

6. Ending Educational Displacement

Storytelling as a Method for Transformative Learning, Healing, Recognition, Inclusion and Empowerment

Amra Sabic-El-Rayess

INTRODUCTION

There is limited research on the effects of storytelling on the Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) community's sense of self, particularly on those individuals who have been displaced from their homeland due to violence and persecution.¹ In the field of education, such an analysis is particularly cogent considering that the physical displacement and ethnic segregation the Bosniak community experienced in the 1990s was built on multigenerational displacement from the educational system in the former Yugoslavia. Educational displacement translates into being invisible and unacknowledged in the educational curricula, leaving a permanent imprint on those affected. In the case of Bosniaks, their lived experiences and representations were transposed from mainstream curriculum in schools in the former Yugoslavia, engendering a feeling of a lesser contribution, meaning, and value to society relative to non-Bosniaks. This marginalization still reverberates through Bosniak collective thinking and culture, at home and abroad.

This chapter explores the role of storytelling in the process of healing, recognition, inclusion, and empowerment of Bosniaks deracinated by the Bosnian Genocide.² Storytelling is a necessary step to heal and gain a sense of belonging for those in diaspora and in the homeland.³ I investigate the role of *The Cat I Never Named: A True Story of Love, War, and Survival* in initiating a cross-national conversation within the virtual and physical Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴ Following the book's release, I received a significant amount of public feedback and reactions from the Bosniak community about the impact of my autobiographical account as a genocide survivor. Through content analysis, I detect patterns in this engagement relating to notions of recognition, identity, empowerment, healing, inclusion, and belonging using theories of transformative learning, incidental learning, educational displacement, and recognition.⁵ I demonstrate the power of storytelling

that has fueled societal acknowledgment within diaspora communities and broader recognition of the Bosnian Genocide.

The following section details the various displacements of Bosniaks in the years leading up to the 1992–1995 conflict with a particular focus on educational displacement. The sections thereafter examine the public social media engagement and posts I have received as a measure of engagement from Bosniak diaspora members and those living in Bosnia proper relative to the impact of *The Cat I Never Named*. I show the effect the book has had on Bosniaks' sense of self through public social media engagement. I also address the relevance of autobiographical accounts, examine the effectiveness of storytelling, and reflect on my positionality, something the chapters in this volume by Dino Kadich and by Mišo Kapetanović also problematize for scholarship more broadly. The chapter demonstrates how empowerment can happen at the intersection of storytelling, public social media engagement, and education.

**BACKGROUND: POLITICAL, LITERARY, AND
EDUCATIONAL DISPLACEMENT OF BOSNIAKS**

The literary and educational displacement of Bosniaks in former Yugoslavia has jeopardized a sense of recognition and belonging among Bosnian Muslims today. However, their agile ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity, shaped by the diverse contexts in which it emerged, has nonetheless endured through centuries.⁶ The pull and push forces between Bosniaks' attempt to protect their distinct identity from erasure and imperious Serb nationalism eager to assert its dominance shaped the political struggle of the late 1960s when Bosniak intelligentsia argued for the equal recognition and rights of ethnic Bosniaks to that of Serbs and Croats in post–World War II Yugoslavia. Their invisibility was in discord with the notion of “brotherhood and unity” propagated by the Yugoslav political leadership. Not only were Bosniaks excluded from the imagined brotherhood and unity but they were not recognized as an ethnic entity. This political tension between the imagined brotherhood among diverse ethnic groups and the efforts to nullify the Bosniak identity ultimately tipped the scale in favor of a partial acknowledgment for Bosniaks by allowing the term “Muslim” to be included in the 1971 census in former Yugoslavia.

6. Ending Educational Displacement

This limited affirmation exposed the intent to continue denying Bosniaks legal recognition and broader societal acceptance and inclusion as an ethnic group. Serbian communist nationalists and Serb political elites opposed this addition of “Muslim, in the sense of a nation” to the 1971 census.⁷ Its inclusion accentuated only their religious identity, maintaining a sense of otherness and lesserness. The question of identity became only more complex through this measure for secular Bosniaks and those preferring to identify as Bosnians.⁸ For Serb nationalists throughout the twentieth century, Bosnian Muslims have embodied a form of ethnic and religious impurity, warranting their decimation for their acceptance of Islam.⁹ Thus, being “Muslim” risked being pushed to the societal margins or labeled a political dissident. Coupled with the realities of economic poverty in Muslim-concentrated regions like Bosanska Krajina, this symbolized inferiority and subservience to other recognized ethnic groups and identities, often manifesting through literature and educational practices, content, and pedagogies.

While the oral history of Bosniaks includes narratives of repression, mass killings, and persecutions, these critical experiences of Bosniaks were displaced from history textbooks and classroom discussions.¹⁰ Education is often utilized to foster narratives, and the Bosnian education system remains highly politicized to this day.¹¹ Max Bergholz has questioned why the mass killings of Muslim civilians during World War II were unacknowledged in the former Yugoslavia, and concluded that many of the war criminals responsible for the massacres of Bosniaks in 1940s were positioned as war heroes in postwar Yugoslavia. This produced an environment in which “the Muslim survivors, out of fear of retribution and a desire to move on, agreed to stay silent about the killings.”¹² As Živojin Gavrilović notes, “I don’t know how many of the Muslim people were killed. No one knows. No one ever made a list, no one on his own or with others ever collected such information, no one exaggerates or minimizes, quite simply—people stay silent.”¹³

The significant underrepresentation of Bosniaks, their history, and their narratives in the education system of the former Yugoslavia was neither studied nor problematized but rather considered a norm. For example, in law schools, the content on human rights and inclusion ordinarily studied in Western classrooms was displaced to erase the marginalization of

Bosniaks as a group, though a nominal claim that all ethnic groups enjoyed “brotherhood and unity” remained at the forefront of the Yugoslav political narrative. At the University of Sarajevo, the art program was established late and the production of cultural knowledge remained under the control of Belgrade and Zagreb.¹⁴ Notable contributions to Bosniak history by Bosniaks like Hamdija Kreševljaković, who studied the role of the Ottomans in the formation of Bosniak identity, history, culture, architecture, and tradition, never gained representation in curriculums within the former Yugoslavia.¹⁵ In 1972, Rodoljub Čolaković, the first president of Bosnia and Herzegovina after World War II and a Serb appointed by Belgrade, claimed that one could not even discuss “Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture or literature”—because they did not exist.¹⁶

These structural and intentional discriminatory acts disciplined Bosniaks’ minds and bodies into the silent acceptance of only non-Bosniak narratives and identities within mainstream curricula. To some degree, it also conflated BiH, a multiethnic country, with Bosniaks. Meanwhile, the history, culture, and language of Serbs—the dominant ethnic group in former Yugoslavia—were positioned in curricula as central to the constructed Yugoslav identity. Vuk Karadžić and his role in shaping the Serb identity, culture, and language from the nineteenth century onward were mainstreamed and taught across former Yugoslavia, despite his position that other ethnic identities should be subsumed by that of Serbs.¹⁷ *The Mountain Wreath* by Petar Njegoš, written in 1846, was framed as a poetic masterpiece despite its racist narrative justifying mass executions of Muslims as the “other.”¹⁸ In other words, schools and universities served as the political outposts of the ideological centers in Serbia and, to a lesser extent, in Croatia, which produced a stereotyped and marginalized standing for Bosniaks relative to other ethnicities across the country. In doing so, they contributed to denying the existence of Bosnian as an overarching national identity (regardless of ethnicity) overall.¹⁹

This is not to say there were no prominent Bosniak authors or individuals in Yugoslavia. However, in such cases they were either not vocal about their belonging or publicly disowned aspects of their ethnic identity to prosper, thus only adding to a sense of displacement. Notably, Mehmed “Meša” Selimović, one of Yugoslavia’s most celebrated authors, encountered a pernicious political force and obstruction in printing his books following publication of *The Death and Dervish*. The book was set in Ottoman-era Bosnia

6. Ending Educational Displacement

but was widely understood to criticize Yugoslavia as it mirrored a real-life incident during which Selimović's brother was accused, imprisoned, and executed by the regime.²⁰ During the 1970s, all television programming in the former Yugoslavia was controlled by the state and federal communist apparatus under the jurisdiction of the country's leadership in Belgrade. A taped interview Selimović gave to state-run television in Croatia was censored because another state-run television in Bosnia threatened not to show the programming. Selimović expressed his grievances and fears of marginalization and persecution in a letter to Vladimir Bakarić, who was a member of the presidency of the former Yugoslavia from 1974 to 1983.²¹ Selimović argued the censure was due to his name, which is quintessentially Muslim. Flummoxed, he inquired with the TV station in Croatia to better understand what had occurred but never received a response, adding that his political and artistic freedoms could be in jeopardy.

Shortly thereafter, he suffered a health setback, but during a brief recovery in November 1976 he wrote a letter to the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.²² He declared that while he was a Bosnian Muslim, he deemed himself an ethnic Serb; therefore, his books should be viewed as contributions to Serb literature.²³ While Selimović's sense of belonging was his to define, this public proclamation after attempts to obstruct his visibility and inhibit his artistic freedom raises a set of more nuanced questions: Was he trying to be safe and practical rather than brave? Was he concerned that even his most notable works would end up obfuscated if he embraced his Muslim identity?

If Selimović worried about his potential legacy, it was not without reason. Opting to express one's allegiance to the Serb identity provided assurance for social mobility, inclusion, and recognition. Bosnian Muslims were regularly under political pressure to align themselves with a pro-Serb narrative.²⁴ As a self-proclaimed Serb, Selimović would have gained indelible access to political privileges and become a poster child for the assimilation of Bosniaks that the political leadership in Belgrade was working to achieve. Selimović's writings unsurprisingly became part of curricula. This might explain why a decision to affiliate oneself with the identity of privilege, as was the case with Selimović, could have been a pragmatic one.

To this day, his statement serves the Serb nationalist narrative that Bosniaks possess no cultural, linguistic, or historic identity of their own

and thus can only be ethnic Serbs. In turn, these narratives are used to undermine BiH's sovereignty and to reinforce genocide denial. As Johan Galtung argues, promoting a national identity that excludes some groups while advancing narratives that dehumanize, stereotype, or rationalize racism and inequality is a form of cultural violence, which can be disseminated by the media, politicians, educators, schools, curricula, and pedagogical practices.²⁵

The nationalist Serb leadership pursued cultural genocide to destroy their cultural heritage including libricide—destruction of libraries and books that would erase the evidence of the cultural diversity of BiH.²⁶ In *The Cat I Never Named*, the thoroughness of the plan to exterminate an ethnic group is exemplified when my favorite Serb teacher destroys my school records before the siege of my hometown, Bihać. On a national scale, Serb forces destroyed Bosnia's National Library with its collection of 1.5 million volumes and 155,000 manuscripts and an extensive collection at the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo, along with the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo, which possessed a rare collection of Islamic and Jewish manuscripts.²⁷ Beyond the displacement of 2.2 million people, the killing of over 100,000, and the rape of 50,000 women, the collective trauma inflicted on Bosnian Muslims was magnified by 80 percent of the country's 1,144 mosques being damaged or destroyed to annihilate Bosniaks' culture and history from the region.²⁸

The educational displacement of the Bosniak identity from the literature and curricula in schools in the former Yugoslavia can therefore be seen as a precursor to and foundation for the physical displacement, expulsion, occupation, killings, rapes, and persecutions of Bosniaks in BiH during the 1990s. In Republika Srpska's schools today, genocide denial is still pervasive despite a 2021 law that bans it.²⁹ As Hikmet Karčić and Richard Newell in this volume elaborate, this genocide denial permeates the political, cultural, and social scene throughout not only Republika Srpska but regionally and globally, perpetuating the narrative of genocide denial and threats of future violence.

Anti-Muslim racism in the Balkans and in Western societies where the Bosniak diaspora sought refuge has deepened a sense of inadequacy and displacement among Bosniaks. Some struggle with a sense of belonging and what place to call home because of displacement, additionally sensitive

6. Ending Educational Displacement

to what notions a Muslim identity or label bring in a post-11 September world.³⁰ In some cases, Bosniaks withhold their stories of persecution, discrimination, and loss as they work to prevent the injury from being passed on to future generations. *The Cat I Never Named* entered this space of emotional complexity, catalyzing an intergenerational and cross-national connectedness in the Bosniak community through storytelling. For Bosniaks, this narrative has expanded the existing efforts of a transnational diaspora to remember and sustain its identity.³¹ It sheds light on these educational practices and processes from my own lived experience, to raise awareness around the silent exclusion, educational displacement, and targeting of Muslims in schools and classrooms in the former Yugoslavia, ultimately raising awareness of the Bosnian Genocide.

CONCEPTUALIZING AND EXPLORING TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING THROUGH STORYTELLING

The Cat I Never Named

The impetus behind writing *The Cat I Never Named*—a young adult and adult memoir capturing my struggle to survive the Bosnian Genocide while besieged in the city of Bihać by Serb forces for over 1,150 days—was a recent rise in biased speech and behavior toward Muslims in the United States and Europe. I wanted to reclaim my Bosniak voice and dissemble the Muslim stereotype countenanced in the constellation of Western memory, politics, culture, education, and media. I hoped to respond to the lack of acknowledgment of the genocide that has disoriented Bosniaks as they question where they belong as a people as deserving of equal respect and rights as any other group.³² The story begins in the spring of 1992, when Serbs suddenly disappeared from my hometown of Bihać, an initial shock quickly followed by another devastating loss of four girlfriends who were blown up at the onset of my city's bombing by Serb forces.

By deliberately reaching for the most intimate and vulnerable moments in my life through storytelling, the book exposes how one vacillates between self-doubt and construction of a resilient self. At times, I am both strong and weak, happy and depressed, in love and alone in the struggle to survive, resist hate, find first love, gain an education, and keep my humanity intact. While *The Cat I Never Named* is my story, its real heroes are those around me who give love, offer warmth, and model resilience. The

book is a carefully curated assemblage of stories that weave together issues of identity, displacement, genocide, occupation, targeted violence, anti-Muslim racism, mass rapes, human trafficking, love, resilience, inspiration, empathy, determination, family, mental health, and education. The text is written in such a way as to have the reader experience and share my pains and fears as I face the unbearable brutalities of war. It is an emotional tale that humanizes the invisible faces of the Bosniak people and culminates with an attempt to urge readers to resist ubiquitous anti-Muslim hate and racism in all its forms.

*Transformative Learning,
Adult Learning, Recognition, and Storytelling*

It is axiomatic that in nonfiction truth-telling is essential. Being objective in presenting the facts and knowledge is critical, but as Christiane Amanpour argues, objectivity cannot be equated to neutrality.³³ This work thus follows that logic because the stories and reflections of the genocide survivors cannot be neutral if they are to be told truthfully and objectively. Storytelling has long been established as an effective tool to teach values, empathy, and community building and to transform mindsets.³⁴ It has “narrative roots that hold listeners to the present and bridges that lead those same listeners to the future.”³⁵

Truth-telling is also a vital element to survivors’ ability to process trauma. There is a need to understand what occurred and why, and this can define recovery and the capacity to move on. As a Srebrenica Genocide survivor states, “If one day thousands of children are taken from their mothers, and so many women and men, more than 10,000, disappear in the forests and nobody knows where they are—I can’t understand that. . . . I can’t forget my son and my husband, and I want to know what happened to them.”³⁶

What hides unexplored behind the established facts of the Bosnian Genocide are the stories of the now multiple generations of Bosniaks whose sense of self, positionality in a society, recognition, and belonging in their host communities are shaped, whether directly or tangentially, by their or their families’ lived experiences of genocide.³⁷ Within the global context, Bosniaks are only beginning to write their stories because of their past educational and literary displacement in the former Yugoslavia. The storytelling in *The Cat I Never Named* is an effort to help transition the

6. Ending Educational Displacement

Bosniak experience from the periphery and invisible spaces and center it within Bosniaks' history and BiH's historic, cultural, and linguistic heritage more broadly.

In the business of ideas assemblage—whether in publishing, media, or the academy—gatekeepers center some while marginalizing other narratives.³⁸ The production of ideas and knowledge is shaped by dominant groups until the status quo is disrupted. Storytelling is a privilege that cannot be limited to the outsiders and should be constructed around the authentic first-person narratives particularly within the communities whose histories and voices have been traditionally silenced and constructed by outsiders. When able to effloresce, stories hold transformative power and can shift attitudes and worldviews. *The Cat I Never Named* is a story that punctured into this transformative space to enliven a traditionally marginalized, degraded, and undervalued Muslim voice.

Transformative learning transpires when a person encounters a challenge that prompts their critical self-reflection, deconstruction of old self, and adoption of new attitudes, beliefs, norms, assumptions, and views.³⁹ Transformative learning allows for a nuanced and complex reinterpretation of the world. *The Cat I Never Named* chronicles a transformative pathway that begins with the main characters facing dire circumstances while under siege, threat of rape, and constant bombardment by Serb forces. It invites readers to visualize the experiences that evoke empathy and create an opening to deconstruct stereotypes about Bosniaks, Muslims, and Muslim women.

This work also draws on the incidental learning theory, which conveys that learning takes place outside the formal institutions of education.⁴⁰ In *The Cat I Never Named*, I learn by watching my father model humanity and moral resilience. My mother demonstrates pragmatic strength in times of pain and deprivation. My brother's innocence and humor break pain into bearable doses. The cat I never named, a refugee feline with bonfire eyes, adopted by my family, delivers unconditional love and revives hope when there is none.

The book counters the literary and educational displacement of Bosniaks presented in the previous section through storytelling. Efforts to support the recognition of Bosniaks openly, legally, educationally, culturally, historically, and broadly as a persecuted group can help to in part repair their

sense of value and respect.⁴¹ In other words, in order to heal the community requires societal acknowledgment and recognition of the genocide committed against them. Storytelling, in the homeland and within the new host communities, is a necessary element to gain that sense of belonging and recognition.

Storytelling can also provide a way for learning from each other. With limited opportunities for adults to learn, they tend to be self-guided in acquiring knowledge via informal means. In other contexts, research has shown that social media is an emerging platform for effective storytelling, adult learning, and community building.⁴² Within the world of social media, such incidental learning opportunities emerge daily through engagement presented later in this chapter. Through public social media engagement on *The Cat I Never Named*, I have provided an environment conducive to incidental, transformative, and adult learning about the complex issues of recognition, genocide, healing, and self-empowerment.

POSITIONALITY IN STORYTELLING

AS AN AUTHOR, GENOCIDE SURVIVOR, AND SCHOLAR

As the author of *The Cat I Never Named*, a Bosnian Genocide survivor, a Bosniak, an American Muslim, and a scholar, I wish to acknowledge I write this chapter while navigating the complexity and intersectionality of my own multilayered identity. I offer both insider and outsider perspectives to expand our understanding of the Bosniak community in relation to its members' experiences of othering, hate, discrimination, and lack of belonging. I also acknowledge my own privilege of surviving the genocide and having access to education in elite institutions, training, and the intersectional spaces where I can draw on my methodological preparation to both study others and engage in a critical study of self. It is the combined lived experience of being an educationally displaced Bosniak, a genocide survivor, and now a scholar that has prompted my study. I wrote my story to lessen our collective educational displacement and, more broadly, to advance research on the phenomenon of educational displacement.

What I consider generational struggles for a sense of belonging, inclusion, and human rights are the critical guides to my own work as a scholar, educator, and author. *The Cat I Never Named* is one element in a multipronged approach that required emotional excavation through which I

6. Ending Educational Displacement

opened myself to potential and continued injury by far-right activists, white supremacists, and radicalized Serb nationalists who justify the Bosnian Genocide and wish to silence diverse Muslim voices. However, to be silent is to allow the past educational and literary displacement to continue.

Autobiographical research has been demonstrated to, when employed effectively, further education research and approaches.⁴³ In recent years, autobiographical inquiry has been employed in education as a critical tool for self-reflection, individual growth, gaining practical knowledge, and effectuating change and transformation among educators.⁴⁴ With this self-positionality statement and scholarly responsibility to expand our collective knowledge of the Bosniak community, I analyze Bosniaks' reactions to my work in the following section.

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT WITH *THE CAT I NEVER NAMED*

My analysis focuses on the written communication received via my public Facebook page in the ten months following the publication of *The Cat I Never Named*.⁴⁵ I communicate on my public page in Bosnian. Aside from Bosniaks, I have interacted with or received communication from other ethnic groups in Bosnia as well as individuals from forty-four other countries, including neighboring Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo, and Slovenia. I do not employ any marketing. Of my posts, whether via text or video, over 90 percent are focused on *The Cat I Never Named* or related notions of education, transformation, empowerment, resilience, resistance to hate and violence, belonging, recognition, truth-telling, educational displacement, activism, and genocide.

While I engage with the public via other social media, my official website, and by email, the tracking capabilities and accessibility of Facebook provide the best medium to analyze the impact of the book on the Bosniak community. Using content analysis, I am able to detect patterns relating to the notions of recognition, identity, empowerment, educational displacement, healing, and belonging through self-initiated engagement on Facebook.

My posts on Facebook include brief translations from the memoir as well as current reflections that build on threads of empowerment, healing, recognition, resilience, educational displacement, and truth-telling. In *The Cat I Never Named*, I self-empower and transform as I part with a

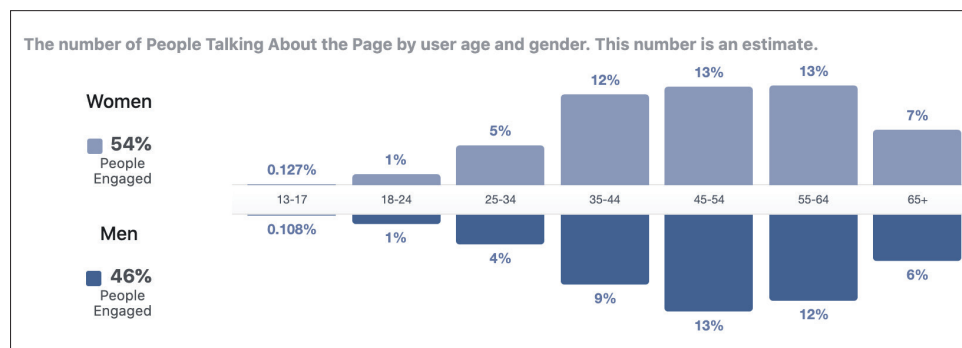
voiceless self in the hope of inspiring others to own and tell their stories. Uncensored and raw, the genuine and human vulnerability of who I was as a teen becomes a connecting point with the reader. Genocide survivors and their families have embraced this virtual platform as an entry point into a shared and brave space for individual reflection, collective empowerment, and conversation. Research confirms that Facebook “is ideal for audience collection, particularly for linking a narrative with people familiar with the protagonist.”⁴⁶ The audience has developed this sense of familiarity by identifying with the representations of events, experiences, and people in my memoir.

In the ten months since the Facebook page was established on 23 July 2020, its posts reached over 4 million unique users (table 1) from 45 countries and across multiple regions and continents. Over half a million unique users publicly engaged with my posts, excluding direct and private messages. Figure 1 shows engagement by age and gender, indicating slightly higher engagement by women. The engagement is somewhat skewed toward an adult population (over age twenty-five), generally consistent with broader patterns of lesser use of Facebook among youth, as they might be preferential to other social media platforms including Instagram and TikTok. Of the total engagement shown in table 1, 895 users provided negative feedback, which does not include direct threats.

While such a level of engagement provides substantive content for a much larger study, this chapter zooms in on one specific post that triggered 1,700 comments and reflections. The post is selected to exemplify a representative subset of the emerging themes that capture some of the impact *The Cat I Never Named* has had on the Bosniak community. It also demonstrates the potential of better understanding how Bosnians and Bosniaks interact and engage in the country and beyond it, as well as how they respond to acknowledgment of their suffering through educational texts and social media. Posts that inform readers about the recognition that *The Cat I Never Named* has earned by institutions or entities outside BiH garnered broad engagement on Facebook. The post in question concerns the announcement that *The Cat I Never Named* was nominated for the American Library Association’s 2020 Award for Excellence in Nonfiction for Young Adults. I analyzed it to decipher the key trends (table 2) in the comments. In this sense, the analysis is meant to be exploratory and

6. Ending Educational Displacement

FIGURE 1: Engagement by Age and Gender



SOURCE: Facebook numbers, as estimated by the company's proprietary algorithm.

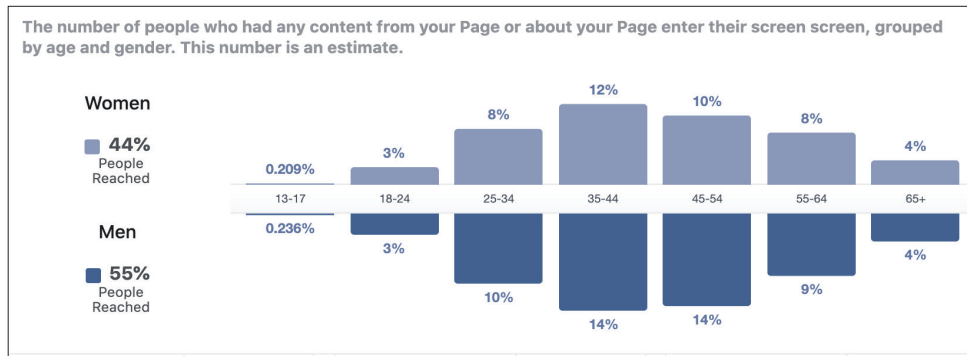
TABLE 1: Summary of Total Facebook Engagement for Text and Video Posts (23 July 2020–16 May 2021)

Unique Users reached via Text Posts	3,706,482
Unique Users reached via Video Posts	378,348
Total Users Reached	4,084,830
Unique Users engaged with Text Posts	386,025
Unique Users engaged via Video Posts	132,541
Total Unique Users engaged via Text & Video	518,566
Unique Users who gave Negative Feedback	895
Countries Reached	45
List of Countries Reached	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, United States, Austria, Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Sweden, Montenegro, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, France, Norway, Macedonia, Belgium, Turkey, United Kingdom, Kosovo, Luxembourg, Finland, Spain, Czech Republic, Ireland, Poland, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Palestinian Territory, Hungary, Bulgaria, Egypt, Slovakia, Jordan, Tunisia, India, Romania, Singapore, Qatar, Albania, Kuwait, Estonia

NOTE: Those who were “reached” saw the post and those who “engaged” interacted with the video or text by clicking on a link, video, or photo.

demonstrative of the potential of books like *The Cat I Never Named* and broader engagement that aims to respond to decades of educational displacement (figure 2).

FIGURE 2: Reach by Age and Gender



SOURCE: Facebook numbers, as estimated by the company's proprietary algorithm.

There are five key themes representing how incidental and transformative learning occur through an informal, self-guided process for those who engage that the 1,700 comments showed. The emerging themes include (1) storytelling as a form of empowerment; (2) the power of truth-telling; (3) belonging through connectedness; (4) recognition of suffering, genocide, and identity; and (5) one story as a representation of diverse voices. Examples of each of these appear in table 2, though many of the comments demonstrate the interconnectedness of these five themes.

Storytelling is transformative and serves as a conduit to empowerment. Some point to how critical it is to inspire new generations. Others note that truth-telling is a mode of self-empowerment. For many, their own stories of survival mirror the one shared with the world guiding them to identify with the main character in the book. They see their relational selves and their own suffering and identity in a symbiotic relationship with mine; in other words, "if they see her, they see me." The comments by Renata, Jasminka, and Ismeta provide good examples of this.

Through this self-identification with my work, readers recognize the power of truth-telling and self-empower. They see how their positionality from the periphery is moved into the central threads of a Bosnian and Bosniak story and therefore American and global libraries and classrooms where *The Cat I Never Named* is used as a teaching tool to better understand the evolution of hate and how genocide occurred.

6. Ending Educational Displacement

TABLE 2: Announcement of the American Library Association Excellence in Nonfiction for 2020 Award—Summary of Themes, Reflections, and Engagement Data

Summary of Engagement Data

Unique Users Reached	244,844
Unique Users Engaged	38,982
Likes	5,000
Comments	1,700
Shares	740

Key Themes

Storytelling as Empowerment

“An inspiration to all young Bosnians!! Thank you for everything you are doing for younger generation – you are our role model – from a young Bosnian born in Bosnia but raised in America . . .” – Lejla

“I want to share with my students you as a role model of what we should be like! I would like for our library to get your book so that our students can read it!” – Nermina

“Especially I appreciate the message of your book, which is directed at the global audience who will, after reading the book, be fully aware that Bosniaks, Bosnian Muslims, were the victims of the war and genocide simply because of a name like yours, your brothers and your wonderful parents, Amra. . . You are a role model to new generations, especially girls irrespective of their background and their name.” - Sanja

“They cleaned us from our homeland but they forgot they cannot take her from our hearts. We are proud of you for trying to tell the world the truth about the horrors we survived!” – Mersiha

Power of Truth Telling

“You poured light into the hearts of many who thought they are forgotten and abandoned. Thank you on behalf of all those who through your book will learn of Bosnian Holocaust, and the truth about one small country in the Balkans . . .” - Alma

“The best weapon against occupation is word, written word takes us to freedom, happy tears are the bridge we have to cross even [if are] afraid of heights!” – Sanimir

“Love is undefeatable, truth is undefeatable. To be a human being who carries principles is worthy of the award. . . I believe that we from that time feel deep in our heart honest and pure love for one city, one time of happiness, and the war time has left an indescribable scar in life. Let the Bosnian heart be heard, courageously, onward. . . we are with you, wherever we are!” – Janja

continued on next page

“Thank you for the truth you told, which we survived and which we still live.” – Suada

“Highest above all is the love for of truth and human virtues.” – Mevlida

“Memories do not fade if written! Truth are words engraved in our fate and healing for the souls of the lost.” – Safija

Belonging through Connectedness

“As gratitude belongs to soldiers during a war, so does it belong to you in peace. Thank you for fighting Lily of ours.” – Elvin

“Forgive me for adopting you. Exactly as you wrote about your feelings about us you described the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina who love her dearly the way she is. . . we are not leaving her and are struggling for better days ahead.” – Mevlida

“Reading your post I felt so much emotion and found myself in the same. Thank you for every spoken and written word that you had written here or in the book on behalf of all of us who survived and suffered through the war. Thank you for all unspoken stories that these people hold.” – Renata

“I just finished your book. Better said, swallowed it. Even though your story is more dramatic than mine, your fears are indeed familiar. The book is traveling next into the heads of my American friend’s daughter. Thank you for succeeding in writing what many of us experienced and didn’t know how to put it in words.” – Emina

“All our Bosniaks should read this, to be aware, that with their work, behavior, success, failure, we do not represent only ourselves but our people, our origins and our homeland. . .!” – Midhat

“So much pain but love and strength to survive. Thank you for writing our story. Such a familiar topic, the same hell I survived in Gorazde, after I managed to escape genocide in Foca.” – Suvada

Resilience and Healing through Storytelling

“We all who survived could tell million stories, but there has to be strength to put it into the book, present it to those who do not know what we had gone through and then continue with ‘normal life’. Every time I tell someone just a few clips from the war period, for days I cannot recover, but someone had to record it so that it is not forgotten.” – Dzenana

“Write the truth about Bosnia, about our tradition, our tolerance, clean rivers, green valleys, about our Sarajevo and all Bosnian cities, but also write about mothers [and their] children, husbands, brothers, [and] completely killed families.” – Mela

“Thank God that we have you and that you were in a situation to tell your story and our Bosnian story because unfortunately there are many of us who for years bear the burden of our stories. We have no one to share them with.” – Jasmina

continued on next page

6. Ending Educational Displacement

“I am especially happy because you speak about genocide and pain that does not disappear with time” – Fatima

“How impossible is possible when someone is genuine and love is a guide.” – Ilda

Recognition of Suffering, Genocide, and Identity

“Thank you Amra, I defended Bosnia and Herzegovina with a rifle, you with a pen. I defended it, and you gave it a soul.” – Suad

“There is no better feeling than when you are awarded for something you are fighting for your entire life. In this case for our homeland. Regards from beautiful Tennessee.” – Adnan

“Alone, so far from the loved ones, you succeeded in garnering recognition and awareness for the future generations. Thank you for all our children, for showing them the way.” – Mildana

“To earn this prestigious award is unparalleled recognition for your work and for our history! Congratulations from the depth of my soul and heart of a Bosniak who admires your courage and perseverance” – Sada

“Americans recognized how much your soul suffered, I how it is weaved into the lines of your book. Tell them, this is my soul. Tell them this is the soul of my country. Tell them this is the soul of good people, Bosniaks, who were guilty of nothing. So I say please don't forget us because your help will help correct present injustices in my country, but also prevent that something like this never happens to anyone again. Maybe the war is over, but the struggle has only begun.” – Resad

One Story as a Representation of Diverse Voices

“It would be beautiful if each library in Bosnia and Herzegovina would have your book.” – Ljubomirka

“Thank you on behalf of all of us, children who spent their childhoods under bombs, hoping for a better tomorrow.” – Sabina

“Beautifully written book, pain, memories, love, strength, and events with which so many of us have identified. My daughter is in an American school and currently analyzing the book (grade 7). . . It is very possible that your book will be included in a compulsory program. Well done indeed. My little one never read with more intent, in total silence and in record time. . . she totally related to all events in the book most likely due to my repetitive story telling since she was born.” – Lana

“Thank you for not forgetting us “like many” and just so that you know, you were not the only one crying, we are crying too, out of happiness for such an award, out of happiness because you are from Bihac, out of happiness because you did not forget us.” – Ismeta

continued on next page

“People like you are best ambassadors of our country. Here I am crying because of those who are no longer with us and out of happiness because there exist people like you.”

– Medina

“Thank you for existing and for being the way you are, because you are us.” – Jasminka

The immense space exists for other memoirs to capture survivors’ experiences, promote healing, and strengthen cross-ethnic dialogue and truth-telling in the Balkans. Ljubomirka recognizes this by writing, “It would be beautiful if each library in Bosnia and Herzegovina would have your book.”

Other research I have conducted on the importance of belonging, recognition, and the consequences of educational displacement suggests that young people in particular can disengage from society, drop out, radicalize, and engage in corruption and other destructive behaviors if their identities and stories are neglected and displaced from education.⁴⁷ Public recognition and acknowledgment are what Bosniaks have been deprived of through their lived experiences of discrimination, educational displacement, and ultimately the genocide against them, and what can thus help to avoid destructive behaviors while underscoring solidarity with those who have such lived experiences. Seeing the sheer number of comments and continued engagement evidenced in the post and elaborated on in table 2 reinforces this solidarity and demonstrates that displacement is no more.

A literary work that legitimizes Bosniaks’ experiences helps disarm their fear of continued repression and another genocide. Many have been conditioned to think that achievement and acceptance necessitate one’s silence and rejection of the self as a Bosniak. The analysis reveals a certain relief at being recognized and accepted through the story told in *The Cat I Never Named*. Those sentiments percolate throughout the comments to my social media posts, demonstrating the need for the community to share the recognition with a broader audience.

Through truth-telling and transformative storytelling, I communicate new possibilities for Bosniaks within their host societies. The book, and the social media posts focused on the publication, begin to replace an ecosystem historically framed by persecution, discrimination, disrespect, shame, and silence with a participatory culture that self-empowers and self-respects. Offering a pathway for constructive engagement and recognition is critical as Bosniaks witness ongoing genocide denial, genocide glorification, and

6. Ending Educational Displacement

consider the impact of this on their children's futures, as evidenced by several of the chapters in this volume. Rešad's quote in table 2 is a good example of this process.

As Axel Honneth's work demonstrates, a person's belief that they are valued by those around them is critical to their own view of themselves.⁴⁸ It is this feedback loop that shapes an individual's sense of recognition. The recognition by outsiders, at home or abroad, thus validates individual and collective experiences of genocide, discrimination, and neglect while helping the Bosniak community move forward, rediscover, and embrace their identity in new ways. Bosniak diaspora members seek to build their own places of belonging and pathways to social mobility. As a notable literary work winning multiple recognitions and awards for best nonfiction, *The Cat I Never Named* assists Bosniak communities on pathways to recognition, inclusion, and respect.

While other storytelling efforts, including those produced by the Srebrenica Memorial Center and the Center for Bosnian Studies at Fontbonne University, and books like *Zlata's Diary*, have captured Bosniak experiences during the Bosnian Genocide, *The Cat I Never Named* has generated a unique level of connectedness among Bosniaks at home, Bosniaks in diaspora, and non-Bosniak communities. The experience of persecution has typically been perceived as a localized problem idiosyncratic to the Balkans but is now reinterpreted as connective and educationally critical to understanding the rise of hate outside the region. Sharing their reflections on the book through my Facebook page and seeing the community come to life online has had an unparalleled facilitating and teaching effect beyond the Bosniak community as well. President Joseph Biden called *The Cat I Never Named* inspirational for its ability to model strength and resilience "in the face of heartbreaking tragedy and persecution."⁴⁹ This kind of recognition has in turn helped these experiences become more visible, understood, and relatable to other communities. *The Cat I Never Named* is in use in teacher education programs, K–12 schools, and higher education institutions around the world, and its primary appeal to people across regions, ages, and racial, religious, or ethnic backgrounds is its voice of inclusion, resilience, and hope in the face of the unimaginable. The comments on Facebook reinforce that this is understood among diaspora members, as evidenced for example by Sanja's comment (see table 2).

More detailed analysis and engagement with each social media post and beyond is warranted, utilizing more advanced methods and incorporating additional data. However, the five interconnected themes all echo the impact of *The Cat I Never Named* on Bosniak communities especially. The study illustrates the importance of (1) informal, innovative, and community-based efforts to facilitate transformative and adult learning, and (2) the power of biographical narrative and storytelling as methods to teach about educational displacement, identity, genocide, and empowerment of the persecuted, marginalized, targeted, racialized, othered, or excluded groups.

CONCLUSION

This chapter demonstrates the salience of storytelling in healing, recognition, inclusion, and empowerment among Bosniak communities that have suffered persecution during the 1992–1995 conflict and a multigenerational displacement of their identity, history, culture, and literature from the curricula of the former Yugoslavia's education system. The study explores the effort of *The Cat I Never Named* to (1) make visible and empower Bosniak communities and recognize their experiences during war; (2) educate global audiences about the Bosnian Genocide; and (3) engage in important discussions virtually on educational displacement, adult learning, transformative learning, identity, inclusion, recognition, empowerment, storytelling, genocide, truth-telling, and healing with Bosnians and Herzegovinians in the country and living outside of it.

This research demonstrates multiple implications for praxis for educators, particularly adult educators and community activists interested in deploying informal education and storytelling as tools for social connectedness and community-building in and out of classrooms. Autobiographical research is instructive in the emerging field of Bosnian Studies as it demonstrates that the recognition of individuals' voices and lived experiences via effective storytelling can be a method of community healing, especially in combination with social media engagement. Other scholars can use this work as the basis to further examine the broader potential of the intersections of social media and storytelling to lessen educational displacement, support adult learning, and inspire collective healing, truth sharing, voice ownership, inclusion, and literary activism.

6. Ending Educational Displacement

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agic, Jasmin. "Hamdija Kresevljakovic—Covjek koji je 'izmislio' historiju Bosne i Hercegovine." Bosnjacki Kulturni Center Stockholm, Kulturno Informativni Portal, 9 June 2020. <http://bkcs.se/hamdija-kresevljakovic-covjek-koji-je-izmislio-historiju-bosne-i-hercegovine/>.
- Amanpour, Christiane. "Christiane Amanpour on Truth in Journalism, Moral Courage and the Perils of False Equivalency." Pat Mitchell Media, 12 April 2019. <https://www.pat-mitchellmedia.com/journal/2019/4/12/talking-with-christiane-amanpour-about-journalism-moral-courage-and-the-perils-of-false-equivalency>.
- Bakšić-Muftić, Jasna. "Bošnjaci i država Bosna i Hercegovina—Dešavanja na periferiji." *Godišnjak Bošnjačke zajednice kulture "Preporod"* 1 (2014): 76–92.
- Barbour, Rona. "The Power of Storytelling as a Teaching Tool." In *Creative Education, Teaching and Learning*, edited by Gayle Brewer and Russell Hogarth, 178–89. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Bell, James, et al. "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, Forum on Religion and Public Life, 30 April 2013.
- Bergholz, Max. "The Strange Silence: Explaining the Absence of Monuments for Muslim Civilians Killed in Bosnia during the Second World War." *East European Politics and Societies* 24, no. 3 (2010): 408–34.
- Bojić, Mehmedalija. *Historija Bosne i Bošnjaka VII–XX vijek*. Sarajevo: TKD Šahinpašić, 2001.
- Bringa, T. *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Bullough, Robert V., Jr., and Stefnee Pinnegar. "Guidelines for Quality in Autobiographical Forms of Self-Study Research." *Educational Researcher* 30, no. 3 (2001): 13–21.
- Buturovic, Amila. "Izmedju Religije i Politike—Biti Musliman u Jugoslaviji kao Izazov." *Analiza Slučaja 6, Yu Historija*. https://yuhistorija.com/serbian/kultura_religija_txt00c6.html.
- Choi, Doo-Hun, Seungahn Nah, and Deborah S. Chung. "Social Media as a Civic Mobilizer: Community Storytelling Network, Social Media, and Civic Engagement in South Korea." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 65, no. 1 (2021): 46–65.
- "Cultural Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Bosniaca* 6, nos. 6–7 (2017): 16–17.
- Del Negro, Janice M., and Melanie A. Kimball, eds. *Engaging Teens with Story: How to Inspire and Educate Youth with Storytelling*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2017.
- Feinberg, Joel, and Jan Narveson. "The Nature and Value of Rights." *Journal of Value Inquiry* 4, no. 4 (1970): 243–60.
- Galtung, Johan. "A Structural Theory of Aggression." *Journal of Peace Research* 1, no. 2 (June 1964): 95–119.
- Gist, Marilyn E. "Minorities in Media Imagery: A Social Cognitive Perspective on Journalistic Bias." *Newspaper Research Journal* 12, no. 3 (1991): 52–63.

- Harris, Judith. "An Inheritance of Terror: Postmemory and Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma in Second Generation Jews after the Holocaust." *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 80, no. 1 (March 2020): 69–84. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s11231-020-09233-3>.
- Hashemipour, Saman. "Njegos's *The Mountain Wreath*: The Text behind Serbian Nationalism's Racist Foundation Myth." *Universal Journal of History and Culture* 1, no. 2 (2019): 203–18.
- Henig, David. *Remaking Muslim Lives: Everyday Islam in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020.
- Honneth, Axel. *The I in We: Studies in the Theory of Recognition*. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2014.
- "It's Getting out of Hand': Genocide Denial Outlawed in Bosnia." *Guardian*, 24 July 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jul/24/genocide-denial-outlawed-bosnia-srebrenica-office-high-representative>.
- Joshi, Vik, and Amra Sabic-El-Rayess. "Interrupting the Pathways of Misinformation, Hate and Radicalization: A Pedagogic Response." In *Education in the Age of Misinformation*, edited by L. Parker and K. Smith. New York: Palgrave, forthcoming.
- Kalajdzija, Alen. "Počeci službene upotrebe bosanskog jezika." *Književni jezik* 1–2 (2016): 33–55.
- Karabegović, Dženeta. "Who Chooses to Remember? Diaspora Participation in Memorialization Initiatives." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 11 (2019): 1911–29.
- Karamehic-Oates, Adna. "Reconceptions of 'Home' and Identity within the Post-War Bosnian Diaspora in the United States." PhD diss., Virginia Tech, 2018.
- Lavić, Senadin. "Uz knjigu Rusmira Mahmutćehajića o antibosanstvu." *PREGLED—Časopis zadrustvena pitanja* 59, no. 3 (2018): 181–88.
- Leydesdorff, Selma. *Surviving the Bosnian Genocide: The Women of Srebrenica Speak*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Loder, Elizabeth, and Rebecca Burch. "Underrepresentation of Women among Authors of Invited Commentaries in Medical Journals—Where Are the Female Editorialists?" *JAMA Network Open* 2, no. 10 (2019): e1913665–e1913665.
- Lojić, Saima. "Vera Kržišnik-Bukvić, Cazinska buna 1950, Sarajevo, 1991." *Rostra: Časopis studenata povijesti Sveučilišta u Zadru* 8, no. 8 (2017): 257–59.
- Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. New York: NYU Press, 1996.
- Marsick, Victoria J., et al. "Informal and Incidental Learning in the Workplace." In *Handbook of Research on Adult Learning and Development*, edited by M Cecil Smith and Nancy DeFrates-Densch, 592–622. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Mezirow, Jack. "Transformative Learning: Theory to Practice." *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 74 (1997): 5–12.
- Moratti, Massimo, and Amra Sabic-El-Rayess. "Transitional Justice and DDR: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Center for Transitional Justice* 6 (2009): 1–39. <https://ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-DDR-Bosnia-CaseStudy-2009-English.pdf>.
- Novic, Elisa. *The Concept of Cultural Genocide: An International Law Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

6. Ending Educational Displacement

- Ozturk, Talka. "Mosque in Bosnia to Re-Open 27 Years after Demolished." Anadolu Agency, 2 August 2019. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/culture-and-art/mosque-in-bosnia-to-re-open-27-years-after-demolished/1387368>.
- Pereira, Les, Elisabeth Settelaar, and Peter Taylor. "Fictive Imagining and Moral Purpose: Autobiographical Research as/for Transformative Development." In *Auto/Biography and Auto/Ethnography: Praxis of Research Method*, edited by Wolff-Michael Roth, 49–74. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2005.
- Popović, Radovan. *Život Meše Selimovića*. Belgrade, Serbia: Beogradski Izdavačko-Grafički Zavod, 1906.
- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra. "Acting and Reacting: Youth's Behavior in Corrupt Educational Settings." *Peabody Journal of Education* 89, no. 1 (2014): 70–85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2014.862473>.
- . "Amid COVID and Racial Injustice, Teachers Matter More Than Ever." Columbia University, Teachers College, 2020. <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/d8-qpqn-2020>.
- . "Epistemological Shifts in Knowledge and Education in Islam: A New Perspective on the Emergence of Radicalization amongst Muslims." *International Journal of Educational Development* 73 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2019.102148>.
- . "How Do People Radicalize?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 87 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2021.102499>.
- . "Internationalization in the Educational System of a Weak State: Examining Multiple Identities of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Higher Education." *Intercultural Education* 20, no. 5 (2009): 419–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980903371282>.
- . *Making of a Voiceless Youth: Corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina's Higher Education*. New York: Columbia University, 2012.
- . "Merit Matters: Student Perceptions of Faculty Quality and Reward." *International Journal of Educational Development* 47 (2016): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.11.004>.
- . "Powerful Friends: Educational Corruption and Elite Creation in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina." IREX Research Brief. 2011.
- . "When Corruption Gets in the Way: Befriending Diaspora and EU-nionizing Bosnia's Higher Education." *European Education* 45, no. 2 (2013): 6–27.
- . "Who Gets Radicalized? What I Learned from My Interviews with Extremist Disciples." HuffPost, 2016. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/who-gets-radicalized-what-i-learned-from-my-interviews_b_5765fddce4b0ed0729a1c5c3.
- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra, and Stephen P. Heyneman. "Education and Corruption." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.1637>.
- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra, and Naheed Natasha Mansur. "Favor Reciprocation Theory in Education: New Corruption Typology." *International Journal of Educational Development* 50 (2016): 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2016.04.005>.

- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra, et al. "School Uniform Policy's Adverse Impact on Equity and Access to Schooling." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 50, no. 8 (2019): 1122–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2019.1579637>.
- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra, and Victoria J. Marsick. "Transformative Learning and Extremism." In *Proceedings of the Adult Education in Global Times Conference*, edited by J. Walker, F. Maestrini, and S. Smythe, 636–38. Ottawa: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, 2021.
- Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra, with Laura Sullivan. *The Cat I Never Named: A True Story of Love, War, and Survival*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2020.
- Swimelar, S. "Education in Post-War Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism." *Ethnopolitics* 12, no. 2 (2013): 161–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2012.656839>.
- Turner, Caroline Sotello Viernes, Samuel L. Myers Jr., and John W. Creswell. "Exploring Underrepresentation: The Case of Faculty of Color in the Midwest." *Journal of Higher Education* 70, no. 1 (1999): 27–59.
- "Veliki Književnik je u Pismu SANU Napisao da Potiče iz Muslimanske Porodice iz Bosne, a da je po Nacionalnoj Pripadnosti Srbin." Belgrade, Serbia: Kurir, 2014. <https://www.kurir.rs/zabava/pop-kultura/1280195/cerke-velikog-mese-selimovica-i-danas-zive-u-beogradu-bosnu-nose-samo-u-secanjima>.
- West, Laura E. "Facebook Sharing: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Computer-Mediated Storytelling." *Discourse, Context and Media* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–13.
- Zulic, Aida. "Slobodan Milosevic's Propaganda Tour." MSc thesis, Aalborg University Copenhagen, 2018.

NOTES

1. Bosnian Muslim and Bosniak are used interchangeably. Although historically the term "Bosniak" has referred to a distinct ethnic group, including both Muslims and non-Muslims living in Bosnia, since 1993 the term has referred to Bosnian Muslims as an indigenous ethnic group living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its adjacencies.
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina is abbreviated throughout as Bosnia or BiH. Bosnian and Herzegovinian are abbreviated as Bosnian.
3. For example, there is extensive research on the effects of storytelling in post-conflict societies with a particular focus on Northern Ireland.
4. *The Cat I Never Named: A True Story of Love, War, and Survival* is abbreviated as *The Cat I Never Named*.
5. Mezirow, "Transformative Learning"; Marsick et al., "Informal and Incidental Learning in the Workplace"; Sabic-El-Rayess, "How Do People Radicalize?"; Joshi and Sabic-El-Rayess, "Interrupting the Pathways of Misinformation, Hate and Radicalization"; Honneth, *The I in We*.
6. Extensive scholarly work has been done on Bosniaks and their identity over time. A recently published example is Henig, *Remaking Muslim Lives*.
7. Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 199.

6. Ending Educational Displacement

8. Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way*.
9. Buturovic, "Izmedju Religije i Politike."
10. For instance, in Bosanska Krajina, local peasants organized an uprising called Cazinska Buna in 1950 to resist the centralized control of Serbia and confiscation of their property in the post–World War II period. The Yugoslav National Army quickly silenced the uprising, executing some, imprisoning many, and forcefully displacing 777 people, including children, from 115 Bosniak families. Their homes and land were confiscated. The state justified these harsh measures by accusing the peasants of failing to produce the agricultural quotas the state demanded of them. Of the 720 participants in the uprising, 98 percent were Bosniaks.
11. Swimelar, "Education in Post-War Bosnia."
12. Bergholz, "The Strange Silence," 408.
13. Živojin Gavrilović, Borba, 2–3 March 1991, cited in Bojić, *Historija Bosne i Bošnjaka*, 212.
14. Bakšić-Muftić, "Bošnjaci i država Bosna i Hercegovina."
15. Agić, "Hamdija Kresevljakovic."
16. Lavić, "Uz knjigu Rusmira Mahmutćehajića o antibosanstvu."
17. Kalajdzija, "Počeci službene upotrebe bosanskog jezika"; Buturovic, "Izmedju Religije i Politike."
18. Hashemipour, "Njegos's *The Mountain Wreath*."
19. Bakšić-Muftić, "Bošnjaci i država Bosna i Hercegovina."
20. Popović, *Život*.
21. Popović, *Život*.
22. Popović, *Život*.
23. "Veliki Književnik."
24. Buturovic, "Izmedju Religije i Politike."
25. Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Aggression."
26. Novic, *The Concept of Cultural Genocide*.
27. "Cultural Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina."
28. Ozturk, "Mosque in Bosnia to Re-Open."
29. "It's Getting out of Hand."
30. Karamehic-Oates, "Reconceptions of 'Home' and Identity."
31. Karabegović, "Who Chooses to Remember?"
32. Sabic-El-Rayess, "When Corruption Gets in the Way."
33. Amanpour, "Christiane Amanpour on Truth in Journalism."
34. Barbour, "The Power of Storytelling as a Teaching Tool."
35. Del Negro and Kimball, *Engaging Teens with Story*.
36. Leydesdorff, *Surviving the Bosnian Genocide*.
37. Work on intergenerational transmission of trauma remains nascent within the Bosniak community but has been examined among Holocaust survivors and their descendants. See, for example, Harris, "An Inheritance of Terror."
38. Loder and Burch, "Underrepresentation of Women among Authors of Invited Commentaries"; Gist, "Minorities in Media Imagery"; Turner, Myers, and Creswell, "Exploring Underrepresentation."

Amra Šabić-El-Rayess

39. Mezirow, “Transformative Learning.”
40. Marsick et al., “Informal and Incidental Learning in the Workplace.”
41. Feinberg and Narveson, “The Nature and Value of Rights.”
42. Choi, Nah, and Chung, “Social Media as a Civic Mobilizer.”
43. Bullough and Pinnegar, “Guidelines for Quality in Autobiographical Forms of Self-Study Research.”
44. Pereira, Settelmaier, and Taylor, “Fictive Imagining and Moral Purpose.”
45. Facebook: @amrasabicearayess.
46. West, “Facebook Sharing,” 1.
47. Sabic-El-Rayess, *Making of a Voiceless Youth*; Sabic-El-Rayess, “Powerful Friends”; Sabic-El-Rayess, “Who Gets Radicalized?”
48. Honneth, *The I in We*.
49. President Joseph Biden to Amra Sabic-El-Rayess, 9 July 2021, in author’s possession.