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## **YEARNING FOR A BETTER LIFE**

Yugonostalgia amongst the post-Yugoslav generation of  
the organisation of Josip Broz Tito, Pula

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# ABSTRACT

Elena Crnalic: Yearning for a better life: Yugonostalgia amongst the post-Yugoslav generation of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito, Pula  
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The studies of nostalgia, especially nostalgia for socialism has continually been growing since the break-up of major Socialist powers in Europe. The abrupt transition from socialism to democracy, left many of its citizens yearning and remembering their own life under socialism, in turn, creating a post-socialist nostalgia. Yugonostalgia, known as nostalgia for the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, developed over the years, continually being present amongst the countries of former Yugoslavia, through art, pop culture, museums, relics and consumerism. Academic research on this topic continues to grow.

The aim of this study is to understand and explore the notion of Yugonostalgia amongst the post-Yugoslav generation in Croatia. The research combines collective memory, youth studies and peace and conflict research to gain an insight on the reasons for the presence of Yugonostalgia amongst the post-Yugoslav generation and what such can tell about the issues young people are facing in Croatia, as a post-conflict country.

The study group chosen for this research are the members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula, Croatia. The organisation focuses primarily in keeping the memory of Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito alive. The group was chosen due to their knowledge and understanding of the notion of Yugonostalgia, Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito. Five (5) members of the organisation were selected and interviewed using qualitative semi-structured interviews. The data collected was transcribed and analysed through thematic analysis.

Even though not explicitly mentioned, the data showcased a presence of Yugonostalgia amongst the participants. Participants saw the worker's rights, youth socialisation and the freedom of speech, amongst others, to have had more importance in Yugoslavia. The role of family and close social circles in learning about Yugoslavia was proven to be of great importance, which has allowed the participants to compare the past to the present, in turn, labelling the life under Yugoslavia as of 'better' quality. The nostalgia for the past revealed the fear of the future and the mistrust in the current governing body in Croatia.

Academic literature and the results of this study potentially point out to the ongoing feelings of Yugonostalgia amongst the youth of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito, which has in turn, showcased the ongoing issues Croatia is facing as a post-conflict state, 25 years after the end of the conflict. In order to gain a better insight on the issues of youth in Croatia, as well as the presence of Yugonostalgia, further research with a larger sample size would be needed.

**Keywords:** Yugonostalgia, nostalgia, collective memory, memory studies, youth studies, post-conflict society, Croatia, Josip Broz Tito, socialism

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## **List of acronyms**

EU = European Union

SFRY = Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

USSR = Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

HDZ = Croatian Democratic Union

UNDP = United Nations Development Programme

Tito = Josip Broz Tito

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Yugoslavia- a 'Land of Southern Slavs', was a country in South-eastern Europe from 1918- 1941 and 1945-1992. Yugoslavia a socialist state, was comprised of several other countries: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. Ran by the 'president for life', Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia became the "most open"<sup>1</sup> socialist country of its time and a pioneer of the non-aligned movement<sup>2</sup>. Yugoslavia was a place where people of different religions and ethnicities 'co-existed together'.

However, as Yugoslavia in many ways flourished, there were consistently various problematics and mixed feelings towards the state and dictatorship of Yugoslavia, between the citizens. An example of this is a well-known protest 'Croatian Spring' held by the Croatian students. Croatian Spring (Hrvatsko Proljeće) was a cultural and political movement that emerged from the League of Communists of Croatia in the late 1960s which opposed the unitarization and called for economic, cultural and political reforms in SFR Yugoslavia and therefore more rights for Socialist Republic of Croatia within Yugoslavia (Novak, 2001, p.117). In 1971, the Yugoslav authorities suppressed the movement by force.

The negative feelings as well as the positive ones were constantly omnipresent within the SFRY. With Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia fell into an economic crisis, stirring up nationalistic rhetoric across the country. In 1991, Yugoslavia collapsed with former Socialist Countries of Yugoslavia, such as Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, declaring their independence from SFRY. The fight for independence was followed by a long, un-resolvable and ethnical conflict.

With gaining independence and consequently recovering from a conflict, the consequences from the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the conflict are still felt in the

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<sup>1</sup> Branded as the "most open", after Tito's famous NO to Stalin which separated Yugoslavia, as a socialist state from the 'iron curtain' as described by Churchill.

<sup>2</sup> Non- aligned movement is a movement currently comprising of over 120 states which do not align with any major power. At the time of its' creation, in 1956, the non-aligned states did not align with East (USSR) nor the West (US). The declaration of the non-aligned movement was signed on the Islands of Brijuni in Istria, Croatia.

society. In 2013, Croatia entered the European Union, which many thought would resolve hard economic state that Croatia was continuously going through. However, entering the EU for many was indeed disappointing as the economic and social issues have not been resolved, but worsened with thousands of young people and families leaving the country. Nationalistic rhetoric and problems are continuously on the rise, further emphasised with the current right-wing government HDZ (Croatian Democratic Party) in power.

The HDZ created certain 'reforms' and continuously tries to erase connections between Croatia to SFRY and Josip Broz Tito from the public sphere. Many streets and many city squares now bare the name of great Croatian Kings instead of those connected to SFRY<sup>3</sup>. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, president of Croatia, removed the statue of Josip Broz Tito from the office of the Presidents which created a stir within the government itself and the public<sup>4</sup>. As Bailyn, Jelača and Lugarić stated, due to the actions of Grabar- Kitarović, numerous and humorous comments on the internet started to appear. One of the comments was written as coming from Tito himself, telling the president that if it was not for him and the antifascist struggle, she would have been born in Italy and would not be the president of "all Croats" (2018, p.186).

The feelings towards former Yugoslavia across the Balkans are extremely mixed. In the recent poll conducted by 'Gallup News', showcases that 81% of Serbia's citizens and 77% of Bosnia and Herzegovina's regret the dissolution of Yugoslavia and strongly believe that such harmed their country (Gallup World Poll, 2016). This is also the case within the youth in both countries (aged 15-35) where 71% of youth in Serbia and 64% in Bosnia and Herzegovina blame the dissolution of Yugoslavia for the current state of their countries (Gallup World Poll, 2016). Croatia, alongside Kosovo, rated as the countries with the highest percentage (Kosovo- 74% and Croatia 55%) of believing that the dissolution benefited the states (Gallup World Poll, 2016). Only 17% of youth in Croatia believe that the dissolution harmed the country itself.

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<sup>3</sup> As Al Jazeera Balkans reports, in 2017, Croatian government and the mayor of Zagreb agreed on re-naming square of 'Marshall Tito' into the square of the republic of Croatia <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/zagreb-donesena-odluka-o-preimenovanju-trga-marsala-tita>

<sup>4</sup> <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/croatia-tito-art-removed-yugoslavia-280346>



The polls continuously showcase that the longing for Yugoslavia in Croatia is on a low. The reasons for such can date all the way back to the “Croatian Spring” movement where Tito tried to suppress ‘Croats’ and ‘Croatianism’ by force. However, ‘Yugoslavia’ and ‘Tito’ are consequently present in people’s stories of their past, reminiscing of the old times, whether their feelings are positive or negative. While the government tries to ‘replace’ or ‘erase’ any mention of Yugoslavia or Tito from the public sphere, the citizens of Croatia, continuously talk and remember Yugoslavia. In Pula, Croatia, a museum of “Good Memories” opened last year where the visitors can travel back in time and re-live the city as it once was during the time of SFRY. The museum invites the visitors to watch old Yugoslavian movies, sit in the popular Yugoslavian car Zastava 750 or popularly known as ‘Fićo’, relax in a living room whilst reading the Yugoslavian newspaper and listen to some of the greatest Yugoslav rock and punk bands of the 70’s and 80’s<sup>5</sup>. Various houses across the country still hold graffiti on their houses praising Tito and Yugoslavia<sup>6</sup>. Celebrations for the Yugoslavian Youth Day and Tito’s birthday are celebrated every year since his death and gathering and excursions to Tito’s birthplace are organised by the local communities.

Over the years, researchers came up with a term of “Yugonostalgia” to describe the state of longing and romanticising of Yugoslavia and reign of Josip Broz Tito. Yugonostalgia seems to be present in Croatia but it is very little talked about. However, academic research on the topic continues to grow.

While there have been some studies done in regards to this 'newly' established and researched phenomenon, it is to my understanding through recent research, that such concept needs more attention. In her article, Maja Maksimović questions the reasons for why Yugonostalgia continues to grow within the ex-Yugoslavian regions and emphasises the importance of studying such phenomenon for it could assist in the process of reconciliation (Maksimović, 2017, p. 1067).

Nataša Simenuović Bajić believes that Yugonostalgia as a social construct belongs in the present as much as it does in the past (2016,p.134). She continues to argue how

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<sup>5</sup> More information about the context of the museum can be found on <http://www.memo-museum.com/museum-pula.html>

<sup>6</sup> Photos of the graffiti can be found here [http://www.antifasisticki-vjesnik.org/hr/prenosimo/6/Istarski\\_antifasisticki\\_grafiti/199/](http://www.antifasisticki-vjesnik.org/hr/prenosimo/6/Istarski_antifasisticki_grafiti/199/)

Yugonostalgia, just like any other social construction, is prone to changes. Therefore, Yugonostalgia is not a static concept and cannot represent an already finished process (Bajić, 2016,p.134). Would this mean that meaningfulness of Yugoslavia will continue to evolve?

Yugonostalgia, seems to be present within the older generations, those who were born and lived in SFRY. However, the younger generations, while not necessarily as nostalgic as their parents or grandparents, still seem to be nostalgic for Yugoslavia through music, film, arts etc. In 2017, Rogelj, Mally and Planinc conducted research amongst young Slovenes and their feelings towards Yugoslavia. Their research found that 30% of participants in the survey come across monuments and symbols of the former state, 24% observe cultural events of this kind, 15% of respondents see the heritage of Yugoslavia in the multi-ethnicity of Slovenia, and 15% see it in the political division (Rogelj, Mally, Planinc 2007). The result of their research continued to showcase that nostalgia for the former state only rarely includes a longing for the former political order and system, while the socio-economic advantages of the “good old days” and shared successes (Rogelj, Mally, Planinc 2007).

This thesis will explore the concept of Yugonostalgia amongst those who have never lived during the time of Yugoslavia. The research will focus on the youth of Croatia, in particular those who are associated with the organisation of ‘Josip Broz Tito’ in Pula, Croatia. The author of this thesis will conduct her research through the means of interviews, which will be explored and explained in detail further on. In order to understand Yugonostalgia amongst this specific group of people, the theoretical framework of collective memory will be used in order to gain a deeper understanding on how memory and knowledge continues to be passed onto the younger generations, which in turn, might make them nostalgic for the time they have never lived in.

The research question of this thesis is: **Are youth of the organisation of ‘Josip Broz Tito’ Yugonostalgic?** However, Yugonostalgia remains a complicated and broad notion, carrying with it various meanings and feelings. In order to understand if they are yugonostalgic, a list of sub-questions have been specified: **a) what are the youth of the organisation of ‘Josip Broz Tito’ nostalgic for? b) How have they acquired the knowledge of and about the former Yugoslavia? c) What can the presence**

**or absence of Yugonostalgia tell us about the current issues young people are facing in Croatia, as a post conflict society?**

## **2.BACKGROUND/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter will give an overview on the theoretical framework on collective memory. The chapter will firstly explain what collective memory is and how it came about. It will then proceed to clarify how collective memory as a notion and a theory has found its place in peace and conflict studies, by exploring collective memory in a post-conflict setting, as well as how such collective memory is being transferred through generations. The aim is to understand nostalgia through a collective memory framework.

The chapter will then proceed to give an overview of the notion of nostalgia and in this case, post-socialist nostalgia, and explain as how such nostalgia is present, both through people's stories, memories and experiences, and through other means, such as media, tourism and objects.

### **2.1 Collective memory**

Coined in 1925 by a philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory refers to shared memories of a certain social group, which are used for empowerment and identity formation by this specific group (Weedon & Jordan,2012,p.143). Since Halbwachs was not completely specific in definition of collective memory, researchers across various disciplines tend to define collective memory in their own specific way. According to Hirst, Yamashiro and Coman, there are two definitions which are more frequently used in research when trying to understand collective memory (2018). First definition understands collective memory as a composition of certain publicly available symbols which are then preserved throughout generations (ibid.). The second understands collective memory as a form of communal memories which are passed throughout generations in order to maintain this collective identity of a group, including narratives of the past experiences (ibid, see Weedon & Jordan,2012, p.143). Such groups include, generations, nations and families. Passing of one's or group's memory, can happen, amongst other ways, through the stories and memories of a family or a family member. According to Paul Connerton, memories get passed on from a generation to a generation, which can consequently, present themselves as the 'back and bone' of the generation such memories have been passed onto (Connerton, 1989, p.3.). Therefore, the knowledge

of the present heavily depends upon the knowledge of the past and they serve to legitimise the present social order (ibid.). Yet, when a member decides to leave a specific social group, the memories of the common past formed by this group and then passed onto the individual, stay within the mind of this specific individual (Halbwachs, 1980).

By using historical narratives, collective memory is heavily used by presidents, both past and present, in order to shape or change collective memory, and with it, shape and change identity of a nation. This is usually done through the remembrance and commemorations of a specific event, while leaving out other 'less important' events. When trying to understand collective memory, it is important to make a distinction between history and collective memory. History is meant to represent an unbiased and accurate portrayal of events of the past, whereas collective memory uses selective historical events which are used for identity shaping and passed onto the other members of a group (Roediger & Abel, 2015, p.359). However, history does influence the creation of collective memory by staying alive in the conscience of a group (Ogino,2015,p.201).

Since the publishing of Halbwachs book on group or collective memory, the concept became popular and continued to be explored throughout various disciplines such as social sciences, conflict studies, social psychology, history, philosophy and anthropology. The latest publication of Halbwachs works in the 1980's, saw a 'boom' of the interest in his works and was continued to be used widely across the above-named disciplines. While the general concept of collective memory is used across all given disciplines, the notion is explored and approached through various ways and continues to evolve. For example, in social psychology, collective memory is a fairly new research topic. Research in psychology explores collective memory as social depictions of a given history which includes certain generational differences and in which way collective memory is formed through certain acts and thoughts of a group or an individual (Hirst,Yamashiro & Coman, 2018). Sociology on the other hand, sees collective memory as a part of the social theory and argues that collective memory is difficult to grasp. Emphasis is put on how an individual's memory is acquired and influenced by the other members that the individual is a part of (Ogino, 2015,p.200).

Therefore, the argument in sociology is that over periods of time, collective memory changes as the members of a group change (ibid.).

As the notion of collective memory advanced over the past few decades throughout various disciplines, many scholars developed new concepts out of collective memory. In 1992, Bodnar developed term 'public memory' which focuses on the usage of history and its symbols in remembrance of a nation (see Bodnar, 1992). 'Collected memory' by James Young (see Young, 2016), 'cultural memory' explored by a historian Guy Beiner (see Beiner, 2007) and 'communicative memory' developed by Jan Assmann (see Assmann, 2008) all came from the studies of collective memory and are continuously used in order to understand in which ways people and groups remember.

### **2.1.2 Collective memory in a post-conflict society**

Post-conflict refers to a country or a state in which conflict has come to an end, however the chance of a re-lapse is high. Consequently, in post-conflict countries there is absence of war, but real (positive) peace is not yet been implemented. After a conflict, a country devastated by warfare faces various challenges; from rebuilding the cities to strengthening economy implementing a juridical system and reconciliation of groups impacted by the conflict. However, societies and people who were both directly and indirectly affected by violence suffer various consequences throughout the years of re-building and reconciliation. Consequently, the notion of collective memory is omnipresent amongst the post-conflict societies and as stated by Cairns and Roe (2003), it continues to be an important part of the study of conflicts and the ways in which it can contribute to solving conflicts (p.4). They continue to argue that "if ethnic conflict is to be brought under control, it is necessary to understand the role of the collective past in the collective present", which memories are present and how they get passed on (Cairns & Roe, 2003, p.5). During a conflict, certain groups might look to the past in order to legitimise their actions and appeal to certain groups (ibid, p. 31-32). However, while collective memory has been linked to the escalation of ethnic conflict and, consequently, their resolutions, it is continuously being studied in the post-conflict setting such as reconciliation.

There are various views and opinions of the role of collective memory in reconciliation. First opinion arises from Devine-Wright who views collective memory as a dividing

notion which serves to make divisions between groups in a process of reconciliation (1999,2003,p. 30-33). Therefore, he argues, new memories need to be made and old ones 'forgotten' in order to start the process of forgiving and building of new relationships (ibid). The other side of the argument uses the establishment of the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa' where collective memory is constantly used in order for involved groups to discuss their experiences, voice their opinions on justice and reparation which consequently serve as "psychological therapy in the process of reconciliation" (Chirwa, 1997,p.164). Since the academia is quite divided on the role of collective memory in regards to reconciliation, there is much space for new research combining memory studies and the post-conflict.

Alongside reconciliation, collective memory has also been observed and studied through the recent conflicts in Rwanda and the Balkans. Social psychology and conflict studies come together in understanding the connection between collective memory and trauma, also known as collective trauma. Gilad Hirschberger argues that collective trauma is present in the collective memory of a specific group and consequently defines the group's past and present (2018,p.1). Collective trauma is passed from one generation to another, and those who have not lived through certain events, choose to remember selective stories, which in turn changes from a generation to a generation (ibid.). The passing down of collective trauma is done by many means which include: teachings and beliefs about group preservation, establishing a transgenerational 'collective self' which further endorses an existential threat which over a longer period of time fosters itself as an identity of a group (ibid,p.2). Therefore, collective trauma stays within a certain group for many years after the end of a violent conflict and throughout time and generation, changes and evolves, affecting an identity of a certain group or an individual.

### **2.1.3 Youth studies, generations and collective memory**

This thesis focuses on nostalgia and younger generations of those who like to call themselves 'Yugoslavs'; those who have not lived in Yugoslavia, but still long for the lost country. Hence, this part will explore previous research and connection between collective memory and youth.

Firstly, in order to understand and explore an impact collective memory has on youth, is to understand what youth studies are. As described by Wood (2017), “a key goal in youth studies is to gain holistic understanding of what it means to be young,” which has over the years developed various sub-fields (pp.1-4). This is an interdisciplinary study which draws from sociology, anthropology, psychology, history and politics, amongst others. However, sociologists such as Andy Furlong (2013) argues that youth is extremely hard to define for it is socially constructed by various means and its meaning changes according to a time period and societies (pp. 2-3). Therefore, there are no clear constraints such as age to define youth. While there are various reasons as for the study of youth, social science looks at what various trends in youth can tell us more about social change (ibid,p.4). Within the field of peace and conflict studies, youth are studied in relation to violence in a conflict and a post conflict society (see Harland et.al,2011), their role in peacebuilding and post conflict transformation (see Pruitt,2011) and the effect of peace education on children and youth (see Wessells,2005, Del Felice et al.,2015).

As mentioned previously, conflict and collective memory plays a big role in a post-conflict society by shaping group’s and individual’s identity. Trauma of violence is passed on to younger generations, who in turn remember specific memories and adopt them as their own. This can further bring about the feelings of pride, shame and victimhood. Generations, in this sense, are considered as intermediaries of collective memory for they borrow certain memories, but also have the freedom on further decide which ones they will appropriate in order to create their own specific narrative, which, can result in the difference of memories from their parents and grandparents (PalMBERGER,2016,p.8.). What a certain generation remembers, does not mean that the next generation will abide by those memories and view them in the same way, for the world that they are currently living in, is different from that of the past generation. Youth, therefore, appropriate their views, and take out specific memories from their parents or grandparents and apply them to their personal views and experiences of the world and the society they are currently a part of. Studying youth in a post-conflict, post-socialist society can tell us much about their views towards the current eco-political system, as well as their struggles and feelings within the contemporary society. Studying collective memory, with youth as case studies, can tell us much about the importance of collective memory and, how much stories told to them



throughout generations, can impact their views on both present and future of the society and their place in the society which they are a part of.

## 2.2 Developing nostalgia

Equated with home sickness, the phrase *nostalgia* became increasingly popular as a medical condition in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Invented as a medical term by a student Johannes Hofer, nostalgia represented a curable, yet dangerous disease, similar to paranoia (Boym, p.4). The term nostalgia derived from the Greek word of “nostos” (return to the native land) and “algos” (suffering, grief), fittingly describing the feelings of those suffering from, then, newly found ‘disease’. Nostalgia was first observed in Swiss mercenaries serving abroad whose symptoms included irregular heartbeat, fever, insomnia and fatigue. Doctors believed that nostalgia could be cured through purging of the stomach, a visit to the alps and treatment with leeches (Boym, p.4).

American military doctor Theodore Calhoun, described nostalgia as a shameful disease which revealed a lack of manliness and un-progressive attitudes (Boym, p.6). To further Calhoun’s ideas, various doctors reached a consensus that there is a strong link between the symptoms of nostalgia and lack of hygiene. They found that those patients who were more nostalgic had a lack of personal cleanness than those who were not (Naqvi,2007, p. 21). Through various research, observations and studies, it was only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that physicians agreed that a return home to the Alps did not cure symptoms of nostalgia for many patients. This was the start of further research on the newly found notion of nostalgia and its development, not just in the field of medicine, but also philosophy, psychology, social sciences and political sciences.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, nostalgia gained more popularity and interest within the field of psychology, resulting in various studies trying to pin point the origins, causes, and feelings related to nostalgia. As a result, psychologists separated homesickness and nostalgia, relating it to the words such as *warm, old times, childhood, and yearning* (Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt, Routledge 2008, p. 304).

Previously known as homesickness, nostalgia received its new description; longing of the past. These relatable feelings towards nostalgia were intensely described in Michael Proust's novel 'Remembrance of Things Past' (A La Recherche Du Temps Perdu). Proust vividly reflected on his own feelings of his nostalgia through the eating of a madeleine cake which he consumed throughout his childhood. It was the aromas and the taste which evoked in the author a flood of memories and feelings of nostalgia (Hirsch, 1992, p 392).

Through more research and emphasis being put on the remembrances of the past, it can be said that nostalgia carries multiple cognitive and emotional investments used to refer to an array of memory discourses and practices which sometimes share little commonalities (Angé, Berliner, 2014, p.6).

### **2.2.1 Nostalgia, society and how do we remember the past?**

This section of the thesis will examine the impact of nostalgia on individual and collective memory and how such is carried out. However, it is also important to note that most of the research regarding nostalgia has been developed in the field of psychology with more research needed and being conducted within the discipline of social sciences and political sciences. Angé and Berliner (2014) expressed the importance of disciplines such as history, museology, literature, sociology and political science in contribution to a better understanding of nostalgia and through which ways individuals and groups remember, commemorate and revitalise their pasts (p.2). Consequently, nostalgia evokes personal feelings, which, if shared, awake an array of strong, vivid and familiar collective remembrances of the past. The past, therefore, is considered as a place, a time, a person, a group and, in the case of this thesis, a system, remembered with fondness and often, as the 'better' time. Nostalgia can be longing of a time which an individual has lived through, remembering an array of positive memories, but also it is considered as longing for the time one has never been a part of. Nostalgia therefore carries a romanticised picture of all things past, brought to life through various means further outlined in this section of the thesis.

Accompanied by the growing media culture and pop culture, social transformation paved a path for the 'origins of nostalgia' in the 1960s and 1970s (Angé, Berliner, 2014, p.3). The impact of nostalgia through such portals, showcased to be of great importance in understanding the connection of the past and the present and its impact on the individual and the society. This further arose the curiousness of the sociologists and anthropologists on the formation of nostalgia and its connection with the individual and the society.

The rise of flea markets, antique and souvenir shops created a place of collective and individual remembrances of the past. Triggering various range of emotions, nostalgia is deeply connected to objects, for, museums and private collections play a vital role in remembering and honouring the past. In her book 'The Future of Nostalgia', Svetlana Boym (2001), places a strong importance on private and public collections showcased in museums for they "allow one to imagine other times and places and plunge into domestic daydreaming" (Boym, p. 15). Through her research, Boym made a connection between a home and nostalgia, with the 'home' becoming a personal memory museum (2001, p.328). This connection was also noticed in the Russian migrants who fled during the time of the USSR regime and their deep connection with their "lost" home through the various objects which continuously remind them of their homeland.

As previously mentioned, the rise of media and pop culture in the 1960s and 1970s provided sociologists a window for establishing a deeper and different kind of connection between the individual, the society and nostalgia. Consequently, it can be noted that media and technology serve as platforms and tools for nostalgia (Niemeyer, 2014, p.7). Developing through decades, media and technology continuously play a great role on the process of remembrances of things past. Such can be explored from film, to music and gaming. In recent years, there has been a great rise in the importance of cyberspace in the research of nostalgia, which continuously provides a shared and common online space for those who share common ideas and feelings. This comes in various forms such as forums, blogs, re-imagined cities<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Kozarac.eu is an example of the re-imagined and re-constructed cities within the cyber space. Kozarac is a town in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska. During the Balkan wars, Kozarac, which was mostly

Jean Hogarty delivers a very strong example of the intergenerational dwelling in the past. In her book (2016), Hogarty explores the fascinations of the younger generations with retromania and showcases through which ways the younger generation of retro fans developed a constructed sense of authenticity, which as a result, merged with the belief that the un-lived past was a 'better' place (p.5). The memories and nostalgia conjured up by music was not for their own youth but for the period they have never lived through (Hogarty, 2016, p.4). The development of technology such as video and music streaming platforms, only further enhanced the expansion of nostalgia and a time one has never lived in.

### **2.2.2 Svetlana Boym's reflective and restorative nostalgia**

Amongst other researchers and scholars, Svetlana Boym dedicated her research for a better understanding of nostalgia; the feelings it arises and the actions which consequently occur. As described in the previous parts of this literature review, Boym explored the post socialist and communist nostalgia in Eastern Germany, Russia and ex-Yugoslavia. Nostalgia is a complex state of being continuously affecting various individuals, further enhanced by pop culture and the development of technology and the internet. Due to its complexity, and a need for better understanding of how nostalgia affects the individual and their surroundings, Boym, like many other researchers divided nostalgia into two models. By putting an emphasis on the original meaning of nostalgia, that of 'nostos' (return to the native land) and 'algos' (suffering, grief), Boym formulated two different types of nostalgia; reflective and restorative nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia is emphasised through the 'nostos', while reflective nostalgia is described through 'algos'. This separation provided a ground for further research on nostalgia, allowing researchers to further understand and explore nostalgia depicting itself in various forms. These two kinds of nostalgia continuously embody the relationship to the past, to the lost home and imagined community and to "one own's self-perception" (Boym, 2001, p. 41).

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populated by Bosnian Muslims, was almost completely destroyed. Many of its inhabitants fled, and with their fond memories of their pre-war town, created a forum to share thoughts, photographs and poetry.

Working with the immigrants and political refugees from Soviet Russia, Boym noticed the constant re-formation of the place they once used to call their 'homeland, within the space of their own home. Therefore, Svetlana Boym described such willingness for reconstruction of the lost home as *restorative nostalgia*. Consequently, restorative nostalgia "attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home" (ibid,p. xv). Restorative nostalgia is imbedded with tradition and historical truth.

Nostalgia in its core, is a romanticised and nationalistic picture of the past. Consequently, restorative nostalgia can be seen and observed as a nationalistic and romanticised view of the past, continuously trying to find its place in the present or, perhaps, the future.

There are various examples of restorative nostalgia. Triggered by memories, an individual carries out certain actions in order to re-live the past. In the context of this thesis, which will be further explained in the next chapter of the literature review, the reconstruction of the kind of life which was led under the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia serves as a great example of restorative nostalgia. In the Serbian town of Subotica, a businessman Blasko Gabric, who yearned for Yugoslavia, created 'Yugoland' in his backyard in 2003. As media reported, Yugoland was a place where the visitors could buy merchandise of Tito, listen to the 30-year-old music, watch the traditional dancing from the former republics of Yugoslavia as well as enjoy the replicas of the Triglav mountain and Adriatic Sea<sup>8</sup>.

As Boym puts it, those who long for the lost home and consistently try to reconstruct it, do not see themselves as nostalgic, but as those who are seeking the absolute truth (ibid, p. 41-49).

Reflective nostalgia on the other hand, dwells on the individual and cultural memory (ibid, p. 51). In its difference from restorative nostalgia, reflective nostalgia does not seek to reconstruct and return the past, but in its essence, focuses on individual and cultural memory (ibid, p. 49.)

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<sup>8</sup> See <https://balkaninsight.com/2012/07/31/yugoland-to-close-its-doors-over-mortgage/>  
And <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3693853.stm>

### 2.2.3 Nostalgia for socialism and *Ostalgie*

As an introduction to Yugonostalgia, this subchapter will further explore nostalgia in relation to socialism and will provide a few examples of how such nostalgia is portrayed. In relation to socialist nostalgia, the subchapter will explore, present and explain the term of *Ostalgie*, a nostalgia for the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

As a Slovene sociologist, Mitja Velikonja describes: “Nostalgia is an essential companion of every significant social change, transformation, transition, revolution” (Velikonja, 2009, p.537). With the demise of socialism across Eastern Europe, political, social and economic changes soon followed. Such change continued to evolve rapidly, with various post-socialist countries adapting to capitalism and democracy. Dominik Bartmanski (2011), alongside other scholars such as Hawkes (1990), explored this transition, especially the case of the 1989 revolutions in Germany, and labelled the promises of “returning to Europe and the West” and a utopian concept of the transition to globalisation, democracy and capitalism (Bartmanski, 2011, p.214-215; Hawkes, 1990).

Daniela Koleva (2011) defines socialist nostalgia as a “feeling of loss in a period of radical changes, be it an individual’s state of mind, a collective attitude or a broader cultural notion” (p. 419). Yet, nostalgia for socialism does not only refer to an individuals’ feelings towards the past, but also, extends to the form of “cultural production” through pop-culture such as music, tv shows and film (ibid, p.420). Therefore, this further reinforces, projects and preserves memories of the socialist past, which will be further outlined throughout this section. In regards to political strategy, employed by nationalists, Koleva argues that nostalgia for socialism has been used in political elections by the usage of socialist and communist symbols (ibid, p.420).

Gerald Creed (2010), explored the notion of socialist nostalgia in Bulgaria in a small village of Zamfirovo. When the villagers were asked about the socialist nostalgia and their feelings towards the socialist past, Creed was surprised of how much the villagers were eager to share their feelings for the system of the past (2010,p. 30). Creed concluded that nostalgia is suitable only, when no one fears the return to socialism

(p.37). Nostalgic feelings and actions can only be expected as an aftermath of rapid, swift and unexpected changes. Those who feel underprivileged in the system of the present are those who are most nostalgic. However, it is their nostalgia that is evoked with the potentials and certainties of the present (ibid, p.37).

While this thesis does not deal with unwanted memories, it is important to note that not all post-socialist recollection is nostalgic and remembered with fondness. Undesirable memories are also an integral part of remembering and commemorating socialism (Lankauskas, 2014, p.39). The danger of nostalgia for socialism is that by looking and examining nostalgia, one can easily be blinded by the goodness of nostalgia and completely neglect the bad memories of socialism (ibid, p.40).

Erasing socialism from the public spaces was one of the first tasks after the demise of socialism across Eastern Europe. Today, this consistently continues on as the squares, streets and parks are being renamed. However, as socialist symbols and names are consistently being removed, they do remain in people's minds. Nostalgia for socialism has been showcased and represented through various means across the post socialist regions. Such means involve media, culture, film, museums as well as theatre.

A great example of how socialist past is very much present today, is that of contemporary Lithuania.

An experimental theme park in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania offers its visitors an interesting revival of its socialist past. The 'Bunker', a drama reality TV show, takes its participants back to Lithuania under the USSR. While The 'Bunker' might not be seen as an act of nostalgia as it portrays the harsh conditions, which the citizens of Lithuania faced while under socialism, the participant's reasoning for entering and participating in the drama is for the sake of nostalgia. Lankauskas spoke to one of the participants in the show, a young Mantas. Born in 1989, he barely has any recollection of the USSR. However, he admitted that the reason for his involvement in the drama show 'The Bunker', are the stories told and retold by his grandmother (ibid, p.49). After his experience at 'The Bunker', Mantas understood that the drama was portraying the harsh realities of the USSR regime, and was left with many questions of why its

citizens did not rebel against such regime (ibid, p.50). However, he continued to be interested in the socialist period and learning more about the USSR (ibid, p.50).

Pranas and Genute, also participants on the show, remember their life under socialism with fondness, a “life lived well” (ibid, p.53). They feel as now there is ‘too much freedom’, the youth are constantly leaving to the ‘West’, just like their son and grandson who have emigrated to Ireland, becoming completely Irish (ibid, p.52). However, Parnas noted that he is glad that there is much more abundance of groceries in the supermarkets today, and even though he can only afford the necessities due to his low pension, he is pleased that it is not as it was under socialism (ibid, p.53).

Before moving on to Yugonostalgia, it is important to acknowledge and discuss different variations of the nostalgia for socialism. Just like in Lithuania, nostalgia for socialism is present and growing in Germany. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the unification of the East and West Germany, nostalgia for the German Democratic Republic<sup>9</sup> arose. Deriving from a compound word of ‘Ost’ meaning East and ‘Nostalgie’ (nostalgia), *Ostalgie* describes the feelings of longlines and memories of the individuals and groups regarding the former GDR (Blum, 2000, p.230).

Such feelings are reinforced through various stories, gatherings, pop culture and cinema, and of course consumerism. The material culture of the former GDR is continuously being reconstructed throughout Germany, and materials such as sodas, washing powders, certain foods and sweets, TV’s and cars serve as a starting point of the journey into the past of the former GDR (Blum, 2000, p.231). Such objects are being collected and bought from flea markets as well as the GDR themed stores and cafes (Bach, 2014, p.126-127). Therefore, the objects which tie certain memories and emotions of an individual or a group of people, are considered as a positive recollection of the GDR. The objects are used for personal use; however, many are on display across the capital of Germany and a city divided between the East and West; Berlin. An example of a successful museum keeping the memory of the GDR alive is the GDR Museum in Berlin. This museum welcomes over half a million visitors a year with a hope to educate those who are too young to have known the ‘East’ and

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<sup>9</sup> From now on referred to as GDR



present the life as it really was (ibid,p.129). For those guests who have lived in East Germany, the museum serves as a reflection back to their childhood, full of gratefulness for the opportunity to re-live and re-imagine, even for a moment, their past (ibid, p.129).

Similarly to Blum (2000) and Bach (2014), Boym noticed the growing infatuation of *Ostalgie* through tourism, museums and symbols. One of such important symbols and a huge 'fetish' of *Ostalgie* is a comic character in an oversized hat; Ampelmann (Boym,2001,p. 511). Under socialism, Ampelmann rose to fame as a household character which was portrayed all over the traffic lights in the Eastern part of Berlin. When the GDR ceased to exist, Ampelmann was removed from the public spaces. However, with so many wonderful memories attached to the symbolism of Ampelmann, the oversized hat character returned to the streets of Berlin and became a symbol of the past and the city of Berlin (Boym, 2001, p. 513- 516). As such, Ampelmann can now be seen across the traffic lights in Berlin and various souvenir shops, as well as the official tourist offices.

### **2.3 Concluding thoughts**

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the theoretical framework of collective memory and its position within peace research. Previous research has showed us that through passing on stories and memories from a generation to a generation, such generations continue the remembrance of a particular event or a period of time. However, generations tend to remember only particular parts of events and re-make news memories and stores of the same event. Therefore, these memories change as the group members change. This has been found especially in the post-conflict societies, where memories of a conflict are not forgotten and are continually present through the stories of those who have lived through it, but also those who have not. Collective memory gave a setting for the research of nostalgia and the post-socialist nostalgia.

While nostalgia is a normal feeling, affecting most people, for many, nostalgia is present due to the presence of collective memory, with some even trying to re-live the period of time which has passed, as described by Svetlana Boym. This is the case for the post-socialist nostalgia, which die to the rapid social changes in the late 80's and

early 90's, became one of the most common nostalgias in the post-socialist regions. Such nostalgia is present through art, museums, tourism, media, internet and film. It is through nostalgia and collective memory, that the memories and stories of the socialist times are continually being kept alive.

### **3. YUGONOSTALGIA**

After the break-up of Yugoslavia, the notion of Yugonostalgia, as a form of nostalgia for Socialism, developed and evolved over the years. The concept of “brotherhood and unity” became popular, even amongst those who have never had a chance to live in such. Yugonostalgia became a notion of cross-cultural connection, mainly conveyed through media and consumerism in a form of various products, souvenirs and relics. As Todorova and Gille point out, Yugonostalgia has managed to connect those “people who are nowadays divided by national borders and who even fought against each other during the 1990s.” (Todorova and Gille, 2001, p.61). While it is extremely hard to understand how Yugonostalgia tends to connect those who have fought against each other in the bloody wars of the 1990’s, Yugonostalgia seems to be growing phenomenon across the ex-Yugoslav states such as Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Due to its growing popularity and impact it has had on people across the region, Yugonostalgia has also found its place in the academia with various academics trying to understand the implications and the development of Yugonostalgia on individuals and the society. One of such scholars, Nicole Lindstorm, describes Yugonostalgia as a “nostalgia for the fantasies associated with a country, the SFRY, which existed from 1945 to 1991 .... With a core word of fantasy” (2006, p.233). Therefore, Yugonostalgia can be experienced culturally or individually, directly or indirectly (Lindstorm, 2006,p.233). Such will be further on explained throughout this chapter.

#### **3.1 The Origins and the development of Yugonostalgia**

The exact moment of the creation of the term ‘Yugonostalgia’ is extremely hard to pinpoint. After a lot of reading and researching, the author of this text has found it hard to locate and time frame the exact moment that the notion came into existence. It can be argued, however, that just like other nostalgias for socialism, such as Ostalgie and Post- Soviet nostalgia, the birth of ‘Yugonostalgia’ came after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

The early mentions of Yugonostalgia in literature derive from Dubravka Ugrešić’s book “The culture of lies”. In her book the writer mentions Yugonostalgia and frames it as a

word which at the time, in the 1990's, it has been used as a derogatory term across the then newly independent Republic of Croatia:

*“ ‘Yugoslavia’ (a country in which Croatian citizens had lived for some fifty years!) became a prohibited word and the terms Yugoslav, Yugonostalgic or Yugo-zombie are synonymous with national traitor... So ‘anti-fascists’, former ‘partisans’, ‘communists’, the ‘left wing’, ‘anti-nationalists’ (previously positively marked terms) have suddenly become negatively marked” (Ugrešić, 1998, p.78).*

This is further reinforced by Pål Kolstø, who claims that “‘Yugonostalgia’ was coined in Croatia, and from the very beginning it functioned as a derogatory, hostile label, intended to de-legitimise public interventions undertaken by anyone who bore its taint” (Kolstø,2014, p.773).

In 1992, a Croatian journal *Globus* published an article named “Croatian Feminists Rape Croatia!”, where it accused five female Croatian writers (Jelena Lovrić, Rada Iveković, Slavenka Drakulić, Vesna Kesić and the above mentioned, Dubravka Ugrešić) of spreading lies to the Croatian public regarding the recent rape of Croatian and Bosnian women by the Serbs, for they have framed the atrocities in terms of gender (men raping women), instead of acknowledging the ‘Serbian aggression’ (Pavlović, 1999, p.136). The “investigative team of *Globus*”<sup>10</sup> exposed the personal details of these five women and branded them as “witches”, for being ‘Yugonostalgics’ due to their writings about socialism and women’s place in a post-socialist sphere (ibid, p.137). Soon after, the term ‘Yugonostalgia’ and labelling someone as being ‘yugonostalgic’, was used as an offensive term. As reported by Meredith Tax at the time, these terms were used by the Croatian nationalist papers as a synonym for a communist or a traitor (Tax,1993).

So, what has changed from then to now? How is ‘yugonostalgia’ and being labelled as a ‘yugonostalgic’ perceived in today’s society and by the current government? Yugonostalgia sure did find its place within the studies of memory, post-socialism,

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<sup>10</sup> The article was signed as the ‘Investigative team of *Globus*’ and the writers’ names were not given.

psychology and sociology. However, how has such term evolved over the past decades?

It is hard to showcase that there has been any change in the connotation which terms such as 'Yugonostalgia' or 'Yugo-nostalgic' carry. As previously explained by the Gallup world poll, Croatians tend to not be nostalgic for Yugoslavia, and it is something that many do not talk about often. Any terms or words related to Yugoslavia and/or Josip Broz Tito are being erased and replaced from public spaces across Croatia. In an interview with the French TV station 'France 24', the former minister of Culture of Croatia, Zlatko Hasanbegović, defended the recent name change of a major square in the country's capital, Zagreb: "This legacy (Croatian struggle against communism) is like a shadow preventing the transition into an economic prosperous and overall free society" (Sztanke,2018). Once named the square of Josip Broz Tito now bears the name of 'The square of Croatian republic'. Following the recent media headlines and articles, it can be said that Yugonostalgia and Yugoslavia are topics of discussions across Croatia. Recently, it has been reported by various media outlets and Croatian newspapers the president's dissatisfaction of life under communism. In her recent speech in the USA while receiving the Fulbright award for a life achievement, Kolinda Grabar Kitarović stated that she was born on the wrong side of the iron curtain where she dreamt of a free, democratic society. Naturally, such statements were not received well, especially amongst the academics, who called her out for not understanding and knowing Yugoslav history. The president further responded by calling out all the 'Yugonostalgics' for being delusional about the past and if they really wanted a week of remembrance of Yugoslavia, that she would be the one to profit from it, they would all end up in 'Goli Otok'<sup>11</sup> as political prisoners for speaking against her.

Yugonostalgia still tends to be a notion of talk amongst the politicians and across media. While many do not consider themselves as 'yugonostalgic' and the notion still carries a negative connotation, however, Yugonostalgia is still present and portrayed through various means. I will present some previous research on Yugonostalgia, before presenting my own findings. This will further be showcased in the upcoming sub-chapters.

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<sup>11</sup> Political prison of Yugoslavia. Deemed as the 'Croatian Alcatraz'.

### 3.2 Josip Broz Tito, Titoism and Titostalgia

Josip Broz Tito was a Yugoslav president for life. Becoming a symbol of Yugoslavia, his actions and political affiliations, continue to be discussed even today. Born in Croatia in a town of Kumrovec, he led a Yugoslav guerrilla movement of partisans during World War II. Josip Broz Tito and his army were responsible for annexation of Istria and other parts of Croatia, to Yugoslavia. Upon the end of World War II, a new Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was declared, with Tito being appointed as the head of the country by the Communist party and regarded as a creator and a chief of the second Yugoslavia. Until his death on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1980, Tito ignited some of the most controversial political movements. In 1948, Yugoslavia split from its alliance with the USSR after years of tension, resulting in Yugoslavia being expelled from the Communist Information Bureau (Petrović,2014). After Stalin's death, Yugoslavia and the USSR once again established political relations.

Under the rule of Tito, Yugoslavia became one of the founders of the Non-aligned movement, deemed as one of the most important political moves, which continues to be discussed, event today. The non-aligned movement was designed as a league of those nations who did not align with the West (U.S) nor with the East (USSR), with Tito pushing the policy of neutrality during the Cold War. Hence, Yugoslavia continued good relations with both the Western leaders, as well as those of the East. By establishing the non-aligned movement, Tito established strong political ties with the leaders of Egypt, India, Indonesia and others, re-enforcing himself as a strong and an influential politician (Petrović,2014). The non-aligned movement continues to exist even today, with 120 members from all over the world.

After the death of Josip Broz, and consequently the break-up of Yugoslavia, the notion of Titoism gained popularity, and is often referred to as a form of Yugonostalgia. Titoism in essence refers to the policies which were created and lead under the rule of Josip Broz Tito, until his death. As Steven Whitefield writes, titoism is considered as "a variant of communism practised by Josip Broz Tito...a distinctive brand of socialism" (Whitefield, 2018). Consequently, titoism is considered as a part of Yugonostalgia and is often seen as longing for specific socialist practices and policies created by Tito and a hope for the revival of Yugoslavenism and the state of Yugoslavia (see Kurtovic,2011).

While examining nostalgia for socialism and Yugonostalgia, a Slovene academic Mitja Velikonja invented a new form of Yugonostalgia, Titostalgia. Titostalgia in its essence is defined by the author as “a nostalgic discourse on the late Yugoslav president, as it has been pursued across once common Yugoslav space ever since the disintegration of the country” (Velikonja,2008,p.33). However such nostalgias tend to vary across the regions and groups of people (ibid,p.13). Consequently, Yugonostalgia, and titostalgia in its core, is present across generations, throughout all the previous states of Yugoslavia and are manifested through Yugoslav pop-culture, film and tv-series, tourism, museums, advertising etc. Such products tend to evoke very fond memories of the era. Therefore, it can be said that Josip Broz Tito in its essence, has become a symbol of Yugonostalgia and the former SFRY.

### **3.3 Presence of Yugonostalgia**

As previously explained, Yugonostalgia is manifested and present through material objects, as well as the cyber space, pop-culture, museums and art.

An example of such is the web tv station ‘Jugoton TV’. Jugoton used to be one of the largest music records company, and today, made into a web TV station, allows the consumers to listen to music from across the ex-Yugoslav nations, mostly showcasing Yugoslav music. For those who do not have satellite TV, Croatian Records has enabled a live stream on Youtube<sup>12</sup>. Serbian radio, radio Nostalgia, likewise serves as a connection to the fond memories through Ex-Yugoslav music<sup>13</sup>.

In her article, Zala Volčić presents an interesting point of Yugonostalgia. Throughout decades and with the development of technology and the internet, Yugonostalgia came manifested though the web-sphere (Volcic,2007,p.29). Volcic reported various websites where these websites offer “Yugoslav cyber citizenships and an escape into the past” (ibid). While many websites presented by Volcic are currently out of use, Juga.com is still up and running providing a point of contact with the past. Their website offers a Cyber Yugoslav constitution in all ex-Yugoslav languages and various other languages including Japanese and Finnish. As noted in their description Cyber

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<sup>12</sup> The live stream of Jugoton TV can be found on this Youtube link  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s2W8CoNP4z0>

<sup>13</sup> The website of the radio can be found here: <https://www.nostalgija.rs/>

Yugoslavia is for all those who feel Yugoslav and are therefore “welcome to apply for CY citizenship, regardless of current nationality and citizenship, and will be accepted.” (“Cyber Yugoslavia”). With over 24,105 cyber citizens, their goal is to reach five million citizens and “apply to the UN for a member status. When this happens, we will ask 20 square meters of land anywhere on Earth to be our country. On this land, we’ll keep our server” (“Cyber Yugoslavia”).

Museums, flea markets as well as social gatherings indicate Yugonostalgia amongst the people in the countries of ex-Yugoslavia. Museums serve as a mirror to the past, allowing its visitors to learn and travel back to a certain age. By displaying the everyday objects of the past, museums can evoke various nostalgic feelings. Consequently, nostalgia can evoke various feelings in the museum landscape; through “war museums ‘glorifying’ a country’s past, to folk museums which induces the feelings of simpler past” (Simine,2013,p.54). Such museums have become popular amongst entrepreneurs in the Balkans, with various spaces and thematic museums opening. An example of such is the museum of good memories in Pula, Croatia and the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade<sup>14</sup>. The museum of good memories in Pula is a privately-owned museum, built with the donations of the citizens of Pula<sup>15</sup>. People of different ages and backgrounds visit daily to learn about Pula during Yugoslavia, re-live memories or to be in awe of what the city used to look like whilst as a part of SFRY. The visitors are able to interact with the old ‘Fico’<sup>16</sup> car, sit in a typical Yugoslav living room, read the magazines and the newspapers with a picture of Tito on each, and even learn some old Pioneer songs. The writer of this thesis visited the museum of good memories in Pula, Croatia. Photos of the visit can be found below.

Similarly, the museum in Belgrade, which is also a final resting place of Josip Broz Tito, allows its visitors to learn more about the political and social structure of the former SFRY. Each year, on the anniversary of the death of Josip Broz Tito many people from all over the former Yugoslavian states and the world come together to Belgrade to pay their respects.

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<sup>14</sup> More information about the museum in English can be viewed through this link <https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/en/>

<sup>15</sup> More information about the museum in English can be viewed through this link <http://www.memo-museum.com/museum-pula.html>

<sup>16</sup> A Yugoslav car, also known as Zastava 750.





Figure 1. A 'typical' Yugoslav living room in the Museum of good memories



Figure 2. Museum of good memories poster

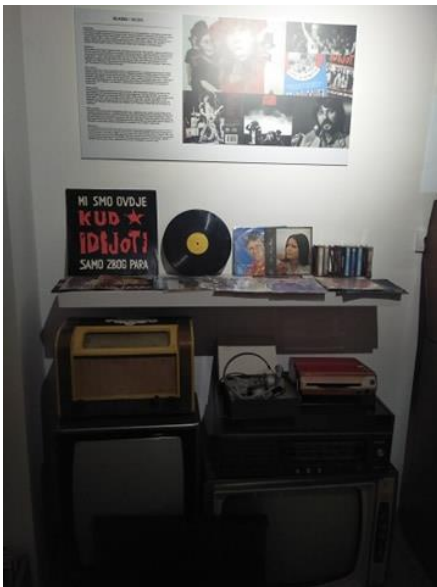


Figure 3. A collection of music from Former Yugoslavia

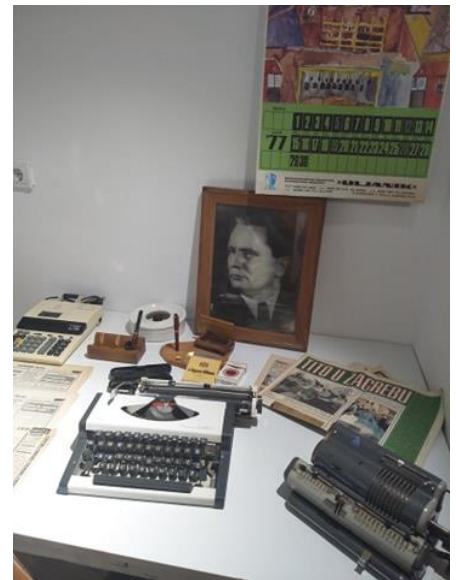


Figure 4. A 'typical' Yugoslav working desk with a picture of Tito



Figure 5. Collection of the pioneer's song books and magazines read by children across former Yugoslavia. Photo also showcases a typical pioneer uniform

Flea markets around the world serve as a place of buying, swapping and selling products of the past, which tend to evoke various feelings of longing. People from across the post-socialist regions come together to flea markets to meet each other and exchange and converse about the memories of the past (Pachenkov,2011,p.199). Mitja Velikonja observed Yugonostalgia, or in his words Titostalgia, in antique shops and flea markets across the former Yugoslavia with various objects such as books and Tito's pictures are available for sale (Velikonja, 2008, p.38). He believes that the "fossilised remains" of SFRY and nostalgic perspectives are constantly exploited by various antique shops and flea markets (Velikonja, 2009, p. 366-397). The author of this thesis noticed various Yugoslav items for sale in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Pula, Croatia. Various photographs, badges and of course, books in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabet that deal with Tito's life and work while a president of Yugoslavia. Photographs depicting this can be found below.

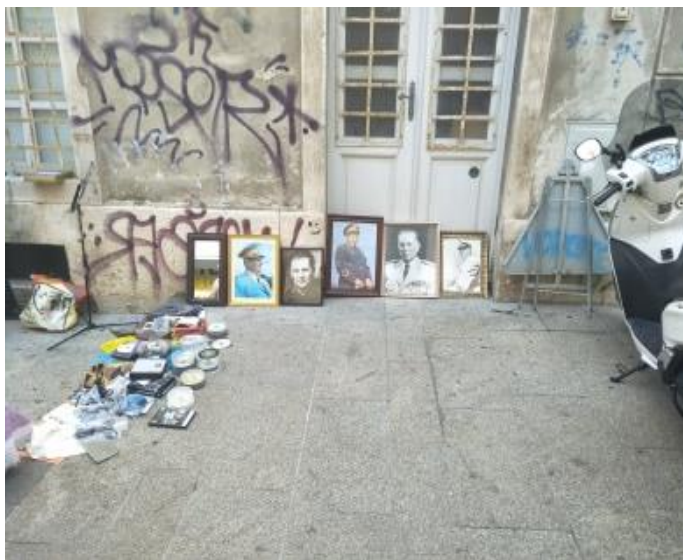


Figure 6. Flea markets in Pula, Croatia. Photographs of Tito for sale



Figure 7. Yugoslav car plates and a photograph of Tito at an antique shop in Sarajevo

An interesting observation of the remnants of the Former Yugoslavia are the old graffiti, also known as ‘parole’<sup>17</sup>, on the old houses across the region of Istria, Croatia. ‘Parole’ across the region were inscribed by the citizens of Istrian towns during and after World War II. After Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Partisans, defeated Benito Mussolini, the Istrian peninsula was connected with Yugoslavia by the Memorandum of London in 1954 (Altin & Minca, 2018, p. 112)<sup>18</sup>. This saw a mass exodus of Istrian Italians and those who did not want to go back to fascism, expressed their commitment to Tito and Yugoslavia through various graffiti which were inscribed on houses. Animal blood was used for writing as well as normal paint. Many graffiti read: “We want Tito!”<sup>19</sup> and “Long Live Yugoslavia, Tito and Stalin!”<sup>20</sup>.

While such graffiti have not yet been connected with the notion of nostalgia and more specifically, Yugonostalgia, the author of this thesis believes that they serve as a constant and an everyday remembrance of the past and consequently, evoke memories and feelings, simply through their presence. The endurance and preservation of ‘parole’ serve as a reminder of a fragment of time which has passed. Those who have such slogans inscribed on their houses, do not get rid of them, and

<sup>17</sup> Literal translation from Italian is ‘words’. Translated by the author.

<sup>18</sup> Altin and Minca provide an interesting and in-depth analysis of Yugonostalgia amongst the Italian minority in Istria. While this thesis does not describe such phenomena in detail, if interested, the author recommends this article for familiarisation with the Italian minority in Istria and Yugonostalgia.

<sup>19</sup> Translated from Croatian by the author “Hoćemo Tita!”.

<sup>20</sup> Translated from Italian by the author “Viva Jugoslavia, Tito e Staljin”.

they slowly fade away. However, their presence has sparked various interest in that specific period of time. While there is not much specific research regarding the Istrian 'parole', especially in the context of social sciences, a Ph.D. Student at the University of Ljubljana, Eric Usic, is currently examining the meaning and the creation of Istrian parole<sup>21</sup>.

Some of the graffiti in an Istrian town of Vodnjan, taken by the author of this thesis can be found below, with the translations.



Figure 9. Graffiti with an inscription: "W (viva) Stalin". Translates into "Long live Stalin"



Figure 8. Graffiti with an inscription: "Sempre con Tito". Translates into "Always with Tito"

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<sup>21</sup> There are not many publications yet on these themes, however, an interview with Eric Usic on his research can be found through this link: <https://www.glasistre.hr/istra/doktorand-eric-usic-vodnjanac-istrauje-parole-u-istri-tijekom-i-nakon-drugog-svjetskog-rata-ljudi-koji-su-tijekom-nob-a-pisali-parole-riskirali-su-vlastiti-zivot-599917>. The interview is in Croatian.

### **3.4 Concluding thoughts**

Yugonostalgia continues to be seen as a little explored notion, one with a negative connotation, which was coined after the break-up of Yugoslavia. However, as explored throughout this chapter, the memories of Yugoslavia and in such, Yugonostalgia, lives on. While not discussed much through media and public channels, it is evident that Yugoslavia is continuously present amongst people, either through stories, or through symbols and museums.

Yugonostalgia has also found its place amongst the cyber world, evolving with times and technology. Internet has provided, those who long for Yugoslavia, a place where they can remember and re-live their own memories of Yugoslavia. The next few chapters will introduce the study group for this thesis and analyse their own views and opinions on Yugonostalgia, as well as look at if Yugonostalgia is indeed present within this specific study group.

## 4. METHODOLOGY

Firstly, this chapter will give a brief overview of the group chosen for this specific study and the reasoning as to why this specific group was chosen. It will then continue to explain the data collection chosen for the study, followed by an overview of data analysis.

### 4.1 Study group

This thesis has explored the concept of Yugonostalgia amongst the youth and the post-Yugoslav generation and the reasoning for the nostalgia or the absence of nostalgia. Additionally, through data collection, the thesis looked as to what the presence or absence of Yugonostalgia can tell us about what kind of issues youth are experiencing in Croatia as a post conflict society. The focus group for this study is the organisation of Josip Broz Tito of Pula, Croatia. The aim of the organisation is to “protect the memory of Tito's character and work and preserve his legacy: anti-fascism, brotherhood and unity, peacemaking” (Drustvo Josip Broz Tito Pula, n.d).

The reason as to why this group was chosen for this particular study is their knowledge and the closeness and the understanding of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito and the concept of Yugonostalgia. Since the notion of Yugonostalgia is considered as sensitive, it seemed as the organisation would be and is the most open to talk about such concepts. Prior to contacting the group, the researcher did some background checks of the organisation and found various news articles where the representatives have openly talked about Yugoslavia, their views on the current governance and their opinions on the branding of Yugonostalgia<sup>22</sup> .

After discovering the organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the researcher found a Facebook page of the organisation's branch in Rijeka, Croatia and got into contact with its President. Through conversing, the researcher gained a contact of the former vice president of the branch in Pula, who

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<sup>22</sup> News article on the organisation of Josip Broz Tito, Rijeka and their views on Yugonostalgia  
<http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Rijeka/Rijecko-Drustvo-Josip-Broz-Tito-ima-300-clanova-vise-nego-vladajuci-SDP>

then assisted with getting to know the organisation and meeting the members. Both the president of the Rijeka branch, and the former vice-president of the Pula branch, as well as the members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito Pula, were very open and happy to talk about the concept of Yugonostalgia and their personal feelings and views on the topic. After attending some of the meetings over coffee and official events, the researcher was able to gain contacts and the participants for the study.

#### *4.1.1 The organisation of Josip Broz Tito*

The organisations of Josip Broz Tito are active throughout the region of the former Yugoslavia; from Croatia, to Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Slovenia and North Macedonia. Most of the bigger cities and towns have their own organisations, which are then combined into a 'union' of organisations of Josip Broz Tito, specific for each country. The head-quarters of the union in Croatia is in Zagreb. During the time of collecting data, the researcher had a chance to sit down with the former vice president of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula, in order to gain some more insight into the structure, work and events organised by the organisation in Pula as well as the rest of Croatia. He then explained the structure of the organisations in Croatia; there are 13 associations of the same name in the region of Istria, which make up together 24 associations in all of Croatia. He acknowledged that there is not much contact between the organisations across the region, however, they do get together to celebrate some of the big events, such as Tito's birthday and the Youth Day on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May in Kumrovec, Croatia. On that day, all of the organisations get together to celebrate the memory of Tito, his values and antifascism. Therefore, it is more common for the organisations located under the same county, to come together, organise events and remember values of Tito's Yugoslavia. 'Tito days'<sup>23</sup>, an event held in the town of Fažana, acts as a gathering place for the organisations within the Istria county. Amongst such events, the organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula, organises various events, in collaboration with the organisation of the Antifascist in Pula. These include commemorations of important dates and events, at the antifascist monuments in Istria. This is done by laying down the flowers, giving

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<sup>23</sup> Tito's days in Fažana are dedicated to Tito by holding various events, competitions and exhibitions. See <https://www.istra.hr/hr/kalendar/12723>

speeches as to why it is important to remember and by organising a meal and entertainment for the attendees. While the organisation does not have any political influence, the members do work hard of preserving the memory, the deeds and the name of Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito, through giving interviews on both local TV and radio. For instance, as the former vice president stated, it was by giving interviews for local TV, radio and the newspapers, they helped in persuading the local government in keeping the name of the 'Tito park' in Pula.

The organisation is trying to pave the way for its young members. They are trying to become more digital and the former vice president, feels that young people need to play a role in digitalising and spreading the word of brotherhood and unity. The associations across Istria join in organisation each year for the annual get together of its youngest members, and those who continue to remember their youth in Yugoslavia. Each year, the associations organise a trip to the nearby mountain Učka where they celebrate an anniversary of the formation of the 1st Istrian brigade 'Vladimir Gortan'<sup>24</sup> and an anniversary of the 1<sup>st</sup> Youth march on Učka. The celebration involves lunch, dinner, dance and music as well as the game of tombola.

## **4.2 Study participants**

The researcher was able to gain five (5) participants for the study. The age of the participants ranged from 22 years up to 36 years of age. While two (2) out of five (5) participants were born in Croatia while it was a part of SFRY, the participants were not a part of the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia and were born after the death of Josip Broz Tito. The limitation set by the researcher for the age group was that the participants never attended the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia.

The Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, also known as Tito's pioneers, was a group of elementary school youth aged between the age of even and fifteen, which comprised of both boys and girls. Being a substructure of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, the pioneers had an induction and took the pledge to "love their homeland... a Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and spread brotherhood and

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<sup>24</sup> A unit of the Croatian National Liberation Army, founded on September 23, 1943. It was named after the Croatian anti-fascist Vladimir Gortan see <https://glasistrenovine.hr/arhiva-portala/pregled-vijesti/obiljezen-dan-brigade-vladimir-gortan-112233>



unity for which are the principles for which comrade Tito fought". This brought on socialisation and education of the values of Socialism and SFRY as well as the values of brotherhood and unity, and their respect for Tito. Since the participants of this study did not have a chance to properly enter the socialisation of children and youth into the Yugoslav society, they were chosen for this specific study.

The study consisted of three (4) males and one (1) female, all members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito, Pula.

### **4.3 Qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews**

For this study, qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews were chosen as it is branded as the very efficient way of collecting data. According to Morris (2015), in-depth interviewing is one of the most used qualitative research methods, for it resembles a relaxed, open and honest conversation (p.3, Mason 1998). A number of set questions are prepared prior to the interview, however, the order of the questions asked can be changed throughout the interview, depending on the interviewees responses, whilst following up on specific answers to extract as much information from the participants (ibid). Consequently, in-depth interviews can present the researcher a "first-hand account" of the research questions of the particular study (Brounéus, 2011, p.131). While in peace research, in-depth interviews are rarely used on their own to produce unbiased, accurate data, if properly pre-planned and drafted, with proper concentration during the interviews, it can provide a vast amount of useful and important data (ibid, 130-133). The preparation for this study was inspired by Brounéus (2011, p.133).

This study consisted of interview questions that were prepared beforehand to ensure the coverage of the research questions for this study. However, these questions were then altered during the interviews, depending on the interviewee's responses, probing for more detailed information regarding a specific topic or an interesting answer, as explained by Karen Brounéus (2011). Consequently, each of the interviews were quite unique in their own, specific way, which assisted the researcher in obtaining as much data as possible in order to more efficiently answer the given research questions. The questions were prepared in English, then translated into Croatian by the researcher, since all of the interviews were carried out in Croatian, in order to gain more valid and

descriptive data from the interviewees. The interview questions in both English and Croatian, as prepared by the researcher, can be found in appendix 1 and appendix 2. Whilst conducting the interviews, the researcher kept in mind the advice from Brinkmann (2013), to avoid theorisation from the participants, and guide the conversation into a more descriptive manner, as the goal was to obtain the views of the participants on how they experience the world and its' reasoning (p. 22).

The interviews were carried out individually, in a casual, relaxed manner, with the interviewee having the freedom of choosing the location of where the interview would take place. The interviews were mostly carried out at a café, in a nice and comfortable ambience. The interviews were on average 50 minutes long and were voice recorded by the researcher, with the participants' consent.

#### **4.4 Thematic analysis**

For this specific study, thematic analysis was chosen in order to analyse the data conducted from the interviews in order to understand people's views, opinions and experiences. Thematic analysis focuses on pinpointing and defining re-occurring themes within the data set. It is branded as one of the most useful forms of analysis for it has the ability to capture the "complexities of meaning within a textual data set" (Guest, MacQueen & Namey 2012, p.10). Consequently, it is still considered as one of the most commonly used methods in qualitative research (ibid). Thematic analysis can be applied to any written data, such as interviews or text, and is used in order to analyse both small and big data sets, hence the reason as to why this form of analysis was chosen for this study (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p.298).

There are various approaches to thematic analysis. A researcher needs to choose from an inductive and deductive form of thematic analysis, and the semantic or latent approach. Inductive approach looks at the data in its raw form and lets the data form themes and assist in forming a theoretical framework, based on the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.83-84). Deductive approach is commonly used where there are pre-conceived themes which the researcher is hoping to find within the data set, based on the theoretical framework used for the specific study or prior knowledge of the researcher (ibid). Likewise, the researcher needs to choose if they are interested in the participants thoughts and opinions (semantic) or what the conversation has to say about their social context (latent) (ibid, p.83-84).

Usually, thematic analysis is done through the process of identifying re-occurring or important codes which go on to represent a specific theme within the data. According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey, thematic analysis includes the following: “comparing code frequencies, identifying code co-occurrence, and graphically displaying relationships between codes within the data set” (2012, p.9). These codes are considered as the smallest units of analysis which represent interesting parts of the data which correlate to the research question (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p.297). Hence, this study will follow the coding system of the data which will be done manually due to the small data set of five (5) participants.

While this form of analysis is widely use in order to analyse qualitative forms of data, there are specific issues which have been identified by academics. When analysing data and defining specific themes within the data set, the researcher should try to be as objective as possible. If choosing an inductive approach to thematic analysis, a researcher should leave any pre-conceived knowledge and look at the text and the data as raw material, for there is a possibility of the re-occurrences of themes which are not directly related to the research questions, but might be of importance.

#### **4.4.1 Analysing the data**

By using thematic analysis to analyse the data, researcher has chosen to use the deductive approach to thematic analysis. After choosing the analysis approach, the researcher read through the transcribed interviews and started coding the text. Codes were done by looking at specific repeating words and the context in which the sentences were told. Codes and their meanings were written down, and continued to be used throughout all interviews, if there were repeating patterns. New codes and their meanings were consistently made. As the data set was not a big one, analysis was done manually, without the help of a specific computer program.

After producing various codes, these codes were then grouped into minor themes for each of the interviews. These steps were repeated for all interviews individually.

Once coding and grouping of those codes into themes were completed, the researcher looked for re-occurring patterns and themes amongst all five interviews. Initially, by exploring the dataset in depth, many themes were found. By putting themes of each

interview side by side, due to their similarity, some themes were grouped together. However, most of the themes were identical in each interview.

#### **4.5 Concluding thoughts**

For this research, the study group chosen was that of the Organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula, Croatia. The study group was chosen due to their familiarity with the notion of Yugonostalgia and their interest and knowledge of Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito. After getting into contact with the group, five study participants were chosen, who have not lived or have had little or no memories of their life in Yugoslavia. The participants were open to discuss and talk about their own personal views and feeling on the topic of Yugoslavia and Yugonostalgia. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were chosen as a form of collecting the data, with each participant giving consent to participate and to being recorded. Choosing semi-structured interviews as a form of collecting the data has given the researcher the opportunity to draft open questions and pre-prepare prior to the interviews. However, as this form of method is meant to resemble a relaxed and casual conversation, the interviewer was able to shift the conversation, in order to gain more insights and information.

After the data has been collected, the researcher chose the thematic analysis approach to analysing the collected data. Through the means of coding, main themes of the data arose. These themes will be further explained in detail in the upcoming chapter.

## 5. RESULTS

This chapter will present results based on the thematic analysis of the interviews conducted. The results section will showcase main themes which have emerged from data and which relate to the research questions. The themes will be described in detail, including what they mean, how they came about through coding and will include evidence from the data.

### 5.1 Presence of Yugonostalgia

#### *5.1.1 Nostalgia, Yugonostalgia and its presence in Istria*

Nostalgia, Yugonostalgia and its presence in Istria continued to be topic of discussion throughout the interviews, hence it showing up as one of the main themes. Istria is a peninsula in Croatia, which has always been ethnically diverse due to its long and rich history. As a region, Istria has been a part of SFRY and Croatia since 1947, when Tito fought for Istria and Istrians, and won over the region from Mussolini and his army. As many Italians remained in Istria, the second official language of the peninsula is Italian. Prior to this, the peninsula fell under the Venetian rule, Hapsburg monarchy, the Austrian-Hungarian empire and Italy, each leaving a remnant of their rule. While under the SFRY, Brijuni Islands in Istria, were one of the official residences of Tito, where he would host many important and prominent political figures, such as Che Guevara and the Queen Elizabeth<sup>25</sup>. During the Croatian war for independence, Istria was not directly impacted by the conflict, however, did send men to fight in other parts of Croatia. At the time, Istria took many refugees from various parts of the former Yugoslavia, seeking shelter from the violence, with some making the region their permanent home<sup>26</sup>. This has further built on the diversity in ethnicities and nationalities.

When asked about Yugonostalgia, four (4) out of five (5) participants didn't see Yugonostalgia as a positive term. Most participants believed that Yugonostalgia

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<sup>25</sup> More information can be found here <https://www.np-brijuni.hr/en/explore-brijuni/persons-worth-knowing-about/josip-broz-tito>

<sup>26</sup> Over 300,000 refugees have sought shelter in the safe parts of Croatia in '91 and '92, mostly the capital and Istria (Morokvasic, 1992,p.3).

relates to living in the past and labelled it as 'negative' and unnecessary. Participants connected Yugonostalgia as living in the past, when there are many things that need to be fixed in the present times, for there are various issues that Croatia and the society is facing. This is shown through the views of participant 2: *"Yugonostalgia as a term is not that positive...I understand it was better back then, but we have to move on and do something for the better future"* (participant 2). This statement was backed by other three (3) participants. However, one of the participants expressed Yugonostalgia in a positive light as he thinks *"all the best about Yugoslavia and Yugonostalgia as a notion is great and there is nothing wrong with it"* (participant 3).

However, while majority of participants view Yugonostalgia negatively, indications of nostalgia and Yugonostalgia were prominent across all five (5) interviews. A constant usage of words of comparison such as "back then...but today" and expression of 'better times' alluded to nostalgia for Yugoslavia and Croatia as a part of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav system. When reflecting to Yugoslavia, all five (5) participants reflected to it in the uppermost positive sense. Most of the questions that the participants were asked, their responses gave a point of comparison between the time of Yugoslavia and the present times as participant 4 demonstrates: *"In Yugoslavia we had social development and unity. Today there is no more unity. You can forget about that"*. This comparison and expressions of much better times were present across all other themes. Two participants even expressed their nostalgia by directly saying how they would like to go back to that time, if the time machine would be invented. They feel as they were born in the wrong era and don't understand how people cannot be nostalgic for a specific period of time. Participant 3 clearly stated his nostalgia by pointing out that *"I would like to go back to that time of Yugoslavia, so I could be far away from this present time"*.

When talking about Yugonostalgia and Istria, all five (5) participants agreed that Yugonostalgia is much more prominent in Istria than anywhere else in Croatia. When asked about Yugonostalgia and Istria, participants would answer in a very proud manner, and always talked about Istria in an extremely positive manner. Words such as "better", "equality", "multiculturalism" and "immigration" were used in order to describe Istria as a region and what makes it better than other regions in Croatia. Participants believed that Istria is a region of multiculturalism and a place where

people co-exist together in a peaceful manner and national differences are not as prominent as in other parts of Croatia. Participant 1 believes that the reason for the higher levels of Yugonostalgia in Istria are because *“we have a high mix of various nationalities, mostly due to the war refugees and the increased migration of people from other regions of Croatia coming to Istria”*. However, participants have also mentioned that what sets Istria apart from the other regions is that is still based on antifascism and the people in Istria never vote for any right-wing parties, such as HDZ<sup>27</sup>. Their view is that because Istria is so multicultural, people refrain from voting for HDZ and instead, their votes go to the central-left, which some participants believe they are sometimes *“worse than HDZ. They should uphold the values of the left, but are criminals just like HDZ”* (participant 2).

### 5.1.2 Appraisal of Tito

Across all five interviews, the leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito was praised. While four participants acknowledged some of the mistakes that Tito had done during his leadership of Yugoslavia, all five participants agreed that he was *“the greatest man to have lived in this region. No one will ever come close to him”* (participant 4). Using words of appraisal, participants have spoken about Tito with uttermost respect. As all the participants were born after the death of Tito, there was the presence of stories and re-collections told to them by their family members or someone from their own social circle.

Participants praised Tito, mostly for the way he cared about the people. Contrasting that to today, almost every time Tito was mentioned, participants believe that today the government does not care about people, only money, whereas Tito cared for Yugoslavia and the people that lived in it. When re-collecting the stories which they were told, participants mentioned the day he passed away, his funeral and how people cried for him. This was noted by participant 1 who expressed feeling for Tito *“My granddad and grandmother told me the day he died, how everyone was sad and upset. They were all sad because they loved him and because maybe they knew that war was about to happen...I see him as a person who loved his people, so of course people were sad when he passed away”*. When talking about his funeral, participants

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<sup>27</sup> Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (HDZ). Translated into English as ‘Croatian Democratic Union’

mentioned that Tito was an extremely respected world leader, with every leader and politician coming to his funeral. With this example, participants further expressed the importance of Tito as a leader of Yugoslavia and as one of the most important and influential leaders of that time: *“Tito was a great man and everyone respected him, all other influential leaders. When he passed away, over 100 world leaders came to his funeral...They all waited in huge lines in order to write in the book of grief”* (participant 3).

Participants didn't just praise his devotion to people and his country, but also his social and political implementations during his time as a leader of Yugoslavia. They applauded the decision of removal of borders, minimalizing nationalism and removal of the influence of the church from the government. This was clearly mentioned in the comments by participant 5: *“Tito was a very wise leader...what I liked the most is that he made Yugoslavia one of the most important projects in the Balkans by erasing the borders...he made Yugoslavia a little EU. He also erased nationalism and minimised the influence of the church in the state”*.

One participant wished for *“Tito to return and get rid of all the corrupt politicians that have brought our country into a complete and utter mess”* (participant 3).

### 5.1.3 Culture (music, film, literature)

For all five (5) participants, music, film and literature was of much better quality during the time of Yugoslavia. The participants believe that Yugoslavia invested much more in creation of good quality literature, film and music, making it 'evergreen' and still popular, even today.

In regards to music, four (4) out of (5) participants would much rather listen to music made in Yugoslavia, than the music which is being made today as it lacks quality. Participants also observed that the Yugoslav music and pop culture worked as a uniting aspect of people across Yugoslavia, and that the young people of that time, had a much more fun and relaxed youth. This was observed by participant 1 who stated *“I wish I could bring back the pop culture...there were so many good bands like Azra etc...my mum used to tell me how many places they had to go out to and dance...I think it made younger people then so much more relaxed and united”*. One of the participants said that they only listen to the music from former Yugoslavia, which was put forward by participant 3 *“Music was so much better then, than it is now...I only*



*listen to the music from former Yugoslavia and bands such as Elektricni Orgazam etc...music was of so much better quality...today everyone listens to turbofolk”.*

Like the music, all five participants agreed that the quality of movies was much better and that Yugoslavia gave space to the creation of some of great directors. Movies were created at a higher frequency and some of the most famous movies which were produced in the region of former Yugoslavia, came from the time of Yugoslavia. Various film festivals existed across former Yugoslavia which were important social events. As mentioned beforehand, under the theme of education, many participants learnt about Yugoslavia through film, hence it is no big surprise that they viewed films as a great inheritance of the Yugoslav culture and the Yugoslav period of time. Participant 2 brought up the importance of Yugoslav cinematography *“Music and cinematography had much more quality...for example Battle of Neretva was translated into 40 different languages and that is huge...Yugoslavia invested into their own and Croatia at that time was much more advanced when it came to cinematography”.*

Such was also the case for literature. According to the participants, quality and the quantity of literature today is not even comparable to what it was in Yugoslavia, due to the system then, seeing the importance of culture and literature. Participants agreed that some of the best literature works came from the writers in former Yugoslavia. Just like music and cinematography, when talked about literature in particular, the words of ‘quality’ were often used in order to describe how they see literature which was written during Yugoslavia. Such was described by participant 4 *“everything that has been written in the past 30 years is not even comparable to what it was in that time. Krleza, Andric etc. Today writers only write in order to please the government, so there is no more quality in literature and culture”.*

#### *5.1.4 Freedom of speech and censorship*

By using the words of comparison to “before” and “now” and stories and recollections of their family members and close social circles, four out of five participants made a strong case in explaining as to why the freedom of speech was much greater in Yugoslavia, than it is now in Croatia as a democratic country. Yugoslavia being a socialist state, allowed for a better freedom of expression in writing, producing films, documentaries and journalist articles. While they have acknowledged that there was some censorship in Yugoslavia and everyone understood that there were specific

guidelines on what to write and what not to, they believed that writers and journalists had a freedom as to write whatever they would have liked. While some pieces would not have been published, the participants claimed that writers would not have gotten fired and would still get a pay. Comparing that to today, Participant 4 noted that *“the difference between today and before is that today you can write whatever you want but you will not get paid for it, it will not get published and your rights are next to nothing”*.

When it comes to journalism, participant 1 observed how today, journalists are all serving a higher political purpose, diving themselves into left wing and right-wing journalists. Participant expressed how today *“You are either a leftie journalist or a right winged journalist you have your own political function. Back then you had a greater freedom of expression and there was so much more investigative journalism”*

There were also some descriptions that other countries in Europe had strict censorship laws, all the while Yugoslavia had more freedom. Participant 4 continued on to explain as to how freedom of speech and censorship was better in Yugoslavia, comparing to other countries at that time: *“In 1966 there was a big opening of the society...You could write whatever you would of liked, as long as you didn’t badmouth Tito...I read and people told me that there were no official censorships in place, but that Poland had huge censorship laws...in Yugoslavia it was so much more stable”*.

Participant 2 mentioned how today people are so afraid of writing something publicly, that there is a form of phobia present in people. Participant noted how *“people had more freedom of speech in Yugoslavia. Today, people are so afraid because police can come knocking on your door due to the incriminating post about the government and the police. There is this phobia everywhere”*.

## **5.2 Collective memory and societal influence**

### *5.2.1 Family’s and societal influence*

When learning about Yugoslavia and Tito, family, such as parents and grandparents played a big role. As discussed, in the previous theme, there was no official education on Yugoslavia, so the participants of this study learnt about Yugoslavia through other means, including through the stories of their family. Consequently, this proved to be one of the main themes of this study.

All five (5) interviewees mentioned hearing about Yugoslavia and Tito through their parents or other family members, with family being a first point of contact with Yugoslavia and Tito. For some, the family influence was greater and more impactful than for others. Three (3) participants first heard about Yugoslavia through their family members but later went on to learn more by themselves. Participant 2 described his first contact with Yugoslavia and Tito: *“I remember a grandfather of my uncle. He was a communist and a partisan and, in his garage, he had a Yugoslav flag and a picture of Tito. He talked about it. ...My parents didn’t talk much about it. They were from Vukovar...they never talked about history, not about the bad or the good...so I remembered my uncle’s grandfather and learnt about it myself”*. Similarly, participant 5 expressed his first contact with Tito and Yugoslavia *“My first contact with Yugoslavia and Tito was through my parents and my grandparents. They would tell me about Tito and what life was back then. But since I was interested in history, I started reading and learning more on my own”*.

For other three (3) participants, main source of information about Yugoslavia and Tito was through their parents and grandparents, and all five (5) participants say that they were talked about in the most positive manner. There was not much bad to say about either Yugoslavia and Tito and one of the participants even described how they were raised by the Yugoslav values of brotherhood and unity and to respect other people’s nationalities and culture. Participant 3 pointed out that his parents always talked about Tito and Yugoslavia in the uppermost positive manner, with nothing negative to say and that his parent raised him to *“not hate on anyone, no matter if they are a Serb, Bosniak or whatever. To not hate on anyone and to always be good with people. A human is a human. But to never use his or her nationality against them”*.

It is also important to note that throughout all five interviews, various re-collections and stories were used in order to convey participant’s views and opinions. In most cases, these stories were told to them by their parents, as the sentences would usually start with “my dad/mum told me about...” or “that is what they told me”. These stories were told in order to give an example of their own opinions and thoughts regarding a specific topic. For example, when talking about what unity was like in Yugoslavia, participant 1 mentioned a story which was told by the participant’s father: *“He grew up in Sarajevo, in the street where Croats, Orthodox and Muslims lived together...he told me how they all lived simply and co-existed together, and even celebrated each-other’s holidays”*.

When it comes to other influences in their own social group, all five (5) participants noted that they talk about Yugoslavia and Tito often in their friend's circles. The topics usually range from pop culture, film and literature to the political system of self-governing socialism, the non-aligned movement and Tito as the leader of Yugoslavia. While some of the participants noted that what they talk about with their peers is always in a positive manner and inclinations towards Yugoslavia and Tito, other four (4) participants explained how there is a mixed feeling of those who agree with everything that Yugoslavia stood for and those who believe that there were many mistakes done by the leadership during that time. Participant 4 stated how Yugoslavia and Tito are constantly a point of conversations within his social circle and states that *"most of my friends see it all in a positive sense, but of course there are a few that don't. But then again, I can choose my own friends. I hang in the leftist's circles"*.

### 5.2.2 Organisation of Josip Broz Tito

All of the participants mentioned the Organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula during the duration of the interviews. As the youngest members of the organisation, participants mentioned as to why they have joined the organisation as well as what could be improved within the organisation in order to gain more young members.

Participants have joined the organisation for various reasons. Participant 5 stated that the reason why they have joined the organisation is due to his own academic interests and pursuits and due to a friend already being a member there: *"I am extremely interested in history, as this is what I studied. My friend was a member already and I thought, why not?"*. However, other four (4) participants joined due to the organisation having young members, with whom they could connect, form friendships, talk about like-minded topics and freely express their own political views and associations. The organisation provides them with a comfortable and safe space in which they can learn more about the past and think of how to better the future. They see the organisation as a place where the memory of Tito and Yugoslavia is being kept alive and where the Yugoslav values, such as brotherhood and unity are promoted. For them, organisation is a place where everyone is welcome, no matter of their nationality or where they are from. According to participant 4 the organisation *"is a keeper of the Yugoslav flame, in an age where we literally have to be hiding due to our political views. Here, we can say what we feel like and say the truth and maintain the memory of the events from*

*that time*". This is further emphasised in the activities which the organisation organises, such as trips to Sarajevo, Kumrovec and many others. Participant 2 attended 'The day of Youth-Tito's birthday' commemoration in Kumrovec and was pleasantly surprised on how many young people there were. However, he noted increased hostilities from the police towards the public: *"comparing to other years there were much more police, and they continuously took away all the Yugoslav flags from the public spaces and from people"*. However, unfortunately, most of the participants do not have a chance to attend all the activities due to engagements at work or university.

In regards to the development and future prospects of the organisation, all five (5) participants believe that there is much room for improvement. While there are some young members in the organisation, they believe that much more needs to be done in order to attract more young members as the future of the organisation will be left to them. They also feel that the older members should help the younger members gain better positions within the organisation, to lead the organisation into a digital era as described by participant 3: *"I think older members are still very important, but they need to give a chance to us youngsters. Older members don't know about digitalisation. Everything is now on facebook, etc"*.

### 5.2.3 Education on Yugoslavia

A re-emerging theme across all five (5) participants was the role of schools in education about Josip Broz Tito and Yugoslavia. All participants confirmed that schools did not play a big role in learning about the former Yugoslavia. Whilst Yugoslavia and Tito were briefly mentioned, there was no depth to the education about the history of Croatia as a part of Yugoslavia. This was noted by participant 2 who explained how *"in school, Tito and Yugoslavia were not really mentioned. We learnt about the Croatian war of Independence, but not about Yugoslavia"* and participant 3 who explained that the *"government removed everything from schools, even the maps of Yugoslavia. So, we learnt nothing about Yugoslavia or Tito. They were never even mentioned"*. Due to these reasons, participants were left to learn about Yugoslavia through other means, such as through family members and their stories which will be further explored in the next theme. The participants also tried to self-educate

themselves through books, watching documentaries and old partisan movies. The organisation of Josip Broz Tito also plays a role in education, as mentioned previously. Such was noted by participant 1 *“In school we didn’t learn much, so it kind of came from parents... then you pick up a book or a documentary... and through the organisations like Josip Broz Tito”*. Learning about Yugoslavia through formal education only came later, through the university. This was true for participant 5 :*“I was able to learn about the history of Yugoslavia through university, but in schools, teachers didn’t really like to talk about it”*. One of the participants noted that university education is really important in education on the former Yugoslavia and is impressed by the works and workshops organised by the Centre for Cultural and Historical research of Socialism at the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula.

### **5.3 Youth, their issues, future uncertainty and position in the society**

#### *5.3.1 Youth and socialising*

A re-occurring theme which appeared during the interviews of four (4) participants is that of the treatment of youth and the way youth socialised at the time of Yugoslavia. Again, words of comparison were used by participants in order to highlight how in their opinion, youth in Yugoslavia socialised much more, than they do today. Due to Yugoslavia having open borders, youth from all different countries of former Yugoslavia would visit Pula, mostly during summer, making it a hotspot for youth. The Yugoslav People’s Army at that time, had a compulsory army services for men, sending men to different parts of Yugoslavia. In participants’ opinion this was one of the contributing factors of socialising and meeting young people from all over Yugoslavia, as expressed by participant 3 *“In Pula, the main square was always full of young people and because of the army, the whole of Yugoslavia was hanging out together... but today everyone is in their houses and the city is completely empty”*. However, the participants felt that youth and students were much more respected in Yugoslavia than they are today. Students were of importance and they had a podium for expressing their opinions and voices. This was portrayed through the usage of stories which were told to them by their parents and parents’ experiences of being a young person in Yugoslavia. When comparing their parent’s experiences to their own, participants concluded that studying and being a student in Yugoslavia was much

more enjoyable. This was expressed by participant 1 *“My mum used to tell me how studying at that time was better and nicer...they managed to get student housing easier...and knew that they would get a job straight out of university”*. During the interview, participant 2 re-told a story of a time when Tito and Yugoslavia acknowledged their mistakes made towards students and how at that time students had more value within the society *“ In Belgrade there were student protests...Tito addressed them via TV and told them that they are right, that himself and Yugoslavia did not give them enough attention and that from now on, they will invest in them, because they are the future of Yugoslavia”*.

### 5.3.2 Wild capitalism/Future uncertainty

With democracy and a promise of an open society, came capitalism. All five (5) participants mentioned capitalism as one of the biggest source of their own, personal problems. When the political and social change occurred from socialism to democracy, capitalism brought about privatisation and a poor quality of life. It is especially in this theme that the comparisons of before to now were prominent. All participants have expressed their longing for not having to worry about money, paying the bills, purchasing a house, being able to afford university and higher education and going for a holiday.

Participant 3 explained how with capitalism *“came selling all of our land and factories. It all came with privatisation. There is absolutely nothing Croatian, ‘ours’ in Croatia anymore”*.

Participant 5 singled out the *“wild capitalism”* as the main source of *“social destruction, unhappiness amongst people and rise in poverty”*. Participants see no value in capitalism and feel as it has not contributed to anything in Croatia, only made things worse, with constant anxieties amongst the Croats, especially youth. Participant 4, expressed his view on capitalism and hypocrisies of people: *“capitalism has not benefited us, and I think that people are hypothetical because they cannot afford a car, and they speak of socialism as evil. The man is a tenant, he drives a car that is 30 years old, and then he tells me about the benefits of capitalism. It does not make sense”*.

Throughout interviews capitalism has been blamed as a culprit of the anxieties with the participants face in regards to their future. They see their future with uncertainty,

afraid if they will be one of those people who will leave Croatia, in a hope for a better life. Participant 2 expressed his thoughts about what capitalism has done to a student in Croatia: *“it all depends on how much money you have, and that kind of sets the stage for you to live and succeed. If you don't have \$ 7K to pay someone to be able to go to college then you'll have a hard time in life. Capitalism brought all this about, because in Yugoslavia, education was free.”* Likewise, participant 1 is afraid of the future in Croatia. Generation X, participant says, is *“afraid for the future...you are only concerned with how you will survive, how you will pay for the bills...I got teary just thinking about it”*. Owning their own house, is a distant dream, they say. It is hard to even land a job after studying, yet alone keep it, and make enough money to be able to have a deposit for a mortgage. This did not exist in Yugoslavia, and as mentioned in previous themes, participants felt that the country took care of its citizens. With *“capitalism came great future uncertainty...we are all laden with existence and because of this you cannot even think of anything else...I have been working 2 jobs since I was 15 and I cannot even think of starting a family. I cannot afford it”*.

### 5.3.3 Women and their rights

All five interviews revolved around Yugoslavia and the participants tended to constantly compare the state of Croatia today from what it was like back in Yugoslavia. During the interviews all five (5) participants brought up the role of women and their rights in Yugoslavia and compared them to those in the present-day Croatia. All participants felt that women had many more rights during the time of Yugoslavia, than they do today. Participants felt that Yugoslavia was much more ahead of other countries, especially when it came to the abortion rights. They have compared this to today, where abortion is considered as a taboo and women do not have sexual and reproductive rights as they should. In this sense, they felt that women were much more valued during the time of Yugoslavia. This was put forward by participant 2 *“back in Yugoslavia women had a right to abortion. Today, it's so hard to prove rights of women...for example, in Yugoslavia, women got the right to vote, earlier than Switzerland”*. This statement was supported by participant 4 who explained how in Yugoslavia *“the law for abortus was made in 1978, same year as in Italy...and today, we are continuously fighting for the rights of women and families”*. The participants argued how women were much more respected in Yugoslavia, than they are today.



Another participant mentioned the stories which were told by parents and how much easier it was for women to have children and start families. Government of Yugoslavia would provide new mums with a great care package for the babies and make their lives easier by providing mums with a financial support *“I cannot even think of starting a family today...my mum told me how there was not so much stress and the support by the government was much better than it is today. I mean, you could actually afford to have a family...”* (participant 1).

#### 5.3.4 Workers and their rights

Four (4) participants noted how in Yugoslavia, a worker was much more respected and workers had much more rights, than they do today in Croatia. In their opinion Yugoslavia was based on equality and the worker's rights. Today, all four participants felt that a worker has no meaning, and there are no clear rights when it comes to a worker. The worker is unprotected with a questionable and fearful future. Participant 2 noted that *“during Yugoslavia workers were very respected... they had more and received more...today, a worker is absolutely nothing. No one cares for workers and they are not respected”*.

Workers are not guaranteed a proper pay check and can be let go at any point in time.

There were a lot of comparisons when talking about the worker back then to now, including the benefits a worker and his/her family would receive from the company and the government. The participants felt that the workers and their families were taken care of, with the company taking workers and their families for a ski trip and a holiday by the sea every year. Something, that they today, cannot even fathom or imagine as described by participant 1 *“I just want to bring back more secure times...today you don't have a chance to change a job. You have to be quiet and not complain, because if you do you will get fired and finding a new job is extremely hard. Workers' rights just don't exist”*. Likewise, participant 3 agreed and noted that workers in Yugoslavia could easily go on holidays *“In Yugoslavia you had values that Croatia, today, does not... A worker was respected...they could even go on a holiday with the wife and kids. Hotels were always full...Today, you don't even have that anymore”*.

The participants also mentioned that workers would get a flat for their families to live in. They saw this as a major benefit and a great example of a governing system, taking

care of their workers. This provided extra security to workers and their families, making life less stressful. As explained by participant 4 *“a worker and a citizen had a lawful right to an apartment, but of course you couldn’t have just sold it...there was no such thing as private property...but also at that time, we were building so much more, catering for everyone”* Today, they said they cannot even imagine owning an apartment or a house.

### 5.3.5 Nationalism

The struggle of dealing with the omnipresent nationalism in Croatia today, was evident across all (five) interviews. Again, words of comparison of ‘before’ and ‘now’ were used in order to make a case of the rising tide of nationalism in present day Croatia. If they could bring back something from the time of Yugoslavia, amongst other, they all wished for the removal of nationalism and nationalistic rhetoric from the society. For participant 5 it is *“nationalism that I would like removed, if I could, straight away. It has ruined people and our country to the point of no return”*.

During Yugoslavia, all nationalities, religions and cultures co-existed together, which is something that today, is non-existent. Today, they feel that there is an immense pressure on people, especially young people, to express their Croatianism. They are also concerned with the constant divisions between people, especially the minorities which live in Croatia today. In Yugoslavia, as expressed by participant 1 *“nationalism was never so prominent. Today we all must always express who we are. There is no more unity. Everyone is afraid of each other”*. Participant 2 shared a story of the time when people from all over the world would visit Yugoslavia and were welcomed with open arms: *“you know, in Yugoslavia we had a lot of Libyans and Muslims coming to study in Yugoslavia. They were welcomed with open arms, always. But now, I cannot even imagine a Muslim coming to study in Croatia because everyone is extremely nationalistic”*.

Participant 4, explained how education and historical revisionism, alongside removal of Yugoslav street names, are all tools for further re-enforcement of nationalistic rhetoric’s by the government; *“in Croatia today, history is predictive training, it is a place where, alongside religious science, incite ethnic hatred...it all assists in the suppression of minorities by the majority”*. In Yugoslavia, Croatia was a *“country for all nationalities, Serbs, Bosniaks, Slovenes and Croats”* (participant 4).

### 5.3.6 Corruption and critique of the Croatian leadership and the government

All five (5) participants did not hold back on their criticism towards Croatian leadership and the government. Throughout all the interviews, there was not a single word of positivity aimed at the government of Croatia. While there were various critiques of the governing body, corruption was one of the issues which all participants singled out specifically.

Corruption in government and the leadership of Croatia, according to the participants, is one of the biggest underlying causes of the issues which Croatia and the Croatian people are facing. While they acknowledged that corruption existed also during Yugoslavia, they have agreed that there is much more corruption present today, than ever before. This in turn, results in various political affairs and scandals, which they constantly hear about through media. Participant 1 noted how *“there is corruption at every turn...political affairs, one after the other. There is no service without counter service.”*

Participants did not showcase any signs of trust into the current governing political party of HDZ and the president of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar Kitarovic. In fact, they blame them for the awful conditions Croatian people are facing and a massive exodus of young Croatians to other European countries. Participants see exodus of young Croats as one of the biggest social issues that Croatia has faced to date and feel as politicians do not and never cared about their people. This was described by participant 1: *“they are only looking after themselves and not after the people and it’s because of this that people are leaving. It’s questionable how many people Croatia will have left”*. Participants describe current governing body as “fascists” and words of ‘fascism’ and ‘antifascism’ were used throughout the interviews when mentioning HDZ and Kolinda Grabar Kitarovic. As described by participant 2, Croatian constitution is *“based on anti-fascism, but the government does not abide by any anti-fascist rules, and instead, acts in a completely fascist manner”*. By promoting ‘fascist’ values, participants believe that such prompts ‘fascist’ attacks across Croatia. Participant 4 described HDZ as a “fascist movement”.

Three (3) out of five (5) participants used the word ‘criminals’ in order to describe the current political party in power and various members of parliament. Participants described and expressed their disappointment with various politicians and members

of parliament, who, during the war made many horrific decisions, which impacted lives of thousands of people. Today, they sit in the parliament, making important decisions for Croatia and its people. Participant 4 explained his disappointment: *“today, people are surprised that we have the least prisoners in the history of Croatia. But why? Because all the criminals are out there... you see, here in Croatia, doesn't matter if you were a killer or if you stole all the money of the state. The most important thing is that you are ours, a Croat and a catholic, and everything is forgiven”*.

## 6. DISCUSSION

This thesis has investigated the notion of nostalgia and Yugonostalgia and explored the theory of collective memory in peace and conflict studies. By collecting data from the young members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito Pula, the researcher gained an insight on their thoughts regarding Yugonostalgia and their own opinions on their position in the society of Croatia, as young people. By conducting thematic analysis, main themes emerged from the dataset of the interviews which were previously explained in depth. This chapter will summarise the findings, and discuss them through the academic literature on nostalgia and Yugonostalgia and theoretical framework of collective memory.

### 6.1 Research questions

The aim of this thesis was to explore the notion of Yugonostalgia in the post-Yugoslav generation in Croatia. While Yugonostalgia remains a fairly little researched topic, especially in the case of Croatia and the post-Yugoslav generation, the researcher has gathered academic writing on Yugonostalgia and linked it with the theoretical framework of collective memory. By choosing and interviewing young members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito Pula, the researcher was able to get answers to the research questions of this thesis.

The main research question of this thesis is:

*“Are youth of the organisation of ‘Josip Broz Tito, Pula’ Yugonostalgic?”*

In order to be able to dig deeper and understand Yugonostalgia in this case, a series of sub-questions were set:

- a) *if yugonostalgic, what are they specifically nostalgic for?*
- b) *through which means have they acquired the knowledge of and about the former Yugoslavia?*
- c) *what can the presence or absence of Yugonostalgia tell us about the current issues young people are facing in Croatia, as a post conflict society?*

Through interviewing and carrying out thematic analysis, with the research questions in mind, the researcher was able to receive answers to the above research questions. This will be explained in detail in the following parts of this thesis.

## **6.2 Answering research questions**

### *6.2.1 Presence of Yugonostalgia*

Themes which have emerged through conducting thematic analysis have showcased a presence of Yugonostalgia, even though not explicitly said so by the participants. Going in line with previous research, Yugonostalgia carries with it a negative connotation, which according to Pål Kolstø, was coined and evolved in Croatia and continuously used as a derogatory term (2014). Similarly, as described by Dubravka Ugresic, terms and words which were under Yugoslavia deemed as 'positive', all of a sudden became negative, paving the way for the creation of the notion of Yugonostalgia and evolving through decades (1998). Consequently, four (4) out of (5) research participants have branded Yugonostalgia as a negative term.

While this is not a surprising find, all five (5) research participants have expressed their longing for the socialist era and the time of Yugoslavia, throughout the interviews. Participants tended to constantly compare the time of when Croatia was a part of Yugoslavia, implying that most things, including the social position of youth, was much better in Yugoslavia, then it is in the present-day Croatia. Such comparisons, indicate a longing for an economic and social stability, which, according to the participants, was better in Yugoslavia. However, such contrasts and presence of longing for the past is natural and to be expected. A Slovene sociologist Mtija Velikonja describes how nostalgia is an essential part of a fast paced social and political change, which in this case, is visible in the post-Yugoslav generation (2009). Such was also expressed by Nicole Lindstrom, who attributed the rise of Yugonostalgia in the post-Yugoslav space to the current high rate of unemployment, social dislocation, crumbling market and widespread corruption, and due to these factors, the past seems better than the present (2005, p.230). The reasons for the presence of Yugonostalgia within this specific group, will be further explored.

Angé and Berliner believe that nostalgia carries various cognitive and emotional investments, the participants in the research felt passionate about the topic and were keen on describing in detail exactly what they long for (2014).

As technology and media developed, so did nostalgia. With cultural production through pop-culture, music, tv shows and films, cross-generational memories of the socialist past have further developed (Koleva, 2011). The participants of this research have constantly emphasised the importance of culture and music in remembering the past. As mentioned before, throughout the interviews, the participants have constantly compared past with the present, and amongst these was the quality of literature, production of films and documentaries, as well as the quality of music and bands. The participants felt strongly connected with the past through the means of pop-culture, music and films, and have ranked it highly on their list of things which were “better” during Yugoslavia, and something they wish they could bring back from the past. Some participants even linked the quality of music, with that of ‘happier’ and more ‘relaxed’ times where youth hung out and were connected more (participant 1 and participant 3). Comparing this to today, participants do not see the quality and the importance placed on art and pop-culture today, as it was in Yugoslavia. Various researchers have attributed music, pop-culture and art as an important component of the presence of Yugonostalgia. Nicole Lindstrom acknowledged that music is “another common site of Yugonostalgia as everyday culture... with many Yugoslav pop and rock stars selling out on their recent tours around ex-Yugoslavia” (2005, p.236). Likewise, Ana Petrov believes that music is in the core of Yugonostalgia for it can re-imagine, re-interpret and re-construct the Yugoslav era, further re-enforced by the development of technology and the internet (2016, p.205). Volčić argues that Yugoslav music, art and consumerism, especially Yugoslav rock bands such as Bijelo Dugme and Elektricni Orgazam, serve as a form and a marker of Yugoslav identity, with continuously evoking fond memories of the Yugoslav era (2007, p.23). Therefore, the participant’s longing for Yugoslav music, pop culture and art serve as an indication of Yugonostalgia, and connection to the Yugoslav culture and past.

Comparing the time of today, to the time in Yugoslavia, participants expressed their opinions of the topic of censorship and freedom of speech. Participants felt that it was under Yugoslavia, that the freedom of speech was greater. Today, they believe, there

is lack in freedom of speech, with the citizens of Croatia fearing to express and write their own opinions on various topics, on-line. While they acknowledge that media, cinematography and journalism, were all subjected to censorship in Yugoslavia, participants felt that freedom of speech, especially amongst journalist was greater and that investigative journalism was much safer and more prominent. Although, this was an unexpected find, it is none the less surprising, according to the World Press Freedom Index. In 2019, Croatia has been ranked 64<sup>th</sup> in the World Press Freedom Index (“Reporters without borders”). According to the index, Croatian investigative journalists can be fined up to three years in jail if the insult “the Republic, its emblem, its national hymn or flag” (“Reporters without borders”). Alongside the lack of freedom of expression, journalists are constantly subjected to physical harassment and cyber bullying (“Reporters without borders”). Contrasting this to Yugoslavia, participants argued that while specific journalist articles might not have been published, journalists would still get paid for their work and would continue to keep their work place. As Ana-Marjanovic Shane explains, the youth in Yugoslavia enjoyed a much greater freedom of speech as well as activism, than in the other parts of the socialist world (2018, p.63). However, it is important to note that the freedom of speech and publishing evolved throughout the existence of the ‘second’ Yugoslavia. After the creation of Yugoslavia in 1940, right after the world war 2, specific censorships had to be put in place in order to combat nationalism, especially in Croatia. Hence, as Daniver Vukelić writes, in order to combat ‘fascist’ expressions, censorship has been put in place for journalists and literature (2012). Consequently, the freedom of speech, expression and censorship, evolved and became ‘less’ strict, than in the other socialist countries at the time. The longing for freedom of speech by the participants is justified, as showcased by the latest data of the World Press Freedom Index (“Reporters without borders”).

Another indication of the presence of Yugonostalgia is the appraisal of the Yugoslav leader, Josip Broz Tito. All five (5) participants have had words of appraisal for the Yugoslav leader, which the Slovene sociologist Mitija Velikonja refers to as ‘titostalgia’. This nostalgia for Josip Broz Tito, as it was clearly visible across all five interviews, is “an even more concrete, direct and essential part of the broad and loose notion of Yugonostalgia” (Velikonja, 2008, p.13). The interviewees have labelled him as an important historical figure, who has done some great and incredible things. Participants would often use his funeral as an example of the importance of Tito and



the respect he received from the leaders of all over the world. As a symbol of Yugoslavia and the non-aligned movement, it is no surprise that the participants had the words of appraisal for Tito. While in this study, nostalgia for Josip Broz has been implicated through stories and personal opinions, Velikonja explains how titostalgia “appears on various levels and in various locales of social life, including where no one expects them, on a daily basis, as part of everyday discourses and practices, and even more emphatically on the anniversaries of his death or birth” (2008, p. 15). For participants of this study, Tito has become a symbol of brotherhood and unity, a strong nation not divided by nationalism and important political movements. Yugonostalgia is not complete without titostalgia, which was present across all five interviews.

### *6.2.2 Collective memory*

The theoretical framework of this specific study is based on that of collective memory and intergenerational remembrance. One of the sub-questions for this thesis, was centred around the participant’s learning about the past and Yugoslavia, in hope to be able to support and answer the main research question. Hence, one of the re-occurring themes dealt with learning and intercommunal passing of memories from older generations to the younger ones.

An interesting observation during the analysis is that all five (5) participants have agreed that the education in both primary or high schools did not teach them enough, and in some cases at all, about Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito. Similarly, Tanja Vuckovic-Juros, explored collective memory of the Yugoslav past amongst the post-Yugoslav generation in Croatia and notes that with Croatia gaining its own independence, the education shifted and became state-sponsored, making it in turn, harder for the post-Yugoslav generations, to learn and obtain the understanding and knowledge of the Yugoslav past (2018). According to the results of this study, which had a sample of 72 participants, “school or textbooks were never identified as the sources of positive frames on Yugoslavia...teachers were expected to reinforce the narratives of the Yugoslav past presented in the textbooks and in the school curriculum” (Vuckovic-Juros,2018, pp.8-9). Such results go in line with this study, where, due to the lack of education at schools, the participants learnt about Yugoslavia through their own free will and research, through actively listening and acquiring

information from their parents, and for some, through higher education, such as university. Due to the lack of education in schools, re-collection stories of parents and other family members were prominent throughout the interviews, even when not explicitly asked about it.

Learning about past through the stories of family members and passing on the knowledge and personal views and opinions within a close group or a community, are all considered a part of collective memory. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, collective memory explicitly explains the formation of shared memories of a specific social group, which are used for empowerment and formation of the identity by this specific group (Weedon & Jordan, 2012, p.143).

While collective memory can be found in almost every society and every social group and such can be presented in various ways, this passing on of memories and stories, and in turn the creation of new ones, is found in most post-conflict and post-socialist societies, such as those in the Western Balkans. Trauma in this case, can be passed on from a generation to a generation, making reconciliation a hard process. However, in this specific case, it is the positive memories of the past which are being passed on. Memories of pre-conflict times, which for some, are those of happiness and 'better times'. These memories of pre-conflict days and divisions of people based on their ethnicity, are those that people would rather hold on to and pass onto their children and grandchildren, that those of conflict and war. Du-Preez has explored the idea of nostalgia in a post-conflict process and the way it can aid to social reconciliation and peace building, where he states that "dialogical nostalgia was positioned as an ethical imperative that is central to reconciliatory discourses" (2014, p.133). On a practical level, it was argued that "dialogue is the vehicle of nostalgia and essential in the pursuit of de-silencing complex voices about the past" (Du-Preez, 2014, p. 133).

In turn, collective memory in post-socialist countries and remembering the fond memories of the past, aids in the creation of the notion of nostalgia and in this case, nostalgia for Yugoslavia. For participants of this study, first contact with Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito came from the stories of their family members, who have spoken about the past with positivity. Therefore, in this case of Yugonostalgia, it can be said that the knowledge and the outlook of the present social order is heavily dependent

on the knowledge of the past, which has been brought to the participants by their family members and social circles (Connerton, 1989). The role of family members in learning about the past was evident throughout all of interviews, with the participants highlighting the stories of their parents/ grandparents and their life under Tito, which participants used to compare to their own lives today. Hence, the stories and recollections of the past told to the participants by their family members, assisted in the creation of Yugonostalgia, romanticising and longing for the past, which they have never been a part of. By passing on the stories, family members pass on their memories, which are then borrowed and appropriated throughout the generations (Palmberger,2016).

It is also important to note that alongside their family members, the organisation of Josip Broz Tito Pula, plays an immense role in remembering and passing on the knowledge of the past to the younger generations. For most participants the organisation is a place of memory, where they can discuss the past, share opinions and knowledge about Yugoslavia and Josip Broz, and a place where Yugonostalgia and the memories of 'brotherhood and unity' are being kept alive. Museums, clubs and organisations, such as the one of Josip Broz Tito Pula, act as both the meeting and the places of remembrance of the past (Tartakovskaya & Rozhdestvenskaya, 2016, p.85). It is in places such as this one where a group can commemorate and remember the past, a place where different generations can meet and the younger learn about the past from the older generations, in turn creating their own views of the past and the current world around them. This place serves as a medium where memories are shared with others, a place where collective memory strives.

Collective memory plays a big role in developing nostalgia amongst the younger generations, especially those who have never lived during a specific time. This study has shown that family members, books, documentaries and films and being a part of a bigger group with the same interests, all play in creation and developing of particular nostalgia.

### *6.2.3 Youth and their position in the society*

By discovering what participants are specifically nostalgic for, gave an insight of their struggles as young people living in contemporary Croatia. During all of the interviews, participants would compare the time of 'before' to the time of 'now', and how much life for young people and families was easier under Yugoslavia. Today, participants struggle with lack of worker's rights and difficulty of finding a job, capitalism and future uncertainty, widespread nationalism and being a student in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Croatia. The participant's Yugonostalgia and learning of the life 'before' through their family members and the Josip Broz Tito organisation, gave them a reflective tool, which has assisted them in creating an image of Croatia, where youth were more valued. As previously explained, by understanding and hearing the stories of the past and developing nostalgia, allowed the participants to acquire a specific outlook on the present.

The sudden change from socialism to democracy and capitalism, left societies broken, with many finding it hard to understand and keep up with these societal changes. This year, Croatia will celebrate its 29<sup>th</sup> year of being an independent country and 6<sup>th</sup> year of being part of the European Union. However, for the participants, transition which has occurred in the 1990's, that from socialism to capitalism, continues to be seen as a problematic one. This change, according to the participants, resulted in economic struggles felt throughout the generations, including themselves. Throughout the interview's participants have expressed their lack of hope in owning their own house or an apartment in the near future, the struggles of finding a job and a fear of not being able to have a family. Similarly, a study conducted by Špiro Marasović (2004) which discusses the position of youth in Croatia. While this specific study has not been done through the lens of nostalgia, it did showcase similar findings such as this one. In an article published in 2004, Marasović similarly notes that due to the mass unemployment amongst Croatian youth, there continues to be a hesitation in entering marriages (Marasović,2004,p.81). Similarly, according to the European Union report on a youth employment initiative in Croatia released in 2017, Croatia has the third highest youth unemployment rate in the EU, and while the unemployment rate has dropped from 49.9% in 2013 to 31.1% in 2016, the youth do not have many prospects for long term employment in Croatia due to the latest economic crisis (Botrić,2017, pp.

6-7). The economic crisis hit Croatia hard, with an accumulated loss of -13.2%, contributing to the loss of jobs in both the public and private sector (Botrić,2017, p.7). Such constant fear of unemployment and the ability to construct a quality life, has been shown through the participant's nostalgia, where they have pointed out, that under Yugoslavia, youth had more importance in the society and had prospects for work and a good quality of life straight out of university. In Yugoslavia, universities were free of charge, and today, participants continuously struggle with being able to afford the higher education, needed for a bit better quality of life. Consequently, it can be argued that by looking into the past and expressing their own nostalgia for Yugoslavia, has provided them with believing that a life in Croatia for a young person can be of so much better quality, as once it was, if the state would cease operating on a capitalistic model. The high youth unemployment rate, pessimism about the future and low wages has further encouraged youth and families to emigrate to other European Union countries, with over 39,515 people who have left the country in 2018 and 47, 352 in 2017 (Stolnik & Zebec,2019).This has been one of many other issues which the participants have pointed out throughout the interviews.

Alongside the lack of youth unemployment and economic hardships, attributed to the shift from socialism to capitalism, participants have found it hard to deal with the ongoing rise of nationalism and constant division between the ethnicities. The break-up of Yugoslavia symbolised a start of an ongoing, deadly conflict which saw a tremendous divide between the ethnicities. Such division is still felt in the societies of the ex-Yugoslav countries, even after 25 years. Although not as prominent in the county of Istria, a place which one of the participants even called a "small Yugoslavia", the ongoing hate speech and violent actions against those of other ethnicities have been noticed by the participants. Under Yugoslavia, they said, people hung out more with each other, and accepted each other as brothers and sisters no matter the religion or ethnical background. Ethnic division and rise amongst nationalism in youth is not only a familiar phenomenon in Croatia, but across all ex-Yugoslav countries. A study conducted by Turjačanin et al. found that the youth in the Western Balkans "perceive that their identities are politicised...defined by history and that inter-ethnic divisions are being reinforced by means of political instrumentalization...media and education system" (2017,p.163).

It is also important to note, that Croatia is a post-conflict society with various structural problems and issues. When observed through the post-conflict studies, economic hardships and youth unemployment rates are a normal phenomenon. Post-conflict societies are fragile societies, with social and economic vulnerabilities (Kozul-Wright, Fortunato, 2011, p.1). According to UNDP report, the goal for the post-conflict societies is “minimizing the risk of conflict recurrence and restoring confidence in social, political and economic institutions” (UNDP,2008, iv). However, even after 25 years since the conflict in Croatia officially came to an end, the confidence in political and economic institutions is low, according to the study done for this thesis. Participants expressed their unhappiness with the government and the ongoing corruption. While Croatia has continuously worked in moving towards positive peace, there are still various institutional and economic issues which the citizens of Croatia, and in this case the youth of Croatia, are continuously facing.

#### *6.2.4 Connecting the past with the present*

The participants looked at the past with admiration. Collective memory in this sense, has contributed to the rising feelings of nostalgia amongst the post-yugoslav generation. Through the stories told to them by the close social circles, the participants see the past and life under Yugoslavia as the time where there was more stability, greater employment opportunities and less stress in regards to the future. Hence, the stories and memories passed onto the younger generation created a romanticisation of the past, which has been widely used to describe the notion of nostalgia. While participants did acknowledge that there were specific mistakes which Josip Broz Tito made, whilst a ruler of Yugoslavia, it was the positives of the past which outweighed the negatives. As previously described, participants did not consider themselves as Yugonostalgics, however they have admitted that there are some elements of ‘titoism’ which they would like to bring back and install in the future. Their view of the past has shaped the way they understand the present and prompted the participants to gain a critical view of the current political governance and the capitalist system they are a part of. Some participants are actively trying to change the current social and political situation, by being politically active and becoming members of political parties, whose aim is to preserve the notion of antifascism in Croatia and fight for better workers right, both which were at the core of Yugoslavia, according to the analysed data. Therefore,

it can be said that the past has found itself in the present of the participants, which is being used to create a 'better' future, with specific elements of 'titoism'.

## **7. CONCLUSION**

According to the previous academic research, Yugonostalgia is continuously present amongst those people who lived in Yugoslavia and under its leader, Josip Broz Tito. Yugonostalgia is defined as nostalgia for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, sometimes considered as 'romanticisation of the past'. In order to understand the concept of Yugonostalgia, the research firstly introduced the term and topic of nostalgia and nostalgia for socialism, as well as various examples of such. This research has found that due to the rapid social changes which found Europe in the late 80's and early 90's, nostalgia for socialism continued to linger amongst people, making it more difficult to adapt to a new governing system. This post-socialist nostalgia presented itself throughout decades through various means, such as pop-culture, art, flea markets, personal collections and consumerism. Yugonostalgia, like other forms of post-socialist nostalgias, continues to be present through the cyberspace, people's stories, flea markets, music and art.

### **7.1 The research objectives**

The aim of this research was to understand the concept of nostalgia and Yugonostalgia amongst the post-Yugoslav generation in Croatia. The study group for this research were the younger members of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito in Pula, Croatia. The research questions set out, hoped to understand if the post-Yugoslav generation of the organisation of Josip Broz Tito are yugonostalgic and why, how they acquired the knowledge about Yugoslavia, what exactly they are nostalgic for and what it can tell us about the issue's youth are facing in modern day Croatia, as a post-conflict state. In order to understand how nostalgia continues to be passed on and how its presence amongst the post-Yugoslav generation came to be, the theoretical framework of collective memory was introduced. Post-Yugoslav generation refers to the generation which has not experienced life in Yugoslavia and under Tito. Collective memory, refers to passing on memories and experiences through stories within a specific social group, such as family, and/or a nation. While collective memory is still to be explored more within social sciences and peace and conflict research, for this specific research, it has assisted in understanding how the participants learnt the



history of Yugoslavia and what role a close social circle, such as family members played in creating their own version of Yugonostalgia.

The data for the study was collected through semi-structured interviews, and five (5) members were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in the Croatian language and later, translated into English. The data was analysed by thematic analysis, with the most prominent and continuous themes being recorded and explained.

## **7.2 Summary of the findings**

By combining literature review and the data acquired from the interviews, the findings of this study are:

1. The first contact with Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito for the participants was through their family members and close social circles, as explained through the theoretical framework of collective memory. It seems that passing on the memories and stories from a generation to a generation, has played a role in creating a form of Yugonostalgia in this specific study group.

Participants have noted that the education about Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito did not come from official means such as primary and high school, but by listening to the stories told to them by their own family members. These stories have highlighted the life in Yugoslavia as more 'easier' and much more 'secure', with no divisions amongst people. Tito was talked about with uttermost respect, with words of praise for his leadership. The re-collections and the stories of their family member's past, as told to the participants by them, were present throughout the interviews, with participant's using such stories to highlight all things which were better in the past, than they are today.

2. By reading and learning about the past through their family members, the participants of this research, have found themselves believing that the past and the life under Tito, in Yugoslavia, was of much better quality, than it is today. When asked about the concept of Yugonostalgia and if they would label themselves as Yugonostalgics, most participants labelled the term as 'negative' and themselves, as non-yugonostalgics. However, as previously explained in

this research, since the term of Yugonostalgia was coined, it continuously carries with itself a negative connotation within the Croatian society. Hence, there is no surprise that the participants do not label themselves as yugonostalgics. Yet, their responses, passion, knowledge and admiration for Yugoslavia and Tito showcase traits of nostalgia for the life in socialist Croatia.

3. Amongst lack of nationalism and ethnic divisions, participants long for freedom of speech, better worker's right, job security, free higher education, quality art and cinematography and unity. Life was of a better quality under socialism, where a person had its own value, was cared for and had better future prospects. Youth were much more appreciated, had a more meaningful position within the society, did not fear the future and had prospects for a better, a more quality life. Participant's explained how the youth of Yugoslavia, as told to them by their parents and close social contacts, had a less worrisome life and had more time to spend quality time with each other, in turn, making memories and creating friends for life. Today, the participants fear for their future, with a strong feeling of future uncertainty. Participants feel as they are not as valued today by the society, as the youth were under Yugoslavia. They also blame capitalism for having to pay for their higher education, with many not being able to afford such. Most participants also do not see themselves ever owning a house, or an apartment, while under Yugoslavia, the state provided each worker with a place to live. Youth in Croatia face lack of the opportunity to work and use their skills, with many fearing they won't be able to have a family in the near future. The exodus of young Croatians and families to other EU countries, continues to be an ongoing issue, which the participants feel are well justified. Amongst other issues, participants expressed their lack of trust in the government and see corruption as an ongoing issue in the post-conflict, democratic Republic of Croatia.

### **7.3 Memory studies, youth studies and peace and conflict research**

This thesis explored the ways through which generations remember, how stories and memories are being passed on and what the presence of Yugonostalgia can tell us about the issues Croatian youth are facing in Croatia as a post-conflict society. By researching memory studies, youth studies and peace and conflict research, a nexus has been made between these three different areas of studies. Croatia went through a turbulent conflict for independence from Yugoslavia. The conflict lasted for four years, resulting the large number of fatalities, rise of nationalism and nationalistic rhetoric's, as well as a completely shattered economy. Twenty-five years after the conflict ended, Croatia still faces various issues as a post-conflict society, such as economic hardships, corruption, nationalism which further encourages ethnic divisions and hatred, as well as the lack of trust in the government by the people.

Youth studies primary concerns itself with trying to gain an insight and understanding of the issues, hurdles and trends amongst youth and what such can tell us about social changes within a specific society, as well as their own role in influencing social changes. Consequently, by trying to understand the feelings and opinions of youth in present day Croatia, can tell us much about the issues they are currently facing, all connected to the impact the conflict has left on Croatia and its society, twenty-five years ago. This study has also shown how the road towards positive peace is long, and the impact of a conflict is felt through generations.

By studying memory studies, how generations remember and how such memories are being passed on, has shown the role close social circles play in shaping and developing the understanding of the past and, consequently, the present of the youth. Through passing on the stories of the life in Yugoslavia and life before the conflict in Croatia, the participants of this study have showcased, how in fact, this has developed their own understanding of the issues they are, themselves, facing today. This has been done by comparing the past to the present and creating an understanding of the past as being 'better', in turn creating their own form of Yugonostalgia. Therefore, passing on memories from a generation to a generation, memories are constantly being borrowed and shaped in order for the younger generations to understand the past, which in turn creates their own understanding of the present.

#### **7.4 Limitations and further research**

There were a few limitations concerning this specific study. Firstly, the research sample of five (5) participants is quite small and was concerned only with a specific group/members of an organisation. These participants' views may not reflect the organisation's members overall, let alone the youth in Croatia in general, but they still illustrate something about how young people relate to the past in the country.

In order to understand if indeed the majority of youth in Croatia are yugonostalgic, a much larger sample size would need to be taken, from various areas across the country. Hence, this study can be seen as a starting point to developing further research on youth and Yugonostalgia in Croatia, provided there are appropriate resources. Further research can include research on the connection of Yugonostalgia amongst youth in Croatia and reconciliation, as these are some of the re-occurring themes which came out during the literature research for this study. While nostalgia continues to be explored through various angles, there is still much research to be made in regards to nostalgia and conflict studies, with thematic of reconciliation, as well as remembering and dealing with the past.

Secondly, the research for this thesis was self-funded, including the travelling to Croatia to collect the data for this research. Without time constraints and funding issues, this study could have been more general and included a larger data set. However, even with a small data set, this research has shown to give some insight into the nature and understanding of the notion of Yugonostalgia amongst the post Yugoslav population and how this nostalgia shapes their views and experiences of the present.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview questions translated into English

1. How old are you and where are you from?
2. How long have you been a part of the Organisation of Josip Broz Tito and what or who prompted you to join the organisation?
3. Can you describe to me some of the activities you do at the Organisation and which has been your favourite so far?
4. What do you like the most about the organisation?
5. Through which means have you learnt about the history of the former SFRJ and Josip Broz Tito?
6. What have you learnt about that period of our history and Tito?
7. Do you ever talk about the former SFRJ and Tito with any of your peers? (If yes, what do you talk about?)
8. What are your own, personal thoughts about the former SFRJ and Tito?
9. What do you believe Yugoslavia was like?
10. In your opinion, what was the best and the worst thing about the former SFRJ?
11. If you could bring anything back from that period of history, what would it be?
12. If you compare Croatia as a state now, to what it was under the former SFRJ, do you see any major differences? How do you feel about those? Would you change anything?
13. What is your opinion on the notion of Yugonostalgia and in your opinion, do you see Istria as more Yugonostalgic than other regions in Croatia and why?

## Appendix 2

### Interview questions in Croatian

1. Koliko imate godina i gdje živite?
2. Koliko dugo ste član društva 'Josip Broz Tito' Pula i što vas je motiviralo da se pridružite društvu?
3. Možete li opisati aktivnosti društva i koja vam je aktivnost najinteresantnija?
4. Šta vam se najviše sviđa u svezi rada društva 'JBT' Pula?
5. Na koji način ste naučili povijest bivše SFRJ i Josipa Broza Tita?
6. Što ste sve naučili o povijesti Jugoslavije i Tita?
7. Dali razgovarate o Jugoslaviji i Titu u vašem društvu, i ako da, o čemu najviše razgovarate?
8. Koje je vaše osobno mišljenje o bivšoj Jugoslaviji i Titu kao tadašnjem predsjedniku?
9. Koje je vaše mišljenje o tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji?
10. Po vašem mišljenju, šta je bilo najbolje, a šta je bilo manje dobro u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji?
11. Ako bi mogli vratiti nešto iz tog razdoblja povijesti, što bi to bilo i zašto ?
12. Kada gledate Hrvatsku danas i usporedite je sa vremenom kad je bila dio bivše Jugoslavije, što bi po vašem mišljenju bile razlike? Što mislite mislite o tome i dali biste išta promjenili?
13. Koje je vaše mišljenje o Jugonostalgiji i dali mislite da je jugonostalgija rasprostranjenija nego u ostalim dijelovima Republike Hrvatske?

## Appendix 3

### Consent to being interviewed and recorded in English

#### CONSENT TO RECORD AN INTERVIEW

I am asking you to participate in an interview that is part of my thesis project work. Joining this study is voluntary. The thesis explains the notion of Yugonostalgia and tries to explore the feelings of young people who have not lived or have little recollection of the life in former Yugoslavia.

During the interview, **I will be voice recording and keeping notes of our conversation.** The materials recorded during the interview will be used to assist with my research hypothesis. The recordings will be transcribed and used in my thesis, but your identity will remain confidential. **The comments and the interview will be reported anonymously and no correlation between you and the data shall be revealed.**

You can stop participating in the interview at any point.

At this point, I will be happy to answer to any questions you might have.

#### **Participant's Agreement:**

**I have read the information provided above. I have asked all the questions I have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.**

Date and place: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 4

### Consent to being interviewed and recorded in Croatian

#### PRISTANAK ZA SNIMANJE RAZGOVORA

Molim Vas za pristanak na razgovor koji mi je potreban za pisanje teze za magisterij. Pristanak na ovaj razgovor je dobrovoljan. Tema ove teze je Jugonostalgija te pokušava istražiti i objasniti emocije i mišljenja mladih ljudi koji su rođeni nakon raspada Jugoslavije, te onih koji su se rodili ali nemaju sjećanja na istu.

**Ovaj razgovor će, uz Vaš pristanak biti sniman, te će se istovremeno pisati bilješke.** Materijal snimljen za vrijeme ovog razgovora biti će upotrebljen za pisanje moje teze. Snimak će biti prepisan kako bi mi olakšalo istraživanje te će vaš identitet ostati anoniman. **Ovaj razgovor kao i svi komentari biti će anonimni te neće biti veze između Vas i prikupljenih podataka.**

Imate pravo prekinuti razgovor u bilo koje vrijeme.

Prije, kao i tokom razgovora, slobodni ste mi postaviti pitanja.

#### Izjava sudionika ovog razgovora:

**Izjavljujem da sam pročitao/la gore navedeno te dobrovoljno pristajem na ovaj razgovor.**

Mjesto i datum: \_\_\_\_\_

Ime: \_\_\_\_\_

Potpis: \_\_\_\_\_