

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT to article in

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

Managing “Spoiled” National Identity: War, Tourism, and Memory in Croatia

Lauren A. Rivera
Harvard University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. STUDYING “DIFFICULT PASTS: STEPPING OUTSIDE THE GERMAN CASE
- II. SUMMARY OF THE CROATIAN WAR OF SECESSION
- III. SIEGE OF DUBROVNIK: DAMAGE AND RESTORATION
- IV. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
- V. CODING CATEGORIES AND DEFINITIONS

I. Studying “Difficult” Pasts: Stepping Outside the German Case

The bulk of work addressing the management of “difficult pasts” has occurred outside of sociology and used the case of post–World War II Germany. Numerous texts document how individuals have come to terms with having survived, witnessed, or participated in war-related violence (Confino and Fritzsche 2002; Douglass and Vogler 2003; Felman and Laub 1992). On a collective level, historians and anthropologists have used analysis of cultural products, educational materials, memorials, museums, and governmental activities to examine how different groups of actors have described Germany’s involvement in the war (e.g., Baldwin 1990; Ezrahi 1980; Herf 1997; Maier 1988; Moeller 2001). For a review of recent developments in such literatures, see Schulze (2004).

Although such works richly document the content of narratives explaining Germany’s participation in war, many of these works lack broader theoretical accounts about what drives societies to represent difficult pasts in particular ways (Confino and Fritzsche 2002). Moreover, stepping outside the German context to examine how societies depict negative events can be a particularly valuable endeavor. The sheer scale of both the nature of World War II and the atrocities committed during it can be thought of as somewhat of an outlier in the broader context of “difficult pasts” (Einwohner 2006; Friedlander 1993). Given that many of the acts of war and ethnic violence committed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have taken place on a more localized scale and outside of major world powers (Brubaker and Laitin 1998), studying countries other than Germany can provide important insights about the relationship

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

between violence, culture, and memory in less established nations.

II. SUMMARY OF THE CROATIAN WAR OF SECESSION

Although regularly portrayed by journalists and politicians as the result of “ancient hatreds,” the wars in the former Yugoslavia were due to a complex interplay of political, economic, social, and historical factors (Calhoun 1997). The purpose of this document is to briefly outline some key events involving Croatia that took place during the wars, rather than to explain why the wars and ethnic violence occurred. For more in-depth explanations, see Brubaker (1996); Calhoun (1997); Hodson, Sekulić, and Massey (1994); Judt (2005); Moodie (1995); and Naimark (2001). For discussions of controversies surrounding interpretations of the war, see Ramet (2005).

From 1945 to 1991, Yugoslavia was a socialist federation consisting of six republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia) and two autonomous regions (Kosovo and Vojvodina). The capital, Belgrade, was located in Serbia, the Federation’s largest and most populous republic. On June 25, 1991, the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia. Slovenia’s declaration was met with armed resistance from Belgrade and the Yugoslav Federal Army (JNA), but the battle was short-lived, lasting only 10 days. Scholars hypothesize that this was due to Slovenia’s lack of a direct border with Serbia and its very small Serbian minority compared with other republics (Moodie 1995; Naimark 2001).

Croatia’s attempt to secede from Yugoslavia, however, was met with brutal resistance from Belgrade. In addition to economic and political motivations for retaining the republic (see Calhoun 1997; Judt 2005), there was a significant Serbian minority concentrated in the interior of Croatia, most notably in Slavonija and the areas surrounding the city of Knin (Massey, Hodson, and Sekulić 1999). Due partially to historical memory of atrocities

committed by Croats against Serbs during World War II, increasingly nationalist propaganda by both Croatian and Serbian media sources, and purges of non-Croats from political and civil posts within Croatia, many Serbs living in these regions became fearful about their fate under an independent Croatia (Judt 2005). In 1991, violence broke out between Serb paramilitary groups, who sought to establish an independent Serb republic in the interior of Croatia, and Croatian police and paramilitary groups who sought to retain the territory as Croatian. During this time, the term “ethnic cleansing” began to be known worldwide (Mirković 1996). Serb and Croat militants sought to secure land for their own ethnic groups. They did so through selectively targeting civilians on the basis of ethnic identity (i.e., Croat versus Serb) and forcing particular groups out of desired territory by means of forced migration, harassment, robbery, arson, rape, torture, and murder. The goal was not only to remove ethnic groups from the land but to create a feeling of threat within the population so that they would never return (Moodie 1995; Silber and Little 1997). Although both sides participated in such violence, “ethnic cleansing” is believed to have been pursued most extensively by Serb forces during this first phase of the war (Moodie 1995). However, such tactics would be pursued aggressively by Croatian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 to 1993 and in eastern Croatia in 1995 (Naimark 2001).

After a year of fighting, Serb forces successfully established the Republic of Serb Krajina on formerly Croatian soil, and a shaky ceasefire was brokered between Croatian and Serbian forces in early 1992 (Moodie 1995). In this year alone, however, between 6,000 and 10,000 people had been killed, 400,000 were homeless, and \$18.7 billion in material damage had been incurred (Hodson et al. 1994). In addition, Croatia lost approximately one-third of its prewar territory to Serb forces who now occupied the land; two of its primary industries were destroyed; and the majority of the country’s railway systems had been bombed.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

Although the ceasefire and the presence of UN peacekeeping troops led to a pause in much of the fighting in Eastern Croatia, violence erupted in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Before the war, Bosnia was one of the most diverse republics in the former Yugoslavia (Hodson et al. 1994); the population was approximately 45 percent Muslim, 32 percent Serb, and 18 percent Croat (Botev 1994). When Bosnia declared independence in early 1992, the country faced even more severe resistance from Belgrade than Croatia had. Serbia declared war on Bosnia and laid siege to several Bosnian cities, including Sarajevo. In addition, Serb militants, with the backing of the Belgrade government, sought to establish an independent Serb republic in Bosnia (*Republika Srpska*) (Judt 2005). However, Croat militants, known as the Croatian Defense Council (HVO), backed by Zagreb also sought to carve out an independent Croat state (*Herceg-Bosna*) within Bosnian territory. Both sides did so through ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims and other non-national groups. Croatian forces' use of ethnic cleansing was particularly aggressive in the Lašva Valley and areas of Herzegovina, such as the city of Mostar (for a detailed discussion of Croatia's participation in ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, including the role of the Croatian government, see Naimark [2001]). Militants were backed and often armed by their respective governments; it has been suggested that then-presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman, may have been planning to divide Bosnia between themselves (Naimark 2001; Silber and Little 1997).

The Croatian use of ethnic cleansing reached its height in eastern Croatia in 1995. Operations "Flash" and "Storm" sought to reclaim areas of Slavonija and the Krajina that had been occupied by Serb forces since the ceasefire in 1992 and "cleanse" them of Serbs (Naimark 2001). In late 1995, the internationally brokered Dayton Accords officially ended the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, although some residual violence has occurred. In 1998 and 1999, war and ethnic cleansing occurred again in the former Yugoslavia, but this time in Kosovo between Kosovar Albanians and Serbs (Judt 2005).

The number of casualties from the wars in Croatia and Bosnia is difficult to calculate, but in Croatia alone at least 14,000 people were killed or reported missing, at least 37,000 more were injured, over half a million people were left homeless, and \$27 billion of property was destroyed (Kunovich and Hodson 1999).

It is important to note that during the conflicts between Croats, Muslims, and Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, all parties committed war crimes, although Bosnian Muslims are reported to have committed the fewest atrocities (Judt 2005; Naimark 2001). Serbs and Croats, including militants, army soldiers, and government officials have been found guilty of a range of human rights violations including war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity by the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (for a list of cases tried by the court see www.un.org/icty/case-e/index-e.htm).

III. Siege of Dubrovnik: Damage and Restoration

The attack on Dubrovnik, a UNESCO-recognized World Heritage cultural site, was extensive. In 1991 and 1992, 426 out of 824 buildings and 60 percent of roofs in the walled medieval center were destroyed by Serb and Montenegrin shelling (Clark 1998). Because Dubrovnik is considered one of the "cultural treasures" of Croatia and a monument of world renown, the shelling of Dubrovnik held symbolic as well as physical significance. It was seen by many as a direct attack on Croatian culture (Barthel-Bouchier 2005). Yet, soon after the siege of the city, a high-profile international fundraising campaign undertaken by foreign foundations, celebrities, and royalty raised enough capital to restore the town rapidly (Agence-France Presse 1997). By 1997, when tourists were just beginning to come back to Croatia in significant numbers, 70 percent of the damage had been restored. Foreign journalists reported being "unable to tell" that there was ever a war in the city, other than the difference in color and texture between the original and

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

replaced roof tiles of the town's medieval center, a difference visible when walking on the city's famous walls. This discussion of restoration in Dubrovnik is not intended to downplay the significance of the siege or the damage that

resulted from it, but rather to illustrate that the damage was repairable (unlike cities in the interior such as Vukovar) and, with the help of foreign funds, was at least superficially "covered."

IV. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Opening

How long have you worked in the tourism industry in Croatia?

What is your specialty within tourism?

Prewar Tourism

As I wrote to you, I am examining how tourism has changed within the past 15 years in Croatia, specifically, before versus after the war.

- Can you describe to me briefly what tourism was like before the war?
- In your opinion, what was the overall image of Croatia before the war?
- What was Croatia's main selling point before the war?
- How was tourism promotion conducted before the war?
- What types of travelers came to Croatia before the war?

Tourism During the War

How did the war affect tourism *during the war*?

- Numbers/types of travelers
- Infrastructure/structural damage
- Social climate
- Tourism promotion
- Perceptions/expectations of Croatia at home and abroad

Postwar Tourism

In your opinion, has tourism changed at all since the war?

- Numbers pre- versus postwar
- Types of accommodation used
- Biggest attractions, most visited cities
- Types of travelers (e.g., age, income, nationality)
- Types of travel (e.g., package holiday, tour groups, independent, short-haul, long-haul)
- Purpose of travel (e.g., beach holiday, adventure sports/hiking, city break)

Image and Marketing

Do you think the image of Croatia as a travel destination has changed since the war?

- How would you describe Croatia's overall image now?
- Is the Croatia tourists are visiting today different from pre-1991 Western Yugoslavia?
- Is there anything you feel is hindering the growth of the tourism industry in Croatia?
- Why do you think Croatia has been able to make such a speedy recovery in terms of tourism?
- What medium do you think has been the most effective in contributing to increased travel to Croatia (e.g., advertisements, travel articles in newspapers/magazines, package holidays, word of mouth)?
- What is Croatia doing now to market itself to travelers?

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

- On a more personalized level, do people in the tourism industry (e.g., tourist office reps and hotel owners) do anything in particular to convey a positive image of Croatia?
- In your opinion, what is Croatia’s main selling point now?
- How does the tourism industry deal with/explain the war?
 - Are there any war museums, monuments?
 - Any mention in official tourism documents?

Cultural Tourism and Croatian Culture

In your opinion, what would you say defines Croatian culture?

- What makes Croatian culture unique?
- Is it different from that of its neighbors?
- Is it different from that of other countries in Europe?

If a visitor/guest were to ask you to describe Croatian culture, what would you say?

Is there cultural tourism in Croatia? (i.e., unique cultural sites, performances, events)

In your opinion, is Croatia distinct from other tourist destinations in the former Yugoslavia (e.g., cuisine, architecture, or character)? In the Mediterranean? In Europe? In the world?

European Union

- What do you think about Croatia’s application to the EU in relation to tourism?

Additional Questions for Museum Curators and Cultural Producers:

Have the types of exhibits you feature changed over the past 15 years?

Was the museum affected by the recent war?

What impression do you want foreigners who visit the museum to take away with them about the museum? About Croatian culture?

V. CODING CATEGORIES AND DEFINITIONS

I. **Art/architecture codes.** This category was used to code descriptions of Croatia’s architecture, building styles, fine arts, and artistic history. They include individual sites, works, styles, movements, architects, and artists as well as generalizations of the country’s architectural and artistic features as a whole.

- A. **Art/Architecture: European** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s architecture and art as being European in character. Includes references to specific national influences (e.g., Roman, Venetian, French, Italian, Austro-Hungarian) and historical styles (e.g., Gothic, Baroque) in addition to more general descriptions of Europeanness (e.g., European, Western European, Eastern European).

EXAMPLE: “Today, the well-preserved Roman architecture is interlaced with several layers from later ages.”

- B. **Art/Architecture: Local** – Refers to descriptions of locally distinctive elements of Croatia’s architecture, building style, art, and artistic history that are not tied to major world powers.

EXAMPLE: “Going deeper into the very heart of the Posavina valley you will notice charming age-old wooden houses which are typical examples of traditional local architecture.”

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

- C. **Art/Architecture: Ottoman/Turkish** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s architecture and art as Turkish, Ottoman, or Islamic in character.

EXAMPLE: “The conquerors attempted to convert as much as possible of the local population to Islam, and they left behind them their own style of building, adding a distinctive local colour to the area.”

EXAMPLE: “examples of oriental Moslem architecture”

- D. **Art/Architecture: Mixed – West and East** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s architecture and art as a combination of European, Slavic, and Ottoman/Turkish/Islamic characteristics.

EXAMPLE: “The towering mountain ranges are contrasted with gentle valleys, medieval towns and monasteries and scenic villages just as monuments of W. European traditions are contrasted with exquisite examples of Oriental architecture and masterpieces of art in areas which used to be under Byzantine cultural influences.”

- II. **Culture codes.** This category was used to code descriptions of Croatia’s culture and cultural heritage. They include references to both specific cultural objects (e.g., national costumes) and cultural practices (e.g., customs, traditions, festivals, folklore) as well as more abstract concepts such as national dispositions, sensibilities, ways of thinking, and ways of life.

- A. **Culture: European** – Refers to Croatia’s culture and cultural practices as being European in origin or character. Includes references to specific nations (e.g., Roman, Venetian, French, Italian, Austro-Hungarian), as well as more general descriptions of Europeanness (e.g., European, Western European, Eastern European).

EXAMPLE: “Croatian culture forms an integral part of West European culture.”

- B. **Culture: Local** – Refers to descriptions of locally distinctive elements of Croatia’s culture and cultural practices that are not tied to major world powers.

EXAMPLE: “Istria is noted for its own unique culture, music and quite specific cuisine, all of which made it widely known for being a wondrous and magical land.”

- C. **Culture: Turkish/Ottoman** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s culture and cultural practices as Turkish, Ottoman, or Islamic in origin or character.

EXAMPLE: “Oriental influenced exoticism of cultural life”

- D. **Culture: Mixed** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s architecture and art as a combination of European and Ottoman/Turkish/Islamic characteristics.

EXAMPLE: “Croatia has stood for centuries on the very border of Western and Eastern cultural influences.”

- III. **Geography codes.** This category was used to code descriptions of Croatia’s physical location in the world.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

- A. **Geography: Balkans** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia as being located in the Balkans.
- EXAMPLE:** “situated on the Balkan peninsula”
- B. **Geography: Eastern Europe** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia as being located in Eastern Europe or the Eastern Bloc.
- EXAMPLE:** “It is the oldest gallery of Renaissance and Baroque art in south-east Europe.”
- C. **Geography: Europe/Western Europe** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia as being situated on the European continent or in Western Europe.
- EXAMPLE:** “Located in the central part of Europe, Croatia has the nearest warm sea for most Europeans.”
- D. **Geography: Mediterranean** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia as being located in the Mediterranean region.
- EXAMPLE:** “Nowhere else throughout the Mediterranean will you find so many islands, bays, coves, picturesque beaches and cliffs gilded with sunshine.”
- IV. **History codes.** This category was used to code mentions of Croatia’s history. The category includes descriptions of specific historic figures, events, and eras as well as more general portrayals of the origins of the Croatian people and state.
- A. **History: European** – Refers to descriptions of the origins of the Croatian people and state as European in character. Includes references to specific national influences (e.g., Roman, Venetian, French, Italian, Austro-Hungarian) in addition to more general descriptions of Europeanness (e.g., European, Western European, Eastern European).
- EXAMPLE:** “The Romans chose this coast to settle and built their villas, palaces—whole towns in fact—to indulge in leisure, entertainment and delight.”
- B. **History: Local** – Refers to descriptions of locally distinctive elements of Croatia’s history, specifically those not tied to other world powers.
- EXAMPLE:** “Besides the first 7th-century record, many other documents have been preserved and are precious testimony recording as they do the reigns of the oldest Croatian princes and kings since the 9th century.”
- C. **History: Ottoman/Turkish** – Refers to descriptions of Turkish or Islamic elements of Croatia’s history, most often regarding the region’s Ottoman occupation, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.
- EXAMPLE:** “Among other things, the richly endowed monastery museum houses around 600 documents dating from the period of Turkish rule in these parts.”
- D. **History: Slavic** – Refers to descriptions of Slavic elements of Croatia’s history.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

EXAMPLE: “In the 6th and 7th centuries, the Slavs migrated to the Balkans bringing with them traditions of their own. In their new homeland these tribes experienced many changes: first the breakdown of tribal relationships, then unification, and eventually feudalism.”

- E. **History: Mixed** – Refers to descriptions of Croatia’s history as a mixture of European, local, and Eastern characteristics.

EXAMPLE: “But this land of ours was destined to remain in that border area during other important periods as well. In 812 Croatia became a buffer zone between the Frankish and Byzantine Empires; from the 11th century it marked the dividing line between Western Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, and for almost half a millennium it formed a military border area between Christianity and Islam (15-19th C.)”

- V. **Frame of reference codes.** This category was used to code how Croatia is “imagined” in relation to the broader world. The codes describe to whom (i.e., which national or international bodies) Croatia is compared to and described in terms of.

- A. **Frame of reference: Europe** – Refers to instances in which Croatia is compared directly or is described as being similar in quality to European nations.

EXAMPLE: “Continental Croatia . . . is ranked among Europe’s medium to large countries, such as Denmark, Ireland, the Slovak Republic, and Switzerland.”

- B. **Frame of reference: Local** – Refers to instances in which Croatia is described in terms of or compared to itself.

EXAMPLE: “Although better known for its history and culture—for it is here that Dubrovnik, unarguably the most beautiful of Croatian cities, is situated—its natural beauty is paralleled by the results of the toil of human hands. Quite conversely, here, like nowhere else in Croatia, Mother Nature was in her most bountiful mood when distributing the natural gems that are arranged like a garland of emeralds, one after another.”

- C. **Frame of reference: International** – Refers to instances in which Croatia is compared directly to or described as being in similar quality to developed nations both within and outside of Europe.

EXAMPLE: “Croatia participates in all European and world artistic currents, and a large number of its artists achieve a high level of quality and recognition by being included in the most famous galleries and museums worldwide.”

- VI. **Defining features of Croatia.** These codes were used to categorize descriptions of Croatia’s primary selling points for tourism—the country’s defining characteristics and what makes it superior to other travel destinations.

- A. **Defining feature: Cultural diversity** – Refers to the country’s mixture of cultural influences as its primary attraction for tourists.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

EXAMPLE: “A country that encompasses six republics; where a number of nationalities speak different languages; adhere to three religions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Islam) and use 2 alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin).”

- B. **Defining feature: European heritage** – Refers to Croatia’s European heritage, history, and way of life as its defining characteristic and primary attraction for tourists.

EXAMPLE: “Croatia’s heritage is quite unique since here, throughout history four distinct cultural circles, emanating from all four points of the compass intertwined: European East and West, European North, and Mediterranean South.”

- C. **Defining feature: Physical resemblance to Europe** – Refers to Croatia’s physical resemblance to Europe as its defining characteristic.

EXAMPLE: “Preserved old Mediterranean towns with narrow streets and stone houses reminiscent of those found in parts of Italy.”

- D. **Defining feature: Natural/topographical diversity** – Refers to the diversity of vegetation and topographic features found in the country as Croatia’s primary attraction for tourists.

EXAMPLE: “A country of unsurpassed scenic beauties and dazzling contrasts—from the fascinating Adriatic coast to the high Alps, several lake districts and plains.”

- VI. **Religion codes.** These codes were used to indicate mentions of religious history, artifacts, and practices in Croatia, as well as the role of religion in modern Croatian life.

- A. **Religion: Churches** – Refers to mentions of churches, either as tourist attractions or as parts of Croatian history and culture. Because the term itself is ambiguous, the code does not differentiate between dominations of churches (e.g., Catholic versus Orthodox). However, because they are Catholic organizations, *cathedrals* were excluded from this category and coded as “Catholicism” below.

EXAMPLE: “Sixty 1,000-year-old little stone churches scattered along the Croatian coast.”

- B. **Religion: Catholicism** – Refers to mentions of the Catholic religion in Croatia. Includes references to the role of Catholicism in Croatian life, the history of the Catholic church in Croatia, as well as Catholic organizations and structures, including cathedrals.

EXAMPLE: “Thanks to a strong and uninterrupted Catholic tradition there has also been an impressive amount of literature written in Latin and the Latin language was used as the official language in the Croatian Parliament till the end of the 19th century.”

- C. **Religion: Eastern Orthodoxy** – Refers to mentions of the Eastern Orthodox religion in Croatia. Includes references to the role of Orthodoxy in Croatian life and culture and the history of Orthodoxy in Croatia.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

EXAMPLE: “The numerically largest religions are Orthodoxy and Catholicism.”

- D. **Religion: Islam** – Refers to mentions of the Islamic religion in Croatia. Includes references to the role of Islam in Croatian life, the history of Islam in Croatia, as well as to Muslim organizations and structures, including mosques.

EXAMPLE: “The Turks governed these lands for many years . . . and attempted to convert as much as possible of the local population to Islam.”

- VII. **Boundary making codes.** These codes were used to indicate descriptions of concepts or peoples Croatia uses to define itself or is defined against.

- D. **Boundary making: Not Communist** – Used to indicate descriptions of Croatia as being “not Communist.”

EXAMPLE: “The only country behind the so-called Iron Curtain to resume the interrupted flow of modern art. Liberating themselves from Communist prescribed “Socialist Realism” they cleared the way for free expression of Abstract Art and **founded Group** <**AUTHOR: Are there words missing here?**>and became a part of Western avant-gardism.”

- E. **Boundary making: Not Eastern European** – Used to indicate descriptions of Croatia as being outside of Eastern Europe or the former Eastern Bloc.

EXAMPLE: “Croatian culture forms an integral part of West European culture and, concurrently, its most extended branch towards south-eastern Europe.”

- F. **Boundary making: Not Slavic** – Used to indicate descriptions of Croatia as lacking Slavic heritage or characteristics.

EXAMPLE: “The problem of the wider recognition of Croatian cultural heritage and its rightful place in the annals of European art history has been exacerbated by the fact that formerly this valuable heritage was erroneously presented as ‘Yugoslav’ culture.”

- G. **Boundary making: Not Turkish** – Used to indicate descriptions of Croatia as lacking Turkish/Islamic/Oriental heritage or characteristics.

EXAMPLE: “Here, building mostly included fortifications necessary to defend the country from Turkish incursions.”

References

Agence France-Presse. 1997. “Dubrovnik, ‘Pearl of the Adriatic’ Wipes Out the Scars of War.” July 30.

Baldwin, Peter. 1990. *Reworking the Past*. Boston, MA: Beacon.

Barthel-Bouchier, Diane. 2005. “Crimes Against Culture.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, August, Philadelphia PA.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2008, VOL. 73 (AUGUST: 613–34)

- Botev, Nikolai. 1994. "Where East Meets West: Ethnic Inter-marriage in the Former Yugoslavia 1962 to 1989." *American Sociological Review* 59:461–80.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 423–52.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Clark, Jayne. 1998. "Croatia's Comfort Zone." *USA Today*, 17 July.
- Confino, Alon and Peter Fritzsche, eds. 2002. *The Work of Memory*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Douglass, Ana and Thomas A. Vogler. 2003. *Witness and Memory*. New York: Routledge.
- Einwohner, Rachel L. 2006. "Identity Work and Collective Action in a Repressive Context: Jewish Resistance on the 'Aryan Side' of the Warsaw Ghetto." *Social Problems* 53:38–56.
- Ezrahi, Sidra D. 1980. *By Words Alone*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Felman, Shoshana and Dori Laub. 1992. *Testimony*. New York: Routledge.
- Friedlander, Saul. 1993. *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University.
- Herf, Jeffrey. 1997. *Divided Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Hodson, Randy, Duško Sekulić, and Garth Massey. 1994. "National Tolerance in the Former Yugoslavia." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:1534–58.
- Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar*. New York: Penguin.
- Kunovich, Robert M. and Randy Hodson. 1999. "Civil War, Social Integration, and Mental Health in Croatia." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 40:323–43.
- Maier, Charles. 1998. *The Unmasterable Past*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Massey, Garth, Randy Hodson, and Duško Sekulić. 1999. "Ethnic Enclaves and Intolerance: The Case of Yugoslavia." *Social Forces* 78:669–93.
- Mirković, Damir. 1996. "Ethnic Conflict and Genocide: Reflections on Ethnic Cleansing in the Former Yugoslavia." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 548:191–99.
- Moeller, Robert. 2001. *War Stories*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California.
- Moodie, Michael. 1995. "The Balkan Tragedy." *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 541:101–15.
- Naimark, Norman. 2001. *Fires of Hatred*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ramet, Sabrina P. 2005. *Thinking about Yugoslavia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schulze, Rainer. 2004. "Memory in German History: Fragmented Notes or Meaningful Voices of the Past?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 39:637–48.
- Silber, Laura and Alan Little. 1997. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. New York: Penguin.