PEACE BUILDING THROUGH PEACE EDUCATION IN POST CONFLICT SOCIETIES: A CASE STUDY OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

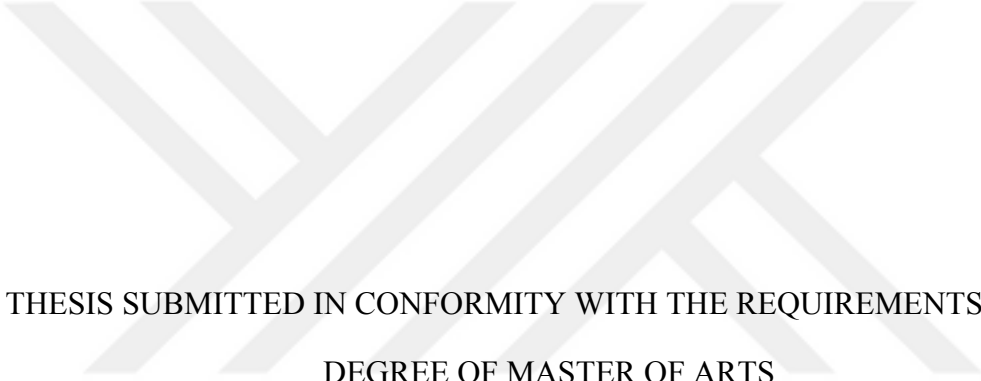**Gülsüm CİHAN KENCESOY**

SEPTEMBER, 2017

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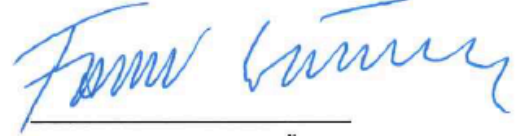
By

GÜLSÜM CİHAN KENCESOY

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Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.
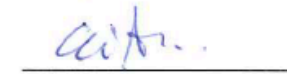
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ÖZET

Barış eğitimi son yılların en çok tartışılan konularından biri olmuştur. Temel olarak barış eğitimi, Bosna Hersek gibi savaş sonrası ülkelerde savaş ve çatışma ihtimalini engelleyip sürdürülebilir barış sağlanması üzerine kuruludur. Barış eğitimi alanında çalışma yapmış bir çok akademisyenin daha önce tartıştığı üzere, savaş sonrası ülkelerdeki yeni nesiller, çatışmanın iç savaş görmüş ülkeler için kaçınılmaz olmasına rağmen, şiddet ve hasımlıkla sonuçlanmaması gerektiği konusundaki fikirleri geliştirmek için eğitilmelidirler. Bu çalışmada, barış eğitiminin savaş sonrası ülkelerde sürdürülebilir barışın sağlanmasında ve çatışmanın engellemesindeki temeli oluşturması incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada, barış eğitimi ve neticelerinin, savaş sonrası ülkelerde uygun ve koruyucu bir önlem olmasına ışık tutulmuştur. Bosna Hersek ise, iç savaş görmüş etnik çeşitliliğe sahip bir ülke olması sebebiyle vaka çalışması olarak ele alınmıştır. Bosna'daki Barış Eğitimi (EFP) programı, barış eğitimi programlarının çatışmayı engellemede, sürdürülebilir barışı sağlamada ve böyle ülkelerin geleceği için sağlam bir temel oluşturmada etkin bir yol olduğunu kanıtlamak amacıyla incelenmiştir.

 Anahtar Kelimeler: Bosna, eğitim, barış eğitimi, EFP, sürdürülebilir barış.

ABSTRACT

Peace education has been a mostly debated topic in recent years. It is mainly based on how to prevent conflict and create sustainable peace in post conflict countries such as Bosnia Herzegovina. As many scholars in the field of peace education have already discussed, new generations in such post conflict societies should be educated in order to foster the idea that conflict does not have to result in violence and enmity though conflict is an unavoidable result of civil wars. In this study, the core question of whether peace education can be regarded as a core foundation to create sustainable peace and prevent conflict in post conflict countries by building peace has been investigated. The primary goal of this study is to provide an insight about peace education and its results as a viable and preventive method in post conflict societies with the case study of Bosnia Herzegovina, a civil war-torn country which is ethnically diversified. The Education for Peace (EFP) program in Bosnia has been scrutinized in order to prove that peace education programs are and could be an effective way to prevent conflict and build sustainable peace as well as a strong foundation for such a country's future.

Keywords: Bosnia, education, peace education, EFP, sustainable peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BiH : Bosnia Herzegovina

JNA : Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija (Yugoslav People's Army)

USSR : United Soviet Socialist Republic

BSA : Bosnian Serb Army

EC : European Community

US : United States

UNPROFOR : United Nations Protection Force

UN : United Nations

SFRY : Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

VRS : Vojske Republike Srpske (Army of Republika Srpska)

ARBiH : Army of the Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina

HVO : Croatian Defense Council

ICTY : International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

EFP : Education for Peace Program

ITP : Integrative Theory of Peace

OSCE : The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

OHR : Office of the High Representative

FBiH : Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina

DPA : Dayton Peace Agreement

CFCR : Conflict Free Conflict Resolution

RS : Republika Srpska (Republic of Serbia)

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CHAPTER 1

"Education offers the chance to shape minds, hearts and behaviors of succeeding generations" (Minow, 2003)

INTRODUCTION

1.1.Research Background

In post-Cold War period, the nature of conflicts has been in various forms and brought new challenges to the world. Peace organizations have been struggling for settlement of the conflicts in different ways to build peace. Perpetual peace is to be achieved through peace education and its social dimensions, which shall be scrutinized in this thesis in a detailed fashion. Peace education is the core aspect to be examined in terms of gaining perpetual peace in a post-conflict society. Peace education, in a broader sense, points to the curricula created for the needs of children living in post-conflict societies.

"Education offers the chance to shape minds, hearts and behaviors of succeeding generations." (Minow, 2003)

Thus, education is particularly important in post-conflict societies, the future stability that primarily depends upon the young generation. Education is quite a significant part of peace building process and this thesis will primarily focus on the fact that education is an indispensable part of peace building in post conflict societies with special emphasis on the case in Bosnia during post-war period and intends to demonstrate the significance and capability of education as a sustainable and preventive way of recovery in a post-conflict context.

During the 20th century, conflict has been reshaped and wars have spread approximately everywhere in the world. The horrendous forms of atrocities i.e. genocides, racism, ethnic detest, and domestic violence have severely increased.

1.2. Research Question and Objectives

This study attempts to answer the core question: Can peace education be regarded as a core foundation to create sustainable peace and prevent conflict in post conflict countries by building peace? The main purpose of this thesis is to provide an insight about peace education and its results as a viable initiative in post conflict societies. Is it possible to prevent conflict in a post conflict society benefiting from peace education initiatives in education? Is it possible to create peace with peace education in a post-war and ethnically torn-out country? The power and potential of peace education will be examined through the case study of Bosnia.

1.3. Outline of the Research

This study has been divided into five chapters. The current chapter deals with the rationale and importance of the study. Chapter 2 will explain research methodology and design and Chapter 3 will broadly explore the current literature of the definitions of peace building theory and peace education as well as the trends in peace education. The role of peace education in peacebuilding shall be discussed in the same chapter as well. The role education plays in alleviating conflict is highlighted and the chapter attempts to underline the relevancy of peace education and schooling in post conflict peace building process. Education is quite relevant for achieving sustainable peace for various reasons: its direct influence on students, its being the basic institution in almost all societies, and also the role of education that leads to a positive concept of peace together with the involvement of the society to obtain sustainable peace. Thus, Chapter 3 will mainly explore the constructive contributions of education in conflict and also creation of substantial change since

education is an essential tool in terms of its capability to be easily applied in diversified situations. Chapter 4 will explore a brief history of Bosnia Herzegovina to provide further historical background and explore the case study of Bosnia Herzegovina. The peace education strategy they have used in the country will be examined and analyzed in detail, focusing on EFP program implemented in BiH since the ending of Civil War. Finally, Chapter 5 will conclude study with discussion and analysis exploring the effectiveness of the program in contribution to the peace and unity in BiH.

The next chapter discusses the research methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Research Design

The research design is mainly the overall strategy selected to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thus, ensuring an effective addressing of the research problem; it consists of the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data (Vaus, 2001). It is also a selection method which guides the researcher to choose his strategies relevant to the research questions and the project is to be considered as a whole (Boslaugh, 2007).

Therefore, the research design of a study must address the research questions and be in line with the methods selected as well as the aims of the research. Research design should be formulated at the very beginning of the research, so the researcher knows how to address the issues to be discussed and which path to follow while conducting his research. The perception of the project should be evaluated at various levels.

Simply put, research design aims to ensure that researchers can efficiently point the research problem rationally. In social sciences research,

> "… obtaining information relevant to the research problem generally entails specifying the type of evidence needed to test a theory, to evaluate a program, or to

accurately describe and assess meaning related to an observable phenomenon..."

(USC University of Southern California Libraries Research Guides, n.d.)

All the research questions shall completely be answered and the research should be designed in such a way that the questions, the selected method(s), the targeted topic and the aims of the research are ensured to be in harmony. The present study about peace education for sustainable peace building in post conflict societies (with a case study of Bosnia) is quite suitable to be studied utilizing qualitative research based on a broad literature review since the topic is thoroughly discussed in terms of social and educational aspects of peace education for peace building and its results in a post conflict society.

2.2. Research Method

This study utilizes qualitative method to achieve the aimed results. Qualitative research is a method of inquiry employed in many different academic disciplines, traditionally in the social sciences.

Qualitative researcher aims to gather an in-depth understanding of the topic of interest. The sole reason for employing qualitative research method in this study is that the social aspect and the effects of the educational implementations to achieve sustainable peace are obviously areas of a qualitative research rather than any arithmetical data. As a result, the method used by the researcher does not involve any statistical analysis; however, instead a descriptive and content-analysis method has been used to provide descriptions and findings on the research results. A case study of Bosnia Herzegovina has been included due to the fact that Bosnia is the most concrete example to demonstrate how education policies and

applications fostering to build sustainable peace can positively affect a post-war society. To explain the benefits and potential of peace education as a way of social and educational development in post conflict countries such as BiH, I believe case study method would fit the best.

2.3. Scientific and Social Justification of the Research

In countless scientific and political conventions on building peace in Bosnia Herzegovina, contributions of numerous international actors have been referred. As an extensive concept, peace building is hard to thoroughly analyze and answering all the questions about the peace building through education in a worldwide sense cannot be expected. Despite the very existence of peace education concept for a long time, it is fairly challenging to find an effective active program because of the fact that peace education in practice has not been fully examined yet. The effectiveness of the peace education programs is another issue to be looked at as it is hard to evaluate it over a short course of time. The empirical data in peace education programs in practice unfortunately does not fulfill the needs of researchers. Salomon (2002) states that there is a lack of scholarly work or empirically scrutinized questions about peace education. Thus, peace building through peace education in post conflict societies taking Bosnia as the case study will be attempted to explain in this study to shed further light on the issue of attaining sustainable peace in conflicted societies such as Bosnia, a country that has faced conflict and unrest for years. The peace education movement in Bosnia has fitted this study very well as a long term and assessed program.

2.4. Data Collection

Prior to data collection for such qualitative research, the researcher needs to do some thinking in the design stage of the qualitative research to determine the resources relevant to the study. As pointed out by Seale et al. (2004), the goal and purpose of the study should be explained in its historical and political contexts as well as summarizing the new insights to be gained after the research.

Data collection in secondary research methodology means collecting data from sources that already exist. Secondary data collection demands an assessment in accordance with the quality of the existing data. This assessment can augment the very potential of data gathering to provide detailed information (Polgar and Thomas, 1995). This leads to the fact that data collected should suffice and be appropriate for the study of the subject. Detailed primary data will provide the researcher abundant information to analyze and synthesize them. The researcher used primary and secondary data from scholarly articles and books, magazines, dissertations, and relevant database as well as other resources.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Peace Education

Peace education is a puzzling concept and almost all communities and countries have always been in search of peace; yet, educating new generations mainly depends on various issues such as in or out group conflicts and differences as well as continuous preparation for warfare. Peace education has gained plenty of importance in the last decades as an essential part of democratic and developing societies. Salomon (2002) offers some basic and conceptual differences between various types of peace education since the political conditions may vary from country to country. He believes no practical or academic progress can be achieved unless the exact definition of peace education is created. He specifically focuses on one type of peace education programs which take place in post-conflict societies. His theoretical explanations are quite congruous with the Bosnian case to be discussed in this thesis since it generates a basis for my argument.

For different academicians and writers, peace education refers to various concepts. Deutsch (1973) outlines a program of what schools can do to encourage the values, attitudes and knowledge that creates constructive rather than destructive relations, which prepare

children to live in a peaceful world. He specifically focuses on conflict resolution training, violence prevention programs and peer meditation. Less fortunate countries, namely Third World Countries, perceive peace education in terms of fostering human rights whereas prosperous countries usually consider it related to environmental issues, culture of peace and disarmament (Harris I. , 2002). Some believe that peace education is primarily about changing the way of thinking by promoting respect, empathy, tolerance and understanding to the foes of yesterday (Raviv, Oppenheimer, & Bar-Tal, 1999). Bosnia sets a great example for peace education programs since it has been the region of conflict. On the other hand, others consider peace education as a set of skills, the main aim of which is to obtain non-violent disposition and conflict resolution skills.

As mentioned above, Salomon (2002) also outlines the present peace education programs under four categories: peace education 'mainly as a matter of changing mindset', peace education 'mainly as a matter of cultivating a set of skills', peace education as 'mainly a matter of promoting human rights (particularly in the Third World countries), and finally, peace education as a 'matter of environmentalism, disarmament, and the promotion of a culture of peace' (p. 4). Harris (2002) mentions ten aims for efficient peace education:

> "…to appreciate the richness of the concept of *peace*; to address fears; to provide information about security systems; to   understand violent behavior; to develop intercultural understanding; to provide for a future orientation; to teach peace as a process; to promote a concept of peace accompanied by social justice; to stimulate a respect for life; and to end violence…" (p. 20)

As we might conclude from the quote, the variety of goals for peace illustrates the common desire for peace around the world and also the barricades and disagreements to be

encountered in quest of peace. However, this common desire has not been sufficient to find an agreed method to create peace, rather it paved the way for more conflict within and among societies. The other is the education programs we utilize to raise next generations. Education has a massive influence on sustainable peace; if not creating peace in the first place. As Montessori (1971) points, "establishing a lasting peace is the work of education; all politics can do is keep us out of war." Social improvement can be achieved through educating the generations.

In his article "Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education", Danesh (2006) focuses on education for peace (EFP) curriculum based on the integrative theory of peace (ITP). He believes peace is psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state and it directly affects almost all areas of human life. He outlines four basic necessary points for peace education: unity-based worldview, culture of healing, culture of peace and peace oriented curriculum. In his paper, he examines the case of schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have applied EFP principles and practices into the curriculum. He advocates an obvious need for a theoretical framework of peace that will integrate diverse approaches and concepts and thus finding a comprehensive peace education program. He analyzes the current approaches to the methods and contents of education as well as the framework – conflict oriented or peace oriented – the education takes place. Unity-based world view is the first and foremost important context where efficient peace education can happen. He points to the fact that human progress requires peace education and civilization quoting from Firer (2002, p.55) who has examined that peace education is "such a difficult task" because of "the continuous war education that youngsters and adults have been receiving since the beginning of mankind". Danesh (2006) refers to various contexts trying

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to explain that conflict, war and violence are the main subjects most of the present approaches circle around. He has a point in that since most of the contexts such as family, school, history or biology classes all teach students how to survive in a time of conflict, to deal with competition, aggression and violence, to struggle to survive as the fittest. Collaboration existing in harmony and interrelations are usually overlooked or given less importance. It is quite expected that the generations are raised by being taught to survive in this conflicted and war-prone world and to have more power in every walk of life. They are more likely to familiarize themselves with the methods of conflict, brutality and rivalry rather than collaboration, coexistence and peace.

3.2. Definition of Conflict

The nature of conflict has profoundly changed in the international community since the Cold War. In the past centuries conflicts were mainly on an inter-state level though later it has largely occurred within the borders of one state in last decades (Mack, 2002).

The Cold War (1945–1989) paved the way to global civil wars that have taken place in weaker and former colony countries, rather than the strong states cooperated with the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The powerful countries have attempted to implement Cold War ideology on the states which, later, fell into internal conflicts. Besides, some local conflicts sought to draw attention of the powerful countries to achieve some support in the international arena.

Pro- or anti-communist forced civil wars lasted longer than a regular non-Cold War conflict, whereas a Cold War civil war that included superpowers intervention led to wars normally lasting more than three times as long as other civil wars. On the other hand, the finale of the Cold War ending by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 led to a decline in the

duration of Cold War civil wars around 92%. El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Bosnia Herzegovina are some examples of long Cold War related civil wars (Hironaka, 2005).

A distinct shift in the concept of conflict has occurred and many approaches emerged to define it. As Goodhand and Hulme (1999) pointed in their article, "Changes in the nature of violent conflict, and the context within which it is set, have required changes in the concepts that are used to aid the understanding of contemporary conflict."

Anderson (2012) explains the term "conflict" and consequences of conflict. Peace education is discussed in terms of its ability to prevent conflict in post conflict societies. Her main focus is conflict and education, which are interrelated. Some current methods utilized so as to prevent conflict with efforts of determining the efficiency of them are analyzed. She also has a point, which I strongly agree, in that peace education has largely been overlooked as an effective and powerful tool to prevent conflict.

Goodhand and Hulme (1999) refer to the fact that conflict may be present in various forms for various causes. To illustrate, power or resources could be reasons for conflict. As we may well understand from the dubiousness of the definitions, conflicts stem from a vast variety of reasons and it is utterly impossible to inspect each reason one by one. This thesis will also examine the specific one that is emerging from civil wars as in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina.

To be given an overall idea about the definition of civil war, various definitions shall be summarized. Sambanis (2004) gives an extensive definition that encompasses diverse explanations of civil war:

"(1) The war takes place within a territory of an internationally recognized state with a population of more than 500,000; (2) The parties are politically and militarily organized, and they have publicly stated political objectives; (3) The government (through its military or militias) must be a principal combatant. If there is no functioning government, then the party representing the government internationally and/or claiming the state domestically must be involved as a combatant; (4) The main insurgent organization(s) must be locally represented and must recruit locally, though there may be additional external involvement and recruitment; (5) The start year of the war is the first year that the conflict causes at least 500 to 1,000 deaths. If the conflict has not caused 500 deaths or more in the first year, the war is considered as having started in that year only if cumulative deaths in the next 3 years reach 1,000. (6) Throughout the durations, the conflict must be characterized by sustained violence, with no three-year period having less than 500 deaths; (7) Throughout the war, the weaker party must be able to mount effective resistance, measured by at least 100 deaths inflicted on the stronger party; (8) The war ends if interrupted by a peace treaty, ceasefire or decisive military victory producing at least two years of peace" (p.829).

According to Wong (2006), the common scholarly definition has two main criteria. The first says that the warring groups must be from the same country and fighting for control of the political center, control over a separatist state or to force a major change in policy. The second says that at least 1,000 people must have been killed in total, with at least 100 from each side. Fearon (2007), a scholar of civil wars at Stanford University, defines a civil war as "a violent conflict within a country fought by organized groups that aim to take power at the center or in a region, or to change government policies".

Therefore, we can ask the core question: Can peace education help to build peace in a post war society and prevent conflict?

Some might believe that education may create alternative and peaceful discourses which prevent violent conflict at the beginning. Others may advocate that once violent conflict is experienced by the society, they may see education as the best solution for future peace. In

the next part, Peace Education and the common trends will be summarized referring various scholars in the field.

3.3 Defining Peace Education and Common Trends in Peace Education

Upon defining "civil war" in a broader sense by different scholars, another area to be focused on is the definition and common trends in peace education. In this part, the common trends in peace education scholars have examined to the date will be outlined. Countless theories and approaches to lessen conflict and create a culture of peace are presently being discussed. (Bar-Tal, 1999; Groff & Smoker, 1996; Harris, 1999; Salomon & Nevo, 2002). Peace education commonly presumes that humans are all capable of learning how to compromise and find ways of peace. Another definition of peace education could be the very process of obtaining the values, the knowledge, and the improving skills and behaviors so as to harmonize yourself with the rest of the society and the natural habitat. However, upon analyzing peace education as a concept, we directly encounter the fact that most theories and approaches have been built on the idea that conflict is a direct and unavoidable result of human nature.

One of the most important peace education scholars, Harris (2002) advocates that lessons of peace education have always been in existence in order to assist humans to cope with violence and conflict at all levels. As Harris (2002) describes "the process of teaching people about the threats of violence and strategies for peace" (p. 19). It is essential to examine peace education to date before discussing the philosophy, principles and approaches to peace education in general and how it has been placed in various contexts up until now.

The definite time of the emergence of peace education as a theory or philosophy remains unknown and these theories or philosophies have often been presumed, not articulated. Galtung (1975) points in his research that there is an urgent need to develop a theory about peace education since no such theory had ever existed yet. Page (2004) discusses the philosophy of peace education as the elaboration of reasons why human beings need to be committed to peace education. The lack of attention paid to the philosophy of peace education is another concern he attempts to voice. He believes that a philosophy of peace education is more than a personal statement of the significance of peace education. Page is neither the first nor the last scholar who has implied the lack of attention given to the development of a systematic philosophy of peace education. In addition to Galtung, Blake (1985) also points to the same issue in his essay addressing the need for a philosophical work on the field of education. Their comments are relatively new. Page strongly believes that if the people in the society are to allocate their available resources to peace education, it is quite logical to explain the reasons for its significance. Despite the widely known importance of peace education, it still needs to be discussed and explained in a detailed fashion. The definition of peace education problem is also similar to the problem of the definition of peace, which is a hindrance for peace education. Considering this issue, Page (2004) centers his argument on Galtung's theory; peace mainly involves direct, structural and culture peace. And he concludes that peace education may well include developmental education, futures education, education for international understanding, human rights education, inclusive education and environmental education. The problematic point is whether peace education philosophy may encompass the comprehensive understanding of peace education, and if it does what definition one may come up with.

Peace education aims at preventing any kind of war. Recently, peace education is related to the notion that it should create a positive approach (Reardon, 1999). Therefore, peace education aims to point a wider range of issues including structural violence and cultural violence, as Reardon (1999) suggests:

"In addition to the politically organized violence of war and various forms of repression, and the structural violence of neocolonial economic institutions there is, as well, social violence such as racism, sexism and religious fundamentalism, and the cultural violence of patriarchal institutions, blood sports, and the glorification of violent historical events in national holidays and the banalization of violence in the media." (p.14)

With reference to peace education, two important recent attempts to improve peace education philosophy can be outlined. Calleja (1991) wrote about the probable philosophical basis for peace education within the Kantian epistemology of education and peace, focusing on the Kantian categorical imperative. According to Calleja (1991), Kant suggests that acting in accordance with the categorical imperative is our obligation and we are obliged to educate following this manner. Calleja (1991) also argued that Kant (1795) always advocated peace profoundly and in his Second Definitive Article of the 1795 essay *Zum Ewigen Frieden* (On Perpetual Peace)*,* he namely argues peace is the prior duty of humans. Thus, peace education should be accepted as a duty, stemming from the categorical imperative and from the importance of reason.

Five different ethical or philosophical concepts has been suggested by Page (2008):

"virtue ethics, where peace is viewed as a virtue or vice versa, and peace education as education in that virtue; consequentiality ethics, where peace education might be viewed as education with regard to the consequences of our action and inaction, both as individuals and collectivities; conservative political ethics, where peace education might be viewed as indicator of the significance of the evolution of social institutions; aesthetic ethics, where

peace might be viewed as something beautiful and valuable in itself, and peace education focusing on the significance of the beauty; and the ethics of care, where care is the preliminary element in peace, and peace education as inspiring mutual trust and involvement with the others." (p.3)

Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) discusses the nature of peace education in states which have been involved in conflict. They point that such conflicts not only impact the local societies within that state causing poverty, pain and misery, but also affect the international communities at a large scale. Their article is more definitive since they briefly outline the necessary steps to be taken for successful application of peace education. They mention the political-societal and educational conditions to successfully implement peace education and (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009) define two models for peace education: direct and indirect peace education. Creating rapprochement within the society is another concern they focus on. Rapprochement can be achieved by implementing efficient methods of peace education. As Salomon and Harris pointed before, peace education has various functions depending on the goals and needs of the communities (Salomon, 2002).

The main aim of peace education is to develop and facilitate peace making and rapprochement among the society that is engaged in constant conflict. The purpose of peace education is to change the world views of the society; that's to say, their beliefs, behaviors, values, perhaps traditions etc. Alterations in these various fields shall pave the way for peace process resolving conflict and thus create a habitat of peace and reconciliation.

Similar to Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009), Danesh (2006) also suggests prerequisites for effective peace education implementation. An extensive and sustained education curriculum for peace can probably change the present views in the world which contribute to conflict and wars around the globe. Another assertion is that human conflict has existed

throughout history. The fact that education has always promoted conflict-based world views requires a brand-new approach to education to be centered on peace principles and concepts.

At this point, we can simply mention the efforts of international institutions that have commented on the principles of peace education and incorporating them into their agendas. United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO Culture of Peace Unit, 1998) attempts to alter the approaches to peace education. In this sense, UNESCO's work is non-negligible.

> "UNESCO sees education as the key means to spearhead the movement towards a culture of peace. For many years, the Organization has been developing programs to help Member States and partners introduce policies and lines of action concerning democratic citizenship and human rights into their formal and non-formal education planning. Special curricula have been developed to reinforce peace education and promote teaching for tolerance and non-violence" (UNESCO Culture of Peace Unit, 1998)

The Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) has expressed the significance of human rights education (a component of peace education) as a fundamental right that all children are entitled to through their work. Similarly, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has "viewed the promotion of understanding, peace and tolerance through education as a fundamental right of all children, not an optional extra-curricular activity" (Fountain, 1999)

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At present, Bosnia and Herzegovina Government making efforts in cooperation with the international community to establish a school program which shall educate students in the principles of internal harmonization, cooperation and peace instead of the opposite case that has been (Spaulding, 1998).

Our worldviews are thoroughly formed and inspired by the education we receive. These worldviews directly affect what type of individuals we will grow into-peaceful or violent, conflicted or united. The Education for Peace Program developed on the basis of integrative peace theory (ITP) in Bosnia and Herzegovina has shown a vast variety of effects on intra-societal, inter-societal, inter-personal, inter-group, inter-institutional and international relations in the last three years.

All these examples demonstrate the promising signs that a new consciousness to change the approach to education is prevailing. Anderson (2012) refers to the following timeline which shows how peace education has developed in history:

In 1960s, Nuclear Arms Race (evidence of inter-state conflict), Peace Movements (Europe) and Civil Rights Movements (USA);

In 1970s, peace education as a political and development education;

In 1980s, International understanding, regionalized approaches, 'lost decade' in development replace politicized approaches, environmental concerns (rise of Green parties and 'sustainable development');

In 1990s, Post - Cold War global governance enthusiasm and shifts from interstate to intrastate conflict - UN is viewed as the core organization;

In 2000s, increased interest has been in 'development' and 'global studies', but also the 'corporations' of universities and curricula.

Synott and Harris (2002) defined peace education as a series of "teaching encounters". They also state "their desire for peace, non-violent alternatives for managing conflict and skills for critical analysis of structural arrangements that produce and legitimize injustice and inequality." Academic studies and academic research on peace education have long

been in need of a wider and more comprehensive approach to the issue. According to Agarwal (2013), three different variations of peace education could be listed depending on the projects in the area: conflict resolution training, democracy education, and human rights education. New approaches are emerging and calling into question some of theoretical foundations of the models just mentioned.

3.4. Conclusion

One of the most important central points in human history has been "conflict". Peace education is utilized to illuminate people about the hazards of conflict, whether it is interpersonal, intrapersonal, interstate or intrastate.

The role of education in post conflict societies to build peace is undeniable. Sustainable peace among intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, and inter-institutional levels can be obtained by fostering peace education programs in such societies; thus, attempting to involve the whole society in this constructive process to create radical changes in the once-a-torn-down country. Above all, education almost always creates quite a positive concept in people's mind and implementation of peace education programs, therefore, will be simpler than one can imagine due to its capacity to be easily applied in diverse conditions.

Numerous current approaches attempt to explain the issues and concept of the nature of peace and peace education as well as the methods to establish ever-lasting peace in societies. Specifically, peace education is the most powerful tool to alter the current negative condition in the society to a more peace oriented one within the framework of war, violence and conflict. The nature of conflicts is not only political, but also

psychological, moral and non-material. Thus, the current trends in peace education attempt to view it holistically in order to formulate an integral and unifying view. As we all know, education has always served to promote social cohesion by incorporating children within the hierarchy of the society and assisting them to be prepared for their future positions in life. Peace education has no aim, but to create this social cohesion by building peace among the people, peoples, individuals and promote future unity in that society. Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Education for Peace program in the country have been the best exemplified case study within the field of peace education and its successful function to serve the ends of peace building process in the post conflict societies.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY: BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

4.1. Introduction

Peace education is one of the most evasive issues in the history of humanity. As John Dewey (1897) uttered once, 'education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform' (p.77). Conflict and war have always been present in societies and have always required an education dedicated to war preps and conflict conduction as well as protecting the country. Nevertheless, considering the agonies as consequences of two devastating world wars in the recent history, a need for world-entwining concepts and inter-relations of humans has emerged bringing along peace education concepts, which have gained importance. Today peace education is a required aspect of a democratic and advancing countries. Then, we can easily conclude that peace education is an invention of modern times as Vriens (1999) points out.

This chapter shall attempt to explain the question with a case study: Can peace education be regarded as a core foundation to create sustainable peace and prevent conflict in post conflict countries by building peace? Thus, employing a case study will be quite enlightening to prove the very efficiency of peace education in a conflict society. Bosnia and Herzegovina stands out as the country where effective peace education program has been implemented. Education for Peace Program (EFP) will set an example of the effectiveness of such peace education programs for other countries and states encountering the same or similar post conflict challenges. Programs such as OSCE and Nansen Dialogue

Network are also other examples for the success of peace education. Below are the details of such programs for future reference. Post-War Bosnia education efforts have been conducted by organizations named below (Tenure 2010).

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) provides a large amount of in-depth information about the educational experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The OSCE is a regional security organization (with 56 participating states), and its listed activities in Bosnia include: democratization, education, human rights and security cooperation. It is a valuable resource for background information and understanding the role of government in post-conflict reconstruction.

Nansen Dialogue Network is another non-governmental organization based in Norway, working actively in the peace-building process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their focus is to foster dialogue with the intent of conflict transformation. This is done through partnerships with different non-profit organizations. They are not limited to the educational sector, as the website details projects in the media and different local levels, but the emphasis is on contact between the children of the segmented society. They work to open multiethnic classrooms and shared opportunities to engage students from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The clear focus is on conflict transformation through education.

Education for Peace (EFP) is also an organization whose focus is not just on teaching for a violence-free world on the ground, but also consulting with governments, research, training and developing curricula towards peace. The program, launched by the end of 1999, aims to create a culture of peace, a culture of healing, and a culture of excellence

among all the ethnic groups in the conflicted post-war BiH. EFP has been supported by ministries of education, municipalities and international organizations and authorities.

This chapter is specifically dedicated to the case study of Education For Peace Program which has been carried out in Bosnia since the end of 1999. The chapter will deal with a brief history of Bosnia Herzegovina to provide an overall insight about Bosnia and neighbouring countries in the Balkan region. Besides, the rise and collapse of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be discussed as Bosnia was a part of SFRY before it gained independence. Furthermore, the civil war in Bosnia and the Dayton Accords will be explained to shed a light on the context in which EFP was introduced and put into effect in highly conflicted BiH.

In the second part of the chapter, peace education programs as well as the consequences of civil war on the society will be analyzed. Inescapably, Education for Peace program in Bosnia will be explained and analyzed in a detailed fashion.

4.2. A Brief History of Bosnia Herzegovina

Bosnia is a complicated country: three religions, three nations and those "others". Nationalism is strong in all three nations; in two of them there are a lot of racism, chauvinism, separatism; and now we are supposed to make a state out of that.

Alija Izetbegovic, Bosniak Activist and Politician (Izetbegovic, Alia, 2007)

Today's Bosnia and Herzegovina could be best comprehended with an introduction to its pre-war history. This chapter will briefly explore the history of Bosnia which has affected its development into Bosnia today.

Bosnian history has always been affected by the Bosnian geography and the distribution of different ethnicities in the country, as well as the character and passions of Serbian and Croatian nationalisms, and the policies of surrounding states. Bosnia is a stereotype Balkan country. Harboring many ethnicities, the country lies across significant communication lines in Europe towards the coast of the Adriatic and it definitely occupies a strategic location which beckons the very attention of numerous states around it from the time of the Ottoman Turks to World War II.

Bosnia remained far from any movements of nationalism and nation-states in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, which profoundly affected its national development at the time. The control of the country had passed from one multinational empire to another in the nineteenth century, possessing many social, cultural and religious influences from the Ottomans till the Communists did away with the entire order after World War II in 1945. In the meantime, Bosnia had been a dependent state.

Geographically, Bosnia and Herzegovina is located in the western Balkan Peninsula of Europe. Bosnia is divided into a two: Bosniak and Croat Federation (51 % of the land) and the Bosnian-Serb led Republic (49% of the land) (CIA World Fact Book, 2015).

4.2.1. Bosnia Under Ottoman Rule (1463 – 1878)

Upon the conquest of Bosnia by the Ottoman Empire, a new era began in the history of the country, leading to radical changes in politics and culture. Bosnia had been an independent

state ruled by monarchy right before conquered and annexed to Ottoman Empire. Under Ottoman rule, Bosnia was a privileged state among the other subjugated countries in the Balkan region since the Ottoman Empire permitted them to preserve their identity by annexing it as an integrated province preserving their original name and territory.

Bosnia remained as Bosnian Sanjak between 1476 and 1580. After, it gained the State status (Riedlmayer, 2004). The Ottoman Empire implemented a number of significant amendments in the social and political administration; in other words, a new system of land distribution and administration units as well as a system of social differentiation in terms of class and religion were introduced (Malcolm, 1994). For four centuries, during the Ottoman reign in the Balkans, Bosnia was, to some extent, relieved of the burden and stress of its presence as a frontier province. The province of Bosnia had also been through an era of general welfare.

The building progress of the Ottoman Empire in and around Europe continued for a long period of time. The Serbs removed from the invasions were settled along the Bosnian border by Croatia (in union with Hungary). This area had become a frontier of human wall to prevent the Ottomans from entering. This tactic would reverse its purpose in the future when Croats started to yearn for their independence to create a pure Croatian state (Domin, 2001).

4.2.2. Changes in the Bosnian Society during Ottoman Reign

The Ottoman Empire ruled almost a third of Europe. It tolerated a significant amount of religious diversity within its borders. While the Turks did not force conversions, only Muslims could own property, vote, or participate in the government. Non-Muslims had to

pay a tax on their work. However, they could practice their own religion and justice, and exercise their own will in many community affairs. These measures were taken by the Ottoman rulers to avoid revolts or rebellions. It was during this time that many Bosnians converted to Islam. A large part of the Slavic population converted to the Islam religion, and became known as Bosniacs (Muslims). Christian peasants remained the serfs in the feudal society. The Ottoman Empire brought numerous changes to the Bosnian society. New towns of the Islamic-Oriental type were developed, and the economy was changed by the introduction of a feudal estate-landowner system. The Turks established administrative military districts called sandjaks. From 1580 the region of Bosnia became ruled through the administration of pashadom, a decision that recognized the Bosnian entity, including all of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, and some parts of Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Serbia. In 1592, the Turks captured the important fortress at Bihac from the Hapsburgs, and with this move the Ottoman Empire covered all of Bosnia and Herzegovina, part of Croatia, and Hungary. The Turks occupied Croatia until 1699. After the Vienna War (1683-1699) Bosnia became the western province of the Ottoman Empire, and the Karlowitz treaty (1699) confirmed the historical borders of Bosnia on the north, west and south. The Ottoman Empire ruled Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1878 (Domin, 2001).

In the century after the Ottomans marching to Vienna, a great number of Bosnians began to adopt the faith of these Ottoman conquerors. Islam spread rapidly owing to the efforts of Muslim preachers who taught a visionary Islamic view which enabled Bosnian people to adapt their own customs and traditions to their new religion. Muslim Bosnian were able to find posts as soldiers in the high ranks of the Ottoman elite. A new Bosnian Muslim

culture was born, exquisite to Bosnia with its mosques, libraries, schools and other buildings constructed by the Ottoman Sultans.

Some Bosnians who refused to convert to Islam remained other in Catholicism or in Orthodoxy. Ottoman Empire was quite tolerant with non Muslims, providing them complete liberation for their religious and traditional practices. The same applied for Bosnian non-Muslims. Approximately 500 years, Bosnia remained as the Eyalet of Bosna, one of the significant provinces in the Ottoman Empire. Bosnia enjoyed prosperity and victory under Ottoman roof until after the Ottoman borders started to shrink in the 18th century.

In 1699, with the Treaty of Karlowitz, Bosnia was again the westernmost province of the Empire. In the following century, revolts and distress in Bosnia broke out. Military failures continued and an unsuccessful revolt by Husein Gradascevic who supported a multicultural Bosnia free from Ottoman rule took place (Riedlmayer, 1993). Similar revolts were eradicated around 1850, despite the deterioration of the situation.

The situation became even worse when the Herzegovinian peasants uprising broke out despite the effort to extinguish rebellions in 1875. The conflict scattered so fast that other Balkan countries and Great Powers became involved. This was eventually going to lead Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

1878 was the year Bosnia's Ottoman Empire time came to a sharp end. The Great Powers of Europe had a conference in Berlin so as to determine the fate of Ottoman Empire – a new colony in a strategically located area. The advantage for the Great Powers was the fall of the empire at the time. Ottomans were in no position to pay the debts or to surpass the

internal civil disorder it was facing. In Berlin, the agreement was to leave Ottoman finances to an international commission of creditors. Yet, the Ottoman borders remained intact except for Bosnia Herzegovina which was to be managed by Austria-Hungary. Besides, after 500 years of Ottoman rule, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria gained complete independence largely because of Russia's insistence (Riedlmayer, 1993).

4.2.3. Bosnia Under Austria-Hungary Rule in 20th Century (1878- 1918)

In 1878, At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Austria-Hungary officially gained the occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with the 15th article: Austria-Hungary was allowed to enter Bosnia and establish a government (Hertslet, 1891). Russia and the Habsburg monarchy sought political and economic power in Southeastern Europe since the 18th century. Ottoman weakness, growing Russian influence in the area, and the realization that Serbia was becoming a formidable regional power led the Habsburgs to occupy (1878) and later annex (1908) Bosnia-Herzegovina. Under Habsburg rule, certain areas of education and industrial infrastructure improved. However, the most significant characteristics of this period were the sharp decline of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) in the region, the imposition of colonial rule, and the maintenance of feudal property relations. Instead of using the occupation period to implement reforms and extend rights that other peoples in the monarchy enjoyed (such as abolition of serfdom, creation of political parties, and an elected assembly) in order to build support for Habsburg rule, Vienna governed Bosnia as a colony and neglected its economic and political development. Despite achievements in certain areas of education and in building an industrial infrastructure, Austrian policies triggered anti Habsburg, nationalist politics in the region (Austro-Hungarian Rule, n.d.).

Austria-Hungary aimed to shift Bosnia into a "model colony." Bosnia greatly benefited from this regime in terms of state subsidies for infrastructure and countless buildings. However, intellectual circles began to discuss European ideologies, among which was nationalism.

Habsburg colonialism was being implemented by military force. Despite the reliance of the Ottomans on local Bosnian forces, Austria-Hungary largely relied on increased numbers of foreign troops and civilian officials to maintain control.

Orthodox Serbia had the dream of a great South Slav State, which was promoted by Serbian agents who were inexplicitly supported by Russia, the country that believed it was the guardian of Eastern Orthodox states. Therefore, the Muslim Slavs did not fit in this picture of new order. Some Bosnian Muslims immigrated to Turkey and other parts of Anatolia because they sensed the political turmoil and instability in the new order. Most of them remained in the country to benefit from the educational and financial advantages provided by the new rulers. Their society entered 20th century with prosperity and modernity.

Meanwhile, Serbs were planning to overthrow Austria-Hungary rule in the Slavic lands including Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. Without any justification in Berlin Treaty, Austria officially annexed Bosnia, which was already under its hegemony, to its own territory (1908-1909). This was obviously a trigger for the nationalists. In 1914, the assassination of Austria crown prince Franz Ferdinand during his visit to Sarajevo by a Serb nationalist student sparked the World War I. Millions of people were killed around Europe during WWI and Bosnian were forced to fight for Austro-Hungarian army. The military defeat of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria Hungary and Italy) and consequences of World War I resulted in "re-arrangement of the world" (Velikonja, 2003).

At the end of the war, many Bosniaks had lost their lives while serving in the Austro-Hungarian Army and the number of those people was more than any other ethnic group in the Habsburg Empire. Nonetheless, Bosnia and Herzegovina managed to escape the conflict relatively unscathed (Riedlmayer, 1993).

4.2.4 Bosnia Under Yugoslavian Rule

In nutshell from 1908 to 1918, Bosnia was annexed to Austria- Hungary. WWI broke out when Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which precipitated the war. In 1918, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy collapsed and Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Upon the end of World War I in 1918, Serbia's dreams of nationalism came true after losing more than half of the male Serbs in the war: Serbian ruler became the King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, of the newly-established South Slav State (Serbian –Croatian-Slovene State), which was after renamed Yugoslavia. Bosnian Muslims found no place during the interwar years in Yugoslavia as the original name "Southern Slav State" suggests, there were no special conditions for those who were not Serbs nor Croats. Bosnia remained in the territory of Yugoslavia during the period between WWI and WWII. Social and economic unrest was the prevailing trends in political life in Bosnia at the time. The Serbs dominated Yugoslavia, which in fact was planned to be a multinational, multicultural and multiethnic state.

In 1920s and 1930s, ethnic hatred, religious conflicts and language hindrances were the primary reasons for the country's suffering. The dictatorial regime of Yugoslavia, the economic differences between Serbs and non-Serbs (namely Croats) added up to what

already existed. Croats were the most suffering of all as they imagined to be equal to Serbs in this newly founded state. The tension grew into a turning point after the assassination of the Croat leader Stjepan Radich by a Serbian deputy. Nationalism paved the way for Croats and Serbs, leading them to associate themselves with extremist organizations such as "Ustasha" and "Chetniks" respectively. Serbs became the defender of the monarch while the Croats and Muslim were aligned to balance the powers. Along with the assassination of the Yugoslavian King by an anti-Serb activist, unsettled social and economic matters as well as the adverse consequences of 1930 Great Depression catered for extremists to adjoin and strengthen their groups in the right and the left wing (Domin, 2001).

4.2.5. World War II : Fascism and Religion

Croatia became an independent fascist state including Bosnia and some of Serbia after Yugoslavia was defeated by Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria in April 1941. Croats constituted only 20% of Bosnia; therefore, the Croatian fascist Ustase was seeking the support of Muslim to conduct his plan to exterminate the Serbs and Jews. The Ustase announced, "One third we will kill, one third will be driven out of Croatia, and one third we will convert to Catholicism" (Corb, 2010) The Croatians killed many people, numbers that are commonly accepted are 500,000 - 700,000 Serbians, 50,000 Jews, 20,000 Gypsies (Dragnich, 1992). It was the point that the national outcomes of WWII Bosnia gained a religious extension. This has affected them to this day. Bosnia had become a spot of unimagined atrocities due to the massacres taking place among different nationalist groups. Th0e civil war during WWII was inevitable in Yugoslavia. Tito called all the people in Yugoslavia under the name of brotherhood and unity. His attempts to liberate Yugoslavia

were somehow successful despite the huge number of Serbs. Ustase was ended and the Chetniks fell apart since the USSR was on the move to evacuate Germans.

WWII began and calamities brought by the war were quite catastrophic. Yugoslavia remained occupied by Germany, Italy and Hungary around four years. Croatia was sided with the fascist movement Ustase. After Yugoslavia was invaded, Bosnia aligned itself with Croatia- the Ustase- which implemented barbarian massacre of Serbs and constructed concentration camps. Ustase was being atrocious and wiping out the country. Chetniks and Partisans were the main groups against the Ustase. When the Allies supported Partisan which was led by Tito. However, Bosnian Muslims were in a complicated situation between these opposing forces; Croatian Ustase and Serbian Chetniks. Later, the Bosnian Muslims aligned with the Partisans and participated in Tito's army.

They fought against the Germans and retaliated against the Ustasha with atrocities of their own. Eventually, however, the Allies supported the Partisans, led by Josip Broz Tito. The role of the Bosnian Muslims in the war was more complex, as they were caught between the Croatian Ustasha and the Serbian Chetniks, often equally disillusioned with both. As the Partisans began to increasingly differentiate themselves from the Chetniks, Muslims began to join Tito's army. In 1943, with an attempt to prevent future bloodshed, the Anti-Fascist Council, founded the same year, gave Bosnia a constitution and Bosnia and Herzegovina became a state with a constitution and earned its independent position within Yugoslavia. They were not forced to identify themselves as Serbs or Croats any more. Bosnia was under the roof of Yugoslavia as a separate state bestowed with the equality for all the nationalities living in

Bosnia and Herzegovina. The constituent six socialist republics that made up the country were the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, SR Croatia, SR Macedonia, SR Montenegro, SR Slovenia, and SR Serbia (Domin, 2001).

4.2.6. From 1945 to 1992

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was proclaimed after WWII. Bosnia-Herzegovina was liberated with a constitution following campaign by partisans under Tito. It became a republic within the Yugoslav Socialist Federation in 1945. Macedonia was also made a separate republic.

The critical event was the Bosnian Revolution of 1941–1945 as Hoare (2007) pointed, "the point at which a combination of long-term trends and short-accidents brought to fruition the development of national identity in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the form of a nation-state". The incorporation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a unitary Yugoslavia undermined the region's long tradition of autonomy and encouraged exclusive and chauvinistic attitudes amongst Bosnians of all nationalities, sowing the seeds of genocide and civil war (Hoare, 2007).

In spite of Tito's slogan of "bratstvo - jedinstvo" (brotherhood and unity), the implementation of communism and elimination of all rivalries resulted in a Stalin-ized bloodshed: "...it has been estimated that up to 250,000 people were killed by Tito's mass shootings, forced death marches and concentration camps in the period 1945-6" (Malcolm, 1994). Serb scholars have calculated as much as 1,014,000 and their Croat counterparts 1,027,000.

During his leadership, Tito imprisoned many of his opponents for their nationalist activities (including Alija Izetbegovic and Radovan Karadzic) as Tito formed quite strict measurements against the idea of nationalism.

Tito unfortunately realized after he came to power that "the former attachments to national cultures, traditions, and interests were not to be easily dissolved into the more abstract notion of higher order, Yugoslav, identity," and that formidable measures should be implemented for a unified Yugoslavia (Borowiec, 1977). Therefore, in the post-WWII Yugoslavia, a socialist state was based on the Communist party. For 45 years, Tito's totalitarianism kept the peace within Yugoslavia.

In 1970s tensions among the states arouse due to nationalist movements. Though subtle in the beginning, the blame on Serbia by the Croats was for suppressing other nationalities, dominating the army, economically exploiting Croatia and placing religious confinements. Tensions in Yugoslavia increased during 1970s and 1980s (Ra'anan, 1977).

An inter-republic issue was raised when some republics were dissatisfied with the appointment of nationalities to agencies claiming that they were not being fully represented. They felt that their suggestions were not honored and they were inadequately represented in federal agencies. These insults and accusations continued till 1980s and found its peak at the end of 1980s (Riedlmayer, 1993).

Under Tito's rule, religion was discouraged, yet there was a great freedom of cultural expressions on condition that this did not threaten politics. The economic boom of 1970s and the financial gains led the republics to enjoy prosperity. Yet, Serbia was going to claim that they did not enjoy their share equally and would use it as an excuse to the Serbian nationalist politics of resentment (Riedlmayer, 1993).

In 1991, following collapse of communism, nationalists won first multi-party elections and form coalition government despite having conflicting goals: Muslim nationalists want centralized independent Bosnia, Serb nationalists want to stay in Belgrade-dominated rump Yugoslavia, Croats want to join independent Croatian state (Bosnia Herzegovina Profile Timeline, 2016).

Tito, having ruled Yugoslavia with an "iron fist for decades, was a man who was able to abolish nationalism in Yugoslavia to keep it united as one state. Despite nationalistic pressure in the 1960s, it was not until nearly a decade after Tito's death that they reached their peak. However, he left the country a mess (Binder, 1991). The reasons for major conflicts were the changing society after Tito's death, unjust distribution of sources and economic situation.

4.2.7. Bosnian War (1992-1995)

The Bosnian War between 1992-1995 was a part of the breaking up of Yugoslavia. It inevitably included Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia, republics of the former Yugoslavia, in more-than-a-three-year war on the soil of Bosnia Herzegovina along with mass movements of refugees, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. The War had an international dimension as an armed conflict. It ended on December 14, 1995. Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats were supported by Serbia and Croatia respectively. In Bosnia, the feelings of nationalism were triggered by the Ottoman legacy as well as their self-managed country under Tito's communist rule. Bosnia remained loyal to Yugoslavia as a self-managing republic.

The Cold War period was secure for Yugoslavia as the rebellious republics were tamed due to a possible invasion from the Soviet Union. They tried to maintain their neutrality so as to remain unified. Yet, the demise of Yugoslavia ironically came from the two dominant republics; Serbia and Crotia. By the end of the Cold War, Yugoslavia lost its importance as a key player as East and West were working together now. As Tito left the scene, the weakening of the system because of economic, political and social problems was unavoidable. As pointed earlier, Tito's death in 1980 sparked the collapse of Yugoslavia. Iron Curtain countries began to collapse and the influence of the central government decreased in Yugoslavia. This would give the republics plenty of reasons to create their own nations. In June 1991, Croatia gained its independence after ten days of fighting and a ceasefire brokered by European Community (EC). The Yugoslavians withdrew all their troops and weapons in a few months (War for Slovenia, 1991). Following the disunion of Croatia and Slovenia from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, Socialist Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina – a multi ethnic country consisting of Muslim Bosniaks (44%), Orthodox Serbs (32.5%) and Catholic Croats (17%) had a referendum for their independence in February 1992.

Serbs and political representatives of Bosnian Serbs were uncomfortable with this independence. Serbia immediately declared war on Croatia and after a long and draining series of bombing and attacking, Croatia was officially recognized first by Germany and then other EC countries. The next republic to declare its independence in March 1992 was Bosnia, encouraged by the neighbor country Croatia. Bosnian Serbs, supported by the Serbian government of Milosevic and the Yugoslav army (JNA) were against this independence and immediately took up their arms and equipments in an attempt to secure

Serbian territory and began the unfortunate ethnic cleansing despite the calls of the President, Izetbegovic, for peacekeepers from UN Security Council – which was ignored. Bosnia streets were full of war. US and EC countries recognized Bosnia's independence in April 1992 (Anniversary of the U.S. Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2014).

Furthermore, the strongest political figure who was ascended to the pedestal was the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic fanning and taking advantage of the growing Serbian nationalism (Stoessinger, 2005). The pretext was being constructed for the upcoming war in the beginning of 1990s. Serb nationalists turned their attention to Muslims as they were being segregated from the rest of the society as the "other", this was especially the case in Bosnia where Muslims were greater in number and hindering Serbians who were en route to their ultimate goal.

The war spread across the whole territory along with the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims and Croats. The war initially started between the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) and the Army of Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina (ARBİH) – the latter predominantly consisting of Bosniaks – as well as Croatian Defense Council (HVO) from Croats. As seen, both Croats and Serbs were aiming to secure Bosnia as their own. Therefore, both parties had an agreement to partition BiH with Karadordevo and Graz agreements, which resulted in Croats uniting with VRS against ARBİH.

 A War Crimes Commission, founded by U.N. Security Council in October 1992, examined the reports of atrocities such as massacre, torture, raping, executing civilians, especially by the Bosnian Serbs. Yet, even the peace plans offered by U.N. Envoy Cyrus Vance and E.C. Envoy Lord David Owen to divide Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces under a federal

government failed due to the rejection of Bosnian Serbs. Therefore, U.N. established a War Crime Tribunal so as to investigate and report atrocities committed by all sides in former Yugoslavia in January 1993 (Clark, 1996). Muslim enclave of Srebrenica was decided to be a safe haven upon the Resolution 819 by U.N. Security Council in April 1993. Besides, the Council requested the "unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and that "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) immediately cease the supply of military arms, equipment and services to the Bosnian Serb paramilitary units in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and "condemns and rejects the deliberate actions of the Bosnian Serb party to force the evacuation of the civilian population from Srebrenica and its surrounding areas as well as from other parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of its overall abhorrent campaign of ethnic cleansing" (UN Security Council 319th Meeting Resolution S/RES/819, 1993).

NATO initiated "Operation Deny Flight" to enforce the U.N. no fly zone over Bosnia (Clinton, 1993). Eventually, NATO would expand the operation to include close air support for U.N. troops and coercive airstrikes (Gow, 1997). The first American combatants would see combat in support of Operation Deny Flight. In May, the passed U.N. passed Security Council Resolution 824, extended their safe areas to include the cities of Sarajevo, Bihac, Zepa, Gorozade, and Tuzla. Regardless of U.N. resolutions, Bosnian Serbs continued to carry out military operations in the designated safe areas.

The second half of 1993 saw an increase of violence by Bosnian Croats. In August, they besieged the town of Mostar and refused to allow humanitarian convoys access to the Muslim town. In October, the U.N. military command in Bosnia reported the rape, torture,

and massacre of Bosnian Muslims in the town of Stupni Do. U.N. officials believed that Bosnian Croats were responsible for the atrocities. In addition, Bosnian Croats fired upon U.N. forces before allowing them to enter Stupni Do.68 In early 1994, the violence in Bosnia increased. In February, Bosnian Serbs began shelling U.N. safe areas. They launched a mortar strike into bread lines in a marketplace, killing 68 civilians. In response, the U.S. and France threatened the Bosnian Serbs with airstrikes if the Serbs did not remove their heavy weapons from the vicinity of Sarajevo. Russia intervened to ensure the Bosnian Serbs complied. 69 Bosnian Serbs renewed their shelling of U.N. safe areas in April. The town of Gorozade fell under Bosnian Serb control. Russia criticized the Bosnian Serb aggression and NATO responded with more airstrikes, forcing Bosnian Serb forces to withdraw from Gorozade.

In 1993, as tensions started to increase, the conflict between Muslims and Croats led to the destruction of much of Mostar, including the Old Bridge. The bridge has been a symbol of the city and Bosnia's cultural diversity.

The conflict was quite complicated. Muslims and Serbs formed an alliance against Croats in Herzegovina, rival Muslim forces fought each other in north-west Bosnia, Croats and Serbs fight against Muslims in central Bosnia. The UN safe havens for Bosnian Muslim civilians were mostly Sarajevo, Gorazde and Srebrenica (Bosnia Herzegovina Profile Timeline, 2016)

4.2.8. The Siege of Srebrenica

The siege lasted three years in Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina - from April 1992 to July 1995 during the Bosnian War. Two years after being designated a United

Nations Safe Area, the Bosnian town of Srebrenica became the scene of the worst massacre in the Bosnian war. After Serbian forces laid siege to the Srebrenica in 1995, where thousands of civilians had taken refugee from Serbs submitting their weapons and arms to UN peacekeepers, Serb troops entered the city after bombing and taking the Dutch peacekeepers and keep refugees as hostages for a greater suspense of further strikes. The Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic delivered an ultimatum that Muslim should surrender for their safety. Males from age 12 to 77 were arrested and massacred under the cover of interrogation. Approximately 23,000 women and children were deported. Bosnian Serb forces under General Mladic took over Srebrenica and massacred more than 7,000 Muslim men despite the Dutch UN troops – which has been considered as the largest mass murder in Europe since World War II (Timeline: Siege of Srebrenica, 2012).

The way the massacres was held in an organized and systematic fashion was later confirmed by the ICTY that it had been an act of genocide following the United Nation *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.* International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia's words confirmed the mass massacres (International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia since 1991, 2006).

> "Between April 1992 and March 1993, the town of Srebrenica and the villages in the area held by Bosniaks were constantly subjected to Serb military assaults, including artillery attacks, sniper fire, as well as occasional bombing from aircraft. Each onslaught followed a similar pattern. Serb soldiers and paramilitaries surrounded a Bosniak village or hamlet, called upon the population to surrender their weapons, and then began with indiscriminate shelling and shooting. In most cases, they then entered the village or hamlet, expelled or killed the population, who offered no significant resistance, and destroyed their homes.

During this period, Srebrenica was subjected to indiscriminate shelling from all directions on a daily basis. Potočari in particular was a daily target for Serb artillery and infantry because it was a sensitive point in the defence line around Srebrenica. Other Bosniak settlements were routinely attacked as well. All this resulted in a great number of refugees and casualties." (ibid., 2006)

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/bosnia_herz_pol97.pdf (Retrieved on 8/4/2016)

Figure 1. Bosnia Herzegovina: Post War Map

4.2.9. Dayton Accords: Road to Dayton In a Nutshell

All the plans before Dayton Agreement were mainly focused on dividing the territory. These plans unfortunately failed because of not considering the aims of different identity groups, not gaining worldwide support and lack of military support.

The peace plans had begun with EC when Lord Carrington presented one on September 7, 1991 at the Conference of Yugoslavia at the Hague. The plan suggested cantonizing BiH and the political frame was based on European supervision and independent and sovereign countries. Needless to say, the plan was rejected by Milosevic, yet accepted by others. Carrington later suggested a common state of equal republics, this time other rejected. Meanwhile, former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was appointed by the UN as the Special Envoy in Yugoslavia in October 1991, which demonstrated UN and US involvement in Yugoslavia.

Kuthileor Plan, which was presented by EC in March 1992, offered a modified Serbian map: "...BiH would be "composed of three constituent units, based on national principles and taking into account economic, geographic, and other criteria." The territory of each unit was to be "based on the national absolute or relative majority" (Crnobrnja, 1996) Bosnian Croats (HDZ) and Bosniacs (SDA) rejected this plan. Bosnian Serbs rejected a constitution where each national group had the right to veto major political decisions (Malcolm, 1994).

Meanwhile, the war in Bosnia was advancing and being labeled as a religious or civil war because of the EC`s Yugoslavia policy; which was self-determination of nations and creation of nation states. Bosnia, somehow, was outside of this policy. Towards 1993, when

the Bosnian War intensified, safe havens and refugee camps demonstrated the greatness of the approaching dangers. "The fundamental failure of the Western politicians was that they looked only at the symptoms of the war, not at its causes: it was as if they did not even want to understand the nature of Milosevic's project" (Malcolm, 1994). The West focused on ceasefires, not the depth of the issue.

The recognition of Bosnia as an independent state by EC on April 6, 1992 and the establishment of Federal State of Yugoslavia consisting of Serbia, Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro and the admission of Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia to United Nations the next May were the major events towards the siege of Sarajevo by Mladic. Later, Serbs gained control 70% of BiH land, which was controlled by Serbs only 55% before. In October 1992, Muslims were pushed towards Gorazde and Srebrenica.

In July 1992, Lord David Owen was appointed as the EC negotiator. UN attempted to lead the crisis again and in London Conference (August 1992) integrity of BiH territory and its recognition as well as sanctions to be protected from Serbians. In October 1992, EC negotiator Lord Owen and the UN Special envoy Cyrus Vance "proposed a draft constitution organizing Bosnia into a decentralized federation" (Bosnia Fact Sheet: The Road to the Dayton Peace Agreement, 1995).

The Vance-Owen plan was aiming to create a Bosnia as a set of 'autonomous provinces' or cantons that would exercise almost all the functions of government, including policing. The central government of Bosnia would be concerned only with national defense and foreign affairs." (Malcolm, 1994). The Vance-Owen plan was settled in Geneva in January 1993. According to the plan, three cantons and nine provinces considering ethnic divisions

were to be established, Mostar being the capital city of Herzeg Bosna and only 10% of the land was given to Muslims (Crnobrnja, 1996). This plan attempted to combine the desires of Muslims for a unified state and the wishes of Serbs and Croats. Thus, BiH consisted of ten units and three groups representing each ethnic group –Sarajevo being the common city. "All the prerogatives of the state would be maintained at the level of BiH and would be shared equally by the three communities" (Crnobrnja, 1996). The plan was welcomed by BiH government and later by Milosevic due to the threats of the US and loss of Russian support. Yet, Bosnian Serbs under Mladic rejected the plan. Therefore, the failure of the plan was inevitable despite the pressure of Milosevic to Mladic to accept it. It became an official failure in May 1993. After this fiasco, Muslims were going to be taken into safe havens to be protected by the UN though not guaranteed. (The six UN protected zones were around Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihac, Tuzla, Srebrenica and Zepa.)

Malcolm (1994) stressed the reasons for this failure. To him, the reality was that a Serbian state was already there and the worst was the ignition of a rivalry between Croat and Muslim forces for some parts of the central Bosnia though a mix of Muslim-Croats had been in the area. The negative effect was that this situation would pave the way for civil war and the break-up of Croat and Muslim alliance against Serbs.

More plans were to come after the failure of Vance-Owen plan. The next plan was centered around dividing BiH into three states and merely focused on territory division by percentages. The Owen-Stoltenberg plan was offered in Geneva in the summer of 1993. The proposal was to divide BiH into 49% Serb and 51% combined Muslim and Croat territory (Croats to take 18% and Muslims to take 30%). The plan aimed to establish a union of ethnic states - Sarajevo and Mostar being multiethnic governed by the UN. This

confederal system was the inspiration of Dayton Accords. In the plan, Serbs were given almost two third of BiH, which was the reason for objection to the plan by Croats and Muslims despite the calls for agreement from Milosevic. Again, territorial division was not agreed upon by the parties and the plan failed.

Upon an explosion in Sarajevo killing approximately 70 people in the first months of 1994, US started talks with Croats and Bosnian committees. The two suggested models were: one federal state and two republics in it or different cantons in one state. On 1 March 1994, Bosnian-Croatian Washington Accord was signed "setting up a federation within BiH between Muslims and Croatian communities and a loose confederation with the neighbouring Republic of Croatia" (Peace Agreements Digital Collection Washington Agreement, 1994). The constitution of this new Federation was settled with the Agreement. Croats and Bosniacs (Muslim) admitting the rights of equality of Croat and Bosniacs. (Bosniac is the term used for Bosnian Muslims in Dayton Agreement.) Yet, Radovan Karadzic objected to the plan considering the given circumstances.

In the spring of 1994, the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Germany formed a five-nation Contact Group in order to create a settlement between the Federation and Bosnian Serbs. The Contact Group possessed three goals: 1. Bosnia would remain a single state; 2. That state would consist of the Federation and a Bosnian Serb entity; 3. These two entities would be linked via mutually-agreed constitutional principles, which would also spell out relationships with Serbia and Croatia properly (Bosnia Fact Sheet: The Road to the Dayton Peace Agreement, 1995).

In July 1994, the Contact Group suggested a plan presenting a 51/49 percent territorial compromise between the Federation and Bosnian Serbs. The Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian Governments all agreed with the proposal. However, the Bosnian Serbs rejected it. More importantly, the fundamental principles were applied as the base of Dayton negotiations in November 1995.

The possibility of peace decreased because Serbian forces took more than 350 United Nations peace keepers as hostages as a retaliation to NATO air strikes. Yet, they were released due to the intervention from Milosevic (Bosnia Fact Sheet: The Road to the Dayton Peace Agreement, 1995)

A drastic change took place after Srebrenica and Zepa, two most important UN safe havens were raided by Bosnian Serbs in July 1995. In London Conference on 21st of July, it was decided that NATO bombers were to be used if attacks persisted. Bosnian Serbs refused to cease fire and their refusal to follow the ultimatum caused NATO to start heavy and constant air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces on August 30th of the same year. In late August, a Bosnian Serb shell killed 37 people in a Sarajevo market. NATO and the UN issued an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs to stop shelling Sarajevo, to stop offensive action against the remaining safe areas, to withdraw heavy weapons from around Sarajevo, to allow road and air access to Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serbs then abided by the NATO demands.

4.2.10. The Dayton Accords

The Contact Group met in Geneva on 8th of September 1995, the basic principles were agreed by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia (now also representing the Bosnian Serbs). The basic principles underlined the basic structure of the new BiH:

> "The preservation of Bosnia as a single state; an equitable division of territory between the Muslim/Croat Federation and a Bosnian Serb entity based on the Contact Group's 51/49 formula; constitutional structures; free and fair elections; respect for human rights." (Bosnia Fact Sheet: The Road to the Dayton Peace Agreement, 1995)

On November 1, the USA convened the rest of the Contact Group to Dayton, Ohio to start "proximity peace talks". Taking Washington Agreement (March 1994) as the basis which called for a de facto partition of Bosnia after numerous unsuccessful peace efforts and arrangements, a peace agreement – led by Richard Holbrooke, the chief US peace negotiator – was reached on November 21, 1995, by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to end the war in Bosnia and outlining a General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It preserved Bosnia as a single state made up of two parts, the Bosniak-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with Sarajevo remaining as the undivided capital city.

The text of Dayton Peace Agreement Documents initialed in Dayton, Ohio on November 21, 1995 states that all parties , the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall recognize the need for a

comprehensive settlement to bring an end to the tragic conflict in the region, desire to contribute toward that end and to promote an enduring peace and stability, and affirm their commitment to the Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 8, 1995, the Further Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 26, 1995, and the cease-fire agreements of September 14 and October 5, 1995 (General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995).

This agreement represented a commitment among Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to recognize BiH's independence and respect the boundaries of it in the presence of USA, Britain and France. According to Chandler (1999), Dayton Agreement put an end to the ongoing atrocious civil war in BiH as well as initiating an international responsibility outlining g the re-construction procedures. He also states that this novel approach of post-Cold War by international entities could be viewed as a great progress in terms of post conflict peace building because international institutions will definitely play a great role in redefining and rebuilding politics and education in this country (Chandler, 1999).

Dayton Agreement has 11 annexes identifying each issue under a subheading: (1) Military Aspects of the Peace Settlement and Regional Stabilization, (2) Inter-Entity Boundary Line and Related Issues, (3) Elections, (4) Constitution, (5) Arbitration, (6) Human Rights, (7) Refugees and Displaced Persons, (8) Commission To Preserve National Monument, (9) Establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, (10) Civilian Implementation of Peace Settlement and (11) International Police Task Force (General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995).

Another major step was the Office of High Representatives, "an ad hoc international institution responsible for overseeing implementation of civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (OHR General Information, 1995). The existence of this institution was a clear proof of international interference and assistance, which would work towards the point where BiH could take full responsibility of its own issues (OHR General Information, 1995).

4.2.11. Bosnia Herzegovina Today

The Dayton Agreement finalized a three-and-a-half-year civil war in BiH and has preserved peace in the country for the last two decades. During the civil war, BiH was invaded by despair, violence, death, massacres and more. Although violence and atrocities halted after Dayton, the repercussions of the civil war were horrendous and still exist to some extent today in terms of economy and infrastructure.

Dayton Peace Agreement is celebrated for the efforts and solutions it brought to Bosnia for its development and independence since 1995. The initial goal of Dayton, which was to stop any internal conflict or the outbreak of a new civil war in the country, was successfully achieved. Yet, criticisms stemmed from the lack post conflict reconstruction strategies and efforts, which did not exist at the time of Dayton Agreement. International institutions had never witnessed such a concept as post conflict reconstruction before BiH. Chandler (1999) criticizes the fact that a new political entity was attempted after Dayton, which definitely was not a result of people's consensus or involvement. This was viewed as "imposition" by majority of Bosnians. However, the question pops in our minds, "Was BiH able to come to a conflict and war-ending decision about the fate of the country?" If they had been given

the power to decide for their own fate, patriotic feelings and excruciating experiences might have shaded their vision to foresee what would come next.

For international institutions such as OHR or EFP overseeing implementation of different civilian aspects, BiH was by far one of the first countries they internationally intervened with an aim of ensuring its evolution into a democratic and peaceful country. Later, post-conflict construction was to start through building peace through peace education.

After Dayton Accords, the country has been through an economic growth and stability. Yet, the economy has been on a decline since 2009 when global economic recession commenced. GNP per capita is US$3,300. The economic stability in the long run has been and will be affected by the now-ceased post war international aid.

Economic downfall has led to poverty, with approximately one person in five living below poverty line. Families with two or three dependents suffer from malnutrition and economic adversaries. Unemployment (24.1 per cent) is also on the rise although almost half of the population (around 47%) consists of young population (Education in Bosnia Herzegovina Country Profile, 2010).

Ongoing challenges after DPA in Bosnia Herzegovina include: "imbuing principles of democracy and the rule of law into governance; coping with fluctuating regional economies, including rising food and fuel prices; improving social welfare; and moving toward sustainable development." (Education in Bosnia Herzegovina Country Profile, 2010).

4.3. Peace Education in Bosnia Herzegovina

"Peace is the most urgent item on the agenda of humanity..." (Danesh, 2011: ix)

4.3.1. Education in BiH

Primary education in BiH is mandatory and free for all children aged between 6 to 15 for nine years. High school education is also free of charge; it is streamed into two; either general (gymnasium) or technical (vocational) high schools about three or four years. At the beginning of the 2008/2009 academic year in Bosnia, the number of registered students was 359,925 in 1,874 primary schools and 148,100 high school students were registered in 305 high schools. The number of post primary or high school teachers is approximately 23,781 and there are about 11,700 primary teachers. Higher education (tertiary level education) is also provided in BiH with eight universities, six in FBiH and two in RS with nearly 105,358 students (Education Statistics, 2009). Ministry of Civil Affairs is in charge of education in the entire BiH as there is no state-level ministry of education. Education is financed and supported by government, public sector and municipalities.

4.3.2. Effects of Civil War on Education

Quick facts about education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Total population	3.9 million
GDP per capita	$7,240
Net pre-primary school enrolment, 2007	6.4%
Net enrolment in primary school (grades 1–4), 2007	98.4%
Net enrolment in secondary school (9–12), 2007	79%
Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6) Gross enrolment ratio (2009)	37*
Number of refugees and internally displaced persons	120,774**
Youth unemployment rate as percentage of unemployment rate	47.5%
TIMSS 2007 score: mathematics, science (8th grade only)	456, 466

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008; MICS Bosnia and Herzegovina 2006; TIMSS 2007; UIS Data Centre; UNHCR Country Profile 2010***

Figure 2. Quick facts about education in BiH

Bosnia Herzegovina had suffered from the impacts of civil war; education system was one of the many areas that was severely influenced by the atrocities of the civil war. The organization and operation of the education system as well as curriculum had been through grave amendments.

Unsurprisingly, during the reign of Soviet Yugoslavia, one single standardized curriculum was applied throughout the country, which was quite strict about the socialist values and traditions, political fidelity and unity rather than critical thinking (Fischer, 2006).

Upon the downfall of Republic of Yugoslavia, the new borders determined the new education systems as each state that had gained independence attempted to revise and revitalize the education system. However, time was not of any help to the existing education system in Bosnia, it had almost vanished during the Civil War and later the unfavorable conditions persisted in the field education. Swee (2009) states that formal education was non-existent during the Civil War between 1992-1995 as the physical conditions of schools were horrendous and going to school was at the bottom of the survival list.

Inescapably, Dayton Agreement paved the way to a segregated education system in Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. Signed at the end of the Civil War, Dayton Agreement was more a ceasefire agreement rather than sustainable solution to the problems. Bosnia had become a partitioned state: Federation of BiH (Bosniak and Croat population) and Republika Srpska (Serb population). FBiH has three presidents from each group and political campaigns are conducted appealing to their own ethnicity. Each

partition is accountable to a High Representative, appointed by international community. Bosnia's population was 4.6 million in 2009, Serbs being 37%, Croats being 14% and Bosniaks (Muslim Bosnians) being 48% (CIA World Fact Book, 2015).

Despite being divided into seven cantons, Republika Sprska has a more centralized education system than FBiH, which is divided into ten. Both follow their own curriculum, yet in Bosnia, each ethnic division attempted to impose extreme nationalistic views in education. For example, the history text books are full of different versions of the same historical events. Segregating students under one roof, meaning separating Croat and Bosniak students within the same educational institution. "Organizing school systems based on ethnic background and implementing curriculum on ethnic principles, which divide children was discriminatory" said the supreme court ruling after Human Rights NGO Vasa Prava filed a case to end the practice of segregating Bosniak and Croat pupils and implementing different curricula (Dzidic, 2015).

Schools teach nationalism in every way possible, from textbooks to displays in schools. For example, the curriculum of Republika Srpska has a Serbian point of view. History books brag and explain how Serbs fought in the wars, mostly ignoring Bosnia. Even a music lesson is filled with patriotic Serbian songs and references to 'our country' mean Serbia, not BiH (Low-Beer, 2001).

The national pride generated among students does not serve patriotic end, it rather serves to segregate ethnic groups against each other. Enmity within society might have well stemmed from this profoundly politicized curriculum.

The ethnic and political divisions in Bosnia are easily observed in its education system. The fragmented education system and the lack of a common curriculum have been the

country's problem for long. This division in politics unfortunately has a detrimental impact on education in BiH. As a result, unity and coherence in education as well as quality of standards have been low in BiH. Ethnically prejudiced books and curriculum differ from each other in different cantons. Teachers have not been trained with the latest theories and practiced in teaching, thus students lack basic skills when coping with the after-school real life. Undoubtedly, the separation of curricula in the education system plants the seeds of enmity and bigotry within the society from very early ages.

Bosnia is an example of countries where education has been used to manipulate students, to segregate them and to seed certain ideas in their minds. For a peaceful and stable state, education should be utilized as a tool to halt inequity and segregation.

In recent years, many attempts to educational reforms have been realized in BiH. Before the suggested reforms have taken place, identifying the needs and challenges in this discriminated and biased education environment is vital. Teachers should be well trained and should not allow their national identity to cloud their vision of objective teaching. Education reform in Bosnia has been led and supported by international organizations such as OSCE and EFP. The OSCE Mission to Bosnia Education reform was now prioritized by the Office of High Representatives, and the rest of the international bodies such as UNESCO, UNICEF, the Council of Europe and World Bank.

4.3.3. Education for Peace Program (EFP)

EFP is a peace program implemented by the International Education for Peace Institute, which is a non-profit organization dedicated to research, train, develop societies and achieve ever-lasting peace through education on three different continents. EFP is in

collaboration with governments, foundations, NGOs, and schools. Currently, EFP-Canada, EFP-Balkans and EFP-America work in coordination to maintain peace projects collaboratively. EFP International shares the motto of "develop and implement programs that foster a culture of peace and a culture of healing in communities around the world that are struggling to cope with the effects of conflict, injustice and violence" (Invest In Peace, n.d.)

EFP International seeks to:

> "conduct community and social development projects in any part of the world with a focus on creating a more peaceful and violence-free world; to provide the structure for the development and implementation of the peace education projects around the world; to offer both community-specific in-class and international web-based Education for Peace programs for school communities and leaders in various countries of the world where the ravages of war, prejudice, terror and rapid social, economic, and cultural change have created conditions of insecurity and conflict in families, schools, and communities alike; to establish a comprehensive on-line library on issues pertaining to Education for Peace and make it available to educators and policy makers everywhere; to conduct research on the principles of Education for Peace and make the findings available globally; to develop curricula of Education for Peace based on established universal scientific principles and the unique cultural and social circumstances of each participating group, making the curricula accessible to all through the Web, in as many languages as possible; to train educators and Education for Peace specialists who would, in turn, use their knowledge and expertise in pursuit of peace through peace education; to offer expert consulting services to governmental and non-governmental agencies regarding issues of conflict, violence, and peace." (Objectives, n.d.)

As stated by a Rotary World Peace Scholar, Yolanda Cowan: "EFP provides a framework for achieving an advanced human society that is both practical and universal…" (EFP provides a framework, 2011)

Dr H.B. Danesh, a peace educator, a lecturer and a physician is the founder of EFP International and has created the Education for Peace Program. His area of expertise ranges from Education for Peace to Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution as well as causes and prevention of violence at interpersonal, institutional, and societal levels. His vision is quite enlightening:

> "The greatest challenges before humanity at the start of the 21st century are conflict, violence, terrorism, and war along with their terrible consequences of poverty, disease, despair, environmental destruction, and poor leadership. These challenges are felt at all levels of human life—family, school, community, society, and globally. While considerable resources have always been and still are spent to offset the costly ravages of conflict, violence, and war and to pay the high price of military defense and security measures, there are relatively few programs dedicated to a systematic, sustained plan of action to educate children and youth in the principles of peace." (Danesh, Education For Peace:Towards a Civilization of Peace, n.d.)

Danesh (ibid., para.1) emphasizes the significance of devoting resources and efforts to diminish the impacts of conflict. The current efforts and resources are unequally distributed or less importance is attached to peace education, thus generations keep falling for the same mistake of conflict instead of building a solid civilization through education.

4.3.4. EFP Program in Bosnia Herzegovina

The context EFP Program was implemented in Bosnia was filled with hopelessness, conflict, instability and fear. Though substantial international investment continued, most people were marred by violence due to ethnic, religious and political conflicts and unfortunately coped with post war difficulties and politicized environment. Within this

context, EFP program was first launched in September 1999, as a three-day seminar about Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution (CFCR) which was financed by the government of Luxembourg for journalists across Balkan countries. Mainly Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs were under the same roof and some of them demanded to be transferred to another hotel so they did not have to share the same roof with their 'enemies' (Clarke-Habibi, 2005)

As the seminar had been successful, BiH Foreign Minister and Education Minister both agreed with the fact that such a program was indeed needed for the students in BiH who had been massively affected by the atrocities of the war. They were willing to rebuild the future of the country and Education for Peace program was commenced (Clarke-Habibi, 2005). It was a unique program fostering a violence free and peaceful world. The curriculum of Education For Peace program targets a peace-centered world view. According to Clarke-Habibi (2005), EFP curriculum supports the fundamental significance of unity in diversity, implementation of justice and equality and resolution of conflict. She states that EFP has such a view that it should be implemented in all phases of life: families, between different groups, businesses, administrative bodies in society namely governments, and organizations. In schools, peace is to be applied in all dimensions integrating the peace principles in lessons with the guidance and help of teachers.

EFP program was initiated in six schools, three of which primary and the remaining secondary schools in the cities of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Travnik because these cities were diverse in ethnicity (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs) as well as religious backgrounds (Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox). The program was started by the teams consisting of teachers from the participating schools and EFP specialists. The program during its pilot phase reached

approximately 400 teachers, school administrators and staff as well as 6,000 students and other people via media. From every walk of the society, from advantageous ones to less fortunate ones, the whole community approach was able to convey the basic of EFP concept (Clarke-Habibi, 2005).

The fundamental activities of the pilot program consisted of the following: training the staff and teachers in school, introducing EFP concepts to students in all the classrooms, integrating peace principles into every subject every day, cultivating student creativity, and involving the public as much as possible (ibid.). The program attempted to advance the culture of peace in BiH and targeted the three fundamental premises; to encourage the understanding between different ethnic and religious groups within BiH by creating interethnic harmony, to create peaceful conflict resolution and eradicate violence in the environment, and to help with the recovery from past traumatic, violence filled effects with a culture of healing.

EFP, a broad and integrative, program expanded to more schools in BiH after the pilot stage, namely 112 schools and 80,000 students along with 5,000 teachers and staff and 130,000 parents from three different ethnic backgrounds in BiH- Bosniak, Croat and Serb. The school communities are from 65 different regions in BiH. Seeing the success of the program, BiH Ministries of Education and EFP-BiH Advisory Commission agreed to formally integrate the EFP curriculum into BiH education reform policy and continue the implementation. Today, BiH government, OSCE BiH Mission, International Education for Peace are still in collaboration to fulfill the task (Danesh, 2006).

4.3.5. Theoretical Framework of EFP and Integrative Theory of Peace

As Danesh (2006) states, the EFP curriculum is based on integrative theory of peace (ITP). ITP explains peace as "a psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state with expressions at intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and international areas" of people's lives (ibid., p.63). Peace is required for an efficient peace education and four prerequisites for effective peace education are; unity based worldview, a culture of peace, a culture of healing, the framework for all educational activities (ibid., p.57).

True peace education can only occur when peace-oriented worldviews take the place of conflict oriented worldviews since worldviews are a reflection how one or a society understands the environment and humans and humanity. For example, textbooks and curricula promote survival and power to gain victories in life, mostly in a conflicted and violent world. Even in schools, violence, otherness, competition, struggle, bullying are being taught unconsciously or consciously. Textbooks are full of stories of victories defeats or wars. Therefore, the worldviews of such people are shaped towards a conflict and violence prone view. Thus, education plays a vital role in shaping one's worldview and worldviews affect people in such a way that they could become violent or peaceful, united or conflict oriented. It is no surprise that people live in a world of ethnic religious, identity or a similar conflict which orients their worldviews (Van Slyck et al.,1999)

Despite the unity paradigm which points to the notion that conflict is an unavoidable aspect of human life, Danesh (2006) states that "unity has an independent reality and that once it is established, conflicts are often prevented or easily resolved" (p.68). He uses the analogy of creating a state of health rather than dealing with symptoms. The oneness of humanity in a diverse fashion is the only concept on which integrative peace theory could be based

on to eradicate conflict. In Bosnia case, Government of BiH and international organizations endeavored to create a curriculum of unity, peace and collaboration based on a unity-based worldview which is one of the components of integrative peace theory (ibid.,p.58).

Integrative theory of peace has four components, which are "peace is a psychosocial and political as well as a moral and spiritual condition; peace is the main expression of a unity based worldview; the unity based worldview is the prerequisite for creating both a culture of peace and culture of healing; a comprehensive, integrated, life-long education within the framework of peace is the most effective approach" (ibid., p.64). This theory is based on the idea that peace is an automatic result of a transition from conflict oriented views to a universal and unified view that embraces connectivity of all human beings in a united fashion. The EFP curriculum is based on three areas: "(1) unity, not conflict, is the main force in human relationships; (2) worldview is the main framework within which all human individual and group behaviour takes shape; and (3) peace is the main outcome of unity-based worldviews" (Danesh, 2011, p.18). Peace has been fully integrated into the curriculum as this is a collective or unity-in-diversity movement. Unity based worldview is the unique driving force behind integrative peace theory, as it supports equal participation anyone from any background regardless of their gender, ethnicity, or age. It fosters the idea of no segregation, yet justice for all in equal circumstances. Implementation of ethic principles on administrative and leadership levels is also quite important in ITP. The integration of peace in each subject in schools has made EFP program the only example peace education program in the field. Therefore, students do not have one "peace" class; on the contrary all subjects embrace the concept of peace education and incorporate

it into teaching and learning – with the support of teachers, parents, school administration and staff.

4.3.6. The Main Objectives of EFP and EFP Curriculum

The main aim of Education for Peace program is to create schools and education life defined by a culture of peace, culture of healing and culture of excellence. *Culture of peace* defines an environment of trust, unity in diversity, prevention of violence, resolution of conflicts peacefully as well as practicing the fundamentals of human rights and democracy. EFP program, as Danesh (2011) puts, also strives to help the school community to gain their own peace oriented worldviews and supports the creation of culture of peace. On the other hand, *culture of healing* is the creation of help to those who suffered from the post-war environment where the agonies and atrocities of wars are diminished with the involvement of the school community members, such as teachers, students, administrative and other staff and families. They are supposed to get over the traumatic results of post war conflict. Last one is the *culture of excellence* which refers to the environment where critical thinking skills are practiced and encouraged by everyone to reach personal or group excellence academically, ethically and behaviorally. In other words, EFP program assists the members to sort out any conflict before it is arisen peacefully and without committing violence under any circumstance (Danesh, 2011, p.18).

Briefly put, culture of peace, healing and excellence all strive for a peace civilization. Another society that has been through wars, conflicts or violence can also benefit from this program as, these areas could be applied anywhere, which makes EFP a unique program

in the world. Such countries can strive for peace and healing after what they have been through and establish excellence. Eradication of conflict is an unrealistic goal as Danesh (2006, p.59) points out and the possibility of a violence free world should be the main objective of every individual.

Education for Peace Program in BiH implemented by EFP International (EFP Balkans) and other collaborating organizations is constructive peace program that is unexampled in its field.

Currently, the EFP Integrative Curriculum consists of eleven volumes; the Education for Peace Manual which focuses on the fundamental concepts, methodology, and components of the Education for Peace Program in ten units that have been prepared for teachers within the classrooms. The remaining ten volumes shed a light the issues in the Manual (See Appendix C for a brief summary).

EFP curriculum is based on unity in diversity, worldview, collective development and peace as the essential outcome of unity based worldview. Unity is the core of human life as even the smallest organisms are all interconnected and interdependent, therefore life itself is in unity. Thus, "conflict is the absence of unity and disunity is the source and cause of conflict" (Danesh, 2011).

If unity disappears, the basic human life operating system disappears and thus conflict occurs.

Worldview is the framework where people are supposed to understand humanity, the purpose of being a human and purpose of life and the nature of reality. EFP always ensures that learning and education take place within the framework of unity-based worldview,

which means the school community and the parents/families are involved. They centered EFP curriculum around this unity based worldview, and therefore education in school, in the community and at home together compose integrity and oneness, which is preliminary base of EFP (Danesh, 2006).

Secondly, EFP curriculum also endeavors to achieve a culture of peace and to create trust among all. The students are explained how conflict has been causing bias in, for example, history or religious textbooks and they are made aware of this fact through collaborative and unified class activities and teaching methods within the framework of unity-based worldview. Students are also subject to scrutinize the transition from conflict filled world towards a peace culture.

Thirdly, organizing peace-oriented and peace-targeting activities involving students, teachers, parents, school communities and larger communities at region and state levels help to establish trust among all. These peace events, students collaborate and prepare presentations in art classes using painting, drama or music as their medium to deliver the message. The preparations take place under teachers' guidance and assistance. The themes such as family relationships, gender equality, diversity in unity, harmonious societies are usually selected in accordance with peace education principles. Students from year 1 to 12 take the role of teachers and do their presentations teaching their families and the rest of the audience. A group of students representing their countries travel to another country, usually a "former enemy" to join peace workshops and events in order to establish healthy relationships, heal the wounds of wars and create mutual understanding and trust in amicable ways. Finally, these peace events where representative students travel to participate in the "former enemy" countries to heal the wounds of past refer to creating *a culture of healing* among all. A gradual healing up process as a positive result of peace

events help to cure the injured and suffering minds, hearts and souls stemming from atrocities of wars, violence and conflict. Therefore, mutual trust and hope for future believing conflict might be resolved without violence and wars is established among the school communities of participating schools.

Finally, as Danesh (2006) points all the students around the world are inevitably being educated in a framework of conflict oriented worldview. Especially in post-conflict societies, this is the worst possible way of designing a curriculum and implementing such a framework of conflict oriented worldview. Therefore, EFP curriculum targets to create a peaceful, thoughtful, mutually understanding, and positive teaching and learning environment with the help of all school staff as well as a wider community and international organizations.

Last but not least, having realized the fact that most of the peace education programs lack proper evaluation and analysis, Danesh (2011) has ensured that the Program is evaluated and well-researched from the very beginning of it in 2000 (p.104). He has accomplished this by multiple evaluation processes such as first-person reports from students, teachers, families; observations by school administrators; and most importantly continuous observations by EFP International and other external bodies who are experts in peace education.

EFP program has proven continuous peace in schools by creating a spiritual and psychological aspect to peace as well as a lively and positive teaching and learning environment. Most significantly, through EFP program the participants – school staff, families, guardians, administration – have had the chance to possess the knowledge and ability to create and sustain conflict and violence free environments for themselves, their

families, their societies and on a wider scale for their country and for the world. The keywords have been collaboration, peace-oriented unity world view; inter-ethnic dialogue and sustainable peace practices.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. The Effectiveness of the EFP Program

The Education For Peace Program has proven itself a unique program that has contributed to Bosnia's improvement as well as its progress. EFP is the sole program that has been widely accepted and followed by three different ethnicities and their ministries of education, with no objections to its main content and the application methods. EFP program has paved the way to a peaceful society eliminating all the hostile elements and hindrances among Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats. This chapter will discuss the underlying reasons for the effectiveness of the EFP Program in Bosnia Herzegovina. Since the case study which this research is based on is the EFP Program in Bosnia - a well-implemented proof of such programs that successfully created sustainable peace through peace education in the region among three different ethnicities; Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. The chapter will also highlight the testimonials from people who have participated in the program with a different role. For example, teachers, parents, administrators, international organizations have announced their testimonials and opinions about the success of the program, which is one of the most tangible proofs of the program's success. The fundamental reasons as to why this program has uniquely contributed to BiH's transformation to a peaceful community in diversity are its applicability to different contexts due to its nature, effective training of the teachers, educators and other staff including administrators, the curriculum

integrated with peace principles, and involvement of the community as well as the national and international authorities and institutions.

5.1.1. Applicability of EFP to Various Contexts

The uniqueness of Education for Peace Program lies in its multi-purpose nature which can be implemented in different contexts, in different parts of the world and among different groups of individuals and societies. As explained in the previous chapter, civilizations are built up on peace and education, the two indispensable parts of a civilized world. Therefore, the founder of the EFP, Danesh (2011), based the program on the principles of peace, which are the fact that "humanity is one, this oneness is expressed in diversity and a civilized society is united, diverse, equal, just, free and peaceful" (p.2). Education, governance and conflict resolution should be peace based in order to achieve this goal of a civilized society, nation or world as Danesh (2011, p.4) points. Besides, the EFP program attempts to create a long term, long lasting changes in people's and societies' worldviews so that they can simply internalize the principles and practices of peace. This worldview is utterly peace oriented as peace oriented views help to change not only our own world view, but also our communication and relationships with others. Creating peace in oneself, establishing peaceful relationships with others and maintaining peace in our environment are what peace oriented worldview brings to humanity. Having mentioned that, the EFP program entails peace oriented worldview as its base and constructs the masts of the program upon this view. A drastic and everlasting change in people's worldviews towards embracing all the practices and principles of peace is the aim of this program. The framework of peace-oriented worldview is what makes the EFP program a unique initiative in its field as it targets the unity in diversity, oneness of humanity, justice, and equality. The formulation

of the Program is expressive of such needs in different contexts other than schools. Businesses, countries, societies, governments, corporations and many more can benefit from this program since all human beings are inherently instilled with a capacity for peace within himself, with other people, groups, governments (Clarke-Habibi, 2005). Therefore, it is quite applicable to other contexts and the main outline is ready made to be designed further depending on the context.

5.1.2. Effective Training of the Educators and Others Involved in the Program

Educators have the role of contributing to the development of a person in order for that person to transform himself into a caring, sharing and responsible one. Therefore, the training of educators and everyone involved in education is essential.

EFP program aims to train the teachers, students and the other staff in school as part of the implementation. During the trainings, the core concepts of EFP along with the principles of peace are explained and their collaboration and collective move is promoted via peace events among all the schools in the state level. The trainings initially began during the pilot period and were aimed to reach everyone and entity involved in the process of this transformation. The main themes covered during the trainings were the concept of unity in diversity; the role of educators and families in raising peace oriented new generations; the effects of violence in the society and in the family; human rights and other principles required for peace such as equality, ethics, democracy; the transition from a conflict oriented world view to a peace oriented one; the psychological issues and needs of children and people who were in trauma (Danesh,2011).

Such intensive trainings promoting student and teacher creativity were organized regularly for all the staff including educators and administrators and all the other staff working in schools. During the trainings, the partakers led the trainings through questions and answers about various topics from lesson plans to lesson observations to understand how to implement the EFP program in class. Teachers specifically focused on relating their subject to peace principles and building peace in Bosnia Herzegovina and in the world by guiding their students (Danesh, 2011). The EFP program has not only focused on peace in Bosnia Herzegovina, but also in the world as Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, stated, 'Peace at home, peace in the world' (Turkish Foreign Policy During Ataturk Era, n.d.).

To incorporate peace principles into the lessons and connect the subjects to peace at large, the training had an emphasis on pedagogical aspects as well. These aspects were:

> "a new —understanding-oriented approach to lesson design which builds backwards from the outcome intended for learners, and provides an effective way to meet both EFP and standard curriculum learning goals; b) creative learning methodologies for use within and outside the classroom in order to maximize students' understanding of the peace principles; and c) the design of authentic assessment activities by which to measure students' mastery of EFP concepts along with standard curriculum components." (Danesh, 2011, p.46)

Weekly or bi-weekly, the EFP program participants had a discussion and consultation session together about the lesson plans and the application of the program in the classrooms.

The EFP program integrated all these significant elements in the trainings of the teachers, administrators and the staff, which was quite congruous for the needs of the schools in

Bosnia, emphasizing creativity and activity based teaching and learning, special trainings for school administrators and other staff.

Another important aspect was the collaboration between the BiH society and the international team members of the EFP program. Initially, the EFP team was not welcomed by the society in pilot schools due to several reasons including resentment and hostility stemming from previously being the target of other international projects and feeling labeled during the attempts of reconstruction by different international bodies post Dayton Agreement (Clark-Habibi, 2005). During the first phase of the pilot program, the EFP team members did their utmost to involve themselves within the society and the culture of Bosnia. The spirit of unity was achieved by both the team members and the BiH society upon building mutual trust and understanding of the core aims of the program. Finally, the community in BiH came to realize that the teams were genuinely helping them for a better Bosnia and exerting quite a lot of effort to mingle in the society to express themselves. This was a huge step towards the success of the program – unity, cooperation, trust and mutual understanding between the international team members of EFP and the local community.

5.1.3. EFP Curriculum Integrated with Peace Principles

EFP curriculum has been designed to implement the four conditions within Integrated Peace theory; creating unity based worldview, a culture of peace, a culture of healing. The theory utilizes peace education in order to achieve its educational goals. This is one of the unique features of this program as it targets a unity based worldview within the framework of ITP. This enables students, parents, teachers to understand each other's worldviews and to realize the fact that unity based worldview plays a crucial role in building a peace culture

among all the members of the society. By integrating peace through various worldviews that are respected and understood by others to life outside and inside school, interpersonal intrapersonal, intercommunity and intra-community development of a unity based worldview based on peace takes place. That is another outcome of EFP Curriculum that includes everyone to have a thought and reconsideration about the worldviews of others and to find a way to revise our own views.

Creating trust among all participating in the program is by far one of the most significant approaches EFP curriculum has employed, thus creating a culture of peace among everyone. Simply put, this process involves steps and activities to explain the participants how biases occur and what should be done to avoid them. Students are encouraged to analyze the effects of unity-based world view through questioning themselves as how history, geography or religious studies books would be written from a unity-based world view or what changes they would have done (Danesh, 2006). By organizing shared peace events with different themes such as gender, equality, democracy etc. around the state in order to share the influence of unity based world view in human life, students from primary to high school have actively participated in the process and acted as teachers for their parents.

The foundation of EFP curriculum has taken the concept of unity based world view as its focal point so that all individuals and groups could find a common and collaborative aspect of their relationships rather than spotting lights on their differences and diversity.

Upon the start of the EFP program, most teachers were naturally skeptical about the correlation among peace and the various subjects they were teaching. However, the rigid,

authoritarian teaching styles were replaced by more creativity. Teachers had the chance to observe that the peace principles and their subjects were quite related and found out the important aspects of this relation, which contributed to their own perception (Danesh, 2011). The following testimonials are a good evidence to prove how peace principles integrated with their subjects were contributory to their teaching and to students' learning and creativity (Danesh,2011):

The EFP Project has helped us look at our syllabus in a different way, from a different perspective, giving us a chance to enrich it with issues not dealt with so thoroughly before. Although it hasn't always been easy, especially at the beginning, I think that we have become more confident in applying the principles of peace.

<div align="center">English Teacher, Mixed Secondary School Travnik</div>

I've been teaching this lesson (in physics) for the past 25 years, and never thought about it in terms of the principle of unity-in-diversity. It makes sense, and my students also find it much easier to understand now.
<div align="center">Physics Teacher, Mixed Secondary School Travnik</div>

The pupils in our school are coming from different parts of BiH, especially the eastern part, Srebrenica. I found that this project has made a big step in our pupils because they are giving the best of themselves…
<div align="center">Pedagogue, 3rd Primary School, Ilidža.</div>

We never used to be allowed to do creative projects in our classes. Now all our teachers want us to be creative!
<div align="center">Grade 10 Student, Second Gymnasium, Sarajevo</div>

As a result of the EFP program, students and teachers have become more encouraged, acted in unity, appreciated diversity rather than condemning it, began listening to the others and thinking about their needs and more importantly cared about each other.

5.1.4. Involvement of the Community and International Institutions

Six months after the pilot program started in BiH, the EFP program found immense support from teachers, students, school staff, administrators, international education authorities,

ministry of education, and even from Bosnia Herzegovina Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all

of whom demanded the EFP program to be applied in all the schools across the country

(Clarke-Habibi, 2005). Therefore, the Program began to quickly spread in the schools of

BiH due to the extensive support and will of the government and the community.

> "The EFP program has had a distinctly transformative effect on the students, their parents
> and the teachers themselves. Indeed, the level of satisfaction with this program seems to
> be considerable. Aware as we are of the painful legacy with which our country still
> struggles, the results of this program are most welcome….We therefore fully support the
> initiative to consider introducing Education for Peace to all primary and secondary schools
> across this country."
> Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Clarke-Habibi, 2005)

Although it seems this expansion was triggered from the highest government entities and

international authorities, the community acceptance and the support from the locals and

schools including teachers, administrators, students played quite a significant role in the

spread and rapid growth of the program. The people's individual active involvement and

enthusiasm was as important as the superior institutions support for the EFP program.

In addition to all this endorsement, the students and the individuals found the opportunity

to be involved in the EFP program through 'Regional Peace Events', a series of events

enabling students to present their views about the principles of peace. Students and their

families were encouraged to participate in Peace Events and therefore the program was

aimed to reach its messages to as many people as possible. 'National Peace Events' have

also been organized twice a year in Banja Luka and Travnik with the participation of

students sharing the best presentations about peace along with their parents, school

administrators, teachers. Anyone who attended these events were deeply impressed by the

presentations, the spirits of the unity and the success of the program. One teacher who had

attended a Peace Event said:

"Few words are needed to describe this experience, because we all saw it. People were together, mixed with each other—guests, parents, students from Travnik and Nova Bila—there were no differences made between people, it was very good."
Grade 1 Teacher, Nova Bila Primary School (Danesh, 2011)

A parent who had attended a National Peace Event remarked:

"The fact that the children from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who belong to different ethnic groups and represent different cultures willingly gave effort and spent their free time together with the teachers to prepare presentations in the interest of unity says a lot. The children's expressions and applauses say to us all, that life together is not only possible but necessary."
Parent, 3rd Primary School, Ilidza (ibid., 2011)

With the will of the students, teachers, school administrators, school staff, parents, guardians, international education authorities, ministries of education in BiH and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in BiH, this program has been a success and a significant effort towards building peace through peace education across the country. Without the endorsement of all the ministries of education representing three different ethnicities in canton and national level as well as the individuals exerting their utmost effort for participation and action to learn the principles and processes of peace for a sustainable peace in the country, this program would not have been a success at all. The domino effect from government levels to the families, the mutual support, collaboration and trust among the EFP team members and locals, the willingness and the effort of the students and the teachers as well as other school staff have paved the way to the overall success of the program in BiH. Creating unity in the light of the peace principles and processes out of ethnic diversities and previous hostilities across BiH with the help and support of above mentioned institutions and individuals has by far been the most crucial step towards creating sustainable peace through peace education in a post war country.

CHAPTER 6

1. CONCLUSION

Education is the core to unite nations and bring in peace. Civil wars, violence and hatred have resulted in agonies and sufferings in many countries in the world. Recognizing the essential role of education as a key to build sustainable peace is important. A culture of peace means the basic human rights such as democracy, literacy, international solidarity, cultural identity, respect, animal rights, children's rights and many more are already being implemented.

Through education nations can overcome poverty, illiteracy and promote peace, democracy, tolerance of diversity, equal opportunity, environmental responsibility, human rights awareness, existing in peace and mutual understanding especially among multi ethnic, multinational and multi religious societies.

Peace education directly involves the curriculum, resources and materials, training for teachers, administrators, parents and constant training of the staff as well as the students in the form of workshops, collaborative works, presentations, opportunities to cooperate with the other nationalities. Education in a broad sense concerns a creation of culture of peace through the curriculum, practice in class to instill non-violence in the minds. Therefore, a collective participation of families, parents, students, staff, administrators and young volunteers as well as the whole society and moreover the nation in teaching and learning.

The testimonials from international institutions, ministries, participants and those that have been involved in the program actively as a student, or supportively as an international entity or enthusiastically as a teacher vividly depict the accomplishment of the EFP Program.

As Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Children stated the benefits of the program (A country-wide peace education program in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2008):

> "The children all over the world are in need of peace and security. On the occasion of the Summit devoted to the children, we recommend the EFP program to all the nations for consideration, as a model of a society oriented towards peace, cooperation and development." (A country-wide peace education program in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2008)

This study has attempted to explore the overall success of the EFP program in Bosnia Herzegovina with the support of various factors, which are its applicability to different contexts due to its nature, effective training of the teachers, educators and other staff including administrators, the curriculum integrated with peace principles, and involvement of the community as well as the national and international authorities and institutions. This transformation in the society has been gained due to the very nature of the EFP program, as it is a transformative program solely depending on human potential and peace principles as well as a holistic worldview that reflects on the participants who can closely observe their world views and the others' simultaneously. The EFP program has brought people what they have already intrinsically had within themselves: their potential for peace. This program in Bosnia Herzegovina has demonstrated that peace in the society can be constructed through a systematic peace education program on a large scale inclusive of all the levels in a society as well as the support from higher authorities. As Clarke-Habibi (2005) states, the core of the program lies in the peace education approach focusing on transforming the world views to deal with conflict. In summary, this program owes most of its success in the implementation and healing process to its systematic approach to reveal

the potential of peace within the society in a large scale through the holistic application of peace principles.

2. FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on this research, future work could be focus on other post conflict countries which have faced civil wars whether such programs have been successful or not. Besides the reasons why similar programs have been/have not been successful could be further discussed.

As a main obstacle, fund raising could also be further researched since Bosnia Herzegovina is in Europe and fund raising has been much more successful. The question of why fund raising is a challenge for other countries can be focused on by researchers.

Moreover, a comparative research among such countries that have been through civil wars and implemented different peace education programs could be conducted to shed further light on the issue of peace education in post conflict societies and its relative success.

APPENDIX A

Dayton Accords

General Framework for Peace in Bosnia Herzegovina

Article I

The Parties shall conduct their relations in accordance with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, as well as the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In particular, the Parties shall fully respect the sovereign equality of one another, shall settle disputes by peaceful means, and shall refrain from any action, by threat or use of force or otherwise, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any other State.

Article II

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the military aspects of the peace settlement and aspects of regional stabilization, as set forth in the Agreements at Annex 1-A and Annex 1-B. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made in Annex 1-A, and shall comply fully with their commitments as set forth in Annex 1-B.

Article III

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the boundary demarcation between the two Entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

and Republika Srpska, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 2. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

Article IV

The Parties welcome and endorse the elections program for Bosnia and Herzegovina as set forth in Annex 3. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of that program.

Article V

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as set forth in Annex 4. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

Article VI

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the establishment of an arbitration tribunal, a Commission on Human Rights, a Commission on Refugees and Displaced Persons, a Commission to Preserve National Monuments, and Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, as set forth in the Agreements at Annexes 5-9. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

Article VII

Recognizing that the observance of human rights and the protection of refugees and displaced persons are of vital importance in achieving a lasting peace, the Parties agree to and shall comply fully with the provisions concerning human rights set forth in Chapter

One of the Agreement at Annex 6, as well as the provisions concerning refugees and displaced persons set forth in Chapter One of the Agreement at Annex 7.

Article VIII

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the implementation of this peace settlement, including in particular those pertaining to the civilian (non-military) implementation, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 10, and the international police task force, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 11. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

Article IX

The Parties shall cooperate fully with all entities involved in implementation of this peace settlement, as described in the Annexes to this Agreement, or which are otherwise authorized by the United Nations Security Council, pursuant to the obligation of all Parties to cooperate in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes and other violations of international humanitarian law.

Article X

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognize each other as sovereign independent States within their international borders. Further aspects of their mutual recognition will be subject to subsequent discussions.

Article XI

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

Done at Paris, this [21st] day of [November] , 1995, in the Bosnian, Croatian, English and Serbian languages, each text being equally authentic.

APPENDIX B

A check-list of concepts and activities of the Education for Peace Program (Danesh, 2011)

A. Theoretical/Conceptual Issues

i. The Integrative Theory of Peace Education

Subtheory 1: Peace is a psychosocial and political as well as a moral and spiritual condition;

Subtheory 2: Peace is the expression of a unity-based worldview.

Subtheory 3: Education is the most effective approach for development of a unity-based worldview;

Subtheory 4: The unity-based worldview is the prerequisite for creating both a culture of peace and a culture of healing;

Subtheory 5: Only a peace founded on a unity-based worldview is capable of meeting the fundamental human needs and human rights.

ii. Concept of Categories of Worldview

Survival-Based Worldview

Identity-Based Worldview

Unity-Base Worldview

iii. Principles of Peace

Humanity is one;

Oneness of humanity is expressed in diversity;

The primary challenge before humanity is to safeguard its oneness and celebrate its diversity; and

To meet this challenge in a peaceful manner and without resort to violence.

iv. The Concept of Human Needs and Human Rights

Survival Needs (security, shelter, food, education, etc.) and the right to their fulfillment;

Association Needs (equality, justice, freedom, etc.) and the right to their fulfillment;

Transcendent Needs (meaning, purpose, righteousness, freedom of conscience, etc.) and the right to their fulfillment.

v. Special Issues

The dilemma of power

The question of authority

The concept of unity

Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution

B. Education for Peace Curriculum

i. Prerequisites

Elements of a Unity-Based Worldview

Elements of a Culture of Peace

Elements of a Culture of Healing

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ii. Components

Study of the Unity-Based Worldview

Study of the Elements of a Culture of Peace

Study of the Elements of a Culture of Healing

Study of all Subjects within the Framework of Peace

iii. Application

Application of the Unity-Based Worldview

Creation of a Culture of Peace

Creation for a Culture of Healing

Creation of a Peace-Based Curriculum

iv. Characteristics of the EFP-Curriculum

Comprehensive

Integrative

All-inclusive

Universal

Specific

v. Pedagogical Considerations

Training of all teachers, administrators, and support staff in the principles of

EFP;

Intensive Training of 10–15% of teachers/staff in each school as EFP Specialists;

Preparation of lesson plans by the teachers for every subject (biology, history, sports, math, etc.) according to the Principles of Peace and Unity-Based Worldview;

Holding school-wide, open-houses, peace weeks at each school, every semester, involving the parents and the larger community;

Holding Regional Peace Events, once every semester, involving all EFP-schools in the region;

Holding National Peace Events, once a year, involving EFP schools representing all segments of the society;

Creation of Youth Peacebuilders Network (YPN) Clubs in every EFP school, also involving youth from all other schools;

Use of Multimedia production of the EFP Curriculum On-Line and CD-ROM;

Facilitating live discourse and communication between EFP teachers, students, and parents/guardians wherever the required technical facilities are available.

APPENDIX C

The Integrative Nature of the Culture of Healing, the Culture of Peace, and the Process of Healing in the EFP Curriculum

Main Elements of the EFP Curriculum

1. Worldview Analysis & Transformation

Survival-Based Worldview (conflict-laden)

Identity-Based Worldview (conflict-prone)

Unity-Based Worldview (peace-creating)

2. Relationship Analysis & Transformation

World is Dangerous (power-based relationships)

World is a Jungle (competition-based relationships)

World is One (unity-based relationships)

3. Behaviour Analysis & Transformation

From dichotomous to integrative thinking

From self-focus to all-focus interests & concerns

From indifference & conflict to empathy & unity

Main Elements of a Culture of Peace

1. Unity-Based Worldview

Unity is the main law of existence

Unity is the main prerequisite for peace

Unity and diversity are inseparable

2. Consciousness of Oneness of Humanity

Humanity is one

Human oneness is expressed in diversity

Human diversity is its source of beauty/richness

3. Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts

Conflict is the absence of unity

Conflict resolution is the process of unity
creation

Peace is the outcome of unity, justice, & equality

Main Elements of a Culture of Healing

1. Mutual Trust

Trust in the fundamental nobility of human
nature

Trust in the power of unity

Trust in the reality of goodness

**2. Satisfaction of Basic Human Needs and
Rights**

Survival needs/rights (security, food, shelter)

Association needs/rights (justice, freedom,
equality)

Spiritual needs/rights (purpose, meaning)

3. Hope, Optimism, and Resolve

Hope to overcome the negative impact of
violence

Optimism to transcend the past justly &
peacefully

Resolve to prevent future violence and war

Main Elements of the Process of Healing

1. Knowledge Acquisition

Truth seeking

Truthfulness

Trustworthiness

2. Relationship Formation

Unity in diversity

Mutual trust

Mutual acceptance and care

3. Behaviour Transformation

Collaboration and service at individual level

Justice and rule of law at societal level

Universal participation in creating a culture of peace.

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