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“Culture of Remembrance: Twilight or New Awakening”



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CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

Book of proceedings

I INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:
Twilight or new Awakening“*

Editors

Sabahudin Hadžialić

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CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE**

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:
Twilight or new Awakening“*

**I MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJ
KULTURA SJEĆANJA**

*„Bosna i Hercegovina – Kultura sjećanja:
Sumrak ili Novo buđenje“*

**И МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СИМПОЗИЈ
КУЛТУРА СЈЕЋАЊА**

*„Босна и Херцеговина – Култура сјећања:
Сумрак или Ново буђење“*

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**From Divided Memories to Divided Discourse:
How Many Historical Truths Exist in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

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Abstract

Memory cannot be neutral, and this is particularly evident in the example of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although it is a cognitive component, memory has a social category that was emphasized by Bartlett. Basically, memory is considered a mental facility that allows an individual to acquire, retain and, if necessary, recall knowledge relating to personal experiences that influence the formation of identity. The concept of collective memory involves understanding under which the groups and societies have their memory and remembrance. Sometimes, individual memories can be in conflict with the collective representations of the same event, for which different subgroups of society can be in a variety of ways to remember and report on the same events. Also, there is a difference between direct and indirect experience of the same event, so it is important to discover the way in which certain experiences can be transmitted through the generations.

The main objective of this study was to determine the relationship between the divided discourse in history teaching in Bosnia-Herzegovina today and divided memories that contribute to the formation of different truths about the past. The method applied was content analysis, therefore the frequency of mentioning and describing of significant historical events (the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995) was analyzed in three history textbooks for the fourth year of high school. Textbooks were also analyzed in terms of the language in which they were written, the publisher and place of publication, and the degree to which content follows the Guidelines for writing and evaluating history textbooks in elementary and secondary schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina prescribed by the Commission for the Development of Guidelines for history teaching in Bosnia-Herzegovina from April 2005.

The conclusion is that the three textbooks significantly differ in content, while teaching history affects the sense of belonging, and leads to the formation of several different truths in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, the paper examines the extent to which the quantitative and qualitative differences within the three curricula contribute to development of identity and the formation of collective memories that can be transmitted through the generations.

Key words: historical truth, memory, collective memory, teaching, textbook

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe how different cultures of memories persist in BiH, as well as how these cultures lead to the formation of groups and "dangerous" Others. "Other" becomes a threat and a burden bearer of "dead generations". As such, she/he finds salvation in the production of their own memories. Although BiH is an internationally recognized and independent state, the way of teaching history in elementary and secondary schools has not yet been agreed upon and it has been carried out by three different curricula: two entities (the Federation and the Republic of Srpska) and parts of BiH where teaching process is conducted according to Croatian curriculum. At the beginning of 2008 the OSCE Mission to BiH and the Institute for International Textbook

Research Georg Eckert conducted the survey among 184 history teachers from across the country, in order to determine the changes that teachers introduced in teaching, to determine the most commonly used textbooks and teachers' opinions on topics dealing with the period 1992-1995, which should be included in textbooks.

Results revealed that teachers found the content of textbooks as the most important criterion for selection, as well as efforts invested in order to obtain multiperspectivity. Also, about 53% of the examined teachers felt that the 1992 to 1995 war should be included in history textbooks as a special teaching unit. Teachers felt that the themes of "consequences of war" and "destruction of cultural and historical monuments" are very interesting and as such should be included in history textbooks.

However, one-third of teachers did not share this opinion, and a somewhat smaller number expressed uncertainty. In most parts of BiH, 1992-1995 war was not included in the official curriculum, which is in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe to temporarily suspend teaching about the war years. In the "Recommendation 1454 (April 2000) Education in BiH", the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe argued the temporary suspension of the teaching of the 1992-1995 period until historians in BiH with the support of international experts do not establish a common approach to the study of this period in schools.

However, previous studies on history teaching in BiH and textbooks' analysis have not touched the period that preceded the war in Bosnia - dissolution of Yugoslavia. Therefore, this study aims to determine the differences in the presentation of the breakup of Yugoslavia in three history textbooks for the fourth year of secondary schools operating under three separate teaching curricula. Also, content analysis will be used in order to determine the way textbook authors describe the role of neighboring countries in this process, including the frequency of references to specific countries (Serbia, Croatia), because it is assumed that in the textbooks that are following Croatian curriculum the emergence of an independent and sovereign Croatian state will be emphasized, in textbooks issued by the Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids from East Sarajevo emphasis will be on the creation of an independent state of Serbia, while in Federation BiH the development of independent state of BiH will be emphasized. In addition, it will be analyzed how many times 1992-1995 period was mentioned in all three textbooks, regarding two issues: whether only the beginning of war was mentioned, or, whole period of war was described. Also, it will be described if (and to what extent) the war in Croatia was mentioned (only as a date or as more particularly described, as well as the way in which is called ("Homeland war", "liberation") and NATO bombing of Serbia.

It is considered that this research can complement the existing analysis of history textbooks as well as emphasize the role of religious and national Other (dissolution of Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia, the war in Croatia, the bombing of Serbia). The very existence of three different curricula implies the formation of three different generational community memories of the war and the events that preceded it, which can lead to the perception of "dangerous" Other that should be avoided. The possibility of accepting Other, as well as identifying the barriers that separate people largely depends on the way in which historical information and facts are presented, so this analysis can provide a basis for exploring different approaches.

History teaching – importance and consequences

Generation can be viewed as ambiguous term because on the one hand it indicates the continuity of life, and the other marks a new beginning (Kuljic, 2009). It is, as such, an important factor in selective memory, and the different generational relationships determine the structure of society. Life in the past can be very dangerous, because it prevents progress and creation of a vision of future. However, without knowing the past advanced vision for the future does not exist (Kuljic, 2009). Different generational communities form various community memories, and their relationships to the past define their system of values. The concept of social memory refers to the dynamic interaction between history, culture and cognition. At the individual level, there are three sources of knowledge: history, collective memory and individual experiences that are combined to create a subjective view of historical reality, another "common sense" narrative that is often manifested through identity and autobiographical context (Hewer and Roberts, 2012). This model of social memory, which comes from the theory of social representations, makes a distinction between collective memory, which is resistant to change, and representation of the past discussed within the broader social milieu, which has the potential to develop into a new or changed perspective, especially when they are sensitive to generations' shifts.

Revision of history flows in several directions (Kuljic, 2010): contents in historical narrative are either omitted or complemented, the meaning of the same facts is variously interpreted, ratio between the relevant historical facts is changing, the framework for the interpretation of historical facts is modified. History and history textbooks have always been trapped between the romantic view of the nation and the distorted image of "Other" (Cole and Barsaolu, 2006). Many researchers of historiography agree on two things: the rewriting of history always carries the risk of spreading the ideology and creating a negative history that can be misused to achieve special (exclusive) identity, and, multiperspectivity in textbooks allows students to identify described world as well as at the opposition to selective perception, values and stereotypes (Engelbrecht, 2008).

According to Slater (1995), there are intrinsic and extrinsic goals of teaching history. In doing so, the first objective relates to the very scientific discipline, while the other is a broader educational goal focused on changing society. Also, the teaching of history has the task to develop students' critical thinking and analysis, and objectivity in the evaluation of the main facts. Evaluation, analysis, synthesis and interpretation skills that develop during the teaching also deepen students' understanding of the past, but also provide a basis for taking a critical stance when "use" past for evaluation of present. The Council of Europe in the context of the "New Europe" from in 1990 states that "the lessons of history contributes to the development of citizens who have open views of the world, who are aware of the differences, willing to accept those differences and respecting members of other cultures, religions and languages" (Gallagher 1996, p. 22). This would be possible only through the modeling of democratic values in the teaching of history, which includes the commitment to democratic values by teachers, syllabus designed to include content that is related to the past, questioning, and connection between the teaching of history and teaching in related disciplines (democracy and human rights, civic education, etc.). According to Pingel (2008), teaching history has to achieve two main goals: to explain why there conflict exists and to provide a new narrative that will unite the cracks of the past and strengthen the cohesion of the damaged society. Although these two objectives are laudable and worthy, in reality they are faced with many difficulties. Highlighting the causes of conflict can contribute to the separation, rather than unite society.

Teaching history in a divided post-conflict society

Smith and Vaux (2003) define reform of "national courses" (art, literature, geography, and history) as crucial for the establishment of awareness of national identity. In their view, the teaching of history is of particular importance in conflict societies and, as such, is particularly susceptible to bias. The connection between teaching history and sense of identity is explored in the form of the concept of "historical consciousness." Porat (2004) revealed that the Israeli students who attend religious schools and who equated himself with right-wing Israeli policies followed legendary and heroic narratives of Tel Hai event from 1920 (example of Jewish-Arab conflict) even when they read in the books descriptions of the event as accidental and insignificant. In this case, the students added or reinterpreted details from textbooks in a way that fits the context of their narratives. Secular students, leftists, accepted what was written in the textbooks and rejected descriptions of the events that were represented as Jewish heroism. Today their history textbooks contain both narratives with blank space between them, left for students and teacher to write their own opinions on "what happened" (Learning Each Others Historical Narrative, 2003). It is assumed that "third" narrative would bring closer two existing and opposite narratives.

For all these reasons it is clear that the teaching of history in a divided society is a challenge, especially if we take into account that history is closely linked with emotions, national identity and collective belonging. Also, the presentation of a single narrative as "the only accurate" has no value in the educational sense, especially in divided societies where ethnicity is debatable. Even in situations where a single narrative is agreed in advance it is impossible to avoid the emotional tension. Therefore, one of the possibilities in organizing the teaching of history is multiperspectivity.

However, multiperspectivity as such has its advantages and disadvantages. In their research on 958 students from different parts of Northern Ireland McCaffery and Hansson (2011) found that young people learn history from many more sources than the teaching and tutorial. Also, there is a variation in the level of knowledge they have about the past, but the fact that (regardless of place of residence and background) they are ready to accept other sources and alternative approaches to the past. What is interesting in the above-mentioned research are two different interpretations of what history is and what it represents. The first interpretation encompasses history as an academic subject that examines the sequence of events in Northern Ireland, people and places, in an abstract and less important way. Another explanation is related to the very idea of "history" that is highly relevant, since it entails the past where "Other" committed violence against the community. This is one form of the past that is not abstract, and that did not exist only on the pages of books, but also in real life and that continues to live for the majority of young people (McCaffery and Hansson, 2011).

Shortly after the collapse of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the wars for Yugoslav succession in both Serbia and Croatia textbooks have been changed. In both countries the textbooks were prescribed by the Ministry of Education, which indicates changing of ideologies, but did not change the principle of state control over education (Stojanovic, 2008). Changing textbooks was also affected by the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which the Republic of Srpska and Herceg-Bosna adopted textbooks from Serbia and Croatia. Sometime later special textbooks for Bosniak children were written, and Bosnia went not only through the division of the territory, but also the division of historical consciousness (Stojanovic, 2008).

Multiperspectivity in history teaching in divided societies has many drawbacks, and even "meeting" with the past is difficult, especially when it comes to societies that are characterized by a collective trauma, anger and grief. Therefore, "revealing the truth" is considered very important, but also the emotional component of the reconciliation process. Chapman (2007) considered deeply divided society as characterized by "politics of identity" and the experience of violence and human rights abuses, which is why it needs multiple levels and types of healing and reconciliation in order to be re-launched.

Teaching history therefore should not be merely a re-interpretation of past events, but should also include the return of the most uncomfortable or painful memories, the attribution of personal and collective responsibility and the principles of social justice (Chapman, 2007). Inability to achieve the abovementioned very likely lead to a resurgence of violence in the future and represents what Brandon Hamber (2009) called "toxic past". Therefore, the role of history teaching is much broader and more significant than it appears at first sight, because it can contribute to reconciliation, justice and the achievement of social reconstruction. However, when talking about "finding the truth", then history can play multiple roles. In the history textbooks from South Africa the statements of witnesses and victims that were recorded during their testimony in front of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation can be found (Cole and Barsaolu, 2006). Although these stories may contribute to the understanding of one segment of the past, excluded their emotional significance should not be excluded, as well as the reactions they may cause in the classroom. Also, the "truth" imposed during testimony is often not considered "true" because of emotional tone. Therefore, the teaching of history should include a "humane" approach, according to which, within certain limits was right to ask questions about who were the perpetrators, what is important to remember from the past and what is needed learn in order to move on.

History textbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina – tripartite narrative or triple silence?

BiH is a country where history teaching suffers more because of the political situation and attempts to establish peace, than because of pedagogical methods. Dayton Agreement from 1995 "confirmed" and separate three teaching curricula for the three constituent peoples in BiH. In this way, the education has become a field of political games and the division. Therefore, there are three different teaching curricula in the two entities: the Federation of BiH and the Republic of Srpska. When society is ethnically divided, it is mostly reflected in the teaching of history, geography, literature and art, as each side is trying to emphasize its own history, its writers and artists, and ignore Other. Local politicians instrumentalized educational institutions in terms of their influence by emphasizing cultural differences and separating them at the same time. Despite the efforts of the international community and local institutions to achieve reform of curricula and textbooks until year 2000, these institutions have failed to overcome the existing parameters set by the Dayton Agreement (Pingel, 2008).

Generations of which is expected to create a new curriculum were also directly involved in the conflict that should now be objectively presented and described in history textbooks. Therefore, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution on "Education in BiH " in 2000 in which guidelines for teaching about the last war (1992 - 1995) were proposed. In this way, the historians from all three ethnic groups get a chance to collaborate with international experts with the aim to develop a common approach to that subject (Karge, H., Batarilo, K., 2008). Although they are still in effect, the guidelines did not stimulate work on textbooks, but only created a vacuum that has been blocked by intellectual curiosity and development of new approaches to the teaching process (Pingel, 2006). Similar situation occurred in Rwanda, where the government has made a decision on the termination of teaching history until a single agreement has been reached (Pingel, 2008). However, it will be difficult to achieve that in BiH, since the division

is strongly expressed, and past conflicts still evoke a lot of emotions and memories. However, research in Bosnia and Rwanda have shown that students want to learn about the war and genocide (Pingel, 2008).

The international community has intervened in the case of BiH in the curriculum during the second phase of reconstruction (since first phase was dedicated to the reconstruction of schools and repairing damage). Commission composed of three constituent peoples under the supervision of international experts, analyzed the history textbooks to eliminate "inappropriate" and "offensive" material that could be considered discriminatory from the position of one of three members of the constituent peoples, but also from the position of the International Convention on Human Rights (Pingel, 2008). Authors and publishers were obliged to change textbooks in accordance with the reached agreement. International Commission subsequently sent representatives from UNESCO, who had the task of monitoring teaching of history in schools. Of course, it sparked wide protests in public, and it also encouraged students to seek and read "prohibited" sources. In the third phase, the International Community has made cooperation with the Ministry of Education with the aim of organizing the review and verification of the manuscript prior to printing. Although the work of these committees largely "offset" language and exclude extreme interpretation, it did not change the views and opinions of experts from the three constituent peoples or has come to a unified history textbook to be used in BiH (Pingel, 2008).

The next step consisted of writing new history textbooks. In 2003 Guidelines for writing history and geography textbooks were adopted and they were supposed to serve as a basis for developing a balanced, comparative and multi-perspective narrative. "Guidelines for the evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH " were unanimously adopted and forwarded to the ministries of education. After three years they were officially signed and thus become an integral part of the decision to accept textbooks for printing (Pingel, 2008).

Guidelines for the evaluation of history textbooks for elementary and high school in Bosnia-Herzegovina consist of general, special and individual guidelines for writing history textbooks, their evaluation and use. The general guidelines are defined as the quantity of information relating to the political history that should be reduced, so that students get more information through other aspects of history, such as cultural, social, and economic history of everyday life. Specific guidelines are governing the writing of history textbooks, since the modern textbook is expected to not only educate, but to encourage, guide and lead the development of students. Individual guidelines are regulating how history textbooks of all grades should look like, from format to content.

Ability to accept responsibility and the recognition of the crimes is still one of the key problems authors of history textbooks are faced with, and certainly this is one of the reasons why the period from 1992 to 1995 is not mentioned in the two of the three history textbooks used in BiH today. It is questionable how long the identification and recognition of the crime can contribute to reconciliation and coexistence, especially when we take into account that the three constituent peoples in BiH have conflicting attitudes towards the credibility and importance of the tribunal, evidence of which are the different reactions of citizens of BiH to Tribunal's judgments.

It is clear that textbook authors and experts in the field of education refuse to use material from international courts and tribunals located outside the borders of their state, since the courts are considered biased (Corkalo et al., 2004, p. 147). Biro et al. (2004, p. 200) concluded that the results of the research represent the role of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in promoting peace in Croatia and BiH as problematic. Also, it is very questionable to what extent Tribunal judgments in the case of the former Yugoslavia may contribute to the recognition of

the crimes, and much less the extent to which they contribute to reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia (if any contributions exist).

Therefore, in this paper the results of content analysis will be presented, explaining the differences in three current (school 2012/2013 year) history textbooks used in the Federation of BiH, the Republic of Srpska and parts of the country in which teaching is conducted according to the Croatian curriculum with regard to the topic "disintegration of the former Yugoslavia". The reason for choosing this theme is reflected in the fact that this is the last event described in three books relating to the period just before the outbreak of the war in Croatia and BiH. Therefore, it is expected that different narratives, as well as emphasizing the role of certain neighboring countries, indicate the location and presentation of religious and national Other, but also enlighten the clues of events after the 1991 (if not described entire period).

Research aims

1. to determine differences in the presentation of significant events from the past (dissolution of Yugoslavia, 1992-1995 war) in three history textbooks for high school (fourth grade) that are currently (school 2012/2013) applied in the Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska and in areas that are applying Croatian curriculum;

2. to determine if there are differences in presentation of religious and national Other's role within significant events from the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina (dissolution of Yugoslavia, 1992-1995 war).

Hypothesis

1. There are significant differences in description of causes and events dealing with dissolution of Yugoslavia.

2. There are significant differences in frequency of naming neighboring countries (Croatia, Serbia) in three different textbooks.

3. There are significant differences in frequency of naming and describing of the following events: 1992-1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, war in Croatia and NATO bombing of Serbia.

Method

The study is planned in quantitative research design in which content analysis is applied. Important historical events are analysed within the frequency of their mentioning in three textbooks in 2012/2013 school year in two entities and in parts of the country that apply Croatian teaching curriculum:

1. Hadziabdić, H., Dervisagic, E., Mulic, A., Mehic, V. (2007). *Historija-Istorija-Povijest (History)*. Tuzla: Bosanska Knjiga.

2. Zivkovic, D., Stanojlovic, B. (2012). *Istorija za treci razred gimnazije prirodno-matematickog i za cetvrti razred gimnazije opsteg i drustveno-jezickog smjera (History for the fourth grade of high school)*. Istocno Sarajevo: Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva.

3. Matkovic, H., Mirosevic, F., Goluz, B., Sarac, I. (2003). *Povijest 4 – Udzbenik za cetvrti razred gimnazije (History – textbook for fourth grade of high school)*. Mostar: Skolska naklada i Zagreb: Skolska knjiga.

Textbooks are also analyzed in terms of the language in which they were written, the publisher and place of issue, and the degree to which analyzed content follows the guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH prescribed by the Commission for new history textbooks guidelines drafting in BiH in April 2005.

Results

Although Guidelines for textbooks drafting exist, results of content analysis revealed that none of three currently used textbook follow it. This is especially true of the textbook used in the areas of BiH applying Croatian curriculum, within which period of the war in Bosnia (as well as in Croatia), is described in full.

Also, the differences are reflected in the way the dissolution of Yugoslavia was described, especially when it comes to highlighting the role of neighboring countries as well as the frequency of mentioning of the neighboring countries. Specifically, the textbook used in the Republic of Srpska mostly mentions Serbia and its role in the breakup of Yugoslavia, and the textbook used according to Croatian curriculum emphasis Croatia, its role, as well as the subsequent events during the Homeland war (events in Croatia were firstly defined, and events in BiH just followed them).

Frequency of describing of historical events from the period 1990-1999

There are significant differences in the frequency of mentioning of some important historical events as well as neighboring countries, depending on which curriculum is a textbook designed for and where it is used (FBiH, RS, Croatian curriculum).

Table 1: Frequency of mentioning of certain historical events in three textbooks

TOPIC	Textbook applied in Federation BiH		Textbook applied in Republic of Srpska		Textbook applied according to Croatian teaching curricula	
	Number of pages (f)	Number of lines in text (f)	Number of pages (f)	Number of lines in text (f)	Number of pages (f)	Number of lines in text (f)
Dissolution of Yugoslavia	4	154	1.5	51	6	167
War in BiH 1992-1995 (listed only the starting date of the war)	1	5	0	0	(whole war period was described)	-
War in BiH 1992-1995 (described whole war period)	0	0	0	0	6	120
War in Croatia	0	0	0	0	6.5	127
NATO bombardment of Serbia	0	0	0	0	0	0

As shown in Table 1, the textbooks used in the Federation BiH and the Republic of Srpska follow the Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH (Commission guideline concept of new history textbooks in BiH, 2005.), and the topic “war in BiH” is not included into its content, as well as the war in Croatia and the NATO bombing of Serbia. However, although the content of textbooks used in the FBiH is not mentioning war in Bosnia, reader can be noted of these topics from the preface:

“... This textbook deals with the world, European and Bosnian history of the late nineteenth and the entire twentieth century. This is the time in which very important events and processes in the history of mankind took place... It is particularly important to note that in this period, an independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina was established, after a long and terrible war which was led against it by all means.” (Hadziabdic, H., et al., 2007, p. 5)

Also, textbook applied in Republic of Srpska contains interesting instruction for students/readers at the end of chapter on „Yugoslavia after World War II“:

„You can be informed of the events of our nearest past (after 1991) on the basis of interviews with contemporaries (teachers, parents, participants in events) as well as from other sources (newspapers, documents, photographs, documentaries, etc.). Information can be discussed during history class and tutorials.” (Zivkovic, D., Stanojlovic, B., 2012, p. 163)

The above guidance implies that, although not described in the book, the events after the 1991 (the war in Bosnia, the war in Croatia, the NATO bombing of Serbia) can be discussed during history classes, which is not in accordance with the Guidelines. Three books are written in three languages: Bosnian (Latin script), Croatian (Latin script) and Serbian (Cyrillic), which is in accordance with the division of the three official languages existing in BiH. Although textbooks do not contain chapters dealing with historical events after 1991, its content allows discussion on these topics, during the lectures and tutorials. However, textbook applied according to Croatian curriculum deeply analyses war in BiH and war in Croatia. NATO bombing of Serbia is not mentioned, but the United States of America bombing of Republic Srpska is described. However, these are not the only differences that can be observed in the aforementioned three textbooks. Specifically, in the chapters describing the disintegration of Yugoslavia, interruption of XIV Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ) is described in different ways when it comes to reasons for its termination.

Example 1: A quote from the textbook applied in Republic Srpska

„In order to prevent the breakup of the country, the Communist Party leadership is required to urgently hold an extraordinary congress... The protagonists of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, well knew that at the national level there are only two cohesive factors: the Communist Party and the Yugoslav People's Army. Therefore they decided to break firstly one (the Communist Party), then the other (Yugoslav Army) factor of unity... The Slovenian delegation, supported by the leadership of Croatian Communist Party left Congress, so it has not completed work.” (Zivkovic, D., Stanojlovic, B., 2012, p. 163)

Example 2: A quote from the textbook applied in Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina

“The culmination of the political crisis occurred at the XIV Congress of the Communist Party. A collapse of Yugoslav Communist Party occurred due to disagreements of Serbian representatives with representatives of Slovenia and Croatia, as well as Bosnian and Macedonian representatives, who left the session. All of these events heralded a major political crisis in the former Yugoslavia, which began to fall apart.” (Hadziabdic, H., et al., 2007, p. 172-173)

Example 3: A quote from the textbook applied according to Croatian teaching curriculum

"Serbia provoked organization of XIV Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party. Milosevic hoped to ensure dominance in the top of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which would allow him to ultimately achieve proposed aims... During the debate, the delegates of Serbia and Montenegro expressed great aggressiveness, roughly attacking delegates from the Croatia and Slovenia, who left Congress. The remaining delegates concluded that Congress had to be postponed. But Congress has never resumed, and termination signaled dissolution of Yugoslav Communist Party. ” (Matkovic, H., et al., 2003, p. 267)

From the above quotations noticeable difference in the description of the objectives and motives for organizing the XIV Congress of Communist Party, as well as causes for termination is evident. The textbook used in the Republic of Srpska does not contain a lot of pages devoted to the explanation

of dissolution of Yugoslavia, while textbook applied within Croatian curriculum deeply describes dissolution of Yugoslavia. Also, this textbook describes the events related to the war in Croatia and the war in BiH within the two separate chapters: "Homeland War" and "War in BiH."

Frequency of mentioning of neighboring countries (Croatia, Serbia)

Differences among the three analyzed textbooks regarding the frequency of mentioning of neighboring countries are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Frequency of mentioning of BiH, Serbia and Croatia within the chapter „Dissolution of Yugoslavia“ in three textbooks

Frequency of mentioning of BiH/Serbia/Croatia	Textbook applied in Federation BiH	Textbook applied in Republic of Srpska	Textbook applied according to Croatian teaching curricula
BiH ¹²⁹	18	0	16
Serbia ¹³⁰	5	6	15
Croatia ¹³¹	8	1	34

Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state commonly referred in the textbook applied in Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina under the chapter "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia," (18 times), and the textbook used within the Croatian curriculum (16 times). Textbook of the Republic of Srpska does not mention BiH within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia, while Croatia is mentioned only once, and Serbia 6 times. Also, the textbook used in the Croatian curriculum mostly describes events that took place in Croatia and the Croatian position during the breakup of Yugoslavia, mentioning it 34 times. In the textbook applied in Federation BiH Bosnia is mostly mentioned country (18 times), then Croatia (8 times) and Serbia (5 times).

From previous quantitative data it is evident that in the same chapter two textbooks used in BiH (one within the curriculum of Republic of Srpska and the other within the Croatian curriculum) devote more attention to the events in the neighboring countries (Serbia and Croatia), than to the events in BiH. Differences in approach greatly influence the development and understanding of adolescent identity. A sense of belonging in this way becomes divided into three parts, and qualitative differences in the presentation of certain events as well as religious and ethnic Other also lead to different interpretations of the same issues and different attitudes towards the other parts of their own country and to neighboring countries.

Reconstruction of history teaching in Bosnia-Herzegovina: pro and con multiperspectivity

The reform of history teaching for reconciliation and coexistence in a post-conflict society implies two possibilities: the construction of a common narrative that would be widely accepted, or the presentation of conflicting narratives with an aim of their analysis and discussion. The first method applies to the most divided, post-conflict societies in which it is safest to choose one narrative which is deemed to be accepted by the majority and thus avoid further conflicts. However, we can not say for certain that something was the most secure, since in this situation it is difficult to avoid the resistance of a minority that does not agree with the offered narrative. If you offer multiple narratives, there is a possibility for an open discussion, but also for the grouping and selection of "their" narrative, which is also related to the development of identity and sense of belonging.

¹²⁹ How many times Bosnia-Herzegovina was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

¹³⁰ How many times Serbia was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

¹³¹ How many times Croatia was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

Multiperspectivity implies interpretation of the past in a way it looks from our perspective but also from the perspective of those who perceived past events. While learning different perspectives students acquire richer and more complex knowledge based on mutually conflicting narratives (Stradling, 2003). However, despite the emphasis on empathy in access to students during the teaching of history, multiperspectivity (especially the way it is applied in the previously described example of Israel and Palestine) can not be applied in BiH without the agreement on a common terminology that would be applied to the three (or maybe more!) narratives. Also, it will be of great importance to leave empty space in between the three narratives textbooks in order to students and teachers had a space for discussion, analysis and possible selection of a new narrative. In this way, it would be clearly stated that both students and teachers can freely and openly discuss all issues until they do not offend the dignity of the Other. The importance of recognition or acceptance of responsibility for war crimes may (but not necessarily) lead to a more positive climate in the teaching of history and therefore, may establish reconciliation. However, since the views of the importance and prestige of the International Tribunal for War Crimes are divided, we can not say with certainty that the recognition of guilt, judgment and punishment can contribute to the establishment of peace, as well as harmonization of narratives.

However, the key insight that is gained by this analysis is that people never learn history from a single source, and therefore the teaching and tutorial can be viewed only as additional resources. Just as it is stated in history textbook from Republic of Srpska, for all topics that were not covered, or were partially covered, students can consult with parents, friends, participants in the event, or simply find the relevant sources (books, internet, the media). Consequently, the number of narratives with three suddenly switches to a much higher figure, and it becomes almost impossible to track the flow of information and thought. That is why the advocates of multiperspectivity in history teaching should not ignore the fact of the existence of a lot of resources and the inability of reducing them all to only a small empty space between the three constituent narratives (and maybe a few more non-constituent).

Conclusion and recommendations for further research

This paper seeks to explore the importance of teaching the history for the construction of identity, sense of belonging and self-awareness. Also, content analysis of three currently used history textbooks in the territory of BiH is done regarding the way of writing about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the war in BiH and other events from 1992 to 1999 including BiH and neighboring countries, Serbia and Croatia.

It is concluded that the textbooks differ in certain parts of the chapter dealing with the disintegration of Yugoslavia (the XIV Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party), although all three are written according to the Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH. Also, differences are reflected in the different presentation of certain events in the breakup of Yugoslavia, the way in which the war in BiH (1992nd to 1995th) was described, as well as the frequency of mentioning of the neighboring countries, Serbia and Croatia. Also, it is important to note that multiperspectivity, although desirable, is not expressed in any of the three used textbooks. However, in order to establish a real difference in the writing, it is advisable to compare the analysis of history textbooks with those that were used immediately after the war (1996/1997 school year) in order to determine if indeed there were big differences in the presentation of certain events. This would be especially important because in that period there were no guidelines for writing textbooks, so that the authors had full freedom of explanations and guidance of historical events.

History is not taught only in school. History is taught from a multitude of sources and as such it affects identity, self-awareness and membership in a particular group and a particular narrative. What this study does not cover, and what is proposed for future research is to analyze other sources used to inform students and learn about the past. This includes everything that teachers additionally included in the educational process in the form of essays, exercises, additional resources, but also all the students themselves use for their information: various sources (parents, peers, participants of events), the literature, the Internet, media and the like. Only a clear analysis of the additional resources may explain the ways of forming different narratives as well as the possibility of including multiperspectivity in teaching history in contemporary BiH.

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