紛争前・紛争後ボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナ国における市民教育の比較分析 －多文化主義の観点から－
A Comparative Analysis of Civic Education in Pre- and Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Lens of Multiculturalism

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ABSTRACT

　ボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナ国は，民族共存の課題に長く取り組んできた。中でも市民教育は，民族共存を進める上で重要な政策ツールであった。本論文では，紛争前後の市民教育を比較し，それぞれが民族共存を目的に如何に形成され実施されたか検討する。分析にあたっては多文化主義に関する理論を用いて，紛争前社会主義時代の市民教育と紛争後民主制移行期の市民教育アプローチが大きく異なることを説明している。アプローチの選択は，当該時代のイデオロギー，社会・政治環境に影響を受けており，また，それぞれのアプローチは，平和的な民族共存の実現において独自の限界を有する。両者の異なる点として，紛争前の市民教育が抽象的なスローガンと外敵の脅威を利用し国内の統一を図ろうとしたのに対し，紛争後の市民教育は具体的な社会・市民性原則を教えることに力点を置いている。前者が，民族主義の台頭を防ぐことが出来なかった一方，後者も，生徒が学んだ原則を多文化環境で確認，共有する機会を伴わない限り，平和的民族共存を実現することは困難であると考えられる。

　Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has long dealt with the challenge of ethnic coexistence. In particular, civic education has been an important policy tool to promote coexistence. This study compares and contrasts the nation's civic education taught in schools during the pre-conflict and post-conflict periods, and illustrates how civic education has been conceptualized and practiced to tackle the issue of coexistence. Using the lens

of multiculturalism as an analytical tool, the study shows that civic education subjects during the pre-conflict socialist and post-conflict democratization period adopted very different approaches. The choice of a particular approach was affected by the dominant ideologies and socio-political environment of each respective era, and each approach had its own limitations for realizing peaceful ethnic coexistence. The study explains that, while pre-war civic education stressed unity between ethnic groups under vague socialist slogans and the prospect of external threat, the new democratic civic education focuses on the teaching of concrete social and citizenship principles. While the pre-conflict socialists' attempts to unite citizens appeared ineffective when faced with the rise of nationalism, the present-day civic education may also fail to realize peaceful coexistence if it does not include opportunities for students to apply the principles learned in a multicultural environment and understand that these principles are shared across diverse groups.

Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) became an independent state in 1995, emerging from an internal conflict and a socialist legacy. Prior to the 1992-1995 conflict, the country was one of the republics in the former socialist Yugoslavia. When the Cold War ended, Yugoslavia began disintegrating. In the process, a civil war broke out in the republic between three dominant ethnic groups, namely Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Since the inter-ethnic fighting occurred not only between professional soldiers but also civilians, it became apparent that the Yugoslav socialist slogan of "unity and brotherhood" promoted in schools was not very successful in holding diverse ethnic groups together.

In 2003, several years after the war, a new form of civic education began in schools with the hope of promoting peaceful coexistence between diverse ethnic groups. After an initial testing phase, a new civic education subject, "Human Rights and Democracy," was formally introduced into the Bosnian common core curriculum. The underlying values of the subject are those associated with liberal democracy such as pluralism, the rule of law, and human rights. The assumption behind the introduction of democratic civic education is that shared social principles associated with liberal democracy will promote coexistence. The new civics education has been conducted in the post-conflict climate characterized by fragmented education governance and segregated schooling.

This study offers a brief analysis of civic education in BiH before and after the conflict through the lens of multiculturalism. This comparison between the previous and present civic education illustrates that they have been conceptualized and practiced differently to tackle the issue of coexistence. Their approaches are affected by the dominant ideologies and socio-political environments of each respective era, and have their unique limitations concerning the realization of peaceful coexistence. It is hoped that this paper contributes to the discussion concerning education and peace-building in post-conflict and transitional societies by offering an analysis of different civic education approaches and pointing out limitations within each approach.

This paper is structured as follows. First, a historic overview of BiH and a description of its present status are offered. Next, the paper explains multiculturalism as an analytical framework for civic education and the methodology utilized to investigate the topic. The following section reflects on civic education in the socialist period. Then, the post-conflict democratic civic education will be analyzed. The final section

discusses a future perspective on civic education in BiH and points out the necessity for the realization of inter-ethnic interactions in the educational arena.

BiH national context

BiH, located in the region of South East Europe, has long been a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society because of its geographical location as a crossroads of different civilizations. South Slavs immigrated to the Balkans during the sixth and seventh centuries, and many of them later adopted Christianity. Some of them also converted to Islam during the 400 years of the Ottoman occupation. Presently, Slavs are the majority group in this land, but divided into three ethnic groups primarily by their religious affiliations: Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs (Orthodox Christians) and Croats (Catholics), accounting for roughly 43.7%, 31%, and 17.3% of the current population, respectively (OSCE, 2009). The official languages are Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, written with two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic. Spoken expressions of the three languages are almost identical, and used to be called "Serbo-Croatian" denoting one system of language.

In the history of BiH, tensions have always existed among the diverse ethnic groups, especially when politicians have exploited the differences to their advantage. The two World Wars that occurred in the early 20th century created a sense of deep mistrust between Serbs and Croats. Serb and Croat extremists mutually killed thousands of members belonging to the opposite ethnic camps. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which BiH was one of the constituent republics, was born in 1943 with a new promise of ethnic coexistence under the socialist-communist ideology. Under the leadership of a charismatic partisan leader Josip Broz Tito, the autonomy of constituent republics was guaranteed, and language and religious diversity were more or less protected.

In the early 1990s, Yugoslavia became engulfed in a series of internal ethnic conflicts. The violent conflict was particularly severe in BiH where there was no absolute ethnic majority. When the republic of Slovenia and the republic of Croatia declared separation from Yugoslavia, Bosniak leaders in BiH followed suit. Then, a military conflict broke out in the republic among the three dominant ethnic groups. The Bosnian conflict lasted three years from 1992 to 1995, resulting in more than 100,000 deaths and the displacement of a far larger number of people. BiH became a sovereign state in 1995 with the Dayton agreement mediated by the international community.

The present governing system of BiH is fragmented, reflecting the consequences of the war. The country has been divided into the two "entities," namely the Bosniak- and Croat-dominated Federation of BiH (FBiH) and the Serb-dominant Republica Srpska (RS), and Brčko, an autonomous municipality. FBiH is further divided into 10 cantons, mostly along ethnic lines. Five cantons are the Bosniak-majority areas, three cantons are the Croat majority areas, and the remaining two are fairly mixed (OECD, 2001). The fragmentation of the governance structure in BiH is reflected most vividly in its formal education system. Because of the divisive education governance structure, the primary and secondary schools, offering 11 to 13 years of education, follow different curriculums. Several studies have documented the ethno-nationalistic contents in such subjects as literature, language, history, geography and arts (Baranovic, 2001; Kreso, 2008; Torsti, 2007, 2009). In communities with a fairly mixed population of Bosniaks and Croats, "two schools under one roof" is a popular formula for accommodating the wishes of the two ethnic communities. The "two schools under one roof" phrase refers to schools in which two ethnic groups of children share the same building but learn in separate classrooms with different curriculums. More than 50 cases of this arrangement are said to exist in BiH (Kreso, 2008).

Theoretical framework

Civic education in a multi-ethnic society is often planned around the concept of multiculturalism, a foundational principle used to further peaceful coexistence. Multiculturalism is a notion that embraces diversity within a society. In contrast with assimilation, this concept offers a plausible social model in a society where diverse ethnic groups are allowed to claim rights inherent to their identities. However, multiculturalism does not automatically lead to peaceful coexistence. In some cases, the multiculturalism ideology may be employed by certain politicians and intellectuals to support polarization of society. This presents a challenge for school education, in particular civic education that deals with the very essence of coexistence.

Before discussing multiculturalism and the educational approaches associated with it, it is helpful to first define coexistence, since this notion describes the nature of a multicultural society, and thus provides implications for multicultural education. Kriesberg (2001) defines coexistence as a minimum condition for peace, and states that coexistence accommodates the diversity of values and cultures. In this case, the role of education for coexistence is considered to lay a foundation, "the first step," for establishing advanced harmonious inter-group relations (Bekerman, Zembylas, & McGlynn, 2009). Meanwhile, Galtung distinguishes between passive and positive coexistence and argues that, while passive coexistence is a minimum condition for peace, positive coexistence suggests the existence of a more stable, trusting and harmonious relationship between members of society. This argument bears relevance to the present situation in BiH where, as noted later in this paper, civic education teaches common principles, but mostly in a segregated environment where it may be difficult to build trust across different ethnic groups, or as it is termed "bridging social capital" (Gittell &

Vidal, 1998; Putnam, 2000). BiH, as it stands now, is considered to be in a state of passive coexistence.

In essence, the challenge confronting coexistence is to find a balance between respecting diversity on one hand and sharing commonalities on the other, so that bridging social capital is nurtured. In this paper, multiculturalism is used as a conceptual framework to analyze this balance within the discussion of civic education. According to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), multiculturalism may exist as three types: liberal multiculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism, and critical multiculturalism. The *liberal approach* stresses commonalities or unity between different communities, while the *pluralist approach* values differences. The *critical approach* confronts social injustice and inequalities existing in the society. This categorization offers guiding principles for multicultural education approaches in schools.

Following the typology of multiculturalism, multicultural education approaches can be categorized into several groups. McGlynn (2009a), who studied integrated schools in Northern Ireland where tension exists between Protestants and Catholics, described multicultural education approaches as follows. The liberal approach has proactive and passive stances: the *liberal proactive* approach makes deliberate attempts to spread awareness of commonalities, while the *liberal passive* approach lets natural interaction lead to the awareness of commonalities. The plural integration approach includes *plural inclusive* and *plural limited* positions; the former recognizes all forms of existing diversity, while the latter also embraces diversity but tends to avoid discussion of differences among social groups. McGlynn adds that *critical integration* also recognizes diversity, but its emphasis is on critical analysis of inequalities and injustice existing within a given society. This paper extends her analytical framework on integrated education to the analysis of civic education in BiH.

Methodology

This study is mainly based on a literature review and analysis of official documents. A copy of the official civic education syllabus used during the Yugoslav socialist period was provided by a civic education teacher with whom I became acquainted through a teacher networking project sponsored by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). This teacher and other civic education teachers participating in the project, some of whom were former Yugoslav civics teachers, provided me with insights into the different approaches taken by the pre- and post-conflict education systems. In addition, the study has been informed by my field research activities in BiH since 2006, which included interviews with an education minister in Tuzla (FBiH), school managers and teachers in different parts of the country, as well as classroom observations made during civic education classes at a secondary school in the Tuzla canton.

Yugoslav socialist civic education

In this section, civic education in the former Yugoslavia is reviewed. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was founded on the principles of socialist ideology characterized by the working class struggle and solidarity against exploitation and oppression. In the last revised Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of 1974, the slogan "unity and brotherhood" was still stressed as a mantra meant to unite the people in their struggle for liberation and revolution. In addition, the 1974 constitution mentioned that a single political system is an appropriate mechanism to meet the common interests of people and ensure the equality of ethno-national groups. In short, the supreme body of law in the former Yugoslavia highlighted the commonalities shared by its citizens, and positioned their united struggles as the ultimate embodiment of the commonalities.

Despite its clear wording regarding equality and struggles, however, the Yugoslav constitution does not seem to have offered clear guidance on educational practices in the schools. The literature review indicates that education during this period dealt with the issue of commonalities and diversity in rather ambiguous ways. During the Yugoslav era, the purpose of social studies was to teach abstract socialist ideology devoid of concrete realities (Kovac-Cerovic, 1998). Yugoslav education did not deal with collective identity in a concrete manner, thus making the people vulnerable to the instigation and demagogy of ethno-nationalistic politicians that later turned citizens against each other (Mustagrudic, 2000). Meanwhile, Yugoslav education did not encourage students to become conscious of "ethnic issues" within the country, either. Rather, ethnic diversity was downplayed. In a study of a social studies textbook, it was reported that the issue of ethnic diversity was included in only one section. Instead, the textbook mostly stressed the socialist slogan of "unity and brotherhood." In view of this evidence, Bokovoy (1997) concluded that the Yugoslav school education did not adequately prepare students for the dangers of ethno-nationalism.

Most characteristically, civic education under the socialist regime took the form of practical training to defend the country. The citizenry duties and responsibilities were discussed in a subject called "Civil Defense" or "Security and Defense." This subject taught secondary school students practical skills, including demining and shooting to defend the nation from external attacks (see Table 1). It may be possible to speculate that the civil defense subject was designed to rally people and create a sense of shared civic duty by using the prospect of eternal threats against which Yugoslav citizens of any ethnic background must fight together. This approach, however, did not turn out to be very effective in creating a collective identity as the highest sense of

affiliation among the citizens. In BiH, the percentage of people who identified themselves as Yugo were a mere 8.4% in the 1961 census, 1.2% in 1971, and 7.9% in 1981; the rate was consistently below 10% (Sekulic, Massey, & Hodson, 1994).

Examining this situation through multiculturalism, education in Yugoslavia appears to have taken the *liberal passive* approach, which allows everyone to mingle and interact. In this approach, the diversity within a society is downplayed. It should be added that, in the case of pre-war BiH, deliberate attempts to discuss common civic principles were somewhat missing. Moreover, controversial issues relating to ethnicity were avoided altogether, and abstract idealism was taught instead. It has been reported that students were neither provided the skills to deal with diversity nor allowed to voice their opinions in the classroom (Kovac-Cerovic, 1998). Education in Yugoslavia attempted to convey that everyone enjoyed equal rights, when the reality was contradictory. The *liberal passive* approach to multiculturalism may be effective as long as the country enjoys economic and political stability, but the Bosnian experience suggests that, in the face of turbulent changes in society, this approach is quickly replaced with separationism.

In summary, the literature suggests that education in BiH during the socialist era attempted to create a sense of unity among citizens by downplaying the issue of ethnic diversity and employing external threats. An illusion was created that the citizens were part of a community of natural bonding and solidarity. Some civic education teachers themselves confided that "unity and brotherhood" was a hollow slogan, very symbolic of this effort. It is also worth reiterating that civic principles were not taught in a way that citizens could apply them in a daily life. Finally, students were not given an opportunity to critically reflect and debate social justice.

Post-conflict civic education

Civic education in post-conflict BiH has faced a similar challenge to that implemented during the socialist period in that it attempts to promote coexistence through multicultural approaches. However, the two approaches fundamentally diverge in their concepts and practices, particularly with regard to their treatment of unity and diversity. While civic education in the pre-conflict period was affected by Yugoslav socialist ideology, post-conflict civic education reflects the mainstream thinking of the international actors involved in reconstruction; it represents the dominance of the liberal democratic ideology underlying it.

In 2003, a new civic education program was formally introduced as a regular subject in BiH schools, replacing the former civil defense subject.

Table 1
Civil Defense curriculum for secondary schools in pre-conflict BiH

Lesson 1.	Introduction
Lesson 2.	Environment orientation (topography and terrains)
Lesson 3.	Objects to conceal and protect from battle actions
Lesson 4.	Protection of population and material goods from air attacks
Lesson 5.	Protection of cultural, public and residential objects
Lesson 6.	Protection from unexploded lethal ordnance
Lesson 7.	Power, authority and responsibility for world peace
Lesson 8.	Defense policies of selected countries

Source: The curriculum was provided by a former civics teacher in Tuzla

The testing phase began earlier, soon after the end of the war. The course "Human Rights and Democracy," as it is officially called, is being taught in the upper grades of the primary school cycle and in secondary schools. The curriculum details vary to some degree across the administrative regions. The production of textbooks and the provision of teacher training are managed by the Center for Civic Education, a USA-based non-profit organization that promotes democracy education through a "CIVITAS project" within the USA and in other parts of the world (CIVITAS, 2012). The Council of Europe supports teacher training and the production of supplementary books (Kolouh-Westin, 2002).

The new civic education course in BiH focuses on teaching the basic democratic principles of the society. Judging from the content of the "Human Rights and Democracy" subject taught in the 8th grade of primary schools (see Table 2), the civic education curriculum in post-conflict BiH is built on the model of democratic citizenship education. This form of citizenship education adheres to the human rights conventions and promotes coexistence by teaching citizenship with shared democratic values and loyalty to a democratic constitution (Guzina, 2007). One may argue that this form of civic education, based on social principles rather than patriotism or loyalty to the state, was one of the few realistic options available at that time, in view of the fact that the leaders of the three dominant ethnic parties did not share a common vision of, and a sense of belonging to, BiH statehood.

Table 2

Human Rights and Democracy textbook table of contents in post-conflict BiH

Lesson 1.	What is the difference between authority and power without authority?
Lesson 2.	Why do we need authority?
Lesson 3.	Where do we find authority and how do we justify it?
Lesson 4.	How should we elect people for the authority positions?
Lesson 5.	Who should be selected for the position of authority?
Lesson 6.	What is privacy?
Lesson 7.	Why do people have different opinions of privacy?
Lesson 8.	What are possible consequences of privacy?
Lesson 9.	What should be the scope and limits of privacy?
Lesson 10.	What is responsibility?
Lesson 11.	What are some sources of responsibility?
Lesson 12.	What are the consequences of assuming responsibility?
Lesson 13.	How do we choose between responsibilities that oppose to each other?
Lesson 14.	Why are the issues of justice divided into three categories?
Lesson 15.	How can we use informational sources when studying the issue of redistributive justice?
Lesson 16.	What are the aims of corrective justice?
Lesson 17.	What are the aims of procedural justice
Lesson 18.	Why do we need power?
Lesson 19.	What are constitutional powers?
Lesson 20.	How can citizens participate?
Lesson 21.	What decisions will you make as a citizen?

Source: Civic education textbook "Osnove Demokracije"

By looking through the multicultural education lens, the present civic education can be considered a *plural* model in the sense that it does not deliberately attempt to spread awareness of commonalities or promote unity, whether through formal curriculum (liberal proactive) or integrated schools (liberal passive). As noted, civic education during the socialist period followed liberal approaches that emphasized unity among diverse ethnic groups. The liberal approaches that stress commonalities are said to help build a common ground between different communities, even in conflict situations (McGlynn, 2009b). However, in the post-conflict environment characterized by intense distrust between elites of different ethnic groups and divisive governance systems, liberal approaches do not seem to be a viable option.

Classroom practices do not necessarily reflect the plural approach in its active sense, however. In Tuzla canton, the education minister reaffirmed that the civic education subject was the fundamental approach to ethnic coexistence. With that in mind, I observed civic education lessons in a secondary school in the canton with the approval of the minister. In some lessons, the issue of civics and diversity was discussed. The teacher first stressed that diverse ethnic groups, including Albanians and Chinese, lived in BiH, and reminded the students that the BiH state was a multicultural and multiethnic society. Then, the teacher discussed the notion of common civic principles shared by all citizens. Throughout the lessons, discussion on ethnicity was mostly limited to the abstract level without referring to the actual tension existing among the three major ethnic groups. The Tuzla canton, a Bosniak-majority area, is known to enjoy relatively stable ethnic relations compared to other regions. One can suspect, then, that classroom discussions of ethnic diversity in other regions happens even less frequently.

The absence of active endorsement for the unity of different ethnic groups in the curriculum and textbooks, as well as the hesitance to engage in candid discussion about the diversity existing in the country suggests that the post-conflict civic education is conducted around the *plural limited* model. Instead of seeking out commonalities and promoting unity, the subject "Human Rights and Democracy" aims to nurture citizenry based on a set of shared social principles. In this context, Heyneman (2003) argues that this form of civic education is said to facilitate the interaction between different groups in society, and promote mutual understanding and social cohesion. Disturbingly, however, the very opportunity to interact with other ethnic groups is missing in many BiH schools today. Furthermore, the absence of critical dimensions in the present multicultural education may be a drawback to nurturing democratic citizens. This phenomenon is not particular to BiH. In Northern Ireland, teachers tend to avoid discussing potentially divisive issues relating to politics, identity and religions (McGlynn, 2004). In the multicultural society of Quebec, Canada , teachers generally avoid controversial issues in classroom teaching, even if sensitive issues such as cultural identities and community relations are included in the curricula (Niens & Chastenay, 2008). One may argue that discussing controversial issues would require a basic sense of trust between the two parties. BiH is far from achieving such trusting relationships among the three ethnic groups.

Summary and discussion

This study compares and contrasts civic education in BiH before and after the conflict. Civic education has been an important policy tool to promote ethnic coexistence, yet adopted very different approaches that reflected the dominant ideology and socio-political environment of each period. The study also elucidated constraints associated with each of the

two approaches in achieving the goal of coexistence. The socialist civic education in BiH appeared to follow a liberal passive approach without teaching concrete civic principles. Such an approach was not effective in preventing a violent civil war. The post-conflict civic education, based on liberal democracy, adopts a different approach that emphasizes the teaching of concrete social principles without attempting, at least overtly, to create a sense of unity among different ethnic groups. Such democratic citizenship education is supposed to enable youths to deal with diversity in concrete and constructive ways, and lay a foundation for the creation of a democratic and non-violent society. However, youth have few opportunities to practice this.

The concept of modern citizenship is most challenged in the context of divided societies (Smith, 2003). Sharing social principles and rules is only the first step towards coexistence. *Positive* coexistence requires more than sharing principles. In this context, the notion of multiple identities may be a key. The UN Commission on Human Security (2003) suggests that children should be taught that one has multiple identities and these can increase the chance of sharing commonalities with others. In fact, multiple identities can be a bridge between the plural and liberal approaches. To this end, it is essential that Bosnian students of different ethnic groups be provided with repeated opportunities to interact with each other, to reaffirm their sharing of the society's basic principles, and to discover common identities. Only then, the trusting relationships that are fundamental to peaceful coexistence can be built.

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