

Learning Democracy Together in School?

Student and Teacher Attitudes in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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*To my wonderful daughters
Sandra and Miranda*

Education is a precondition of democracy
and democracy conceptually presupposes critical citizens.

— *Puolimatka* 1995



Map of Central Balkan Region

Source: CIA World Factbook 2001

Abstract

The principal aim of this study is to examine attitudes and values, through questionnaires, among students and teachers in the last grade of primary school (grade 8) regarding issues related to authoritarianism, democracy, human rights, children rights, conflict resolution and legislation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A second aim is to explore and analyze the role of the international community in the democratization and education processes in the light of globalization in this country through secondary sources of data, site visits and observations.

Analysis of the student sample reveals suspicion towards democracy, especially when democracy was associated with politics and politicians. When the issue of democracy was de-contextualized from Bosnia and Herzegovina realities in the questionnaire, students showed more positive attitudes towards it. Students generally agreed with very strong authoritarian statements. High achieving students were more democratic, more socially responsible, more tolerant regarding attitudes towards religion, race and disabilities, and less authoritarian compared to low achievers. High achievers felt that they had influence over daily events, and were positive towards social and civil engagement. High achievers viewed politics negatively, but had high scores on the democracy scale. High achievers also agreed to a larger extent that it is acceptable to break the law. The more authoritarian students were somewhat more prone to respond that it is not acceptable to break the law.

The major findings from the teacher sample show that teachers who agreed with non-peaceful mediation, and had a non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts, also agreed with strong authoritarian statements and were less democratic. In general, teachers valued students who behave respectfully, have a good upbringing and are obedient. They were very concerned about the general status of education in society, which they felt was becoming marginalized. Teachers were not happy with the overloaded curricula and they showed an interest in more knowledge and skills to help children with traumatic war experiences. When asked about positive reforms, teachers were highly critical of, and dissatisfied with, the educational situation.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is undergoing a transition from a state-planned economy and one party system to a market economy and a multi party system. During this transition, the country has become more involved in the globali-

zation process than ever. Today the country is a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary. The International community is attempting to introduce western democracy and some of the many complexities in this process are discussed in this study. Globalization processes imply contradictory demands and pressures on the education system. On the one hand, economic liberalization has affected education policies – a closer alignment between education and economic competitiveness. On the other hand, there is a political and ideological globalization process underlying the importance of human rights, and the inclusiveness of education for all children. Students and teachers are caught between two opposing ideals – competition and cooperation.

Descriptors: Bosnia and Herzegovina, democracy, education, authoritarianism, social responsibility, conflict resolution, attitudes, values, globalization, socialization, participation, critical citizenship

A Personal Note

There is always a reason why individuals research issues in a particular region. In this section I provide the reader with a short description of my background, and personal and professional experiences that impacted my understanding, analysis or “Verstehen” of the issues discussed in this study.

I was born in Belgrade but have lived in Stockholm since the age of six. However, I have maintained strong links with relatives and friends in Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina since my parents emigrated in 1968. I have two older cousins in Belgrade and was jealous as a child that they went to school when I could not. Ultimately, I began my primary education in Sweden and the educational comparison began early in my life. Until the war broke out in the Balkans in 1991, ethnic identity or nationality was never an issue in my extended family. My parents met at one of Tito’s post-war (Second World War) work brigades and “Yugoslavism” was the prevailing ideology. After the break-up of Yugoslavia I found myself in a situation where I was expected to put an ethnic label on my former Yugoslav identity. This was not easy and the reasoning went like this: let’s see, my father is Czech and Catholic, born in a Czech community in Croatia; my grandmother is Austrian (her family and the whole community in northern Slovenia were “ethnically cleansed” after the Second World War to Austria); and my mother is Serbian and Orthodox.

I have close friends all over the former Yugoslavia and have gone from being a “Yugoslav” (without even considering the multi-dimensional complexities of being Swedish as well) that speaks Serbo-Croatian to a new ethnic labelling of myself. Since I have a “Belgrade-accent” it was easy and now I speak Serbian but, in reality, it is more complex. Indeed, since I feel at home everywhere, but not fully at home anywhere (a common consequence of being multi-cultural) it feels like I was forced to suppress a part of myself in order to fit the new ethnic order.

When I began my university studies I studied Social Anthropology, for at last two reasons – to get a deeper insight into my multi-cultural self but also to gain a deeper understanding of my 18-month backpacking journey in South-East Asia. Over time, my original interest (i.e. educational comparisons) called for more attention and I completed my Bachelor degree in Pedagogical Sciences. A synthesis of these two social science fields was Comparative International Education. The main interest I had when I started my research

was education in developing countries in the South, but when the civil war broke out in Balkans it motivated me to shift the focus of my study.

To make a long story short, when in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Serbia and Montenegro I feel both like an insider (I am familiar with the major cultural codes, I speak the language and can easily “go native”) and outsider in the sense that I have at least one other country as a reference (Sweden). Therefore, I partly share experience with people from BiH and other parts of the former Yugoslavia and partly not. In this sense, I can “step aside” and question more easily what participants take for granted, or do not have time or interest to question in their everyday struggles. In this sense, I became a cultural go-between. The process of understanding the setting and my data has been a constant process of thinking and rethinking. Clifford Geertz (1983) underlines that the understanding of others must be established and re-established, building a shared experiential world in relation to which all “facts”, “texts”, and “events”, and their interpretations, are constructed. Moreover, the entire process is subjective in nature.

My first post-war visit to BiH took place in December 1996, just after the signing of the Dayton Agreement. I was on a UNESCO mission as a consultant and the aim of this three-month visit (mainly in the Federation) was to get an overall picture of the formal education situation and identify short- and long-term needs for the education sector. I was hesitant and did not know how people would react to my Serbian accent after arriving in a war-torn country where people had experienced horrors and unspeakable losses and suffering. However, I soon found out that my Czech family name made it difficult for some to put an “ethnic label” on me and I could use my outsider identity as a safeguard when it was needed. During this period I travelled throughout the Federation and had many interviews with people working with related issues from Ministries of Education to pedagogical institutes as well as visits to primary and secondary schools. Many persons I met informally shared their war-experiences with me and this had a deep impact on me and my worldview. This mission was followed by two more where I did a similar study in Republika Srpska. Finally, during a two-year period I was teaching adult refugees from BiH and other parts of former SFRY Swedish in Sweden and during this period we talked a lot about their memories and experiences from their schooling.

All of the experiences described above, and the information gleaned from people I met, influenced my understanding and analytical approach of the issues brought up in the study. In the sense the research process might have been biased, but my awareness of bias has served as a tool to prevent it.

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Stockholm, April 2004

Lidija Kolouh-Westin

Abbreviations

BiH:	Bosnia and Herzegovina
EC:	European Community
EU:	European Union
FED:	Federation
FRY:	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
ICG:	International Crisis Group
IDEA:	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEA:	The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IIEP:	International Institute for Educational Planning
MOE:	Ministry of Education
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UNDP:	United Nation Development Program
UNHCR:	Office of the United Nations high Commission for Refugees
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children's Fund
Sida:	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
IDEA:	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO:	Non Governmental Organization
OHR:	Office of High Representative
RS:	Republika Srpska
SEEDS:	South East Europe Democracy Support Network
SFRY:	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Study

This study is focused on student and teacher attitudes, values and conceptions of democracy and human rights in the last grade of compulsory education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH¹) started in April 1992, one after it was recognized as an independent nation, and ended in December 1995. Today the country is composed of two separate entities: the *Federation* (Fed) with mainly Bosnian-Muslim and Bosnian-Croat populations and the *Republika Srpska* (RS) with a majority of Bosnian-Serb population.

Data for this study were collected in November–December 1997. The student sample includes 907 students, 497 from RS and 410 from predominantly Bosnian-Muslim parts of the Fed. Two different student questionnaires were used to investigate student attitudes, opinions and knowledge about issues such as authoritarianism, democracy, human and children rights and legislation (see chapter 4 for details).

The teacher sample covers 155 teachers: 44 from the Fed and 111 from RS. The questionnaire used for primary school teachers in BiH covers opinions and attitudes on topics such as conflict resolution, authoritarianism, democracy and level of influence in working life.

This study has its origin in an international comparative research project called “*Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy*”, funded by Sida/SAREC between 1997–2000 and coordinated by the Institute of International Education at Stockholm University. The research project included South Africa, Mozambique, Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and, to a smaller degree, Sweden.

The research was comprised of three sub-projects: (i) national reports covering a litany of issues; (ii) analyses of curriculum and textbook content; and (iii) a study of student and teacher attitudes vis-à-vis democracy and human rights.

The formation and content of the questionnaires used in this study is the product of long, challenging and fruitful discussions between researchers with

1. In Bosnian: Bosna i Hercegovina

a wide variety of research traditions and theoretical standpoints. The research team reached a consensus as to which questions to include in the overall comparative analysis in order to enable cross-national comparisons but each country could decide additional questions or themes to include.

I was responsible for the research conducted in BiH. In this study, new data are presented from student and teacher samples not included in the earlier comparative research. Moreover, this study entails a more thorough analysis of the data discussed in the previous works (Daun, 1999; Daun, Enslin, Plut and Kolouh-Westin (eds), 2002; Kolouh-Westin, 2002; and Young, 2000).

1.2 Rationale of the Study

The BiH reality is dominated by post-war conflicts, ethnic/nationality conflicts, a weak State, territorial disputes, and the existence of two major ethnic groups/nationalities who are unwilling to be citizens of the new nation. BiH is one country with three different and ethnified school systems². Political leaders using nationalist propaganda to instill a “culture of fear” among their own ethnic/nationalist group in order to pursue their own interests have fueled the rise of nationalism. Other closely related factors to the rise of nationalism are growing unemployment, rising prices and a deteriorating standard of living. A strong dependence on external funding further complicates the political situation and makes BiH vulnerable to current international ideological trends.

The Dayton Agreement ended the war in BiH and established the Office of the High Representative (OHR) to oversee the implementation of the civilian aspects of the agreement. The High Representative is the ultimate constitutional authority in BiH – superior to that of democratically elected governments. Today BiH is a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary and the State can be used as a valuable case of the complexities at work when external political interventions and substantial economic investments aim to install democratic institutions and norms in a post-war country.

People in BiH as in other parts of Eastern Europe are in this transition period under contradicting value systems. The contrast is between collectivist values such as submission to the State apparatus, community and discipline versus individualist values such as personal initiative, freedom, autonomy, critical spirit and tolerance for diverse identity expressions. On the one hand there is a revival of traditional values discouraged during the SFRY (Socialist

2. The implementation of a core curriculum in the Education Reform initiated by OSCE has just started and time is needed for any kind of evaluation of its failure or success.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) period related to religion, nationalism and monarchy and on the other hand value systems represented by all international actors and organizations in BiH. In this political transition period it is valuable to examine student and teacher attitudes and values on issues related to democracy.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

One aim of this study is to examine attitudes and values, through questionnaires, among students and teachers in the last grade of primary school (grade 8) regarding issues related to authoritarianism, democracy, human rights, children rights, conflict resolution and legislation. A second aim is to explore and analyze the role of the international community in the democratization and education processes in the light of globalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina through secondary sources of data, site visits and observations.

This study aims to describe students':

- Attitudes towards authoritarianism and democracy;
- Level of social responsibility;
- Grades (marks) and correlations with their own acceptance of democratic orientation authoritarian statements and level of social responsibility;
- Knowledge about legislation and the legal age;
- Attitudes towards religion, race and people with disabilities;
- Attribution of importance to laws;
- Definitions of a democratic and non-democratic society; and
- Perceptions of children rights and who children believe are responsible for protecting their rights.

It also aims to describe teachers':

- Awareness of social conflict and mechanisms of conflict management;
- Attitudes towards authoritarianism and democracy;
- Appraisal of their own role and influence in the education system, as well as the role and influence of parents;
- Appraisal of the social context of the education system and barriers to democratic changes;
- Conceptions of educational values; and
- Teaching practices.

1.4 Significance of the study

The ambition is to contribute to increased understanding of student and teacher attitudes in post-war BiH related to issues considered crucial in a democratization process. The sample in this study is unique since it is the first larger sample collected at this particular time in the Fed and RS.

In recent years, BiH received more foreign aid per capita than any other country in the world (Sida, 2000) and at present the country a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary. This study sheds light on the complexities at work when external political interventions and substantial economic investments aim to install democratic institutions and norms in a top-down manner. BiH can be used as a “lessons-learned” case.

On 21 November 2002 the Education Ministries and the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees in BiH agreed with the international community (IC) upon an Education Reform Agenda. One of many aims with the education reform is development of a common core curriculum in primary and general secondary education. The negotiations between the IC and national stakeholders have begun, but policy development and implementation will take time. This study contributes to the understanding of the education system, in the context of BiH, and may be a useful tool for international and national stakeholders involved in the reform process.

1.5 Limitations of the study

First, the questionnaires used in this study are not solely a product of my own, but as mentioned above, reflect a consensus reached by researchers with a variety of academic backgrounds (i.e. psychology, sociology, education and political science). This limitation is, to some extent, addressed in the section with suggestions for further research. A second constraint is that other researchers conducted much of the data collection. Consequently, many personal potentially valuable observations in the classroom situation were not captured but the persons responsible for questionnaire distribution were interviewed about their observations and impressions. A third constraint is that the original idea when the questionnaires were developed and translated into Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian (in two different alphabets – Cyrillic for the Serbian sample and Latin for the other two) was to have a representative sample for BiH. However, due to difficult circumstances in the highly decentralized education administration in Fed, research access could not be gained for the Croatian parts of the Federation. That said, this case study does provide

a picture of student and teacher perceptions and attitudes at one point in time in RS and the predominantly Bosnian-Muslim parts of Fed. A fourth constraint relates to the difficulty collecting data at the time, when the situation in BiH was far from stable. Travel was dangerous because some roads were still mined. In this post-war situation a lot of effort was invested to build the trust necessary to gain access and conduct interviews. Some officials within the Ministries of Education showed suspicion when they were informed that my study explored issues related to democracy, and some questioned how the information would be used, by whom and “what was in it for them”? A fifth constraint is that the students were not asked about their parents’ level of education. This did not allow me to get a deeper understanding of the impact of education on democratic attitudes.

1.6 Organization of the study

Chapter 1

This chapter provides an introduction to the study and its overall aims.

Chapter 2

A broad aim of this chapter is to present a way to conceptualize, contextualize and understand the setting in which students and teachers in this study live and work. The chapter presents key concepts in order to explain the political structure in BiH, the impact of globalization, the role of the international community and the BiH State construction in the democratization and education processes. Another aim of this chapter is to discuss the role of education in society and what is believed to be the crucial tasks in education systems in order to foster and guarantee the application of democratic principles, such as promotion of critical citizenry and participation. Finally, primary and secondary socialization of children and students is discussed and related to the context of BiH, as well as the interrelated issues of identity formation and gender. Since one of the aims in this study is to describe attitudes, values and perceptions among students and teachers regarding issues related to authoritarianism, democracy, human rights, children’s rights, conflict resolution and legislation, there is a discussion on individual attitudes and values within a given society.

Chapter 3

This chapter presents the political, economic and geographic features of BiH, describes the education system, provides a summary of previous research on

curriculum and textbook analysis and discusses education issues in BiH related to three spheres of society – the civil sphere, the State sphere and the economic sphere. This chapter also describes the international efforts related to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, and concludes with an examination of some contemporary contradictions in this phase of reconstruction and recovery.

Chapter 4

The chapter begins with a presentation of some basic concepts and assumptions, since they formed the foundation on which the student and teacher questionnaires were developed and they served as steering instruments during the research process. A methodological description of the study is presented, including pilot study, data collection, research access and scope of the study. This is followed by a detailed description of the two student questionnaires and the teacher questionnaire, and the process of data analysis.

Chapter 5

This chapter presents the findings from student questionnaires 1 (SQ1) and 2 (SQ2), and concludes with a summary and discussion of the findings.

Chapter 6

The findings from the teacher questionnaire (TQ) are presented in Chapter 6 followed by a summary and discussion.

Chapter 7

The last chapter presents a summary of the study's main results, as well as a concluding discussion that can be drawn from the study. It ends with recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2

Globalization, Democracy, Education, Socialization, Values and Attitudes

This chapter presents key concepts describing the political structure in BiH, the impact of globalization, the role of the international community, and the State building process in BiH. These issues are analyzed in terms of their impact on the democratization process and, most important, their impact on the education system. A second aim is to discuss the role of education in society and the crucial tasks of education systems to foster and guarantee the application of democratic principles, such as the promotion of critical citizenry and participation. Third, the primary and secondary socialization of children and students is discussed and related to the context of BiH, as well as the interrelated issues of identity formation and gender. Since one of the aims of this study is to examine attitudes, values and perceptions among students and teachers regarding issues related to authoritarianism, democracy, human rights, children rights, conflict resolution and legislation, there is a discussion on attitudes and values within a given society.

2.1 Democracy in the Global Perspective

There are almost as many views on the multidimensional terms of globalization and democracy as there are authors. Globalization is understood as a long term historical process (Appadurai, 1990, Clark, 1997, Hettne, 2002), but at the same time it is qualitatively new, in the sense that it is driven by new information and communication technologies, market-economy expansion, the speed of interconnectedness, accelerated expansion of communication, flow of people and that of networking (Castells, 1996; Daun, 2002b; Holton, 1998; Okuma-Nyström, 2003; and Waters, 1995).

The increased contact between regions of the world can be viewed as a dialectical relationship between the national and global level. This is discussed by Daun (1998, 2002b), who argues that events within and between societal spheres in one country make a contribution to global processes, and events between world spheres affect national societies, though in different ways and to different degrees. Globalization processes are complex and contradictory: (i) post-materialist/idealism vs. consumerist values; (ii) cultural universalization

and standardization vs. particularization and revitalisation of local cultures; (iii) fundamentalism vs. ecumenicism; and (iv) sacralization vs. secularisation (Daun, 2002b:17). These contradictions vary and are prevalent, to a greater or lesser extent, within societies and among different regions in the world (i.e. high income vs. low income countries). The consumerist “life-style” is more visible due to new media opportunities world wide, and awareness of the uneven competitiveness and distribution of resources between nations is reaching a larger audience.

The uneven competitiveness between nations in the global economy is relevant for this study. Unstable nations with a lack of internal and external legitimacy, and in some cases lack of territorial control (BiH), gain external legitimacy and access to credit by participating in globalization (Cerny, 1990, Hettne, 2002). *However, they lose in internal legitimacy and social cohesion as a consequence of fulfilling imposed conditionalities* (Hettne, 2002:11). Hettne points out that economic globalization can be seen as a further deepening and expansion of the market system and as a continuation of the great transformation, i.e. the 19th century market expansion that disrupted traditional society. Through ensuing social disturbances, globalization provoked various forms of political intervention¹ with different ideological motivations and outcomes such as communism, fascism, social democracy, populism and social liberalism. This interaction between market expansion and political intervention is now taking place on a global scale. Hettne (2002) labels it as a “second great transformation”, which may make the social and political counter movements difficult to predict. *If the last two decades have been characterized by the predominance of economics, the time seems to have come for a ‘return of the political’ in order for another balance, or Great Compromise, to be established* (Hettne, 2002:7)².

Bosnia and Herzegovina can be used as an illustrative example of the complexities at work when external political interventions and substantial economic investments aim to install democratic institutions and norms in a post-war country. The Dayton Agreement ended the war in BiH and established the Office of the High Representative (OHR) to oversee the implementation of the civilian aspects of the agreement. The High Representative is the ultimate constitutional authority in BiH, superior to that of democratically elected governments. Today BiH is a semi-protectorate

1. Intervention in this study refers to political, military and humanitarian interventions.
2. Here Hettne refers to the theory of economic history associated with Karl Polanyi (where expansion and deepening of the market is followed by political intervention, described by Polanyi as the Great Transformation). Hettne labels the institutionalized balance as a dialectic outcome of the two processes as Great Compromise.

where international authorities intervene when necessary. The Peace Implementation Council (PIC) authorized OHR with new powers – called “Bonn Powers”³ – in 1997. These powers were conceived as emergency powers to confront concrete threats to the State-building and democratization aims of the Dayton Agreement, but today they have become regular instruments to develop institutions by decree. Knaus and Martin (2003) illustrate this trend clearly: *Each successive chief of the OHR has used the Bonn powers more frequently. Westendorp (1997-99) handed down an average of four impositions a month, a figure that Petrisch (1999-2002) tripled. Paddy Ashdown, who began his tenure in May 2002, is currently imposing about 14 each month* (Knaus and Martin, 2003:68). In BiH outsiders set the agenda, impose it and punish those who refuse to implement it (ibid.). Knaus and Martin question the legitimacy of the OHR’s powers more than seven years after the war, in a country that is largely peaceful, which has held free and fair democratic elections and entered Europe’s oldest club of democracies, the Council of Europe. OHR and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) have become central pillars of the constitutional order in BiH (Knaus and Cox, 2000).

The Dayton Agreement has been described as political-engineering a state, out of the ruins of war. There are tensions and disagreement between members of the IC itself in BiH, between those who seek immediate, even imposed, solutions to urgent problems and those who seek sustainable locally supported development (OSCE, 2001). These issues are further discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.1 Global Democracy

What kind of political movements are emerging from globalization? Two futuristic scenarios are described by Hettne (2002), where the locus of power moves up to the transnational level. In the first scenario the State can be replaced or complemented by a regionalized order of political blocks (a new regionalism). The second entails a strengthened global civil society with a new normative architecture of world order values, i.e. a humane global governance which Falk (2002) labels *cosmopolitan democracy*, also referred to as *global democracy or cosmopolitan governance* (Held, 1995, Kaldor, 1999). These two scenarios do not exclude each other; they can exist in combinations in supranational governance. As it is today (and was in the past), interventions has been questioned, particularly the NATO intervention in Serbia and Montenegro without a UN mandate or, more recently, the USA intervention in Iraq. The winners of a war (here I refer to the USA after the cold-war) usually have the opportunity

3. The powers of the High Representative to impose laws and to dismiss public officials.

to influence politics globally. *The cold war between the East and the West has been replaced by the United States hegemony and large number of local tensions and conflicts as well as conflicts in which the United States is in struggling for Northern ideals against Islamic ideals. Economically, there is competition between the United States, Europe, and East Asia, and ideologically primarily between the United States and the Arab countries* (Ahmed, 1992 in Daun, 2002b:43).

BiH is a country at the cultural crossroads between Europe and the Middle East and during data collection for this study it was easy to see how different international NGOs from Arab countries, Europe and the USA manifested their interest, norms or ideals through their aid-assistance. Some examples related to education include:

- The US sponsored a civic program through CIVITAS⁴, providing materials to be used in primary and secondary schools. The textbooks were translated to Bosnian, but the content was related to the US constitution and the US political context;
- Kuwait and Saudi Arabia-based Muslim NGOs worked with private religious tuition mainly within non-formal education settings; and
- European aid at the time (beyond reconstruction of schools and provision of equipment) emphasized student-centered teaching methods, conflict resolution skills etc.

At present there is a global discourse emerging called humanitarian intervention, the idea of a trans-national responsibility for human welfare. Hettne writes *...in the last decade the legitimacy factor with respect to intervention in "domestic affairs" has grown stronger relative to the legality factor and, consequently, the number of interventions in response to "complex humanitarian emergencies" has also increased* (Hettne, 2002:13). There is a need for global political institutionalisation according to Hettne or humane global governance (Falk, 2002), where human interventions and war-prevention interventions are dealt with in a logical, consistent manner.

Two discourses are creating tension, confusion and contradicting scenarios on a global scale. The predominance of economic factors in the globalization process over the past two decades has generated strong monopolized multinational companies world wide, and we have seen a growing anti-globalization movement, dissatisfied with how the world economy works (Klein, 2000). The second movement in the global discourse is the protection of human rights and the idea of liberal democracy. Many trans-national NGOs have contributed to

4. An International Civic Education Exchange Program, a cooperative project of civic education organizations in the United States.

strengthening human issues globally and planted seeds for democratisation at the grass-root level.

According to Inglehart (1996), post-materialist regions (mainly Western Europe and English speaking cultural regions⁵) evaluate politics by more demanding standards and do not register higher levels of satisfaction with politics than citizens in more recent democracies. People in post-materialist regions are likely to participate in social movements. This shift may make the task of governing increasingly difficult for ruling elites in the West, and it can increase popular demands for responsive democratic institutions. In this post-materialist setting the public might increase its critical involvement in politics, or it might lead to increased political apathy.

In low income countries (i.e. most countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, South America) there are many possible future scenarios. People in these countries are more exposed to consumerist life-styles due to technological and media development, and subsequently demand their share of global resources. However, people in the poorer parts of the world often have no political arena to influence matters important to them. In the new democracies (e.g. BiH), where citizens demand political rights, but do not know what to do with their freedom (and where a weak State apparatus or political arena are not able to provide basic material security), demands for political power can, in a worst case scenario, lead to violent, desperate actions.

Falk (2002) summarizes the most crucial challenges in the globalization process in a succinct manner. He argues that the development of global political institutionalization depends on many factors such as: *The degree to which elites can legitimise globalization-from above, the extent to which the anti-globalization movement can collaborate with governmental forces that are dissatisfied with the manner in which the world economy is functioning, the creativity of reformist and transformative politics within regional and global arenas, and the extent to which the state can demonstrate its problem-solving competence in response to a variety of global challenges (global warming, trans-national crime, genocide, illegal immigration and refugees* (Falk, 2002:179).

The human rights and liberal democracy global movement is implemented from above in BiH. At present, the BiH State is weak and it is not known if local political elites will demonstrate creative problem solving and legitimize their policies to the citizens of BiH.

5. Canada, Australia, USA.

2.2 Democracy in a National Perspective

Democracy is a complex concept dependent on the interpretation of values linked to it and the context it is connected to. It will be formed, shaped, questioned and challenged for generations to come. Generally the concept can be divided in *direct democracy* meaning direct participation of the citizens in the affairs of the State, and *representative democracy* – the cluster of rules and institutions permitting the broadest participation of the majority of citizens (all adult men and women) in the selection of representatives who make political decisions affecting the whole community (Held, 1997).

Democracy is understood as a political system where there are free and fair elections, and political and civil rights. A political democratic system *entails the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals* (Dahl, 1971:1) and a government that provides opportunities for citizens to influence politics. It also entails the existence of procedures to control government as well as procedures to establish a balance between the interests of different social groups.

The revolutions in Eastern Europe after 1989 signalled a broad acceptance of the ideas of liberal democracy. Waters (1995) discusses Fukuyama's and Huntington's theories that the world is moving towards a political culture of *liberal democracy*. According to Fukuyama (1992) it is not the liberal practice, which is of main importance, but rather the *idea*. Walters argues that there is no ideology with pretensions to universality that is in a position to challenge liberal democracy: *The central ideas of such a culture are: first that individuals should have rights to autonomy in certain spheres of thought and action including, for example, due process under law, speech and publication that expresses political or religious ideas, control of the body, and ownership and disposal of property; and second that the members of any polity should have the right to choose and to participate in their own government by means which roughly give them an equal influence in that choice and an equal chance to participate* (Waters, 1995:119).

This argument is relevant for Eastern Europe, but as Held (1997) points out, the idea of liberal democracy has not been generally accepted in, for example, China, and the Muslim world, and nationalism is perhaps an underestimated threat to the notion of liberal democracy as a universal ideology. The ideal model of democracy used in this work is based on Held (1997) and Dahl (2000).

The *idea* of democracy is important because it does not just represent one value among many, such as liberty, equality or justice, but is the value that can link and mediate among competing prescriptive concerns (Dahl, 2000). It is a

guiding orientation that can help generate a basis for specifying relations between different normative concerns. A basic principle that lays out the foundation for democracy is the principle of autonomy: *Persons should enjoy equal rights and, accordingly, equal obligations in the specification of the political framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them; that is, they should be free and equal in the determination of the conditions of their own lives, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights for others* (Held, 1997:301).

The principle above requires the creation of a system of collective decision-making that entails extensive citizen involvement. Dahl (2000) has developed five essential criteria for such a system.

- *Effective participation*: Before a policy is adopted by an association, all members must have equal and effective opportunities to make their views known to the other members as to what the policy should be.
- *Voting equality*: When the moment arrives at which the decision about policy will initially be made, every member must have an equal and effective opportunity to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal.
- *Enlightened understanding*: Within a reasonable timeframe, each member must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant alternative policies and their likely consequences.
- *Control of the agenda*: Members must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how and, if they choose, what matters are to be placed on the agenda. Thus the democratic process required by the three preceding criteria is continual and the policies of the association are always open to change by the members.
- *Inclusion of adults*: All, or at any rate most⁶, adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the first four criteria (Dahl, 2000:310).

Linz and Stepan (1996) describe six interacting arenas, where no arena is more important than any other, which mark the necessary preconditions for consolidated democracies:

1. *Civil society*: private associational activities autonomous from the State. The civil society claims demands on the State institutions;

6. i.e. transients and visitors can be exempted.

2. *Political society*: a set of institutions and rules by which elites compete for political office. These include core institutions such as political parties, elections, electoral rules and legislature;
3. *Rule of law*: a pervasive acceptance on the part of both elites and the general public that democratic rules must be followed, supported by a system of laws, an independent judiciary, and a well-formed legal culture;
4. *A usable state bureaucracy*: provides the State with means to effectively carry out policy without which democratization itself is impossible;
5. *Economic society*: norms, institutions and regulations that mediate between State and market; and
6. *Stateness*: the willingness of people and groups to be citizens of the nation-state exercising sovereignty over the territory on which they reside.

In John Dewey's classic book, "Democracy and Education" (1916/1999), democratic politics are justified in their promotion of the *distribution of opportunities, social mobility* and the *free circulation of experiences*. According to Dewey, if we want to know the value of a form of association, we need to ask: *How numerous and varied are the interests which are consciously shared? How full and free is the interplay with other forms of association?* (Dewey, 1999:45). The greater the number and variety of shared interests, and the fuller and freer the interaction among different groups, the more developed those interests and groups are (Fott, 1998). The criteria, principles and arenas listed above outline what should be fulfilled in an ideal scenario. It is believed that there are no better political alternatives. The political challenges at present and in the future are many in Eastern Europe. One crucial political challenge at present in BiH is the explosion of nationalism. BiH, like other countries in East-Europe, has started a transition from socialism to democracy. The BiH reality is dominated by post-war conflicts, ethnic/nationality conflicts, a weak State, territorial disputes, and the existence of three major ethnic groups/nationalities who are (or whose leaders are) unwilling to be citizens of the new nation. BiH is also characterized by a privatization process⁷, largely misused by political elites representing the three major nationalist political parties and high unemployment. A strong dependence on external funding further complicates the political situation. The problem is, *No political society, national or international, can exist unless people submit to certain rules of conduct. The problem why people should submit to such*

7. Examples of the privatization process are discussed in chapter 3.

rules is the fundamental problem of political philosophy (Carr, 1984:41). These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.2.1 Ethnic-Nationalism

Nationalism and patriotism demand loyalty to a nation or an ethnic group. Patriotism is seen as more neutral than nationalism, which is seen more negatively. Nationalism gives supremacy to one's own nation above others; and it espouses "we-ness" or ethnocentrism (us versus others). Farnen and Meloen have summarized nationalism as follows: *Nationalists define their self-worth via national identity and are willing to die for their land, people, and nation/national group. They believe nations are natural, timeless, unique; reflect elements of the "collective will" and in drive for liberty, self-governance, self-determination-, and create a state to which citizens can give their highest loyalties and patriotism* (Farnen and Meloen, 2000:7). We have seen an explosion of nationalism, not only in BiH but also in other parts of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Closely connected to the rise of nationalism is growing unemployment, rising prices and a deteriorating standard of living (Nagy, 1997). One attempt at explaining causes of ethnic or nationalist violence claims that complex historical, religious and social factors lie at its roots (Clark, 2002, Skilling, 1966). Another argument claims that political leaders incite nationalist discord and violence in order to pursue their own interests. In essence, they perceive they have more to gain by doing so (Clark, 2002, Lewin, 1988). In the case of BiH there is a combination of these two approaches: ethnic/nationality belonging is important to people, and when the overriding ideology of "Yugoslavism" disappeared, nationalist political leaders very consciously imposed a "culture of fear" (a demonization of the "others") among their own ethnic/nationality group using nationalist propaganda to pursue their own interests.

As Offe points out: *Post-Communist societies are atomized societies. Communism has destroyed all institutions of autonomous collective action... People have no cognitive, ideological or organizational patterns that would help them to code the social universe and guide their decisions as to whom to trust and with whom to cooperate. In this associational wasteland ethnicity and nationalism are virtually the only categories thought capable of providing guidance for collective action* (Offe, 1996:71).

This holds true for BiH. Indeed, during this period of transition the absence of ideological or organizational patterns, as well as the absence of security, have

been used by current and former members of the political elite to serve their political and economic interests⁸.

The concept of ethnic nationalism is useful for the BiH case. It is not the defense of something existing but the creation of something new. This concept assumes clearly defined borders with an ethnically homogenous population, which is the base for the new nation. National identity is based on common (real or imagined) traditions, history, language, etc. This kind of nationalism selects distinctive cultural symbols from the past, which are seen as the best and most suitable, and complements them with symbols strategically chosen in order to ensure support for cultural, political and economic interests (individual and collective) in the future (Baranovic, 1994; Roosens, 1989).

2.3 Education

2.3.1 The Impact of Economic Liberalization on Education

The predominance of economics in the global discourse during the last two decades has affected education policies and the terminology used. Forrester (2002) lists some of these effects: a narrowing, performance-indicator driven teaching environment; a closer alignment between education and economic competitiveness; increasing penetration of private sector/capital involvement in education; growing “accreditationalism” in education; increasing recognition of higher education but within a new academic/business perspective and “deskilling” tendencies through introduction of “fast-track” teachers; managerialism culture replacing collegiate environment (Forrester, 2002:28). At present there is a tendency to emphasize the economic aspects of education, and competitiveness among students and between nations have become a core issue with a great emphasis on learning outcomes (Helsby, 1999). This trend could reinforce schools to become examination-oriented, which does not leave much room for teachers to utilize their professionalism and creativity to provide opportunities for students to be involved in a meaningful learning environment, rather than emphasizing rote learning for examinations. A new label has been introduced in the educational discussion where students are referred to as *clients or consumers*. Educational reforms or restructuring have occurred in many westernized nations in recent years, with remarkable similarities between developments in different countries. The decentralization of educational

8. HDZ: Croat Democratic Union (Croat nationalist party) ; SDA Party for Democratic Action (Muslim nationalist party) and SDS: Serbian Democratic Party (Serb nationalist party).

administration, a strengthening of accountability mechanisms, the development of refinement of national curricula and, as mentioned above, increasing focus upon quantifying and measuring learning outcomes. Helsby (1999) sees these developments as a result of globalization where national governments look increasingly towards their education systems to solve economic problems.

At the same time we live in a world where human rights issues have entered the global education discourse (Wilson, 1997). The political and ideological global trend in education underlines the importance of *inclusiveness* of education for *all* children, as articulated in the Education For All goals. The uneven economic competitiveness between states becomes problematic when combined with powerful ideological/political pressures to conform to inclusiveness, equal rights etc. promoted by Western Europe and English speaking cultural regions. There are many contradictions between the economic liberal and the ideological inclusive approaches to education and students are caught between two opposing ideals – competition and cooperation. The policy trend to reward learning outcomes might lead to ignoring unequal education opportunities, but the all-inclusive policy may clash against possibilities for financing schools. Tomasevski discusses the negative effects an exaggerated emphasis on measuring learning outcomes can have on education promoting a Human Right's approach: *Specific educational programmes devoted to promoting human right's or accommodating diversity may be effectively marginalized because they are excluded from the measuring of learning outcomes and, thus, absent from the consequent ranking of schools and learners* (Tomasevski, 2002:36).

Since the Dayton Agreement many international NGOs have invested work and funds related to the development of conflict resolution skills, tolerance and information on human and children rights in schools. These programs and their impact should be similarly valued and evaluated as learning outcomes related to more easily measurable skills, for example language and mathematics skills. Some of the new education tasks as a result of the human rights ideological global discourse according to Forrester are: human rights and human dignity; democratisation; equality and social inclusion; democratic citizenship; social cohesion; innovation and creativity; inter-culturalism; co-operation and partnership; respect and empathy; peace; and political literacy (Forrester, 2002:28).

2.3.2 The Role of Education in Society

Education may be divided into three broad definitions: *formal*, meaning organized compulsory, secondary, vocational and university studies; *nonformal*, meaning any organized activity outside the established formal education

system; and *informal*, meaning an unorganized, unsystematic and generally unintentional but embracing lifelong perspective learned in everyday life. One distinction made by many scholars is the one between education and schooling, where education is seen as old as humanity itself, as an integral part of everyday life, initiated as and when it was required. Schooling, on the other hand, is a relatively recent human invention. Hamilton (1990) describes schooling in the following way: *Historically, it is the domesticated offspring of earlier educational practices. Its domestication and refinement have largely been the responsibility of socially developed civilizations. As a result, the practices of schooling are fenced in and nourished by a complex network of rules and regulations. These, in turn, give a characteristic shape to the material artifacts of schooling – its textbooks, desks, registers, blackboards, etc. Indeed, most histories of education focus preferentially upon these cultivated artifacts. As a result, they might be more vividly understood as histories of schooling* (Hamilton, 1990:14).

In this study, when education is discussed, it relates to formal education. Education also conveys what Hamilton labels schooling. Societies and individuals gain from education. Education does not only act as an agent for economic reproduction, it also carries cultural reproduction features associated with socio-cultural dimensions of a society. There is also a close link with the State where education systems acts as agents of ideological reproduction and contributes to political development. The individual gains from education as well. When current education issues are discussed (see Chapter 3), the analytical framework used is borrowed from Daun (1998), but in this study the analytical model is simplified because it does not elaborate much on the underlying sphere of technology and the different types of rationality that guide each sphere. Society is seen to consist of three analytical spheres: the *state sphere*, the *civil sphere* and the *economic sphere*.

Education is at the core of this framework and there is a dialectic relationship between education and the three spheres mentioned. Education is conditioned by the nature of the spheres and by relations between them, and has relative structural and functional autonomy. *Structural autonomy* implies that the education system is not organized and managed in a way that fully corresponds to the way of organizing other State bodies or bodies within the other societal spheres. *Functional autonomy* implies the extent to which the education system contributes to the attainment of goals and objectives defined by other spheres in society. However, a certain degree of deviation is tolerated from officially stated goals (Daun, 1998:38). Daun's model is placed in a global context, which emphasizes the pressures and contradictory demands education systems face. For example, on the one hand, there are demands from local cultures. On

the other hand, internationalization and globalization place demands on the system (Arnason, 1991). One example of how education systems serves as an agent of, and contributes to, ideological reproduction is given by Fägerlind and Saha (1989): *As a conserver of the political system, and a contributor to political development, education has been regarded as serving three main functions: (1) as the main agent for the political socialization of the young into the national political structure; (2) as the primary agent for the selection and training of political elites; and (3) as the main contributor to political integration and the building of national political consciousness* (Fägerlind and Saha, 1989:125).

Education serves the individual and the society. Dewey (1999) describes the very idea of education as a freeing of individual capacity to further develop social aims. Individual gains from education are well described by Gellner, (1983) *The employability, dignity, security and self-respect of individuals, typically, and for the majority of men hinges on their education; and the limits of the culture within which they were educated are also the limits of the world within which they can, morally and professionally, breathe. A man's education is by far his most precious investment and in effect confers his identity on him* (Gellner, 1983:28).

Dewey stresses the importance of “moral democracy” that entails human development or individual growth. Perfection is not the final goal, but the ever-enduring process of perfecting, maturing and refining is the aim in living according to Dewey. *When it is said that education is development, everything depends upon how development is conceived. Our net conclusion is that life is development, and that developing, growing is life. Translated into its educational equivalents, that means (i) that the educational process has no end beyond itself; it is its own end; and that (ii) the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming* (Dewey, 1999:50).

Societies or, rather, nations have used and still use education as a key device in the process of moulding the ideal citizen, such as the “Knowledge-Worker” “Soviet Man”, or “Democratic Man” (UNESCO, 2002). Education is also used as an efficient tool for national cohesion or national awakening. As Nagy writes: *...practically all those who have been dealing with nationalism have attached very considerable importance to education as an instrument for forging and strengthening national consciousness and national feeling* (Nagy, 1997:30).

During the SFRY era, education was used by the State as an instrument of creating a Communist society and nurture nationalism (“Yugoslavism”) but also professionalism. Socialist countries were known for the priority given to education (Daun and Sapatoru, 2002; Groth, 1971, 1987). Since educational practices were oriented towards the creation of Yugoslavism, in the worst scenario the same tools can now be used towards another educational goal – eth-

nic nationalism. Today education in BiH is seen, and used, by the three major nationalist political parties as a means of defending or recreating ethnic or national identities.

Most international organizations working with education issues agree on the importance for nations to invest in education, and the importance education has in fostering economic well being for both individuals and societies (UNESCO, 1998; UNESCO, 2002; World Bank, 1994; World Bank, 1995). On the other hand, education is a human right and this fact is underlined and stressed in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989). Seen from this perspective, it is a State obligation to provide access and equal education opportunities for *all* children. The education for all goals agreed on in Jomtien in 1990 and later in Dakar 2000 will most probably not be reached by the year of 2015, but beyond these goals, there are indications of educational inequalities and problems in the more economically developed parts of the world. Husén, Tuijnman and Halls (1992) discuss the emergence of a “new educational underclass,” in Europe and estimate that five million children live under conditions of material deprivation in modern European societies (because hard data are not available, the figure is an estimate). These children suffer from psychological and emotional poverty and are not adequately prepared for the information society. The challenges for the 21st century will be best met by those who in their youth have been prepared for the world without having been subjected to it (Husén, Tuijnman and Halls, 1992). In Europe compulsory education policies and activities tend to be focused on the national level, while higher education is more internationalised (ibid.). This begs the question if young people who do not continue to university will be more inclined towards less tolerance related to other ethnic groups, or have a less internationalised worldview compared with young people with higher education?

The socialization task of education systems has always been to make young people aware of the challenges and rules of life in society, educational systems transmit norms, values, and models of behaviour deemed to be appropriate in a given society. The challenges, norms and rules change in societies over time and so do the educational ideals and upbringing practices in families.

2.3.3 Democracy in Education

Three crucial tasks of education systems in order to foster and guarantee the application of democratic principles regardless of cultural differences are: 1) the continued or newly applied principle of acknowledgement of the equality of rights; 2) fostering tolerant citizens, how to live, deal with and learn from diversity; and 3) fostering critical citizens. This can be achieved via political

literacy and active participation in schools (see section 2.3.4 for a discussion on participation). A critical citizen does not accept slogans, collective opinions and ready-made solutions without critical reflection and verification. Democracy in the educational domain also entails unrestricted and equal access to primary education, unrestricted and equal opportunity in education, a curricula that allows learning by practicing democracy and an examination system that does not systematically fail certain categories of students (Daun, 2002a).

A core issue for *democracy* conceptually presupposes *critical citizens*, since the latter do not develop spontaneously without education. Education is a precondition of democracy and democracy conceptually presupposes critical citizens. This leads to a crucial question regarding appropriate education policies and practices for promotion of democracy (certainly not any kind of indoctrination). This is discussed by Puolimatka (1995) who argues that *critical citizenship* should be made a central aim of education in democracies. There are strong arguments against indoctrination of democratic ideals since indoctrinated people do not fulfil basic democratic expectations. An educational system with the best democratic intentions can have the opposite effect and undermine the basic principles of democracy. *Do democratic values transmitted through indoctrination retain their original character? Can freedom, equality, justice and truth be communicated through a violation of the very values being communicated? If the manner of communication is deceptive to the extent that it treats its recipients as underserving of genuine arguments, it undermines the communicative elements needed for the functioning of democracy* (Puolimatka, 1995:146).

Any approach that tries to make students democratic citizens through the educational system in the sense that they must embrace common values or adopt a “one-right-answer” approach to knowledge or provision of a fixed image of the good society violates their rights as democratic citizens. Carr and Hartnett (1996, quoted in: Roth, 2000:81) articulate it the following way: *...the main purpose of a democratic theory of education is not to stipulate the kind of education that would effectively serve to reproduce a fixed conception of the good society but to show how education can enable all future citizens to participate in the process of contestation through which their society – including its system of education – is reproduced and transformed.*

Roth (2000) analysed Dahl's, Rawls' and Habermas's views on the notion of substantive values in a society and he concludes that none of them argue that individuals as citizens in a well-organized democratic society ought to embrace substantive values or an acceptance of a single image of the good society. According to Gutmann (1988, 2003) the State or parents should not be given the exclusive authority to determine the necessary character for children and

young people through education by encouraging a definite answer to what “good life” is or could be. Roth (2000) suggests that schools should promote deliberation and support young people in transcending the given knowledge and values as well as their validity claims expressed by the State and parents if necessary. Moreover Roth adds that schools should *legitimise deliberation concerning new ways of understanding the world, themselves, the social order and the production of new practices when old ways of understanding are shown to be false, or when practices are shown to be impracticable* (Roth, 2000:82).

Roth suggests a theory on the education of deliberative democratic citizens that he labels *Eddemcit*. He argues: *Children and young people are surely deliberative democratic citizens in education in so far as they are free and can try out different orientations of the mind, and seek understanding and an intersubjective legitimization of various issues, on different dimensions of citizenship* (Roth, 2000:1).

Biesta (1994) developed a theory of practical intersubjectivity, based on Habermas’s and Dewey’s theories of communicative action. The distinguishing contribution of practical intersubjectivity is in the way the educational process is understood, not as a one-way process in which culture is transferred from the teacher (already accultured) to student (not yet accultured), but as a co-constructive process where both participating actors play an active role and in which meaning is not transferred but produced. The student is seen as a competent partner in the educational process, i.e. cooperative action. Biesta underlines the importance of education where the meaning and content of education should be viewed as the accomplishment of all the cooperating partners and not as something fixed which has to be transferred to the next generation.

Democracy in education should, in a perfect world, through cooperative action and dialog provide students and teachers with the necessary skills to develop tolerance, view issues from different perspectives, and help students and teachers develop analytical tools so they can see through different versions of social or historical “realities”, or “good life versions” presented to them. Puolimatkas’ argument outlined above, is important since it underlines the importance of critical citizenship in older and newer democratic political systems. It can also facilitate learning methods and a learning environment that encourages critical thinking, cooperation, respect for different views, and participation and influence in matters that have a direct impact on students and teachers work-environment. Säljö (2000) discusses the importance of education systems in promoting the development of analytical skills and of multiple-approaches to complex societal issues: *... the right to label is one of the most important power-tools in a complex social environment. Those who get their version of society accepted usually have a considerable lead in the official discussion. To enable people to*

*question and see through different versions presented by resource-strong actors is an important aspect of modern education*⁹ (Säljö, 2000:58).

The education system during the SFRY period was highly ideological and centralized, with teacher and subject-centred approaches and curricula overburdened with facts with little or no room for the development of analytical skills and critical reflection. In such a context learning was, and still is, by rote and assessment consists of students recalling and reciting factual details. Ivic (1996) has labelled the system “One-Right-Answer-School”. The education tradition inherited from the SFRY system is still practiced in BiH. With little attention to the development of research and information gathering, critical reflection, forming and defending personal opinions and judgements, creativity or to imagination.

Learning was and still is, de-contextualized from students’ every-day experiences. Students’ problem solving in schools is not to a high degree based on learning from experience, i.e. a back and forth reasoning and connection between what we do to things and the consequences of our actions (Dewey, 1999). The more common feature in every-day school-life for students’ “problem solving”, is focused on meeting the peculiar requirement set by the teacher. In this scenario at its worst, the problem of the student is not how to meet the requirements of school life, but how to meet them in order to avoid friction. Dewey has formulated it in the following way: *His problem becomes that of finding out what the teacher wants, what will satisfy the teacher in recitation and examination and outward deportment. Relationship to subject matter is no longer direct. The occasions and material of thought are not found in the arithmetic or the history or geography itself, but in skilfully adapting that material to the teacher’s requirements. The pupil studies, but unconsciously to himself the objects of his study are the conventions and standards of the school system and school authority, not the nominal studies* (Dewey, 1999:156).

2.3.4 Student Participation in their Learning Process and Social Context

Education systems that facilitate and promote student participation in their learning processes, provide students with possibilities to participate and have an influence in a social context, and have a direct impact on children’s every day lives are believed to promote democracy in education. The right of children to participate in education is stated in Article 12 in the Convention of the Rights of the Child: *States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the*

9. Authors translation from Swedish.

views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2.3.4.1 Participation in the Learning Process

Participation of students in their cognitive, social, emotional and motor learning processes (and in teaching and learning activities) is crucial in any educational setting (i.e. to make education meaningful for students). It is believed that in order to promote genuine understanding, teachers should encourage students' activities and stress the importance of introducing learning issues that are moderately novel to students. If students cannot understand the meaning of a learning activity or task, the outcome will be a superficially learned lesson, not so meaningful to the students and easily forgotten. A great disparity between the new learning issue and the student's level of cognitive ability fosters the practice of rote learning and does not stimulate joyful discovery in the learning process. It is rather socialization into repetition of what former generations have done. Genuine learning occurs when the student has the necessary mental equipment to make use of new learning issues. When the requisite cognitive structure is present, he or she can better learn from experiences and understand reality. If the disparity is too great between the type of issue presented to the student and his or her current level of cognitive ability the new experience has only superficial effects. Piaget's (1964, 1973) theory stresses that current cognitive structures and new experiences interact to arouse interest and stimulate the subsequent development of understanding. Interest and learning are best facilitated if the issue presented to the student bears some relevance to what the student already knows, but is at the same time adequately novel to present incongruities and conflicts. Piaget proposes that students' interest is aroused when experience is moderately novel (i.e. that the experience should not be so radically novel that the student cannot assimilate it into current cognitive structures). When moderately novel experiences lead to conflicts, these serve as the basis for reorganization of cognitive structures and development – the theory of equilibration. Piaget's periods of intellectual development are the sensorimotor period (birth to 2 years), the preoperational period (2 to 7 years) and the concrete-operational period (7 to 11 years). The final period of intellectual development is that of formal operations, which begins at about age 12 and is consolidated during adolescence. By adolescence, the process reaches a high degree of equilibrium (i.e., flexible and effective thought) and ability to deal with complex problems of reasoning. According to Piaget the adolescent can imagine the many possibilities inherent in a situation. They can compensate mentally for transformations in reality, one of the determinants of equi-

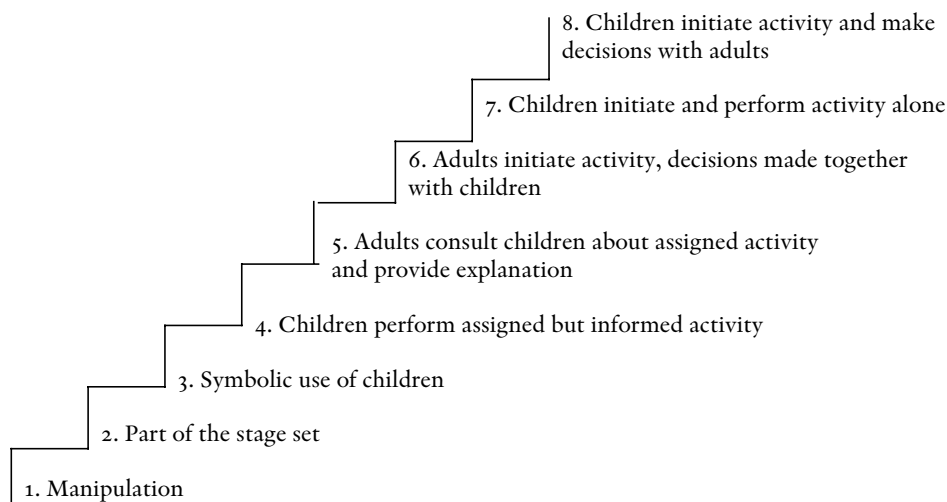
librium. All adolescents can use formal operations in situations of interest to them. However the ability varies among adolescents and many fail to show evidence of formal operations (Ginsburg and Oppen, 1979). The explanation to this variation might be found in the differences in environmental settings. Different socio-cultural settings require and foster different kinds of abilities. Husén (1999) points out how societal needs form the notion of intelligence. Every social setting will encourage and promote the development of a certain kind of intelligence needed for that particular setting. In our Western societies, a highly valued form of intelligence is to have verbal and numerical capacities. Since these skills are of the top of the social ranking scale they become the major criteria for intelligence.

The following quote clearly underlines important educational goals that incorporate this participation approach in the learning process:

The principal goal of education is to create men who are capable of doing new things, not simply of repeating what other generations have done – men who are creative, inventive, and discovers. The second goal of education is to form minds, which can be critical, can verify, and not accept everything they are offered. The great danger today is of slogans, collective opinions, ready-made trends and thought. We have to be able to resist individually, to criticize and to distinguish between what is proven and what is not. So we need pupils who are active, who learn early to find out by themselves, partly by their own spontaneous activity and partly through material we set up for them; who learn early to tell what is verifiable and what is simply the first idea to come from them (Piaget, 1964:5).

2.3.5.2 Participation in The Social Context

Another kind of student participation in schools and children's participation in families and the surrounding society is the possibility, freedom and ability to influence matters that have an impact on their daily lives. Hart (1992) defines participation in terms of indicating involvement in planning and decision-making: *...the process of sharing decisions which affect one's life and the life of the community in which one lives. It is the means by which a democracy is built and it is a standard against which democracies should be measured. Participation is the fundamental right of citizenship* (Hart, 1992:4). Hart has developed a very useful model or the "participation ladder" that clearly shows a scale of possibilities for participation in the joint affairs of adults and children, or teachers and students. It is meant by Hart to be used as a tool for adults to establish the conditions for children to participate. His model is applicable to primary and secondary socialization of children and students. The first three levels in the model show



Source: Hart (1992:4)

Figure 2.1 Children's Participation Ladder

non-participation (i.e., the absence of real child participation), whereas levels four to eight show various forms of child participation.

1. Manipulation

Is a frequent form of illusory child participation (Antic, Ivic and Pesikan, 2002). Manipulation is what happens in cases when children appear with adults in joint manifestations and activities but are not told what they are participating in, why and aims of the activities. Consequently, children cannot understand the aim of the activity. In other words, adults abuse children for some of their own goals. For instance: *they turn them against some other adults; use them for commercial or political ends; draw them into troublesome preparations for a show which is meaningless for children but helps adults achieve their goal: engage them in school competitions which bring more benefit to the school and the school administration, while providing little satisfaction or developmentally stimulating activities for the children, etc* (Antic, Ivic and Pesikan, 2002:44).

2. Part of the stage set

In this form of engagement, children do not decide themselves about their participation and do not understand the meaning of what they are participating in (nobody explains). In short their engagement means nothing to them. Children appear in brief roles, usually prettily dressed, they say or do something (and that has been forced on them and staged by adults). There is a

decorative use of children in teaching when chosen students recite a recently learned lesson, or when they ritually answer a reproductive lesson.

3. *Symbolic use of children*

The symbolic use of children is somewhat less manipulative and decorative. It usually consists of the participation of children in adult activities relating to children or which can have consequences for children. Here too, children are not told about what they are participating in and the meaning of their participation is unclear to them. However, the presence of children (more their presence than participation) serves as a reminder to adults to think of children.

4. *Children perform assigned activity but with explanations provided by an adult*

This level of child participation entails forms of organized activities in which children have not taken initiative, nor do they participate in decision-making, but they are well informed. The logic behind this form of engagement is exemplified (ibid.) as follows: *We must do so and so...The reasons why we must do it are the following...Is that clear?...Let's do it! This is often a situation at school, but it is simply unbelievable how rarely the children are given an explanation of the assigned work and why it must be done* (ibid.:46).

5. *Adult consults children about assigned activity and provides explanations*

This level of children's engagement occurs when the adults listen to what the children have to say about a matter and then explain the purpose of the activity in which they will participate.

Categories or levels 6, 7 and 8 introduce the most important criteria for evaluating participation. The genuine forms of participation are those that consist of roles divided and shared in cooperation between children and adults. Here the student is seen as a competent partner in the educational process. Essential problems of living together in a social group are reflected in a joint activity of the adults and the children. *Communication between individuals who are different, confrontation of different views, resolution of mutual conflicts, coordination of different views, and, what is most important, mutual actions of individuals and executing implementation of the shared activities. In the human affairs, it is difficult to find more complex problems than those listed* (ibid.:46).

Antic, Ivic and Pesikan (2002) argue that the most commonly applied levels in Harts' Student Participation Ladder in the first (family) and second socialization (school) of children and students in Serbia and Montenegro are the first four levels. Where implementation of active learning and teaching methods are discussed, there are three domains in the social-cultural context (combined

together) in Serbia and Montenegro that are understood to be unfavourable for children's' (and students') full participation. This socio-cultural context is applicable to the situation in BiH since these two countries were part of the former SFRY, and had very similar educational, social and cultural settings.

The first obstacle is the traditional pattern of behaviour towards children, students and young people. *To put it simply, in our culture, the children and the young are not expected to display initiative, they are rarely included in a decision-making process in a community, and their obedience and passiveness are particularly appreciated. It appears that these patterns stubbornly persist in the primary socialization of children in our families (with few rare exceptions in liberal middle-class urban families)*(ibid.:46). The second obstacle is the overall *social climate*, which does not stimulate and does not seek genuine participation of adults, children or youth. The third, and major, obstacle is a *general ideology* that has predominated in the education settings in past and still does today. *According to the doctrine everything but true and active participation in the life of the school and in teaching is expected of a student* (ibid.:47).

If we consider the third obstacle mentioned above it is quite clear that the State apparatus was not supportive of the development and practices of critical thinking, innovative skills or the active participation of students *and* teachers. Broadly, I summarize¹⁰ the features of the previous education system as follows: the school as a unit, or students and teachers in the school, received minor support for their own initiatives. Active teaching and learning methods were not supported. The whole structure of the education system was highly centralized and hierarchical. Principals' loyalty was to administrators and teachers had to follow very detailed curricula that strictly specified *what* was to be done. The curricula were centrally planned and teachers' professionalism and teaching experience were not sufficiently valued or used in curricula development.

School inspectors evaluated and controlled whether teachers followed the detailed curricula. This control could result in a paradox – teachers who were good administrators and provided detailed records of their lessons received positive evaluation marks, but they may have, in fact, been bad at teaching (ibid.). In the former Yugoslavia teacher-student interaction was not characterized by mutual respect and joint activities. Instead the interaction was broken down into two activities that rarely intersected. Teachers did their share of

10. This is based on many interviews I conducted with education administrators at several Ministries of Education, teachers in BiH, interviews with former students in Sweden from the former Yugoslavia and cooperation with researchers at the Institute of Psychology in Belgrade, Serbia.

activities in the form of teaching, and students performed their activities in the form of learning, though in a passive form, and often at home. Classroom observations done by research-assistants at the Institute of Psychology¹¹ indicate that an average lesson (40 minutes) consisted of 90 per cent teacher activity, eight per cent for students answering questions, and two per cent for discussion. The time devoted to answering questions was largely for teachers to “catch” students who had not done their homework, rather than evaluating their knowledge. When some students showed curiosity and asked questions in classroom situations it was often viewed negatively by other students (a “who do you think you are” mentality). Another issue frequently mentioned is subject-centeredness. Starting at grade five at the primary level, students have subject-teachers. The transition from one class teacher to subject teachers has been described as a shock therapy for many students¹². Suddenly there is need to at least appear to be a hard working student. This phenomenon has also been described as a social game in school where students hide behind a facade of hard work, but when nobody is around they do something else. When an authority appears, they continue to work hard. Subject-centeredness has also been criticized for a lack of correlation between subjects and things previously learned (Antic, Ivic and Pesikan, 2002).

2.4 Socialization

The level of child and student participation, and freedom and ability to influence matters that have an impact in their lives, is closely linked to primary and secondary socialization patterns. These socialization patterns are context-sensitive and can have numerous meanings and different forms, reflecting the number of different cultures (Berger and Luckmann, 1985). The very process of living together educates and socializes the individual. Children, adolescents and adults are in the process of constant socialization in families, peer-cultures, schools, institutions, work-life, language and human interaction. The primary socialization in families is followed by secondary socialization in schools.

There are a number of relationships that appear tenable in socialization research: (a) families do affect how children are socialised toward achievement and work; and (b) the relationship between families and the socialization of children is interactive with demographic variables (such as geography and

11. Based on oral information, there are no publications done.

12. Based on interviews with teachers in BiH, during UNESCO missions and active-learning workshops where I participated as a participant observer in Belgrade, organized by Professor Ivic and PhD Ana Pesikan-Avramovic.

social class), and more subjective variables (such as child-rearing practices and parental expectations) (Zimmer and Witnow, 1985).

Socialization needs to include individual patterns of behaviour as well as patterns and values which society, education systems or social groups transmit. Erikson (1968) has pointed out the paradox of individual development and social development. In the course of life, individuals become better able to establish multitude connections with others and to achieve separateness from others.

2.4.1 Individual Development

A very old (from Plato and onwards) controversy between the biological and environmental views in development research is the degree of impact heredity versus environment has on human beings. Magnusson (1995) discusses and divides developmental research into three main explanatory models: *mentalistic* (the major factors contributing to an individuals' functioning can be found in the functioning of mind); *biological* (the major determining factors are genetic); and *environmental* (the major factors for an individuals functioning can be found in the environment). These distinctions are not only of theoretical interest, they also have far-reaching impact on fundamental aspects in societies such as social welfare, politics, culture, education, the causes and treatment of mental illness, criminal behaviour etc. It is believed that all three explanatory models or approaches are needed in order to grasp the complexities of individual development in any context. This is well articulated by Magnusson: *Of course, nothing is wrong with each of the three general explanatory models per se. What is wrong occurs when each of them claims total supremacy, and that has been the case to an extent that has hampered real progress both in research and in application* (1995:24).

2.4.2 Individual Development in a Social Context

Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1985) developed his theory on the ecology of human development as a reaction to the de-contextualised research then being conducted by developmental psychologists. Bronfenbrenner underlined the importance to study the developing person, the environment and especially the evolving interaction between the two. The ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the other like a set of Russian dolls. Moving from the innermost level to outside, these structures are summarised below:

Microsystems: The immediate environment, including family, school, peer-group or work-place experienced by the developing person in a setting with

particular social and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement. Individual development depends on the content and structure of the microsystem.

Mesosystems: Here there is a linkage between two or more settings including the developing individuals, e.g. family and school, working-life and parenthood.

Exosystems: The processes that take place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting, e.g. for the child the relation between the home and the parent's workplace.

Macrosystems: A societal blueprint that consists of the overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic for a particular culture or sub-culture. The identification of specific social and psychological features at the macrosystem effects the particular conditions and processes occurring in the microsystem.

Chronosystems: A change or consistency over time not only in the characteristics of the person but also of the environment in which that person lives, e.g. changes over life course in family structure (Bronfenbrenner, 1985).

Bronfenbrenner (1970) undertook a comparative study on the socialization process in the United States and former Soviet Union in the 1950s. Since socialization begins in the home and gradually expands to the outside world, the socialization process was examined in a series of social contexts including the family, school and in communities. One major difference between the two cultures was the localization of primary responsibility for the upbringing of children. In the United States the responsibility was centred on the family, whereas in the former Soviet Union the upbringing was collective-centred- the family was seen as an organic part of the Soviet society. He found that much emphasis was placed by parents and professional educators on the development of traits such as *obedience* and *self-discipline*. The meaning of these two terms are discussed in the then authoritative volume "*Parents and Children*," prepared by specialists at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in USSR: *First of all, a child must be obedient toward his parents and other adults, and treat them with respect...The child must fulfil requests that adults make of him-this is the first thing the child must be taught....By becoming accustomed to obey from early childhood, to react to the demands of adults as something compulsory, the child will begin successfully to fulfil later demands made of him in family and school* (Volkova, 1961:120).

Self-discipline is described by Volkova as follows: *It is necessary as early as possible to develop in the young child an active, positive relation to the demands of adults, the desire to act in accordance with these demands, to do that which is necessary* (Volkova,

1961:126). *We shall be asked: what about developing independence in children? We shall answer: if a child does not obey and does not consider others, then his independence invariably takes ugly forms. Ordinarily this gives rise to anarchistic behaviour, which can in no way be reconciled with laws of living in Soviet society* (Pechernikova, 1965:7).

The general ideology in the former SFRY education system emphasised the collective spirit, rather than the autonomy of individuals. This can be illustrated by the problem of bullying in schools. During informal meetings with many teachers and former students they expressed that bullying existed in the former system, but if we compare it to cases in Western countries, in SFRY children belonging to one school-class were collectively bullying children from another, compared to the more frequent form of individual bullying in the West.

Children were not expected to take an active role in their primary or secondary socialization process. Instead, it was expected that they should be well behaved and obey. A study was undertaken (Kolouh, 1990) in Belgrade with the aim to examine how mothers behaved towards their four-year old children and their reflections and thoughts related to parenthood. One of the objectives of this study was to examine the relations between mothers and their children on a micro system level, to see how mothers related to their professional work on a meso system level and what impact and outcome the relationship between micro and meso had regarding their views and attitudes on upbringing. The analytical categories and instruments were developed by Halldén (1988), who made a similar survey in Stockholm. When mothers from these two cities were compared, the every-day situations and problems described showed great similarity. Only one significant difference was found. Belgrade mothers showed less tolerance to their children's expression of aggression and stubbornness and the use of corporal punishment was practiced and accepted in the broader cultural domain.

Children's development and expression of autonomy and individuality in Belgrade had sharper limitations compared with children in Stockholm. These first socialization patterns can be seen as an analytical tool that helps us to understand different cultural norm-systems and children's status in a particular society. Since there are differences between rural and urban settings in all parts of former Yugoslavia (Popadic, 1992, Popadic and Vasovic, 1998), one can expect that the adult expectations of children's level of obedience is even higher than in the above mentioned study that included middle class mothers with university degrees. In BiH and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, the expectation that children should be more of passive "receivers" than active initiators in their every day lives might be stronger for girls. Since gender comparisons

are made in the analysis of the empirical data in this study, the issue of gender will be discussed below.

2.4.3 Gender

Even though feminist movements have a long history, we still live in a world where men are the norm when it comes to positions of power in society. It is well documented that gender equality has not been achieved in any society in the world, and the work for women's rights and participation and influence in political, economic and social spheres requires continuous efforts and political will. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the patriarchal structure is strong and has a long tradition, reflected in the content of schoolbooks, and some folk songs that emphasize war heroes and brave heroic mothers sending their sons to fight for their homeland (the more they sacrificed themselves for the family and homeland the "greater" they were). In the newer textbooks the male norm is still the dominant story served to students (Imsirovic and Cetkovic, 1993, Kolouh-Westin, 2002).

In all parts of the former Yugoslavia the differences between urban and rural settings were large (Popadic, 1992, Popadic and Vasovic, 1998). The higher level of modernization in urban settings resulted in a higher degree of mobility and employment of women compared with the rural areas where the gender roles were more traditional. Equal access to education, recognition of women's roles and importance in society (past and present), access to jobs (possibility for economic independence), a constant focus on women's rights, and legal protection against violence are seen as central issues in the needed long-term efforts for gender equality. Even though equal access to education was ensured during the SFRY period, there is evidence that this political goal was not fully reached.

In an extensive study by Ivic and Perazic (2002), access to and educational level of the total population in Serbia and Montenegro were analyzed (Kosovo was excluded) based on the 1991 census. For ages 15 and above, 14 per cent of women and four per cent of men had no education at all, 27 per cent of women had secondary education compared with 38 per cent of men. When they compared rural and urban settings, large differences were found: 22 per cent of rural women had no education at all compared with seven per cent of rural men. In urban settings, seven per cent of women had no education compared with three per cent for urban men. There were no nation-wide surveys conducted during the post-war period to investigate the extent to which the education process was disrupted for people in BiH. The education authority in Central Bosnia Canton wanted to identify people aged 16 to 25 who had not

completed elementary school in the period 2000 and 2002. With the support of UNESCO they identified 640 people, based on this result they estimated that approximately 10,000 young BiH citizens are without basic education. Moreover, because of the conflict, there is a fear that young women account for a disproportionate share of those without basic education (Stabback, 2003).

2.4.4 Gender Based Violence

Rape is an old weapon used in armed conflicts, and the BiH war was no exception to this rule. Some of the reasons for gender based violence against women in wartime are: soldiers terrorize the civilian population and force them to flee homes/villages; humiliation of the rival army by showing control over “their woman”; used as a “perk” for soldiers and as an inducement to courage on the battlefield; forced prostitution can be used as a moral booster for the soldiers; and a way to make women feel responsible for their own violation (Lyth, 2001:3). It is well documented (Cetkovic et al. 1993) that men who return to their families after wars often develop post-traumatic-stress-disorder and it is not unusual for them to use violence towards their family members (ibid.). Wars are men’s “business” and they hinder development in terms of women’s empowerment. When the economic hardships in BiH and the rest of Eastern Europe are considered and linked to gender issues it highlights the importance of strengthening the efforts for gender equality. Synergies between poverty reduction and gender equality are the rule rather than the exception (Mikkelsen et al. 2002). Gender roles, as socialization patterns, are context-sensitive and culturally constructed. Finally, interrelated with socialization is the shaping and maintenance of identity.

2.4.5 Identity

In their research on young peoples’ life-styles, Johansson and Miegel (1992) developed analytical tools that make it easier to grasp the complexity inherent in the shaping and maintenance of identity. They split the concept of identity into three different but interrelated types: *personal identity*; social identity; and cultural identity. Personal identity is defined through a multitude of unique experiences of the individual and in terms of the conceptions the individual has elaborated of the self and of life generally (ibid.). The unique personal identity determines how the other two types of identity are shaped, maintained and expressed. Through personal identity, the individual develops the capacity to live and think in isolation from others as an autonomous being.

Social identity is the identity through which the individual becomes a social

being, such as student, teacher, mother etc. It enables the individual to decode and respond correctly to the signals, symbols, and actions of a specific social situation. In a sense social identity serves the function of integrating the individual in different social contexts. *Cultural identity* is developed through an individual's membership in more or less well-defined cultural and social groups, and through the internalization of values, attitudes, tastes and styles (ibid.:48).

2.4.6 Values, Attitudes and identity

Values of the individual, though influenced by the values of society and the individual's position within society, constitute a substantial part of the individual's identity. Rokeach (1973) distinguishes between values, attitudes and actions. He argues that human values constitute the cognitive components underlying all attitudes an individual has. An attitude is a manifestation of a group of either terminal values (personal or social values referring to end-states of existence) or instrumental values (referring to modes of conduct). According to Rokeach, if one knows how the value system of an individual is structured, one can predict how he or she will act in a given situation. Values are abstract concepts of material, aesthetic, ethical and metaphysical conditions and qualities. The individual on the attitudinal level makes these conceptions concrete. The attitudes of an individual entail his or her outlook, positive or negative feelings on specific objects, persons, ideas or phenomena (Johansson and Miegel, 1992).

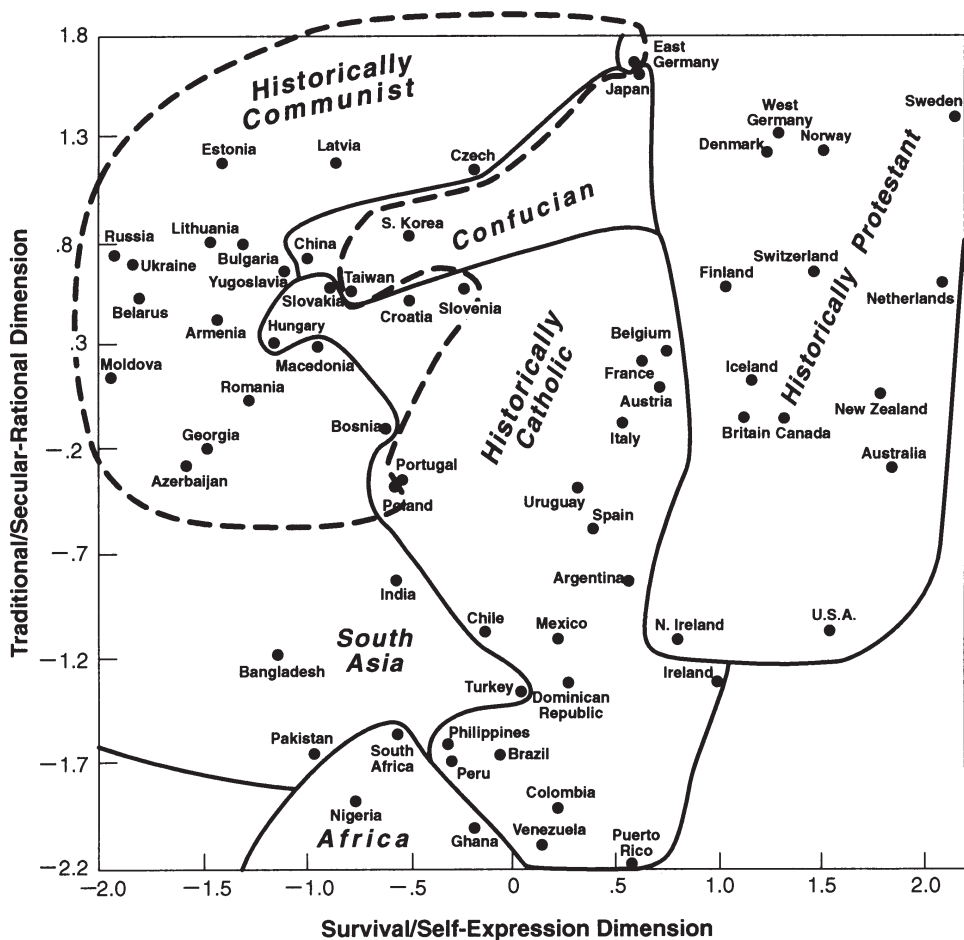
Value-systems differ between families in similar cultural settings and between families and schools. Children learn in their socialization process how to accommodate contradicting values. We can live with contradicting value systems, and many of us do more or less consciously. Children and adults are socialized into the normatively accepted ideology in the respective society they live (i.e. democracy, multi-party system or a centralized mono-party ideology). At the mesosystem level, children can live in different normative systems; one being their family's value system and the other being the societal broadly accepted value system. At a conference in 2002 (Education International, 2002) Professor Tomasevski shared her personal experience from her first day of school in Croatia (during the SFRY period). Her grandfather escorted her to school and told her: *Do what they expect from you, but don't believe in a word they say.* Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer (1997) discusses a novel by Dudintsev who describes Russians ... *as living like two persons in one body – the “visible” person saying and doing what the state commands, and the “hidden” person thinking and doing what he wants in the privacy of the home or among trusted circle of friends* (Mischler and Haerpfer, 1997:88). Many children live in contradicting value systems,

those broadly accepted and transmitted through schools, and those shared within families, based on religion, ethnic belonging, political ideology etc. The fundamental issue is the level of freedom the child or adolescent has in developing her or his own value system, to live and express their values and have a possibility to influence.

2.4.7 Post Socialist and Post-Materialist Values

Inglehart (1977, 1990) explored the emergence of post-materialist values in the older democratic welfare states in the west that developed after the Second World War as well as values in countries in Africa, Latin America and South Asia. Post-materialist values represent a shift from priorities related to economic and physical security to a higher level of self-expression and quality of life. The new democracies in Eastern Europe are undergoing a transformation and post-materialist values are not on the agenda. Instead, societies in this region are somewhere between post-communism and post-materialism. What is important to people in Eastern Europe is survival. Inglehart and Baker (2000) analyzed data from World Value Surveys (WVS), including 65 societies with time-series data from 1981 to the most recent completed in 1998. Figure 2.1 shows the "value location" of the surveyed societies. The vertical axis on Inglehart and Baker's global cultural map corresponds to the polarization between traditional authority and secular-rational authority associated with the process of industrialization. The horizontal axis depicts the polarization between survival values and self-expression values related to the rise of post-industrial society. The boundaries around groups of countries are drawn using Huntington's (1993, 1996) cultural zones. The traditional/secular-rational dimension indicates if people place strong emphasis on religion (highly religious), traditional nations rank high on national pride and place much more emphasis on family and respect for authority. The survival/self-expression dimension reflects materialist values such as maintaining order and fighting inflation vs. post-materialist values, such as freedom, tolerance, subjective well-being and self-expression.

As can be seen in the Figure 2.2, the value systems of rich and poor countries differ significantly. The self-expression values dimension reflects industrialization and the rise of postindustrial society, but there are differences between protestant and Roman-Catholic societies. This indicates that changes in GDP and occupational structure influences prevailing worldviews, but traditional cultural influences persist. This corresponds with the contradicting processes discussed by Daun (2002b), where the globalization processes lead to standardization versus particularization of cultures. We might see McDonald's



Note: The scales on each axis indicate the country's factor scores on the given dimension. The position of Colombia and Pakistan are estimated from incomplete data.

Source: (Inglehart and Baker, 2000)

Figure 2.2. Locations of 65 Societies on Two Dimensions of Cross-Cultural Variation: World Values Surveys, 1990-1991 and 1995-1998

restaurants in many parts of the world, but a visit to a McDonald's restaurant in India compared with Serbia and Montenegro may have quite different social and cultural meanings for the visitors. Cultural patterns and traditions have a tendency to persist over long periods (Huntington, 1993, Inglehart, 1996). We can also see that Socialist systems left a clear imprint on those who lived in the ex-Socialist societies ranking relatively high on the secular dimension.

The United States has high levels of religiosity and national pride compared to most wealthy societies and instead exhibits values similar to those found in developing societies. The data from WVS have among many issues, included the issue of interpersonal trust. It is argued by Almond and Verba, (1963), Coleman, (1990), Fukuyama, (1995) and Putnam, (1993) that interpersonal trust is essential for building the social structures on which democracy depends, and for creating complex social organizations on which economic enterprises are based (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). The WVS shows that all ex-Socialist societies rank low on interpersonal trust. With a strong emphasis on survival values, indicating that people in ex-Socialist countries experience a life that is unpredictable and insecure. This is not surprising given their experience with a collapse of their economic and political system.

The Southeastern Europe Democracy Support network (SEEDS) conducted regional surveys involving a total of 10,000 in person interviews during January and February 2002 in Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (with a special survey for Republika Srpska), Croatia, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Romania (IDEA, 2002). The results of this survey show that the three most important issues for citizens of Southeastern Europe are unemployment, poverty and corruption. This indicates that materialist values prevail over post-materialist values. People in BiH as in other parts of Eastern Europe are in this transition period between contradicting value systems. The contrast is between collectivist values such as submission to the State apparatus, community, discipline, loyalty etc. versus individualist values such as personal initiative, freedom, autonomy, critical spirit, and tolerance for diverse identity expressions. At the same time there is a revival of traditional values discouraged under Socialism related to religion, nationalism and monarchy. In the survey, individuals were asked which domestic institutions they trusted most, and the results demonstrate that in all countries trust for the church, army and universities were highest. Parliaments, governments and courts are the least trusted domestic institutions (IDEA, 2002). Young people worldwide, including in Eastern Europe, are attracted to consumer culture (Appadurai, 1990, Cermakova, Daun, 2002b and Holda, 1992, Featherstone, 1991, Kenkmann and Saarnitt, 1994), where money, material goods, leisure time and accompanying symbols are considered important. The IDEA survey (2002) shows an interesting gap between the political, intellectual and media elite that focus more on ethnic issues, historical disputes, while the public is more concerned with unemployment, corruption, poverty and family income.

The existence of overlapping and contradicting value systems in addition to economic decline and the disappearance of the protector State during the

Socialist period, results in a sense of being exposed and threatened. This situation of disorientation or uncertainty in Eastern Europe is discussed by Birzea (1996), who claims that people have not been taught to take initiative or genuinely assume responsibility in an environment of competition and social risk. People want to live in a capitalist world, but with socialist working conditions. They long for reform, but are at the same time concerned about job security. They demand political rights, but do not know what to do with their freedom.

2.5 Summary

The BiH reality is dominated by post-war conflicts, ethnic/nationality conflicts, a weak State, territorial disputes, and the existence of two major ethnic groups/nationalities who are unwilling to be citizens of the new nation. The privatization process has largely been misused by political elites representing the three major nationalist political parties and there has been an explosion of nationalism. Political leaders using nationalist propaganda to instill a “culture of fear” among their own ethnic/nationality group in order to pursue their own interests have fueled the rise of nationalism. Other closely related factors are growing unemployment, rising prices and a deteriorating standard of living. A strong dependence on external funding further complicates the political situation in BiH.

Weak States with a lack of internal and external legitimacy and, in some cases a lack of territorial control as BiH, gain external legitimacy and access to credit by participating in the economic domain of globalization. However, the BiH political elite risks losing internal legitimacy and social cohesion if they fulfil external conditions. The Dayton Agreement ended the war in BiH and established the Office of the High Representative (OHR) to oversee the implementation of the civilian aspects of the agreement. The High Representative is the ultimate constitutional authority in BiH – superior to that of democratically elected governments. Today BiH is a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary. BiH can be used as a valuable example of the complexities at work when external political interventions and substantial economic investments aim to install democratic institutions and norms in a post-socialist and post-war country.

The predominance of economic focus in the global discourse during the last two decades has impacted education policies. There are many contradictions between economic liberalism and inclusive approaches to education, and students are caught between two opposing ideals: competition and cooperation. States may have to choose between the policy trend to reward learning

outcomes and the provision of equal education opportunities. Thus, all-inclusive education policies may clash against possibilities for financing schools.

In this chapter some of the multiple roles of education in society have been discussed. Basically, education serves the individual and the society. Education does not only act as an agent for economic reproduction, it also carries cultural reproduction features associated with the socio-cultural dimensions of a society. There is also a close link between the State and education as agents of ideological reproduction and contributors to political development. Education is also used as an efficient tool for national cohesion or national awakening.

Three crucial tasks for education systems have been discussed and are seen as crucial to foster and guarantee the application of democratic principles regardless of cultural differences:

- 1) the continued or newly applied principle of acknowledgement of the equality of rights;
- 2) fostering tolerant citizens (i.e. how to live and deal with and learn from diversity); and
- 3) teaching citizens to think critically, as required in a functioning democracy.

Children, students, adolescents and adults are in the process of constant socialization in families, peer groups, schools, institutions, work life, language and human interaction. The primary socialization in families is followed by secondary socialization in schools. Socialization patterns are seen as context-sensitive and culturally constructed. The importance of studying the developing person in his or her particular environment and the interaction between the two has been pointed out. Research by Antic, Ivic and Pesikan (2002) have shown that there are three domains in the social-cultural context (combined together) in Serbia and Montenegro that are unfavourable for childrens' and students' full participation in the community and school. This socio-cultural context is applicable to the situation in BiH since these two countries were part of former SFRY, and had very similar educational, social and cultural settings. The first obstacle is the general traditional pattern of behaviour towards children, students and young people. Children and students are not expected to display initiative, they are rarely included in the decision-making processes in their community or school and obedience and passiveness are particularly appreciated. It appears that these patterns stubbornly persist in the primary socialization of children in families and secondary socialization in schools. The second obstacle is the overall social climate, which does not stimulate and does

not seek genuine participation of adults, teachers, children, students or youth. The third, and major, obstacle for participation in education is a general ideology that has prevailed in education settings in past and still does today – active participation in the everyday life in school is not expected of a student.

It becomes clear that the State during the SFRY period was not supportive of the development and practice of critical thinking, innovative skills or the active participation of students *and* teachers.

In short, the previous education system saw the school as a unit, and students and teachers in the school received minor support for their own initiatives. Active teaching and learning methods were not supported. The whole structure of the education system was highly centralized and hierarchical. Principals' loyalty was to administrators and teachers had to follow very detailed curricula that strictly specified *what* was to be done. The curricula were centrally planned and teachers' professionalism and teaching experience were not sufficiently valued. School inspectors monitored whether teachers followed the detailed curricula. In the former Yugoslavia teacher-student interaction was not characterized by mutual respect and joint activities. Instead the interaction was broken down into two activities that rarely intersected. Teachers did their share of activities in the form of teaching and students performed their activities in the form of learning, though in a passive form. This above described educational context is still the dominant pattern in the countries that previously formed SFRY.

Throughout our life-long socialization process human beings form, develop and reshape our values, attitudes and actions that constitute a substantial part of our identity. Values of the individual are influenced by the values of society and the individual's position within a given society. Rokeach (1973) argues that human values constitute the cognitive components underlying all the attitudes an individual has. Values are abstract concepts of material, aesthetic, ethical and metaphysical conditions and qualities, and the individual on the attitude level makes these conceptions concrete. The attitudes of an individual entail his or her worldview, positive or negative feelings on specific objects, persons, ideas or phenomena.

This chapter ends with a discussion based on the World Value Surveys, which covers 65 societies with time-series data from 1981 to 1998 (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). These data show that the value systems of rich and poor countries differ significantly, with changes in GDP and occupational structure influencing prevailing worldviews. They also find that traditional cultural patterns

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and traditions have a tendency to persist over long periods. This corresponds to the contradicting processes discussed by Daun (2002b), where the globalization processes lead to standardization versus particularization of cultures.

Chapter 3

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Its Tripartite Education System

This chapter presents the political, economic and geographical features of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), describes the education system, gives a summary of previous research on curricula and textbook analysis and discusses education issues related to three spheres of society – the civil sphere, State sphere and economic sphere. This chapter also describes the international efforts related to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, and concludes with an examination of some contemporary contradictions in this phase of reconstruction and recovery.

3.1 Introduction

BiH is one of the new countries created after the fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia. It is a small country at the “cultural” crossroads of Europe and the Middle East now making efforts to strike a balance between different national and international influences and interests. The country was known for its hydro and thermo electric power facilities based on its water and coal resources. BiH also had an extensive network of roads and railway lines connecting it via the neighboring countries of Croatia and Serbia & Montenegro to the North, South, East and West (Dizdar and Bakari, 1996). However, the war in the former Yugoslavia left the country in material, social and emotional ruins, though people in the new nations are slowly resuming “normal” lives.

In BiH the war started in April 1992 and ended in December 1995 with the Dayton Agreement. Now, eight years after Dayton, many unsolved problems remain. However, it must be emphasized that many previously “unthinkable” tasks have been accomplished in a short period of time, such as elections, creation of a political infrastructure and return of over 250,000 individuals between 1999 and 2002 (UNHCR, 2002). One of the many problems is the fulfillment of Annex VII in the Dayton Agreement, which is devoted entirely to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their pre-war homes. The pool of potential returnees remains large, with approximately 127,000 refugees from BiH still in Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro, and approximately 380,000 still internally displaced within BiH (ICG, 2002).

In this recovering phase, many contradictory ideologies are present. BiH provides an interesting case of a previously totalitarian State, which has now been turned into a very vulnerable and weak State, mainly due to its ethnic tripartite division and decentralized political structure. A shift to liberal democracy is articulated mainly in the economic sphere. New social groups have become the leading social force and basic social values have drastically changed. People rediscovered different religious beliefs, since religious and ethnic denominators were the only stable values to lean on when everything else fell apart during the social upheaval. These societal changes have been accompanied by changes in the education system, especially evident in curricula and the content of schoolbooks. Three nationally specific curricula in three different languages are implemented in BiH. Until 2002, curricula and teaching materials used in Bosnian-Croat and Bosnian-Serb schools were largely those of Croatia and Serbia, respectively. Bosnian Muslims developed curricula and teaching materials in 1996 meant to be used nationally.

3.2 The Construction of Bosnia-Herzegovina

BiH was recognized as an independent country in March 1992 and admitted to the United Nations as a full member in the same year. Annex IV of the Dayton Agreement contains the proposed new constitution of the country, which formalized the two political and geographical Entities in BiH: (i) The Federation with Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat populations was allotted 51 percent of the country's territory; and (ii) Republika Srpska (RS) with a largely Bosnian Serb population retained the other 49 percent. The Entity governments have jurisdiction over all matters not explicitly assigned to the national government. The national government only has authority over external affairs and inter-entity matters such as monetary policy, customs, refugee policy, transport and trade. All national bodies are composed of all three ethnic/nationality groups or Constituent Peoples¹ and each group has veto power. Most power is devolved to the Entities and municipalities. Each ethnic/nationality group has its own army², police, telecommunications network, health care, pension system and education. The Dayton Agreement established the Office of the High Representative (OHR) to oversee the implementation of the civilian aspects of the agreement. In July 2002, the Organization for

1. The preamble to Annex IV mentions the three constituent nations of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks (Muslims) as well as "others".

2. The Bosnian-Croat army is not legal according to Dayton Agreement, which allows only two armies.

Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission to BiH assumed responsibility for the co-ordination and facilitation of the work of the International Community³ (IC) in the education sector in BiH.

It is difficult to describe the disastrous effects of the civil war between 1992 and 1995. Current international and national documents provide varying figures outlining the human losses and number of refugees and internally displaced persons. The BiH population before the war, according to the 1991 census, was 4,377,033⁴. Estimates of the number of deaths during the war range from 100,000 (Bloomfield and Reilly, 2001) to 250,000 or even 300,000 (Ministry of Refugees, Sarajevo, 1995; UNESCO 1996). The estimated number of displaced persons in 1996 within the Federation was 1.5 million⁵ persons with another 1.25 million refugees in other countries (UNESCO, 1996). The estimated population of RS declined from 2,083,667 in 1991 to 1,378,852 in 1993 and the number of displaced persons and refugees was estimated to be 415,803 (UNESCO, 1996, UNESCO 1997, UNHCR, 1996).

By 1997 there were about 2.3 million people living in the Federation and approximately 1.5 million in RS. The total population for BiH was estimated to 3,922,205 in 2000 (CIA World fact Book 2002), but it must be underlined that since no official census has taken place since 1991, all population figures are estimates. By the end of the war, more than 2,000 km of roads, 70 bridges, half the electricity network and more than a third of the housing had been destroyed (Knaus and Cox, 2000).

3.3 The Tripartite State and Ethnic Division

In the new constitution three governmental authorities are recognized: central government, entity governments and cantonal/municipal governments⁶. The Bosnian Presidency consists of three co-presidents representing the three principal ethnic groups and they rotate every year. The three members of the Chairman of the Presidency rotate every eight months. The central govern-

3. The term is used to refer to everything from the European Union to the office of the High Representative, OSCE, UN, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, The Council of Europe, the European Commission, the World Bank, international funding agencies, NGOs.

4. 43.4 percent Bosnian Muslims, 31.2 percent Bosnian Serbs, 17.3 percent Bosnian Croats and the remaining split between twenty other ethnic groups.

5. The total number includes internally displaced, those who have suffered displacement within an entity, intra-entity displacement, and those who have been forced to seek refugee in the other entity.

6. Annex IV of the Dayton Agreement, Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

ment is called the Council of Ministers and is composed of two co-chairpersons (a Bosnian Muslim and a Bosnian Serb), one vice-chair (a Bosnian Croat) and three ministers with two deputies each. Elections for the presidency were held in September 1998 and the most recent elections for the National House of Representatives were held in November 2000.

The administrative structures differ between the entities. Ten cantonal governments with their respective ministries of education were established in the Federation in 1996. There are substantial disparities between the cantons in terms of population figures (e.g. Gorazde has approximately 50,000 residents compared with 400,000 in Tuzla) and administrative infrastructure⁷. According to the proposed constitution of the Federation, each canton will elect its own legislature. The cantonal governments are responsible for conceiving, implementing and enforcing policies and cantonal laws as well as for those activities assigned to them by the Federation government.

In RS the administrative structure has not changed much from the pre-war period and is therefore more centralized. Directly under the entity government in Banja Luka (RS) are municipal governments. In RS there are 61 municipalities, but several of these administrative structures were either not operating or non-existent (UNESCO, 1997). BiH is formally an integrated country consisting of two entities, but in practice it is a divided country. The State apparatus has a tripartite ethnic base (i.e. it is divided between the main ethnic groups). Under these conditions, building a common State would require a development from a non-existent to a weak State. War memories are still strong and a dialogue of mutual respect will take time to develop, as exemplified with the following:

Political issues in the country still dominate the attention of both local and international communities. Decisions on educational matters in each canton seem to be decided by politicians based on geopolitical issues rather than on substantive discussions on how to develop a high quality, relevant, efficient world class education system that prepares students for a world economic and social system (Spaulding, 1998, p.13).

The progress made until now (e.g. the introduction of a common currency, the KM or Convertible Mark, one flag, common license plates, work aimed to

7. The Federation has a Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport and the Canton of Sarajevo has a Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Information. The Federation Ministry is officially located in Mostar, but also maintains offices in Sarajevo. The Minister is of Bosniak background while the Deputy Minister (who resides in Mostar) is of Croatian background. There are, however, Pedagogical Institutes attached to several of the Cantons. There was a State (Federal level) Pedagogical Institute until 1997, but this was abolished in light of Cantonal indications that under the Dayton Agreement they did not want a State Institute nominally over the Cantons (Spaulding, 1998).

enable displaced persons and refugees to move back to their place of origin) is mainly due to the presence of SFOR (the NATO-led stabilization force) and pressures by the IC. Thus, when the Federal Minister of Education endorsed, in 1997, the idea suggested by some cantons of segregating children of Bosnian-Croat, Bosnian-Muslim and Bosnian-Serb background into separate classes, even in the same school, the IC expressed grave concerns and the initiative was stopped.

3.3.1 Ethnic Nationalism versus Liberal Democracy

As in most countries in central and Eastern Europe, the new post socialist country BiH has officially adopted the ideas of liberal democracy, including political pluralism, privatization, individualization and the development of civil society. The transformation process, including decentralization and privatization, is not so much based on liberal democratic models as on concepts related to nation-State ideologies, such as ethnic nationalism. In this case, the creation or recreation of “nationhood” based on a new national belonging. For example, the privatization process, has been largely controlled by nationalist establishments that have used and abused it to strip the assets of public companies before privatization and to ensure that viable companies end up in the hands of their cronies (ICG, 2002).

Before privatization was regulated by law in 1997, a few successful commercial enterprises were subject to a wholly spurious form of privatization known as “co-capitalisation”. This put profit-making firms like Aluminium Mostar (BiH’s biggest exporter) and Finvest (a wood products company based in Drvar) into the hands of the cross-border HDZ⁸ oligarchy. The firms were then used to cement “ethnic cleansing” by dispensing jobs to displaced Croats whom the party aimed to attract and keep in Croatia’s new strategic glacis (ICG, 2002:15).

It is believed that the idea of liberal democracy is a strong discourse in Eastern Europe. But liberal democracy can be interpreted and implemented differently by some countries as an entrance ticket to the trans-national market economy without necessarily implementing comprehensive political, social and structural reforms as seems to be the case in BiH.

Offe (1996) discusses the need for the restoration and rediscovery of the national past and national identity in the post-communist period. In discussing the contradictory trends at work in these cases, Offe distinguishes between modernizers and conservatives, where the modernizers represents and articulate urban life, civil society, market economy, human rights, secularism, moral

8. HDZ: Croat Democratic Union (Croat nationalist party)

tolerance and a “return to Europe”. The conservative forces are represented by rural forces with an emphasis on religion, populism, national pride and a “return to ourselves.” The modernizers oppose the bright future (liberal capitalism) against the dark past of communism, while the nationalists set a dark past of communism against the bright past of a pre-communist golden age, where the golden past provided security (even if it is just a carefully crafted myth) and the future does not (Offe, 1996).

The urban versus rural tension is very visible in BiH as in all the other countries that were part of the former Yugoslavia. From a historical perspective it could be claimed that there was no stable social reproduction in the former Yugoslavia. New social groups have formed and formulated a new political order at thirty- to fifty-year intervals. About 1.25 million people, mainly members of a well-educated middle class have sought refuge outside BiH while in urban areas of BiH there are many refugees from rural areas. This cultural clash creates many tensions, which can be traced at all levels of society. The tension between the introvert and protectionist ideology and the more extrovert and open ideology is a reality between urban and rural regions as well as between BiH as a country and the international community.

Offe (1996) explains why people still find it rational to pursue the politics of “ethnification” in Eastern Europe. He argues that the new reality requires members of the political elite to dissociate themselves from the old regime, and that the use of ethnic nationalism has kept them in power so far. Across all levels of society, engaging in ethnic and nationalist political initiatives symbolizes one’s distance from the old regime. *It seems to be a game of backward-looking cultural “pride” versus (forward-looking (economic) “hope”. In the absence of some overarching constitution of a political space mediating between the two and of compelling reasons for economic hope, the longing for “pride” is bound to hold sway* (Offe, 1996:63).

These arguments are applicable to the political preferences in all nations of former Yugoslavia⁹. A high-ranking official in RS puts it this way: “We would rather eat our own bread and drink our own water than other people’s steaks”¹⁰. Schoolbooks emphasize the historical pre-communist “golden age,” with a focus on knowledge about “ourselves” rather than knowledge about

9. The level of ethnic-nationalism and conservatism is not as high in Slovenia as in the other states of the former Yugoslavia, mainly because this former Yugoslav republic was ethnically homogeneous before independence.

10. The author heard this comment during a data collection journey in BiH.

“ourselves in a world context”¹¹. This is compounded by the fact that economic hope is still out of sight for many citizens in BiH where the unemployment rate is around 40 percent (ICG, 2002). Bosnia’s economic travail stems from its huge war losses, its structural handicaps in making the transition from socialism to capitalism, its stalled and corrupted privatization process, and its unreformed laws, regulations and habits of mind – all of which discourage both foreign and domestic investment (ICG, 2002:14).

3.4 Education Reform and Change in the Transition from Socialist to Post-Socialist Period

3.4.1 Major Trends in the Former Yugoslavia (SFRY)

In SFRY, large-scale educational reforms were implemented in three phases: 1944 to 45, 1958 and 1974. During the first period, Yugoslav education underwent a process of Sovietization under the then new communist regime. Schools became the property of the State and in many cases translations of Russian textbooks were used. After the break with the Soviet Union in 1948, an alternative and more decentralized form of socialism was implemented. The goal was local self-management and economic decentralization. In 1958, an Education Act was finalized forming the legal basis for the development of the education system until 1972 to 74. The Federal Council of Education and Culture, composed of members appointed by the Federative Executive Council (i.e. the central government) and of republican councils for education, examined and made recommendations on educational matters of interest for all republics. It also laid the foundation for school curricula and determined general guidelines for textbooks. The Council had broad policy making and planning functions (Juhas, 1978). Each republic and autonomous province had educational institutions governed by a council elected from universities, students, local officials and organizations on a local level. Educational institutions were seen as semi-autonomous bodies governed and supervised by locally elected organizations. One of the outcomes of such educational administration and management was the adoption of different curricula in the republics.

The educational reform of 1958 introduced: (i) eight years of primary school (before 1958 there had been three different levels of primary education, lasting respectively four, six and seven years); (ii) pre-school education as a part of the

11. This finding was made by the Yugoslav research team in textbook content in Serbia, see Plut, and Pesikan (2002).

formal educational system; (iii) general four-year gymnasiums¹² with several optional streams including language, classics and natural science/mathematics (before 1958 there had been theoretical secondary schools from grades five to eight in lower secondary.); and (iv) three- to four-year vocational and four- to five-year teacher schools, as well as two- to three-year industrial schools for skilled workers¹³ including on-the-job training (Potkonjak, 1989).

With the educational reform in 1958, access to secondary and higher education was broadened. In the second half of the 1960s, there was increasing demand for more academic education and, by 1981, 25 times as many students were enrolled in higher education as in 1940. The growing demand for higher education was partly due to a “diploma disease”, so in 1970 the Federal Assembly adopted a resolution concerning the development of education on a self-management basis. The resolution set forth new social goals in education with a special emphasis on improved preparation of students for the workforce, the development of creative attitudes towards work and the establishment of links between production and education. Between the period 1970 and 1974 a public debate emerged and efforts were made to develop the educational structures within all levels of formal education, to better meet the needs for a skilled workforce.

At the Third Conference of the League of Yugoslav Communists in 1972, the need for a thorough reform of the entire education system in line with the uniform ideological foundations and class orientation of the socialist society was discussed (Juhas, 1978:4). The ideological aims and objectives of the reform were outlined at the Tenth Congress on the Tasks of the League of Yugoslav Communists in 1974 (Juhas, 1978). The socialist transformation of education was to be based on self-management principles.

The socialist self-management education reform was gradually implemented between 1975 and 1980 at the primary and secondary levels in the republics. One objective of the self-management education policy was to implement a general educational base for all students, including those at the pre-school, primary and the first phase of secondary (2+8+2). Four-year gymnasiums were abolished because they were considered to be elite schools for the bourgeoisie.

Successful completion of primary education was the requirement for secondary education that consisted of two phases. After completing the first general phase with a compulsory polytechnic orientation, students had to pass

12. Secondary schools with theoretic orientation, i.e. preparatory for university studies

13. The term “skilled worker” corresponded to a specific educational degree, which required a fixed period of theoretical and on-the-job training

examinations in order to be admitted to the second phase. Education leading to particular professions that were in great demand did not require examinations, whereas examinations were compulsory for selected streams such as art, teaching and ballet. In BiH, for example, there were 21 general polytechnic/vocational option streams for 58 trades. Some of the criticism expressed by education professionals¹⁴ of the Self-Management Education period are summarized below:

- The system was highly specialized and expensive, because in practice one school could offer all vocational option streams;
- All students had to go through extensive theoretical education before they could choose their option stream;
- Teaching methods were subject-and teacher-centered, and many secondary school teachers were criticized for being, for example, mathematicians or biologists rather than mathematics and biology teachers; and
- The curricula was encyclopedic, subject-centered, overburdened with facts, and the entire educational system could be labeled as a “one-right-answer-school.”

In 1990 an education reform was launched in BiH with an emphasis on decentralization and the re-establishment of four-year gymnasiums but the reform was interrupted, when the civil war broke out two years later.

The education system during the SFRY period was hierarchical and centralized where the power relations were clear-cut from the Ministry of Education (MOE), school inspectors, principals, teachers and, lastly to students. The grading system, which is still in use in BiH, was on a weekly basis. Students never know who will be asked by the teacher to stand up and show that the homework is memorized. The grading system helps the teacher to keep the role of an authority in classroom in a negative sense and it creates a “culture of fear” among students. In discussions with students, over the years I have understood that many students have experienced that the teachers’ only interest is to “catch them in a weak moment” and give them a low mark in order to remind the students who is in charge. However, teachers have traditionally been checked by school inspectors on a regular basis to ensure they follow the curricula and do not use too much professional freedom to implement alternative approaches in classrooms. On the other hand, what happens in classrooms is often known only by the teacher and students involved.

14. During the data collections and previous work in BiH, Serbia and Croatia I had many interviews and discussions with teachers and educationists.

The education system during the SFRY period has been criticized for emphasizing a “one-right-answer-school” approach. This has been confirmed in interviews and discussions with researchers from the former Yugoslavia and adult refugees from BiH in Sweden¹⁵. One frequent account is that of a powerful teacher who told exactly what was expected of students and had answers for everything. A less common experience was among students had a teacher who did not have answers for everything, but rather asked the students to think and reason for themselves. Many described this situation as very provocative at the beginning as it generated fear that they would not pass the examinations since the approach was not serious enough. Over time, however, most students claimed that they began to like the more open approach.

3.4.2 The Present Education System¹⁶

The post-socialist educational reforms in BiH and in the other countries in the former Yugoslavia have followed very similar patterns in the formation of new educational orientations and policies:

- Devaluation of the socialist ideology;
- Decentralization and introduction of free market principles in schools (e.g. cost sharing);
- Diversification of schools including the introduction of private schools (compared to the emphasis on unification under the former system);
- Introduction of a new school law;
- Development of new curricula; and
- Emphasis on the production of new school books for the national subjects ¹⁷.

Constitutionally, the administration of education is highly decentralized in the Federation, and the constitution facilitates delegation of some decision-making from the cantonal to central or local levels. The education functions assigned to the cantons are: (i) the establishment of educational policy, legislation and content; and (ii) the provision of secondary and higher education. The municipalities have the same educational responsibilities as the cantons, but for pre-

15. During a four-year period I worked with refugees from BiH and in informal interviews they shared their strongest memories from their schooling period.

16. The author collected most educational data and general information during two UNESCO missions in the Federation and RS, as well as during fieldwork related to the project “Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy.”

17. History, national language, geography, literature, arts, music, natural and social science and sociology.

school and primary education. This means that if a municipality has a population of another ethnic/nationality background than the surrounding municipalities, the municipal authorities have the right to establish their own education program. In practice this is not implemented and the dialog on inter-entity and intra-entity levels is a continuing process.

Primary education: Primary education is divided into two levels: grades 1 to 4, in which the entire curricula is taught by one classroom teacher, and grades 5 to 8, in which subjects are mainly taught by teachers specialized in particular subjects. An average classroom has 30 to 40 pupils with have 25 regular classes per week and 190 days in a school year. Before the war nearly 100 percent of school age children were enrolled in compulsory and free primary education (Ministry of Education, 1996; UNESCO, 1996). In 1996, education authorities in Sarajevo concluded that access to primary education was around 75 to 80 percent. Today, despite difficulties, Ministry of Education officials in the Federation and Republika Srpska estimate that most eligible children are enrolled. However, there are serious concerns about enrollment in primary and secondary schools for children of returnees. Often these children do not attend school in their place of return at all and they often continue to reside with relatives in their majority areas, travel to such areas for classes, or avoid school altogether (ICG, 2002). There are no figures on dropout rates during the war or at the present. Although primary education is compulsory, grade repetition can leave older children in the upper years of primary who drop out before completion.

Secondary Education: This level of education includes general secondary (gymnasium) leading to university, secondary skills-training in vocational education leading to the labor market and technical education which may lead either to further polytechnic education or to work force entry. The secondary education system consists of four-year and three-year programs. Four-year programs include teacher-training schools, religious schools, gymnasium (five specializations), art schools (three specializations) and technical schools (which have 21 specialization's with 58 trades). There are also three-year vocational schools with 16 specializations and 103 trades. Several new programs have been introduced including a general four-year secondary school for training primary school teachers, information technology, religious secondary schools and private schools¹⁸. Secondary education is the responsibility of the cantonal

18. "The trend of establishing schools no longer controlled or financed by the state is quite likely to continue (e.g. Bosniak High School, or Catholic School Centers, Turkish or Austrian High School, Danish Technical School, etc)" (Minister of Education in Participatory planning for renewal of teacher education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1997).

government. The established private schools are very elite-oriented and selective, and have high demands on students who are expelled if they do not fulfil the requirements. Due to high education quality and good facilities, some of these private schools have students of mixed ethnic background. This indicates that some students and parents choose educational quality regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation, if they can afford it.

Higher Education: Prior to the Dayton Agreement there were four university centers in BiH –Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar and Banja Luka. As a consequence of the war and present ethnic division there has been an increase in the network of higher education institutions (four-year universities and two-year colleges). Sixteen new institutions have been formed, fifteen in the Federation and one in Republika Srpska (also known as the University of Serbian Sarajevo). The University of Mostar has been divided into two legal bodies with Bosnian-Muslim and Bosnian-Croat faculties, respectively.

Adult Education: Illiteracy in BiH declined from 40 percent in 1953 to 14 percent in 1981 (UNESCO, 1996). There are no recent statistics on adult illiteracy. From 1971/72 to 1984/85 People's Universities were responsible for adult education (education centers connected to different work associations) – there were 81 People's Universities in BiH during this period. A new law for adult education was established in 1980, giving primary schools overall responsibility for adult education and making adult education a part of the formal education system. Adults had the possibility to continue to secondary education after primary. In 1989 pedagogical institutes introduced a curricula reform in adult education, and the main objectives were to move away from the use of formal textbooks used for children and adopt the content and program for adult needs and interest. The Ministry of Education in Sarajevo emphasizes the need for further development of and innovations in adult education. During the war, adult education was ignored due to other education priorities, and this is still the case.

The need for formal and non-formal education for adults in BiH is immense but there is no tradition or administrative structure present for non-formal education in the country. However, with all the international NGOs operating in the country this neglected education sector might gradually develop. Among others, amputees, demobilized young men and people who have not been able to develop their skills and professional training due to long periods of unemployment and the war need retraining and in-service qualification training.

Legislation: In 1992 new legislation was developed in response to war circumstances and applied only in the territory with a Bosnian-Muslim majority in the Federation. The five components of this law were: (i) standards for the pro-

tection of teachers and students; (ii) the organization of schoolwork during wartime; (iii) the role of teachers; (iv) the use of textbooks; and (v) evaluation and documentation. In the territory with a Bosnian-Croat majority in the Federation special regulations were passed in the end of 1992. In 1993¹⁹ legislation for primary and secondary schools was modified again, moving back to a situation very similar to that under pre-war legislation. The major changes were an introduction of religious secondary schools, private schools and secondary-level teacher training schools, which prepare teachers for the first four grades of primary school²⁰.

The Dayton Agreement decentralizes and passes on the responsibility of curricula development and educational legislation to the cantonal level. Each canton in the Federation is supposed to develop and finance its own education policy and curricula development. However this has not yet been implemented and the education legislation will need to be changed when, or if, the cantons become independent educational administrative units. For those cantons that have not enacted new laws, the regulations that were in force at the time when the Constitution of the Federation was adopted will continue to apply unless they are contrary to the Constitution (Dayton Agreement)²¹.

3.4.3 Divisive Education Developments

Bosnian Croat gymnasium students mainly prepare themselves for higher education abroad (i.e. in Croatia), since the number of places in universities are limited in the Croatian parts of the Federation. The same applies for many Bosnian-Serb secondary school students in RS who prepare for studies in Serbia and Montenegro. The three major ethnic/nationality groups in BiH are granted the possibility to have their own administration, as well as media and education operating in their language. This implies an exclusive labor market for each group in a long-term perspective. Moreover, the educated elite within each entity or canton in BiH might strengthen the politics of ethnification. Indeed, they are well positioned to advocate and promote ethnic politics, thereby furthering their own status interests. The creation of an ethnically segmented labor market due to the large amount of secondary students studying in Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro can also result in Bosnian students becoming “second-class” citizens in their sister nations. The recognition of

19. The law on Primary School “Official Gazette of R B-H”, No: 3/93 and 24/93.

20. In the post-war period there was a lack of primary teachers in the Federation. This was not the case in Republika Srpska, since many teachers came as refugees to RS from Croatia

21. Annex IV of the Dayton Agreement, Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

education diplomas at inter-and intra entity level was, and still is, an unresolved problem.

Today in BiH there are 52 schools considered “two-schools-under-one-roof” (OSCE, 2003a) located in the Federation. In these schools separate Bosnian-Muslim and Bosnian-Croat curricula and administrative structures exist and students, as well as teachers, have no mutual contact. In some cases, students enter the schools through separate entrances, have separate breaks and teachers do not use the same classrooms as teachers with a different ethnic/nationality background. Many school names, objects and symbols in schools in RS and the Fed are “ethnically loaded” and do not create a welcoming environment for returnee students and teachers. One of many examples illustrating the tripartite division of BiH is that many returnees often live double lives, residing as a minority in one area but traveling to work or to see a doctor and sending their children to school where their ethnic/nationality group predominates (ICG, 2002).

Hence, in the present situation there are three different curricula in use in BiH and students are taught three different versions of history in school. In the former Yugoslavia official history emphasized the socialist period. Historic events before this period were present in curricula, but not highlighted. In 1989 communism became history “overnight” and the SFRY period became the new ignored, or hidden, history. This was done for pragmatic reasons, since most of the former individuals in power kept their leading positions. The replacement of one ideology (communism) by another (ethnic-nationalism), calls for new official histories and a re-examination of the official and hidden history from the SFRY period: *Thus, in considering late- and post-communist Yugoslavia, we may examine a dialectic between the competing official histories necessitated by competing totalizing ideologies, each of which will produce a corollary secret history* (Hayden, 1994:168).

What was hidden history during the SFRY period is now used (in diverse versions) in the new nations to justify the new nationalisms: *On both sides of an ethnic divide what ‘they’ (e.g. the Croats) have done to ‘us’ (the Serbs) is rediscovered; in response reciprocal hostilities and cruelties are (re) discovered; and each of the two sides is aware that the other side is aware of those incidents in the past* (Offe, 1996:68).

3.4.4 Curricula and textbooks in BiH

In previous research (Kolouh-Westin, 2002) content analysis was performed on curricula and textbooks in BiH. The curricula and textbooks²² developed by

22. History textbooks and Bosnian language/literature for grades five to eight.

the MOE and the Central Pedagogical Institute in Sarajevo in 1996 were selected since all teachers and students in BiH were supposed to use this material. Textbooks and curricula can give us insights into the intentions (explicit and implicit) in a given society related to the transformation and acquisition of knowledge, adoption of certain values, modelling the behaviour and acquisition of skills. Textbooks and curricula are interesting sources of information, which can reveal attitudes towards democracy and the way in which it is conceptualized in a specific society. Official government institutions and powerful interest groups are often behind various, and seemingly neutral, conceptualizations. Curricula and textbooks of this kind are part of the mass socialization intended for children in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially since some textbooks are compulsory reading.

What concept of democracy do textbooks develop? Do they support ideas and behavior recognized as democratic? What democratic values and personality traits do curricula and textbooks develop and support? These were the principal questions that guided the study of the curricula and school books in BiH. The content analysis was expanded to include issues of the right to be protected by recognized social procedures. As far as human rights were concerned, the study extensively covered all categories of rights – not only the political and civil rights, but also socio-economic and cultural rights.²³

3.4.4.1 *Findings of Curricula and Textbook Analysis*

The analyzed primary school curricula arguably do not emphasize democratic values and human rights to a great extent. Moreover, teachers are not given sufficient professional freedom, nor do they actively participate in influencing the content. They are given a list of “tasks” that have to be fulfilled within a given time frame. School inspectors evaluate whether or not the curricula is being followed as planned. Against this background, it is difficult to imagine engaged students with critical thinking skills who actively participate in the decision-making processes.

Two contradictory dimensions are evident in the curricula: (a) the international vs. national/ethnic orientation; and (b) the modern vs. traditional orientation. As for the first dimension, BiH is a country in transition, economically dependent on external financing, which makes it vulnerable to current

23. The categories of the rights were derived from the following documents on the human rights: Universal Declaration on Human Rights from 1948; International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, 1966/1976; International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966/1976; Convention on Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms, Rome, 1950 to 1990 (Ishay, 1997).

international, ideological trends. Moreover, educational authorities in Sarajevo have aspirations for integration into the European Union. This can be seen in the increased openness to comparative educational experiences and willingness to accept international educational influences. The new subject of information technology can be used as an example. Since the trend in the most technically developed part of the world is information technology, this new subject was introduced in the old way. In the syllabus there is a detailed plan teachers must follow, though most schools have no computers and many teachers are not computer literate. The result is a theoretical drilling of the subject. On the one hand, modernity and new technologies are emphasized. On the other hand, traditionalism, moral education, family values and an emphasis on the historical and religious past are stressed. The concept of ethnic nationalism in education is also visible, such as the focus on national subjects, the differentiation of the three main national languages, the introduction of religion and the rebuilding of a national (and “ethnified”) identity.

The major conclusion stemming from the textbook analyses is that the textbooks present human rights and democracy in a mainly negative way²⁴ (i.e. the student is given a negative model of these topics). The content units, or items, analyzed are conceptualized and presented in a factual, neutral manner or in an emotionally loaded way, and not in an elaborative or exploratory way. Personal traits of the individual related to patriotism, struggle for freedom or social justice are more valued than individual traits beneficial to the individual (e.g. personal autonomy, critical thinking, self-esteem and individual initiative). These textbooks were produced for use in all parts of BiH but the strong emphasis on the “Bosnian uniqueness” and “Bosnian patriotism” (meaning Bosnian-Muslims) and the many descriptions of the “Serbian and Montenegrin aggression” is directly offensive to the Bosnian-Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

One central topic in all books is the constant fight for national freedom, autonomy and the right to protect national and religious identity. The geopolitical position of the country is linked to exposure to constant fights over BiH, never-ending threats of dissolution of BiH, occupation and attempts at genocide of the Bosnian-Muslim population. Thus, one can conclude that the specific Bosnian history, or story, is one of extraordinary exposure to external hegemonic interests and a struggle for national freedom as well as maintenance of the national-religious identity. In an ideal world, history could be taught in a way to help create harmony among people rather than division and hatred. *This is so clearly described by a friend from Sarajevo: During my schooling we read and*

24. Violation of a particular Human Right.

talked a lot about the Second World War. When I think about it, what I learned was to dislike Germany and Germans. We were never taught to understand why and how this could happen.

3.4.5 Future Education Reforms

The IC has put pressure on the three ministers of education to solve some of the “most pressing problems” of the educational system in BiH (OHR, 2000). In May 2000 the Education Ministers signed a declaration and an agreement on education. The main task was to remove offensive materials from school-books throughout BiH. Textbooks that have Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro as the country of reference should no longer be used. Meanwhile, the IC has performed spot-checks in schools to follow up the agreement. The IC established an Inter-Entity Textbook Review Commission and the commission have finalized the first step – to recommend removal of inappropriate content by September 2003 (OSCE, 2003). Future steps that have to be taken in the agreed reform agenda are the completion of removal of inappropriate content from textbooks for the national group of subjects in time for the school year 2003/04. One example illustrating the slow progress regarding textbooks includes a book supporting the Serbian curricula in primary level social science. The RS Education Ministry produced it in 2001/02 and its cover is a map illustrating “Greater Serbia”, including RS, with the implication that RS was not part of BiH.

The use of three parallel education systems is another pressing problem. The IC is recommending the Swiss model, where each constituent people will develop their own curricula integrated to the curricula of the other constituent peoples with shared core elements. On 21 November 2002 the Education Ministries and Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees in BiH agreed with the IC upon an Education Reform Agenda. One of many aims with the education reform is development of common core curricula in primary and general secondary education. In a status report by the OHR and OSCE (OSCE, 2003) on the education reform agenda it is shown that progress has been made, but it is moving too slowly and there is still much work to be done before even short-term priorities can be fully implemented as illustrated by the following quotation:

The Education Reform Agenda has made reform an urgent priority; education stakeholders including school directors, teachers, pedagogical institute representatives and students are involved in the process; and several instruments such as the Coordination Board for the Interim Agreement on Returnee Children and the Common Core Curriculum Steering Board, have been established to facilitate local authority ownership in the imple-

mentation process. Unfortunately, the international community remains the driving force behind ensuring that reforms happens, and happens across BiH for all students. Information on reform efforts is rarely forthcoming from local authorities to school directors, teacher unions, students and the general public, and a large bulk of the work is done either behind the scenes by the IC or through IC projects. If the IC stops pushing and providing significant financing for the reform process, one may legitimately fear that education reform will stagnate (OSCE, 2003:4).

The quote clearly illustrates that the IC is the driving force not only for needed education reforms, but also for most elements of unifying reforms to counter divisive developments in BiH. Wishful thinking suggests that the drive for reforms should come from BiH citizens themselves for a more sustainable reform agenda. Educational reforms take time and therefore it is not surprising that the primary school curricula studied is still encyclopedic, subject-centered and overburdened with facts. Husén (1999) underlines the education system's close link, or rather interrelation, with the surrounding society and its dependence on a historical developmental processes: *...I mean because one can't reform schools as institutions 'over night,' not even from one school year to another. Schools are an integrated part of a historical and social context and should not be taken out of it, just like that"*²⁵ (Husén, 1999:7).

Husén compares education systems with military tanks that are hard to start, stop and, especially, move (ibid.). Although educational administration and legislation aim towards a high degree of decentralization, in practice, the entire structure of the education system in BiH strongly resembles its pre-war hierarchical structure. Teachers are under pressure to implement detailed curricula and school inspectors are pressured by the Ministries of Education to make frequent school visits to ensure that the curricula is followed.

The "openness" for educational influences is not without risks, as Zindovic-Vukadinovic (1996:13) points out: *It is also of use to mention that the non-critical adoption of the models which are successful in the developed countries and their exact copying represent a danger for the countries in transition, because of two reasons. First the entire school infrastructure, the organization of the system, the administration, the methods of preparation of the teachers and the textbooks would be challenged in such a case. This is an insurmountable undertaking, not only concerning the organization, but from the economic standpoint as well. Secondly, cultural and educational paradigms, and this is even more important than economic problems, which served as the basis of the creation of a successful school model cannot be transposed, except in the case of cultural neo-colonialism.*

25. Author's translation.

Direct implementation of Western curricula reforms in BiH risk failure. Long education traditions and practices cannot be changed over night. Instead, Western educators can serve as advisors and education programs must always aim towards moderately novel adaptation to local professionalism and needs.

3.5 Education, the State, the Economy and Civil Society in BiH

3.5.1 State and Education

In order to create the preconditions for stability and peace, BiH needs a State that represents all citizens and ethnic groups. But the development of efficient public institutions also entails the creation of political, economic, cultural and military institutions. Although the fighting has stopped, the building of a unified country and an education system with core elements such as inter and intra-entity diploma recognition needs more time, will and work. Today BiH has a weak State, a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary. The OHR and OSCE have become central pillars of the constitutional order (Knaus and Cox, 2000). The Dayton Agreement is a ... *difficult compromise, creating a state with barely enough central functions to be worthy of the title, while guaranteeing the autonomy of the three communities through a complex system of ethnic power-sharing* (Knaus and Cox, 2000:2).

The Dayton agreement has been described as “political-engineering.” Out of the ruins of war, a State had to be created (Solioz, 2000, in: OSCE 2001). Some, like Chandler (2000), claim that Dayton was imposed against the will of the Bosnian people: *Under the guise of a negotiated peace settlement (The Dayton Agreement) sought to create a new political entity which was not a product of popular consensus or popular involvement and was seen by many Bosnians as an external imposition* (Chandler, 2000:43). State functions are now dispersed across two entities (in practice three)²⁶, ten cantons in the Federation, 149 municipalities and the internationally administered district of Brcko. *The entire structure is so complex and inefficient that, all too often, nobody takes responsibility for addressing pressing social and economic problems* (Chandler, 2000:2). Manning and Antic (2003) label the postwar BiH State *something of a political Frankenstein* (2003:50), with 13 different constitutions (one for the Republic, one for each entity, and one for each of the ten cantons in the Federation).

26. Bosnian-Croat cantons in the Federation.

General elections were held in 1998 and 2000. In 1998 the three main nationalist²⁷ parties won about 86 percent of the seats in the Bosnian State Parliament (OECD, 2001). The 2000 elections that many in the IC hoped to be a contest between reform-oriented moderates and backward-looking nationalists did result in modest changes in Bosnian-Muslim cantons where the moderate Social Democratic Party (SDP) replaced the long-time governing (SDA)²⁸. In RS the nationalist party (SDS) won the elections and a majority of the Bosnian-Croats continued to vote for their nationalist party (HDZ). Overall, however, the relative power of nationalist parties after the 2000 election disappointed many in the IC. The results in the Bosnian-Muslim canton gave some hope because the moderate voting patterns of minority returns might weaken the nationalist parties. Another hope for the future is that loss of support from Croatia for Croat Para-State Herzeg-Bosna following the defeat of the late President Tudjman's HDZ party. It was hoped by the IC that this would make the Bosnian-Croats more open for moderate solutions.

Knaus and Cox (2000) discuss some of the reasons (e.g. self-interested political manipulation) why the establishment of the Bosnian State has been such a slow and frustrating process. Just after the war, BiH was divided into three territorial zones, each enjoying functional independence in political and economic terms and ruled by separate administrations under the control of one of the three armies.

Elements in these regimes had close links with smuggling and organized crime, bringing wealth and power to individual political leaders. The combination of the threat of violence and the promise of rewards-typically the redistribution of the spoils of war and the allocation of public sector employment-allowed them to monopolise political power within their own ethnic group. In the tradition of the old Yugoslav Communist Party, the nationalist parties used patronage networks to keep public institutions subordinate to their will. These wartime power structures dominated political life in post-war Bosnia. What seemed to outsiders to be intractable ethnic hatred often turned out to be crude, self-interested political manipulation. The political elite used nationalist rhetoric as a tool to control their own population, playing on collective fears in order to harden the boundaries between ethnic groups...Deadlocked on most fronts, the international mission simply forged on with what could be achieved in such an environment, namely physical reconstruction. Inevitably, the disbursement of vast sums of reconstruction aid with a mini-

27.HDZ stands for the Croat Democratic Union (Croat nationalist party). SDA is the Party for Democratic Action (Muslim nationalist party) and SDS stands for the Serbian Democratic Party (Serb nationalist party).

28.According to ICG (2002) this result was mainly due to Bosnian-Muslim returnees' votes.

mum of political or institutional reforms simply helped strengthen the nationalist power structures even further (Knaus and Cox, 2000:4).

It was the continued existence of these parallel systems that hindered the establishment of the Bosnian State. In BiH, with its two entities and three ethnic/nationality groups with many differences left to be solved, it is indeed questionable if nation building is a realistic ideology. Bosnian-Muslims showed a strong belief in their new homeland of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time data was collected. Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Serbs partly identified with their “sister-nations” Croatia and Serbia. Overall, the Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Serbs did not share the same feeling of national belonging as the Bosnian-Muslims. Enslin (1994) summarizes Smith’s (1986) and Miller’s (1993) features deemed necessary for the construction of nationality or a national identity²⁹. None of these features applies to BiH. After a civil war with ethnic cleansing and with three ethnic/nationality groups striving for as much autonomy as possible, it is doubtful whether people have a feeling that they *belong together*.

Nation building is hardly developing in BiH, and the situation remains unstable. One of the basic tasks of the State is to create a sense of citizenship among the individuals. Since there are divisions within the State, in general, three different forms of national belonging are emphasized in one country. When the variety of international pressures on the State and its dependence on external funding are added, it becomes evident that the future development of the State’s role and “identity molding” in BiH can take many different forms. The citation below can be seen as an illustrative example of how one of the most influential representatives within IC views the issue of nation building in BiH. Robert M. Beecroft, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH shared some lessons learned after eight years of peace-keeping work by the IC, one of which refers to prerequisites for a viable State in BiH: *Theological debates about “nation-building” are sterile and irrelevant. The goal is to build a viable state, so that we, the internationals, can leave with reasonable assurance that we will not have to come back. In the Balkans and many other parts of the world, “nation” is a loaded word anyway, as it connotes religion, ethnicity and clan, not the passport you carry* (OSCE, 2003b).

As mentioned previously, education is the responsibility of the Entities and three parallel systems with related education material are in use. One obstacle for long-term education planning is the lack of dialog between the cantonal

29. These features are: 1. A belief that people belong together; 2. Shared history; 3. Distinctive characteristics; 4. Political autonomy; 5. A common, mass culture; 6. Common loyalties; 7. A historical territory; 8. Common legal rights and duties; and 9. A common economy with territorial mobility for members (Enslin, 1994:27-28).

education authorities and between Entity education authorities. The IC, with the OSCE as the responsible organization, has initiated a large education reform, where development of a common core curricula and improved quality are some of the major aims. In the OECD Education Reform document it is stated: *We must start by taking politics out of the classroom, where it has no place...*(OECD, 2002:7). Farnen and Meloen (2000) argue the contrary, that politics should be discussed in classrooms in order to give students a chance to grasp and verbalize political issues that influence people's everyday lives. It is necessary in schools to discuss nationalism, militarism, racism, patriotism, religious fundamentalism and other potential threats to democracy.

Contradictory demands tend to be made on the education system: *The state sphere, and even more particularly the education system, is to a large extent under the cross-pressure between local cultures and their demands on the one hand, and the globalization and internationalizing aspects on the other hand* (Daun, 1998:38). On one hand, there are demands for universalization and internationalization. On the other hand, there are demands for particularization and decentralization. These contradictory demands are very visible in BiH today, in the form of demands from the IC, different ethnic groups, political parties etc. *The requirement, needs and demands in relation to the education system may be summarized in the following way: (i) Unitarian system vs. diversified system; (ii) religious/moral vs. secular; (iii) local vs. national; (iv) local vs. international; (v) national vs. international; and (vi) individual good vs. common good* (Daun, 1998:38).

3.5.1.1 Media

Public broadcasting, freedom of the press and the public's right to know about the work of governmental bodies are fundamental rights in a democratic society. Many have characterized the war in Bosnia as the "Media War" and in the postwar period all three nationalist parties controlled their media and gave their side of the story about the "others." In the Croatian parts of the Federation people mainly watched Croatian television and read Croatian newspapers. The same applied in RS in relation to Serbia and Montenegro. According to The High Representative, the leadership and authorities of both BiH and the two entities had largely failed to realize their commitments regarding such matters as freedom of press and a free public broadcasting system. Therefore he decided to use his "Bonn-powers" to demand a reconstruction of the Public Broadcasting System in BiH and an introduction of protection of Freedom of Information and Decriminalization of Libel and Defamation in 1999. Prior to this, in May 1997, the Sintra Declaration gave the OHR the power to curtail or suspend any media network or program whose

output contravened the spirit or letter of the Dayton Agreement. Two quotations from The High Representative's decision describe the situation: *Notwithstanding the considerable efforts of my staff, this represents a major obstacle to the achievement of democratic development in the country, and a gross abrogation of responsibility which has resulted in a substantial deprivation of the constitutional rights of all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a basic disregard of their informational, cultural and linguistic needs* (OHR, 1999b:1).

The refusal of the relevant political actors to enact the necessary measures, which have already been the subject of extensive public discussion, can no longer be tolerated. For this reason, I have resolved myself to use my powers in order to provisionally bring into force two series of legislative and other measures aiming at advancing the enjoyment of freedom of expression by all persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina without discrimination on any ground (OHR, 1999b:2).

The authorities of the State and the entities were provided with deadlines for the adoption of new laws in order to fulfill the above-mentioned requirements.

3.5.2 Economy and Education

In other parts of the world, education reforms have been implemented due to economic austerity or to increase competitiveness. However, education-restructuring measures in BiH since the collapse of the socialist system have mainly been driven by the politics of ethnification. At the same time, international donor agencies in BiH are emphasizing economic rationale for education changes in the country. The requirements on the education system are not easily defined, since such an analysis demands detailed statistical data. It is, however, evident that the extensive destruction of the infrastructure and the formulation of new economic strategies entail special requirements. Higher education, gymnasiums and high tech skills are more emphasized by the Ministries of Education than vocational skills, but secondary education is still more oriented towards vocational training, as emphasized by the Labor Ministry (in Sarajevo).

The production sphere requires far-reaching, non-formal education options for the adult population but the conditions for such education do not currently exist. Approximately 1.25 million people from BiH were forced to seek refuge in more over 100 countries and much of this group consisted of the educated, middle class. The question is, if people will be able to return to BiH or if the "brain drain" is irrevocable.

During the pre-war period, and particularly in the 1980s, unemployment caused by a growing surplus of human resources in relation to the economy's absorption capacity was a serious problem. According to the latest pre-war

data, there were more than 300,000 unemployed despite the constant emigration from BiH to other regions of the former Yugoslavia (UNESCO, 1996). During the same period it was estimated that more than one-third of secondary school graduates and a high percentage of university graduates faced unemployment.

The dissolution of the former Yugoslavia led to the loss of BiH's traditional export market and consequently to a dramatic drop in the extraction and production of its main resources (e.g. coal and metals, especially aluminum). The new economic development strategy in the industrial sector implemented in response to this dramatic drop was interrupted by the war. New conditions emerged after Dayton and in 1996 the Labor Department (in Sarajevo) estimated that 650,000 people were unemployed, or 70 to 80 percent of the active population living in the territory controlled by the BiH army. And this was before the demobilization of approximately 100,000 soldiers.

During the self-management education period there was a heavy stress on technical and vocational training at the secondary level. Since BiH's economic policy for the future aims to move away from heavy industry production, secondary schools will be forced to adapt to the future labor market and become more flexible. Today gymnasiums are re-established and the Ministries of Education estimate that this secondary school option will grow in quantity and lead to university studies for a large number of students. The high tech skills created in BiH before the war are mainly used, or under-used, abroad. Brain drain is a huge obstacle for the development of BiH and education quality has decreased at all educational levels. Indicators for the decrease of education quality are higher drop-out rates (discussed in section 2.3.3) and teachers complaints in the teacher questionnaire that they have to "push students through the system with an overloaded curricula".

In the pre-war period, education, culture and science accounted for six percent of GDP. Today the government's budget is heavily reliant upon World Bank loans, donations and grants obtained from different internal and external bilateral and multilateral sources. Despite more than \$5 billion of international reconstruction aid, BiH's GDP is still less than half its pre-war level (Knaus and Cox, 2000). As much as 30 percent of official GDP depends on foreign aid, which will inevitably decrease in the years to come since the IC will focus assistance on other areas of need (e.g. Serbia & Montenegro, Iraq, Afghanistan, Africa etc.). Indeed, in recent years BiH has received the most foreign aid in the world in proportion to its population (Sida, 2000). Unemployment is above 40 percent (OHR, 2000) and average wages are well below the subsistence needs

of a family. More than 60 percent of the population lives in poverty (Knaus and Cox, 2000).

In terms of completed projects through 1999 funded by IC, the Federation represented about 73 percent and the RS accounted for nearly 14 percent. The remaining funding (nearly 13 percent) was dedicated to projects at the national/inter-entity level (OHR, 1999). Therefore, international aid had mainly focused on the Federation at the time data was collected for this study. Republika Srpska received very little assistance in comparison, though NGOs were in process of establishing in RS in December 1997. One large obstacle for BiH's economy and people's trust in politicians is corruption. The OSCE has anti-corruption projects in all of its program areas. *The figure of 1 billion US \$ of aid money wasted by corrupt officials is often quoted. This is probably an exaggeration, but gives an idea about the scale of the problem* (OSCE, 2001:10).

3.5.3 Civil Sphere and Education

In the civil sphere people tend to pursue non-material value orientation and ideals, and interaction takes place, because of these values and ideals (Daun, 1998). Many NGOs belong, at least initially, to the civil sphere. With increasing bureaucratization and dependence on State funds they become increasingly incorporated into the State sphere (Daun, 1998), also labeled as organizational capital. Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer (1997) discuss social capital in post-socialist societies and use the term "hourglass" society to describe societies where many citizens distrust State institutions. There are strong informal social networks at the bottom of the hourglass, where people develop strong face-to-face contacts (i.e. social network capital). At the top of the hourglass, there is a rich social and political life, in which elites compete for power, wealth and prestige (ibid.:89). Exchanges between top and bottom are limited. In BiH today, and during the SFRY period, individuals' everyday welfare depend on informal networks, free of State control as well as having little chance of influencing the State. This phenomenon is described by Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer (1997) as "negative integration of citizens". Another direction for developing social capital is organizational capital (i.e. a society's stock of organizations are formal, legally recognized by the State, rule bound, bureaucratic and hierarchically coordinated (ibid.:92).

In the case of BiH, the OSCE and other organizations within the IC are supporting the creation of local NGOs financially, and with know-how, with the overall aim to strengthen the civil sphere, ...*but there is an underlying assumption that somehow, the Bosnians are not yet confident or skilled enough after the war to do this by themselves. On the positive side, it has to be said that NGOs do exist and increasingly*

make their voices heard in BiH...Activities such as international youth exchanges give some counter-weight to the ethnically inspired school-curricula (OSCE, 2001:8).

More than 450 NGOs exist in BiH (Solioz, 2000:16), mostly run by intellectuals. A problem mentioned by the OSCE (2001) is that members of NGOs are often afraid to speak out in public. This confirms the theory of the hour-glass society where there is a missing middle in the political system, a high degree of heterogeneity and no unifying platform for mobilizing action. Based on survey data from the New Democracies Barometer (NDB)³⁰, including seven Central and East European countries, Rose writes: *Corruption in government breeds popular distrust of public institutions. Although more people vote in national elections in Central and Eastern Europe than in the United States, most voters do not trust the politicians and parties for whom they cast their ballots. Trust in political parties is lower than in any other public institution* (Rose 2002:7).

The transition from State-led social organizations to an active civil sphere combining individual and collective rights and obligations will take time to develop in BiH. It has been observed by IDEA (1996) that authoritarian politics in pre-war Yugoslavia severely curtailed the development of civic activism, and that the absence of a well-developed civil sphere was a major cause of the failure to defuse the conflicts that eventually resulted in the civil war. In essence, during the SFRY period the State suppressed citizen involvement and collective activity outside of State sponsorship. Consequently, in the present post-socialist, post-war period in BiH people are weakly organized in organizational capital. The roots of civil society existed in the former Eastern block (i.e. the Soviet client States in eastern Europe) largely in the form of protest and dissident movements. A Croatian author (Drakulic, 1994) wrote that during the SFRY period there was a silent contract between citizens and the State. The message from the political leadership was: do not mess with politics and we will give you a decent standard of living and opportunities to freely travel and buy Italian shoes. According to Drakulic, this led to an unorganized, or nonexistent, political opposition.

Oppression was clearer in the former Eastern Bloc. For example, in Czechoslovakia an (underground) political opposition existed and took an active role in the late 1980s (Drakulic, 1994). This phenomenon has also been labeled "ironic freedom." That is, people's freedom of not identifying themselves with the system, *the freedom of living outside the system in which they lived* (Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer, 1997:86). In addition to the division into three major ethnic/nationality groups, a division is also apparent along urban-rural

30. The NDB has data on mass attitudes and measures, for example trust, in civil and political institutions.

and socio-economic axes as well. The educational needs expressed by these groups vary from specific cultural and religious demands to demands for high quality education, including computer training and internationalization. Considering the weakness of the State and the high degree of decentralization of educational administration according to the new constitution, it will be difficult and expensive for the Entities to respond to the non-standardized and heterogeneous demands coming from the civil sphere. In the pre-war period, educational policy and the curricula were uniform and centralized in BiH. Moving away from this tradition will require time, political will, economic resources and know-how.

3.6 Concluding remarks

One can clearly see a reconstruction of nationhood and ethnic affiliation in the new nations of the former Yugoslavia. Education is seen as one of the most powerful tools in molding these new identities. The situation in BiH is highly complex due to tripartite ethnic division, the process of State formation, fresh war-memories and implementation of three different education systems, two of which are imitations of the Croatian and Serbian systems respectively.

At present there is a tension between tradition (e.g. an emphasis on national subjects and rediscovery of religious affiliation and values) on the one hand, and modernity (e.g. a shift from collectivism to individualism, emphasis of liberal democracy ideas and human rights) on the other. These contradictory trends can be traced within education policies, and are the result of pressures from a tripartite national level and from the IC. Since BiH is a small country at the cultural crossroads between Europe and the Middle East, one of the biggest challenges in this post-war “dependency period” is to maintain a balance between the often-contradictory external pressures. The presence and activities of international and national NGOs and other humanitarian organizations in BiH are assumed to have had positive effects in a relatively short period of time. Hopefully, the pressure for “life in togetherness” and tolerance will come more from within Bosnia and Herzegovina, rather than from the IC, as it is today.

The question is whether BiH will develop a national education system or if the divided education system will persist. In any case, it will be a challenge to develop an education system that will be accepted by all ethnic/nationality groups. It will even be difficult to establish a well-functioning tripartite education system with diploma recognition between the systems, based on the unique needs of BiH. The prognosis for the future by international observers in BiH oscillates between hope and despair. Some are of the opinion that the

3. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Its Tripartite Education System

situation is improving and that the country is leaving the first phase of emergency and that a second phase of sustainability is beginning. Others argue that the architects of the Dayton Agreement tried to make a box out of a circle, and that they have not understood that Bosnian Muslim, Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb leaders want to rule their own ethnically cleansed mini-nations.

Chapter 4

Data Collection and Research Methods

The chapter begins with a presentation of some basic concepts and assumptions, since they formed the foundation on which the student and teacher questionnaires were developed and they served as steering instruments during the research process. These concepts are authoritarianism, democratic attitudes, social responsibility and legislation.

A description of the methodology used in this study is provided, including pilot study, data collection, research access and scope of the study. Finally, a detailed description of the two student questionnaires and the teacher questionnaire is provided and the data analysis undertaken.

4.1 Assumptions and Concepts That Guided the Design of the Questionnaires, Data Collection, Research Access and Scope of the Study

4.1.1 Authoritarianism

In trying to better understand what a democratic personality is, it can be useful to contrast it with an authoritarian personality, as did Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950, 1964). They studied personality traits in order to grasp why some persons did, or did not, accept fascism imposed on them, including agreement with anti-Semitic statements. They developed the following basic components of an authoritarian personality: authoritarian submissiveness; authoritarian aggressiveness; conventionalism; “power and toughness”; anti-interception; superstition and stereotypy; destructiveness; cynicism; projectivity; and puritanical sexual attitudes. In their concluding chapter they write:

It is safe to assume, however, that fascism is imposed on the people that it actually goes against their basic interests, and that when they can be made fully aware of themselves and their situation they are capable of behaving realistically. That people too often cannot see the workings of society or their own role within it is due not only to a social control that does not tell the truth but to a “blindness” that is rooted in their own psychology (Adorno et al., 1964:976).

The authoritarian F-scale has been used several times in social-psychological research in the former Yugoslavia and has demonstrated a high level of reliability (Popadic, 1992, Popadic and Vasovic, 1998). Insecurity encourages people to seek strong, authoritarian leaders (Inkeles, 1961). Due to the political background and educational traditions in the former Yugoslavia it was relevant to include authoritarianism as a component of the study.

Sanford (1971) contributes to the discussion on what characterizes an authoritarian personality: relative inability to accept blame, a tendency to view interpersonal relations in terms of power and status, manipulative attitude towards other people and self-referential pathologies. Lane (1962) discusses what characterizes an undemocratic personality: loss of identity; anxiety; lack of self-control; irrationality; anti-intracativity; interpersonal pathologies; misanthropy; constricted empathy; closed ego; division into “us” and “them”; conformity; social alienation; anomie; constricted uni-value system; traditionalism and the belief that the “world is a jungle”.

At a broader level, cross sectional analysis of World Values Surveys shows that respect for authority among young age groups in advanced industrial societies is lower than in low-income societies (Inglehart, 1996). Farnen and Meloen (2000) investigated relationships between political education, on the one hand, and authoritarian, democratic and multicultural attitudes, on the other hand. Their sample consists of 44 countries with almost 10,000 respondents and their analysis shows that liberal and conservative/nationalist education has effects on authoritarian and democratic multicultural attitudes. The effects of conservative-nationalist education styles were much stronger than teaching democratic multiculturalism and they conclude that it is equally necessary to teach pro-democracy and anti-authoritarianism. They also underline the need for more insight into how students accept democracy and anti-authoritarianism for themselves rather than through indoctrination. Their argument corresponds with Poulmatka's (1995) argument that democratic values transmitted through indoctrination can undermine the basic principles of democracy.

4.1.2 Democratic Personality Traits

In this study student and teacher attitudes are measured, and the literature discussed below guided the design of the questionnaires. Some authors have focused their analyses on democratic characteristics. Lasswell (1951) found that a democratic person believes, at a cognitive level, in the benevolent potentialities of humankind. He also found that individuals who are “multi-valued”, who can consider alternative values with open egos (i.e. ready to transcend

their cultural origin and identify themselves with humankind), free of the pursuit of power as a single end-in-itself. finally when the individual's identifications are broad and comprehensive, they become democratic characters. Lasswell makes the point that confidence in human potential is characteristic of democratic individuals (its opposite would be the lack of such confidence). Moreover, it was found that people who tend not to believe that "people can be trusted" also tended, logically enough, not to trust democratic officials or to believe that these officials cared much about the interests of the public. This point is also made by Almond and Verba (1963). Their classic study of comparative politics includes five countries¹ and is based on approximately 5,000 interviews. One of the more significant findings in their study is the importance of education. *The more educated individual is more aware of the impact of government on the individual, more likely to report that he/she follows politics and pays attention to election campaigns, has more political information, has opinions on a wider range of political subjects, more likely to engage in political discussion, feels free to discuss politics with a wide range of people, more likely consider himself capable of influencing the government, more likely to be a member – and an active one – of some organization and more likely expresses confidence in his social environment: to believe that other people are trustworthy and helpful* (Almond and Verba, 1963:317). Their data show that if individuals had the opportunity to participate in family decisions, in school or at work, they were more likely (than someone who did not have the same opportunities) to consider themselves competent to influence the government.

Lippit and White (1960) underline the importance of open mindedness, self-acceptance, self-reliance, realism, fairness and friendship, being open to new experiences and being able to accept others. Inkeles (1961) discusses the importance of being tolerant of differences and ambiguity, and being able to be responsible with constituted authority while at the same time being watchful rather than blindly submissive. Other studies have concentrated on the importance of competencies, skills and knowledge of democratic individuals. Siegel and Hoskin (1981) conceptualized political involvement of democratic citizens as composed of three dimensions: 1. *Political affect* (patriotism, willingness to obey the country's laws etc.); 2. *Political cognition* (information about political institutions, events, personalities and principles, as well as comprehension of their significance); and 3. *Political behavior* (all overt and visible forms of political activity). They studied high school students in the United States and examined political involvement from three broad dimensions mentioned. A crucial objective of their study was to broaden the concept of political involvement

1. USA, Mexico, Italy, Germany and Great Britain.

beyond the equation between political involvement and political participation. They suggest other important arenas for political involvement and argue *that citizens can be emotionally and /or cognitively involved without necessarily resorting to much overt participation* (Siegel and Hoskin, 1981:7). Zsigo (1995) underlines the importance of *civic knowledge*, *civic skills* (communication skills, ability to understand issues and the complexities inherent to an issue) and *civic disposition* (respect, willingness to communicate, individual responsibility, self-discipline, concern for the common good, openness of ideas, healthy skepticism, willingness to compromise and cooperate, tolerance, patience, persistence, compassion and generosity). Other researchers have noted the importance of peaceful conflict resolution skills, solidarity, cooperation, respect for diversity, awareness of diversity, willingness to accept diversity and active participation in public life (Nelson, 1994, Pesikan and Marinkovic, 1997 and Plut, 1994).

In the second phase of the IEA study, beyond civic knowledge, the survey aimed to capture attributes which 14-year olds from 28 countries think strengthen democracy. The results show that students highlight free elections, the existence of a diversity of interest organizations and possibilities for people to join these organizations. They also believe that democracy is weakened when wealthy people have undue influence on government, when politicians influence the courts, and when people are forbidden to express ideas critical of the government (Lehmann, Oswald, Schultz and Torney-Purta, 2001).

4.1.3 Sense of Community

Adelson and O'Neil (1966) investigated the sense of community among young people at the ages of 11, 13, 15 and 18. They found that before the age of 13, young people find it hard to imagine the social consequences of political action and are rarely able to transcend personalized modes of discourse in the political realm. The idea of the future is incompletely developed in the early years. Therefore it is in the later period that youngsters can take into account the long-term effects of political action. Children between 11 and 13 find it difficult to conceive the community as a whole and they conceptualize government in terms of specific and tangible services. These children are, in Piaget's cognitive perspective (1964), egocentric in that they cannot transcend a purely personal approach to matters that require a socio-centric perspective. Younger children see citizenry as willful and potentially dangerous and society as needing coercive and authoritarian measures. Children between 11 and 13 years of age are usually insensitive to individual liberties and opt for authoritarian solutions to political problems. As they get older (13 and above) children have more

complex views of political arrangements. Older children emphasize the positive functions of the government.

In a cross-national and developmental study undertaken by Gallatin and Adelson (1971) the growth of ideas concerning the principle of individual freedom was examined. *Implicit in the concept of freedom is the notion of privacy. The state may regulate the lives of its citizens in some respects (for instance, requiring a minimum level of education and pay taxes), but there are other personal affairs it cannot enter into without infringing their liberties* (Gallatin and Adelson, 1971:96). Their findings underline the increased recognition, with increased maturity, that the laws proposed involve an infringement of personal freedom. Younger adolescents are more likely to respond to the “evident good” *that the law seeks to obtain and are more willing to grant legitimacy to any claim the state may make upon the citizen. Between the ages of 15-18 a substantial number of youngsters not only recognize the intrusiveness of such laws but also can adduce a counter principle – individual freedom – to weight against their apparent merits* (ibid.:98). In spite of some national differences presented in the study, the findings emphasize developmental differences. As adolescents mature, they appear to develop a more differentiated view of the political-legal world and become increasingly concerned with guaranteeing certain individual rights.

4.1.4 Social Responsibility

Many scholars have written about the important link between citizens' participation and involvement in a community and its positive impact on democratization processes (Coleman, 1990, Putnam, 1993). One assumption when the student questionnaires were developed for this study was that active citizens in the civil sphere have a sense of social responsibility. Useful analytical tools were borrowed from Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968) and their study on social responsibility confirmed that high scorers on the social responsibility scale (SRS) tend to reject feeling powerless in everyday matters and feeling alienated from society. Women had higher SRS scores than men and there was a positive correlation between level of education and SRS scores. Participation in a society often results in adoption of the society's attitudes and values. Thus, at the political level, high scorers on the SRS scale are presumed to have a greater opportunity to learn political mainstream ideals such as democracy. They are also more motivated to adopt them as their own views because of their greater participation and involvement in the culture. High scorers on the SRS scale were regarded as conservative, not alienated and highly involved in society and had accepted many traditional values of society (Berkowitz and Lutterman, 1968:172).

4.1.5 Importance Students Give to Legal Systems

It can be argued that legal systems are fundamental for the preservation of democratic systems. Therefore, it was necessary to see how much importance students give to legal regulations and whether they see a connection between legal systems and democracy. Adelson, Green and O'Neil (1969) examined the growth of the idea of law during adolescence. They found that younger adolescents (between 11 and 13) rarely imagined that a law is absurd, ill conceived or unfair. They assumed authority to be omniscient and benign, and therefore that laws are enacted for good and sufficient reasons. Above the age of 13, it was understood that law is a human product and that people are fallible. Hence, law is to be treated in the same skeptical spirit we treat other human artifacts. *Law is a tool of spirit, not spirit itself* (Adelson, Green and O'Neil, 1969:332). In Tapp and Kohlberg's (1971) study one of the purposes was to investigate the applicability of Kohlberg's moral development theory to concepts of law and legal justice. Kohlberg's general levels of moral judgment are: (i) pre-conventional; (ii) conventional; and (iii) post-conventional. Within each level, there are two distinct stages. When concepts of law, rule and justice are applied to the above model (i) the pre-conventional level represents *a rule-obeying* perspective; (ii) the conventional level represents *a rule-maintaining* perspective; and (iii) the post-conventional level represents the legislative or *rule-making* perspective. Tapp and Kohlberg's data reveal a sequential progression. Predominantly pre-conventional, primary school students did not distinguish between legality and morality. By middle school (grades 4, 6 and 8), most children had internalized a conventional orientation where certain circumstances provide moral justification. At college, while a minority were conventional, slightly over half of the sample expressed a post-conventional ethic where universal moral principles above the law should dictate relationships to the social order (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971:83).

All characteristics mentioned can be categorized into three areas of personal development.

Cognitive

- Knowledge of basic concepts about society, state, laws, democratic principles and human/children rights.
- Knowledge of one's own rights and duties and about the democratic procedure.
- Ability to express and defend one's own interests and positions, ability of argumentation and of understanding the position of others.

Affective

- Attachment to democratic principles.
- Acceptance of laws and legal authorities vs. authoritarian submission to charismatic leaders.
- Political tolerance for diverse beliefs.
- Social responsibility, cooperativeness and empathy.

Behavioral

- Participation in democratic procedures.
- Readiness to fight for, or defend, democratic rules.
- General activism and involvement in social actions in the community.

It must be remembered that people in BiH have experienced a civil war with “ethnic cleansing” and that the killings did not end until the Dayton Agreement in November 1995. A war situation fulfils most arguments and concepts of what democracy is not. Indeed in a war, fundamental human rights are violated. What is of interest here is to see what attitudes, values and perceptions students and teachers have in the post-war recovery phase. Student and teacher conceptions of democracy are based on every-day experiences in the media, in school, with colleagues, in the community, in the family, in the peer group etc. Therefore, it is of interest to see the level of participation and respect students and teachers receive when participating in some of these socialization settings.

4.2 Pilot Study, Data Collection and Research Access

4.2.1 Pilot Study, Validity and Reliability

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the questionnaires are the result of a consensus based on discussions of four research groups. Before my data collection started in November 1997, pilot tests were conducted for the two student questionnaires at a primary school in Belgrade in collaboration with a colleague from Belgrade University. This was very fruitful since we discovered that certain questions or sections in the questionnaires had to be more clear² in order to avoid non-response. To test the reliability of the items in the questionnaires the questionnaires were distributed on two occasions in the same classes in the already mentioned school. Most of the items used are a replication of previous

2. In question (Q)₄₄ in Student Questionnaire (SQ)₁, there was a tendency to put just 1 or 5 instead of a ranking scale. Q₄₇ in SQ₁ needed a more detailed introduction. In Q₁₄ in SQ₂ there was a tendency to put just 1 or 6 instead of using the ranking scale (see Appendix 2).

research and as mentioned previously the authoritarian and democracy scale as well as the social responsibility items have been used in Serbia and Montenegro and have demonstrated a high level of reliability (Popadic, 1992, Popadic and Vasovic, 1998). The items used in this study are found to be relevant for the socio-cultural setting in BiH. Concerning the validity, it can be mentioned that the findings in the present study corresponds with findings in a study based on the same items in Serbia and Montenegro (Kolouh-Westin, 2002). One major conclusion in this study is that education matters; high achievers are more supportive to democracy, less authoritarian and more socially responsible. One limitation that weakens the validity is the previously discussed lack of information on parents educational background.

4.2.2 Republika Srpska

From Belgrade I went to Banja Luka in RS. After many failed efforts to gain research access via mail, telephone calls, etc., my last hope was to get research access on the spot. At the time (1997) the main administrative and political center of RS was in Pale (a small mountain village next to Sarajevo), where the Serbs had the reputation of being "hard-liners" (with emphasis on ethnic nationalism and protectionism). The Banja Luka region was known to be more "reform-friendly". Just before my arrival to Banja Luka there was a serious political collision between these two regions in RS. At the time the Minister of Education in Pale was time elected to the tripartite multi-ethnic Bosnian Parliament as a human rights representative. This in and of itself would not be so interesting but it was notable given the Minister's presence on the Hague-list of war criminals and at the same time! Research access was denied by the Minister, but approved by the Pedagogical Institute in Banja Luka.

The questionnaires were language-checked and printed in the Cyrillic alphabet for RS. We distributed questionnaires together in two schools and then the assistant completed the data collection in RS³. In each school, students in two grade 8 classes answered the questionnaires. In each class, questionnaires 1 and 2 were equally distributed (see Appendix 2). Students who sat next to one another filled in different questionnaires. In each school a minimum of five teachers were selected for the teacher questionnaire. The goal was to focus on teachers of history, language and geography (the national group of subjects), but in some cases (when target teachers were not available) other teachers in natural science subjects were included as well. The reason for targeting teach-

3. For personal reasons I could not distribute all questionnaires in RS so I obtained assistance from a researcher at the pedagogical institute who showed a great interest in my study.

ers in the group of national subjects was the assumption that issues related to democracy would be mostly included in this group of subjects. In the student questionnaire, students were asked about their grades in history and language of instruction. In the international comparative research project mentioned in Chapter 1, a content analysis of textbooks was conducted for history and Serbian/Bosnian language/literature for grades 5 to 8 in primary education.

One additional request for the researcher appointed to distribute the questionnaires was to write notes after each classroom visit, recording students' comments and remarks⁴. Primary schools in the southeastern parts of RS were not included due to the above-mentioned failure to gain research access. During my stay in Banja Luka, national assembly elections were held, which gave me a good opportunity to observe pre-election procedures, collect political party programs and follow the debates in media. This pre-election atmosphere and the political tensions mentioned, might be an additional explanation of why RS students showed more dissatisfaction with the political system and were more prone to forbid lies etc (see chapter five).

4.2.3 Federation

The educational administration is more decentralized in the Federation, than the more centralized administration in RS. Each canton has one Educational Ministry and its own municipal administration. According to the Dayton Agreement the cantons are responsible for secondary and higher education and the municipalities for primary education. At the Central BiH government level there are two Educational Ministers, one Muslim and one Croat, on the Council of Ministers.

It was a time- and energy-consuming task to reach the two "central" Ministers of Education and ask for research permission from each cantonal minister of education. Eventually, however, research access was gained to all cantons. In each canton I had a contact person (most of them holding PhDs), willing to distribute the questionnaires. A co-coordinator (advisor and researcher at the Pedagogical Institute in Sarajevo) was responsible for the final collection of questionnaires and sending them to me. Due to unpredicted reasons, the Croatian cantons did not want to cooperate with the coordinator from Sarajevo and this is the reason why no questionnaires were returned from these cantons. In the Federation the questionnaires were translated to Bosnian and Croatian (Latin alphabet).

4. The same practice was implemented in Fed.

4.3 Scope of the Study

At the time of data collection, statistics available (UNESCO, 1997) showed the following figures on the total number of primary schools, students and teachers;

Table 4.1 Scope of the study

	RS		Fed ¹		BiH
	Total	Sample	Total	Sample	Total Sample
Primary schools	828 (185 main schools and 643 branch schools ²)	11 (5 main and 6 branch schools)	291	7	18
Teachers	6 667	111	8 656	44	155
Students	130 464	497	212 182	410	907

1. Excluding figures from the Croatian cantons).

2. Branch schools include small grade-integrated village schools, but can also mean larger primary schools administratively related to a main school.

Since Croatian Cantons are not included in the sample, this is a case study of student and teacher attitudes in predominantly Bosnian-Muslim Cantons and the area around Banja Luka in 1997. Half of the students in BiH were given “Student Questionnaire1” SQ1 and the other half “Student Questionnaire 2” SQ2. SQ1 is more quantitative in its structure while SQ2 consists of more open-ended questions with a number of hypothetical situations to which students were supposed to react. However, a number of questions dealing with human rights and attitudes towards laws were identical in both versions of the questionnaires⁵. When this is the case, the number of respondents is 907. SQ1 covered 466 students in BiH, (218 in the Federation and 248 in Republika Srpska). SQ2 covered 441 students in BiH, (192 in the Fed and 249 in RS). For more details on the sample and student questionnaires see Appendices 1 and 2.

4.4 Student Questionnaires

4.4.1 Why Two Different Student Questionnaires?

SQ1 was more focused on student attitudes and how students perceived the political system at the time data was collected.

SQ2 had more open-ended questions and especially the modified island scenario (see chapter five) (Adelson, Green, and O’Neil, 1996) was used in

5. There are totally 12 questions Q 1-5, Q 38-43 and Q 48 in SQ1 (see Appendix 2).

order to give students an opportunity to present their views or ideals on issues such as universal suffrage, democracy and the importance of laws not necessarily contextualized in the “post-war Bosnian realities”, but focused on an imaginary community. It was also important to note that the student questionnaire was designed to enable students to complete it within one lesson period (40minutes).

4.4.2 Student Questionnaire 1

Question (*Q1-3*) data on gender, age, overall school achievement, grades in history and mother tongue (see Appendix 2). Grades are given from 1 (lowest grade) to 5. Overall achievement includes three levels: good, very good and excellent (to pass with excellent, grade 5 is required in all subjects). (*Q4*) The education system in the former Yugoslavia was criticized for focusing on “one-right-answer” traditions (Kolouh-Westin, 2002) and it was interesting to see if student perceptions were acknowledged by teachers. This question was posed in both student questionnaires.

Students were given two alternatives: “one-right answer” and “lessons learned with additional comments or questions”. In addition to percentages, cross-tabulations were done based on gender, entity and overall achievement. (*Q5*) Students’ after-school activities were probed for in both student questionnaires. The assumption was that the more active students would to a higher degree be more supportive of democratic statements compared with the less active students and have higher scores on the Social Responsibility Scale (SRS).

Since this was an open-ended question, the choice was initially to code the answers as detailed as possible in the statistical program used (SPSS). During the data analysis five categories emerged⁶: 1) “*Less active*” (nonmember, rest, taking walks, only TV), included students not taking an active role in any particular or organized manner; 2) “*Individual studies*” (homework, read and study, computer), students individually active at home doing their homework, reading etc.; 3) “*Sports*” (sports, sports and TV, sports and study), students who mentioned sports activities are included; 4) “*Member*” (member of an organization, extra curricula, instrument), students who claimed membership in any organization, organized extra curriculum involvement, instrument practice; and 5) “*Social-skills*” (socialize, extra curriculum and sports), students who stressed socializing with friends as most important are included. Some students mentioned after-school activities included in all the five categories, but the activity mentioned first, and emphasized, determined the category. One-way

6. The major guiding characteristic in the creation of categories can be seen in parentheses.

multivariate analyses of variance were conducted, with the five categories mentioned above as independent variables and SRS items, democracy scale and authoritarian scale as dependent variables. In both SQ1 and SQ2 data are collected (Q1-5).

The questions used in the two student questionnaires are presented below in chronological order (see Appendix 2).

Authoritarianism (authoritarian scale)

(Q6-Q13) To measure authoritarian attitudes, a shortened version of the California F scale was used in Student Questionnaire 1, originally constructed by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950, 1964). The shortened version of the scale consists of eight items presented in Likert-type format with five response categories scored from 1 (strong disagreement) to 5 (strong agreement). The statements have been worded in such a way that agreement with all of them expresses authoritarianism. The original authoritarian personality scale (ibid.) consists of several subcategories: conventional syndrome; authoritarian submission syndrome; authoritarian aggression syndrome; power; and toughness syndrome. An individual who scores high on one or more of the subcategories is expected to score high on the total comprehensive authoritarian personality scale. The analytical approach has been to treat all statements as an indication of an authoritarian personality. The total score for each student was computed with a possible range from 8 to 40. Separate one-way multivariate analyses of variances, with the two entities and gender as independent variables and authoritarianism as the dependent variable, were conducted.

Social Responsibility Items

(Q14-19) To measure social responsibility (SRS) six items in Likert-type format were borrowed from Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968). Four statements used by them were borrowed from Dale B. Harris, he used a Social Responsibility Scale in his research on school children's attitudinal responses in relation to whether or not they had a reputation of being socially responsible. Berkowitz and Lutterman added two statements in their research on adults in 1963 in Wisconsin (see Appendix. 2 for the specific questions in this series). Statements were coded in such a way that agreement with all of them expressed social responsibility. In computing the overall score, complete agreement with these SRS items was scored 5 and complete disagreement 1 (vice versa for the anti-SRS statements). The total score was computed with a possible range from 6 to 30.

Separate one-way multivariate analyses of variance, with the two entities and gender as independent variables and the social responsibility items as dependent variables, were conducted. Linear correlation analysis was conducted with the SRS items and authoritarian and democracy scales.

Attitudes towards democracy (Democracy scale)

(Q20-31) A scale of 12 statements of the Likert-type was used. These statements were modified from attitude items used by Almond and Verba (1963). All statements except one express a non-democratic attitude.

In computing the overall score, complete agreement with these non-democratic statements was scored 1 and complete disagreement 5 (vice versa for the democratic statement). The total score was computed with a possible range from 12 to 60. Separate One-Way Multivariate Analyses of Variance for the two entities and gender as independent variables and attitude toward democracy as the dependent variables were conducted. Linear correlation analysis was conducted with the SRS items and authoritarian and democracy scale.

Knowledge about laws and the legal age

(Q32-37) This group of six questions was used to investigate students' knowledge about the existing political and legal system, the way it functions and about students' own rights and duties. The questions related to issues such as: legislation and the legal age for criminal liability, marriage, drivers license and obligatory parental support for children. Descriptive analyses were conducted using frequencies and percentages.

Conception of children rights

(Q38-40) In both questionnaires, students were asked in the form of open-ended questions to investigate their conception and comprehension of children rights. The first question asked the students to give an explanation of their understanding of children rights. The secondly asks them to state who, in their opinion, was responsible for protecting human and children rights. Finally, students were asked to declare which of their rights was most important to them. (Q38-43) were asked in both SQ1 and SQ2.

In the first coding process all the answers were coded as detailed as possible. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) served as a guide in the formation of questions. During the data analysis the following categories emerged: "Right to education"; "Children should be respected and have a say"; "Freedom of choice and expression"; "Right to safety and protection";

“Children have no rights in this country”; “Obligation, children should behave correctly”; “Other”; and those who directly answered “Don’t know”.

On the second question, probing responsibility for protection of children rights, eight categories emerged: “State, parliament, president politicians, municipality” (emphasis on political arena); “Police” (should be one category due to large investments at the time in international⁷ and national police protection in the post-war phase); “Parents and Teachers”(adults closest to children); “Everyone, political arena and parents and children” (holistic view including the individual); “UN, USA, NGOs, the Red Cross” (responsibility outside BiH, international community); “Law, courts”; “Other” and “Don’t know”.

Perceived importance of different socialization agents

(Q41) Students were requested to give their viewpoint on the degree of support given to them by individuals/groups (parents, teachers, peers/friends and politicians) in fulfilling and protecting their rights.

Students were asked to choose one of four options for each socialization agent (Support, Neither support nor hinder, Hinder, I do not know). Descriptive analyses were conducted using frequencies and percentages.

Importance of Laws

(Q42-43) “Is it acceptable to break the law?”; “Why do you think it is acceptable to break the law?”; and Q43 “In what circumstances?” – the aim of these questions was to find out if students perceive the law as an inviolable authority (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971). The first question had a yes and no option. Cross-tabulation was done with these two categories and entity belonging, gender and general school achievement. When the initial coding was completed for the follow up question, all individual answers were written for each student, and in the second stage of categorization the focus was to identify students with post-conventional legislative perspectives. Students belonging to this category stressed ideological disagreement with the law, questioned the content of laws, and claimed that the law can be unjust and harmful to society: “Ideological, disagreement with law/content of law is questioned, Unjust law, harmful to society”. The second category includes students who are typically rule-obeying and rule-maintaining. Here students stressed that laws always have to be obeyed: “Circumstances, Law has to be respected, Bad consequences, Life is at stake, War, Economic survival”. Q43 was meant to probe for additional

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information, but it did not work as intended. 139 students did not answer and many of them wrote that they had already answered the question. Thus the data obtained did not show any patterns that differed from the data analyzed in Q 42.

Preferences of political objectives

(Q44) The aim was to study students' overall value orientation, their priorities regarding political stability, economic standards and civil rights. A list of five social values was presented: 1) "Maintaining order in the country"; 2) "Providing a decent standard of living for everyone"; 3) "Protecting individual freedoms"; 4) "Giving people more say in government decisions"; and 5) "Fighting rising prices" (see Appendix 6 for Table) (Siegel and Hoskin, 1981). Respondents were supposed to rank them according to their importance from 1 (most important) to 5 (least important). Some students misinterpreted the way of ranking the objectives and in several cases they put 1 or some other number on all five social values given. These data were treated as missing data. Means were compared for the five social values.

Support for different civic organizations and interest groups

(Q45-46) Thirteen civic organizations were listed and students were directed to check whether or not they would personally give them their support. An additional task was that students had to choose the organization they found most important. Support for different organizations was treated as an indicator of the priority given to various rights and social problems, but also a possible willingness to participate in civil society. Yes and No options were given for each organization and frequencies and percentages were calculated.

Attitudes towards democracy

(Q47) The semantic differential scale (Osgood, May and Miron 1975, Osgood, 1976) consisted of five pairs of contrasted attributes (pleasant-unpleasant, sweet-sour, good – bad, beautiful – ugly and important – unimportant) all belonging to the evaluative dimension of connotative meaning. For the sake of comparison, besides the word "democracy", students rated four other words: school, police officer, wealth and politics. In this semantic differential task, the students were instructed to judge these words against a sequence of bipolars categorized by a five-point scale with five verbal opposites (see Appendix 2). It was emphasized that this should be done rapidly, to capture the students' first impressions and avoid politically correct answers.

When the answers were coded and processed in SPSS for each word (e.g.

school), five categories were created (school-pleasant, school-sweet, school-good, school-beautiful, school-important). Finally each variable had five value labels; pleasant, sweet, good, beautiful and important. For each word in the analysis the mean was calculated (low mean is an indication of positive attitude). Bravais-Pearson's linear correlation analysis was applied to the authoritarian scale, democracy scale, social responsibility items, and overall achievement, achievement in native language and history with the mean for every word.

Preferred country of residence and career plans for future

(Q48) Due to the post-war situation in BiH, it was of interest to find out how students visualized their future in BiH or if they preferred to live abroad. They were also asked about their ambitions and goals for their future. These (two) questions were asked in both SQ1 and SQ2.

Students' career plans were asked for in an open-ended question. In the initial coding phase the answers were entered as detailed as possible and in the second stage five career categories were created: "Science, education, medicine" (emphasis on higher education, research); "Business, politics, law, sports" (extrovert activities, politics); "police, military"; "artist, singer"; and "any Job". Percentages and cross-tabulations were conducted based on gender and overall achievement.

4.5 Student Questionnaire 2

Tolerance for Diversity

(Q6-8) Tolerance towards people with different religions, race or ethnic group or people with physical disabilities is one of the most important values in heterogeneous cultures. What did students think about these topics after a war with "ethnic cleansing"? These questions were modified from an interview guide employed in a study by Lane (1962). In addition to frequency and percentage analysis for the three questions, cross-tabulations were conducted with general school achievement, entity and gender.

Basic conceptions about democracy, laws and human rights

A modified version of the questionnaire first used by Joseph Adelson and his team in their investigation of political socialization (Adelson and O'Neal, 1966; Adelson, Green and O'Neil, 1969; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971) was used. In the island scenario questions related to universal suffrage and importance of a democratic society were modified from an interview guide developed by Lane

(1962). In this procedure, respondents were first introduced to a hypothetical situation: a thousand people, dissatisfied with their government, moved to a pacific island to form a new society. Once there, they were confronted with the task of establishing the political order. Open-ended questions covering a wide array of topics of various generality, from the necessity of laws, nature of laws, government involvement, public authority and personal freedom, universal suffrage, importance of compulsory schooling to priorities of rights. Respondents had the opportunity to express their beliefs about basic political ideas, as well as to explain them⁸.

Students were asked how important it is to have laws on the island and they were given four alternatives: “Yes it is necessary”; “Good idea, but not necessary”; “There should be just a few basic laws” and “No laws are necessary”. An additional question was supposed to obtain the importance students attribute to the law and it was of interest to see how prone students were to give the President’s authority above the laws. Students were given four alternatives (see Chapter 5).

A question related to universal suffrage was asked and students were asked if all people on the island should have the right to vote, or if some should be forbidden to vote. All the written exceptions written by students (people that they considered should not have the right to vote) were analyzed and presented in ranking order.

An open ended question asked for the main reasons for people to have elections in their countries. All the answers were initially coded for each respondent and categories were created based on frequency and topic: “For a better future”, (optimistic approach); “Chose a president”(one-strong-leader approach); “Chose political leaders”; (more or less neutral approach); “A right all citizens have”(rights based approach); “So one party can win over the other” (ironic insinuation); and “Other”.

Students were asked in an open-ended question to describe the meaning of democracy. All the descriptions were entered in SPSS as detailed as possible and then categories were constructed. Six categories emerged: “Human rights, civil rights, people rule, freedom of thought, freedom of movement and media” (Rights based approach); “ethnic equality, peace” (multi-cultural and peace emphasis); “Justice and socio-economic equality”; “honesty” (indirect critique of dishonest politicians); “Strong country, loyalty to president”(patriotism); and “Just an empty word” (direct critique).

8. References to specific question numbers in the island scenario in SQ2 are not given since they are not numbered in the original version see Appendix 2 for more details.

In a follow up question students were asked what should never exist in a democratic society because it can be constructive to find answers by asking, "what is not". The same approach used above was undertaken in the construction of six categories: "War, bitterness, hatred"; "Criminality, corruption"; "Violation of human rights"; "Nationalism, racism"; "Inequality"; and "Politics stinks, Too young for politics". Students were asked how important they think democracy is and they were given three options: "The society should be democratic"; "Democracy is not so important"; and "There are better options than democracy". Frequency and percentage analyses were conducted.

Freedom of expression was explored by asking students if they would allow everyone to say and write whatever they want. They were also asked what limitations, if any, should be applied. The first question had yes and no options but the follow up question was open-ended. Seven categories were constructed: "Lies, swearing" (indirect critique of its presence); "Hatred, nationalism" (expression of ethnic tension in BiH); "Anything harmful for nation" (Patriotism); "No politics" (distrust in politics); "Private life, integrity" (Individual integrity); "Only the beautiful and good should be allowed"; and "No limits".

Three questions were related to student acceptance of legal and government interference of citizens. The first asks if students would accept a law that would forbid lies. A follow up open-ended question asked why they had answered the way they did, and three categories emerged; "Against individual rights, law unjust (rule-making perspective)"; "Negative consequences, penalties" (rule obeying); and "Harmful to society and individual (rule-maintaining)". The third question was about whether tasteful but dangerous food should be forbidden and students were given two options.

Students were asked if they were of the opinion that education should be compulsory and were given three options. On a follow up open-ended question they were asked why they had answered the way they did and four categories emerged: "human rights"; "It should/must be compulsory"; "Crucial for a better future"; and "No one should be forced into anything". For all these open-ended questions descriptive analyses were conducted using frequencies and percentages. Lastly, students were asked to rank (from 1, most important to 5, least important) five information sources where they can hear and learn about democracy: 1) Television; 2) Parents; 3) Teachers; 4) School; 5) Books; and 6) Peers. Means for each category were calculated.

4.6 Teacher Questionnaire

(Q1-7) Information was collected about gender, age, the length of teaching career, the subject they teach, their place of residence and birth (see Attachment 18 for details).

Teachers' awareness of social conflicts and mechanisms of conflict management

(Q1-29) The 29 statements measuring rigid normativism in dealing with social conflicts were derived from a previous investigation in Belgrade⁹. An agreement with the statements means a rigid legalistic approach to situations of conflict, in which giving in and forgiveness are seen as signs of weakness, an inclination to revenge, and the major mechanism of resolution is to incite guilt.

In computing the overall score, complete agreement with these items was scored 5 and complete disagreement 1. The total score was computed for each respondent with a possible range from 29 to 145. The dimensionality of the conflict resolution items in the sample of teachers was explored by factor analysis (principal components method of factor extraction). Screen plots of the eigenvalues suggests an unidimensional structure of the items. The first two principal components accounted for 27.8 per cent of all item variance (first eigen value=8.05). Items loading on the first factor ranged from 0.34 to 0.69. Therefore, the mean of responses to all 29 items as a measure of conflict resolution was defined.

Authoritarianism

(Q30-37) To measure authoritarian attitudes, the same version of the California F scale was used for both teachers and students (Questionnaire 1), described in the original research by Adorno et al., 1950, 1964).

Attitudes towards democracy

(Q38-43) A scale of six items in Likert-type format were used, as in SQ1. These statements were modified from interview questions used by Almond and Verba (1963). All statements expressed non-democratic attitude. In computing the overall score, complete agreement with these non-democratic statements was scored 1 and complete disagreement 5. The total score was computed with a possible range from 6 to 30. Separate one-way multivariate analyses of variance with the two entities and gender as independent variables, and attitude toward democracy, authoritarian and democracy scale as dependent variables, were

9. Tunde Kovac-Cerovic at the Institute of Psychology at Belgrade University developed these 29 statements.

conducted. Linear correlation analysis was conducted with the conflict resolution items and authoritarian scale.

Ideal student

(Q44) Teacher conceptions of educational values were appraised by an open-ended question asking for a description of an ideal student. Teacher conceptions and descriptions of an ideal student were selected after the analysis and grouped into five sub-categories: “*Intelligent*” (good grades, knows exactly all requirements from curriculum, talented, intelligent, always answers correctly, learns easily, knows what is expected); “*Diligent*” (hard-working); “*Respectful*” (good parental upbringing, cultured, obedience, respect for elders, tidy, well-behaved); “*Social and self oriented*” (good friend, self-development, self-reliant, helps others, cooperative, good communication skills, social skills, tolerant); and “*Critically minded*” (asks for additional explanations, critical view in the learning process, hungry for more knowledge, independent thinking). In the data analysis how teachers wrote the sub-categories (i.e. as the first, second, third fourth or fifth preference) were codes. First and second choices were grouped under 1, and third and fourth choices under 0. Mean comparisons were done based on age, and number of years in the teaching profession.

Positive and negative changes in the education system encountered in the recent time period

(Q45) Teachers were asked two open-ended questions to describe positive and negative educational reforms. In the first phase of data analysis all their answers were coded as detailed as possible and afterwards categories were created, based mainly on frequency. For *positive changes* the following categories emerged: “More emphasis on Bosnian/Serbian heritage”; “School-reconstruction/equipment”; “More student centered methods”; “No improvements or ironic answers”; “Other”.

For *negative changes*: “Overloaded curriculum”; “Teaching profession and school standards degraded”; “Lack of equipment and textbooks”; “Emphasis on Bosnian/Serbian heritage”; and “Other”.

Priorities for in-service training

(Q46-47) Teachers were given five topics and asked to give priority from one (most important) to five (least important) on the topic they would like to have in their in-service training. Mean comparisons were analyzed. In a follow up question teachers were asked whether they discussed human and children rights in pre and in service teacher training. “Yes” and “no” options were given.

Educational practices and opinions about textbooks

(Q48-49) Teachers' educational practices were examined through types of educational materials they reported to use. They were given four alternatives with Yes and No options. On a follow up question they were given three options to assess the quality of textbooks in use.

Teachers' perceived influence over their daily tasks in school

(Q50) The first question addressed if teachers perceived that they had influence in their daily tasks in school (a yes and no options were given). The second open-ended question asked teachers to attribute responsibility for their own influence at work. The answers were coded as detailed as possible, and based on frequency, with eight categories created (see Appendix 20).

Teacher working conditions

(Q51) Teachers were asked to list three topics that would improve their working conditions. As with previous open-ended questions all their answers were coded as detailed as possible and then topics were listed based on frequency (see Appendix 19 for details).

Importance given to schools as an agent for promoting democratic values and behavior

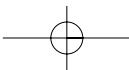
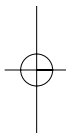
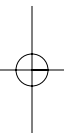
(Q52) Teachers were given five alternatives and asked to pick one. Frequency and percentage analyses were performed based on gender. This question had a limitation – it should not include one choice, rather a ranking of agents promoting more or less democracy. This would provide more useful information.

Existence of forums or teacher unions and possible Membership in these organizations

(Q53) Two questions aimed to capture the existence of organizations where teachers can meet and discuss issues related to their working conditions and the second asked if they were members or took part in some of the organizations. Both questions had “Yes” and “No” alternatives.

Role and influence of parents

(Q54) Teachers were asked whether they co-operated with parents or not, and in a follow up question they were given five alternatives of parental involvement. Finally, they were asked whether they believe parental involvement was important. Descriptive analyses were conducted using frequencies and percentages on all questions.



Chapter 5

Students

This chapter presents the findings from the two student questionnaires. In the last section the findings are summarized and discussed.

5.1 Student Questionnaire 1

The aim of the student questionnaire 1 (SQ1) was to capture student attitudes and conceptions towards issues closely related to democracy. For more details about the overall objectives with the questionnaire, see chapter 1.

5.1.1 Student Authoritarian and Democratic Attitudes

In SQ1 the sample was 248 from RS and 218 from Fed, for a total 466 students (for more details on the student sample, see Appendix 1).

1. *To what degree did students agree with very strong authoritarian statements?*

What is striking is the general strong agreement with authoritarian statements. High means indicate strong agreement with authoritarian statements. Students from Fed more strongly agreed with authoritarian statements than those from RS (Table 5.1), and no differences were found in relation to gender (see Appendix 3).

2. *What were student attitudes related to democracy?*

The means on the democracy scale was moderate and similar between the entities, and there are no gender differences (Appendix 3).

Table 5.1 Means (*M*) and standard deviations (*SD*) on authoritarian and democracy scales in the two entities

	Federation (n = 208)		Republika Srpska (n = 242)		Total (n = 450)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Authoritarianism	4.14	0.54	3.99	0.59	4.06	0.57
Attitude toward democracy	3.02	0.71	3.08	0.62	3.05	0.66

Separate One-Way Multivariate Analyses of Variance of the two entities and gender (independent variables), and authoritarianism and attitude toward

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democracy as dependent variables were conducted. The results from the multivariate analyses showed significant differences between Fed students and RS students on both variables (Wilks' $\Lambda=0.98$, $F(2,447)=4.09$, $p<0.05$). Follow-up univariate analyses of variance on each dependent variable showed significant entity differences between students with respect to authoritarianism: $F(1,448)=8.19$, $p<0.01$. As can be seen from Table 5.1, students from Fed had a higher mean on the authoritarian scale than students from RS. On the other hand, students from Fed and RS did not differ with respect to democracy scale: $F(1,448)=1.09$, $p>0.20$. There were no significant differences on the authoritarian and democracy scales with respect to gender (see Appendix 3) (Wilks' $\Lambda=0.998$, $F(2,447)=0.50$, $p>0.50$).

3. To what degree were students socially responsible?

Students showed strong social responsibility. On items 1 and 3 disagreement was an indicator of social responsibility (SR). There are slight differences based on entity and gender, where students in Fed and girls have higher means (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). There is a possibility that the formulation of items 1 and 3 (negation) might have confused the students, and this could be a reason for the spread of the answers (standard deviation).

Table 5.2 Means (and standard deviations) on social responsibility items in the two entities

Items	Federation (n = 208)		Republika Srpska (n = 242)		Total (n = 450)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	2.53	1.35	2.35	1.32	2.44	1.34
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	4.80	0.61	4.74	0.71	4.77	0.67
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	2.30	1.38	2.02	1.20	2.15	1.29
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	4.88	0.41	4.88	0.38	4.88	0.39
5. I volunteer for school projects	4.06	1.03	3.87	1.16	3.96	1.11
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	4.69	0.77	4.66	0.90	4.68	0.84

Note: Items 1 and 3 were coded in such a manner that high means is an indicator of social responsibility.

Table 5.3 Means (and standard deviations) on social responsibility items with respect to gender

Items	Male (n = 218)		Female (n = 232)		Total (n = 450)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	2.38	1.37	2.50	1.31	2.44	1.34
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	4.69	0.80	4.86	0.46	4.77	0.67
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	2.22	1.37	2.07	1.20	2.15	1.29
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	4.86	0.47	4.91	0.30	4.88	0.39
5. I volunteer for school projects	3.92	1.12	4.01	1.09	3.96	1.11
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	4.60	0.93	4.75	0.73	4.68	0.84

Separate One-way Multivariate Analyses of Variance for the two entities and gender, with the social responsibility items as the dependent variables were conducted. The statistical tests showed significance differences in relation to entity as well as gender. (Entity: Wilks' $\Lambda=0.98$, $F(6,443)=1.78$, $p>0.05$, Gender: Wilks' $\Lambda=0.97$, $F(6,443)=2.07$, $p>0.05$).

4. Were there any relationships between the authoritarian and democracy scales and between these two scales and social responsibility items?

It is evident that the less authoritarian students are more supportive of democratic statements and are more socially responsible (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Bravais-Pearson coefficients of linear correlation among the authoritarian and democracy scales and between these two scales and the social responsibility items of SQ1 ($n=450$)

	Authoritarianism	Attitude toward democracy
Attitude toward democracy	-0.35**	
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	-0.13**	0.26**
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	-0.33**	0.04
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	-0.16**	0.29**
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	-0.10*	0.03
5. I volunteer for school projects	-0.23**	0.04
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	-0.13**	0.09

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Authoritarianism, attitude toward democracy, and separate aspects of social responsibility are interrelated. The relationship between authoritarianism and social responsibility is somewhat more consistent and stronger than the relationship between attitudes toward democracy and social responsibility. Items 1 and 3 are interrelated with the democracy scale; i.e., students who feel that they have influence over daily events and who are positive toward social/ civil engagement are more democratic. The interrelation between authoritarianism on items 2 and 5, shows that authoritarian students are less inclined to engage in voluntary community work.

5. Did students with better overall school grades, value democracy more? Were they more socially responsible and did they agree less with authoritarian statements?

The assumption when the student questionnaire was designed was that students with good overall educational achievement would be more democratic, more social responsible and less authoritarian. The results show that the

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assumption was correct. There is a correlation between good overall grades and the democracy scale. Students with good overall grades agree with items 2) "Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country"; 4) "Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability"; and 6) "I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise" on the SR scale. They are also less authoritarian.

The results of linear correlation analysis presented in Table 5.5 show that, authoritarianism, attitudes toward democracy and some aspects of social responsibility are correlated with school achievement. School achievement variables are in consistent relationship with attitudes toward democracy. Correlations between school achievement on the one hand and authoritarianism and some particular aspects of social responsibility on the other hand are found, but are low.

Table 5.5 Bravais-Pearson coefficients of linear correlation of the authoritarian, democracy scales and social responsibility items with overall achievement, achievement in history and in native language in the SQ1 students (n=446)

	Overall achievement	Achievement in history	Achievement in native language
Authoritarianism	-0.10*	-0.04	-0.10*
Attitude toward democracy	0.29**	0.27**	0.30**
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	0.02	0.06	0.08
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	0.13**	0.16**	0.16**
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	0.08	0.10*	0.09
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	0.10*	0.12*	0.11*
5. I volunteer for school projects	0.08	0.10*	0.08
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	0.12**	0.12**	0.15**

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

6. Did the involvement and nature of after school activities differ between girls and boys?

As can be seen in Table 5.6, there are significant differences between girls and boys regarding the nature of after school activities. Boys were more active in

Table 5.6 Frequencies and percentages of after-school activities based on gender

Gender	After school-activity					Total
	1. Less active f(%)	2. Individual studies f (%)	3. Sports f (%)	4. Member f (%)	5. Social Skills f (%)	
Female	40 (18)	53 (24)	53 (24)	27 (12)	45 (21)	218
Male	23 (10)	28 (12)	121 (53)	21 (9)	37 (16)	230
Total	63	81	174	48	82	448

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each gender.

Chi-square = 40.12, $df = 4$, $p < 0.001$, Cramer's V coefficient = 0.30.

sports compared to girls and girls were more represented in categories 1. “Less active” and 2. “Individual studies” (for details on the five categories related to after school activities, see chapter four).

7. Did the involvement and nature of after school activities have any impact on students' values concerning democracy, social responsibility and level of authoritarianism?

There was a relationship between some Social Responsibility items and the nature of after school activity. Students who were less active and involved in sports were prone to show less social responsibility (on SR items 2 and 4) than those with other types of after-school activities. The nature and involvement of after-school activities had no impact on student attitudes toward authoritarianism and democracy (see Appendix 3).

Table 5.7 Means (and Standard deviations) on the social responsibility items for the groups of students according to after-school activity

	1 Less active (n = 63)	2 Individual studies (n = 81)	3 Sports (n = 174)	4 Member (n = 48)	5 Social skills (n = 82)
Items	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	2.21 (1.23)	2.59 (1.31)	2.43 (1.35)	2.40 (1.22)	2.50 (1.48)
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	4.57 (1.01)	4.90 (0.30)	4.70 (0.74)	4.94 (0.25)	4.84 (0.55)
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	2.25 (1.28)	1.90 (1.18)	2.20 (1.38)	2.12 (1.06)	2.26 (1.34)
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	4.88 (0.55)	4.93 (0.26)	4.86 (0.45)	4.98 (0.14)	4.93 (0.31)
5. I volunteer for school projects	3.81 (1.06)	4.10 (1.02)	3.89 (1.15)	4.29 (0.92)	3.91 (1.22)
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	4.44 (1.07)	4.74 (0.71)	4.66 (0.86)	4.88 (0.44)	4.74 (0.73)

One-way multivariate analysis of variance of after-school activity in relation to social responsibility suggest that there are differences among students based on after-school activity (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.92$, $F(24, 1529) = 1.57$, $p < 0.05$). Follow-up one way analysis of variance shows that students who have different after-school activities show differences in the mean responses on the following social responsibility items 2: Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country ($F(4, 443) = 3.72$, $p < 0.01$) and 4: Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability ($F(4, 443) = 2.49$, $p < 0.05$).

The large standard deviation can be explained by the fact that the question was open ended and even if students mentioned after-school activities includ-

ed in all five categories, the activity that was mentioned in the first hand and emphasized determined the belonging category.

8. *How much did students know about legislation and the legal age for criminal liability, marriage, driver's license and parental obligatory support for children? (see Appendix 4 for details).*

Innocent until proven otherwise

The students were asked the following question: "Imagine that a man is accused of theft and is tried. During the trial it cannot be proven that he is guilty, but on the other hand the man cannot prove that he is not guilty. What will happen?" The correct answer –that the person whose guilt was not proven must be released was given by seven percent of the students. The large majority (Fed 88 percent, RS 86 percent) thought that the absence of evidence is not enough for an acquitted sentence and that, in such a case, the judge could decide whether to acquit or sentence the accused.

Knowledge of the legal system

To the question, "Who has the right to enact and change the laws in the country?" 30 percent in Fed and 23 in RS gave the correct answer – that the Parliament introduces and changes the laws. There was a strong belief in Fed that only the President can enforce and change the laws (Fed 25 percent, RS 16 percent). In RS, 19 percent believed that Courts and Parliament, or Courts and the President is the correct answer compared to nine percent in Fed. Lastly, 23 percent in Fed and 21 percent in RS believed that Parliament and President was the correct answer.

Criminal liability

One of the topics was the age at which an individual can be prosecuted for a crime. The question was: "A three-year old child cannot be accused of something in a trial, a 30 year old person can. At what age can someone breaking the law be accused and undergo a trial?"

The correct answer is that a 16 year-old child is criminally liable and can be brought to trial, but is subject to a legal sentence only at the age of 18. Only a very small percentage gave the correct answer (four percent in Fed, five percent in RS). Eight percent in Fed and 13 percent in RS believed that even those under 16 can be prosecuted but most students tied criminal liability to the beginning of the legal age – 70 percent in Fed and 66 percent in RS.

Marriage

The law permits children aged 16 to marry under certain provisions. So in a strict sense only five percent in Fed and seven percent in RS gave the correct answer. Forty-eight percent in Fed and 45 percent in RS answered that people can marry when they reach legal age (18). Even then, only just over 50 percent of the students had a clear idea of legal possibilities to get married.

Driver's license age

Here a majority of students knew that they could get a driver's license when they reach the legal age, 18 (Fed 85 percent, RS 80 percent).

Parents' legal obligation to support their children

It is not clear to what extent students were aware of the fact that parents have a legal obligation to care of their children. The question was: "Until what age are parents obliged to support their children"? In both Fed and RS seven percent believed that parents can refuse to take care of their minor child. More students made the opposite mistake. They thought that parents are obliged to support their children far longer than stipulated by the law – until the children are 30 or older (Fed, 17 percent and RS, 22 percent). The correct answer (18) was given by 76 percent in Fed and 71 percent in RS.

9. Whom students considered to be the main protectors of their rights (parents, teachers, friends and politicians)?

In Appendix 5 it is shown that students view their parents as the main protectors and supporters of their rights, followed by their teachers and then peers. Moreover, a majority of students viewed politicians as neutral ("neither support nor hinder") or distracting ("hinder") in that respect. There were no differences in the distributions of responses among students from Fed and RS when they responded about parents, teachers and peers. However, students from RS, viewed politicians more negatively.

10. Students' preferences of political objectives

Students were asked to rank five given political objectives from 1 (Most important) to 5 (Least important). Students in both entities provided similar rankings: 1) Maintaining order in the country; 2) Providing a decent standard of living for everyone; 3) Protecting individual freedoms; 4) Giving people more say in government decisions; and 5) Fighting rising prices (see Appendix 6 for table).

11. Did students have inclusive attitudes regarding support of different groups in society, e.g. disabled, homeless children, artists, homosexuals etc.?

As can be seen in Appendix 7, students supported rather indiscriminately any kind of social action helping groups of people. The only exception was the group working for homosexual rights. In Fed 24 percent and in RS 21 percent were prepared to support this group compared with 80 to 90 percent support for all other groups. In a follow up question students were asked to pick one group and the choice was the one closest to the students: "homeless children", supported by 96 percent in both Fed and RS.

12. What were student attitudes toward the words; "democracy", "school", "police officer", "wealth" and "politics" provoke?

Student attitudes and ratings of some key words on the semantic differential scale (low mean is an indication of positive attitude) resulted in the following rating: wealth 1.67, school 1.73, police 2.04, politics 2.52 and democracy 2.59.

13. How were student attitudes towards democracy, school, police, wealth and politics¹ correlated with the authoritarian scale, democracy scale and social responsibility?

Bravais-Pearson's linear correlation coefficients between authoritarianism, democracy and social responsibility items (see Appendix 8) showed that the more authoritarian students value school, police, politics and democracy (in a decreasing order). Students who rank high on the democracy scale give less importance to wealth. There was no correlation found between the democracy scale and the other words. On the social responsibility scale two items ("I volunteer for school projects", and "Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country") were correlated with the words "school" and "police".

14. Were student attitudes toward the words; democracy, school, police, wealth and politics correlated with their school-grades?

Bravais-Pearson's linear correlation coefficients between overall achievement, achievement in history and achievement in native language on the one hand, and attitudes towards school, police, democracy, wealth and politics on the other, can be found in Appendix 8. The only strong and significant correlation found is that between grades and politics, high achievers view politics negatively.

1. Here the semantic differential scale has been recoded for the sake of correlation analyses, where a high mean is an indicator of a positive attitude related to a word.

15. Did gender and school grades have any impact on students' career plans?

There are gender differences with respect to preferences of future career – boys more frequently preferred careers in business, politics, law and sports, while girls more frequently preferred careers in science, education, medicine and arts (see Appendix 9). There is an association between general overall achievement of students and their preference of future career. Excellent students preferred relatively more frequently careers in science, education, medicine and arts than other categories of students (see Appendix 9).

16. How many students could consider leaving BiH, and were there any specific characteristics of students who preferred to live abroad?

In both entities (n=858) 50 percent preferred to live abroad later in life, 60 percent in RS compared with 37 percent in Fed (see Appendix 10).

Gender, and school grades did not have any impact on preferences to live abroad (see Appendix 10). Career plans were linked to preferences of moving abroad. Students who preferred arts (78 percent), business, politics, law and sports (57 percent) wished to live abroad more frequently than students with other career plans.

It is discouraging to read in a study by the UNDP (2000), that young people's beliefs in a better future had not improved since the present study was conducted. In the UNDP study 1000 young people (aged 14-30) were asked the same question and 62 percent answered that they would leave BiH, if given the opportunity. The main reasons given by the respondents were: low living standards (Fed 37 percent, RS 48 percent); disbelief in a better future in BiH (Fed 19 percent, RS 19 percent) and unemployment (Fed 19 percent, RS 16 percent).

5.2 Student Questionnaire 2

The aim of the student questionnaire 2 (SQ2) was to study student attitudes and conceptions towards issues closely related to democracy (see chapter 1). The modified island scenario (Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969) was used in order to give students an opportunity to present their views or ideals on issues such as universal suffrage, democracy and importance of laws, not necessarily contextualized in the "post-war BiH realities", but rather focused on an imaginary community. In SQ2 the sample is 249 from RS and 192 from Fed, total 441 students (See Appendix 1).

1. *What did students perceive as mostly valued by teachers: “one-right answer” or a combination of “lessons learned” with additional comments or questions?*

As can be seen in Table 5.8, the overwhelming majority of boys and girls perceived that teachers mostly value students' own contribution; girls somewhat more than boys. When the same data analysis was conducted for SQ₂ alone (n=438), the gender differences were not as significant compared to the whole student sample (SQ₁ and SQ₂, n=891) (See Appendix 11 for more details). There were no differences at all between students from Fed and RS with respect to their perceptions of teachers' value of knowledge.

Table 5.8 Frequencies and percentages on student perceptions of teacher views of knowledge by gender

Gender	Student's opinion of the teacher's value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f (%)	Own contribution f (%)	
Female	88 (20)	355 (80)	443
Male	124 (28)	324 (72)	448
Total	212	679	891 ¹

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each gender

Chi-square = 7.50, df = 1, p < 0.01.

¹ *Note: In table 5.8 and 5.9 the whole student sample is analyzed including SQ₁ and SQ₂.*

2. *Where there any association between students' overall achievement and what they perceived teachers mostly valued?*

Table 5.9 shows that there is an association between students' opinion of the teachers' view of knowledge and their school achievement. Students with higher achievement answered “own contribution” more frequently than students with lower achievement.

Table 5.9 Frequencies and percentages regarding student perceptions of the teachers' view of knowledge in relation to overall achievement

Overall achievement	Student perceptions of the teacher's value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f (%)	Own contribution f (%)	
Good	117 (33)	241 (67)	358
Very good	63 (21)	239 (79)	302
Excellent	30 (13)	198 (87)	228
Total	210	678	888

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Chi-square = 31.38, df = 2, p < 0.001, Cramer's V = 0.19.

5. Students

Table 5.10 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes regarding religion in relation to overall achievement

General overall achievement	How would you feel if a student with a different religion started at your school			Total
	I wouldn't mind f (%)	I would be indifferent f (%)	I would not like that f (%)	
Good	42 (22)	123 (65)	25 (13)	190
Very good	41 (31)	83 (62)	10 (7)	134
Excellent	46 (39)	62 (53)	9 (8)	117
Total	129	268	44	441

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Chi-square = 12.52, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$

Table 5.11 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes regarding race based on overall achievement

Overall achievement	Do you think people of different races are of equal worth?		Total
	Yes f (%)	No f (%)	
Good	136 (74)	49 (26)	185
Very good	117 (90)	13 (10)	130
Excellent	116 (99)	1 (1)	117
Total	369	63	432

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Chi-square = 40.9, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.31$

Table 5.12 Frequencies and percentages on students overall achievement and their attitudes on people with disabilities

General overall achievement	Do you think people with different disabilities deserve the same rights as others?		Total
	Yes f (%)	No f (%)	
Good	135 (73)	50 (27)	185
Very good	105 (83)	22 (17)	127
Excellent	111 (96)	4 (4)	115
Total	351	76	427

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Chi-square = 40.9, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.31$

3. Where there any links between school achievement and student attitudes towards religion, race and people with disabilities?

As can be seen in Tables 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12, there were associations between students' school achievement, and their attitudes regarding religion, race and disabilities. Students with high achievement were more tolerant than those with low achievement.

4. Were there any differences in student attitudes towards religion, race and people with disabilities in relation to entity?

As can be seen in Tables' 5.13 and 5.14 students from RS gave more intolerant responses regarding different religions and races compared to students from Fed. On the other hand, there were no differences between the entities with respect to student opinions about disabilities (See Appendix 12).

5. Students

Table 5.13 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes towards religion based by entity

Entity	How would you feel if a student with a different religion attended at your school			Total
	I wouldn't mind f (%)	I would be indifferent f (%)	I would not like that f (%)	
Federation	80 (42)	95 (49)	17 (9)	192
Republika Srpska	49 (20)	173 (69)	27 (11)	249
Total	129	268	44	441

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

Chi-square = 25.48, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.24$

Table 5.14 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes towards race based by entity

Entity	Do you think people of different races are of equal worth?		Total
	Yes f (%)	No f (%)	
Federation	170 (89)	20 (11)	190
Republika Srpska	199 (82)	43 (18)	242
Total	369	63	432

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

Chi-square = 4.48, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$

5. Were there any gender differences regarding student attitudes towards religion, race and different disabilities based on gender?

There were no differences between girls and boys with respect to their opinion about religion, race and disabilities (see Appendix 12 for Tables).

5.2.1 Data Analysis and Results from the Island Scenario in SQ2

This section in SQ2 focuses on the island scenario (see 4.3.2). Students were introduced to a hypothetical situation: 1000 people, dissatisfied with their government, moved to a Pacific island to form a new society. Once there, they were confronted with the task of establishing the political order. The results are presented below.

6. What importance did students give to legal regulations?

As presented in Table 5.15 there are no differences between the entities and a majority of students gave importance to the legal system. They differed in opin-

Table 5.15 Frequencies and percentages on the necessity of laws based on entity (n=437)

Entity	Is it necessary to have laws?				Total
	Yes, it is necessary f (%)	Good idea, but not necessary f (%)	There should be just a few basic laws f (%)	No laws are necessary f (%)	
Federation	106 (56)	13 (7)	64 (34)	8 (4)	191
Republika Srpska	146 (59)	23 (9)	72 (29)	5 (2)	246
Total	252	6	136	13	437

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

5. Students

ions about the role of laws in regulating the society, while only a few said no laws are necessary.

7. Did students perceive laws as an inviolable authority?

A majority of students (566, or 62 percent) consider the law not binding in all situations (325, or 36 percent, took a contrary view (Appendix 13). In an additional question (see Table 5.16), regarding when, and in which situations, it is justifiable to break the law, the data indicate a majority of students state it is justifiable to break the law under certain circumstances. Only a few think that the content of law could be bad, unjust or harmful for society. Here there were differences based on entity, with students in RS agreeing more frequently with the former category while Fed students agreed more frequently with the latter.

Table 5.16 Frequencies and percentages on reasons why it is acceptable to break the law (n=809)

Entity	Why do you think it is acceptable to break the law?		Total
	Circumstances, Law has to be respected, Bad consequences Life is at stake War Economic survival f (%)	Ideological disagreement with law/ Content of law is questioned Unjust law, harmful to society f(%)	
Federation	253 (68)	121 (32)	374
Republika Srpska	353 (81)	82 (19)	435
Total	606	203	809 ¹

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

¹ In tables 5.16 and 5.17 the whole student sample was analyzed including SQ1 and SQ2.

8. Were there any gender, entity or school achievement differences related to students who thought it is acceptable to break the law?

As can be seen in Appendix 13 there are no gender or entity differences in the distribution of student responses to that question. On the other hand there is an association between students' opinions regarding that issue and their school achievement (see table 5.17). Students with higher school achievement agreed

Table 5.17 Distribution of responses to the question "Is it acceptable to break the law sometimes?" linked to general overall achievement (n=887)

General overall achievement	Is it acceptable to break the law sometimes?		Total
	Yes f (%)	No f (%)	
Good	211 (58)	150 (42)	361
Very good	193 (64)	110 (36)	303
Excellent	159 (71)	64 (29)	223
Total	563	324	887 ²

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Chi-square = 9.83, df = 2, $p < 0.01$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$

² In Table 5.16 and 5.17 the whole student sample was analyzed including SQ1 and SQ2

to a higher extent that it is acceptable to break the law compared to students with lower achievements.

9. *Were there any relationships between student attitudes regarding breaking the law on the one hand and authoritarian scale, democracy scale and social responsibility on the other hand²?*

As can be seen from Table 5.18, there was a weak correlation between opinion about breaking the law and authoritarianism, as well as between opinion about breaking law and only one of social responsibility items ("There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement"). More authoritarian students were more law abiding. Students who responded in the "socially responsible way" to the question, "There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement", were likely to be less law abiding (i.e. students who viewed civil and political engagement positively do not have a rigid attitude regarding breaking the law).

Table 5.18 Point-biserial correlation coefficients between student attitudes regarding breaking law and authoritarianism, attitude toward democracy and social responsibility (n=440)

	Opinion about breaking of law
Authoritarianism	0.16**
Attitude toward democracy	-0.07
I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	0.02
Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	0.04
There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	-0.13**
Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	0.02
I volunteer for school projects	0.00
I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	0.00

Note: ** $p < 0.01$

10. *What importance did students attach to laws?*

The importance students' attach to laws was evident from the answer to the question about the conflict between the legal authority and the President's authority. Students were presented with the following dilemma: "Imagine that a president is chosen on the island, and that s/he is successful in their leadership role. In order to solve some problems that have occurred on the island s/he is planning to take some actions, but these actions are not in correspondence with the laws on the island. What is s/he supposed to do in this situation?"

2. Since the choice was to have all questions relating to law in one section, therefore the authoritarian, democracy and SR scales from SQ1 are discussed here.

5. Students

As can be seen in Table 5.19, the most frequent answer is that the law is inviolable, especially among students in RS. Students in Fed were more prone to give the President authority above the law. It is interesting to note that when the importance of laws is related to politics that students are more prone to stress that laws are inviolable, but when the laws are discussed more generally 62 percent consider the laws not binding in all situations (see Tables 5.15 and 5.16).

Table 5.19 Frequencies and percentages on conflict between legal authority and the President's authority (n=430)

Entity	Does a leader have the ability to break the law if his/her plans do not correspond to it?				Total
	Has to respect law and give up the planned actions f(%)	Should respect law, but it is not so serious if he/she breaks law f(%)	Should create new laws that fit him/her & then respect & follow f(%)	Can break law if it without doubt solves the problem f(%)	
Federation	69 (37)	19 (10)	42 (23)	54 (29)	185
Republika Srpska	128 (52)	20 (8)	50 (20)	47 (19)	245
Total	197	39	92	101	430

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

11. What were student attitudes regarding universal suffrage?

Students were presented with the following dilemma: "... there are some questions whether all who live at the island should have the right to vote and influence decisions or not? What is your opinion? Should some persons, according to their age, occupation, personal characteristics or anything similar be forbidden from voting? If there are such persons, write down in your opinion those that should not take part in voting for important decisions".

In Table 5.20 it can be seen that there are differences between the entities. Students in RS were more prone to exclude certain groups from voting and 33 students did not answer the question.

Table 5.20 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes regarding universal suffrage (n=408)

Entity	Should all have the right to vote, or should some be forbidden to vote?		Total
	All should vote f(%)	Yes, but not... ^a f(%)	
Federation	163 (90)	18 (10)	181
Republika Srpska	150 (66)	77 (34)	227
Total	313	95	408

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity.

^a Examples numbered by frequency: minors, mentally ill, too old, illiterate, people with other ethnic background, criminals and traitors. In (RS) four students mentioned "yes, but not those who already voted and those who are paid to vote."

5. Students

Table 5.21 Frequencies and percentages regarding reasons for elections
(n=396)

Entity	Why do you think people have elections in their countries?						Total
	For a better future	Elect a president	Elect political leaders	A right all citizens have	So one party can win over the other	Other ^b	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Federation	40 (23)	44 (25)	36 (21)	39 (22)	16 (9)		175
Republika Srpska	85 (39)	37 (17)	49 (22)	26 (12)	8 (4)	16 (7)	221
Total	125	81	85	65	24	16	396

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

^b To elect someone who will lie to them, some are forced to.

12. What did students perceive as main reasons for elections?

Students in RS (see Table 5.21) mostly stressed “for a better future” and at the same time expressed more ironic answers. While students in Fed more frequently considered the main reasons to be election of a President and a citizens’ right. Note that 45 students did not answer the question.

13. How did students define democracy? What did it mean to them?

Students mentioned a society where basic human rights are respected, freedom of movement, freedom of thought/speech and, lastly, media. Justice, equality and peace were important descriptions of a democratic society. In general students in RS were more critical of the “empty” word democracy and asked for more honesty and less lies compared with students in Fed. Students in RS did not emphasize ethnic equality as much as students in Fed but, rather, equality in a more socio-economic aspect (Table 5.22). The reasons for such a big entity difference could be explained (as discussed earlier) by the political isolation of RS in 1997. As for Fed, students’ emphasis on ethnic equality and peace may be connected with war memories and with the fact that in Fed the consequences of war were much more devastating (note, 71 students did not answer this question).

Table 5.22 Frequencies and percentages on student definitions of democracy
(n=370)

Entity	Describe how a society should be if it is democratic						Total
	Human rights, civil rights, people rule, freedom of thought/speech, freedom of movement & media	Justice, ethnic-equality, Peace	Justice socio-economic equality	Honesty	Strong country, loyalty to president	Just an empty word	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Federation	70 (42)	74 (45)		10 (6)	7 (4)	5 (3)	166
Republika Srpska	99 (48)	31 (15)	12 (6)	15 (7)	1 (1)	46 (23)	204
Total	169	105	12	25	8	51	370

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

5. Students

Table 5.23 Frequencies and percentages on student definitions of what should never exist in a democratic society (n=359)

Entity	What in your opinion should never exist in a society that is democratic?					Total	
	War, bitterness, hatred f(%)	Crime, corruption f(%)	Violation of human rights f(%)	Nationalism, racism f(%)	Inequality f(%)	Politics stinks, too young for politics f(%)	
Federation	57 (35)	33(20)	11(7)	29(18)	26(16)	7(4)	163
Republika Srpska	56 (29)	56(29)	35(18)	11(6)	29(15)	9(5)	196
Total	113	89	46	40	55	16	359

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

14. What should never exist in a democratic society according to the students?

A majority answered war and corruption/crime (Table 5.23). These two categories differed between the entities. In RS crime and war scored higher in RS and Fed respectively. Students in RS mentioned violation of Human Rights more than in Fed while students in Fed emphasized nationalism and racism. Note, 82 students did not answer this question and, therefore, the distributions shown in Table 5.24 should be read as approximations.

15. How important was democracy for students?

As presented in table 5.24 a majority of students from both entities believed that democracy is important. Students from RS were more critical and 18 per cent thought that there are better options than democracy.

Table 5.24 Frequencies and percentages on importance of Democracy (n=435)

Entity	Should the society on the island be democratic?			Total
	The society should be democratic f(%)	Democracy is not so important f(%)	There are better options than democracy f(%)	
Federation	131 (69)	40 (21)	18 (10)	189
Republika Srpska	151 (61)	51 (21)	44 (18)	246
Total	282	91	62	435

Note: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

16. How did students view freedom of expression and what kind of limits would they choose if they were in favor of certain limitations to freedom of expression?

Students were presented with the following situation: "There were many arguments about freedom of speech and media. There were plans on the island, just as everywhere else in the world, that they should have their own newspapers, publish books, radio and television. Should every person be allowed to write and to say whatever she or he wants?" Some were positive to this, but there were others who thought that some regulations had to exist. In table 5.25 it is

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Table 5.25 Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes towards freedom of expression (n=440)

Entity	Should every person be allowed to write and say whatever she or he wants?		Total
	I would allow f(%)	I would not allow f(%)	
Federation	110 (58)	81 (42)	191
Republika Srpska	120 (48)	129 (52)	249
Total	230	210	440

Note: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

Table 5.26 Frequencies and percentages on limitations to freedom of expression (n=376)

Entity	If you would introduce some limits, what would not be allowed to be written or said?							Total
	Lies, swearing f(%)	Hatred, nationalism f(%)	Anything harmful for nation f(%)	No politics f(%)	Only beautiful & good should be allowed f(%)	Private life, integrity f(%)	No limits f(%)	
Federation	59(35)	28(17)	22(13)	7(4)	21(13)	10(6)	21(13)	168
Republika Srpska	117(56)	14(7)	25 (12)	9(4)	11 (5)	6 (3)	26 (13)	208
Total	176	42	47	16	32	16	47	376

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row

shown that approximately half the student sample supported limitations of expression. The follow up question (Table 5.26) revealed the underlying reasons for this. Students in RS and Fed were mostly concerned with limiting lies and bad words and students in Fed more than RS students would forbid nationalism and hatred.

17. To what extent did students accept government paternal treatment of citizens?

Students were given the following question: "There were many views and long discussions about some foods that were very tasteful, but dangerous to health. Should such food be forbidden or not?" There were no significant differences between the entities and the student sample was evenly divided on the issue.

Table 5.27 Frequencies and percentages on student acceptance of government paternal treatment of the citizens (n=433)

Entity	Should tasteful food but dangerous for health be forbidden or not?		Total
	It should be forbidden for all to eat this food f(%)	Everybody should be informed and decide for themselves f(%)	
Federation	94 (50)	93 (50)	187
Republika Srpska	139 (57)	107 (44)	246
Total	233	200	433

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

18. To what extent did students accept legal interference with individual's behavior?

Students were given the following question: "One of the suggestions was to establish a law and forbid lies, and that everyone who caught lying would be

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punished. Would you be for or against such a law”? More than half of the students in both Fed and RS would forbid lies on the island (see Appendix 14). In a follow up question the students were asked to explain why they had answered the way they did, and 8 percent in Fed and 31 percent in RS (students against such law) underlined that this was against individual rights and freedoms and that the law could be unjust. Students who preferred to forbid lies mentioned economic penalties and negative consequences most frequently. They also said it is harmful for society and individuals.

19. Should education be compulsory?

A majority of all students were strongly in favor of compulsory education (see Table 5.28). In a follow up question where students were asked to explain why they had answered the way they did (see Appendix 14), 7 percent in Fed and 16 percent in RS mentioned that it is a human right. The most frequent reason for compulsory education was: “It should/must be compulsory to go to school”, “Crucial for a better future”. Students who were against maintained that no one should be forced to anything.

Table 5.28 Frequencies and percentages on student opinions on compulsory education (n=435)

Entity	Should school be compulsory on the island?			Total
	Yes, all children have to go to school f(%)	Children should decide themselves f(%)	Parents should be asked f(%)	
Federation	148 (79)	16 (9)	24 (13)	188
Republika Srpska	200 (80)	24 (10)	25 (10)	249
Total	348	40	49	437

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

20. How did students perceive children rights?

Questions 20 to 22 were asked in both questionnaires. As can be seen in Table 5.29, students in both entities mostly mentioned three categories: children

Table 5.29 Frequencies and percentages on student perceptions on children rights (n= 850)

Entity	How do YOU perceive children rights, what kind of meaning does it have for you?							Total
	Right to education	Children should be respected & have a say	Freedom of choice & expression	Right to safety & protection	Children have no rights in this country	Obligation, children should behave correctly	Other	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Federation	72(19)	110(29)	96(25)	17(5)	6(2)	64(17)	11(3)	381
Republika Srpska	104(22)	121(26)	112(24)	46(10)	22(5)	30(6)	5(1)	469
Total	176	231	208	63	28	94	16	850 ¹

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

¹ Questions 18, 19 and 20 included the whole student sample; SQ1 and SQ2.

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should be respected and have a say; freedom of choice and expression; and rights to education. Fed students interpret children rights as obligations (17 percent) more than RS students (6 percent).

21. *Who was responsible for protection of children rights according to the students?*

Here we find differences between the entities. As to who was responsible for the protection of human and children rights, parents/teachers were more frequently mentioned in the Fed. Students in RS more frequently mentioned the State and politicians. Nine percent in Fed and 12 percent in RS consider themselves responsible for the protection of their rights.

Table 5.30 Frequencies and percentages on who students consider to be responsible for the protection of children rights (n=848)

Entity	Who is responsible for the protection of children rights?								Total
	State, parliament, president politicians, municipality	Police	Parents, teachers	Everyone, political arena & parents & children	UN, USA, NGO's, Red Cross	Law, courts	Other	Don't know	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Federation	159(41)	19(5)	77(20)	36(9)	25(7)	35(9)	25(7)	8(2)	384
Republika Srpska	221(48)	19(4)	34(7)	55(12)	46(10)	38(8)	12(3)	39(8)	464
Total	380	38	111	91	71	73	37	47	848

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

22. *What was the most valued children right for the students?*

Education and freedom of speech, thought and movement and to have a say in decisions are the most valued rights among students. In RS, students were again more openly critical and argued that they had no rights. Students in Fed stressed the importance of freedom of speech, thought, movement and their influence in decision making more than RS students. The freedom of movement in the Fed during 1997 was restricted, which was not the case in RS.

Table 5.31 Frequencies and percentages of the most valued child right (n=830)

Entity	Which one of your rights is most important to you?								Total
	Education, Education & health, Education & basic rights	Freedom of speech, thought, movement Have a say in decisions	Leisure & Freedom	Protection, life & peace	Obligation, to behave, respect elders	I don't have any	Other	Don't know	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Federation	114(31)	119(33)	42(11)	43(12)	22(6)	5(1)	15(4)	6(2)	366
Republika Srpska	164(35)	97(21)	41(9)	56(12)	27(6)	37(8)	11(2)	31(7)	464
Total	278	216	83	99	49	42	26	37	830

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

23. *Where did students consider they mostly could hear and learn about democracy?*

Students were given six alternatives and were instructed to rank them. Students in Fed gave the following ranking: 1) Television; 2) Parents; 3) Teachers; 4) School; 5) Books; and 6) Peers. Students in RS had a very similar ranking except that they put books in the fourth place and school in the fifth (see Appendix 15 for details). In a follow up question, students were asked to list the school subject they heard and learned about democracy (see Appendix 15). Students in RS mentioned history (55 percent) and history/geography (22 percent) most frequently and students in Fed history (29 percent) and basic civil defense (28 percent) most frequently. Regarding this question, the number of non-respondents was very high (RS:167 and Fed:102).

24. *Students' additional comments*

Students were asked to write additional comments at the end of the questionnaires. Out of a total of 907 students, 643 students added a significant amount of comments, from half of an A4 page to more. Two main types of responses were identified in these sections: About half of the students reacted positively toward the questionnaire, stating that they were pleased to give feedback since they were never asked about their opinions in school; the other students, in contrast, underlined that they were too young for politics and thus did not like to be asked questions of this kind.

5.3 Summary of the Findings

Students generally agree with very strong authoritarian statements. There were no gender differences, but students in Fed agreed to a larger extent than students in RS with the authoritarian statements. The overriding explanation to this is assumed to be the culturally constructed and deeply rooted traditional values, traditional patterns of primary and secondary socialization, a hierarchical division between children and adults, parents and children and between teachers and students. Under this structure a good and well-behaved child or student is the one who obeys and respects elders and fulfills obligations.

Students did not value democracy to a high degree in SQ1, the mean on the democracy scale was close to 3. Students showed suspicion towards democracy, especially to the extent that democracy was associated with politics and politicians. The importance given to universal suffrage, freedom of speech and possibility for students to influence decision-making at school are positive indications that basic democratic beliefs are prevalent.

The low ranking the words “politics” and “democracy” receive on the semantic differential scale indicates the general distrust in what the political system provides to people. Also, many associate the introduction of democracy and multi-party system with the beginning of the instability in the Balkans.

The means on the social responsibility scale (SRS) were higher for girls than for boys.

Correlations show that the less authoritarian students were more supportive of democratic statements and more socially responsible. In particular two items from the SRS scale were interrelated with democracy. The first item indicated a feeling of influence over daily events or public affairs, and the second item indicated a belief in the goodness of civil and political engagement. Another revealing correlation is that highly authoritarian respondents mostly disagreed with two SRS items, the first indicating a willingness to volunteer in order to improve one's town or country and the second, a willingness to volunteer for school projects.

In RS, students showed more open criticism related to “the empty word of democracy” compared with students in Fed. The stronger distrust in democracy and politics in RS can be understood in several ways. One explanation may be that RS had received approximately one-third of the total amount of the international assistance (1997) at the time and were much more politically isolated compared to the Fed. National belonging was unclear for students in RS and there were also political tensions within RS.

When overall school grades were analyzed in relation to the authoritarian scale, democracy scale and the SRS items the strongest correlations were found between the democracy scale and grades. The better the grades, the more positive attitudes towards democracy among students. Correlations show that the more authoritarian students had lower school achievement. High achievers agreed with three items on the SRS scale: 1) “The willingness to volunteer for improvement of town/country”; 2) “The need to fulfill promises”; and 3) “The sense of doing a job to the best of one's ability”.

Student after school activities were grouped in five categories: 1) “Less active”; 2) “Individual studies”; 3) “Sports”; 4) “Member of any organization”; and 5) “Social skills”. Girls were more represented in groups 1 and 2 and boys in group 3. There was no interrelation between the nature of after-school activities and student attitudes related to democracy and authoritarianism. Concerning the Social Responsibility items there was a similarity between students who were less active and those involved in sports, with these two groups responded less socially responsible.

Six questions dealt with students' knowledge about legislation and the legal

age related to criminal liability, marriage, driver's license and obligatory parental support for children. Students showed a low level of knowledge about the legal norms regulating their rights and duties. In a Swedish study conducted in two schools (Young, 2000), where students were given the same questions, over 50 percent answered questions related to legislation and criminal liability incorrectly.

Students viewed their parents as the main protectors of their rights, followed by teachers and finally peers. A majority of students viewed politicians as neutral, but almost one-third of the students thought that politicians "hinder" the protection of their rights. Student ranking of teachers as protectors of their rights implied that they give schools an important role in the protection of their rights. In the Swedish study mentioned above, students had the following ranking order: parents, peers and teachers. Politicians were viewed neutrally.

When given instructions to rank a series of political objectives, students placed "maintaining peace in the country" as their first priority over the more individually oriented political objectives. Second place was occupied by what could be considered precedence for social equality as well as an economic human right, "providing everyone with a decent standard of living". The more individual-based political aims, "protect personal freedoms" and "give the people more influence in the government's decision making process", emerged in third and fourth place respectively. The last priority for the students was "the fight against inflation and rising costs". These findings corresponds with the Swedish study mentioned above and the IEA-civic education study where 14-year olds in 28 countries defined government responsibilities (Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

Students showed a great willingness to support different civic organizations and interest groups. They supported rather indiscriminately any kind of social action that helps most groups of people, but there was one exception: the group working for homosexual rights. The group most strongly supported was the one closest to the students: "homeless children".

Correlations between on the one hand the semantic differential words "democracy", "school", "police", "wealth", "politics" and, on the other hand, the authoritarian scale, democracy scale and SRS items showed that authoritarian students valued the words in the following order: school, police, politics and democracy. The more democratic students did not value the word wealth compared to the more authoritarian students. Correlations between school grades and the semantic differential words show that high achievers viewed politics negatively, but they had high means on the democracy scale.

Students were asked about future career plans. There was an association

between general overall achievement and preference of future career. Excellent students preferred science, education, medicine and arts more than other categories of students. Career plans were linked to preferences regarding future country of residence. Students who preferred arts, business, politics, law and sports wished to live abroad more frequently than students with other career plans.

It was interesting to see how many students preferred to live abroad. In both entities half of the students expressed a wish to live abroad later in life. The higher distrust in a brighter future was expressed by RS students, and again, the reasons for this is that RS was, at the time, more isolated from international assistance. Moreover, Bosnian-Serbs did not show the same enthusiasm about the new national identity molding as students in the predominantly Bosnian-Muslim cantons. In the UNDP (2000) report, students were asked “how strong their feelings for BiH as a nation were”, and 45 percent of Bosnian-Muslims answered very strong compared with five percent Bosnian-Serbs and 28 percent Bosnian-Croats.

Since the education system during the SFRY period has been criticized for a “one-right-answer-approach”, students were asked what they thought was most valued by teachers: “one-right-answer” or presenting a lesson learned with some own additional contribution. The majority of students, especially among girls and high achievers, answered “own contribution”. This is an indication that teachers valued individual expressions in the learning process and that the education system was not solely based on rote learning.

In a post war country such as BiH, it was crucial to study student attitudes related to religion, race and persons with disabilities. In both entities a majority of students showed tolerance towards different religions and races and in RS students tended to give more intolerant responses. When asked if persons with disabilities deserve the same rights as others, 17 percent in Fed and 18 percent in RS answered no. One possible explanation is that during the SFRY period students with different disabilities received their education in special schools. Inclusion of students with special needs in regular schools is not yet practiced.

There was a link between students’ school achievement and their opinions on religion, race and disabilities. Students with higher achievement were more tolerant than low achievers.

Students attached importance to the legal system. Their attitudes differed about the extent of the role of law in regulating society. The degree of tolerance for violations of the law was fairly high. When asked in which situations it is justifiable to break the law, a majority of students claimed that it is justifiable to break the law under certain circumstances. High achievers agreed, to a high-

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er extent, that it is acceptable to break the law and more authoritarian students were somewhat more likely to respond that it is not acceptable to break the law. In three questions students were asked about their acceptance of legal interference with individual's behavior. The degree of tolerance for restrictions of individual freedom was high. Half of the students were positive to restrictions of freedom of expression and that tasteful but dangerous food should be forbidden. Sixty percent in both entities were positive to establish a law that would forbid lies. When asked if education should be compulsory, a majority of all students were strongly in favor of compulsory education. The most frequent answers were: "It should/must be compulsory to go to school"; "Crucial for a better future"; and "It is a human right". Many of the students who were in favor of compulsory schooling expressed their attitudes in an affective way, often with exclamation marks. One possible explanation might be that they could not imagine a society without schools. Students who were against compulsory education, underlined that no one should be forced to anything.

Students expressed several reasons for elections. In RS, they mostly stressed "For a better future" and at the same time expressed ironic answers, while students in Fed more frequently believed the main reasons for elections were to elect a president and that elections are a citizen right. When asked about universal suffrage in Fed, 90 percent were positive to inclusion of all citizens to vote, compared with 66 percent in RS. Here again the reason for RS students' willingness to exclude certain groups from voting was that RS was a very isolated entity with internal political problems and many Bosnian-Serbs had a protectionist attitude as a group, feeling accused of many cruelties during the civil war in BiH.

Students were asked to describe what a democratic society looks like and what should never exist in a democratic society. They gave very sophisticated answers, but the number of non-respondents was high on these questions. As mentioned, many students wrote additional comments at the end of the questionnaire where they claimed that they are too young for politics and thus do not like to be asked questions of this kind. As Siegel and Hoskin (1981) have suggested, citizens can be emotionally and/or cognitively involved without necessarily resorting to much overt participation.

Student answers seem to convey the following message: a democratic society is where justice, equality, Human Rights, people's rule, freedom of movement and media and peace prevail. What should never exist are war, hatred, crime, corruption and injustice. The criticism and skepticism towards politics and democracy must therefore be understood as a critique of the political system and the socio-economic problems in BiH.

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When students were asked how important it is for a society to be democratic, 69 percent in Fed were positive compared with 61 percent in RS. Twenty percent in both entities thought democracy is not so important and 18 percent in RS compared with 10 percent in Fed thought there are better options than democracy. Here again we can see a higher degree of skepticism towards “the empty word of democracy” in RS.

In the answers given on children and human rights, students in both entities mainly mentioned three categories: children should be respected and have a say; freedom of choice and expression; and rights to education. Fed students interpret children rights more as obligations compared to the RS students who were more openly critical and claimed that children have no rights in their country. It is not clear to what extent the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on Children’s Rights (CRC) have reached some of the students, even though respect for children, freedom of choice and expression and rights to education are included in the CRC. These issues are in general important for 14-year old children.

When asked for the most valued right, education and freedom of speech, thought, movement and have a say in decisions were the most frequently mentioned rights among students. In RS, students were again more openly critical and claimed that they had no rights.

As to who is responsible for the protection of human and children rights, parents/teachers were more frequently mentioned in the Fed. Students in RS more frequently mentioned the State and politicians than students in Fed. There was a stronger belief in Fed that the police are responsible for protection of human and children rights. Lastly, very few students considered themselves responsible for the protection of their rights. It was of interesting to see how little students considered that they heard and learned about democracy in schools. They were given six alternatives and the school was ranked fourth by Fed students and fifth among the RS students. The first three sources of information on democracy in both entities were television, parents and teachers.

Chapter 6

Teachers

In this chapter a short introduction describes the contextual background related to teachers' work at the time data was collected. This is followed by a presentation of the findings from the teacher questionnaire. The findings are summarized in the last section.

6.1 Introduction

During the hostilities in 1992 “war schools” were established, often in cellars, private homes or restaurants – wherever students could gather. Teachers were assigned to different districts, where they taught students to the best of their ability. During the school years 1992-1994, the number of lessons per school year was reduced and the curricula abridged by approximately 50 percent¹. Further, teachers and teaching standards were changed so that people with degrees from higher education were allowed to teach at the primary and secondary school levels without formal pedagogical training. In practice, anyone who could gather a group of children amidst the shellfire could teach. Many schools were used as refugee centers.

The abridged curricula², shortened school year, heating problems, dropout problems³, low teacher status, irregular payments of teacher salaries and insufficient school equipment had a negative impact on the quality of education. In primary schools compensation for lost lessons during the war meant more homework for students and often school obligations on Saturdays for teachers and students. Teachers and students rushed through the syllabi without practicing, implementing or studying them in depth. There was a huge demand for qualified English teachers and other language teachers for newly introduced

1. Based on interviews with employees at the Republican Pedagogical Institute in Sarajevo (1996).

2. In Bosnian language, for example, students had to cover the program in 100 classes instead of 180.

3. There are no statistics in BiH on the drop-out rates. Many headmasters, educationists at pedagogical institutes and teachers expressed concern and worry about the drop-out rates in primary education during my data collection and three previous UNESCO missions in the country.

languages (Arabic and Turkish) in the curricula. New education policies emphasized students' personalities, individual capacity and a more active classroom participation, i.e. student-centered learning. Teachers were, and are still, accustomed to encyclopedic (i.e. strict adherence to detailed lesson plans), subject-centered curricula and were required to use compulsory textbooks. During their teacher education, lectures were the most frequently utilized method, so teachers did not gain enough experience in student-centered methods (Domovic and Matijevic, 2002). *This is later reflected in their own teaching practices, because they were educated in such a manner as if "the teacher is the only source of knowledge"* (ibid.:48). The mixture of the new student-centered educational goals and the inherited past represented both a challenge and a factor of importance for development. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) make a thoughtful distinction between developing teachers and teachers being developed: *As candidates for "development", teachers here might be regarded as belonging to the same category as children and Third World nations: people who need help and who are dependent on our superior insight and expertise. This danger of control masquerading as care is an ever-present one that requires continued vigilance on all our parts* (ibid.:12). According to Hargreaves and Fullan the process and success of teacher development depends very much on the context in which it takes place. The nature of this context can make or break teacher development efforts. Understanding and attending to the *ecology* of teacher development should therefore be an important priority for teachers, administrators and researchers alike. Teacher development is often imposed *on* teachers rather than developed *with* them, based on excessive confidence in the supposed wisdom of experts and research, and treated as a matter of non-negotiable technical *skill*, rather than an issue of professional will (or of something whose worth should be discussed or debated)⁴.

During the post-war period in BiH there have been many "experts" coming and going with development of teachers' educational skills as the major aim. During data collection it was evident that many teachers and teacher educators were defensive. They constantly highlighted that they were very experienced and knowledgeable in their field, and that they had developed many good practices over the years, which seemed to be of no interest to anyone. Many teachers expressed skepticism towards external experts coming and telling them what and how they should carry out their profession. What seemed to be of greatest importance to teachers was the need for updated professional literature, more equipment in classrooms, in-service training on how to work with students with traumas, and possibilities for professional development and

4. The distinction between skill and will is drawn by Hargreaves and Dawe (1990).

research within educational sciences. BiH teachers' professionalism and confidence is something that has taken considerable time to build up, but as pointed out by Helsby (1999), can be all too easily destroyed by intemperate discourses and ill-advised policy changes. *Given the crucial role of teachers in improving education, a confident and motivated workforce would seem to be a prerequisite of any attempt to "reform" schooling or raise "standards"* (ibid.:174).

6.2 The teacher questionnaire

The aim of the questionnaire was to capture teacher conceptions of democracy in education by focusing on their understanding of, and role in, the work place, and through appraising their attitudes towards phenomena closely tied to democratic attitudes and skills. By investigating these I hoped to gain an understanding of the type of mediating input, which is believed to have an impact on students' conceptions, skills and practices of democracy.

The teacher sample consisted of 111 from RS and 44 from Fed, a total of 155 teachers (for more details on the teacher sample and questionnaire see Appendices 1 and 17).

1. Teacher awareness concerning social conflicts and mechanisms of conflict resolution?

Teacher awareness concerning conflict resolution is low. Since the 29 statements (see Appendix 17) were phrased in such a manner to express non-yielding, non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts, one would expect teachers to show a high level of disagreement with them, i.e. they would have a mean closer to one (see Table 6.1).

This scree plot (see Figure 6.1) shows that the first two statements load high on the first factor with an eigenvalue over eight. This implies that the first two statements: "someone who intervenes in someone's conflict, usually ends up as the most guilty person"; and "good intentions by individuals are just drops in a sea of violence surrounding us", could have been used to determine teacher conceptions related to conflict resolution and social conflict. Internal consistency of the score on the conflict resolution scale in the teacher sample is satisfactory (Guttman-Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.87$), i.e., all the twenty-nine statements measure non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts.

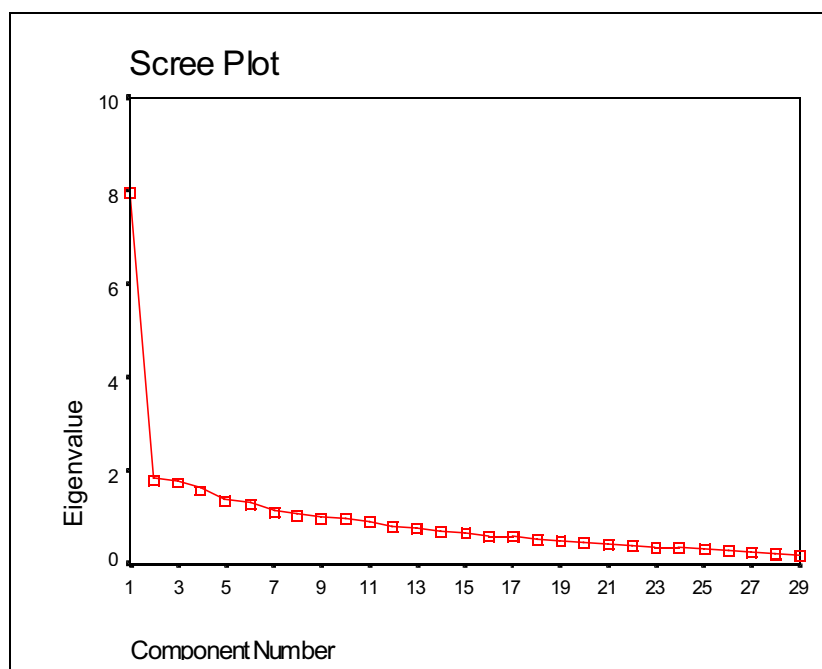


Figure 6.1 Scree plot of the eigenvalues (characteristic value) obtained in the factor analysis of the conflict resolution items in the teacher sample ($n = 155$)

2. *To what extent did teachers agree with very strong authoritarian statements? What awareness did they have towards situations of conflict? To what extent did teachers value democracy?*

Table 6.1 includes means and standard deviations on conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democratic attitude scales. The means on the authoritarian and conflict resolution scales are just below 3. Since the items on the authoritarian scale were phrased in a strong authoritarian voice (see Appendix 17), the expectation was that teachers would disagree with them at a higher rate, while the means on the democracy scale are notably higher. In short, this implies that teachers valued democracy, but they were not as anti-authoritarian as expected. Moreover, their conceptualization of conflict resolution showed a non-forgiving and rigid approach.

Internal consistency of the scores on the authoritarianism and democracy scales, though much lower, were also satisfactory for the research purposes (Guttman-Cronbach's alpha for authoritarianism was 0.73 and for democracy 0.71).

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Table 6.1 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) on conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy scales in the two entities of BiH

Dependent variables	Federation (n = 37)		Republika Srpska (n = 98)		Total (n = 135)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Conflict Resolution	2.93	0.58	2.87	0.63	2.88	0.62
Authoritarianism	2.93	0.63	2.74	0.72	2.79	0.70
Attitude toward democracy	4.06	0.37	4.08	0.42	4.08	0.41

3. *Were there any differences regarding teachers' awareness of conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy related to entity, gender or subject they teach?*

Three separate One-way Multivariate Analysis of Variance were conducted with conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy scales and three dependent variables: entity, gender and teaching subject. There were no significant differences found on the dependent variables (see Appendix 18 for details).

There was a minor indication that certain teachers tended to be less authoritarian than others. Those who labeled themselves "general-teachers", most probably class-room teachers educated for the first grades in primary school, those teaching Grade 8, and teachers within music and arts, and sports had the highest mean on the authoritarian scale.

4. *Were teachers' awareness concerning conflict resolution, attitudes related to authoritarianism and democracy interrelated?*

The linear correlation analysis presented in Table 6.2 shows that teacher awareness concerning conflict resolution, attitudes concerning democracy and authoritarianism was interrelated. Teachers who agreed with non-peaceful mediation, a non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts, also agreed with strong authoritarian statements and were less democratic. The relationship between authoritarianism and conflict resolution was somewhat stronger than that between authoritarianism and democracy or conflict resolution and democracy.

Table 6.2 Bravais-Pearson coefficients of linear correlation between conflict resolution, authoritarianism and attitude toward democracy scales (n=151)

	Conflict Resolution	Authoritarianism
Authoritarianism	0.40**	
Attitude toward democracy	-0.23**	-0.23**

Note: ** $p < 0.01$

5. *How did teachers describe an ideal student?*

Teachers mostly valued students (in sequential order) who behaved respectfully, had a good upbringing and were obedient. These characteristics were followed by cognitive skills, followed by hard work and diligence, then social skills, self-reliance and self-development. Finally, the least valued student qualities were critical thinking, independent thinking and questioning (see Appendix 22). Gender differences among teachers were minor, with female teachers more inclined to value respect and social skills, while male teachers focused more on cognitive outcomes.

Teacher descriptions of a “perfect student” can be illustrated by four examples.

Teacher 1: Male, 59 years old with 32 years of teaching experience – an independent thinker, critical, open-minded, with social skills, self-awareness, self-confident and curious.

Teacher 2: Female, 35 years old with 8 years of teaching experience – a curious student hungry for knowledge, asks additional questions and for more explanations, self-aware, a good friend.

Teacher 3: Female, 32 years with 10 years of teaching experience – a student with perfect grades, respect for elders, diligent and tidy.

Teacher 4: Male, 43 years old with 20 years of teaching experience – a talented, obedient student, good parental upbringing and top grades.

Values emphasized by teachers 1 and 2 were not so common in the sample, while values represented by teacher 3 and 4 were most frequent.

6. *What were teachers' views of the educability of democratic behaviors and values?*

Almost half the teacher sample, especially the male teachers (see Table 6.3), believed that the greatest impact comes from the surroundings. Approximately one third of the teachers believed that democratic attitudes and behavior could be learned at school. Lastly, female teachers agreed more than the male teachers on the impact family have at an early age.

7. *What did teachers view as positive and negative reforms in the education system?*

When asked about positive reforms, many teachers did not answer the question (21 and 22 in Fed and RS, respectively). The most frequent category consisted of ironic answers and/or comments that there were no positive reforms (44 percent). The second largest category in both entities was the Bosnian/Serbian language/heritage (36 percent) (see Appendix 20 for tables). When teachers described *negative reforms* many of them were ready to answer the question (11

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Table 6.3 Frequencies and percentages of ability to learn democratic behaviors and values (n=139)

	Can democratic values, attitudes and behavior be learned, or acquired, through education (namely schools)?					Total
	No, attitudes are based on heritage and temperament	The greatest impact comes from our surroundings	Acquired from family at early age. Difficult to change later	Can be learned at school, but only at an early age	Can be learned later at school with systematic work	
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	
Male	1 (2)	26 (55)	6 (13)	1 (2)	13 (28)	47
Female	7 (8)	34 (37)	22 (24)	3 (3)	26 (28)	92
Total	8 (6)	60 (43)	28 (20)	4 (3)	39 (28)	139

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each gender

in both Fed and RS did not answer). Teachers complained about overloaded curricula (41 percent), followed by lack of equipment/textbooks (23 percent). Some teachers were unhappy about the emphasis on the Bosnian/ Serbian heritage (nine percent).

8. Which areas did teachers prefer for their professional development?

Teachers were asked to rank from one (most important) to five (least important) the kind of topic they would like to have in their in-service training. As seen in Table 6.4 teachers' first choice was for "help to children with traumatic war experiences", followed by "human and children rights" and closely followed by "development of democratic behavior in schools". In a follow up question teachers were asked if they had received any teacher training or in-service training regarding children or/and human rights and 58 percent (n=150) answered yes.

Table 6.4 Means and (standard deviations) on teacher preferences of professional development areas

Teaching methods for talented students	Human and children rights	Help to children with traumatic war experiences	Production of alternative teaching and learning materials	The development of democratic behavior in schools
(n=146)	(n=143)	(n=147)	(n=143)	(n=148)
M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
3.00 (1.48)	2.74 (1.23)	1.76 (1.08)	3.79 (1.35)	2.97 (1.46)

9. What kind of teaching materials did teachers use in their work?

Teachers were given four alternatives to which they could answer yes, no or with an open alternative. Teacher answers indicate that they used different sources of teaching material. Since they could answer yes or no to all four alternatives, the interpretation of their answers begs explanation. Forty-six percent of teachers claimed that they only used textbooks and the blackboard. At the

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same time more than half of all teachers claimed that they used other sources as well. Teachers who claimed to use only written material and the blackboard, may have had technical equipment such as overhead projectors and computers in mind.

	Yes (%)	No (%)
Only text-books and the black-board (n=150)	46	54
Teaching materials that you have made	63	37
Technical and general literature	83	17
Teaching material made by students	53	47
Other: n=24 (anything else at school, everything in combination, other people's experience).		

10. *What did teachers think about the quality of textbooks in use?*

As can be seen in Table 6.5 most teachers thought that the textbooks were decent and very few claimed that the books were good. Teachers in Fed were more critical than their colleagues in RS.

Table 6.5 Frequencies and percentages of teachers' opinions regarding the quality of textbooks in use (n=150)

	Good f(%)	Decent f(%)	Bad f(%)	Other comments f(%)	Total
Federation	1 (2)	26 (60)	13 (30)	3 (7)	43
Republika Srpska	15 (14)	78 (73)	14 (13)		107
Total	16 (11)	104 (69)	27 (18)	3 (2)	150

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

11. *Did teachers feel that they had sufficient influence over their daily tasks at school?*

A majority of teachers answered yes to this question, but as can be seen in Table 6.6, teachers in RS were more critical than their colleagues in Fed. In a follow-up question, teachers were asked to attribute responsibility for their own influence at work. Appendix 20 shows that the most frequent answer was "myself" (36 and 25 percent in Fed and RS, respectively). Teachers in RS, more than their colleagues in Fed, referred much more to external factors such as political leadership, MOE and a combination of all factors. Teachers from Fed seemed to mainly focus on their own role and influence in classrooms and the interaction with students.

Table 6.6 Frequencies and percentages on teachers' reported influence over their daily tasks in school (n=141)

	Much f(%)	Little f(%)	Total f(%)
Federation	32 (82)	7 (18)	39
Republika Srpska	63 (62)	39 (38)	102
Total	95 (67)	46 (33)	141

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

12. What would teachers prioritize if they could suggest some improvements of their working conditions?

Teachers in both entities prioritized: 1) more educational equipment; 2) improved work environment; 3) improved teacher and student status; and 4) improved general status of education (see Appendix 19 for details). Teachers in RS mentioned heating in schools, hot meals, and salary issues more than those in Fed, while the latter mentioned improvement of textbooks and curricula more than the former.

13. Did organizations or forums exist to discuss issues concerning teachers' working conditions? Did teachers participate or were they members in any such organizations?

In RS 51 percent (n=105) mentioned existence of such organizations compared with 41 percent (n=42) in Fed. In RS 43 percent (n=105) were members and/or participated in such organizations compared with 32 percent in Fed (n=42).

14. Did teachers work together with parents? In what way did teachers cooperate and work with parents?

A majority of the teachers, 93 percent in RS (n=106) and 98 percent in Fed (n=42), claimed that they were working with parents and considered cooperation with parents to be important (93 and 91 percent in RS and Fed, respectively). The follow-up questions, intended to specify the kind of parental involvement (e.g. financial support to school activities, extra help during lessons, assistance during excursions or assistance to their children in their learning process) made it evident that a majority of teachers referred to parents assisting their own children in the learning process (89 and 90 percent in RS and Fed, respectively). See Appendix 21 for details.

6.3 Relationship between Teacher and Student Attitudes

15. Were there any relationships between teachers' and students' authoritarian attitudes and democracy?

Since teachers and students answered the same questions on the authoritarian and democracy scales⁵ it was of interest to see whether there were any correlations between teachers and student attitudes. Teacher means on the democracy scale were higher than student means (teachers valued democracy more than students). Teacher means were lower on the authoritarian scale (they agreed

5. The Democracy scale in SQ1 included 12 statements. In the TQ six statements were used. For correlation analysis between teachers and students the same six questions were used.

less with the authoritarian statements compared with students). Correlations between the teacher and student means⁶ for each school and for both scales showed no correlations for the authoritarian scale (Spearman's rho: .029) and a weak negative correlation (Spearman's rho: -.399)⁷ on the democracy scale. Even though this negative correlation was weak, it requires explanation. One possible interpretation – if the more democratic teachers work in an authoritarian environment, and students are used to an authoritarian approach in their families and in school, when teachers (who do not have ready answers for everything) ask for individual thinking and questioning, students react with an authoritarian stance. The other position of more democratic students being taught by a less democratic teachers can have several possible explanations, one being that the students' primary socialization in the family is more democratic than in school. A second possibility might be if the environment is highly authoritarian between students and teachers, students might react with an opposite view.

Teachers often face contradictory demands from education authorities (school inspectors, pedagogues and MOE) and parents. These different actors can have conflicting ideologies concerning the actual mission of education (i.e. what education actually is for).

During my data collection I met a teacher who tried to discuss the present tripartite ethnic tensions in BiH and create a platform for discussion in her classroom. She wanted students to create a vision of how they would solve ethnic problems in an ideal situation with the power needed to create some change. The next day one student was withdrawn from the school by their parents.

Finally, it must be underlined that the size of the teacher sample is not so large and there is no information on the duration of teachers' service in the schools.

6.4 Summary

What is striking in the teacher sample is the general strong agreement with a non-yielding, non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts. Means on the authoritarian scale are just under 3. Since the items on the

6. Correlations were obtained based on school, e.g. in one school 32 students were correlated with seven teachers, in another school 39 students were correlated with five teachers etc.

7. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). Data analysis sheets can be obtained by the author or Institute of International Education, Stockholm University, www.interped.su.se (projects).

authoritarian scale are phrased in a strong authoritarian voice the expectation was that teachers would disagree much more with them and rate lower on the scale.

Given this outcome one can expect that teachers, largely, did not promote skills and practices of constructive conflict resolution or show tolerant attitudes toward others' views in their classrooms. In addition, teachers in BiH experienced a civil war, many were forced to leave their place of origin and move during the ethnic cleansing, and sexual violence was widespread. They lived under economic hardship and political turmoil, which is believed to have had an impact on their attitudes towards conflict resolution. It is interesting to note a study undertaken among highly qualified primary teachers in Serbia and Montenegro in 1998. The same statements related to conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy were used as in this study. These teachers experienced all the above-mentioned negative factors except war on their territory at the time. The findings from this study correspond with the findings in that study (Tunde-Kovac-Cerovic, 2002).

Means on the democracy scale were notably higher (4.06 and 4.08 in Fed and RS, respectively) compared with the authoritarian scale. Correlations show that the more democratic teachers were less authoritarian and agreed less with a non-forgiving, rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts. There were no differences found based on entity, gender and teaching subject regarding teachers' awareness and attitudes to conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy.

When teachers were asked to describe an "ideal student" most of them prioritized (in descending order): 1) students who behave respectfully, have a good upbringing and are obedient; 2) cognitive skills; 3) hard work and diligence; 4) social skills, self-reliance, self-development; and 5) critical thinking, independent thinking and questioning. As discussed in chapter two, education is a precondition of democracy, and democracy conceptually presupposes critical citizens. But the descriptions of an "ideal student" above imply that democratic proceedings are less emphasized in classrooms. When students were asked what they believed was mostly valued by teachers, "one right answer approach" or presenting a lesson learned with additional comments or questions, a majority of students chose the second category, and the data show that more high-achievers than low-achievers had this view (see Chapter 5). This implies that teachers do actually value some independent thinking and questioning.

Teacher views on the role of school in the formation of democratic behaviors and values did not give much credit to the school. Approximately one-third of

the sampled teachers chose school as the major source. Almost half of the teachers believed that the greatest impact comes from our surroundings. This view was especially prevalent among male teachers. A view that more female teachers agreed with was that democratic values are acquired from the family at an early age and are difficult to change later. One explanation of this gender difference might be the still predominantly patriarchal culture where women have most of the responsibility for child rearing and therefore give more importance to the impact upbringing has on children, while men are more “outside-family”/society-oriented and gave that dimension a greater role. Here it must be noted that the question and its formulation could be questioned (teachers were asked to mark one alternative – Appendix 17). It is clear that student conceptions and attitudes were not formed only by curricula and school practice, but also by a number of other factors, primarily the society, social practice in the child’s surrounding, family and media.

When asked about *positive reforms* teachers were highly critical of and dissatisfied with the situation. Many teachers did not answer the question (21 and 22 in Fed and RS, respectively). The most frequent category consisted of ironic answers and direct criticism that there were no positive reforms (44 percent). The second largest category in both entities was emphasis on the Bosnian/Serbian language/heritage (36 percent). When teachers were asked to describe *negative reforms*, more teachers were prepared to answer the question. Teachers complained mostly of overloaded curricula (41 percent), followed by lack of equipment/textbooks (23 percent). Some teachers were unhappy about the emphasis on Bosnian/Serbian heritage (nine percent).

Teacher criticism of overloaded curricula, which could be described as a detailed cook-book (see Chapter 3), did not open opportunities for teachers to include innovative approaches in classrooms or time for discussions. Both teachers and students were still focused on examinations, grades and the pressure to cover the required criteria in the curricula.

Those teachers who were unhappy about the emphasis on the Bosnian/Serbian language/heritage (9 percent) were in a complex work situation and climate. They were forced to teach something they did not believe in and work with colleagues with different value systems.

Teachers were asked to give priority to the kind of topic they would like to have in their in-service training. In descending order, teachers chose: 1) “help to children with traumatic war experiences”; 2) “Human and Children rights”; 3) “development of democratic behavior in schools”; and 4) “production of alternative teaching and learning materials”. Fifty-eight percent claimed that

they had received pre- or in-service training regarding Human or/and Children Rights.

Teachers were not happy with the overloaded curricula and were interested in more knowledge and skills to help children with traumatic war experiences. This is one of many examples of teachers' multiple professional roles, focusing on the teaching-learning process and that of being caretakers of students well being. This is also an indication of a stressful work situation.

It was of interest to see what kind of materials teachers used in their work. Teachers seemed to use different sources of teaching material and their opinions about the quality of textbooks in use show that teachers in Fed were more critical (30 percent thought that books were bad compared to 13 percent in RS). The findings from the textbook analysis discussed in chapter 3 gives an explanation of this.

A majority of teachers felt that they had sufficient influence over their daily tasks at school (82 and 62 percent in Fed and RS, respectively). Teachers were asked to attribute responsibility for their own influence at work, and the most frequent answer was myself (36 and 25 percent in Fed and RS, respectively). Teachers in RS referred more to external factors such as political leadership, MOE and a combination of all factors compared to colleagues from Fed who seemed mostly to focus on their own role and influence in classrooms and the interaction with students. This entity difference might be due to the political tensions in RS at the time and its isolation. In 1997 more international assistance, including more regular payment of teacher salaries, reached the Federation than RS. Another reason for this might be that the whole structure of the education system was much more centralized and hierarchical in RS compared to the newly decentralized system in Fed. Teachers in RS were under frequent control by school inspectors who checked if they fulfilled their teacher obligations and introduced the most recent changes in the syllabuses⁸.

If teachers had the opportunity to provide suggestions for improvements in their working conditions, they would prioritize: 1) more educational equipment; 2) improved work environment; 3) improved teacher and student status; and 4) improved general status of education. More teachers in RS than in the Fed mentioned heating in schools and hot meals, as well as salary issues. Teachers in Fed focused more on improved textbooks and curricula compared to RS teachers. It is surprising that teachers did not mention curricula issues to any larger extent, since they expressed dissatisfaction with these in a previous

8. Based on many interviews during my UNESCO work in Fed and RS 1996-1998, with teachers and employees at the MOEs

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question. Here teachers were mostly concerned as good professionals focusing on the teaching-learning process (i.e. asking for more equipment could facilitate their every day work). It is unclear what they referred to when they wrote: “improved working conditions”. This can mean everything from equipment to curricula, and from salaries to interpersonal relationships. Teachers were also very concerned over the general status of teachers, students and education, which they saw was becoming more marginalized. Organizations or forums that discuss issues concerning teachers’ working conditions were claimed to exist by 51 and 41 percent in RS and Fed, respectively. Forty-three and 32 percent in RS and Fed, respectively, participated, or were members of, these organizations. There were teacher unions in both entities, but membership and activity was quite low when the data was collected. One reason for this might be the post-war situation. The higher activity in RS might be because the educational administration and structure remained very much the same as in the pre-war period. There were also more qualified teachers in RS compared to Fed, since many teachers were ethnically cleansed from Croatia to RS. In the Fed there was a shortage of qualified teachers.

A majority of all teachers (93 and 98 percent in RS and Fed, respectively) claimed to work with parents and considered cooperation with parents to be important. Most teachers referred to parents assisting their own children in the learning process when answering the follow-up questions designed to capture the kind of parental involvement (i.e. “financial support to school activities”, “extra help during lessons”, “assistance during excursions” or “assistance to children in learning process”). This kind of parental involvement revealed an educational problem. Again the overloaded curricula resulted in considerable pressure on students. Many teachers commented on a system “pushing” students through their education. This problem was solved by many parents through private tuition (affordable to a very limited number of BiH parents) or by parental assistance to their children. The latter was not possible for many parents, due to their limited literacy skills or lack of time and/or interest. Consequently, equal opportunities for all students to obtain a quality education were restricted.

Chapter 7

Summary and Concluding Discussion

In this chapter the role of the international community in the democratization and education processes in the light of globalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina is discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the findings from Chapters 5 and 6. Finally, some suggestions are made concerning future research.

7.1 The role of the International Community in BiH's democratization process

BiH society is undergoing a transition from a state-planned economy and one party system to a market economy and a multi party system. During this transition, BiH has become more involved in the globalization process than ever, mainly due to the increased contacts with the world through the role and presence of the IC in the country. Other factors include increased communication between BiH citizens, friends and relatives who took refugee during the war and live abroad, as well as returnees.

The IC is attempting to introduce western democracy to BiH but there are many complexities when external political interventions and substantial economic investments and loans aim to install democratic institutions and norms in a post-war, post-authoritarian country. The High Representative is the ultimate constitutional authority in BiH, superior to that of democratically elected governments. BiH is a semi-protectorate where international authorities intervene when necessary. One complexity that follows can be expressed with a question: What impact will the pressure the IC exerts on BiH politicians to fulfill imposed conditions and the superior political role of IC have on BiHs' citizens' trust in their local politicians, which is very low at present? Another question is: What long term consequences will the present situation have on the internal legitimacy of the BiH State?

The tripartite division between the three-ethnic/nationality groups in BiH contributes to another complexity. During the civil war in BiH we saw an explosion of nationalism and ethnic cleansing. When the overriding ideology of Yugoslavism disappeared, nationalist political leaders consciously imposed a

“culture of fear” among their own ethnic/nationality groups using nationalist propaganda to pursue their own interests. In BiH we have seen ethnic-nationalism develop, and citizens lost their cognitive, ideological and organizational patterns that helped them to code the social universe and guide their decisions as to whom to trust and with whom to cooperate (Offe, 1996).

The three ethnic/nationality groups do not share the same belief in their new homeland of BiH. The Bosnian-Muslims show their loyalty to their nation more strongly than Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Serbs. Consequently, the issue of cooperation and trust is problematic. As discussed earlier, the civil sphere in BiH can be illustrated as a “hourglass” society with strong informal social networks at the bottom of the hourglass, where people develop strong face-to-face contacts, and a rich social and political life at the top of the hourglass where elites compete for power, wealth and prestige (Rose et al., 1997). The 2000 elections that some in the IC hoped to be a contest between reform-oriented moderates and backward looking nationalists did result in nationalist parties winning the majority of the seats in the Bosnian State Parliament. The reform friendly Social Democratic Party replaced the long-time governing Party for Democratic Action (Muslim nationalist party) in some Bosnian-Muslim cantons. Political leaders from the nationalist parties got their votes based on ethnic-nationalist rhetoric and risk losing legitimacy if they cooperate too willingly with the IC. Indeed, they risk being seen as traitors. The same holds for many citizens at the bottom of the hourglass, where high unemployment rates contribute to a dependency on informal networks. If the predominant ideology behind each ethnic/ nationality group is based on ethnic nationalism, one can assume that the nationalist elite and their voters “keep an eye” on, or control, each other. Movements between the base of the hourglass and the top, and cooperation between the top with the IC, can be seen as a betrayal. If pressure to change becomes strong in this scenario from the IC, pressure increases on nationalist political elites to show “nationalist-pride” and resistance.

There are more than 450 NGOs operating in BiH, mostly run by intellectuals and financed with donor money. These movements could fill in the missing middle in the hourglass society but there are many complexities and unknown possible developments connected to cooperation and trust issues related to the work of NGOs. One question concerns the initial interest of those active in the NGOs: personal gain; community development interest; or both? In older democracies, many NGOs are formed in the civil sphere and increasingly become more incorporated into the State sphere. In BiH, the formation of NGOs is at the top of the hourglass, since the IC provides funds and ideologi-

cal support. Another question related to this scenario is to what degree local NGOs strengthen civil activism in general at the bottom of the hourglass? And whether they might fill the missing middle?

The role of international NGOs and their impact is important to mention. During the data collection many international NGOs established themselves in BiH, from Arab countries, Europe and the US, with diverse interests, norms and ideologies. Many of those NGOs provide information from the global arena to the local and national. They have a role in the contradicting globalization processes in BiH, between cultural universalization (liberal democracy, consumerism, a strive to replace the lost overriding ideology of Yugoslavism with Europeanism (e.g. membership in EU) and revitalization of local cultures (religion, traditions, language etc.).

Finally, issues related to trust include the IC and international NGO presence, and their roles and activities in BiH. As Kaldor (1999) has pointed out, the IC is creating small and efficient isolated democratic islands, decontextualized from the surroundings they operate in. What kind of trust or distrust might this create among BiH citizens in both the short- and long-term perspectives, and, especially, what impact does it have on attitudes towards democracy among youth? In summary, before the discussion on education issues, it is worth mentioning that when democracy is exported, as in the case of BiH, the importance of insights and knowledge related to the cultural context or ecology should never be underestimated. Here the theory of communicative action could serve as guide for making rather than braking efforts to develop democracy. Democracy cannot be imposed on BiH citizens, but must be developed with them. The democratization process should, in an ideal scenario, not be a one-way process in which democracy is transferred from the IC to BiH citizens (who do not have a democratic tradition), but rather be a co-constructive process where all participating actors play an active role and where meaning is not transferred but produced.

7.2 The role of the International Community in the education process in BiH

Globalization processes imply contradictory demands and pressures on education systems. On one hand we have seen how economic liberalization has affected education policies – a closer alignment between education and economic competitiveness. At present there is a tendency to stress the economic aspects of education and competitiveness among students and between nations has become a core issue with a focus on learning outcomes. National govern-

ments look increasingly towards their education systems to solve economic problems. Educational reforms have occurred in many western nations in recent years, with remarkable similarities: decentralization of educational administration; strengthening of accountability mechanisms; and a focus on quantifying and measuring learning outcomes.

On the other hand there is a political and ideological globalization process underlying the importance of human rights, and the inclusiveness of education for all children as articulated in the Education for All goals. Some of the educational goals, as a result of the human rights ideological discourse, are: empathy; social cohesion; innovation and creativity. Emphasizing learning outcomes can effectively marginalize educational programs devoted to strengthen the above-mentioned educational goals since they are excluded from the measurement of learning outcomes. There are many contradictions between the economic liberal approach and the inclusive approach to education, and students and teachers are caught between two opposing ideals – competition and cooperation.

National education systems must balance between internationalization demands on the system and demands from local cultures. In the case of BiH, the contradictory trends and demands are very visible. During the SFRY period education was used by the State as an instrument of creating a communist society, nurture nationalism (“Yugoslavism”) and professionalism. Generally it can be claimed that there was a close link between teachers and the State during the SFRY period. Teachers were professionals who emphasized the ideology of “Yugoslavism”. Today in BiH, one nationalism (Yugoslavism) has been exchanged with ethnic nationalisms.

Educational structure and practices during the SFRY period were centralized and hierarchical. The power relations were hierarchical and clear-cut from the Ministry of Education (MOE), school inspectors, principals, teachers and, lastly, to students. Today the educational structure in BiH is highly complex and decentralized, with three Ministers of Education and 13 Ministries of Education. The BiH State is weak, mainly due to the tripartite division and the extreme decentralization. There are 13 different constitutions: one for the Republic; one for each entity; and one for each of the ten cantons in the Federation. The entire structure has been criticized for inefficiency and the fact that nobody takes responsibility for addressing pressing social and economic problems. In this scenario the IC has become the major efficient decision maker.

The use of three parallel education systems has become a pressing problem for the IC. On 21 November 2002 the Education Ministries and Ministry for

Human Rights and Refugees in BiH agreed with the IC on an Education Reform Agenda. Two aims are emphasized in this Agenda: achievement of quality education; and development of common core curricula in primary and general secondary education. So, the contradictory educational trends and demands in BiH today are, on one hand, quality and unifying the system and, on the other hand, tradition, religion and issues that each nationality/ethnic group defines as their uniqueness.

The reform process is moving slowly and the IC is the driving force not only for education reforms, but also for most unifying efforts to counter divisive developments in BiH. Wishful thinking suggests that the drive for unifying reforms should come from BiH citizens themselves, for a more sustainable reform agenda.

Education systems have a close link, or rather interrelation, with the surrounding society and are dependent on the unique historical and cultural developmental processes. Husén (1999) has pointed out that reforms cannot be done overnight and that schools are an integrated part of a historical and social context and should not be taken out of it. Direct implementation of Western curricula reforms in BiH risk failure. Long education traditions and practices cannot be changed over night. Instead, Western educators can serve as participating actors and play an active role, where meaning is not transferred but produced. As in the case of democratization, unified education reforms cannot be imposed on the BiH citizens, but rather must be developed with them.

7.3 Summary of the findings from student questionnaires

The overriding findings in the student sample are that high achieving students are more democratic, more socially responsible, and more tolerant regarding attitudes towards religion, race and disabilities and less authoritarian compared to low achievers. High achievers feel that they have influence over daily events, and are positive towards social and civil engagement and they are more democratic. Correlations between grades and the semantic differential words show that high achievers view politics negatively, but have high scores on the democracy scale. Students showed suspicion towards democracy, especially when democracy was associated with politics and politicians. When the issue of democracy was de-contextualized from BiH realities in the island scenario in SQ2, students showed more positive attitudes towards it. High achievers agreed to a larger extent that it is acceptable to break the law. They understood that the law is a human product and that people are fallible. Hence, the law is to be treated in the same skeptical spirit we treat other human constructions. The

more authoritarian students are somewhat more prone to respond that it is not acceptable to break the law.

7.3.1 Student attitudes towards authoritarianism

The societal blueprint, or macrosystem, in BiH has generally been to socialize children in families and students in schools to obeying, well-behaved, passive receivers of adult requirements. Children and students were not expected to take an active role in their primary or secondary socialization process. Therefore the finding that students generally agreed with strong authoritarian statements is not surprising. There were no gender differences on the authoritarian scale, but entity differences were found. Students in Fed agreed to a larger extent than students in RS with the authoritarian statements. This is interpreted in several ways. First, some of the authoritarian statements included a belief in and loyalty to “a strong leaders’ rule”. Students in Fed were also more prone to give the President authority above the laws. Moreover, when asked for the main reasons for elections, students in Fed mentioned election of president more than RS students. This was due to the molding of Bosnian-Muslim national identity at the time. Bosnian-Muslims showed a strong belief in their new homeland of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where then President Alija Izetbegović was the front figure for that group. Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Serbs partly identified with their “sister-nations” Croatia and Serbia and they did not share the same national belonging with the Bosnian-Muslims.

Second, the reasons behind students’ general strong agreement with very strong authoritarian statements could be the political heritage of “one-party-one-leader-rule” from the Socialist period. There was a close link with the SFRY State and the former education system, where education acted as an agent of ideological reproduction. However, during this period, education was one of the high priority state sectors. This resulted in an increased educational level, particularly among the younger generations (Ivić, 2002). On the other hand, the educational structure and programs lacked diversity, and the pedagogical discourse was more concerned with a “One-Right-Answer” approach and did not encourage critical thinking or cognitive and social student participation in schools.

Lastly an explanation could be found in the culturally constructed and deeply rooted traditional values, that Inglehart and Baker (2000) argued have a tendency to persist over long periods. Traditional patterns in BiH of primary and secondary socialization are characterized by a hierarchical division between children and adults, parents and children, and teachers and students. Under this structure a good, well-behaved child is one who obeys and respects

elders and fulfills obligations. It is believed by Ivic et. al., (2002) that the most commonly applied levels in Harts' Children's Participation Ladder in the first (family) and second socialization (school) of children and students in Serbia and Montenegro are the first four levels¹. This is applicable to the situation in BiH since these two countries were part of the former SFRY, and had very similar educational, social and cultural settings.

Since the education system during the SFRY period has been criticized for a "one-right-answer-approach", students in this study were asked what they thought was mostly valued by teachers: "one-right-answer" or presenting a lesson learned with some own additional contribution. The majority of students answered (girls and high achievers answered somewhat more frequently): "own contribution". This might be an indication that teachers valued individual expressions in the learning process and that the education system was not solely based on rote learning.

7.3.2 Student attitudes towards democracy

Students did not value democracy to a high degree in SQ1 – the mean on the democracy scale was close to 3. The 12 non-democratic statements (except one) of the Likert-type were contextually relevant for the BiH reality. Attitudes towards democracy and politics must be understood in a country specific way. Just before the war broke out in BiH, a multi-party system was introduced in the country. Three major nationalistic oriented political parties had, and still have, the strongest positions in BiH and contributed to the division between the three major ethnic/nationality groups in the country. Students showed suspicion towards democracy, especially when democracy was associated with politics and politicians. The importance given to universal suffrage, freedom of speech and the possibility for students to influence decision-making at school are positive indications that basic democratic beliefs are prevalent.

When the issue of democracy was de-contextualized from the BiH reality in SQ2 and students were asked how important it is for a society to be democratic, 69 per cent in Fed were positive compared with 61 per cent in RS. Since data collection was undertaken in 1997 and the war memories were fresh, these figures may be seen as high, although 20 per cent in both entities thought democracy was not so important. More than half of all students added a significant amount of personal comments at the end of the questionnaires. This strengthens the above presented division between skepticism towards democracy when connected to politics and politicians and the positive attitude towards democ-

1. None or low level of student participation.

racy addressing more active participation related to student life, family and school. The skeptical responses mostly underscore that they are too young for politics and thus did not like to be asked questions of this kind, while the other more positive student comments stressed that they were pleased to give feedback on these issues since they were never asked about their opinions in school. It is interesting that skeptical students who do not want to be asked about democracy and politics spend additional effort and time to write comments after completion of the questionnaire. This shows that even if they are critical, they do not demonstrate apathy. As Siegel and Hoskin (1981) have shown; citizens can be emotionally involved in politics without necessarily resorting to much participation.

Students in RS showed a higher degree of skepticism towards “the empty word of democracy” compared to students in Fed. This can be understood as students in RS could not see any advantages in every day life after the collapse of SFRY and negative associations towards the word democracy can be linked with the political isolation of RS at the time and a higher distrust in politicians.

Students were asked to describe what a democratic society looks like and what should never exist in a democratic society. The answers seem to convey the following message: a democratic society is where justice, equality, human rights, people’s rule, freedom of movement and media and peace prevail. What should never exist are war, hatred, criminality, corruption and injustice. These descriptions of a democratic society, given by 14-year old students, show that they have positive images of what a democratic society could be. Their criticism and skepticism towards politics and democracy (when it was contextualized to the BiH reality) must therefore be understood as a critique of the political system and the socio-economic problems in BiH at the time data was collected.

The low ranking the words “politics” and “democracy” receive on the semantic differential scale underlines the general disbelief in what the political system provides to people and many associate the introduction of democracy and multi party system with the beginning of the instability in the Balkans.

When students were asked how much they heard and learned about democracy in schools, and given six alternatives, school was ranked fourth by Fed students and fifth among the RS students. The first three sources of information related to democracy in both entities were: television, parents and teachers. During 1997, the media was highly politicized (see discussion in chapter 3) and the low ranking democracy received by students could be explained by negative images in media related to politics and democracy. If education can contribute to democratic development, the introduction of civic education should be stressed. As Farnen’s and Meloen’s (2000) findings reveal (see chapter four),

the necessity to bring politics into classrooms as well as the need for more insight into how students accept democracy and anti-authoritarianism for themselves rather than through indoctrination.

When students were asked in which subject they learned the most about democracy, history was the most frequently mentioned subject. However, a striking finding was that one-third of students in Fed mentioned civil basic defense, a subject that has been strongly criticized, since it is perceived as raising and preparing the future generation for more wars (Kolouh-Westin, 2002).

7.3.3 Student Social Responsibility scores and correlation with the Authoritarian and Democracy Scales

The means on the social responsibility scale (SRS) were high and girls had higher means than boys. This corresponds to Berkowitz and Luttermans' (1968) research findings, which confirmed that women scored higher than men on the SRS scale. This study shows that less authoritarian students were more supportive of democratic statements and more socially responsible. In particular two items from the SRS scale were interrelated with democracy. The first item indicated a feeling of influence over daily events or public affairs and the second item indicated a belief in the goodness of civil and political engagement. Another finding is that the high authoritarians mostly disagreed with two SRS items, the first item indicating a willingness to volunteer in order to improve one's town or country and the second, a willingness to volunteer for school projects.

When overall school grades were analyzed in relation to the authoritarian scale, democracy scale and the SRS items, the strongest correlations were found between the democracy scale and grades. The better the grades, the more positive opinion of democracy among students. This finding corresponds with Almonds and Verba's research (1963) where they showed that educated individuals are more likely to engage in politics and express confidence in the social environment. Correlations show that the more authoritarian students had lower school achievement. High achievers agreed with three items on the SRS scale: "willingness to volunteer for improvement of town/country"; "the need to fulfill promises"; and "the sense of doing a job to the best of one's ability".

The study shows that authoritarian students valued (in ranking order) "school", "police", "politics" and "democracy"². Since authoritarians embrace middle class conventions and are more likely accept a ruler's authority (Adorno et al. 1950, Altmeyer, 1996, Farnen & Meloen, 2000), this finding was not sur-

2. The semantic differential words (see chapter 5).

prising. High achievers viewed the semantic word “politics” negatively, but they have high means on the democracy scale. Finally the words “school” and “police” were correlated with two items on the SRS scale: “I volunteer for school projects” and “Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one’s town or country”. In short, the results show that low achievers are more authoritarian, they value school, but they are not socially responsible in the sense that they are willing to volunteer for school projects or contribute to improvements of their community. A contrary picture can be claimed for the high achieving students (with one exception, high achievers value school on the semantic differential scale).

7.3.4 Student after-school-activities

Student after school activities were grouped in five categories: 1) “Less active”; 2) “Individual studies”; 3) “Sports”; 4) “Member of any organization”; and 5) “Social skills”. Girls were more represented in groups 1 and 2 and boys in group 3. The nature of after school activities had no impact on student attitudes concerning democracy and authoritarianism. Concerning the SRS items, groups 1 and 3 responded less socially responsible compared with the other groups. It must be noted that during 1997 there were not so many organized after school activities for this age group, due to the destruction of physical infrastructure and post-war problems, such as unwillingness by adults to volunteer, lack of financial resources etc.

7.3.5 Students knowledge about legislation and the legal age

Six questions dealt with students’ knowledge about legislation and the legal age related to criminal liability, marriage, driver’s license and obligatory parental support for children. Students in BiH showed a low level of knowledge about the legal norms regulating their rights and duties. In a Swedish study (Young, 2000), where students were given the same questions, they answered incorrectly (more than 50 per cent) to questions related to legislation and criminal liability. These findings shed light on the importance and need for civic education in schools.

7.3.6 Student perceptions of Children Rights and responsibility for the protection of their rights

Students were asked how they perceive children rights and who they consider to be responsible for the protection of their rights. In both entities students largely mentioned three categories: children should be respected and have a

say; freedom of choice and expression; and rights to education. Fed students interpret children rights as obligations more than RS students. RS students were more openly critical and claimed that children have no rights in their country. It is not clear to what extent the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on Children Rights reached some of the students. Even though respect for children, freedom of choice and expression and rights to education are addressed in the CRC and these issues are in general important for 14-year old children.

When asked for the most valued right, education, freedom of speech, thought and movement, and input in decisions were the most frequently mentioned rights among students. In RS, students were more openly critical and claimed that they had no rights. Students viewed their parents as the main protectors of their rights, followed by teachers and finally peers. A majority of students viewed politicians neutrally, but almost one-third of students thought politicians “hinder” the protection of their rights. Students’ ranking of teachers as protectors of their rights imply that they give schools an important role in the protection of their rights. In the Swedish study mentioned earlier, students provided the following ranking: parents, peers and teachers. Politicians were viewed neutrally.

Parents/teachers were more frequently mentioned in Fed, on the other hand, students in RS more frequently mentioned the State and politicians. There was a stronger belief in Fed that the police are responsible for protection of human and children rights. Lastly, very few students in both entities considered themselves responsible for protection of their rights. The RS students’ stronger belief in the State as a protector of their rights compared with Fed students can be understood as a direct critique, since they strongly expressed that they had no rights.

7.3.7 Students Ranking of Political Objectives

When given instructions to rank a series of political objectives (Sigel and Hoskin, 1981), students placed “maintaining peace in the country” as their first priority over the more individual-oriented political objectives. Second place was occupied by what could be considered precedence for social equality as well as an economic human right, “providing everyone with a decent standard of living”. The more individual-based political aims, “protect personal freedoms” and “give the people more influence over government’s decision making process” emerged in third and fourth place, respectively. The last priority for the students was “the fight against inflation and rising costs”. It is interesting to note that in the Swedish study (Young, 2000), students were given the same

instructions and provided the same rankings as in this study. This implies that even if students show distrust in political leaders and what the system is providing them, they prefer a peaceful society, social equality and social cohesiveness to individual personal freedoms. This finding corresponds with the findings in the IEA-civic education study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) where 14-year olds in 28 countries defined government responsibilities and were more likely to think of societal items (such as order and stability within the country, provide free and basic education for all, and health care for all) as the major responsibility of governments rather than economy-related government responsibilities (such as guaranteeing a job, keeping prices under control, supporting industries etc.).

Students in BiH also showed a great willingness to support different civic organizations and interest groups. They supported rather indiscriminately any kind of social action that helps most groups of people, except support for homosexuals rights. The group most supported was the one closest to students – “homeless children”.

7.3.8 Student attitudes towards religion, race and people with disabilities

In both entities a majority of students showed tolerance towards different religions and races. In RS students tended to give more intolerant responses. When asked if persons with disabilities deserve the same rights as others, close to 20 per cent in both entities answered no. This finding underscores the importance of more heterogeneous student groups in order to foster a higher level of tolerance for those who differ from the majority group. During the SFRY period, students with disabilities received their education in special schools and inclusion of students with special needs in formal schooling is not yet practiced. There is a relationship between students' school achievement and their attitudes related to religion, race and disabilities. Students with higher achievement were more tolerant compared with low achievers.

7.3.9 Students' attribution of importance to laws and acceptance of legal interference with individual behavior

Students attached importance to the legal system and they differed in opinions about the role of law in regulating society. The degree of tolerance for violations of the law was fairly high. When asked in which situations it is justifiable to break the law, a majority of students claimed that it is justifiable under certain circumstances. According to Tapp's and Kohlberg's classification (1971), a majority of students in this study have the conventional orientation where jus-

7. Summary and Concluding Discussion

tifying circumstances provide moral justification, while only a few expressed a post-conventional ethic where universal moral principles – above the law – should dictate relationships to the social order. The higher frequency related to the post-conventional ethic was among Bosnian-Muslim students in Fed, while more strong agreements with authoritarian statements were more common among student in RS students. Lastly, the perception of children rights as obligations could possibly be related to Islam, where emulation and obedience are expectations for a Muslim person as a necessary principle of the religion (Arjmand, 2004). Sixty-two per cent of students considered that the law is not binding in all situations and 36 per cent took the contrary view. The second group included students who were typically rule obeying and rule maintaining. Here students stressed that laws always have to be obeyed because they afraid of the consequences, in war or when life is at stake. High achievers agree to a larger extent that it is acceptable to break the law – they understood that law is a human product and that people are fallible. Hence, law is to be treated in the same skeptical spirit we treat other human artifacts. The more authoritarian students are somewhat prone to respond that it is not acceptable to break the law.

Students were asked about their acceptance of legal interference with individual behavior. The degree of tolerance for restrictions on individual freedom was high. Half of the students were positive to restrictions of freedom of expression and that tasteful but dangerous food should be forbidden. Sixty per cent in both entities were positive to establish a law that would forbid lies. Gallatin's and Adelson's (1971) findings underline greater recognition with increased maturity, that the laws proposed involve an infringement of personal freedom. Younger adolescents were more likely to respond to the "evident good" that laws seek to obtain and were more willing to grant legitimacy to any claim the State may make upon the citizen. Between the ages of 15 and 18 a substantial number of youngsters not only recognized the intrusiveness of such laws, but also supported a counter principle, individual freedom, to weigh against their apparent merits. Students in this study were 14 years old and they did not see government's paternal treatment as an intrusion on personal freedoms. One additional understanding of students' willingness to forbid lies and freedom of expression can be found in their disbelief in politics and politicians. When they expressed limitations of lies they possibly expressed criticism towards the political environment they lived in. When asked if education should be compulsory a majority of all students were strongly in favor of compulsory education.

7.3.10 Student future career plans and preferences to live abroad

There was an association between overall achievement and preference of future career – excellent students preferred science, education, medicine and arts more than other categories of students. Career plans were linked to preferences to live outside BiH. Students with career plans related to arts, business, politics, law and sports wished to live abroad more frequently than students with other career plans. In both entities half the students expressed a wish to live abroad later in life. The higher distrust in a brighter future was expressed by RS students. Again, this is because RS at the time was more isolated from international assistance and Bosnian-Serbs did not show the same enthusiasm about the new Bosnian national identity molding as the students in the predominantly Bosnian-Muslim cantons. In a UNDP report (2000), students were asked “how strong their feelings for BiH as a nation were”, and 45 per cent of Bosnian-Muslims answered very strong compared with 5 per cent Bosnian-Serbs and 28 per cent Bosnian-Croats. Sixty two per cent answered in this survey that they would leave BiH if given the opportunity. It is discouraging that young people’s beliefs in a better future have not improved since this study was conducted in 1997.

7.4 Summary of findings from the Teacher Questionnaire

The major findings from the teacher sample shows that teachers who agreed with non-peaceful mediation, and had a non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts, also agreed with strong authoritarian statements and were less democratic. In general, teachers valued students who behave respectfully, have a good upbringing and are obedient. They were very concerned about the general status of education in society, which they felt was becoming marginalized. Teachers were not happy with the overloaded curricula and they showed an interest in more knowledge and skills to help children with traumatic war experiences. When asked about positive reforms, teachers were highly critical of, and dissatisfied with, the situation. Many teachers did not answer the question, which is as an indication of their dissatisfaction. Indeed, many provided sarcastic answers or indicated there were no positive reforms.

7.4.1 Teacher awareness of social conflict and mechanisms of conflict resolution

Generally, teachers’ awareness of conflict resolution is low. Since the 29 statements used were phrased in such a manner that they expressed a non-yielding,

non-forgiving and rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts, the expectation was that teachers would show a higher level of disagreement with them. Given this outcome one can expect that teachers predominantly do not promote skills and practices of constructive conflict resolution or show tolerant attitudes toward others' views in their classrooms. However, teachers in BiH had experienced a civil war, many were forced to leave their place of origin and move during ethnic cleansing, sexual violence was widespread, and they lived under economic hardships and political turmoil, which is believed impacted their attitudes towards conflict resolution.

7.4.2 Teacher attitudes towards authoritarianism and democracy

Teachers' means on the authoritarian scale were just below three. Since the items on the authoritarian scale are phrased in a strong authoritarian voice the expectation was that teachers would disagree much more with them and rate lower on the scale. Means on the democracy scale are notably higher (4). Correlations show that more democratic teachers are less authoritarian and agree less with the non-forgiving, rigid approach to interpersonal conflicts. Analysis of variance with conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy scales with entity, gender and teaching subject, one by one, showed no significant differences in any of the cases.

7.4.3 Teacher conceptions of educational values

When teachers were asked to describe an "ideal student", most of them prioritized: (in ranking order): students who behave respectfully, have good upbringing, are obedient; secondly cognitive skills are emphasized; thirdly hard work, diligence; fourthly social skills, self-reliance, self-development and lastly critical thinking, independent thinking, questioning.

Teacher views on the role of the school in the formation of democratic behaviors and values do not give much credit to the school. Approximately one-third of the sampled teachers chose school as the major source. Almost half the teachers, and especially the male ones, believed that the greatest impact came from our surroundings. On the other hand, female teachers were more likely to believe that democratic values are acquired from family at an early age and difficult to change later. It is evident that student conceptions and attitudes are not formed only by curricula and school practice, but are also influenced by a number of other factors, such as the society, and social practice in the child's surroundings, family and media.

7.4.4 Teachers appraisal of their own role and influence in the education system, and the role and influence of parents

A majority of teachers felt that they had sufficient influence over their daily tasks at school, but teachers in RS were more critical compared to their colleagues in Fed. Teachers were asked to attribute responsibility for their own influence at work. The most frequent answer was “myself”. Teachers in RS referred more to external factors such as “political leadership”, MOE and a combination of “all factors” compared to colleagues from Fed who focused on their own role and influence in classrooms and interaction with students. This entity difference might be due to the political tensions in RS at the time and the political isolation of RS. In 1997, more international assistance had reached the Fed resulting in more regular teacher salaries. This was not the case in RS. Another reason for the entity difference might be that the whole structure of the education system was much more centralized and hierarchical in RS than in the newly decentralized system in Fed. Teachers in RS were under frequent control by school inspectors who checked if they fulfilled their teacher obligations and introduced the most recent changes in the syllabuses.

Approximately half of all teachers claimed existence of organizations or forums that discuss issues concerning teacher working conditions. Less than half of all teachers participated in, or were members of, such organizations. There were teacher unions in both entities at the time data was collected and the reason for teachers’ low participation in unions or other related organizations might be the post-war situation. A majority of teachers claimed that they were working with parents and considered cooperation with parents to be important. The follow up questions intended to indicate the kind of parental involvement show that a majority of teachers meant parents assisting their own children in their learning process. The educational problem of overloaded curricula was discussed earlier, and students and teachers did not have time to cover all requirements during scheduled schoolwork. This problem was solved by many parents through private tutoring (only affordable for a few parents) or via parental assistance to their children. The latter was not possible for many parents, due to limited literacy skills or lack of time and/or interest. Consequently, equal opportunities for students to obtain a quality education were restricted.

7.4.5 Teachers appraisal of the social context of the education system

When asked about positive reforms, teachers were highly critical and dissatisfied and the most frequent answers were ironic. Teachers could not see any pos-

itive reforms except the importance given to Bosnian/Serbian language/heritage introduced after Dayton. When teachers described negative reforms more were prepared to answer the question. Teachers complained mainly about the overloaded curricula, followed by lack of equipment/textbooks. A few teachers were unhappy about the emphasis on Bosnian/Serbian heritage – they worked in a complex situation and climate, were forced to teach something they did not believe in, and work with colleagues with different value systems. The relatively high approval of the divisive educational programs might be explained with the heritage from the SFRY period. Generally, it can be claimed that there was a close link between teachers and the state during the SFRY period. Teachers were those professionals who emphasized the ideology of “Yugoslavism” and therefore many were nationalist oriented in their profession (Tjeldvoll, 1997). Yugoslav nationalism has been replaced with ethnic nationalism in BiH and tripartite education divisions with ethnified curricula and textbooks have contributed to teacher insecurities related to their professional roles.

Teacher criticism of overloaded curricula, loaded with facts and described as an detailed cook-book (see chapter 3), does not open up opportunities for teachers to include innovative approaches in classrooms. And it leaves limited time for dialog and discussion. Both teachers and students were very focused on examinations, grades and the pressures to cover the required goals in the curricula. Moreover, teachers were not given any professional freedom, nor did they actively participate in influencing the content. They were given a list of “tasks” that had to be fulfilled within a given time frame and school inspectors evaluated whether or not curricula were followed. Against this background, it is difficult to imagine engaged teachers and students with critical thinking skills who actively participate and communicate in decision-making and the mutual learning processes in their schools.

Teachers were asked to give priority to topics they would like to have in their in-service training. Their first choice was: “Help to children with traumatic war experiences”; followed by “Human and Children rights”; closely followed by “Development of democratic behavior in schools”. The least prioritized topic was production of alternative teaching and learning materials. Teacher suggestions regarding changes, which they believed could affect their work positively, were the following (in rank order): more educational equipment; improved work environment; improved teacher and student status; and improved general status of education. It is surprising in one way that teachers did not mention curricula issues to a higher extent, since they showed dissatisfaction with this in a previous question. Here teachers were mainly concerned as good professionals focused on the teaching learning-process by asking for more equipment

to facilitate their every day work. Teachers were also concerned about the general status of teachers, students and education, which they saw was becoming more marginalized.

7.4.6 Teaching practices

Teachers use different sources of teaching material, but almost half claimed that they only used compulsory textbooks and the blackboard, which is an indication of teacher and subject centered teaching practices. Teachers' opinions about the quality of textbooks showed that teachers in Fed were more critical compared to RS teachers. The findings from the textbook analysis discussed in Chapter 3 provide an explanation to Fed teachers' dissatisfaction. Major conclusions in the textbook analysis include: textbooks presented human rights and democracy in a mainly negative light (i.e., the student is given a negative model of these topics); language was not adjusted to the reader's age and cognitive development; and the general quality was very low, including the paper quality, illustrations and photographs.

7.5 Relationships Between Teacher and Student Attitudes

Teachers and students answered the same questions on the authoritarian and democracy scales³. The results show that teachers are more positive towards democracy, compared with students, and they agree to a lesser degree with authoritarian statements.

Table 7.1 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) on the authoritarian scale among teachers and students

Authoritarian scale	Teachers (n=135)	Students (n=450)
M (SD)	2.79 (0.70)	4.06 (0.57)

Note: High Mean is indicating an agreement with authoritarian statements.

Table 7.2 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) on the democracy scale among teachers and students

Democracy scale	Teachers (n=135)	Students (n=450)
M (SD)	4.08 (0.41)	3.05 (0.66)

Note: High mean indicates a disagreement with anti-democratic statements

3. The SQ1the democracy scale included 12 questions and in the teacher questionnaire there were 6 questions. For correlation analysis between teachers and students the same six questions were used.

Students showed a higher degree of general distrust in what politics and politicians provide to people. Many associated the introduction of democracy and a multi-party system with the beginning of instability in the Balkans. High student means on the authoritarian scale may be understood as a reaction to what they perceived was expected of them in primary and secondary socialization, where child and student obedience and passiveness have been, and are, appreciated by adults. Another possible explanation of students' high degree of agreement with authoritarian statements might be their age. Children between 11 and 13 are still egocentric in that they cannot transcend a purely personal approach to matters that require a socio-centric perspective (Piaget, 1964). Adelson and O'Neil (1966) argued that children under the age of 13 see citizenry as willful and potentially dangerous and society as needing coercive and authoritarian measures. As they get older (13 and above) children have more complex views of political arrangements and emphasize the positive functions of the government.

7.6 Concluding Discussion

The recently initiated education reform by the OSCE recently commenced with the IC as the major driving force. Only the time will tell if the "tripartite" presidency and State of BiH will support educational conditions, which can lead to reconciliation and the flourishing of human rights and democracy. Or, alternatively, if political development will result in three ethnically cleansed mini-states with three different education systems, histories and languages. In one OSCE Education Reform document, the High Representative states: *We must start by taking politics out of the classroom, where it has no place...* (OSCE, 2002:7). One can assume he meant removal of politically placed principals in schools, the ethnified curricula etc. To exclude "loaded" words is similar to putting a lid on unresolved problems⁴, will not solve the most crucial issues in BiH. On the contrary, politics should be discussed in classrooms in order to give students and teachers a chance to grasp and verbalize political and ethnic issues that influence people's everyday lives. It is necessary to discuss nationalism, militarism, racism, patriotism, religious fundamentalism and other potential threats to democracy in schools (Farnen and Meloen, 2000). The results of this study also show the need for civic education in schools.

There are interesting contradictions in student responses. On one hand, students largely agreed with the following authoritarian statement: "It is most

4. We have learned a lesson from the Yugoslav story, that this is not the most constructive solution to unresolved problems.

important for children to learn obedience and respect for authorities” (SQ₁). On the other hand, they largely agreed with the democratic statement that “It is important that family matters are discussed jointly before decisions are taken” (SQ₁).

When asked to single out the most important child rights, the most frequently mentioned rights were education, freedom of speech, thought and movement, and to have a say in decisions. Another contradiction was found in the additional comments students wrote at the end of the questionnaires, where two diverging types of responses emerged in the data analysis. One indicated a very positive stance towards the issues raised in the questionnaires since, as they claimed, they were never asked their opinions in school. The other approach indicated that they felt they were too young for politics and did not like to be asked questions of this kind.

In summary, while students support authoritarian statements, they also want to have more influence in their schools and families. This confirms the importance of studying the developing person in his or her environment and, especially, the evolving interaction between the two. The identification of specific social and psychological features at the macrosystem affects the particular conditions and processes occurring in the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1985). The societal blueprint in the SFRY did not promote the genuine participation of adults, children or youth. The education system with its “One-Right-Answer” approach has been described as hierarchical and centralized, where teachers taught and students learned in a passive form and it was not characterized by mutual respect and joint activities.

In both primary and secondary socialization, children’s and students’ obedience and passiveness have been, and are, particularly appreciated by adults. So one can assume that students agree with authoritarian statements, as such statements might be perceived as the correct answer corresponding with the societal blueprint (what students believe is expected from them). At the same time the 14-year olds in this study want more influence in decisions with a direct impact on their every day lives.

At the mesosystem level, children and students can live in different normative systems – one being their family’s value system, the other being the societal broadly accepted value system. These contradictions can be found on several levels. As Dudintsev (Mischler and Haerpfer, 1997:88) in Chapter 2 indicated: a person in an authoritarian system can be two persons in one body, one saying and doing what the state commands, or parents and teachers demand, the other person doing and reasoning what s/he wants among friends in the private sphere.

The interconnectedness and formation of the complex shaping of young people's identity between the individual, social and cultural dimensions in BiH are especially interesting since the previous overriding ideology of "Yugoslavism" disappeared and was replaced by ethnic nationalism. At the same time, during this transition period children and students are between collectivist values such as submission to the State, community, discipline and loyalty, and individualist values such as personal initiative, freedom, autonomy, critical spirit and tolerance for diverse identity expressions.

Schools mirror society and their role is to prepare students for the social and cultural context they will live in. School also strengthens the life-journey, empowers students and gives them necessary tools for individual and societal development and change. If the environment is generally authoritarian, one can assume that a proper preparation for living and surviving outside the school-walls should be authoritarian and instructive, traditional teaching. In BiH teachers are a part of the society they live in. As Husén (1999) noted, reforms take time and there is a danger when we want to change systems overnight. In this process teachers can lose their professional confidence overnight, but the system needs more time. When educational changes are needed, as in BiH, I believe that new information, methods, teaching approaches, etc., have to be moderately novel for all stakeholders involved in the teaching and learning process. Otherwise there is a high risk for resistance. To overcome the history of authoritarian schooling (i.e. the transformation from an authoritarian one-right answer approach to a deliberative action) will take time. The manner in which this process is undertaken is important and if education reforms are implemented from an externally driven, heavy-handed approach from "the already acculturated" to the teachers and other stakeholders ("those not yet acculturated") in the education process, it will have been meaningless or provoke resistance. In order to keep professional teachers in schools, there should be a constant effort to understanding the ecology of teachers. Teacher participation in the development and implementation of education reforms and policies should be an important priority when reforms are on the agenda.

The following quote clearly points out the enormous importance of the teaching profession: *If nations hope to increase the cognitive skills of their young populations through schooling, they will have to rely on autonomous, motivated, and skilled professional teachers trained in public institutions to do so. How these teachers regard themselves, how committed they feel to their pupils' academic success, how willing they are to learn to do their job better, and how able they are to teach well are keys to producing both basic and advanced learning in any society. Teacher commitment and involvement*

implies a management system that takes teacher needs into account and involves their participation in improving the quality of education (Carnoy, 1999:71).

It is also important to mention that the non-critical adoption of education models successful in the more economically developed countries represents a danger for the countries in transition, because every education model is based on its own specific social and historical context. Again, the ideal scenario should not be a one-way process in which education reforms are transferred from the IC to stakeholders in education, but rather a co-constructive process where all participating stakeholders play an active role.

It has been argued that education is a precondition for democracy and that democracy conceptually presupposes critical citizens. Any attempt to make students become democratic citizens by imposing common values, “one-right-answer” approaches to knowledge, or providing a fixed image of the good society, is bound to violate their rights as democratic citizens. In a perfect world, democracy in education should, through cooperative action and dialog, provide students and teachers with the necessary skills to develop tolerance and view issues from different perspectives. And it should help students and teachers develop analytical tools in order to see through different versions of social or historical “realities” or “good life versions” presented to them. It can be claimed that a democratically oriented teacher in BiH has all the materials and sources needed to strengthen critical thinking and provoke students to try out different orientations of the mind and seek understanding from different perspectives. The three different versions of curricula and textbooks in the tripartite education system could be used and analyzed in classrooms to show how different versions of social and historical “realities” are presented.

This can be achieved via a pluralistic approach of political literacy and active participation in schools. Education systems that facilitate and promote student participation in their learning processes, provide them with possibilities to participate and have an influence in the social context that has a direct impact on students every day lives, are believed to promote democracy in education. The findings in this study prove the above-mentioned relationship – students who feel that they have influence over daily events and who are positive towards social/civil engagement are more democratic. This reveals the importance of including children and youth in decision-making and active participation in matters directly related to their life worlds.

There is a need for more female perspectives and female role models in BiH society, as everywhere else. Economic development and security has a positive impact on changes in gender roles. For example, women receive more education and become more mobile (and this is accepted to a higher degree) and free

in economically more developed societies compared with women in poorer societies, where the insistence on more traditional gender roles is stronger (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). The economic decline and the disappearance of the protector State do not encourage fast gender improvements.

People in BiH are in this transition period between contradicting value systems. The contrast is between collectivist values such as submission to the State, community, discipline and loyalty versus individualist values such as personal initiative, freedom, autonomy, critical spirit and tolerance for diverse identity expressions. At the same time there is a revival of traditional values discouraged under socialism, related to religion, nationalism and monarchy. The existence of overlapping and contradicting value systems, in addition to economic decline and the disappearance of the protector State that existed during the socialist period, results in a sense of being exposed and threatened. This is illustrated by the WVS data where ex-socialist societies rank low on interpersonal trust and there is a strong emphasis on survival values, indicating that people in such countries experience life as unpredictable and insecure.

7.7 Suggestions for Further Research

The IC, with the OSCE as the responsible organization, has initiated a large-scale reform of education in BiH, where development of a common core curricula and quality are the major aims. Do the different stakeholders (Ministries of Education, politicians, teachers, parents, students and ethnic groups/nationalities) perceive the issue of core curricula as a promise or a threat? And to what extent are different stakeholders involved in the reform process?

The findings from the student sample indicate that high achievers are more democratic, more tolerant and less authoritarian than low achievers. High achievers feel that they have influence over daily events and are positive towards social and civil engagement (i.e. education matters). A qualitative study with in-depth interviews with students, parents and teachers would contribute to a deeper understanding of how students accept democracy versus authoritarianism. The study should preferably include classroom observations. One limitation of the present study (information on parents educational background and views on upbringing) could be complemented in order to more precisely determine the impact formal education has on student attitudes towards democracy and authoritarianism.

The results show that teachers are authoritarian and their awareness concerning conflict resolution is low. These teachers faced a war situation, economic hardship and political turmoil, and it is believed these factors shaped

7. Summary and Concluding Discussion

their attitudes. Therefore, many of the findings in this study would benefit from international comparisons as well as a follow up study in BiH to trace any changes since 1997.

There is a need for more in-depth qualitative studies with a focus on socialization processes in families, and between families and schools. There is also a need for classroom observations with a focus on the learning process and interaction in the learning process.

Will the intensive presence and role of the IC in BiH create a sense of trust or distrust towards the IC among BiH citizens in short and long term, especially attitudes towards democracy among youth? What kind of impact will the IC have on the internal legitimacy of the BiH State?

As discussed previously people in BiH are in this transition period between contradicting value systems. The contrast is between collectivist values such as submission to the State, community, discipline and loyalty versus individualist values such as personal initiative, freedom, autonomy, critical spirit and tolerance for diverse identity expressions. In the present identity-molding mode in BiH, it would be fruitful to study young people's life styles to gain an in depth understanding of the formation and interconnectedness between their personal, social and cultural identities.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Scope of the Study

The total sample includes: 907 students and 155 teachers.

Republika Srpska

Table 1.1 Student Questionnaire 1

AREA	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF STUDENTS
Banja Luka	3 (two main, one branch)	6	79
Doboj	4 (two main, two branch)	6	77
Prijedor	2 (one main, one branch)	4	44
Teslic	2 (main)	4	48
Total	11	20	248

Table 1.2 Student Questionnaire 2

AREA	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF STUDENTS
Banja Luka	3 (two main, one branch)	6	74
Doboj	4 (two main, two branch)	6	81
Prijedor	2 (one main, one branch)	4	48
Teslic	2 (main)	4	46
Total	11	20	249

Table 1.3 Teacher Questionnaire

AREA	NO OF TEACHERS
Banja Luka	33
Doboj	33
Prijedor	23
Teslic	22
Total	111

Federation

Table 1.4 Student Questionnaire 1

CANTON	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF STUDENTS
Zenica	2	4	69
Gorazde	1	2	25
Tuzla	2	4	60
Middle Bosnia	2	4	64
Total			218

Table 1.5 Student Questionnaire 2

CANTON	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF STUDENTS
Zenica	2	4	35
Gorazde	1	2	33
Tuzla	2	4	60
Middle Bosnia	2	4	64
Total			192

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Table 1.6 Teacher Questionnaire

CANTON	NO OF TEACHERS
Zenica	12
Gorazde	5
Tuzla	14
Middle Bosnia	13
Total	44

Table 1.7 Student Questionnaire 1. Gender and age

	RS	FED	BIH
N	248	218	466
Sex	128 girls, 120 boys	92 girls, 126 boys	220 girls, 246 boys
Age	M: 13.1	M: 14.1	M: 13.9

Table 1.8 Student Questionnaire 2 Gender and age

	RS	FED	BIH
N	249	192	441
Sex	133 girls, 116 boys	96 girls, 96 boys	229 girls, 212 boys
Age	M: 13.9	M: 14.9	M: 14

Table 1.9 Teacher Questionnaire. Gender and age

	BIH
N	155
Sex	95 female, 49 male
Age	M: 40 years

3. I translated all questionnaires to three languages: Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian.

Appendix 2

Student questionnaires 1 and 2

2.1 Student questionnaire 1 (SQ1)

Thank you in advance for filling in this questionnaire! If you need more space for your valuable answers, write on the back of the paper.

Please, if you don't understand a question or comment, ask for help!

**Questions 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 were asked in all student questionnaires (Fed -Stu1 & Fed -Stu2)¹*

1. I am a girl ☐ I am a boy ☐

2. I am _____ years old.

3. What was your overall "school-degree" last school year?² _____

Which mark did you have in History _____ Bosnian³ _____

**(The education system in former Yugoslavia has been criticized of focusing on "one-right-answer" traditions, therefore it was interesting to see what students thought was acknowledged by teachers).*

4. Imagine that the teacher wants you to talk about the homework. What will lead to a higher mark (cross one answer)?

a) I will learn my lesson more or less by heart.

b) I will describe what I consider the most important message in the homework and maybe add some question.

5. What kind of after school activities do you like to take part in? (Maybe you are a member of any club, or you do some sports or you have a special hobby, or something completely different)

**(Questions 6-13: Authoritarianism, shortened version of California F scale described in the original research (Adorno et al., 1950))*

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements. When you answer put an X in the box under the answer that fits you best.

6. Obedience and respect for authorities are the most important quality/characteristics that children have to learn.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. In every society there should be a leader whom people will completely trust and who's decisions will be implemented without questions or comments.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. All comments in italics are for the reader to better understand the origin of the questions or comments in the questionnaires.
2. In BIH students get marks from 1 to 5. In the end of each school year the students overall school success has three levels: Perfect (five in all subjects), Very Good (four and five), Good. (Footnote 3, see page 158.)

Appendices

8. What is most important for youth is sever discipline and readiness to fulfill obligations that the family and social authorities ask from them.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. When they grow up, young people should leave their rebellious ideas and calm down.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Sexual criminal acts deserves to be punished more severely than only with prison-penalty, these criminals should be whipped in public or punished even worse.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. What is most needed in this country, more needed than a number of laws, are a couple of brave and tireless leaders whom the people would trust.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Business people are much more important for a society than artists and professors.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. If a group wants to succeed it needs an energetic, strict and just leader, whom everybody will respect and obey.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

** Questions 14-19 are a shortened version of Social Responsibility Scale taken from Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968)(six out of originally eight items are used). Berkowitz and Lutterman's ' questions centered primarily on the Harris Social Responsibility Scale (1963), except question 17 & 19. The responsible direction is given in parentheses.*

14. There is no point to worry about daily events and public affairs, I can't do anything about it anyway. *(Disagree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Every person should devote some time and work for goodness in ones town or country. *(Agree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

 Appendices

16. In our country everything would be much better if there were not so much social/civil and political engagement. *(Disagree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Everyone has a duty to do their job to the best of their ability. *(Agree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. In school I often volunteer for different kind of projects. *(Agree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. I feel very bad when I don't finish something that I have promised to do. *(Agree)*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

** Questions 20-31 aim to determine student's attitudes towards Democracy. These statements are modified from interview questions used by Almond and Verba (1963). All statements except one (26) express non-democratic attitude. In computing the overall score, complete agreement with these non-democratic statements was scored one and complete disagreement five. In this way the total score was computed, with the possible range from 12 to 60.*

20. The occurrence of multi-party system has contributed with more harm than good to our society.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. One should not allow certain people to vote.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Although political democracy is important, it should be postponed for better times.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Some political parties that exist today should be forbidden.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Democracy in politics results in fights and conflicts, and not in solutions of social problems.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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25. Democracy makes it possible for incompetent persons to have an impact on people's future.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. It is important that family matters are discussed jointly before decisions are taken.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. It is not realistic that common neighborhood matters are decided upon directly by the residents.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. Employers do not need to consult the employees on important matters.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Freedom of speech is not important.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. In times when important social problems have to be solved in society, ordinary people should not be asked of their because they don't understand complicated issues.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. Students should not take part in decision-making in schools.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**To have some basic knowledge about society and laws is the ground preparation for individual's participation in the society. Students were asked about topics relevant for their age.*

Please read the six following questions and try to give correct answers

*32. Imagine that a man is accused of theft and he is in a trial. During the trial it can't be proofed that he is guilty, but on the other hand the man can't proof that he is not guilty. What will happen?

- a) He will be punished
- b) He will get released
- c) The decision will rely on the judge

*33. A three-year-old child can't be accused for something in a trial, a 30-year-old person can. At what age can someone who is breaking the law be accused and undergo a trial?

From _____ Years.

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*34. What is the minimum age for someone who wants to marry?

From _____ Years.

*35. Until which age are the parents obliged to support their children?

Until the child is _____ Years old.

*36. At which age can someone get a driving license?

At Minimum _____ Years.

*37 Who enforce the laws in the country?

1. Parliament 2. Courts 3. President 4. _____

**Questions 38, 39 and 40 were asked in all student questionnaires (Fed -Stu1 & Fed -Stu2)*

38. Lately one can hear quite a lot about children's' rights. How do YOU perceive/understand children's' rights, what kind of meaning does it have for YOU?

39. Who is responsible for the protection of children's' and human rights?

40. Of all the rights you have, which are most important for you?

**Perceived Importance of Different Socialization Agents*

41. Try to mark how much each individual or group from your closest surrounding helps or omits you in fulfilling and protecting your rights:

	They help	Neither help or omit	they omit	I don't know
Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Peers/Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politicians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

** Questions 42 and 43 are taken from Tapp and Kohlberg (1971). These questions were used to find out whether the laws are perceived as inviolable authority. They are used in all student questionnaires (Fed -Stu1 & Fed -Stu2)*

42. Is it sometimes OK to break the law? YES ☐ NO ☐

-Why do you think so?

43. If you think that it is OK to break the law, write in what kind of situations it is

OK: _____

**This ranking has been developed and used by Sigel and Hoskin (1981) in a survey of High School Students. It provides an assessment of the students' overall value orientation and their political priorities.*

44. In Politics it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. Below are several different objectives. Rank them from 1 (the most important to you) to 5 (the least important to you)

- _____ Maintaining order in the nation
- _____ Giving people more say in the decisions of the government
- _____ Fighting rising prices
- _____ Protecting individual freedoms
- _____ Providing a decent standard of living for everyone

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** The aim of this question was to put some social values into the realistic context and connect them with some kind of social activity, as well as to see whether the students support these kinds of social actions.*

45. Which of the following organizations would you support? Mark each alternative with YES or NO:

A group or organization that is working

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. For: women's equal rights | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. For: Persons with different handicaps | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. For: Homeless Children | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. For: Protection of Nature/ Ecology | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. For: reductions of criminality | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. For: development of sports | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. For: development of Art | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. For: homosexuals' equal rights | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. For: retired people | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. For: helping people with incurable diseases | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. For: helping demobilized soldiers | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. For: conflict resolution and peace | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. For: better understanding and relationships with people belonging to other religions or nationalities (ethnic groups) | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

46. Please, write which group/organization you think is most important:

**The Semantic Differential technique was taken from (Osgood, May and Miron 1975) The aim is to capture the respondents' first impressions about certain topics.*

47. Instructions:

Every word we hear provokes some feelings, it has a certain meaning for us.

Here we would like to see what some words mean to different persons, what kind of feelings people get when they see or hear a word. For example the word SEA provokes a feeling of pleasure for some, and others can feel discomfort. How people perceive words can be measured on a line with five (categories). The very ends on the line present total opposites, for example:

pleasant _____ unpleasant

If we start from the beginning of the line, the first (category) stands for very, very pleasant feelings, the next (category) marks something little bit less pleasant. In the middle it is neutral. When you start from the right side, that category marks something very, very unpleasant and the one next to it marks when something is less unpleasant.

We will always give you two opposite "characteristics" that can explain a word, and you shall put an X on one of five lines.

Work quickly and give your first impression. It will be considered wrong if you don't put a X on a line, or if you put two X on a line.

SCHOOL

pleasant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unpleasant
sweet	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sour
good	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	bad
beautiful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	ugly
important	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unimportant

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POLICEMAN

pleasant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unpleasant
sweet	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sour
good	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	bad
beautiful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	ugly
important	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unimportant

DEMOCRACY

pleasant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unpleasant
sweet	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sour
good	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	bad
beautiful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	ugly
important	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unimportant

WEALTH

pleasant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unpleasant
sweet	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sour
good	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	bad
beautiful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	ugly
important	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unimportant

POLITICS

pleasant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unpleasant
sweet	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sour
good	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	bad
beautiful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	ugly
important	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unimportant

**Due to the post-war situation in BiH it was of interest to find out if students visualized their future in BiH or abroad and also ask for their ambitions and goals for their future.*

48. When you get older, where would you like to live and what would you like to do?

_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

2.2 Student Questionnaire 2 (SQ2)

Thank you in advance for filling in this questionnaire! If you need more space for your valuable answers, write on the back of the paper.

Please, if you don't understand a question or comment ask for help!

1. I am a girl ☐ I am a boy ☐

2. I am _____ years old.

3. What was your overall "school-degree" last school year? _____

Which mark did you have in History _____ Serbian _____

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4. Imagine that the teacher wants you to talk about the homework. What will lead to a higher mark (cross one answer)?

- a) I will learn my lesson more or less by heart.
 b) I will describe what I consider the most important message in the homework and maybe add some question.

5. What kind of after school activities do you like to take part in? (Maybe you are a member of any club, or you do some sports or you have a special hobby, or something completely different)

**Tolerance towards people of different religion, race or ethnic group is one of the most important values in heterogenous cultures. What do students think about these topics after a war with "ethnic cleansing"? This series of questions 6, 7, & 8 were modified from an interview guide employed in a study by Lane (1962).*

6. Would you mind if a boy or a girl with different religious beliefs would start in you school?

I would not mind

☐

I would be Indifferent

☐

I would not like that

☐

7. Do you think that white and black people are equal?

8. Do you think that persons with different handicaps deserve the same rights as others?

**Modified version used by Joseph Adelson and his team in their investigation of political socialization (Adelson, Green & O'Neal 1969).*

9. Now you will read a story, which is invented of course, but slightly possible, it is like a fairy tale, try to enter into the story as much as you can.

Imagine that one day one thousand persons from all over the world were dissatisfied with the lives they were living until this day and they all went to a big deserted island and decided to establish/found a new community were they would live.

There were many different people at the island, young, and old and with all kinds of occupations. Because they had settled, a question was raised how to organize their community life.

In the following text of this questionnaire you will become familiarized with different problems that people on the island were discussing. The most interesting thing here is what kind of solutions you would suggest in the situations given; in general what kind of opinion you have about different questions. There are no wrong or correct answers! Every reply is good if it is honest. Please, read carefully and answer all questions. If you need some clarification, please ask for help!

Some people were taking about the necessity of laws, which everybody would have to follow, others were saying that no laws were necessary. What is your opinion, is it necessary to have some laws or not (cross one answer)?

- ☐ It is necessary to have laws
☐ It would be good, but it is not necessary
☐ It should be just a few most basic laws
☐ No laws are necessary

(Tapp and Kohlberg 1971)

What do you think, is it sometimes acceptable to break the law?

☐ Yes ☐ No

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Why do you think so?

If you think that it is acceptable to break the law, can you write in what situations (occasions) this is acceptable:

**Universal suffrage? /Restriction of Rights and Freedom*

The following questions in the island scenario concerning democracy are modified from Lane's (1962) research.

People on the island decided that decisions, at least in the start, should be reached by voting and that they should accept the opinion that wins. But there are some questions whether all who live at the island should have the right to vote and influence on decisions or not? What is your opinion? Should some persons based on their age, occupation, personal characteristics or anything similar be forbidden to vote? If there are such persons write down according to your opinion that should not take part in voting for important decisions:

Why do you think people have elections in their countries?

**How do students define Democracy? –What does it mean to them?*

Some people had the opinion that the place where they were going to live had to be DEMOCRATIC. Some thought this was not so important, and others were against such a suggestion. Before we ask you what you think about this, it is very interesting to know how your notion of democracy is. Describe how a society should be if it is democratic:

What in your opinion should never exist in a society which is democratic?

Lets go back to the story about the island... What would you say: (cross one answer)

- ☐ The society that they are creating should be democratic
- ☐ That question is not so important now
- ☐ There are better options than democracy

Imagine that people agreed to have laws. The most interesting part was when several laws were suggested, now it was time to criticize or speak for a certain law. There were many suggestions, here follows just a selection of the discussions.

There were many arguments about freedom of speech and media. Because there were plans at the island, just as everywhere else in the world that they should have their own newspaper, publish books, have radio and television.

Should it be allowed for every person to write and to say whatever she or he wants?

Some were positive to this, but there were others who thought that some regulations have to exist.

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**Restriction of Rights and Freedom*

Would you allow to everyone to write whatever that person wants, or you would not?

I would allow ☐

I would not allow ☐

If you would make some limits, what would not be allowed to be written or told?

**Originally (Gallatin and Adelson 1969) this question was about smoking, but here it is replaced with the dilemma about consuming delicious but unhealthy food)-To what extent do students accept Government paternal treatment of the citizens?*

There were many opinions and long discussions about some food that was very tasteful, but dangerous for health. Should such food be forbidden or not? There were many suggestions, here are some examples:

-It should be forbidden for all to eat this food

-Everybody should be informed that the food is harmful for the health, and then everyone decides if she or he wants to eat it or not

What is your opinion about this?

**Legal interference with individual's behavior*

One of the suggestions was to establish a law and forbid lies, and that everyone who is caught lying will be punished to pay a penalty. Would you be for or against such a law?

For ☐

Against ☐

Why?

On the island there were schools. The discussions were about if primary schooling should be compulsory, or only for those who wanted to go to school. What is your opinion?

☐ All children have to go to school

☐ The children should decide themselves if they want to go to school or not

☐ The parents should be asked if they want to send their children to school or not.

Can you please write why you have answered the way you have:

**The idea about the importance of the students' attribute to the laws can be obtained from the answer to the question about the conflict between the legal authority and President's authority.*

Imagine that a president is chosen on the island, he has shown that he is successful in his leadership role. In order to solve some problems that have occurred on the island he is planning to take some actions. But these actions are not in correspondence with the laws on the island. What is he supposed to do in this situation?

☐ He has to respect the law and give up the planned actions

☐ He should respect the law, but it is not so serious if he breaks the law

☐ He should create new laws that fit him, and then he should respect and follow them

☐ If he without any doubts would solve the problems, he does not have to consider the laws

10. Lately one can hear quite a lot about children's' rights. How do YOU perceive/understand children's' rights, what kind of meaning does it have for YOU?

11. Who is responsible for the protection of children's' and human rights?

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12. Of all the rights you have, which are most important for you?

13. Try to mark how much each individual or group from your closest surrounding helps or omits you in fulfilling and protecting your rights:

	They help	Neither help or omit	they omit	I don't know
Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Peers/friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politicians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Here it was of greatest interest to see were students would place, teachers and school subjects*

14. Where do you consider that you can hear and learn about democracy? You will get six alternatives. Mark each alternative from 1 to 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. One is where you can hear and learn very much about democracy, and six where you least can hear and learn about Democracy.

- _____ in discussions with friends
- _____ from my parents
- _____ reading books
- _____ watching TV
- _____ from teachers
- _____ from school subjects, which? _____

15. When you get older where would you like to live and what would you like to do?

Thank You very much!

Appendix 3

Means and standard deviations of authoritarian and democracy scales based on gender and after-school activity

Table 3.1 Means and standard deviations on authoritarian and democracy scales with gender.

Dependent variables	Male (n = 218)		Female (n = 232)		Total (n = 450)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Authoritarianism	4.05	0.59	4.06	0.56	4.06	0.57
Attitude toward democracy	3.02	0.67	3.08	0.65	3.05	0.66

There are no significant differences with respect to the means on the authoritarian and democracy scales among boys and girls (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.998$, $F(2,447) = 0.50$, $p > 0.50$).

Table 3.2 Means and Standard deviations on the authoritarian and democracy scales based on after-school activity.

	1 Less active (n = 63)	2 Individual studies (n = 81)	3 Sports (n = 174)	4 Member (n = 48)	5 Social skills (n = 82)
Authoritarianism	4.03 (0.69)	4.09 (0.57)	4.08 (0.52)	4.01 (0.60)	4.02 (0.58)
Attitude toward democracy	3.04 (0.63)	3.02 (0.66)	2.95 (0.67)	3.13 (0.64)	3.18 (0.70)

A One-way multivariate analysis of variance was conducted to examine whether students involved in different after-school activities differ regarding their attitudes towards authoritarianism and democracy. The results of this analysis show that there are no statistically significant differences with respect to the means on the authoritarian and democracy scales among the groups of students involved in different after-school activities (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.98$, $F < 1$).

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Table 3.3 Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) on the authoritarian statements in SQ1 in the two entities (n=449)

	M	S.D
1. It is most important for children to learn obedience and respect for authorities	4.57	0.75
2. Every society needs a trustworthy leader whose decisions are implemented without questioning.	3.81	1.31
3. It is most important that youth have strict discipline and readiness to fulfill obligations	4.06	1.16
4. As youth become adults, they should abandon their radical ideas and settle down	4.41	0.99
5. Sex offenders should receive severe public and/or physical punishment or even worse	4.41	1.06
6. The country needs, more than a number of laws, brave and tireless leaders whom the people trust.	4.28	1.03
7. Businesspeople are much more important for society than artists and professors	2.71	1.36
8. A successful group needs a strict and just leader.	4.17	1.15

Note: High Mean indicates an agreement

Table 3.4 Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) on the (anti-democratic) democracy statements in SQ1 in the two entities (n=449)

	M	S.D
1. The presence of a multi-party system in our country has caused more harm than good	2.19	1.17
2. There should not be universal suffrage and certain people should not be able to vote.	3.71	1.47
3. Although political democracy is important, it should be postponed for better times	2.77	1.38
4. Some political parties should be forbidden.	2.10	1.24
5. Democracy in politics leads to conflicts and not solutions to social problems	2.37	1.34
6. Democracy enables incompetent people to have an impact on other people's future	2.57	1.36
7. It is important that family matters are discussed jointly before decisions are taken.	4.76	0.72
8. It is not realistic that common neighborhood matters are decided upon directly by the residents.	2.60	1.36
9. Employers do not need to consult the employees on important matters.	3.38	1.52
10. Freedom of speech is not important.	3.87	1.45
11. In times when important social problems have to be solved in society, ordinary people should not be asked of their because they don't understand complicated issues.	3.04	1.52
12. Students should not take part in decision-making in schools	3.17	1.58

Note: High Mean indicates a disagreement with anti-democratic statement (item 7 is recoded, so high mean is indicating an agreement with the democratic statement)

Appendix 4

Students' correct answers related to legal system, criminal liability and legal age

Table 4.1. Innocent until proved otherwise (n=462)

Entity	In a trial, what will happen if the defendant is not proved to be innocent nor guilty?			Total
	Will be punished f (%)	Will be released* f (%)	The decision will depend upon the judge f (%)	
Federation	12 (5)	15 (7)	190 (88)	217
Republika Srpska	17 (7)	17 (7)	211 (86)	245
Total	29	32	401	462

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer

Table 4.2. Knowledge about legal system (n=457)

Entity	Who can enforce the laws?					Total
	Only Parliament* f (%)	Only President f (%)	Parliament & President f (%)	Parliament & courts, Courts, People & courts, president & courts f (%)	Other f (%)	
Federation	65(30)	54(25)	50(23)	19(9)	28(13)	216
Republika Srpska	55(23)	39 (16)	51(21)	46(19)	50(21)	241
Total	120	93	101	65	78	457

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer

Table 4.3. Correct answer for criminal liability (n=461)

Entity	How old must someone be in order to stand trial?					Total
	<16 f (%)	16* f (%)	<18 f (%)	18 f (%)	>18 f (%)	
Federation	18(8)	9(4)	6(3)	152(70)	33(15)	218
Republika Srpska	31 (13)	12 (5)	6(2)	160(66)	34(14)	243
Total	49	21	12	312	67	461

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer

Table 4.4 Correct answer for legal marriage age (n=463)

Entity	What is the minimum age for marriage?					Total
	<16 f (%)	16* f (%)	<18 f (%)	18** f (%)	>18 f (%)	
Federation	18(8)	10(5)	6(3)	104(48)	78(36)	216
Republika Srpska	27(11)	17(7)	17(7)	110(44)	76 (31)	247
Total	45	27	23	214	154	463

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer (permits marriage under certain provisions)

**Legal age

Table 4.5 Correct answer for legal driver's license age (n=464)

Entity	At what age can someone get their driver's license?			Total
	<18 f (%)	18* f (%)	>18 f (%)	
Federation	13 (6)	183 (85)	20 (9)	216
Republika Srpska	20 (8)	199 (80)	29 (12)	248
Total	33	382	49	464

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer

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Table 4.6 Correct answer for parents' legal obligation to support their children
(n= 463)

Entity	To what age are parents obliged to support their children?			Total
	<18 f (%)	18* f (%)	>18 f (%)	
Federation	14 (7)	165 (76)	37(17)	216
Republika Srpska	18(7)	176 (71)	53(22)	247
Total	32	341	90	463

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

*Correct answer

Appendix 5

Student views on who protects and supports their rights

Table 5.1 Response distributions to the question "How much do your parents support or protect your rights?", based on entity (n=889)

How much do your parents support or protect your rights?	Federation f (%)	Republika Srpska f (%)	Total f (%)
Support	383 (96)	459 (94)	842 (95)
Neither support or hinder	10 (3)	20 (4)	30 (3)
Hinder	4 (1)	6 (1)	10 (1)
I do not know	1 (1)	6 (1)	7 (1)
Total	398	491	889

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with column total.

Chi-square = 4.49, $df = 3$, $p > 0.20$.

Table 5.2 Response distributions to the question "How much do your teachers support or protect your rights?", based on entity (n=878)

How much do your teachers support or protect your rights?	Federation f (%)	Republika Srpska f (%)	Total f (%)
Support	264 (68)	333 (69)	597 (68)
Neither support or hinder	88 (22)	121 (25)	209 (24)
Hinder	25 (6)	16 (3)	41 (5)
I do not know	15 (4)	16 (3)	31 (3)
Total	392	486	878

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with column total.

Chi-square = 5.19, $df = 3$, $p > 0.10$.

Table 5.3 Response distributions to the question "How much do your peers support or protect your rights?", based on entity (n=875)

How much do your peers support or protect your rights?	Federation f (%)	Republika Srpska f (%)	Total f (%)
Support	167 (43)	211 (44)	378 (43)
Neither support or hinder	165 (42)	218 (45)	383 (44)
Hinder	26 (7)	22 (4)	48 (6)
I do not know	32 (8)	34 (7)	66 (7)
Total	390	485	875

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with column total.

Chi-square = 2.57, $df = 3$, $p > 0.40$.

Table 5.4 Response distributions to the question "How much do the politicians support or protect your rights?", based on entity (n=874)

How much do the politicians support or protect your rights?	Federation f (%)	Republika Srpska f (%)	Total f (%)
Support	40 (10)	27 (6)	67 (8)
Neither support or hinder	202 (51)	231 (47)	433 (49)
Hinder	92 (24)	132 (28)	224 (26)
I do not know	61 (15)	89 (19)	150 (17)
Total	395	479	874

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with column total.

Chi-square = 8.84, $df = 3$, $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

Appendix 6

Student preferences of political objectives

Table 6.1 Student preferences of political objectives-Federation

Federation	Maintaining order in the country	Giving people more say in government decisions	Fighting rising prices	Protecting individual freedoms	Providing a decent standard for everyone
n	214	211	212	208	209
M	1.29	3.03	3.52	2.97	2.35
S.D	.89	1.37	1.45	1.33	1.24

Table 6.2 Student preferences of political objectives-Republika Srpska

Republika Srpska	Maintaining order in the country	Giving people more say in government decisions	Fighting rising prices	Protecting individual freedoms	Providing a decent standard for everyone
n	241	236	238	236	236
M	1.26	2.97	3.26	2.83	2.15
S.D	.83	1.41	1.57	1.44	1.22

Note: Mean close to 1 is most important and 5 least important.

Appendix 7

Inclusive attitudes among students

-Do students have inclusive attitudes in regards to improving and supporting different groups in society, i.e. disabled, homeless children, artists, women issues etc.?

Table 7.1 Students' willingness to support various groups in society

	Federation			Republika Srpska		
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	N	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	N
Equal rights for women	178(83)	37(17)	215	185(76)	57(24)	242
People with different handicaps	178 (83)	37(17)	215	192(81)	46(19)	238
Homeless Children	208(96)	8(4)	216	235(96)	10(4)	245
Environmental/ Ecologic protection	199(93)	14(7)	213	228(94)	15(6)	243
Crime reduction	197(92)	17(8)	214	223(91)	22(9)	245
Development of sports	188(88)	25(12)	213	220(90)	24(10)	244
Development of the Arts	168(79)	45(21)	213	190(78)	54(22)	244
Homosexual rights	51(24)	162(76)	213	51(21)	192(79)	243
Retired people	201(94)	12(6)	213	222(91)	23(9)	245
Incurable diseases	208(97)	7(3)	215	233(95)	13(5)	246
Demobilized soldiers	205(96)	9(4)	214	211(86)	35(14)	246
Conflict resolution & peace	197(92)	18(8)	215	229(93)	17(7)	246
Multi-Culturalism	167(78)	48(22)	215	170(70)	72(30)	242

Appendix 8

Correlation coefficients between authoritarianism, democracy and social responsibility items and achievement and the words on the semantic differential scale

Table 8.1 Bravais-Pearson's linear correlation coefficients between authoritarianism, democracy and social responsibility items (n = 398)

	Mean estimate of School	Mean estimate of Police	Mean estimate of Democracy	Mean estimate of Wealth	Mean estimate of Politics
Authoritarianism	0.24**	0.20**	0.16**	-0.01	0.18**
Attitude toward democracy	-0.04	-0.05	0.06	-0.11*	-0.05
1. I have no influence over daily events or public affairs	0.03	-0.01	0.05	-0.03	0.07
2. Everyone should volunteer in order to improve one's town or country	0.14**	0.17**	0.18**	-0.03	0.08
3. There would be fewer problems in our country if we had less social/civil and political engagement	0.004	0.02	0.07	-0.03	0.11*
4. Everyone has the duty to do their job to the best of their ability	0.03	0.02	0.08	-0.07	0.01
5. I volunteer for school projects	0.22**	0.15**	0.06	-0.06	0.04
6. I feel bad when I don't fulfill a promise	0.11*	0.09	0.11*	-0.02	0.03

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 8.2. Bravais-Pearson's linear correlation coefficients between overall achievement, achievement in history and achievement in native language and "the mean estimate of the school, police, democracy, wealth and politics" in the sample of students (n = 398)

	Mean estimate of School	Mean estimate of Police	Mean estimate of Democracy	Mean estimate of Wealth	Mean estimate of Politics
Overall achievement	-0.05	-0.09	0.06	-0.10*	-0.14**
Achievement in History	0.06	-0.02	0.09	-0.07	-0.12*
Achievement in native language	0.01	-0.04	0.12*	-0.05	-0.10*

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Appendix 9

Future career preferences based on gender and general overall achievement

Table 9.1 Frequencies and percentages on future career preferences according to the gender of students (n=836)

Gender	Preferred career					Total
	Science, education, medicine f (%)	Business, politics, law, sports f (%)	Police, Military f (%)	Artist, Singer f (%)	Any job f (%)	
Girls	142 (33)	139 (33)	12 (3)	45 (11)	86 (20)	424
Boys	88 (22)	182 (44)	16 (4)	18 (4)	108 (26)	412
Total	230 (28)	321 (38)	28 (3)	63 (8)	194 (23)	836

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.

Chi-square = 32.91, $df = 4$, $p < 0.0001$, Cramer's $V = 0.20$.

Table 9.2 Frequencies and percentages on future career preferences according to the General overall achievement of students (n=833)

General overall achievement	Preferred career					Total
	Science, education, medicine f (%)	Business, politics, law, sports f (%)	Police, Military f (%)	Artist, Singer f (%)	Any job f (%)	
Good	52 (6)	138 (42)	12 (4)	29 (9)	98 (30)	329
Very good	90 (31)	106 (36)	9 (3)	19 (9)	64 (21)	288
Excellent	87 (40)	75 (35)	7 (3)	15 (7)	32 (15)	216
Total	229 (28)	319 (38)	28 (3)	63 (8)	194 (23)	833

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.

Chi-square = 46.75, $df = 8$, $p < 0.0001$, Cramer's $V = 0.24$.

Appendix 10

Student preference to live abroad based on entity, gender and general overall achievement

Table 10.1 *Frequencies and percentages on student Students' preferences to live abroad based on entity (n=858)*

Region	Would students like to live abroad?		Total
	No f(%)	Yes f(%)	
Federation	240 (63%)	143 (37%)	383
Republic of Srpska	190 (40%)	285 (60%)	475
Total	430 (50%)	428 (50%)	858

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
Chi-square = 43.56, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$, Cramer's $V = 0.22$

Table 10.2 *Frequencies and percentages on Students' preferences to live based on gender (n=858)*

Gender	Would students like to live abroad?		Total
	No f(%)	Yes f(%)	
Female	220 (51%)	208 (49%)	428
Male	210 (49 %)	220 (51%)	430
Total	430 (50%)	428 (50%)	858

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
Chi-square = 0.56, $df = 1$, $p > 0.40$.

Table 10.3 *Frequencies and percentages on Students' preferences to live abroad based on general overall achievement (n=854)*

General overall achievement	Would students like to live abroad?		Total
	No f(%)	Yes f(%)	
Good	168 (49 %)	175 (51%)	343
Very good	146 (50%)	147 (50%)	293
Excellent	114 (52%)	104 (48%)	218
Total	428 (50%)	426 (50%)	854

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
Chi-square = 0.60, $df = 2$, $p > 0.70$.

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Table 10.4 *Frequencies and percentages on Students' preferences to live abroad according to their preferred career (n=825)*

Region	Would students like to live abroad?		Total
	No f(%)	Yes f(%)	
Science, education, medicine	132 (58%)	95 (42%)	227
Bussiness, politics, law, sports	136 (43%)	182 (57%)	318
Police, military	15 (54%)	13 (46%)	28
Artist, singer	14 (22%)	49 (78%)	63
Any job	113 (60%)	76 (40%)	189
Total	430 (50%)	428 (50%)	825

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
 Chi-square = 39.49, $df = 4$, $p < 0.0001$, Cramer's $V = 0.22$

Appendix 11

Student perceptions on teacher views of knowledge based on gender, entity and overall achievement

Table 11.1 *Frequencies and percentages on student perceptions on teachers' views of knowledge by gender (n=438)*

Gender	Student perceptions of the teachers' value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f(%)	Own contribution f(%)	
Female	52 (23%)	175 (77%)	227
Male	62 (29%)	149 (71%)	211
Total	114	324	438

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row (gender) total.
 Chi-square = 2.38, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$.

Table 11.2 *Frequencies and percentages on student's perceptions on teachers' views of knowledge based on entity (n=891)*

Entity	Student perceptions of the teachers' value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f(%)	Own contribution f(%)	
Federation	97 (24%)	311 (76%)	408
Republika Srpska	115 (24%)	182 (76%)	483
Total	212	679	891

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row (gender) total.

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Table 11.3 *Frequencies and percentages on student's perceptions on teachers' view of knowledge compared between entities (n=438)*

Entity	Student perceptions of the teachers' value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f(%)	Own contribution f(%)	
Federation	50 (26%)	142 (74%)	192
Republika Srpska	64 (26%)	182 (74%)	246
Total	114	324	438

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row (gender) total.

As can be seen from Table 11.3 there is no differences at all between students from the two entities with respect to their opinion of the teachers' value of knowledge.

Table 11.4 *Frequencies and percentages on student perceptions on teachers' view of knowledge based on overall achievement (n=438)*

Overall achievement	Student perceptions of the teachers' value of knowledge		Total
	One right answer f(%)	Own contribution f(%)	
Good	65 (35 %)	123 (65 %)	188
Very good	33 (25%)	100 (75%)	133
Excellent	16 (14%)	101 (86%)	117

Appendix 12

Student attitudes by gender on religion, race and disabilities

Table 12.1 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes related to religion based on gender (n=441)*

Gender	How would you feel if a student with a different religion started at your school			Total
	I wouldn't mind f(%)	I would be indifferent f(%)	I would not like that f(%)	
Girls	75 (33%)	137 (60%)	17 (7%)	229
Boys	54 (25%)	131 (62%)	27 (13%)	212
Total	129	268	44	441

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row (region) total.

Chi-square = 5.18, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$.

Table 12.2 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes on different race based on gender (n=432)*

Gender	Do you think people of different races are of equal worth?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Girls	193 (87%)	29 (13%)	222
Boys	176 (84%)	34 (16%)	210
Total	369	63	432

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

Chi-square = 0.85, $df = 1$, $p > 0.30$.

Table 12.3 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes on different disabilities based on gender (n=427)*

Gender	Do you think people with different disabilities deserve the same rights as others?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Girls	184 (83 %)	37 (17 %)	221
Boys	167 (81%)	39 (19%)	206
Total	351	76	427

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

Chi-square = 0.16, $df = 1$, $p > 0.50$.

Table 12.4 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes on different disabilities based on entity (n=427)*

Entity	Do you think people with different disabilities deserve the same rights as others?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Federation	152 (83%)	31 (17%)	183
Republika Srpska	199 (82%)	45 (18%)	244
Total	351	76	427

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row total.

Chi-square = 0.16, $df = 1$, $p > 0.50$.

Appendix 13

Student attitudes by entity and gender related to breaking the law

Table 13.1 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes regarding breaking the law based on gender (n=891)*

Gender	Is it acceptable to break the law sometimes?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Female	277 (63%)	161 (37%)	438
Male	289 (64%)	164 (36%)	453
Total	566	325	891

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
Chi-square = 0.03, $df = 1$, $p > 0.80$.

Table 13.2 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes regarding breaking of law based on entity (n=891)*

Region	Is it acceptable to break the law sometimes?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Federation	259 (64%)	146 (36%)	405
Republic of Srpska	307 (63%)	179 (37%)	486
Total	566	325	891

Notes: Percentages in brackets within cells are in respect with row totals.
Chi-square = 0.06, $df = 1$, $p > 0.80$.

Appendix 14

Student acceptance of compulsory education and state interference into individual behavior

Table 14.1 *Frequencies and percentages on student acceptance of legal interference with individual's behavior (n=434)*

Entity	Should lying be forbidden?		Total
	Yes f(%)	No f(%)	
Federation	110 (59)	77 (41)	187
Republika Srpska	148 (60)	99 (40)	247
Total	258	176	434

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Table 14.2 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes on why lying should be forbidden or not? (n=414)*

Entity	Why should lying be forbidden or not?			Total
	Against individual rights, law unjust f(%)	Negative consequences, penalties f(%)	Harmful to society & individual f(%)	
Federation	14 (8%)	86 (49%)	75 (43%)	175
Republika Srpska	74 (31%)	93 (39%)	72 (30%)	239
Total	88	189	137	414

Notes: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Table 14.3 *Frequencies and percentages on student attitudes on why education should be compulsory or not (n=421)*

Entity	Why should schooling be compulsory or not?				Total
	Human Right f(%)	It should / must be compulsory f(%)	Crucial for better future f(%)	No one should be forced to anything f(%)	
Federation	13 (7%)	88 (49%)	63 (35%)	15 (8%)	179
Republika Srpska	38 (16%)	111 (46%)	75 (31%)	18 (7%)	242
Total	51	199	138	33	421

Notes: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each row.

Appendix 15

Information sources on democracy, and school subjects where students believe they learn about democracy

Table 15.1 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) on information sources on democracy

Federation	Peers (n=187)	Parents (n=185)	Books (n=185)	TV (n=188)	Teachers (n=185)	School
M	4.65	2.77	3.74	2.75	3.33	3.55
SD	1.58	1.43	1.75	1.72	1.40	1.69

Note: 1 is the most important source and 5 the least important

Table 15.2 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) on information sources to democracy

Republika Srpska	Peers (n=240)	Parents (n=237)	Books (n=236)	TV (n=243)	Teachers (n=235)	School (n=234)
M	4.46	2.62	3.29	2.24	3.77	4.41
SD	1.76	1.55	1.62	1.65	1.55	1.66

Note: 1 is the most important source and 5 the least important

Table 15.3 Frequencies and percentages on school subjects promoting democracy

	History	History & Geography	Bosnian/ Serbian & History	Civil defense	Nat. Science	Other
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)
Federation (n=90)	26(28)	16(18)	9(10)	25(28)	7(8)	7(8)
Republika Srpska (n=82)	45(55)	18(22)	4(5)		7(8)	8(10)
n	71	34	13	25	14	15

Note: Percentages in brackets are calculated based on totals for each entity

Appendix 16

Teacher conceptions of social conflicts and mechanisms of conflict resolution

Table 16.1 Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of teacher conceptions of social conflicts and mechanisms of conflict resolution

	M	SD
1. Someone who intervenes in someone's conflict usually ends up as the most guilty person.	2.81	1.15
2. Good intentions by individuals are just drops in a sea of violence surrounding us.	3.38	1.34
3. Those who try to establish good terms between quarrelling / fighting people just expose themselves for risks.	2.26	1.06
4. External Interference can only deepen the conflict.	2.53	1.06
5. Only an idiot interferes in other people's conflicts.	2.38	1.19
6. If someone throws a stone at you, you throw a larger on him.	2.09	1.12
7. Eye for an eye. tooth for a tooth-that is only just.	2.16	1.11
8. If someone insults you. you should get even.	2.79	1.23
9. If someone steps on your sore one should do the same in return.	2.88	2.71
10. Some people are simply born impudent.	3.06	1.46
11. There is nothing to talk about with people who hates you.	3.00	1.29
12. With some people it is simply impossible to cope with.	3.40	1.24
13. Those who cause pain for others consciously or not consciously deserves to suffer too.	3.28	1.17
14. Those who forget the pain "given to them", have not learned anything.	3.27	1.22
15. Those who hold to their pride will not have any kind of contact with persons who insult them.	2.88	1.19
16. Both sides can't come out from a conflict and be winners.	3.72	1.13
17. A person can be right or wrong	3.42	1.18
18. Apologies are most often just "make up".	2.69	1.23
19. When someone treats you wrong in any way apologies and nice behavior does not help.	2.64	1.10
20. It is foolish to accept an apology from someone who has behaved consciously offending towards you.	3.32	1.26
21. Constant understanding of other persons views is a sign that personal views are missing.	3.03	1.27
22. Concessions are a sign of weakness.	2.43	1.18
23. When a person makes a concession once to someone he can expect that the second time. that someone will "sit on his head".	2.83	1.17
24. Justification does not exists everyone has to pay for what he has done	2.77	1.24
25. A person who want to keep his basic pride answers violently to violence.	2.30	1.09
26. If you want to solve a conflict. first you have to find out who is guilty.	3.82	1.96
27. If someone is right he has to "go as far as needed" independently of the price	3.19	1.10
28. If someone is constantly "giving you a hard time" you can be sure that you are dealing with a cruel person.	3.82	1.05
29. If someone insults you once he will do it a second time.	2.66	1.12

Note: High means > 2.50 indicates an inclination toward a weak awareness of social conflicts and conflict resolution.

Appendix 17

Teacher questionnaire

Thank you for your co-operation!

1. 1. Male 2. Female _____
2. Place of permanent residence _____
3. Place of Birth _____
4. Age _____
5. Work experience in schools (in years) _____
6. Teaching subject _____
7. Living status 1. lodge a room/flat 2. renting flat 3. owner of a house/apartment

In this part of the questionnaire you will read a number of characteristic statements related to conflicts between people. We are interested about your opinions, whether you agree or disagree with the statements. Your agreement or disagreement you will mark by putting a circle around one number. The numbers stand for the following:

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Someone who intervenes in someone's conflict, usually ends up as the most guilty person.					1 2 3 4 5
2. Good intentions by individuals are just drops in a sea of violence surrounding us.					1 2 3 4 5
3. Those who try to establish good terms between quarrelling/fighting people, just expose themselves for risks.					1 2 3 4 5
4. External Interference can only deepen the conflict.					1 2 3 4 5
5. Only an idiot interferes in other peoples conflicts.					1 2 3 4 5

6. If someone throws a stone at you, you throw a larger on him.					1 2 3 4 5
7. Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth-that is only just.					1 2 3 4 5
8. If someone insults you, you should get even.					1 2 3 4 5
9. If someone steps on your sore, one should do the same in return.					1 2 3 4 5
10. Some people are simply born impudent.					1 2 3 4 5

11. There is nothing to talk about with people who hates you.					1 2 3 4 5
12. With some people it is simply impossible to cope with.					1 2 3 4 5
13. Thos who cause pain for others, consciously or not consciously, deserves to suffer too.					1 2 3 4 5
14. Those who forget the pain "given to them", have not learned anything.					1 2 3 4 5
15. Those who hold to their pride, will not have any kind of contact with persons who insult them.					1 2 3 4 5
16. Both sides can't come out from a conflict and be winners.					1 2 3 4 5
17. A person can be right or wrong.					1 2 3 4 5
18. Apologies are most often just "make up".					1 2 3 4 5
19. When someone treats you wrong in any way, apologies and nice behavior does not help.					1 2 3 4 5

20. It is foolish to accept an apology from someone who have behaved consciously offending towards you.					1 2 3 4 5

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- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 21. Constant understanding of other persons views, is a sign that personal views are missing. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 22. Concessions are a sign of weakness. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 23. When a person makes a concession once to someone, he can expect that the second time, that someone will "sit on his head". | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 24. Justification does not exists, everyone has to pay for what he has done. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
-

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 25. A person who want to keep his basic pride, answers violently to violence. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 26. If you want to solve a conflict, first you have to find out who is guilty. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 27. If someone is right, he has to "go as far as needed" independently of the price. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 28. If someone is constantly "giving you a hard time", you can be sure that you are dealing with a cruel person. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 29. If someone insults you once, he will do it a second time. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
-

How much do you agree with the following statements?

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 30. Obedience and respect for authorities are the most important quality/characteristics that children have to learn. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 31. In every society there should be a leader whom people will completely trust and who's decisions will be implemented without questions or comments. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 32. What is most important for youth is sever discipline and readiness to fulfil obligations that the family and social authorities ask from them. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 33. When they grow up, young people should leave their rebellious ideas and calm down. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 34. Sexual criminal acts deserves to be punished more severely than only with prison-penalty, these criminals should be whipped in public or punished even worse. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 35. What is most needed in this country, more needed than a number of laws, are a couple of brave and tireless leaders whom the people would trust. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 36. Business people are much more important for a society than artists and professors. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 37. If a group want to succeed it needs a energetic, strict and just leader, whom everybody will respect and obey. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 38. The occurrence of multi-party system have contributed with more harm than good to our society. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 39. One should not allow certain people to vote. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 40. Although political democracy is important, it should | |

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be postponed for better times. 1 2 3 4 5

41. Some political parties that exist today should be forbidden. 1 2 3 4 5

42. Democracy in politics results in fights and conflicts,
and not in solutions of social problems. 1 2 3 4 5

43. Democracy makes it possible for incompetent persons
to have an impact on peoples future. 1 2 3 4 5

44. Please, can you describe according to your professional opinion a perfect student:

45. What in your opinion and experience are the most positive and negative educational reforms the last 3-4 years (anything from curricula/syllabus to teaching conditions) ?

positive reforms:

negative reforms:

46. To what kind of topics would you give priority in your professional in-service training. You will read five alternative topics. Mark each alternative from 1 to 5. The most important topic with 1 and the least important with 5.

- ___ Teaching methods for talented students
- ___ Human and children rights in education
- ___ Help to children with traumatic war experience
- ___ Production of alternative teaching/learning materials
- ___ Development of democratic behaviour in school

47. Have you in your teacher training (a) or in-service training (b) discussed human or children rights ?

YES a_ b_ NO_

48. What kind of teaching materials do you use in you teaching?

Only text-books and the black-board	YES _	NO _
Teaching materials that you have made	YES _	NO _
Technical and general literature	YES _	NO _
Teaching material made by students	YES _	NO _
Other: _____		

49. What do you think about the text-books in use?

They are Good _ Medium quality _ they are bad _

50. a) Do you consider that you have enough influence in the every-day work in school?

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50. b) Of whom does that depend?

51. What should be changed related to your working conditions. Write three "topics":

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

52. Can democratic values, attitudes and democratic behaviour be learned or acquired through schooling /education ? (mark one alternative)

1. That is primary a question of heritage and temperament, and can't be learned.
2. The greatest impact we can find in the broader surrounding (media, culture, street, peer group) and it is difficult to learn it in a systematic way.
3. That is acquired in the family in the earliest child-hood, later in life it is very difficult to make any changes.
4. This can be learned in school, but only in the earliest grades.
5. This could be acquired during later schooling if one should work systematically in that direction.

53. a) Does any kind of organization, forum exist, where teachers can meet and discuss issues related to their working conditions ? YES_ NO_

53. b) If yes, are you a member/or do you take part in this organization? YES_ NO_

54. Do you co-operate with parents in your school? YES_ NO_

If you do, please mark what kind of activities parents get involved in:

1. Collection of donations or direct financial support
2. Extra help during lessons
3. Assistance on picnics or excursions
4. Assistance to children in their development and learning
5. Other: _____

55. Is it important to include parents in every-day school-life or other school-activities?

YES_ NO_

56. Please, write any additional comments here:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!!!!

Appendix 18

Teacher approaches by gender and subject on conflict resolution, authoritarianism and democracy

Three separate One-Way Multivariate Analysis of Variances were conducted with conflict resolution, authoritarianism and attitude toward democracy as a set of dependent variables were conducted for entity, gender and teaching subject (foreign language-natural science-social science-general-sports-music/arts) as independent variables respectively. There were no significant differences between the groups of teachers from the two entities on the dependent variables, (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.98$, $F(3,131) = 0.65$, $p > 0.50$) neither between male- and female teachers (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.98$, $F(3,131) = 0.79$, $p > 0.50$). Finally, no significant differences were found on the dependent variables among the groups of teachers that teach different subjects (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.87$, $F(15,351) = 1.26$, $p > 0.20$).

Table 18.1 Means and standard deviations on Conflict Resolution, Authoritarianism and Democracy scales by gender.

Dependent variables	Male (n = 48)		Female (n = 87)		Total (n = 135)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Conflict Resolution	2.85	0.64	2.90	0.61	2.88	0.62
Authoritarianism	2.67	0.71	2.86	0.69	2.79	0.70
Attitude toward democracy	4.09	0.38	4.06	0.42	4.08	0.41

Table 18.2. Means (and standard deviations) on Conflict Resolution, Authoritarianism and Democracy scales by teaching subject.

Dependent variables	Foreign Language (n = 6)	Natural Science (n = 39)	Social Science (n = 54)	General (n = 22)	Sports (n = 6)	Music/ Arts (n = 8)
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Conflict Resolution	2.58 (0.30)	2.81 (0.67)	2.96 (0.61)	2.80 (0.71)	3.02 (0.26)	3.06 (0.52)
Authoritarianism	2.83 (0.79)	2.64 (0.64)	2.97 (0.74)	2.50 (0.65)	3.27 (0.62)	2.81 (0.50)
Attitude toward democracy	4.06 (0.40)	4.05 (0.45)	4.14 (0.43)	4.01 (0.35)	4.03 (0.40)	4.02 (0.21)

Appendix 19

Teacher preferences vis-à-vis improvements of work conditions

Table 19.1 Percentages of teacher preferences vis-à-vis improvements of work conditions

1. First alternative		
	RS % (n=101)	Fed % (n=38)
Equipment	36	30
Work environment	14	28
Improve Teacher and Student status	12	9
Salaries	12	7
Curriculum	6	14
Heating/Hot meals	8	2
Textbooks	3	9
More in-service training	3	
Other	6	1
Total	100%	100%
2. Second alternative		
	RS % (n=95)	Fed % (n=35)
Equipment	28	33
Professional Literature	13	
Increase general education status	7	14
Improve Teachers status	10	10
Salaries	10	7
Textbooks		9
Work environment	8	
More time for students	5	10
Curriculum	8	10
Heating/Hot meals	5	
Other	6	7
Total	100%	100%
3. Third alternative		
	RS % (n=81)	Fed % (n=29)
Salaries	17	8
Equipment	14	11
Improve Teachers status	16	15
More in-service training	9	14
Work environment		13
Increase general education status	10	11
Curriculum	9	11
Textbooks		10
Professional Literature	9	
Heating/Hot meals	6	
Other	10	7
Total	100%	100%

Appendix 20

Teacher views on positive/negative reforms and who exercise influences in the workplace

Table 20.1 Frequencies and percentages on teacher views on positive reforms

	More emphasis on Bosnian /Serbian heritage f(%)	School-reconstruction /equipment f(%)	More student centered methods f(%)	No improvements or ironic answers f(%)	Other f(%)	Total
Federation	8 (35)	5 (22)	2 (9)	6 (26)	2 (9)	(n=23)
Republika Srpska	32 (36)	2 (2)	4 (5)	43 (48)	8 (9)	(n=89)
Total	40 (36)	7 (6)	6 (5)	49 (44)	10 (9)	(n=112)

Table 20.2 Frequencies and percentages on teacher views on negative reforms

	Overloaded curriculum f(%)	Teaching profession and school standards degraded f(%)	Lack of equipment and textbooks f(%)	Emphasis on Bosnian / Serbian heritage f(%)	Other f(%)	Total
Federation	17 (52)	2 (6)	9 (27)	1 (3)	4(12)	(n=33)
Republika Srpska	38 (38)	22 (22)	21 (21)	11 (11)	8 (8)	(n=100)
Total	55 (41)	24 (18)	30 (23)	12 (9)	12(9)	(n=133)

Table 20.3 Percentages on teacher opinions on who exercise influences in the workplace

	RS (n=98) %	Fed (n=33) %
I do /Teachers	27	40
Depends on myself, colleagues, ruling party, students, parents	16	8
Many Factors	18	
School organization	9	13
Principal	7	10
Political Leadership	9	8
MOE	8	8
Teachers and Students	6	13
Total	98	33

Appendix 21

Teacher views on parental involvement

Table 21.1 Parental Involvement

	RS (n=106)		Fed (n=42)	
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %
Do you work with the parents in your school?	93	7	97	3
Do the parents collect donations or financially support the school's activities?	15	85	10	90
Do the parents provide extra help during your lessons?	11	89	31	69
Do the parents assist at picnics or on excursions?	27	73	26	74
Do the parents assist the children in their learning process?	89	11	90	10
Is it important to involve the parents in school life?	93	7	91	9

Appendix 22

Teacher descriptions of an ideal student

Table 22.1. Percentages based on age, work experience and gender regarding teachers' first and second preference when asked to describe an ideal student

	Age mean	(n)	Number of years of work experience	Female Within Sex f(%)	Male Within Sex f(%)	
Critical thinking (first and second preference)	44	16	21	9 (9)	5 (10)	2 missing values for sex
Social, self (first and second preference)	42	47	19	33 (35)	13 (27)	1 missing values for sex
Respect (first and second preference)	43	62	20	43 (45)	19 (39)	
Diligent (first and second preference)	45	57	20	38 (40)	19 (39)	
Cognitive (first and second preference)	42	58	19	34 (36)	23 (47)	1 missing value for sex
Total		240		157	79	

Note: Some teachers mentioned the different categories as first or second preference, therefore the total n (240) is larger than the total sample (n=155).

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