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**20th Century History in the Textbooks
of Bosnia and Herzegovina:**

**An analysis of books used for
the final grades of primary school**

**By Dr. Heike Karge
of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research,
Braunschweig, Germany**

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Table of contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
1. INTRODUCTION.....	9
<i>Textbooks selected</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Criteria for selection</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Framework of the analysis</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Choice of topics for analysis.....</i>	<i>12</i>
2. LANGUAGE	13
<i>Hate speech</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Hidden messages and historical terminology</i>	<i>14</i>
3. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS	17
3.1. WOMEN, NATIONAL MINORITIES AND DAILY LIFE REPRESENTED IN THE TEXTBOOKS	18
<i>Women</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>National Minorities</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Daily Life</i>	<i>20</i>
3.2. THE MEANING OF NATIONAL HISTORY-REFERENCE POINT BIH	22
<i>BiH History – With An Agenda.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>BiH History – The Integrative Approach.....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>BiH History: Unvarnished</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>BiH History: A Serb Perspective</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>BiH History: Seen from Croatia</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>The Script of BiH</i>	<i>25</i>
3.3. THE BREAKUP OF YUGOSLAVIA AND WAR IN BIH	25
<i>The Breakup of Yugoslavia</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>The BiH Referendum on Independence.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>War in BiH</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Dating the Outbreak of War in BiH</i>	<i>27</i>
3.4. METHODOLOGY OF THE LAST CHAPTERS	28
<i>Open Questions</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>War Out of Context</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>War With Caution.....</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>War in Croatia and BiH</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Ostensibly Unbiased</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>In Black and White.....</i>	<i>31</i>
3.5. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS: THE USE OF COMPARATIVE, MULTIPERSPECTIVE, AND CRITICAL THINKING METHODS	32
<i>World War I: Methodology</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Heroism in World War One</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Critical Approach to World War One.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Hidden Messages</i>	<i>35</i>

4. QUANTITATIVE AND STRUCTURAL ASPECTS	37
4.1. THE RATIOS OF HISTORICAL PERIODS	38
4.2. THE RATIO OF WORLD/EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL HISTORY	38
<i>Integration of World/European with National History.....</i>	<i>39</i>
4.3. STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE TEXTBOOKS.....	39
<i>Structure Prior To The Guidelines</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Structure After the Guidelines.....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Two Successful Examples of Workbooks.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Further Impact of the Guidelines.....</i>	<i>41</i>
5. APPENDIX.....	43
5.1. ALLOCATION OF HISTORICAL PERIODS IN THE TEXTBOOKS/RELATION OF WORLD AND NATIONAL HISTORY IN EACH HISTORICAL PERIOD	44
5.2. WOMEN'S IMAGES IN THE TEXTBOOKS	44
5.3. LIST OF ANALYSED TEXTBOOKS	46
5.4. ABBREVIATIONS	46
5.5 THE GUIDELINES	47

Executive summary

Introduction

This analysis investigates whether selected history textbooks approved for the school year 2007/08 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) meet the contemporary standards stipulated by the *Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH*¹, which themselves were inspired by modern, European, textbook practices and trends. The investigation also compares selected history textbooks published before the adoption of the *Guidelines*, to provide a before-and-after comparison. The analysis covers seven history textbooks for the 8th and 9th grades of primary school, dealing mainly with the events of the 20th century.

The starting point of the analysis, taken from the *Guidelines*, is the *General, Specific and Individual Guidelines for History Textbook Writing* in BiH. These provide four categories, forming the framework for analysis: language, qualitative aspects in terms of content, methodological aspects and quantitative aspects.

This analysis is part 1 of a 2-part endeavour². The second part of the report will explore the current actual use of these books throughout BiH, and will include feedback from teachers exposed to both the new and old textbooks.

Some Positive Developments

Accounts of World War I and its costs for BiH society can be noted as a positive example: all reviewed textbooks exhibit a balanced and methodologically deliberate approach (with the exception of *Matković*, which does not deal with this topic).

Other positive developments include an altered balance of global and local history (roughly 60%-40%), suggesting greater awareness and appreciation of the processes of integration and globalization in 20th century history. This trend was established before the publication of the *Guidelines* and is present in all the analysed textbooks.

Whereas the textbooks published before the adoption of the *Guidelines* show a clear dominance of text at the cost of instructive material (illustrations, tasks and sources), all the newer textbooks show greater balance between text and instructive material. This trend is encouraging both in terms of quality of content and student usability. Two of the analysed books (*Valenta* and *Šehić*) are outstanding in this regard.

Women, National Minorities and Daily Life

The impact of the *Guidelines* is more obvious still in the enhanced presentation of women, national minorities and daily life – all goals of a well-rounded and balanced look at history that goes beyond the traditional focus on political and military events

- *Valenta*, *Šehić* and *Hadžiabdić* incorporate women and daily life using an integrative approach throughout the text.
- *Pejić 07* covers daily life primarily in the first half of the book.
- *Matković* has a good quantitative balance of daily life but qualitative analysis reveals strong anti-Serb undertones, for example in the depiction of efforts to suppress Croatian culture.

¹ Adopted by all Ministers of Education of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2006 and attached at Appendix 5.5. of this document.

² Supported and financed by the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

Accounts of minorities are far more frequent following publication of the *Guidelines*. These, however, are usually purely informative, or tend to be “victim accounts”, lacking any further depth, or any critical, empathic discussion.

- *Valenta* and *Šehić* give problem-oriented accounts of minorities, which provide for more detailed information and critical reasoning

Hate Speech and Hidden Messages

Hate speech is a term for speech intended to degrade, intimidate, or incite violence or prejudicial action against a person or group of people based on certain criteria, such as their ethnicity, religion, gender identity, age, nationality, or moral or political views.

Compliance with the *Guidelines* is more varied in terms of language use and the waiving of hate speech:

- *Valenta*, *Šehić*, and *Hadžiabdić* comply with the *Guidelines*. No hate speech is included.
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06*, *Matković* and *Ganibegović* fail at several points to do so, including pejorative comments against one or more national groups.
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* employ hate speech in those parts of the books dealing with World War II history and subsequent periods.
- *Matković* and *Ganibegović* generate by means of language not merely “hate speech”, but hidden messages, which reduce the flow of historical events and history in general to a few motifs and forces, grounded in the hostile behaviour of “the other” towards the self (one’s own national group).

BiH and its Peoples

The reviewer has also explored in detail whether, in accordance with the *Guidelines*, BiH is the main reference point in the textbooks, and how the textbooks deal with the histories of the constituent peoples and national minorities in BiH. It should be remembered that a group for which a textbook is specifically and solely written is deprived of any balanced account of other groups. A biased textbook does not adequately serve even the group supposed to use it.

- *Valenta*, *Hadžiabdić*, *Šehić* and *Ganibegović* have BiH at the centre of national history as a clear reference point. This relates to all history taking place within the spatial area of BiH.
- In *Valenta*, *Hadžiabdić*, and *Šehić* the concept of national history has, moreover, shifted towards the history of all constituent peoples and national minorities in BiH.
- *Ganibegović*, on the other hand, favours presentation of the Muslim/Bosniac population’s history in BiH. (This book is no longer on most lists of books approved for use in schools, but was analysed in order to assess the impact of the *guidelines*.)
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* present predominantly Serbian history – the history of developments in the Balkan area from a Serb point of view. The concept of national history implies Serb national history.
- *Pejić 07* suggests some positive impact from the *Guidelines*. The move towards a closer description of historical developments in BiH (though still with a preponderance of the Serb perspective) can be observed here, especially in the first part of the book dealing with history from the end of the 19th century until 1941.
- *Matković* has a completely different reference point, namely the history of Croatia and, at times, Croat history within BiH. The concept of national history refers here purely to Croat national history. In terms of creating a wider concept of national history, and using BiH as the point of reference, *Matković* fails. That the book was written from a purely Croatian perspective, supposed to be acceptable to Croat pupils only, is the evident intention of the book. (*Matković*,

despite being written and published before adoption of the *Guidelines* and obviously not in accordance with them, is on the list of textbooks recommended for use in school year 2007/08³.)

The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the War in BiH

The history of the end of 20th century in BiH (and the former Yugoslavia) is one of the most sensitive and controversial issues in BiH society today. The avoidance of the BiH war (1992-1995), seen in the varied approach taken by history curricula in BiH, and proposed by a Recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2000,⁴ reflects this difficulty. The difficulty is also evident in the approach taken by a number of textbooks.

In most of the books analysed, many of the improvements noted relating to instructive and methodological assessments, are ultimately lost in the chapters which cover the beginning of Yugoslavia's breakup, the Referendum of 1992, and the outbreak of war in BiH.

- *Pejić 07* exhibits positive development towards more balanced, even comparative accounts in the first part of the book, but the entire last chapter about the end of Yugoslavia, including texts, illustrations, and instructive material, is biased, forcing one-way thinking and expressing empathy with the "unfair" Serbian destiny only. Whereas the emphasis is placed, in a biased manner, on the NATO attack on Yugoslavia, the war in BiH is only very briefly mentioned. In terms of content, there is no difference between *Pejić 07* and its immediate predecessor *Pejić 06*.
- *Valenta*, though not applying multi-perspectival accounts in the very last chapter of the book, delivers a balanced historical account of the breakup of Yugoslavia, shifting emphasis towards the nationalism of all sides in the last phase of the former common state. The text is enriched with open questions that might force students to develop their own reasoning about these events. *Valenta*, however, does not deal with the war in BiH nor with any other war in the former Yugoslavia.
- *Hadžiabdić* touches upon these wars, but loses the high quality approach characteristic of much of both books. *Hadžiabdić* makes uncontextualised allusions to the war in BiH without discussing it in detail.
- *Šehić* does not cover the outbreak of war, but delivers partly one-sided and judgmental information about the period of Yugoslavia's breakup.
- *Matković* is the only textbook which deals with the war in BiH in more detail. It does so without affecting the assessment of the book as a monoperspective view, though the book states that all sides participated in ethnic cleansing and brutal warfare. The book's conclusion, that the Croat-Bosniac split and the overall brutality of the war in BiH were the product of international (mis) engagement and "map exercises" by the Serbian political elite, is not conducive to a more thoughtful presentation of this most sensitive period.

Messages and Methodology

The problem of "hidden messages" is not caused solely by a certain use of language, but is also a problem in terms of methodology. Enabling students to develop critical, comparative, and multi-perspectival thinking whilst analysing historical events is impeded by the insertion of hidden messages in the textbooks – exemplified by *Ganibegović* and *Pejić 07* in their coverage of globalisation processes after World War

³ The list is prepared by the Educational Institute in Mostar (responsible for the curriculum in the Croatian language). Consequently, each Minister of Education approves this list, although some Ministries make further selections, for their respective cantons.

⁴ See *Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe: Recommendation 1454 (2000) Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. This proposed a moratorium on teaching the period 1992-1995 in BiH until historians in BiH with the support of international experts should develop a common approach towards the teaching of this period in the classroom.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

II. These are depicted as a *Trojan Horse* for the ambitions of greater states to exploit smaller.

- *Valenta* and *Šehić* apply interactive and comparative methods throughout the books.
- *Valenta* gives a clear priority to empathic and multi-perspectival approaches.

Conclusion

The *Guidelines* require the implementation of European standards in history textbook writing in BiH. These include a quantitatively balanced relation of text and instructive material, the application of a diversity of methodological tools directed at the development of critical thinking, and the development of multi-perspectival and comparative approaches towards the presentation and discussion of historical events.

Two of the analysed textbooks, *Valenta* and *Šehić*, particularly the former, come very close to a European standard. *Hadžiabdić* draws near, but lacks consistency in applying comparative and multi-perspectival approaches. The other books analysed cannot be said to comply with contemporary European standards as required by the *Guidelines*.

1

Introduction

- *Textbooks selected*
- *Criteria for selection*
- *Framework of the analysis*
- *Choice of topics for analysis*



Textbooks selected

The major objective of the analysis is to investigate if history textbooks approved for the school year 2007/08 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) meet the standards as stipulated in the "Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH".⁵ The scope of analysis encompasses a selection of history textbooks for 8th and 9th grades of primary school, all of which deal mainly with the history of the 20th century. In sum, seven history textbooks have been analysed.

The following history textbooks approved for school year 2007/08 in BiH were selected for analysis:

- a) Hadžija Hadžiabdić, Edis Dervišagić, Alen Mulić, Vahidin Mehić: *History. History textbook for 8th grade of primary school. Bosanska Knjiga. Tuzla 2007 (hereafter referred to as Hadžiabdić)*
- b) Hrvoje Matković, Božo Goluža, Ivica Šarac: *History 8. History textbook for 8th grade of primary school (third edition). Školska naklada. Mostar 2006 (hereafter referred to as Matković)*
- c) Zijad Šehić, Zvezdana Marčić-Matošević, Alma Leka: *History. Textbook with historical reading book for 8th grade of primary school. Sarajevo publishing. Sarajevo 2007 (hereafter referred to as Šehić)*
- d) Simo Tešić, Stevo Gavrić, Ranko Pejić: *History textbook for 9th grade⁶ of primary school. Institute of textbook and teaching aids. Istočno Sarajevo 2007 (hereafter referred to as Pejić07)*
- e) Leonard Valenta: *History textbook for 8th grade of primary school. Bosanska riječ. Sarajevo 2007 (hereafter referred to as Valenta)*

As, additionally, a comparison of these books⁷ with history textbooks published after the adoption of the *Guidelines* will be delivered, the following history textbooks approved and used in the school year 2006/07 in BiH have also been selected for analysis. Since these textbooks are not on the list of approved textbooks for this school year they should not be used:

- a) Muhamed Ganibegović⁸.
History textbook for 8th grade of primary school (third edition). IP "Svijetlost" d.d. Sarajevo 2006 (hereafter referred to as Ganibegović)
- b) Dr. Ranko Pejić. *History textbook for 9th grade of primary school. Institute of textbook and teaching aids. Istočno Sarajevo 2006 (hereafter referred to as Pejić 06)*

Criteria for selection

The selection of these history textbooks was carried out by the reviewer according to the following considerations:

Old and New Books

Pejić 07 is the only history textbook approved for use in 9th grade primary schools in the Republika Srpska, replacing the formerly approved book *Pejić 06*. Thus, an immediate comparison between the two books has been possible, also a comparison of *Pejić 07* with the other newly written history textbooks in BiH.

Different Standards, Different Country

The textbook *Matković* was published and approved in its third, clearly unrevised edition for school year 2007/08. Even though the same textbook edition was published before and after the adoption of the *Guidelines*, the reviewer has opted to include *Matković* into the scope of analysis. The reason is twofold.

⁵ Hereafter referred to as "Guidelines"

⁶ The 9th grade referred to corresponds with the 8th grade referred to by the other textbooks.

⁷ For *Matković* please see footnote 3.

⁸ Although *Ganibegović* is not on the FBiH MoE list of the approved textbooks for 2007/2008 it is still on the list of approved textbooks for teaching in other language in Canton 2, Posavina (*Official Gazette no. 04/07, Posavina Canton.*)

First, the adoption of the book for school year 2007/08 requires the recognition of and agreement with the criteria for history textbook writing as stipulated in the *Guidelines*. Thus there should be investigation as to whether *Matković* meets the major requirements of these *Guidelines*.

Second, *Matković* represents an adopted version of the same textbook originally written and published for use in primary schools in Croatia. This should be noted, since the *Guidelines* demand the history of BiH should be the clear reference point in the books. The analysis will investigate, therefore, if the adoption of a textbook originally written with a different reference point (Croatia) can be characterized as an effective means of history textbook writing in today's BiH.

Excluded from Analysis

Additionally, *Matković* constitutes one of only two books used in the 8th grade in Croat majority Cantons in the Federation of BiH. The other book is *Modern age history; history textbook for the 8th grade of primary school*⁹, by Miljenko Miloš. This has been deliberately excluded from analysis here. Though Miloš is a local author from BiH, the central reason for this decision is that the author neither respects the basics of the Decision of the Inter-Entity-Commission from 2002/03 (requiring: "no hate speech") nor the basics of the *Guidelines*.

All-New Books

The reasons underlying selection of the textbooks *Hadžiabdić*, *Šehić*, and *Valenta* are self-evident, as all were published in spring and summer 2007, and approved for school year 2007/08.¹⁰ A comparison with *Ganibegović*, published in its third edition in 2006, before the adoption of the *Guidelines*, will reveal the impact of the *Guidelines* for conceptualizing and developing new history textbooks which are mainly in use in the Federation of BiH.

Framework of the analysis

The structure of the analysis is based on the author's review of the *General*, *Specific* and *Individual Guidelines for history textbook writing in BiH*. The criteria as stipulated can be divided into four analytical categories: language, qualitative aspects in terms of content, methodological aspects and quantitative aspects

Section 1. (Language):

the *General Guidelines* ask for age-appropriate texts and the waiving of hate speech.¹¹ Additionally, the *Specific Guidelines* emphasize the adequate use of historical terminology. The reviewer has decided to investigate this criterion in a separate section of the analysis.

Section 2. (Qualitative Aspects and Content):

this consists of different aspects as highlighted in the *Guidelines* with regard to content. First, the requirement to accentuate BiH as the main reference point constitutes one of the major aims of the *Guidelines* and the recommendations of the *Memorandum of Understanding*.¹² Therefore, the question of BiH as the main reference point in the analysed textbooks is dealt with at length. Other criteria emphasized in the *Guidelines* with regard to content include the presentation of women, national minorities, and the history of daily life¹³, and are dealt with in the analysis also.

Section 3. (Methodological Aspects):

this is closely related to **Section 2**. "Neighbouring countries' representations based on objectivity and multiperspectivity" (*General Guidelines* paragraph 2.5.), and "presenting sensitive and controversial topics open for discussion" (*General Guidelines* paragraph 2.7.) are both a matter of method and quality in terms of content. However, the *Guidelines* in many different sections accentuate the use of certain methodological

⁹ Znanje. Mostar 2006.

¹⁰ The textbook *Hadžiabdić*, though officially approved for school year 2007/08, is currently not in use in Tuzla Canton, following the decision of the Ministry of Education in autumn 2007.

¹¹ See the paragraphs 2.10, and 2.11. in the *General Guidelines*.

¹² See paragraph 1.2. (aims of the *Guidelines*), also paragraph 2.4. of the *General Guidelines*.

¹³ See the paragraphs 2.16. and 2.17. of the *General Guidelines* and paragraph 3.4. of the *Specific Guidelines*.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

tools, such as comparative, interactive, multiperspective, and critical thinking methods¹⁴.

Section 4. (Quantitative Aspects):

the *General Guidelines* ask for a quantitatively balanced presentation of political, cultural and economic history, for a balancing of texts, illustrations, tasks, and sources, and for a balanced coverage of national and World / European (general) history.¹⁵

The analysis consists of the reviewer's text, into which numerous quotations from the reviewed textbooks are included. Extensive quotations from the textbooks are provided in the form of footnotes. The Appendix at the very end of the document contains two tables: bibliographical data relevant to the criteria of the analysis, and a list of abbreviations.

Choice of topics for analysis

The reviewer has decided to include in the qualitative analysis an investigation into textbook presentations on the breakup of Yugoslavia. The reasons behind this decision are twofold. First, the last paragraph of the *Individual Guidelines* states: "*The Ministers of Education acknowledge the necessity for teaching historical processes concluding with the end of the 20th century, and to teach these processes in accordance with these Guidelines.*"¹⁶ Whilst no section in the *Guidelines* explicitly deals with textbook presentations regarding the breakup of Yugoslavia and the war in BiH, this paragraph at least implicitly refers to these events. The war in BiH is not part of the curriculum in most of the Cantons of the Federation of BiH, whilst it is part of the curriculum in the Republika Srpska, also in some Cantons in the Federation. However, the clear requirement "*in accordance with these Guidelines*" asks

for a more comprehensive investigation of these presentations.

Secondly, the history of the end of 20th century in BiH (and the former Yugoslavia) presents one of the most sensitive and controversial issues today in BiH society, as the history textbook episode in Tuzla Canton in September 2007 has clearly demonstrated. The avoidance of the history of the war in BiH (1992-1995) is regulated by a number of history curricula in BiH, in accordance with whether or not these follow the CoE recommendation of the year 2000. Where the history of these events is presented, as is the case with a number of textbooks, the mode of presentation becomes of great interest. Investigating these presentations within the analysis has therefore been regarded as crucial by the reviewer.

Additionally, the development of more balanced accounts of the war in BiH and subsequent developments, in which the "others" will be treated with respect, without abating the experience of war for individuals and groups of people, poses one of the major challenges to be met by history textbook authors from BiH.

¹⁴ See the paragraphs 2.6., 2.9., and 2.12. in the *General Guidelines*. See also paragraphs 3.1., 3.9. of the *Specific Guidelines* and paragraph 4.11. of the *Individual Guidelines*.

¹⁵ See the paragraphs 2.1., 2.8., 2.15. in the *General Guidelines*. The paragraph numbers indicated here correspond to those from the *Guidelines*, in order to allow for an easy review of the reader

¹⁶ See paragraph 4.16. of the *Guidelines*.

2

Language

- *Hate speech*
- *Hidden messages and historical terminology*



Hate speech

Whereas "hate speech" has constituted a major problem in many former history textbooks in BiH, this is considerably less the case in the newest generation of history textbooks:

- *Valenta*, *Šehić*, and *Hadžiabdić* are completely free of such passages;
- *Pejić 07*, *Pejić 06* and *Matković* still contain some passages that qualify as "hate speech"¹⁷

It should be noted, however, that "hate speech" does not enter solely by means of alienating phrases or words. Instead, the question is closely linked with two other aspects, of which the first and most important relates to narrower methodological aspects of the textbooks-namely the problem of hidden messages. The second aspect is the age-appropriateness of textbook language.

- *Pejić 07*, like *Pejić 06*, contains multiple passages that do not qualify for an age-appropriate use of language. This can be first of all observed in those passages dealing with war and violence in 20th century history, more exactly, dealing with war and terror against the "own

group" only. Both books include detailed descriptions of methods of mass killings. Rather than helping to depict the horrors of war, these descriptions are always addressed to, and focused on, the "own group" as the victim of these crimes. Thus they serve the aim not of delivering a historical account, but of denouncing "the other", the perpetrator, as a brutal enemy.¹⁸

Hidden messages and historical terminology

Here we directly touch upon the question of "hidden messages", which, according to the reviewer's opinion, are much more problematic in some of today's books than the problem of hate speech. Hidden messages are generated in many different ways.¹⁹ These include the repeated use of certain expressions and phrases, thus reducing the flow of historical events and of history in general to just a few motifs and forces, grounded in hostile behaviour of "the other" against oneself (the own national group).

- This is characteristic primarily of *Matković*²⁰ and *Ganibegović*.²¹

¹⁷ *Matković* is foremost in using an aggressive, anti-Serbian language, which qualifies as such mainly by the constant use of anti-Serbian expressions. See for instance the subchapter "Policy of the Serb Government" (page 16f.), dealing with the First Yugoslavia, where in only half a page time and again syntagmata are used which express an anti-Serbian attitudes, such as "to ensure Great-Serbian domination", "The Serbian name is at the first place", "enabled Great-Serbian domination", "a plan on expanded Serbia", "Great-Serbian Policy" and so forth. Comparing *Pejić 06* with *Pejić 07*, it becomes obvious that the former contains more alienating phrases, directed against Croats and Muslims in BiH, than the latter. See for example with regard to Serbs of BiH in WWI: "Muslims and Croats were directly incited against Serbs. They spread lies and delusions on alleged threat from Serb people." (*Pejić 06* page 78, not to be found in *Pejić 07*). However, *Pejić 07* uses alienating phrases also, foremost in the chapter dealing with the breakup of Yugoslavia. Compare for those quotations the paragraph "Breakup of Yugoslavia". Hate speech is here foremost directed against Albanians, termed "Separatist Siptars". Compare also *Pejić 07* page 196, where a photograph is included showing burning houses and people standing in front of them, with the subtitle: "Albanians are burning down Serb houses."

¹⁸ See for instance *Pejić 07* page 128 and *Pejić 06* page 157, both containing the following passage within the chapter on WWII and terror in the NDH: "Ustašes' methods of rubbing-out were execution by firing squad, killing by hammer and other objects, slaughtering by knives and "kamas", throwing into deep pits, hanging, and other different tortures that the world hadn't seen before." See also *Pejić 07* page 128, where clearly a certain type of information is delivered in order to point deliberately to the brutality of the other: "In the area of Banja Luka, in the villages Dragočaj, Sargovac and Motike, the ustases committed hair-raising crimes and killed in one day (without firing a shot) 2300 of Serbs including numerous women and children."

¹⁹ I will be briefly dealing in this paragraph only with those which are generated in a narrower sense by means of language. See for other types of "hidden messages" paragraph 3.4.

²⁰ The main point of the whole narrative of *Matković* seems to be summarized on page 119, in the introduction to the chapter dealing with post-1989 history in Croatia and BiH. The text states: "You have noticed from the previous teaching material that the entry of Croatia into the Yugoslav state meant losing its sovereignty and thereby Croatia had a subordinated status in the first as well as in the second Yugoslavia. Croatia permanently fought for equality but could not achieve it because of Greater Serbian hegemony. Seven decades later, Croatia stepped out of this community and achieved its full independence and sovereignty. Read how it happened" Thus, the idea of "Greater Serbian ambitions", directed against the Croatian nation in the whole 20th century structures the whole book, and, therefore, hinders any fair or balanced historical account of the history of Croatian-Serbian relations in the 20th century.

²¹ See *Ganibegović* page 62, in the chapter "Persecution and violence against the non-Serb population in BiH" in the first Yugoslavia, which deals solely with crimes against the Muslim population in BiH, and thereby constantly uses phrases pointing to the aggressiveness of the perpetrator:

Additionally, hidden messages are generated by inadequate use of historical terminology. The most obvious example relates here to the term "genocide", of which the use is problematic in some of the reviewed textbooks. The term, in some of the books, is used without any historical explanation of the term itself and is used solely with regard to the own national reference group.²² Reserving the term "genocide", without any or only marginal reference to the fate of the Jewish community in World War II, for the suffering of one's own national group, is absolutely inappropriate in a textbook dealing with 20th century history. These narratives obviously are developed to serve the purpose of establishing a hierarchy of victims, whereby the own group is presented as having suffered most from the crimes committed by the other.

- *Ganibegović* uses the term genocide related to crimes against the Muslim/Bosniac population in BiH in the chapters dealing with the Interwar period in the first Yugoslavia²³ and World War II.²⁴ The term is not explained in the book, and is solely

reserved for the mentioned group of victims.

- *Šehić* also does not use the term "genocide" in the chapter dealing with the international history of World War II. Instead, the term again appears within the realm of BiH history related to World War II events on its territory, also without any explanation. Crimes against the Serbian population of BiH during this period are termed "zločini" (crimes), whereas crimes against Muslims are termed "genocide".²⁵
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* briefly explain the term "genocide" in the annex ("destruction of one people"), and use it for describing acts of terror and crimes against the Serb population in the NDH (124).²⁶
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* also use the term "Holocaust", for describing the extermination of the Jewish community in World War II in Europe. However, unlike the term "genocide", the term "Holocaust" is not explained at all, either in the respective chapter or in the annex.²⁷

Comparing these books to both *Valenta* and *Hadžibabić*, the qualitative difference

"The suffering of the Muslim population represents the fundamental characteristic of the life and situation in BiH during the first ten years after unification in 1918. Different attacks against the property and lives of Muslims were followed by different exclamations: 'Go to Asia', 'Move to Asia', and so forth Big Muslim landowners were firstly attacked across BiH by Serb peasants, who grabbed their land, robbed their property and burned their houses. Everything was done under the pretext of 'revenge for Kosovo', and 'Turks' should be killed off since there is no other punishment for them except 'killing and beating up.'"

²² Interestingly, there is only one book (*Matković*) which does not use the term at all, even not in the subchapter "War crimes" related to World War Two where, inter alia, the emergence of Concentration Camps is dealt with.

²³ See *Ganibegović* page 69, in the subchapter "Political life under the Vidovdan system 1921-1929": "Apart from the genocidal policy towards Muslims, the regime harshly settled scores with Croatian politicians who argued for a federal state."

²⁴ See *Ganibegović* page 93, in the subchapter "Genocide in BiH by the Ustasa State", where mass crimes against Serbs, Jews and Roma are briefly dealt with, followed by the subchapter "Cetnik's genocide against peoples in BiH", where crimes against Muslims in BiH are narrated in a rather alienating manner: "The Cetnik genocide against Muslim population has deep roots: on one side its motiveless religious hatred and intolerance and on the other, the wish of the Greater Serbian ideologists and politicians to create, at any price, an ethnically cleaned state. Therefore, from the beginning of the 1941 war they started systematic physical destruction of the Muslims, i.e. genocide. ..many villages were destroyed by Cetnik knives. This, up to that never seen, genocide innocent people took more than 100,000 lives." See also the chapter dealing with post World War Two in BiH (page 115): "Bosnian Muslims are the people that experienced horrible genocide. Everybody kept silent on the genocide committed against Muslims during the WWII. It was forbidden to talk about it as their victims were less valuable than the tragedies and victims of other Yugoslav peoples"

²⁵ See *Šehić* page 175: "Parallel with the crimes of Ustasas against the Serb population, Cetniks committed the crime of genocide against Muslims." See also page 176, where at the margin's page the programme of the Mihailović Cetniks is explained, describing inter alia the "four methods of genocide" of the Cetnik movement in Eastern Bosnia and Sandžak (mass killings of the civilian population, prosecution of civilians, destruction of properties in order to prevent surviving of the targeted group, and, finally, forced conversion of Muslims to the Christian orthodox faith).

²⁶ See *Pejić 07* page 124: "Ustasas, with support of Germans, proclaimed the NDH (Independent State of Croatia) on 10 April and commenced crime of genocide against Serbs." See also *Pejić 06* page 156: "Along with forcible relocations, crimes of mass shootings, massacres, robberies were committed as well. Mass destruction of Serb people which resulted in genocide was committed mostly in Croatia, BiH, Macedonia and South Serbia."

²⁷ See *Pejić 07* page 155 and *Pejić 06* page 189: There is an image, probably a photograph, of male inmates of a concentration camp, half-naked, lying in a barrack. The image is simply titled "Holocaust". The text on the same page (subchapter "Results and consequences of the Second World War") states, inter alia:

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

becomes apparent. Both the latter books correctly use the term “genocide” and “holocaust” in the chapters dealing with World War II’s international history. Both terms are explained in the respective chapters dealing with crimes of the Nazis and life under the fascist occupation (and, in *Valenta*, also in the annex).²⁸ The terms are not used in the chapters dealing with the “national history” of World War II.

Whereas in the first group of books readers will be confronted with unbalanced accounts of either genocide against the Muslims, or genocide against the Serbs in World War II, both the latter books try to develop a historical perspective on the phenomena of genocide and holocaust in 20th century history.

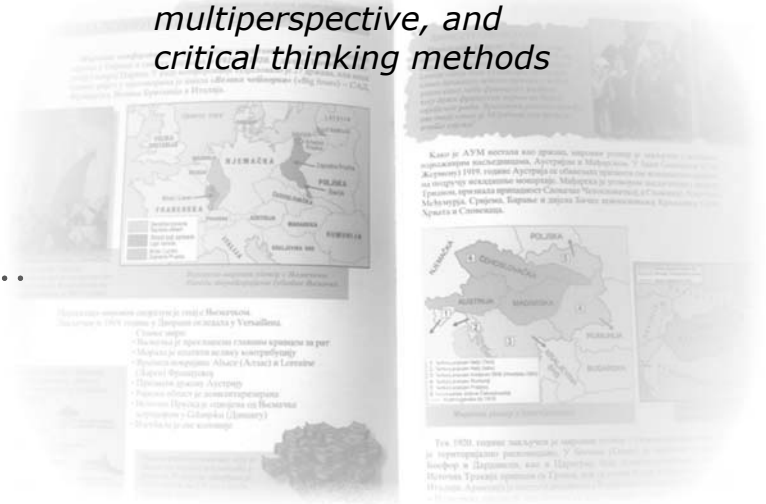
“The War led up to dramatic demographic changes in many parts of the world. Whole ethnic communities were decimated or forcibly displaced. The best example for that is the nearly absolute disappearance of Jews in Europe. Those who survived the holocaust emigrated to USA or Palestine, where the state of Israel was established in 1948.”

²⁸ See Hadžiabdić page 97: “Nazis, with their collaborators, killed between 6 and 10 million Jews across Europe. Such crimes targeting the destruction of a certain nation is called genocide, while systematic extermination of Jews during the Second World War committed on the territory of Europe under control of Nazi regime and its Allies is called holocaust.” See also *Valenta* page 119: “Genocide – killing committed with intent to destroy a national, racial or religious group of people. Holocaust – the old word originated from Roma and Greek time and means “sacrifice by fire”. The word is then used for genocide committed against Jews in the World War II.” *Valenta* is the only book that mentions the genocide against Armenians at the beginning of the 20th century. See page 82 in the subchapter “Founding of Modern Turkey”: “During its struggle for liberation Turks killed or displaced 1.5 million of Christian Armenians and Greeks. It was one of the first crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing in the 20th century.”

3

Qualitative content analysis

- *Women, national minorities and daily life represented in the textbooks*
- *The meaning of national history-reference point BiH*
- *The breakup of Yugoslavia and war in BiH*
- *Methodology of the last chapters*
- *Methodological aspects:
The use of comparative, multiperspective, and critical thinking methods*



3.1. Women, national minorities and daily life represented in the textbooks

Presentations of women, national minorities and of the history of daily life do not traditionally belong in the "main text" of schoolbooks in BiH, where political, military, and economic history prevails. Since for 20th century history the need to deliver a huge amount of information related to political and military developments is obvious, the integration of the three aspects appears yet more difficult. However, the analysed books, with varied approaches, have tried to come to terms with the requirement of the Guidelines to include more information on women, national minorities and daily life in history.

Trying to analyse those presentations in the books, one might firstly rely on a quantitative analysis: simply counting the items or images where the interested categories are mentioned in the books. This purely quantitative exercise does not tell the whole story, but delivers some interesting insights into structure and approach.²⁹

The questions dealt with are strongly related to the question of the general focus of each textbook in terms of political, cultural and other forms of history. Predominantly, a major focus on political history, as in *Pejić 07*, *Pejić 06*, *Matković* and *Ganibegović* hinders the inclusion of more information on the categories dealt with in this section.

Women

Regarding the narrower question of *presentation of women* in the textbooks, two major strategies for including women can be observed:

- *Ganibegović*, *Matković*, *Pejić 07*, and *Pejić 06* have placed a few images (photographs, paintings) of women in the textbooks, aided sometimes by a few sentences on the situation of women in a certain historical period. Here, the situation of women in history appears to be marginal to "real" history, meaning to political and military history, "made by man", by predominantly male historical personalities. This is underlined by the fact that even where these textbooks deal with women (in a few sentences), there is virtually no question or task in the instructive apparatus that might deepen this issue.

The reviewer would assess this as an only superficial convergence with the *Guidelines*, since these (sometimes newly) included images of women do not open up the textbook's approach towards a narrative that makes pupils aware of the different impacts which certain historical events have had on men and women.³⁰

- *Hadžiabdić*, *Šehić*, and *Valenta*, on the other hand, emphasize certain historical events explicitly through the lens of "gendered history", pinpointing in detail and on several occasions the role of women in history and the impact of certain historical events on women. Here, women in history appear in many different historical roles, both as a subject and an object of history, as individuals and as a group.³¹

²⁹ See as an example the quantitative data about the inclusion of women's images into the textbooks in the Appendix paragraph 5.2.

³⁰ *Ganibegović* contains apart from the few images very few, singular sentences about the situation of women. See the subchapter "The life in the warring countries" during WWI for a typical account: "...large number of men were mobilized into the armies. The women replaced them at their workposts." (page 24), or in the subchapter dealing with BiH in the Interwar period: "The issue of the national awareness, emancipation of the Muslim woman and education of the Muslim female children was the topic at the discussion held on 1928 on occasion of 25th anniversary of establishment of the Muslims' cultural supportive association (*Muslimanskog kulturnog potpornog društva*) "Gajret" (page 80). See also the very brief mention of the organisation AFŽ in BiH during WWII at page 102: "Similar organization was AFŽ (*Anti-fascist Women Association*) ..." *Matković*, *Pejić 07*, and *Pejić 06* contain even less information on women than *Ganibegović*. *Matković* does not discuss in any part of the textbooks the situation of women. *Pejić 07* mentions women in history (fashion, clothing) in the very first chapter dealing with World history at the end of the 19th century only. The same is offered by *Pejić 06*, in the chapter dealing with Balkan countries at the end of the 19th century (women's factory work).

³¹ *Šehić* contains, apart from the many images of women in the sphere of political and cultural history, three longer texts dealing with the situation of women in history. Thereby, a comparative and critical emphasis is put on their situation in Europe also in BiH. See *Šehić* page 123f, page 149, and page 188.

National Minorities

The most important question related to presentations of *national minorities* is not only how often they are mentioned, but in which contexts. In order to come closer to this question, the author has gone through every book checking for the number and the context of presentations of national minorities. The reviewer has thereby not only taken into consideration presentations of national minorities in the narrower history of BiH, but also those related to neighbouring countries and those which deal with the tragic fate of Jewish, Roma and Armenian communities in 20th century history.

National Minorities: Facts but No Thinking

The reviewer differentiates four methods of presenting national minorities in the analysed textbooks. The first and most frequent comes in the form of "*neutral information account*". Here, the texts generally state that, inter alia, different minorities also lived or live in the territory of BiH. This is for the most part purely fact-oriented information, lacking any deep, critical, or empathic discussion.³²

National Minorities as Victims

The second type of account the reviewer would characterize as a "victim account", that is, where national minorities appear solely as victims, usually in the context

of the destruction of the European Jewish (and Roma) community in World War II. The bare reference to Jews and Roma as the main victims of fascism is one side of the coin. On the other, in many books there is much more detailed information on the suffering of the "own" national group. Here the reader is confronted with a structure where minorities are mentioned in one or two sentences, followed or preceded by a very detailed account on the fate of the "own" national group as the victim.

This method of including national minorities, in conjunction with a detailed account on the suffering of the own national group in history, fails to develop empathy towards "the other". Additionally, it reduces the history of national and other minorities to a victims' history, which is historically inaccurate.³³

National Minorities as Perpetrators

The third type of account can be characterized as a "perpetrator account" -that is, when a national minority appears to have acted as a perpetrator. The reviewer came across this type of account in two books, namely Pejić07 and Pejić06.³⁴ This type of account is especially problematic, not because perpetrations of "others" against the national group should not be mentioned in schoolbooks, but because the negative image presented of the "other" is at no point counterbalanced

Hadžiabdić contains also three, smaller texts on the situation of women in history. See *Hadžiabdić* page 40, 57, and 132. With regard to *Valenta*, the book does not only contain the most glimpses of women's history (in quantitative terms), but the many glimpses of women in history are integrated into the body of the main chapters. There are no separate paragraphs dealing with the impact of certain historical events or periods on women. Rather, women in history appear as a clearly integrated part of general history. The whole composition of the book, which does not allow for any clear separation of political and cultural history, but rather presents manifold historical processes in the spheres of politics, culture etc together, successfully prevents the artificial separation of women's history from "main" (male) history.

³² With the exception of *Matković*, all other textbooks contain one or more such references.

³³ *Matković* is the only book which contains solely this kind of minority account. At, only one place in the book are minorities mentioned, namely as a victims group. See *Matković* page 77, in the subchapter dealing with the crimes of the Ustasa regime in the NDH: "Ustasa's regime executed mass persecution against Serbs and Jews. ...It is estimated that around 48.000 Serbs and several thousand Jews were killed in Jasenovac. A certain number of Roma, Croats and others were also killed there." All other books contain more differentiated and more numerous types of accounts than *Matković*. *Pejić 07*, *Pejić 06*, *Sehić*, and *Hadžiabdić* apply a victim account also with regard to the Jewish and Roma suffering in World War Two. *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* additionally contain a very brief sentence about the mass expulsions of Germans (from Eastern Europe) and Italians (from Yugoslavia) after World War Two. *Valenta* contains, additionally to information about Jewish and Roma victims in World War Two, an account referring to the genocide of the Armenians in Turkey. *Ganibegović* contains yet another victim account, which, however, simply may serve the purpose of putting the own group into a better light. See *Ganibegović* page 94, where the author mentions the persecution of Muslim "White gypsies" (Bijeli Cigani) in WWII in BiH: "In several places in BiH, Muslims rose to defend the so-called 'White Gypsies' (Arhija) demonstrating that an attack against gypsies is an attack against Muslims as well..."

³⁴ See in *Pejić 07* page 129, in the subchapter dealing with WWII in Yugoslavia: "Also, occupying forces had collaborators among national minorities (German, Hungarian and Albanian minority) which supported them and some of them even committed war crimes." The same sentence can be found in *Pejić 06* page 158, where, however, the sentence additionally emphasises: "... and some of them committed war crimes against the Serb population." See additionally in both books (*Pejić 07* page 135 and *Pejić 06* page 166) the following statement with regard to WWII in Yugoslavia: "Horrible crimes against Serb civilians at Kosmet

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

by a critical account of the relationship between the “national” group and the “other”.

National Minorities:

Thinking About the Problems

Only two books (*Šehić* and *Valenta*) provide a fourth type of account, which the reviewer would call a “problem-oriented account”, implying the move beyond factual information, trying to emphasize the contribution of the respective group to historical developments in BiH or elsewhere. Here *Valenta* is outstanding: for example, this book provides numerous items of information on Jewish history in and out of BiH, moving beyond the simplistic image of Jews as victims.³⁵ Additionally, *Valenta* is the only book that includes an interactive project on “National minorities in BiH”, starting with more detailed information on minorities in BiH before 1918, and ending with an interactive project on the current situation of the Roma minority in BiH.³⁶ Finally, *Šehić* also includes not only accounts of type one and two, but also at least two references which seek to deepen national minority questions and information.³⁷

Daily Life

In general, one can state the *Guidelines* have had a clear impact with regard to the question of the inclusion of the history of daily life in the textbooks. An analysis of “the history of daily life”, thereby, takes into account not only those units and subchapters in the book where “daily life presentations” are explicitly delivered. Instead, the reviewer was also interested in the arrangement of subchapters

dealing with developments in the sphere of culture, education, technology, and science, since these often present the most important aspects of daily life in history. Traditionally, information about these latter aspects has been delivered in subchapters simply “attached” to the main body of the chapters, that is, to political history.

Daily Life Before the Guidelines

This traditional structural composition of textbooks, based on the hidden assumption that “real” history is composed of political and military facts, with the history of daily life on its margins, is a predominant approach only in *Ganibegović* and *Pejić 06*, that is, books written before the adoption of the *Guidelines*.

- *Ganibegović* contains only scarce information about the history of daily life.³⁸ Subchapters dealing with developments in culture, science and so forth are to be found at the end of most chapters only. Yet the instructive apparatus in the book does not contain any questions or tasks related to both, again giving the impression that these parts of history are not really important.
- *Pejić 06* contains indeed more information in the attached subchapters about culture, science and so forth³⁹ Additionally, questions and tasks in the book are also related to this information. But in quantitative terms, a clear imbalance between a large majority of information about political and military history, and the appended information on further developments in culture and so forth, still dominates the *book*.

were committed by the Siptar unit “Skenderbeg”. The famous “Handžar Division” composed of fascistically inclined Muslims from Raska and BiH did the same.”

³⁵ Thus, for instance, *Valenta* informs the reader about Jewish doctors settling in BiH around 1900, thus initiating a system of organized healthcare in BiH (page 32). Again in the Interwar period, Jews and the movement of Zionism are dealt with, not only in the author’s text, but in the didactical material (two sources) also (page 83f). The chapters dealing with WWII contain a whole unit on “Nazi crime”, where in detail the Holocaust is dealt with, together with references to the crimes against other minority groups such as Roma, homosexuals, and disabled people (page 118f). Additionally, the end of the chapter (page 133f) contains a project “The past in the present age”, where contemporary Neo-Nazi forms and meanings are discussed in an interactive manner (group work).

³⁶ See *Valenta* page 37f.

³⁷ See *Šehić* page 52, where in the subchapter dealing with Serbian history in 1878-1914, a small paragraph speaks about the situation of national minorities in Serbia, highlighting, however, first of all the bad situation for Muslim minorities there. See additionally at page 107, in the subchapter dealing with the Interwar period. Here, information (“Did you know” ...) is included, delivering historical data about antisemitic measures in European history from the 12th century until the commencement of the Nurnberg laws (107). At the end of this chapter, one of the questions asks: “How can you explain the passiveness and lack of interest of the international community for the persecution and maltreatment of the Jews in Germany?” (page 109).

³⁸ *Ganibegović* contains only one subchapter dealing with everyday life history, namely in WWI (page 24).

³⁹ Especially in the first parts of the book dealing with the history before WWII.

Daily Life After the Guidelines

- *Pejić 07* not only promises in the introduction to deliver more information about aspects of daily life and so forth,⁴⁰ but keeps its word in the following chapters, though not entirely. The first two chapters of the book dealing with World and national history at the end of the 19th century start with subchapters on cultural, economic, and social history. Here, a clear attempt to shift emphasis from political towards other aspects of history, namely society, culture, and features of daily life such as fashion and style, technics and education, can be observed.

This inspiring approach, however, is lost in the second part of the book, beginning with the chapters dealing with World War II. Here, information centres on the spheres of the political and military. Information about other aspects of historical developments appears here not only as marginal, but partly to uphold one-sided, and self-justifying messages.⁴¹ Thus, *Pejić 07* still oscillates between a more innovative (integrative) approach in the first part of the book, and a traditional (separative) approach in the latter part,

Daily Life: An Integrative Approach

This implies a structural composition of the textbooks with information about and discussion of historical developments in the sphere of daily life, culture and so forth predominantly embodied within the main text. Additionally, an integrative approach is characterized by a quantitatively balanced amount of information about developments in the different spheres of the political, the cultural, the social and other. Last but not least, the manner in which the information is dealt with is key. Applying an integrative approach with regard to the latter criterion implies

not only the provision of information, but an inspiring and critical discussion of the information.

- *Valenta* and *Šehić* show a clearly integrative approach. They give an immense amount of information with regard to daily life presentations, quantitatively very well balanced (compared to information about political and military history). These items of information do not appear as "attached" to particular chapters, but constitute well integrated parts of these.

The whole composition of both books, with smooth transitions between the spheres of political and cultural, military and the history of daily life delivers a clear message: that history is composed not only of the political but also of the cultural, and the history of daily life. It becomes clear that history is made not only by "great figures", but also by "small people".

- *Hadžiabdić* contains various subchapters dealing with cultural history, aided by a certain number of accounts in the main text on daily life in history.⁴² The units dealing with these parts of history offer interesting information and tasks to the students. However, compared to *Valenta* and *Šehić*, *Hadžiabdić* does not structurally follow the strong integrative approach observed in the former two books.
- *Matković* also does not exhibit a strong integrative approach. However, the book includes plentiful information and tasks related to cultural history and to the history of daily life. A positive evaluation of the fairly balanced quantity of this information is, however, impaired by the fact that, first, the book centers heavily on Croat contributions in these fields, virtually ignoring contributions of "the other" (Muslim/Bosniac, Serbian).⁴³ Second, recurrent

⁴⁰ See *Pejić 07* (page 5), in the introduction: "...the authors tried, in accordance with Guidelance for writing of the new textbooks and Curriculum in force, to write a textbook that will be different from the previous ones. You will also find that it contains less political and more cultural and economic history."

⁴¹ See especially in those parts of the book dealing with the breakup of Yugoslavia and the wars. Images of burning Serbian houses, of refugees fleeing from the Republika Srpska Krajina (both page 194), of destroyed bridges, bombed buses and industrial complexes in Serbia (all page 198) inform the reader about the price of war for Serbs and Serbia, and only for them.

⁴² Accounts on every day life are developed in the book for the period "end of the 19th century", for WWI and WWII.

⁴³ A few examples: In the subchapter "The role of the Catholic Church in the maintenance of peace" (*Matković* page 104), dealing with post-1945 World history, only the role of the Catholic Church is mentioned. The same evaluation applies to the subchapter "Relations between the regime and religious communities" (page 108.) in the socialist Yugoslavia, where again the author solely informs the reader about the situation of the Catholic Church.

references in the book to Serbian efforts to destroy Croatian culture forcibly curtail a positive evaluation of the otherwise relatively large amount of information about the history of culture and daily life.⁴⁴

3.2. The meaning of national history -reference point BiH

What does national history mean in the textbooks? This question relates to one of the most important landmarks from the *Guidelines* and from the *Memorandum of Understanding* (MoU). Paragraph 1.2. of the MoU states that the region and the country of BiH has to be presented in the textbooks as the main reference point. Accordingly, the *Guidelines*, referring to the MoU, point out in paragraph 2.4. that national history must be presented in the regional context of BiH.

The following section of the analysis will highlight this most crucial aspect by means of several related questions. The first question is, whether BiH is chosen as the main reference point relating to the chapters dealing with national history. The second question reviews the narrower national focus – if the history of BiH is presented in the books, which national history is narrated? Does the book's narrative highlight the history of BiH from many different national and ethnic angles, or does it emphasise just the history of one ethnic group, one nation? Does the book emphasise BiH as a shared place with a shared history, or are the different nations presented in isolation? In sum, these questions shall help to clarify the underlying concept of national history in the textbooks, illuminating the question of whether a textbook is appropriate for different national communities in BiH or is

aimed exclusively at one group only.

- *Valenta, Hadžiabdić, Šehić, Ganibegović* have a clear reference point of BiH as the centre of national history's presentation. National history relates here to the spatial area of BiH.
- *Matković* has an absolutely different reference point, namely the history of Croatia and, to a lesser extent, Croat history within BiH. No impact of the *Guidelines* can be observed, since the book is actually the same as published in 2006. In terms of "national history as the history of BiH", the unchanged publication of the same book seems rather problematic.
- *Pejić 07 and Pejić 06* show a tendency to present predominantly Serbian history: the history of developments in the Balkan area from a Serbian point of view. However, the impact of the *Guidelines* to balance the presentations of national history and to move towards a closer description of historical developments in BiH (though still with a preponderance of the Serbian perspective) cannot be overlooked.

A yet clearer impact of the *Guidelines* can be observed with regard to the first mentioned books (*Valenta, Hadžiabdić, Šehić*, and through comparison with *Ganibegović*).

BiH History – With An Agenda

Ganibegović, written before the adoption of the *Guidelines*, oscillates between three options. These are: presenting the history of BiH as the main reference point; integrative approaches (with the aim to prove the historical entity of BiH); and presenting Bosniacs as the main victim of history in the 20th century.

In many parts the book tries to highlight main developments of all three constituent nations, but there is in general a clear preponderance of Muslim or Bosniac history. Even though on some occasions

⁴⁴ Just to give a few examples: In the chapter dealing with the First Yugoslavia, questions such as "Why Serb officers and non-commissioned officers cudgelled Croatian peasants?" (*Matković* page 25), or the textbook units "Aggression against Croatian Culture", or "Croatian Spring: Attack on Croatia" (*Matković* page 113). These, though examining aspects of every day life, in fact serve the underlying aim of the whole book, which is to present each part of the history of the common state as a historical failure, as a threat to Croatian interests and as a tool of "Greater Serbian interests" at the cost of Croatia. See also the subchapter "Exodus of Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia" (page 114), where one of the related tasks states: "...Ask your teacher about the development and consequences of the Croatian spring in BiH". The methodological approach is interesting, meaning that the book applies an interactive approach here – but again one which concentrates solely on Croats, even in overall BiH history.

the difficulties of certain historical circumstances are mentioned (but not explained) for other groups living on the territory of BiH, the much more detailed information about the Muslim/Bosniac situation points to their position in history as the real "victim", which is the underlying message of the whole book. Thus the positive aspect of choosing BiH as the main reference point clearly loses its integrative strength.⁴⁵

BiH History – The Integrative Approach

Hadžiabdić, Valenta and *Šehić* differ sharply from *Ganibegović*. Here, the *Guidelines*, but also the individual capacities of the different textbook authors, have made a strong impact on the narrative of the books. Like *Ganibegović* both *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić* take BiH as the main reference point of national history. However, unlike *Ganibegović*, the books present an account that explicitly points to the more integrative aspects of BiH history. The contribution of different ethnic and national communities towards historical developments in BiH is highlighted on many different occasions in history, including contributions in the cultural and scientific sphere. The proportionally even distribution of information, in all chapters of the books, indicates that the authors

have deliberately and carefully chosen their examples in a balanced manner. One should add, however, that there is a very slight tendency to present at some specific points in the narrative one-sided accounts, that is, to reduce the perspective to that of the Muslim/Bosniac population.⁴⁶ However, the main impression given by *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić* is that they deliver an integrative approach to the history of BiH, trying to emphasize examples of cooperation and peaceful coexistence in history.

BiH History: Unvarnished

Most outstanding with regard to the questions asked in this section is *Valenta*. Like *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić*, *Valenta* highlights in his narrative the more integrative aspects in BiH history, without "sugarcoating" history, that is, without avoiding the more difficult or even controversial historical aspects. He is able to point to much more ambivalence in history than other authors do.⁴⁷ Even more than *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić*, *Valenta* abstains from any national or ethnic qualification of historical actors in BiH, and this results in a series of balanced accounts of historical events in BiH.⁴⁸ Chapters on national history are structured in a way, that make developments in the broader area (e.g. the first or second Yugoslavia)

⁴⁵ See the following examples in *Ganibegović*: In the subchapter dealing with BiH at the end of the 19th century (page 18): "New cultural forms affected all peoples in BiH, but it should be emphasized that Bosnian Muslims had the most difficulties to find their way in the new circumstances.". See in the subchapter dealing with BiH in the Interwar period "Persecution and violence against the non-Serb population in BiH" (page 62)

· See for the "Agreement" and the founding of the Banovina Hrvatska (page 78): "Agreement and solving of the "Croatian issue" was carried out at the expense of BiH and especially at the expense of the Bosnian Muslims ...The boundary determination of the Banovina Hrvatska with the rest of Banovina Drinska, Vrbaska and Zetska was done on the assumption that Bosnian Muslims do not reside at those territories at all."

⁴⁶ See for example in *Hadžiabdić* the subchapter *January Dictatorship (Position of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (page 82), where the consequences of the dictatorship are much more highlighted for Muslims living in BiH than for BiH all together. See also the question at the end of the subchapter stating: "Which two actions of the king caused severe harm to the Muslims?". See also in *Šehić* page 82 in the subchapter dealing with BiH in WWI, where the problem of mass exodus is mentioned as a result of the war in BiH. Actually, however, the text speaks in detail about Muslim refugees only.

⁴⁷ See as one example just the unit dealing with the Kallay project in BiH. Other books deal with Kallay's idea of generating a "Bosnian nation" also, but explain the failure of this project through the parallel establishment of Serbian and Croatian national movements only. *Valenta* presents an additional motif, arguing: "Bosanstvo (Bosnian nationhood) failed to become a reality among BiH citizens from many reasons, out of which the Croatian and Serbian national movements were crucial along with the rejection of the idea by the Bosnian noblemen – begs, who saw it as a form of social equalizing with the rest of the population ." (page 27)

⁴⁸ Compare for example the authors' statements with regard to the dictatorship in the First Yugoslavia and its consequences for BiH. Whereas *Hadžiabdić* highlights that the dictatorship had the most negative consequences for Muslims in BiH (see page 82), and *Šehić* highlights similarly: "The Muslim population found itself in minority in all four banovinas in which way their ethnic compactness was broken." (page 136), *Valenta* balances the consequences of the dictatorship. Whilst avoiding any specific highlights for any group living in BiH, the book looks instead at the whole of BiH: "Seen from the BiH angle, setting up a dictatorship had far-reaching negative effects. Partly autonomous features that BiH obtained by Spahija's opportunistic policy were reduced as time passed to be finally fully abolished by the establishment of the dictatorship. BiH suffered a particular attack with regard to its territorial integrity when it was broken into

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

visible, pinpointing then to developments “seen from the BiH angle”. In terms of the presentation of the ambivalent historical experiences of “shared history” in BiH, *Valenta* is distinguished.

BiH History: A Serb Perspective

Comparing *Pejić 06* and *Pejić 07*, a certain impact of the guidelines becomes manifest. That is not to say, however, that *Pejić 07* takes the history of BiH as the main reference point. This is the case for neither *Pejić 06* nor *Pejić 07*. Both books present national history predominantly from a Serbian point of view. The chapters on national history relating to the period before the founding of the first Yugoslavia are introduced by detailed accounts of certain historical events on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro, followed by accounts of historical events in BiH, highlighting first of all the perspective and position of the Serbian population within. However, both *Pejić 06* and *Pejić 07* try in these first parts of the book to introduce some more balanced information about the “triple history of BiH”, fairly often in the structure of three consecutive sentences stating “Serbs did...”, “Croats did...” and “Muslims did...”

Chapters dealing with post-1918 history show, however, yet greater preponderance in favour of the Serbian perspective on history, culminating in the chapters on World War II and post-1945 history, where in both books a purely Serbian perspective governs the texts. The text often includes

information and language not appropriate for the pupils’ age, centering on the persecution of and the terror and the crimes against Serbs in history. Thus, concerning the most controversial periods of 20th century history, that is World War II or the disintegration of Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s,⁴⁹ the *Guidelines* obviously have had no major impact on *Pejić 07*.

But despite this, a slight change for the better must be indicated in this book. Even though the book does not really differ from its predecessor *Pejić 06* in the chapters dealing with World War II and afterwards, the preceding chapters do differ in some valuable aspects. Some slight improvements can be observed in terms of the inclusion of BiH history into the textbook.⁵⁰ In *Pejić 07*, there is a very interesting unit on regional history in BiH, exemplified at the “Vrbaska Banovina” in Interwar Yugoslavia, which at least partly tries to emphasise an integrative approach.⁵¹

BiH History: Seen from Croatia

In terms of the main focus here, that is the question if the textbook has a clear reference point in the history of BiH, Matković presents a failure. That the book has been written from a purely Croatian perspective, aimed at Croat pupils only is not a hidden message or underlying assumption of the book. Instead, it is explicitly stated in the introduction.⁵² In quantitative terms the book, not

four banovinas by the new territorial-administrative division. Its historical borders were abolished and only two out of four banovinas had their seats in BiH cities. Sarajevo became an unimportant mid-point of a banovina, completely set aside from political actions and the decision-making process.” (page 106)

⁴⁹ See for both topics paragraph 4.3.

⁵⁰ For instance in the chapter dealing with Balkan countries at the end of the 19th century, where *Pejić 06* contains less information about BiH history than *Pejić 07*. Also, the Balkan wars at the beginning of the 20th century are dealt with in *Pejić 06* without ever mentioning BiH. However, *Pejić 07* deals with BiH in this subchapter, mentioning BiH as a neutral country and presenting two historical sources that speak about war volunteerism in BiH (page 46f.).

⁵¹ See *Pejić 07* page 103. The questions related to the respective chapter ask for some integrative features within the history of Vrbaska Banovina (“Apart from the task of bringing closer the Serbs, Croats and Muslims in the Banovina what idea were the cultural-educational associations supposed to implement?”). In the authors’ text, however, the words of king Aleksandar, directed to the first Ban of Vrbaska Banovina, Svetislav-Tiša Milosavljević, are delivered without criticism or comment, thus indicating to an unbalanced account of patriotism of the Serbs only in the respective Banovina: “You, Tišo, are my personal choice for the position of the governor (ban) of the Vrbaska Banovina, where you will be faced with hard national work.. Serbs have majority there, the best Serbs in terms of love for their country and patriotism in general”

⁵² See Matković page 7: “In each unit the focus is on better understanding of the Croatian people in the certain historical circumstances and its struggle for preservation of its identity and its specific features. A separate unit deals with events that marked the new era of the history of the Croatian people when Croatia and BiH finally broke all links with other Yugoslav republics and became independent states. Each unit has separate topics on developments in Europe and worldwide which had an impact on the history of the Croatian people. These are short reviews needed for better understanding of the events that marked the past of the Croatian people.”

surprisingly, contains the least information on BiH history. The major perspective in the realm of national history is on developments in Croatia, second, on developments outside Croatia which have had an impact on the Croat people (primarily the two Yugoslavias), and, third, developments in BiH seen from a Croatian perspective.

The units dealing with cultural and technical developments in 20th century history contain a lot of information about international achievements, supported by information about Croatian contributions in this field only. Where the history of BiH is presented, no serious efforts have been undertaken to describe these developments in their own right. Rather, developments in BiH are often presented in a paternalistic manner.⁵³ The emphasis on the historical rights of Croatian state sovereignty is a leitmotif of the book.⁵⁴

The Script of BiH

Attitudes towards a more integrative approach, and a clear position towards the history of BiH as the main reference point, are expressed in the choice of the script. This rather formal statement is significant, since the ability to use both scripts is important for modern BiH society.

- *Valenta, Hadžiabdić, Šehić and Ganibegović*, are written in both Latin and Cyrillic script.
- *Pejić 07 and Pejić 06* are written in Cyrillic script only
- *Matković* is written in Latin script only.

3.3. The breakup of Yugoslavia and war in BiH

Paragraph 4.16 of the Individual *Guidelines* for Writing History textbook states: "*The Ministers of Education acknowledge the necessity for teaching historical processes concluding with the end of 20th century, so as to teach these processes in accordance with these Guidelines*". The proper meaning of this statement becomes apparent when comparing the last chapters of the reviewed textbooks, namely those dealing with the breakup of Yugoslavia. "Breakup of Yugoslavia" is, thereby, a term including all those chapters dealing with post 1980 (death of Tito) developments on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Whereas some of the reviewed books include here also historical accounts on the war in BiH (and in other parts of former Yugoslavia), others conclude with the year 1992, without explicitly mentioning the war on BiH territory.

The Breakup of Yugoslavia

The reviewer examined at what point the textbook authors identify the beginning of the breakup of Yugoslavia. The reviewer was also interested in the narratives of the BiH Referendum in early 1992, that is, before the outbreak of war.

Interestingly, most books agree on one of the key dates of the beginning breakup of Yugoslavia. With the exception of Šehić, who does not mention the event,⁵⁵ all other books identify the 14th congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a key event in that process. However, the flow of events

⁵³ See in the subchapter "*Bosnia and Herzegovina on the eve of the fall of the Habsburg Empire*": "...The atrocity of the war affected the hapless people of BiH who met the end of the war and fall of the Monarchy in a chaos of anarchy, violence and ethnic conflicts. The further national-legal destiny of BiH depended greatly on activities of the politicians in the Slovene and Croatian states of the Monarchy (in Zagreb as a political centre) ..." (page 13). See also in the subchapter „BiH and Croatia at the end of the World War II", where the introduction states, inter alia: "*The Četnik terror was manifested in our region during the war but Partisan units committed crimes as well...*" (page 89), whereby the whole composition and underlying message of the book points to an understanding of "our" and "we" as the Croatian people -which is simply misleading when dealing with BiH history.

⁵⁴ See for example the two questions in the subchapters related to the First Yugoslavia, both accentuating the historical state rights of Croatia. See page 28: "*Find the sentence in the text in which state right of Croatia is mentioned. Copy and explain.*" Again on page 31: "*Find a sentence in the text on HSP where the state right of Croatia and self-determination of the people are mentioned. Explain in writing.*"

⁵⁵ Šehić identifies the end of autonomy of Kosovo in 1989 as the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. See page 241.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

leading to this beginning end is narrated with different emphasis.

- *Valenta* delivers the most balanced account, mentioning the growing nationalism of not just the Serbs, but of Yugoslav people in general and the growing economic crisis as major factors contributing to the breakup of the state.⁵⁶
- *Hadžiabdić*, *Šehić*, *Ganibegović* and *Matković* highlight the economic crisis since the early 1980s, and the growing nationalism in Serbia and of the Serbs in Yugoslavia generally (after the adoption of the 1974 constitution).
- *Pejić 06* and *Pejić 07* identify the very first political signals of the beginning of the end of the state fairly early in the history of Yugoslavia, namely in 1964, with the 8th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The decision adopted here (national parity in all federal institutions) initiated, according to both textbooks, the end of the state, a process strenghtened again by the adoption of the constitution of 1974, doing harm to Yugoslavia in general and to the Serbian people concretely.⁵⁷
- *Hadžiabdić* and *Ganibegović* refrain from giving concrete percentages of voting numbers or analysing the national identity of the voters.⁵⁸
- *Valenta* states that 63,4% of all entitled to vote did vote, and that out of these 98% voted for an independent, sovereign and integral state BiH.⁵⁹
- *Šehić* states, that of all those who did vote 99,44% opted for an indepent, sovereign and integral state of BiH (and gives figures for the entire number of people entitled to vote and figures for the number who did vote).⁶⁰
- *Matković* states that of all entitled to vote 64 % did vote, and that out of these 99% voted for an independent BiH.⁶¹ Here, as stated above, the differences are small, but no single number mentioned is the same (98% -99,44% -99%).
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* present a different message, claiming that, without the presence and participation of the Serb people at the referendum, a "relative majority" of the Croatian and Muslim (Bosniac) voters opted for an independent BiH.⁶²

The BiH Referendum on Independence

The Referendum in BiH on February 29th, and March 1st, 1992 is an important event in BiH`s history, since here the decision was taken for an independent and sovereign state of BiH. The textbook`s narratives about this event on the eve of the war on BiH territory are important also, as, while varying in only a few respects they deliver different messages to the readers. The variations relate particularly to the voting which was to define the result of the referendum. Though the differences are fairly small, all books give different percentages for the voting results.

⁵⁶ See *Valenta* page 186.

⁵⁷ See *Pejić 07* page 192.

⁵⁸ See *Hadžiabdić* page 140: "The majority of citizens voted for BiH as an independent, integral and sovereign state." See *Ganibegović* page 125: "Despite open threats by Serbia and Montenegro, at the referendum...BiH's citizens voted for integral, independent and sovereign state."

⁵⁹ See *Valenta* page 187

⁶⁰ See *Šehić* page 242

⁶¹ See *Matković* page 123

⁶² See *Pejić 07* page 195 and *Pejić 06* page 232: "...a relative majority of the Croatian and Muslim voters opted for an independent BiH and its separation from Yugoslavia." The books do not discuss whether Serbian voters were in any way discouraged or prevented from participating.

War in BiH

The end of 20th century BiH history is today one of the most controversial and sensitive topics for the academic and the wider public in BiH. The question, therefore, is not only whether the war is dealt with in the textbooks, but, most importantly, how. On investigation it becomes apparent that the war in BiH is implicitly present in the narrative of certain books which ostensibly do not cover the topic. The implicit presence of the war, which is otherwise not dealt with, constitutes one troublesome aspect of the case. Another consists of the manner in which the war is actually handled.

To approach the topic at hand, the reviewer has put several questions to the analysis of the respective chapters. The first question is, obviously, whether the war in BiH is covered by the textbooks. Secondly, the reviewer compared coverage of the actual outbreak of war on BiH territory.

Since the course of events in the early 1990s, that is the wars in Croatia, Slovenia and BiH, are constantly before the BiH public in commentaries, films, the news from the ICTY and other forms, the question of whether these wars are dealt with in the books is crucial. Pupils are otherwise confronted with the history of these wars through family narratives, by the means of newspaper and electronic media and other outlets. Are today's history textbooks providing support for the pupils (and teachers) to discuss these events in the classroom?

- *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić* do not cover any of the wars on the former Yugoslav territory.
- *Valenta* gives the wars in Slovenia and in Croatia one sentence each, but does not touch upon the war in BiH.
- *Ganibegović* mentions the "violent conflicts" in Slovenia and Croatia very briefly, and deals with the war in BiH as a "Greater Serbian" aggression.⁶³
- *Matković* deals with both the war in BiH and the war against Croatia, briefly mentioning the war against Slovenia.⁶⁴
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* mention the war in BiH without delivering a detailed account. The real emphasis of both books is on the "NATO aggression against Yugoslavia", which is dealt with in detail.⁶⁵

Dating the Outbreak of War in BiH

When does the war in BiH (if mentioned at all) start in the textbooks? Three different answers are delivered by the

books, whereby these differences partly seem to be the result of factual errors, and partly the result of differing historical interpretations. The dates delivered are April 6th 1992 (*Ganibegović*), April 12th 1992 (*Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06*), and October 5th, 1991 (*Matković*).⁶⁶

- *Valenta*, *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić* do not mention the war in BiH at all, as noted above.
- *Ganibegović* identifies the beginning of war on BiH territory on April 6th, 1992, stating that "open aggression" was started by Serbian and Montenegrin forces supported by the former Yugoslav army and terrorist formations of the SDS of BiH and paid soldiers from Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Russia and other parts of the world. A "silent occupation" of BiH started earlier, beginning with the violent clashes in Slovenia and Croatia, through moving armed forces onto BiH territory.⁶⁷
- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* identify the beginning of war in BiH on April 12th, 1992, stating: "To the surprise of the Serb people, BiH was recognised on 12 April and war started."⁶⁸ Clearly, the authors refer to the same event as *Ganibegović* (the day of EU recognition of the state BiH), but they cite an incorrect date. Both *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* are very brief in narrating the course of events in BiH 1992-1995, simply stating that three parties fought in the war which then was ended by international negotiations leading to the Dayton agreement. The real emphasis of the books is, instead, on the NATO attack on Yugoslavia, which is described in detail (see below). This shift of interest actually might be the implicit reason for the negligence with regard to the proper date of international recognition of BiH and the beginning of war on its territory.

⁶³ *Valenta*, *Šehić* and *Hadžiabdić*, which do not deal with the war in BiH, show percentages of covering the disintegration of Yugoslavia of 1 %, 1,5%, and 2% respectively. Though *Ganibegović* does deal with the war in BiH, it also exhibits a very small percentage of these descriptions (1%).

⁶⁴ Of all the reviewed books *Matković* exhibits the highest percentage of pages devoted to the breakup of Yugoslavia and the wars (7 %).

⁶⁵ Thereby, *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* show a percentage of 4 % of descriptions related to these processes.

⁶⁶ Interestingly page 206 of the textbook *History of the Modern Age*, 2006, by Miljenko Miloš, which was excluded from this textbook review (see page 8. above), offers yet another date, namely September 5th, 1991, though referring to the very same event as *Matković*.

⁶⁷ See *Ganibegović* page 125f.

⁶⁸ See *Pejić 07* page 195 and *Pejić 06* page 232.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

- *Matković* develops a very different narrative with a different message. It emphasises that the war actually started on October 5th, 1991, with the Serbian attack against the village of Ravno in Eastern Hercegovina, inhabited by Hercegovinian Croats. 'Sarajevo', the book emphasises further, reacted with the message "That is not our war",⁶⁹ leaving Croats to defend themselves in isolation against these first attacks.⁷⁰

While all these accounts are, to varying degrees, factual, nevertheless, each in isolation fails to provide a balanced narrative of the events that led to the outbreak of war.

3.4. Methodology of the last chapters

To assess the methodological and instructive quality of these last textbook chapters, the reviewer, according to the "Guidelines", checked whether approaches towards "critical thinking", "multiperspectivity", and the "use of comparative methods" are applied in the respective parts of the books. In general the formerly mentioned improvements in many books, relating to instructive and methodological assessments in general, are lost in many of these last chapters. *Valenta* shows the least deterioration of quality, but refrains from the use of multiple perspectives in these last pages of the book.

Open Questions

Valenta provides a historical account of the breakup of Yugoslavia without denouncing Serbia and the Serbs as the chief responsible actors. Instead, it shifts the emphasis towards the nationalism of

all sides in the last phase of the former common state.

The text is not only balanced, enriched with open questions that might force think students to develop their own reasoning about these events. The author also forces comparative and critical thinking of the students, for instance through the following statements and tasks: "All nationalisms in Yugoslavia were fed by the situation in Kosovo." (source: Raif Dizdarević, then president of the state) Explain this statement of Dizdarević." Or, similarly: "The elements of nationalism did not erupt from the people. The Pandora's box of nations was opened by the ruling Corpus politicum" (source: Andrija Krešić, 1994) Do you agree with this notion?"⁷¹

In all other books, there are no multiperspective accounts of the course of events, either in the authors' texts or in the instructive apparatus.

War Out of Context

Hadžiabdić loses the high quality approach characteristic of many other parts of the book. It concludes its last chapter with the international recognition of BiH, without mentioning or discussing the war in BiH. However, the war is present, firstly, in the very introduction to the book, and, secondly, with a subordinate clause in the last chapter which, since the war is not dealt with, appears to be taken totally out of context.

Thus, in the introduction, the author states: "It is of particular importance to mention that the independent state of BiH was formed in this period after the hard and terrible war waged against BiH by all means."⁷² At the end of the book, in the chapter "BiH as an independent and sovereign state", it states: "The former president of the SDS Radovan Karadžić, presently indicted for war crimes by the Hague Tribunal, openly threatened the Muslim political leaders and people: If

⁶⁹ See *Matković* page 124.

⁷⁰ See *Matković* page 124: "Actually the war in BiH started on 5 October 1991 with the attack of the Serb Army on Bosnia and Herzegovina's village Ravno with majority of Croats. The indifference of Alija Izetbegovic, then the president of BiH, foretold that (...) any political and military activity will developed in accordance with ethno-national lines, i.e. the activities will be undertaken for the benefit of the own people solely "

⁷¹ Both quotations see *Valenta* page 186

⁷² See *Hadžiabdić* page 7

BiH becomes an independent state war will break out and the Muslim people will disappear from this region.”⁷³

As the war is not dealt with in the book, how may pupils and teachers discuss these brief statements? Obviously, textbook authors (rightly) presume that both pupils and teachers know about the war. But how can pupils, then, answer the question at the end of the book “*When and how was BiH formed as independent state?*”⁷⁴ Either, they enter into a discussion of the war without any support from the textbook, or they merely repeat the text, which must be a rather disappointing endeavour for both students and teachers.

War With Caution

Šehić does not contain any hidden information about the war in BiH but loses quality in this last part of the book compared to the very positive impression of the book’s overall methodological quality.

Firstly, the authors appear to have been overcautious in developing the chapter “*Dissolution of Yugoslavia. Proclaiming of independence of BiH*”, since, unlike all other chapters, they do not include here neither questions nor sources. There is only one task, asking students to compile a chronological table of the years 1980-1992 (date of independence of BiH)⁷⁵ Any approach towards critical thinking in the authors text is missing, which sometimes delivers, instead, one-sided and judgemental information: “*While Croats and Slovenes complained with all*

reason on Serb hegemony, the Serbs, from their side, felt themselves the main carriers of the suffering caused by Tito’s regime and the victims of the “Croatian-Slovenian” alliance which could withhold the rights that Serbia might have asked for. Serbs also complained that Serbia, which had suffered most lives lost in the World War II, was reduced to the level of second class. Those accusations were far from the reality but they produced a terrible effect.”⁷⁶

Here, the authors’ opinions (“complained with all reason”, “far from the reality”) have not been distinguished from the rest of the text, and thus appear as certified facts.

War in Croatia and BiH

Matković not only deals with the war in BiH but with the “*War Against Croatia*”⁷⁷ also. The history of the war against Croatia is developed as a narrative of a Serbian (using also the historically inappropriate and alienating title “Četnik”)⁷⁸ aggression, launched against Croatia, Croats and other non-Serbs.⁷⁹ The narrative is extremely one-sided, since the suffering of the civilian Serbian population of Croatia is not mentioned. Nor does the book critically evaluate the military operations of the Croatian army (for instance “Oluja” and “Bljesak”).⁸⁰ Severe criticism is, instead, directed towards international engagement, namely towards UNPROFOR, which, according to the book, failed to carry out its duties in Croatia on the territories occupied by Serbs.⁸¹

⁷³ See Hadžiabdić page 140

⁷⁴ See Hadžiabdić page 141

⁷⁵ See Šehić page 242

⁷⁶ See Šehić page 240

⁷⁷ “*Rat protiv Hrvatske*”, subchapter title page 125

⁷⁸ See Matković page 125: “*Armed Cetnik groups put logs on the roads and railway towards Knin (log-revolution), blocked traffic and terrorized the travellers. Imbued by emotions for Greater Serbia the Cetnik leaders encouraged an insurgent gathering in Knin and proclaimed a state of war.*”

⁷⁹ See Matković page 128: “*Mass murders were committed by Serb aggressors against Croats (and the non Serb population) during Croatian War of Independence (Domovinski rat).*”

⁸⁰ See Matković page 128 : “*At the beginning of May 1955, the occupied parts of West Slavonia (in the area of Okučani) were liberated in the action called « Bljesak » (Lightning), and then, from 4 to 5 August the same year, the areas in north Dalmatia (Knin was liberated on 5 August), Lika, Kordun and Banovina were liberated in the action called « Oluja » (« Storm »). The defeated units left Croatian state territory on the run.*”

⁸¹ See Matković page 127: “*The International Peace Forces were deployed on the territory of the Republic of Croatia as well, especially on the territories occupied by Serbs. Their task was to disarm Serbs who controlled those territories with support of JNA (Yugoslav National Army) forces, to return those areas to the control of the Republic of Croatia and to enable the return of displaced persons. However, UNPROFOR didn’t fulfil its task and Croatian authorities had to do it by themselves. Croatia strengthened its armed forces and when they were ready, quick and successful military-police actions were taken in mid-1995 aiming to liberate its areas.” This is followed by the question: “What was the task of the UNPROFOR units in Croatia? Was it implemented?” (page 128)*

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

With regard to the war in BiH, *Matković* develops a narrative where two phases of the war are distinguished. Thereby, the first phase is characterized by the "homogenizing effects" after the immediate aggression against BiH, during which *"In urban areas Croats and Muslims and many Serbs strove jointly against the aggressor."*⁸² Though the text explicitly identifies the main aggressor and perpetrator during the war in BiH (Serbia), it also mentions that, in the second phase of the war, initiated by the Croatian-Bosniac military split, all three sides participated in ethnic cleansing and brutal warfare against each other.⁸³

However, this does not result in a critical discussion of the fighting parties in BiH. Rather, the book's narrative implies that the Croatian-Bosniac split and the brutality of the war in BiH is solely the result of international (mis)engagement and the map exercises of the Serbian political elite, and does not bring in any other motivating factors.⁸⁴

Ostensibly Unbiased

The textbooks *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* differ from each other only very slightly. In general, the texts, even sentences, are the same, with very minor exceptions.⁸⁵

The differences between both books seem to be much greater at first glance, but a concise comparison reveals that this impression is mainly caused by a simple rearrangement of the very same texts. Thus, *Pejić 07* contains various subdivisions of the text, which are, however, the same as the more continuous text in *Pejić 06*. As mentioned, the war in BiH is not dealt with in detail. The books briefly refer to the founding of political parties in BiH after 1989, the plebiscite of the Serbian people of BiH in November 1991, the creation of the RS in 1992 and the above-mentioned referendum.

Directly with regard to war, the books state: *"Three national armies: Muslim, Serb and Croatian were in conflict in BiH during the period of four years. The United Nations made efforts to stop the war. That's why peace forces were deployed at the boundary lines between the sides in conflict."*⁸⁶ Unlike this rather brief and ostensibly neutral account, the preceding chapter "Forced secession and dissolution of the Socialist Yugoslavia" and the following chapter "The Formation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" are clearly one-sided. They accentuate the fate of the Serbian people as having fallen victim to political and military developments caused by Croats and Croatia,⁸⁷ by Albanians,⁸⁸

⁸² See *Matković* page 124

⁸³ See *Matković* page 125: "Each of the warring sides wanted to conquer as much territory as possible and then to clean it ethnically from the members of the second (and third) people (which is one of the especially brutal characteristics of this war). Again the civilians suffered the most."

⁸⁴ See *Matković* page 124: "Then the whole situation became more complicated and the so-called 'war within war' occurred – this was armed conflict between Croats and Muslims that culminated in 1993. Now we have three warring sides. Of course, the Serb politicians and military leadership benefited the most from this conflict since they wanted right from the beginning to conquer as much territory as possible. This imperialist logic was indirectly encouraged by the confusing position of the International Community towards the situation in BiH. Some political moves of the current international 'experts for the Balkans' left an impression that the complicated ethno-religious Rubik's Cube of BiH might be solved by enabling inter-ethnic conflicts, the conquering, partition and division of territory. That was (including many other reasons as well) the basis for the blazing-up of the war between Muslims and Croats..."

⁸⁵ One of the minor changes is, for instance, that *Pejić 07* omits the following sentence which concludes in *Pejić 06* the otherwise identical subchapter "The Founding of the Republic of Srpska Krajina": "The life of the Serbs in the Republic Srpska Krajina was pleasant, free and democratic, but unfortunately short". (*Pejić 06* page 231). Another minor change relates to the images and photographs included in the chapter "Forming the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". Whereas in *Pejić 06* the following task is given: "Look at the images and describe the NATO aggression against FRY." (images without subtitles, page 235), in *Pejić 07* one will find the same images, obviously showing NATO bombers, without this task, but with subtitles of the images "Bomber flies up towards Serbia", "Ready to attack," or "NATO soldiers in action." (page 197).

⁸⁶ See *Pejić 07* page 195, augmented at the margin by a brief account of the Dayton Agreement.

⁸⁷ See *Pejić 07* page 193, subchapter "Secession and war in Croatia": "The HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) was formed in Croatia, which had the features of a nationalistic party ... The HDZ, after the victory gained at the elections and assumption of power, started to create paramilitary formations. The Croatian Assembly adopted the Constitution in 1991 which abolished Serbs as a constituent people. The Serbs were transformed into a national minority and immediately dismissed from all public and state services. ... The new Croatian authorities jeopardized the existence and identity of the Serb people in Croatia. Therefore the Serbs had to organize themselves politically and protect their national and human rights. The SDS (Serb Democratic Party) was formed led by Dr. Jovan Rašković. On 15 August 1990 the Parliament (Sabor) of Serbs was held at which the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia was proclaimed. Also, a decision on conducting a plebiscite of all the Serb population within the borders of AVNOJ's Croatia was adopted. On 17 August the Croatian police tried to prevent the plebiscite, which caused the conflict. This conflict marked the beginning of the armed conflict in Croatia."

⁸⁸ See *Pejić 07* page 192: "Serb people in Kosovo were in a very difficult situation. Siptar separatists publicly

and, finally, by the international community.⁸⁹

There is no critical potential in the whole text, even if, at first glance, one very fine approach towards a multiperspective narrative is developed. Thus, *Pejić 07* states: "Serb people consider the 1974 Constitution disastrous for the unity of Serbia and the reason for the breaking up of the Yugoslav Federation. Peoples from the republics which separated from Yugoslavia considered that Constitution to be democratic".⁹⁰ This demonstrates a basic understanding of the concept of "multiperspectivity" from which, however, the whole critical potential is taken away by the question at the end of the chapter: "Why was the 1974 Constitution a harmful act to Yugoslavia?"⁹¹

In addition to this, historical comparison as a critical methodological tool is replaced in the books by ahistorical analogies, denouncing the "other" (Croatia) as historically alien to the Serb people.⁹² In sum, the whole chapter, including

texts, questions, terms and illustrations, is biased, forcing one-way thinking and expressing empathy with the (unfair) Serb destiny only.

In Black and White

Ganibegović, which does deal with the war in BiH, delivers a different but also one-sided account. Though the very last question in the book ("How do you see BiH as independent, sovereign and unique state?")⁹³ appears to be open, and might indicate a critical and reflective approach towards the topic at hand, the whole narrative of this last chapter "*BiH as independent and sovereign state*" is developed as a monoperspective account, in which the author's interpretations and hidden messages⁹⁴ are interwoven with the provision of "historical facts". There is a clear contrast drawn between victims (civilians, Bosniaks) and perpetrators (primarily Serbs), between "good" (Patriotska liga) and "bad" (again, mainly the Serbs).⁹⁵

claimed the establishment of a Kosovo-Republic and its joining to Albania. Permanent pressure was made on Serbs and Montenegrins to leave their homes or to sell their property for a bagatelle. Emigrants from Albania settled on Serb land but they never applied for Yugoslav citizenship." see also page 196: "Separatism in Kosovo. Siptar separatists, by support of some Western states, especially the USA, intensified terrorist activities in Kosovo and Metohija after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was ready to give Albanians the wide-ranging autonomy in order to prevent further activities of the separatists. Albanians, however, refused offered autonomy and publicly demanded separation from Serbia and the joining of Kosovo and Metohija to the Republic of Albania. The so-called Kosovo Liberation Army (OVK) was formed which made attacks on the Yugoslav military and police forces, took control over cities and established Albanian power."

⁸⁹ There are many aspersions on the role of the international community in the process of the breakup of Yugoslavia. They all point to the behaviour of international actors as being characterized by bias and partisanship against Serbia and the common Yugoslav state, also by imperialist ambitions towards the Balkan region. See for example *Pejić 07* page 192: "Subsequently, Croatia, BiH and Macedonia separated from Yugoslavia and immediately afterwards they were internationally recognized. The rapid recognition of the separated republics by Western states clearly shows that Western states planned and supported the break up of Yugoslavia." See also page 194: "The Croatian leadership, with the sympathy of the international community, commenced in May and August 1995 armed operations "Flash" and "Storm" at the territory of Serb Krajina. Croatian armed forces killed thousands of Serb women, children and elderly people. A hundred thousand Serbs were displaced from their homes. Croatian bombers and artillery shot columns of refugees who were trying to escape to Serbia. NATO didn't condemn these violent operations but militarily supported and assisted them. The Croatian Army took control of the west part of the Republic of the Srpska Krajina in 1995. The East part of the Republic of Srpska Krajina remained under protection of the UN until 1998, and then joined Croatia although against the will of the Serb people. The International Community hadn't any sympathy for the Serb people who wanted only freedom and to preserve their national and human rights." See also page 196: "Yugoslav military and police forces successfully fought against Albanian separatists and paramilitary forces from 1996 to 1999 and finally defeated them. The defeat of the Albanian terrorists enabled the strengthening of the sovereignty on its entire territory. But this was not in the interest of the NATO member states. NATO member states, especially USA had the plan to conquer politically and militarily the Balkan countries in order to pass freely to the East and establish control over huge resources of oil, gas, coal and other raw materials."

⁹⁰ See *Pejić 07* page 190 at the margin also *Pejić 06* page 224.

⁹¹ See *Pejić 07* page 191 also *Pejić 06* (at the beginning of the chapter) page 223.

⁹² Both books state, with regard to the upcoming war in Croatia: "Serbs couldn't accept this Constitution because it put them in the position of citizens of the second class. Serb people were forced to leave their homes under the pressure of the Croatian authorities. The same happened under the rule of the NDH (Independent State of Croatia)" See *Pejić 07* page 193 and *Pejić 06* page 230.

⁹³ See *Ganibegović* page 127

⁹⁴ See *Ganibegović* page 124 in the subchapter "Political crisis and Constitutional reform in 1971-1974", here with regard to the era of the early 1990s in Yugoslavia: "Even the renewing of the multiparty system couldn't help the overall situation make any real progress since the project of "Greater Serbia" was completed and it was a matter of time when its realization would start." See in the subchapter "BiH as independent and sovereign state", page 125: "It was a logical consequence that after the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, BiH had to take the same path."

⁹⁵ See *Ganibegović* page 126 : "Everything which was not seen as belonging to the Serbs was destroyed

3.5. Methodological aspects: The use of comparative, multiperspective, and critical thinking methods

This section deals with the question, of whether interactive, multiperspective and comparative teaching methods are applied in the textbooks, and whether the textbooks' narrative and methodological tools stimulate critical thinking and empathy towards "the other." Whilst some of these questions have been dealt with in the previous sections, related to more specific questions of content, the reviewer has decided to include here just a few of those examples relating to historical periods which are not covered in other sections of the analysis. The reviewer points, first, to examples of outstanding methodological quality, and, second, to those examples which highlight a severe methodological weakness in some of the reviewed books.

Comparative Approach

Outstanding in terms of the application of

comparative approaches is the textbook *Šehić*. It offers manifold tasks which may inspire students to compare historical processes and events.⁹⁶ Additionally, it inspires students to engage with tasks that may stimulate their interest in historical research by the means of very age-appropriate, interactive instructive tools, including also student's engagements with new media such as the internet.⁹⁷ Most important, the book also includes activities for student's engagements with the generation and development of historical sources, thus stimulating their understanding of history and history writing as a constant process in which also they can and do take part.⁹⁸

Valenta is interactive also, and contains plenty of working materials that stimulate critical thinking with regard to historical sources.

Multiperspective and Empathic Approach

If *Šehić* is outstanding with regard to the application of comparative and interactive methods, *Valenta* is singular in applying multiperspective and empathic approaches towards history, along with a critical attitude towards historical sources.⁹⁹ "Empathy in history" implies

for the realization of the plan of "Greater Serbia". The cultural heritage of the Bosniacs was destroyed and the people from the ethnically clean territories were spilled across the world as refugees. Prior to the open military aggression against BiH, the Patriotic league (PL) was formed in Sarajevo on 31 March 1991, composed of proven patriots who deliberately joined the fighting units to defend the sovereignty of their homeland."

⁹⁶ See for instance *Šehić* page 53, in the subchapter "Neighbouring Countries between 1878 to 1914", where historical developments in Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro are dealt with, concluding with the question: "Find and cite similarities and contradictions in the socio-political development of the mentioned countries and explain." See also page 107, in the subchapter "Totalitarian regimes in Europe and world", which contains at the end some working material ("Text for analysis"), titled "Three persons and three histories. Churchill – Stalin – Hitler". Here, brief texts deliver some data about the three personalities, followed by the question: "Find in the text for analysis the common features of Churchill, Stalin and Hitler and try to explain the resemblance between them." See also page 200 in the subchapter dealing with the Cold War division after 1945, where one of the question asks "What was the life, according to you, of young people in both blocs during the period of Cold war?"

⁹⁷ For webpage work see *Šehić* page 60 and page 41. For other example see for instance *Šehić* page 49, in the subchapter dealing with BiH history 1878-1918. At the very end of this chapter there is a photograph showing the "Music Pavilion in Sarajevo during Austrian-Hungarian occupation". The task states: "The photo shows Music Pavilion built in 1913. It was demolished in the World War II. It was rebuilt recently at the same place in the Atmejdán park. If you get an opportunity visit the place and compare the old with the new. Have the years taken their toll? What has been changed?" See also in *Šehić* page 89, in the subchapter dealing with BiH and the Yugoslav question after World War One. The authors have put an empty puzzle image, consisting of four pieces, at the end of the chapter, with the following task: "Use the text from the textbook and fill the puzzle: enter the important events which led to the forming of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes"

⁹⁸ See for instance *Šehić* page 133, the working material about the "Husinska buna" (Husino rebellion) in BiH in 1920. A brief excerpt from the memoirs of one of the participants of the uprising is followed by the task: "Did any of your ancestors take part in this strike or similar protest? Make enquiries and write your own story. In this way you can develop a book of the historical sources of your school since every memory obtained through an interview is a historical resource. It will be even better if you manage to find a photo or an article from the contemporary newspapers since this is considered a source as well".

⁹⁹ Additionally, *Valenta* is interactive also, and contains plentiful working material that stimulates critical thinking with regard to historical sources. See for interactive and student-appropriate didactical material an example on page 79, in the subchapter "How did the economy influence political and social relations?"

more than just mentioning the "other". It means trying to highlight motifs of the "other", trying to highlight within controversial topics that the "other" may not be blamed as a collective perpetrator, i.e. that historical subjects which appear mostly as "collectives" may be characterized by very different stances and attitudes. Within this approach, multiple perspectives towards historical subjects, processes, and events are opened up.

Valenta offers a whole paragraph on empathy in history, developed as a project for students. Here the term "empathy" is explained, and followed by three tasks which may stimulate empathic approaches towards historical thinking. Yet, this is not the only place where empathic approaches and multiple perspectives towards history are developed in the textbook. Instead, it is a recurrent approach in the book.¹⁰⁰ Thereby, the author manages to avoid narrower national perspectives with regard to those parts of history,

which appear in most other books and are clearly identifiable with the national ambitions of one or another party.¹⁰¹ For the stimulation of critical thinking, see an example in the subchapter dealing with WWII: "*How did the Partisans make war?*". The introduction asks: "*Is it about heroic deeds or clever war tactics? Was it a heroic action or a fight for life...?*" (page 141).

World War I: Methodology

The reviewer has decided to include a brief comparison of narratives about World War I in BiH (and Serbia), focusing on questions of methodological approaches towards critical thinking and empathy. All reviewed textbooks manage to describe the costs and the terrible results of the war (poverty, destruction) for BiH in ethnically and nationally nonspecific terms. These descriptions highlight the price of the war for all people of BiH, instead of for one group only.¹⁰² The

dealing with the Interwar period. The first question introducing the unit states: "*Have you ever heard of the American Dream?*", while the "American Dream" is afterwards explained in the text. One of the questions at the end of this unit asks students to step into the shoes of a broker at the stock exchange, and asks them also to get to know whether a stock exchange exists also in BiH (also page 79). See on page 147: "HMM? What is a real government? What do you think? (The Government in exile: internationally recognised, but without power in the country; the NKOJ: (National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia) which had power in the country but without international recognition)". See also the project "Let's ask witnesses" at page 148, where the author explains in detail how to approach interviews with witnesses of WWII living where the students live. For the development of a critical attitude towards historical sources see also *Valenta* page 21, "Project: Portrait – hidden messages".

¹⁰⁰ See the introduction to the book, where the author explains the approach of the whole book towards a multiple-perspective narrative: "Many events which took place in the 20th century were interpreted in different ways in different eras. Different countries and their nations interpreted some events in different ways as well. The light of history was often shadowed by the powers and regimes which created historical memory. Therefore it was the main reason for the lack of the understanding of the past and repeated conflicts across world and in our country as well. The belief that someone else can never be right, and that opinions different from ours are always directed against us, caused many conflicts in the 20th century, which unfortunately haven't passed by us. Consequently the aim of this textbook is to present events and human relationships in the 20th century in a way that gives you an opportunity to consider them and make your own conclusions and judgements about certain events. That multiperspectivity will follow you through the whole textbook in different ways, i.e. through different chapters". Just to mention one of the many other examples here: See *Valenta* page 75 in the paragraph "Two sides of the coin", related to a photograph of a group of men in Germany who, with one exception, are all saluting with the right hand protruded, in a manner typical of the German Nazi salute. The text states: "Everybody is delighted with Nazism! Does the photograph really show that? Comment on the person marked with a circle. What does that man think? What are his attitudes, does he agree? How does he get along? What do you think it is like when your opinion is different from that of the majority?"

¹⁰¹ See for example *Valenta* page 63, in the subchapter dealing with the founding of the First Yugoslavia. "Two sides of the coin. Regarding the status of Vojvodina, which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, two different approaches are interesting concerning the issue how the unification with Serbia should be carried out. All Croatian and some Serb politicians thought that unification with Serbia should be done jointly with the National Council in Zagreb. The majority of Serb politicians argued for direct unification with Serbia and later on entering into a joint state." Here, *Valenta* manages to develop a perspective in which the different stances of Serbian politicians are highlighted, whereby other books (but not *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06*, which do not see the subject at hand as a controversial issue) highlight the activities of a "Serbian political collective" trying to accelerate the Yugoslav unification at the cost of the others. Another small but fine example relates to the image of and information about the scientist Nikola Tesla, who is mentioned in almost all reviewed textbooks. The interesting question with regard to Tesla is, which national group he is today claimed by. Thereby, *Hadžiabdić* informs the reader very neutrally that Tesla was born in Croatia (*Hadžiabdić* page 13). *Matković* specifies him as "our fellow countryman" (*Matković* page 63), whereas *Pejić 07* emphasises his Serbian origin, stating: "Nikola Tesla – Serb scientist." (*Pejić 07* page 20). *Valenta* on the other hand manages to take up all these different claims, stating: "In his native Lika, Nikola Tesla was not considered a serious scientist. He achieved success when he left his homeland and went abroad. Currently everybody considers him their scientist" (*Valenta* page 19).

¹⁰² See for example just *Hadžiabdić* page 43: "The population, especially along the river Drina suffered greatly during war operations. There were many deaths and ravages of war. Huge numbers of refugees

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

reviewer wants to underline this, since it shows that historical phenomena such as the price of war and violence can today be dealt with in a balanced manner. Some of the books deepen these balanced accounts by highlighting multiple perspectives and pacifistic attitudes.

Heroism in World War One

Whereas the issue of "heroism in World War One" is a common theme in almost all books,¹⁰³ it is presented with great variations.

- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* point to the bravery of the Serbian soldiers and their readiness to make sacrifices whilst defending Belgrade in 1915.¹⁰⁴
- *Hadžiabdić* contains a small subchapter "Bosnians and Herzegovinians at the battlefield", where the concluding statement is made "They proved

themselves to be very brave soldiers."¹⁰⁵

- *Šehić* and *Valenta* take up the topic of military heroism in BiH in World War I also,¹⁰⁶ but they both manage to shift the emphasis towards critical reasoning about the means of war.

Critical Approach to World War One

- *Pejić 07*, *Pejić 06* nor *Hadžiabdić* raise no critical attitudes towards war itself, and positive images of bravery and heroism are associated with only one side of the fighting parties.
- *Šehić* and *Valenta* are different. Apart from evaluations of the bravery of BiH soldiers, they explicitly point to the brutality of warfare, to the phenomena of soldiers' rebellions, desertion and self-mutilation.¹⁰⁷ Fairly clearly, all the mentioned textbooks refer to a

and displaced persons appeared.", or *Pejić 07* page 70: "BiH prior to the end of the war": "The war brought hunger and poverty to BiH. Farms were uncultivated due to the lack of the workforce since those in power mobilized them and sent to the fronts. The war was reaching its end, but the situation was worse and worse. Because of the rout of the Austro-Hungarian Army many deserted from the Army. The so called "green cadres" were formed that pillaged long-suffering people. There were 300,000 deaths in BiH during the war (15 percent out of total population.)"

¹⁰³ *Matković* does not cover World War One at all, and *Ganibegović* is the only one book which deals with World War one in BiH without mentioning or discussing the issue of "heroism in war". However, the issue of "heroism in war" is in *Ganibegović* dealt with in other chapters. Related to World War Two, *Ganibegović* delivers quite an uncritical account of the Bosnian "Handschar SS division", which is positively emphasized as the only military unit having conducted a mutiny within the German army. See *Ganibegović* page 95. *Matković*, in turn, does not explicitly deal with war heroism in any of its chapters, but contains quite a lot of passages which point to the justifiable "defense" of the Croat people and their state against the aggressor and the enemy in World War Two. Additionally, crimes and terror of the "other" (that is, the Cetniks and the Partizans) are dealt with at length, ostensibly proving the "Anti-Croatian stance" of both, against which the usage of "preventive measures" appears as more than justified. See for instance in the subchapter dealing with "The Cetnik terror in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia", page 89f: "The goal of his [Draža Mihailović's, H.K.] organization was renewal of Yugoslavia under King Petar II and reintroduction of the Greater Serbia Hegemony. Apart from Serbia, the Cetniks' group under leadership of Draža Mihailović was active in BiH, Montenegro, in the area of Croatia namely in Dalmatia, Lika and Slavonija. This means that Cetniks were active on the territory of NDH (Independent State of Croatia) of course against the Croatian State and its power.... In many parts of NDH the cetniks very often, and under protection of the Italians, committed crimes. They burned houses, pillaged and destroyed property and killed innocent people. By terrorizing Croats and Muslims they intended to create the clear Serb areas and thus strengthen Greater-Serbian hegemony in renewed Yugoslavia. The Partisan movement was directed against the Independent State of Croatia and their aim was to win power and renew Yugoslavia. In the parts where soldiers of the NDH were recruited, Partisans committed terror, murders and robberies. They destroyed many Croatian villages and killed many Croatian patriots ..."

¹⁰⁴ See *Pejić 07* page 65: "The first to come under attack was Belgrade. The speech that Mayor Gavrilović gave to his soldiers on the eve of the battle, speaks best regarding the morale of the Serb soldiers: "Soldiers! Heroes! The supreme command has erased our regiment from its records. Our regiment has been sacrificed for the honour of Belgrade and the Fatherland. Therefore, you no longer have to worry for your lives -they do not exist anymore. So, forward to glory! For King and Homeland! Long live the king! Long live Belgrade!" B. Nušić, Retorika."

¹⁰⁵ See *Hadžiabdić* page 44. Whereas this statement obviously is directed towards Bosnians and Herzegovinians, the question on page 49 "Where did Bosniacs make war and what kind of soldiers were they?" shifts the emphasis towards an evaluation of the bravery of the Bosniac soldiers in World War One.

¹⁰⁶ See *Šehić* page 83: „Bosnians and Herzegovinians were known as brave soldiers since the Ottoman Empire ..." and *Valenta* page 57: "Those who took part in the war and had a chance to witness Bosnians in battle described them as brave, firm and dedicated soldiers impeccably disciplined and loyal..."

¹⁰⁷ See *Valenta* pages 56-59, where the subchapter "In the whirl of the war" contains plenty of information in the form of eye witness accounts, brief statements and brief biographical information from the Bosnian Ivan Merz, a soldier in WWI, whose diary from the Italian front is quoted, for instance, with the following statement: "Why does all of it collapse, disappear, why are we also going to die, with generations following us!". Also greatly inspiring is the related paragraph "Voice from the past" (page 59), where the author quotes from the war diary of Merz and puts at the end some questions: "Ivan Merz wrote in his diary about the horrors of the war ordeal on the Italian front. Here is a record of 19 June 1918: "A wounded Italian officer was lying here. He was screaming in pain. He kept on moaning for over an hour. I had him carried back to Hill 1580, where a small first aid post was located. I will never forget his look of

traditional culture of "war heroism" which presumably is a common, a shared tradition in BiH and beyond. But the mentioned differences in the books also clearly document that a textbook can demonstrate respect for a tradition whilst at the same time discussing it with pacifistic perspectives highly relevant at the beginning of the 21st century. Page 53 in *Valenta* shows a British soldier in World War One giving water to a wounded German soldier. The text states: *"Germany is already at the threshold of collapse and defeat. It was the country which was loudest in calling for war....During discussion in your class, please analyse whether the German soldier was responsible for this? What was he thinking about? What did the British soldier think? Why didn't he kill the captive? Why did he help the enemy soldier? What can you conclude from this? Are you ready for empathy?"*

- *Ganibegović* and *Matković* while dealing with World War Two, raise no critical attitudes towards war. Except from statements about the general price of war, which, however, are to be found in any of the books in the chapters dealing with World War Two, no explicit critical stance towards the means of war is developed. Relating the period 1992-1995, a positive evaluation of military "defensiveness" is delivered in *Ganibegović*.¹⁰⁸ *Matković*, dealing with war against Croatia in the 1990s, emphasises military actions of the Croatian army as a justified means of "liberating" territories which have been occupied by Serbs.¹⁰⁹

Hidden Messages

Finally, a critical comment on "hidden messages" has to be added here, since they represent a clear threat to the development of critical thinking. The generation of hidden messages by the means of language has been dealt with above (paragraph 2.). Thereby, the reviewer has emphasised that both the books *Matković* and *Ganibegović* show a considerable rate of hidden messages generated by the means of language. Additionally, the reviewer pointed to the use of historical terminology, citing the example of the term "genocide", revealing the delivery of hidden messages by the use (or avoidance) of this very term for describing certain historical events in a number of textbooks.

However, this analysis now refers to those hidden messages which are generated when textbook authors mix historical facts and interpretation. The problem becomes most obvious at these points where the authors do not make clear to their readers which part of their text is interpretation, and which delivers "the facts". Any development of a narrative is already an interpretation, but it makes a difference if an author tries to present facts from more than one perspective, or if an author deliberately assesses and evaluates certain historical events from one point of view only.

gratitude and the shake from his bloodied hand. He was such a nice boy. To do a deed of love to a suffering person is the foundation of every spiritual life." Can you imagine the horrors of the Italian front? How does this Bosnian treat the enemy soldier? If you find yourself in such a situation, would you do the same thing?" See also *Sehić* page 84, where a whole page is devoted to examples of desertion, mutiny etc, including also a photograph showing a Bosnian disabled ex-servicemen. See for instance page 84: *"Text for analysis. Since the first days of war, sabotage of war efforts was attempted in all armies. Folk pseudo-medicines produced symptoms before which military doctors were powerless (trachoma infection, finger mutilation, bodily temperature increased by eating raw potato, shooting oneself through [a loaf of] bread to avoid traces of gunpowder...) In this way, many became permanently disabled, without being entered in the records and with no right to be provided for. The richer and better educated simulated illness and dragged themselves through hospitals, which was enabled through connections and bribes in the military command. Most often, those cases were discovered through anonymous tips. Whilst some managed to avoid military conscription by any means, others were casually taken to the frontline ..."*

¹⁰⁸ See *Ganibegović* page 126: *"The Patriotic league was organised to act as a deterrent regarding the events that would follow after proclamation of the so-called Serbian autonomous areas. Patriotic league gathered real patriots who joined the fighting units to defend sovereignty of their homeland."*

¹⁰⁹ See *Matković* page 127, already cited under footnote 81 above.

Example: Hidden Messages of Globalisation

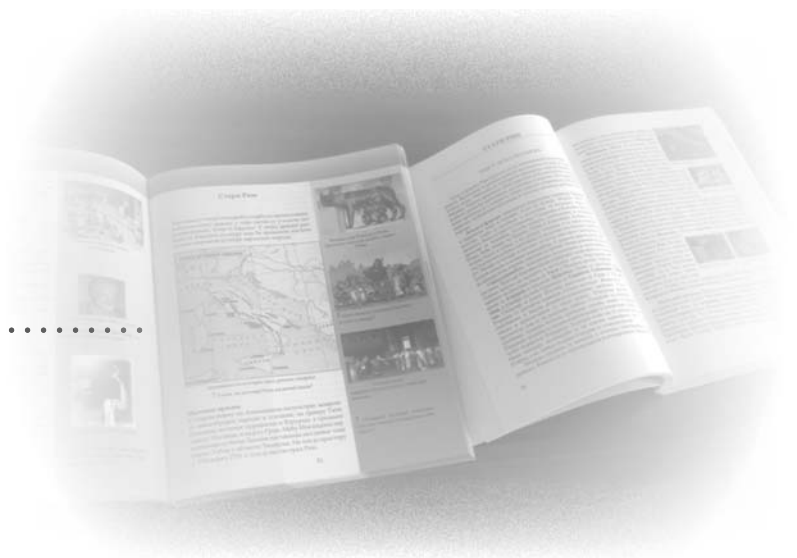
Two examples, both relating to globalization processes after 1945 shall be briefly discussed here. *Ganibegović* and *Pejić 07* (also *Pejić 06*) both deal with these processes in a perspective which presents globalization after 1945 as a tool of the bigger, powerful states against the smaller. This assessment is made in both books with regard to the developments on former Yugoslav territory in the 1990s. The reviewer is not of the opinion that a discussion of success or failure of international military intervention in this area should be omitted in history textbooks. Rather, any critical evaluation of these and similar activities may be a highly necessary topic in today's history textbooks. But the issue at hand is that both books deliver a one-sided and self-justifying account only, in which the smaller states (BiH or Serbia) are presented as victims to the imperialist ambitions of the more powerful, hiding behind the mask of globalization.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ See *Ganibegović*, who in the introduction to the book ("The Epoch Mark") at page 3 explains about the role the United Nations: "Experience gained from ravages of war and suffering of population after the World War II shows that most disputed or new problems should be solved in peaceful way. For that purpose different international organizations were established among which the United Nations are well known. The United Nations were supposed to intervene in places which were considered as being beyond any other solution. Unfortunately, even such organizations were influenced by and depended on powerful states which protected their interests and very often made wrong decisions at the expense of small nations..." Compare with *Pejić 07*, who explains in the subchapter "Globalization, the Balkans and position of Serbs" at page 201: "After dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, many of the "power centres" consider the main goal of the new world political system is **hegemony**, although they declaratively argue strongly for democracy and preservation of human rights. They simply think they should intervene in the favour of humanity when, according to them, human rights and democracy are endangered. That's why we have "international peaceful missions" which act in that direction. In fact, we have here collision with reality. Therefore, the theoreticians who claimed that **globalization is the planned establishment of the own political, economic and military positions** are right" (bold accentuation in the quoted original text). The same quotation is to be found in *Pejić 06* page 239.

4

Quantitative and structural aspects¹¹¹

- *The ratios of historical periods*
- *The ratio of World / European and national history*
- *Structure and composition of the textbooks*



¹¹¹ See for a detailed analysis on quantitative data regarding the textbooks the respective table in the Appendix paragraph 5.1. Note: The percentages in paragraph 4.1. here are slightly rounded to make the evaluation more evident. See the table in the Appendix for the original percentages.

4.1. The ratios of historical periods

With the exception of *Matković*, which begins with post-World War I history, all other textbooks start with a presentation of history at the end of the 19th century. Thereby, the following five major historical periods are subdivided in the books: 1878-1914 (pre-World War I period), World War I, Interwar period, World War II, and Post 1945 history. Not taking into account here the subchapters dealing with the breakup of Yugoslavia,¹¹² the presentations of all historical periods are fairly evenly distributed. Again, the exception is *Matković*, which puts a major emphasis on the Inter-War Period (42%): this might be caused by the fact that the book does not deal with Pre-World War I history and World War I.

All other books show only slight differences in their distribution of historical periods:

- *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* put the main emphasis on the chapters dealing with World War II history (22%), whereby other periods show percentages from 11%-21%.
- *Pejić 07* shows a slight preponderance for Pre-World War I history (21%), and *Pejić 06* for the history of the Inter-War Period (20%).
- *Šehić*, *Hadžiabdić*, *Valenta* and *Ganibegović* put the main emphasis on the Inter-War Period (24%-30%).
- *Šehić* and *Valenta* show a percentage of the other periods ranging from 16%-20% and 14%-20% respectively, whereby the second major emphasis in both books is on Post-1945 history (20%).
- *Hadžiabdić* and *Ganibegović* show a very balanced distribution of the other historical periods also (ranging from 12%-19% and 13%-19% respectively), whereby the second major emphasis in both books is on World War II.
- *Matković* also deals with World War II

(17%) and Post-1945 history (18%) in a proportionally balanced manner.

4.2. The ratio of World/European and national history

Where are the main spatial reference points in the textbooks? The reviewer here distinguishes textbook narratives dealing with World/European or National history. World and European history are not further specified. Instead, the term World and European history here implies the history of all those parts of the world and Europe that do not belong to the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans respectively. Hence, the term national history relates here to all those textbook narratives dealing with the history of those territories which, in the course of the 20th century, featured as part of the common Yugoslav state, including the territories of BiH, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia.¹¹³

Compared to the generation of history textbooks developed in the mid-1990,¹¹⁴ all reviewed textbooks show a considerable shift towards World / European and away from national history. Whereas history textbooks of the mid-1990s exhibited a relation of 40%-60% (World/ European versus national history), this ratio has actually been inverted in the newer generation of textbooks, which mainly exhibit a relation of 60%-40% (World and European versus national history).

- *Valenta* shows most obviously this growing awareness of the importance of processes of integration and globalization in 20th century history. The book follows a constant relation of 60%-40% in each historical period, thus putting in all periods the main emphasis on World and European history.¹¹⁵

¹¹² The process of the breakup of Yugoslavia is in no single textbook dealt with as a separate historical period, but will be dealt with separately here by the reviewer, since section 3.3 of the analysis is devoted to this specific question.

¹¹³ For the separate analysis of the term "national history" see paragraph 3.2.

¹¹⁴ Compare with an analysis of history textbooks published in the mid-1990s from Croatia, BiH, Serbia, and Macedonia: Heike Karge, "Geschichtsbilder im postjugoslawischen Raum", *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 4/1999, page 315-337, esp. page 336.

¹¹⁵ *Valenta* exhibits solely in the chapter dealing with Pre-WWI history a percentage with an equal quantitative distribution of pages related to World / European and national history.

- *Hadžiabdić* and *Šehić* contain one historical period (Pre-World War I history) which is dealt with by a preponderance of national history (30%-70%, and 40%-60%), whereas all other historical periods have a clear preponderance of World and European history.¹¹⁶
 - *Ganibegović*, published before the adoption of the "Guidelines", exhibits a preponderance of national history in the chapters dealing with World War I and World War II (35%-65% and 45%-55%), whilst in other periods the percentage of World and European history is higher than that of national history.
 - *Matković* shows a distribution in favour of national history in the interwar period (40%-60%), whereas the remaining periods show an inverted relation in favour of World and European history (60%-40%).
 - *Pejić 07* shows a clear preponderance in favour of national history, in the chapters dealing with the periods of Pre-World War I, World War I and World War II history (40%-60%, 40%-60%, and 45%-55%). For the interwar period, the book deals in equal percentages with World and National history. A clear focus on World / European history can just be observed in the period relating to post-1945 developments (70%-30%).
 - *Pejić 06*, the immediate predecessor of *Pejić 07*, exhibits a lesser preponderance on national history, in the chapters dealing with Pre-World War I and World War II history (40%-60%, 45%-55%), whilst the remaining chapters show a focus on World and European history.
- structurally in an integrative manner or if there is a clear division between those both. "Structurally" solely implies the chapters' composition, their makeup in terms of an integrative or divided presentation of World and National history.
- *Hadžiabdić*, *Valenta*, *Šehić*, and *Ganibegović* show a strict structural division of World / European and national history. Both are dealt with in separate chapters in all historical periods.
 - *Pejić 07* and *Pejić 06* deal structurally with both World War I and World War II in a slightly more integrated manner. Here, World and National history of both wars is dealt with in two integrated chapters, which, however, again are divided into smaller subchapters dealing separately with certain aspects out of World and national history. Thus, these presentations, though a little more integrative in structure, appear to be separated with regard to content.
 - *Matković* also appears at first glance to be more integrative. It follows an integrative structure of presentation in almost all historical periods (with the exception of post-1945 history), but again, this integrative approach is disrupted by a consequent separate presentation of World and National history in the smaller subchapters, into which the overall chapters are divided.¹¹⁷

Integration of World/European with National History

Finally, a brief observation with regard to the question of whether World / European and national histories are presented

4.3. Structure and composition of the textbooks

In general, the structure and composition of history textbooks newly published for use in primary schools in BiH in 2007 have greatly improved in comparison to the

¹¹⁶ With the exception of the period WWII in *Šehić*, which shows an equal percentage of pages. *Hadžiabdić* has the largest preponderance of World / European history in the chapter dealing with post-1945 history (80%-20%).

¹¹⁷ Going beyond the scope of analysis in this paragraph, the reviewer nevertheless wants to underline, that, in terms of content and of the authors' perspective, the whole approach of the book is decidedly ethnocentric. The introduction on page 7, thus, states: "...There are separate topics within each unit dealing with developments in Europe and world that have made an impact on the Croatian people. These are just short summaries necessary for better understanding of the important events that marked the past of the Croatian people." See *Matković* page 7.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

older generations of textbooks.¹¹⁸ Here, the impact of the Guidelines becomes obvious, since a clear development in terms of textbook composition from “textbooks” in the literal sense towards “workbooks” can be, at least partly, indicated.

Structure Prior To The Guidelines

Both the textbooks published in 2006, that is, before the adoption of the *Guidelines* (*Ganibegović, Pejić 06*), represent unchanged editions of textbooks approved and published for the school year 2003/04, and constitute literal “text-books”, that is, books entirely filled by the authors’ texts.

- *Ganibegović* suffers from the unbalanced relation of authors’ text and instructive material, with text as the dominant content of the book. The authors’ text is thus very long and unstructured. Additionally, the use of only black, white and grey makes orientation difficult.¹¹⁹

All chapters start with a brief introduction of the author, which represents a summary of the chapter to follow. At the end of each chapter is a list of questions which are mainly oriented towards repetition of the information delivered already in the authors’ text. Additionally, no sources are incorporated into the textbook. The small number of images, maps, and tables incorporated into the chapters contain subtitles, but no sources. There is no question or task related to these in the book.

- *Pejić 06* includes more coloured images and maps, but the relation of text and instructive material is again problematic: *Pejić 06* is mainly composed of continuous authors’ texts. Neither sources nor chronological tables are incorporated into the chapters or at

the end the book.¹²⁰ Questions which relate to the information delivered in the authors’ text, are added at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of each chapter, together with small maps, images, and photographs.

- *Matković*, also published before the adoption of the *Guidelines*, shows a slightly higher quality in terms of structure and composition of the book. Despite an overbalance of long and rarely structured authors’ texts, the book uses different colours indicating certain types of tasks or information, allowing easier navigation for the reader.¹²¹ The many images, photographs, caricatures, and maps in the book are printed in colour, breaking -in terms of structure- the otherwise long authors’ texts.

Tasks and questions, which are included in the text also at the end of each chapter, are not solely oriented towards a mere repetition of the authors’ text. The section “Pročitajte” (Read!), which is included in most subsections, contains sources relevant for the respective topic, along with information and questions for the students. At the end of the book, a chronology of important events and a list of unknown terms are provided but a bibliography is, as in *Ganibegović* and *Pejić 06*, absent.

Structure After the Guidelines

The major difference between the textbooks published before and after the adoption of the Guidelines, as mentioned above, consists in the orientation of the latter towards a much stronger workbook structure. A workbook implies a more balanced relation of text and instructive material. Thus, it is composed of brief authors’ text and sources, complemented

¹¹⁸ Major criteria taken from the *Guidelines* checked here are, first, the inclusion of didactic material, thereby asking also for the quantitative relation of text and didactic material. Second, the reviewer has checked if historical sources and chronological tables are incorporated into the teaching units. Finally, the reviewer has checked the Appendixes of the books (bibliography, list of unknown terms etc). The reviewer was analysing only the textbooks, without taking into account additional components (worksheet, teacher’s manual etc), which were not at her disposal.

¹¹⁹ The whole book is printed in black and white only, with the exception of a few pages in the middle of the book (between page 80 and page 81 there are 16 numberless pages) where numerous images, photographs and maps are incorporated relating to various epochs dealt with in the textbook. Technically, maps are so small that one cannot read them or the attached labels. At the end of the book, a dictionary of unknowns terms, a chronology of events and a list of abbreviations is delivered. A bibliography is absent.

¹²⁰ At the end of the book a list of unknown terms is delivered in *Pejić06*, whereas a bibliography is absent.

¹²¹ For instance, the unit “*Priprema*” (Preparation) at the very beginning of each chapter is coloured pink; the units “*Zadaci*” (Tasks) and “*Razmisli*” (Think about) are coloured yellow.

by a variety of tasks and questions, which must not be directed solely towards the text, but towards images, maps, photographs, caricatures, or tables also.

Two Successful Examples of Workbooks

Šehić and *Valenta* are outstanding. Both are workbooks in the proper sense of the word.

- *Šehić* consists of concise authors' texts followed by diverse types of instructive material of often nearly as many pages as the authors' text. The beginning of each chapter consists of brief information about certain important people (not only politicians) of the respective period. Additionally, a brief chronology is provided here. The chapters are very well structured, by means of different types of text, information, tasks and questions which are easily distinguishable by colour coordination.¹²² Tasks for students are not only diverse, but very often adapted to the age of the pupils, so as to stimulate their interest in historical research.¹²³ Questions are partly oriented towards the information delivered in the authors' text, but not solely.¹²⁴ At the margin of textbook pages, unknown terms are explained. The book ends with an extensive bibliography, where literature from Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo and elsewhere is listed.

- *Valenta* is composed of even briefer authors' texts, and, most outstandingly, by a variety of modes of arrangement and types of instructive material. The book is unique in that there is no longer separation of text and instructive materials, even though they all are clearly colour-coordinated.¹²⁵ Instead, not only are both equally present, but follow one another in rotation through each chapter. The reader will find sources, pictures and other instructive material at the beginning, middle, or end of each chapter (usually in all these places together).

Questions and tasks related to them broaden the information and perspectives delivered in the narrower authors' text. Thus, *Valenta* constantly changes the perspective, giving voices to contemporary and other witnesses,¹²⁶ to great figures and "the ordinary man",¹²⁷ to curious details¹²⁸ and to a multiplicity of perspectives¹²⁹, applying various written sources also images, caricatures, maps and tables. Unknown terms are explained at the margin of the respective chapter. Each chapter ends with a student's project. At the very end of the book, a list of unknown terms, a bibliography, and brief information about the author is delivered.

Further Impact of the Guidelines

- *Hadžiabdić* and *Pejić 07* do not come as close to a "workbook" structure as *Valenta* or *Šehić* do, since the relation

¹²² The authors use specific colours for specific types of text, such as for instance: the rather brief authors' text is in black, image titles appear in blue, headlines in bold blue, sources in the chapters and working texts ("Text for analysis") is in red.

¹²³ Tasks in the whole book are diverse, including for instance putting together a chronological list of events, or a puzzle. The authors include here also students' work with tables, diagrams, caricatures, and paintings (comparison and analysis).

¹²⁴ On many different occasions students are asked to speak about their own impression about the written text or source. ("What are your impressions about the text you've read!", here for instance page 41.)

¹²⁵ See in the introduction the paragraph "How to use the textbook?" (*Valenta* page 6), where the various types of material and text are briefly explained also introduced with their specific type of colour.

¹²⁶ In the many didactical units titled "Voice from the past", a historical source is quoted, or an eyewitness of the respective events cited, together with questions and tasks from the textbook author. Additionally, *Valenta* has incorporated many other contemporary witness accounts, distinguished by the use of grey.

¹²⁷ In the units titled "Great People from the Shadow", where "ordinary people" within great historical events are dealt with, also in the units titled "Protagonists of the time", where people are highlighted who have played a crucial role in specific historical periods, at specific historical events.

¹²⁸ In the units titled "Unusual stories", some piquant, rarely known, and for students intriguing, details of history are dealt with, for instance a biographical note and information about the double agent Margarethe Zelle (Mata Hari) in WWI. See *Valenta* page 43 (see for this particular example also *Šehić* page 56).

¹²⁹ In the units titled "Two sides of the coin", for which the introduction explains: "How a particular event can be explained in two or even more ways you will get to know in this section. As each medal or coin has two sides which cannot be seen at the same time, similarly a particular event has its different sides and explanations." See *Valenta* page 6.

of text and instructive material shows an overwhelming majority of text. But, nevertheless, a strong orientation towards the *Guidelines* can be observed here also.

The whole structure of *Hadžiabdić* enables easy orientation of the reader, by the means of concise authors' texts, by clearly silhouetted additional information, sources, questions or explanations of new terms against the main text body. Additionally, the various types of material and information in *Hadžiabdić* are easily distinguishable by the use of colour coordination. Found at the end of each chapter are summaries, a list of important terms, personalities, and events relevant for the respective period. Almost every page contains pictures and/or images, however, mostly without any related tasks or questions. A bibliography concludes the book.

- *Pejić 07* exhibits notable improvements compared to its direct predecessor *Pejić 06*. The chapters in *Pejić 07* are more clearly structured, allowing for easier orientation of the reader. New terms are explained at the margin of the respective page, where one also finds, distinguished by means of colour, various pictures, additional information, historical sources, and dates. At the end of each chapter a summarizing chronology of important events is delivered.

However, starting with the chapter on the Interwar period, the length of the authors' text grows constantly at the cost of instructive material. In these parts of the book, a merely structured, continuous authors' text dominates the book. Thus, these parts of the book lose much of the quality in terms of structuring which is characteristic of the earlier parts of the book. At the end of the book, a list of unknown terms and a bibliography is provided.

5

Appendix

- *Allocation of historical periods in the textbooks/ Relation of World and National history in each historical period*
- *Women's images in the textbooks*
- *List of analysed textbooks*
- *Abbreviations*
- *The Guidelines*



5.1. Allocation of historical periods in the textbooks/ Relation of World and National history in each historical period

	Total no of pages	Pre-World War I (in %) ¹³⁰	World War I (in %)	Inter-War Period (in %)	WW II (in %)	1945 -1989/90. (in %)	Breakup of Yug / war in BiH (in %)
<i>Valenta</i>	195	16% %(50/50)	14% %(54/44)	24% %(62/38)	17% %(59/41)	20,5% %(60/40)	1%
<i>Hadžiabdić 07</i>	144	16% %(30/70)	12,5% %(61/39)	28% %(66/34)	19% %(56/44)	17% %(80/20)	2%
<i>Šehić</i>	245	19% %(39/61)	15% %(67/33)	24% %(63/37)	16% %(50/50)	20% %(65/35)	1,5%
<i>Ganibegović</i>	144	13% %(63/47)	17% %(36/64)	30,5% %(62/48)	19% %(45/55)	14,5% %(62/48)	1%
<i>Matković</i>	141	-	-	42,5% %(38/62)	17% %(63/37)	18% %(60/40)	7%
<i>Pejić 07</i>	209	21 % % 40/60	11 % % 40/60	16 % % 50/50	22 % % 45/55	19 % % 70/30	4 %
<i>Pejić 06</i>	250	19% %(40/60)	12% %(55/45)	20% %(61/39)	22% %(47/53)	18% %(60/30)	4%

5.2. Women's images in the textbooks¹³¹

The reviewer has tried to identify in the textbooks women's images in the sphere of World/ European and national history, thereby distinguishing between

- Women's images in the sphere of political and military history, and
- Women's images in the sphere of social and cultural history.

¹³⁰ The second statistic in each of the period relates to the percentage of World / European (left figure) and national history (right figure).

¹³¹ As an "image" the reviewer has qualified photographs and paintings. No images have been taken into account where "huge masses of people" are presented, but just those images where a maximum number of 1-5 people is presented. Thereby, the reviewer has qualified each singular image as one item only, regardless of how many women are presented on it. Taken into account have been also those images where a male politician is presented with his wife (though emphasis is there clearly on the male part of the couple)

Table: Women's images in the textbooks

Textbook	Women in political and military history	Women in social and cultural history	Overall nr. of women mentioned in the book
<i>Ganibegović</i>	-	Marie Curie American farmer woman	2
<i>Matković</i>	Savka Dabčević -Kučar	Greta Garbo	2
<i>Pejić 07</i>	Queen Victoria Russian tsarist family King Aleksandar with wife	Female fashion styles Nadežda Petrović Montenegrin woman Working woman A girl	8
<i>Pejić 06</i>	King Milan with wife	Female commoner (twice) Women worker (twice) Marie Curie Isidora Sekulić A girl	8
<i>Hadžiabdić 07</i>	Anne Frank	Marie Curie Women weavers American farmer woman Greta Garbo Valentina Tereskova Rosa Parks Mother Teresa Gabrielle Chanel Florence G. Joyner	10
<i>Šehić 07</i>	Queen Victoria Rosa Luxemburg Clara Zetkin Anne Frank	Anna Pavlova Marie Curie Margaretha Zelle Portrait of a mother Greta Garbo Frida Kahlo Calderon Gabrielle Chanel American farmer woman Mother Teresa Valentina Tereskova Film poster with women image	15
<i>Valenta 07</i>	Queen Elizabeth Margaret Thatcherr Indira Mahatma Gandhi Džemal Bijedić with wife	Female suffrage activists Bosnian women Bosnian woman embroiding Roma women Margaretha Zelle Russian tsarist family Marlene Dietrich Female fashion Women at the Berlin Wall Elizabeth Eckford Valentina Tereskova Jaqueline Kennedy with Marilyn Monroe Evita Peron	18

5.3. List of analysed textbooks

- a) **Ganibegović** = Muhamed Ganibegović. Historija – Povijest za osmi razred osnovne škole (treće izdanje). IP "Svijetlost" d.d. Sarajevo 2006
- b) **Hadžiabdić** = Hadžija Hadžiabdić, Edis Dervišagić, Alen Mulić, Vahidin Mehić. Historija. Istorija. Povijest 8. Udžbenik za 8 razred osnovne škole. Bosanska Knjiga. Tuzla 2007
- c) **Matković** = Hrvoje Matković, Božo Goluža, Ivica Šarac. Povijest 8. Udžbenik za VIII razred osnovne škole (treće izdanje). Školska naklada. Mostar 2006
- d) **Pejić 06** = Dr. Ranko Pejić. Istorija za 9 razred osnovne škole. Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva. Istočno Sarajevo 2006
- e) **Pejić 07** = S. Tešić, S. Gavrić, R. Pejić. Istorija za 9 razred osnovne škole. Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva. Istočno Sarajevo 2007
- f) **Šehić** = Zijad Šehić, Zvezdana Marčić-Matošević, Alma Leka. Historija. Istorija. Povijest. Udžbenik sa historijskom čitankom za osmi razred osnovne škole. Sarajevo publishing. Sarajevo 2007
- g) **Valenta** = Leonard Valenta. Historija – Povijest za 8 razred osnovne škole. Bosanska riječ. Sarajevo 2007

5.4. Abbreviations

MoU	= Memorandum of Understanding
Guidelines	= Guidelines for writing and evaluation of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in BiH, April 2005
WW I	= World War I
WW II	= World War II
BiH	= Bosnia and Hercegovina
AVNOJ	= Antifašističko V(ij)eće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije
NDH	= Nezavisna Država Hrvatska
ICTY	= International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
NATO	= North Atlantic Treaty Organization

5.5. The Guidelines



Commission for the Development of Guidelines For Conceptualizing New History Textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina

GUIDELINES FOR WRITING AND EVALUATION OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1. STARTING BASIS

Starting from the cited recommendations contained in the Memorandum of Understanding, Council of Europe recommendations on teaching 21st century history (2001/15), UNESCO recommendations related to international understanding, cooperation and peace education and education related to human rights and fundamental freedoms (Paris 1974), as well as Declaration and Comprehensive Framework of Action in Education for peace, human rights and democracy, the Commission has developed the general, specific and individual guidelines for History textbooks writing, their evaluation and use;

In accordance with the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education (*Official Gazette of BiH, no. 18/2003*), and particularly Articles 3, 4 and 6 of this Law, and in accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of a Commission for the Development of Guidelines on Textbook Writing for the Subjects of History and Geography in Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed in May 2004, the Minister of Education and Culture of Republika Srpska, all the Cantonal Ministries of Education as well as the Education Department of Brcko District have adopted the these Guidelines, whose development was supported by the Ministry of Civil Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ministry of Education and Culture of Republika Srpska and FBiH Ministry of Education and Science. The History Textbook is derived from the curricula. Development of these guidelines took into account the recommendations of the MoU, underscoring the following aims:

- 1.1. Students should receive a basic understanding of the history and geography of all three constituent peoples and national minorities;
- 1.2. Bosnia and Herzegovina is used as a main reference point;
- 1.3. The three constituent peoples and national minorities are presented in an impartial manner;
- 1.4. Disputed issues of the prescribed curriculum should be addressed in a manner which does not offend and respects the feelings of all three constituent peoples and national minorities;
- 1.5. Neighboring countries are presented in an impartial manner;
- 1.6. Interactive learning and comparative methodological approaches are applied in textbook writing.

2. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR WRITING

History Textbooks

- 2.1. When writing textbooks, the authors should decrease the quantity of information relating to political history, in order to enable the provision of more information which students would also receive through other aspects of history, such as cultural, social, economic, and the history of everyday life.
- 2.2. Textbooks should be scientifically based and objective and aimed at building mutual understanding, reconciliation and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 2.3. When writing textbooks, authors should apply the principle of multi-perspectivity, in order to enable the pupils to learn tolerance. The principle of multi-perspectivity should be present in all aspects of the textbooks: in the texts, illustrations, and sources. A multi-perspective approach may be represented in the textbooks by the fact that other views of a particular fact or event are presented.
- 2.4. National history should be presented in the regional context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the neighboring countries, with examples taken from BiH and reflecting diversities as a factor of enrichment.
- 2.5. Text and appendices on the neighboring counties are founded on science, objectivity, tolerance and multi-perspectivity.
- 2.6. Questions and tasks for the students should be formulated in a way which will encourage critical and open thinking, as well as the ability to analyze historical processes. The authors should ensure that the text of the textbook encourages the development of the pupils' critical thinking, by presenting historical content from different perspectives.
- 2.7. Sensitive issues/controversial themes should be stated in the textbooks, in order to be opened up for discussion. To declare that there are various interpretations of historical events, with obligatory listing of different historical sources.
- 2.8. When writing textbooks, the authors should respect a balance between the quantity of texts, illustrations, sources, and tasks for students.
- 2.9. Information in textbooks should be presented in a manner that allows teachers to teach in an interactive way.
- 2.10. In general, the language used in the textbooks should be free of expressions and definitions which induce hatred and create an image of enemies, especially when speaking about neighboring countries.
- 2.11. Texts in the textbooks should be written in a language suitable to pupils' age and their capabilities, also in terms of the volume of dates and events in the text. Moreover, the texts should not be boring to the pupils; studying history should be fun and should initiate learning.
- 2.12. It is recommended that authors apply comparative methods when teaching specific syllabus content.
- 2.13. History textbooks can be written by a group of authors that consists of scientists and teachers with teaching experience.
- 2.14. All future textbook reviewers should respect the guidelines set for the authors.
- 2.15. From general and national history, there should be equal coverage of personalities who marked a specific time period through all aspects of their engagement (culture, politics, etc.).
- 2.16. Subject matter on the role and position of women in the society throughout different historical periods should be represented in textbooks.
- 2.17. When covering historical content, particular attention should be given to the history of national minorities in BiH.
- 2.18. History textbooks must be in compliance with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

3. SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR WRITING HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

A modern history textbook is expected not only to educate, but to encourage, direct and lead pupils' development. The Common Core Curriculum in History should be incorporated in the textbooks. These guidelines are obliging for authors and reviewers.

A good History textbook is made of:

a set of components (such as textbooks, work sheets, teacher manuals, documents on a CD, a historical atlas, documentaries, slides and other auxiliary content, etc.) which follow the Curriculum and syllabus and abide by the general principles of quality (such as; reliability, attractiveness, possibility of students' and teachers' creativity, etc.).

- 3.1. Conceptually, textbooks should be written in a way that historical sources are incorporated into the contents of the textbook for each teaching unit, and that they are diverse.
- 3.2. The History textbook breaks down the teaching contents by the prescribed syllabi and Common Core Curriculum.
- 3.3. In addition to the textbooks, authors are obliged to draft a manual for the teachers. The manual should offer some examples of how to go through a teaching unit, as well as the form and method of work, aims, tasks, learning outcomes, means of teaching and a minimum of didactic equipment.
- 3.4. An overview of everyday life should be included in all textbooks, and incorporated in historical periods.
- 3.5. All textbooks should include chronological tables.
- 3.6. Didactic materials that follow the textbooks in each teaching unit should contain questions, assignments, illustrations, pictures, graphics, historical maps, etc. and should be included in the textbooks as much as possible.
- 3.7. History textbooks need to be correlated to closely related subjects, whenever possible.
- 3.8. Textbook program concept must correspond to the age of the pupil. In a teaching unit, new expressions should be explained in accordance with the pupils' age.
- 3.9. The teaching content must serve the function of interactive teaching that places the teacher into a role of the dialogical method coordinator.
- 3.10. The terminology used for teaching historical events should reflect the time period that is being spoken about.
- 3.11. The use of historical maps should appropriately reflect the historical era they represent.
- 3.12. The rules for creating History textbooks are a structured, connected and gradual portrayal of historical contents, with examples.
- 3.13. Easy identification of the structure of History textbooks could be achieved by various graphic means – by emphasizing with colors, indents, condensation or expansion of the text, with the help of titles and sub-titles, assignments for connecting and systematization of notions, as well as offering ready-made systematization.
- 3.14. Authors should take into account the levels of knowledge when developing the textbooks. The levels of knowledge are lined up from the lowest (reproduction level), to the highest (knowledge on the level of synthesis and evaluation).
- 3.15. History textbook is a fundamental, compulsory schoolbook determining the level of knowledge in the frame of each theme provided for by the history curriculum.
- 3.16. It is necessary to determine a frame of historical contents according to the scope (quantity, number and volume of information on certain historical event) and the depth to be achieved in covering that historical content.
- 3.17. The introductory part of the class should be conceived as linking the previously acquired knowledge with the new content.
- 3.18. The workbook for students should follow the textbook content and be used for coursework revision. Workbooks could be plain in design; they do not have to be printed in color nor on the expensive paper.

An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school

3.19. Teachers' manual containing:

- Instructions for covering historical contents through topics in the textbook;
- Examples for the realization of at least one teaching unit;
- Proposals of didactical minimum for covering teaching content.

4. INDIVIDUAL GUIDELINES FOR WRITING HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

In addition to the above mentioned specific guidelines, related to textbooks for all grades, the following should be considered in regard to textbooks for all grades:

- 4.1. In the textbooks that cover the content from the Ancient era and antiquity, there should be more illustrations than text.
- 4.2. Texts in the textbooks should be written in a language suitable to pupils' age and their capabilities. The texts should not be overloaded with dates and events. Also, the texts should not be boring to the pupils.
- 4.3. When teaching about world religions from ancient history, their common features and specificities at the time of their development should be underscored.
- 4.4. Pre-historic period and pre-historic findings, as well as those from the Ancient times and the Middle Ages, should be highlighted on a map of BiH, as the focal point, and neighboring countries should only be represented with more important (archaeological) sites.
- 4.5. It is necessary to have lesser presence of political history in the textbooks and to introduce more contents from economic, social, cultural history and everyday life history, with respect to the principle of citing several historical sources.
- 4.6. The content on the Middle Ages may be structured by themes and chronology.
- 4.7. Studying BiH history in the Middle Ages should be in the primary focus, and historical events in the neighboring countries should be followed evenly, respecting the chronology and their mutual correlation.
- 4.8. Periods of revolutions of the Modern Age should be taught as phenomena in a wider historical context and should be presented conceptually. It is necessary to take into account the specificities of each revolution.
- 4.9. Incorporate multi-perspectivity and show historical processes from the Modern Era, having as many historical sources of different origin, as possible.
- 4.10. In the seventh and eighth grades, the author of the textbook should be using assignments and exercises of critical thinking, using illustrations suitable to the age of the pupil.
- 4.11. Allow the pupils to understand historical phenomena, processes and to identify the most important facts.
- 4.12. The sentences used in History textbook should be somewhat longer and more complex than the sentences used by the pupils themselves, so the textbook could encourage the development of pupils' own language, but should not be overly long, in order to prevent difficulties in memorizing and comprehension of the subject matter.
- 4.13. The texts in the textbooks should be written in a language appropriate to the age of the pupil. The texts should not be congested with dates and events. Moreover, the texts should not be boring to the pupils; learning History should be fun and should encourage learning.
- 4.14. When covering the period 1945 – 1992, the content should be presented in three levels: history of the world, Europe, neighboring countries, i.e. former SFRY and BiH. This theme should be covered conceptually, through integration processes in the world and in Europe.
- 4.15. Individuals who have marked 20th century through all aspects of activity: culture, art, politics, etc. should be studied.
- 4.16. The Ministers of Education acknowledge the necessity for teaching of historical processes concluding with the end of the twentieth century, as to teach these processes in accordance with these Guidelines.

5. GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND OTHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Starting basis, general, specific and individual guidelines contained in this document apply to all secondary levels of the education system (grammar school and vocational schools). They are the basis for history textbook writing process, with a remark that the historical content is covered in a broader manner, substantially and meaningfully.

- 5.1. Groups of pupils should be encouraged to take part in research projects and interactive learning in order to create conditions for dialog.
- 5.2. Controversial themes should mainly be stated in the textbooks, in order to be opened up for the discussion.
- 5.3. Historical contents presented in the textbook should be scientifically and professionally adequate, to reflect the most significant achievements of historical science, and to follow modern movements and results of the most recent research of historical science.
- 5.4. The historical text should motivate students to do independent work and to make conclusions about historical processes and phenomena.
- 5.5. The historical text introduces students to independent researches and creates conditions for dialog making and development of a more open and more tolerant way of thinking.
- 5.6. It allows and stimulates the development of analytical and critical abilities of the students.
- 5.7. It motivates students to work independently and to derive their own conclusions on historical processes, phenomena and events.

6. USE OF NEW TEXTBOOKS

Use of new textbooks requires a completely different role of teachers in the education system.

Textbooks are designed for interactive learning, so it is necessary to educate teachers in this method of teaching.

In order to fully meet the new conception and textbooks requirements, it is necessary to begin, at this stage, with the realization of permanent education of teachers. Lectures in permanent education can be given by instructors who are already well aware of the essence of new textbook concept. In relation to this, the respective Ministries should already plan financial resources for the implementation of this program. Evaluation of new textbooks carried out by reviewers entails full implementation of this document. Reviewers' guidelines have to be open for influx of new ideas in history. For the realization of the guidelines of this document, we propose:

- To inform all relevant institutions about the adopted guidelines by the **end of April 2005**;
- Publish a competition for writing textbooks by the **end of June 2005**;
- Apply new textbooks in the **2006/07 school year**;
- Provide training for teachers before the introduction of new textbooks.

These Guidelines will be published in the Official Gazette.

7. TECHNICAL STANDARDS OF A TEXTBOOK

Contemporary approach to teaching of History and a contemporary history textbook imply that:

- 7.1. Textbooks will be technically processed and designed in such a way to be available and convenient to many generations of students (stitched-through textbooks), as long as the same Curricula are valid;
- 7.2. Textbooks will be adaptable to pupils' age, whereas bigger format will be applied in lower grades, and smaller one in higher grades;
- 7.3. Total number of pages of text and annexes is determined by syllabus;
- 7.4. The cover page (covers – plastic-coated or hard) must be adequate to content, attractive;
- 7.5. Appendices in the textbook should be multicolored on printing paper;
- 7.6. Should contain author's biography as well as an introductory note;
- 7.7. Font, titles and sub-titles of themes and teaching units are designed in a way that reflects the layers of the subject matter;
- 7.8. Size, content and details of appendices are clear and appropriate to the text;
- 7.9. Where referred to by the author, appendices are properly incorporated in the text;
- 7.10. Font of captions is different from the font of the text itself;
- 7.11. Historical curiosities are distinctive with its font and background color;
- 7.12. Textbooks can be used both at school and at home;
- 7.13. Textbooks meet environmental standards, especially regarding colors and graphics, that are health-safe;
- 7.14. Textbooks meet contemporary European standards.

Conclusions:

1. The Commission has concluded that different points of views exist relating to certain historical contents in the curriculum and point 1.2. of the MoU which stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the reference point and recommends further work on harmonization of the curriculum, through development of standards in education.
2. Further steps should be taken towards harmonization of the concept of presentation of historical contents from national history (national history refers to the history of all constituent peoples and national minorities who have lived and continue to live in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina).
3. Guidelines for the subject of History should be reflected in the subject of Nature and Society.