has produced a situation in which divided schools and respective school system have actually been designed to instruct students *not* into becoming citizens supportive of united BiH, but rather into becoming even more suspicious of existence of the joint state itself. Reaffirming and recreating ethnic identities while highlighting supposedly substantial differences, obviously without students being offered any other alternative in this respect, has made the country imprisoned within its own vicious cycle of divisions that seems impossible to escape from. In the words of Pašalić-Kreso, BiH 'Constitution created a decentralized, asymmetric and defective education management system that has undermined unity in educational policies, common educational goals, common values....'¹⁸ Therefore, the education has remained nothing more than a mere captive of nationalist forces in BiH.¹⁹

For that matter, these uncivic approaches to education, whereby physical segregation is coupled with ideational divisions as well, have left the country perennially weak by cementing seemingly important, and in domestic political discourse perennially highlighted, ethnic differences producing even deeper disagreements in the society at hand and also resulting in inequality, discrimination, and segregation to continue to happen on daily basis.²⁰ Therefore, it would be wrong to perceive the divided school system as the problem itself, but rather see it

as a manifestation/result of ethnic (and all other) divisions plaguing the Bosnian society for years now: these divisions, created and maintained by political elites, have resulted in a rigid ethnic apartheid essentially paralyzing the country by locking it into a post-conflict mindset whose sheer ignorance of cultural diversity has continued to challenge the country's very existence.²¹

Just for the sake of the argument, it is essential to note that identity creation through education is considered indispensable, thus there can be very little doubt in the fact that the educational model discussed here is obviously wrong.²² Hence, there is very little doubt that this particular approach has caused a great deal of harm to BiH since the end of the conflict, and unfortunately there are no signs on the domestic political scene that any change in this regard may happen in the near future. Dayton structure has allowed for decentralization of the state of BiH as such, with education being included in this particular agenda, and it has up to now become apparent that political structures and units, that are 'in most cases ethnically exclusive and, too often, controlled by local interests,'²³ are almost exclusively dedicated to advancing their own ethnic group political agendas. This has produced a situation in which lacks in coordination between different state bodies and high levels of fragmentation in the given area of education have made reconciliation in BiH highly questionable, future of the state uncertain, and the educational system ill-effective, quite expensive and very inconsistent as such.²⁴ Last but not least, the educational issue has remained a significant problem in BiH aspirations in joining EU, since this particular system seems hardly in place when compared to democratic standards that BiH will have to abide by if it actually wishes to reach the Union membership.

The Political Elites' Stand, or How to Prolong the Status Quo

Unfortunately, the cantonal political elites have not managed to properly respond to the problem at hand, chiefly because *it has not been in their interest to do so*. For that matter, political parties in FBiH and local politicians have used the issue at hand to get political points and push various ethnic-oriented political agendas over the years, while civil society has unfortunately remained mostly silent. It is only in the last six years, i.e. since 2012 on, that several worthy initiatives have emerged and attempted to abolish the practice of divided education, but, as expected, without much effect.

For instance, in 2012 BiH NGO Vaša Prava filed the lawsuit in the HNC, in the town of Mostar, alleging that the two schools under one roof policy violated the country's Law on Prohibition of Discrimination. Respective Municipal Court ruled positively in this respect, thus proving that the initiative by Vaša Prava was indeed pointing to the given violation that had taken place. However, when the legal proceedings were turned to the respective Cantonal Court, it issued a ruling opposing the decision already taken by the Municipal Court due to the supposed expiry of the statute of limitations. Vaša Prava then appealed to the FBiH Supreme Court, with this court rejecting the Cantonal Court's decision and upholding the policy of organizing school systems based on ethnic background and implementing curriculums on ethnic principles as being in violation of the aforementioned antidiscrimination law.²⁵ After that, Vaša Prava brought a similar lawsuit in the CBC, in the town of Travnik, but the Travnik Municipal Court

immediately dismissed the claim on the grounds of lack of proof in terms of no obtainable complaints made by parents against this particular policy. The court also cited barriers between Croatian and Bosnian languages, despite the fact that these two are indeed strikingly similar, as justification for its decision and the policy in question. Until February 2018, the decision of the Supreme Court FBiH in the case of Mostar has not been applied, and, politically speaking, nothing has been done in order to have the aforementioned decision enforced. This means that all schools in question, be that those in the HNC or CBC, are still in operation.

Additionally, it is worthy to note that in mid-November 2017, as far as the legislature is concerned, Supreme Court of BiH made a decision by stating that the segregated education in the cases at hand was in accordance with children's rights being respected, thus chiefly referring to the children's religious and language differences. The Supreme Court of BiH in that regard referred to the segregated educational agenda by being '70 percent in accordance with Convention against Discrimination in Education as ratified by BiH.'²⁶ Therefore, the Supreme Court essentially confirmed the decision already taken by the Cantonal Court in Travnik, which rejected the case on segregation and discrimination in the cantonal education as filed by the NGO Vaša Prava. Due to the constitutional set-up of the country, the political environment is very complex and years-long political turbulences at local and entity level have almost paralyzed BiH. In that kind of political environment, even court rulings manage to stay neglected and out of interest of local authorities. Tolomelli rightly noted that what seemed clear from the difficulty in getting such a blatantly discriminatory policy changed in BiH was that the wounds from the conflict still run deep.²⁷ Liberal-minded NGOs aside, popular sentiment for *de facto* division among the ethnic groups remains strong. And, indeed, the very means by which the Dayton Agreement structured peace by grounding in federalism based on ethnic divisions seems as much a pragmatic result of the tensions that caused the conflict as a sure-fire means of ensuring that those tensions are unfortunately perpetuated as such.²⁸

In addition to the complicated decision-making system post-Dayton BiH struggles with, there is an evident lack of political will to accountability and the refusal of politicians to deal with the given situation seriously has often been highlighted in media.²⁹ To start with, Katica Čerkez, current Minister of Education of the CBC, pointed out after the aforementioned student protests in Jajce in June 2017 that the student initiative was damaging to the school system in the country since it represented a direct attack/means of pressure on the education in BiH: the minister labelled the students as mere pawns in the international community's (mis)treatment of BiH.³⁰ This statement goes largely along her attitude towards the segregated educational system actually protecting basic human rights of students, thus refusing to accept any discussion on the educational segregation in her respective canton.³¹

Additionally, now already famous quote of the former Minister of Education in CBC, Greta Kuna, who said that 'apples and pears should not be mixed' (by apples and pears the Minister³² referred to children of different nationalities, namely Bosniak and Croat students) encountered avalanche reactions. Yet, she did not stop there but proceeded with even more problematic media statements, such as stating that each ethnic group was to have its own school, thus making the system of two schools under one roof essentially invalid.³³ This particular idea had

already been professed previously by Minister of Education in the HNC, Esad Dželilović, who was reported in 2010 by saying that situation in education was not as alarming as presented. At that time this minister proposed a system of putting children of different ethnicities in same classrooms for most classes but separating them during classes teaching ‘national subjects,’ including language, geography, and history, as practice already done in the Brčko District, a small self-governing district in the north-east of BiH.³⁴

Other than proposing various alternatives when answering questions posed by media, the two cantonal governments do not seem to have reached any solutions in regard to the given issue, nor are willing to consider any changes in this regard. For instance, Ministry of Education of FBiH, i.e., the body that has a coordinating role over educational policies in the FBiH has issued several recommendations in a report on implementing national legislative measures against ethnic discrimination. This document has, however, not been met with the acquiescence of all cantons, with only five cantonal Ministries of Education having agreed to it. Unsurprisingly, among the disagreeing cantons, one finds exactly the two where the aforementioned lawsuits on the two schools under one roof were actually filed. Hence, as already mentioned, different policy approaches, high politicization of the agenda of education at hand, as well as lack of effective policy coordination mechanisms still represent considerable obstacles to the development of a countrywide, and at the same time, a coherent educational policy that is, above all, not segregational in nature. Coordination body of the Cantonal Ministers of Education has indeed been established to tackle the case of the divided schools, but the cantons with Croatian majority have so far refused to participate in this particular forum.

More than this, to add to the argument on the lack of political will, the authors tried to engage in e-mail communication with representatives of both cantonal governments in question so as to acquire additional information regarding the issue at hand. Unfortunately, only one cantonal government, that of the CBC, responded to the query in a very brief manner. The HNC cantonal government refused to provide any answer. The authors’ intention was to find out if the cantonal governments in the period between 2012 and the present moment deliberated the issue of segregation in their educational systems, and in what manner and capacity this was done. The CBC government responded by saying that no government in the past 6 years has actually deliberated on the given issue, and the only time that the CBC government had to take the given matter into consideration was when particular problems arose, the likes of which happened in Jajce when the students protested. However, this particular tackle of the given problem by the CBC government was certainly not towards any cancellation of the segregational practices as such but rather aimed towards trying to maintain the status quo.

Previously argued points clearly confirm the presumption that the lack of political will is evident and is to blame for the educational segregation. Additionally, it seems that both governments refuse to acknowledge and tackle the issue by supposedly leaving it to be tackled at some higher political instance. This means that the educational issue has become so heavily politicized, as already underlined several times in this article, that solution to the issue seems hardly possible without some odd ethnic-driven arrangement. Strangely enough, it is the

cantonal governments that actually hold the key to solving this problem but refuse to do so. No higher instance, politically speaking that is, holds power over decisions on this problem, and this is the point that the cantonal governments are fully well aware of, but obviously refuse to acknowledge in their functioning. This lack of political will and consequent refusal on the part of the cantonal political elites obviously cannot, on the one hand, help stability of the country in any foreseeable way, and, on the other, this lack of will highlights refusal of the elites to act in a responsible and accountable way, that is without waiting for any ‘signal’ from higher political instances. This points on waiting and leaving the issue as it is without taking responsibility for it is the probably the worst possible action on the part of the local political elites, since the domestic political scene in BiH shows very little, if any, signs of breaking away from ethnic-oriented politics and moving towards more civic-like approaches. Thus, the political will to accommodate human rights, follow the Supreme Court decision, and finally meet expectations of the European Union is without any doubt lacking in BiH today. Last but not least, in order to relate to BiH aspirations of joining EU in the future, it is worthy to note that the segregational issue has been mentioned only *one time* in a document BiH government has prepared in order to respond to European Commission Questionnaire. In Chapter 26 on Education and Culture, BiH government has denied the existence of the segregational issue and has thus refused to admit the existence of the ‘two schools under one roof’ by stating that in all BiH “there is no segregation, and there are no so-called two schools under one roof.”³⁵ Therefore, it is indeed quite interesting to see how this particular issue will influence BiH integration into the EU since it seems highly unlikely that the state with such profound problem in its educational system may actually one day join the Union.

Conclusion

While BiH has indeed made a considerable advance since Dayton, it seems that the country has remained divided, as has been pointed out on numerous occasions in both academic and non-academic sources. One of these divisions has been the educational one, whereby in a number of cantons in FBiH the system of ‘two schools under one roof’ is still in operation, thus indicating the segregation is still very much alive. Unfortunately, as this article has shown, there is no political will of the domestic elites to, first of all, even acknowledge the segregational issue, and, on the other hand, tackle it and resolve it. Hence, domestically speaking, the issue has not been addressed so far, with only a few instances where political leaders expressed their attitudes on the given issue, while at the same time doing nothing to have the issue corrected. Although the issue has in recent years been brought up in the domestic politics relatively often, particularly so in several court cases as examined in the article, political elites’ unwillingness has remained the most influential variable in BiH politics, thus indicating deep divisions in the country as still being extremely powerful. In that respect, it seems highly likely that BiH road to EU will be a rocky one, taking into consideration not only the issue highlighted in this article but other outstanding issues the country has been facing for years now. Last but not least, it remains to be seen what sort of approach Brussels will assume on the educational divide in BiH since it seems quite clear that BiH authorities have not been honest when providing answers in the country’s response to the Questionnaire of the European Commission. •

Notes

[1] See, for example, the following volumes:

- 1) J. Gow, *Triumph of Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War*, C. Hurst and Co. Publishers, London, UK, 1997.
- 2) B. Simms, *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia*, Penguin Books, London, UK, 2001.
- 3) B. Magaš and I. Žanić (eds.), *The War in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1991-1995.*, Frank Cass Publishers, London, UK, 2001.

[2] A. Tolomelli, "Two schools under one roof". The role of education in the reconciliation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica – Journal of Theories and Research in Education*, 10(1), 2015, pp. 89-108.

[3] On this issue see S. Keil, *Multinational Federalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK, 2014.

[4] [UNESCO and IIEP] <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001910/191060e.pdf> (accessed on 20 February 2018). Also, see A. Tolomelli, "Two schools under one roof". The role of education in the reconciliation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina'.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] G. Owen-Jackson, *Political and Social Influences on the Education of Children: Research from Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Routledge, London and New York, UK and US, 2016.

[8] See:

- 1) J. Higley, J. Pakulski, and W. Wesolowski (eds.), *Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, 1998.
- 2) L. Diamond, M. F. Plattner and P. J. Costopoulos, (eds), *Debates on Democratization*, The Johns Hopkins University Press and the National Endowment for Democracy, Baltimore, US, 2010.
- 3) C. Koneska, *After Ethnic Conflict: Policy-making in Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia*, Routledge, London, UK, 2014.
- 4) A. Kleibrink, *Political Elites and Decentralization Reforms in the Post-Socialist Balkans: Regional Patronage Networks in Serbia and Croatia*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, 2015.

[9] J. Higley and M. Burton, 'Elite Settlements and the Taming of Politics', *Government and Opposition*, 33(1), 1998, pp. 98-115.

[10] See the following articles:

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- 2) C. Q. Schneider and P. C. Schmitter, 'Liberalization, Transition and Consolidation: Measuring the Components of Democratization', *Democratization*, 11(5), 2004, pp. 59-90.
- 3) N Zakošek, 'Democratization, State-building and War: The Cases of Serbia and Croatia', *Democratization*, 15(3), 2008, pp. 588–610.
- 4) N. Zakošek, "The Dynamics of Changes: How different are the Transformation Results in Post-Yugoslav Countries," *Heinrich Böll Foundation*, 2009, pp. 159-166.
- 5) S. Ramet, 'Croatia and Serbia since 1991: An Assessment of Their Similarities and Differences', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 27(2), 2011, pp. 263-290.

[11] J. Higley and M. Burton, 'Elite Settlements and the Taming of Politics.'

[12] Dnevni Avaz <http://avaz.ba/kantoni/srednjobosanski-kanton/352336/pocinje-realizacija-projekta-%E2%80%9Eprijatelji-bez-granica%E2%80%9C-bh-srednjoskolci-u-borbi-protiv-segregacije-u-obrazovanju> (accessed on 18 February 2018)

[13] See, for instance, the following volumes:

- 1) B. Magaš (ed), *Question of Survival: A Common Education System for Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Bosnian Institute, London, UK, 1998.
- 2) S. Majhanovich, C. Fox, and A. Pašalić-Kreso (eds), *Living Together: Education and Intercultural Dialogue*, Springer, Dordrecht, Netherlands, 2009.
- 3) A. Dimou (ed), *Transition and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*, V & R unipress GmbH, Göttingen, Germany, 2009.
- 4) R. Stuebner, *The Current Status of Religious Coexistence and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Washington DC: Institute of Peace, US, 2009.
- 5) J. Branković, M. Kovačević, P. Maassen, B. Stensaker, M. Vukasovic (eds), *The Re-Institutionalization of Higher Education in the Western Balkans: The Interplay between European Ideas, Domestic Policies, and Institutional Practices*, Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 2014.
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- 7) B. Lanahan, *Post-Conflict Education for Democracy and Reform: Bosnian Education in the Post-War Era 1995-2015*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, 2017.

[14] See articles such as:

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This research paper was published by STRATPOL.

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Layout and finalization: Ondřej Zacha