***A great provocative Talk before us. I am very, first of all grateful, excited to have the opportunity to talk to the esteemed Jasmina Hasanović, who is a senior assistant at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo, is the coordinator for international cooperation, and above all we are a generation and someone who grew up together. palanci. Jasmine, welcome to the Education Conversation.***

Nedime, thank you for the invitation and greetings to all virtual viewers.

***Most teachers look at us so I think they will enjoy this conversation. It will suit me, because I want your prospects too, Jasmine. You are a very productive young scientist, if I may say so, you write a lot. You write and do what, if I may interpret it that way, what you believe in, is not just a theory, but you are very active in practice as well. Some of the areas you cover are mostly political science, but they are also sociological, and deal with various phenomena. Since we are talking exclusively about education here, if I were to give you two key words and, in fact, I can ask you like this: do you think that the fight for a good quality education means everything, including the class struggle?***

Of course it is. What you have noticed is theory and practice - I don't think we can talk about theory without practice, and we can't talk about practice without theory either. So education itself has to be geared to what I like to call it, although it is not my construction, that construction can be found in theory, and that is the construction of theoretical practice that involves both research and learning at the same time. The conflict of theory with matter in short. Now, class and class struggle, of course, the question of education is always a question of emancipation. If we go back to modern thinkers who tried to get out of metaphysics and general theological transcendence, they had to go back to reason, to go back to man, but then it may have been within education, within one segment of thought, but that segment opinions were at the same time political emancipation, they by breaking the shackles of the theological concept of worldview, established a paradigm for a new setting of social relations for a new setting of a new political order that will be based on reason, based on man, and so the question of emancipation is always a political question. Now, Gaja Petrović "Logic" means that education is always political, and now we need to be very clear here. Knowledge and science they are never purely politically or ideologically neutral, even within the natural sciences. The way you interpret the world and the way you incorporate that interpretation into the political and social context is never neutral, but knowledge is always reproduced in a particular historical context.

***Of course.***

It is always conditioned by the historical context, even when you come to an epochal conclusion like Galileo, but then the church says give it up. It is therefore a political act, whether you will renounce your conclusion or not, and what your renunciation of such knowledge means. We must always understand that the production of knowledge, the production of theory, it is never deprived of the political, it is never deprived of the ideological.

***What does that mean now in the context of BiH and our education system?***

So a lot of it. First of all, let's start from a paradox where our education is both primary, secondary and higher at the entity level. So the entities are the ones who have the power over knowledge, which means that we have entities that are almost monoethically clean spaces, they are different in Republika Srpska: Croats and Bosniaks are a statistical error, just as Serbs in the Federation are a statistical error against Croats and Bosniaks. These are almost pure ethno-entity spaces.

***And narratives.***

In these clean ethno-determined areas, you have "clean" curricula that are ethnically determined, which means that the education system in BiH serves to socialize the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a divided society. Look at two schools under one roof, look at that symbolism of the awful fence, between two schools, and see if the fact that we have a physical fence in front of one school - that physical fence in the non-physical world, in the symbolic world, are national subject groups plus religious education, will whether someone agrees or not. But it is through these two elements that you actually shape the monoethnic mass, you actually shape that one homogenized collective that needs to be socialized according to the parameters given, and with that you cement and reproduce that ethno-nationalist mindset to new generations. We have seen every resistance to that with the students in Jajce who did a great thing, which should become a paradigm of political and social action today, but if you look a little closer, here is an example of solidarity with the Memic and Dragicevic families, how this interpreter, therefore, any resistance ethno-determined is understood as an attack on a particular ethnic group.

***And that him it minimizes, it no longer gives it importance.***

Exactly that, and not only that, but you accuse yourself as an accomplice of the other - where the other is pejoratively connected with some primordial archetypal enemy of your people, then there is a reference to previous wars and the status of a victim by which such chauvinism is allowed and reproduced. . Just think of chauvinistic policies where one language is not allowed to be learned in one entity, even though it is the same language, in my opinion the same.

***Yes, yes, science said its own thing there.***

Absolutely, or let's say where you are in monoethnic communities, here I will take our Gorazde situation as an example: when you, for example, manipulate religious education by putting it in the middle of classes, as those who would not go, if by chance someone is found who is not a member of that ethnic group who listens to that very religion, to feel even more different, even more major, even more strange, perverted, or to agree to be like that, or to simply integrate so that he also goes symbolically to that religion, and beware, I just wanted to say a paradox here, so while we are dealing with these things, at the same time the radical neoliberalization of education has completely different requirements that we need to adapt to, so while we care about religious education, we worry about how many zeros to put on the number victims in order to justify our national ethnic collectivity, and others to show as a major villain, we do not have serious publishing houses, we depend on the literature that comes to us from neighboring state we depend on pirated downloading of literature from the internet, our schools have no basic access to either literature or databases, and not only that, but our schools, while we take care of the language, religious education, whose King Tvrtko was a Croat or a Serb, or was a Bosnian, schools do not have the basic means to work. Whether it's about heating, and now maybe paradoxically, whether it's that they don't even have students, and about technology: laptop, tablet, yes ...

***..not to mention. You know what I hear, Jasmine, in fact, whenever any education reform is discussed, I think there are a lot of amateurs in education, because the education system is something that is very complex, and you yourself said in your introductory sentences, how much is it is essential for the creation of a political mind, a being that thinks and contemplates. Whenever we talk about education reform we put that mantra as “we need to adapt the education system to the labor market”, I have a few questions here maybe just hints to give you. First, I do not believe that if we prepare these children for this labor market in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then it is not good, the second option, if we prepare cheap labor for some European western countries there, is again the sale of land, and the third thing I think create no workforce to begin with. Here.***

I will take one example that I like to follow every time we start talking about the job market and education. Against the labor market, whether it is a key paradigm of market logic that favors market-profitable professions and occupations that in conjunction with capital makes one very dangerous thing, it denies students the desire to pursue what they really want. Now that you deny someone a wish - it is a very serious psychological, manipulative, political, whatever you want, problem. So, when you shorten the desire, we are at the door of totalitarianism, one way or another to understand it. Now, what example do I like to follow, an example from our faculty that gave me the knowledge to make an inversion of that - that we do not need the labor market, but that we need the labor market. Well, look at this now, everyone will say that the social humanities are mostly sciences, so first, strictly epistemologically, many will even dispute whether they are sciences, let's leave that aside. The colloquial story will be that these are unprofitable occupations with which you can do nothing, and if that is really the case, how can we have so many staff in the public sector who are not educated at all for what they do, how is it that the Faculty of Political Sciences, more precisely our students, our Student Association together with the Student Association from Banja Luka, and together with the Student Association from Mostar, which in my opinion you can already understand why .12: 16 .. act, jointly protested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for announcing a competition for interns where political scientists with a degree in international relations and diplomacy were not sought at all, so they were looking for totally banal occupations, now I can't remember which ones exactly, but which ones are not social at all ...

***It depends on the person.***

It depends on the person and it depends on the party. So, we already see one problem here, and that is the problem of how the faculty that is considered to be producing staff must lightly protest against that. Another example is librarianship, look at our libraries, our libraries stayed in the ’60s,’ 70s. years. Libraries are a key segment of education, a key segment of science, a key segment for you to develop your critical thinking. Now, the question is if you go to Zagreb to the University Library, or to Ljubljana - I can't even compare Ljubljana, and if you go there and see what a library is, and what all libraries offer compared to our libraries, let's go back to who works in libraries, so mostly people who put you on the list work - if the party puts you on the list, here I am very open - the party puts you on the list, you manage to collect some 20-30 votes, which is for example for our connection Goražde a very significant number, that you can enter The Municipal Council, or the Assembly, because it doesn't take much, thanks for your efforts will be a position, so you may be in the library, you may be there, maybe here, and thus you will derogate the library institution, and on the other hand you have certain geniuses which totally neglect the Faculty of Philosophy and their department of librarianship, but through the National University Library in BiH there are courses for such people that the party employs in the library and then you complete the course in a few months and pos tanete graduates, I mean not a diploma ..

***All by law.***

..becomes a certified librarian. You look at how certain professions, occupations, call them whatever you want, which are colloquially understood as unprofitable on the market, in fact, derogate, see that you don't have much, I would like if I don't think they exist, but I would like some research which would really show how many political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, librarians work in positions that are for that profession, so let's see if we really have to, if someone wants to be a sociologist, that he later has to complete some training in order to be adapted to the labor market. This is where we come to the key derogation of the academy in general. You are actually discrediting certain knowledge as useless, as opposed to monetizing skills. Skills are now the ones that are on a higher ranking scale.

***And very transient.***

Of course, and then you will replace the academy with some course.

***Yes.***

Because the course will be stronger than the academy.

***All this illogicality, continuous illogicality, of the Bosnian society, since with certain journalists you have self-censorship, will we create self-censorship in advance for some beings in the sense that they stop dreaming, stop wanting to stop going in the direction ...***

I think it's already happening in some way, it's happening globally, it's happening locally. Globally it has dulled the academy, the academy has always had a controversial attitude towards, say, the left in particular - the left has always accused the academy of elitism, that it is someone closer to the bourgeois class than the working class, and at the same time within the academy they had the most leftists , I think it's a paradox.

***Paradox, again.***

But globally now such a concept of knowledge and such a concept of education has dulled the academy to be a place of critical reflection, and in theory the problem of emancipation has been reduced to an instrumental emancipation that does not change social circumstances but seeks to adapt some things that power would be as invisible as possible. And you don't really have any serious or theoretical discussions about offering a concept of hope now, except for individuals at the academy, for example Ernst Bloch, an East German Marxist, at the beginning of the last century for society, which is why this one metaphysical concept is much more material than we can imagine, in what way an understanding of hope can be very material. On the other hand, the academy is also conditioned and subordinated to participation in conferences, writing papers that are for a certain reason Q1, Q2, Q3 journals so that you can progress in what you do, at the same time while you are engaged in tweaking one of your texts. from 15 to 20 pages, which will eventually be read by your closest colleagues, in order to quote you collegially, so you could have some rank on that scale or possibly someone would accidentally find your work, and that work will not be read by a worker or a woman in a store - who is also a worker, or a pensioner to whom the neoliberal law does not provide some benefits and the like, but it will be read by someone like you, me ..

***This is also seen in education and I think a lot of good ideas fell into the water for the simple reason that we didn't know from the idea to translate what it looks like in practice, that's it.***

Exactly that, and that is where the relationship between practical theory and theoretical practice is important.

***And that one connection, and that one community, without being self-sufficient on either side. You know what else scares me, Jasmine, and my and your education costs, you know that. How dangerous is it that education costs?***

I just started having that problem. If your knowledge, which may even be emancipatory, can be revolutionary, if you are doomed to reproduce it only within your own class of academics, without being able to go out among working people, out among the oppressed, out among the masses, and out of that mere theory create practice, unfortunately ost, we are just reproducing the status quo. Roughly what one theorist, that is, a theorist, Mackenzie says about so-called hypocritical knowledge, so while we are talking about this, here is how the two of us are now discussing all this ...

***I do not argue with you, I completely agree!***

But let's call it a general discussion, we're going to shape this into a text, make a conference that will be nothing again. We don't have critical knowledge, we don't have critical theory, but we have hypocritical - we lie to ourselves to do something, so it is very important that penetration into the public, penetration into the field of action, penetration into the field of activity, and here I would just go back to I laugh, I was talking about a global problem, the local level of this problem of numbing the academy is the fact that as long as the academy is under the paw of power, this or that, today it is green, tomorrow it is red, the day after tomorrow it is blue, sometimes it will be yellow or I don't know I who, you are always doomed to be lulled into conformism, and to be in the security of the budget, of course there will always be individuals, but as long as they are just individuals it will actually serve such an academy to say for itself that it is still critical, although it is not, in essence, it is only done by individuals sometimes, very often, to their own detriment.

***How dangerous is it, Jasmine, not to have a good education, let's stick directly to BiH now? What are the predictions we could make from the analysis of this context? What awaits us if we do not move?***

Well, I'm sure that after we finish this conversation, and when I may review this clip, I will have a better answer than I will have now, as it usually is. I think we are already witnessing to a large extent the consequences of poor education, the consequences of education stunting between dry theorizing the same, to being subordinated to skills rather than knowledge, which obviously dulls the way of thinking, dulls critical consciousness and dulls questioning. If you are not able to question the circumstances in which we find ourselves, if we are not able to question and question some of the social relations we have - and that we can compare them and say what this and that, and this and that, does it is not normal for this and that reason, which I consider a paradigm of normalcy, we are already questioning the legitimacy of the order itself. If we are unable to question the legitimacy of the order itself, the order has actually declared its triumph, and we are witnessing the current victory of the order we have, and all our resistance is being euthanized through social networks, through satirical comments, and we are relieving ourselves through those comments, through parody, because parody and humor is always a form of inner cleansing from some bad psychological states, and as long as we compensate for it through humor, unfortunately, we are doomed to witness the consequences we see day by day. Then, unfortunately, we have to leave the country, we become slaves again, cheap labor, but at the same time I think, and that may be a little contradictory now, in fact not contradictory - how controversial it is, I think the only thing that can get us out right now, more greater, and even more rigorous censorship, even greater and even more rigorous oppressive power by ...

***That's the theory that it has to go low enough.***

Well, let's call it that, because maybe we're not just able to recognize dominance, maybe that dominance is so skillfully packaged as freedom, which is already happening everywhere and globally, that you are free to choose what to order on Amazon, not really see that it is one sees enslavement, now in one way or another. Likewise, while we have replaced domination with freedom and cannot recognize it, we will have and live in the illusion that we are free, until we discover where we are actually enslaved, until we strike at the source of domination.

***Does education set us free?***

Education can liberate if we shake its foundations a little.

***These are deep foundations, they have been almost the same for hundreds of years.***

Let's start with the construction of knowledge and start with the construction of the idea of ​​ideology and science in general. Here, I would go back to Marx, Marx wrote that the ideas of the ruling class are always the ideas of the ruling ideas of a particular society. This will be determined later by Thomas Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Health Revolutions". He will not refer to Marx anywhere, but will structurally and substantively speak of paradigms as sets of certain assumptions about knowledge that are created through information and experience, and they are institutionalized through the authority of the state government that imposes them as norms. If you have the ideological apparatus of the state, Louis Ax writes about it, the ideological apparatus of the state are educational institutions. Political power is reproduced through educational institutions, precisely through those paradigms that are ruling in a certain social context, a certain social condition, and they become a means of disciplining the population. Klum talked about that - discipline, punishment, not to deal with it now theory, so as long as we have this kind of education, it creates a hierarchy from top to bottom. This is when you said at the beginning whether education is a class issue, so obviously it is, because through education the class determinism of the ruling class descends from top to bottom, what needs to be done from education - it should actually be turned to be socially engaged from bottom to bottom.

***Of course.***

If we accept the fact that every science, that all knowledge is political and ideological, and that it cannot be freed from it, if we leave it to neutrality, then we must actually politicize education, now politicizing education can seem very controversial. but it does not mean that education serves as in our country what serves in a ruling political party, ideology, but to be in the service of emancipation of social transformation, so to politicize education means that it acts politically, that it is socially engaged, and that we can talk about education which emancipates. In order for education to be emancipated, we must emancipate education itself, that is, we must speak of intellectual emancipation.

***And it's a very long process.***

That is.

***A very long process. Do we have time, do our children have, Jasmine? You work with a lot of students, do we have time for that?***

That's a good question, many things that were started by some thinkers, or in some time context, didn't come true while those people were alive, and some still haven't come true. Time and space, these categories have lost time over time today, given digitalization, given some acceleration of social flows, and the concept of events in general. I always like to go back to Badiou and his concept of events - that the event can, not to mention the subjects of emancipation, that you no longer have a working class that can emancipate, but that the event can be the one that emancipates. Let's say that's what Alan Badju is talking about. Let’s look at the pandemic now, the pandemic has greatly accelerated the social historical process, it is accelerating some things that might go much longer in time.

***Yes, we see that now in education as well.***

That's exactly the whole transition to digitalization, specifically in the case of my college, we were thinking of renewing e-learning next year.

***Well slowly, then create sections and how it works.***

We have already slowly started to have online classes every fifth and fifteenth week that will be conducted through online platforms. Now in what way, that has yet to be determined and then in a couple of months we install Zoom, buy zoom again, reproduce the capitalist consumer mode of production, renovate our online learning platforms and the like. So there are events that can obviously speed up social processes as long as it lasts I really can’t throw spoons and forks.

***Yes.***

But it's important to focus on what we're already out there about somewhere, I might agree, but since the '60s,' 70s. years talked about the so-called critical pedagogy, I think it is not so-called but it is ...

***... it's established already.***

That's right, so there is a critical pedagogy. I think that critical pedagogy will have to be a key means of emancipation, especially with the use of digital technologies, also from a very critical aspect of the use of digital technologies, because we have now seen in these times of social distancing, that is, physical distancing.

***Yes, you wrote about it.***

That we have technology, only technology in our hands. Now, whether this technology will set us free, and I wrote about it, depends solely on us, and since teachers follow this, I would like to refer them to a book by the French philosopher Jacques Rancière, a book called The Teacher of the Ignorant. He talks about that intellectual emancipation in a bottom-up way, he takes the example of a French teacher, Joseph Jacquette, who actually worked at a school in France, if I'm not mistaken - it was a school, and he taught what he was talking about. he didn’t know at all, but he asked the students to research it, and they to actually teach him. In short, he actually reversed the process of education from the bottom up, which served as a concept that can be understood today, a combination of theory and practice of learning and research, where he established equality of intelligences, ie equality of intelligences as a critique of universal pedagogy where certain bottom-down paradigms are imposed through educational institutions. He actually forced his students to move from the bottom up, in order to somehow come to certain knowledge that can not only be socially positioned as static, because they are always moving, something new will always be discovered and upgraded to that system. .

***Of course. I think that the teaching profession is going through the same epochal period, it has completely lost its tripod, it has lost its idea and I think that many of our teachers are also thinking about what their role is now in the context of all changes. woman, I think it's ok, I think that education, like no other phenomenon, must agree to a reform, I think that it must be constantly under reform, constantly respond, feel the pulse of society and respond well to it. I have one, perhaps, fun flash question. I guess I don't have any scientific evidence for this, and you will see through my fingers that Bosnian society does not value education as a value, and here's how I see it: maybe through these everyday narratives - it's that children go for paper, it's important that you get paper, so everything will be OK, and that strikes me directly at the evaluation of education. If society does not value education, how can it start it, what will start it, will it not start by itself?***

Yes, I was expecting a fun question, and I got a very complex philosophical question. If we start from the fact that science and education are fun, then we should definitely participate in a dialectical process that no longer has a hierarchy, in which you do not have the authority that education will come from those authorities, but we really have to take different segments of society as a whole. , I can't honestly, here I am from Sarajevo, who am a senior assistant at the Faculty of Political Sciences, writing a doctorate, and I am trapped in that theory that I have to master in order to advance to a higher profession and maintain my academic and social position, I, unfortunately , I can't know what happens to a worker in Tešanj or Goražde. I have to go to that worker, and maybe that worker will, because the topic of my doctorate is "The idea of ​​emancipation in contemporary political theory", and maybe I will read the pages and pages of literature of a German, French, Spanish, Indian philosopher, irrelevant, and I will not to find out what a worker from Goražde, or from Tešanj, or from Lukavac will provide me, so either a worker from Lukavac can think among his workers how to start something, how to form a trade union as the basis of labor activity and not know how and then , by chance, I will somehow appear there, and tell him: "Well, you know this and that theorist, he used to think this and that." very practical, this theory is filtered for a particular action to help him understand how something can change. So as long as we don't understand education as a broad social process that depends on all of us individually, I don't think we should talk about any education reform instructed from the cabinet, between 4 walls, by these or those technocrats who think they possess all the knowledge, no one possesses all the knowledge. Knowledge is always practical, knowledge always arises and is always refuted, and it must always be subject to change. Subject, as you brilliantly said, to constant questioning. As long as we do not question our knowledge, as long as we make canonical knowledge out of knowledge, as permanently universal, we fall under totalitarianism. And so in the case of BiH, I think that some processes will necessarily have to start some broader social changes, I sincerely hope, and I think that the only way we can start talking about social political emancipation here and this position will probably be very controversial. , but until we question the narrative of '90, which we are all hostages to today, it is the narrative of war, crime, the narrative of hatred, the narrative of separation, until we snatch it from the hands of the right and slap it a little leftistically and liberally, and understand - well wait a minute.

***Yes.***

And we notice that in fact, in that narrative, that is, the abuse of events - unfortunate events, which took place in the '90s, their abuse from the side of the right, there is domination as such that enables those who are in the' 90s. through privatization processes accumulated capital and today maintain it through the reproduction of such matrices, as long as we do not shed light on it and as long as we do not break this event in our heads, to which we are faithful and where we count before war, after war and generally war as a measure of all things. no matter how we move away from such a paradigm and realize that we have to build something new, and we have not built anything new in 20 or so years since the war, so we continuously return to the past, as the only legitimation basis of our present, until we actually question it we can't move on. How are we going to question that until certain things obviously make the process visible on their own. We had the Memić-Dragičević case, which proved to be excellent, but unfortunately, they are still not politically strong enough to make it more serious, although they are trying, although in my opinion they are much more important than the 2014 protests because they crossed these entity levels for the first time. borders.

***Yes, yes.***

As long as one common view of justice is not found on both sides of the entity and as long as that one view of justice is not more important than the view of national pride of virtual artificial national pride, we cannot talk about any further progress.

***Maybe education could potentially, so from peace theory it could be something that connects people, because it's an existence potential for all children who do not choose and do not ask. And let me try another fun question, how does all your educational philosophy materialize with your students?***

Via 5G network, can I?

***Now via 5G network.***

Well I have to go back a bit, I honestly try through exercises to combine as much as possible: theory and practice, and as much as possible to try to notice what we do theoretically in the field of reality, so if we are talking about some Galtung theory of peace let's week, find me an event that marked that week, so let's ask him a little through Galtung's triangle of conflict, let's see what A is, what B is, what C is and so on. Let's see how applicable this theory is today, or in subjects like contemporary political theory, let's read Thomas Hobbes his Leviathan, so let's shake it up a bit through today's concept of sovereignty, plus pandemics ... so we have to integrate different segments of knowledge from reality into which we find ourselves. I really try to get a critical opinion from the students, as much as possible.

***What does that mean?***

Considering that this is unfortunately not the case in primary and secondary school, it is not enough, so it is a sudden, in my opinion, pass that they get, and then I may be considered a slightly more complicated assistant at the faculty.

***Not only do you have high expectations - I like to call it by its real name.***

OK, but also, what makes me happy is that students, at least I've noticed it through, say, the same generation I've been following from first year onwards, dare to think more, dare to think more, and dare to ask more questions, even if these questions may have been so banal, it is in these banal questions that the most difficult answers are required.

***Or the children's ones, they are the hardest, and the best.***

And why is that so? And then you really come and really why, why some things are as they are and I'm actually happy that if at least 5% of students after our faculty turn more, I as an assistant from that position, I'm not able or want to tomorrow not even as a professor, I as an individual may not be able to, but if we start from that individual intellectual emancipation in which Ransier speaks, and if they start thinking about research instead of learning, and if they replace learning with research, then I will not learn certain material just because what do I need, but really come on if I read a little and maybe I'll turn on my brain and see if this really fits we won't what is written or if someone doesn't agree with a certain definition that they'll google a little, think a little, or me let me know, what makes me happy when it always happens - that some student preparing for the exam has read something ...

***... which intrigued him.***

..and wants to ask me if there is another, some other way of thinking about this, if the class has to always be a worker in the factory, if he is also a web designer - if he is also a worker, and such a way of thinking, in fact opens the fields of emancipation.

***Jasmine, this is very pleasant, but I would like to end with a message for teachers, what would you say from the bottom of my heart?***

A very difficult question since I don't know what is on the heart of each of these teachers, but I would definitely say that they should never be satisfied, no matter how great some things seemed, because if we agree to conformism, at least and the conformism that makes us happy very easily, it will turn into a new form of enslavement, so always to be condemned to question, and very important to allow students to disagree with them to allow .... and to allow comfort, and when I say that they allow confrontation, I mean the confrontation of opinions that is necessary, without the confrontation of opinions, in my opinion, there can be no opinion.

***Jasmine, I am infinitely grateful.***

Both sides.