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Obtaining a Second Chance: Education During and After Conflict

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A Second Chance for Education: Examining the Roles of Education in Conflict and Peace based on Life Stories from Bosnia and Herzegovina*

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Abstract

This study focuses on the second chance for education (SCE) experienced by children whose secondary education was at some point interrupted by the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. Individual war experiences in that country had a significant impact depending on location, ranging from limited destruction to complete and violent ethnic cleansing. The availability of educational opportunities was similarly varied. Many schools continued to operate, some functioned intermittently depending on the intensity of local fighting, and others were shut down. Although few studies have specifically addressed the issue, a significant number of children who experienced interruption of their education were still able to obtain a second chance through their and their family's efforts. This study applies the life story method to better understand how their education was interrupted, how and why SCE was obtained and discusses what SCE meant for them. 31 individuals were interviewed either face-to-face or by Skype, and this paper focuses on 13 of these individuals as detailed case studies. By bringing these neglected to date voices into the research on education, conflict and peace, the study determined that four roles can be played by education – including SCE - in a conflict-affected society. First, education may provide children with protection and help to sustain some partial normalcy in life. Second, it may help sustain hope for the future. As a third and related point, education offers an opportunity for self-realization, as students can obtain knowledge and skills that may help them to survive their ordeal. And finally, with the education and skills obtained, youth may be in a better position to contribute to social transformation as agents for peacebuilding. Therefore, for the sake of peacebuilding, more attention is required to support and sustain education in conflict-affected countries.

Keywords: Education, Second Chance, Armed Conflict, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Peacebuilding

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1. Introduction

Violent armed conflicts affect men, women and children in different ways. Humanitarian assistance aims to meet their immediate needs such as food, water, and medical necessities. In addition, the importance of education in the context of emergencies has been increasingly recognized. In 2000, through the adoption of the Dakar Framework for Action, the World Education Forum committed to, among other measures, "meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct educational programs in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict".[1] This also led to the establishment of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). Yet the 2011 Global Monitoring Report, "Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education", identified failure to provide access to education as one of the four systemic failures in international cooperation on this issue.[2] The report stated: "Education remains the most neglected area of an underfinanced and unresponsive humanitarian aid system" (UNESCO 2011, 14).

This study had two purposes. The first was to highlight the experiences of young people who were denied educational opportunities because of the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), but later gained another chance, referred to in this study as a second chance for education (SCE). The second is to appraise the significance of education in conflict situations for the individuals in question as well as the society. The study began as a part of a research project by the JICA Research Institute. The project aim was to collect and analyze SCE life stories in several conflict-affected countries in Asia, Africa and Europe and to explore the issue of lost or interrupted education. The only case selected from Europe was BiH, which is the focus of this paper.

[1] The Dakar Framework Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments, 8(v).
[2] The other three were failure to protect civilians, failures related to early recovery and reconstruction, and failures in peacebuilding.

This paper thus introduces the voices of those who experienced a lost educational opportunity due to the armed conflict in BiH - but then obtained an SCE through their own efforts - into the research and literature on education, conflict and peace. The study's contribution is twofold: on the one hand, it sheds light on a little studied aspect of the Bosnian war; and on the other hand, it enhances our understanding of the roles that education plays in conflicts and peacebuilding.

The structure of this paper is as follows. The next section briefly describes the context of the armed conflict in BiH, followed by a section providing an overview of education before, during and after that conflict. These two sections provide some contextual explanation for the following sections. The fourth section provides a conceptual framework for analysis of education's role in conflict situations. The fifth section explains the methodology and research questions, and the sixth section consists of three sub-sections which use the life stories obtained to understand how education was interrupted, how the SCE was eventually obtained, and what the SCE means to the persons concerned. The seventh section analyses the roles of education in peacebuilding and is followed by the final concluding section.

2. Armed Conflict in BiH and its Aftermath

There are significant amount of studies on the violent conflict in BiH (Bojcic-Dzelilovic 2015; Bose 2002; Burg & Shoup 1999; Donia and Fine, Jr. 1994; Holbrooke 1998; Little and Silber 1996; Malcolm 1994; Szasz 1995; Toal and Dahlman 2011) and its complexity deserves extended research. However, the description here is minimized to the extent that the background of the SCE in BiH is clear but further detail is not added due to space limitations. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) consisted of six republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina), which disintegrated after the death of its charismatic leader, Josip Broz Tito.

The collapse of a federal country covering approximately 256 thousand square kilometers and a population of over 23 million came with bloodshed. The conflict was particularly brutal in BiH, because none of its three main ethnic groups, the Bosniaks (Muslims), the Croats and the Serbs, constituted a significant majority. Religion was manipulated as nationalism and associated groups mythologies (re)emerged (Sells, 1996), and a coordinated strategy of violence was applied (Cigar 1995). The conflict resulted in the deaths of more than one hundred thousand people (Zwierzchowski and Tabeau 2010, 2), and changed the course of the lives of those who survived.

The three and half years of armed conflict in BiH began in the spring of 1992, following the declarations of independence of two Republics, Slovenia and Croatia, from the SFRY. During the resulting war, many people were forced to leave their place of origin so that mono-ethnic space would be created – a process that became known as ethnic cleansing. Perhaps the most extreme case was the massacre of approximately eight thousand Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica,[3] which was later recognized as genocide by both the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).[4] Out of a pre-war BiH population of around 4.5 million, approximately 1.2 million became refugees, and 22,000 are still considered refugees. The other one million did not cross borders but were displaced *inside* the country (Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice 2015, 3; Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees 2005, 21-22).

The armed conflict is often referred to as an "ethnic conflict" and the term "ethnic cleansing" symbolizes it. However, unlike the general perception that the main "cause" of

[3] The International Commission on Missing Persons, which has been conducting DNA test of Srebrenica victims, estimates the total number between 8,000 and 8,100. https://www.icmp.int/press-releases/over-7000-srebrenica-victims-recovered/ (last accessed 26 February 2019).

[4] International Court of Justice, Case concerning application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro*, 26 February 2007. For ICTY's judgment, see, for instance, *The Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić*, Judgement, IT-98-33-A, 19 April 2004.

conflict was based on ethnicity, scholarly works deduce broader structural and political drivers, such as economic-based causes (Woodward 1995; Ramet 2005). Another explanation from a social constructivist approach is the maneuvering of the political elites with the intention to shift the focus of political discourse away from changes seeking social justice (Gagnon 2004). Most of the interviews conducted in this research also deny the myth of historical ethnic hatred. For the context of this paper, however, it should be noted that, particularly as the war dragged on, the armed conflict was most broadly manifest in a tripartite form amongst the Bosniaks (Muslims), Croats (Catholics) and Serbs (Serbian Orthodox Christians). As the fighting raged, most people were forced to simply identify as one of these categories, and in turn to move to the location where that group was in the majority. The wartime dynamics were different from place to place, and varied depending on the period of the conflict. For instance, while the Bosniaks and the Croats fought one another in several places, towards the end of the conflict they formed the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the heavy pressure of the U.S. by signing the Washington Agreement (Daalder 2000; Holbrooke 1999). For people who were in a majority group in a part of the country that did not experience significant violence, staying in their disrupted communities was possible, and SCE was not such an issue for them as it was for the displaced. However, if one was not displaced, if their town or village became a battlefield, his/her education could have been affected. The displacement and disruption significantly affected the education of the school-aged population, and to make the matter worse, multiple displacements were not uncommon. Against this background, the next section briefly describes education in the former Yugoslavia to further clarify the context of the life stories.

3. Education before, during and after the Conflict

In the SFRY, obligatory primary school lasted eight years, consisting of four years of lower elementary and another four years of upper elementary school. The secondary level had six

types: military secondary schools (four years); art schools (four years); gymnasia (four years); technical schools (four years); trade or vocational schools (three years); and teachers' schools (five years). The gymnasia consisted of three types, each with a focus on different fields. The classical gymnasium specialized in ancient languages such as Greek and Latin; the scientific gymnasium focused on science subjects including mathematics, chemistry, biology and physics; and the modern language gymnasium emphasized studies of modern languages such as English, French and German. Although secondary education was not compulsory, the completion rate of this level was approximately 60 to 63 per cent of the school age population (Georgeoff 1982).

There was a widely perceived hierarchy among the different types of secondary education, meaning that academic-oriented schools were in the higher rank and vocational-oriented ones were lower. Obradović (1986) wrote that it was common that parents' educational levels tended to be followed by those of their children. This recognition of hierarchy was also often noted in the narrative of interviewees. While education reform in the early 1970s to localize education in line with the policy of greater autonomy of each republic "clearly intended to reduce the influences of cultural and socioeconomic differences on the general educational level of students", such effects were not visible "at least in the early 1980s" (Obradović 1986, 393). According to Bacevic (2014), the background of this reform was the awareness of "a looming crisis - the growth of unemployment, persistent social inequalities, economic decline, and political tensions that eventually furnished the framework for the violent disintegration of former Yugoslavia in the 1990s" (Bacevic 2014, 4).

The experiences of war in BiH had a significant variance depending on location, from limited destruction to complete ethnic cleansing. For example, Sarajevo, the capital city, suffered a 3 ½ year siege; the eastern RS was notorious for ethnic cleansing early in the war; and there were relatively untouched places such as Banja Luka and Zenica (though these places experienced an influx of people fleeing other locations and the broader economic impact of the war). Similarly, the availability of educational options afforded was variable. Many schools

continued to operate, while some schools functioned intermittently depending on the intensity of fighting. Despite the destruction of schools and the danger in commuting to schools, there were improvised classes in many places, including public buildings, apartments and basements (Magill et al. n.d.). While English-language research on war-time education in BiH is rather scarce, one interesting example is provided by Berman (2005), who provides a detailed account of "war schools" in Dobrinja where improvised schooling was arranged. The Dobrinja case is briefly described in this paper as an example.

The settlement of Dobrinja is close to Sarajevo Airport, and thus it was heavily attacked from the beginning of the armed conflict. The initial assault in spring 1992 very quickly expelled two to three thousand residents. Under such conditions, the establishment of the Dobrinja War School Centre, a body to organize schooling for primary and secondary education, was approved on 10 June 1992. This was an initiative by the deputy-director of the Pedagogical Institute of Sarajevo and his colleagues. Primary schools were organized in hallways and stairways of apartment buildings, as well as basements, shelters, utility rooms, and private apartments. The teachers were not always professional teachers, but included university students, both postgraduates and undergraduates (Berman 2005).

There were twenty-seven secondary schools in Sarajevo city, but none was located in Dobrinja. Approximately one thousand high school students had been commuting to a school outside Dobrinja, but intense attacks eventually made this impossible (Berman 2005, 3-4). Following the primary schools, secondary schools were arranged in Dobrinja from January 1993. 790 students enrolled in the secondary level for the 1992-1993 school year, and 89 teachers taught in 14 locations (Berman 2005, 44). Due to the volatile conditions, the Ministry of Education authorized school administrators to decide on the beginning of the school year. In the Sarajevo city, the 1992-1993 school year lasted for 18 weeks, and the following year, a school year of thirty weeks was managed, in comparison with a thirty-six weeks schedule in normal circumstances (Berman 2005, 52). Under the extraordinary circumstances, this should be

regarded as an impressive achievement, which highlights how much education is valued by people.

Following the peace agreement, education has suffered from political interference and the impact of this pressure has been notably manifest in the question of curricula, which divides education in BiH (Stabback 2007, Perry 2014). The Republika Srpska (RS) had its own curriculum and in autumn 2018, a unified curriculum with neighboring Serbia was introduced (Kovacevic 2018). The cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have two separate curricula; one used in areas with a Bosniak majority, and one in Croat areas. The most mixed cantons use both curricula in schools, depending on the students in a given area. In addition, the Brčko District has different multiethnic curriculum (Clark 2010, Moore 2013). Further, "a group of national subjects such as language, history, national music and folklore" serves as a factor that again shows the divisive nature of education (Pasalic-Kreso 2002, 10). Perhaps the most immediately visible sign of the politics of education is the "two school under one roof" phenomenon: a pre-war single school which now houses two schools because of different curricula depending on the ethnic group (Magill 2010). A long-term observer of the education system in post-Dayton BiH describes the situation as "an entrenched system of separate, ethnically-flavored education systems waging identity war in the classroom" (Perry 2014, 1). Another researcher explained the politicization of education:

> The use of education as a political tool has enabled politicians to further strengthen their positions by physically dividing people, erasing and/or vilifying opposing ethnic groups (Lanahan 2017, 121).

While beyond the scope of this study, the contents of education as well as school governance (Komatsu 2014) are issues crucial to future peacebuilding in BiH.

4. Conceptual Framework

As mentioned earlier, this study applies the concept of SCE as its research framework.[5] The SCE is often discussed in the context of drop-outs due to poverty (Jimenez et al. 2007; McFadden 1996). This study, however, focuses on the unusual context of education disruption in war time. The focus on this extraordinary environment leads our discussion to the effects of education in peacebuilding, which is another conceptual pillar of this study. While there is no single widely agreed definition of peacebuilding, it is generally considered as the activities required to build the foundations for peace in a conflict-affected country (Boutros-Ghali 1992; United Nations 2008; Call and Cousens 2008; OECD 2012). Peacebuilding activities cover diverse areas including rule of law, security sector reform and democratization. Although education may not always have been the priority sector in the short-term peacebuilding engagement of the international community, its importance for long-term peacebuilding cannot be overemphasized.

Ellison (2014) identified five roles of education in peacebuilding, collecting relevant arguments from existing literature. First, skills training facilitates reintegration which contributes to "long-term transformation towards an economically active and integrated population" (Ellison 2014, 188). This is the effect usually expected in the reintegration part of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Second, education provides children with some level of protection in both physical and psychological terms. Third, education may bring "a sense of stability, normality and confidence" to children (Ellison 2014, 189). Fourth, education supports social capital not only through providing knowledge and skills but also by making the opportunity cost of fighting higher and helping to decrease grievances. Lastly

[5] This concept in this research project did not question the length of disruption. However, the period of disruption matters significantly, and the SCE should be further defined in future research, taking into account the potential impact of the length of disruption. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer on this point for further consideration.

education contributes to social transformation, the meaning of which is discussed in studies of conflict transformation. In contrast to the widely used term “conflict resolution”, Lederach (2003) affirms the term “conflict transformation”. From his rich field experience, he realized that his work was engagement in “constructive change efforts that include, and go beyond, the resolution of specific problems” (Lederach 2003, 4). With the awareness that conflict itself is normal in human relationships and that it drives change, in his view, transformation would build better relationships and communities, and reduce the threats of recurring violence.

This study is based on the understanding that peacebuilding entails such transformation. It also builds on the assumption that youth are key potential agents in peacebuilding, as discussed by several scholars (Agbiboa 2015; Drummond-Mundal and Cave 2007; Özerdem and Podder 2015). Drummond-Mundal and Cave (2007, 64) underline the capacity of youth “to be a resource of promoting peaceful social change, and alternatively, the ability to exacerbate conflict” Following the five roles of education in peacebuilding presented by Ellison (2014), this paper discusses the roles of education in highlighting the protection of youth, preservation of the youth’s hope for the future, the empowerment of youth, and the capacity development of youth as resources for social transformation. Education protects children by providing sense of normalcy in conflict situations, and after armed conflict, education helps to solidify the distance between the student and his/her war-time past. Young people prepare for their future through education, which leads to their empowerment. In the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010), formal and informal education was recognized as necessary means “to instill in children and young people the knowledge, values, attitudes and skills required for living peacefully together” (Gill and Niens 2014). Empowered youth can become resources for social transformation in the direction of sustainable peace, particularly if they aim for engagement in the promotion of peaceful social change.

5. Methodology and Research Questions

The methodology used in this research was the collection of life stories from people in BiH whose secondary education was interrupted, but who then benefitted from the SCE. Although the author had relatively extensive experience in BiH, living and working in the country from 2001 to 2009,[6] it was not apparent that interrupted yet ultimately resumed elementary or secondary education during the conflict had been significant. When I contacted a number of friends and acquaintances at the initial stage of this research in 2015, the reaction was more or less the same: "schools continued working during the war, so you may not be able to find such cases". In contrast, they mentioned – and I was aware of – cases where the young graduates of secondary schools completely gave up their higher education, because they had to work to support their family, or had to fight. I do consider this an important issue – it is that of a lost generation - but it is beyond the scope of this study. As originally planned, this paper focuses on the SCE at the secondary school level – on those who had their educational careers disrupted but *were able* to resume learning after a short or longer period away from it. The secondary school level was chosen for clearer observation of the impact that education has on individuals and consequently on society in regard to peacebuilding in this situation.

Though not an issue studied here, the SCE phenomenon was more common than realized due to the substantial damage to education experienced during the war. As shown in Table 1., the number of secondary schools was reduced almost by half, and that of students dropped to nearly one-third compared with the pre-war number. The number of teachers was also reduced to less than half. The lower number of teachers could also indicate a decline in educational quality, because untrained teachers were hired in this time (Magill 2010).

[6] I served at the Embassy of Japan in Sarajevo from 2001 to 2004 as Special Advisor, and at the Office of the High Representative as Political Advisor from 2005 to 2009.

Table 1. The impact of war on secondary schools in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

	1990/91	1993/94	Decrease (%)
Number of schools	239	133	-44.35
Number of students	172,556	59,212	-65.69
Number of classrooms	5,605	2,124	-62.12
Number of teachers	9,610	4,146	-56.86

Source: Created by the author based on Spaulding and Fuderich (1994, 5).

The statistics clearly show that a significant number of students left school for some reason during the period of the study. Also because of the sheer number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) during the armed conflict in BiH, this research was driven by the assumption that it was mainly a question of how to *find* people who had their secondary education interrupted and yet had the chance to re-enrol and obtain SCE. Through research, this assumption was confirmed to be true. To collect the required life stories, field research was conducted twice in BiH, during March and September 2016, over seven and nine days, respectively. In addition, one interview in Japan and skype interviews were conducted with interviewees currently residing outside BiH, or who were unable to meet the author in person during the field research. Further, as noted previously, the author's long professional experience in the country informed the overall research and analytical effort.

The total number of the interviews conducted was 31, and this paper focuses on 13 of them as detailed studies of respondents who had their education interrupted at the secondary school level. These respondents were therefore around 15-18 years old when their education was disrupted during the war, and around 40-45 during the interviews. The interviews were semi-structured, and because of the nature of the life story approach, the average length was one and a half hours. The questionnaire was prepared in English and seven interviews were

conducted in English. The other interviews were either in the local language and translated by an interpreter or were partly in English and partly in the local language when an interviewee found it difficult to express oneself in English. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, then analyzed in terms of the research questions. The interviewees' gender, year of birth, and the places where their education was interrupted, and the SCE was gained, are shown in a table in the appendix. The interviewees were identified through a "snow ball" method starting with the author's personal network. As apparent in the list, this method has limitations in regard to the variety and balance of samples, and in this study, the majority of interviewees had lived in Sarajevo when they lost their education opportunity. However, there is an interesting diversity in the places where they found the SCE. In this paper, the interviewees are identified either with their full name, first name only, or their initials[7] depending on the choice of each interviewee.

Life story interviews have been used in several disciplines including psychology, anthropology and sociology. Atkinson (2002) defines a life story as "the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what the person remembers of it and what he or she wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another" (Atkinson 2002, 125). Asking about the experiences of interrupted and regained education opportunities in this case meant asking about the lived experiences of an armed conflict. Many people contacted either directly or indirectly declined to participate in the research despite of their experience with SCE. The given reason was mainly their reluctance to talk about the difficult experiences during the war at that stage in their life. The response of one person contacted was illustrative: "who wants to remember and talk about the failed period of one's life?" Keeping this in mind, the author is deeply indebted to the interviewees who shared their experiences, often with tears.

[7] Interviewees were also offered an option to remain anonymous.

From the collected life stories, this paper addresses two sets of questions. The first set relates to the factual recollection of how their education was disrupted and how they obtained the SCE, together with their motivation and efforts to seek this solution. The second set of questions address more analytical points: the meaning of SCE for them, and how do they relate to society based on their experience of SCE. Etherington (2009) states: "[L]ife stories allow us to bring together many layers of understanding about a person, about their culture, and about how they have created change in their lives" (Etherington 2009, 225). The life stories in this research deepens the understanding of how an armed conflict affects people's lives, particularly education, and what education means to people and society. They also allow for individual and specific examples and experiences to be applied to broader social and historical trends and observations. Furthermore, the findings enable us to discuss the nexus between education and peacebuilding.

6. Life stories

6.1 How education was interrupted

Interruption of education occurred mainly in three ways: first, schools were closed due to intensified violence; second, the fighting caused displacement; third, parents sent their children to safe places while parents stayed behind. The third context usually led to the continuation of studies in another place with or without a time lag. In some cases, the contexts were mixed, for instance, the closure of a school was followed by displacement. The following accounts are some examples from interviews, including an expulsion from school and refusal of enrollment based on ethnicity and religion – based on identity.

The closure of a school in Odžak, a town in the northern part of BiH near the border with Croatia, occurred abruptly due to a military attack in April 1992. One of its students, who lived in a nearby town called Šamac, remembers the day as follows:

I got dressed in the morning, on the 17th of April, that was Friday, last day of that semester. I was preparing for that. Then my father said, "Listen, I don't think you can go to school". We heard shelling and everything. It wasn't like shotguns but heavy arms, bombs and who knows what. We discussed for a bit, we had a coffee and [tried to] ask(ed) my friend in Odžak. When I called her, her father replied "Fatima is not at home, she left for Croatia. We had to evacuate". Then I realized how serious it was.[8]

One interviewee explained how the insecurity in Sarajevo forced students to go to a different school, which again could function only intermittently. In another case, a military school was moved to Serbia, which deprived most of the Muslim and Croat students of their opportunity to continue their studies. The interviewee who mentioned this situation chose to join the Army BiH.[9]

Another interviewee described the situation of students' expulsion from school in 1992 based on their identity. In Petrovac, a town in the north-western part of BiH, a respondent noted that they had heard that Muslim students were not allowed to enroll in the next grade at the beginning of the school year. E.D. had completed her second year of high school but could not enroll in the third.[10] According to her, it was the same for other grades, and for both primary and secondary schools. Teachers in the school were also mixed in terms of ethnic affiliation, but then Muslim teachers were forced to stop working. She explains the resulting conditions as follows:

The tensions in the town were bad. There were killings going around, ethnic cleansing. There was already a state of war.

Her father was taken to a concentration camp, and she was left with her mother and a brother and a sister. In such a situation, education was "the last thing" which crossed her mind. The Muslim

[8] Interview of Mr. Suad Salkić conducted by Skype on 9 November 2016.
[9] Interview of Mr. Rusmir Piralić on 29 March 2016 in Sarajevo.
[10] Interview of E.D. (female) on 5 September 2016 in Drvar.

population in the town was collectively displaced to Croatia. Her family was then moved to Scotland where she resumed her education.

There was one case in which a student was refused enrollment based on alleged religious reasons. Sanja was a child of a mixed marriage between a Bosniak father and a Croat mother.[11] The family lived in Sarajevo, but the intensified fighting forced herself, her mother and younger brother to move to Croatia for safety, while her father remained in Sarajevo. In Croatia, she was required to take Catholic religious classes, and she received a completion certificate at the end. However, when she applied for school with the certificate in Croatia, she was declined because her (year of) religious education was deemed insufficient. Her mother then decided to send her to Mostar, a town in the southern part of BiH where her grandparents lived. She started going to school in Mostar, which was her SCE, and then the fighting in that town escalated. Her grandparents were killed in May 1992, and she was reunited with her mother. They then got an opportunity to be included in the first group of twelve Bosnians to move to New York in September 1992, where she found her *third* chance for education.

The third type of interruption took place when parents of a student decided to send a child abroad for the sake of safety, usually joining relatives. It was often the case that neither the student nor his/her parents foresaw a long period of separation. Such were the cases of Belma and Magdalena, both from Ilijaš, a municipality located in the north-east of current Sarajevo Canton. Belma left for Belgrade in April 1992:

> *We thought now it's like really tension that would last maybe few days. Not really possible for Bosnia to be in a war, I mean it's a nonsense, so I really went to see my cousins for a while. So, I only had one bag of personal stuff and I didn't even have my medical insurance card.*[12]

[11] Interview of Sanja conducted in Japan on 20 July 2016.
[12] Interview of Ms. Belma Žiga on 9 September 2016 in Sarajevo.

Magdalena left for Vojvodina, in the northern part of Serbia, with her mother, thinking she would be away for about ten to fifteen days. It was April or May 1992. As the fighting did not calm down, her mother returned without her. She enrolled in a local school, staying with her aunt and her husband.[13]

It was the same for Fahrudin, who left Sarajevo on 29 April 1992 for Skopje, Macedonia, via Belgrade, for a supposedly short refuge:

> *They [his family] also thought that it's not going to be serious in Sarajevo, it's not going to be long in Sarajevo. Maybe some troubles in the countryside, but not in the capital. We were all naïve, we all thought it's not going to happen.*[14]

From Skopje, he moved to Turkey where he found the SCE and ended up spending 8 years there, graduating from university and getting his first job. He is now back in Sarajevo.

6.2 Obtaining the SCE

Studies of education in conflict-affected countries inform us of examples of accelerated education programmes[15] (Menendez et al 2016), home-based schooling (Kirk and Winthrop 2006), and other forms of education organized for those experiencing disruption. In the case of BiH, however, this research suggests that this kind of SCE was not provided in a systematic way. The life stories collected in this research suggest that it was up to individuals to cope with the situation and find a way to resume their education according to the traditional schooling model, albeit interrupted, as opposed to innovative educational approaches. It should be noted that the armed conflict in BiH occurred between early 1992 and late 1995. It was years before the establishment of the INEE, or the adoption of the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000, both

[13] Interview of Ms. Magdalena Popović on 8 September 2016 in Sarajevo.
[14] Interview of Mr. Fahrudin Brackovic on 7 September 2016 in Sarajevo.
[15] Accelerated education programmes are "flexible, age-appropriate programs that promote access to education in an accelerated time frame" for disadvantaged groups including those whose education was interrupted due to crisis and conflict (Menendez et al 2016, ii).

mentioned at the beginning of this paper. In BiH, many schools continued functioning through the war, which could also be a reason why a systematic approach was not taken.

Except for the two cases mentioned in the previous section, none of the interviewees had problems in enrollment in the place of displacement (see Annex for details). Schools accommodated students even if they could not present certificates of previous education. The interviewees did not therefore have problems in receiving their certificates even when their education was interrupted during the school year. However, there could have been difficult cases depending on the timing of disruption and displacement, or the combination of the ethnic affiliation of the student and the authority in control of the municipality at the time, as certification and validation can be problematic for refugees and IDP children in other conflict-affected countries (Ferris and Winthrop 2010).[16]

For students who left for a neighbouring and previously connected country such as Croatia or Serbia, it was relatively easy to adapt because there was no language barrier, and the education system was the same. Although the former "Serbo-Croatian" language is now referred to as three separate (yet mutually comprehensible) languages, namely, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, it was the common language of the former Yugoslavia. Belma and Magdalena, who moved to Serbia, noted that they did not face any problems in enrollment administration. The local schools were generally considerate about the "refugee" children.[17]

It was different for Fahrudin as he ended up finding his second chance in Turkey, a distant country with an unfamiliar language and culture. He decided to enroll in a local school in Istanbul, recognizing that the situation in Sarajevo was deteriorating and he was not going home any time soon. The school chosen was a public high school nearby, a five-minute walk from his relatives' apartment. His aunt took him to a meeting with the school principal and explained his

[16] In BiH, validation was an issue for returnees.

[17] The term "izbeglica" which was usually translated "refugees" was used regardless of status in the region. The general understanding of the term was those people who were forced to leave their place of origin.

situation. The school welcomed him, knowing that he had no certificates to prove his prior studies.

> *It was trust, they simply … they decided to trust me. And they asked for no diploma or any kind of certificate, knowing that it's not possible to get one from Bosnia and they simply decided to take me to the second grade. The fun part was I had no previous Turkish knowledge, so it was zero, completely zero. They said ok, it doesn't matter, you will start from the second class, we will put you in advance and that's it.*

In this way he obtained the SCE, but it meant the beginning of serious struggle. It was not only the language that was a cause of his difficulties. He describes himself as being like a hippy when he was in the high school in Sarajevo, with long hair, wearing earrings, and loving music. However, the Turkish school had strict rules and he had to cut his hair, remove his earrings and even wear a uniform. As a teenage boy, he felt that this was a disaster. Fahrudin failed all his classes in the first semester. He received only one passing grade which was in ethics and religion. He assumes that the teacher gave him a favour considering his condition and knowing that he was a Bosnian Muslim, and as a kind of encouragement. Then in the second semester, he "studied like crazy" and passed all courses. He learned enough Turkish in six months to be able to follow the lectures.

> *…in the third grade, after one year, I was absolutely able to participate, give answers, to be equal to other students at the high school. But I don't have any experience of trying to learn or something with someone else. I went to all the classes I did on my own, by myself.*

He managed to graduate from secondary school in three years, with his first year in Sarajevo, and two more years in Istanbul. Although Turkish students usually needed another year to prepare for two examinations to enter university, Fahrudin as a foreign student had a chance to

take another much easier type of examination, although it was very competitive. He succeeded and enrolled in the textile faculty.

Among all the interviewees, Suad suffered the longest interruption of his education, which was five years. His school was closed when the Serbs occupied the town of Šamac in April 1992. He had stayed in the town until December 1993 when his father obtained a forged identification card with a Serb name, even though he was a Bosniak. Suad therefore left, stayed in Serbia for a while and then moved to Macedonia. At the end of 1995, his parents came to pick him up and they decided to move to Serbia. They reached Belgrade but were sent to a refugee camp in Eastern Serbia, where four hundred people, mainly from Srebrenica and Žepa,[18] were accommodated. There were no opportunities for secondary education at the refugee camp, but he wished to resume his education. It was towards the end of the third grade of secondary school when Suad's education was interrupted. He contacted people in his hometown and asked whether he could get a certificate. Although his third grade was not complete, it was recognized as a full year and he finally obtained his document. Fortunately, he met an English teacher who lived in a big town and offered him accommodation so that he could go to school. Although he had financial difficulties in buying books and commuting, he managed to finish his school as a part-time student in 1997. He and his parents went back to Šamac in April 1998.

These stories tell us about the different levels and kinds of challenges faced by each individual in finding SCE. The last two examples were the most extraordinary cases in which the SCE could only be materialized through the significant efforts by the interviewees.

[18] Srebrenica was identified as a safe area "free from any armed attack or any other hostile act" by the Security Council Resolution 819 dated 19 April 1993. The Security Council further declared Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Goražde and Bihać should be treated as safe areas by its resolution 824 dated 6 May 1993. However, international protection was not effective, and Srebrenica fell in 1995.

6.3 Motivation for the SCE

The life stories showed a general tendency that it was rather natural behaviour for those who lost education opportunities to search for another possibility. Their education was interrupted due to an extraordinary circumstance, so when normal conditions were recovered, the affected students did not question whether they should restart their studies - they simply did. In some cases, their parents insisted on the importance of continuing their education. However, there were also cases where the students themselves lost interest in their studies due to the ongoing circumstances of war, but then later pursued higher education.

Some interviewees could clearly explain the reasons why they chose the SCE. One reason mentioned was to keep some psychological distance from the war, in other words, to recover normalcy. One such respondent, Almir Muminović, was a survivor of the Srebrenica massacre in which some eight thousand Muslim men were killed:

> *I walked through forest and ambush with other men for 20 days. I witnessed some shooting but luckily, I didn't surrender. On 4 August I came to Tuzla and found mother there. My father was separated from my mother in Potočari and he never made it. He was identified [dead] later in 2008. My younger brother who was born in 1978 was with me when we fled, but we were separated, and I haven't found him yet.*[19]

Reaching Tuzla, which was controlled by the Bosniaks - the ethnic group to which he belonged, he immediately asked around for schools and enrolled in the fourth grade of a mechanical school. After going through such an extraordinary situation, why did he immediately go back to education?

> *The reason is that it was a way for me to avoid thinking about war or get involved in war because I had seen enough by then.*

[19] Interview conducted on 8 September 2016 in Srebrenica Municipality.

Almir therefore wanted to recover normalcy in his life. He recalls that he was happy to be alive, capable of socializing, and communicating. He did not study very hard. His previous studies helped him to do well in specialized subjects. He then entered a university but had to give it up later due to the severe trauma that he started suffering.

L.K. from Zenica is an interviewee who explicitly linked normalcy and education.[20] Her secondary education was suspended two months before its completion. Despite that, she could enroll in the Faculty of Economics. She explains that it was not because she wanted to study economics, but she was looking for the "normalcy of life to have something that reminded" her of "normal life".

Children can be motivated to study in response to the confidence of their parents in their ability. Such was the case of Belma, mentioned in the previous sub-section. She was separated from her family and sent to Belgrade, but due to her anxiety over the family's safety and uncertain future (in 1992-1995), she recalls that her mind was not always on her studies. She frequently skipped school with a friend who was suffering from similar feelings. As a result, it reached the point that she could have been expelled from school for unjustified absences. Her prevailing thought was her parents would be disappointed with her failure. Since she used to be a good student, such a failure would be considered unacceptable by her parents. She was, however, saved by her teacher who apparently understood her situation well. He did not blame her, but instead encouraged her to come to school every day. She managed to get back into her studies, finishing her secondary education in Belgrade, then returning home after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Magdalena had a similar experience as Belma. Suddenly being separated from her family, she was depressed, and for that reason she did not wish to go out. She believes that for this reason she had time to study. Another strong impact was a letter from her father, which she

[20] Interview of L.K. (female) conducted on 7 September 2016 in Sarajevo.

received after months of not knowing whether her family had survived. Her father wrote to her, “be brave, be decisive, be yourself”, and reassured her to go to school, as the crazy time of war would pass. He continued: “you have to think about what comes after that”. She read the letter “millions of times” during the separation:

> *I didn’t feel like going out. My new friends were economically affected but not affected by war. It was really me at home, depressed, crying, that’s why I had time to study. I read my dad’s letter million times. “I do it for them [my family]”. I did have crises. For days I wouldn’t study, but [felt that] ok, I have to study.*

When parents persuade their children to obtain the SCE, the reason may well be consideration of the children’s social status, career, as well as personal development. The current condition of these two interviewees were certainly the result of the SCE that they gained. They both graduated from university, and then moved on to gain professional expertise.

In case of Suad, who among this study’s respondents suffered the longest period of educational interruption, his strong wish for self-realization led him to the SCE. His original school was one of the top ones in the country. The one he enrolled in Serbia was the same kind of school for electrical engineering, even bigger than the former one. It was very difficult to complete his studies through part-time enrollment. He explains his motivation as follows:

> *I think I had the desire to study in any way. I wanted to do more. I knew that I cannot be a simple worker like my father. My mother was the head of production in the factory she worked. She was awarded by the municipality. She was a delegate in the municipal assembly, a representative of the labour force, but she didn’t have an education. She completed secondary school and that was it. She could have had a better career but she didn’t have the schooling. I knew that I can. I have the capacity I just needed the opportunity to study. I think this desire from my side was the driving force that made me do it.*

He was thus determined to prepare himself for the future.

There are three cases further indicating the practical motivation for education, meaning to gain skills to survive. These cases also indicate the demotivating effects of war on education. Selvir Tabak was completing his third grade of secondary education in Sarajevo, majoring in electrical engineering, when the war started.[21] Due to his school being at the front line, it was shut down. He joined the army at the age of 17 in 1992 and served until 1995. After the war, he went back to school, but did not attend his classes regularly. The reason was that he was already at the age of going to faculty and he was not interested in school. He says: “Perhaps five years [sic] of war killed my wish for studies, watching people die and get injured”. When the war ended, another fight started, the fight for survival. Nevertheless, he managed to obtain a certificate of secondary education, taking two years to finish the last grade. Five years later, in 2000, he enrolled in another vocational school to become a taxi driver. Being interested in the job prospects, he financed his studies by himself.

Kemal Šalaka dreamt of becoming a soldier and when he finished his elementary school, he applied for a military school, but was not accepted.[22] When the war started, he was at the end of his second year. In April 1992, he joined the army at the age of 17. His school itself stopped functioning because of shelling, but local schools were organized in improvised places including basements. Teachers living nearby were asked to come and teach. He did not go to school regularly, but he was treated exceptionally well as a soldier and received credit for the third year. He was allowed to enter the Faculty of Economics at Sarajevo University after the war with only his three-year secondary school certificate. It was again exceptional treatment. Although he was not keen about his secondary education, he became highly motivated to study at the university.

[21] Interview conducted on 29 March 2016 in Sarajevo.
[22] Interview conducted on 9 September 2016 in Sarajevo.

Another former child soldier, Rešad Tupani, had not even started his secondary education.[23] When he finished his primary education, the war had started, and he became a solider at the age of 17 despite the objections of his family. He was on the front lines, carrying a gun. When the war ended, he did not even think about enrolling in a secondary school. He started working and got married. At the time of the interview, he worked as a tram driver. His position required a secondary school education, which was not questioned when he started working twenty years ago. He expressed his wish to go to a secondary school for the sake of job security. However, it was a question of how to finance his education. His fear was that a new legal requirement might lead to his dismissal one day, which was not unrealistic. His case was not exactly within the scope of this study, because he did not even start his secondary education and he did not have a second chance either. Nevertheless, I interviewed him as a comparative case. During the second visit however, I learned that he got a scholarship and had started his secondary education.

Rusmir Piralić also served in the Army BiH when his military education was interrupted in the third grade. While serving in the army, he managed to enroll in a mechanical school and obtained a certificate without attending. In 1996, he entered the faculty of mechanics, but could not catch up with the studies, particularly in the math courses, and instead enrolled in the faculty of criminology. Since graduation, he continues to pursue different types of education.

Beko Bektić explains his motivation for the SCE, noting a wish to contribute to society. He is another survivor from Srebrenica,[24] and he was a technical school student when his education was interrupted. He also managed to escape through the forest, walking for 63 days. He first made it to Kladanj, a town under Bosniak control, and then reached Lukavac, where he

[23] Interview conducted on 29 March 2016 in Sarajevo. He enrolled in the primary school at the age of seven.
[24] Interview conducted on 8 September 2016 in Srebrenica Municipality.

was reunited with his mother and brother. He immediately looked for a technical school to continue his education. He resumed his studies without delay thinking as follows:

> *Were people who were leaders incapable to lead [the society]? We did well when there was one party under [the] big leader, Tito, but after his death, people were divided, and it led to the war. I thought that maybe younger generation can change this. The younger generation, through education of a different kind, can become more capable to make sure that there would be no more war again in the future.*

Beko's pre-war dream was to become an engineer, but he had to give it up as he pursued his SCE. He instead turned to criminology and noted he wished to become a policeman to protect the weak. Today he works for the community as a civil servant dealing with education, children, youth, and women (for instance, on matters of domestic violence).

7. The roles of education in a conflict-affected society

The life stories of people who experienced interrupted and resumed education opportunities illustrate the various roles played by education during and after the armed conflict in BiH. This section provides additional analysis, reviewing the 13 cases to pull out key themes.

First, education can protect children by maintaining a certain level of normalcy regardless of the conflict situation (Barakat et al 2013; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). In his description of the Dobrinja war schools, Berman (2005) referred to two meanings of schooling. One is the creation of "the illusion of normal life" for children living under "the abnormal conditions of the siege", in the context of Sarajevo. The other meaning was to create "the second battle line" for the civilian population as a form of "civilian resistance to the enemy" (6). A letter addressed to him by the editor of an educational gazette eloquently expressed the meaning of schools for people in Dobrinja:

… The war schools offered an additional sense of normal life to the children and adults; they offered strength and the belief that it is possible to survive the impossible conditions of hunger, thirst, wounding and dying. Even fighters with guns in their hands believed that there was a sense in fighting when they knew that their children were attending so-called classes … (Berman 2005, 11).

Among the life stories, Almir from Srebrenica sought a SCE to distance himself from the war which he experienced. Belma and Magdalena from Ilijaš managed to complete their high school education while coping with separation from their families. L.K. from Zenica consciously sought education to keep some sense of normalcy in her life.

Second, in addition to the sense of normalcy, education may help sustain hope for the future. If one believes that his/her life may end any day, it detracts from the motivation to study. In other words, having a future-oriented perspective can be an important factor in motivating students. Those who obtained an SCE and struggled to complete their education had the belief and desire to do something in the future, and a determination to empower themselves for the future. Research by Winthrop and Kirk (2008) showed how children in their case studies connected schooling with a bright future and believed that they were on the correct path by continuing to learn at school (646-7). Selvir, Kemal and Rešad, who all served the army during the war, were motivated to study to gain job opportunities. Another former solider, Rusmir, keeps searching for new educational opportunities even after graduating from university. Suad overcame his long period of educational interruption and, after his SCE, continued on to study in university while also working. His strong wish for a better future helped him to obtain the SCE.

Third, education prepares youth for the future and empowers them to carry on. Fahrudin who struggled to learn Turkish now considers that the SCE “opened a window”, and gave him a chance, “a good starting position”. Sanja who moved to the USA now works as a teacher in another country. Since her grandmother was a teacher and education was appreciated in the

family, it was natural for her to pursue education. Teaching children assures her that there is something to look forward to in the future, helping her to forget the war. For E.D. from Petrovac, education was a means to integrate into society, and a new community. After being expelled from her home town, Petrovac, she moved to Scotland. For primary school pupils, formal education was organized, but being 16 years old, she was only offered English lessons "just to integrate and understand, moving around, to be able to communicate". She recognizes that the SCE was a means for social integration for her:

> *I met a lot of good people, good Scottish people. The education was just a tool for me to get to know people to socialize and to integrate, environment, society. When you learn a language, a foreign language to integrate, you need to know the language. Otherwise you are left in your own little community and getting closed.*

She studied multiple subjects, and in the end obtained a law degree back in BiH, and now works for an international organization. She asserts: "I was given a chance and I used it". L.K. from Zenica appreciates education as a means of empowerment and resilience. Her secondary education was incomplete due to the war, but her degree was recognized. After some time, she enrolled in a university, but her study was again interrupted in just a few months with new and intense shelling on her city in the central part of Bosnia. She then received an offer of assistance from a German family that she had known to support her studies in Germany. She went there, but suffered due to the separation from her family, and the gap between the conditions in Germany and the war situation at home. She felt guilty to be in such "normalcy". Ultimately, she decided to go home even when the war was continuing. After the war, she went to a university in Sarajevo, and later had a chance to do her postgraduate studies in the USA. Reflecting on all these experiences, she says: "Education constantly gave me better and deeper insight what was going on in myself". She faced her trauma and she observed her own transformation:

Through education, through hard work and through constant brushing looking for truth and building your character, education can empower individual resilience in people who are affected by the damages of the society.

Belma also values education as the foundation for personal development:

It means a lot for me and for all others. It means, it means various possibilities not only to have a career, or to be paid more, but a possibility to develop yourself in different directions. It gives you like necessary and excellent foundation for development.

Fourth, through education young people develop as agents for social transformation, potentially contributing to sustainable peace. Belma was articulate in her explanation:

It makes you more open, more open towards other people. It makes you more curious to the world. It gives you good value that you can follow. And creation of better society for all people. It gives you ideas, it gives you a meaningful place or effort that you can fit in. Like you can take your own place and take your own effort and give as much as you can for a better society. And if you are not educated, you can be closed. You can feel useless, you can feel excluded. It is like very important, like foundation of the person, like health, including mental health and education and that is like foundation of every human being. It is really important.

Education forms the foundation of one's development and enables one to connect to the society in a positive way. In terms of education in BiH, however, there were some negative views expressed by some interviewees. Selvir, who served the army and then went to a vocational school to secure a job, is critical about the quality of education: "They didn't sell knowledge they actually sell licenses unfortunately". In general, he is skeptical about educational quality: "That

is a school without knowledge and that paper means nothing except for government or employer who asks for the paper [certificate]". Kemal is also critical about education in BiH:

> *[Education is] Nothing because our society does not appreciate knowledge. They appreciate connections. Family membership, [political] party membership and something like that. They [do] not appreciate knowledge and your skills. So it's the same for me, I am not smarter than I was before.*

This dissatisfaction does not only point to the quality of education, but to a society which does not value the merits of education. Some respondents argued that education is marred by formality, corruption, nepotism and prioritization of group affiliation. Such criticisms highlight the problems of education in BiH years after the conflict and at the same time, the state of society itself. Nevertheless, the comments also indicate that both Selvir and Kemal had developed their ability to form and articulate critical views – critical insights needed to transform the society for the better. It is then a question of how those who develop critical views could participate in and contribute to the society. Beko from Srebrenica was such an example. He questioned the war-time leaders while pursuing his education, and now contributes to society in a concrete way, addressing the challenges that vulnerable people face.

8. Conclusions

This paper focused on education interrupted by the armed conflict in BiH and the subsequent SCE and tried to expose a selection of until-now untold life stories of war-time children. By doing so, it analyzed the roles of education in a society affected by war. The education during the war in BiH was mostly sustained because its importance was recognized. Adults keenly pursued ways to continue providing education to their children even through improvised means in provisional facilities. Yet, there were children whose education was interrupted due to the

extraordinary conditions including intensified warfare, forced displacement, the parental decision to send children to a safer place, participation in the fighting, and discrimination based on ethnic affiliation and religion.

The SCE was gained through individual efforts and motivated by parents' desire to protect their children's futures. Most of the interviewees searched for new ways to access education without hesitation, reflecting the value of education in Bosnian society. The concrete individual motivation to seek the SCE varied: 1) keeping some distance from war and sustaining some normalcy in life; 2) responding to parents' confidence in a child's ability; 3) proving one's ability and self-realization; 4) obtaining knowledge and skills needed for general survival; or 5) contributing to a better society. This study identified four roles of the education in a conflict-affected society that also meet such motivations. First, education may provide children with protection and sustain some partial normalcy in life. Second, it helps to sustain hope in the future. As a third and related point, education offers an opportunity for self-realization, as students can obtain knowledge and skills, which may help them to survive their ordeal. And finally, with the education and skills obtained, youth may be in a better position to contribute to social transformation as agents for peacebuilding.

Their capacity and will, therefore, are key to social transformation for sustainable peace. Capacity should include not only practical knowledge and skills, but also the ability to think critically. If war-time politics continue to dominate post-war society, a new social vision is necessary for the social transformation leading to peace. Young people can help to provide this, so developing the capacity of youth does not only help them but also supports the hopes of elder generations.

The life stories exhibited some difficulties with SCE. To identify the potential challenges in providing future assistance to conflict-affected youth, it is worth restating three of them here. First, education can be negatively affected by separation from family, leading to unstable psychological conditions. The stress that a young person feels in a conflict situation is

significantly multiplied when separated from their family (Yule 2002, 169). Although it is important to provide education, separation from family works against the “normalcy” that education is supposed to bring. As one interviewee mentioned, without psychological stability it is difficult to study. This demonstrates that it is better avoiding separation as much as possible, and in case that it is unavoidable, the critical importance of reuniting families as soon as possible must be recognized.

Second, SCE can be made more difficult by the administrative requirements of certification and validation of prior studies. An apparent administrative barrier can be set by a political intention (Ferris and Winthrop 2010, 24). In most of the cases discussed in this study, the schools were rather receptive, and tried to support students by accepting them even without formal evidence of previous studies. However, some students experienced rejection from school on the ground of ethnicity or religion. The issuance of certificates can be a significant problem for improvised schooling in the conflict situation, as discussed in the context of Afghanistan (Povey 2003, 180). Therefore, in instances where the dynamics of war prevent the issuance of a certificate, special allowances can be made by other appropriate local, or perhaps even international, institutions to streamline the school enrolment process.

Third, the education language can be a barrier, if the SCE is only available in a foreign language which the child has never learned. It is obviously not an unsurmountable barrier, but special assistance would considerably ease the burden of children who have to learn a new language in order to pursue the SCE. This was exhibited by the life story of a person who studied in Turkey. The example further demonstrated the cultural shock that a child may face in a new cultural environment. International conventions supporting the additional and sensitive tuition of displaced children to ensure their effective inclusion can help to ease this burden, while at the same time enhancing the student’s overall educational experience.

As BiH continues its post-war recovery, people cannot help but find their own way in coming to terms with their life. The interviewees contacted during this research shows that and

self-improvements can help them to stand on their own feet, both during and after the violent conflict. Their resilience originates in part from their confidence that they did their best during the most trying of circumstances to keep a focus on their present and future life, including through their educational achievement. It is encouraging that all but one of the interviewees discussed in this paper reside in BiH today and have found a way to live their life with purpose in their country.

Last, but not least, how education is perceived in the post-war society has some weight. Some of the interviewees expressed their doubts about the value of education in society as a whole; if society does not properly recognize its value, the younger and future generations could be discouraged from taking it seriously. For any assistance in peacebuilding to be truly successful, education needs to be considered together with broader social transformation. While many researchers and aid agencies have addressed the question of accessibility to education from the viewpoint of structural violence, the overall quality of education in terms of the broader social environment - as well as its content - is an area which requires more attention (Komatsu 2017). This study focused on how the experience of the SCE and its effect is perceived by people who have gone through it but left out an important question: the relationship between the *content* of education and its impact on the youth's engagement in the social transformation in the context of peacebuilding. The question is clearly linked to the bigger picture politics which influence education policy. This complex and significant area therefore remains a challenge for future research and study.

Given that the children in conflict-affected countries are a pivotal generation that needs to participate in peacebuilding, their personal development can become a source of power for transformation of society towards sustainable peace. Therefore, for the sake of peacebuilding, much more attention is required to sustain education in conflict-affected countries during, but also after, the violence ends.

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Appendix

Interviewee	Male(M)/ Female(F)	Year of Birth	Place where education was interrupted	Place of SCE
Bektić, Beko	M	1976	Srebrenica	Lukavac
Bracković, Fahrudin	M	1976	Sarajevo	Turkey
E. D.	F	1975	Bosanski Petrovac	Scotland
L. K.	F	1974	Zenica	Germany/Zenica/Sarajevo/USA
Muminović, Almir	M	1975	Srebrenica	Srebrenik
Rusmir Piralić	M	1974	Sarajevo	Sarajevo
Popović, Magdalena	F	1976	Ilijaš	Vojvodina (Serbia)
Šalaka, Kemal	M	1975	Sarajevo	Sarajevo
Salkić, Suad	M	1974	Šamac	Eastern Serbia
Tabak, Selvir	M	1974	Sarajevo	Sarajevo
Tupani, Rešad	M	1975	Sarajevo	- (Sarajevo)
Ziga, Belma	F	1976	Ilijaš	Belgrade (Serbia)
Sanja	F	1975	Sarajevo	Mostar/USA

Abstract (in Japanese)

要約

本研究は 1990 年代のボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナの紛争によって中等教育を中断せざるを得なかった子どもたちの第二の教育の機会（SCE）を主題としている。同国の戦争の経験は場所によって部分的破壊から完全な民族浄化まで多様であった。同様に教育の選択肢についても様々であった。多くの学校は継続して教育を行い、一部は戦闘の激しさによって断絶的に機能し、また一部は閉鎖に追い込まれた。この問題はこれまでほとんど研究されてこなかったものの、教育の中断を経験した子どもは少なくなく、その一部は自らの、また家族の努力によって SCE を獲得している。本研究はライフ・ストーリーの手法を用いて、どのように教育が中断され、どのようにまたなぜ SCE が得られたのかについて理解を深め、さらに SCE が当人たちにとってどのような意味を持ったのかを論じる。対面またはスカイプによる 31 人のインタビューを経て、本研究ではそのうち詳細な事例研究として 13 人に焦点を当てる。顧みられてこなかった子どもたちの声をボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナの教育、紛争と平和の研究に取り込むことにより、本研究では紛争の影響を受けた社会において SCE を含む教育が果たし得る 4 つの役割を確認した。第一に教育は子どもたちを守り、一定の日常性を保つ手助けとなる。第二に、教育は将来への希望を保つために役立つことがある。第三に、関連する点として、厳しい試練を生き延びるために役立つ可能性のある知識や技能を得られることで、教育は自己実現の機会をもたらす。最後に、得られた教育と技能により、若者は平和構築のエージェントとしてより社会変革に貢献しやすくなる可能性がある。従って、紛争影響国においては平和構築のために教育を支援・継続することにさらなる注意を払う必要がある。

キーワード：教育、セカンド・チャンス、武力紛争、ボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナ、平和構築

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"Obtaining a Second Chance: Education During and After Conflict"

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Second-chance Education in Post-conflict Timor-Leste:

Youth and Adult Learners' Motives, Experiences and Circumstances

Taro Komatsu