The Role of

Community University Partnerships

in the development of

Citizenship and Transformational Learning

in Mostar

Juliet Millican

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Contents

List of Acronyms

BiH	Bosnia and Herzogovina
CBR	Community Based Research
CUPP	The Community University Partnership Programme
DBU	Dzemal Bijedic University
EU	European Union
GUNI	Global University Network for Innovation
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PAR	Participatory Action Research
REAP	Reciprocity, Externalities, Access and Partnership
SCE	Student Community Engagement
UN	United Nations
WW	World War

List of Tables and Figures

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated:

Acknowledgements

ABSTRACT

The role of Higher Education/Civil Society partnerships in the development of citizenship and transformational learning in Mostar.

This is the fourth and last of my Ed D assignments which between them have traced developments in my own professional practice and concerned questions of transformational learning, participative pedagogies and the role of insiders and outsiders in personal development and social change.

In this final project I have taken the notion of student community engagement, (also known as service learning and community based learning) in which I am involved in the UK and, through a partnership project with a university in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) looked at its relevance to a divided and emerging community in the Balkans. Working with a small group of tutors in one of the city's two universities we have, through a process of teacher training and action research, implemented a range of community based projects through which students gained credit towards their degree for a period of practical work with civil society organisations.

This study aims to ascertain the potential of this way of working in transforming the attitudes and identities of students growing up in a post conflict context, in terms of reaffirming their sense of citizenship and belonging beyond the ethnic divisions caused by the conflicts in their parents' generation. It also looks at the transferability of different models of student community engagement and at those that might be relevant both to BiH and to other societies in transition.

In my written analysis I draw evidence from the experiences of tutors and students with whom I have worked. I question the role of higher education in processes of peace building and reconciliation and trace the various histories of service learning, science shops and student engagement activities that have emerged in different parts of the world. I also look at notions of citizenship (Gaventa) and of bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam) and at how higher education in particular might contribute towards a national or civic identity and an atmosphere of trust.

Chapter 1: Aims of this Research in the light of my Current and Former Studies

The aim of this research is to explore the role of Higher Education (HE), and particular pedagogies used in teaching and learning, in a society recovering from conflict. My key research question concerns whether student community engagement as a pedagogical approach might contribute to peace building and citizenship in a cultural context which is still ethnically divided and where civil society is weak. I look at the potential of experiential learning to transform the attitudes and values of a group of young people undertaking HE studies, who have grown up in the midst of civil war, and at the contribution a university education might make to building social capital and establishing an atmosphere of participation and trust.

My earlier EdD studies explored related issues of transformational learning, radical pedagogies and social justice. Much of my professional life has been concerned with alternative approaches to learning, promotion of student empowerment, development of civil society and examining the value of participatory approaches to personal and social development. These issues are located within broader themes of culture, identity and belonging. My first EdD assignment traced the history of what I perceived to be 'my practice' and the literature influencing it. In 'Descending to the Swamp' (Millican, 2003) I acted as an insider and an outsider in different professional and developmental contexts, and questioned the role of cultural insiders and

outsiders in personal and professional change. I cited Freire (1970 and

Mezirow (1991) as influential in my understanding of learning and change.

> To make meaning means to make sense of an experience; we make
> an interpretation of it. When we subsequently use this interpretation to
> guide decision making or action, then making meaning becomes
> learning. We learn differently when we are learning to perform than
> when we are learning to understand what is being communicated to us.
> Reflection enables us to correct distortions in our beliefs and errors in
> our problem solving. Critical reflection involves a critique of the
> presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built.
> (Mezirow, 1991:1)

Mezirow attributes part of identity building to the socialisation process brought

by parents, 'our parents' location in the social structure and their own personal

biographies and idiosyncrasies influence our conceptions of reality'

(1991:131) but identifies contact with outsiders and different social norms as

triggers for transformational learning. Mezirow and Freire also point to the

significance of full adult participation in new experiences and critical reflection

as key to perspective transformation. In the same study I cite Taylor and

Fransen's (2004) work, which, in addition to experience and critical reflection,

makes claims for the role of 'practitioner as teacher' in university education

and the value of engaged participation in questioning previous assumptions.

Taylor and Fransen (2003: 32) also claim for learners that 'the more they

transform at a personal level the more this is likely to impact on institutional transformation'.

All of the observations above have some significance for university education in Mostar where young people whose identities may have been shaped by the values of their parents' generations have the possibility to question these, and build new identities for themselves. My first study also makes reference to Wenger's (1998) social theory of learning which brings together meaning, practice, community and identity as key elements in personal and social change. Wenger also suggests that a crucial shift in individuals' meaning and identity may enable them to transform the communities of which they are a part (Wenger,1988)

My second EdD project, 'Leaving the Comfort Zone' (Millican, 2004) looked at a 'culture within a culture' and examined perceptions of identity and of insiders and outsiders among a group of deaf university students. The conclusions of this study, that deaf people share a number of identities of which Deafness is only one, has further significance for this current research. In my interviews and research exercises with this group it became apparent that while Deafness was important to them, and was part of who they were, they shared other identities (class, ethnic, study-related) which were fore-grounded in different contexts. This clarified for me the multiple identities that exist within any community and the different ways of identifying with different groups, a concept that I discuss later in this study. While in a conflict situation people

may group around one (often ethnic) identity, it may be possible to regroup around other identities when that conflict has passed.

My third EdD study, 'Pushing the River' (Millican, 2005) looked at the relevance of participation as a pedagogic approach within hierarchical cultures. Several of its conclusions relate to my research in Mostar. In evaluating a range of approaches to teaching literacy in contexts where people are used to didacticism I conclude that 'taking students' self defined needs and aspirations into account when shaping curriculum provided them with a voice' (Millican, 2005: 36). I feel that engaged learning 'has the potential to extend beyond the purely instrumental and encompass those unfathomable areas of confidence building, community building and "transformation" that may begin to play a part in social change' (Millican, 2005: 36).

All three projects have furthered my understanding of identity, meaning, culture and belonging and how they are shifting concepts framed by the contexts in which people find themselves. I am convinced about the significance of both participatory and inclusive process and the (negotiated) role of outsiders in creating a context in which people question their own socialisation processes. I am aware of the role that learning, particularly learning within HE, has in personal transformation and development, and of the responsibility of the institution to foster personal and community development in the context within which it is located.

As my own professional role has shifted from working in international development to working in HE and managing learning programmes within a community-university partnership programme, I have become interested in looking at the significance of such partnerships. I am interested in investigating other contexts than poverty alleviation within countries with limited material resources, such as countries where natural and human resources have been decimated as a result of conflict. In the 21st century when the key causes of dwindling resources are related to climate change and internal conflict such issues are difficult to avoid.

The eventual location of this research project in Mostar was circumstantial rather than intentional, but it has proved an important context in terms of questions of learning, meaning and identity. Mostar is a divided city even 15 years after the agreement that ended the war (1993) and houses both a new (Croatian) university and a Bosniak university 'in exile'. The exiled university (which was granted permanent rights to its current site during the time of this study) is grappling with questions of appropriate pedagogies and curriculum change in the light of integration with the European Union (EU). As an institution it is redefining its role and responsibilities - to Europe and to its local community - and struggling with limited resources. It is run by a mix of older professors (approaching retirement) and young teaching assistants (with limited experience) and is seeking to re-establish a multi-ethnic and pertinent education in an environment where there are limited work opportunities.

Young people within the institution are facing key issues of identity and belonging as members of a relatively new state and citizens of an imposed democracy. Many face a bleak economic future with little chance of employment, limited public services and a civil society in which, until now, they have felt they had no stake. The challenge of this project is to explore whether HE could both provide a transformative learning opportunity for these citizens and help to contribute to community building within the city.

In this my final EdD study, a number of issues from my earlier research have re-emerged. Under the working title of 'Diving from the Bridge' I sought to go beyond the concept of 'bridging between cultures' to look at the tensions underlying difference and leading to conflict. I considered the significance of individual development and personal transformation for community development and social transformation, and identity, as chosen rather than given, with different identities coming to the fore at different times. Similarly, I was interested in the potential for participatory and experiential approaches to learning, (even within didactic and hierarchical cultures), to meaningfully engage students and influence their values and their behaviour. I drew some conclusions about the relevancy of this approach and the contribution it can make to rebuilding social capital.

It is important not to make too many claims and, despite the relative success of the project, I can draw no conclusions about its potential to influence either people's conceptions of citizenship or of political change. The short duration of the project means that it is a snapshot of local attitudes and is only indicative

about future possibilities. Consequently, any conclusions I provide about reconciliation and longer term political change are necessarily tentative.

However, there is firm evidence to support the premise that student community engagement can make a relevant contribution to student learning, even within a context where civil society is weak, and can help to establish a sense of ownership of civil society and its structures. As an approach to learning it has shown the potential to help students to deal with the challenges they face, to develop a sense of trust with those outside of their immediate cultural or family groups, and to empower them to be active in rebuilding their own futures and those of the communities in which they live.

Chapter 2: The Context of this Research

Introduction

The main purpose of this research is to further my understanding of the contribution that HE can make to restoring a sense of citizenship and collective identity following a period of internal civil conflict. The table below (2.1) gives an outline of my key data sources which are described in more details in chapter 5.

My reasons for basing the project in Mostar were partly opportunistic, but the relevance of the city and the university as a research subject emerged during my work there. The area provides an example of a post conflict society, with more than ten years since peace was agreed. Prior to the outbreak of war BiH was one of the most integrated and multi ethnic areas in the Balkan region and was home to a strong peace movement led by intellectuals. The current undergraduate students at the universities in Mostar were children during the war with distant memories of the fighting, but all come from families who were immediately affected by the conflict. The existence of two universities in the city, the original Dzemal Bijedic University (DBU), which until recently defined itself as being 'in exile', and the new Croatian university, is indicative of the current social climate. There are persistent visible ethnic divisions that seem to be taking longer to heal than in Sarajevo, for instance, which was under siege for a longer period. The recent accession to the Bologna process by much of the region, involving universities signing up to a common European structure and assessment framework, is part of a series of changes that the DBU is currently embracing. Bosnia remains in a period of transition, waiting for the passing of a HE Bill.

Fig 2.1 Key data sources

Tutors	
Initial open interviews	8 tutors from: German language (fn)*, English literature (fn), English Language (l), IT (l), Law (l), Art (l), Psychology (l), Drama Pedagogy (l)
In depth interviews	6 tutors from: German language (fn), English Literature (fn), English Language (l), Psychology (l), Art (l), Drama Pedagogy (fn)
Additional interviews	Dean of Faculty of Humanities
Total tutor involvement	11 tutors, above plus 1 English literature tutor (l), 1 mechanical engineering tutor (l), 1 Mediterranean agriculture tutor (l)
Students	
Focus group discussions	10 female students from psychology 3 male students from graphic design
Individual discussions	2 students (1 male, 1 female) from mechanical engineeering
Observations	2 groups involved in English Language teaching 1 group from Drama Pedagogy involved in youth theatre work
Student written assignments	12 student assignments, all from the English literature and creative writing course
Student project presentations at final ceremony	5 x kindergarten, 2 x American corner, 5 x Egyptian village, 6 x tourism organisations, 2 x disabled people's organisations, 2 x tree planting, 12 x elementary schools, 4 x youth theatre, 2 x prosthesis development
Student evaluations	15 evaluation forms collected
Total student involvement	122 60 students involved in tree planting, 62 students involved in other projects, 10 of these also involved in a second internal inter-disciplinary project.
Community	
Participation in certificate ceremony	13 organisations represented at certificate ceremony

*(fn) = foreign national, (l) = local tutor

Mostar has a multi ethnic population (though it is predominantly Croat and

Bosniak) and UDB has a strong multi ethnic policy and an active international

department. There are a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

in the city, both national and international, and the remnants of a shaky civil society that operated prior to the conflict. A United World College has been established in a former gymnasium; the college has a strong multi-cultural and community service ethos, and 60% of its students come from the local area. All the elements of collaboration, both internationally and with local civil society, are present and the small size of the university enabled it to integrate within a short time. It is proving a potent locus from which to explore questions of civil society, social capital and transformational learning.

Crossley (Crossley and Watson, 2003: 16) stresses the importance of acknowledging context in educational research and the need for a proper understanding of local cultural perspectives, prior to the imposition of educational reform. He draws attention to the different context levels: cultural, national, regional and global, all of which play out in Mostar in different ways. Recent attempts to introduce the Bologna process into HE throughout Europe is an example of a regional approach to harmonisation among nation states, some of which, as emerging societies, are in very different positions to those that have been part of the EU for a longer period. (BiH is currently ranked 38th out of 40 European countries for implementation of the Bologna process, but it has signed the agreement.) The local multi ethnic population offers a mix of cultures and cultural perspectives, but the experience of the war and a former Yugoslavia still in living memory means there are strong similarities with other Balkan states. This shared history and experience gives rise to a particular world view, and one that saw me, although also a European, as an outsider. In order to work collaboratively with colleagues and students I needed a better understanding of both their current context and the different interpretations of

its history. In order to understand the relevance of my research for other post conflict communities it was necessary to understand the nature of civil conflict and the situation it leaves behind.

Bosnia as a Post-conflict Society

Currently civil conflicts far surpass the number of inter state conflicts in the world (of over 100 armed conflicts between 1989 and 1996 only six were between states (Sollenberg and Wallenstein,1997; Davies, 2004) and pose a significant threat to peace, the environment and to national and local development. War within states is more likely than war between them (Shaw, 1994; Commission on Global Governance, 1995; Thompson, 1996).

Cultural conflict and ethnic conflict are terms that are often used interchangeably, but while ethnic conflicts are based on a belief that a group of people share a particular history and origin and have a discernable collective identity; intercultural conflicts often include religious strife. The conflict in Northern Ireland is an example of historic differences between those involved in particular religious or cultural practices rather than those claiming a separate ethnic identity. Ethnic conflicts can include particular cultural practices, but this is not always the case.

The majority of recent civil wars are considered to be ethnic conflicts (the Balkans, Rwanda), where at least one party identifies itself by ethnicity; but there is often confusion between the terms nation and state, and to whom people feel allegiance. Indicators of difference, such as language, race,

religion and sovereignty, are all historically significant in internal divisions. Bosnia has a long history of mixed ethnicity with periods when 'brotherhood and unity' or interdependence were advocated. Throughout the country, the existence of political identities (Bosnian), regional and ethnic identities (Serb, Kosovan, Bosniak), and religious differences (Orthodox, Catholic, Moslem) make for a particularly confused picture. Although the 1992-1995 civil war is often interpreted as the playing out of longstanding ethnic hatred (Andjelic, 1995), this was brought to a head by a number of different and escalating causes. Ethnicity is socially constructed, and its emergence as a form of identity can usually be attributed to a series of specific historical circumstances deliberately manipulated by political elites (Turton, 1997). It is often over-emphasised as being the cause of conflict (Bowen, 1996; Davies, 2004; Ignatief; 1998). Actual ethnic differences are often small, rates of intermarriage (as was the case in Bosnia) high, and the roots of any violence lie more in political influence attempting to rally people around nationalist ideas.

For BiH the breakdown of Yugoslavia coincided with economic demise, unemployment and a reduction in social services. Davies (2004) stresses the importance of resources, or lack of them, in the build up of tensions between previously coexisting ethnic groups. The demise of communism in eastern Europe, the death of Tito in 1980, the difficult economic circumstances of the 1980s exacerbated by the recession in Europe and a local political scandal (Agrokomerc), aggravated the long-held desire of Serbia to unite all Serb peoples in one fatherland. The emergence at this time of strong Serb and

Croat leaders and a press that had developed during a one party monopoly provided the vehicle for manipulation of a public that might otherwise have resisted war (Malcolm, 2002; Andjelic, 1995).

It has been suggested (Andjelic, 1995, Gellner, 1994) that the Bosnian war could have been prevented had there been a stronger civil society and that the strengthening of civil society could help to resist future nationalist ideologies. While nationalism was resurgent, Bowen (1996: 5) claims that 'Resentments and fears generated by modern state warfare and the absence of a civil society--not ethnic differences--made possible the success of the nationalist politicians Milosevic and Franco Tudjman'.

Other interpretations of the war see it as a struggle between civil society and ethnic division (Chandler, 1999) and it has been suggested that a pluralistic civil society would help to mitigate polarities in political conflict and develop a democratic culture of tolerance, moderation and compromise (Chandler, 1999:135; Diamond, 1994; Seligmann, 1992, Cohen and Arato, 1992, Keane, 1998). The Balkans have a shared history of multiculturalism, tolerance, national identity and citizenship and the resurgence of ethnicity at the start of the 1990s emerged out of the fragmentation of the Yugoslavian state. As in other parts of the world the dissolution of a former state structure and the insecurity and economic hardship that followed caused people to look to other forms of identification and protection. Muscat observes that:

Contrary to the assertions that conflict arises from political, ethnic or cultural causes, the real sources of violent conflict can be traced to the absence of economic development, that can eliminate poverty and food insecurity. Ethnic tensions become most marked when limited resources are in short supply. (Muscat, quoted in Sharpe, 2002: 59)

While the incidents in Bosnia were situated in a particular historical context their pattern is not unique and the relationship between citizenship, conflict, democracy and civil society is discussed further in Chapter 3.

The Historical Context

Since their early history BiH have experienced periods of colonisation, multi-culturalism, enforced neighbourliness and internal nationalist conflict. The desire of Serbia and Croatia for independent nationalist states contrasts with a need for integration and interdependence since Ottoman and Austro Hungarian rule. Although historically ethnic difference was related to religion (Croatians and Slovenians became Catholic after the Austrian invasion, Islam was introduced to Bosnia by Turkey and the Serbian Orthodox Christian church originates from Roman occupation), by the 20th century ethnicity and religion were seldom related. There were atheists among Serbs and Croats, and Muslims were a national rather than a religious group (who adopted the name Bosniaks). There were a number of cross cutting groups, such as Albanian speakers, Catholics, Montenegrins and Roma groups who might be Muslim or Orthodox Christians. Religion became the basis of ethnic identity during the conflict largely because a long history of intermarriage and

interdependency had resulted in cultural and genetic similarities that were difficult to distinguish (Malcolm, 2002; Ignatief, 1997).

Serbs and Croats may have arrived originally in the Balkans as one 'Slav' people, towards the end of the 12th century. The area was absorbed into the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the 15th century and though it remained an integral province for the 400 years of Ottoman rule the population make-up changed during that time as a result of conquests, wars, migrations and epidemics. Consequently, claims to ethnic identity are cultural rather than genetic. The Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied and administered BiH from the end of the 19th century and planned to make it a 'model colony' of a pluralist nation accommodating different religions. While the empire remained strong there was no recorded ethnic conflict (Andjelic, 1995; Malcolm, 2002). The concept of a Croat and a Serb nation began spreading to Catholic and Orthodox communities only in the 19th century. There was intermittent political tension and the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serb nationalist youth in Sarajevo in 1914, has been cited as one of the causes of the outbreak of World War I (WWI).

The Creation of Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia means 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' and at the end of the WWI was established as a multi ethnic common state, replacing what had been a multi ethnic empire encompassing BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. The bringing together of separate areas into one state is sometimes still seen as the cause of subsequent tensions, and by 1939 politicians were pushing for the creation of separate Serb and

Croat territories by dividing Bosnia. This was a particular concern for those who identified themselves as Bosnians or Muslims rather than as Serbs or Croats, but the threats of Nazi aggression diverted attention from internal issues; Yugoslavia was invaded by Germany in 1941.

During the period of occupation an independent state of Croatia was established as a Nazi puppet state, ruled by a fascist militia - the Ustase - and the violence they imposed on anti-fascists, communists, Serbs, Gypsies and Jews was later used as justification for Serb atrocities in the 1992-95 war. A puppet Serbian state was also established and a Serb nationalist and royalist resistance movement – the Chetniks - engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Nazis. Several Bosnian Muslim paramilitary units joined the Axis powers to counter their own persecution at the hands of the Serbs in Bosnia, where Word War II (WWII) was seen as a three-fold war involving Axis occupation, a civil war and the communist revolution (Malcolm, 2002; Andjelic, 2000).

The Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia

Marshall Tito is often credited with bringing internal peace and reconciliation to Yugoslavia after WWII (Malcolm, 2002: 193). He proclaimed support for democracy, the rights of ethnic groups, the inviolability of private property and freedom for individual economic initiatives. However, although he aimed to balance the conflicting claims of different groups he was perhaps more interested in power and uniting the nationalists under a communist banner. BiH were re-established as a republic within the Yugoslav federation. The new state had its own distinctive form of socialism that was not under the control of Moscow and throughout the 1950s and 1960s achieved a significant level of

economic growth. However, according to Andjelic (1995), there was no space for the notion of a civil society. The totalist ideology, the existence of a single party and a strong police force were all barriers to its existence and, though there were some examples of civic efforts during the interwar years these were quickly suppressed. There was some criticism of the government structures in Belgrade in the 1950s, but there was no spontaneous development of groups representing alternative ideas. People were willing to tolerate the dominance of the party while prosperity was growing. During the 1960s the regime became more flexible with increased self-organisation within the different states, and the establishing of left or liberal movements among the student and intellectual populations. Although sporadic, this activity gave rise to a new generation of students influenced by 'leftist' educators and Andjelic (1995) suggests that the generation born in the 1960s could play a significant part in establishing civil society in BiH.

In 1970/71, students in Zagreb were organising demonstrations for greater civil liberties and greater Croatian autonomy. Their protest was quashed and its leaders imprisoned, but key Croatian representatives in the Party continued silently to support this cause. A new constitution ratified in 1974 gave even more rights to the individual republics in Yugoslavia and provinces in Serbia under the third 'Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia'.

Titoist policy was stronger in Bosnia than in the neighbouring republics and the main influence on democracy came from the thinkers in the universities. The young were disillusioned with communism and could see how their lives had been framed by struggle. There was a network of socialist youth in the

late 1980s and many of the ideas associated with an alternative society emanated from youth groups. In 1988 there was a 'University conference of the Alliance of Socialist Youth' and when Yugoslavia beat Spain in the football World Cup in 1990 young people marched on the streets in support of a united Yugoslavia. This is the last recorded demonstration of its kind, but indicates there was still strong support for unification at that time, particularly among young.

Communist Yugoslavia, as a highly decentralised Federal Republic, sought to co-opt rather than destroy ethnic identity. BiH due to its central position was used as a base for the development of the military defence industry. Initially one of the poorer republics, it developed significantly under communism with a period of rapid industrial growth. The Yugoslavian communist belief in 'brotherhood and unity' was compatible with Bosnia's multi-ethnic society and, with an imposed system of tolerance Bosnia thrived culturally and socially. The idea of 'brotherhood and unity' exists in most of the languages used in the Republic, and became the catch phrase and official policy of inter-ethnic relations and was reinforced through the education system. It indicated that all ethnic groups in the Republic should be recognised as equals and should co-exist peacefully, with open expressions of nationalist ideas or views suppressed and punished by fines, loss of jobs, house arrest, imprisonment or exile. This policy also led to the adoption of national quota systems (*kriterij republika i pokrajina*) in all public institutions, including economic organisations, in which national groups were represented by their republic's or province's national demographic composition.

The End of Yugoslavia

This intention to co-opt rather than destroy ethnic identity allowed these identities to remain alive beneath the surface. With the break up of communism in eastern Europe and economic development failures in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, 'brotherhood and unity' was no longer sufficient to 'glue' people together. This is reminiscent of Muscat's observation that ethnic tensions become most marked when limited resources are in short supply (Sharpe, 2002). The economic outfall of the Agrokomerc crisis in which large numbers of Muslims lost their jobs, contributed to economic crisis and an atmosphere in society of despair and hopelessness. This seems to have been a critical turning point in Yugoslavia's history. While Tito was alive he had been able to hold things together, but after his death in 1980 his communist party was thrown into crisis.

At the interpersonal level relationships were largely harmonious, but at the political level and inflamed by the media the sense of 'other' was being constructed. There was no single religious divide, for instance uniting Christians against Muslims; the division between Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians generally represented the division between Croat and Serb, the two largest nationalities who were vying for control of the territory. Attempts were made to develop a Bosnian identity, using claims of historical legitimacy and linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, but these were often seen as claiming for the legitimisation of Bosnian Muslims rather than the inhabitants of Bosnia, and many were in favour of a secular Bosnian state. Political and ethnic symbols were set up in opposition in a three way split.

Serb violence against Croats was reinterpreted as vengeance for the violence of Croats against the Serbs in WWII yet could not be used to justify violence against the Muslims. Instead, the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 was cited as justification for this and indicates how revenge can be used to drive ethnic conflict if not the immediate cause (Davies, 2001: 81)

In 1991 BiH as a historically multi-ethnic state was approximately 43% Bosniak, 31% Serb and 17% Croat. The first multi-party elections were held in November 1990, ten years after Tito's death, and the three largest ethnic parties in the country won. Initially, in forming a coalition government to try to maintain an atmosphere of harmony and tolerance they were united in their attempts to construct a democratic alternative to socialism. The coalition lasted less than a year and in 1991 was abandoned by its Serb members, who broke away to form the Serbian Republic of BiH (later Republika Srpska) shortly after Croatia and Slovenia declared themselves independent of Yugoslavia. Also in 1991, the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted a resolution which gave them responsibility for peace-keeping operations and the threat of violent conflict became real.

In early 1992 a national referendum was held on Bosnian independence from Yugoslavia, which declared the Serb republic illegal. Serbs boycotted the referendum, but 98% of those who voted were in favour. Independence was declared on 5th April 1992 and the Serbs immediately declared independence of Republika Srpska as a Serb enclave in the west of the country.

The War in Bosnia

During the build up to the 1992-95 war there were a number of significant internal attempts to preserve peace, which a stronger civil society might have rendered more effective. In Sarajevo there was a strong network of civic activities that may have prevented the nationalists from taking power. Mostar hosted a number of peace activities in 1991 and 1992 and as a mixed community with a high proportion of mixed marriages, depended on unity for its survival. The university in the city generated a number of left and liberal thinkers and Mostar's 'Club of Intellectuals' was the first organisation whose members were not supporters of the governing nationalists. Their independence was crucial to their anti war activities and they tried to negotiate peace between the federal army and the Croat paramilitaries. Children collected signatures in favour of peace and tens of thousands of young people marched to the Mostar sports ground with these petitions; they made a chain of peace by linking arms and making lines stretching back and forth across every bridge in the city. Some of the teaching assistants in DBU remember being taking part in this rally, whose failure affected their confidence in the value of civic action. Charter 92, signed in 1991 by 92 intellectuals, advocated for an open society within Europe, where citizens were holders of sovereignty and not identified by ethnic groups.

In March 1992, in Sarajevo, 80,000 people attended a peace rally and civilians occupied a government building in an attempt to establish an 'all peoples' parliament'. The adjustments required for peace were far more acceptable than the costs of war. Marchers at a protest rally in the lead up to

the war were represented by a speaker who said 'let all Serb chauvinists go to Serbia and the Croat chauvinists go to Croatia, we want to keep Bosnia as one' (Malcolm, 2002: 235). Andjelic (1995) partly attributes the failure of these peace rallies to the fact that the educational and cultural environment under communism provided no basis for civic ideas and people had been brought up to 'follow' in the belief that they would be 'looked after'. It was easier to exchange a communist totalitarian ideology for a nationalist totalitarian ideology, and civil society had neither sufficient support for nor control of the means of violence.

The first and last events of the war are debatable, as are its exact beginning and end. Serbs tend to cite the killing of a bride-groom's father at a wedding in Sarajevo on 1 March 1992, the day of the referendum, as triggering the conflict. The Bosniaks see the trigger as the shooting of a man during a peace march on 5 April 1991, while the Croats cite the massacre of Croat civilians by Serbian forces in a village, in 1990. Malcolm points to the failure of the west to properly understand events and their causes, accusing them of looking only at the symptoms of war rendering them unable to negotiate a tolerable solution. Mostar was under siege, surrounded by Croat forces, for 18 months, and the Stari Most Bridge was destroyed by shelling. The Bosniaks blame the Croats for its destruction while the Croats blame Bosniaks for using it as a vantage point from which to fire at troops based on the west bank of the river. In both cases the symbolism of its destruction as the metaphorical rendering asunder of the two sides, is significant. In an attempt to end the siege of Mostar, the Bosnian Army launched Operation Neretva 93 against the Croatian Army and the Defence Council, in September 1993. The operation was stopped by

Bosnian authorities after information received about incidents against Croatian civilians and prisoners of war.

A ceasefire and a peace agreement between the Bosnians and the Croatians in 1994 divided the territory into ten autonomous cantons, which then became the Federation of BiH. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) involvement and transgressions into UN no fly zones in February 1994 led to the shooting down of four Serb aircraft and subsequent air strikes against Bosnian Serb-held territory. This may have led to the later events at Srebrenica when UN troops failed to prevent Serb troops entering the city and killing 8,000 men, and transferring many of the women to Bosnian held territory. The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in Paris on 14 December and established the Inter Entity Boundary line which divides BiH from Republika Srpska. The line is no longer controlled by military forces and has no check points, and its long term status as a boundary remains unclear; events in Serbia and Kosovo in 2008 led to renewed calls for separationism.

The signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 imposed a democratic structure on previously warring peoples, but it was a structure that was neither owned nor emerged from local involvement or agreement. The EU was made responsible for monitoring and peace keeping, and political parties were formed from existing nationalist groups. The Bosniaks are in the majority in Sarajevo and the Serbs in Banja Luka; consequently there is strong pressure for the Croatians to run Mostar. In the view of Lord Paddy Ashdown, appointed EU envoy, neither the Croats nor the Bosniaks should be allowed to dominate and he recommended a new council with equal representation in

2004. However, progress towards reunification has been slow. In interview Ashdown said of Bosnia:

> the multiethnic structure of this country is not its curse but its wealth. BiH is the only country of the Former Yugoslavia to have preserved this gift and if we can look at its multi-ethnicity as something that needs to be preserved and cherished rather than a curse from the past, then we can build BiH. (Interview with Ashdown, *Vjesnik*, 19 January 2004)

There seems to be continued impetus to create a 'model colony' within a pluralist state that had existed for over a hundred years.

The Changing Relationships of State and Civil Society

The total population of BiH in 2002 was estimated at just under 4 million although it is agreed that due to military interventions figures remain inaccurate. The number of state institutions and the numbers of their employees increase every year with 42% of employees working in the public sector, a higher percentage than in any other country in Europe. Public administration costs are at €450 million per year. However, less than 5% of the population is in HE and there is no unified HE system or quality appraisal, universities are dependent on Tempus funding for many new developments. Currently, BiH has more than a million citizens capable of working but unable to find adequate jobs, with another 250,000 working without salaries. The number of unemployed has increased since 2004 by more than 60,000, and the number of employed has decreased by 5,000; unemployment is higher in Republika Srpska (50%) than in the federation (40%). One third of the jobless

is less than 27 years of age and two-thirds are under 35, with large numbers of young people keen to seek work abroad. Since the mid 1990s, more than 100,000 young people aged under 30 have left the country, and the search for work opportunities in other parts of Europe is high on the agendas of most students. It is difficult to be optimistic about the economy, and this could be having an impact on ethnic relationships.

While there is general agreement that the people of BiH want to become part of Europe progress towards this goal is slow. The government of BiH has not been able to sign or implement a Stabilisation and Association Agreement or fulfil outstanding requests for a feasibility study on accession. The key stumbling block is the requirement for police reform and the establishment of an integrated police force. Taxes on food, medicine and books are higher than on cars; the price of food rises daily and money is being spent on mobilising the electorate by means of pre-election programmes. The elections held in October 2006 reinforced the lingering ethnic tensions. The Serbian coalition, which still favours an independent state, was narrowly defeated by the Muslim-Croat Federation. In January 2007, Bosnian Serb Nikola Spiric took over as prime minister and formed a government.

Though the framework for democratisation was one of the dominant ideas underlying the peace agreement this was imposed by the international community and does not form part of the collective memory of most of the population. The mechanisms of democracy have been put in place, but the underlying values do not exist (Maalouf, 2000). Developing the habits of democratic practice takes time and, although a range of development projects

led by NGOs has sprung up across Bosnia these are all externally initiated rather than having their roots in local organisations. Tocqueville suggests that citizens need to be educated in the values of democracy through voluntary associations, which serve as 'large free schools, where all the members of the community go to learn the general theory of association' (Tocqueville, 1945: 124). People have struggled with 'acting and thinking in a manner suited to democratisation' (Fischer, 2006: 92) and civil society has developed more slowly there than in other Balkan states, with only a few organisations pursuing an emancipatory approach. Individuals' personal histories, either as victims or passive supporters of human rights violations, may have made it difficult for them to see the gains of involvement outside of the immediate family, or to be willing to act like members of a civil society and take on responsibilities (Chandler, 1999: 148).

Chandler (1999) further suggests a link between low level support for civil society in Bosnia and lack of an effective democracy. International regulation over Bosnian life, denial of self government at local and state level, and the inability of Bosnian political representatives to make constituents accountable for policy making perpetuate a political climate in which broader voluntary associational ties are not easily developed. Although before the war, the citizens of Bosnia had extensive HE provision and a relatively high level of involvement in local political and civic life (Ignatief, 1997), the concept of civil society that has developed in eastern and central Europe was a reaction against communism. Democratic revolution cannot be completed without the building up of independent views on public affairs, through individual or self-

organised citizen's' associations. Civil organisations need to 'nurture the local and particular freedoms necessary for democratic equality and prevent the tyranny of minorities by majorities' (Keane, 1988: 61) but the main movements in post-communist society have been ethnic, linked more to the ideology of nationalism than democracy and human rights.

Andjelic (1999) and Fischer (2006) indicate that the economic crisis in Yugoslavia and the dissent it caused began to create the conditions for an emerging civil society towards the end of the 1980s. The Green movement for peaceful resolution established in 1989 and the Centre for Peace established in 1991 in Bosnia are examples of 'types of civil society which emerge in post communist states' (Giddens, 1985: 271) and were a response to the developing sense of nationalism. However, they were unable to counteract the influence of the media, particularly with a public that had been trained to follow. People were preoccupied with economic survival and were not in a position to begin to critically engage with ideas. Izetbegovic, the Bosnian Muslim leader of the Party of Democratic Action, founded in 1990 is reported to have said at the time:

> By their oppression the Communists created this longing among people to express their religious or national identity. Perhaps in four or five years we shall have passed through the minefield to the horizon of civil society. (Malcolm, 2002: 219)

As of 2008, Izetbegovic's prediction has not materialised. By the end of the 1990s total EU funding to Mostar amounted to over $US2,500 per head (more than total EU aid to Poland), but had had little impact on reducing the tensions

between Muslims and Croats (Deacon and Stubbs, 1998: 103). Funding may have subjected local NGOs to externally set targets rather than enabling them to respond to the local context and their efforts have been characterised by a series of short term projects (Seifija, in Fischer 2006) rather than being an active part of a mature civil society. NGOs have been unable to provide the support required for new democratic processes. The dangers of this were anticipated by Krol (1995: 39):

> Without the mediating institutions of a vibrant civil society, popular influence over politics is going to be limited to election day, and elections in post-communist Europe all too often revolve around feelings and resentments rather than issues (*translated)*

A more involved electorate may be the key to building tolerance and reconciliation and may result in a more accountable political system but currently there is no strong evidence of either. According to Simillie (1996: 13):

> accountability, legitimacy and competency in public life are the key, and these can only be achieved through the active participation of the electorate, buoyed by a strong, plural associational base, by a web of social, cultural and functional relationships which can act as a 'societal glue'.

A civil society capable of contributing to state-building and EU integration would require an active citizenship, able and willing to push its demands through the political system. With the current dependence in BiH on outsiders, this is unlikely to take place (Fischer, 2006: 13). There is no strong ownership of either civil society groups or the electoral process and people appear to be disillusioned with the current political system. Like other post conflict societies people have retreated into their private and familial lives without the 'societal glue' or bridging social capital that might enable them to transcend their situation. The significance of this and its relationship to the development of citizenship is explored further in Chapter 3.

Language and Education

There are currently three separate education systems in BiH. In Republika Sprska the teaching and curricula are similar to those in Serbia; those in force in the predominantly Croat parts of the federation are similar to those in Croatia. This is inhibiting development of a BiH identity and a sense of a single citizenship. There is more of a whole country approach in the mainly Bosniak parts of the federation, but in Mostar there are separate Bosniak and Croatian schools and only one integrated school in the form of the new United World College (established in 2006). The Dayton Peace Agreement left it to the entities to decide about education, in order to protect national individuality. Although the agreement includes the declaration of human rights and the need to encourage friendship between nationalities, a divided education system could undermine this (Sead Hadžovic in *Helsinška povelja,* February 2003)*.* A number of projects were established in the early 2000s to 'neutralise'

the curriculum (Davies, 2001), involving working groups from different subject areas. In spite of this, the way that history is taught differs.

Other projects run by NGOs, (such as that of McEntagart with Care International, documented in *In the Garden of the Imagination* – McEntagart, 1998), worked with primary and secondary teachers in the immediate post war period. They were aimed at supplementing the curriculum with innovative approaches to teaching using minimal resources, and providing children with strategies to cope with the violence they had witnessed. Some of McEntagart's activities in Theatre in Education (TiE) led directly to the drama pedagogy course currently being offered at UDB and have contributed to this action research project.

Language has become a significant indicator of ethnicity. In post-war Yugoslavia Slovenia and Macedonia have their own languages, but Serbo-Croatian is the national language recognised by the federal state. Serbo-Croatian can be written in two alphabets, Roman and Cyrillic. Serbs use Cyrillic while Croatians tend to use Roman, and there are dialectical differences associated with west and east, which are sometimes identified as Croatian or Serbian. During the conflict, vocabulary and pronunciation were seen as indicators of national identity, and Turkish phrases were associated with Bosniaks. Since the war each group is claiming their variant to be a distinctive language, and the controlled media and schooling systems are reinforcing these distinctions. Numerous books have been 'translated' into Croatian and Serbian and claim to be in the languages of education. As

neither physical characteristics nor dress serve to distinguish between ethnic groups, language has become the main indicator.

The two universities in Mostar are also differentiated by language. Both the current DBU and the new University of Mostar claim to have 'grown out of' the original DBU university' in the west of the city. During the conflict Bosniak staff left the western campus and the University of Mostar with Croatian as its main language, was established on the same premises. Until 2007 the current DBU (officially using the Bosniak language and located in a former army barracks on the eastern side of the river) described itself as an institution in exile, but in July of that year it was granted formal rights to the building. Wikipedia has deleted reference to it as an exiled institution.

The significance of language and education programmes to emerging peace in Bosnia is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: The Development of Citizenship in a Post Conflict Society

Introduction

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework used in this study by looking at the nature of conflict, the different understandings of citizenship within a society divided by conflict, and the impact of both on identity and belonging. It questions the function of civil society in establishing a meaningful democracy in which citizens feel they have a stake, and identifies ways in which education can support the learning of citizenship, the functioning of a democracy and the maintenance of peace. While it accepts the premise that citizenship implies active participation, and the need for this to be learned experientially rather than taught, it questions the directional relationship between the strengthening of civil society and the development of a democratic state.

The Nature of Conflict

The majority of world conflicts in the 21st century are within rather than between states (Sollenberg and Wallenstein, 1997) and the goals of modern wars (such as that in the Balkans) often concern issues of sovereignty, statehood and citizenship. (Davies, 2004: 10 citing Cockburn, 1998). As a result the nature of conflict increasingly inhabits the 'towns, villages and homes of ordinary people' (Davies, 2004: 3) and any approach to dealing with its aftermath must include a personal as well as a systemic approach. The ending of war may be the result of a political process, but recovery is a human process involving re-engagement of ordinary citizens who have disengaged from public life as a result of personal trauma and social mistrust.

Many of conflicts that have emerged in recent decades have been linked to issues of ethnicity and identity, but have been triggered by economic as well as ideological unrest (Davies, 2004; Muscat, 2002) and the inability of governments to contain different allegiances within a unified sense of citizenship. When existing notions of statehood are challenged or break down, strong leaders are often able to mobilise extremist views and realign notions of belonging around ethnicity rather than citizenship. Rebuilding any sense of social responsibility after a period of violent division may entail new understandings of citizenship in relationship to democracy.

Definitions of Citizenship

Historically, the concept of citizenship grew out of a framework of democratic governance in western politics and philosophy. Definitions generally concern the status of an individual in relationship to a nation-state and the rights granted by that state (VeneKlasen with Miller, 2002). Aristotelian rights were largely democratic, but confined to an elite group concerned with defending what they perceived to be a superior culture (Taylor, 2007). Roman rights were more inclusive, but more authoritarian and legalistic, seen as a form of social control involving neither participation nor democracy. Hobbes (Craig 1999) saw citizenship in terms of a contract, but granting few rights to individuals, viewing society as essentially selfish and greedy, needing to be controlled by the state. Locke's rights and law based theory also included a contract between the subject and the state, but determined by ownership of property (Craig 1999). John Stuart Mill, writing in the mid 1800s placed greater emphasis on the rights of minorities and free expression (Craig 1999).

This was part of a broader a shift from the 18th century notion of civil citizenship that encapsulated the rights necessary for individual freedom (of speech, property rights, legal equality, etc.) (Marshall, 1973,) to the 19th century one of political citizenship which emphasises voting rights and determining political power. Social citizenship, concerned with the minimum rights of economic, cultural and social well-being has became more apparent during the 20th century through the struggle of disadvantaged groups to gain them (VeneKlasen with Miller, 2002).

More recent approaches to social citizenship move beyond the bestowal of rights and demand for responsibilities and suggest a more dynamic relationship between state and citizens, defining citizenship as practised rather than as given and emphasing the importance of partipation in a democracy (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001, Lister, 1998). Debates have begun to include an awareness of identity (or identities) of individuals and the levels at which people act or participate as citizens, within but not limited to the nation-state in which they live (Lister, 1998), and to include conceptions of global citizenship and global responsibility (Lister, 1998, Davies, 2004, Oxfam, 2008).

These definitions vary in the importance they place on status and practice (Lister, 1998) on 'being a citizen' (having rights defined by a state or constitution) and acting as a citizen (in the interests of the wider group) - (Merrifield, 2002). Citizenship as a concept is not related only to a democracy; the importance of participation, of involvement in government structures and

policies and of the rights of minorities are increasingly seen as elements with which it is concerned.

The three separate views of citizenship: liberal, (formal rights enshrined in law and conceptualised at the level of the nation state); communitarian – arising from an individual's sense of belonging and identity, socially embedded and concerned with common good rather than individual interests; and civic republican, a practice involving participation in public affairs and a public culture rather than group identities (Gaventa and Jones, 2002) define citizenship as a right (liberal, that of being a citizen), as an attitude (that of feelings and association, related to a communitarian sense of belonging) or as a responsibility, (civic republican, that of acting and participating in affairs of the state). All three may be necessary for the functioning of a healthy democracy.

Introducing or imposing a democracy was one of the main aims behind international institutional intervention in Bosnia as an attempt to end a period of violent conflict. While this may have been a necessary step to end fighting, it may not be workable in the long term without a communitarian sense of belonging and a civic republican participation in state affairs. The current situation of an imposed democratic structure led by nationalist politicians perpetuates group identities rather than supporting a public culture.

To be effective democratic politics require contestation through a multi party system, equal participation of its members and internal mechanisms of accountability (Luckham et al., 2004). Nationalist political parties remain modelled on communist party politics, needing to control as much as possible

and supporting an 'us and them' mentality (Luckham et al., 2004: 14). A functioning democracy depends on a culture of participation, pluralistic media and an active civil society, all of which are lacking in Bosnia. Without them, an imposed democracy can be seen as a form of legitimisation of totalitarian politics not representative of the needs of its members.

Citizenship in a New Democracy

Civil conflict by definition destroys any civic sense of citizenship in favour of ethnic or factional identities. With the declaration of independence by BiH in 1992, and the Dayton agreement in 1995, Bosnian nationals, (which include Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats) gained legal rights as members of one nation state. However the history of the enshrinement of those rights and the rejection of what Serbs saw as a non-Serb homeland sparked ethnic violence rather than a willingness to unite under a new state structure. The purpose of a post-conflict, peace building democracy is to make existing state institutions more democratic and inclusive in order to build an independent state (Luckham et al., 2004), but in Bosnia and other former Yugoslavian countries this also required a complex triple transition from socialism to capitalism, from autocratic to democratic governance and from a command to a market economy.

Building identity politics into a new political system inevitably politicises and institutionalises them and Luckham et al (2004: 45) questions whether imposing a democracy exacerbates violent conflict rather than helping to resolve it. Socially pluralistic contexts, such as Switzerland and India, can and

do thrive, but once the differentiation of identity has been created it can be difficult to negate (Luckham, 2004; Ignatief, 1998). The complex Bosnian system of power sharing fixes ethnicity as a defining form of identity, polarising an ethnic view of society which then inhibits any more unified sense of identification with the whole. Maalouf (2000) discusses the difficulties of establishing a democracy when inhabitants of a country identify with different communities, and people vote on ethnic or religious lines and not on policies. In peace time, identities focus more on individuality than ethnicity and bonds between associates can be built on similarities which transcend ethnic divides. Hybridity, which is accommodated when there is no threat to equality or security (Davies, 2004: 79) also becomes problematic when ethnicity is built into a national system and mixed race families are forced to leave or to choose, even to the extent of killing family members in times of extreme violence to prove their sense of belonging (Davies, 2004: 80). If ethnic identities become part of a subsequent political system these new forms of belonging begin to frame the future as well as the past.

Meehan (Lister 1998) emphasises the importance of an inclusive approach following conflict, which encourages pluralism, opening up the possibility for multiple citizenships and identities. The Opsahl report (Pollack 1993) on the conflicts in Northern Ireland recognises the existence of multiple identities and the need to acknowledge and encourage these, creating spaces for other links (between women, colleagues, neighbours) beyond those stressed by the sectarian divide (Lister, 1998). In all Bosnian elections since Dayton, nationalist politicians have won over those representing social unification and there is no prominent politician favoured by all ethnic groups. The ongoing

divisions in Mostar, for example, have been attributed to reluctance to compromise on the part of Bosniak and Croat politicians and ethnicity has become embedded into a society that less than a generation ago defined itself differently. Despite this, a poll carried out in 2007 showed economic development and job creation as priorities common to those from all ethnic backgrounds. Although mutual social economic and political interests exist there is no strong advocate of any of these issues and elections continue to be fought on nationalist lines. Those with a shared ethnicity or the Roma or Jews who belong to none of the three, are the true minorities, without representation by any of the nationalist parties.

Mijatovic (1999: 33) describes the 'Frankenstein' syndrome in Balkan politics following the establishment of new democratic states, in which many of their systems are copied and imposed from abroad, missing the main characteristics of a pluralistic democracy, 'to function successfully a synthesis of authentic experiences, creative energies and critical self-assessment is necessary'.

A recent report, by the Woodrow Wilson Centre for East European studies (2007), concluded that constitutional reform would only take place when Bosnians stopped seeing government as a paternalistic actor and began themselves to take responsibility for social reform. Although relative calm has been established in BiH, there is not an atmosphere of informed and considered opinion that Maalouf claims to be necessary for a democracy. The ethnic or automatic vote is still very much in place and there is no real representation of oppressed groups or disenfranchised minorities.

Before one can speak of democracy, public debate must be able to take place in an atmosphere of relative calm. For an election to be meaningful a vote that has people's opinion behind it, must have replaced the automatic vote, the ethnic vote, the fanatical vote, and the vote dictated by identity. Whenever the political climate become racist, totalitarian or based on the notion of unity through community, the role of democrats everywhere is no longer to support the preferences of the majority but to see that the rights of the oppressed are respected … what is sacred in democracy is not mechanisms but values. (Maalouf 2000: 154)

An awareness of minorities and marginalisation, and a value based rather than an ethnically determined vote could be crucial factors in maintaining peace. How a state deals with its minorities and its internal differences has a long term impact when those minorities feel their rights are threatened and their voice is not represented. Halliday, quoted in Chandler (1999), indicates that a state's commitment to a peaceful world rests less on its nuclear ability more than the way it treats its minorities.

Civil Society

The transition from conflict to peace, from an imposed democratic structure to a functional system of representation is a complex one and while civil society is seen as a key player in bringing this about, at an international level its role may have been overplayed. Diamond (1994: 8) describes civil society as 'a

crucial arena for the development of (other) democratic attributes, such as tolerance, moderation, a willingness to compromise, and a respect for opposing view-points'. Recognising that values can only be developed through experience Diamond suggests that 'organisational participation in civil society provides important practice in political advocacy contestation'. But while participation in civil society may offer the skills necessary for active participation in government (Burde, 2004, Diamond 1994), and there may be a 'mutually reinforcing and supportive nature of a strong state and a strong civil society' (Gaventa 1999: 76), whether civil society grows out of or leads to a functioning democratic state is open to debate.

Definitions of civil society vary, but generally include 'organised and associational groups which emerge in the public realm through their relationships with the state and contestation over societal and political norms' (Crook, 2001: 3). Its significance as a concept was revitalised in the 1980s by intellectuals in eastern Europe disillusioned with state led reform in former colonial states and the emerging countries of the Soviet Bloc. There was a sense that mobilisation of different groups at a national level could keep in check the activities of strong non representative governments and lobby for social change (Merkel and Lauth 1998). However Howell and Pearce (2002) describe it as a donor led concept and the past 20 years has seen donor agencies offering support to the 'strengthening of civil society' as a means to ensure good governance (Howell et al., 2006: 9). Burde (2002: 83) points out that 'the belief that small civic organisations are key ingredients for strengthening civil society and enhancing democracy provides persuasive theoretical support for (international) interventions'. In Bosnia, the agendas of

foreign NGOs supporting civil society have often distracted from local initiatives (Burde, 2002), and Crook (2001: iii) suggests that a 'weak central government and constitutionalised ethnic power sharing has given a damaging degree of autonomy to groups which are capable of threatening the integrity of the state'.

Civil society groups can be cross cutting and as such can facilitate social engagement and a sense of mutuality in the face of other divisions. When strong, this should enable organisations to have a role in monitoring and controlling state power, encouraging active participation and overcoming ethnic or other minority divisions (Merkel and Lauth, 1998). Strong claims have been made for the role of civil society in helping to resolve or recover from periods of conflict and build renewed trust. For example, research among military units found that they are more effective when bonds of solidarity and trust are high, and that communities with strong social networks and grassroots associations are better at confronting unexpected crises than communities that lack such civic resources (Putnam 1993: 349). Research in working-class areas of Belfast in the mid 1980s found that of four comparable neighbourhoods, the one with the most developed network of community associations had the lowest level of violence. Stefes and Sisk (2005) found that cross-cutting civil society groups were essential to sustain cooperation and moderation among members of different ethnic groups in the transition from apartheid to majority democracy in South Africa. Varshney's studies in India (Cairns et al., 2003) show that peaceful areas have strong civic institutions that cross communal divides and institutionalised peace systems that help to prevent nationalist politicians from

stirring up violence. Women's groups in particular have often built bridges across communities demanding increased participation and government accountability (Shoemaker, 2005). But though the value of civil society and voluntary organisations is often taken for granted in the west, concern with the unknown 'needs of strangers' is a relatively new invention, claimed in some cases to be as a reaction to some of the atrocities in WWII (Ignatief, 1998: 8). It cannot be assumed that voluntary groups would play the same role in a very different cultural context.

Social Capital

Putnam's (1993) concept of social capital is concerned with the social ties and shared values or norms that bind people together and facilitate participation and collective action, the 'values' as well as the 'mechanisms' of a democracy. He is interested in individual responses such as trust and reciprocity as a means of strengthening social connectedness. This term was first used by Hannifan (a state supervisor of rural schools) in 1916 to refer to goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse between individuals and families who make up a social unit but Putnam ultimately links such qualities to survival: 'The individual is helpless socially if left to himself… but may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts' (Putnam,1993: 19). Collective interest requires actions that stem from the individual but do not only promote immediate self-interest, assuming others will reciprocate (Putnam, 1993: 349). Fukuyama (1995) indicates that the existence of social capital also underpins and facilitates economic activities in the market, making trustful societies not only

more democratic but also more prosperous, benefiting individuals and groups. In terms of social capital, closer involvement in a wider community is seen as both a private and a public good.

Putnam draws attention to the difference between specific reciprocity, which he refers to as bonding social capital, and generalised reciprocity – bridging social capital and the difference between these seems significant to a post-conflict society. Bonding reciprocity involves connections with specific people or groups who are known – horizontal participation with those who share a common purpose or identity. Bridging reciprocity is concerned with connections beyond immediate known groups to involve those with different identities or different needs. Putnam also refers to linking reciprocity, which concerns links and ties to those in power or authority. Where bonding social capital is exclusive ('good for getting by') bridging social capital can be 'good for getting ahead'. Putnam (1993: 21) stresses that:

> A society characterised by generalised reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society, for the same reason that money is more efficient than barter. … Frequent interaction among as diverse set of people tends to produce a norm of generalised reciprocity… Social networks and norms of reciprocity can facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit.

To build bridging social capital requires that we transcend our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves (Putnam, 1993: 411). Korostelina (2007) suggests that the more contacts a person has with representatives of an out-group the more positive his or her

attitudes towards them are likely to be. However, several conditions are necessary for reducing prejudice and bias: equal status among groups, cooperative, inter-group interaction, opportunities for personal acquaintance among group members - especially those not supporting stereotypical expectations and supportive norms by authorities within and outside the contact situation (Cook 1985, Pettigrew, 1998). This indicates that relationships are not necessarily built by themselves, but need an environment that is conducive to fostering that contact and to promoting reciprocity.

However, a post-war context is characterised by a lack of trust and a retreat from public life into individual and family concerns reducing levels of social capital often to an all time low. For Mostar to move beyond a city organised along ethnic lines and group identities to a city concerned with a public culture, generalised reciprocity and bridging social capital may be as important as formal rights enshrined in law. Reciprocity has to be based on trust, but Putnam (1993: 136) differentiates between 'thick trust' (the length of time you have known someone) and thin trust (more generalised trust which involves giving most people the benefit of the doubt). Social trust of this kind is often associated with other forms of civic engagement and social capital, but is dependent on a belief that by giving or sharing (time, money, resources) will ultimately benefit the whole. Those who naturally trust others tend to be all round good citizens who are more engaged and more trustworthy. A decline in trust, at individual or group level, generally leads to an increasing reliance on the rule of law, contracts, courts, juries etc. – on the mediation of formal

institutions. In BiH where there is still substantial distrust of these formal institutions any further decline in social trust could threaten the existing peace.

The demise of the state of Yugoslavia and the subsequent distrust of state as a means of law and security has promoted a culture of fear and the belief that security comes from 'sticking together' reminiscent of Putnam's (2000) bonding social capital (Ignatief, 1998). Like other ethnic conflicts, the war grew out of 'the collapse or absence of institutions that enable individuals to form civic identities strong enough to counteract their ethnic allegiances' (1993: 7). The disintegration of the state led to ethnic fragmentation and the need to create new means of security through assumed blood ties. Davies (2004: 76) points to the importance of 'a sense of security and positive identity', being open to the welfare of others rather than focusing exclusively on personal needs. When such needs are frustrated the natural tendency is to turn inwards – looking for protection among broader identity based groups and demonising the other, described by Staub as: 'The frustration of basic needs, when combined with other facilitating factors, is often the basis for mass violence' (Davies, 2004: 77).

The aim of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's (OSCE) international democratisation strategy was to assist citizens to become more participatory and affect change (Stoessel 2001). Its strategy was to bring the international community into closer relationships with grass roots groups and associations which could provide a counterpoint to the governing authorities and nationalist parties – to open up political debate and create new opportunities for alternative voices to be heard. But such strong

international involvement may have been damaging to local identification. Linking more developed NGOS with those less developed in five regional centres of operation (Mostar, Bihac, Banja Luka, Tuzla and Sokolac) was expected to play a key role in identifying key groups for democratisation initiatives and shift the focus from service provision to political participation. An NGO support centre was established in Sarajevo in 1997 with the aim of creating a local network of NGOs. Chandler (1993: 137) suggests the timing was wrong for this initiative and at this stage people were not sufficiently confident to create their own NGOs.

In Mostar the 'Decision on Implementation and Reorganisation of the City' and 'The Statue of Mostar' (15 March 2004) defined the role of NGOs as part of civil society and identified their key importance in alleviating and building trust (Kotlo, 2005). However a survey, carried out by the Centre for Civil Initiatives in 2003 found that awareness of civil society groups (even the existence of one organisation) was under 50% in the Federation and 8% in Republika Srpska where less than 1.1% of people had ever participated in such a group. Contributing to charities or community groups has not been a part of people's cultural history, and ongoing outside intervention with internationally funded NGOs may have inhibited strong local support

> Peace has to be built from below by citizens who are aware of their responsibility for society…to overcome widespread 'victimisation' of former Yugoslavia – both perceiving their own group as victims of another group and cultivating the feeling that people are helpless and cannot do anything to determine their own future. (Fischer, 2006: 37).

If a local civil society is to be developed it will require the willing involvement of local people. An ongoing dependence on external donors, particularly among NGOs, ties them in to externally set targets rather than enabling them to be responsive to local needs, and emphasises the role of 'outsiders' in making decisions. Chandler comments on a cultural tendency among Bosnian people to be led, due to a long history of socialism and their role as either victims or passive supporters of human rights violations during the war. International regulation, denial of self government and lack of accountability for policy making may all be responsible for perpetuating a political climate 'ill-conducive to the development of broader voluntary associational ties' (Chandler 1999:147). Significant culture change may be necessary to challenge this and, as recently as 2006, an over-arching passivity among citizens, politicians and interest groups was still deemed to be present according to the European Stability Initiative:

> The Yugoslav socialist tradition and the international mission in Bosnia extol the role of the expert as a qualified outsider whose expertise allows him to identify the public interest without needing to go through the slow and painful process of debate, compromise and constituency-building. This assumes that the public interest can be objectively determined, rather than being a process of bargaining and balancing among the different interests of many groups. The practical results of this authoritarian temptation are a striking passivity of citizens, interest groups, politicians and – in the final analysis, the public sector as a whole. (Fischer, 2006: 1)

Apathy, disengagement and low expectations in Northern Ireland were also identified as key characteristics of a community recovering from conflict, resulting in low active participation in community life (Cairns et al., 2003). A report on the levels of individuality and collectivity in conflict areas recommended encouraging 'the voluntary commitment of time and energy to civic and community participation and to projects with wider social benefits as a crucial element in generating norms of trust and reciprocity and suggests the further promotion of volunteering and community participation' particularly with minority groups. However, there are also critiques of the connections made between civil society, active participation and a stable democracy and those that feel a functioning state proceeds from rather than emerges out of an active community sector.

The Relationship between Civil Society and a Well Functioning State

Lowndes and Stoker (2002) suggests that the relationship between the development of social capital and actual political participation is not as clear as often implied and that localised 'institutional filters' determine whether social capital is 'converted' into political participation. The way that political institutions function and political leadership is organised, the way public institutions operate and their openness to citizen participation, and the way voluntary and community organisations cooperate and provide channels of communication to policy-makers all affect people's ability to effect policy change.

Putnam (2000) has also been criticised for not considering the dark side of civil society and for over stressing the value of social groups, - the Oklahoma City bombers were themselves members of a bowling league. Belloni (2006) challenges any simplistic relationship between civil society building and peace building arguing that civic action can also include incivility and violence and that civil and uncivil aspects of society often coexist. He claims that those practitioners and students of democratisation and peace building who have argued in favour of the positive role civil society can play in conflict areas all build on research conducted primarily in western consolidated democracies.

Ethno-politicism continues to be a key feature of life in BiH 'Everything from the greeting you use to the dialect you speak and the newspaper in your coat pocket- is judged, commented upon and categorised in terms of an omnipresent, mysticised "'ethnicity'". (Fischer, 2006: 131). This has been seen as totally incompatible with the concept of civic engagement.

The development of citizenship and processes of modernisation, social mobility etc may eventually undermine a focus on ethnicity (Smith, 1981: 193), but only if mono-cultural socialisation and ethno-political thought patterns can be overcome (Fischer, 2006: 132).

There is evidence to refute this (Colletta and Cullen, 2000) and in extreme conditions of war related division societies do maintain networks committed to inclusive politics and peaceful change, as well as civil society groups that challenge inclusion and justify violent actions (Belloni, 2006). Mafia-like groups and paramilitaries can thrive in a context of a national, ethnic or

religious divide without a functioning state to legislate over peaceful coexistence. There is also a spectrum of organisations divided along ethnic, religious and national lines that engage in social rather than political activities but still serve to reinforce the notion of bonding social capital, and define themselves in relation to 'outsiders': 'Civil society in conflict areas is as polarized as political society' (Jarsted and Sisk 2007: 183).

Crook (2001) argues that locally organised, grass roots groups have little interest in better governance or policy issues and are looking for specific ways in which to improve their own livelihoods through informal means. Thus, rather than challenging or keeping the state in check they are more likely to focus on the provision of basic services in return for protection from state officials. The state remains able to close down or destroy such organisations rather than being answerable to them.

Organisations can promote bridging and bonding social capital, both those open to outsiders and those that are not, but civil society in deeply divided regions may reflect the wider society in which it is embedded. The sectarian divide, institutionalised in the peace agreements ending a war, can extend the power of para-militaries and those with extensive connections at the political level. How far civil society grows out of or is able to contribute to a well functioning state, and whether membership of civil society actively influences the ability to affect political and policy change, remains a contested question. According to Belloni:

A healthy civil society is the sign of a well-functioning state, not its

cause. Instead of providing the foundations for a more stable – democracy and improving the functioning of state institutions as argued by civil society theorists such as Putnam, Diamond and others, a healthy civil society needs a functioning state, including effective policing, an impartial judiciary, the rule of law, and the capacity to guarantee personal and societal security. Only institutions and social norms making possible debate, dialogue, and the violent reconciliation of differences can sustain peace building and democratization. In other words, the source of social capital is not simply attributable to civil society but can also be produced by the state. (Belloni 2006)

Luckham et al. (2000) suggest that the effectiveness of a democracy is largely determined by its origins, and true democratisation is about the acceptance of working practices developed over a period of time. They draw a distinction between democratic institutions and democratic politics which parallels the distinction between procedural democracy and substantive democracy. The former is reflected by the formal processes of institutions, procedures and routines, the latter by the degree to which individuals are able to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. To be effective, democratic politics requires contestation (a multi party system), control, moral and ethical principles and equal participation, mechanisms for accountability, a culture of participation, a pluralistic media and an active civil society, all of which are lacking in Bosnia.

If diverse cultural communities are to become a single political community a durable consensus must be built from the bottom up. Citizens in a new

democracy are often alienated from political parties (as evidenced by this research) and see them as remote, unresponsive to their needs or corrupt (Luckham, 2000). As such, there is no sense of trust in functions or procedures though there may be in substantive issues, and local representatives might be seen as more effective and moral than those of the nation state. Issues (such as safety, security, food, housing, etc.) which people looked for in their ethnic communities during war time become the concerns of the state and people need to believe that the state will and can provide them.

Education in the Development of Citizenship

Citizenship education can focus on the practices of formal institutions or the mobilisation of a substantive democracy (Luckham, 2000) but tend to deal with the former. Students learn about processes and institutions and perhaps address questions of diversity and conflict without being provided with first hand opportunities to deal with them. Research into civic education in Zambia (Merrifield, 2002) shows that such programmes have an effect on students' knowledge and values, but not on their actions, leading to greater knowledge about political events and greater distrust in political differences.

Merrifield (2002) stresses the importance of leaning to 'act' as a citizen rather than just learning to 'be' a citizen, through processes of experiential learning and reflection. She suggests a democratic learning environment with opportunities to learn about individual problem solving processes, and reflection as a way to help people to reinterpret how they see the world. Active participation in learning communities provides a way for students to engage

with different values and means of expression and Merrifield concludes that 'civic education framed in terms of knowledge and perhaps values but without an experiential component has little impact on behaviour' (Merrifield, 2002: 21).

Davies (2004) also endorses the importance of experiential learning. Looking at the role of education in a post-conflict situation she discusses the different but often parallel approaches to human rights education (which promotes resistance and challenge) and education for citizenship (which promotes the values of the state). She produces a convincing argument about the role of exclusion in the creation of conflict and the potential of education to confront this (Davies, 2004: 54), illustrating the affective and emotional nature of conflict alongside the systemic, and the need to develop emotional literacy in subsequent generations: 'What is needed is then the usual combination of widespread knowledge about class relations and exclusion together with outrage about their communities and the skills in participatory and deliberative democracy to generate alternatives. This in fact would be the essence of good citizenship education' (Davies, 2004: 56).

There have been a number of moves in Bosnian schools both to modify and to neutralise the curriculum (Davies, 2001) and work with individual children. Care International, working with local teachers and professionals, designed a series of exercises based around the use of drama in education to help children to process some of the traumas they had experienced and, through catharsis, to distance themselves from them. The 'Garden of the Imagination' programme (McEntagart, 1998) encouraged children to think through their experiences and try to make sense of them. It aimed to connect their

individual experiences of trauma, healing, conflict transformation and peace building with those of people with similar experience in other parts of the world. By avoiding the promotion of any one specific message it recognised children's separate experiences while promoting a shared sense of humanity. It avoided a liberal conception of citizenship linked to the state and replaced it with a recognition of children as individuals with separate experiences, but providing a sense of belonging on a global scale with others in similar situations.

Davies feels the key task of education is to acknowledge the existence of ambiguity and complexity within individuals and avoid a stereotyping of the other. She suggests that much citizenship education has been devoted to patriotism or the affirmation of nationalism, much of which involves the 'forgetting' of our hybrid pasts (Davies, 2004: 89). She rejects the concept of service as citizenship (as service of a nation rather than individual communities) and claims citizenship education is only viable if it values hybridity, including regional and global identities, has a critical approach to difference, enabling analysis of when this is valuable or destructive for individuals.

She suggests that such education should promote skills and dispositions towards public dissent as well as public service, suggesting that while individual multiple identities co-exist multiple loyalties are more difficult to handle, particularly when these identities conflict (Davies, 2004: 79). She invokes Cockburn's statement that:

It is through the creation of collective identities that ethnic and national movements, and the land right claims they make, gain their force. The discourses emanating from influential and social sources, such as intellectuals and the media, compellingly hail individuals as nationals, 'you who are one of us' at the same time making it clear who is 'other'. They mobilse culture, tradition, religion and notions of history and place to evoke a sense of unity, an ethnic or national identity… when control by any group is capable of being maintained without direct force it is always because compliance has been won through the process of identification. (Cockburn 1998: 10)

It is this interplay between acknowledgement of individuality and a shared identity or common humanity that seems to be important to the process of reconciliation. Michael Ignatief's (1998) studies in Bosnia conducted immediately after the war stressed the need to treat people as individuals firstly in order to transcend ethnic divides.

Empowerment that individuates, that allows individual members of minority groups to articulate their own experience and secure respect for the majority is one thing, empowerment that simply consolidates the hold of the group on the individual and that locks individuals in victimhood is another. (Ignatief, 1997: 60).

He indicates that the violence behind conflict comes from a process of dehumanisation of 'the other', associated with religion but the result of a fading of belief rather than a deep religious conviction and the neglect of

individual identity. Neighbours who co-existed peacefully before the eruption of conflict come to fear and blame each other for destroying what was a former 'common life' (Ignatief, 1998: 56). Maalouf (2000: 150) also identifies the significance of individual and group identity for conflict: 'this is the scenario you head for as soon as community allegiances are allowed to turn into substitutes for individual identity instead of being incorporated into a single wider, redefined national identity'.

Helping children and young people to deal with this process entails more than educating them to participate in national and political bodies or to participate in the wider activities of community life; it is about learning connectedness, or 'the art of engaging, questioning and knowing when to act' (Merrifield, 2002: 21). Rather than encouraging them to think or act collectively it may be about enabling them to act as individuals, and to understand better the different facets that make up who they are. A focus on individualism could help people to recognise similarities and connections, to shift the focus from ethnic identities to other identities and to accommodate these (Maalouf, 2000). As Ignatief (1997: 71) says:

> To the degree that individuals can learn to think for themselves – and so become true individuals- they can free themselves, one by one, from the deadly dynamic of the narcissism of minor difference. In that sense the function of liberal society is not merely to teach the noble fiction of human universality, but to create individuals sufficiently robust in their own identity to live by that fiction.

The Role of HE

HE, until recently not concerned with citizenship education, has traditionally involved a focus on critical thinking, analysis and the development of individuals. If it is serious about preparing young people for 'coping with conflictual relationships and facing difficult choices in complex societies and politics ' (Frazer, 2000: 88) the curriculum should be extended to include elements of self-knowledge: if students are to act as citizens as well as to 'be' citizens they will require more than knowledge of structures. They will need to understand how power operates and how, as individuals, it is possible to have an impact, to 'know and understand something of the conditions of other citizens' (Merrifield, 2002: 5). Bellah (1985) talks about 'habits of the heart', making 'good' citizens more than just 'active' citizens' but people who have a sense of connectedness to others and a willingness to live with or resolve difference without recourse to violence. Edwards (2007: 19) refers to this as 'love' – 'the deliberate cultivation of mutually reinforcing cycles of personal and systemic change'. He argues for universities to alter academic training to focus more on emotional intelligence and 'the love that does justice'. (Edwards, 2007: 21).

Gaventa (1999) talks about the development of 'critical consciousness' as essential to full citizenship and includes in this critical questioning, an attitude of enquiry, scepticism towards authority and a sense that one can have an impact. Like Freire, (1996) he suggests it is action and reflection on action that can help someone to understand through experience the inequalities in the world and inspire them to try to change it. McEntagart (1999: 30), writing about Bosnia following the Dayton Peace Agreement, claims graduates who

can 'think for themselves' are needed to prevent a return to former ethnic conflicts.

Bourner (1998) argues for personal development and social involvement as legitimate concerns of HE. He sees these as enhancing an individual's self knowledge and ultimately making him or her more effective as a professional. By linking what he calls an 'inner knowledge' of self with the 'outer knowledge' of knowing about the world he suggests that social involvement (with groups, through community development activities) may be a way to develop both personal knowledge and social connectedness. Helping students to understand how they act in specific situations and why, and their choices in terms of acting differently may enable them to be better professionals and better citizens.

Chapter 4 begins by evaluating how different models of 'learning citizenship' have worked within a university context. It looks at the importance of civil society involvement in developing inner and outer self knowledge and the role of student community engagement in promoting personal and societal change.

Chapter 4: Transformational Learning, Student Community Engagement and the Development of Identity.

Introduction

Chapter 3 questions about the nature of conflict and of citizenship and the potential of education to transform the attitudes and values of the next generation towards active participation in a democracy. It established the following premises:

- an imposed democracy is not a functioning democracy; it may take decades (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001) for one to evolve into the other;

- an imposed and monitored peace is not indicative of reconciliation, a post-conflict society is often low in social capital, characterised by lack of trust and a retreat into private or familial concerns;

- civil society can play a significant role in monitoring the state, in developing the habits of democracy among its citizenry and in representing the concerns of minorities, but how far it is led by or able to influence policy change is debatable;

- education programmes concerned with the development of citizenship need an experiential component if they are to have an effect on attitudes and behaviours as well as knowledge;

- a focus on individual rather than collective identity, on thinking for yourself rather than being led, inner self knowledge as well as knowledge about, are all crucial elements of education for citizenship and for reconciliation.

This chapter looks more closely at the nature of transformational learning –
particularly within HE - and at the value of experiential involvement in
community based groups. It traces the history of student community
engagement in other parts of the world and the different models that have
evolved over the past 50 years. These include university based science shops
in Europe and service learning programmes in the US as well as more recent
programme models that stress the values of equal participation, mutual
benefit and reciprocity. Taking examples of engagement programmes that
have worked in societies with a strong civil society base it will explore what
might be an appropriate model for a developing civil society. It also examines
factors that might determine the success of such a programme and suggests
that the key principles of mutual benefit, reciprocity, equal participation and
the development of trust should inform the design and evaluation of an action
research project in Mostar.

A History of Student Community Engagement

Community university programmes are part of a wider shift in policy terms
away from 'advancing the interests of individuals' to a broader focus on
'common good' (Zlotkowski, 2007: 37). The responsibility of a university
towards its community and its contribution to local community development
feature in key debates on the role of HE in the UK (Higher Education Policy
Institute, 2006) and internationally (GUNI, 2008). The HEFCE mission
statement on its website and its Strategic plan for the UK for 2006-2011
(2008: 2) sees the potential of third stream work to 'enhance economic
development and the strength and vitality of society'. Watson (2005: 1) cites

engagement with the local community 'economically, socially and culturally' as one of the key components of a successful university and defines it as 'strenuous, thoughtful, argumentative interaction with the non-university world in setting aims, relating teaching and learning to the wider world, dialogue between researchers and practitioners and taking on wider responsibilities as neighbours and citizens'. Proceedings of the Global University Network for Innovation conference (GUNI, 2008) stresses the role of HE in promoting personal and social change. Boothroyd and Fryer (2004: 2) refer to a similar concept :

> An alternative view of universities, now emerging, locates them more centrally and directly in the development process. Teachers, researchers and students are seen as development actors, collaborating with others to help meet urgent social needs, and in the process enriching their own learning and that of the diverse people they work with. Community service by academics moves from the margins of the university, from being defined as a charitable donation over time and above what academics really get paid to do, to become an integral part of intellectual discovery. In short universities become socially engaged.

In the UK engagement emerges in the Green Paper response to Dearing (DfEE, 1998), written ten years ago, and relates university learning to citizenship claiming learning 'helps make ours a civilised society, develops the spiritual side of our lives and promotes active citizenship. Learning enables

people to play a full part in their community' (DfEE, 1998: Foreword). Zlotkowski (2007: 37) sees 'the role higher education should play in helping to sustain and strengthen the workings of democracy' as one of the most important questions of our time.

In the US colleges and universities established under the Morrill Act in 1862 were supposed to 'plan, execute, and evaluate learning experiences that would help people acquire the understanding and skills essential for solving farm, home, and community problems' (Columbia University, 2006). From the 1860s to the 1960s universities vacillated between a need to produce *a* 'well rounded intelligentsia or to promote advanced specialized research and professional training in response to the needs and opportunities of the modern scientific era' (Boothroyd and Fryer, 2004: 2). By the middle of the 20th century specialisation predominated, and there was an increasing focus on the development of research. Sullivan (2000: 21) criticises American universities for operating as a 'sort of default programme of instrumental individualism' despite their founding conception as a participant in civil society.

However, as the formation of welfare states accelerated between the 1950s and the 1970s, universities in industrialised societies began also to be concerned with workforce and citizen development. Although the main focus of HE was teaching and research, different forms of student community engagement emerged, (Boothroyd and Fryer, 2004) with different drivers throughout Europe and the US. Some of these programmes were concerned with the dissemination of knowledge (or the democratising of knowledge with

the added belief that an informed society is a socially more responsible and aware society), others were concerned with the need to prioritise a sense of local belonging and identity. Some were trying to promote HE as an opportunity available to the broader public (with the aim of breaking the cycle of worklessness and poverty and filling potential jobs). Many of these initiatives were framed in terms of the university giving to society (in terms of service, where the university is seen as potential benefactor of knowledge and capacity among a less privileged local community), but more recently the benefits to university research and student learning have led to an acknowledgement of mutual benefit in engagement work.

In 2000 the 'Final Report on the Universities as Sites of Citizenship Project' looked at European and American universities and concluded:

> The challenge of advancing universities as sites of citizenship comes from the tension between the fundamental mission of developing expertise and human capital while attempting to devote the time and resources to the development of attitudes, dispositions and functionality of democratic citizenship. The educational aims are often treated as something mutually exclusive. (Carey and Forester 2000:2)

Engagement programmes with a stress on 'mutual benefit' could prove a way of reconciling the two. Wenger (1998) uses the word engagement to describe a joint or shared activity which allows an individual to fully experience the world, reflecting Bourner's (1998) stress on the need for students to develop

'inner' and 'outer' knowledge. Zlotkowski (2007) comments on the use of the word engagement to define a community university partnership as well as to describe the active involvement of students in their studies and sees a link between the two.

Although US universities set out to align themselves with social well-being in a way that European universities have not, social pressures created through inequalities, marginalisation and ethnic tensions that undermine democratic practice are as prevalent in existing and new European member states. The European Science Shops initiatives (which involve students carrying out research for community organisations) and a US Service learning model (which involves students carrying out voluntary or service tasks for an organisation) may both have something to offer to an emerging EU country context.

Science Shops

Science shops originated in the Netherlands in the 1960s and were initially concerned with making scientific knowledge available for the benefit of groups who could not otherwise pay for it. They grew out of a period of activism when a huge increase in middle- and working-class students led to a general concern to combat the elitism of universities. The first science shops were established by progressive staff members working alongside students and centred mainly on the hard sciences.

The ethos was to respond to, rather than generate research problems and they played a brokering role, directing requests to the discipline areas best placed to respond; managing the information needs of the group and the learning needs of students was a crucial element in the success of science shop projects (Farakas 2002). On the whole they acted for, rather than with the community group, seeking to maintain an independent scientific voice in what could become a polarised situation between community and industry or activist group and government.

A second wave of science shops that emerged in the 1980s was more closely linked with civil society groups based outside academia that needed to develop their knowledge base. Some of these groups recruited students and university staff members and requests for research were formalised and commissioned from outside of the university, shifting the power locus towards civil society. A third wave of shops in the late 1990s was based more on a partnership model and concerned with building up longer term relationships between the university and other civil society groups and has more in common with the development of community-based research in the UK and Community-University partnerships in Canada (Hall and Hall, 1996, 2004). The development of community-based research as a methodology helped in the understanding and interpreting of power relationships, and the unfamiliar language and culture of the different groups. (Sclove, 1995). Community stakeholders and academics were jointly involved in planning research projects, in the various stages of their conduction and in the dissemination of their results. Working with rather than for community stakeholders involved

the co-construction of knowledge, helping to redefine the nature of what counts academically as 'worthwhile'. As such the model fits more closely with radical and Freirian approaches to community based work (Stoecker, 2003) than some of its successors.

In the UK, science shop related initiatives have tended to be rooted in social rather than political activism, and to stress a co-operative approach of finding solutions that will suit everyone and therefore work rather than an oppositional one of challenging dominant powerful or political groups (Boothroyd and Fryer, 2004). Stoecker (2003) links this with a charity model (c.f. Dewey 1944) in which social problems are individualised and the stress is on resolving differences rather than challenging structural inequalities. In Holland a stress on original research and recent pressures on students completing their studies in a shorter period has undermined some of the original science shop ethos. An increasing concern in universities over individual success has led to a tendency to 'play it safe' and go for grades and stifle the more experimental approach needed for partnership working (Farakas, 2002).

However, there is a fourth wave of science shops running in parallel with the third stage, but mostly located in emerging societies, in eastern and middle Europe, and in post-apartheid South Africa (Mulder et al., 2001). Groups and organisations in these countries have been able to take advantage of the third wave model during periods of national development or reconstruction and fourth wave science shops are being developed often in partnership with similar institutions in the west. With the knowledge and power imbalances

67

frequently inherent in international partnerships there may be a tendency for these to reflect western rather than local knowledge practices. If the universities leading these initiatives are committed to interpreting local knowledge rather than importing international versions such partnerships may be able to influence emerging national infrastructures. In theory, the local academy is in a position to play a significant role in capturing and developing local knowledge and researching, interpreting and sharing local solutions. However, indigenous views of democracy and equality and the status given to academics between the two participating countries may make such collaborations difficult and these are important issues in the context of the present research.

Stoecker's (2003) model of community based research could be useful for new science shop programmes. His three principles, of collaborative approaches (including professors, students and community members) of validating multiple methods of discovery and dissemination and of social action and social change characterise much of my work with the Community University Partnership Programme (CUPP) in the UK. However, Stoecker acknowledges that participatory research maintains a view of social change that emphasises the centrality of social conflict and collective action and the necessity of changing social structures' (Stoecker, 2003: 37). How far this is viable in a context such as Bosnia where social structures are shaky and mistrusted, remains uncertain and it may be that only the first two principles are viable.

Fischer et al (2004) identify four interconnected factors influencing the degree and the form of co-operation between Science Shops and civil society organisations:

1) the condition of civil society and the NGO community;

2) political culture and public discourse;

3) resources;

4) science policy.

These could form useful benchmarks for assessing the potential of new science shops in emerging societies. There is a move internationally towards universities becoming socially useful and knowledge becoming community owned (supported by Wikipedia, Wikimedia, know-cycle, etc). The conference 'Science and Governance in a Knowledge Society' held in Brussels in October 2000 (www.jrc.es/sci-gov/; European Commission, 2000) spawned the Science and Society Action Plan (European Commission, 2002), recommending 'dialogue with the citizen … through conferences, fora, and also via "developing the European network of Science Shops" (European Commission, 2002: 15). The National Beacons project in the UK was established to further public engagement in science and the development of knowledge and to make universities more responsive to their communities. But many of these initiatives take an action rather than a participatory research approach, based on collaboration and consensus. The structure of university curricula across Europe, as a result of the Bologna process, has become more tightly specified and aligned and as a result those students working to European standards have less time and freedom to respond to

local initiatives and to apply their research to local issues; also resources are limited. Forms of co-operation in such a context may need to be based on collaboration with rather than challenging the existence of social relationships.

Service Learning

Service learning type activity was first recorded in the US in 1903, involving university corps working on social or environmental tasks. The term was first coined in 1950 and these types of initiatives, like Science Shops activities, accelerated during the 1970s. The first principles of Service learning were published in 1979 (Titlebaum et al., 2004:) and refer to those being served as 'controlling the services and becoming better able to serve by their own actions', and those serving as also being learners and having 'significant control over what is expected to be learned'. There is within this both a sense of 'service user empowerment' and learner participation, notions which have come to the fore in the 21st century.

As an approach to learning, service learning is grounded in earlier theories of experiential education (Dewey, 1897, 1916, Freire, 1970, Kolb, 1984; Argyris and Schön, 1978), where students' learning stems from first-hand experience followed by reflection on that experience and further action. The learning is often assessed through completion of practice diaries or learning logs followed by a more formal personal reflection. Assessment tends to be based on what a student has gained personally from completing the task (and is confined to personal reflection) rather than on the quality of their work on the task itself.

A realisation that students can and do learn from 'doing' alongside 'ordinary people' as well as from lectures prepared by 'experts' is part of a shift in the way that knowledge is understood in HE; which Gibbons et al., 1994 describe as shifting from 'mode 1' (pure, disciplinary, homogeneous, expert-led, supply-driven, hierarchical, peer-reviewed, and almost exclusively university-based) to 'mode 2' (applied, problem-centred, trans-disciplinary, heterogeneous, hybrid, demand-driven, entrepreneurial, network-embedded etc.) knowledge production. Bourner (1998) identifies a similar shift in universities in the 1980s from a focus on the 'subject of study' to a focus on 'the student'. Like Boyer's (1990) 'scholarship of teaching' and Taylor and Fransen's (2004) learner-educator relations, this shift blurs the traditional boundaries between teachers, learners and professionals in favour of a 'learning community' of students, tutors and practitioners involved in the discovery of 'knowledge that works' (Taylor and Fransen, 2004).

Stoecker (2003) draws attention to the charity element underlying early service learning programmes which focuses on supporting individuals rather than seeking to overturn existing social inequalities. Comparing a functionalist and a conflict model of society he identifies a charity approach within the former and a social justice approach within the latter. Table 4.1 presents some of these ideas.

Table 4.1 Comparing Stoecker's two approaches to Society

Functionalist or equilibrium approach to society, poor only need opportunity to progress	Conflict approach to society – only natural tendency is conflict over scarce resources

Informed by Dewey	Informed by Freire
Charity/Welfare	Advocacy/Rights based
Focuses on Social service and the needs of individuals	Focuses on Social justice and radical structural change
Works through service providing organisations	Works through community based groups and social movements
Concerned with immediate physical and support needs	Concerned with power inequalities
Students help with service delivery	Students help to challenge status quo

Most current service learning or engagement programmes aim to create a situation in which students can make a meaningful contribution to local community activity while enhancing their own learning; however, some focus more on the learning than the task, and others more on the community and its needs than those of the student group. There is also a range of initiatives within universities (internships, volunteer programmes, practical placements, etc.) that contain elements of all these things. However, whereas volunteering involves the primary goal of delivery of assistance, and internships are aimed at development of the student, engagement programmes, through the development of partnerships, try to achieve both in equal measures. Despite the term 'service' these initiatives are not grounded in a voluntaristic model but seek to develop an ethos of civic and social responsibility and an understanding among students of the role individuals must play collectively if communities and democracies are to flourish (Zlotkowski, 2007: 43).

Recent programmes, like community university research, have tended to be built on partnership models with the aim 'not to define and serve the public good directly *on behalf of* society, but to create conditions for the public good to be interpreted and pursued in a collaborative mode *with* the community' (Winona State University Campus contract – emphasis in original). They also emphasise the need for the university and the community to act as equal partners with the university 'willing to view collaborators as equals in the creative process and willing to invest the time and energy needed to integrate the knowledge of the various partners' (Todd et al., 1998: 243). However, while they may work collaboratively and value different types of knowledge many still take a social service rather than a social justice approach.

Stoecker's charity model suggests universities often organise service learning as a system of co-operation across differences rather than focusing on the conflict between differently positioned groups in society. Community partners are often agencies, working on behalf of government rather than social change agents. 'The charity model is thus consistently used as an expert based process which fits an agency based social services perspective linking faculty *expertise* and interests, and student *needs* and interests, with community individuals and groups' prioritised needs' (Stoecker 2003: 37, citing Dorsey, 2001 – emphasis in Stoecker).

Zlotkowski (2007) argues for the importance of service learning programmes in the development of democratic principles among university students. Critiquing a predominantly abstract approach to learning as perpetuating the

role of students as consumers rather than producers of knowledge (concerned with instant solutions and 'the next test') he sees 'real world' experiences as providing the 'literacies needed for our changing society' (Zlotkowski 2007: 41. He cites Freire (1970) as evidence that educational and civic passivity go hand in hand and Palmer (1997) on how 'a disengaged way of learning' presages a disengaged way of living, leading to an objectivised view of society . His claim that 'the (abstract) mode of knowing breeds intellectual habits, indeed spiritual instincts that destroy community, we make objects of each other and the world to be manipulated for our own ends' (Zlotkowski, 2007: 42) is reminiscent of Ignatief's' (1998) warning of 'the dehumanization' that underlies conflict.

Undergraduates also often bring a learned passivity with them from secondary schools and an expectation that they will be 'taught'. This is particularly true in Mostar where they are products of a very didactic school system. Students in a class in Bosnia when asked to undertake a role play responded to the lecturer 'You are paid to teach us, so teach!' (McEntagart, 1999).

Zlotkowski (2007) places service learning at the centre of a tension between academia's focus on academic expertise, and common ground, but suggests that it can help students to understand the practical application of their discipline while learning to respect diversity and develop civic competencies. Thus, it resides within the charity model by seeking to reconcile rather than overturn differences. There have been some attempts to try to integrate a social justice model into university programmes (Marullo and Edwards, 2000)

by encouraging students to look at the root structural causes of social problems and to address resource inequality issues. However, Stoecker (2003: 39) suggests that while conflict analysis can be undertaken by students it is less likely to be extended to community partners and that social integration rather than social justice may be the only approach that can survive within a HE framework.

Figure 4.1 makes some suggestions about where a mixed model of community based research/service learning might be appropriate.

Figure 1

Social theory and forms of community work,

	Conflict Theory	Functionalist theory
Agency-Based	Advocacy (*mixed CBR model?*)	Social Service Case work (*mainstream CBR model?*)
Grass-Roots Based	Community Organising (*radical CBR model?*)	Community Development (*mixed CBR model?*)

Source: Stoecker, 2003:41

Whether a conflict model would be appropriate in a context of conflict resolution is a key issue for work in a post-conflict society. The themes of this project stress the building of social capital and its contribution to a sense of citizenship; Chapter 3 concludes that understanding difference, hybridity and multiple loyalties is as important as building bridges. It may be that unpacking and challenging the roles and functioning of government are the only way to

create a unified civil society able to participate actively in governance. But this is difficult for students to undertake without first gaining a hands-on understanding of how things work. Stoecker does provide some recommendations for students to play the role of activists even within social service organisations. Working as advocates, supporting grass roots organisations and arguing for the inclusion of service users in the design and evaluation of service delivery, he suggests, allows them to play a role in disrupting traditional power structures while still working within them. Encountering difference first hand and learning to analyse its root causes, challenges their role as passive recipients of the knowledge and attitudes of others and requires them to think for themselves. Gaining increased 'inner knowledge' of themselves and outer knowledge of the world (Bourner, 1998) could provide a vehicle for transformational learning.

What Makes Learning Transformational?

Transformational learning involves challenging former long held attitudes and values to the extent that you begin to see the world differently and become motivated to try to change it. It includes development of 'inner and outer knowledge' and a redefining of personal identity. Cranton (1994: 22) describes it as developing a deeper understanding of 'how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world'; and the potential for 'changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrating perspective; and, finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new

understandings'. Other definitions (O'Sullivan, 2003; Mezirow, 1978) allude to personal change leading to a greater public good.

> Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and with the natural world; our understanding of relations of power in interlocking structures of class, race and gender; our body awarenesses, our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy. (O'Sullivan, 2003: 45).

Transformational learning is by nature holistic, involving beliefs, attitudes and values, but is more often associated with adult education than with academia. Lave and Wenger's (1991) 'situated learning' and Wenger's (1998) 'communities of practice' may be better vehicles for transformational learning, but are less easily integrated into the structure of educational institutions. Situated learning is learning that arises out of the function of an activity, and the context and culture in which it occurs (i.e. in which it is situated). This happens more often during the placement period in vocational courses when the student gets to actually 'do' some of the tasks for which he or she has been trained. By being part of the environment where that doing happens they are able to get involved in a 'community of practice' and are exposed to the beliefs and behaviours that surround it, gradually moving from the periphery of this community to its centre as they become more active within the culture.

The communities of practice model has been adopted by community university engagement programmes (www.cupp.org.uk, Hart and Wolf, 2006) to define the learning communities that grow up around particular areas of work and also to describe the context in which student engagement takes place. Students learn about the beliefs, attitudes, values and possibilities surrounding their areas of interest from their experiential context, but this is enhanced by support from university members also involved in the programme and also part of that learning community. Bruner's (1983) model of scaffolding describes a way of initiation into a new community, as new members learn how it works and how to negotiate it. Learning complex political and social interactions can happen through involvement in a community group, with older members providing the scaffolding until a newcomer is ready to take on responsibility and make the leaps. The experiential activity forms an apprenticeship process providing a student with learning through gradual engagement. That gradual engagement is not only with the organisation, but with the broader workings of civil society organisations and similarly the society they serve. They provide, based on their diverse membership, a secondary socialisation process that is outside the home and home culture and representative of a connectedness to a broader group.

Scribner (1984) talks about learning in a social context, where learning is purposeful, and people learn in order to accomplish objectives that are important to them. 'We undertake cognitive tasks not as an end in themselves but in order to achieve larger objectives and goals' (Scribner, 1984: 1)

Because we are primarily social beings our purposes are socially defined. People strive to satisfy purposes that have meaning within their community and use tools, symbols and modes of action that are culturally developed and transmitted. Learning is social even when it occurs in an individual and not as easily transferable as abstract academic programmes might suggest. By becoming involved in doing we talk about who we are and what is happening, and how learning changes this.

Models of student community engagement based on reciprocity and mutual benefit could help to provide the basis for transformational learning by involving students in broader communities of practice. They are able to learn how to 'do' a job they might want to undertake in the future, and its wider implications for society as a whole, about who they are and how they are connected to a broader social world.

The Significance of Engagement to Citizenship and Reconciliation

Ignatief (1998: 71) cites 'the narcissism of minor difference' as a key factor underlying conflict while Bellah et al (1985: 72) talks about the 'narcissism of similarity' creating enclaves in a society which undermine any sense of a common good and subvert a democracy. Davies (2004: 76) suggests that the 'sad aspect in BiH is that differences are almost imagined, and it is less a toleration of difference that is needed than an intolerance of the extremism that has invented it'.

The potential to learn a sense of civil responsibility and connectedness could be greater for university students than for people at other points in their lives. As young adults, moving away from their homes to study among groups of their peers, they are able to question their primary socialisation and examine their cultures and backgrounds. Korostelina (2007) suggests that the more contact one has with groups outside one's own circle, the more positive will be the attitude towards them and that working together on an equal basis helps to reduce prejudice and bias. Davies (2004: 78) recognises the creative processes in constant identity formation, how individuals and groups actively construct and reconstruct the self and suggests the key is in acknowledging that fluidity. Student community engagement programmes, promoting active participation and connecting students to issues of inequality and difference, could have an impact on transformational learning and help to develop an 'ethos of civic and social responsibility and an understanding … of the role individuals must play collectively if communities and democracies are to flourish' (Zlotkowski, 2007: 43).

Richard Worthington (2007), in his introductory remarks to a workshop on Student community engagement in Paris, points to some of the potential difficulties of working in a post socialist environment. While engagement programmes are often organised to respond to requests from a developed community or civil society sector he questions whether, in an environment where this does not exist, they would be possible. Chapter 3 in this thesis investigates the question raised by Belloni (2006), as to whether a stronger civil society contributes to or grows out of a strong state. From Chapter 4 two

further questions emerge, that is, whether student community engagement can contribute to the development of a civil society where one does not exist, and whether, in a post-conflict context, this can be achieved only through a model that challenges as well as addresses social differences.

There is some evidence to support the role that education can play in developing altruistic behaviour. (College graduates are twice as likely as people with only high school education to have volunteered in the last year or to have been blood donors (Putnam, 1993:118-119), and those who volunteer while at college are twice as likely to volunteer later in life.) Formal volunteering and informal helping can contribute to employment, volunteering is part of a syndrome of good citizenship, volunteers tend to be more interested in politics, and political cynics are less likely to volunteer (Putnam,1993: 133). Putnam indicates that community service programmes, where the service is meaningful, regular and woven into the fabric of the curriculum, contribute towards a sense of citizenship and social commitment (1993:405).

We know from other studies, that participation in civil society increases people's abilities to work together, to deliberate, to develop an enhanced sense of justice and political efficacy (Merrifield 2002). But all of these studies suggest a welfare or 'service' rather than a rights based approach to change.

The University of Bradford, UK, has developed a measurement tool for engagement programmes and cite Reciprocity, Externalities, Access and

Partnership (REAP) as key elements. They see the main value of community engagement, (including student community engagement) as its impact on the norms of reciprocity and broader community relationships (externalities) and the development of social capital.

> the central idea of social capital, in my view, is that networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value. They have value for the people who are in them, and they have, at least in some instances, demonstrable externalities. (Pearce et al., 2007: 49)

While it may remain difficult to quantify social capital and its development (Pearce et al., 2007) there are a factors that could be used to indicate changes in actions or behaviour. These are suggested in the REAP framework as:

- Participation in voluntary or local organisations
- Involvement in local civic action
- Willingness to intervene in difficult situations in the neighbourhood
- Extent of help received from neighbours for different needs
- Social contacts with neighbours
- Contact with people of a different culture, generation, area of the city

And

- Levels of trust (in general, or in institutions)
- Feeling 'at home', safe.

All of these are indications of a community moving towards trust and an investment in a shared future, and away from a culture of fear. They include elements of reconciliation and the normalising of relationships, but also involvement in local civic action. Bradford, like Mostar, is an ethnically divided city to an extent, since the riots of 2001 (Cumming, 2007). Bradford's Programme for a Peaceful City was set up in the wake of the Bradford District Race Review and was a response by the university to the challenges facing the district as a result of the riots. The programme is concerned with the contribution the university can make to resolving ethnic and class conflict and with challenging inequality and difference and may have some relevance for a programme in Mostar.

A Model for Mostar?

There is a risk that initiating an action research project in Mostar could be seen as exporting a 'fourth wave science shop programme' based on a western model and opening up many of the dilemmas in any partnership arrangement, including those between international project partners and national community/university arrangements. The temptation in a project-bound (and therefore time-bound) initiative to go for what 'works' and learn from the (superior?) knowledge of the experienced partner can undermine any attempts at equal relationships.

The principles of participatory research can help to ensure that new programmes are properly responsive to the needs of the local environment. As a discipline, emerging alongside engagement programmes, participatory

and community based research stresses collaboration and partnership and values experiential, local and community knowledge alongside scholarship. Strand et al. (2003: 6) suggest that community based research is 'the next important stage of service learning and engaged scholarship' and providing a real alternative to 'charity oriented service learning' (Strand et al. 2003: 5). Boser (2006: 19) suggests participatory research principles can help build new social relations between stakeholders that are 'respectful of the needs and interests of all constituents'. Working through these principles and mindful of Stoecker's mixed Community Based Research (CBR) models of advocacy and community development work, this project provides the opportunity to develop a model for Mostar.

However, in an international partnership in a multi-ethnic context there are invariably power imbalances and equal participation is often difficult. In an earlier EdD research paper (Millican, 2006) I questioned whether participatory approaches to learning were appropriate for cultures with a history of didacticism, or whether these were just one more imposition of the west. Although the research was conducted in relation to literacy programmes it concluded that if we are 'truly to confront issues of disengagement and marginalization participants cannot but be actively engaged' (Millican, 2006: 38) and that participation and collaboration are essential in any programme linked to social change. A programme properly dedicated to mutual benefit must be concerned with changing attitudes of students and community partners in the longer term and a university could provide the context for exploring these discrepancies. Todd et al. (1998: 251) suggest:

Within academia there is no longer one reality of the world. We need a multiplicity of approaches to address the complexity of problems before us and the multiplicity of contexts in which people now reside. To achieve this goal we must re-evaluate how we teach students. More than ever we need students who are broadly educated, who are exposed to many different populations, contexts and methods of enquiry during their training and who can integrate research and practice to address critical social issues.

Davies (2004: 91), in discussing schools suggests:

There would seem to be two tasks for education in not contributing to the essentialist identities which can be mobilized for conflict: the acknowledgement of ambiguity, complexity and hybridity within an individual self, and similarly the avoidance of stereotyped portrayals of ' the other.

This thesis suggests a third and equally important role for HE - that of providing students with the opportunity to encounter difference, ambiguity and complexity first hand and to take an active part in challenging and addressing them.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

This thesis sets out to explore the contribution that student community engagement (SCE), within a HE context, can make to a society still divided by conflict and, as such, suggests an action oriented approach. Experience of engagement programmes elsewhere and a literature search, suggest that such contributions could include strengthening a weak civil society, developing in students a greater awareness of community and, with that, a sense of citizenship, social capital and personal responsibility, and improving, through personal development, individual opportunities for future employment. But in order to understand the potential for SCE it is necessary first to ascertain whether or not an engagement project is workable within the context of a university in a divided or transitional state.

In BiH the lack of any national HE law, a fragmented faculty approach to policy and practice and the expectation that the reforms associated with the Bologna process intended to bring European universities into a common assessment framework were about to implemented (within a year) were all placing extra demands on staff. The 'gap in' or the missing generation of lecturers as a result of the war, and the pattern of visiting professors and local teaching assistants using a didactic approach to learning, seemed to be contrary to the ethos of an engagement project. At the outset there was no certainty that links could be built with what is still a relatively weak and

unconstituted civil society and whether local organisations would be open to involving student volunteers.

The methodology needed to be sensitive to context (Crossley and Watson, 2003) and provide an opportunity to evaluate the potential of engagement programmes and the impact of these on those involved. It also needed to be mindful of individual issues of power and equality and responsive to local needs rather than privileging the views or approach of the researcher. There were additional practical difficulties for the researcher including language and the necessity to manage the process from outside the region through periodic visits. It was important therefore to select a methodology that was action oriented and participatory, developing and building close links with local colleagues.

Participatory Action Research

There were strong reasons for considering a participatory action research (PAR) approach. The introduction to the 'Handbook of Participatory Action Research' (Reason and Bradbury, 2001: 4) states that

> action research is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people,

and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.

This description of PAR, stressing participation, reflection, linking of theory to practice, solutions to issues of concern and the flourishing of individuals and communities, relates it closely to many of the concerns of student community engagement. Implementing such a research project could therefore reflect and support the pedagogy it is intended to bring about.

However, there were also clear difficulties. The initiative for this study did not originate within the community and though it grew out of discussions with university colleagues in Mostar it was offered to the local community rather than requested by them. As part of a doctoral research thesis, it was also subject to the constraints imposed by academic convention and unable to be entirely responsive to the cyclical process of action and reflection. In order to be effective, the project needed strong involvement from local teachers, but was ultimately not owned by them and responsibility for writing up outcomes, discussion and consultation, lay with a single author (i.e. myself), the researcher.

Gaventa's (2007) model (lecture notes) of traditional, participatory and collaborative research, suggests that ultimately a collaborative rather than a participatory research process was necessary.

Table 5.1 – Gaventa's Research models

Stages of Research	Researcher Led (traditional)	Practitioner led (Participatory)	Collaborative
Identification of research problem of question	Researcher	Community	Joint
Development of method/approach	Researcher	Community with research assistance	Joint
Entering the community	Researcher	Researcher invited by the community	Negotiation process
Gathering the data	Researcher	Community	Joint
Analysis of Data	Researcher	Community members with help of researcher	Joint
Dissemination/follow up	Researcher	Primarily for learning and action in the community	For community empowerment and or outside use/publication
Exiting the community	Researcher	Transfer of skills	Negotiated process

Source: lecture notes, John Gaventa, 2007

Heron and Reason's (2000) model of co-operative enquiry includes a process of action and reflection, but suggests a first stage of hypothesis or propositional knowing. This moves into a second action phase of testing out original ideas, resulting in a phase of practical knowing. Stage three, which usually involves individuals using this practical knowledge in their everyday lives, transfers ownership of the process to co-researchers and enables them to move the process on to new and possibly unintended areas, and involves experiential knowing. A fourth phase brings in reflection on experiences and

data collected and a reframing of the original principles or plans more applicable to the context in which they are based. A negotiated process, beginning with propositions developed in another context (in this case Brighton) bringing these into a practical action phase (in this case a workshop in Mostar) and encouraging lecturers there to use them in their own way through their own teaching, seemed the only way to truly reflect on their relevance.

Bing (1986) outlines the nature of truth that emerges from experience:

> To understand people we must learn how their own network of holistic meanings provides a context that they take to give them reasons which justify their action in terms of value-laden notions and normative institutions that- unlike the laws of nature- can be revised….our understanding of these requires participation. To see how they understand their own activity, we cannot just peek at them for a moment. We must enter into their social world as they conceive it.
> (Bing, 1986: 72)

Cox (1986) links positivist academic approaches with eristic reasoning, - rhetoric rich with metaphors of physical combat and war. Based on the defence of positions it implements strategies to win arguments and out-manoeuvre opponents, making a contribution to what Cox describes as a culture of conflict. The maieutic reasoning of participatory projects, however, promotes a cooperative cultivating of shared insights which leads to and is

characteristic of 'a culture of peace'. Reasoning feeling is viewed as continuous with reason, emotions are viewed as cognitive in character, truth is not fixed but emergent and this leads to a view of differences between people as shared problems rather than oppositions between competitors. As Cox (1986: 127) says 'When maieutic reasoning exists, the conditions of a peace culture exist, for the reasoning leads to a process of agreeing, the cultivation of a share commitment to common expressions, projects and practices'. Howell and Willis (cited in Crews 1989) argue that violent and peaceful social interaction cannot be understood through the search for aggression, but only through 'the detailed exploration of values and meanings that embody and shape behaviour in different social settings'.

The Importance of Sensitivity to Context

Crossley and Watson (2003: 62) refer to the importance of context and cultural influences on learning and the need to give increased attention to the role and significance of local, cultural factors in the process of educational change. Their socially constructed view of knowledge, as something that is 'socially legitimated and related to time and place' (Crossley and Watson, 2003: 63) validates an experiential community based approach to learning. They recommend attention to different cultural perspectives on policy priorities and collaborative approaches to research involving both insiders and outsiders (Crossley and Watson, 2003: 137). Imposing universally applicable methods of educational reform can be highly problematic and there is currently both an increased focus on local and cultural differences and an intensification of gloablisation and its principles (Crossley and Watson, 2003:

136). The Bologna process is an example of this and is largely perceived locally as the imposition of external reform and an additional pressure on tutors' time.

Stephens (2007) challenges the view of context as 'background' to a research study, suggesting it should be foregrounded and provides 'the world in which the research occurs' (Stephens, 2008:11) and therefore should influence research methodology. He stresses the need for both sensitivity to context and the selection of research 'methods and instruments that seek to make sense of words and behaviours in situ' (Stephens, 2008: 5).

Usher et al. (1997: 248) also warn of the dangers of researchers imposing their own meanings on situations rather than negotiating them, and similarly imposing reflection and conscientisation on participants despite their emphasis on a political approach. They highlight the need to take proper account of the starting point of research participants and to clarify personal values in order to be aware of privileging outcomes over methodological principles. While reflection traditionally has been an important part of SCE programmes a locally developed project needs to evolve appropriate forms of assessment that are acceptable to the local context and workable in the longer term. The opportunity provided by a collaborative project to build capacity and to foreground context (Crossley and Watson, 2003) left open the possibility of longer term ownership of such a programme. The reflective and reflexive processes it provided also offered the opportunity to extrapolate issues of relevance for other institutions elsewhere.

Implications for other Post-conflict Contexts

The value of this research for me lay in its specificity and its wider applicability. It stems from a notion that student community engagement has a number of benefits for both students and local communities, based on evidence from projects elsewhere (Zlotkowski, 2007; Furco, 2007; Murphy, 2007). However, it is also founded on a reluctance to import educational solutions from one context to another and a commitment to developing approaches from the bottom up. Finding rather than predicting ways in which SCE might be relevant can only be reliably sought through a pilot project in which local tutors, students and community representatives act as co-contributors in the investigation of possibilities in a collaborative project.

The prevalence of inter-state conflict in the 21st century (Ware, 2006) and the increasing recognition of the role of localised HE in addressing social issues (Taylor, 2007) suggests that a pilot project might eventually have relevance outside of its immediate context. There is currently limited literature on the contribution of SCE to the development of a weak civil society, (Worthington, 2007), or to the building of a sense of citizenship following conflict, (Maas Weigert and Crews, 1999, New challenges and emerging roles for human and social development, GUNI, 2008). But initial conversations, with the University of Sarajevo, with colleagues working in HE in Kosovo and Croatia and with the GUNI suggest there could be significant interest in piloting engagement programmes elsewhere. Reason and Bradbury (2001: 85) refer to the potential for generalisability in culturally framed inquiry:

> Any account of the given cosmos in the spoken or written word is
> culturally framed, yet if we approach our inquiry with appropriate critical
> skills and discipline, our account may provide some perspective on
> what is universal, and on the knowledge creating process which frames
> this account.

While educational policy may be determined at both national and regional (European) level, former Yugoslavian countries share a common national past and a locally mixed ethnic culture and this study may have strong relevance for neighbouring countries. It does provide a strong recommendation for similar projects in neighbouring countries using a similar approach. Universities throughout Europe are required to 'make visible, measurable contributions to welfare of society generally and to economic development efforts in the area surrounding them.' (Levin and Greenwood, 2008:68). Socially committed universities in eastern as well as western Europe will need to reconsider their current research approaches in favour of those that bring in other stakeholders. Building the capacity of tutors to work in new and collaborative ways with community groups provides an apprenticeship process in action research and in Mode 2 knowledge production, 'knowledge produced in context' (Hart and Wolff, 2006: 5) that have a broader relevance to their role as academics.

The Collaborative Project

The project that emerged followed the broader phases outlined above, setting out to test whether SCE, placing students to work in local community settings

as part of their credited university experience, had validity for a range of courses and programmes delivered at undergraduate level in the DBU in East Mostar.

These processes are described in more depth below but include:

i. individual informal interviews with a range of tutors, invited by a colleague from the international department with whom I had shared the concept, in order to determine relevance and interest;

ii. a workshop introducing a group of tutors to ways of working developed in Brighton and deciding together how to adapt these for use in Mostar;

iii. a period during which tutors supported each other in working with community groups of their own choosing and devising relevant student projects with them;

iv. in depth interviews with interested staff, and questionnaires administered to a range of students looking at some of the key issues of the context;

v. a period in which students participated in community based activity and completed a range of locally determined assessment tasks;

vi. a final presentation of student experiences in different projects, a reflection on the outcomes of these for students and community organisations.

The individual student projects were identified by tutors themselves using their own contacts and are not explicitly within civil society or community development organisations. While all are with not for profit groups some are based in elementary schools and kindergartens and others in youth theatre groups, orphanages or self help societies, such as the disabled people's

organisation. Although some of these (such as elementary schools) were segregated others (such as the youth theatre) were multi ethnic and students often worked across ethnic boundaries. However the one organisation devoted specifically to reconciliation (the Nansen dialogue centre) were unable to accommodate a student once the law faculty dropped out and none of the students were exposed to a particular political or development agenda within their practical work. Notions of community were consequently defined by students themselves and in relation to geographic communities (in a particularly locality), communities of interest (children, disabled people) or communities of practice (local SMEs working in tourism). A table showing the different student projects is included below.

The constraints already referred to in terms of being a visitor to the area and not being sufficiently proficient in the local language to conduct interviews without a translator, limited the data I was able to collect. However, it also meant I was forced to hand over ownership of phases of the project to local tutors who could then make it their own.

Table 5.2 List of student projects

Course	Project	Role	Stds.	Notes
English Language	Elementary school 1	Teaching English	6	Part of core Sizus group
	Elementary school 2	Teaching English	5	Part of core Sizus group
English Literature	American Corner	Cultural events for the local community	4	Part of core Sizus group
	Kindergarten 1	Childcare	4	Part of core Sizus group
	Kindergarten 2	Childcare	4	
	Kindergarten 3	Childcare	3	
	Egyptian Village	Support in Orphanage	4	Part of core Sizus group
Drama Pedagog	Egyptian Village	Support in Orphanage	4	Part of core Sizus group

	Youth Theatre	Drama group	4	
	English students	Running drama workshop	5	Second internal project for these five students supporting other project work
	Mech eng students	Running drama workshop	5	
English Lit	Tourism	Writing literature for SME	3	Projects led by local teacher outside Sizus group
	Tourism 2	Staffing office for SME	3	
	Kindergarten 4	English games	3	
	Kindergarten 5	English games	3	
Mechanical Engineering	Building Prosthesis	Developing robotic limbs	7	Closely associated with Sizus group
	Disabled people's organisation	Fitting prosthesis	5	
Agriculture	Forest restoration	Raising and replanting trees	60	Project led by local tutor outside Sizus group

Methods Used and Fieldwork Process

Methods used in this research emerged from discussions with colleagues and participants in Mostar and evolved during the different stages of the project cycle. They include semi-structured and open interviews, focus group discussions and the use of student assignments and evaluation forms as written evidence. Table 5.2 indicates the changes the project needed to track and the possible sources of evidence available to support them. The use of different methods to provide evidence for similar issues allowed me to triangulate the data.

Table 5.3 Research concepts and available evidence

Concept	Evidence	Method of data collection
Tutor Perceptions prior to the project	Initial interviews/discussions	Semi structured interviews recorded in note form
Student perceptions prior to the project	Initial questionnaires with Erin's students	Questionnaire distributed within course
Students' views of themselves and their local community	Responses from a range of student groups (did not materialise).	Questionnaire designed for the project to be carried out through interviews, student:student
Student perceptions of SCE during the project	Discussions with students from Psychology, Art, Education,	Focus group discussions
Tutor perceptions on	Open ended interviews with individual	Tape recorded and transcribed

involvement in the project	members of Sizus team	
Student perceptions at the end of the project	Student assignments	Review of written reflective assignments
Views of community groups	Interviews at presentations	Semi structured interviews and recorded in note form
Benefits to students	Student presentations	Notes taken from presentations
Benefits to tutors	Final focus group	Focus group discussions

I set out with different ideas of what might constitute valuable evidence and the methods we arrived at emerged from a process of discussion and failed intention. Some of my original intentions, of using student: student interviews and on line tutor blogs failed to materialise, largely because, with no one present in Mostar to chase the research process, data generation came low on local agendas. Similarly, a sensitivity to certain issues, and especially during group work discussions, led to my decision to hold individual in depth interviews. Through the different project stages we shifted our view of what could constitute worthwhile data and began to incorporate material that the project generated in terms of adapted assessment tasks, student assignments and tutor ideas. Table 5.3 presents a summary of the schedule of visits and workshops which constituted the cycle of the action research process.

Table 5.4 Schedule of visits to Mostar and cycle of planning etc

Date	Visit and Activities	Emerging Themes
11/06	First visit to Mostar. Discussions with Edina – (international relations officer and part time lecturer), with Oliver, (visiting lecturer from Germany and active in international relations) Armel (head of local NGO, Builders for Peace) Student Union rep.(responsible for quality assurance), Lecturer in Community action and service from United World College (UWC), staff at Nansen Dialogue Centre.	Interest in Student community engagement, particularly in relation to Curriculum reform, capacity building among lecturers and the Bologna process. Complementary interest from dialogue centre and Builders for Peace in greater contact with the university. Interest in beginning to support volunteering from NGO. Depleted voluntary sector, limited volunteering through concept familiar from former Yugoslavian days. Possibilities from UWC for establishing of a longer term fund to support local community projects. Keenness at UDB to link this to a longer term Tempus project. UDB mission statement stresses inclusivity and social justice. Own interest in inter-ethnic dialogue naïve and misguided. Little interest at this stage in collaboration from University of Croatia. Strong

		interethnic collaboration (and intermarriage) prior to the war which did little to prevent escalating violence. University staff keen to talk about personal experiences, acknowledge need to cooperate with other ethnic groups, that Bosnia is about mixed ethnicity, but a deep personal mistrust of 'getting too close'.
6/07	Second visit to Mostar and planned as part of research project to pilot themes prior to applying to Tempus. Individual interviews with interested staff and group meeting with lecturers who will be part of research process. Met lecturers from Drama Pedagogy, English Language, English Literature, German Language, Mechanical Engineering, IT, Psychology, Visual Arts. Formal agreement from individual deans for involvement in the project during the following academic year.	Emerging theme, - need to combat passivity, develop a sense of responsibility in students and capacity to change and influence own lives, social capital, a sense of belonging, a Bosnian rather than an ethnic identity. Strong enthusiasm from all lecturers to get involved, to try out something new, to have more control over the learning process. (Interview notes analysed in separate table). Prior experience of 'pedagogy for peace and transformation' in drama pedagogy course, practical interest in rehabilitative programmes from mechanical engineering, some experience in placement type modules in IT. American lecturer in English lit has experience of service learning from US and has been trying to implement in Mostar, agreed to work together.
9/07	Participatory workshop with staff, outline programme attached.	Designed as an interactive training process to introduce tenants of student community engagement and explore possibilities. Established own group at university 'SiZuS', ideas for interdisciplinary student projects. Possibilities for student: student interviews, exploring what constitutes 'community' and value of engagement.
2/08	In-depth interviews with key staff, questionnaires with students not yet completed, focus groups with students to raise issues of identity, further planning for modules.	Key themes emerging among staff and student priorities included: Pride and self esteem, Social and community issues Innovation and personal responsibility Preparation for employment and work
5/08	Certificate Presentation to students and community partners involved in project, student presentations on experiences, tutor overview of student opportunities, evaluation forms to tutors and students.	

Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) identify the different processes used to

gather evidence. These include:

1. Journals with analyses of interactions

2. Oral enquiries into practice in group settings

3. Observations, interviews, document analysis

4. Essays.

We attempted to incorporate a range of these. My first visit to Mostar involved introductory conversations with the intent of establishing whether or not there was sufficient local interest in the project. My second visit included open ended interviews with participants to get a sense of their involvement and views; based on these discussions we decided on a workshop format for the third visit providing more structured training on how to approach SCE in different departments.

During the workshop held during my third visit, one of the tutors offered her students as researchers, on the basis that asking questions of peers would be a more accurate gauge of feelings than talking to me as an outsider. As English speakers they were easily capable of using the questionnaire I had designed, asking the questions in Bosnian and translating the answers into English for me. However, although the questionnaire was designed and introduced the process did not happen. The logistics involved in setting up meetings between students from different disciplines were too complex, and there were numerous barriers that were impossible to overcome.

During the workshop, however, we had also set up a reflective blog for us as tutors to share experiences. One of the tutors (teaching creative writing to English language students) also set up a blog with students on her course and gave me access to their entries, but this too was underused. However I have included references to these blog entries alongside those on reflective written

assignments undertaken by students at the end of their courses. Both provide some indications of how students understood and responded to the aims of the module and how or if they felt they had been changed by it.

During my fourth visit I held in depth interviews with tutors and built on my initial interviews exploring whether their views had developed since they had had a role in the project, and enquiring into the purpose of HE. I also held focus group discussions with four student groups and two individual students, exploring issues of identity, priority and relevance in the learning methods used.

Interview Strategy

Different stages in the project process required a range of different interview strategies. In my initial meetings with tutors I wanted to introduce myself and the project and to begin to build a relationship between us (Davies, 1997). I wanted to explore with them, individually, their understanding of their role, as HE teachers in a post-conflict society. At this stage it did not feel appropriate to embark on in depth, tape recorded interviews, nor was I fully clear about the extent of the questions I wanted to ask. I needed to find out more about my colleagues and to begin to build a hypothesis.

Davies (1997) uses the concept of 'cultural stranger' to describe the role of an ignorant outsider and its benefit to the interview process and, at times, I was able to use this to elicit different understandings of the local context from respondents. My initial interviews were semi structured (Cohen,Manion and

Morrison 2003) and could be characterised as 'informal' and 'conversational' (Patton, 1980: 206). To keep a record of responses I used an interview guide and covered the following areas:

1. Your role/aim as teachers or lecturers of the next generation

2. The purpose of HE, responsibility towards individuals and to local community?

3. Own training as a lecturer, areas of difficulty in teaching currently

4. Scope to adapt the current curriculum, spaces for this project

5. Possible gains from SCE

6. Current means of assessment used

7. Possible ideas for community based student projects

8. Realistic to be involved due to current workload

9. Any other issues

This set of questions helped to frame some of the key issues on the part of the tutors and to flag up the concepts that they as insiders might share. It also helped to establish the viability of the project and a time frame for involvement. The interviews were conducted midway through my literature review but served to help me focus on particular areas of the literature (citizenship, belonging identity, self esteem and self development, the role of a university) that populated my early conceptual frameworks.

Kvale (1996: 30) indicates some key characteristics of qualitative interviews: providing access to the lived world of subjects, providing an opportunity to

interpret the meaning they attach to things, generating a qualitative knowledge of other life worlds and subjects to provide open ended nuanced descriptions of different aspects of this. He draws attention to the potential for new insights to be developed through the process of interviewing someone, the importance of interpersonal relationships and the positive value of interviews in helping individuals to gain new insights into themselves. Consequently, after a second cycle of reflection on project progress revealed difficulties in getting tutors to share their reflections on line, I moved on to a more in depth interview approach.

In this instance I chose to use a tape recorded non-directive interview, giving my colleagues 'the freedom to express subjective feelings as fully and as spontaneously' (Cohen et al., 2003: 273) as they chose. I did not use set questions or a predetermined framework beyond an opening 'How is it going?' or 'Tell me how things are here'. I did however follow Moser and Kalton's (1977: 273) guidance of 'elucidating doubtful points, rephrasing the respondents' answers and probing generally' to ensure I fully understood what they were trying to express. I was also mindful of allowing respondents to decide the direction of the discussion in order to locate the themes they felt to be central to their lives and underlying their actions and behaviour (Davies, 1997: 134).

All the interviews took place during the same week and on subsequent days. We met in coffee bars, on campus or nearby, and interviews were recorded. It was not uncommon – once the tape recorder had been turned off – for

interviewees to make crucial comments about the project process or their own interpretation of it. Occasionally, I asked if I could turn the tape recorder back on and capture these new ideas, or note them and add them to the eventual interview transcript. Davies warns against recording because of the inhibition this may cause and quotes Vuillamy: 'It is better to have a limited record of a respondents real feelings than a very accurate transcription of a series of highly guarded or dishonest responses' (Davies, 1997: 155)

Once the interviews were transcribed interviewees were sent electronic copies; I allowed them to check the transcripts of their interviews and to check that I had properly understood them, reassuring them of confidentiality and asking if they were happy with the material recorded. Of the six interviewees one made small changes removing personal elements in the text that she had regretted disclosing and which she attributed very much to her frame of mind at the time of the interview. Another made some interpretive comments in order to clarify some of the issues she had hinted at but left the sense of the text unchanged. The remaining four were happy with the transcriptions, one commenting on how enjoyable and enlightening she had found the process.

Focus Group Discussions with Students

Focus groups have been found to be useful for generating hypotheses that derive from the insights of a particular group and sharing and evaluating evidence that emerges from them. They have also been used to triangulate with more traditional forms of interviewing (Morgan, 1988: 41-48). In this case they offered me the opportunity to access the range of views within a larger

student group while allowing the members of that group the additional self confidence that comes from being able to talk and argue amongst themselves. However whereas I used a guide to interview questions in my initial interviews with tutors I let student speak freely with only very general 'how is it going' type questions.

While all my colleagues were sufficiently proficient in English to express a high degree of sensitivity, this was not always true for students or community members. I could also not claim to have developed a proper relationship with any of them and choosing an individual to represent the views of a group would have been difficult as would having sufficient trust or language to properly discuss some of the issues involved. Inviting groups to attend for a group discussion provided a better option and through lively interaction and frequent attempts to translate and clarify things for each other we managed a volatile exchange of ideas.

In this case the make up of the different groups that came to be interviewed varied, as did the timbre of our interactions. These ranged from a large vocal group of female psychology students who wanted a more experiential curriculum, to three very withdrawn male graphic designers who were disillusioned with their studies. I also met with a mixed group of student teachers to discuss their experience at the end of an experiential session I had observed in a primary school. But it was the body language as well as the comments that betrayed something of the participants' attitudes and provided rich material for this research study. I attempted to capture this in note form

and have drawn from it in my interpretation of student attitudes in the next section.

Barriers to the Research Process

Despite the fact that a range of methods for data gathering did not materialise (use of blogs, student: student interviews) the research process was able to follow a cycle of action and reflection, reviewing and refining outcomes and approaches with participants as the project progressed (Cohen et al. 2003). However the success of the action element of the project in this case prevented me from gathering evidence from community organisations. As a team we decided not to approach individual organisations for interview but to invite them to a final certificate presentation and to gather their views through pre-prepared evaluation forms. This was not only logistically easier than co-opting an interpreter to accompany me on community visits but culturally more acceptable than an outsider visiting individual community offices. Thirteen different community organisations attended the final certificate presentation.

However, despite planning after-event refreshments and preparing evaluation forms the presentation event went on over the expected finish time. Consequently, all the community representatives had to leave before the students had finished their individual presentations and the room had to be vacated shortly after the conclusion of the formal part of the event. While I was able to email evaluation forms to colleagues and students most community organisations did not have email addresses, and as an 'outsider' I was not present in the city after the event to follow up on these. Although their

presence at the presentation and the signing of a number of formal agreements between the university and some of the organisations for future student projects indicate a positive response to the project, I was unable to ascertain the impact of the students on the organisations themselves.

Creating a Framework for Analysis

Gaventa's (2007) model of research stages suggest a joint approach to data analysis in a collaborative project, but, while data collection methods were determined with colleagues, responsibility for the analysis of this study was left with myself as researcher. Miles and Huberman (1994: 9) suggest that in collaborative action 'the researchers join closely from the participants from the outset' in order to 'transform the social environment through a process of critical enquiry'. They recommend the use of action related constructs for analysis, unpacking taken-for-granted views and making apparent oppressive structures.

Wolcott (2001) differentiates between analysis and interpretation and suggests a process of content analysis -chunking data into categories sorted through coding, alongside the more interpretive processes of observation, intuition and memory. He recommends a process of highlighting and noting reoccurring themes by building a list of key concepts and chunking out their appearance in text and grouping them together. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest a more visual approach of building charts or diagrams to represent the relationship between concepts as they emerge. Wolcott suggests clearly differentiating between analysis and interpretation, starting with the former and moving on to interpret the significance of some of the findings.

The REAP metrix developed by the University of Bradford attempts to count changes or developments in four areas:

Reciprocity (mutual benefits),

Externalities (external benefits to the area),

Access (encouraging community members into the University) and

Partnerships (the ability to develop sustainable collaborations).

Reciprocity and externalities are both understood in terms of their contribution to 'social capital, …enhanced social relationships, networks and trust' (Pearce et al., 2007: 5): although 'the language of capital does not automatically point to a useful and quantitative measure', and there are difficulties in using any kind of quantitative approach to understanding social value the categories it offers are useful as a tool for analysis. Pearce et al. highlight the danger in counting outputs from a project and ignoring outcomes, ('the indirect as well as direct benefits not just to individuals but to broad community goals such as cohesion, sustainability and well being' Pearce et al., 2007: 5) and the temptation to imply that something is valuable based on numbers of participants rather than on what they gained. Usher et al. (1997) emphasise the need to take proper account of the starting point of research participants and to clarify personal values in order to be aware of privileging outcomes over methodological principles, and warn against the scramble for results.

I moved towards the creation of visual representations of key findings in the form of tables. From this I was able to estimate recurring themes and to follow some of these up in my literature section exploring key concepts of student community engagement and citizenship. In beginning to analyse interview transcripts it was these emerging themes that provided the first set of

categories for a content analysis and these are included in Chapter 6 on analysing tutor responses. Davies (1997) recommends searching for significant recurrent vocabulary or metaphors used by respondents, and a tape transcript makes these easier to identify, however these were supplemented by notes taken after the interviews and a visual memory of respondents' body language, tone and general energy, elements which are not recordable in a tape transcript.

Overall, and in keeping with my own learning style and the praxis paradigm I adopted, I 'did' and then reflected on the doing. As described by Schön (1987: 17)

> The experience of the students ….in any reflective practicum is that they must plunge into the doing, and try to educate themselves before they know what it is they're trying to learn. …The way at which they come to be able to understand what's meant is by plunging into the doing--the designing, the teaching, the examination of their own learning--so as to have the kinds of experience from which they may then be able to make some sense of what it is that's being said.

As described by Schön, Miles and Huberman (1994) and Wolcott (2001) I felt that the only way to learn how to collect and analyse data in the end is to learn by doing, to feel 'out of control; … feel incompetent; .that you've lost confidence' (Schön, 1987: 20) until meaning emerges, collaboratively from the enquiry and some kind of pattern becomes clear.

Ethics

The Ethics procedures for the Education Research Centre within the Faculty of Education at the University of Brighton (2006) were followed prior to embarking on this research. These followed normal research guidelines protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, their full consent before embarking on the project and the careful storing and protection of data collected. A participant information sheet was given to each person involved in individual interviews and this was fully discussed with them before gaining both their consent and that of their department to involvement in the project. As a small university with often only one or two teaching assistants in each department complete anonymity was sometimes difficult to guarantee for tutoring staff, but individuals were involved in editing their interview transcripts and given full knowledge of any data that were included that could be construed as sensitive. Working in a collaborative way enabled them to have some say in both the approach to data collection and to the way in which it was analysed and reported.

All participants were involved on a voluntary basis and those involved in group rather than one to one discussions were given a full explanation of the nature and purpose of the research project, and of the expectations regarding their contribution before commencing (Boser, 2006, Lundy and McGovern 2006). Student anonymity, because of greater numbers was easier to ensure and students participating were reassured that their participation would in no way compromise their academic results (Collins, 2004). Criteria for any academic assessment were made clear through the normal channels by publishing and

sharing expected learning outcomes. While we will touched upon sensitive issues during workshop discussions these were no deeper than the kind of issues that make up the lived experience of Mostar's citizens on a daily basis in a divided city. Rarely were memories of past trauma specifically referred to during discussions and these were not solicited, nor were they the focus of the research (Lundy and McGovern, 2006). Tutors were given the option of withdrawing from the programme, or from particular discussions, at any time.

Maiter et al. (2008) discuss the importance of an 'ethic of reciprocity' in action research and focus on the importance of equality and exchange in collaborative relationships. These have currency in all stages of planning, data collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination; they recommend addressing power explicitly and giving time to the development of relationships. As peers working in separate universities we were jointly responsible for the success of the project (if not for the outcomes of the research) and relationships were not difficult to establish. A common interest in pedagogy and community gave us a shared language and such relationships were not difficult to build and to maintain. Although a longer term programme is still dependent of future external funding the experience of the project left local professionals in a position to take some of this forward themselves.

Chapter 6: Emerging Themes and Initial Findings, Context, Pedagogy and the Role of Universities.

Introduction

A PAR project takes its themes for analysis from the priorities of those involved in the action itself (McTaggart and Kermis, 1988). During the early conversational interviews held with tutors at UDB I explored a range of issues relating to the broader research questions of this study. These included the role of HE in a post conflict society, the pertinence of SCE to this particular context and whether such a programme could contribute to rebuilding a sense of citizenship and belonging. By exploring with tutors what they saw as their role in HE, what they thought was the purpose of HE and what they thought their students might gain from greater involvement with civil society, I was able to introduce some of these issues for exploration. I was struck by the different perspectives of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' - a key theme that has emerged during each of my EdD projects. Among the group of colleagues interviewed three were Bosnian nationals and three were foreign nationals now employed at the university. Hence the group was split equally between insiders, who were very much a part of Bosnian culture, and those who brought a different perspective from other institutions in which they have studied and worked. For the purposes of this report I have named the Bosnian tutors Tina, (English), Jelana (Psychology) and Lene (Fine Art). I have named the foreign nationals Otto (German), Ellen (English Literature) and Helena (Drama Pedagogy). I also worked with a tutor in mechanical engineering (who

I have called Ricardo) an IT tutor (who I have called Iris) and a tutor working in agriculture (who I have called Andrea).

While I cannot at this stage comment on the impact of insiders and outsiders on students' learning, certainly their perspectives differ significantly. All tutors also mentioned the importance of broader outside influences.

Emerging Themes

Responses in the initial interview questions and the later in depth interviews and evaluation form questions indicate a number of issues that reverberate with some of the debates raised in the earlier chapters of this thesis and begin to suggest a framework for analysis. These are:

1) A strong awareness of context and the particular constraints and difficulties of working in a post-war or transition society. Although reluctant to be questioned directly about the war (particularly by outsiders) most tutors raised the issue themselves and confirmed that the conflicts of the 1990s still had a great impact on the resources of the university and the mindsets of their students.

2) The need to promote active learning and innovation and to combat the passivity or 'hopelessness' of some of the student generation emerged as a sub theme to the above and was seen not only as a result of the war but also of the Balkan's broader historical past.

3) The role of HE in supporting individual students, both in terms of building their confidence and self esteem and in enabling them to find employment in the future. Tutors saw their responsibility as tutors

primarily as the development of individuals, but most linked this closely to the construction of a viable social peace.

4) The benefits to the university of forming stronger links with the community and working with it to develop new approaches to curriculum development and providing practical work experience. Tutors were more aware of what the community had to offer them than what they felt they could give in return, but had a sense of mutual benefit.

5) The importance of international as well as local engagement, of building stronger links with other parts of the world and creating international experience for students. This was felt to be a natural progression from linking with diverse local groups and was seen as having a positive impact on both staff and students. There was a strong awareness of the value that contact with outsiders could offer to individual personal development.

6) The difficulties involved in long term political change or participation in civil society having a political as well as a social outcome. Political decision making was not seen as something in which they currently had a stake.

In addition to gathering evidence from the tutors I worked with during this research, conversations with students and writing they produced for this project provide some insight into their views on the value of community engagement. In keeping with a collaborative approach, I was guided by my tutor colleagues as to what kind of evidence might be useful although some of

the methods we tried to implement for data collection failed. Using a mixture of focus group discussions, student presentations and course feedback I was able to get a sense of how the views and perspectives of the students involved changed as the project progressed.

I held focus group discussions with Lene´s and Jelana´s students in February 2008 and discussions in smaller groups with Tina's students after observing them working in an elementary schools during their practical projects. Ellen's students had been given a review sheet to fill in (in English) a few weeks into their community projects, which she passed on to me for consideration.

Two of the student groups involved in focus group discussions were unable to move on to actual partnership projects. Jelana was promoted shortly into the term and did not have time to pursue her role in Sizus. Lene's students were a poorly motivated and reluctant group, almost all of whom withdrew from their courses soon after I met them. Otto's group was given the choice of a range of community projects, but as they could not be made a compulsory part of their assessment, none of them were chosen, the students opting to do the minimum work necessary for that module. Informal discussions with them later in the term showed that many of them regretted this choice. As they saw other students from different faculties gaining experience and enjoying their activities they began to realise that this had been a missed opportunity. They developed in confidence throughout the year and got to know their tutor better and began to appreciate the potential value of community work. They recommended that it be offered to the following cohort,

Despite these drop outs six groups of students gave short presentations about their projects at the certificate ceremony held at the end of the academic year. I was able to record video footage and taped translations of these presentations and to obtain copies of their PowerPoint slides (many of which were in English). I also circulated a student evaluation form to a number of those who had participated at the event; I was not able to retrieve all of them but did get 15 completed forms.

For consistency of evaluation it seems appropriate to discuss findings under the same broad categories as were applied to the tutor responses, although the student perspective differed from that of their tutors.

Davies (1997) suggests looking for significant recurring vocabulary, and using use of metaphor as tools for analysis, and I applied these techniques to both my notes on focus group discussions and the written documents I obtained from the project activities, many of which were written in English. But the very different characteristics of the groups, particularly the female psychology students - who were loud, articulate enthusiastic and motivated, and the male graphic design students - who were withdrawn, alienated and disillusioned need to be kept in mind when considering their responses.

Theme 1. The Importance of Context and the Significance of a Post-conflict Environment

Earlier chapters of this study refer to the importance of sensitivity to context – particularly when approaching educational research or reform (Crossley and Watson 2006) and this became apparent when working in Mostar. The impact of the war – economically, politically, demographically and emotionally - seemed to loom high in people's consciousness and have a direct impact on what could and could not be achieved.

During the initial interviews three tutors referred to the challenges of working in this post-war period as a lack of resources and the difficulties of having no national HE law, but also mentioned the positive aspects of seeing the development of multi-ethnic friendships among students. Despite being a university in exile with no formal rights (at that time) to their premises they were committed to the open and multi-ethnic policy of UDB and encouraged by the fact that some Croatian students were actively choosing it over the Croatian university in the city. Sena, a law tutor, talked about the potential of HE to contribute to a legal system that was still adjusting if it could be respected more by politicians and government. Tutors alluded to a sense of 'post-war hopelessness' and the need to 'challenge corruption and a sense of fatalism'. But there was also a general reluctance to openly discuss the war period which became most apparent during a training workshop. One of the foreign nationals in the group asked how students should deal with questions about the conflict period when approaching community members and whether

they might ask the older generation about their memories of the war. A local tutor strongly advised against it saying:

> People here don't want to remember, they prefer to forget. What point is there in remembering? If you want to know more yourself you can ask me, I can tell you what I experienced and what I saw but don't ask local people. They are fed up with outsiders coming here to find out. They will say 'where were you when we needed you? During the war the rest of Europe was not interested so why now do you suddenly want to know what happened? (Quote from notes taken during an interactive workshop).

Individual in depth interviews provided more space to explore the impact of the current context and the possibilities for an engagement project and tutors raised it more freely when talking one to one. Tina was fully aware of the difficulties.

> For HE post war means that our industry is completely ruined, we don't have industry any more. … at the moment we don't have any funds to support research activities, which is really difficult….Economic issue is a huge issue, but we are a post war society with our economic problems as well. Our social structures have been destroyed, before we were a communist society, and now we are… I don't dare say a capitalist society but perhaps I can say we are a communist society that is on the way to becoming a capitalist society and during this

transition we had a war. I think that politics is the biggest problem, we are all trying very much to be not depressed and that is the atmosphere now. It's not very enthusiastic, not very optimistic. We all see we have to do something to make things better but not sure what and how exactly. (Tina interview transcript February 2008)

Tina also clarified an issue that had become apparent to me since my first visit to the university, that of a missing generation of academic staff. In western Europe HE tends to be dominated by lecturers in their 40s and 50s but people of this age were almost entirely absent from UDB, and teaching staff were mainly either professors nearing retirement or young teaching assistants with little experience. Tina spoke about the reasons for this:

We lost so many people, had so many refugees, many homes had been destroyed. When we look at those facts from 15 years of distance we can't say that our youth are facing only economic problems … We lost many academic staff members. They were either killed, or they are refugees now, living somewhere abroad. (Tina, interview transcript February 2008)

Helena linked this particularly to the city of Mostar:

Thousands of Mostarians left and never came back again so the city bled out its people. (Helena interview transcript February 2008)

Otto struggled to explain the reasons behind the current demographic make up of the university:

> Maybe it is a matter of economics or law or politically influenced but you have old and young. The young ones are those that have been abroad or survived here, studied here, but many of this mid generation have left, this brain drain tendency is for sure one issue here. (Otto: interview transcript February 2008)

Inevitably a teaching programme led by an older generation was less reflective of the concerns of the current generation and tutors saw it as fixed in the past:

> The things they [the professors] know are old things; there is nothing new in their work. … The professors are reluctant to change, they are afraid of change. Maybe they will realise their existence is not so meaningful, talking academically. (Jelana interview transcript February 2008)

Fear was a word that recurred in the interviews, fear of change, fear of a resurgence of aggression and fear related to a lack of trust in a viable future of work and stability. Helena describes 'this society' as 'taunted by fear and hesitation' while Jelana spoke about people's general fear of the unknown:

People are xenophobic, afraid of outsiders, outsiders from Tuzla, or Sarajevo or abroad. Not so much of Croatians or Serbs but of the unknown. People are not open'. (Interview transcript May 2008)

A fear of change and a fear of others could prevent a SCE project from being accepted locally, but, if successful, it had the potential to update the curriculum and provide students with a greater understanding of diversity. Jelana sensed the need for this:

I try to talk to my students about homosexuality, to extend their awareness of diversity. But generally this is seen as private or bad. Even with disability there is little awareness, people pity the disabled, there is no sense of rights. We have our brand new building here but there is no lift. (Interview transcript May 2008)

She considered whether a broader university education could help with their fear of difference and of change:

People are driven by their emotions and their instincts because they have been facing manipulation and emotional fear for a long time. If they are only driven by fear then we didn't do a lot. But if we can help them to raise their critical ability then perhaps we can do something. (Interview transcript May 2008)

Attitudes towards change varied. Those who had chosen to become involved in this project were enthusiastic and ready to work for it, but many had

colleagues who were protecting their careers and were less optimistic generally about chances for reform. People were also under pressure with limited time, angry about changes imposed upon them and unsure how they would cope with them.

> I would say that we feel a need for change, I am not sure we are open enough. We are moving towards it [Bologna] but it seems as if we are pushed to it. I don't think we really want it that much and we are not ready … if Bologna requires us to work more individually how can I do that? (Jelana interview transcript February 2008)

They were also sceptical about whether professors would accept it in practice even if they did on paper and, although positive about being part of Europe, concerned about the additional pressures that the Bologna process would bring:

> There is some anxiety about this, how we can do it, what is expected, also some negative feedback from other universities saying it is a lot more difficult since Bologna, to maintain everything. And I do think there is a very strong tendency to keep it much the same as it was and how can we put this into a new Bologna frame? (Otto interview transcript February 2008)

As an outsider Otto was frustrated by a lack of transparency in comparison to the culture he was used to and experienced difficulties in working as a group when people seemed to be putting personal priorities first.

> The head of department is more than 70 years old … he is reluctant to see changes or new ideas … The priority they give to think about any extra activities or to see how many they could improve as a faculty or integrate new working methods or curriculum development is low … It is not a culture of change or development here, more of status quo, definitely (Interview transcripts February 2008)

Some tutors experienced this reluctance to get involved as self interest over community interest and a general concern among colleagues about their own careers.

> I felt when bringing in a new project or perspective or something that is a bit apart from the common trek that they often regarded it as something more negative than positive. Rather something creating more work than helping to deal with the everyday situation, even though the everyday situation may not be at its best and these ideas could contribute or improve things, (Otto, interview transcript February 2008)

Nor did he see this as limited to the older generation:

I think this is also among my age group … A colleague felt this was not

appropriate, she has different priorities, like finishing her degree, taking

care of her family. So to have extra work on a project like this, is not

her first priority … she was rather resistant. (Interview transcript

February 2008)

Ellen, also an outsider, commented

Literally no one in my department is interested, they all know and I

have brought it up … and I think OK, no point in talking about this

Jelana spoke about similar tendencies among her colleagues, and how this

ultimately led to her beginning to work alone rather than taking a team

approach, describing the demise of social capital or connections and a retreat

into private space. Although the team involved in this action research project

were themselves strongly motivated most of them did not acquire this

motivation from other members of their department.

I have tried to work in a group but sometimes in a group people will try

to stop things, if I don't do it alone it won't happen, someone will find a

reason to stop it. I am often waiting for initiative from my colleagues, for

them to say 'that's great; I want to be involved, how can I collaborate.

But people are thinking only about their own courses, about getting an

MA, a PhD, their own careers. This is partly to be expected. All our role

models are passive, these older professors. (Interview transcript

February 2008)

Otto also partly attributed the laissez faire attitude to a lack of strong leadership and vision across the university as a whole. A hands-off approach, though in other circumstances might support innovation and experimentation, in this instance discouraged it:

> I do see promising examples around where things are improving… like
> this team for instance, you have a constellation where things are
> moved or moving. But these people I find promising often have difficulty
> in their faculty or environment. I often feel no one cares much about
> what you do, on the one hand this can create flexibility because no one
> notices, but on the other hand this can create passivity. (Otto interview
> transcript February 2008)

The respective optimism and pessimism of the different student groups was apparent in most of their responses and though several of them referred to the difficulties of this post-war period they had contrasting attitudes towards it. The psychology students had asked for an opportunity to see me because they wanted to express their views about the course and ways of improving it. Their mood contrasted to Jelana's reference to students 'waiting for life to happen to them rather than feeling you can choose a life' and they were determined to fight for what they felt they needed.

There are not so much opportunities here but its not so bad, you need to try, to learn, to find a way yourself, to fight, not just wait for someone to call you. (Notes from focus group discussions February 2008)

They also displayed none of the 'hopelessness' described by members of the tutors' group, but held onto hope despite the apparent difficulties:

Society is not so good, it does not give us so much help to achieve things, but we hope.

They had some awareness of the current social context and a sense of social justice - their concerns were not only about their own futures:

We need human rights, children, women and old people need help. Bosnia needs educated people, we have half a million people who don't know how to write. Some children don't even go to school.

We want to see justice, a developed economy, a healthy society, employment. Many people graduate but have no work, they are just at home or working in a coffee bar, its not justice (notes from focus group discussions February 2008).

This challenges Chandler's (1999) picture of a citizenship, which as victims of a war, is unwilling to take on the responsibilities of civil society. Their body language, the energy with which they interrupted and reinforced each other's

statements and the animation in their voices all reinforced my impression of this group as an engaged, passionate, concerned group of young women who were committed to working for their own futures as well as that of their new country.

> I am optimistic, here in Bosnia we have a lot of space for psychology, we need it, some people say we have a future in it, most people will need help in the future (notes from focus group discussions February 2008).

Lene's male graphic design students were by contrast withdrawn and disengaged. Apart from one young man who, as the son of a graphic designer saw a future for himself, the others appeared to be there by default and confirmed their lack of options.

> We are forced to study; by society … we don't have the possibility to work or to study elsewhere. (Notes from focus group discussions February 2008).

Ricardo's students were also aware of the limitations of the current context:

> I want to work in mechanical engineering but you do what you can get. The war destroyed production. I started my studies before the war, and then during the war I was in Serbia or Republika Srpska. Now I am back.

After war and after car accidents there are many disabled people, it

inspired me to work on this. (Individual interview with mature

mechanical engineering student)

Tina's group of education students met me in the staffroom at the local

kindergarten where they had been working. They were open and frank –

ready to talk but aware of the difficult context in which they were preparing to

start their careers. One described Bosnia:

Our country is not so much a country in which you can live a dream -

you just have to do whatever they give you, (Notes from discussions

February 2008).

Unlike the psychologists or graphic designers their employment opportunities

were reasonable and with a good degree some of them knew they could find

work as teachers if that was what they decided they wanted to do. They

valued the opportunity to work in schools for the insight it provided them into

what they might expect from work in the future. They described the context in

which schools were functioning:

There are many changes since our own schooling, they are trying to

make a Western European model here, and we had more traditional

schooling. It was post war, it is still post war, but some parents don't

know the value of this new system… they don't take it seriously (Notes from discussions February 2008)

But like many of the tutors they felt steeped in a general atmosphere of status quo.

> The major problem is our mentality, people are not ready to experiment, to accept new things, and teachers are not ready to change.
> (Notes from focus group discussions February 2008)

Theme 2. The Need to Promote Active Learning and Innovation to Help Combat Passivity

A sense of passivity dominated many of the interviews I held with staff and illustrates what Belloni described as 'the Balkan mentality', the supposed combined effects of socialism and war. (Belloni, 2006: 207). As well as resistance to change it led to a sense of hopelessness and disappointment

> People are generally hopeless, they had lots of hopes and none of them materialised so now they are afraid to hope (Tina, interview transcript, February 2008)

> ...students are sceptical, disappointed and suspicious as to whether change is possible (Irene, interview notes, November 06)

Apathy, disengagement and low expectations were identified in the context of Northern Ireland as key characteristics of a community recovering from conflict, (Cairns et al., 2003); these characteristics combined with a post communist dependence and an education dominated by an older generation all contribute to a society that is paralysed and unable to move forward. During the first round of interviews the need to help students to take responsibility for their own learning, to overcome passivity, to be innovative and develop problem solving abilities was mentioned at least eight times in the course of the eight interviews I held and by all but one of the interviewees. Tutors spoke about wanting to make students more active in thinking and in drawing conclusions and to get them more involved. They saw a clear link between learning and involvement and negativity and disengagement and were determined to fight against a lack of optimism. They spoke about wanting to help students become more active, to learn how to negotiate their own projects, deal with agencies, organise an NGO, get involved and think realistically about their futures, develop opinions and not leave everything to the teacher: to have the opportunity to create something better. Jelana commented:

> Many are waiting for life to happen rather than feeling they can choose a life (Interview transcripts February 2008).

They were also aware that different learning pedagogies were necessary for them to realise this. Otto described a 'strong passivity' in his students who

were 'ignoring the situation all around them and holding onto the old school view that professions can be learned from a book.' Others described a need to teach people to think, not just to absorb information and to believe they could make a difference. McEntagart (1999:30) links the need for curricula 'that teach students to think for themselves' to prevent a return to former ethnic conflicts, and nine years on these issues still seem to be pertinent.

Ellen felt that, despite trying to do this through a project based approach, her students still put obstacles in the way:

> One of the major difficulties, and this isn't the case with all of the groups, was a lot of negativity about the possibility to get anything done, anything concrete … they could come up with so many reasons why they shouldn't do it, they had this initial enthusiasm but they would curb themselves with all these excuses. (Interview transcript February 2008)

Her description is indicative of a group of students reluctant to believe that change can happen and with little confidence in their abilities. However, Lene saw this as related to a broader context of limited options and to the mode of teaching that students had become used to:

> Students enter university because they can't get work, it is their only alternative, and that is why we have really low motivated students…

The main element of communication is that the teacher is standing

opposite the students and delivering a class and that is mainly how

education is happening here from elementary school to university. .

(Lene interview transcript February 2008)

But she was optimistic about her students' responses:

The department is open, the students are open of course, they want to

work, they are really curious about these ideas. (Interview transcript

February 2008)

It was an optimism that proved to be unfounded and despite her own attempt

to adapt and change curricula the students from her group more or less

dropped out of the course altogether during the year and did not participate in

the community project she arranged. Their evaluation forms, returned at the

end of the project, referred to their regret at not having participated and how

they eventually realised what they had missed out on.

While some of the tutors blamed their students for their passive and exam

oriented attitudes, some of the students blamed their professors for expecting

this. Jelana's students were aware of their own needs and of the value of

experiential learning. They were willing to volunteer to gain experience but

needed this experience to count towards work. Though they had a sense of

social justice their key motivators were connected to finding work.

In universities young people need to be heard, to have experience.

Professors want us to be passive, we need to have experience,

industry expects us to have that but how do we get it, how do we start?

We like to work as volunteers but when we volunteer we want that to

count as experience to help when we need a job. (Notes from focus

group discussions February 2008).

They felt their discipline to be entirely wrapped up with human experience and

needed a pedagogy to reflect this.

Psychology is life, not just like science, it is all parts of your life, but we

are taught by professors who give lectures. We don't have real

practical work, we are just in university. Our assistants give us ideas

about theory. There are no possibilities for practical work.

But they realised its importance,

We all want to do it, to work in hospital, in high school, in a laboratory,

not just to be in classes.

They described their courses to me

Some seminars give us a theme, for example non verbal

communication or children with special needs and we discuss that. We

learn the history of psychology, ancient times, middle times, modern psychology…

But they knew if they wanted more than this they had to organise it themselves.

> We find information in books or on the internet, also from different organisations, or we can go personally and meet people, we can work in pairs, if we want to know more we find it out for ourselves,… Belma is volunteering in an organisation called 'Sun'. We also volunteer in a centre for abused women and children. We did this independently, we heard about it through a friend not through university. (Notes from Focus group discussions, February 2008)

Far from showing passivity and lack of innovation much of their reason for coming to see me was to present their case for a change in their curriculum. They wanted a course that was more oriented to working in industry or civil society and not one that was based in the discipline of education.

> We want to change the course. We try to change it but no one is listening to us. We don't want to be teachers; we want a diploma in psychology, to work in industry, in a hospital, with mental illness. We are angry, we are fighting for that. Some people promise us things but nothing comes through. They give us too many promises but nothing comes through from our faculty. Our assistants are with us we don't

know what is blocking it, maybe the professors (Notes from focus group discussions, February 2008)

Although they felt some other students might be 'asleep' or afraid they voiced their own lack of fear:

Yes we are motivated students, some of the others are asleep, some are afraid. They are afraid they will not achieve anything if they challenge things. Some people buy their diploma. It is not a secret; there is a lot of corruption here. But we are strongly motivated, we want to know why we fail if we fail…. If we fail it is OK but we need to know what we did wrong, we want to learn, we are not afraid to learn. We want things to be fair, to be clear, we are just expected to shut up and be quiet, we don't want that. (Notes from focus group discussions, February 2008)

It is a shame that, despite such a strong motivation to learn through community based work Jelana's department did not eventually allow her the time to progress this within this action research project. Lene's situation was in sharp contrast, with the group ready to blame the university, each other or society for what they saw as little opportunity and, despite her success in redesigning the curriculum, were not motivated to take up the opportunities this offered. They had all had a year at home after school, living off their parents and with little chance of employment. They saw no alternative but to come to university. When pressed to say what they thought about their

courses they mentioned too much theory and too little opportunity to travel or to see different things.

> We would like to have more excursions, to see museums,… we need more opportunities. There is too much theory in this course, 50% is theory, it is in the teacher training department so we need to learn about teacher training. (Notes from focus group discussions, February 2008)

Tina's students also spoke about an overload of theory on their courses but some of them liked this.

> It is very complicated to be a student …. Maybe it will be better in the next few years but we are happy to have this course. We study Shakespeareology, … we have a Pakistani lecturer, he is great, fantastic, he helps us to understand, we have theory of translation, languages, linguistics….(Notes from discussions, February 2008)

Zlotkowski (2007) refers to Palmer (1997) and Freire (1996) in providing evidence that educational passivity leads to civic passivity and that 'a disengaged way of learning' leads to a disengaged way of living and an objectivised view of society, of students as objects rather than subjects of their community. But these students also valued the introduction of a practical period.

This is the first time of practice in four years, we are final year students, it is valuable, especially for our future careers.

We are planning to find a job in a school and we need to gain experience in how to approach children, to talk to them, what attitude to use… so this is very valuable. (Notes from focus group discussions, February 2008)

They spoke about the importance of practical work in teacher education programmes:

The greatest problem students have here is the lack of practice which we only deal with theory and now its time to show us real life in the elementary school.

At the end we gained a lot, we had the practice that helped us see how things were in schools, helped us to pass the methodology subject….but I can say that this experience is really a special something that we needed here in Mostar because as we know we don't have practice in this town, especially in this faculty where we should have this, so thanks to the dean and to Madam Juliet, it shows this is most important and I hope the next generations will follow our example and there will be with more quality (Notes from focus group discussions, February 2008)

They also felt that such innovation was long overdue:

> …it should have been done earlier because we are going to be professors, the high schools should also be involved because we are going to be professors that teach in high school too. (Notes from discussions, February 2008)

It is significant to note that their tutor who set up this work and observed them in it had moved straight into teaching methodology in education from being a graduate. She was in a position where she was preparing students to be both kindergarten and elementary school teachers without ever having worked in a school.

Theme 3. The Responsibility of HE to its Students in Personal and Professional development

There is considerable debate, explored in some of the early chapters of this study, about the focus of HE and whether this should be on academic or personal development of individuals, a contribution to the economy or a more direct contribution to a democratic society, (Bourner, 1998; Zlotkowski, 2007; Watson, 2003; Boothroyd and Fryer, 2004). My early interviews asked respondents what they felt to be their responsibility as tutors. Most expressed this in terms of educating individuals on a personal as well as a professional level and encouraging them to make a difference socially. A key theme, mentioned four times in the initial interviews was building students' self confidence. Helena referred to helping students to gain a better sense of

themselves and felt that her responsibility was to develop self awareness first and to prepare them for employment second, and saw them as 'very much concerned about doing something special and different for their fellow citizens'. Other tutors talked about helping students to understand 'who you are and what you can do, how you can contribute and be useful' and to deal with their fears around limited future work prospects (Interview notes November 2006).

Iris talked about helping students to become better people, Lene about developing their social and emotional relationships, and the need to encourage them to 'love what they are doing, not just to get grades, to provide a broad education and to develop a feeling for something in each individual'. Ellen was concerned about a general instrumental approach to learning that left students just chasing grades.

Most of the team saw the value of an engagement programme for gaining practical experience and finding future work, but they were divided about the realistic opportunities for this.

Jelana believed in her students' ambition, but saw how difficult it was for them:

> Students really want to work, they finish high school and look around and see they can't have a job and they don't know what to do with themselves. We can give them some hints but we can't give them hope. We can't say everything is going to be OK; you will all have a job.

140

We are not sure they will have a job, probably not. (Interview transcript

February 2008)

She was concerned to be honest about what the current situation was:

I don't want to tell them something will help them to get their jobs more

easily than any other way. Actually the only thing I can tell them is that

by doing this programme they will do their job better, it wouldn't be nice

if I should lie to them, I mean its not easy to get a job here. (Interview

transcript February 2008)

With 40% unemployment in the federation of BiH and 50% in Republika

Srpska it was difficult for tutors to present any greater sense of optimism and

many of the students were unable to even visualise themselves in work:

In my introductory lectures I ask students who they will communicate

with in the next five years, 95% of them have no idea. They cannot

even visualise a future to joke about. With 50% unemployed this is not

surprising; I try to inspire them to build a future for themselves, to see

university as a tool for this. (Jelana: interview transcript February 2008)

Helena saw part time work in a range of contexts, paid and unpaid, as one

possibility which related particularly to her discipline area:

We are not yet talking about their professional prospects, that is an

issue that I try to introduce to them carefully, … it has become clear

that they need to b e working as part time practitioners, here and there,

they will need to be moving and probably not having one base, which for most of them is fine. (Interview transcript February 2008)

Lene felt her new revised curriculum might help some find work, but realised the future did not look good, particularly for students who were not excelling in their studies:

At this point they don't have much chance of jobs in the future; I think the new curriculum we are preparing will help a bit. …but they can forget about working in school, that's the reality. (Interview transcript February (2008)

Jelana also felt concrete experience of work would be useful. In my early interview with her she saw the potential of this project in 'helping students to find out what they like by trying it out' and she built on this in our later interview:

I had so many obstacles in my work because I didn't have those concrete experiences so I would like to offer my students the opportunity to have experiences from all those different areas of psychology. During the pressures of learning they will already figure out what is good for them or not and they will make a decision about what to do after they gained their diploma more readily and more easily as they will know what to expect.(Interview transcript February 2008)

The perceived value of SCE to future work prospects was seen as greater than it's potential to build a sense of citizenship. When asked in the final evaluation of the project what they had hoped students would gain three of the five respondents mentioned 'practical experience' and 'equating learning with experience and achievement rather than exam grades'. One mentioned new perspectives on civil society and professional competence and the other 'several things about the community around them'. However many of them linked the potential of experiential learning to finding employment rather than to engagement and civic scholarship (McIlrath et al., 2007).

While both the education students and the psychology students felt HE should be preparing them for work in the future, albeit work that benefited the local community and economy, it was the students from engineering and agriculture who spoke more passionately about HE dealing with the 'pressing problems of our time'.

A chemist, Andrea, from the faculty of agriculture had introduced a 'tree planting day' involving the planting of trees on a hillside facing the university where forests had been harvested during times of no fuel and electricity during the war. The faculty had been growing small trees from seed and experimenting with different types of herbs and fruit trees. The chemist, who was particularly interested in the different medicinal properties of herbs growing wild, organised a group of 60 students to take out children from a local elementary school to plant trees on the hillside. She booked a bus, persuaded a local restaurant to offer free sandwiches and drinks and

organised local TV publicity. They hope now to continue this initiative on a yearly basis, and she and her students described their activities:

> *… now we want to help local community with reforestation so we go to plant trees, different trees and herbs from which local communities could benefit, used for making teas, or medicines, we also worked with local elementary schools, we wanted to animate them to make them aware of ecology so that in the future they know how to act in nature and in the environment, and to transfer those lands into areas with forests again.* (notes from certificate presentation May 2008)

During focus group discussions with students there were few comments specifically about the role of HE, and many students had not given this a great deal of thought. However, in the final student evaluations there was evidence that the tutors' concerns, to build students' self esteem and self confidence, had been realised. When asked what they had learned about themselves 10 of the 15 respondents replied in relation to improved confidence and self esteem.

Five replied directly with examples such as 'that I can do more than I imagined I could, that I gained confidence, that I developed interpersonal skills', and five responded in terms of their contribution to a larger project: 'that I have something to contribute, that things can be done with some small effort, that much can be achieved when you try'. Two responded in terms of specific skills they had gained (patience, knowledge, interaction with kids) and two wrote

about the development of self knowledge 'that I enjoy this, that it is a great pleasure to me'. In terms of Bourner's (1998) four domains of knowledge, three of these domains (knowledge of the self, personal skills and skills of how to), those areas that students felt to be under represented in their general teaching, were all referred to in relation to SCE projects.

Students were also asked specifically about how they felt they had changed and 10 of the 15 responses related this to personal change. Their answers ranged from: 'On many levels and in many ways' to 'I am a better person, more aware, more compassionate, tolerant, more patient, ready to make compromises, I have realised that everything is not easy'. Four related it to professional change making claims ranging from 'I am more organised, more prepared for work' to 'I have figured out what I want to do in life'. Despite students' overwhelming concern with work related experience, the changes they claimed as a result of this project were in the main related to their own personal development.

Conclusion

In considering the current context in BiH as a post-conflict society, the impact this has on its universities, both staff and students and its role in the future a number of key issues have emerged.

1. Staff and students are both very aware of the impact and aftermath of the war, its affect on the economy, on opportunities for future employment and on day-to-day levels of fear, trust and optimism among people.

145

2. Staff and students talk 'about' the passivity of others, of colleagues and fellow students, and of how people prioritise their own goals over those of other people. However, this passivity is not universal. Both the staff group involved in this project and many of the students who responded to it, showed themselves to be committed, enthusiastic and interested and easily able to grasp the relevance of the concept to their own location.

3. Although the reality of finding work is a key priority for the next generation both staff and students were aware of the broader roles of HE and its potential to foster personal as well as professional development. There was also a strong awareness of the value of practical work to academic and personal learning and a sense of the value of community practitioners' knowledge was valuable alongside that of their academic professors.

Chapter 7 interrogates the findings related to the other themes that emerged during this research project, that of the contribution of HE to its local community, the value of partnership work - both local and international, and the potential for both to affect political change. The significance of the findings reported in Chapters 6 and 7 is discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 Additional Themes of Connection, Collaboration and Broader Political Change

Introduction

In addition to looking at their immediate context, and the tensions between a perceived passivity of the Bosnian people and the internal responsibilities of the university, tutors and students were encouraged to talk about the benefits of collaboration. Of their own volition they raised the value of collaboration with outsiders and of international as well as local partnerships in learning and change. However, despite being asked in different ways about the possibility of long term political change few of them voiced any sense that this might be a reality and their disillusion with political structures and systems and their disengagement from them, were obvious.

Theme 4: The Benefits of Working with Community

Models of student community engagement (service learning, science shops, etc.) have been applied differently in different contexts focusing variously on elements of service and of learning (Zlotkowski, 2007,Gerda Benda et al 2006). The UK model that has evolved has been one of 'mutual benefit' for both the university and the community and, reflecting the policy priorities of that particular context, is very much about partnership (Whitney et al., 2007; Kari and Skelton 2007., 2007 Iles, 2007).

On first introducing the concept of practical, community based work to colleagues in Mostar they immediately saw the potential of it for developing curricula and their focus was initially more on learning than on service. Tina saw the relative isolation of

the university from its community as having a detrimental effect on the curriculum and the ability of students to find work subsequently. She felt this was an area that local organisations could assist with.

> Curriculum is actually a big problem here, somehow according to this fact that I already stated we are in a position that we lack, almost completely, a connection to our environment, like industry, like employers, so each should be rebuilt. So we should start creating a more realistic curriculum based on competencies rather than the traditional way of prescribing a fixed curriculum without any, so I hope to see stronger links with our surroundings. (Interview transcript February 2008)

She had a vision of how this might be realised:

> I hope to see an alumni organisation, like to see where our students are, to get feedback from employers and correct our curriculum in that direction. (Interview transcript February 2008)

Half way into the project and as a direct result of our discussions Lene and Jelana began adapting their mainstream programmes to incorporate more experiential learning and contact between students and real clients

> We were thinking about the curriculum where they will make real agreements with the real clients from the society and will prepare for them all sorts of materials. (Lene)

Maybe we can make an agreement that our students can go to hospitals and get a chance to see real clients, perhaps they can do something. (Jelana)

Tina began preparing a formal agreement for her education students to do part of their learning on practical placements in schools.

Tutors were less aware of what they could offer to civil society with only a vague sense of the possibility of a mutual relationship:

> From here we can't do a lot for our community and our personal development, we have to be personally really developed if we want to help our community and we can't develop ourselves in isolation, (Jelana Interview transcript November 2006)

In the initial interviews tutors mentioned that the university should have a responsibility to the community that hosts it, that the institution needs to co-exist within the city, and that the community needed to know the university was there for it. But even as the project got underway tutor's responses indicated students' difficulties and the limitations to what they could achieve.

> Students are concerned about themselves, their families, their jobs, I am sure they want to do something but they don't really know how. … (notes from interviews, November 2006)

Andjelic (1995) describes an educational and cultural environment in Bosnia under communism which did not provide a basis for civic ideas and where people were

brought up to 'follow', with the sense they would be looked after. Involvement with civil society was not something that most people had experienced nor was it naturally part of local culture. However, Helena felt that in Mostar things were different. The drama course at the university has always had strong community links and was built on a local initiative of activism.

> There is a large history of activism here but thousands of Mostarians left and never came back again. The spirit is there but it has to be refound in the next generation. (Interview transcripts February 2008)

As the programme evolved tutors spoke about the positive reception they got from different organisations:

> Whenever we come into contact with school teachers the response has always been really positive,

> The kindergarten people are really excited about it; just to see the parent's reactions keeps the students wanting to go there. (Interview transcripts February 2008).

The tutor evaluation forms also all contained positive responses and two of the five referred to new levels of understanding in the community and a keenness to continue in new learning environments. The people were able to identify some practical community gains, such as free English courses, a break from routine and the value to organisations and their clients of this new contact with students. However, those gains were expressed as providing useful assistance and a

commitment to a longer term involvement in learning rather than any sense of contributing to civil society.

Most of the student responses relating to the benefits of working with community groups come from Ellen's English Literature students. While the Psychology and Education students saw the benefits of community work more in terms of their own personal development and the value of practice to employment, Ellen's students were given some grounding in the significance of community work from her own background with service learning projects in the US. She also evaluated their responses more closely. A few weeks into the community module she asked them to respond to five questions as part of a mid-term evaluation. These were:

1. the organisation they chose and why,
2. the activities they had undertaken so far,
3. their initial opinion on the project activity and what they thought they could gain,
4. the pros and cons they had discovered since that first opinion,
5. the skills they felt they had, what they hoped to gain and what they had to offer the organisation as students.

These documents were to be written in English as a formal part of the course and she gave me 12 completed questionnaires to analyse. Again, this group did not present themselves as passive or without motivation, and though some struggled with what they wanted to gain from their projects they were all positive about the

notion of community engagement. A summary of their responses is presented in

Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Summary of Responses from English Literature Students in Mid-term evaluation.

Questions	Kindergarten	Egyptian Village	American Corner
Which organisation did you choose and why?	Kindergarten x6 Love children x6 For experience x1	Egyptian village x2 Love children x2	American Corner x4 Scope to develop, open access, promoting culture
Explain/summarize what you have done so far?	Got to know children, taught animal names, numbers	Get to know children, introduce English gamesx1, help children to socialise, get to know society x1	Ordered new equipment, shown films, different movies, quizzes, laughter, help other students, introduce literature
What did you think of this project, what did you expect to gain?	Very new, realised its positive, originally fearful, different and not boring, great experience, great idea which develops humanity, help me in the future, for future job,	Glad when I found out about volunteering, new and different, one big challenge, word volunteering sounds good, gives a great feeling, happy and enthusiastic, great thing to help someone, become a better person	Challenge, looking forward to it, didn't know what to expect, had to figure out what to do for ourselves, thought we will have a great time, were just thinking of having fun but soon realised that making other people happy makes us happy!
What have you found to be the pros and cons after two months?	Positives: new experience, teachers help us Negatives: no preparation, hard to manage children, funny, always leaves some extra emotions and feelings, should have more classes like this, pride, Maybe the teacher is jealous of us	Communication, developing better communication is very important. Great idea, students and children get a big benefit from it, one of first attempts to help our community and volunteering,	Busy organising, coffee time productive, use for planning, great ide3a, had a good time, if we helped anyone or made anyone's stay feel a bit better we have succeed! These thoughts are all well directioned; everyone knows the job he is supposed to do. Negative things are not around☺
What do you feel you have to offer them as a student of English	Not sure but will continue, hope they will love English and remember us, support, they deserve support, we had a great time, learning an new language for free and some things about life, behaviour among people, help them to build their personality.	Establish some closeness with the children, help improve their knowledge of English, be tolerant, patient, work with love and understanding, will be happy if I put a smile on their faces, Can offer them big things, they need our help,	Offer our knowledge, time, anything that comes to mind, will give my part in promoting this in Mostar, alone I could offer them not that much but together, with colleagues we can offer them a lot, they just have to ask, helping others to become part of our little but happy community ☺

Of the 12 documents I received, 6 students had chosen to work in different kindergartens, 2 in the orphanage (Egyptian village) and 4 in the American cultural centre - the American corner. All respondents had thought it was a good idea initially – and were having a good time and enjoying their projects two months in.

For those working in the kindergartens and the orphanage the key motivator was the opportunity to work with children. All eight mentioned their love of children and how they enjoyed spending time with them. Those in the American corner were motivated by the chance to have some free choice in how to take things forward and the opportunity to plan and execute activities in a small student group.

One of the students spelt out the difficulties and the gains:

> This project is for helping local partners, it was not always easy, at times it was difficult and hard but we knew it was for our own good, (student feedback form March 2008).

A number of them mentioned 'volunteering' as something positive, the opportunity to help the community or to 'make people feel better'. Although they saw this as being important for their futures these students also appreciated the opportunity to discover more about the community they lived in as a valuable alternative to lessons. Their responses are certainly not indicative of a passive student group and each was enthusiastic, all seeing the challenge this presented and the potential of the projects in varying ways.

We were sceptical because they threw us into this project, they gave us the dates and divided us into groups, four or five of us had one grade, from 2nd grade to 6 grade…At the beginning it was difficult… that was a new situation for them. …. So the opinions are divided because we were just thrown into this situation but we managed (from a presentation at the certificate ceremony May 2008)

We worked at the American Corner, guided by our professors, initially it didn't seem like a choice because we didn't have a real community partner and American corner wasn't that active at that time, however we took it as a challenge, ….(Mid term evaluation forms December 07)

The Education students talked of their value in helping them to realise whether or not this was what they wanted to do:

What have we gained as students of English language, well many of us were disappointed, many of us realised that this was not the job for us so in the future they will have to find another job but not the one at school because through this they felt this is not for me I cannot deal with so many kids etc. But the rest of them knew what they wanted and this is really their dream job. As students at the school while we were teaching we really enjoyed it (comments from presentations at the certificate ceremony May 2008)

154

Those that I had interviewed in small groups earlier in the year at their kindergarten and elementary schools also talked about how unprepared they felt for their task but despite this talked of its value to the local community:

> every time we took the class 90 – 95% of the students were there even though their parents knew it was not necessary to be there they felt it was important because they knew the significance of the English language in our society today. That smile on their faces was really the best gift we received for those five or six months.
>
> We used different games and songs to animate the children, also to engage them into the education process and it was great until the last class when we celebrated this project with our students with candies and juices, they had also stolen some flowers from the school to give to us- those little things and those little children show how important this is… (Student presentation at the Certificate ceremony May 2008).

The Dean responded to this with an affirmation of the importance of their work:

> I know the school concerned and I know it was not simple for our students but I know it was very useful. The methods they applied in that work include group work and experimental methods, I know those teachers and I must say they are one of the schools formed by UN in the area of Mostar, it is probably one of the most open schools and it is really good that our students in cooperation with the local community chose our neighbours. (Certificate presentation May 2008).

One of the students mentioned difficulties with teachers in these classes and suggested they might feel their own jobs threatened by the presence of younger (cheaper?) students able to run a class. This is something the university may need to address in the future, perhaps through more contact with employees from community groups prior to the start of the class.

All student groups prepared imaginative presentations using video or PowerPoint with images, music and slides illustrating the range of activities they got involved in and their resultant learning. The energy behind these presentations and the innovative way in which they organised them are evidence of their enthusiasm and passion for the projects they undertook. They spoke as much about what they learned from community groups what they offered to them:

> ... maybe it will help them somehow in their future life, that's all one big maybe. But I am sure on one thing these children taught me something, you can have your world, you can make it, you can try to create it and you can be happy in it…I went there so lightly and in the end they taught me a lot of things. Taught me how to laugh, how to smile, how to have hope and how to make your own way in this crazy world, because of that I will be grateful to them forever. (Student presentation at the Certificate ceremony May 2008).

Taylor and Fransen (2004) developed a model of student learning that includes tutors and practitioners, but this student group spoke about what they learned from community members and service users. One student contrasted the 'difficult things'

she saw in her world with the world in which children lived and voiced her hopes for the future:

I entered their world, away from anything bad, away from all the bad things in this cruel, cruel world and away from everything you don't like. Every time I would look at them and envy them, they were so free, so nice, they were looking at me and I could see a light a hope for better days in their lives, something new and different, something that I would like to be. I am very thankful for these children (Certificate presentation May 2008).

Theme 5: International Links, the Importance of Diversity, the Influence of Insiders and Outsiders – Individuals and Organisations

A number of the lecturers, both Bosnian nationals and 'insiders' to the culture they are working in, and foreign nationals who see themselves as 'outsiders', spoke of the positive influences outsiders can have on helping a culture grow. This seemed as important as local contact with civil society and a positive influence for the future, providing the ability for a distanced view of things as a possible remedy for insider problems.

The International Department was already involved in trying to promote student exchanges but experiencing resistance from traditionalist professors who were refusing to recognise a period in a foreign university as a valid part of a home course. Tina saw these opportunities as essential saying:

My colleague says 'let people travel, that will open their minds', and that is

what we are doing in this department. (Interview transcript February 2008).

Jelana emphasised the value of foreign lecturers in Bosnian universities as well as

the opportunity to study elsewhere in order to challenge what she saw as isolation

during the war period:

I studied in Sarajevo, just after the war and as a post war society many

foreigners were interested in our society and territory and especially in the

subject of psychology. So in all it was quite diverse for a post conflict

university. It was positive. We managed to gain knowledge not only from our

professors and assistants but from professors from around the world,

Germany, Sweden, US, England. They had opportunities to be in touch with

modern theories in a way that people who were here during the war didn't.

(Interview transcript February 2008).

Lene mentioned how even the opportunity to travel to Sarajevo and see new art work

was a positive experience for students and how the absence of galleries in Mostar

limited Mostarians' views of themselves and the world. She saw this as necessary to

combat a kind of parochial narrow-mindedness:

The visa system is expensive and it is very complicated. In this new project

there should be something that would make it possible for students to travel

somewhere and see new things. To travel outside of Mostar, outside of

Bosnia and also to connect with students from other departments. (Interview transcripts February 2008)

Jelana also spoke about the limitations of the context and how her experience as a foreigner enabled her to get a better perspective on what was valuable:

I studied in the US. As a foreigner I could see the good things from their system better than they could, and the bad things, it was good, there were many opportunities, more choice, you could always go to international seminars or lectures, … here I can't have opportunities. (Interview transcripts February 2008)

Tina used similar terms to distinguish between good and bad in society and described her responsibility as head of the International Office as providing students with a better perspective on the society they lived in by visiting another one:

Generally we should be offering students a broader view of the world…. So they can discern between what is really good and what is really wrong so they can see the bad things in this society. Because if they can see what is really wrong here they can create something better (Taped transcript February 2008).

But Ellen was aware that as an outsider herself whatever she contributed to student learning was possibly short lived:

There was someone here before me and she was the wacky American who tried to do something and the crazy Americans come and do their wacky projects and they leave and I can't say I am any different. As much as I am keen on seeing this continue and have invested in it and will do until I leave, still I will leave. My colleague … really likes this kind of work but she is overloaded…she has too much to do, I can't ask her to make sure it goes on.

Chandler (1999) and Fischer (2006) comment on the dangers of international involvement in voluntary organisations in Mostar and indicate how this can inhibit a sense of local ownership. However, Ellen's colleague did take ownership of the project she initiated and provided a moving introduction to her student presentations at the final certificate ceremony. She voiced her commitment to keeping it going in spite of her workload and linked it to her work outside of the university at the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Mostar. The office was set up to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement and as office manager Celia (Ellen's colleague) was aware of the importance of involving students from the next generation in civil affairs. Learning about student engagement projects from Ellen she decided to initiate projects with two tourist agencies and three kindergartens for her own students. In introducing these she said:

We have identified 4 institutions which we wanted to co-operate with, 2 tourist agencies, 2 kindergartens. 12 students entered, no one had much idea how it would look but they supported and participated in this.

Why agencies and kindergartens? Well the future is youth and the future of BiH is economy and one of main areas of economy is tourism. Young people need to see how it is to have work and own money. (from notes taken at the certificate ceremony May 2008).

However, in spite of her role in the OHR and her strong contacts with local civil society groups she still interpreted the potential of student engagement largely in terms of economic stability and work. One of her students was offered paid work in a tourist agency as a result of the experience and all of them spoke positively of it, but there was no indication in their presentation of any sense of social or political change.

The need for broader international links or the learning that comes through contact with diverse groups was mentioned less frequently by students than it had been by tutors. The English literature students who had worked with an American lecturer (Ellen) were overwhelmingly grateful for her work and her new refreshing approach and referred to this in thanking her at the certificate ceremony. The graphic designers spoke about the need for outside and additional influences on their art work but they had already had some opportunity to travel outside of Mostar.

We have travelled a bit, Europe, Spain, Italy, Croatia, but we need more opportunities. (Focus group discussions February 2008)

Others mentioned the different cultural environment they encountered in the American Corner or the kindergarten during their projects and how, after initially

finding it terrifying, they had learned to adapt to it. They spoke positively of the richness of the experience and what they learned from mixing with these different groups.

> When I first came to kindergarten I was really scared. I felt like I had entered a new world, a world of something else, a world where I was so long time ago. And I didn't know what to do, children were coming to me, they were coming one by one, and as I saw them coming in I felt my heart beating faster and faster,. I looked at them, they were just children, I was once like that. They introduced themselves, they were all lovely…(Student presentation at the certificate ceremony May 2008)

Others mentioned the value of an interdisciplinary project that was developed with students from the Drama Department:

> Our communication combined everything with learning English, and then the students of drama department came and helped us with games and ways of learning. Through all this time they learned a lot but we learned a lot more and we got a great experience that filled our lives. It was hard but it was amazing and now you will be able to see only one small part of the rich time. (Student Presentation at the certificate ceremony May 2008)

It may be that the current difficulties of implementing the Bologna process and gaining credits for study time abroad as well as difficulties in the visa system will make international travel inaccessible for many students. At the time of writing the

162

International Department was involved in a dispute involving a student who was undertaking an internship at a foreign university and a professor who was insisting he would fail his course if he did not return to take a local assessment on time.

Theme 6: The Difficulties of Bringing about Long Term Political Change

Some of the debates explored in earlier chapters in this thesis concern the relationship between student engagement, participation in civil society and a sense of citizenship and longer term political change (Diamond 1994, and Taylor 2007; Zlotkowski, 2007). Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) discuss this progression from social to political participation, acknowledging that it can take years or even decades to achieve. Belloni (2006) however disputes the fact that one can lead to the other and sees civil society as emerging out of rather than leading to a strong state. Burde (2006) argues that a strong state and a strong civil society need each other.

During the two years of working on this project in Mostar I observed a number of developments. These include external and institutional developments (the development of a national law, the status of the university, its place in the Bologna process and its physical rights to and development of the site on which it is based), and personal ones as tutors grasped the potential of active engagement during our work together. From a largely negative view of the state and the future expressed in initial interviews ('People feel state is not organised, find it hard to make a difference many students want to leave to go abroad) there were many more positive views expressed in the final tutor evaluation:

Support from the university to the community is something new, it can be useful if proper consideration is given to needs of civil partners

This project has increased awareness and taught through experience that action and change is possible

[This project], if promoted, will decrease poverty and provide local people with fruits and herbs they can pick and eat' (all from tutor evaluation forms May 2008).

But much of this optimism was also tempered by an awareness of local political realities: 'There is also a lot of corruption here, in politics, in the media, but no one is talking about it, it is hidden' (Jelana interview transcript February 2008)

Otto was cautious about the levels of change that were possible, partly because the next generation was growing up within an atmosphere of caution rather than the radicalism that characterised many of the early student movements and service learning projects in the US and western Europe.

> I do believe it is possible that innovation and new ideas come from the young generation but I do think that you need to have an environment that is backing up this. I feel the 40 or 50 year olds that you were talking about (in Western Europe) those were the ones that grew up in the 60s and 70s and they really have the experience that change is beneficial and they would like to have people that are active. .... But especially strong movements need a strong head as well. (Interview transcript February 2008)

In an informal interview held in preparation for the certificate presentation the Dean of Humanities in UDB referred to huge local social problems in Mostar and a real and current sense of isolation:

> I was at a meeting recently between the High Representative of BiH – Miroslav Lajchak, and the citizens of Mostar. People were talking about their difficulties. Some say that it is harder for them to live now than during the war. I was shocked to hear this. I am an optimistic person and I like to think things are improving. But now people feel more alone. During the war they were together, supporting each other. But now people are alone, inside, more closed and just with their families. Many don't have jobs and they don't have hope. They can't do it all alone; they need to have more contact. (notes from a personal interview May 2008)

Davies (2004: 79) reminds us that: A great deal of the nostalgia we often see among people who have experienced 'hard times' or crises – war, depression, external emergence, relates to the fact that for a time, there was no ambiguity: one could live and act with single minded dedication to a cause and to survival (Davies, 2004:79). In many ways this post war period appeared more complex, lacking in trust and social relationships and with no security about the future.

The Dean reiterated her commitment to engagement programmes as a vehicle for helping students acquire jobs and regain the social capital that seemed to be missing

since the war. She acknowledged that the situation in Mostar was perhaps even more difficult than it was in Sarajevo and that problems had taken longer to heal:

> Money is important, but more important is to develop wishes and needs and there are not enough of these, people don't have wishes or needs or know what these are, this makes it slow to develop new things, they don't have hope. This new work with communities is very important. (notes from a personal interview May 2008).

She was positive about the projects that tutors from her department had initiated but, despite her support, tutors still saw themselves as a minority working within the status quo. Though tutors were convinced of the benefits of community projects and the potential of contributing to and learning from civil society groups, they remained sceptical about the difference this would make if there were a resurgence of aggression. They described an environment in which industry had been destroyed and jobs were scarce, a people who had not yet emerged from an era of mistrust and a context in which people were primarily concerned about their personal situations.

All the tutor evaluation forms included comments about the intention to continue to work on engagement projects, one saying that this kind of project had a history in Mostar and that in previous eras people did do things for the benefit of the community in general.

Since we are talking about modern methods of education and about the roots of the D B university this is a most integrated university and we think this kind of co-operation between the artistic and scientific departments are very important for the members of the society. (notes taken at certificate presentation)

But although there was unanimous agreement that involving students in community work gave them a greater sense of citizenship and a better chance of employment, none felt this would in any way contribute to political change: their response to a question about this on the evaluation forms was a definite 'no'. There was no evidence of any shift in their views since the individual interviews in February 2008.

Definitely we need to rebuild a sense of community but I don't think academic community or educational institutions can by itself solve this kind of problems….We could definitely use a stronger, more conscious, more open broader civil society definitely, but I am not sure that would be able to stop the war because here it was aggression, (Jelana interview transcript February 2008).

Any sense among students of long term political or social change emerged more in the responses on their final evaluation forms than during discussions held earlier in the project. These forms included questions asking specifically about how this period of community based work might affect their future decisions and whether they would continue to volunteer. Although there were very large numbers of students present and 72 different student opportunities celebrated (by 62 different people, 10 drama

students undertook two projects each), the success of the event made it difficult to retrieve all the student evaluation forms. These had been prepared in English and Bosnian and handed out at the event but as the event went on far longer than expected, many students had to leave before the end. As the certificate ceremony was on the last day of term it was impossible to follow up students individually to collect their feedback and I had to make do with the small sample I was able to collect. Of these 12 were written in English and 3 in Bosnian, which have since been translated for me.

The form included six questions asking students about what they enjoyed, what they found difficult, what they learned about themselves and their community, how they felt they had changed and whether they would volunteer in the future. One of the 15 forms was negative in responses to all the questions but the other 14 were unreservedly positive about the experience, the project idea and what they had got from it. Although these questions were open and not based on multiple choice answers I have grouped the responses around general themes (Table 7.2).

Any sense of aspiration for longer term social or political change as a result of the project emerges in the responses to questions 4 and 6, *'what did you learn about the local community'* and *'will you volunteer again in the future'.*

One student – who responded positively to most questions, responded with 'no comment' to the question on the local community, indicating exasperation with the situation. Others were more positive and 13 students indicated the community's need for additional help if things were to improve.

Table 7.2 Summary of responses to final student questionnaires

Questions	Responses grouped into themes.						
What did you enjoy most about your project?	Working with children x 8	Practise x1	Gathering & Socialising 1	Free choice x1	for community1	Teaching English x1	Whole Experience x2
What were the difficulties?	Controlling the children x5	Nothing 1	We were unprepared, had to learn through doing, didn't get enough help from community staff x6		Not enough time x1	Need to leave something behind x2	Everything 1
What did you learn about yourself?	Patience, Knowledge, Interaction with kids x2	That I can do more than I imagined I could, gained confidence, developed interpersonal skills x5	That I enjoy this, it is a great pleasure, 2	That I have something to contribute, things can be done with some small effort, much can be achieved x5			Don't know
What did you learn about the local community?	Its good, can be better, lots of problems to be faced. X2	That volunteers are necessary x2	Un-organised, needs lots of help from authorities x2	That it needs a lot of help, these kinds of projects should be organised more often, that I should contribute more x7.			No comment! nothing positive, nothing new. X2
How do you feel you have changed?	On many levels and in many ways, I am a better person, more aware, more compassionate, tolerant, more patient, ready to make compromises, I have realised that everything is not easy, have changed a little PERSONAL CHANGE x10				More organised, more prepared for work, figured out what I want to do in life. PROFESSIONAL CHANGE 4		Don't think I have changed
Will you volunteer again in the future?	Yes, certainly, of course, whenever I can, its now part of my life… YES x9				Maybe, if possible, depends on what I do… PROBABLY x5		NO X1.

Two saw that help as coming from volunteers, and two from the local authorities

commenting that they were 'very disorganised'. Seven were more general about the

additional help needed but took some personal responsibility – saying things such as

: 'these kinds of projects should be organised more often, it needs a lot of help and I

should help more'. Two others spoke positively about what they found 'its good, it

could be better, there are lots of problems to be faced'.

Students were not (as tutors were) asked about their hopes or aspirations for longer

term political change and none mentioned this aspect - either in focus group

discussions or in presentations at the certificate ceremony. However, they were

asked about volunteering in the future and 14 of the 15 respondents were positive about this. Nine were unreservedly positive saying things such as: 'yes, certainly, of course I will, whenever I can, its now part of my life'. The other five leaned more towards a probably rather than a definite response with comments such as: 'I hope so, it depends on what I do, it depends on what opportunities I can find'. Only one student answered with a clear no.

In Chapter 4 of this study I suggested that levels of volunteering activity, cited in the REAP framework as one of the possible measures for increased social capital, could be taken as a measure of the success of this programme. Starting from a base of almost no volunteering in the city and in the country, a realisation of the value of this could be one indicator of a move towards a growth in social capital and a normalised or more stable political situation. According to Putnam (2002) volunteering fosters more volunteering, Putnam cites research by Wilson and Monk (1996) to illustrate that volunteering as young people at college makes you twice as likely to volunteer in later life.

Early evidence from this project seems to support Putnam (2002) and Battistoni's (1997: _) findings that a 'well designed service learning programme could improve civic knowledge, enhance citizen efficacy, increase social responsibility and self esteem'. Students' knowledge of civil society organisations, their sense of self esteem and their enthusiasm to volunteer again in the future all point to a programme that has achieved these things. There is secondary evidence that this could in turn 'teach skills of co-operation and leadership and may even reduce racism' (Putnam 1993: 405). The testimony to what the groups involved in this study

have learned from the project, their willingness to get involved with different types of groups and their sense that civil society needs their help indicate a willingness to co-operate, to lead and to get involved regardless of the ethnic groups that may be part of any project. Ethnicity was never mentioned by any of the students during the course of our activities, either directly or obliquely. However, though Wilson and Monk (1996) see volunteering as part of the syndrome of good citizenship, claiming that volunteers are often more interested in politics, and political cynics are less likely to volunteer, there is also no evidence in any of the student responses of a political conscience or any growing investment in the structures of democracy.

During my focus group discussions with Jelana's students I did ask them about their primary identity as the issue of identity was raised. Scribbling the words Bosnian, Croat, Serb, Bosniak, Student and Psychologist on different pieces of paper I asked which of these they would use to describe themselves. None of them chose Croat, Serb or Bosniak (all terms seen as related to ethnicity in Bosnia); the choices were 'student' and 'Bosnian'. The reference by many students to their individual skills and aspirations indicated a student group who were, through experience, beginning to understand who they are. Ignatief (1997: 70) suggests that 'The essential task in teaching tolerance is to help people see themselves as individuals, and then see others as such, and to make problematic that untaught, unexamined fusion of ethnic and group identity'. My sense of the students I met with is of young people who see themselves as the next generation of Bosnian citizens with rights and responsibilities to their fellow citizens (Lister, 1998). Although not yet active participants in a democracy they are beginning to develop a 'strong, plural associational base,.. a

web of social, cultural and functional relationships which can act as a "societal glue" (Simillie, 1996: 13) that may eventually lie behind its formation.

However, despite the potential of such a programme to raise levels of trust and wellbeing there is at the time of writing, no evidence that it will have any impact politically. Putnam (1995: 665) distinguishes between political and social participation 'our relations with political institutions' and 'our relations with one another', but Booth and Richard (2006) and Seligson (1999) provide evidence indicating that civil society activism can develop social and political capital, and produce 'attitudes and behaviours that actually influence regimes in some way' (Seligson1998: 782). But the relationship between the development of social capital and actual political participation is complex and other 'institutional filters' determine whether social capital is 'converted' into political participation (Lowndes and Stoker, 2002). As Otto observed, in Mostar long term change needs an environment conducive to change and strong leadership. Despite the clear links between engagement, citizenship, social capital and political participation it is important not to over claim or to indicate that this is a one way street. Tina felt the main contribution of HE to reconciliation was in rebuilding not so much a sense of political identity but one of normalcy in the next generation and that, as people became engaged in their own societies they would begin to find their place in them. It was this security and stability that she saw as ultimately leading to peace rather than any ability to make political demands:

 Of course there are open wounds but these are personal. Civil society needs rebuilding, not just relationships between people, these are mended along the

way. We have so many mixed marriages, so many chances to meet each other, this is normal. … We need to focus on building links with the community and industry, in making our courses more applied, in building the economy, a sense of normality. The rest will come. There is always political extremism, but if people have jobs, a good standard of living, you will enjoy it, you will not be afraid. We need security, stability, to fight corruption, but corruption is apparently characteristic of a transition society. There is no point in blaming people for the past, … if you don't move forward then you are poisoned and I don't want to waste my life with that. (Taped interview transcript February 2008)

Conclusion

Though staff and students were involved in this research in different ways and brought different perspectives on similar issues, there are a number of priorities that emerge from both groups.

1. The value of the local community as a site of learning, both contributing to a more relevant curriculum and in providing students with an awareness of the diverse groups within it and the opportunities they offer. There was a sense that the university had something to offer to its local community and that partnerships would be positive for both groups.

2. The value of international relationships and contact with different cultures in putting the immediate context into perspective and broadening individual attitudes. Although some colleagues mentioned a reluctance to accommodate this among other members of the university and students were less aware of

this possibility than tutors, there was a genuine sense that contact with outsiders was something to be sought rather than to be feared.

3. The potential of student community engagement programmes to help students find employment, to encourage volunteering in the future and to build a greater sense of openness and trust. There was little awareness, however, of the potential to effect long term political change or to combat any future aggression. These were seen as something other and not within the sphere of influence of ordinary citizens.

The impact of these findings on the potential for future partnerships is explored in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: The Implications of this Study for:

- **Broader debates on the role of HE in reconciliation and the development of citizenship in post-conflict environments**

- **The work in CUPP and other community-university partnerships**

- **My own personal and professional learning.**

Broader Debates on the Role of HE in Reconciliation and the Development of Citizenship in a Post-conflict Environment

This study has some significance for other contexts emerging from conflict and concerned with the development of a sense of citizenship and belonging. Chapter 3 explored conceptions of citizenship and the role of civil society in 'developing the habits of a democracy' (Diamond, 1994). I cited Cornwall and Gaventa (2000), Lister (1998), VeneKlasen with Miller (2002) on different conceptions of citizenship and Merrifield (2002) on the processes through which citizenship can be learned. Meaningful participation in democracy takes years, if not decades to bring about (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000, Maalouf, 2000, Edwards 2004:104), but Merrifield draws on evidence from Zambia to show the importance of participation and experience in any educational citizenship programme. I suggest that Gaventa and Jones's (2002) three forms of citizenship, liberal, communitarian and civic republican may all be necessary to the functioning of a healthy democracy, but that internal conflict, by definition, destroys any civic sense of citizenship.

I began by questioning the directional relationship between the strengthening of civil society and the building of citizenship within a newly formed state. While there is a body of literature to suggest that participation in civil society leads to participation in a democracy (Diamond, 1994) there are strong arguments that refute this, claiming that states and civil society need each other and a strong civil society is the result not the cause of a strong state (Belloni, 2006).

Putnam's (1993) concept of bridging social capital, the bonds and trust that tie diverse groups together for mutual benefit, has often been cited as important in the development of a democracy (Carnegie Trust, 2008). Like Diamond, Putnam argues for the importance of a healthy civil society in making a democracy work. However while both agree that civil society contributes to the 'learning' of democratic practices, neither explicitly outlines its capacity to construct it. Lowndes and Stoker's (2002) description of localized institutional filters that help to determine the relationship between the development of social capital and actual political participation is significant. They claim that the way political institutions, leadership and institutions operate in relation to citizen participation all affect people's ability to effect policy change.

Much of this was confirmed during my research in Mostar. Interviews with tutors and with students during the course of the project indicate a readiness for and a development of bridging social capital that extends outwards from people's immediate ethnic or cultural groups. In my early interviews with tutors, held in November 2006, issues of passivity, lack of trust, a concern

with self and family and a sense of people looking inwards rather than outwards were raised by most interviewees. They described a society 'taunted by fear and hesitation' (interview notes). People were aware of, if not party to a social norm that suggested *keeping your head down, supporting the family, promoting a career and not rocking the boat*. This illustrates Chandler's (1999: 98) description of

> Individuals' personal histories, as either victims or as passive
> supporters of human rights violations may have made it difficult for
> them to see the gains of involvement outside of the immediate family,
> or be willing to take on responsibilities as active civil society members.

My own research indicates lack of trust and a fear of outsiders. Neither tutors nor students referred to ethnic divisions (apart from a positive comment on the emergence of multi-ethnic friendship groups), but there was a sense of xenophobia, a fear of people from other cities and other countries. 'People are xenophobic, afraid of outsiders, outsiders from Tuzla, or Sarajevo or abroad. Not so much of Croatians or Serbs but of the unknown. People are not open' (Interview transcript May 2008).

Contact with diverse community groups has helped to alleviate this fear and to build self confidence and optimism in student groups. Many spoke of what they had learned culturally from the groups they worked with and demonstrated their enthusiasm to continue volunteering in the future. But on the whole the projects generated a welfare- rather than a rights-based

response from participants. Jelana remarked in an early interview that 'people pity the disabled; there is no sense of rights'. Though the projects in many ways moved students on to becoming more accepting of difference, and enthusiastic about working with disability and disadvantage, they spoke about it in terms of helping, rather than challenging or overturning policy or attitudinal norms.

Stoecker (2003) draws attention to the difference between a charity and a welfare (service providing) approach to society and to service learning, as opposed to an approach that seeks to overturn social inequalities. Without the broader approach to partnership work and to politicising the inequalities students are working among, it may well be this first approach that prevails. A student engagement programme in isolation, while offering valuable learning opportunities to students and providing some benefits to community organisations, will do little to bring about social justice or political change.

Tina early on grasped the importance of taking partners' real needs into account in order to make a significant contribution at community level and for community university partnerships to have a significant effect this broader partnership, with a proper understanding of each group by the other, may be crucial. Community groups need to understand the benefits of working with a university if they are to make proper use of its facilities and if students are to be encouraged to reflect on the wider implications of involvement with community groups. I stated earlier in this thesis that transformational learning involves challenging former long held attitudes and values to the extent that

you begin to see the world differently, and become motivated to try and change it. As such this includes the development of 'inner and outer knowledge' and a redefining of personal identity, as evidenced by chapter 4 of this study.

Service learning on its own, without a reflective and politicised element, has personal value to individual students, but is unlikely to change the world.

Much has been written about fostering an individual or a collective identity during a period of reconciliation (McEntagart, 1999, Ignatief, 1998, Davies, 2004) and about the dangers of stereotyping, blaming and 'othering'. The projects undertaken in this study showed their potential to build individual self confidence, develop a student's ability to think for him or herself and to build relationships in different cultural groups.

Universities as academic institutions have the capacity to be more forward looking than more traditional elements of society as people are regularly exposed to the critical analysis of national and international scholarship. The tutors I spoke to were convinced of the need for ongoing contact with European and international organisations in order to keep local events in perspective, but they were also aware of the difficulty of introducing new approaches to some of their more inward looking colleagues. This problem is particularly acute in a post-conflict society that is missing a generation of people who might otherwise have become leaders for change. The tutors also spoke of the role of a university in raising critical ability, and overcoming fear

and manipulation, and of its responsibility to prepare the next generation as professionals and as citizens.

Tutors recognised the value and importance of local organisations in developing the attitudes and life chances of their students. They were convinced of the need to 'let people travel that will open their minds' and of their role in 'offering students a broader view of the world …. So they can discern between what is really good and what is really wrong' to shift them away from the inward looking attitudes that had developed during and since the war years.

There has been some criticism of outside agencies in terms of their interference in both political and civil society life in BiH since its formation in 1992. Davies (2004: 178) claims that 'ideological construction is particularly fraught with concern if imposed or seen to be imposed from the outside'. Chandler (1999) points to the effect of external funding agencies in diverting the central mission and undermining ownership of local NGOs. Certainly, civil society seems not at this point to be something with which individuals in Mostar readily identify. Officially there is recognition of its importance. Kotlo (2005) refers to the Decision on implementation and reorganisation of the city of Mostar which identifies NGOs as part of civil society and their role in reducing tensions, alleviating conflicts and building trust. Among educational institutions there is also a general awareness of the role that NGOs can play. (Kotlo interviewed students from Mostar in 2004 and surveyed primary and secondary schools concluding that there was some potential for educational

institutions to be come involved with civil society but educationalists knew little of the existence of NGOs or how to approach them (Kotlo 2005). However, on the whole individuals know little of their existence: a survey carried out by the Centre for Civil Initiatives in 2003 found that awareness of civil society groups - even the existence of one organisation - was under 50% in the Federation and 8% in Republika Srpska where less than 1.1% of people had ever participated in such a group.

Three/five years on from both Kotlo's and the Centre for Civil Society research the move to introduce these connections into the HE curriculum seems appropriate. With little prompting tutors grasped the importance of partnership working and its role in opening people's eyes to diversity in a context where currently 'there is no sense of rights' (Interview transcripts, February 2008). HE, as an indigenous, state sector body, dealing with issues of student learning and critical analysis, is in a position to mobilise some of the elements felt to be key to reconciliation and participation in democracy.

It was not difficult for tutors involved in this project to find finding partner organisations once they were familiar with the concept and how to set up appropriate projects using their own connections. Although we had made contact with an NGO that was supposed to identify partners for university students (Builders for Peace, a local NGO which is apparently setting up a volunteering centre in Mostar), this yielded little in the way of actual partners. Lecturers from all the schools drew on their own contacts to find and set up activities with schools and organisations in which their students could both

contribute and participate. With little outside assistance they were able to achieve one of the key aims voiced in the initial interviews - that of building personal confidence and developing contacts with the local community.

My findings also indicate the importance given by tutors and students to employment and economic progress in the maintenance of peace. Davies (2004: 41) and Edwards (2004: 97) both allude to the unequal distribution of resources and the role of disengaged youth in the escalation of conflict and in fuelling political extremism. Davies describes the 'sense of security and positive identity necessary to be open to the welfare of others rather than focusing exclusively on personal needs'. (Davies, 2004: 76). When such needs are frustrated the natural tendency is to turn inwards – looking for protection among identity based groups and demonizing the other. Staub suggests 'The frustration of basic needs, when combined with other facilitating factors, is often the basis for mass violence' (Davies 2004: 77).

The young graphic designers in Lene's class are an example of such a group of young people with little hope of work. Seeing themselves as victims of history they quickly lapsed into a blame culture, taking little responsibility for their own future and 'waiting for life to happen'. Young people, particularly young men such as these, are an easy target for nationalist politicians, and investment and money are not sufficient for cultural change. Huge amounts of money have been invested in Mostar, with no obvious improvement to either the long term economy or ethnic divisions. By the end of the 1990s total EU funding to Mostar amounted to over $2,500 per head, more than EU aid to the

whole of Poland, with little appreciable impact on reducing the tensions between Muslims and Croats (Deacon and Stubbs, 1998: 103). Young people need to re-find their hope in the future and the means to bring it about.

This research has indicated the potential of SCE in developing work opportunities for students and giving them a sense of their own futures. Within the short time span of the Mostar programme one student was offered a job by the organisation in which she worked. In a post-conflict environment the importance of this should not be underestimated. Tina alluded to the importance of jobs, employment and a stable income in building a stable society 'There is always political extremism, but if people have jobs, a good standard of living, you will enjoy it, you will not be afraid.'

Burde's (2004) study of school governance in Mostar examined the role of a pre-school parent teacher association in keeping education going during the aftermath of the conflict. She looked particularly at parents' participation in local parent teacher associations and its impact on the development of social capital. She suggests that local participation in NGOs could:

a) release the state from its responsibilities and shift them to the community

b) create inter-ethnic collaboration among professionals and to a lesser extent among other community members

c) build some capacity though not sufficient to challenge political power.

However, her conclusions suggest that community participation without external help, enduring networks or links to power is unlikely to succeed.

In some ways her findings reflect my own. Burde (2004) illustrates how that tutors and parents did not indicate any animosity between ethnic groups but more a disappointment in the performance of public officials. In my own research ethnicity was rarely if ever mentioned as a barrier to participation in community projects. Students and lecturers felt able to work across ethnic divides without considering the ethnicity of the group with which they were involved. (I asked the drama pedagogy teacher about the ethnicity of the children involved in the group her students were running and she seemed curious that I had even considered this. She answered that she had no idea.) Certainly, in a working context professional or subject linked identities became more important as a means of bringing together interest groups. However, at a personal level tutors would speak of how their parents had had to leave their homes on the west side of the river, how they seldom went back and how, although keen to remain in a multi ethnic state, they hoped their children would not marry across ethnic divides.

Burde's study was based on research undertaken between 1999 and 2001. Mine took place in 2007 and 2008 – eight years later and 12 years after the end of the war. But the disillusionment with political change was as strong. People's attitudes to trusting in politics to make a difference seemed only to have been reinforced. Students and tutors in our study spoke of an increase in confidence, a renewed sense of the value of volunteering, an enthusiasm to

work with and for civil society, but did not see these as means of becoming involved in or challenging political power. Politicians were still seen as the cause of ethnic division and as 'institutional filters' determining whether or not political participation could take place.

Burde quotes one of the preschool teachers in her study as saying:

> It doesn't matter who is elected either the (nationalist) or the (integrated party).Nothing changes around here. I have voted in every election until now but I won't vote any more because it doesn't matter…. All the money has been given to political parties and they spend it on their campaigns and we have none… (Burde, 2004: 83)

Such a statement echoes many of the feelings voiced in 2008.

However, while her findings suggest that community participation cannot be maintained without external networks I would suggest that universities could provide these structures internally and build local capacity to do so. The tension between older professors and young teaching assistants is unlikely to disappear, but as HE reforms are introduced, curricula will need to change. Young teachers are looking for support in both identifying that change and making the education they provide more relevant to the most pressing needs of their students. Those needs include experience that will lead to employment, practical involvement with current issues and the opportunity to build bridges within local communities. The success of our action research programme, the ease with which local teachers took ownership of the idea

and built their own contacts and the enthusiasm with which students responded suggest that a longer term programme could be run from universities in Mostar at very little cost.

A SCE programme can contribute to a sense of identity and belonging, provide valuable experience for finding permanent work, and meaningful voluntary engagement in the short term. It can also make a valuable contribution to the organisations concerned and contribute to building bridging social capital and the development of trust. However, for it to be significant in the longer term it needs to be part of a broader critical agenda which provides participants with the opportunity to question the context in which it is based. Experience of other groups is valuable in breaking down barriers, but needs to be supported by in depth understanding of inequality, marginalisation, the impacts of war and the causes of conflict if it is to equip students to challenge these in the longer term.

For significant political change the building of bridges across divides, and the development of social capital are unlikely to be enough. Yugoslavia had nearly 50 years of an education that celebrated cultural diversity, 'brotherhood and unity' prior to the outbreak of the Balkans war and in difficult economic times this was insufficient to curtail nationalist aggression. Reconciliation and a shared sense of citizenship and belonging are unlikely to come about without some interrogation and rearrangement of the underlying political structures.

Implications for the Work of CUPP and other Community-University Partnerships

There has been some limited research into fourth wave science shops and the potential for universities to support one another, in different contexts, to develop engagement programmes. However, while Fisher et al. (2004) identify four interconnected factors influencing co-operation between science shops and civil society organisations, (the condition of civil society and the NGO community, the political culture and public discourse, resources and science policy) this project demonstrates the potential for joint working with very few of these resources. Within a context where civil society is weak, the NGO community almost unknown and the political context not conducive to participatory involvement, this project has demonstrated degrees of success and positive engagement that are possible with minimal resources. Aside from my travel costs and subsistence, the project had no budget and functioned within the normal allocation of hours and resources in the mainstream university curriculum.

Despite my reservations concerning the potential for power imbalances and unequal participation, colleagues in Mostar, as peers, were very ready to challenge and overturn any approach they did not feel to be appropriate to their context, and were confident in their awareness of that context. The responses of tutors, both insiders and outsiders, illustrated their readiness to take on and adapt ideas developed in Brighton and make them their own. One

of the most impressive student activities was initiated by the tutor in Mediterranean Agriculture, Andrea, whom I did not meet until the occasion of the certificate ceremony when the project was over. Taking the idea from activities of colleagues working with me she gathered her own resources, adapted her curriculum and developed this into a project with her students. The 'hands off' nature of this project was successful; because the support visits were intermittent, local tutors had to make it their own. Dependence on their personal community contacts to set up student projects led to a greater sense of ownership and pride. In Chapter 4 I questioned whether indigenous views of democracy and equality and the different status given to academics in the two countries might make collaboration difficult. This proved not to be the case.

The success of this project and the enthusiasm it generated in a context reputed to be passive and afraid of change, is an indication of the potential of future inter-university collaborations. Working through HE institutions in transition societies and supporting their involvement in local development provides established structures for locally managed capacity building and offers support to civil society organizations at relatively low cost. Promoting the ethos of mutual benefit also offers a win-win situation, in which learning opportunities for students are enhanced and research and capacity support is provided to local development organisations. The (former) Director of the GUNI, in a personal conversation, claimed that 'there can be no in-country development without the development of Higher Education' (Joaquim Tres, personal meeting, April 2005). While this remains arguable it draws attention

to the potential of HE to work with and build on indigenous knowledge alongside cosmopolitan ideas. As a site of research, enquiry and learning universities are well placed to bring together the ideas of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', academics, practitioners and local community members and to take a holistic approach to deep rooted local problems.

However, some of the issues of partnership working, of potential jealousies over jobs in community organisations, of alternative assessments and the development of reflective learning were beginning to surface. To fully explore the potential of engagement work, a light touch, long term, support programme, in the form of a funded partnership between two universities, would be needed to evaluate any long term impact on the local economy, the levels of social capital and the emerging democracy. My own workplace, currently involved in a 'demonstrator project' for HEFCE to determine the impact of community-university partnerships on health and well being, would be in a good position to carry out this work in parallel with the HEFCE research. While civil conflict remains a fact of 21st century life, likely to escalate as resources become increasingly short, there is strong potential for universities in a stable democracy to support those working in post-conflict contexts to engage with and provide support to civil society organisations and to develop participatory and democratic processes.

Future projects would need to ensure that students have a secure environment in which to work and understand, from the outset, what would be the benefits for them. Having grown up in difficult circumstances not of their

making, the young people in Mostar have little concept of 'owing' anything to the communities in which they live, and are unfamiliar with the practice of volunteering. Although all the students I interviewed were motivated by the opportunity for involvement it was because they saw this as valuable learning and a means of finding work. Roholt and Smyth (2007: 165) in their work with university students in Northern Ireland and involvement in a service learning project, found that 'all wanted to know what compensation they would receive if they participated. Only those activities that provided them with an additional accreditation or financial compensation were attractive'. And, while this was not the case in Mostar, the main motivation for students was to develop contacts that might lead to work.

Service learning and student engagement programmes differ from university volunteering because of the element of assessment involved. Critics (Eyler et al, 2001; Sigmon, 1979) claim that it is the learning requirement and the opportunity for reflection that is important, and without these there would be activity, but little learning. Any sense of civic engagement that grew out of this project came from the involvement rather than it being a strong motivator. However, despite initial reservations, projects provided students with the opportunity to confront issues of diversity, and challenged their fear of the unknown. It built their confidence, illustrated their individual potential and provided a range of future opportunities for longer term engagement and skills development during periods when they were looking for employment. It would be interesting to revisit this programme in four years time to evaluate the

longer term impact on volunteering and the contribution of ongoing experience to finding work.

Any longer term programme would need to place greater emphasis on Bourner's (1998) domains of learning and Moon's (1999) models of reflective practice and deep and surface learning if there is to be any real shift from type one to type two knowledge (Gibbons et al., 1994). While all the tutors with whom I worked appreciated this at an abstract level, and there was some change in assessment practices, they made limited use of reflection. Reflection has been seen as integral to service learning models and a means of moving from a purely voluntaristic concept of 'service' (as in volunteering) or a strong focus on skills learning (as in placement activities) to 'develop[ing] an ethos of civic and social responsibility and an understanding among students of the role individuals must play collectively if communities and democracies are to flourish' (Zlotkowski 2007: 43). Universities must be able to deal with different ways of knowing and different domains of knowledge if they are to raise students' critical abilities to evaluate and respond to situations as well as ideas. Abstract knowledge as an approach can make an object of and 'dehumanise' the other (Ignatief, 1998). In a context where there is heightened sensitivity to identity issues, students need the chance to identify with the issues they are discussing if there is to be lasting personal change.

In Chapter 3 of this study I discussed the role of the university in terms of promoting individual excellence or a concern with 'public good' (Bourner,

1998). I approached the research in Mostar with an awareness of the tension between an individualistic and a collective approach to education in a post-conflict society. Zlotkowski (2007: 37) suggests that service learning lies 'at the centre of a tension between academia's focus on academic expertise and common ground', that community-university programmes are part of a wider shift in policy terms away from 'advancing the interests of individuals' to a broader focus on 'common good'.

This study indicates the potential for experiential work with diverse groups to enable individuals to understand themselves better, to be less likely to stereotype others and to recognise similarities and connections - to shift their focus from ethnic identities to other identities and to accommodate these (Maalouf 2000). The 'function of liberal society' and of a university may be 'not merely to teach the noble fiction of human universality, but to create individuals sufficiently robust in their own identity to live by that fiction' (Ignatief, 1997:71).

But while the reading undertaken prior to my research uncovered a range of claims for a link between HE, engagement with civil society and an increased sense of citizenship and social capital, universities should be wary of such claims. Zlotkowski (2007: 37) describes 'the role higher education should play in helping to sustain and strengthen the workings of democracy' as one of the most important questions of our time. The final report on the Universities as Sites of Citizenship Project refers to 'the challenge of advancing universities as sites of citizenship' (Plantan 2000: 2). Putnam (1993) claims that generalised reciprocity – short term altruism and long term self interest,

honesty and trust provide a means for dealing with conflict born out of difference. But this study gave no indication of the ability of universities to affect structural political change.

The REAP framework, developed by the University of Bradford in the UK suggests the following as indicators of change:

- Participation in voluntary or local organisations

- Involvement in local civic action

- Willingness to intervene in difficult situations in the neighbourhood

- Extent of help received from neighbours for different needs

- Social contacts with neighbours

- Contact with people of a different culture, generation, area of the city

- Levels of trust (in general, or in institutions)

- Feeling at home, safe.

The project in Mostar demonstrated the ability of student engagement projects to engender three of these, demonstrating that in situations such as Mostar engagement programmes help to develop bridging social capital. Students referred to themselves as 'a better person', 'more aware', 'more compassionate', 'tolerant', 'more patient', 'ready to make compromises' and realising that 'everything is not easy'. From the responses on the student evaluation forms, 66% referred to a sense of personal change; 93% referred to their intention to continue participating or volunteering in local organisations, and all the students participating in the certificate ceremony

referred to the opportunities to make contact with people from different cultures, generations or areas of the city. Thus, levels of safety and of trust were increased.

There was also some indication of the potential of universities to carry out local research into civil society and government organisations, to increase people's awareness of local structures for participation and their understanding of democratic principles. But, despite generating a commitment to volunteering, higher levels of trust and social contact, I found little hard evidence that similar projects might ultimately influence either voting behaviours or a belief in political change. The activism that preceded the war and the inability of this to change anything in the face of aggression is still strong in people's minds. While there is clear scope for CUPP and similar programmes to develop international engagement projects care should be taken to avoid a rhetoric that might accompany such work.

Personal and Professional Learning

My working title for this thesis was 'Diving from the Bridge', inspired partly by the divers who leap from the reconstructed bridge that connects the banks of the river in Mostar, as they did for generations prior to the war. But it also encompasses the concept that emerged during the study, that 'bridging is not enough'. When I began to work in Mostar I was interested to understand the factors that had led former neighbours, friends and family members to periods of extreme violence on the premise of a notion of belonging not rooted in experience. I had ideas drawn from former projects about the potential of cross cultural communication, transformational education and the need to build bridges within the succeeding generations.

A major realisation for me resulting from my work in this project is that building bridges is not enough, just as the children linking hands across bridges was not enough to stop the war from happening. Davies's (2004) *Education and Conflict, Chaos and Complexity* acknowledges the importance of 'relationship building across divides', but stresses that this has to be based on needs and interests rather than trying to teach students to be 'nicer to each other'. (Davies, 2004: 169). She discusses the need for an education that 'builds a culture of resistance against negative propaganda' that teaches problem solving and analysis, that builds 'moral conventions' and that allows an understanding of the ways in which 'knowledge and understanding are socially constructed and negotiated' (Davies, 2004: 125). She quotes Cockburn (1998: 1) who says 'We need to know more about how peace is

done … how ordinary people arrange to fill the space between their national differences with words instead of bullets'. Reconstructing a bridge is only part of this process. Diving from the bridge, and interrogating the basis on which it was constructed, how it was built and how it should be maintained it are the real tasks of post-conflict HE.

My previous experience of project management - of international projects and partnerships - and of cross cultural learning were all important in the conception and realisation of this project, but they, too, were 'not enough' and my deeper learning was related to the role of researcher and how this can conflict with the more (for me) familiar roles of student, of development partner or of project manager. On several occasions I was enthused about the process of what we were doing and keen to focus on a task oriented approach to getting it done, endangering my role and pace of work as a researcher. The conflicting demands of commitment to participatory action research and the need to lead and complete a programme of academic study further influenced my choices and understanding of the research processes. However open I was to and interested in promoting local ownership of the research questions and project design, I also had a conception of SCE that I was keen to share. I had sole responsibility for completing and writing up a thesis that would meet doctoral standards, and was not a piece of writing produced to meet a community demand.

I learned through experience the limitations of my research. Towards the end of the project, I began to discover the questions I really wanted to ask. I chose

a qualitative approach to my research design, in which issues emerged from discussions and opportunities rather than being structured in advance. But in analysing my findings, I became aware of their relative incompleteness, and how they highlighted areas, such as perceived impact on community organisations, student views on political and social change, relative trust in neighbours, awareness of local political structures, etc., that I perhaps should have explored at the outset. My strategy of attempting to be as participative and non directive as possible prohibited me from probing further student conceptions of identity and community that might have provided valuable insights into the impact of experiential work on their own thinking. While my approach made for interesting research, to be truly successful it would need to be less time bound.

I also approached the project with preconceived questions about societies that promote individuality and collectivity and presuppositions about the importance of a collective approach to the promotion of social capital. Both my reading and my discussions with students and colleagues are indicative of the simplistic nature of such dualisms. The work of Ignatief, his description of the 'dehumanisation' that comes with 'othering' and the need both to recognise individuality and to create individuals with a robust sense of themselves, have significantly influenced my thinking.

On a superficial level the SCE projects in Bosnia have been a great success. The tutors welcomed them; the students wanted to do them, enjoyed them and learned a lot about themselves and the society they now live within.

Community organisations benefited from their work and their youthful enthusiasm. Some students have increased their chances of employment. However, in terms of social change, of reconciliation, of rebuilding a sense of citizenship, the projects did not go far enough. Students learned how to work with and looked after children, disabled citizens and Gypsy groups; they did not learn to address the causes of poverty, marginalisation or war. And, without such knowledge, there is a danger that they will adopt a welfare approach - addressing gaps in provision or developing relationships with marginalised groups, but not challenging the underlying causes of marginalisation or the failure of the state to provide. The disillusionment with political change that came across in almost all student and staff responses shows that they are not yet ready to trust the politicians that lead them, although they are beginning to build some trust in their neighbours. While I feel positive about the potential for SCE projects in the longer term I also acknowledge that, like bridges, they are not enough.

Through the reading connected with this research and through my first hand experience, I encountered the complex personal psyche that follows a period of conflict. I discovered that ethnic divisions were not the major issue at the personal level, but that people were generally fearful and mistrustful of others. Any sense of basic human goodness had been shaken by the violence they had experienced or been party to, and the resulting insecurity had permeated a culture and a generation. While people may continue to vote on nationalist lines, ethnic identities have become associated with conflict and alternative associations with the new state are shaky and unsure. The only English

language news programme broadcast on Mostar TV at 6.00 pm, to which I listened daily, was regularly interrupted by the playing of the Bosnian national anthem accompanied by the screen showing the BiH flag. The symbols of Bosnian citizenship are continually evident, but at a deeper level people are unsure with whom to identify and how to build associations. Developing acceptance of hybridity, allowing people to explore and re-find some of their former non-ethnic identities, and supporting emotional literacy are some of the keys to post-conflict work. Questions of culture and identity, insiders and outsiders, alienation and belonging which occupied many of my previous studies re-surfaced in this research.

I came to this project with a sense of the relevance of social capital as a concept, of the importance of bridging rather than bonding social capital, and of potential ways to develop this through the promotion of citizenship. However, while I affirmed the role of experiential learning, of engagement with diversity in building social capital I realised that these were not enough. Throughout my research the importance of jobs, of economic stability, of a sense of belonging and identity created through employment was stressed by many of the participants involved. The words of my colleague Tina were significant for the conclusions to this research. 'There is always political extremism, but if people have jobs, a good standard of living, you will enjoy it, you will not be afraid'.

My conversation with the former director of GUNI referred to above, debated the importance of higher education in different parts of the world. His

comment that there can be 'no true indigenous development without higher education' was meaningful to me at a time when I was considering my own role in 'participatory development projects' in countries other than my own. My enthusiasm for the potential of community-university partnership projects was further verified by the process of this research. The role of long term community partner, working with minimal budgets to enhance student learning and support the development of civil society groups seems preferable to me to management of short term projects by international NGOs. If teachers can be encouraged to explore other ways of teaching and learning, and researchers to find other more inclusive approaches to researching, this could provide a source of stability for indigenous development. Throughout the processes of this research my own belief in teaching from a transformational stance, the importance of applying theory to practice and the potential for a university to redefine what counts as knowledge have been affirmed. As an indigenous institution, encompassing some of the brightest citizens in Mostar, UDB has a responsibility to become involved in the pursuit of human, social and economic development on a local and a global scale.

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Juliet Millican, - minor corrections on Edd thesis.

1. Box detailing projects – listed as key data sources pg 10
2. Para on problems of identifying community pg 95
3. Replacing word generalisability pg 93 and contents page.
4. Integrated school in Mostar (UWC) pg 30
5. Interview strategy with students pgs 105 and 197
6. Ammended title to 'Community University partnerships…'
7. Supervisors added to acknowledgements
8. Abstract added as heading to abstract and spacing altered
9. Population of BiH included on pg 25
10. Minor typographical errors corrected