

***Divided Presentations in History Textbooks in Three Ex Yugoslav States:
Discussing Implications for Identity Development***

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The European Conference on Psychology & the Behavioral Sciences 2014
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Main aim of this study is to determine the differences in the presentation of significant historical events during Yugoslavia war in history textbooks used in high schools in three ex Yugoslav states: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. Historical events that were analyzed are: disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the 1992-1995 war in BiH and Croatia. Three different history textbooks published by state publishers for fourth grade of secondary schools that are currently used (in the Federation BiH, the Republic of Srpska and in Bosnian areas that teach history according to Croatian curriculum) were analyzed along with two textbooks from Montenegro and Serbia. Content analysis was applied, and comparison of presentation of same events in the textbooks was conducted qualitatively and quantitatively. Special attention was paid to the way in which the authors described the role of neighboring countries (Kosovo, Slovenia, Macedonia, as well as Serbia, Montenegro and two entities of BiH). Textbooks were analyzed in terms of the core content, language and illustrations. In case of BiH was also analyzed the degree to which textbooks follow the guidelines prescribed by the Commission for the Development of Guidelines for history teaching in BiH from April 2005. The results show that textbooks differ in core content, language, and illustrations, especially when describing the collapse of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia (1992-1995). Textbooks share similar presentation of period before and after the war. Also, Bosnian textbooks do not follow mentioned Guidelines.

Key words: history textbooks, presentations of war, neighboring countries, content analysis, identity

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe how different cultures of memories persist in history education in three ex Yugoslav states: Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), Serbia, Montenegro, as well as how these cultures lead to the formation of groups and “others”, described as possibly “dangerous” persons who can become a threat and a burden bearer of “dead generations”. The main purpose was to determine the differences in the presentation of the breakup of Yugoslavia in five history textbooks for the fourth grade of high schools. Content analysis was used to determine the way textbooks’ authors described the role of neighboring countries in this process, including the frequency of their mentioning in the text. It was assumed that all five textbooks will present the topic differently. Therefore, we analyzed how many times 1992-1995 war was mentioned in all three textbooks related to two themes: whether only the beginning of war was mentioned, or whole period of war was described. Also, it was described if (and to what extent) the war in Croatia was mentioned (only as a date or more particularly described, as well as the way in which it was named: “Homeland war”, “liberation” etc.) and if NATO bombing of Serbia was described or mentioned.

A special attention was paid to textbooks from BiH because the way of teaching history in elementary and secondary schools has not been agreed upon yet and it has been carried out by three different curricula: two entities (the Federation and the Republic of Srpska) and areas where teaching process is conducted according to Croatian curriculum. 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 until historians in BiH with the support of international experts do not establish a common approach to the study of this period in schools.

We hope that this research can complement the existing analysis of history textbooks, as well as emphasize the role of religious and national Other. The very existence of three different curricula in BiH implies the formation of three different generational communities of memories of the war and the events that preceded it. 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. Implications for multiperspectivity in history teaching in the Balkan region were provided at the end of this analysis.

History teaching – importance and consequences

Generation is 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 (Kuljić, 2009). 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, 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 (Kuljić, 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, 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 to understand 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 contribute 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). 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.

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 themselves 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.

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. Therefore, one of the possibilities in organizing the teaching of history is multiperspectivity. 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. "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. In their research on 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 they are all ready to accept other sources and alternative approaches to the past. What is interesting in this research are two different interpretations of what history is. 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, Hansson, 2011).

The content of textbooks was changed after the collapse of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the wars for Yugoslav succession. 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 (Stojanović, 2008). In BiH the Republic of Srpska and Herceg-Bosna adopted textbooks from Serbia and Croatia. Sometime later special textbooks for Bosnian students were written, and Bosnia went not only through the division of the territory, but also the division of historical consciousness (Stojanović, 2008).

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 separated three teaching curricula for the three constituent peoples in BiH. In this way, the education has become a field of political games and divisions. There are three different teaching curricula in the two entities: the Federation of BiH and the Republic of Srpska. Despite the efforts of the international community and local institutions to achieve reform of curricula and textbooks until 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 involved in the conflict that should now be objectively presented and described. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution on "Education in BiH" in 2000 in which guidelines for teaching about the war (1992 - 1995) were proposed. In this way, the historians from all ethnic groups get a chance to collaborate with

international experts with the aim to develop a common approach (Karge, Batarilo, 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). 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. 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). Publishers were obliged to change textbooks in accordance with the reached agreement. International Commission subsequently sent representatives from UNESCO, with the task of monitoring teaching of history in schools. Of course, it sparked protests in public, and it also provoked students to read "prohibited" sources. In the third phase, the International Community made cooperation with the Ministry of Education that aimed to organize the review and verification of the manuscripts prior to printing. Although the work of these committees largely "offset" language and excludes extreme interpretation, it did not change the views and opinions of experts from the three constituent peoples and has not come to a unified history textbook to be used in BiH (Pingel, 2008).

The next step was writing new history textbooks. In 2003 Guidelines for writing history and geography textbooks were adopted and they were 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 accepted for printing (Pingel, 2008).

Guidelines define: quantity of information related to the political history that should be reduced; writing of history textbooks, since the modern textbook is expected beside to educate, to encourage, guide and lead the development of students; how history textbooks 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 face, 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 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.

Research Aims and Methodology

Two major aims of this research are:

1. to determine differences in the presentation of significant events from the past (dissolution of Yugoslavia, 1992-1995 war) in five history textbooks for high school (fourth grade) that are currently (school 2012/2013) used in: BiH, Serbia and Montenegro;
2. to analyze if there are differences in presentation of religious and national Other's role within significant events from the history of BiH (dissolution of Yugoslavia, 1992-1995 war).

Method

Content analysis method was applied. Important historical events were analysed with the reference to the frequency of their mentioning in all five textbooks.

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

Results

Although Guidelines for textbooks drafting in BiH exists, results of content analysis revealed that none of three currently used textbooks follows 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 in all five textbooks, especially when it comes to highlighting the role of neighboring countries as well as the frequency of mentioning of 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 written according to Croatian curriculum emphasises Croatia, its role, as well as the subsequent events during the Homeland war (events in Croatia were firstly defined, and events in BiH 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 textbook was designed for and where it was used.

Table 1: Frequency of mentioning of certain historical events

TOPIC	Textbook used in Federation BiH		Textbook used in Republic of Srpska		Textbook used according to Croatian teaching curricula		Textbook used in Serbia		Textbook used in Montenegro	
	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)	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	6	0	3	122 (55 war related)
War in BiH 1992-1995 (listed only the starting date of the war)	1	5	0	0	(whole war period was described)	-	0	0	0	0
War in BiH 1992-1995 (described whole war period)	0	0	0	0	6	120	0	25	0	7
War in Croatia	0	0	0	0	6.5	127	0	18	0	5
NATO bombardment of Serbia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40 + table with locations and number of victims: 10 lines	1	10

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 historical 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 BiH was established, after a long and terrible war which was led against it by all means.” (Hadžiabdić, et al., 2007, p. 5)

Also, textbook used 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, Stanojlovic, 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 textbooks 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 that exist in BiH. Although textbooks do not contain chapters dealing with historical events after 1991, their content allows discussion on these topics during the lectures and tutorials. However, textbook written 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 of 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.” (Zivković, Stanojlović, 2012, p. 163)

Example 2: A quote from the textbook used in Federation BiH

“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.” (Hadžiabdić, et al., 2007, p. 172-173)

Example 3: A quote from the textbook written 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. ” (Matković, 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 explaining 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 are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of mentioning of BiH, Serbia and Croatia within the topic: Dissolution of Yugoslavia

Frequency of mentioning of BiH/Serbia/Croatia	Textbook used in Federation BiH	Textbook used in Republic of Srpska	Textbook used according to Croatian teaching curricula	Textbook used in Serbia	Textbook used in Montenegro
BiH ¹	18	0	16	13	7
Serbia ²	5	6	15	13	18
Croatia ³	8	1	34	9	10
Kosovo ⁴	3	1	1	17	5

BiH as a state is commonly referred in the textbook used in Federation BiH 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 applied 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). 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 can 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

¹ How many times Bosnia-Herzegovina was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

² How many times Serbia was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

³ How many times Croatia was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

⁴ How many times Kosovo was mentioned within the chapter on dissolution of Yugoslavia

their own country and neighboring countries. On the other hand it seems like the key task of the content of the Serbian textbook was to illustrate the participation of the Serbian side in the war and its aftermath. The text itself has more comprehensive approach to the detailed description of the events in Bosnia and Croatia, than the textbook from Montenegro. A large part of the lesson in Serbian textbook is related to Kosovo, which is evident from the number of references to Kosovo (17). Serbian textbook also differs by description of the NATO bombing of Serbia and Montenegro. Serbian and Montenegrin textbook describe international intervention in Kosovo as biased. Slobodan Milosevic (Serbian former president) was mentioned very often within Serbian textbook, which contains even three photos of him with a slight attempt to put most of the blame for war on this individual.

Analyzed topic (dissolution of Yugoslavia) was least represented in textbook used in Montenegro (a bit more than two pages). In formulation of sentences the profound restraint and tendency to neutrally present events is very clear. Illustrations are neutrally titled in Montenegrin textbook, for example a photograph is named "Victims of dissolution of Yugoslavia" with no specific description of their ethnicity, nationality, location. This neutrality also stays for the sentences in the text.

Example 4. Quote form the textbook used in Montenegro

„...Sarajevo, capital of BiH, was under blocade more then three years“ (Rastoder, et al., 2003: p. 255)

As evident from this quotation, specific explanation of who was holding this blocade, why, or how this epizode ended was described neither before nor later in the text. Text tends to reproduce the content mostly from the perspective of the state in which it arises, but in all these attempts it does not seem to provide solid ground for clear understanding of events, Montenegrin part in these events, and finally for national identity development.

Reconstruction of history teaching in the Balkan: 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. On the other hand, if someone offers 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.

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). Despite the emphasis on empathy in access to students during the teaching of history, multiperspectivity cannot be applied in BiH and neighbouring countries without the agreement on a common terminology. It will be of great importance to leave empty space in between the three

narratives, so students and teachers will have a space for discussion 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 and may establish reconciliation. Since the views of the importance and prestige of the International Tribunal for War Crimes are divided, we cannot say with certainty that the recognition of guilt, judgment and punishment can contribute to the establishment of peace and harmonization of narratives.

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 parents, friends, participants, or find the relevant sources. Consequently, the number of narratives with three suddenly switches to a much higher number, and it becomes almost impossible to track the flow of information. 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 constituent narratives (and a few non-constituent).

Conclusion

This paper seeks to explore the importance of history teaching for the construction of identity, sense of belonging and self-awareness. Content analysis of currently used historic textbooks in the territory of BiH, Serbia, and Montenegro is done according to the way they teach about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the war in BiH and other events from 1992 to 1999.

It is concluded that the textbooks (especially three textbooks currently used in BiH) differ in certain parts of the chapter dealing with the disintegration of Yugoslavia (the XIV Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party), although all three were written according to the Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools. Also, differences are reflected in presentation of certain events related to the breakup of Yugoslavia, the way in which the 1992-1995 war in BiH was described, and the frequency of mentioning of the neighboring countries. It is important to note that multiperspectivity, although desirable, is not expressed in the analyzed textbooks. In order to determine the real differences, it is recommended to compare current history textbooks with those that were used immediately after the war (1996/1997 school year). This would be especially important because in that period guidelines for textbook writing did not exist, so the authors had freedom of explanation of historical events.

History is not learned only in school. History is learned 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 students use to learn about the past. This includes everything that teachers additionally apply in the educational process in the form of essays, exercises, additional resources, but also all materials students use for their information: various sources (parents, peers, participants of events), literature,

Internet, media and the like. Analysis of the additional resources along with analysis of textbooks may explain the ways of forming different narratives as well as the possibility of including multiperspectivity in teaching history in the Balkan.

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