Exploring History Education in Primary Schools and its Impact on Students' Attitudes Toward Other Ethnic Groups in Divided Communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Author: Bora Besgul

Department of International Relations

Dissertation Supervisors

Almadi Sejla, Ph.D. and Kemenszky Ágnes, Ph.D.

Declaration:

I hereby declare that I am the author of the dissertation entitled 'Exploring History Education in Primary Schools and its Impact on Developing Attitudes Toward Other Groups in Divided Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina.' I duly marked out all quotations. The used literature and sources are stated in the attached list of references.

Budapest, August 2023   Signature of the student
                                                          Bora Besgul

Corvinus University of Budapest
Doctoral School of International Relations and Political Science

International and Security Studies

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Doctoral Dissertation

Bora Besgul

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Reflecting on my time at Corvinus University and in Budapest, I am grateful for the unforgettable experiences that have enriched my academic and personal growth.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BiH	Bosnia and Hercegovina
RS	*Republika Srpska*
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
HDP	Humanitarian-Development-Peace
UN	United Nations
DPA	Dayton Peace Accords
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
USA	United States of America
EiE	Education in Emergencies
NDH	*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*
HDZ	*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*
HVO	Bosnia Croat Forces
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
OHR	Office of the High Representative
JNA	Yugoslavian National Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
SD	Standard Deviation
SDS	*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*
PIC	Peace Implementation Council

ABSTRACT

This study explores the complexity of history education in Bosnia and Herzegovina's primary schools, investigating its multifaceted influence on students' historical understanding and attitudes towards diverse ethnic communities. The research delves into the intricate interplay of in-school and external history learning sources, showcasing the evolution of students' understanding, favoured learning modalities, and prevailing perspectives. Utilizing a comprehensive methodology encompassing 345 structured surveys and 11 expert-based semi-structured interviews, the study unveils the crucial roles played by teachers, curriculum configuration, and external stimulus in shaping historical consciousness. The study's findings diverge from conventional expectations, revealing a nuanced narrative: the potential of history education, in its ethnically tailored form, and to subtly shape students' perceptions. The emergence of documentaries as influential conduits for historical information, alongside the amplification of social media platforms and the rapid expansion of the internet, reflects a transformative shift in the educational landscape. This shift underscores the urgency of recalibrating pedagogical strategies and curricula to harness these emerging trends that can foster profound historical understanding, empathy, and unity within the intricate diversity of ethnically divided communities. This research contributes substantively to ongoing dialogues surrounding history education's role in divided societies. By engaging directly with students' viewpoints, this study informs educational policies that aspire to nurture agreement, inclusivity, and a comprehensive grasp of the past as building blocks for a harmonious future.

Keywords: Deeply divided societies, history education, Bosnia and Herzegovina, students' attitudes

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Choice of the topic and its justification

No single authority or organization defines what constitutes a historical fact. Still, it is widely accepted as true information about past events, people, or things, and it is backed up by evidence like primary sources, eyewitness accounts, and other types of documentation. But it is important to remember that bias or ideology can change how historical facts are interpreted and presented. Szentes (2013) states: "Science does not exist without the assessment of facts, the collection and use of data. However, the facts can be suppressed or distorted, the data can be mixed up in many ways, and the indicators made from them can be used to simplify and even falsify the representation and explanation of the complicated and changing reality" (Szentes, 2013, in Almadi, 2023). Therefore, thinking about what historical facts entail is critical, considering where the information came from and the presenter's potential biases (Loewen, 2018). Accordingly, verifying historical facts requires assessing the credibility of primary and secondary sources and analysing them in the context of the time and culture in which they were created.

History education and historical facts are inextricably linked because history education aims to construct an understanding on what happened in the past and what it all means (Wineburg, 2001). Historical facts serve as the foundation for historical consciousness, which entails acknowledging the role of history in shaping our world and how we perceive and interpret it (Angvik & Borries, 1997, 41; Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 2004, 1-27; Bender, 2010). Therefore, history education lays the groundwork for interpreting historical facts and recognizing patterns and trends. However, in divided societies, history education is often under the influence of politics, and historical facts are frequently manipulated in many ways to serve ethnic narratives[1] that are politically designed to establish and reinforce ethnic identity, to create a shared history among members of an ethnic group or community (Bakić-Hayden, 1995, 837-858; Rasmussen, 1997, 18-36; Odo,

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[1] Ethnic narratives refer to the stories, myths, and histories based on an ethnic point of view.

1985, 9-23), and, eventually, to set the stage for developing some kind of attitude toward other people, groups, or countries.[2]

Ethnic narratives can be learned from the official version, taught in state-run schools, or from many other places, such as parents, peers, books, the media, the internet, social media, cultural institutions (like museums, theatre, radio), etc. These narratives are closely related to politically constructed social identities and self-awareness and membership in a particular group (Brubaker et al., 2006; Tajfel and Turner,1979, 33-47). According to Van den Berghe (1990), ethnic narratives are essential in constructing social identities because they help define the boundaries between different groups and establish a sense of belonging. "Ethnicity is not a given, but rather a socially constructed category that emerges through interactions among people with different cultural backgrounds" (Van den Berghe, 1990, 972-984). In post-conflict recovery communities, history education of the school systems is significantly exposed to interventions of fluid political interests that include considerably simplified or biased ethnic narratives, causing intergroup tensions and maintaining negative attitudes among contending groups. In Bosnia, Čehajić-Clancy (2013) and, in Sudan, the International Crisis Group (2012) find that the school system is often used to reinforce negative stereotypes and maintain power imbalances, which can contribute to ongoing conflict and tensions. (Čehajić-Clancy & Delić, 2013; International Crisis Group, 2012). Additionally, textbooks and teachers, as well as school material, can influence and shape diverse narratives that maintain negative attitudes along generations (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1986; Keddie, 1971)[3].

The strong link between history education and the perpetuation of negative attitudes among contending groups can be best observed in deeply divided societies (Horowitz, 1985; Ron, 2003), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), a country with a long and complex history of ethnic conflict, stands out as one of the best examples among them. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian education system has utilized the ethnic narratives of communities. Accordingly, Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs learn historical facts through different education

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[2] Most of their embodiments are negative. Prejudices, stereotypes, discriminations, hostilities, aggressions, exclusions, segregation, fears, and suspicions are all examples of negative attitudes.
[3] Anderson (1991), Gellner (1983), and Smith (1986) are given for references to the importance of textbooks, while Keddie (1971) is given for the teachers.

systems[4] that reflect their respective cultural and political backgrounds, reproducing ethnic and/or religious cleavages and increasing social distance between groups (Besgul, Ozoflu, 2019, 8-9), resulting in a lack of shared understanding.

In 2019, Canton Sarajevo's Education Ministry introduced the additional subjects of the "Siege of Sarajevo (April 1992 to February 1996)" and the "Genocide in BiH (1992-1995)" into history curriculum for the first time. This curriculum reform was possible after the Council of Europe Moratorium on teaching of the historical period of the Bosnian War was lifted.[5] Since then, new history subjects have also been introduced in the *Republika Srpska* (RS)[6] and other cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH). These subjects have become highly controversial within civil society, academia, and the international community and raised concerns of lack of multiperspectivity in history education, inadequate teacher training, and politicization of curriculum subjects (Balkan insight, 2019 and 2020). This has not helped develop a standardized approach[7] to history education countrywide. Moreover, it is likely that it intensified the deep-rooted tendency of one-sided history teaching, which divides the actors of the War in BiH deliberately into victims as "we" and perpetrators as "they." Finally, it is not yet known how the curriculum reform will affect in the long- term the current generation of students in the country, influencing, therefore, the political future of BiH.

Most literature in the field concerns ethnically based educational reforms, religious instruction, textbooks, and separate classrooms. Paulson conducted an up-to-date systematic review of history education literature on recent and ongoing conflicts in 2015. Accordingly, many studies in history education use textbook analysis (Al-Haj, 2005; Bar Tal, 1998; Paulson, 2010b; Torsti, 2007; Young, 2010), while others use a hybrid approach (Oglesby,

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[4] The education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided along ethnic lines, with separate schools for Bosniak, Croat, and Serb children. Each group has its own curricula and textbooks that reflect their respective historical narratives.

[5] According to the Council of Europe in its 'Recommendation 1454 (2000) Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (April 2000), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe developed a moratorium on teaching the period 1992- 1995 in BiH until historians in BiH, with the support of international experts, could develop a common approach towards teaching this period in the classroom.

[6] BiH is a parliamentary democracy with a complex state structure that is based on the Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended the Bosnian War in 1995. The country consists of two entities, the FBiH and the RS, as well as the Brcko District, which is a self-governing administrative unit.

[7] Recommendation 1454 (2000) Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (April 2000).

2007; Paulson, 2010a; Sanchez Meertens, 2013; Staeheli & Stammer, 2013; Torsti, 2009). The limitations of textbook analysis as a research method have been convincingly argued, and this approach tells us little about how teachers and students learn about history (Worden, 2014). Authors interested in developed attitudes of students[8] in the literature of history education remain limited. One of the early precursors, Freire criticized the education system as it serves the interests of the oppressors, minimizes creative and critical thinking, and results in submissive attitudes (Freire, 1997). Authors such as Torsti (2003) focused on students through both narratives of the history textbooks and the historically constructed attitudes of youth in BiH; others, such as Besgul and Ozoflu (2018), elaborated on how ethnic and or religious fractures between communities were generated through the education system. Overall, historical narratives presented in schools and their reflection on students are often inadequate. Therefore, there is still a lot to learn about how the attitudes of primary school students toward history and other ethnic groups change after they receive history education in school.

Consequently, while this dissertation research considers the holistic context of BiH society, where adolescents develop attitudes, it is primarily concerned with determining how much history education in primary schools influences students' attitudes toward other groups in BiH[9]. To what extent history education and politics are important to them and what do they learn, their motivation, and what are their expectations, if any, when receiving these lectures. These are relevant questions to determine the impact of the school system in BiH on the country's political future, focusing on history education.

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[8] The research focuses mainly on 9th-grade primary school students when they learn for the first time about the Bosnian War and other groups in the country. It has been assumed that students of this age would provide the most valuable data on the impact of non-school history education sources and rapid changes in students' attitudes.

[9] The term "Bosnian" encompasses various elements related to the contemporary nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This includes referring to matters such as wars, populations, churches, and other aspects pertaining to the country's Bosnian and Herzegovinian regions. The term "Bosnian" is a convenient way to encompass the entire scope of the modern state and its diverse cultural, historical, and geographical components. When the term "BiH" is used, it refers to the country itself, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1.2. Relevance of the topic

The dissertation investigates the ethnically designed history education in schools (e.g., curriculum, textbooks, and teacher presentations) and its link with constructed historical understanding and negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups in the deeply divided society of BiH. In other words: Does the history lectures develop positive, negative, or neutral attitudes of students toward other ethnic groups in the context of various historical facts given in the schools. This has been done in a student-centered approach through the self-evaluation of the primary school students for their attitude and behavior after receiving lectures for the first time in school along with, in some cases, divided classrooms set by the recent last war. This study also intends to examine the prevalence of ethnic segregation and ethnic politics surrounding students outside of school settings to understand the impact of history education in schools. The following related research questions are examined after the research problems and gaps found in literature review:

1 How does history education in primary schools, including curricula, textbooks, and teachers' lessons, affect students' historical knowledge and attitudes toward other ethnic groups in the divided society of BiH?

2 How do primary students learn historical facts outside school? To what extent these sources are guiding them in developing historical understanding?

3 What are the most influential sources for primary school students to learn historical facts from?

The proposed focus of this dissertation research and its subsequent findings offer academically relevant and practical content in multiple ways. Firstly, by determining the influence of history lessons in public schools on students' understanding of history and attitudes towards other groups in BiH, it provides a significant contribution to the existing academic literature. Beyond the recent developments in the country, the limitations and need for academic research on this specific focus area have been repeatedly echoed by leading scholars (see Torsti 2003, 334-335; Cole and Barsalou 2006, 14-15; Paulson, 2015) and reconfirmed after expert interviews were undertaken between November to December 2022 to inform this dissertation.

Secondly, it provides a foundation for the design of well-thought political interventions in post-conflict countries to change the intensity of negative attitudes, fostering social cohesion among conflicting groups. Any considered intervention in history teaching toward social cohesion that this research aims to define in the communities of BiH opens an avenue for valuable change in the country and the region, making this research genuinely relevant for the Doctoral School of International Relations and Political Science.

Furthermore, the results of this research might serve the scholars who explore the nexus between education and conflict resolution/peacebuilding from the theoretical and practical point of view as well as broad interest networks, which include teachers, education experts, and policymakers who seek to build a peaceful society in deeply divided communities.

Lastly, this dissertation' findings have also the potential to inform the Humanitarian-Development-Peace (HDP) Nexus programs of international organizations operating in BiH, mainly by the United Nations (UN) agencies.

1.3. Outline and structure of the dissertation

This dissertation takes a deductive approach, which begins with a literature review focusing on the impact of history education in divided communities. Then it tests the implications of history education in BiH. It moves from general ideas to specific conclusions tailored to the BiH context after. The reasoning process from the general to the specific is known as deductive approach. It entails applying a theory or hypothesis to predict specific events or situations (Argenti, 2016). Weber also defines *deductive reasoning* as a method of reasoning in which "we infer particular propositions from general propositions which are already known or presumed to be true" in his book "The Methodology of the Social Sciences" (Weber, 1949, 101).

The second section of the dissertation is devoted to a thorough review of the relevant existing literature. The section covers research on teaching history that spans more than half a century. The chapter starts with the research panorama, where databases, sources, and

applied review methods are explained. Then, it continues with a main concept applied in this research as social and historical understanding, and then progresses to pertinent perspectives[10] that intersect with history education. The main theory applied in this research study is the historical constructivism,[11] which can offer a critical view of how history is taught in schools. It focuses on the fact that historical narratives are not objective accounts of the past but are social and cultural creations. Therefore, the inclusion or exclusion of historical events and figures, as well as their presentation to students, can be called into question by historical constructivism (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 1993, 305–324). After explaining how used philosophies fit with the research, the literature review then shows how studies on teaching history about the recent and ongoing conflict have changed and evolved over the past few decades. The importance of teachers in the classroom is emphasized, and the many ways that history can be taught in schools are discussed at length, from curricular studies to history textbooks. Peers, parents, cultural institutions, and the media, including social media, offer alternative ways to learn history. The chapter concludes with a discussion of works dealing with non-school history education sources and the impact of changing attitudes on students' lives. As information technologies have developed, the role of the internet, including digital media, in history education has received greater attention than in earlier works. Numerous scholars have investigated this field by questioning how the internet and social media influence students' history learning. The studies and arguments of Wineburg & McGrew (2017), Journell (2016), Azevedo & Zumbo (2017), Clark (2016), and others are included in this component of the review. In general, the thorough literature review of the research focuses on the questions "How and to what extent the school education affects the students' attitude toward other groups?", "What is the role of teachers?", and "Where do primary school students learn about historical facts and other groups?".

More than three and a half years of brutal ethnic conflict ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA), which came into force in 1995, outlining the aims of ending the conflict and reconstructing the BiH State. However, the DPA made no specific

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[10] Social and historical constructivism, theory that this research works with, are given more weight in this study than other perspectives in history education literature.
[11] To avoid any possible confusion with social constructivism, it is necessary to explain that historical constructivism is a subcategory or grade of social constructivism primarily used in this study.

educational arrangements. Therefore, there are thirteen education ministries in the country, with no effective mechanism created to coordinate education policies between them. Investigating all the constituent groups, one should notice that political narratives of ethnic communities have been used in the educational system, which reproduces the ethnic and/or religious cleavages between communities and increases the social distance among groups (Besgul, Ozoflu, 2019, 8-9). The second chapter starts with a subchapter examining the past and present BiH, which sets the scene for the divisive education system the country is suffering from today. It emphasizes the deficits in curriculum, textbooks, and teachers' presentation and the recommendations of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe. The research claims that the essence of the whole ethnic narratives is hidden in the education system, which explicitly reveals the core of the conflict (Besgul, Ozoflu, 2019, 8-9). It critically reflects on the ongoing debates in the field regarding the education policies in deeply divided societies.

At the primary school level, there needs to be more research that looks at the different ways that students learn about history. This dissertation attempts to close that knowledge gap and provide a foundation for future studies that examine the role of non-formal and informal history education in shaping students' historical perspectives and attitudes. Therefore, the second subchapter draws the methodological choice of the research and its justification after research objectives and research questions identified based on research problems and gaps in the literature. The sampling and targeting strategies and approaches have been formulated given the realities set by the entity-based political system inherited from the DPA. Accordingly, the data collection and analysis were based on quantitative research with primary school students in BiH. The minimum sample size was calculated by the formulae given in the subchapter, and entities/canton-level education ministries were contacted to provide permission for school visits and questionnaires with students. Networks of researchers in those areas were used to complement and support the research, including researchers from the University of Banja Luka in the RS. The study followed a maximum variation and heterogenous approach by including various ethnic groups in the country.

The second chapter starts with detailed empirical investigation on BiH, including historical and political background of the country, education system, textbooks, focusing where BiH stands in the reviewed literature and why this investigation is important in BiH's context. Once the research gaps and problems have been identified in the literature, the methodological choice and research design is explained in the later section of the chapter. Sampling and targeting strategy have been explained, chosen data collection method with its justification have been clarified with its advantages and disadvantages. Accordingly, this research employed a mixed model design from Creswell (2003, 2008). Quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously in this study, and the results of these comparisons were analyzed for similarities and differences. In Creswell's taxonomy, this data collection and analysis method falls under the "concurrent triangulation approach," which is explained in this chapter.

The data collection and analysis are included in the fourth chapter of the dissertation. The study used 345 fully structured interviews with students (quantitative research) and 11 semi-structured interviews with experts in FBiH and RS (qualitative research). Experts have been asked about the students' school conditions, their relationships with other ethnic groups, and history education in BiH in general. The research shows that the role of teachers in schools is most likely affecting how students learn about history and how they feel about other ethnic groups. This is because students said that they trust their teachers more than any other source. Accordingly, it seems that adequate training for teachers is a good way to change people's negative views of other ethnic groups if that is what is wanted. Many different historical teaching sources were researched, and their political and social relevance were assessed.

Table A – Structure of the Dissertation

2 Literature Review **a) Research Panorama**	How this study searched for sources to review, the number of sources reached, the databases utilized, and the keywords and terms employed are explained in this chapter.	Multiple strategies were used to gain access to relevant literature.
Literature Review **b) Philosophies and Approaches**	The topics of social and historical constructivism, education for peace and transitional justice, social representations, historical consciousness, social identities, and history politics are discussed under this chapter	Conceptual framework
Literature Review **c) History Education in Post-Conflict Communities**	This chapter provides an explanation of the role that the curriculum, textbooks, and teachers play, as well as the influences these factors have on students. The discussion regarding the impact of both in-school and extracurricular history education can be found scattered throughout the chapter	Context and conceptual framework
3 Methodology and Research Design **a) A brief introduction to the country case**	The chapter briefly explains the country's historical and political background, as well as its education system, textbooks, with the aim of linking the BiH case with the research gaps and problems identified in the literature reviewed in the previous chapter	Context
Methodology and Research Design **b) Research Objectives, Sampling and Targeting Strategies, Methodological choices**	The research design, sampling and targeting strategies, and methodological preferences have been provided based on research objectives under this sub chapter	Methodology and Research Design
4 Data Collection **Data Analysis**	The data collection and analysis sections are meant to explain how data is collected and give an in-depth look at the conditions that students face in school and how they feel about other ethnic groups because of what they have learned in history education. This chapter also includes information on the survey and semi-structured interviews.	Quantitative and qualitative research

5 Results	This chapter contains the research's findings and conclusions. After the results were presented, the findings were evaluated.	Results and Conclusion
6 Conclusion **a) Evaluating the results in a wider extent**	The theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions have been presented in the conclusion's second subchapter. Finally, the final subchapter discusses the research limitations and future directions.	
Conclusion **b) Contributions of the study**		
Conclusion **c) Limitations and future directions**		

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Research panorama

The research employs a deductive approach to determining the impact of history education on divided communities. It progresses from broad concepts to specific conclusions tailored to the BiH context, and it employs a hypothesis to forecast specific events or situations after finding the research gaps and objectives.

The dissertation research began with an interest in investigating the impact of history education in schools on students' history understanding and attitudes toward other groups in ethnically divided communities. With three ethnic curricula, thirteen education ministries, and no effective mechanism in place to coordinate education policies, BiH appears to be a prime example among divided communities of exploring how history education has been presented in the education system. The research seeks to understand students' attitudes and behavior after receiving a politically designed curriculum, textbooks, and teacher presentations. It also investigates other indicators for the various ways students learn historical facts and develop an attitude toward other groups in the country by analyzing students' exposure to numerous sources of information.

To reach this goal, the research identified guiding questions related to history education in a broader context (before the detailed investigation in the BiH's system), focusing on the questions "How and to what extent does the school education affect the students' attitude toward other groups?", "What is the role of teachers?", and "Where do primary school students learn historical facts and other groups?"; and key words "education in deeply divided societies", "history education in divided communities", "impact of school history education", "role of teachers in teaching historical narratives", and "sources that students learn historical facts". Accordingly, the preliminary research started through systematic source screening in academic databases (EBSCO, JSTOR, ScienceDirect, Sage Journals, Web of Science, Taylor & Francis online etc.) and in library catalogs both in Hungary and BiH to reach the cutting edge of knowledge in history education literature,

targeting to cover most of the deeply divided societies across the globe, including Guatemala, Peru, Rwanda, South Africa, Yemen, Cyprus (North), Cyprus (South), Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, and BiH. The source screening process could identify 188 relevant sources to examine, which have been incorporated into the bibliography section.

High volume of primary and secondary sources have been collected and later consolidated in classified sections with the following titles to be examined.

1 Education in post conflict communities
2 History textbooks
3 Teachers in school system
4 Transitional justice, democratic transition in post-war reconstruction
5 Single and multi-perspective narratives in school system
6 Propaganda
7 Role of parents in history education
8 Curriculum design
9 Education and peace building/conflict resolution
10 Peace education
11 Memory of politics, using history for political purposes
12 Collective memory
13 Outside of school learning

Furthermore, an up-to-date systematic review of history education literature on recent and ongoing conflicts that Paulson conducted in 2015 has been utilized by this research to analyze issues and problems broadly. Accordingly, many studies in history education use textbook analysis (Al-Haj, 2005; Bar Tal, 1998; Paulson, 2010b; Torsti, 2007; Young, 2010), while others use a hybrid approach (Oglesby, 2007; Paulson, 2010a; Sanchez Meertens, 2013; Staeheli & Stammer, 2013; Torsti, 2009). The limitations of textbook analysis as a research method have been convincingly argued, and this approach tells us little about how teachers and students learn about history (Worden, 2014). Therefore, this dissertation focused more on the attitudes of students as it remains a limited area in the literature of history education.

The strategy of the literature review is based on the objective of exploring the history education in primary schools in deeply divided societies and its impact on developing attitudes toward other ethnic and religious groups. Titles given above were found to be the most studied issues in the literature of history education. Therefore, the literature review has been searched and reviewed for each of the titles to define research problems and gaps in the field. While doing that some of the theoretical approaches and philosophies have also been considered, such as historical constructivism, by asking the question whether there is an association between historically constructed facts lived in a community and history lessons in the classrooms.

Following a general literature review, this study focused on how history is taught in BiH. It is important to note that the subject is complex in nature given the strong political ties with how curriculum design, history and religion lessons, teacher training, and student separation are all inextricably linked in the country. Since the DPA, the country's education system has become one of the most controversial issues among the international community, groups, and neighboring countries. Nonetheless, the research has outlined the literature for BiH as follows:

1. History Education
2. History Textbooks
3. The role of teachers in history education
4. Politics and History education in BiH
5. Other History learning sources outside school.

The following section of the literature review looks at history education in schools, especially in post-conflict divided communities, and how it relates to historical consciousness, the memory of politics, transitional justice, propaganda, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, multi-perspective narratives in the school system, and collective memory. Subsequently, the study looks more closely at how students learn about historical facts and develop attitudes toward other groups outside the school setting, aiming to reach an investigation of the BiH education system, which will be linked to the methodology and research design section after the literature review.

2.2. Definition of relevant concepts

2.2.1. Deeply divided communities

Even though the divisions and disagreements are old as humankind, the terms "deeply divided" and "deeply divided societies" and their characteristics are contested in the existing literature. The first definition of "deeply divided" originated in the book of Eric Nordlinger, in which he states that the term can be used with the meaning of "vertically segmented" and "communally divided" (Lustick, 1979). Lustick also debates that a divided society results from the "boundaries between rival groups." These are visible enough so that membership is clear, and with a few exceptions, "fixed". Succeeding scholars are interested on the terminology "deeply divided societies." Lederach refers to Wallenstein and Axell to define divided societies as "societies experiencing armed conflict at one of the three levels." According to Wallenstein and Axell, armed conflicts are categorized into three levels: minor, intermediate armed conflicts, and war (Lederach, 1997). Ultimately, the definition of Guelke has been accepted in the literature as the most integrated definition since it incorporates all the former definitions as well as the political and social aspects: "where conflict exists along a well-entrenched fault line that is recurrent and endemic, and that contains the potential for violence between the segments" (Guelke, 2012).

Most of the tensions in deeply divided societies have a trend to develop from two battling groups but not three or more.[12] Nevertheless, examining the BiH case seems to be unusually opposed to the common assumption of other cases around the globe in which assumes that the existence of more than two groups tends to militate against polarization as Guelke claimed in "Politics in Deeply Divided Societies" (Guelke, 2012). In this sense, the case of BiH is an uncommon example of societal polarization.

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[12] Iraq is another case of the three-fold division. The country's division is based on disputes among Shi'a Arabs, Sunni Arabs, and Kurds.

2.2.2. Historical fact(s)

No one source defines what a historical fact is because it depends on the context and special historical, political, and social characteristics of a given society. Nevertheless, according to the Oxford Dictionary of History, a historical fact is "a datum of history whose truth or accuracy is undisputed." Accordingly, historical facts are events, people, and circumstances that historians believe occurred in the past and are generally accepted as accurate representations of what happened. They are based on primary and secondary source documents, artifacts, and eyewitness accounts (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021).

In historical education literature, facts about the past are significant for understanding what happened. They help students learn how to analyze history and think critically by letting them investigate the causes and effects of historical events and find patterns and trends over time.

However, it is important to stress that everyone does not always agree upon historical facts, which can be interpreted and changed. Szentes (2013) states that the science does not exist without factual evaluation, data collection, and analysis. Nevertheless, facts can be suppressed or distorted, data can be manipulated in various ways, and the indicators derived from them can be used to simplify, if not falsify, the representation and explanation of a complex and changing reality (Szentes, 2013 in Almadi, 2023). New evidence, perspectives, and ways of looking at things can make people question what they thought they knew, leading to changes in widely accepted historical facts. As a result, historical education literature should encourage students to be open to new evidence and perspectives as they learn and grow, rather than just teaching them what is currently accepted as historical fact.

The use of historical facts in divided communities appears to be an essential issue to investigate, especially when considering the field of ethnohistory[13]. Historical facts can

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[13] Ethnohistory is an interdisciplinary field of study that combines parts of anthropology and history to examine the historical experiences, cultures, interactions, and identities of certain ethnic groups or communities. It tries to figure out how cultural practices, social dynamics, and historical events have affected these groups' growth and change. Ethnohistorians often use written records, oral traditions, material culture, and other sources to piece together the past and learn about the complex relationships between societies and

become distorted in divided communities due to political, cultural, or ideological differences, often resulting in the selective interpretation of events that align with particular group narratives. When a community is divided, each group interprets historical events and figures to support its beliefs and values, resulting in a distorted or incomplete view of the past. One common way historical facts become distorted in divided communities is through selective use of evidence. People are more likely to seek information confirming their beliefs and values while ignoring or dismissing information that contradicts them. When important facts and perspectives are excluded from a community's collective memory, it can lead to a distorted understanding of the past (Kahan, 2015). Another factor that can lead to the distortion of historical facts in divided communities is the politicization of history. Political leaders and movements frequently use history to legitimize their agendas and mobilize supporters. So, they may put too much emphasis on some events or people and not enough on or ignore others, giving a distorted view of history (Connerton,1989).

2.2.3. History Education

History education refers to the teaching and learning of past events, figures, and movements in a particular society or geographic region. Although it entails teaching students about the past through various methods such as textbooks, lectures, discussions, and interactive activities, history education can also utilize museums and historical sites, the media, community organizations, and online resources to teach historical facts outside of the classroom.

Students learn historical facts in a variety of ways that history education can be delivered:

– **Textbooks**: For students, textbooks are a traditional source of historical information. According to the National Council for Social Studies, textbooks are a common tool for teaching history in schools. "Textbooks are a primary source of historical content knowledge," they write in their publication, "The College,

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their historical contexts. This method helps people learn more about how ethnicity, culture, and history affect each other.

Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards" (NCSS, 2013, 27). Furthermore, "textbooks continue to be the backbone of historical learning in most classrooms" (Sam Wineburg, 2001). "History textbooks continue to be the most commonly used tool in schools for conveying knowledge about the past" (Keith Barton & Linda Levstik, 2004, 66).

– **Lectures**: Students can learn about the past through lectures given by teachers or guest speakers. This method ensures that information is communicated to students in a clear and structured manner (Karpicke & Roediger, 2008, 966-968). The ability to transmit information to many students is a significant advantage of lectures in history education. Furthermore, lectures can allow students to analyse primary sources and develop critical thinking skills (Al-Hassan, F. M. A., et al. 2014).

– **Primary sources (documents, photographs, artifacts)**: Diaries, letters, photographs, and other artifacts from the period being studied are examples of primary sources. Students can better understand the historical context and develop critical thinking skills by analysing primary sources. There are many benefits to using primary sources in history classes because they give students a first-hand account of events and fresh perspectives. According to Richard Marzano, students gain a unique perspective on historical events by reading primary sources written or spoken by those who experienced them (Marzano, 2003). In addition, primary sources can help students learn how to analyse and interpret historical data. As John Biggs points out, primary sources encourage students to question the reliability and bias of various historical accounts (Biggs, 1999).

– **Interactive activities**: Students can learn historical facts through interactive activities such as role-playing, simulations, and games. These methods allow students to have a more immersive and memorable experience with history. A study published in Theory and Research in Social Education states, "Interactive activities can help students develop a more insightful understanding of historical events and figures by encouraging them to consider multiple perspectives and explore different outcomes" (Doolittle & Hicks, 2003, 72-104).

– **Museums and historical sites**: People can learn about historical events outside the classroom by visiting museums and other historical sites. "Museums and other cultural institutions play an important role in providing the public with access to historical artifacts and information and can serve as effective educational resources for learners of all ages," according to a research article published in the Journal of Museum Education (Falk & Dierking, 2016). Golding investigates the significance of visiting museums and other historical sites for learning about the past outside of the classroom in her book titled "Learning at the Museum Frontiers: Identity, Race, and Power." Golding argues that people can learn more about the past and gain a more profound appreciation for historical artifacts by exploring museums and other historical sites on their own. Golding argues that cultural institutions like museums and historic sites are essential for fostering intergroup understanding and compassion (Golding, 2016).

– **Documentaries**: History can be taught outside of the classroom through documentaries and other media. Documentaries are discussed in the book "Teaching History with Film" as a means of capturing students' attention and giving them a more accurate representation of historical events. The book's central arguments concentrate on the importance of using films alongside other historical resources to provide a well-rounded education, as well as the power of films to foster empathy and emotional engagement with historical events (Marcus et al., 2010). Students can benefit from watching documentaries outside the classroom because they offer a visual and exciting way to learn about historical topics (McCulloch, 2004).

– **Political groups targeting students outside the schools**: There are several ways in which political groups in deeply divided communities can shape the historical perspectives of primary and secondary school students. First, political groups may highlight the past in ways that support their ideology or narrative while minimizing or omitting evidence that contradicts it. Because of this, students may only learn about one side of history, which can limit their learning (VanSledright, 2014). Second, political groups in polarized communities may influence or organize historical commemorations, public events, and rallies to

promote their own versions of history. Students' understanding of history can be shaped through the power of collective memory, and these occasions can serve as reinforcement for their interpretations of the past (McDowell & Braniff, 2014).

– **Online sources (websites, podcasts, social media)**: Today, online sources can play an essential role in how students learn historical facts. However, it is essential to note that not all online sources provide accurate and reliable information. Students must learn how to evaluate online sources critically. For example, they must consider the author's credibility, publication date, website's purpose, and whether other sources support the information. "The Internet is an amazing tool for research, but it is also an amazing tool for misinformation, half-truths, and propaganda. It is important for students to develop critical evaluation skills to discern reliable historical sources from unreliable ones in the digital age" (Wineburg, 2018). On the risks of using social media to learn historical facts, "Social media can serve as an amplifier for historical misinformation. False narratives can spread rapidly, shaping public perceptions of historical events. It is crucial to be cautious and critically evaluate the sources and claims presented on social media platforms" (Starbird, 2019).

2.2.4. Social and historical constructivism

Social constructivism is understood as a theory of knowledge in sociology and communication theory that studies the understanding of the world and knowledge in general created by individuals jointly (Amineh, 2015). The first definition of the social constructivism – often based on Berger and Luckman's Seminal work (1991) – can be referred as "reality is generated as the object of the human cognitive processes, and thus easily leads to ontological relativism". Torsti (2003) states that social constructivism fundamentally stands on the understanding of "the conceptions, concepts, beliefs, and theories do not exist in a vacuum but rather as part of a social setting which includes institutions, laws, media discussions and so forth" (2003, 39). Research from Leeds-Hurwitz (2009) indicates the vital elements of the theory: (a) human beings rationalize their experience by constructing a model of the social world and how it functions; (b) the belief

in language as the essential system via which humans construct reality (2009, 892-895). Collin has criticized the idealist definition of Bergen and Luckmann and their followers, and instead, suggests adopting a more moderate constructivist view, which emphasizes that social reality essentially involves human thought (meanings given by people) as components and aspects of it. Yet the reality is seen as having components which are not human products, the reality is not only an object of human thought (Collin, 1997, 64-76; 219; 236). Besides Berger, Luckman, and Collin, Vygotsky's work can't be ignored, especially in the context of Social Constructivism and Education. Vygotsky (1978) states that knowledge is first constructed in a social context and only after internalized and utilized by people (Seçken and Alsan, 2011b, 235-240).

On education, some scholars in the literature on social constructivism suggest that constructivism and social constructivism aim to find solutions to traditional learning and teaching (Moore & Piaget, 1971; Perkins, 1991; Vygotsky et al., 1978). According to McMahon (1997), learning is not only limited to an individual, nor is it passively developed by external forces. Social Constructivists emphasize that reality cannot be discovered because it did not pre-exist before their social invention. Other constructivist scholars agree with this and highlight that individual make meaning through their interactions and environment.

The study brings historical constructivism, one form or grade of social constructivism, to explore whether there is an association between historically constructed facts live in the community and history lessons in the classrooms, which is one of the main foundations of this research. Historical constructivism claims that the properties that make a group of people a race are specific historical properties of the individuals that belong to that group. "When these historical properties are understood as social properties, it is clear that this account of race counts as a version of social constructivism" (Diaz-Leon, 2015). Students' attitudes in question are understood as historically constructed during social processes, including school and family settings. Hacking suggests that the ideas are not sourced from those processes but as unexpected results of historical events (Dupre and Hacking, 2000). Accordingly, the content of a historical fact taught in schools has not occurred as part of a logical historical cycle but because of unexpected historical processes.

Thus, the concept of historical facts and the presentation of other groups that students learn from various sources analyzed in this research are constructed through different social contexts in changing times. For example, the presentation of Serbs in the BiH's community and the developed attitude towards them is a result of the intricate social context today and the various processes it has experienced over time, based on new historical information and significantly changing political situations.

The idea of 'historical facts' entails concepts, definitions, theories, attitudes, etc., that deliberately contain a collective. Collin (1997) states that agents form social facts within social settings. "Agents may include individuals, groups of people, or collective agents such as associations, societies, political parties, and so forth". Regarding history education, historical facts may be constructed by agents as schools, teachers, parents, peers, TV/Media, etc.

Another approach contributing to attitude development cases can be tracked through the social reconstruction theory introduced by Brazilian author Paulo Freire. According to Freire, students are viewed as empty accounts to be filled by teachers. Students are passive takers of the knowledge given by the education system and teacher presentations. The system attempts to control and create desired thinking and action to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system. Freire also states that the education system serves the interests of the oppressors, for it minimizes the creative and critical faculties and results in submissive attitudes (Freire, 1997). In parallel, Hill (2006) stated that Freire believes for oppressed peoples to participate in a pedagogy that entails freedom and humanization, they must develop awareness and an understanding that they have been hosts of the oppressors (Hill, 2006).

An intergroup discrimination and segregation is often one of the crucial challenges in deeply divided societies. This study utilizes the main inspirations of the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner (1979). Social identity means individuals' self-concept originating from their awareness of their membership of a social group or groups to which emotional significance and value attached (Tajfel, 2010). Social identity is constructed through the process of individual's self-identification with other members of a certain group. The groups by which the individuals are affiliated are regarded as the source of their

positive self-evaluation. (Coymak, 2009) The differentiation is highly hinged on the process of the construction of an ingroup and outgroup in which historical consciousness play an important role.

2.2.5. Peace education in divided communities

While sociologists and policy analysts have long understood *peace education* to be a contextual phenomenon, more needs to be known about the significance of history teaching in peacebuilding. Previous research by Johan Galtung has indicated that peace education has developed less during the last decades, particularly in contrast to the considerable advances made in peace and peace action (Galtung, 2008).

On the other hand, the newly growing peace education was described for first time by Ian Harris and John Synott in 2002. Peace education is the desire for peace, aiming for non-violent alternatives for managing skills through critical structural design analysis that produces injustice (Harris, 2002). Additionally, other works should be considered while investigating peace education. Vriens (2003) argues that governments should focus on creating new community structures, which can organize a social climate that can lead society to a culture of peace and non-violence. Additionally, Blénesi points out that reaching a robust and influential culture of peace requires humanistic education, intercultural learning, and arts that train creative, imaginative, and critical children (Blénesi, 2003).

In his research, Blénesi positions peace education as an emerging academic field. He questions the key challenges and obstacles that the field of peace education has to face in the future to find its new place among other disciplines and approaches. In his research, he formulates how to replace military culture with a peace culture. How to convince policymakers and educators to put resources into supporting peace education? How to produce research that demonstrates the value of teaching young people to behave peacefully? How to develop peacebuilding strategies in our schools? To conclude, he provides some recommendations, especially for peace educators. Correspondingly, peace educators can efficiently tackle these challenges. Their methodologies and content might be

at the centre of the education discussion about how to develop school performance and best use education to create a better future.

The freedom of religion and the right to receive an education as fundamental human rights became a highly controversial topic in the BiH context (Russo, 2000). Russo examines the role of religion in public schools by comparing the before and after the war in BiH. He shares the concern that in the religious domain by stating that establishing a long-term, peaceful integration of religion into BiH's schools is a difficult attempt. The solution would be possible if individuals could work together regardless of their religious and ethnic background; they would create a school system representing an initial toleration model.

The existing literature needs to give more attention to the importance of history education in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. However, this study claims that well-structured and well-targeted government interventions in history education at BiH's primary school level would significantly contribute to building sustainable peacebuilding in its deeply divided community, unless it misses the basics of human rights.

Cole and Barsalou, in their article "Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict" discusses schools as "Social Transmitters." "Schools transmit national narratives about the past; they also constitute the site of many past and present inequities" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006). Curriculums may have hidden agendas that include or exclude different ethnic groups. Schools should promote active citizenship, and history should be taught in a way "that inspires young people to believe in their ability to effect positive changes in society and contribute to a more peaceful and just future." (Cole, Barsalou, 2006) Cole and Barsalou emphasize that "history education should avoid marginalizing and demonizing groups. It should have two aims: to support democracy and mutual respect for the "other" and to include the histories of the formerly marginalized." Using history education in the mentioned way can support and help peacebuilding in deeply divided societies.

UNESCO launched the initiative *Culture of Peace* in 2000 when it declared it would be the "Year of Culture of Peace." The framework is integrated broadly into the Guatemalan educational system and society. Nevertheless, there is a limit to that phrase because it gives the impression that the cause of conflict in Guatemala was the *culture of*

violence. At the same time, it ignores the issues of why and how the armed movement began and how repressive practices evolved.

Some countries after a conflict may stop teaching history in schools, because of lack of agreement on what and how to teach (Cole & Barsalou, 2006).

2.2.6. Social representations – historical consciousness – history politics

The dissertation of Pilvi Torsti provides a great source of information, including theoretical and methodological understanding, as it possesses many similarities with the main problem of this current study. Further, it gives a solid scientific background that helps significantly set a scene within the field regarding the gaps in the literature revealed by her comprehensive work conducted in 2003. Her study not only explored how BiH adolescents' attitudes differ in three ethnic and religious groups, but also addressed the increasing phenomenon of otherness in the country after the September 11th attacks in the United States of America (USA). Torsti's research concentrated on the presented facts within the history textbooks and their impact on the developed attitudes of youth in BiH. Torsti utilized the 1995-96 Youth and History survey to reach its research aims since it could not be conducted as BiH was experiencing a bloody conflict among communities. In the research, Torsti tried to find answers to the following questions: How do adolescents living in nationally divided post-war BiH evaluate the past and the future? How does the thinking of Croats, Serbs, and Bosniaks differ? Or does it differ? How do the values of BiH's adolescents toward history in comparison with those of European youth? What have all forms of history been presented in post-war BiH? What presentations do young people learn from textbooks?" (Torsti, 2003).

In one of the articles in 2007, Torsti stated that the 9th-grade primary school textbooks used by three national communities represent "others" under enemy images, which serves to recreate barriers and hostility among ethnic groups. It maintains divided schooling and history teaching that significantly hinders the return of refugees to their pre-war homes in BiH. Besides, it presents a problem because families are discouraged from returning to areas controlled by other groups where children would be forced to learn history

from one perspective, which teaches that their ethnic group is guilty and the cause of the problem (Torsti, 2007). Moreover, the article discovers there has been considerable usage of "Us vs. Them" within the textbooks, which does not try to prevent the negative picture it draws. Furthermore, Torsti found that the educational divisions have remained through generations and still produce many difficulties in building a multicultural society (Torsti, 2009). Both Torsti's articles concluded with recommendations that list the possible solutions for problems caused by the educational division. Some recommendations worth pointing out are: (a) recognizing education as a security issue and giving political weight, which stresses the role of education as part of security considerations in the country; (b) recognizing education as a long-term development issue rather than a humanitarian crisis issue. Education planning must be done with a long-term focus on development rather than crisis management; (c) initiatives, evaluations, and analyses targeting education should be done on different levels concurrently; and (d) a common long-term understanding should be established to bring together all the international stakeholders (Torsti, 2009).

This current dissertation elaborates on the obstacles that hinder reaching an upper-level shared collective identity in BiH. In this regard, it claims that ethnic identities are firmly incorporated into the education system and portray other groups as murderers, rapists, and intruders, which facilitates the integration of the younger generations into the logic of ethnic politics. Correspondingly, that drags societies inevitably into hostility (Besgul, Nagy, Özoflu, 2018). It generates the ethnic\religious fractures between communities and, eventually, maintains the social distance between them (Besgul, Özoflu, 2018).

Another concept that must be explained is *social representations*. Social representations, conceptually, have its origin in Émile Durkheim's idea of collective representations. "The concept was used to differentiate collective and individual thinking. Members of a collective were perceived as sharing the representations related to their society: myths, traditions, legends, science, and religion. These representations defined their relation to time and place. Such societal representations are formed by individual members of the community or society but emerge collectively in the thinking and action of the community members. Thus, the representations explained the community's life" (Torsti, 2003). As the concept developed as part of the sociologist tradition, the main interest lay

constructing such representations rather than their dynamics (Moscovici, 1981). As social representations, it has understood a set of concepts, statements, and explanations constantly constructed in communications with constantly changing realities. Social representations are characteristically dynamic and require analysis (Moscovici, 1981). According to Hutchinson and Smith, an ethnic community should have a proper name, a myth that includes the idea of a common origin in time and place, shared memories of a common past or pasts, one or more elements of common culture – religion, language, and customs – and a sense of solidarity based on ethnicity (Hutchinson, 1994).

The work of Dan Fleming (1983) indicates that the schoolbook analyses utilize the approach of social representations, even though the author has not defined the concept itself. One of Fleming's studies analysed the presentation of the nuclear war in history textbooks. The analysis dates to 1983 when nuclear war seemed an unknown and new concept. Fleming summarised the issues related to nuclear war and stressed them, eventually constructing the social representations for nuclear war. Fleming concluded that history textbooks should have paid more attention to nuclear war (Fleming, 1983). Fleming's analysis of the coverage of the Vietnam war followed similar patterns. However, it concentrated more on the actual objective dilemma than analysing the nature of the presentations.

Another essential concept is *historical consciousness*, which has been differentiated among European scholars. Angvik and von Borries define historical consciousness as "a complex connection of interpretations of the past, perceptions of the present, and expectations of the future" (Angvik & Borries, 1997, 41). Torsti's explanation is also outstanding on this point. Historical consciousness can help to orientate oneself in time; knowing and understanding the past can help to comprehend the present and influence future expectations. Thus, historical consciousness is how people and communities deal with the past to understand the present and future. Historical consciousness links the past and the future and can construct a sense of continuity (Torsti, 2003). Ahonen (2013) suggests that aspirations need to comply with the nature of historical consciousness, which is based on, first, people recognising themselves as actors of history who can make the future and, second, they project future aspirations based on the experiences of the past (Ahonen, 2013, 90-103)

The final notion that the project introduces is **history politics**. Habermas defined the concept by referring to historians who had used all their skills, knowledge, and positions for political interests and attempted to explain Nazi Germany not as part of "Regular" German history but as an "Asian Act" which followed Stalin's persecutions (Torsti, 2003). Hentilä's definition of history politics emphasizes the necessarily dynamic and conscious nature of history politics; the use of history for specific purposes is deliberate. In the case of BiH's textbooks and history education, the concept of history politics is essential to shape and manipulate the desired thinking and behaviour. Torsti rightly mentions it history politics is about using the results of historical research, commonly held ideas, and conceptions of history or products of history culture to support and legitimize distinct arguments and aims in the current situation (Torsti, 2003).

2.2.7. Transitional justice

The approach surrounding transitional justice must be addressed while asking how history education might contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation in the country. Transitional justice's backward-looking, truth-telling, and justice-oriented principles potentially have a good entry point when considering history education. The literature on the nexus of transitional justice and history education emphasizes that reforms on both should be more connected rather than implemented separately, as there is an exceptional pedagogic value of the truth commission processes (Cole, 2007, 115-137; Oglesby, 2007, 77-98; Paulson, 2009).

Anderson Worden, in National Identity and Educational Reform in Contested Classrooms, claims that "history teaching is used as a tool by governments and international organizations to establish transitional justice and social reconciliation as well as to promote tolerance, peace, and stability in post-conflict states. History teaching can also be employed to perpetuate intolerance and conflict" (Worden, 2016). "History education should be understood as an integral but underutilized part of transitional justice and social reconstruction. It can support or undermine the goals of tribunals, truth commissions and memorials, and other transitional justice mechanisms" (Cole & Barsalou, 2006).

Cole and Barsalou state that "transitional justice processes, such as the establishment of truth commissions and legal tribunals, may be implemented to help a country try to construct new historical narratives." However, attention should also be given to history teachings in schools because truth commissions, tribunals, and memorials "can provide materials that even ethnic politics loaded governments cannot forbid the classroom contexts because they are officially sanctioned." Teachers can easily use them in the classroom; that process also takes students' attention. A good example is the report by the Guatemalan Historical Clarification Commission and accounts of trials of Argentine generals that history teachers in those countries have used (Cole, Barsalou, 2006).

While the truth commission constructed historical narratives started to be applied as the best option in some post-conflict country contexts in Guatemala (Cole, 2007, 115-137), Peru (Paulson, 2010, 327-364), and South Africa (Weldon, 2017, 442-461), in the Peruvian case, truth commission's report as the only source for textbook content on recent conflict caused a politicized debate about the legitimacy of the truth commission's process (Paulson, 2010, 327-364). Nevertheless, the considerable potential cannot be denied, if a more intentional collaboration could be reach between schoolteachers and actors in transitional justice (Paulson, 2015, 7-37). Overall, moving forward, a future-oriented nature of education creates possibilities for transitional justice results to be shared, debated, and understood.

2.3. History education in post-conflict communities

History education and its implications (curriculum, textbooks, teachers, and so forth) have been widely debated among scholars over the last three decades. "History education is neither a mere off-spring of academic history nor solely a political tool for those in power" (Ahonen, 2013, 90-103). In theory, what is expected from history education in schools is relatively unclear. The representations of glorification and victimhood are frequently reinforced by mythical narratives, whereas the deconstruction of these narratives is expected from history education with the goal of post-conflict reconciliation. It has been understood as a service to society that targets cultivating historical consciousness that connects future

aspirations to understanding past developments. Furthermore, history is important to build identity and the capability among pupils to judge and understand social and political issues. Much of the early work in the field highlights the necessity of engaging with curriculum issues in post-conflict countries (Buckland, 2005; Davies, 2003; Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2002; Tawil & Harley, 2004). How should history be taught in post-conflict countries emerges as an important focus for the field of research expanding education's relationship to conflict (McCully, 2012, 145-159).

The curriculum has remained the focus in history education of recent and ongoing conflicts until recently. One of the Education in Emergencies (EiE) research emphasizes what are the potential areas that history education can contribute to conflict-affected countries negatively. These include reinforcing sectarian and or ethnical identities, feeding negative attitudes, and offering stereotypical images of 'other,' and normalizing the victimhood or glorifying one group among others (Davies, 2004). In contrast, Davies believes that education can serve bringing a new normality in multiple ways: (a) peace education in schools; (b) conflict resolution training in schools; (c) trauma and counselling; (d) a new type of access for previously excluded groups. "Accountability, trust and transparency are important elements of democracy […] all these puts a heavy burden on education, first of all not to reproduce the elements which contributed to conflict in the first place and then to prepare for a new normality of cooperation across groups, critical literacy and active injustice" (Davies, 2004, 243).

Ahonen (2013) classifies the strategies on three case countries: Finland, South Africa, and BiH; class war, race conflict, and ethno-religious armed clash respectively. The research indicates that only South Africa provides an example of a determined effort to set a scene and an identity in terms of reconciliation, state promoted the reconciliation through memory politics and reform of the history education in classes. Finland and BiH failed to pave a way toward reconciliation through state promoted history education reforms.

Ahonen shared educational preconditions for a dialogue in the classroom toward creating a culture based on dialogue and recognition of the reciprocity of guilt and victimhood:

- A common arena for the dialogue, with the note that the segregated schools should be terminated toward this goal.
- Deconstruction of the mythical fortifications that serve to perpetuate hostile attributions of guilt and victimhood, which could be provided with critical and multiperspective platform of history.
- Deliberative classroom didactics that proved to train students to listen to each other's' changing views and arguments instead of defensive attitudes (Ahonen, 2013, 90-103).

As the effects of the last conflict in post-conflict countries remain rooted in the countries social, economic, and residential architectures, it also has strong influence over the education system. Building a new social identity based on citizenship entails leaving its history behind and building a new nation where the sides of the war are forced to live side by side. In the article of "For the Future of the Nation': Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa", Staeheli & Hammett states that "building a common narrative of citizenship to unite South Africa in its diversity relies upon strategies that ignore the legacies of the country's 'particular past', including social and spatial segregation and profound inequalities" (Staeheli & Hammett, 2013, 23). The challenge of teaching history under a common narrative is always a daunting initiative. Various analyses of the changes in history education after the conflict and as part of the reconstruction processes in places such as East Germany, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Estonia can all provide different arguments to the discussions of international community and easily portray that an easy one-size fits all solutions are never available (Ahonen, 1992; Spink, 2005, 195-207; Vongalis-Macrow, 2006, 99-113).

2.3.1. Curricular studies, models, and strategies in conflict affected countries

One of the coping mechanisms invented in history teaching is creating an imagined history which is purified from conflicting issues of the communities in the specific country. For example, Rwandan Government has come to recognize that if schools can be used to promote ethnic divisions, they can also be used to foster national unity. Therefore, the

Government initiated a curricular reform from the top down and adopted a content in history education for unity and reconciliation (Freedman et al., 2004, 248-266). Accordingly, Rwanda's 1994 genocide and the civil war are explained within the singular univocal narrative (Paulson, 2015, 29). In this narrative all the ethnic conflict presented as a manipulation of ethnicity and a legacy of colonial rule (Weinstein et al., 2007).

Philip Stabback (2007) discussed the possible curriculum models in divided communities and post-conflict countries. Stabback points out how a common curriculum framework would be beneficial in addressing identified deficiencies in existing curricula and contributing to societal renewal and development. In the BiH's case, despite the functioning of some central bodies with education responsibilities, such as the Ministry for Civil Affairs, the divided education governance system created significant obstacles to the establishment of a 'national' quality and access frameworks encouraging national unity and mobility. Stabback also emphasized that deciding possible curriculum options in an ideologically driven education system also posits a challenge (Stabback, 2007, 449-467).

"The revision of history textbook content is inextricably linked to larger political debates about which narratives of history are true" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 9). "Social consensus must be reached to ensure approval and adoption of history textbooks that break with old myths glorifying one group and demonizing others" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 9). Nevertheless, challenges for content agreement are inevitable. "First, political leaders, and many citizens as well, have a vested interest in retaining simple narratives that flatter their own group and promote group unity by emphasizing sharp divergences between themselves and other groups. They are highly resistant to histories that include the presentation of the other side's point of view" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 9). Much of the history depends on who is talking or writing about it. But "some truth does exist: the so-called forensic truths, the "who did what to whom" facts that human rights investigators seek to illuminate" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 9). Projects across the globe that explore the middle ground for the truth between two opposing ends are given somehow hope going further. In the "Scholars Initiative," Purdue University's historian Charles Ingrao is working with an international consortium from 26 countries in the Balkans, Western Europe. The USA is examining "contentious historical narratives relating to Yugoslav conflicts of the 1990s" (Cole,

Barsalou, 2006, 9). Historians are working on eleven controversial topics. Each team is co-chaired with Serb and non-Serb representatives. Ingrao thinks that "academic narratives must be consistent with the historical record before secondary-school history can follow suit and this can be achieved through serious scholarship" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 9).

Cole and Barsalou also identify seven significant challenges to revising history education programs:

- "Hidden agendas" and residual structures in schools that reproduce divisions even after violence ends.
- Insecure environments in which teachers feel unsafe to address controversial subjects.
- Ubiquitous politicization of the history curriculum.
- Negative influences outside school walls (the media, religious institutions, popular culture, parents, etc.) promoting conflict.
- Low priority of history education in contrast to focus on math and science.
- The short attention span of the international community.
- Inadequate efforts to measure long-term impact." (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 14).

2.3.2. History textbooks in divided communities

Besides curriculum-related issues, history textbook implications have drawn this study's attention. It has gained an acceleration after the dissolution of the Soviet Union as many are interested in how history textbooks portray the post-Soviet nation and national identity. For instance, the negative portrayal of the Russians started to emerge in post-Soviet designed textbooks in Ukraine "sends the political message that an independent Ukrainian state can only guarantee prosperity and freedom for the Ukrainian people" (Janmaat, 2007, 320). Another example from the region can be found in the Tajikistan context; post-soviet textbooks immediately after the independence started to portray neighbouring Uzbeks negatively (Blakkisrud & Nozimova, 2010). In these examples, one can notice that the "other" has historically suppressed the nation. Worden (2014) stated that "the new textbooks

define the nation in opposition to the "other" as a means of delineating the new nation and legitimizing its independence" (Worden, 2014, 1).

"Educational reform is controversial. Changes - even proposed changes - to curricula, textbooks, and other determinants of what is taught in a nation's classrooms excite heated discussion" (Worden, 2014, 1). Teaching a shared history is widely thought to seed national values, feed national social identity, increase social cohesion, and perpetuate a nation's narrative for generations to come (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1986). Worden (2014) states that national history fosters a sense of belonging, and citizens see themselves in that history (Worden, 2014, 1).

The political significance of history textbooks caught the world's attention just after the World War I, when the League of Nations introduced the idea of textbook revisions (Pellens, Siegfried, Sussmuth, 1994). The Youth and History of Europe Survey Project was the reason for the emerging interest in historical consciousness and historically constructed political attitudes of European adolescents in the middle of the 1990s (Angvik, Borries, 1997).

In the Moldavian case, developing a shared sense of national identity through the development of history textbooks is widely contested. The main concerns related to the reforms are due to over-professional status and distrust of the government's motivations, emphasizing that such efforts' success depends on teachers' and citizens' social memory and everyday lives. Scepticism about the government's motivation for introducing the new textbooks peaked even before they reached the classroom; teachers and students rejected them, claiming the government's motivation was not innocent. The distrust is based on the fear that the government's reform was a revival of the Soviet-era education policies, which had used the subject of history to promote a Communist ideology. Moreover, "the proposed state-centric narrative of the new books did not resonate with their everyday lives, their sense of belonging to a larger Romanian nation, and their "social memory" (Worden, 2014, 2). Many teachers did not even accept using the textbooks, and those who got them reported that books needed further improvement due to factual errors. "Ultimately, the old textbooks were reinstated six years later (Worden, 2014, 2).

Public schools are considered by politicians and the public around the world to be the "chief public institution for distilling and delivering moral values to the young" (Zimmerman, 2002, 214). Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) said that textbooks are used as a transmitter of official knowledge to students which knowledge has been vetted by historians and state" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Textbooks, in theory, represent who and what forms a nation and present a nation's official history. Nevertheless, history changes as a nation change; historical narratives must reflect and justify the continuous political changes of the country over time. For example, Freedman (2008) and Smith (2004) state that radical political transformations forced a change in textbooks of the newly democratic and post conflict states, such as Rwanda and Northern Ireland (Freedman et al., 2008, 663–690; Smith, 2004). Clark (2007) and Valls (2007) analyse the history textbooks that also reflect and relate changes within societies that are relatively more politically stable with multiple identities, such as Canada and Spain (Clark, 2007, 81-119; Valls, 2007, 155–174). "[…] changes may not be revolutionary, but they can nonetheless elicit controversy, and revision of the national story can likewise be a politically and emotionally charged affair" (Worden, 2014, 8).

Heike Karge, Ph.D., and Katarina Batarilo, M.A. from the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, examined the Modernization of History Textbooks in BiH in July 2008. Accordingly, they have revealed an urgent need to address textbook quality, particularly regarding the World War II history and beyond. Further, there is a definite need to develop textbook narratives relating to the end of Yugoslavia and the subsequent wars, which may contribute to introducing additional teaching materials adopted in 2018. Karge and Batarilo stated that "as long as national history is understood as all the history textbooks for the Curriculum of the nine-years of primary school education in the Croatian language as Croat history; as predominantly Serbian history in textbooks for the Curriculum for primary schools in the RS, and; in a few (but not all) textbooks for the Framework curriculum for the compulsory nine-years of primary education in the FBiH as predominantly Bosniak history, then any classroom dealing with periods of shared history will continue to be exceedingly difficult for both teachers and students" (OECD, 2017).

2.3.3. Role of teachers in history education

After years-long preliminary research, this study has explored that teacher may have a more significant influence in school over students in developing attitudes toward other groups and building historical consciousness than initially thought, in comparison to the history textbooks and curriculum. Extending the traditional textbook approach may provide a bit differentiated angle against previous studies reviewed. Accordingly, this research project emphasizes teachers' influence in history education and considers it a moderator variable in a school setting based on the hypothesis that decision-makers proved to be significantly influential in forming and controlling the textbooks and curriculums — including teachers' interpretations in the classroom. This study expected to find a rise/drop in developing attitudes through teachers' impact, increasing the independent variable's effect on the observed one. However, it was not surprising that the study found that teachers increase the independent variable's impact by intervening in the progress as an essential variable. This study is cognizant that answers given by teachers would be biased due to sociological, economic, and political concerns. Therefore, the qualitative data collection component has not only relied on the answer received from primary school teachers but extended it to experts from universities, international officers, and so forth.

It is proved through the survey and semi-structured interviews that teachers are extensively involved in the process of developing attitudes in which they can influence the intensity of the impact by promoting differentiated interpretations and making decisions on what to skip and focus on within the curriculum and course textbook. "Teachers' experiences and personal views influence their interpretations regardless of what is mandated in the textbook or curriculum (Keddie, 1971, 133-160). In this regard, the study has explored that 56% of Croatian-speaking primary students trust their teachers to the highest degree, while 47% and 32% of the Bosnian and Serb speaking students, respectively. Accordingly, students often believe that their teacher - not the textbook - is the authority and source of knowledge" (Luke et al., 1989). A considerable number of scholars believe that textbooks alone do not strongly influence students as teachers in class. "The success or failure of an effort to reshape national identity in the classroom does not depend solely, or even chiefly, on what is actually written in a history textbook; rather, it depends largely on

whether and how that textbook is used by teachers and received by students" (Worden, 2014, 3). One can notice that teachers are constantly excluded from studies on the role of education in nation-building (Bendix, 1996; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990). It can be predicted that when the state's vision of nation-building through history lessons conflicts with the interpretations/experiences of teachers, adopting and transmitting the national historical narratives would be difficult, if not impossible.

Many expectations from history education, including political and social goals, often appear after violent conflicts from history education after conflict, and "outside reformers." The international community have a high trend of expecting history teachers to serve as social change agents. At the same time, ethnic politics often remains to define what and how historical facts should be taught in classes (Cole & Barsalou, 2006, 2). Indeed, the pedagogy is essential in the history education-based social change goals. "Approaches that emphasize students' critical thinking skills and expose them to multiple historical narratives can reinforce democratic and peaceful tendencies in transitional societies emerging from violent conflict" Pedagogy often gets less attention than curriculum, which leaves teachers freedom in teaching. The missing role of pedagogy in reforms often causes failure, especially when resources are scarce (Cole & Barsalou, 2006, 1).

In general, numerous studies emphasize the importance of teacher attitudes, teachers' training, and the learning environment in addressing sensitive issues in the classroom. The main conclusion is that teachers play a critical role in fostering critical thinking, respect for diversity, and empathy for others. However, proper guidance is necessary to effectively manage sensitive issues in divided communities. Here are a few examples: R. K. Sawyer (2006) examines the impact of teacher preparation programs on teachers' ability to address controversial issues in the classroom (Sawyer, 2006, 126-137). The study of J. E. Levine and D. M. Green (2001) explores teachers' attitudes and practices when teaching sensitive issues and the factors influencing their decisions (Levine & Green, 2001, 259-266).

2.3.4. Peer relations and its impact over students

The study conducted surveys and interviews to reveal peer relations and affiliation with extreme groups (ethnic supporters, fan clubs, etc.) that affect students' attitudes toward other ethnic groups. The literature on peer relations suggests that positive peer relationships can expose students to various cultures, perspectives, and experiences by having diverse and inclusive social networks. That promotes positive attitudes toward other ethnic groups within diversity and cultural understanding. Otherwise, hostile peer relations could also build narratives that lead to negative attitudes toward groups living in the country. One of the studies in this regard finds that students with positive cross-ethnic peer relationships tend to have more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Delli Carpini, M. X., & Keeter, S. 1996). Students who experience social exclusion based on ethnicity are more likely to have negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. 1990). In conclusion, peer relationships appear to be essential in developing students' attitudes toward other ethnic groups.

Well-being is the realization of one's physical, emotional, mental, social, and spiritual potential. Well-being in schools encompasses various components such as health, happiness, safety, engagement in learning, and positive relationships with teachers and other students. There has been a trend between well-being in school, positive attitudes towards school and learning, and, eventually, better academic achievement (Durlak et al., 2011, 405-432). To this end, well-being has increased in an environment where bullying, harassment, violence, and physical punishment are discouraged. Thus, warm, friendly relationships could be developed, and equal opportunities would be provided to all students . (Awartani, Whitman, Gordon, 2007). Some scholars claim that disliking relations harm pupils in several ways: externalizing and internalizing problems, lower prosocial behaviour, fewer friendship relations, peer rejection, and victimization. (Card, 2010) Hence, it leads to a decrease in the well-being in school.

Homo-ethnicity may be an essential criterion for friendship decisions early in the acquaintance process (Jugert *et al.*, 2015). Most pupils have already developed stereotypes (McKown, Weinstein, 2003) and learn about existent ethnic cleavages in society (Phinney, 1993; Phinney, 1989; Smith *et al.,* 1999; Hamm, Brown, and Heck, 2005; Hitlin, Brown, and Elder, 2006; Rivas-Drake *et al.,* 2017). Also, peer groups are segregated mainly by

gender and ethnic lines (Clark, Ayers, 1992; Shrum, Cheek, and Hunter, 1988; Smith, Maas, and van Tubergen, 2014; Stark & Flache, 2012).

Previous studies on interethnic relations mainly discussed race and ethnicity as fixed features of students measured by racial or ethnic self-identification (Moody, 2001; Mouw & Entwisle, 2006; Quillian & Campbell, 2003) or the country of origin of the parents. (Baerveldt, 2004; Tolsma, 2013; Vervoort, 2010). How people classify themselves ethnically may differ from how others categorize people as members of ethnic groups (Boda & Néray, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Simonovits & Kézdi, 2014). Besides, both ethnic identification and classification might be shifting and changeable over contexts and time (Ladányi and Szelényi, 2006; Saperstein and Penner, 2012). Analyses of interethnic relations should distinguish between the effects of ethnic identification and classification and consider the fluid nature of both (Saperstein, 2006).

Pupils who do not accept the dominant group criteria might be rejected in the class, and those rejected are often victimized (Knack et al., 2012; Veenstra et al., 2010). Likewise, certain ethnic groups are more likely to bully or to be victimized than others (Fandrem, Strohmeier, and Roland, 2009; Strohmeier, Kärnä, and Salmivalli, 2011; Verkuyten, Thijs, 2002; Vervoort, Scholte, and Overbeek, 2010) and students having few or no friends (Faris & Felmlee, 2014; Hodges & Perry, 1996).

A few strategies that may contribute to the positive impact of peer relationships on attitudes toward other ethnic groups are given below:

– Cross-cultural friendship: Having close friends from other ethnic groups can contribute to individuals developing positive attitudes and reducing prejudice towards other ethnic groups (Delli Carpini, 1996).
– Cooperative learning: Working in diverse groups on a joint project or goal can foster mutual understanding/respect among peers from various ethnic backgrounds (Aronson et al., 1978, 243-266)
– Shared activities: Organizing and participating in cultural events and other activities with peers from diverse backgrounds can contribute increase appreciation and understanding of various cultures (Horn & Ward, 1994, 63-76).

– Role modelling: Observing positive interactions and relationships between peers from different ethnic groups can contribute to developing and encouraging similar attitudes and behaviours (Bandura, 1997).

2.4. Memory of politics – using history education for political purposes

In deeply divided communities, ethnic politics strongly influence how history is taught in schools. Hills (2005) provides an overview of how ethnic politics shape history teaching in divided societies, drawing on case studies from around the world to demonstrate the negative impacts such as political influence can have on social cohesion and inter-group relations. The author also discusses that to mitigate these negative effects, it is essential for history education to strive for a more nuanced and inclusive approach that recognizes the contributions of all groups (Hills, 2005, 5-22). This often occurs when one ethnic group seeks to glorify its history while downplaying the accomplishments of other groups, reinforcing ethnic divisions, and perpetuating negative attitudes.

In some cases, teaching history can become an instrument for political manipulation, with ethnic politicians using it to justify their policies or impose a particular ethnic or nationalistic agenda. On this front, the Central European University book edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček provides important findings. Accordingly, the nationalist historiography can have a deep impact on inter-ethnic relations and on the stability of the region. Overall, it has been found that these ethnic narratives are important to promote a more inclusive and democratic understanding of the past. Another finding comes from Andreas et al. (2004) that argues that teaching history can play a significant role in shaping national collective identity, which is shaped by political interests and power dynamics of the politicians. The history education is frequently influenced by the political agendas of the state which can channel negative or positive formation of national identity. The authors suggests that history education in schools should be critically examined in relevance to shaped narratives by political interests, and only after that a more inclusive and democratic approach can be adopted to the teaching of history (Andreas et al., 2004, 125-148). It has been found in the literature that the use of ethnic politics in history education can have

negative effects on social distance and inter-group relations and, therefore, it is significant for educators to strive for a more subtle, inclusive approach to teaching history.

The influence of decision makers in deciding how and what to teach has been recognized as an important criterion for post-war communities. As a special report published by United States Institute of Peace states: "How schools navigate and promote historical narratives through history education partly determines the roles they and those who control the schools play in promoting conflict or social reconstruction" (Cole, Barsalou, 2006, 1). The report claims that BiH could prefer to focus on civic and human rights education; however, although they initiated a debate on it, they still couldn't reach a consensus on what and how to teach the historical events. Accordingly, Bozic has furthered the study and investigated the influence of political actors with the concepts of "educational protectionism", "ethnically correct education", and "adequate education" along with a preliminary case study in a multi-ethnic school in Popov Most, located in Eastern BiH. The study also analysed the parents' attitudes for educational issues in school context such as language, religious teaching, and history (Bozic, 2006, 319-342).

The study finds that political dialogue to change the recognized deficiencies of the curricula presents a highly complex process because politicians of each of the communities viewed education as an area of intervention based on its ideological integrity. Therefore, educational issues were addressed by insensitive leadership when raised. Once the ethnic divisions are set, the tendency to lead people to political conflict is frequent since politicized identity is prone to let politicians and elites use influence over society to build new concepts, beliefs, theories, and myths in the name of ethnonationalism (Besgul, Nagy, Özoflu, 2018). Ignatieff stated that "nationalism does not simply express a pre-existent identity: it constitutes a new one." (Ignatieff, 1998).

2.5. What are the sources students learn historical facts beyond the classroom?

Some students develop their historical understanding in the schools. For others, it depends on the individual student, and their learning style. Parents, social media, books,

documentary films, and museums can be more substantial variables. In this part of the literature review, the study brings other sources that proved essential for students in developing attitudes and positioning themselves in the divided communities. It is mainly believed that students are more likely to learn and retain information when it is presented in a structured and educational setting, such as in a school (Douglas N. Jackson et al., 2008, 460-473; Karen W. Fisher et al., 2010, 513-531; Karen W. Fisher et al., 2014, 407-452; Karen W. Fisher et al., 2015, 421-432). However, some students indicated that they learn better through hands-on experiences and self-directed learning outside the school. Outside of school, pupils have more flexibility in what they choose to learn and how they choose to learn it, which may be more appealing to some.

Some of the sources the study revealed that students learn historical facts from and develop attitudes toward other groups outside of schools include:

- Books: fiction and non-fiction books can provide information on historical events and figures.
- Online resources: websites, videos, and educational games can be a fun way to learn history for children.
- Television shows and movies (Radio can also be included): while these may not be historically accurate, they can still introduce historical events and figures.
- Personal accounts: speaking with family members, friends, and relatives who have lived through historical events can provide a unique historical perspective, which this study revealed that it can be very influential.
- Social media: since late 1990s, social media is gradually taking the world by storm to become one of the key vehicles of social interaction, collaboration and learning. In BiH, it is estimated that about 2.05 million people are active users and members of social media platforms (as of January 2022, according to Datareportal).
- Historical sites and landmarks: visiting historical sites and landmarks can be a way that students learn about historical facts and help bring events to life.
- Museums: visiting a museum can provide a hands-on experience with historical artifacts and exhibitions.

2.6. Parents and role of socialization in teaching historical facts and other groups in divided communities

Especially in divided communities, parents play a critical role in shaping their children's perception of historical realities. Parents generally teach their children their values and beliefs, which develops their understanding of the past. However, in polarized societies where historical events may be interpreted differently, parents can affect their children's understanding of these events by putting out a particular viewpoint. According to Wertsh and Roopnarine, parents significantly impact how their kids perceive history and historical events. They also discovered that parents are more inclined to talk to their children about historical events that are significant or pertinent to their lives. These conversations can have a long-lasting effect on how children view and comprehend the past. However, it is crucial to realize that parents only sometimes significantly impact their children's historical awareness. Even so, parents can impact a child's knowledge of historical events, although this impact is not always positive and can be impacted by other variables.

Several academic studies examined the parents' role in historical understanding and developed attitudes toward other groups, especially in divided societies, which contributed to analysing the dangers of learning historical facts from families.

Biases have a significant influence on how people recall and describe historical events. When learning about historical events from family members, it is critically important to note that bias may occur. Whenever practical, it is useful to confirm their recollections with additional sources and evidence to develop a more thorough and accurate knowledge of what happened. Here are a few examples of how prejudice can skew historical knowledge passed down through families:

Also, cultural background, beliefs, and values can influence how historical events are remembered and perceived. Consider a scenario in which a family member hails from a society that values bravery and honour. Then, even though they were cruel and terrible, they might portray a more positive image of wartime events. How people recall and retell historical events might also be biased by their political beliefs. A conservative political

worldview, for instance, can present a more positive view of conventional power systems. A person with a liberal outlook may, in contrast, concentrate on the challenges of underprivileged groups. Lastly, ties to one's family impact how history is recalled and told. If a family member's conduct were dubious or unethical, a person might present a more favourable perspective of that person (Kahneman, 2011; Cummings & Palmore, 2007; Leary, 2004; LaBerge & Ceci, 1995).

An overview of the connections between memory and history and the consequences of memory research for historical study are given in Van der Maijden's (2018) essay. It analyses how memories might affect historical information's veracity and offers a critical assessment of memory research's potential as a tool for comprehending historical events. (Van der Meijden, 2018, 26–43). Lepore (2017) examines the idea of "fake news" and the background behind the historical dissemination of false information. It makes the case that the dissemination of misleading information is not a recent phenomenon but has a long history and offers instances of how it has been applied to sway public opinion and alter historical events (Lepore, 2017, 97-102). Last, Roediger and DeSoto (2015) explore the idea of mistakes in stories and how false recollections affect how we perceive American history. It presents examples of how false memories have affected our perception of events like the American Revolution and the Civil War and explains the psychological mechanisms that cause them (Roediger & DeSoto, 2015, 199-213).

The omission of relevant details is a serious risk of acquiring historical facts from parents. It has been found that while recounting historical events, family members may need to provide crucial background or information, resulting in a limited comprehension of what happened. According to David and Susan Hoskinson (1999), key facts and the effects of selective memory are among the historical knowledge passed down from one generation to the next. Historical knowledge is passed down through the generations, including through the influence of parents, teachers, and other cultural factors, according to "The Cultural Transmission of Historical Knowledge," edited by Alison E. Gopnik, Andrew N. Meltzoff, and Patricia K. Kuhl (1999). Gelman and Palmer give an overview of how the family environment can affect children's understanding of history, including the impact of parental

beliefs, values, and the selective transmission of historical knowledge (Hoskinson, D., & Hoskinson, S., 1999, 83-98; Gopnik et al., 1999; Gelman & Palmer, 2002, 661-700).

2.7. Other sources students are using to learn historical facts in divided communities

The study sought to identify additional sources outside of textbooks and school education from which primary school pupils learn historical facts. As a result, most survey respondents (83%) indicated they do. Documentary films (46% of respondents indicated "Yes"), social networks (44%), and books (38%) are listed as the top three sources. The respondents ranked museums as the least significant source of knowledge.

According to the survey, books are a relevant tool for students to learn historical information. Looking at various types of books, firstly, non-fiction books provide a more thorough examination of historical events and eras. In these publications, authors offer a more in-depth examination of the historical facts and events. Secondly, even while fiction works do not accurately depict historical events, they can help students get a sense of what life was like at various points in history, improving pupils' comprehension of historical events' social and historical background. Thirdly, historical fiction books that use primary sources like letters, diaries, and newspaper articles can give pupils a clear view of the past. These documents give students a glimpse into how individuals experienced and understood historical events at the time. Finally, reading about the lives of historical personalities could help students understand the people who influenced history. Autobiographies and biographies can help students comprehend historical events more personally and bring the past to life.

Reviewing the academic literature on this specific issue, Woolf (2010) discusses how children's books influence how they perceive the past. According to Woolf, children's books allow kids to interact with history in a way that is relatable to them and meaningful to them. The themes and messages in these stories help shape how they see the world and fit into it (Woolf, 2010, 36-41). Murrell (2010) investigates the use of historical fiction as a history-teaching tool. According to Murrell, historical fiction may help bring historical

personalities and events to life and give students a fun and educational method to connect with history (Murrell, 2012, 148-152). According to Pryor and Hayes (2009), children's literature can help youngsters develop their historical reasoning abilities. The authors contend that children's literature can assist kids in developing critical thinking abilities and foster historical empathy by allowing them to engage with historical events and figures in a meaningful and relevant way to their own experiences (Pryor & Hayes, 2009, 74-79). Finally, Sands and Martin (2011) examine how children's books affect how young people perceive the past in their collection of essays. The writers look at how children's books might influence the construction of historical memories and identities and how they can aid in the development of historical consciousness (Sands & Martin, 2011). Overall, these references shed light on how children can develop their knowledge of history through reading books and how children's literature might influence that knowledge. They emphasize the significance of teaching children about history in a way that is meaningful to them and connected to their own experiences, as well as the role that books can play in fostering historical empathy and critical thinking abilities.

3 COUNTRY CONTEXT: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

3.1. Historical and political background

The following chapter is not an exhaustive history of events that have occurred in BiH, which is out of the scope of this research. Instead, historical interpretations and interventions regarding to ethnic identities are presented through predetermined eras to serve this study's needs; accordingly, the Ottoman Era, BiH under the Austro-Hungarian rule, the Yugoslav Era, and the 1990s will be investigated in the subsequent subchapters. These time periods have been identified within the framework of this study because they may offer illuminating insights into the post-Dayton situation in BiH regarding history education and historical consciousness. It is also worth noting that different ethnic groups will likely interpret these eras differently. This approach also provides direct support for the following chapters on the divided education systems and textbooks in BiH. The following section serves as an introduction to the chapter and begins by concentrating on the origins of BiH as a historical and geographical entity.

When discussing the time leading up to and during the War in BiH in the 1990s, it refers to Bosniaks as Muslims because that was the term used officially before the post-war years. If not otherwise specified, Croat is used for both Bosnian Croats and Croats living in Croatia, and Serb refers to both Bosnian Serbs and Serbs living in Serbia.

3.1.1. Origins of BiH and the Ottoman conquest and rule

Bosnia[14] was first mentioned as a distinct territorial entity in the 10th century (Fine, 1994). However, sources about BiH's history between the Roman Empire and the Ottoman

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[14] In the past, the words "Bosnia" and "Herzegovina" were used to refer to different parts of the larger area. "Bosnia" is the name for the north and center of the country, while "Herzegovina" is the name for the south. During the Middle Ages, both areas were part of a single Bosnian state, a single political entity. There was not as much difference back then between "Bosnia" and "Herzegovina" as now. In the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire took over the whole area. Bosnia and Herzegovina were part of the same administrative unit under Ottoman rule. After Yugoslavia broke up in the early 1900s, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a country in the early 2000s.

conquest are rather limited. Still, it is known that the BiH was home to Illyrians, Celts, and other small tribes before the Romans until the Slavs invaded it in the sixth and seventh centuries and since then the Slavs predominated the BiH's territory. Scholars are divided over whether the first people to call BiH home were Serbs or Croats, but they were all Slavic and pagans (Malcolm, 1994 & 1996, 8-11). There was also a continuation of pagan practices even after the Croats were converted to Christianity in the 9th century. By the 10th century, BiH was nominally under Rome's control (Malcolm, 1994 & 1996, 10-11). Civil wars, invasions, and prosperity marked the high Middle Ages between 1180 and 1463. The Bosnian state under King Tvrtko in the latter half of the 14th century included almost all modern BiH and some Serbian and Croatian lands (Donia and Fine, 1994, 29-30).

The predominant topics of discussion in the historical discourse surrounding medieval BiH pertain to the function of religion and the categorization of BiH's residents. Specifically, the separate (schismatic) Bosnian Church (*Crkva Bosanska*) sought to establish its independence and self-governance from external religious entities, namely Rome, while preserving its unique religious customs and identity (Donia and Fine, 1994, 19). Upon the establishment of the Catholic Franciscan mission in the 1340s, the rulers of BiH underwent a conversion to Catholicism. Despite being tolerated, the Bosnian Church maintained a limited political presence and retained its status as a relatively minor entity. In 1459, the monarch presented the members of the Bosnian Church's clergy with the ultimatum of either converting to Catholicism or facing exile. Most of the clergy opted for Catholicism (Donia and Fine, 1994, 21-23). During the medieval period in BiH, individuals refrained from identifying themselves as either Serbs or Croats. Instead, if they chose to identify themselves, it was typically as Bosnians, a self-ascribed identity likely rooted in the geographic region (Donia and Fine, 1994, 26).

Following the Ottoman conquest during the 1460s, the Bosnian Church underwent a complete disappearance, with its adherents assimilating into the religions of Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism. In 1463, the Turkish army subjugated the Kingdom of Bosnia, resulting in the loss of its sovereignty for five centuries. The Turkish conquest spanned over a century and was succeeded by a period of Turkish governance that persisted until the latter half of the 1800s.

Before the 19th century, BiH's population demographics were characterized by individuals of Slavic origin who inhabited the region "Slavs who lived in Bosnia" (Malcolm, 1994 & 1996, 12). The emergence of ethnic identities can be traced back to the late 19th century, during which Catholic Bosnians identified as Croats and Orthodox Bosnians identified as Serbs. During the Ottoman era, individuals were categorized based on their religious affiliation rather than their ethnic origins. Despite belonging to a dominant social and political class, Bosnian Muslims did not embrace a national identity (Rogel, 1998, 47, Cohen 1998, 70).

The Ottoman Empire's conquest and subsequent governance of BiH resulted in notable transformations in governance, religion, society, and the economy. During the Ottoman period, there was a notable shift towards adopting Islam among the BiH's populace, alongside the peaceful cohabitation of diverse ethnic and religious communities. Most of the population in the region of modern-day BiH appears to have been Muslim by the end of the 16th century. The Islamization of a considerable segment of the Bosnian population during the Ottoman Empire is the primary and most formidable facet of modern Bosnian historiography (Malcolm, 1994 & 1996, 51-52). The causes of the Islamization of the BiH include: (1) The devshirme system was a significant factor in the Islamization of BiH, as it entailed the enlistment and conversion of juvenile Christian males into the Ottoman military and bureaucracy, resulting in their integration into the Islamic religion (Inalcik, 1997); Islam appeared as a dynamic new faith, often propagated by dervishes, and God's favour was shown by Ottoman success." (Fine 2002, 6); (2) converting also gives many opportunities (to become members of the Ottoman establishment; landlords etc.) (Fine 2002, 7); (3) The demographic composition of BiH was altered during the 17th century due to the arrival of Slavic individuals who had already adopted Islamic practices, originating from regions beyond BiH's borders. This migration was primarily attributed to the Ottoman withdrawal from Croatian and Hungarian territories, contributing to the Muslim population's growth in BiH (Malcolm 1994/1996, 53, 66-69; Fine 1993, 18).

3.1.2. Austro-Hungarian rule in BiH

The period of Austro-Hungarian rule in BiH[15] resulted in notable alterations in the realm of administration and governance. The imperial regime established a system of administration that was centralized in nature and featured contemporary bureaucratic structures and institutions (Mojzes, 2009). The shift from the predominantly Islamic Ottoman governance to the Christian-dominated Austro-Hungarian administration resulted in interfaith tensions and conflicts among various religious communities. (Malcolm, 1996; Donia and Fine, 1994) According to Bataković, the religious schisms in BiH escalated, notably between the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Serb communities (Bataković, 2007). It is also crucial to outline the key ideas developed during this period in which nationality and identity were widely accepted. During Austro-Hungarian rule in BiH, there was a simultaneous emergence of nationalist movements among the Bosnian Muslim, Bosnian Serb, and Bosnian Croat populations. Nationalist movements, characterized by divergent conceptions of national identity and a desire for increased political self-governance, frequently resulted in interethnic strife and hostilities (Velikonja,2003; Donia & Fine, 1994; Hoare, 2007).

As a result of contextual factors, three Hungarian governors of BiH developed their perspectives on managing ethnic tensions and political tactics to facilitate a harmoniously integrated society. Béni (Benjámin) Kállay, in his capacity as the inaugural governor of the nation, advocated for the preservation of ethnic concord by providing support to the Muslim minority. Intending to mitigate Serb and Croat nationalisms, Kállay formulated the concept of Bosnianism (Bošnjaštvo), intended to foster a sense of shared identity among the diverse ethnic groups residing in BiH. However, the exacerbation of nationalism between the two communities in BiH persisted. Initiating actions against administrative authorities played a significant role in the emergence of political nationalism in BiH, intensifying the fundamental sources of conflict (Hoare, 2007; Donia & Fine, 1994; Okey, 2002, 234-266)

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[15] Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire through the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, following the Russo-Turkish War. The treaty granted Austria-Hungary the right to occupy and administer the region, eventually leading to its formal annexation in 1908.

The period of István Burián von Rajecz as governor commenced with the implementation of cultural autonomy for the Serb and Muslim communities. According to Okey, Burián emphasized conciliatory measures rather than oppressive tactics in BiH. Burián initiated the annexation of BiH by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequently implemented the Bosnianism strategy of Kállay. Since the Serbs constituted most of the population, he advocated for collaboration with the Serbs in BiH under the Monarchy's control. Burián advocated that the swift integration of the occupied provinces into the Monarchy was imperative to avert the marginalization of Bosnians as second-class citizens of the Empire because the new constitutional framework excluded BiH from the dualist system (Okey, 2002, 234-266).

The report by Lajos Thallóczy regarding the state of education in BiH brings to light his observations on Kállay's stance. Thallóczy contends that Kállay's emphasis on reinforcing a Bosnian identity based on feudal statehood was misguided (Okey, 2002, 234-266). According to his viewpoint, the Bosnian population, recognized as the foundational group of contemporary BiH, has faced challenges in their efforts to unite and establish a cohesive society. The Ottoman regime resulted in the enduring obliteration of BiH's corresponding cultural and societal identity. Contrary to Kállay's assertions, he has noted that Bosnians could not be isolated from nationalist tendencies and that the educated class increased their influence in the social and political spheres via nationalist narratives (Okey, 2002, 234-266).

3.1.3. World wars and the Yugoslav period in BiH

Many people consider the June 1914 assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo to be the bloodiest day in Bosnian history. There remains a scholarly debate among historians regarding the underlying causes of the assassination, with some attributing it to Serb nationalism, Yugoslavism, Serbian secret societies, or a purely localized initiative. Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary levelled accusations against Serbia, not for the assassination itself, but for its alleged tolerance of communities and movements opposed to the monarchy (Malcolm 1994/1996, 156), which is frequently regarded as the

spark that started the First World War that alliances and rivalries between European powers resulted in a larger conflict (Macmillan, 2013). Notably, the First World War is commonly recognized as the primary occurrence in BiH's history, where a significant number of individuals perished due to their national or ethnic affiliation (Legvold, Donia & Fine, 1995).

The establishment of the first Yugoslavia is commonly attributed to the notion of Woodrow Wilson's self-determination and his European counterparts rather than being rooted in the longstanding aspirations of the region's population (Cohen, 1998, 13-14). Still, the overall perspective among Bosnian Muslims was that the divisions between the Muslim population and other communities had reduced because World War I, leading to BiH's Muslim community's endorsement of the Yugoslav state (Malcolm 1994/1996, 161). According to certain scholars, various perceptions existed among the nations comprising Yugoslavia from its inception (Cohen, 2018). Specifically, for the Serbs, the envisioned governance structure of Yugoslavia entailed a Serbian dynasty at the helm, with leadership positions occupied by Serbian army officers, bureaucrats, and parliamentarians. In contrast, the Croats and Slovenes envisioned Yugoslavia as a collaborative alliance wherein all parties held equal standing. While they sincerely appreciated the Serbs' military capabilities, they regarded them with disdain as a rural class (Donia and Fine 1994, 121).

Political divergences emerged due to varying ideological orientations, encompassing communist, nationalist, and regional aspirations. The presence of cultural diversities surrounding linguistic, religious, customary, and traditional differences contributed to the already intricate nature of Yugoslavia. The divergences among various nations frequently resulted in frictions and disputes as they endeavoured to establish their distinct identities and objectives within the state (Vujacic, 2002, 120-121).

As per the commitment made by the Serbian Army to the Serbs who had participated in the war, a significant portion of land was expropriated from its predominantly Bosnian Muslim owners and distributed among peasant families, primarily of Serbian origin (Donia

and Fine 1994, 124,127; Malcolm 1994/1996, 162-163).[16] It has been reported that a significant migration of Muslims to Turkey occurred due to the escalation of social conflict between urban and rural areas, which further exacerbated existing ethnoreligious tensions stemming from land reforms (Lovrenović, 2001).

Notably, certain individuals of Serbian origin residing in Serbia held negative perceptions towards Muslims; however, this sentiment was not shared among the Serb population in BiH (Malcolm 1996, 162-163). Accordingly, the political tensions in the initial Yugoslavian state were primarily concentrated beyond the borders of BiH, where Bosnian Muslims were marginalized from governmental bodies and subjected to various forms of mistreatment (Malcolm 1994, 168). According to disclosed records, notable figures have been identified as Muslim Croats and Muslim Serbs for political, cultural, and economic motives (Malcolm 1996, 166-167).

The Serbian military forces that arrived in BiH and seized numerous regions purportedly quelled the disturbances. Subsequently, Serbian authorities commenced the substitution of Bosnian Muslims in pivotal roles (Donia and Fine 1994, 124). In this regard, during the reign of King Alexander, Yugoslavia was divided into nine *banovinas*, disregarding historical borders. The Muslims became a minority in various regions, and the territorial sovereignty of Serbia was not upheld, even though the allocation of new positions disproportionately benefited non-Muslims at the expense of Muslims (Lovrenović 2001, 162). Meantime, the Serbian-Croatian negotiations in 1939 led to an autonomous Croatian *banovina* (Donia and Fine 1994, 132).

At the outset of World War II, the Yugoslav monarchy was compelled to sign a Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy due to coercive measures employed by Germany. The occurrence above instigated the commencement of a military takeover and the Yugoslavian authorities' formation of a new administration. Therefore, the Germany decided to launch an attack on Yugoslavia. The swift triumph of German assaults over Yugoslavian forces in a mere 10-day timeframe can be attributed to the populace's prevalent

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[16] Historically, individuals who identified as Muslims held the position of landlords. According to the 1910 census, most landlords, precisely 91.15%, were identified as Muslims. On the other hand, the Orthodox population accounted for 73.92% of all serfs or sharecroppers, while Croats represented 21.49% (Donia and Fine 1994, 124,127).

discontentment and the nation's overall fragmentation (Almond 1994, 132-133; Friedman, 1996, 120).

The Independent State of Croatia, also known as *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* (NDH), was founded with the support of the Italian and German Governments and was led by the *Ustaša*, a Croatian organisation espousing primarily fascist and ultranationalist ideology, led by Ante Pavelić (Donia and Fine 1994, 131).[17] Various Yugoslavian resistance factions, including the chetniks and subsequently the partisans from 1941 onwards, engaged in armed conflicts against occupying forces. Ultimately, the conflict reached its apex as a contest for revolutionary societal change, as Tito's Communist Party and his adherents promoted a doctrine that called for the cessation of the previous regime (Lovrenović 2001, 173).

Although a small proportion of Bosnian Croats were directly involved in endorsing the *ustaša* regime, the majority expressed approval of the formation of the NDH state. The Bosnian Serbs were initially compelled to oppose the *ustaša* regime and subsequently aligned themselves with resistance movements due to the genocidal measures implemented by the NDH Government. The Bosnian Muslim population encountered significant challenges during the period in question. While some members of this group collaborated with either the *ustaša* or the Italians and Germans, others aligned themselves with the partisans. The latter group was motivated by the promise of an official position for Muslims within BiH in socialist Yugoslavia (Malcolm, 1996, 184-185). The emergence of extreme nationalism seems to have arisen due to exceptional inter-ethnic and inter-religious hostility during this era (Lovrenović 2001, 176). The waning of animosities and calamities stemming from the Second World War was only observed in the 1970s, coinciding with subsequent generations' emergence and intermarriages' proliferation (Sells, 1996).

Upon assuming power, the *Ustaše* expeditiously implemented a policy to eliminate Serbian, Jewish, and Roma populations. The genocidal policies implemented by the Independent State of Croatia prompted the Serbian people to pursue retribution; numerous mass killings targeting individuals of Muslim and Croat descent, with fewer incidents

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[17] BiH was formally incorporated into the state structure of the NDH (Donia and Fine 1994, 136).

involving those suspected of having *Ustaša* affiliations, were documented (Malcolm, 1994, 176-177; Donia and Fine 1994, 141; Lovrenović 2001, 173). On the other hand, the *Ustaša* regime espoused the belief that Muslims were ethnically Croatian individuals who had embraced the Islamic faith. This regime also declared the NDH a state that recognized two religions. The political administration is perceived to have secured the allegiance of the Muslim population by pledging to provide them with Muslim educational institutions and ensuring their religious liberties (Malcolm, 1996, 185; Lovrenović 2001, 172). The Bosnian Muslim population, in conjunction with the *ustaša*, sought to achieve self-governance for BiH while under the Third Reich's direct authority. That was perceived as the sole viable option for Bosnian Muslim leaders disinclined to endorse the communist partisans (Lovrenović 2001, 172-173).

The Yugoslav Communist Party, under Tito's leadership, called for resistance against the fascist invaders in June 1941. Despite doubling its membership since the war, the party's membership was only 12,000 (Almond 1994, 127; Donia and Fine 1994, 143-144, 146). Serb attacks on Muslim settlements in Herzegovina hindered the formation of a unified coalition against the NDH (Donia and Fine, 1994, 143-144, 146, 149-150). Meanwhile, the Partisan National Liberation Movement gained attention due to hostilities between partisans and chetniks. This movement aimed to prevent inter-ethnic genocide and eliminate the dominance of Serb ethnicity in BiH, desiring a Bosnian state (Donia and Fine 1994, 146-147).

In general, the literature produced by partisan groups during the period indicates that there was no endeavour to delineate the Muslim population in a particular "ethnic" context but to acknowledge them as a separate community entitled to the same rights as Serbs and Croats. Throughout the war, partisan authorities orchestrated several political gatherings that ensured the absolute parity of all Bosnian ethnic groups predicated on the "equality of the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats of BiH, their shared and inseparable homeland" (Donia and Fine 1994, 146-147).

In addition to the profound societal transformations in Yugoslavia, the Second World War may have had significant ramifications for the national question. The Serb positions within the Partisan command were partially retained within the Yugoslav army.

Subsequently, BiH emerged as the primary location of Yugoslavian defence strategy and the core of Yugoslav armament manufacturing following the war. Ultimately, a revitalized manifestation of the Yugoslav concept occurred, allowing the population to construct a novel ideology predicated upon the principle of "brotherhood and unity" (Donia and Fine, 1994, 155-156).

As Torsti stated in her dissertation, the ideology of Titoism has been identified as encompassing three distinct approaches towards nationalities within Yugoslavia. The overarching principle of equality, expressed through the ideas of brotherhood and unity, and the federalist system that acknowledged the six republics of Yugoslavia, served as the unifying force behind these approaches (Torsti, 2003). Between 1942 and 1948, the initial strategy in Yugoslavia prioritized attaining national parity and self-governance for five officially recognized nationalities. Divergences emerged in BiH's political and territorial standing; whereby certain factions perceived the Muslim populace as a religious entity (Donia and Fine, 1994, 147-148, 160). However, certain historians contend that Muslims were recognized as a distinct national identity, as evidenced by archival records akin to those of Serbs and Croats (Lovrenović, 2001, 179). Some others were not attempting to define Muslims in any specific ethnic or national sense but were recognizing their status as a community with equivalent entitlements to those of Serbs and Croats (Banac, 1993, 129-153). In the period spanning from the late 1940s to the 1960s, the Bosnian Muslim population was regarded as pivotal in the implementation of a strategy aimed at highlighting the superiority of Yugoslav identity over individual national identities, ultimately resulting from socialist ideals. During the 1953 census, the Muslim category was replaced by a new option, namely 'Yugoslav, nationally undeclared', which was predominantly chosen by the Muslim population (Donia and Fine, 1994, 175; Malcolm, 1996, 198). Finally, from the 1960s on, the third approach advocated for national expression as a state liberalization and decentralization component. The Party's authority led to recognition of Muslims as a unique nationality. During the 1961 census, individuals could identify as "Muslims in the ethnic sense," the 1963 constitution ensured their entitlement to equal rights. According to the 1971 census, individuals identified as Muslims were classified as "Muslims in the sense of nationality" (Donia and Fine, 1994, 178).

Since the latter half of the 1960s, Tito's implementation of new federalism has been widely construed as an attempt to cultivate a distinct Yugoslavian identity (Almond, 1994, 163). However, the proliferation of bureaucratic structures at the expense of democratic processes, coupled with the inherent tension between the Communist Party and pluralism, appears to have eroded the notion of Yugoslavia as it was initially conceived (Cohen, 1998, 53-55); the period under consideration witnessed a prevailing inclination towards the decentralization of Yugoslavia, ultimately culminating in the promulgation of a new constitution in 1974. The republics were granted power by the central party organs and the federal government and have since functioned as autonomous entities (Woodward, 1995, 45).

Furthermore, the categorization of Tito's national strategies into distinct timeframes is complemented by the division of the socialist era in BiH into two different phases (Lovrenović, 2001, 180-183). During the initial twenty years, "social cleansing" was prevalent. Tito's totalitarian and Stalinist policies were primarily focused on suppressing religion, with a particular emphasis on the Catholic Church and Croats, who were suspected of maintaining loyalty to the NDH. The Orthodox Church derived advantages from the circumstance that a subset of its clergy members had previously rendered service in the partisan military. Bosnian Islam was recognized as a religious faith; however, its societal customs were jeopardized, leading to the prohibition of Muslim organizations, schools, and literature until 1964 (Donia and Fine, 1994, 162-164). The Yugoslavia crisis in the second period, beginning in the middle of the 1960s, probably led the party to decide that the national equality of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats was crucial. As a result, the party decided to support the Republic of BiH. Communists and other secular Muslims who wanted the Muslim identity to evolve into something non-religious appear to have been the driving forces behind the recognition of Muslims as a nation. The majority of Bosnian Muslims, as well as a sizable number of Bosnian Serbs, Croats, Jews, Gipsies, and others, began to reject the identification of religion and nationhood and considered themselves Bosnian and Herzegovinian (Sells, 1996, 8; Almond, 1994, 180).

Accordingly, the newly constructed socialist blocks became ethnically and nationally diverse neighbourhoods, unlike the old town centres, which were frequently divided into ethnic communities. By the 1990s, 40% of urban couples in BiH were ethnically mixed, thanks to the integration of workplaces and schools and the acceptance of mixed marriages in Bosnian cities and towns. As secular naming customs spread, it became more challenging to identify Bosnians by name as belonging to a specific ethnic group (Donia and Fine, 1994, 185-186).

During the period following Tito's leadership, the functional alliance within the Party's mainstream was deemed efficacious on a national scale. Meanwhile, the Parliament and the Bosnian military retained their multi-ethnic composition in the initial phase of the conflict (Donia and Fine, 1994, 202).

The efficacy of national propaganda has been observed. Western journalists were perceived to have echoed the propaganda ideologues by abruptly depicting Tito as an authoritarian ruler who quashed national aspirations and resorted to repressive measures to maintain his grip on power (Donia and Fine, 1994, 263-264). Certain nationalist factions within the constituent republics began to demonize Tito by depicting him as a tyrant who exhibited partiality towards specific ethnic groups while oppressing others (Ramet, 2006).

Following the disintegration of the Yugoslavian Communist Party in 1990, the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska narodna armija*, JNA) remained as the sole institution with a Yugoslav orientation, having espoused the Yugoslav concept of national brotherhood and unity (Donia and Fine, 1994, 208). Starting in 1989, the political landscape of BiH was largely shaped by the influence of Serbian President Milošević and Croatian President Tuđjman (Malcolm, 1996, 217). Eventually, a referendum regarding the sovereignty of BiH was conducted in March 1992. By that juncture, the Bosnian Serbs, under the leadership of Radovan Karadzić, had already created their self-governing Serb territories within BiH (Lovrenović, 2001, 195). leading party of the Bosnian Croats, the Croatian Democratic Union (*The Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*, HDZ), in collaboration with its counterpart in Zagreb, endeavoured to initiate a referendum on nationally organized cantons as a potential resolution for BiH during the same electoral event (Donia and Fine, 1994, 248-250).

3.1.4. BiH in 1990s

The economic deterioration of Yugoslavia intensified after the demise of Tito in 1980. As previously observed, the prevailing ambiguity and volatility within the nation facilitated the rise of national politics. Considerable discourse surrounded the reform topic, albeit lacking the same immediacy observed in other European countries during the 1980s (Donia and Fine, 1994, 199-200).

The collapse of Yugoslavia can be attributed to the emergence of Serbian nationalist movements that gained momentum during the 1980s. The Memorandum (also known as the SANU Memorandum), drafted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1986, is regarded as a pivotal document bridging the gap between official and unofficial Serbian nationalism due to its nationalistic orientation (Janjić, 1998, 339-357). The Memorandum's authors' high status reinforced the belief that the Serbs were mistreated by other Yugoslav nations, which served as the ideological basis for Slobodan Milošević's policies later (Anzulović, 1999, 114).

Milošević's rise in the late 1980s led to the spread of tactics that radicalized the Serb population. These tactics included bombarding the media with misinformation, compromising villagers through incidents, and causing violent incidents, allowing the army to intervene as an "impartial arbiter." These tactics aimed to provoke a crackdown on the Serb population and maintain control over their lives (Almond, 1994, 179; Malcolm, 1996, 216-217).

Scholars point out the beginning of the Bosnian war because of various external factors, including the Yugoslav People's Army's significant shift in its mission from the latter part of 1991, the bolstering of Bosnian Serbs extremists due to the Croatian war, and the separatist claims pressed by prominent Bosnian politicians due to the actions of the international community. Following Bosnia's declaration of independence and subsequent recognition by the European Community, the Bosnian conflict commenced in April 1992, with the onset of an assault by Serb paramilitary forces and the Yugoslav army on Sarajevo. During the spring of 1993, a conflict also arose between the Bosnian Croat forces (Croatian

Defence Council, *Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, HVO) and the army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine*, ABiH), which persisted until the spring of 1994. Notably, during the war, the JNA units in Bosnia transformed into the Army of *Republika Srpske* (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, VRS), becoming the military force of the Bosnian Serbs. Subsequently, the Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies joined forces and fought alongside each other against the Serbs until the conclusion of the war (Lovrenović, 2001, 195-204).

Paramilitary groups that allegedly drew most of their membership from criminal elements carried out the phenomenon known as "ethnic cleansing," primarily in BiH's rural areas. The paramilitary groups utilized various tactics, including but not limited to fomenting animosity, engaging in sexual assault, and committing acts of aggression (Bojicić and Kaldor, 1999, 51). A salient feature of the Bosnian War was the occurrence of restricted combat between the opposing factions, with most hostilities aimed at non-combatants (Bojicić and Kaldor, 1999, 96). Scholars have commonly posited that the rural-urban divide played a significant role in the escalation of conflict between 1992 and 1993, as military factions increasingly attracted the support of rural populations. Urban residents of various nationalities often perceived the conflict in BiH as a struggle between unsophisticated peasants attempting to dismantle urban civilization (Donia and Fine, 1994, 187).

The expectation that the international community would defend a recently admitted sovereign member of the United Nations contributed to the Bosnian Government's lack of war readiness. The Bosnian Muslim community has expressed profound disappointment and shock at the international community's reluctance to engage in military intervention (Silber and Little, 1996, 384). Malcolm referred to the massacre in Srebrenica as "the blackest moment in the history of the UN's involvement in Bosnia" because the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) could not defend the civilian population and even stood by and observed the killings (Malcolm, 1996, 264).

Between 1992 and 1995, BiH experienced a total war, with the term 'war' often used to describe confrontations between armed opponents rather than decimating a predominantly unarmed population (Sells, 1996, 117). The conflict transformed from Serbian aggression to a civil war with three belligerent factions (Lovrenović, 2001, 203).

The Bosnian War was primarily directed towards the civilian population and civil society. Literary works depict the atrocities of war in BiH, resulting in significant human loss and ethnic cleansing. Most victims were Bosnian Muslims, with an estimated 100,000 fatalities. The historical practices of coalition politics, conciliation, and peaceful cohabitation among diverse religious factions and ethnicities were violated (Donia and Fine, 1994, 279).

The Bosnian war is believed to have arisen from the JNA's conversion into a tool for Serbian nationalists, the Croatian and Serbian Governments' annexationist aspirations, and the strong intention of nationalist extremists to carry out a military-backed ethnic cleansing campaign. The war's causes include underlying tensions and hostilities, a power vacuum, propaganda dissemination, and political and economic instability (Donia and Fine, 1994, 220-221). Additionally, the historical experience of Serbs is crucial in understanding Yugoslavia's role as a symbolic representation of Greater Serbia. During the First Yugoslavia, Yugoslavism was founded on Serbian national epics and the legacy of *Saint Sava*[18]. In a socialist Yugoslavia, class and national ideologies merged to create a unifying force encapsulated in the slogan "brotherhood and unity." The democratic transition failed to establish the conditions for Yugoslavia's preservation as a symbol of a larger Serbian state, necessitating the acquisition of crucial regions (Lovrenović, 2001, 193).

The relationship between Serbia and Bosnian Serb leadership changed significantly in 1994, with Milošević shifting his stance towards the "Contact Group" peace proposal[19] and publicly breaking relations with Bosnian Serbs under Karadžić's rule. Serbian media portray Milošević as essential for peace, while Bosnian Serb leaders are seen as reckless risk-takers and profit-seekers (Gordy, 1999, 154). This shift in Milošević's political stance led to allegations of treachery from Bosnian Serbs against their Serbian counterparts (Janjić, 1998, 344).

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[18] Serbian national epics are a collection of oral poetry that celebrate historical events, heroes, and virtues, often conveying a sense of national identity and resilience. The legacy of Saint Sava, the first Archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church, encompasses his role in promoting education, cultural preservation, and spiritual unity, shaping Serbian identity, and fostering national pride.
[19] The Contact Group peace plan was an attempt by six major world powers (the U.S., Russia, Germany, France, the U.K., and Italy) to solve the conflict in Bosnia in the 1990s through diplomatic means. Milošević at first refused the proposal, which was meant to end the war and find a peaceful solution, but he later changed his mind and agreed to it after pressure from the rest of the world.

The DPA, initiated in August 1995, was a complex peace treaty that ended over three years of conflict. After NATO launched air strikes targeting Serb military installations, the accord was declared in November 1995 (Malcolm, 1996, 266). It included a cessation of hostilities, territorial resolution, a novel constitution, human rights safeguards, displaced persons repatriation, economic rehabilitation, and a blueprint for international administration including NATO's multinational military contingent. The Dayton Agreement is considered a peace process rather than a singular event, making it one of history's most intricate peace treaties (Lovrenović, 2001, 206-207; Malcolm, 1996, 268). Indeed, The DPA sought to establish a single nation in BiH, to which all three nationalities would be obligated to pledge allegiance. The DPA thus effectively sealed the ethnonationalism-based division (Besgul & Ozoflu, 2018). The peace treaty is also thought to have been "poisoned" by European and American policies, which continued to view "ancient hatreds" as the cause of the conflict. This is because the peace treaty envisioned ethnic separation as a solution, guaranteeing a troubled and uncertain future for BiH (Malcolm, 1996, 271). In stark juxtaposition to the Dayton accords, the BiH's context encompassed three distinct national territories: the *Republika Srpska, Herzeg-Bosna*, and the Bosniak administered domains within the FBiH. In accordance with the prevailing geopolitical landscape, it is evident that every distinct region within the studied context exhibited the presence of a military apparatus, exercised dominion over its designated territorial expanse, and demarcated discernible boundaries usually (Shoup, 1998, 290-291).

Accordingly, one can observe that the Dayton Peace Accord, viewed from the perspective of the three Bosnian "constituent peoples"(Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks), reveals a complex distribution of power and territorial control. Despite losing the war, the Serbs emerged as winners in peace negotiations due to their acquisition of half of the state, despite representing only one-third of the population. That gives them a significant territorial advantage and consolidates their influence within the political landscape. On the other hand, the Croats secured a larger portion of the land than their initial 17% share, positioning themselves for future territorial gains. This favourable outcome enhances their prospects for further political and territorial expansion. However, despite achieving military success during the conflict, the Bosniaks were disadvantaged in the aftermath of the peace agreement. Their areas are confined to isolated pockets within predominantly Serb and

Croat territories, raising concerns about the Bosniak population's potential marginalization and further isolation. That undermines their ability to exert significant political influence, impeding their prospects for meaningful territorial consolidation. Recognizing the RS, a self-proclaimed state under Radovan Karadžić's leadership, has been a significant development within the context of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Some narratives suggest that the agreement advanced the genocidal endeavour of establishing a Greater Serbia, allowing the Serbs to retain control over territories acquired through forceful conquest and ethnic cleansing (Torsti 2003, 105).

It is imperative to acknowledge that while the optimistic discourse and conceptual structure surrounding the DPA have been articulated, it is crucial to recognize that the BiH continues to grapple with the long journey towards achieving self-sufficiency and effective self-governance. This arduous process, spanning over two decades since the DPA's inception, seeks to foster the amalgamation of constituent factions into a cohesive and inclusive collective identity (Besgul & Ozoflu, 2018).

3.1.5. Post-war BiH

The Dayton Agreement partitioned BiH into the RS and the FBiH. The latter , the entity of Bosniaks and Croats represents a political arrangement to accommodate the region's diverse ethnonational composition. The constitutional framework of BiH includes a multifaceted state structure, with the Office of the High Representative[20] representing the international community as the leader of the civilian component of the international territorial administration.

The constitutional framework encompasses provisions that regulate the administration at the national level. The fundamental framework entails the inclusion of representatives from the three predominant national groups in nearly all tiers of the Bosnian State Administration. The Federation's functional dynamics necessitate a Bosniak or Croat

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[20] The Office of the High Representative (OHR) is a temporary international institution tasked with supervising the implementation of the DPA's civilian components that ended the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OHR aims to get Bosnia and Herzegovina to the point where it can assume full responsibility for its affairs. OHR internet source: https://www.ohr.int/about-ohr/general-information/

representative for almost all tasks. The region's political landscape under discussion is characterized by a centralized governance structure in the RS, juxtaposed with a Federation comprising ten cantons that enjoy a notable level of autonomy.

In 1996, the first post-war elections were held, with the ruling parties dominating local electoral commissions responsible for managing voter lists and regulating access to state-operated television networks. The governing bodies in these regions took measures to prevent the emergence of unfavourable or incongruent political parties (Shoup, 1998, 293). As a result, the prevailing national parties emerged victorious in the elections. This situation was repeated in the 1998 post-Dayton election. The electoral triumphs of nationalist parties led to a parliamentary body struggling to operate and legislate for BiH effectively. In 1997, the High Representative's office was enhanced, allowing the high representative to play a more active role in legislative measures. This development transformed BiH into a geopolitical entity with international mandate characteristics rather than a fully autonomous and sovereign nation-state (Torsti, 2003).

In the year 1999, a comprehensive analysis revealed that opposition parties in the FBiH faced a notable marginalization, whereas, in the RS, a distinct absence of political parties challenging Serb nationalism was observed. The 2000 electoral outcomes witnessed the triumph of the coalition led by the Social Democratic Party in the FBiH. However, the subsequent elections in 2002 witnessed the resurgence of nationally fragmented parties, reclaiming positions of authority. The initial plan for BiH entailed the establishment of a one-year 'transitional' international administration. The temporal continuum under scrutiny had undergone an indeterminate extension during the period. By the latter part of the 1990s, the trajectory of democratization in BiH had assumed the characteristics of a significant global endeavour (Torsti, 2003).

At the time of the research, most areas of BiH were almost purely segregated into ethnic groups, and people had a strong sense of their ethnicity (International Crisis Group Balkans Report, 1999, 92). The RS has experienced a notable and consequential transformation, particularly in its demographic composition. Before the war, the entity (RS) consisted of a population wherein Serbs accounted for 54%, while Bosniaks, Croats, and individuals from other ethnic backgrounds constituted 46%. Following ethnic cleansing, it

is noteworthy that Serbs constituted a significant majority, precisely 92.3%, of the population within five years after the war's conclusion (Torsti, 2003, 108), while other ethnic groups in the region were forced to seek refuge in various parts of the country, later in FBiH. In conjunction with the ongoing demographic shifts, inquiries about nationality and ethnicity serve as defining features within the Bosnian societal framework. From the perspective of the younger demographic in BiH, it can be observed that ethnicity and religion are often closely intertwined to the extent that they are perceived as nearly synonymous. The imposition of religious and ethnic identities upon individuals, particularly in the context of mixed marriages, engenders a complex and multifaceted dynamic that necessitates their acceptance (UNDP, 2000, 2008).

The conflict resulted in the establishment of three different and conflicting media systems, which subsequently influenced the perspectives of Bosnian Serb and Croat media regarding the political responsibilities outlined in the Dayton Peace Agreement, such as including mixed national institutions and the repatriation of refugees. These media outlets frequently expressed scepticism and mirrored the respective political ideologies of the post-war period. Despite certain advancements, media analysts in 1999 concluded that the most influential media outlets persistently catered to audiences of a single ethnic background while mirroring the political objectives of the diverse regimes in BiH (Thompson, 1999, 261-262).

The issue of national identity holds inherent sensitivity within the post-war Bosnian context. The current inquiry is multifaceted and poised to elicit individuals' inclination to pursue historical resolutions and justifications. The war of the 1990s, given its relatively recent occurrence, is anticipated to persist as a contentious matter within the nation, precipitating extensive devastation and affliction. In their characterization of the conflict as a civil war, the Bosnian Serbs, and the Federation, in their portrayal of it as an act of aggression, exemplify the inherent challenges associated with reconciling divergent perspectives on the Bosnian war. A prevailing observation is the absence of a comprehensive and discerning public discourse about the inter-ethnic conflict (Torsti, 2003, 114).

In 2005, a concerted endeavour was undertaken to introduce amendments to the Constitution of BiH to rectify the inefficiencies within its political framework and mitigate the persistent ethnic divisions that have plagued the nation. Nevertheless, the proposed reforms encountered firm opposition, resulting in a lack of substantial alterations being enacted. The absence of consensus among various political entities and ethnic groups has posed a significant obstacle to implementing substantial reforms within the general political framework. The following points encapsulate the salient features that have pervaded the ongoing constitutional reform discourse until 2023.

– **Power-sharing arrangements**: The necessity of revising or changing these arrangements has been discussed to address issues with representation and governance while also enhancing the functionality and efficiency of state institutions.

– **Centralization vs. decentralization**: There exists a discourse wherein proponents posit the merits of a centralized system, contending that it would bolster the efficacy of decision-making processes and circumvent the impasse commonly associated with political gridlock. Conversely, there are those who advocate for a decentralized system, positing that it would provide local and regional entities an augmented level of autonomy and authority.

– **Electoral reforms**: Various proposals have been put forth to implement modifications that would guarantee equitable representation, enhance political engagement, and tackle the issue of marginalized minority groups being excluded. Implementing substantial modifications to the electoral system has encountered considerable obstacles and needs to be completed.

– **Replacing state institutions**: The primary objective entails the establishment of a governance framework that is both efficient and transparent, capable of effectively tackling the nation's obstacles while enhancing the operational efficacy of governmental bodies.

– **Human rights and minority rights**: Considerable endeavours have been undertaken to ascertain that the constitutional framework effectively upholds and protects fundamental rights, fosters principles of equality, and mitigates instances of discrimination.

3.2. Divided education system in BiH

The post-war era in BiH has witnessed a noteworthy illustration of a fragmented historical culture that is prone to engendering a fragmented historical consciousness within the nation. The intricate political framework and ethnocultural cleavages within the BiH nation-state manifest in the fragmented nature of its educational system. The educational system exhibits a notable division due to the post-war settlement delineated in the DPA of 1995. In the contemporary context, it is evident that the educational systems operating within the FBiH, and RS demonstrate a discernible schism that corresponds to ethnic demarcations.

The political landscape of the FBiH is characterized by the presence of two primary administrative entities, namely the Bosniak-Croat Federation and the District of Brčko.[21] These entities possess distinct education ministries and systems, thereby reflecting their autonomous governance structures within the larger framework of the federation (Clark, 2010, 344-362). In the context of the Federation, it is pertinent to note the existence of different educational institutions catering to the Bosniak and Croat communities, each characterized by unique curricula and teaching materials. The perpetuation of this division serves to sustain the ethnic cleavage and impede the attainment of social cohesion. A similar system of segregated schools exists for Serbs in the RS. The choice of curriculum, textbooks, and teaching resources frequently demonstrates a preference towards the Serbian cultural and historical vantage point within the RS educational framework.

To analyse the situation in the 1990s, this research will first look shortly at the teaching of history in Yugoslavian times.

3.2.1. History teaching in the Yugoslav period

The inaugural reform of the educational system in First Yugoslavia occurred in 1929, under the direction of Yugoslavianism. The pedagogical approach to history education aimed to

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[21] Brčko District, formally the Bosnia and Herzegovina Brčko District, is a self-governing administrative entity in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was founded in 1999 as a condominium of the FBiH and RS to represent the multi-ethnic nature of Brčko and the surrounding districts, as well as its position within the newly independent BiH.

convey a comprehensive understanding of the historical narrative and collective historical consciousness of the tripartite polity in question. The 1929 educational reform aimed to standardize the school curriculum and encourage the use of Serbo-Croatian language as a unifying factor. It aimed to reduce regional and ethnic divisions through the implementation of a common curriculum and textbooks that emphasized a shared Yugoslav identity over individual ethnic identities.

The endeavour to foster a collective historical narrative among the Yugoslav populace, as reflected in the development of history textbooks, encountered significant setbacks. These setbacks can be traced back to the fact that the revised textbooks do not match up with the current political situation and that they keep teaching a Serbian-centred view of history (Höpken, 1997, 81).

In the context of Tito's Yugoslavia, it is imperative to acknowledge the significant role that education, particularly history teaching, assumed in the pursuit of fostering a cohesive Yugoslav identity (Wachtel, 1998 82). The Government Administration led by Tito endeavoured to cultivate a collective sentiment of solidarity and coherence among the heterogeneous ethnic factions encompassed within the Yugoslavian territory. This objective was pursued by advancing a common Yugoslav identity via the educational framework. However, it is essential to note that implementing a common Yugoslav identity through education was fraught with difficulties and limitations. Ethnic tensions and the survival of local identities frequently hampered efforts to forge a unified Yugoslav identity. Furthermore, political, and ideological agendas influenced the portrayal of history in textbooks (Carmichael, 2003). The prevailing thematic orientation of the textbooks in question is centred around the principles of self-managed socialism, as well as the ideals of brotherhood and unity. During the Tito era, it is worth noting that while historiography did not face direct pressure from the Communist Party, it is evident that history textbooks were subject to stringent party control (Torsti, 2003, 153).

The inclusion of education within the purview of the republics' responsibilities can be attributed to the broader process of federalization that transpired during the latter half of the 1960s and the early years of the 1970s. The historiographical discourse surrounding Yugoslav identity has undergone a notable transformation, as evidenced by the revised

approach adopted by contemporary history textbooks. These revised textbooks now aim to convey the notion of a Yugoslav identity, while simultaneously emphasizing the values inherent in the prevailing political system, alongside the recognition of distinct national historical identities. Following the enactment of the 1974 Constitution, a discernible pattern persisted, wherein there was a notable emphasis placed on the recognition and promotion of ethnic distinctiveness within the realm of education. Simultaneously, it is imperative to acknowledge that the national inquiry remained unaddressed, thereby instigating the conflicts witnessed within the inter-war Yugoslavian context. These conflicts, in essence, were a direct consequence of the elites' unwavering pursuit of hegemonic aspirations (Höpken, 1998, 88-91).

3.2.2. History teaching in the time of national division of schooling (1991 and onwards)

Before the breakup of Yugoslavia, BiH's educational system was centralized under the Republic Ministry of Education. In 1991 and 1992, the new Bosnian Government was aware that new educational laws needed to be passed. Following the first multi-party election and the fall of communism, it was unable to do so due to other pressing matters (Magas, 1998, 4). Thus, at the beginning of the war, the old Yugoslavian school system and textbooks designed for the Federal Republic of Socialist Yugoslavia were still in place in BiH.

During the period of armed conflict, it was observed that various localities independently embraced distinctive curricula and educational materials. In the context of territorial governance, it is noteworthy that the regions under the jurisdiction of the Serb army exhibited a tendency to acquire books and educational materials from Serbia, while the areas under the control of the HVO demonstrated a similar inclination towards borrowing such resources from Croatia. In the regions under Bosnian control, a significant endeavour has been undertaken to develop and implement revised textbooks and curricula that align with the principles and values of the integral and civic state of BiH. The introduction of the curriculum in 1994, alongside the subsequent publication of books in besieged Sarajevo during the same period, exemplifies a significant development within the

socio-political landscape of that time. The regions under the jurisdiction of the HVO/HDZ exhibited a refusal to accept the newly proposed literature, even when presented with an opportunity to engage in revisions and selectively eliminate certain portions of the content (Magas, 1998, 4-5, 8; Low-Beer, 2001, 216).

In BiH, the idea of "two schools under one roof" emerged from these problems. During the conflict, this meant putting students from different ethnic groups in different classes in the same school building. This was done to try to calm things down. Even though it was meant to be temporary, this system of separate schools stayed in place, further dividing society, and making it harder for people to get along. As of my last update in December 2022, some schools still used this divisive system to separate students of different races. BiH's Ministry of Education and Culture (2021) said that the country's future depends on ongoing efforts to reform the education system, promote inclusivity, and create learning environments that bridge ethnic divides, creating a sense of unity and a shared national identity (ICG, 2016; European Western Balkans, 2020).

The enduring political and administrative divisions that emerged during the conflict were subsequently preserved and upheld within the framework of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The topic of education was exclusively addressed within the confines of a single annex of the Agreement, specifically in relation to the broader context of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The discourse surrounding peacebuilding, regrettably, failed to incorporate education as a viable mechanism. The DPA within Annex VII primarily centres on the discourse of human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, it is important to note that the emphasis lies predominantly on the right to education and safeguarding individual rights, rather than prioritizing its potential role in cultivating peace and fostering reconciliation. According to specific assertions, from a legal standpoint, the DPA laid the foundation for the state's potential, and perhaps even the imperative, to institute a collaborative educational framework. The allocation of educational authority to the entity level in the context of the Agreement has been widely regarded as indicative of a broader legal misinterpretation. While the Agreement was drafted following the American legal tradition, subsequent interpretations have adhered mainly to the European legal tradition. Consequently, any matters not explicitly designated as falling under the purview of the state

level have been delegated to the entities (Magas, 1998, PP. 12, 14-15). The current situation within education has given rise to a notable disparity between the educational frameworks of two distinct entities, FBiH and RS (Hadžić, 2022, 21-46). Therefore, some scholars even have been dubbed the current situation as "educational apartheid" (Cirjakovic, 1999).

The pedagogical institution in Banja Luka plays a pivotal role as the principal arbiter of the educational system in the RS. It operates within a centralized framework, firmly under the control of a single Minister of Education. On the other hand, within the Federation, the educational authority has been allocated to the ten cantons, thereby endowing each with its own distinct education ministers. In the context of the ten cantons under consideration, it is noteworthy that five of them exhibit a notable Bosniak majority, while three are predominantly Croat. Additionally, two of these cantons present a mixed demographic composition. The cantons exercise their autonomy in formulating and implementing educational policies, operating independently from the Central Government of the Federation. The Federal Ministry of Education, at most, assumes a coordinating role in this context. The implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement has engendered a complex scenario wherein the allocation of ministerial education positions has led to twelve distinct incumbents. Specifically, one minister operates within the RS, another within the FBiH, and ten additional ministers are distributed across the various cantons. Each minister is accompanied by their respective deputies, thereby contributing to the intricate nature of the arrangement (Low-Beer, 2001, 216). The most problematic aspect of the situation is the division within the Federation. It was reported in 2001 that the certificates of students who completed their schooling in the three Croat HDZ-ruled cantons said, "Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna" (Torsti, 2003, 154). The underlying rationale for this motivation stems from the significant role that the institutional position of cantons in the FBiH holds for the Croat population. This role not only ensures the acquisition of institutional power but also serves to legitimize their position within the political framework.

The Bonn conference, held in December 1997, marked a significant turning point in acknowledging the pivotal role of education within the peace process. During this momentous event, education was officially recognized as an indispensable component of fostering and sustaining peace. The assertion assumes that promoting understanding and

reconciliation among ethnic and religious factions is fundamental to education. Moreover, it contends that the policies implemented by the RS and the FBiH have fallen short of adhering to these guiding principles. The article further assumes that authorities must diligently guarantee universal access to education, foster an environment of tolerance, and tailor educational provisions to meet the diverse needs of individuals. The RS's governing bodies have rejected the publication, claiming it does not adhere to the vocabulary outlined in the Dayton Peace Agreement (Magas, 1998, 15-16). In the Federation, the Ministry of Education issued new guidelines on dual curricula and minority treatment. Teachers instructed students in a classroom to raise their hands according to their ethnic group to carry out the instructions. Even though the instructions were cancelled, they resulted in classes for the minority ethnic group being held outside the school building in tents and general ethnic differentiation, even in places where it did not previously exist. As a result, the instructions resulted in additional segregation (International Human Rights Law Group, 25 February 1999).

In February 2000, officials reached a consensus to embark upon developing a Swiss-inspired educational framework[22] for Bosnian schools (Low-Beer, 2001, 217). According to the model, each constituent would create curricular modules about culture, language, and literature for inclusion in the curricula of the other constituents. The linguistic and literary heritages of all three communities would be taught throughout BiH.[23] The comparative analysis reveals that the situation in BiH is like that observed in Switzerland, albeit on a superficial level. BiH's socio-political landscape does not exhibit a pronounced segmentation into ethnically homogenous entities, distinguishing it from the Swiss model of linguistic differentiation (Baotić, 2002, 176).

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[22] In the Swiss context, the nation comprises 26 cantons, each with its own distinct set of educational regulations. Moreover, it is essential to note that the educational functions of the federal government are primarily limited to the realm of higher education, specifically at the university level.
[23] Education Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina Internet source: https://www.ohr.int/ohr_archive/education-policy-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina/ 8th July 2023.

Later in 2000, an agreement was reached between education ministers from the three national groups.[24] The agreement, among other things, stipulated the prohibition of utilizing externally published books within BiH after June 2002, alongside the imperative to expunge the most contemporary historical content from the textbooks. The ban on books printed outside of BiH did not result in common schoolbooks. However, the RS has continued to produce its own textbooks since the late 1990s, and Bosnian Croats have increasingly had their own books published in Mostar since the 2002-2003 school year. During the period spanning from 2000 to 2002, notable endeavours were undertaken within the FBiH with the aim of consolidating the curricula and programs pertaining to the instruction of history, literature, and language. The culmination of this process led to the adoption of a more discerning and comprehensive approach towards these matters within the Federal Ministry, ultimately reaching its completion in 2001. This encompassed the development of a manuscript for the creation of new textbooks, thereby reflecting the evolving nature of these subjects (Torsti, 2003, 156). However, elections in October 2002 returned nationalist parties to power, forcing the non-nationalist Government in office from 2000 to 2002 to resign in early 2003.

In 2002, the international community, recognizing the significance of education, accorded it a position of utmost importance within its agenda. In July, the responsibility for implementing educational reform was duly entrusted to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Education Forum was convened in August, which served as a platform for the presentation of the OSCE agenda. However, it is noteworthy that the representatives from the RS were absent from this significant gathering (ECMI, 2003, 81-91). However, in November 2002, the Peace Implementation Council (PIC)[25] was presented with a strategic plan for educational reform signed by all education ministers.[26]

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[24] Meeting of the Conference of the Ministers of Education of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Agreement Internet Source: https://www.ohr.int/ohr_archive/meeting-of-the-conference-of-the-ministers-of-education-of-bosnia-and-herzegovina-agreement/ 8th July 2023.

[25] The Peace Implementation Council (PIC) in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a diplomatic body established in 1995 to oversee the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which aimed to end the Bosnian War. It consisted of representatives from key countries and organizations working to ensure the agreement's provisions and support the country's post-conflict reconstruction and stability.

[26] OSCE applauds education strategy presentation. OSCE Press Release. Sarajevo 21st November 2002. Internet
source: <www.oscebih.org/pressreleases/november2002/21-11-02-eng.htm>. 8th July 2023.

In June 2003, the Parliament of BiH enacted a comprehensive Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education at the national level. The enactment of this legislation establishes a framework that facilitates the implementation of a consistent benchmark of excellence throughout the territory of BiH. The proposal delineates the necessary provisions for a Common Core Curriculum[27], mandating nine years of compulsory primary education. Additionally, it advocates for forming parent and student councils and augmentation of school autonomy (Karge & Batarilo-Henschen, 2008).

Through the implementation of various strategies and initiatives, the realm of history teaching and education has exhibited a propensity to exacerbate intra-national divisions while concurrently striving to establish or reinforce ethnically homogeneous regions (Magas, 1998). The issue has not so much been the existence of three educational programs as it has been that the programs have clearly served nationalistic politics.

3.3. Textbooks and the presentation of sensitive and controversial issues

Nationally divided schoolbooks are pedagogical resources that display divergent historical accounts and narratives based on the student's national, ethnic, or cultural affiliations. These materials are often used in regions with ethnic or national divisions, where diverse communities have unique interpretations and narratives. These materials can perpetuate societal divisions, reinforce preconceived notions, and hinder cultivating a cohesive national identity.

The post-conflict international intervention in BiH substantially influenced tackling ethnically segregated educational materials and fostering reconciliation via educational means.

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[27] *The Common Core Curriculum*, which is binding on all entities, cantons, and the district of Brčko, was developed in August 2003 at a meeting of all Education Ministers chaired by the International Community. From April to June 2003, an inter-ministerial committee met three times to compare all existing syllabi and determine what they had in common. The Common Core Curriculum for History focuses almost entirely on international events. It completely delegated the history of the various ethnic groups to the syllabi of the cantons and entities.

For the first time, the nationally divided schoolbooks were the subject of international intervention in 1998 as part of the Sarajevo Declaration, which generally addressed issues related to the return of refugees to Sarajevo. Education was one of the concerns. The Declaration requested the formation of the Sarajevo Education Working Group, and stated concerning textbooks, "Under the supervision of the Working Group, Sarajevo education authorities will review all currently used textbooks and withdraw any that contribute to ethnic hatred and intolerance no later than September 1, 1998" (OHR, 1998).[28] By June 1998, the Working Group report was complete, and later that fall, it leaked to the media. However, no changes were made to the textbooks (Low-Beer, 2001, 219).

In 1999, Bosnia and Herzegovina applied for Council of Europe membership, requiring the removal of objectionable content from educational materials. In July, education ministers approved an agreement titled "The Agreement on Removal of Objectionable Material from Textbooks to be used in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1999-2000 Academic Year." The accord was ratified in August, defining the prescribed course of action for eliminating objectionable content. Time constraints made creating new educational materials unfeasible (Low-Beer, 2001, 219).

Finally, it was agreed that an international team of experts would identify the objectionable material. The identified materials were divided into two categories: to be removed or annotated. The material was removed by blackening the text and then annotating it with the following stamp: "The following passage contains material about which the truth has not been established, or that may be offensive or misleading; the material is currently under review." The Ministry of Education and the World Bank would pay for the procedure, and "verifiers" from international organizations in BiH would oversee it. The deadline was pushed back to the end of 1999. According to the verifiers' reports, many schools still needed to complete the removal procedure by the end of the year. Some schools needed clarification about what to blacken and stamp. UNESCO staff reported on a school where unchanged pages were displayed on a bulletin board so students could read them (Low-Beer 2001, 220-221). The production of new books for the 2000-2001 academic year was only

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[28] Sarajevo Declaration, 3 February 1998 Internet Source: https://www.ohr.int/ohr_archive/sarajevo-declaration-3-february-1998/ 9th July 2023.

partially completed, resulting in a situation where numerous educational institutions resorted to utilizing textbooks that were marred by blackened and stamped markings.

In a seminal work conducted over a decade ago, Karge undertook a comprehensive analysis of the history textbooks employed for the final grades of primary school in BiH. The study sought to examine the portrayal and interpretation of 20th-century history within the approved textbooks for the academic year 2007- 2008, thereby shedding light on the prevailing narrative of historical events within the educational framework of BiH. The research primarily centred on the 1990s, which emerged as a highly contentious period within the post-conflict society of BiH and the broader regional context (Karge, 2008). Predictably, a significant portion of the textbooks examined during that period exhibited a conspicuous absence of coverage of the conflict in BiH or provided a cursory and superficial treatment of the subject matter.

The recently conducted analysis, ascertained by OSCE, and subsequently published in 2023, titled "History Teaching Materials in 1992–1995 in BiH: Building Trust or Deepening Divides?" offers an in-depth examination of the portrayal of the delicate period spanning from 1992 to 1995 within the educational resources and history textbooks presently employed in BiH. The primary objective of this study is to propose pedagogical approaches to history instruction that foster the cultivation of mutual comprehension, reconciliation, and the establishment of enduring peace within the region (Karge, 2022). According to the OSCE report, the findings indicate that a substantial majority of the examined textbooks and instructional resources currently employed in BiH exhibit compliance with certain aspects of the criteria delineated in the Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in BiH (Guidelines, 2006). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that none of these resources attain the level of "facilitating mutual comprehension and fostering reconciliation."

3.3.1 Distinct eras of history textbooks from 1970 to 2023

History textbooks play a critical role in the production of knowledge in schools, which is essential for nation-building and social cohesion (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). The

public views textbook content as "authoritative, accurate, and necessary" because it represents the official knowledge of what society has recognized as "legitimate and truthful" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, 3-4; Down, 1988). It is crucial to recognize that the organization and curation of this information are profoundly ideological endeavours that depend on political and economic factors. Power dynamics significantly impact cultural politics (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, 5-7). The struggle over textbook material becomes even more pronounced in transitional and post-conflict contexts, as historiography represents the central arena in which elites try to assert the dominance of new historical narratives that justify the new social order (Brunnbauer, 2018, 716-740).

Historiography, in general, and history textbooks have undergone a turbulent and comprehensive alteration in Yugoslavia and later in the BiH during the previous several decades. Starting with a shared history centred on brotherhood and unity among Yugoslav peoples, which pervaded Communist-era textbooks, textbooks changed to ethnically different territory in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As a result, revising textbooks required modifying how events were to be perceived and changing some facts to construct a new narrative. In the early 2000s, these hastily drafted wartime textbooks eventually cemented into new national narratives.

Examining the significant developments in textbooks from 1970 to now reveals three distinct "eras" of textbooks and accordingly the analysis encompasses a comprehensive compilation of textbooks, as outlined in the Table, which presents the population of approved textbooks in the BiH from 1970 to 2023. After the table, three eras of textbooks have been examined.

Table B – Three Eras of Textbooks in BiH

Era	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Socialist period textbooks	Perazić and Serdarević (used from 1973 to 1993). Minor adjustments were made in 1983 and 1990.
Transition and wartime periods textbooks	Imamović et al. (1994–2000) utilized only in Bosnian-language classrooms. Serbian and Croatian textbooks are used in Serbian and Croatian schools, respectively.

Post-war textbooks	**Bosnian language** (*Historija*):
	Ganibegović et al. (used from 2001 to 2006). Šehić et al., Hadžiabdić et al., Valenta (all in use from 2007 to 2016).
	Šabotić and Čehajić (both in use since 2012). History 9. Textbook for the 9th Grade of the Nine-year Primary School.
	Croatian language (*Povijest*):
	Matković et al. (used from 2003 to 2016), Miloš (used from 2008 to 2016), Bekavac et al. (used from 2008, new edition in 2015), Erdelja et al. (used in 2011, new edition in 2015).
	Bekavac, S., Jareb, M. and Rozić. M. (2018). History 9. Textbook for the 9th Grade of the Nine-year Primary School. Mostar.
	Serbian Language (*Istorija* and *Dodatak*):
	Pejić (editions: 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006), Pejić et al.
	Vasić, D. (2018). History for the 9th Grade of Primary School.

During the Socialist era, each Republic of Federal Yugoslavia oversaw textbook production, which was supervised centrally. A Council for Textbooks *(Zavod za udbenike)* was created in each republic, entrusted with commissioning, and approving one textbook per topic and grade level. The content of these textbooks followed the national curriculum, which was mainly consistent across the republics. In 8th grade history, for example, the curriculum covered the period from World War I to the present, with alternating units focused on global and national events. Ethnic minorities were allowed to have supplements for subjects of "national interest," such as nature and society, history, music, arts education, and their mother tongue with components of national culture, in addition to national-level textbooks. The Council for Textbooks published these textbooks and supplements for Textbooks. The substance of these materials represented the core Yugoslav value of "brotherhood and unity," celebrating the World War II partisan activity, the Communist Party, and underlining the significance of the Yugoslav peoples' multi-ethnic composition. This issue will be further discussed in the following section of this chapter.

In the 1990s, textbooks prepared during the war in BiH differed significantly from earlier Socialist-era textbooks. However, they maintained the same publication procedure and structure: one textbook per subject, per grade, per nation, produced and authorized centrally by the state. Despite nationalist mobilization, socialist-era textbooks remained in use until the conflict began in 1992. After the war, schools began using textbooks based on the military force in control of a certain area, with textbooks from the Republic of Croatia used in areas held by Croatian forces and identical on the Serbian side (Pašalić, 2008, 357-358). The old Socialist textbook remained in use on territory held by forces loyal to the internationally recognized Government in Sarajevo until 1994. After the conflict ended in 1995, the educational system was divided by language (Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian), which conflated with the main ethnicity of the population residing in an area (Torsti, 2007, 77). While Croatian and Serbian texts only focused on one ethnic group, Bosnian textbooks seemed to show a combined country from a Bosniak point of view (Baranović, 2001,13-26). This led to the international community pushing for textbook reform, first requiring blacking out offending content, and producing and printing all textbooks in BiH (Karge & Katarina, 2008, 307-355; Low-Beer, 2001, 215-223). Schools still followed the Bosnian curriculum and used textbooks approved by the Sarajevo Administration. Locally created textbooks were introduced in Serbian schools in 1997 and Croatian schools in 2003. However, all but one of the Bosnian-Croatian textbooks were slightly modified versions of textbooks printed in Croatia.

During and after the conflicts of the 1990s, it became clear that history textbooks in the Balkans were significant contributors to ethnic hostility and the formation of exclusive identities. Intending to create national awareness and cultivate patriotism, this era witnessed the distortion of history to support exclusivist nation-building ambitions. Consequently, the nation's historical brilliance was lionized in the classroom, while the nation's pain and victimhood were emphasized (Repe, 2001, 90).

Over the past two decades, commencing in the year 2000, the BiH has undertaken the adoption of entirely novel educational textbooks, purportedly adhering to democratic principles, thereby effectuating comprehensive alterations in both structure and substance. International non-governmental organizations, which diligently pursued the removal of

contentious content from educational materials, are responsible for the changes seen in these modifications. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the prevailing political landscape exhibited sporadic support for such endeavours while concurrently acknowledging that the prevailing societal conditions were not sufficiently conducive to accommodate sweeping transformations.

Since 2000, most former Yugoslav nations have permitted the production of textbooks published by both commercial and state-owned publishing firms. As briefly mentioned in the preceding sections, BiH's educational strategy is more complex than that of other Yugoslav successor republics since there is no uniform policy and textbooks are authorized at lower levels of government. Only one textbook is approved by the state-owned publisher in RS. The FBiH, split into ten cantons, makes cantonal decisions on educational policy. The Federation Ministry of Education certifies textbooks for Bosnian-language schools. However, the Mostar Institute of School Affairs approves textbooks for Croatian-language schools, which are largely utilized in four cantons with a large Croat population. As a result, a publishing system has emerged that institutionalizes the divisions caused by the war.

3.3.2 Analysis of the textbooks employed within the BiH education system

In the subsequent section, an examination is undertaken on the 9th-grade historical, educational materials employed within the educational institutions of BiH during the academic term of 2022-2023. Notably, this period coincided with the administration of the survey and interviews, thereby providing a contemporaneous perspective. In the following discourse, the introductory sections of the literary works shall be examined, delving into meticulous analyses of the nuanced portrayals of historically significant eras.

In the educational landscape of BiH's RS, it is noteworthy to highlight the prevalent utilization of the history textbooks titled "Istorija" and "Dodatak." These scholastic resources have become integral curriculum components, shaping the historical narrative disseminated within RS schools. The RS exhibits a notable Serb majority, and it is plausible that the contents of these textbooks align with a historical framework that upholds the

Serbian cultural and national identity. In contrast, it is worth noting that educational establishments within the geopolitical entity of BiH have adopted a curriculum that includes the utilization of historical textbooks commonly referred to as "Povijest," specifically in regions where there exists a notable demographic concentration of individuals identifying as Croat. The textbooks exhibit a discernible inclination towards the historical narrative congruent with the Croat perspective, thereby reflecting and fortifying their cultural and national identity. In regions where the Bosniak population constitutes the majority, it is noteworthy that educational institutions have adopted a curriculum that utilizes history textbooks called "Historija." The textbooks above serve as a medium through which historical events are portrayed from the perspective of the Bosniak community, thereby encapsulating their distinct cultural and national identity.

All the books are from the first generation of schoolbooks published following the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia. The structure of the texts in the books differ significantly from the 9th-grade history textbook used in BiH during the Yugoslav period. The texts and topics within the new books are systematically arranged following the nation-state principle. In stark contrast, the Yugoslav book adheres to the Marxist framework of structural organization within the historical textbook. (Torsti, 2003, 165). Nevertheless, some academics have argued that Serb textbooks have partially adhered to Marxist ideology while concurrently incorporating elements of nationalistic principles (Karge, 2000, 2-4).

3.3.3. Analysis of the content in the period of 1992–1995 in history textbooks

The analysis in this chapter, which is well aligned with the dissertation's primary objective, focuses on the presentation of 1992–1995 in textbooks and teaching materials for the history subject when students in 9th grade school learn about the recent war and the motivation of other groups within the country for the first time. The recent study, conducted by the OSCE and published in 2023, titled "History Teaching Materials in 1992–1995 in BiH: Building Trust or Deepening Divides?" provides an in-depth examination of the portrayal of the sensitive period spanning from 1992 to 1995 in educational resources and history textbooks currently used in BiH (Karge, 2022). As a result, following the recent introduction of

historical content from 1992 to 1995 in history textbooks and teaching materials, an OSCE analysis was performed to assess if this new content was produced in accordance with the Guidelines (2006) (See Appendix 7). The material was compared to relevant paragraphs of the Guidelines (2006), particularly those involving delicate or contentious themes, multi-perspective thinking and using sources, critical thinking, non-hateful language, and developing mutual understanding and reconciliation.

The 2006 Guidelines call for adopting Council of Europe standards in history textbook writing. The standards encompass a quantitative equilibrium between textual content and educational resources, a diverse array of methodological instruments aimed at cultivating critical thinking, and the cultivation of multiperspective and comparative methodologies for the exposition and examination of historical events (Karge, 2022). The study indicated that virtually all studied textbooks and teaching materials adhere to some of the conditions listed above (except for Teaching Material (RS, 2018), which adheres to none).

The newer generation of history books and pedagogical resources that focus heavily on 1992–1995 nevertheless suffer from prejudice and ethnocentric attitudes from previous textbooks. According to the OSCE evaluation, there are no significant variations in quality among the studied textbooks and resources. From what has been outlined, only RS (2018) has minimum standards and does not exceed the requirements outlined in the Guidelines (2006). With its well-rounded coverage, the textbook by Erdelja et al. comes near to the Guidelines' (2006) high requirements. However, the section on the 1990s in BiH could use more than one point of view.

Based on a comprehensive analysis, it can be deduced that three primary issues arise, concluding that none of the investigated textbooks and teaching materials fulfil the criteria of fostering mutual understanding and reconciliation.

To begin with, the textbooks promote an ethnocentric perspective of history, promoting ethnic divides and identities. Education in the nation is overseen by many administrative and political agencies, contributing to ethnic segregation in schools. While some modern materials aim to include various points of view, they fail to challenge the prevailing ethnic narrative. Collective identities are oversimplified in textbooks, which

construct two monolithic ideologies and ignore details. As a result, the rationalization and downplaying of ethnic group crimes perpetrated during the war have become interwoven into the narratives in these books (Erdelja et al., 2015).

Secondly, BiH has attempted to stimulate critical thinking and add multi-perspective tools into several of its textbooks. The long-standing "us" vs. "them" dichotomies have not been seriously challenged despite introducing multiple historical perspectives. Instead, it has helped spread prejudice. To accomplish reconciliation and social healing in post-war countries, a briefing to the United Nations Security Council in 2014 underlined the need for each community to honestly examine its part in the conflict (UNSC, 2014).

Finally, history education in a context of societal division encounters obstacles stemming from its intimate association with emotions associated with national identity and affiliation (McCully, 2012, 1-15). BiH's textbooks and teaching materials predominantly foster emotional attachments exclusively toward one's ethnic group, potentially impeding the development of critical thinking skills when addressing sensitive historical subjects (McCully & Reilly, 2017, 301-320). The cultivation of empathy holds significant importance in history education; however, it is imperative to exercise caution and avoid exploiting this empathetic engagement to elicit emotional reactions from students (Council of Europe, 2018). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the existing textbooks in BiH tend to foster emotional responses, thereby encouraging individuals to identify with and sympathize with their respective ethnic affiliations.

When it comes to the twentieth-century history, the differences between the textbooks are obvious. The study highlights below sensitive and likely contentious eras and events that differ amongst communities' textbooks. Each book was assessed jointly using the same criteria and organized into three parts: the First World War, the Second World War, and the 1990s wars accompanying the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

First World War

- *Historija* depicts the First World War as the outcome of rearmament by two blocs, with the killing of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo serving as the beginning point. It

does not focus on the Serbs' biggest losses but rather on the widespread agony in BiH. The book focuses on the pre-war period and the events leading up to the war.

- *Povijest* begins its historical account after the end of World War I, focusing on the aftermath and its consequences for following events.

- Like *Historija*, *Istorija* depicts the First World War as a conflict between worldwide blocs. However, it claims that the tripartite coalition was the source of the conflict and denies that the Serbs started it. Franz Ferdinand's killing is considered a catalyst, with Austria-Hungary using it as an excuse to launch a war on Serbia. Gavrilo Principe is mentioned in the book as a member of the Young Bosnia *(Mlada Bosna)* organization, although his nationality is not specified. Like the other two works, it gives information about human suffering throughout the conflict. *Istorija* stresses the imperialist origins of the war and Serbia and Montenegro's military achievements among the Entente states.

Second World War

- *Historija* underlines BiH's important military preparations. It talks about the *ustaša* camps and the high number of individuals that perished in them. The book delves into the complexities of Bosnian Muslims' cooperation with Germany because of effective propaganda. It emphasizes the catastrophic human toll of Yugoslavia's war, with Serbs suffering the most in absolute numbers. However, Muslims suffered the greatest percentage loss because of genocide.

- *Povijest* begins with a German and Italian onslaught on Yugoslavia at the outset of World War II. It portrays the anti-fascist struggle as Croat-led, with a concentration on Croatia. The book stresses the partisan struggle and attacks the chetniks, connecting their conduct during the war to the events of 1991. It also gives a thorough and emotive account of the crimes committed at Bleiburg.

- *Istorija* looks at the Second World War from a more distant viewpoint, seeing it as a collision between two blocs. However, its local portrayal is passionate, emphasizing the heroic partisan battle and the conflict's civil war-like nature. The novel depicts the horrors of war, particularly the infamous Jasenovac

concentration camp. It shows the partisans favourably while vilifying the chetniks without identifying the adversary consequences.

War in 1990s

- According to *Historija*, BiH had comparable issues following the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Great-Serbian nationalists tried to prevent this by assembling many soldiers and bringing heavy weapons. BiH proclaimed independence and was recognized by the European Union, underlining BiH's pre-war statehood. The conflict began as a growing occupation and progressed into open aggression. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) was the principal aggressor, assisted by the Serb Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, SDS) party and mercenaries from Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, and other regions. The war raged over BiH, resulting in horrific deaths, pillage, and the expulsion of populations. Concentration camps might also be found in BiH, Serbia, and Montenegro. The attacker was motivated to construct Greater Serbia by destroying non-Serbian territory, resulting in ethnic cleansing and forcing Bosnian refugees to escape from the war. When SDS roadblocks were raised in Sarajevo, the Patriotic League, which was formed as a covert armed force in 1992, became engaged in directing the struggle on behalf of the Republic of BiH.
- The *Povijest* narrative emphasizes the significance of the Croatian war, a continuation of the Croat conflict with identical traits. Serbs start the conflict by endangering peace, order, security, and the lives of others via attacks, robberies, and assassinations. The rebels were supplied with light and heavy weapons from Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army, subsequently known as the Greater-Serbian Army. Terrorists from Serbia perpetrated atrocities, destroying villages, towns, cultural landmarks, hospitals, schools, factories, and residential buildings. The attacks were barbaric and uncivilized. Croatian involvement in the conflict was regarded as defensive, with regular police forces recruited and a substantial Croatian army established near the war's conclusion. *Povijest* mentions the UNPROFOR as a basis for the defensive war but does not analyse its role. The Bosnian conflict is not covered, and the reason is Serb expansionism since they

openly discussed forming a Greater Serbia, which would encompass BiH as well as substantial portions of Croatia. Croats entered the conflict mainly defensively, with 700,000 people forced to flee Croatia and BiH until the end of 1992.

– *Istorija* identifies the wars in former Yugoslavia as civil wars caused by separatism. Between 1991 and 1992, the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fell apart, leading to the separation of Slovenia, Croatia, and BiH. The Croatian war began due to the new constitution, which made Serbs a minority. In 1995, the Croatian army and NATO forced 200,000 Serbs to leave their homes. The Bosnian war, however, began and spread without specific reasons. *Istorija* also highlights the non-aligned politics of Yugoslavia, which contributed to the international acceptance of the separation of federal states from Yugoslavia. The international community continued to blame Yugoslavia for the civil war in BiH. This led to the UN Security Council imposing an economic, political, information, cultural, scientific, and sports blockade on Yugoslavia.

4 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The survey and interview sections consist of fully structured interviews, surveys (Quantitative research), and semi-structured interviews (Qualitative research). First, in the quantitative research section, 345 surveys were conducted with students in primary schools both in FBiH and RS. A few surveys were also conducted in a secondary school in RS due to difficulties in obtaining permission from the Ministry of Education in the RS (See Appendix 1). Additionally, 11 semi-structured interviews were conducted with various university professors, primary school teachers, and international organizations experts, which allowed a more in-depth understanding of the students' school situations.

The study has chosen a mixed model approach (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) that features qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis patterns. The objective here is to compare the outcomes of the students' surveys with the findings from the semi-structured interviews. Blaikie states that it is not uncommon to observe statements claiming that the surveys cause data to be too statistical and producing only numbers and positivism cannot account for how the social reality is formed and maintained (Blaikie, 2007). A further weakness of the quantitative research method is that it tends to overlook the respondents' experiences and attitudes in controlled settings (Ary et al., 2013), because of the direct connection between researchers and the participants when collecting data. However, methodological pluralism in this research is relatively neutral, stating that both approaches can be applied in parallel, as the beforementioned mixed model approach.

This study used a mixed model design adapted from Creswell (2003 and 2008). Based on various fields, 12 classification systems have been drawn for typologies (Creswell, 2006). Below section, the chosen mixed method type is clarified with its justification.

In the empirical phase, it has adhered to Creswell's triangulation approach. However, it is essential to clarify that it did not engage in mathematical triangulation. Instead, the study has utilized Creswell's methodology to provide a structural framework for the mixed method design. This involved concurrently collecting quantitative and qualitative data and subsequently comparing two distinct data sets to identify potential convergence, difference, or combination areas. This methodology aligns with the "concurrent triangulation

approach," as per Creswell's classification. The preference for using terms such as converges, differences, and combinations differs among various scholars (Greene, Carecelli, & Graham, 1989; Morgan, 1998; Steckler, A., McLeroy, K. R., Goodman, R. M., Bird, S. T., & McCormick, L. 1992).

The concurrent triangulation approach uses separate quantitative and qualitative methods to offset the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other. The term 'concurrent' has been used here to emphasize that quantitative and qualitative data collection happened in one specific time of the research. In the sequential explanatory approach, the collection and analysis of quantitative data is done separately from the collection and analysis of the qualitative data.

According to Creswell, the developers of mixed model proposal, before discussing the types of mixed model, need to consider four critical aspects that directly influence the design of the procedures for the mixed model study: timing, weighting, mixing, and theorizing. The research has considered four aspects before determining the right strategy of the mixed method approach.

Figure 1 – Aspects to Consider in Planning a Mixed Methods Design

From Creswell et al. (2003)

Timing	*Weighting*	*Mixing*	*Theorizing*
No Sequence concurrent	Equal	Integrating	Explicit
Sequential – Qualitative first	Qualitative	Connecting	Implicit
Sequential – Quantitative first	Quantitative	Embedding	

The Concurrent Triangulation has been chosen as this study's mixed model strategy. The following section justifies why the strategy was chosen as an appropriate model by considering the abovementioned aspects helping to shape procedures of a mixed method study.

Timing (no sequence – concurrent)

The research's data collection has been conducted from October 2022 to January 2023, including quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. Initially, sequential data collection was intended, starting with quantitative and only after qualitative data collection to clarify answers and topics in-depth. However, due to time and staff constraints, the study gathered both types of data concurrently.

Another reason for choosing concurrent data collection comes with the reasoning of the sensitivities of the given study topic. In other words, the study needed to determine which data types could be collected and weighted. Therefore, the study collected both data types without any sequential preference. Once the data was collected, quantitative data were prioritized, and qualitative analysis followed it in a complementary manner, which is reflected in the results and conclusion sections.

During the data collection phase in RS, many difficulties were incurred as the data collection permit had not been received from the local authorities. Therefore, questionnaires were disseminated among students through online platforms. Data received from the RS is still expected during the first quarter of 2023. This also applies to the qualitative research component in RS, which has considerably delayed the data collection.

Weighting (quantitative data prioritised)

Even though the concurrent triangulation strategy ideally weights quantitative and qualitative components equally, quantitative data collection and analysis have been emphasized in this study. The research intentionally used qualitative data analysis in a complementary role (secondary data) to the larger quantitative data analysis collected (primary data). Both data have been analysed in the discussion section. The quantitative statistical results are followed by qualitative quotes collected from interviews that support or disconfirm the quantitative results.

The advantages of quantitative data have been considered in the decision-making process. Standardized data sourced from mathematical and statistical calculations regarding numerical data aiming to create non-parametric tests are therefore prioritized. Quantitative data's descriptive and ranked data types have been applied, and Likert scale questions have a relative intensity in the data collection.

Mixing (embedding - secondary data used in a supportive role)

Mixing refers to the moment that collected qualitative and quantitative data merged into one, kept separate, or were combined in some way in the continuum of the research. Accordingly, when and how the researcher mix quantitative and qualitative data in a mixed study appears to be a valid question (Creswell, 2003) that needs to be clarified in this stage of the proposal.

This study primarily targets to collect quantitative data and provide qualitative data as supportive information. It is vital to note that integrating the data or connecting the data across the phases was applied. Mixing two components of data happened in the last stage of the utilization of the data. The research kept two data sets separate until the interpretation section. The secondary method (qualitative data in this research) has been given less priority and only embedded into the quantitative data, which is utilized with the aim that qualitative data address a different set of questions by seeking information on the processes experienced and observed by individuals that the quantitative method couldn't collect which is widely accepted as a value-added approach (Tashakkori, Teddie, 1998).

The side-by-side embedded data can be seen in the interpretation chapter, that first provides quantitative statistical results followed by qualitative supportive or disconfirming results. Having collected the two types of data simultaneously in a single data collection phase provides an opportunity to gain a perspective from various data and levels (Creswell,2003).

Finally, it is important to note that the embedded data in the interpretation section has its own limitations. Comparing two different data may be unclear on how to revisit discrepancies and requires frequent checks with the original database to ensure new insights have been gained. Therefore, the researcher revisited the collected data studiously.

Theorizing (implicit)

Following Creswell's designing process of the mixed model strategy, theorizing should also be considered as it is part of the four factors that help to shape the procedures of the strategy proposal.

The theorizing factor of the proposal is whether a larger theoretical framework could guide the entire design of the proposal should be examined.

As it is self-evident that Historical Constructivism has implications that directly lead the research into the pre-determined direction, the design of the mixed model strategy has been decided after the reflection of this school of thought.

Figure 2 – Concurrent Embedded Design

From Creswell et al. (2003)

Concurrent Embedded Design (b)

qual		*quan*
QUAN		*QUAL*

Analysis of Findings   *Analysis of Findings*
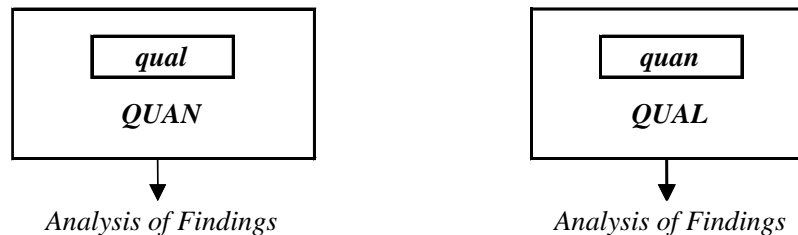
- − "QUAN" and "QUAL" stands for the qualitative design which is embedded into the quantitative design.
- − Boxes are used to highlight quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.

Having considered four factors of the mixed method strategy, a visual model for concurrent embedded design has been inserted above (Figure 2) for easier reference.

4.1. Data collection: Survey

Surveys are frequently used in social research to describe the population, explain behaviours, and measure attitudes. Considering the given objectives and research questions, the study aims to explore and analyse students' attitudes, opinions, or beliefs; Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs.; Therefore, a cross-sectional study has been chosen as a survey type. The study collects data from many subjects at a single time, focusing on a larger group of individuals. The central assumption is that history education in primary schools (textbooks and teacher presentations) influences the students' consciousness and causes them to develop negative attitudes against other groups. The designed survey was carried out in the 2022-23 fall semester and measured the attitudes of 345 students from various schools in the country (See Appendix 2).

The data collection and analysis are primarily based on quantitative research with primary school students. The surveys were conducted with 9th-grade students (last year of the primary school) in BiH, including a target sample across both entities FBiH and RS. After the minimum number of students had been calculated by the minimum sample size (the formulae are given below), entity/canton-level education ministries were contacted to provide permission for school visits and to conduct the questionnaires with students. Three out of five approved the research: the Cantonal Ministry of Education in Sarajevo, Zepce[29], and Visoko, while the Cantonal Ministry of Education in Mostar and the Ministry of Education in RS did not issue a permit to conduct the research during the original request. Networks of researchers in those areas were used to complement and support the research by facilitating information, including researchers from the University of Banja Luka in RS. Local researchers helped in liaising with local school principals and civil servants in the Ministry of Education in RS to allow the study to occur. The main prerequisites were that the adolescents had to be 9th-grade students, making the survey's preselection process homogenous. The questions have been disseminated through online platforms to increase the sample size, especially with the Serb population, which was found to be limited. The

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[29] Zepce is a city has its own jurisdiction for education – not under the cantonal ministry of education.

study generally followed a maximum variation and heterogenous approach by including various ethnic groups in the country.

Scholars agree that history education in primary school is essential because it helps students develop critical thinking skills, cultural awareness, civic engagement, historical thinking skills, a sense of identity, and a better understanding of the world (The National Council for the Social Studies, 2010; Wineburg, 2001; The Historical Association, 2011). Most schools in BiH include the Bosnian War in their history curriculum. It is taught in the final years of primary school (typically the eighth or ninth grades) and throughout high school. The precise timing and level of detail may vary by school and subject. Despite this, the Bosnian War is taught in schools because most people consider it an essential part of the BiH's history. The study focuses on 9th-grade students to see how these lectures alter their prior knowledge of history and how they feel about other ethnic groups.

4.1.1. Sampling strategies and approaches to establish validity of the data

The dissertation has chosen a mathematical approach to find a sufficient sample size by considering the total population of 9th-grade students (28,990) with a 5% margin of error and 95% level of certainty. The total population of primary students in this grade is valued at 28,990 people, as indicated in the Government Agency's last release for statistics of BiH in 2022. Besides, a particular note was paid to designing to cope with targeting problems, given the different demographic groups of the BiH. The formulae given below have been used to attain enough people in the sample to represent the 9th-grade students in BiH, valued precisely at 282,3 people and completed to 283 people for practical concerns.

Equation 1 – Finding the sample size

Sample Size n = N * [Z² * p * (1-p)/e²] / [N − 1 + (Z² * p * (1-p)/e²)]

- N = Population size, 28.990
- Z = Critical value of the normal distribution at the required confidence level, the critical value at 95% confidence level is 1,96.
- p = Sample proportion, 0,5 - it will give the largest possible sample size
- e = Margin of error, %5 − 0,05

$$= 28990 * [1,96^2 * 0,5 * (1-0,5)/0,05^2] / [28990 − 1 + (1,96^2 * 0,5 * (1-0,5)/0,05^2)]$$

$$= 28990 * [3,8416*0,5*200] / [28990 − 1 + (3,8416*0,25*200)]$$

$$= 28990 * 284,16 / [28989+192,08]$$

$$= 28990 * 284,16 / 29.181,08$$

$$= 8.237.798,4 / 29.181,08$$

$$= 282,299298 ≅ 282,3$$

Given that it would be impossible to include each city of BiH in the field research, determining all the districts and cities has mainly relied on purposive[30] appropriate judgment sampling[31]. The units have been tried to be chosen from ethnic quotas based on the interviewer's judgment. The study recognizes that data can't be generalized. For instance, as the Brčko district entity only represents around 1% of the country's total population, it has not been included in the targeting process. (OECD et al, 2019, p. 971). Likewise, the minority groups have not been included for the same reason.[32] Further demographic distribution has been exercised in the two major entities, RS and FBiH, considering the ethnic structure in the country. The study applies the appropriate judgment method rather than equal sampling, considering the proportions of the country vis-a-vis the latest 2013 census: 48.4% Bosniaks, 32.7% Serbs, and 14,6% Croats.

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[30] The Purpose Sampling: Selecting respondents from the statistical population is based on the interviewer's judgment and knowledge of the population, not by chance.

[31] Appropriate Judgment: the attempt to create the most accurate reduced form of the statistical population while keeping the predefined, crucial characteristics and their proportions (percentage of the statistical population).

[32] The latest world population review data on BiH indicates that minorities correspond to only 0.6% of the total population.

4.2. Data collection: Semi-structured interviews

Simultaneously, the study conducted eleven semi-structured interviews with university professors, academic researchers, primary school teachers, international civil servants, and several Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) and International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) staff from various organizations in FBiH and RS (Appendix 6). The qualitative component of the research has been used to get a more in-depth look at the issues. The semi-structured interviews with experts facilitated the survey questions and categorized them accordingly. It aimed to provide a more comprehensive overview of the students' situations in schools, teachers' importance, history textbooks, and interethnic relations between groups. As explained above, quantitative research also would fail to capture the topic's complexity in BiH. To fill this gap, the study used qualitative research in a complementary way. After consulting with scholars in Hungary, BiH, Croatia, and Turkey, the study adopted a template analysis. After considering forward coding and primary data collection, the template analysis technique was suitable as it provides the simplest, easiest way of analysing the collected qualitative data. This technique is known for its systematic, accurate analysis and minimized researcher bias and errors. Accordingly, a codebook with the complete set of questions was prepared. Afterward, the corresponding answers were screened, and the essence of the answers was extracted into the predefined categories, with a note of the similarities and differences of the responses.

The semi-structured interviews took place, as quantitative research, between October 2022 and January 2023. After two years of delay due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this research could finally be carried out in the field. The researcher travelled across the country and connected with experts and institutions in Zepce, Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka. Two interviews were conducted via zoom as the experts were out of the country at the time of field research. The purposeful sampling approach with snowball methodology was followed during the interviews, with additional consideration to the various perspectives in the country, including RS and border cantons. Patton's Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods approach is used as a primary guideline and criterion for the qualitative component of the dissertation (Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods by Michael Quinn Patton (2002-01-17), n.d.). The focus group of this part of the research

included experts and history teachers, who were closely observing the curriculum and textbook changes or are recognized due to their critical approach to various layers of government's education policies. The study also interviewed the OSCE experts and asked about their impressions of the educational system and students' situations in this context. The interviews were conducted individually and lasted about 6 minutes up to 1.52 hour. The interviews were mainly conducted orally and in English (most experts use English on daily basis). Three primary school history teachers were also interviewed, with a professional Bosnian translator in presence. All interviews were coded, analysed, categorized, and attached to the dissertation package as appendices. In general, there was no language barrier experienced. All transcribed translations and coded interviews were reviewed before final analysis.

4.2.1. Structure of the interviews

The survey starts with questions to determine the sample's general characteristics, including age and gender. Once participants completed these questions, they were asked, 'which language are you most comfortable using?'. This question was critical to distinguish participants ethnically from one another, as authorities do not allow asking a question on ethnicity directly. One will notice that the question related to the importance of politics has not been asked to students in the Zepce district because the OSCE expert advised not to ask politically related questions, claiming it could cause rejection by the authorities. Questions 4 (not answered by Zepce participants) and 5 clarify whether the respondent is interested in politics and the history of BiH in general. From question 6 and on, the school-specific questions start with attitude-oriented ones toward other ethnic groups in the country and various sources from which students learn history. While a few questions asked respondents to 'circle all that apply' within the options available, most questions required answers from 'very weak' to 'very strong' about school, history lessons, other ethnic groups, and teachers. Some questions were designed in a combined way. For example, question number 12: 'Do you learn about history from other sources except in the school?' and question 13 follows it by asking, 'If the answer to the question above was "yes," select the maximum of three sources from the list below.' Answers are given as 'Books,' 'Internet articles,' 'Documentary

Movies,' 'Museums,' 'Parents,' 'Friends,' 'TV/Radio,' and 'Social Networks (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok).

4.2.2. How the interviewed participants (experts) answered the questions

The research is based on the question, 'To what extent official narratives presented in school influences the students' development of attitudes towards other ethnic groups in the nationally divided society of BiH.' Additionally, sub-questions 'What is the role of the teacher in schools?', 'From where and to what extent do students learn historical facts?', and 'What do they think about other ethnic groups among all the negative narratives, if any, surrounding them in the country". The dissertation mainly puts its hypothesis that school history education in BiH develops negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups and contributes to the deeply rooted high social distance.

The surveys initially targeted to provide personal information (while keeping the students' names anonymous) about students, including their age, gender, and ethnicity (asked by a proxy question on language). It has allowed classifying the population into ethnicity categories, which the distinction was necessary to assess whether various groups have developed different attitudes toward each other. The following questions are designed to explore to what extent they learn history from school education. Other questions related to teachers, relation to other ethnic groups, purpose/motivation/expectations from the history lessons, and sources of history besides school education are integrated into the questionnaire. The survey was designed in consultation with experts, including indicators and measures that could offer a comprehensive understanding of the issue. Questions 16,17, and 22 provide additional data regarding students' concerns, expectations, and focus on the history lessons, allowing the research to reach further conclusions. Simultaneously, the qualitative component of the research allowed expert interviewees to answer freely and share their impressions of students' situations based on their own experiences. Many positive answers have been observed that would approve of the hypothesis given in the research, while many others would disapprove of the claims. Experts' answers often differ from each other and not always provide a clear direction to the research on a particular issue.

Hence, based on this research component, the study found that the school history education impact is equally significant as other non-school sources that students learn from historical facts and develop positive/negative attitudes toward other groups.

Further, the quantitative component of the research, the qualitative section, while it relies on the first component, provides a more contextualized perspective of students' situations in primary schools, where they learn history and their relations with other ethnic groups. The study kept the answers linked to the research questions and avoided creating new questions, focusing on complementing and enhancing the survey quality.

4.3. Hypothesis

Following an extensive examination of the relevant scholarly literature pertaining to the historical context of BiH and the prominent educational challenges the country faces, a hypothesis has been developed to provide direction for the quantitative aspect of the study. The literature review clarified the deeply entrenched ethnic divisions from the nation's past and the subsequent difficulties in cultivating interethnic comprehension and unity. Based on the literature investigation and planned methodological approach, the hypothesis for the quantitative analysis can be formulated as follows: "*Ethnically designed history lectures (e.g., curriculum, textbooks, and teacher presentations) develop negative attitudes of students toward other ethnic groups in BiH.*" The hypothesis suggests that including historical narratives in educational materials may perpetuate pre-existing ethnic biases among students, resulting in a heightened perception of hostility towards other ethnic groups. This study's primary objective is to empirically examine the hypothesis using accurate data analysis techniques. By doing so, this research seeks to provide valuable insights into the influence of historical education on interethnic relations within the specific context of BiH.

4.4. Data analysis (Survey)

The analysis of the results starts with the review of the profile of survey respondents. The three main categories include 'age.', 'gender,' and 'Which language are you most comfortable in using.' Due to the political reality of the country, it is not possible to ask survey respondents to identify their ethnicity. The data collected allowed to clarify which ethnic group participants belong to, which curriculum they use in school, and whether male and female think alike or differently.

Table C – Characteristics of the participants (Survey)

Gender	No.	%	Age	No.	%
Female	170	49	Up to 13	16	4.52
Male	175	51	14	255	73.91
			15	68	19
			16 or older	5	2
Total	345	100	**Total**	345	100

The study conducted a survey with 345 primary school students. Due to the restrictions in RS, a few secondary school students participated in the FBiH and RS. Quantitative research is defined as the primary data for this study, with additional data collected through qualitative research for complementary purposes. While the qualitative component of the research targets to collect information from selected experts, the primary research focuses on the attitude of students in primary school. During primary school is when students learn about the Bosnian war and other ethnic groups in the country for the first time in the History curriculum.

Majority of the survey respondents are 14 years old, which is the average age group of students in the 9th grade. Over 70% are 14 years old, 19% are 15 years old, and 4.52% are 13 years old. Students with more than 15 years old are often enrolled in secondary education.

Figure 3 – Age and gender percentage of the participants

- Up to 13 ■ 14 ■ 15 ■ 16 and Older   ■ Male ■ Female
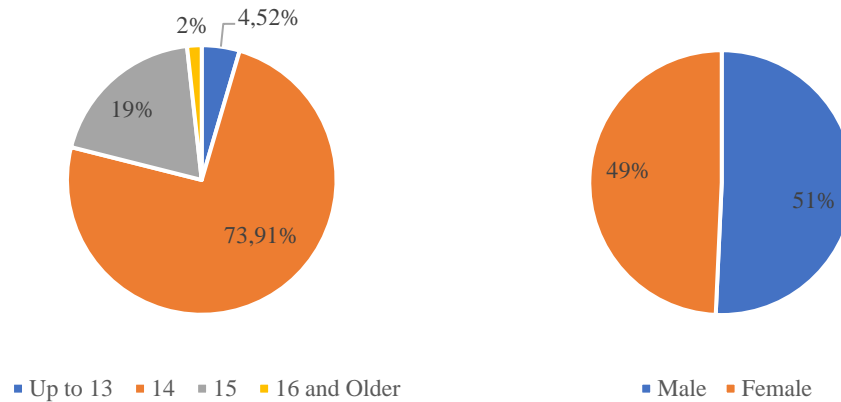
The study reconfirmed the latest data by the Agency for Statistics of BiH, which shows that the share of boys is higher than girls in primary school. In general, there were slightly more boys (51%) than girls (49%) in responding the survey. These numbers are consistent with the latest findings of the Agency for statistics of BiH (2022), which surveys the demographics of the primary school children in BiH.

Table D – Language preferences (Ethnicity)

Language preference	No.	%
Croatian	71	21
Serbian	19	6
Bosnian	248	72
Others	7	2
Total	345	100

The category of 'Language Preferences' is used as a proxy indicator for ethnicity. Formulating questions focused on ethnicity would make receiving permission from the government authorities/school administrations almost impossible. It has been found inappropriate to either the highest ministry of education or minor school administrations. On top of that, school administrations further position themselves by claiming that asking ethnic questions to primary school students cannot be approved. Given the post-war environment, where primary school children receive their studies in a segregated class arrangement, it was possible to meet students separately unless the state authority did not

issue permission. Additionally, **Hiba! A hivatkozási forrás nem található.** issuing a permission letter is a complex case in the context of BiH because different political authorities govern each ethnic group.

The largest share in this category is by far with Bosniak-speaking students (72%), followed by a Croatian-speaking group (21%) and Serbian Speaking students (6%). The high number of Bosniak-speaking students participating in the survey is because permission was received from Bosniak majority cantonal authorities and school managements of Sarajevo, Zepce, and Visoko. The RS entity level ministry of education has rejected the research by finding the questions very sensitive to proceed with primary schools. Thus, online sources have been used to reach Serbian-speaking students. Furthermore, the number of collected questionnaires among various ethnic groups is in line with initial targeting and sampling with a lack of a Serbian-speaking community. The highest number of Bosniak-speaking students in the research is valid as they represent half of the population in the country, according to the last census. It is important to note that there may be other ethnic groups among Bosniak students in the classroom, but not reflected in the survey because they may be affected by peers or feel that the Bosniak is their language. Other ethnic groups such as Roma and Jewish students are not the focus of this research.

The first two questions of the survey focus on understanding to what extent history and politics are important for students, measuring them through Likert scale questions, which give options from very little to very much.

Table E – Evaluation of Question 1 and Question 2 of the survey

Q1: To what extent politics is important to you?			Q2: To what extent the history of BiH is important to you?		
Politics	No.	%	**History**	No.	%
Very Weak	24	13	Very Weak	13	4
Weak	48	26	Weak	23	7
Not Weak Not Strong	81	44	Not Weak Not Strong	124	36
Strong	17	9	Strong	108	31
Very Strong	14	8	Very Strong	77	22
Total	184	100	**Total**	345	100

Figure 4 – Evaluation of Question 2 of the survey
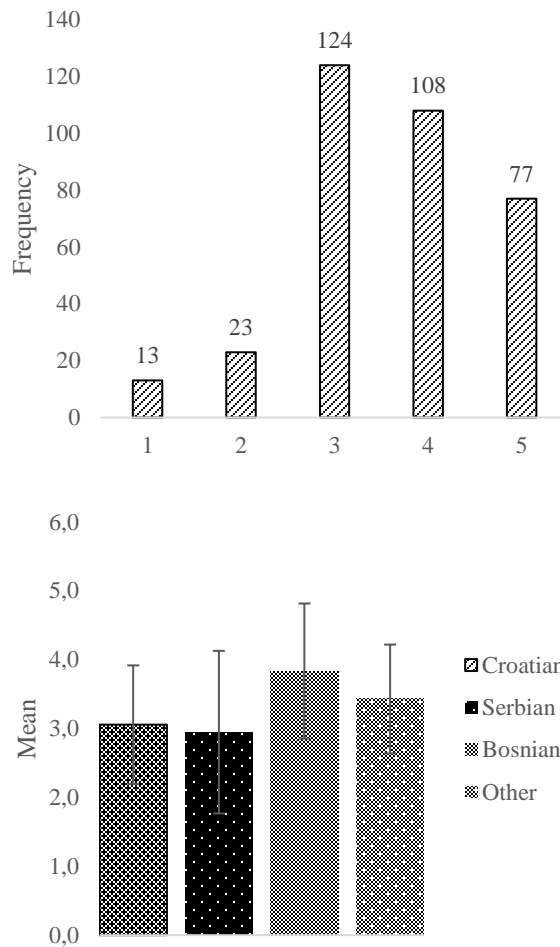
For all groups, politics appear unimportant (over 80% indicated 'Not weak, not strong' to 'very weak'). Most groups have chosen the 'not weak or not strong option (44 %). Only 8% of the students have indicated that politics are significant to them. It confirms the results reached by the experts' interviews. Interviewed experts have indicated that politics reminds students of a hostile period with corruption and mismanagement.

Only 11% of the students stated that the history of BiH is not important for them. In comparison, over 50% indicated that the history of BiH is 'important' or 'very important' for them. Accordingly, Bosniaks find the history of BiH more important than other groups, with a 3.8 average and 0.98 standard deviations.

Considering both questions, the results show no link between the interest in history and politics among students in the 9th grade of primary school. However, it also indicates that most students find their history lessons interesting, making them open to listening to teachers and reading the textbooks carefully. Thus, it makes them open to developing positive/negative attitudes during school.

Question 4 in the survey asks whether students learn the last war of BiH in their history lessons. Question 5 concerns if they discuss them with their classmates to understand the early socialization of the historical facts learned in the class.

Table F – Evaluation of Question 3 and Question 4 of the survey

Q3: Do you learn about the last war of BiH in your history lessons?			Q4: Do you discuss with your peers about the historical facts you learn in the school?		
Learning about the last war	No.	%	Discussing historical facts with peers	No.	%
Very Weak	10	3	Very Weak	70	20
Weak	49	14	Weak	115	34
Not Weak Not Strong	115	33	Not Weak Not Strong	100	29
Strong	130	38	Strong	47	14
Very Strong	40	12	Very Strong	11	3
Total	344	100	**Total**	343	100

Students that claim they learned about the last war (50%) surpass students that claim otherwise (17%). However, more people have chosen the indifferent option (Not Weak, Not Strong) with 38%. Numbers should be related to the last edition of the teaching material adoption as it was not allowed to teach the last war between 2001 to 2018 following the guidelines of the Council of Europe until the introduction of additional teaching material announced by the Cantonal Ministry of Sarajevo. It is also interesting to see that only 3% of the students' state that the last war is not included in their history lessons. Among groups, Bosniaks appear to learn more about the last war with a 3.5 average and 0.94 standard deviations, which are indicated below in Figure 5. Combining questions 2 and 3, the study can claim that with a high interest in learning history among students, most of them will

expose to the one-sided narrative about the last war during the history lesson education in the school.

Figure 5 – Evaluation of Question 3 of the survey
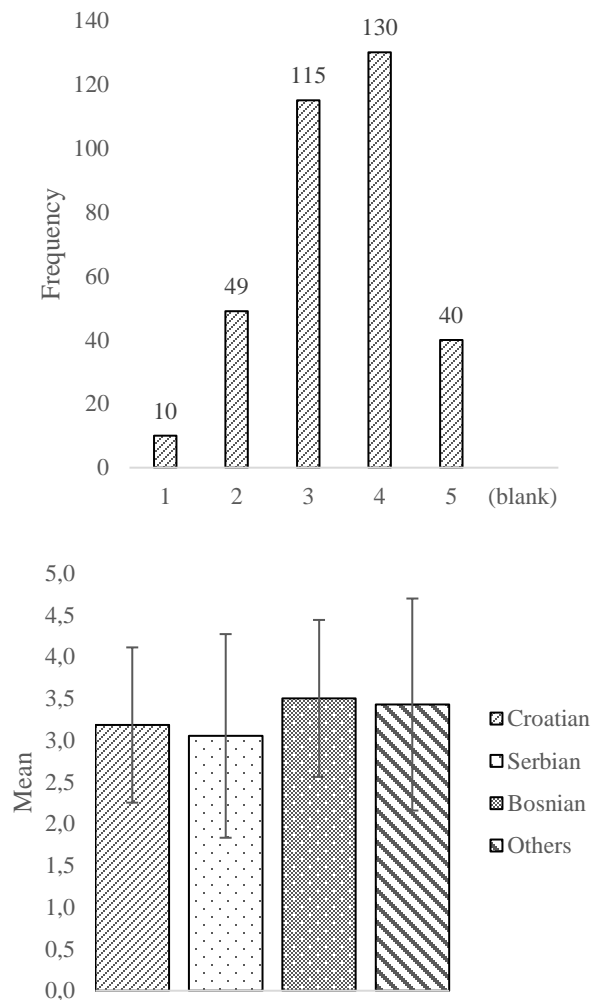
Peer relations are another issue that this study considers, concerning that the first socialization if the historical facts with student network might play an important role. Education experts claim that primary students are not interested on topics related with history and politics. In parallel, the quantitative data of this research has reconfirmed those claims by exploring that only 17% of the students indicated that they talk with their peers about the historical facts they have listened from their teachers or read from their textbooks.

The main concerns of primary students in attending grade 9th is related to video games, general appearance, and love affairs.

Questions 5 and 6 focus not on the last war, but on the presentation of other ethnic groups in the history lectures in 9th grade. It also questions for the first time the role of teachers in presenting these groups in the school system. Politically dependent teachers had to align themselves with the narratives of the governing ethnic party agendas to be employed in the school system, as referred to by one of the experts' interviewed.

Table G – Evaluation of Question 5 and Question 6 of the survey

Q5: Do you learn about history of other ethnic groups live in BiH?			Q6: How much do you think your history teacher shows other groups of BiH positively?		
Learning about other ethnic groups	**No.**	**%**	**Presenting other groups positively**	**No.**	**%**
Very Weak	35	10	Very Weak	20	6
Weak	57	17	Weak	31	9
Not Weak Not Strong	139	41	Not Weak Not Strong	102	30
Strong	81	24	Strong	110	33
Very Strong	27	8	Very Strong	74	22
Total	339	100	**Total**	337	100

The results of questions three and five reveal that primary students learn about the last war and other ethnic groups in their classes. Overall, 24% of participants evaluated the presentation (either in the textbook or by teachers) of the other groups in classes as 'Strong' and another 8% as 'Very Strong.' While only 10% of the participating students have selected 'Very weak,' most preferred to indicate 'Not Weak and Not Strong' (139 students out of 339), which still means that they somehow listen to other groups. Learning about other ethnicities in BiH is only one aspect to look at, while the positive representation of the other in a positive way is equally important component for this study.

Accordingly, the study found that the primary students are relatively familiar with other groups due to the class presentations by teachers. However, to what extent teachers talk positively about other ethnic groups remains to be a valid point to investigate. The

survey participants were asked whether their teacher talks positively about other groups and 55% of the respondent believe that he/she introduced constituent groups of the country positively, claiming that he/he is giving examples related to cultural/ social similarities between three ethnicities. A small share of the students (15%) does not find the class presentations positive, but rather negative, which might be considered alarming and need to be tracked.

Table H – Evaluation of Question 7 and Question 8 of the survey

Q7: How much are you aware that other ethnic groups living in BiH learn about history differently?			Q8: Do you have any friends outside of the school from another ethnic group who lives in BiH?		
Different history perspectives	No.	%	**Having friend from other groups**	No.	%
Very Weak	24	7	Yes	244	72
Weak	49	15	No	96	28
Not Weak Not Strong	107	32			
Strong	98	2			
Very Strong	59	1			
Total	337	100	**Total**	340	100

Figure 6 – Evaluation of Question 7 and Question 8 of the survey
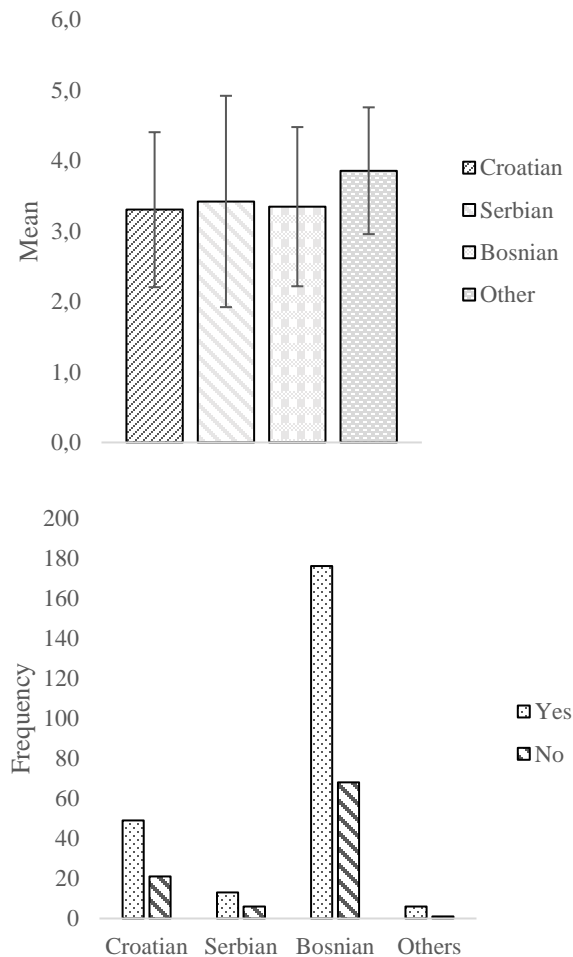
BiH stands out with its unique way of teaching history under the ethnically divided curriculums in the system. Accordingly, each ethnic group lives in the country learning historical facts differently. To this end, the next question discovers whether they know that other Bosnian students learn the same historical facts with changing points of view. Out of 337 answers collected, it discloses that most of the students are aware of various narratives taught to students depending on their ethnic groups. Nearly half of the population of the participants stated that they are aware, and 22% of the students expressed their opinion either as 'Not Aware' or 'Slightly Aware.' The average of the answers lands at 3.4 (between 'Aware' to 'Very Aware'). Additionally, answers from the various ethnic groups do not differ significantly in this question, with Croats at 3.3 with 1.10 SD., Sebs at 3.4 with 1.50 standard deviation (SD), and Bosniaks at 3.3 with 1.13 SD.

Question 8 asks if students make friends with other group members outside the school (if the answer is 'yes'). Accordingly, 72% of the students answered 'Ýes,' while 28% indicated 'No.' It signals that students make friends with other ethnic groups despite its very segregated community of BiH, which could pave the way to build a peaceful community through a generation change. Ethnic groups do not contradict their answers; 70% of the Croats students, 68% of the Serbs, and 73% of the Bosniak students stated they have friends from other ethnic groups (Figure 6).

Question 9 asks whether students learn history from sources besides the textbook and teacher presentations they are exposed to in the official state-run education system. Correspondingly, the question regenerates the discussion on whether the school system in BiH is the most important determinant in developing attitudes toward other ethnic groups or whether other variables play a more important role in the process. The experts often classify into two extreme groups. While some find the school system the essential variable, others claim that what students bring to school is the most significant part of their education. Majority of the students stated they learn historical facts from other sources (83% said 'Yes'). Listing the most selected three sources of learning are Documentary Films (46% of the respondents said 'Ýes'), Social Networks (44%), and Parents/learning at home (41%)(Table 8). Most respondents have chosen museums as the least important source of learning.

Table I – Evaluation of Question 9 and Question 10 of the survey

Q9: Do you learn history from other sources besides school?			Q10: If the answer to the question above was "yes," choose up to a maximum of 3 sources from the list below.		
Learning history from other sources	No.	%	Various sources of history learning	No.	%
Yes	283	83	Books	131	38
No	58	17	Internet articles	124	36
			Documentary films	157	46
			Museums	50	15
			Parents	139	41

			Friends	63	18
			TV/Radio	27	8
			Social networks (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok, etc.)	150	44
Total	341	100	**Total**	340	100

Figure 7 – Evaluation of Question 9 and Question 10 of the survey
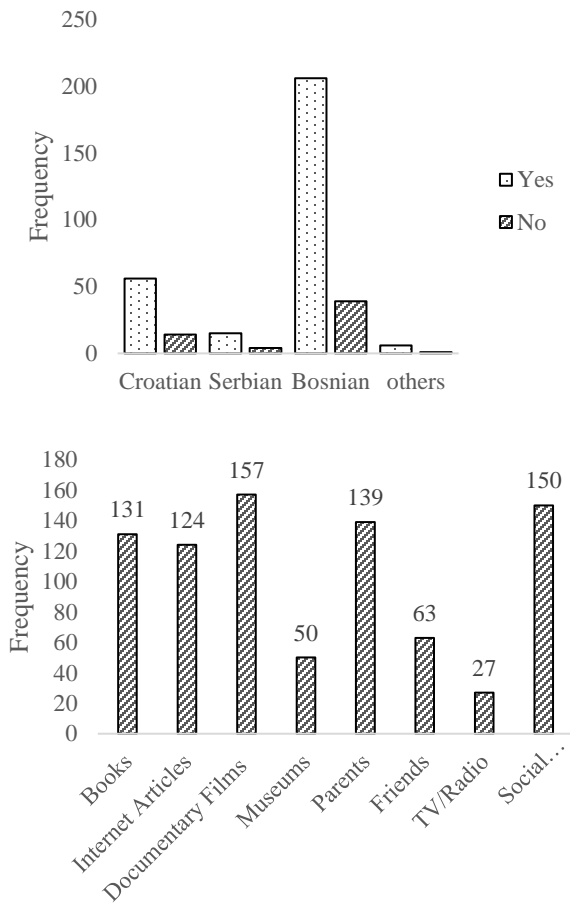
The following two questions were created as a follow-up inquiry for the previous one (Question 9), focusing on what students think about whether the school education or other sources impact their thinking and behaviour more. The survey participants were asked to choose from 'very weak' to 'very strong.' Students have evaluated other sources besides school education as stronger than school-based history education. While 56% of the students evaluated other sources' impact between from 'strong' to 'very strong,' 48% of the students

indicated between from 'strong' to 'very strong. 'It is also worth emphasizing that only 4% of the survey participants noted very weak, which tell that student believes the impact of other sources very much.

Table J – Evaluation of Question 11 and Question 12 of the survey

Q11: To what extent do you believe the facts learned in history classes influence your thinking and behaviour?			Q12: To what extent do you believe that facts learned from other sources influence your thinking and behaviour? (Parents, friends, media, etc.)		
Impact of history lessons	No.	%	**Impact of sources beside school education**	No.	%
Very Weak	22	6	Very Weak	14	4
Weak	35	10	Weak	30	9
Not Weak Not Strong	119	35	Not Weak Not Strong	106	31
Strong	123	36	Strong	131	38
Very Strong	42	12	Very Strong	60	18
Total	341	100	**Total**	341	100

The study evaluates the means and SDs of the answers within three constituent groups in the country. While even the groups differ slightly in both observations, Bosniak students still appear to believe that school learning is more effective than other variables. Serb students stay more in the middle ground (around 3) in both evaluations.

According to the students, the research has found that documentary films, social networks, and parents are essential sources in learning historical facts and other social groups. Students highlighted them as even more important than history education in the class.

Figure 8 – Evaluation of Question 11 and Question 12 of the survey
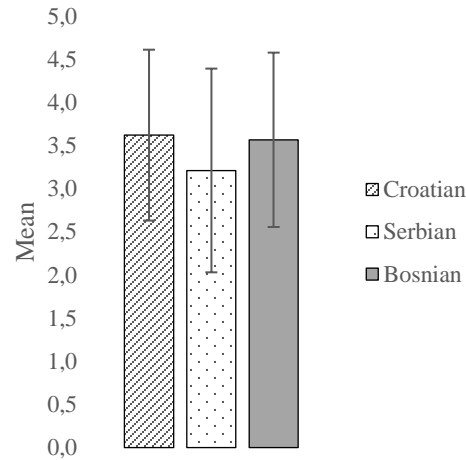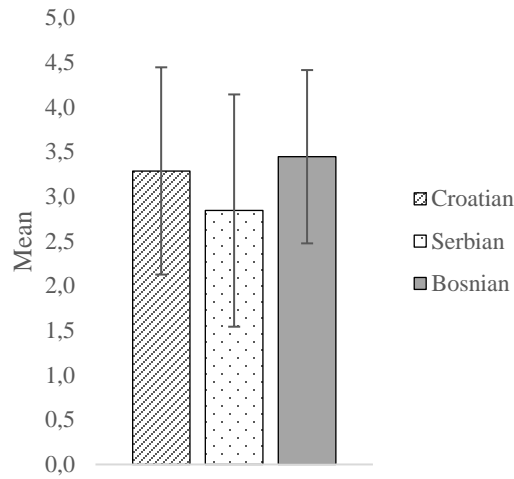
The following section evaluates the biggest concern of students while learning history and historical facts about the country and asks if there were any of the predefined categories motivated them while learning. As the survey participants are very aware of the Bosnian realities and its deeply divided communities, most of them have answered that the interest in understanding the war and conflict is the primary motivator in these lessons (223 out of 344 said yes), followed by concerns related to future, and living expenses. Students living through economic problems experience these issues daily at home by listening to their parents; therefore, it is not surprising that it has entered their radar. It can also be confirmed by their interest related to employment. Moreover, as the study has covered in the previous sections, the lack of interest in learning politics has its reflection; only 66 students expressed interest in politics.

Table K – Evaluation of Question 13 of the survey

Q13: When learning about history/history/history, what are your biggest concerns? Choose a maximum of 3 offered answers.		
The biggest concerns when learning history	No.	%
Employment	140	41
War and conflicts	223	65
Living xpenses (food, rent, health, entertainment…)	171	50
Climate change	61	18
Youth involvement in politics	66	19
I am generally worried about the future	184	53
Total	344	100

Figure 9 – Evaluation of question 13 of the survey
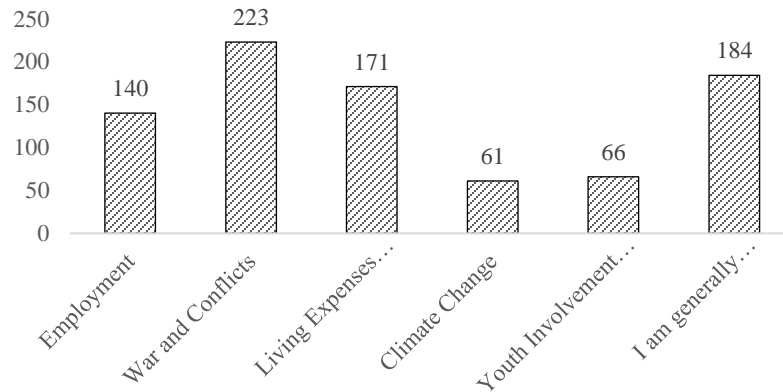
Question 14 focuses on students' goals when learning history if any. Unlike the previous question, it evaluates what they expect as an outcome of lectures as goals. Understanding the students' expectations would help to comprehend their logical reasoning when taking these lessons. Thus, it serves significantly to the research focus.

Table L – Evaluation of Question 14 of the survey

Q14: In your opinion, how important are the following goals when learning about history?		
How important the following goals when learning about history?	Mean	Evaluation
Knowledge of the past	3.9	Strong
Understanding the present	4.1	Strong
Orientation to the future	4	Strong
All written statutes – contracts, constitutions, law	3.3	Not Weak, Not Strong

Figure 10 shows the mean of answers as well as the corresponding labels. Students indicated 'Strong' for 'Knowledge of the Past', 'Understanding the Present', and Orientation to the Future'. Given titles have been evaluated by students as important goals in learning history of the country. On the other hand, understanding the written contracts and laws stay less important with mean of 3.3.

Figure 10 – Evaluation of Question 15 of the survey
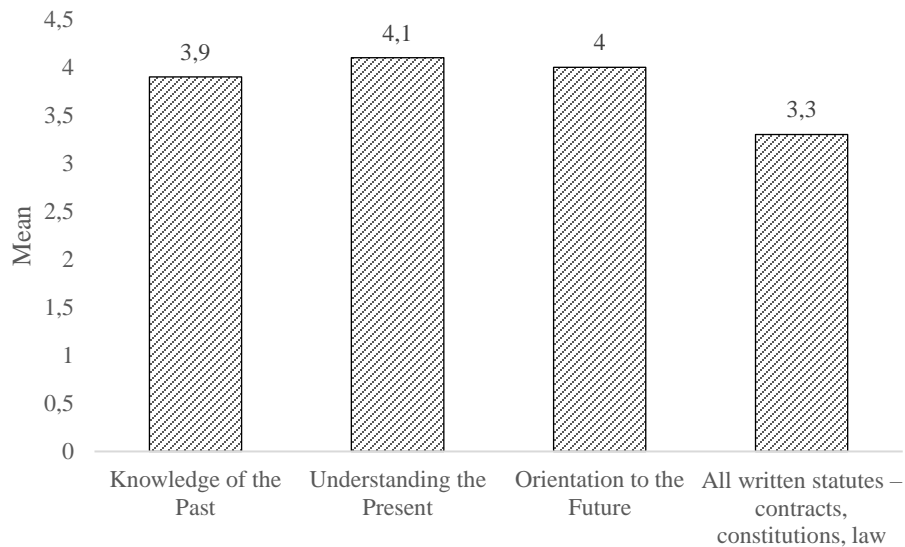
With the given evaluation, students show a more profound understanding of learning historical facts because, as seen above, the main reason of learning is evaluated as 'Understanding the Present.' Hence, it signals those students connect the events of the past and today's divided society. Orientation to the future has been chosen as a second important

goal, more than knowledge of the past. We may claim that the interest in learning the history of the students comes with their desire to comprehend the present and the future.

In this study, 9th-grade students' attitudes have been mainly targeted; therefore, the study delves into the following questions on their knowledge of history by asking how they would rate their and their teacher's knowledge of history. Learning the impact of history education on the target group can best be measured by asking about the subject itself.

Table 11 illustrates the percentage of students on the Likert scale from 'very weak' (Not Knowledgeable) to 'very strong' (Very Knowledgeable).

Overall, students believe that their knowledge of history is at a high level. In their evaluation, participants have evaluated the most at 34% ('strong'), which is followed by 'not weak, not strong' (34%) and 'very strong' (17%). Only 36 students (10%) believe their historical knowledge is insufficient.

In terms of ethnical differences, Bosniak students' self-expression of their knowledge of history hits a 3.7 average rate. The average Croats (3.3) and Serbs (3.1) rates are relatively similar. SDs of Serbs, Bosniaks, and Serbs at 1.05, 0.90, and 0.87, respectively.

Table M – Evaluation of Question 16 and Question 17 of the survey

Q16: How would you rate your knowledge of the history of your country?			Q17: How would you rate your teacher's knowledge of history in this subject?		
Your knowledge of the history	No.	%	**Teachers' knowledge of the history**	No.	%
Very Weak	5	1	Very Weak	17	5
Weak	31	9	Weak	13	4
Not Weak Not Strong	116	34	Not Weak Not Strong	43	13
Strong	131	38	Strong	71	21
Very Strong	60	17	Very Strong	200	58
Total	343	100	**Total**	341	100

On the other hand, question seventeen aims to explore the knowledge of history teachers from students' perspectives. This question is also related to their trust in their teachers, as trust and respect for knowledge go side by side. Accordingly, one could claim that students have a solid bond or trust on their teachers based on the evaluation land at the label 'Very strong' by 200 students out of 341, which corresponds with 58% of the participants. Only 9% of the students expressed their impression stating that their teacher was not knowledgeable.

Croat students in BiH recorded that their trust in teachers' knowledge higher than other groups (63% of Croats).

Figure 11 – Evaluation of Question 16 and Question 17 of the survey
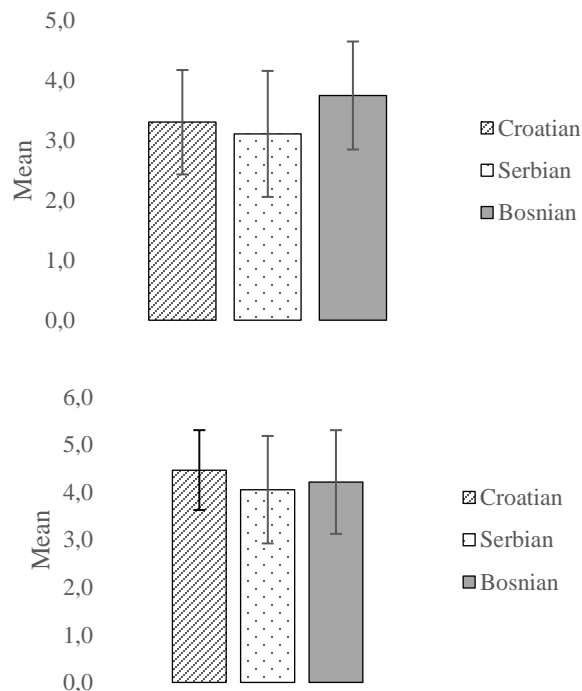
Bosniak students' self-expression of their knowledge of history hits a 3.7 average rate. The average Croats (3.3) and Serbs (3.1) rates are relatively similar. SDs of Serbs, Bosniaks, and Serbs at 1.05, 0.90, and 0.87, respectively. Bosniaks and Serbs follow the Croats with 59 and 42% respectively.

Question 18 deals with often under investigation in this field: to what extent do students think that teachers follow the state-designed/regulated content of history textbooks? They might express an impression that they follow but also would have claimed that teachers mostly talk about issues not supposedly in the content of the curriculum. The study has reached 344 students on this question, and a great majority of them have stated that the teacher closely follows the content of the history textbooks. Almost 75% of the students have indicated that teachers highly follow the content, while 8% have stated in contrast. Among ethnicities, Bosnian-speaking participants stand out with a 4.2 average with 0.90 SD, Serbian-speaking pupils stay at the second with 3.9, and Croats at 3.8.

Table N – Evaluation of Question 18 and Question 19 of the survey

Q18: To what extent does your history teacher follow the content of history textbooks?			Q19: To what extent do you trust your history teacher?		
Following the content of the history books	No.	%	**Trusting in teacher**	No.	%
Very Weak	6	2	Very Weak	20	6
Weak	20	6	Weak	17	5
Not Weak Not Strong	52	15	Not Weak Not Strong	49	14
Strong	117	34	Strong	92	27
Very Strong	149	43	Very Strong	161	47
Total	344	100	**Total**	339	100

Figure 12 – Evaluation of Question 18 and Question 19 of the survey
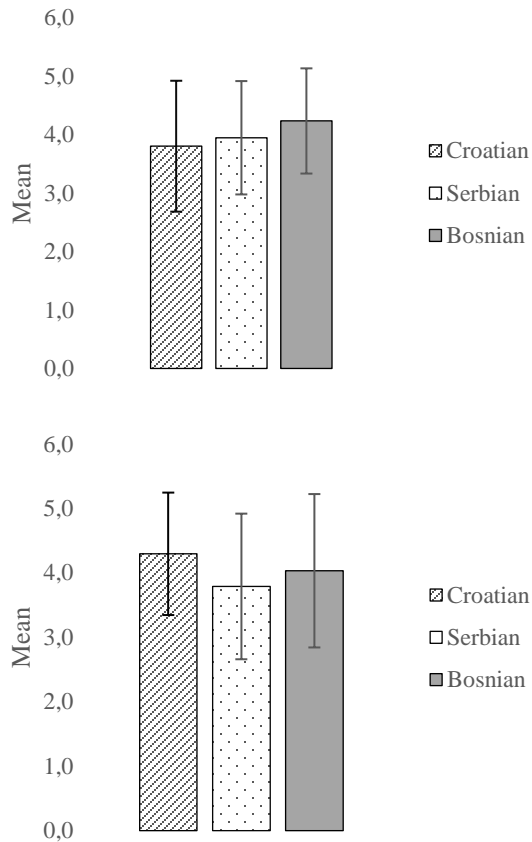
Question 19 is very similar to question 17 but differs by directly emphasizing the concept of trust, which covers a broader area, not only their knowledge of historical facts. It can refer to his/her interpretation of other groups, which is essential to point out while assessing the impact of teachers on school education.

Students scored the highest option ('very strong') for their evaluation of teachers' knowledge, which decreased from 58% to 47%. In comparison, the option of 'strong' populates more in the last question at 27% (21% previous). It signals that when it comes to trust, students develop reservations about teachers. Among ethnic groups, 56% of the Croatian-speaking children recorded trusting their teacher completely (very strong), Bosniaks followed it with 47%, and Serbs with 32%. This test determines that students are significantly exposed to teachers' interpretations in history education.

Question 20 explores students' focus when learning history. Curriculum designers, teachers, and even politicians (Bosnian Case) may have a specific consideration in preparing/evaluating the history lessons. However, it is equally important to comprehend what students expect to focus on in these lectures. Therefore, questions below have been prepared to explore their reflection on whether they expect any of the titles generically prepared by authorities.

Table O – Evaluation of Question 20 of the survey

Q20: What are you focusing on in history lessons?		
Students' focus in history lessons	Mean	Evaluation
Knowledge of the main facts in history	3.9	Strong
We morally criticize historical events under human rights standards	3.4	Not Weak, Not Strong
We use historical facts to explain the situation today with the goal of change	3.4	Not Weak, Not Strong
We learn about the traditions, characteristics, and goals of our nation and society	3.9	Strong

The table fourteen and figure thirteen indicate the mean of responses and scales. Students evaluated 'strong' for 'Knowledge of the main facts of history 'and 'Learning about the traditions, characteristics, and goals of our nation and society'. 'Morally criticizing historical events under human rights standards', 'Using historical facts to explain the situation today with the goal of change' remain less important with mean of 3.4.

Figure 13 – Evaluation of Question 20 of the survey

With the given answers, the study reveals that the education system still in the influence of recitation education methodology. One can notice that the second and third criteria given in the figure sixteen are related to critical thinking rather than recitation. Hence, it signals those children most likely don't have enough space for sharing their own thinking and learn interactively.

The last two questions are about personal experience and evaluation concerning willingness to have a friend and feeling safe around students of other ethnic groups. The survey participants could choose from 'very weak' to 'very strong' to reflect their opinion.

Table P- – Evaluation of Question 21 and Question 22 of the survey

Q21: Mark on the scale how much you would like to be friends with a student of another ethnic group.			Q22: On the scale, mark the level you feel safe around students of another ethnic group/group.		
Willingness to be a friend	No.	%	**Feeling safe**	No.	%
Very Weak	22	7	Very Weak	14	4
Weak	18	5	Weak	22	7
Not Weak Not Strong	101	30	Not Weak Not Strong	97	30
Strong	93	28	Strong	99	30
Very Strong	99	30	Very Strong	95	29
Total	333	100	**Total**	327	100

The ratio regarding the willingness to have a friend from other ethnic groups is mostly populated from medium to very positive responses (30, 28, and 30%; medium, strong, and very strong, respectively), negative responses (7 and 5%; very weak and weak respectively). Therefore, the study can conclude that students are willing to have friends from other groups. Only 11% of the participants have responded negatively; Croatian-speaking students have the highest rate for negative responses, with 18% of the Croat participants of the Survey. Serb and Bosniak participants' response both stay at 11%. However, Bosniaks have the highest rate for 'very strong' response with 33%, followed by 21% Croats and 16% Serbs.

Figure 14 – Evaluation of the Question 21 and Question 22 of the survey
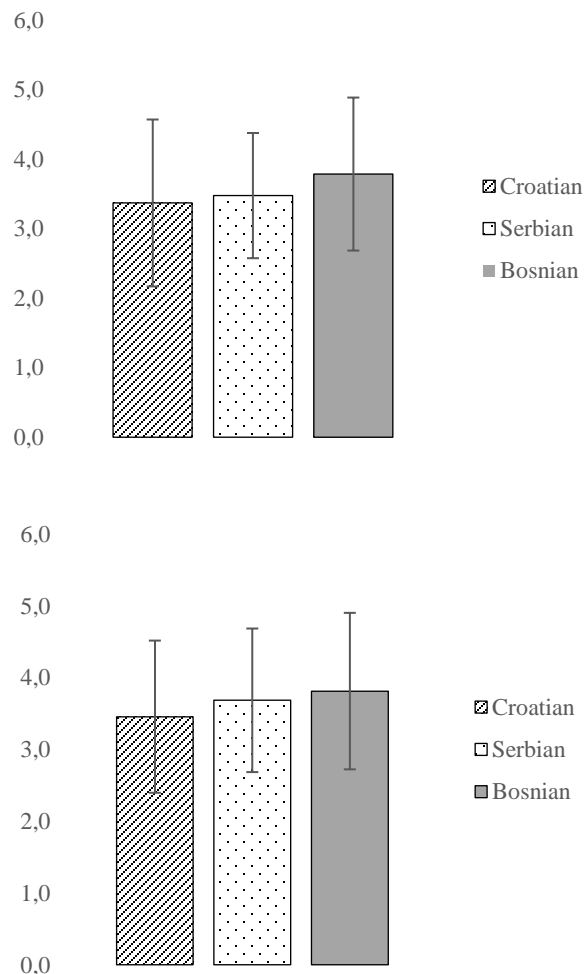
The result on whether students feel safe around students from other ethnic groups is pretty much identical with the answers to the previous question. For approximately 90% of

the answers were in the positive direction with 29% the highest positive 'very strong'. It is followed by with same ratio between 'medium' and 'strong' evaluations. Only 36 people out of 327 have answered negatively, indicating that they are not feeling safe with other ethnic groups' student. The study has already indicated in the previous sections that the reason of being unsafe cannot be related to only one factor as many other variables proved to play an important role, but it is, a mix of various reasons.

Looking at the results from the ethnic perspective, 14% of the Croats state they are feeling unsafe have the highest ration in the negative side of the ratio. It is followed by Bosniaks (11%) and Serbs (10%). The average rate among ethnicities is 3.7 composed of 3.8, 3.7, and 3.5; Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats, respectively.

4.5. Data analysis (Semi-structured interviews)

The study conducted 11 semi-structured interviews with primary school teachers, university professors, international civil servants, and NGO and INGO staff from various organizations in the FBiH and the RS. The semi-structured interviews have been used as complementary/supportive data for the larger data collected by the structured interviews. None of the participants of the semi-structured interviews took part in the quantitative component of the data collection as that section fully aims to gain insight from the primary and secondary school students. The following table shows the general characteristics of the expert participants in the interviews.

Table Q – Characteristics of the participants (Semi-structured interviews)

Gender	No.	%	Age	No	%
Female	6	55	34–60	11	100
Male	5	45	M - 46.8		
Entity			**Profession**		
FBiH	8	73	National Staff in the OSCE	2	18
RS	3	27	University scholar	4	36
			History education expert	1	9
			Local NGO staff	1	9
			History teacher	3	27

The sample size of the qualitative research was deliberately kept small compared to the quantitative research. Only 11 individuals were invited to share their input via semi-structured interview questions. As explained in the **Hiba! A hivatkozási forrás nem található.** section, the qualitative data collection/analysis is intended to extend and complement the evaluation of history education in schools and its impact on children developing negative/positive attitudes toward other groups by getting an in-depth look into experts' observations. Since the country is divided into two entities; therefore, participants of this section have been reached out in both FBiH and RS (an averaged aged of 46.8 years) with a note that RS's population is significantly less than FBiH according to the last Census. Over 50% of the interview partners were selected based on their teaching experience in primary/secondary/tertiary school. The rest of the participants have chosen due to their occupation in the related fields with the issue in question (NGOs, international organizations, etc.). More than half of the participants are female (6 out of 11), and male participants stand at 5 out of 11. One could notice that staff from international organizations have been invited as they also play an essential role in the country.

In parallel with the quantitative research, due to the sensitivities embedded into this research topic, the study had to eliminate any potential for identifying values in responses that some would trace the participants. Therefore, respondents' names remained

nameless/anonymous in the qualitative research section except those indicated otherwise, which is given in the appendices section.

In the process of evaluating the semi-structured interviews, the study has classified the following eight themes for qualitative research.

Table R – Questions and themes for the qualitative research

Learning broader historical perspectives (different population groups, last war)
Context/curriculum of the history lessons on developing positive/negative attitudes towards other population groups
The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups
Learning at home or at school
Teachers' importance in learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
Interest of learning politics and history
The biggest concerns of primary/secondary schools' students

4.5.1. Learning broader historical perspectives (different population groups, last war)

The interviews confirm again that divisive narratives are strictly embedded into the education system in BiH, regardless of if they have been designed by cantonal or entity-level authorities. Students learn only from one ethnic perspective depending on the location of the school they have enrolled in. One of the interviewed experts stated: "We have three different perspectives of view for each historical event" (P3, 41, Female). Others also echoed: "Most of the time, kids are only exposed to their curriculum (geography, history) from one narrative." (P7, 54, Male), "All schools are divided, and kids learn different histories, with a note that their historical facts conflict each other. Communities glorify their ingroups as winners." (P8, 60, Male) Indeed, one can notice that schools in BiH have been highly exposed to divided historical narratives of society and the educational model implemented reflectively. Communities still need to find a common understanding of specific historical facts. P9 (46, Female), a history education expert from the RS, states that there is yet to be a consensus on how to refer to the last war. "Was it a single war or a series of wars? Communities haven't widely accepted the title of the war. While Croats are titled

as Homeland war, it is referred to by Serbs as a Civil War/Homeland and a Serb Aggression by Bosniaks. We can find a multi-perspective approach neither in textbook nor in the presentation of the teachers" (P9, 46, Female). "The war between ethnic groups continues within the textbook narratives. The communities learn only from their point of view – victimization surrounds all the narratives" (P4, 38, Male). One entity strongly prioritizes and enforce the siege of Sarajevo and genocide in Srebrenica as compulsory topics (FBiH); others do not even mention it in a sentence (like in the RS).

Nonetheless, there are some individual initiatives for teaching different perspectives by introducing other groups based on the alleged scientific evidence. P3(41, female), a history teacher in primary school, reports: "I teach my students about national minorities by using the handbook for teachers of history and national minorities written by Leonard Valenta, published in 2009, mentioning 17 different national minorities who have lived in the BiH". In addition, religion lessons provide another entry to learn other ethnicities that live in the country: "Religion classes have the mandate to teach other religions (P8, 60, Male)." "On another positive note, some teachers take children to visit mosques or catholic churches to learn about other ethnic groups and understand their perspectives." (P6, 48, Female) However, the research could not find anything valid to stress that the collective identity of BiH is on the right track. A schoolteacher in the FBiH states that: "Before 9th grade, they learned nothing related to the war and other ethnic groups except some initiations of teachers out of the curriculum" (P2, 62, Male)

According to Dayton Peace Accords, educational arrangements are left to entity-level policies, while it has been further left to cantonal-level authorities in FBiH. Each of the three ethnic groups can decide what to teach in their history classes. As each community only focuses on ethnic identities, students do not develop any understanding of Bosnian Statehood or Collective Bosnian identity. P6 (48, Female), a national officer who works in the OSCE, states that schools follow various curriculums as the flexibility of choosing the curriculum is given to entities/cantons.

P9 (46, Female) draws a picture of recent developments in history education:

"From 2001 to 2018, guidance was released by the Council of Europe on teaching recent history. Accordingly, it advised that the recent war shouldn't be taught in schools. However, in 2019, the Canton of Sarajevo developed an additional teaching material dedicated to the siege of Sarajevo and the genocide in Srebrenica. In reflection, the RS has also changed the curriculum and introduced classes dedicated to crimes that happened toward Serbs, particularly those in the concentration camp in Jasenovac. Accordingly, the Croat curriculum has also made changes."

In parallel, the schools adapted the new topics into their curriculum. P10 (43, Female), who lives and works in Banja Luka, reported that with the latest changes in 2019, even the early years of schooling cover BiH's last war and political system. The person stated:

"Students recently started learning about the latest war, including the civil war. The 5th-grade students have already started learning about the political system of BiH, including each cantonal administration in FBiH."

P7 (54, Male), an officer from the OSCE, added:

"Students start learning about the political organization of BiH from the 5th grade on divergent views of this country and how it is organized in the political sphere."

P11 (34, Female), a scholar from the university of Sarajevo, emphasizes that the lectures on the last war have been given inappropriate time to the 9th-grade students, which decreases the efficiency of these lectures over students:

"The last war, the aggression against BiH, was entered only in the last classes of the end of primary and secondary school. It is a learning lands at an inappropriate time because it is the time before the end of school and the summer vacation."

The interview has revealed that students shape historical understanding not only through lectures and teachers' presentations but also through social activities organized by schools which find form in site and museum visits, celebrations, and parades. P6 and P8 noted, respectively:

"Some local-level celebrations and national tours are very influential. For instance, they visit Jasenovac in RS or make provincial/cantonal visits to celebrate military parades."

"Students can reach other narratives through out-of-school sources."

As it has been understood above section, politics are intermingled with the narratives that taught in the history classes. Indoctrination efforts toward other groups can be observed from the first sentence to last in history textbooks.

P7 and P10 recorded: "Each of the lessons is checked by the historians – with a note that historians are, in many cases, politicians. They double-check that the lecture's outcome aligns well with the ethnic party's political aims." "History lessons are used by political groups, especially in FBiH. Children learn different historical perspectives based on the parties' political interests."

Thus, qualitative research confirms the impressions from the quantitative section. Students have limited opportunities to learn about other groups in the country while learning about the last war and critical historical events from their ethnic narratives that conflict with other group narratives.

4.5.2. Context/curriculum of history lessons on developing positive/negative attitudes towards other population groups

All the participants of the semi-structured interview claimed that the current context/curriculum of history lessons is developing negative attitudes toward other groups in BiH, whether it is designed for FBI or RS, except a history teacher participant from the FBiH, Sarajevo Canton.

"As I teach Bosnian History regardless of the last war. I believe it builds positive attitudes". (P2, 62, Male)

Due to textbooks and curricula being left to be designed by entity/canton authorities, all the interviewed experts believe that it is the primary source of the problem, inevitably developing negative attitudes toward other groups. It is essential to note that the textbooks and the curriculum for the history lessons mostly adapt to the same context/methodology

used in Croatia and Serbia. Thus, the extreme nationalist tone in the materials is an indispensable part of the narratives provided to students. Therefore, one can see that these narratives strongly underline the differences between the groups without any effort to reflect the similarities.

According to the participants, the divisive narratives are embedded into the texts and victimization of the community is used as a leading teaching methodology in each context. Except for one, none of the people that this study interviewed had a positive impression of the curriculum and textbooks. The contrary is the case. Some experts even argued that the language of hate is incorporated into the texts, almost like a subliminal message. People reported that the textbook reflects extreme ethnic narratives and aims to glorify specific ethnic groups in hidden messages that target developing negative attitudes toward other demographic groups in the country. The experts of the OSCE explained the realities by pointing out that the students in many cities do not see other demographic groups in their town, as the last war segregated all cities into monoethnic communities.

P4 (38, Male) and P5 (45, Male) described the texts and the presentation of the narratives:

"'We" and "they" can be observed through the textbooks and presentations; these are very divisive narratives."

"In theory, textbooks and curriculum have been organized so that education could help students to understand other groups; however, this claim still needs to be fulfilled in practice. Ethnic narratives perpetuate the message of 'we' and 'they' groupings."

A different impression came from two scholars from FBiH and RS (P10,43, Female and P11, 34, Female) who reported that evidence-based truths need to be presented in schools whether one's ethnic narratives approve it.

"The books are politically correct. The historical facts are presented based on evidence/historical facts. At the primary school level, historical facts are presented at an introductory level in a few hours of the week dedicated to history education. Scientific truth should be presented in a way that I am not sure whether reconciliation must be targeted in these lectures. To be able to reconcile groups, we need to express scientific proof loudly.

Looking at the textbooks, you can't see any page that could refer to reconciliation, and I expect it will stay unchanged for a long time."

Change appears to be very difficult in the system as it has been also reconfirmed by a National Expert who works at the OSCE (P7,54, Male):

"Politicians find monoethnic narratives useful to support their ethnic politics and political interests".

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that P3 (41, Female) teaches in primary school, firmly believes that the Bosnian community has yet to come to the point where history could answer questions from the war period from a scientific perspective as it is not at the level to see some facts from a different point of view.

"Thus, while one group calls a person aggressor, other might call him/her a hero".

One other important point that participants provided is that students are not only exposed to ethnic narratives in the school (textbooks) but also to non-curricular narratives delivered by teachers and various internet/media sources. P7 noted:

"Adolescents are subjected to hate narratives surrounding them online and in other media sources. Additionally, daily TV news doesn't help to change narratives, only reconfirms what they have heard from online sources."

In conclusion, all sources encompassing children develop negative attitudes towards other groups in the country.

4.5.3. The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups

Regarding the most relevant sources that students learn about historical facts, almost all the participants had different answers, making it difficult to reach a robust conclusion for the study. Even though students before the first introduction of the last war in 9th grade know already about the genocide in Srebrenica along with other crimes, most of the experts believe that the history lessons in the classrooms have the primary influence over students to develop and shape a historical understanding. Indeed, five out of eleven interviewed

experts indicated that history lessons are the most influential source in learning historical events and other groups. P2, a history teacher in FBI, reported that while history lessons play the primary role, the internet sources would follow it closely. Others have also claimed that increased internet usage among students is a game changer, while history lessons remain the primary source of learning. Still, P5 (45, Male), a scholar in FBI, differs from the others by claiming that the primary source of history education is the out-of-school sources as the number of hours in the classroom is very limited comparing to the social media exposure of students with the latest technological development. On the contrary, the experts from OSCE states that the students do not only learn during history lessons, but also in other classes, such as religion lectures, which can be even more effective than history ones. P4 (38, Male) recorded:

"The schools are the primary source in learning historical facts; however, it is not limited to history lessons but also cover language, music, literature, and religion due to the literature chosen for teaching. Students still seek their teacher's approval in order to cross-check what to believe and reflect in their lives."

P4(38, Male), P7(54, Male), and P10(43, Female) have stressed the influence of the internet and media sources along with school education. Noted respectively below:

"Television and the internet are also effective sources to learn historical facts."

"The internet is an essential source of historical facts for children."

"The new generation has more sources than we used to have in schools. The internet is vital in today's world and learning about historical facts. Online sources (Wikipedia, etc.) are widely applied in learning, with a note that the data validity is questionable."

Besides the internet and media, some interviewed experts stated that parents' role should not be forgotten.

"Parents are one of the primary sources of learning about historical facts." (P4, 38, Male)

"Narratives living through the family and the local community are fundamental." (P5, 45, Male)

"We should remember that families also have an essential role in teaching their children to see historical facts and other groups." (P8, 60, Male)

"Besides textbooks, students get historical information from their families as a first place" (P9, 46, Female)

It is also worth mentioning other sources interviewed experts have mentioned, like site visits, celebrations, peer relations (football groups), graffiti, books, political leaders' speeches, etc.

When it comes to the most reliable sources, the archives of the Tribunal in the Hague stand as important data that is scientifically proven. P3 (41, Female) stated:

"The war diaries, documentary movies, illustrations, museum visits, war reportages, and audio and video materials passed available from the Hague Tribunal processes against those who committed war crimes in BiH, to me, are the most reliable data that students can refer to."

The interviews confirm that the sources children learn historical facts are not only limited to history lessons but also differ from others as the most valuable source. The internet, social media, politicians, and parents also play an essential role in shaping historical understanding and learning about other ethnic groups.

4.5.4. Learning at home or school

In this question, the study has asked whether children bring their historical understandings from home or develop them with lectures in school. The answers of the participants divide into two groups almost equally. While five out of eleven argue that learning at school is more effective for students 'historical understanding, four believe they learn more at home from their families and relatives. This can also lead to a clash between narratives students learn at home and school.

Students come to the first history lesson about other groups and the last war with their grounded ideas. In this context, many have already built attitudes toward other groups. P2 (62, Male, History Teacher) said:

"Kids bring 70% of their understanding from home and about 30% they develop in school. Both learning components should be evaluated scientifically as it is hard to determine which is more effective."

P1 (44, Female, History Teacher) noted:

"They all develop an understanding back home in a very subjective, partial, and biased way."

Some participants find that attitudes built in are a combination of both home and school, giving slightly more importance to students' out-of-school surroundings than in class settings. P7 stated accordingly:

"It is the combination of both in and out-of-school learning. However, the out-of-school component is more vital for developing a mindset toward other groups and the country itself."

P8 (60, Male) stressed the success of the education system depends on the intensity of the information students learn at home, as these deeply rooted attitudes will be an essential determinant in the class.

On the contrary, more than half of the interviewed experts expressed their impression by claiming that the impact of the attitudes built at home is theatrical and exaggerated. P2 (62, Male), P4 (38, Male), and P6 (48, Female) strongly believe that schools are more effective than learning at home. P6, among them, recorded:

"The school is significant in teaching historical facts. Many children learn them for the first time in school."

According to a History Teacher in FBiH:

"They don't bring enough historical understanding from home. Books and lectures are the primary sources of information related to history and other groups" (P2, 62, Male)

A scholar interviewed expert acknowledged the normative role of school education but recognized that the realities of the Bosnian Education system are far from ideal. P10 stated:

"Learning in school is surely more important. Students meet with qualified people who are trained to teach historical facts. Relying on parents is not a great methodology, as they might be wrong. It would be best if they learned from the professionals in a school."

Finally, P11 (34, Female) compares the ideal system and what BiH has in practice, including the impact of the political system and politicians in history education.

"Students ideally should learn at the school if the experts/teachers would have been objective and completely independent from the politics; however, politics dictate the education system. Therefore, it is unsurprising that you hear the truth back home rather than at school. For example, the Genocide against Bosniaks. It is not taught at schools in the RS, although it has been proven in numerous courts."

P5 (45, Male) seconded the impression given above:

"Learning history at school is ideal, but it is not professional in BiH yet, with full of biased interpretations. Remember that families find some issues difficult to talk to their children, sexual crimes for instance. History lessons can provide a space of learning sensitive issues."

The Bosnian war also caused tremendous loss of life and affected thousands of families closely. Families developed strong negative attitudes toward other groups in the country. These powerful conservative narratives are often conveyed to the next generations, creating a significant barrier to reconciliation and understanding other groups' perspectives. On top of that, the media has been divided into ethnic lies and presents the daily news in a way that the war will restart at any moment. Combining the daily news with parents' comments about demographic groups in BiH, children and adolescents expectedly create negative impressions. P7 (54, Male) expressed in this way:

"They mostly learn and reflect on interpretations they have heard from their parents."

"This way of learning produces extremist and passionate youth, which could harm the community." (P10, 43, Female)

Again, the results don't provide a clear picture of whether learning at home or school is more effective and from where students develop their historical understanding and other groups – with a note that most of the participants believe that they should be taught in school in a well-functioning education system.

4.5.5. Teachers' importance in learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war

In general, all participants have answered that the teacher's role is the most significant in developing attitudes toward other groups based on how they interpret the past and historical facts and convey them to adolescents. For example, P6 (48, Female) said:

"Teachers are the key for teaching the last war and other groups. You can have the best textbook/curriculum, but you will only succeed with good teachers."

P9 (46, Female) draws a different picture:

"They even have the power to share the facts in a way that doesn't present in the textbook/guidelines. So, while searching for the causal relationship between textbooks and children's historical understanding, one should not forget to look at the history presented by teachers."

In this context, what P11 (34, Female) expressed appears to be important note:

"They should be the most important; they have complete freedom in teaching when they can say what has been proven by courts. They should tell them without fear."

Even though there is little room to question their importance in teaching historical facts and other groups, some participants are sceptical about the power given to teachers. Indeed, it is challenging to monitor how the teaching is done behind closed doors. P5 (45, Male) expresses his concern:

"The problem is that we don't know what they are doing once they are in the classroom with students."

"Behind closed doors, teachers convey the narratives to children based on their professional(?) interpretations, which is hard to evaluate/monitor" (P7, 54, Male).

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Many teachers in BiH have more than 20 years of experience, which means they participated in the last war. They are no different than other citizens in the country. Some of them even had been teaching in the Yugoslavian period. Ideology and official narratives of the country have changed continuously since then. Still, the same teachers continued teaching new generations by adjusting the latest curricula and textbooks. P4 (38, Male) stated:

"They have grown up in a conflict society contaminated by hate speech and segregation."

As the study defined above that the political and educational systems intermingled closely, it also affects the employability of the teachers in the system. P8 (60, Male) stresses the politics in the education sector:

"We shouldn't forget that the teaching occupation is closely linked with politics, so teachers must align with the guidelines of the ruling political authorities, almost always making ethnic politics. Being a good teacher is not enough to remain in the system; they need to continuously convince the political elites that they teach following the narratives they give."

Considering the facts above, some participants believe teachers' training should be prioritized for teaching sensitive issues and developing critical thinking and a researcher mentality.

"Teachers have insufficient information of presenting historical facts and other groups. Teachers should get an education on dealing with sensitive issues" (P1, 44, Female)

"Teachers in BiH are not trained in teaching the last war, and different demographic groups live in the country." (P9, 46, Female)

"They need to be trained, especially in teaching sensitive issues. Not only limited to the last war but also the second world war and other conflicting topics." (P10, 43, Female)

Hence, interviewed experts confirm the importance of teachers with reservations about the uncertainties on what and how they teach behind doors, insufficient training for teaching sensitive issues, and the need for political links for employment.

4.5.6. Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school

One of the semi-structured questions related to the hostile or friendly relations students establish with other demographic groups during the divisive narratives has been learning from school or family. Only three out of eleven interviewed experts, which they could hardly find, stated some incident they observed. The most apparent one given by P8 (60, Male) due to developments in online channels where students interact with each other provides a platform to observe hostile relations among them. One another interview participant said:

"The living memories make the friendships difficult. I believe it will change after the generation change and then a road toward building reconciliation will be available. Today I see that Football hooligans cause conflict and their hate messages toward other groups sometimes spotted by TV media channels" (P6, 48, Female)

Although most participants did not see significant hostilities between ethnic groups, still, the study could not find any solid evidence for friendly relations that students get together and make friends. The BiH's cities and schools are highly segregated in mono-ethnic lines; therefore, they often do not have the possibility to see other groups in the school setting, although they rarely meet with them on the streets. According to P6 (48, Female), children in most cities have rare opportunities to get together with other constituent group members. P9 (46, Female) stated:

"As I work in Banja Luka, I can't observe any hostile relationships among various groups in the country as the city is not ethnically mixed; only Serbs live in Banja Luka with a few minority groups."

On the positive side of the study, despite all the mental and physical divisiveness imposed through the education system, five out of eleven interviewed experts shared their impressions based on their observations of positive/friendly communication among different groups.

"Children have great communication and friendship with other groups. It is hard to even identify from which group they are as they are affiliated with the same interests." (P1,44, Female)

Cultural activities provide opportunities for different groups to get together and establish friendships. P3 (41, Female) shares her impression toward this end:

"Children are developing friendships in and out of the school setting through concerts, sports activities, and other cultural events."

Some participants mention that their age is insufficient to grasp the community's social segregation and divisive narratives yet.

"Even in the primary level of education, there are some divisive narratives children had to be exposed to; however, it doesn't influence their relationship with other groups yet." (P5, 45, Male)

"No incidents have been observed in school recently, with a note that some schools have considerable minority groups enrolled. Children still find their way to establish friendships." (P6, 48, Male)

In the two schools under one roof arrangements, the authorities haven't recorded a single incident based on ethnic lines. P10 (43, Female) stated:

"I have not noticed any misunderstanding/incident during my profession at the university. In addition, giving an example from my daughter, my daughter's classmate is Bosniak and lives in the same neighbourhood as us, and I am confident that he has yet to experience any problems living among Serbs. Kids don't mind being friends with other group members."

In conclusion, this section could help the study understand that the community-level hostilities and political tension among various groups have yet to be reflected in primary school children in the early ages of education. As they advance their studies, before joining the community, they have a high tendency to build negative attitudes toward other groups.

4.5.7. Interest in learning politics and history

The study has questioned whether primary school students show interest in learning politics and the country's history. One can see that the answers of the interviewed experts differ, once again, almost equally. While five experts position themselves that adolescents are not interested in learning politics or history, three out of eleven believe that they are interested. According to P1(44, Female), a history teacher, sharing his first-hand experience in the classroom:

"Students, whether they like or dislike the history. Two extremes can be observed."

"Only a smaller group of students can be classified as history lovers. I believe they are the future historians," said P10 (43, Female), a scholar who works at Banja Luka University.

The interviewed experts in favour of saying that students are not interested in learning politics and history come from different backgrounds: history teachers, scholars, and international experts. P4 (38, Male) expressed his opinion:

"They are not interested in learning history or politics while still, they are aware, at a bare minimum, of what's happening in their country and the world. They follow the news related to Ukraine War, for example."

As stressed above, some participants observed that children in early education express a strong interest in learning the country's history. If it is valid, what variables affect the student interest in learning is also relevant to discover. It should be related to family or peer relations. Looking at the participants' answers in the direction of stating that children are interested in history, P3 (41, Female), a history teacher, shares her opinion based on the reality that children in BiH almost hear daily about migration issues, high unemployment among new graduates, and clientelism.

"They are very interested in politics and history because they live in a country whereas the biggest trend among youth is leaving the country to settle in EU countries, Germany in particular. This narrative increases their curiosity on how to live and work in a third country where they can enjoy the legal securities and economic stability."

P6 (48, Female) stated that politics seem to be a strange subject for children, which increases their curiosity toward it. They know the realities of the country and the link between employability and political party that they perceive would bring personal gains in their career. Besides their interest in politics, they are more into learning about other groups in the country.

"They choose the subject of culture of religions, an elective course in the curriculum, due to their curiosity in learning other groups."

While some children try cope with political system by adapting its requirements, others stand against it due to the acknowledgement in problems politicians created and perceive the politics with all the bad adjectives they can attach with. P9 (46, Female) stated:

"Politics in BiH has a negative reputation due to corruption and mismanagement cases, and it has its own reflection over children in schools. They frequently state that they hate politics."

And P11 (34, Female) and P1 (44, Female):

"Politics must be presented in a positive way to attract children" and "Children see politicians as criminals/evil people. It should change. Teachers should show the good things happening in the political space."

A final argument the study has recorded is related to the changes introduced with technological development, which creates a totally different educational architecture in which students operate today. Internet, social media, smartphones developed different channels of learning and their focus in classes decreased dramatically.

4.5.8. The biggest concerns of primary school students

In the last qualitative research question, the study explored the biggest concerns of primary school students. Accordingly, the answers of the interviewed experts were classified into three categories: migration, career, and country. The main concern of students in this level of education is if they should migrate to other countries, continue their education, and eventually find a job there. Some of the interviewed expert expressed that:

"Due to stories, they have heard from their parents, going abroad and working there appears to be a main concern. They have acknowledged that finishing school in BiH is not enough to be employed." (P2,62, Male)

"Migration is an essential issue to rethink. Every year we have lesser and lesser students enrolled in school system. On top of that, families have also less children and those who have kids seeking options to escape from the country for establishing better future in EU." (P8, 60, Male)

The second most answered concern among students comes with the uncertainties related to their future education. The most noticeable insecurities are which high school they should select and what profession they should aim for as it has also noted by P1 (44, Female):

"The main concern is about decisions for their educational move in the high school. Most of them are confused about their future. They don't know what they want in their future."

The country's future, directly connected with other concerns, is also critical for some students as noted by P2, history teacher.

"The general situation of the country, whether peace will stay or not. This makes many students busy."

Another stated:

"The fear of war might repeat economic situation of the country, health system, and lack of rule of law are important for them."

Finally, interviewed experts mentioned other concerns: love affairs, appearance (clothing), smartphones, brands, school clubs, grades, video games, music, TV, movies, and sports competitions, as mentioned by participants. P7 (54, Male) stated:

"Playing with other kids, sports, and planned vacations in Croatia are the only concerns of primary school students."

RESULTS

In total, 345 fully structured interviews with students and 11 semi-structured interviews with professors, academic researchers, primary school teachers, and international civil workers in BiH were conducted. Even though every individual has their own narrative, it is possible to draw some inferences and observations from these interviews. The average age of the fully structured interviewees was 14 years old, commonly the age of students in the 9th grade, which is the time when they start learning about the Bosnian War and other ethnic groups in the country. Therefore, it was expected that kids of this age would provide the most useful information about the impact of non-school history education sources and rapid changes in students' attitudes. 'Language preferences' is also utilized as a proxy indicator for ethnicity. As a result, Bosniak-speaking students have by far the most significant representation in this category (72%), followed by a Croatian-speaking group (21%) and Serbian-speaking students (6%). The qualitative component of the research was employed to gain a more in-depth understanding of the sensitivities. The semi-structured interviews were utilized to supplement the more extensive data sets acquired by the fully structured interviews. Participants in this segment have been contacted in both the FBiH and the RS (average age was 46.8 years), with the caveat that the population of RS is much smaller than that of FBiH, according to the most recent Census.

The study emphasizes the importance of students' self-evaluations in understanding their interest in history and politics. Although there is no clear connection between these interests, students' enthusiasm for history classes encourages attentive engagement and interaction with teachers and educational materials. This has implications for effective teaching methods and creating an engaging learning environment. Most students, particularly Bosniaks, value the history of BiH, revealing a positive attitude. Although a direct correlation between political and historical interest is not evident, history lectures have the potential to be captivating, likely shaping students' perspectives during their education. One of the investigations of the survey aimed to find out what is the students' predominant reasoning for learning historical facts; accordingly, "Understanding the Present" has been chosen among options. This demonstrates their ability to relate historical

events to their current divided cultural environment. Students value "Orientation to the Future" over "Knowledge of the Past", demonstrating that their interest in history is motivated by a desire to comprehend both the present and the future. This shows a meaningful consistency between historical education and students' abilities to navigate and predict the complexity of modern society.

Students' motivation and interest in history may lead to unfriendly attitudes between ethnic groups. The intersection of politics and history education, with historians frequently serving as politicians, influences curriculum design across ethnicities. Regardless of ethnicity, today's history education in BiH fosters negative attitudes against other groups by discreetly adding hate rhetoric into textbooks. Experts agree on the subconscious promotion of antagonism in history education, fuelled by entity autonomy and cantonal authorities in developing curriculum. This collective viewpoint serves as a cautionary note, emphasizing the importance of attentive curriculum development to avoid inadvertently promoting hostility among ethnic groups.

The study examined how students from various ethnic groups view different historical narratives taught in their country. According to the findings, many students were aware of these distinctions, whereas a smaller proportion had limited awareness. The responses indicated a notable level of awareness overall, with slight variation between ethnic groups. This highlights a widespread recognition of diverse historical perspectives across different ethnicities within the country. Additionally, most students hold a favourable perception of their historical knowledge, perceiving it as being of high quality. In terms of ethnic background, it is observed that Bosniak students exhibit the highest levels of self-awareness, with Croat and Serb students following in second and third respectively. This observation highlights a generally favourable self-perception regarding historical comprehension, albeit with certain variations among ethnic groups.

The research also sought to investigate students' views of history teachers' knowledge and trust, implying a possible relationship between knowledge and trust. The assessment found a strong link between students and instructors, with a considerable number classifying their trust as 'Very high,' while a few voiced uncertainties about their teachers' expertise. Croat students in BiH had the most significant degree of trust, followed

by Bosniaks and Serbs. Bosniak students rated their historical knowledge the highest, followed by Croats and Serbs with comparable values. These observations demonstrate the strong trust connection between students and teachers, highlighting differences among ethnic groups. On the other hand, the research additionally investigated students' trust in teachers, going beyond historical knowledge to include broader interpretations. This factor becomes important when evaluating teachers' educational impact. Surprisingly, students' perceptions shifted from 58% to 47% when comparing trust to knowledge. Croat-speaking students demonstrated the most trust, followed by Bosniaks and Serbs. This highlights the significant impact of teachers' interpretations on students in the context of history education. Accordingly, semi-structured interview participants unanimously emphasized the importance of teachers' interpretations of historical facts in shaping students' attitudes toward other groups. Despite acknowledging their importance, some disagreed about the authority bestowed upon teachers. Concerns raised included classroom monitoring and the complexities of teachers' roles. The interdependence of the political and educational systems impacts teachers' employability. As a result, participants advocated for enhanced training to address sensitive topics and encourage critical thinking. This study emphasizes the significance of teachers concerned about the uncertainties in their teaching approaches, lack of training on sensitive issues, and the impact of political affiliations on their roles. Furthermore, The study sheds light on the country's highly politicized educational landscape. During the research process, teachers in the RS expressed profound concern. Many expressed anxieties about potential job loss due to their perceived close ties with the government. These teachers were concerned that participating in interviews would result in retaliation such as dismissal from public institutions. This revelation highlights the political complexities teachers must navigate, potentially affecting their job security and teaching approach.

Returning to the initial hypothesis and research question, the findings from student responses suggest that history education may not significantly impact students' relationships with other ethnic groups, as indicated by the impact assessments derived from the analysis. To begin with, most students reported friendships with or a willingness to befriend students from other ethnic groups, indicating a positive inclination. Only 11% of participants were negative in this regard. Secondly, when surrounded by peers from different ethnic

backgrounds, students frequently expressed a sense of safety. These findings suggest that history education may not be the most critical factor in shaping inter-ethnic relations; other factors and experiences may play a more significant role. These findings have implications for curriculum development, teaching methodologies, and fostering cross-cultural understanding in the educational setting.

From the perspective of students in this age group, the proposed hypothesis must be rejected. Even though experts agree that there is no overt hostility among students, they acknowledge that broader community-level hostility and political tensions among various ethnic groups have not yet manifested at the primary school levels. Experts believe that as students' progress in their studies and eventually join the community, they develop negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups. While the scope of this study does not include delving into the reasons for this trend, it does present an intriguing avenue for future investigation.

In addition to investigating within-school history education, the study delved into external sources that contribute to the learning of this generation. Documentaries emerged as a standout among these sources, with students recognizing them as the most effective means of learning historical facts. These visual narratives resonate with students, offering a dynamic and engaging approach to historical learning. Following documentaries, social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok were identified as influential sources. This digital realm of information dissemination has become increasingly intertwined with students' lives, providing quick access to diverse historical perspectives and narratives.

Moreover, learning directly from families, particularly parents, retained its relevance, suggesting that intergenerational knowledge transmission plays a pivotal role in shaping historical understanding. Overall, some students preferred these alternative sources over traditional classroom history education. This inclination might signal a shift in how students engage with historical content, driven by a desire for more interactive and personally resonant learning experiences.

The pervasive use of the internet has emerged as a transformative force in today's educational landscape. Given the limited time allocated to history classes, students turn to the internet to satisfy their curiosity and dive deeper into specific historical inquiries. With

its vast array of resources, the internet offers a platform for students to independently explore and engage with historical content that stimulates their interest. This finding highlights the increasing role of technology in education and underscores the need for educators to adapt their approaches to accommodate this evolving trend in historical learning. In conclusion, students' reliance on diverse external sources, such as documentaries, social media, and the internet, represent a significant shift in historical learning.

CONCLUSION

I. Evaluating the results in a broader context

The literature landscape within history education primarily centres on ethnically based educational reforms, religious instruction, textbooks, and segregated classrooms. Notably, the literature focusing on students' developed attitudes within the context of history education still needs to be explored. Therefore, within the realm of primary education, there is an apparent necessity for additional investigation into the diverse methods through which students acquire knowledge of historical information. This dissertation aims to address the existing gap in knowledge by examining the complex processes by which students develop their historical understanding within the context of BiH.

This study sheds light on the substantial impact that teachers in educational institutions have on students' acquisition of historical knowledge and their formation of attitudes toward different ethnicities. The significant level of trust that students confer on their teachers highlights their influential role in shaping students' cognitive growth. Acknowledging this, allocating resources towards the professional development of teachers has the potential to serve as a powerful tool in cultivating favourable dispositions towards diverse ethnicities in the long term.

The significance of this research extends beyond the confines of the classroom, providing valuable insights that have broader implications for the society of BiH. The results have implications within a societal context where adolescents gradually form attitudes towards individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, ultimately impacting the overall dynamics of inter-ethnic relations. Given its role as a fundamental stage, it is imperative to conduct additional research that deep-dives into the mechanisms through which students acquire historical knowledge to gain a comprehensive understanding of the overall development of these young individuals.

This dissertation aims to provide a comprehensive framework for examining the complex dynamics between history education, inter-ethnic relations, and the broader social fabric to enhance our understanding of this field. Based on a comprehensive analysis of

various perspectives and empirical evidence, it becomes apparent that history education plays a pivotal role in this complex phenomenon, yet it is not the exclusive determinant. As the study explores these findings, the consequences of developing educational curricula and instructional approaches that promotes intercultural understanding become apparent.

With these new insights, it becomes crucial to contemplate a more comprehensive and flexible strategy for history education. Through the active incorporation of a wide range of knowledge sources and the development of educators as catalysts for constructive transformation, it can strive to cultivate a cohort of individuals who possess a deep comprehension of historical events, a genuine regard for inter-ethnic harmony, and a shared aspiration for a unified and peaceful future in BiH.

II. Contributions of the study and future research directions

The central focus of this dissertation study, along with its findings and results, makes a substantial contribution to both the academic and practical domains. This study aims to fill an essential gap in the scholarly discourse by investigating the impact of history education in public schools on students' understanding of historical events and their attitudes towards various ethnic groups in BiH. The unique focus on this matter holds significant value, particularly considering the latest developments within this country.

Furthermore, this study may be a fundamental basis for developing strategic political interventions in post-conflict societies, which are ethnically divided. Through its objective of redefining the role of history education in promoting social cohesion and improving intergroup attitudes in BiH, this research can help inform alternative ways toward a significant positive transformation within the nation and the broader region.

Additionally, the findings of this study are significant for researchers exploring the complex interplay between education, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding, encompassing theoretical and practical perspectives. In addition to its relevance within academic circles, this phenomenon holds implications for various stakeholders, including educators,

education experts, and policymakers who seek to foster unity in communities significantly divided.

Moreover, the results possess the potential to provide valuable insights for the Humanitarian-Development-Peace (HDP) Nexus initiatives implemented by international organizations, specifically the United Nations (UN) agencies operating within BiH. This research critically examines how history is taught within educational institutions, specifically within the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context. This investigation sheds light on the intricate relationship between the educational system and the political agendas of ethnic governments operating within the region.

The research also examines alternative sources of history education that impact student attitudes, mainly focusing on the growing influence of social media. Nevertheless, the existing literature still needs to examine the extent of its impact within the classroom thoroughly. Within the theoretical framework of historical constructivism, the classroom is considered the primary and most significant source for students to understand the past and its various communities. However, this study illuminates the necessity of critically examining the impact of alternative sources, such as social media and family education.

As this study ends, it illuminates a path for future research efforts, improving our understanding of complex dynamics. Exploring the attitudes of high school students compared to primary school students emerges as an intriguing avenue, potentially revealing a continuum of attitude shifts. Such studies could help scholars understand how students' attitudes intersect with community-based tensions and behaviours as they progress through their educational journey.

This dissertation serves as a beginning to fully understand the complex relationship between education and conflict resolution. Its findings lay the groundwork for future scholars, allowing them to further investigate approaches for peacebuilding and reconciliation. Future research can illuminate unexplored areas and offer pragmatic solutions through deeper investigations, diverse perspectives, and stakeholder engagement.

III. Limitations of the research

The dissertation research accommodates some limitations. Even though the researcher has attempted to arrange an interview with a history teacher in the RS, all the contacted teachers either ignored or cancelled the interviews at the last minute. Likewise, no permission has been received from the authorities in RS (the rejection letter is included in the appendices in the local language). Therefore, only a limited number of Serb participants could be surveyed through online platforms. Other possible limitations are included below.

This study faced many obstacles during the process of interview planning and roll-out. These include *inter alia*:

– **Language barrier:** Although most of the interviews did not require an expert translator in the local language, as experts had sufficient English proficiency, some interviewees only spoke the local language. A professional translator was engaged to facilitate the simultaneous interpretation from English to Bosnian (and vice-versa). However, depending on the region, a new translator had to be identified as interviewees were uncomfortable speaking to translators from other ethnic groups.

– **Lockdowns and travel restrictions due to the pandemic:** The spread of the COVID-19 pandemic lands precisely at the beginning of the field research, which caused a considerable delay in the dissertation's interviews due to the travel restrictions in place.

– **Refusal in engaging in the interview, particularly in the RS:** In some cases, experts delayed the interviews and or even refused to give interviews by providing various excuses. For example, a history teacher from the RS solicited multiple documents from the university, and once provided, he just ignored responding.

– **Permission from parents as a requirement, given that primary students are minors:** Beyond the government authorities, the school principals, additional authorizations such as parents' signatures were also required and solicited as primary students are still minor (14 years old on average).

- **Prevalence of scepticism and fear among history teachers to engage:** Teachers in the RS were often very sceptical and worried about losing their jobs due to the strong link between their jobs and the government. They claimed that it would affect their employment in public institutions, believing that authorities would use the interviews and terminate their service. While some could be persuaded about the anonymity of their responses and engagement, others feared to cooperate.

- **Delays in receiving formal government permits. specially in the RS:** Overall, the main obstacle was the delay in receiving the permissions from the authorities. Even though there were no unanswered communications, rejections received were often generic in nature. In some circumstances, even individual access to the ministries buildings was not possible, as prior permission is necessary - such as in the RS. Thus, the research used existing networks of academics and experts, which he had fostered during his period as a visiting scholar at the University of Banja Luka in the RS.

IV. Ethical principles

As the study contains high sensitivities, certain ethical principles have been considered during the data-collecting phase of the research. The disseminated survey's introduction includes the following paragraph: 'All of the answers you provide in this survey will be kept confidential. No identifying information will be provided to the Corvinus University of Budapest or any other institution. The survey data will be reported in a summary fashion only and will not identify any individual respondent.' Moreover, integrity and objectivity of the researcher, respect for others, voluntary nature of participation and right to withdraw, the confidentiality of data and anonymity of those taking part, and responsibility in the data analysis and reporting of findings are part of the ethical principles applied to this project.

Survey participants were informed while questionnaires were disseminated in the classroom and crosschecked whether they identified with the targeted sample. The data is kept confidential. The only person who can identify the names and occupations of the interviewees is the researcher himself. Responses are archived in the folders with instructive

labels and numbers to ensure that they are not mixed. None of the information has been shared or will be shared with third party entities. Participants in the survey and interviewees were alerted that the participation is anonymous and voluntary, and they had the right to withdraw from the survey at any time or choose to not answer any or some of the questions.

The qualitative interviewees had the same rights offered to the quantitative research participants; however, many preferred to contribute and cooperate.

The surveys were designed to be answered by 9th-grade primary school students who are not over 18 years old. Therefore, additional ethical principles have been considered after submitting a request for research to school principals. The principal helped to obtain parents' written permissions to conduct the survey research with their kids.

It is worth mentioning that the selected expert interviewees were not paid for their contributions. However, they had a genuine and honest expectation that this research would be used scientifically and practically. In addition, no financial or in-kind incentives were given or offered to the students to increase their motivation to fill out the surveys.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letters received from the authorities in BiH

Figure 15 – Rejection letter received from the ministry of education in RS

РЕПУБЛИКА СРПСКА
министАгство п освуzтz и к лт гz

Трг Републине Српске 1, Баюа Лука, тел: 051/338-461, fax: 051/338-853, www.vladars.net, e-mail: mp@mp.vladars.net

Број: 07.041/059-2310/22
Датум: 12.10.2022. године

БОРА БЕСГУЛ
bora.besgul@gmail.com

ПРЕДИЕТ: Одговор на допис, доставка се

Поштовани,

Министарству просвјете и културе упутили сте допис којим тражите сагласност за спрово§еае истраживаља *Утицај изучаваюа наставног предмета Историја у основним школама на формираюе начина размиш›ъаюа према различитим етничким групама у БиХ* у основним школама у Републици Српској, а с циюем прикупюаі-оа података за израду докторске дисертације.

Васпитно-образовни процес у основним школама у Републици Српској остварује се на основу наставног плана и програма који, на приједлог Републичког педагошког завода, доноси министар просвјете и културе. Наставним програмима утврфјује се садржај за сваки наставни предмет, општи и посебни ци/ьеви, исходи учеіъа као и дидактичко-методичка упутства и препоруке.

У школи се користе уџбеници и наставна средства чију примјену одобрава министар. Уцбеници и остала наставна средства морају задово/ьити стандарде квалитета уубеника, а мишюеіъе о испуіъености стандарда даје Републички педагошки завод.

Циа основног васпитаіьа и образоваіьа у Републици Српској, дефинисан Законом о основном васпитаіьу и образоваіьу, је подстицаіье цјеловитог и хармоничног развоја ученика у складу с іьеговим способностима кроз стицаіье оперативних и функционалних знаіьа и развоја критичког и логичког мишюеіьа у процесу цјеложивотног учеіьа. Поред циюа, Закон дефинише и задатке основног васпитаіьа и образоваіьа. Сваки васпитно-образовни радник у свом раду треба да се води наведеним циюем, задацима, те настоји да ученици остваре дефинисане исходе учеіьа.

Министарство је размотрило Ваш допис и достав/ьени анкетни упитник. Увидом у питаіьа наведена у анкетном упитнику, установ/ьено је да иста нису прилагоїјена узрасту ученика осмог и деветог разреда, те да не доприносе оствариваіьу цил>а и задатака дефинисаних Законом.

На основу наведеног, Министарство није у могућности дати сагласност за спрово§еіье наведеног истраживаіьа у основним школама у Републици Српској.

С поштоваіьем,

МИНИСТАР
др Наталија Тривић

Достав/ьено:
1. Наслову;
2. У архиву.

Figure 16 – Permission letter received from the Cantonal Authority of Sarajevo

Bosna i Hercegovina
Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine
KANTON SARAJEVO
Ministarstvo za odgoj i
obrazovanje

Boctta 11 Xepueros11tta
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KAHTOH CAPAJEBO
MuuucTapcTBO 1a o,1J.roj u
06pa1ooau.e

Bosnia and Herzegovina
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

CANTON SARAJEVO
Ministry for Education

Broj: 11-03/02-34-41589-2/22
Sarajevo, 18.10.2022. godine

BORABESGUL

bora.besgul@gmail.com

PREDMET: Saglasnost, *dostavlja se*

Cijenjeni,

Ministarstvo za odgoj i obrazovanje Kantona Sarajevo je dana 05.10.2022. godine zaprimilo Vas zahtjev za davanje saglasnosti za anketiranje ucenika uzrasta osmih i devetih razreda u OS „Isak Samokovlija" i OS „Hadzi6i", u svrhu izrade doktorske disertacije na temu: „ Istrazivanje istorije obrazovanja u osnovnim skolama i njen uticaj na oblikovanje misljenja u podijeljenim zajednicama u Bosni i Hercegovini".

S tim u vezi, obavjestavamo Vas da smo saglasni da za potrebe doktorske disertacije provedete planirane aktivnosti, ciji je kratki opis dostavljen uz zahtjev za izdavanje saglasnosti, uz prethodno pribavljenu saglasnost direktora skola na nacin da se redovan odgojno-obrazovni proces odvija nesmetano. Pored navedenog, neophodne su pisane saglasnosti roditelja/staratelja ucenika za ucesce u anketiranju.

S postovanjem,

MINISTRICA
Naida Hota-Muminović

Dostaviti:
1. Naslovu;
2. a/a

Appendix 2: Survey (Bosnian)

Istraživanje nastave povijesti/historije/istorije u osnovnim školama i njenog uticaja na oblikovanje načina razmišljanja u podijeljenim zajednicama u Bosni i Hercegovini

Hvala što ste pristali ispuniti ovu anketu. Anketu provodi Bora Besgul (doktorski kandidat Međunarodnih odnosa i političkih znanosti na Sveučilištu Corvinus u Budimpešti) i dio je njegove završne doktorske disertacije.

Svrha ankete je prikupljanje podataka od učenika koji pohađaju nastavu povijesti/historije/istorije u javnim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini, kako bi se dobio cjelovitiji pregled o razvijenim stavovima prema drugim etničkim grupama.

Svi sudionici ankete bit će anonimni. Sveučilištu Corvinus u Budimpešti ili bilo kojoj drugoj instituciji neće se dati podaci za identifikaciju. Podaci Ankete bit će prikazani samo u sažetku i neće identificirati nijednu pojedinačnu osobu.

Za ispunjavanje ankete potrebno je oko 10-15 minuta.

OSOBNI/LIČNI PODACI

DOB:

SPOL:

1. Koji jezik ti je najugodnije koristiti?
   a. hrvatski
   b. srpski
   c. bosanski
   d. ostalo (napiši koji) ....

2. Koliko ti je važna politika?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

3. Koliko ti je važna povijest/historija/istorija Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

4. Učiš li na času povijesti/historije/istorije o nedavnoj povijesti/historiji/istoriji Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

5. Raspravljaš li s prijateljima o znanju naučenom na časovima povijesti/historije/istorije u školi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

6. Učiš li o povijesti/historiji/istoriji drugih etničkih skupina/grupa koji žive u Bosni i Hercegovini?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

7. Koliko smatraš da tvoj učitelj povijesti/historije/istorije prikazuje druge etničke skupine/grupe koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini pozitivno kada učite o njima na nastavi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

8. Koliko si svjesna/svjestan da druge etničke skupine/grupe koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini uče o povijesti/historiji/istoriji drugačije od tebe?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

9. Imaš li prijatelja/icu izvan škole druge etničke skupine/grupe koji živi u Bosni i Hercegovini?
   - a. Da
   - b. Ne

10. Učiš li o povijesti/historiji/istoriji iz drugih izvora iz školske nastave?
    - c. Da
    - d. Ne

11. Ako je odgovor na pitanje iznad bio "da", odaberi do maksimalno 3 izvora s popisa ispod:
    - a. Knjige
    - b. Internet članci
    - c. Dokumentarni filmovi
    - d. Muzeji
    - e. Roditelji
    - f. Prijatelji
    - g. TV/Radio
    - h. Društvene mreže (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok)

12. Do koje razine vjeruješ da činjenice naučene na nastavi povijesti/historije/istorije utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

13. Do koje razine vjeruješ da činjenice naučene iz drugih izvora utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja? (roditelji, prijatelji, mediji, itd.)

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

14. Prilikom učenja o povijesti/historiji/istoriji, koje su tvoje najveće brige? Odaberi maksimalno 3 ponuđena odgovora:

      a. Zaposlenje
      b. Rat i konflikti
      c. Troškovi života (troškovi hrane, kućanstva, zdravlje, zabava...)
      d. Klimatske promjene
      e. Angažiranost mladih u politici
      f. Općenito sam zabrinut/a za budućnost

15. Koliko su važni sljedeći ciljevi prilikom učenja o povijesti/historiji/istoriji prema tvom mišljenju?

    a.   Znanje o prošlosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    b.   Razumijevanje sadašnjosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    c.   Orijentacija na budućnost

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    d.   Svi pisani statuti – ugovori, ustavi, zakon.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

16. Kako bi ocijenio/la poznavanje povijesti/historije/istorije o svojoj zemlji?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

17. Kako bi ocijenio poznavanje povijesti/historije/istorije svog učitelja nastave u ovom predmetu?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

18. Do koje razine tvoj učitelj povijesti/historije/istorije prati sadržaj udžbenika povijesti/historije/istorije?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

19. Do koje razine vjeruješ svom učitelju povijesti/historije/istorije?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

20. Na što se fokusirate na nastavi povijesti/historije/istorije?

a. Znanje o glavnim činjenicama u povijesti/historiji/istoriji.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

b. Moralno kritiziramo povijesne događaje sukladno standarima ljudskih prava.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

c. Koristimo povijesne/historijske/istorijske činjenice kako bismo objasnili situaciju u današnjem društvu s ciljem promjena.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

d. Učimo o tradicijama, karakteristikama i ciljevima naše nacije i društva.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

21. Na ljestvici označi koliko bi volio/la biti prijatelj/ica s učenikom druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

22. Na ljestvici označi do koje razine se osjećaš sigurno u blizini učenika druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

Appendix 3: Survey (Croatian)

Istraživanje nastave povijesti u osnovnim školama i njenog utjecaja na oblikovanje načina razmišljanja u zajednicama u Bosni i Hercegovini

Hvala što ste pristali ispuniti ovu anketu. Anketu provodi Bora Besgul, doktorski kandidat na polju Međunarodnih odnosa i političkih znanosti na Sveučilištu Corvinus u Budimpešti, i ista predstavlja dio njegove završne doktorske disertacije.

Svrha ankete je prikupljanje podataka od učenika koji pohađaju nastavu povijesti u javnim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini, kako bi se dobio cjelovitiji pregled o razvijenim stavovima i mišljenima učenika o drugim etničkim grupama.

Ankete je anonimna i učenici ne trebaju navoditi svoja imena. Podaci prikupljeni anketom će se isključivo koristiti u statističke svrhe istraživanja.

Za ispunjavanje ankete potrebno je oko 10-15 minuta.

OSOBNI PODACI

Datum rođenja:

Spol:

3. Kojim jezikom govoriš?
   a. hrvatski
   b. srpski
   c. bosanski
   d. ostalo (napiši koji) ....

4. Koliko ti je interesantno istraživanje povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

5. Učiš li na nastavi povijesti o nedavnoj povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

6. Raspravljaš li s prijateljima o znanju naučenom na nastavi povijesti u školi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

7. Učiš li o povijesti drugih etničkih skupina koji žive u Bosni i Hercegovini?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

8. Da li tvoj učitelj povijesti prikazuje druge etničke skupine koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini pozitivno kada učite o njima na nastavi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

9. Koliko si svjesna/svjestan da druge etničke skupine koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini uče o povijesti drugačije od tebe?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

10. Imaš li prijatelja/icu izvan škole druge etničke skupine koji živi u Bosni i Hercegovini?
   a. Da
   b. Ne

11. Učiš li o povijesti iz drugih izvora iz školske nastave?
   a. Da
   b. Ne

12. Ako je odgovor na pitanje iznad bio "da", odaberi do maksimalno 3 izvora s popisa ispod:
   a. Knjige

b. Internet članci
c. Dokumentarni filmovi
d. Muzeji
e. Roditelji
f. Prijatelji
g. TV/Radio
h. Društvene mreže (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok)

13. Do koje razine vjeruješ da činjenice naučene na nastavi povijesti utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

14. Do koje razine vjeruješ da činjenice naučene iz drugih izvora utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja? (roditelji, prijatelji, mediji, itd.)

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

15. Prilikom učenja o povijesti, koje su tvoje najveće brige? Odaberi maksimalno 3 ponuđena odgovora:
a. Zaposlenje
b. Rat i konflikti
c. Troškovi života (troškovi hrane, kućanstva, zdravlje, zabava...)
d. Klimatske promjene
e. Angažiranost mladih u politici
f. Općenito sam zabrinut/a za budućnost

16. Koliko su važni sljedeći ciljevi prilikom učenja o povijesti prema tvom mišljenju?

a. Znanje o prošlosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

b. Razumijevanje sadašnjosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

c. Orijentacija na budućnost

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

d. Svi pisani zakonski akti.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

17. Kako bi ocijenio/la poznavanje povijesti o svojoj zemlji?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

18. Kako bi ocijenio poznavanje povijesti svog učitelja nastave u ovom predmetu?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

19. Do koje razine tvoj učitelj povijesti prati sadržaj udžbenika povijesti?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

20. Do koje razine vjeruješ svom učitelju povijesti?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

21. Na što se fokusirate na nastavi povijesti?

a. Znanje o glavnim činjenicama u povijesti.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

b. Moralno kritiziramo povijesne događaje sukladno standarima ljudskih prava.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

c. Koristimo povijesne činjenice kako bismo objasnili situaciju u današnjem društvu s ciljem promjena.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

d. Učimo o tradicijama, karakteristikama i ciljevima naše nacije i društva.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

e. Na ljestvici označi koliko bi volio/la biti prijatelj/ica s učenikom druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

22. Na ljestvici označi do koje razine se osjećaš sigurno u blizini učenika druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

Appendix 4: Survey (Serbian)

Uticaji učenja istorije u osnovnim i srednjim školama

Hvala što ste pristali da ispunite ovu anketu. Anketu sprovodi Bora Besqul, kandidat za doktoranta na Međunarodnim odnosima i političkim naukama, Univerziteta Korvinus u Budimpešti, Mađarska - Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem - Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem (uni-corvinus.hu). Istraživanje je dio njegove doktorske disertacije.

Svrha ankete je prikupljanje podataka od učenika koji pohađaju nastavu istorije u državnim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini, kako bi se dobio opširniji pregled o razvijanju stavova prema pripadnicima drugih etničkih grupa.

Svi učenisici ankete će biti anonimni. Prikupljeni podaci se neće dati Univerzitetu Korvinus u Budimpešti ili bilo kojoj drugoj instituciji, za identifikaciju. Podaci prikupljeni ovom anketom će biti prikazani samo zbirno i neće identifikovati nikog pojedinačno.

Za ispunjavanje ankete potrebno je oko 10-15 minuta.

OSOBNI PODACI

Koliko imaš godina? (Upiši cio broj):

Tvoj pol je:

1. Koji jezik ti je najugodnije koristiti?
   a. hrvatski
   b. srpski
   c. bosanski
   d. ostalo (napiši koji) ....

1. Koliko ti je važna politika?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

2. Koliko ti je važna povijest/historija/istorija Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

3. Učiš li na času povijesti/historije/istorije o nedavnoj povijesti/historiji/istoriji Bosne i Hercegovine?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

4. Raspravljaš li s prijateljima o znanju naučenom na časovima povijesti/historije/istorije u školi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

5. Učiš li o povijesti/historiji/istoriji drugih etničkih skupina/grupa koji žive u Bosni i Hercegovini?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

6. Koliko smatraš da tvoj učitelj povijesti/historije/istorije prikazuje druge etničke skupine/grupe koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini pozitivno kada učite o njima na nastavi?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

7. Koliko si svjesna/svjestan da druge etničke skupine/grupe koje žive u Bosni i Hercegovini uče o povijesti/historiji/istoriji drugačije od tebe?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

8. Imaš li prijatelja/icu izvan škole druge etničke skupine/grupe koji živi u Bosni i Hercegovini?
    a. Da
    b. Ne

9. Učiš li o povijesti/historiji/istoriji iz drugih izvora osim školske nastave?
    a. Da
    b. Ne

10. Ako je odgovor na pitanje iznad bio "da", odaberi do maksimalno 3 izvora s popisa ispod:
    a. Knjige
    b. Internet članci
    c. Dokumentarni filmovi
    d. Muzeji
    e. Roditelji
    f. Prijatelji
    g. TV/Radio
    h. Društvene mreže (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok)

11. Do kojeg nivoa vjeruješ da činjenice naučene na nastavi povijesti/historije/istorije utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

12. Do kojeg nivoa vjeruješ da činjenice naučene iz drugih izvora utječu na tvoj način razmišljanja i ponašanja? (roditelji, prijatelji, mediji, itd.)

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

13. Prilikom učenja o povijesti/historiji/istoriji, koje su tvoje najveće brige? Odaberi maksimalno 3 ponuđena odgovora:
    a. Zaposlenje
    b. Rat i konflikti
    c. Troškovi života (troškovi hrane, kućanstva, zdravlje, zabava...)
    d. Klimatske promjene
    e. Angažiranost mladih u politici
    f. Općenito sam zabrinut/a za budućnost

14. Koliko su važni sljedeći ciljevi prilikom učenja o povijesti/historiji/istoriji prema tvom mišljenju?

a. Znanje o prošlosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

b. Razumijevanje sadašnjosti

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

c. Orijentacija na budućnost

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

d. Svi pisani zakonski akti.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

15. Kako bi ocijenio/la poznavanje povijesti/historije/istorije o svojoj zemlji?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

16. Kako bi ocijenio poznavanje povijesti/historije/istorije svog učitelja nastave u ovom predmetu?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

17. Do koje razine tvoj učitelj povijesti/historije/istorije prati sadržaj udžbenika povijesti/historije/istorije?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

18. Do koje razine vjeruješ svom učitelju povijesti/historije/istorije?

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

19. Na što se fokusirate na nastavi povijesti/historije/istorije?

    a.   Znanje o glavnim činjenicama u povijesti/historiji/istoriji.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    b.   Moralno kritiziramo povijesne događaje sukladno standarima ljudskih prava.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    c.   Koristimo povijesne/historijske/istorijske činjenice kako bismo objasnili situaciju u današnjem društvu s ciljem promjena.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

    d.   Učimo o tradicijama, karakteristikama i ciljevima naše nacije i društva.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

20. Na ljestvici označi koliko bi volio/la biti prijatelj/ica s učenikom druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

21. Na ljestvici označi do koje razine se osjećaš sigurno u blizini učenika druge etničke skupine/grupe.

1. VRLO SLABO	2. SLABO	3. NI SLABO NI JAKO	4. JAKO	5. VRLO JAKO

Appendix 5: Survey (English)

Exploring history education in secondary schools and its impact on shaping mindsets in divided communities of BiH

Thank you for agreeing to take this survey. The survey is being done by Bora Besgul (Ph.D. candidate in international relations and political science at the Corvinus University of Budapest) and is part of his final Ph.D. thesis.

The purpose of the survey is to collect information from the students, who have been receiving history lessons in the public-led schools in the Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to get a more comprehensive overview about the developed attitudes toward the other ethnic groups there.

All of the answers you provide in this survey will be kept confidential. No identifying information will be provided to the Corvinus University of Budapest or any other institution. The Survey data will be reported in a summary fashion only and will not identify any individual person.

The survey will take about 10-15 minutes to complete.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. How old are you? (Write full number):
2. Your gender is:

3. Which language are you most comfortable to use?
   e. Croatian
   f. Serbian
   g. Bosnian
   h. other (write which language) ....

4. How important is politics to you?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

5. How much is history of Bosnia and Herzegovina important to you?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

6. Do you learn on history class about recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

7. Do you discuss with your friends about knowledge you learnt on history class?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

8. Do you learn about history of other ethnic groups living in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

9. How much do you think that your history teacher is showing other ethnic groups in positive way when you learn about them in your class?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

		NEITHER STRONG		

10. How much are you aware that other ethnic groups living in Bosnia and Herzegovina are learning different then you about history?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

11. Do you have a friend different ethnic group then your who lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
   a. Yes
   b. No

12. Do you learn about history from other sources except in the school?
   a. Yes
   b. No

13. If the answer on the question above was "yes", find maximum 3 sources from the list below:
   a. Books
   b. Internet articles
   c. Documentary movies
   d. Museums
   e. Parents
   f. Friends
   g. TV/Radio
   h. Social networks (Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok)

14. Until which level do you believe that facts learnt on history class influence your way of thinking and behavior?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

15. Until which level do you believe that facts learnt from other sources influence your way of thinking and behavior? (parents, friends, media, etc.)

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

16. While you are studying history, what are your biggest concerns? Choose maximum 3 offered answers.
    a. Employment
    b. War and conflicts
    c. Life expenses (food expenses, household, health, fun...)
    d. Climate changes
    e. Engagement of Youngs in politics
    f. I am generally worried about the future.

17. According to your opinion, how much are important the following goals while learning about history?

    a. Knowledge about past

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

    b. Understanding the present

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

    c. Focus on the future

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

d. All legal acts.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

18. How would you grade your knowledge about the history of your country?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

19. How would you grade knowledge of your history teacher about history?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

20. Until which level does your history teacher follow the content of the history textbook?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

21. Until which level do you believe to your history teacher?

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

22. On what are you focusing the most on history class?

a. Knowledge about main history facts.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

b. We criticize morally historical events according to human rights standards.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

c. We use historical facts to explain present situations with the aim of changing.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

d. We learn about traditions, characteristics and goals of our nation and society.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

23. Mark on the letter below how much would you like to be friend with the student different ethnic group.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

		NEITHER STRONG		

24. Mark on the letter below until which level do you believe safe in the group with the student different ethnic group.

1. VERY WEAK	2. WEAK	3. NEITHER WEAK NEITHER STRONG	4. STRONG	5. VERY STRONG

Appendix 6: List of the Semi-Structured Interviews and Researcher's Notes

Qualitative Research Notes				
Participant	**Date and Place of the Interview**	**Duration of the Interview**	**Age and Gender**	**Profession**
P1	27.10.2022 FBiH	18 minutes and 14 seconds	44 female Anonymous	history teacher
Notes	- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War) - There is no one common way to teach children about these topics - School education does not cover topics that should be taught - Children learn from their families and social media – there are many conflicting narratives among school/family and social media - Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups - Historical facts presented to children are very different in FBiH and RS - Talking about war is not an easy task for teachers as well as parents as they experienced the war and the issue is still sensitive - The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups - They are aware of Hitler, Genocide in BiH and other war crimes before the history lectures take in the 9th grade - Learning at Home or School - They all develop a way of understanding back home in a very subjective, partial, and biased way. - Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war - Teachers have insufficient information of presenting historical facts and other groups - Teachers should get an education on dealing with sensitive issues - Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school - Children have great communication and friendship with other groups - Hard to identify the group they are affiliated with as they have the same interests - The Interest in learning politics and history - Whether you like history or not – two extremes can be observed among students - They don't like politics at all - Politicians are criminals and evil people - Teachers need to focus on showing the good things happening in the political space as they believe there is nothing to see good in there - The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students - Love affairs - Decisions related to their educational move in the high school - Their grades - Most of them are confused about their future – They don't know what they want for their future - Moving to Germany and continuing their education			

P2	03.11.2022 FBiH	21 minutes and 04 seconds	62 male Anonymous	history teacher
Notes	- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War) - Two topics are compulsory: the siege of Sarajevo and the Genocide in Srebrenica - Before 9th grade, they learned nothing related to war and other groups except some initiations of teachers out of the curriculum - Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups - They develop positive attitudes - I teach BiH's history regardless of the last war - The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups - The Primary Source is Textbooks, and the secondary source is the internet - In addition, they use new history books from different authors , and finally, as a last resort, they learn from their parents/relatives - Learning at Home or School - They don't bring enough historical understanding from home - Books and lectures are the primary sources of information related to history and other groups - Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war - Teachers' roles are very significant in how they interpret the past and historical facts to students. - Bosniak teachers present history in a correct way - I am not able to explain how other teachers in other cantons/entities present the history. - Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school - In my school, only a few students are not Bosniaks; I do not have a chance to see hostile/friendly relations with other groups. - They may meet on the streets; however, it happens rarely. - The Interest in learning politics and history - They are not much interested either in politics or history - They are distracted by the internet, social media, and their smartphones. - The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students - Which school should they choose in high school, what will they do, and what profession they prefer to choose after school - There needs to be more than just finishing school to find a job - Going abroad and work in there – derived from stories of their family - Their concerns subsequently: job, future, and the whole situation in the country, whether will be peace or not
P3	07.11.2022 FBiH	5 minutes and 59 seconds	41 female Anonymous	history teacher
Notes	- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War) - Students are learning about aggression in BiH superficially with the fact that the current curricula interpret the events of the past war on diametrically different attitudes and claims. - We have three different perspectives of view for each historical event. - I teach my students about national minorities by using the handbook for teachers of history and national minorities written by Leonard Valenta (published in 2009, mentioning 17 different national minorities who have lived in the BiH)

- Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
  - We have yet to come to the point where history could answer questions from the war period from a scientific perspective.
  - We are not at the level to see some facts from a different point of view. While one group calls a person aggressor, others call him/her a hero.
- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - The war diaries, documentary movies, illustrations, museum visits, war reportages, and audio and video materials which is passed on to the Hague Tribunal in processes against those who committed war crimes in BiH
- Learning at Home or School
  - They bring about 70% understanding from home and about 30% they develop in school.
  - It is hard to decide what is more effective because it would be better to approach every event from a scientific perspective.
- Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - They are essential; however, their authority is minimal, so we should not expect it from them.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - Children are developing friendships in and out of the school setting – concerts, sports activities, and other cultural events.
- The Interest in learning politics and history
  - They are very much interested in politics and history because they live in a country where there is a pronounced trend of young people leaving for EU countries, which further increases their curiosity to live and work in a country that would have legal security, economic stability, such as the countries where our young people go.
- The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
  - The fear of war repeating, social insecurities, the economic situation, educational issues, health system, fear of the lack of the rule of law.

P4	28.10.2022 FBiH	53 minutes and 54 seconds	38 male Edin Omercic	scholar in the University of Sarajevo
Notes	• Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War) o Students learn different viewpoints depending on which canton/entity they live in. For example, schools in RS never mention the genocide in Srebrenica. o The war between ethnic groups continues within the textbook narratives. o The communities learn only from their point of view – victimization surrounds all the narratives. o Students do not understand BiH's Statehood or Collective BiH's identity, only focusing on ethnic identities. • Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups o It develops negative attitudes toward other population groups in the country. o "We" and "they" narratives can be observed through the textbooks and presentations – divided narratives.			

- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - The schools are the primary source of historical facts where adolescents learn about the past.
  - However, it is not limited to history lessons but also covers language, music, literature, and religion (choice of reading materials to learn in these lessons)
  - They cross-check the historical facts with other teachers by seeking their approval.
  - Television and the internet are also effective in learning historical facts.
  - Parents are one of many sources of learning about historical facts.
- Learning at Home or School
  - They develop historical understanding at school through lessons.
  - Even though if they learn at home, it is more effective; however, I doubt that they learn it at home.
  - What they have brought from home is hard to change in the classes.
- Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - Teachers have a significant role in teaching the last war.
  - They have grown up in a conflict society contaminated by hate speech and segregation.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - Yes, but those hostilities are not embedded into the religious/nationalist lines.
  - He has not observed many hostilities based on ethnic lines.
  - Note that students are almost perfectly divided in their living environments.
- The Interest in learning politics and history
  - They are not interested in learning history and politics while they are aware, at a minimum, of what is happening in today's world, Ukraine, etc.
- The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
  - What to wear today, will their favorite football team win or not

P5	31.10.2022 FBiH	53 minutes and 15 seconds	45 male Amir Duranovic	scholar in the University of Sarajevo
Notes				

- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
  - Kids in BiH have been entangled between divided historical narratives of society and the educational model implemented in BiH.
  - According to Dayton Peace Accords, education is primarily part of the entity-level policies, and with the FBiH, it stands on the cantonal level of policies. Every three ethnic groups can influence teaching history.
  - The national histories component of the history lesson locates ethnicity, not the state of BiH.
  - Even Bosniaks teach the Bosniak perspective of BiH.
- Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
  - In theory, it is organized in a way that education should help them to understand other groups.
  - In practice, this claim still needs to be fulfilled.
  - Due to curriculums designed by the different ministries of education (external authors from Croatia and Serbia)
  - National narratives perpetuate the message of "we" and "they" narratives.

- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - It is mainly out of school – no hours of teaching in school are very limited, comparing social media exposure of students with the latest developments.
  - Narratives living through the family and the local community are fundamental.
  - The alternative source of teaching might come from NGOs or other groups shaping the opinion of one.
  - Church also has a vital role which does not give historians to bring evidence-based critical thinking into their narratives.
  - BiH is not the only case in the world (N.Ireland, Lebanon)
  - History is all around students; therefore, teaching history is not an easy task in a broader sense – not only in BiH.
- Learning at Home or School
  - Learning at school is more professional – not entirely professional yet, as it has many-sided interpretations of history.
  - School teaching is more important than pupils learning at their family houses.
  - How the history teaching change in school has not followed the trend that happened in Germany as we see that children align their thinking of the narratives taught by elders with pride
  - In some cases, it is hard to talk about history in the family as it is associated with war crimes – for example, having a father judged with sexual crimes.
  - History lessons could be a positive tool for indirectly tracking problematic issues.
- Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - Teachers are the most critical variable in shaping historical understanding.
  - The problem is that we do not know what they are doing once they are in the classroom – you need to be on-site to know.
  - Ideology and state thinking (official narratives) changes continuously – the same teachers from the Yugoslavian period are still teaching new generations in the classrooms.
  - New curricula and new textbooks need to be studied by them – orienting and adjusting to the new context are difficult for teachers.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - They need to acknowledge the past and other groups fully.
  - Even at that level of education, there are some divisive narratives that don't influence their relations with other groups yet.

P6	31.10.2022RS	1 hour 52 minutes and 15 seconds	48 female Anonymous	National Officer in OSCE
Notes				

- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
  - Children have started to learn about the last war and other groups recently - 2017.
  - Schools follow various curriculums, so the flexibility of choosing the curriculum is given to entities/cantons.
  - Children learn historical facts in the schools; however, some local-level celebrations and national tours are very influential. For instance, they visit Jasenovac in RS or make provincial/cantonal visits to celebrate military parades.

- o They also expose to the media, parents, and online readings on learning history and other groups.
- o On a positive note, some teachers take children to visit mosques or catholic churches to learn about other ethnic groups and understand their perspectives.
- o Most of the time, they learn from one perspective.
- o Due to limited time in teaching, they skip some topics, for example, the history of Croatia, which limits their understanding of different groups.
- Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
  - o The language of hate is in the textbooks – embedded, subliminal way.
  - o Social media also conveys messages which also develop negative attitudes. Out-of-school settings of children equally affect the kids' thinking.
  - o There are good intentions in the history teaching guidelines; however, it doesn't own by the communities politically.
  - o Similarities among groups are not emphasized in the classes/textbooks, but only differences, except for some rare initiations of good teachers.
- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - o Besides textbooks, they learn and develop an understanding from site visits, celebrations, and events.
  - o Also, they learn from peers, books, and speeches of political leaders.
  - o They also learn back home from their parents.
- Learning at Home or School
  - o In the country context, open-minded families are not well respected. They can't fight against the general conservative narratives.
  - o Parents present the historical facts exclusively one-sided, and their conciliation messages toward children are yet to be discovered; the interviewer suspects it is constrained. This biased narrative would reach an extreme level if the family lost somebody in the last war.
  - o Therefore, school is significant for historical learning facts. Many children learn for the first time in school.
- Teachers' Importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - o Teachers are the key to teaching the last war and other groups.
  - o You can have the best textbook/curriculum, but you will only succeed with good teachers. Behind closed doors, teachers convey the narratives to children based on their interpretation, which is hard to evaluate/monitor.
  - o Teachers' education is essential – they should present the facts in a way that children should develop critical thinking and research. They should only recite what is given.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - o Children in most cities have rare opportunities to meet and get together with other constituent groups.
  - o Hooligans cause conflict sometimes – you can see negative stadium messages toward other groups.
  - o No incidents have been observed in schools recently, with a note that there are some minorities in the school.
  - o Children still find their way to establish friendships with other groups.
  - o The living memories make the friendship difficult – generation change would help to build reconciliation.

	• The interest in learning politics and history
	    o Politics appears to be a strange topic to children – some lectures raise students' interest.
	    o Even children know that being affiliated or having a particular way of thinking in politics would bring some benefits later in their career/social life.
	    o They are interested in learning about other groups. They choose the subject of culture of religions, an elective course in the curriculum.
	• The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
	    o Peer pressure in these age groups is extremely important.
	    o Appearance, clothing, smartphones, brands, school groups
	    o Nothing related to racial differences.			

P7	31.10.2022 FBiH	1 hour 09 minutes and 10 seconds	54 male Anonymous	National Officer in OSCE

Notes	• Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
	    o Students start learning about the political organization of BiH from the 5th grade on divergent views of this country and how it is organized in the political sphere.
	    o Each of the lessons is checked by the historians – with a note that historians are, in many cases, politicians. They double-check that the lecture's outco me aligns well with the party's political aims.
	    o There is no initiation to learn about other groups; however, there are some isolated attempts – OSCE organized some trips to learn about other groups within joint projects comprised of different groups, for example, some religious awareness tours.
	    o Most of the time, kids are only exposed to their curriculum (geography, history) from one narrative.
	    o They refer to literature in the class only from Bosniak authors – it applies to Serbs and Croats. They don't learn about other groups and their religion.
	• Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
	    o Kids are exposed to non-curricular narratives told by teachers.
	    o Textbooks are coloured by one ethnicity and glorify the specific ethnic group in hidden messages which also develops negative attitudes toward other demographic groups.
	    o Adolescents also come across hate speech online and in other media sources. TV news articulates hate speech and confirms what they have heard from online sources.
	    o Kids are subjected to everyday hate narratives toward other groups.
	    o Students don't see other groups in their town as the last war segregated all cities into monoethnic communities.
	    o Politicians find monoethnic narratives useful to support their ethnic politics and political interests.
	    o As a take-home message, not only do history lessons develop these types of negative attitudes, but all other sources surround kids in their daily lives.
	• Learning at Home or School
	    o It is the combination of both in and out-of-school learning. However, the out-of-school component is more vital for developing a mindset toward other groups and the country itself.
	    o The media has been divided into ethnic lines (FBiH and RS TV) – watching them would give you the impression that the war will start tomorrow.			

- Parents follow this news, and children listen to their families' comments on them.
  - On the other hand, the history is provided in the textbook insufficient.
  - They mostly learn and reflect on what they have heard from their parents and teachers in and out of school based on their interpretations.
- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - Media, parents, non-curricular activities along with textbooks and school lectures
  - The internet is an essential source of historical facts for children.
  - Religion classes are the most influential in shaping mindset, even more than history classes.
- Teachers' importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - After BiH failed to score well on PISA tests, the international community suggested that the BiH's curriculum needs to be adjusted to the curriculum/method as in EU countries. The reform will also cover teachers by giving them more freedom in school.
  - The new lessons will be inclusive and designed with teachers' ideas to develop.
  - Yes, they are important in how they teach the lessons – nobody monitors what they present in the classes; however, they will have a chance even to design the lectures now.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - Even in the two schools under one roof, no single incident has been recorded between Croats and Bosniaks.
  - The city of Zepce is one of the best examples where authorities open for collaboration.
- The interest in learning politics and history
  - They are not that much interested in learning politics and history.
  - The subject of religion is elective but creates segregation, so students prefer to attend classes rather than sit in the corridor and wait for fellow students to finish lectures.
- The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
  - Playing with other kids, sports, and vacations in Croatia are the only concerns of primary school students.
  - Concerns related to other groups start in secondary school and even more in the tertiary education level – socialization with other communities.

P8	04.11.2022FBiH	21 minutes and 11 seconds	60 male Ado Hasic	National Officer in Centre for Peace and Multi-ethnic Cooperation in Mostar
Notes	• Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War) ○ All schools are divided, and kids learn different histories – their historical facts conflict. Communities glorify their ingroups as winners. ○ Schools are divided due to political and historical realities. ○ Students can reach other narratives through out-of-school sources. ○ Religion classes have the mandate to teach other religions. • Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups ○ It is independent of the textbooks, but teachers. Teachers decide on how to present other groups, positive or negative.			

- Learning at Home or School
  - Learning at home is a more critical source.
  - You come to school with your grounded ideas built at home. Whether they are deeply rooted ideas will determine the education system's success.
- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
  - School and the internet are the most influential sources for learning historical facts and other demographic groups.
  - We should remember that families also have an essential role in teaching their children how to see historical facts and other groups.
  - Peer relations play a substantial role, too – social groups. Football groups present negative messages. These groups can be more effective than families with their extreme points of view.
- Teachers' importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
  - One could find teachers the most important in learning historical facts; however, I have witnessed some others disagree.
  - We should forget that teaching is very much connected to politics – so teachers need to align with the guidelines of the political authorities. It would be best if they were loyal to the party, not only a good teacher, because teachers need to convince politicians to be employed in schools. Even cleaners need to have party links to be employed in public institutions.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
  - It wasn't known before, but today, we can observe hostile relations among students in Mostar, which can be seen easily after the development of social media networks. Visibility has increased
- The interest in learning politics and history
  - They are interested in learning politics and history; however, politics are perceived with a bad reputation due to the problems created by politicians.
- The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
  - Migration is an issue. Every year we have fewer and fewer students.
  - Families have fewer children, and those who have kids prefer to escape from BiH for a better future in Europe or other countries

P9	14.11.2022RS	1 hour 12 seconds	46 female Anonymous	history education expert in BiH (RS)
Notes	• Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)			

- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
  - From 2001 to 2018, guidance was released by the Council of Europe on teaching recent history. Accordingly, it advised that the recent war shouldn't be taught in schools.
  - In 2018, the canton of Sarajevo developed an additional teaching material dedicated to the siege of Sarajevo and the genocide in Srebrenica. In reflection, RS has also changed the curriculum and introduced classes dedicated to crimes that happened toward Serbs, Jasenovac. Croat curriculum has also made changes reflectively. A new generation of textbooks has been presented. The previous research by Melisa Foric shows that 97% of the school textbooks are mono perspective showing only one narrative, explaining that both ethnic groups are against our community.
  - There has yet to be a common title in BiH on the recent war. Was it a single war or a series of wars? When is it start and end?

	- Communities haven't widely accepted the title of the war. Homeland war in Croat community, Civil War/Homeland War by Serbs, Serb Aggression by Bosniaks - Students can get the perspective of others in neither textbooks nor presentations of the teachers designed in the curricula. There is no multi-perspective approach. - Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups - Negative as the story presented in a way as "Us" and "Them." We have been victimized throughout history – slaves of Ottomans. - Bosniaks even sometimes call themselves Turks. The misconception of religion creates in-and-out group thinking. - Learning at Home or School - Combination of two – they shouldn't be separated. School brings the essential component of shaping historical understanding. It is a structural way of teaching. - Family stories complement the structural understanding reached by the school system. - The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups. - In RS, there is only one textbook, and teachers can't choose other sources for teaching. - In FBiH, while a bit more flexible, is still limited - Besides textbooks, students get historical information from their families as first place and then social media (Tik Tok, YouTube, etc.) - Another source is graffitiing – hate messages. - Teachers' importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war - The most important influence comes from the teachers, who interpret historical facts and convey them to students. - They even have the power to share the facts in a way that doesn't present in the textbook/guidelines. So, while searching for the causal relationship between textbooks and children's historical understanding, one should consider the history presentation by their teachers. - Teachers in BiH are not trained in teaching the last war, and different demographic groups live in the country. - Teachers in the system have more than 20 years of teaching experience, which means they participated in the last war in one way or other. - Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school - As I work in Banja Luka, I can't observe any hostile relationship between various groups as the city is not mixed - Serb majority. - The interest in learning politics and history - Politics in BiH has a very negative reputation due to corruption and bad management, and it has its reflection on children. They frequently state that they hate politics. - The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students - The football team (Sports), educational choices - They find schools boring and not providing answers to their questions

P10	23.11.2022RS	58 minutes 45 seconds	43 female Anonymous	scholar in University of Banja Luka (RS)
Notes				

- Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
    - o Students recently started learning about the latest war, including the civil war.
    - o The 5th-grade students have already started learning about the political system of BiH, including each cantonal administration in FBiH. Religion lectures teach various religions in the country.
    - o History lessons are used by political groups, especially in FBiH. Children learn different historical perspectives based on the parties' political interests.
- Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
    - o The books are politically correct. They are presented based on evidence/historical facts.
    - o They don't develop any broader perspective in primary school – it seems like an introductory level. Gymnasiums have the highest number of hours per week dedicated to history.
    - o I am not sure that the education system should aim for reconciliation. All should be presented based on scientific proof, and we see that all the groups do not accept these facts around the country. So, all communities should express these scientific facts loud, and then we will be able to reconcile.
    - o Looking at the textbooks, you cannot see any page referring to reconciliation, which is not expected for a long time as we advance.
- Learning at Home or School
    - o Learning in school is more important. It provides a boulevard of learning from qualified people.
    - o Knowledge of parents is only sometimes correct. I am a history teacher, but I am still hesitant to teach history to my children. It would be best if you were qualified to teach students in primary/secondary education.
    - o It turns out to be even more difficult for parents from different vocations. This way of teaching produces extremist/passionate youth, which could harm the community.
- The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
    - o The new generation has more sources than we had back in school. The internet is vital in today's world and learning about historical facts. Online sources (Wikipedia, etc.) are widely applied, and data validity is questionable.
    - o They are not obsessed with history lectures and history textbooks.
- Teachers' importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
    - o Even though I know their task is very demanding, they are significant. They need to be trained, especially in teaching sensitive issues. Not only limited to the last war but also the second world war and other conflicting topics.
    - o When I was ten years old, my school took me to Jasenovac, where the concentration camp took place. Even today, it is very traumatizing to take children to these places.
- Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school
    - o Most of the people I observe come from the Serb population. Few Bosniak students I have seen meantime, and they were doing quite well.

	o I have not noticed any misunderstandings/incidents during my profession at the university.
	 o My daughter's classmate is Bosniak and lives in the same neighbourhood where I live, and I am confident that he hasn't experienced any issues living among Serbs.
	 o Kids don't mind being friends with a child from a different background.
	 • The interest in learning politics and history
	  o Children are not very interested in the last war and its politics. A smaller group of students can be classified as passionate and have the potential to be future historians.
	  o Their areas of interest are more comprehensive thanks to the development of technology.
	  o Even at the university level, fewer students are enrolled in the history departments across the country. Serbia has also been experiencing the same issue.
	 • The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students
	  o Video games, music, rather than politics
	  o TV, smartphones			

P11	24.11.2022 FBiH	answers sent by email	34 Female Jasmin Medic	scholar in University of Sarajevo (FBiH)

Notes	• Learning Broader Historical Perspectives (Different Population Groups, Last War)
	  o The last war, the aggression against BiH, was entered only in the last classes of the end of primary and secondary school. It is a learning lands at an inappropriate time because it is the time before the end of school and the summer vacation.
	 • Context/Curriculum of the History Lessons on Developing Positive/Negative Attitudes towards other Population Groups
	  o No matter how much someone likes it or not, the truth must build positive attitudes toward everyone. Now the question is how much someone cares about the fact.
	 • Learning at Home or School
	  o It should be at school. Experts must be objective, and if education were completely independent of politics, a huge step forward would be made. However, the political situation also dictates the education system, so you will often hear the truth at home that you are not told at school. The best example of this is the genocide against Bosniaks. It is not taught in schools in the RS entity, although it has been proven in numerous courts.
	 • The most relevant sources of information children learn historical facts and other groups.
	  o First, as a historian, I refer to the sources. In the case of aggression against BiH, it is the archives of the Tribunal in The Hague because there are documents from all parties from the former Yugoslavia.
	 • Teachers' importance of learning historical facts, other groups, and the last war
	  o There was no civil war in BiH. It was the aggression of Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia on the internationally recognized and independent Republic of BiH! They should be the most important; they have complete freedom in teaching when they can say what has been proven without fear for their existence.
	 • Observation of hostile/friendly relationships amongst different population groups in school			

		- o In Sarajevo, where I live and work, I did not notice. But I know of many cases in other parts of BiH. No, there are still more positive examples of children getting together, etc. - The interest in learning politics and history - o They should be more interested. Unfortunately, that's how it is. They should be more interested in history. Politics must be presented as something that is not negative, and history is a subject that does not only talk about dates. - The biggest concerns of primary/secondary school students - o The biggest concerns are certainly the question of the future. Should you stay in BiH or look for a perspective somewhere abroad? The departure of young people from this country is one of the biggest problems.

Appendix 7: Overview of the Points of Departure from the Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in BiH (2006)

Table S - From OSCE (2003)

DOCUMENT	TOPIC	PARAGRAPH	NOTE
Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in BiH	**Overall**	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." (p. 5)	
	Sensitive Issues/ Controversial Themes	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 the same historical events, with obligatory listing of different historical sources." (p. 2)	
	Multiperspectivity and Use of Sources	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." (p. 2)	This paragraph closely corresponds with the following: 4.9. "Incorporate multi-perspectivity and show historical processes from the Modern Era, having as many historical sources of different origin, as possible." (p. 5)
	Critical Thinking	2.6. "Questions and tasks for the students should be formulated in a way that will encourage critical and open thinking, as well as the ability to analyse 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." (p. 2)	This paragraph closely corresponds with the following: 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." (p. 5)
	Language that does not induce hatred	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 neighbouring countries." (p. 3)	
	Building mutual understanding and reconciliation	2.2. "Textbooks should be scientifically based, objective, and aimed at building mutual understanding, reconciliation and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina." (p. 2)	