

Árpád Baráth

Janus Pannonius University

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Department of Sociology and Social Policy

Pécs, Hungary

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS ON ETHNIC RELATIONS IN CROATIA AFTER 1989: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SUMMARY

The article presents the main results of qualitative analysis of an annotated bibliography on ethnic relations in Croatia after 1989, prepared by the CEU, South-Eastern European Studies Department (Budapest). The bibliography was a selected sample of academic literature published, with few exceptions, by Croatian social and political scientists between 1989 and 1998. Five major classification criteria were found that "best" describe the mainstream of academic interest in-, and for Croatia during the past decade. These are issues dealing with: (1) ethnic identity, (2) nationalism & ethnic conflicts, (3) war & related human catastrophes, (4) human, ethnic & minority rights, (5) multiculturalism & democracy. The content analysis of abstracts and listed key words uncovered a significant shift of interest of Croatian scholars during the past 10 years from issues on ethnic identity & conflicts toward issues of multiculturalism & human rights. With the exception of few titles, the reviewer found the annotated bibliography complete with customary library search data, representative for a wide range of disciplines and balanced in selection.

KEY WORDS: Croatia, social sciences, ethnic relations, war, human rights

Introduction

Parallel with a growing scholarly interest for ethnic relations in Central and Eastern Europe (Feischmidt, 1998), there is an ever pressing need for more in-depth understanding of these relations that keep perplexing and evolving since 1989 within and across the constituent nations of former Yugoslavia. There exist several strong reasons for this. First, the political management with great ethnic complexity of Tito's Yugoslavia once has been regarded as a "model exercise" with multi-ethnicity, and it has failed as predicted, for a multitude of reasons (Denitch, 1990). Second, the mounting of ethnocentrism and nationalist euphoria in the post-Tito's Yugoslavia is a classic example of how the so-called "majority question" – when coined with an emerging nationalistic ideology – may lead to ethnic clean-

sing, genocide and other group violence (Staub, 1989). Last but not least, virtually *all* major constituent nations of the former Yugoslavia still struggle, at the time being, for their own ethnic, national and cultural identity (Sekulić, Massey, Hodson, 1994). The question is: how political, communication and educational changes will take place in the case of these nations, if compared with significant democratisation that has taken place in the rest of the Central and East European region, virtually in the same period of time, i.e. since 1989? (Farnen, German, 1992).

The purpose of this paper is to provide an analytical account of major ethnic related issues in Croatia since 1989, as experienced, interpreted and discussed by leading social scientists in Croatia.

Methods

Recently an annotated (draft) bibliography was forwarded to the present author by the Local Government Initiative – Budapest (Kovacs, June 1992, LGI). This was a kind request to review an academic literature on the development of ethnic issues in Croatia in the past decade (since 1989), compiled – on the initiatives of the LGI – by Ivana Đurić, Research Associate of the Central European University, South-Eastern European Studies Department. The issues and key concepts such as politics toward minorities, war, state formation and minorities, minority rights, self-organisation, identity, reconciliation, conflict management, ethnic relations, multiculturalism, nationalism and the like were expected to be covered in the selected academic literature.

A full-scale content analysis of the draft bibliography was undertaken, in combining qualitative and quantitative measures. The following data were already available in the library database, hence ready for coding:

1. Form of the publication, i.e. books vs. articles (PU),
2. Main title of the work (TI),
3. Author(s) (AU),
4. Country of reference (CO),
5. Year of publication (YP),
6. Language/script, if Serb or Croatian then Latin or Cyrillic (LA),
7. Abstract of the work (AB),
8. Key words, as listed in the draft bibliography (KEW),
9. Main source discipline, as listed in the draft bibliography (DI)

In taking variable no. 2 (TI) & variable no. 7 (AB) together, a derived variable was created.

1. Focal topic addressed (TO).

This last variable was meant for a relatively simple, yet comprehensive classification system of the major issues addressed throughout the provided bibliography. The following five major content categories were found relevant and viable, from his professional points of view:

Category #1: *Ethnic-, national-, cultural identity* issues,

- Category #2: *Ethnic conflicts, nationalism* and/or related issues,
 Category #3: *War, ethnic cleansing, genocide* and related issues,
 Category #4: *Human, ethnic-, minority rights* issues,
 Category #5: *Multiethnicity, multiculturalism, re-conciliation* and related issues.

The proposed classification system was purposefully devised to test one single tacit hypothesis. That is, that certain *evolving trends* must be present in the entire semantic space of ethnic relations in former Yugoslavia, particularly in Croatia after 1989, in their moving away from self-defeating *ethnocentrism* (Category #1) toward more sustainable value structures of *multiculturalism* (Category #5).

From a methodological point of view, the most sensitive research variable was the last listed one (Variable #10: TO). Given the above listed coding system, its reliability and validity has been checked by the method of “blind-folded” re-assessment of the entire draft bibliography, accomplished by one of the present author’s research associates, fluent both in Croatian and in English.¹ The agreement coefficients between the two raters were proven satisfactory, according to psychometric standards (Pearson’s $R = .893$; $p < .001$).

Results

The bibliography consisted of 50 books and 58 articles. According to the present author’s best knowledge and understanding of the academic (social science) literature published in Croatia for the last ten years or so, the bibliography is a carefully selected *representative sample* of most important works dealing with ethnic and related issues. Regarding the ethnic and national background of the selected authors, both Croatian and non-Croatian authors were represented.

Table 1: Topic * Publications Cross-tabulation

Topic		Publications		
		Books	Articles	Total
Ethnic identity	Count	19	24	43
	%	38.0%	41.4%	39.8%
Ethnic conflict	Count	14	17	31
	%	28.0%	29.3%	28.7%
War, ethnic cleansing	Count	7	6	13
	%	14.0%	10.3%	12.0%
Human rights	Count	10	5	15
	%	20.0%	8.6%	13.9%
Multiculturalism	Count		6	6
	%		10.3%	10.3%
Total	Count	50	58	108
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

¹ Acknowledgment: Many thanks to Dr. Janos Gyurok, Research Associate from the Janus Pannonius University, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Department of Sociology and Social Policy Studies, for his invaluable contribution in the conceptual shaping, and methodological elaboration of this study.

Table 1 (above) provides a quick look at the distribution of addressed main topics across the kinds of publications. There was recorded a slight statistical association (Contingency Coeff. = ,264, $p < .10$) in the authors' preference of writing books on war & human rights issues rather than articles, while the reverse tendency was observed in approaching issues of ethnic identity & multiculturalism.

Table 2: Year of Publication * Topic

Year of Publication		Topic					Total
		Ethnic identity	Ethnic conflict	War, ethnic cleansing	Human rights	Multiculturalism	
1989	Count %	3 7.0%	1 3.2%				4 3.7%
1990	Count %	7 16.3%	1 3.2%		2 13.3%		10 9.3%
1991	Count %	5 11.6%	7 22.6%	3 23.1%			15 13.9%
1992	Count % 9	2 4.7%	8 25.8%	1 7.7%			11 10.2%
1993	Count %	2 4.7%		2 15.4%	1 6.7%		5 4.6%
1994	Count %	5 11.6%	3 9.7%	1 7.7%	1 6.7%		10 9.3%
1995	Count %	5 11.6%	4 12.9%	1 7.7%	3 20.0%		13 12.0%
1996	Count %	3 0.0%	2 6.5%	1 7.7%	1 6.7%	5 83.3%	12 11.1%
1997	Count % 9	5 11.6%	4 12.9%		4 26.7%	1 16.7%	14 13.0%
1998	Count %	6 14.0%	1 3.2%	4 30.8%	3 20.0%		14 13.0%
Total	Count %	43 100.0%	31 100.0%	13 100.0%	15 100.0%	6 100.0%	108 100.0%

Two statistical inferences were drawn from this table (see table 2, above). First, the most frequent issues addressed throughout the selected academic literature apparently were those related to *ethnic identity* (40%), followed by *ethnic conflict* issues (28%), and *human rights* issues (14%), in this order. Second, there was found a statistically significant shift in the academic interest in the past ten years or so from addressing *ethnic identity* issues toward the issues of *human rights & multiculturalism* (Pearson Chi-Square Value = 72.998, $df = 36$, $p < .001$; Gamma = .216; $p < .05$).

Interesting were found the following structural characteristics of the annotated bibliography. Regarding the country of reference (Variable CO), there were six countries addressed and combinations of some of these, in the following rank order of preference (see table 3)

Table 3: Frequency distribution of referred countries

Language & alphabet	Frequency	Percent
Croatia (only)	72	66.7%
Yugoslavia	15	13.9%
NA (not ascertained)	6	13.0%
Hungary	5	4.6%
Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH)	4	3.7%
Croatia & BiH	2	1.9%
BiH & Croatia	1	0.9%
Bohemia	1	0.9%
Croatia & Yugoslavia	1	0.9%
Europe	1	0.9%
Total	108	100.0%

About 2/3rd of the bibliography deals with issues relevant to Croatia only, and references to other neighbouring countries appear as scattered and marginal, including references to BiH and Yugoslavia. Hence, this particular bibliography as a whole may not be considered as representative for ethnic relations neither in other parts of former Yugoslavia nor in other, neighbouring countries.

Table 4: Frequency distribution of languages & alphabets used

Language & alphabet	Frequency	Percent
Croatian (Latin)	90	83.3%
Croatian (Cyrillic)	4	3.7%
Serbian (Cyrillic)	3	2.8%
Croatian & English (bilingual)	3	2.8%
English	2	1.9%
Serbian (Latin)	2	1.9%
Czech	1	0.9%
English & German (bilingual)	1	0.9%
Italian	1	0.9%
NA	1	0.9%
Total	108	100.0%

The vast majority of publications (over 80%) was produced in Croatian using Latin alphabet (*latinica*), while indicative enough, a few works appear using either Croatian or Serbian language printed with Cyrillic alphabet (*ćirilica*), and only two Serbian spoken publications appear with Latin orthography. Publications written in foreign languages are sporadic.

The next table (Table 5) provides an overview of the major disciplinary approaches to ethnic and related issues as coded by the referent library services, and that is, in most cases, the National and University Library of Zagreb.

Table 5: Frequency distribution of major disciplinary approaches

Disciplines	Frequency	Percent
Sociology	31	28.7%
History	20	18.5%
NA	19	17.6%
Political Sciences (Politology)	11	10.2%
Ethnology	8	7.4%
Human Rights	5	4.7%
Law	3	2.8%
National Politics	2	1.9%
Psychology	2	1.9%
Anthropology	1	0.9%
Geography	1	0.9%
International Politics	1	0.9%
Pedagogy	1	0.9%
Philosophy	1	0.9%
Sociography	1	0.9%
Statistics	1	0.9%
Total	108	100.0%

The bibliography was found highly loaded with sociological, history and political sciences publications (over 55%), while references to other disciplines appear sporadic (e.g. psychology, anthropology). Indicative seems to be the relatively high-rate occurrence of works with NA (not ascertained) disciplinary classification (17%) which, in turn, might be taken as an “index” for multi-disciplinary approaches.

Table 6: Authors' frequency index of publications

Authors/editors of selected works	Frequency	Percent	Publication(s)	Reference Code(s)*
Groups of authors (1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d, 1997)	6	5.6%	Books, Article	B10, B26, B31, B49, B50, A58
Roksandić, D. (1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b)	4	3.7%	Books, Articles	B15, B45, A18, A56
Tatalović, S. (1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998)	4	3.7%	Book, Articles	B3, A22, A54, A55
Crkvenčić, I., Klemenčić, M. (1993, 1994, 1998)	3	2.8%	Books	B11, B12, B37
Domini, M. (1990a, 1990b), Domini, M. Vukas, B. (1995),	3	2.8%	Books, Article	B22, B48, A28
Štulhofer, A., Matic, D. (1992), Štulhofer, A. (1992), Štulhofer, A. (1996)	3	2.8%	Books, Article	B32, B33, A38
Banac, I. (1995, 1998)	2	1.8%	Books	B2, B16
Bilandžić, D. (et al. 1991a, 1991b)	2	1.8%	Book, Article	B13, A35
Grbić, J. (1993, 1994)	2	1.9%	Articles	A11, A23

Authors/editors of selected works	Frequency	Percent	Publication(s)	Reference Code(s)*
Kumpes, J. (1990, 1992)	2	2.8%	Articles	A8, A29
Lauc, Z. (1997a, 1997b)	2	2.8%	Articles	A1, A52
Pupovac, M. (1997, 1998)	2	1.9%	Articles	A20, A42
Šiber, I. (1995, 1997)	2	1.9%	Article	A47, A50
Šimić, M. (1997, 1998)	2	1.9%	Book, Article	B30, A53
Uzelac, S. (1996, 1997)	2	1.9%	Book, Article	B29, A21
Valentić, M. (1990, 1992)	2	1.9%	Articles	A31, A39
Županov, J. (1995a, 1995b)	2	1.9%	Book, Article	B25, A37
Antić, Lj. (1996)	1	0.9%	Book	B1
Artuković, M. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B43
Bahtijarević, Š. et al. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B42
Banovac, B. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A26
Behschnitt, W. D. (1992)	1	0.9%	Article	A40
Boeckh, K. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A33
Borme, A. (1992)	1	0.9%	Book	B4
Burda, S. (1995)	1	0.9%	Book	B34
Caratan, B. (1991)	1	0.9%	Article	A43
Čimić, E. (1994)	1	0.9%	Article	A27
Čačić-Kumpes, J. (1992)	1	0.9%	Article	A9
Čičak, Z. (1997)	1	0.9%	Book	B23
Čičak-Chand, R., Kumpes, J. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B21
Čović, B. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B7
Diklić, M. (1989)	1	0.9%	Book	B35
Draganić, D. (1991)	1	0.9%	Article	A17
Dušković, V. (1991)	1	0.9%	Article	A16
Geiger, V. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A23
Grečić, V. (1990)	1	0.9%	Book	B24
Grubiša, D. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A15
Hadžijahić, M. (1990)	1	0.9%	Book	B36
Heršak, E. (1993)	1	0.9%	Article	A24
Hranilović, N. (1990)	1	0.9%	Article	A7
Hrvatić, N. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A5
Jambrešić, E., Povrzanović, M. (1996)	1	0.9%	Book	B8
Jelavich, C. (1992)	1	0.9%	Book	B41
Kasapović, M. (1992)	1	0.9%	Article	A34
Katunarić, V. (1992)	1	0.9%	Article	A2
Krestić, V. B. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B27
Kukoč, M. (1991)	1	0.9%	Article	A44
Lazić, M. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B28
Lerotić, Z. (1997)	1	0.9%	Article	A45
Letica, S., Letica, B. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B17
Livada, S., Hudelist, D. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A14
Malešević, S. (1994)	1	0.9%	Article	A13
Matan, A. (1998)	1	0.9%	Article	A46
Matušek, J. (1997)	1	0.9%	Book	B6

Authors/editors of selected works	Frequency	Percent	Publication(s)	Reference Code(s)*
Mežnarić, S. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A25
Milardović, A. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B47
Mirić, J. (1989)	1	0.9%	Article	A57
Miščević, N. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A32
Pavličević, D. (1994)	1	0.9%	Book	B9
Perunović, S. (1990)	1	0.9%	Article	A30
Picula, T. (1992)	1	0.9%	Book	B46
Piršl, E. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A4
Previšić, V. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A3
Pribičević-Gelb, D. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B40
Pusić, E. (1995)	1	0.9%	Article	A12
Pusić, V. (1994)	1	0.9%	Article	A10
Salopek H., Hećimović, M. (1996)	1	0.9%	Book	B38
Sekulić, D. (1997)	1	0.9%	Article	A41
Sekulić-Majurec, A. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A36
Supek, O. (1989)	1	0.9%	Article	A49
Šakić, V. (1993)	1	0.9%	Article	A51
Šterc, S. et al. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B44
Švob, M. (1997)	1	0.9%	Book	B5
Telišman, T. (1990)	1	0.9%	Article	A6
Tošić, D. (1997)	1	0.9%	Book	B39
Vučić, P. (1991)	1	0.9%	Book	B20
Vujević, M. (1996)	1	0.9%	Article	A48
Žanić, I. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B18
Živković, I., Šporer, Ž., Sekulić, D. (1995)	1	0.9%	Book	B19
Žunec, O. (1998)	1	0.9%	Book	B14
Total	108	100.0%	50 books 58 articles	B= books A= articles

*Note: LGI Original Annotated Bibliography Codes (Ivana Đurić, 1999), where B: Books, A: Articles

The above listed authors' publication index may provide a brief look at "Who is Who" in the annotated academic bibliography. Or more precisely, who are the authors who published important works on the ethnic and related issues in Croatia over the past 10 years or so.

Publications on ethnic identity

As mentioned above, this was the largest category with frequency count of 43 publications. However, this thematic category by itself was found extremely heterogeneous. The works dealing with this and related issues may be further divided into four major sub-categories:

1. *Theoretical approaches*. 8 publications focus on the issue of ethnic identity primarily on a general theoretical level (Čičak-Chand, Kumpes, 1998; Dušković,

1991; Grbić, 1994; Malešević, 1994; Matan, 1998; Miščević, 1995; Pusić E., 1995; Supek O., 1989). Of these works the article of E. Pusić (1995) calls for special attention, according to the present reviewer's judgement. Namely, Professor Pusić considers the full-fledged problem of ethnic relations in Croatia as a definitional problem of "identity" *per se*. The core question is "who is included – who is excluded" from a certain social group, and why? Second, there is a "diversity" problem. This is the issue of "diversity" of internal resources in relating to other groups. The author calls attention to the notion of "plural identity", as apparently the only valid response to an immense diversity of ethnic relations in today's Croatia.

2. *Ethnic & cultural identity of Serbs in Croatia*. About the same number of works go into discussing the identity issues of Serbs in Croatia, in perplexing combination of historic-, political-, geopolitical-, sociological and social psychological perspectives (Crkvenčić, Klemenčić, 1998; Diklić, 1989; Grečić, 1990; Pupovac, 1998; Roksandić, 1989, 1991a, 1991b; Uzelac, 1989, 1996; Valentić, 1992). From sociological perspectives, the work of Professor Pupovac (1998) may be regarded as outstanding in its elaboration and confrontation of "traditional" and "modern" ethnic identity of Serbs in Croatia. The author maintains that after the Second World War the evolvement of "modern" ethnic identity among Croatian Serbs has been blocked, and a secularisation process has been started with strong tendency of withdrawal from religious and national identity. Complementarily, a strong identification with the State's power structure has occurred (large-scale employment in police and military forces) which, in turn, has impacted negatively the development of ethnic and national identity onto modern patterns (of citizenship).
3. *Ethnic & cultural identity of Croats*. In this cluster, the authors deal with the identity issue of Croats, both of those living in the present-day Croatia and of those living as minority group in other countries. 9 publications were found in this sub-category (Banovac, 1996; Domini, 1990; Heršak, 1993; Hranilović, 1990; Kumpes, 1990; Perunović, 1990; Salopek, Hećimović, 1996; Telišman, 1990; Živković, Šporer, Sekulić, 1995). Of these, two works may capture the reader's special academic interest. The one is from Heršak (1993) providing a broad historic overview of migration of Croats throughout the Central and South East Europe, in comparing these trends with the migration of other ethnic groups onto the same territories (e.g. other Slavic groups, Vlachs, Germans). The author argues for the hypothesis about a possible *Iranian* origin of Croats (?!). At the other end of this cluster, the reader should pay special attention to an empirical investigation articulated by Boris Banovac (1994). The article deals with the issue of ethnic and regional identity of population inhabiting Istria. The results of this research make a strong argument for the existence of multiple identity on these territories, thanks to the long-standing and strong tradition of ethnic pluralism in this part of historic Croatia.
4. *Other ethnic groups in Croatia*. The rest of publications present a cluster of heterogeneous issues on identity, assimilation, cultural preservation of different

ethnic groups in Croatia from medieval times to modern history. The topic include the cultural preservation of Jews in Croatia (Boekch, 1995; Švob, 1997), the historic presence of Ukrainians, Czechs, Germans, Gypsies, and other minorities living on these territories (Burda, 1995; Draganić, 1991; Geiger, 1996; Lauc, 1997; Matušek, 1997; Pribičević-Gelb, 1998). Instructive should be the edition of a group of authors (*Nijemci u Hrvatskoj jučer i danas*, Zagreb, Njemačka narodnosna zajednica, 1994) stressing the fact that Germans (*Švabi*) have shown the tendency of continuous migration to these territories since 13th century, and they represented one of the most powerful minorities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia all until the Second World War. After the war about one half million of them immigrated to Germany.

Publications on ethnic conflicts

The common feature of these works (31 titles) the reader may find in attempts to provide diverse explanatory frameworks for the current and ever recurring inter-ethnic conflicts on the modern Balkan. The following approaches appear dominant in this cluster of scholarly works:

1. *Ideological-historical perspectives*. 10 publications were found in this sub-category (Artuković, 1991; Banac, 1995; Bilandžić, 1991a, 1991b; Jelavich, 1992; Lerotić, 1997; Piršl, 1996; Tošić, 1997; Vučić, 1991; Županov, 1995a). One of the “best” empirical works from this cluster one may find in Jelavich’s (1992) publication based on content analysis of school textbooks for history-, geography-, and mother language teaching in the second half of the 19th century from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. The author concludes that several generations grown in these three major societies were unequally prepared to become constitutive nations of a common state. While in Croatian textbooks the contents were focusing on the entire territory of the modern Balkan, the textbooks in Serbia and Slovenia were more focusing on own ethnic territories.
2. *Political-economic perspectives*. Quite a large number of publications (16 items) deal with the issue from the perspective of political, geopolitical and economic factors with lasting effects that impact the inter-ethnic relationships both in Croatia and on the modern Balkan as a whole (Bahtijarević et al., 1991; Banac, 1995; Bilandžić, 1991a, 1991b; Crkvenčić, Klemenčić, 1994; Kasapović, 1992; Katunarić, 1992; Picula, 1992; Pupovac, 1997; Štulhofer, 1992; Tatalović, 1997a, 1998; Tošić, 1997; Vučić, 1991; Vujević, 1996; Županov, 1995b). The article of Miroslav Vujević (1996) may be regarded as a model-building exercise on ethnic conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The “best” approach to ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, suggests this author, is to understand the full complexity and low level of the political cultures on all sides which, in turn, led to three conflicting political conceptions of the State as such: Muslims wanted union, Croats a complex state, while Serbs wanted sheer division of territories.

3. *Sociological-social psychological perspectives*. The rest of publications mapped onto this sub-category (5 titles) share the common explanatory framework from the standpoint of distorted inter-group relations & mass communication, including nationalism, religious conflicts, minority issues and the like (Behschnitt, 1992; Kumpes, 1992; Lazić, 1991; Milardović, 1991; Mirić, 1989; Šiber, 1995; Županov, 1995b). From a sociological perspective, one of the most challenging approaches to understanding the ethnic-based mass conflicts on the modern Balkan has been provided by Professor Županov (1995b). Based on empirical investigation conducted before the war, the author argues that the highest degree of inter-ethnic tolerance was recorded in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is two republics of the former Yugoslavia being at most hit by the war. This seems paradoxical. Yet, for full understanding of this anomalia one should take into account the immense role and impact of the mass media as an instrument of political mobilization. In the combination of the media, one should also take into account the strengthening of an authoritarian value orientation in societies at hand which, in turn, asked for “strong leaders”.

War, ethnic cleansing

Thirteen titles were found in their specific focusing on the roots and the nature of war making on the modern Balkan, and its component parts in ethnic cleansing. The following few exploratory – explanatory approaches should be discerned in the annotated bibliography:

1. *Socio-biological approaches*. Not surprising, a few scholars have devoted attention to a more in-depth analysis of what is called the territorial imperative & struggle for survival among ethnic groups on a given (limited) territory with limited natural resources (Crkvenčić, Klemenčić, 1993; Ćimić, 1994; Livada, Hudelist, 1995). From this perspective, instructive seems to be the study of Livada and Hudelist (1995) who argue, in taking the example of Kordun (i.e. one of the most impoverished historic parts of Croatia), that great masses from these territories were moved into political and armed conflict with the (Croatian) state for a more just distribution of economic resources. Surely, these mass movements were geared by mass meetings and other political means of creating a “psychosis of antagonism”.
2. *Cultural-ideological approaches*. Another perspective on comes from a group of authors who maintain, that the “roots evil” are grounded in a clash between incompatible cultural, religious and related ideological codes of social self-organizing, enhanced by early and lasting manipulation with the notion of “nation”, “national culture”, “national problems” and the like, both on political and intellectual level (Čović et al., 1991; Jambrešić Kirin, Povrzanović, 1996; Šakić, 1993; Anić, 1998; Žunec, 1998). One of the most well-known and publications in this series is certainly the book of Čović and a group of co-authors (1991). The au-

thors have attempted to show the historic evolving of an expansionistic “Great Serbia” ideology since the early 19th century, and its (repeated) upheaval and escalation in sheer aggression present-day Serbia on Croatia. Special attention has been given to the role of Croatian Serbs in the initiation of the armed conflicts, and their relationship toward other ethnic groups in the region. Among the several possible interpretative frameworks for the understanding of the conflict, the authors put an emphasis on ethnocentrism, on the phenomenon of “imperial mindedness”, and on the notion of Great-Serbia ideology as a secular religion.

3. *Perspectives on genocide.* Not surprising, only three publications deal directly with the issues of genocide as still the most sensitive and “darkest” issue for all sides involved with the armed conflicts. From the Croatian point of view, Letica and Letica (1998) maintain the thesis that the notion of “ethnic cleansing” (e.g. in BiH) is an inappropriate qualification of events. Instead, the correct qualifier should be – genocide. Also, the authors analyze the process of de-legitimization of potential victims and the process of legitimization of genocide which, in turn, has had evolved in three distinct phases: demonization, dehumanization, destruction, then negation. From a Serbian perspective, the issue seems to be handled in a quite different, if not incompatible, interpretation on behalf of the Serbian ethnic group. Vasilije B. Krestić (1998) uses the notion of “genocide” to explain the immanent conflict between Serbs and Croats on these territories since the 19th century, that is since the formation of modern nations, when Serbian settlers to Krajina were found themselves in conflict with Croatian landowners. The author puts special emphasis on the historic role of Vienna in its steering the antagonism between the two groups in unequal economic and political position. The third publication is from Jadranka Čačić-Kumpes (1992), who reflects on the notion of genocide from the perspectives of massive sexual assault on both women and men (including children) during the war in BiH. The very act of sexual assault, maintains the author, has been practiced not only as a military technique, but also as a means of terrorizing and humiliation of entire communities, while the victims were supposed to become the messengers of the horror.

Human rights issues

Fifteen publications were found in this content category that may be split into two more specific sub-categories:

1. *General legal issues in Croatia.* A few authors present and discuss the regulation of human rights within the Constitution of Croatia with an emphasis on minority rights in general (Domini, 1990a; Domini, Vukas, 1995; Lauc, 1997; Šimić, 1998; Tatalović, 1997b). The common features of these works seem to be in the assertion, that the rights of ethnic and national minorities currently living in Croatia are fully guaranteed and guarded on a constitutional level. In this respect, Šimić (1998) points out the role and scope of special governmental programs in supporting the cultural, educational and scientific activities of mino-

rities in Croatia. In this respect, however, more critical is Lauc (1997) in his calling attention to a considerable mismatch between high-level normative regulation of minority issues and the protection of minority groups in praxis.

2. *War, exile and minority rights.* Another series of publications take an opposite view on the protection of human and minority rights in Croatia, most of them taking the case of Serbian minority (Antić, 1996; *Deložacija u Republici Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, Hrvatski Helsinški odbor, 1994; Čičak, 1997; Grubiša, 1995; Mežnarić, 1995; Roksandić, 1990). Antić (1996) would argue that the recent ethnic upheaval of Serbs in Croatia should be interpreted from a historic point of view, that is from the long tradition of this group to maintain own privileges and autonomy gained on these territories far back in 15–16th century. Referring to the current situation, Grubiša (1995) claims that the minority rights in Croatia are heavily undermined in the every-day practice by limitations of the free press, restrictions put on non-Croats receiving citizenship, deprivation and exile from homes, among others. On a more general theoretical level, Mežnarić (1995) argues for the necessary inclusion of human right issues in studies on refugees and displaced persons. (Note: For a few publications listed in this sub-category the abstracts are missing, so their content analysis stayed incomplete.)

Multiculturalism

This last content category lists only six, but important publications. In spite of their small number, the works are quite different in their goals and approaches.

1. *Case studies on “good practice”.* Two studies made an attempt to demonstrate that multiculturalism in modern Croatia or parts of it, at least, is not only a historic tradition but also a real life social praxis. Piršl (1996) takes the example of Istria which, in contrast to many other parts of the country, has been for centuries the territory of complex migrations along with the long tradition of multiculturalism and co-existence of several languages. The author provides empirical findings to support this thesis, in her referring to a survey with high school students from this territory who, as expected, demonstrate high level of political culture and strong interest for close encounters with other ethnic groups, learning and knowing their language, history and customs. The other case study comes from Tatalović (1966) on Gorski Kotar, that is an Serbian enclave in South West (central) Croatia where the war has been escaped. The author acknowledges this fact to the long tradition of multiculturalism and peaceful co-existence of this minority with her larger cultural surrounding.
2. *Social distance and multiculturalism.* The last four works analysed in this annotated bibliography were found in this sub-category. If compared with the above publications from this same category, they rather provide a negative perspective on the issue of multiculturalism in Croatia, at the time being. Sekulić-Majurec (1996) in her article argues that the educational system of Croatia, at the time

being, provides neither sufficient means nor adequate methods for teaching and learning multiculturalism. Instead, the strengthening of Croatian cultural identity appeared so far more important for educational authorities. Another author, D. Sekulić (1997) points out that the entire notion of multiculturalism may appear confusing and unclear due to the fact that both Croats and non-Croats tend to express their identity in relation to sub-ethnic communities and regional belonging they feel attached to, and that is changing depending on the situation. Previšić (1996) summarizes a series of survey results gathered between 1991–1995 with representative samples of high school students in Croatia. The results suggest high level of social distancing of Croatian ethnic youths from Serbian minority and towards the Eastern Orthodox religion in general, apparently due to the war situation and its ideological-political value climate. Last but not least, Hrvatić (1996) takes the case of Gypsies who, as a distinct ethnic minority living in Croatia since the 14th century or so, in an inter-cultural environment. The political-economic situation at the time has strong negative impact on this specific ethnic group in rising social distance and stereotypes from the side of the non-Roma population.

Most frequently used key words

Table 7: Frequency count of first 16 key words by category of publications

Key words	Category of publications					Total
	Ethnic identity	Ethnic conflict	War, ethnic cleansing	Human rights	Multi-culturalism	
Serbs	8	8	3	4	1	25
Croatia	8	5	5	5	0	23
identity	11	1	2	0	3	17
national minorities	5	4	0	6	2	17
war	0	6	7	2	1	16
Croats	8	3	1	0	0	12
Yugoslavia	1	8	2	1	0	12
migration	9	0	0	1	1	11
human rights	1	0	0	9	0	10
enclave (diaspora)	7	0	0	0	0	7
nationalism	0	6	0	0	1	7
BiH	1	1	4	0	0	6
Catholics	2	2	2	0	0	6
ethnic identity	4	1	1	0	0	6
minorities	3	0	1	2	0	6
Yugoslavism	1	3	0	0	1	5
Total	69	48	28	30	10	186

The table represents only part of a larger listing of some 434 key words counted in the analysed bibliography. The reader may notice a slight association between the dispersion of key words and the category of publications they derived from. Publications dealing with ethnic identity issues are most frequently loaded by key words such as “identity” or “ethnic identity”, “Serb”, “Croats” or “Croatia”, migration. Suggestive enough that in the ethnic conflict category new key words appear by alone or in combination with the former ones such as “Yugoslavia”, “nationalism”. The same is true to some extent for the content category on war and ethnic cleansing. What is missing in this table is a full series of key words with occurrence less than 5 in the total corpus, such as “genocide”, “ethnic cleansing”, “refugees” and the like. The shift in the semantics of key words listed for publication in human rights and multiculturalism most clearly appears in the use of primer concept in new contexts, that is in combination of new concepts such as “human rights”, “minority rights”, “cultural rights”, “national minorities” (or just minorities), “political culture”, “social distance”, “diversity”, “regionalism” and the like, most of which do not appear in the table above. (Note: This particular “key-word” analytic approach appeared to the present author highly challenging for further research. At this point, however, more extended exploration of results may go beyond the scope of this paper.)

Discussion and conclusion

From the perspective of contemporary social science research on ethnic relations by large, the findings of this small-scale study may add three specific pieces of knowledge of these and related issues in modern Croatia and beyond.

First, it is largely a surprising finding that the analysed bibliography as a whole is heavily loaded with ethnic identity- (40%) and ethnic conflict issues among social groups inhabiting the given geopolitical territory of Croatia. In this respect the analysed corpus of academic works appears specific and unique if compared to similar bibliographies focusing on other parts of Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 (Feischmidt, 1998). This specific feature clearly reflects the timely preoccupation of researchers with ethnic problems by and at large which, in turn, may be taken as a strong indicator of the upheaval of ethnocentrism and strengthening of inter- and within-group discrimination processes “typical” for pre-modern societies in transition (Csepeli, 1989).

Second, the bibliography highlights the full complexity of both the origin and nature of ethnic conflicts in modern Croatia and beyond its borders, including a rather wide spectrum of researchers’ approaches to war and other forms of inter-ethnic atrocities recorded in the past decade. It is interesting to note that most of the works in this respect are descriptive or, at the best, explanatory in reflecting the apparent need for better understanding of dramatic events and their complex causative factors in different contexts (Barath, 1999; Romsics, 1998). What seems largely missing

from the analyzed literature are prospective studies focusing on issues of conflict resolution and peace making, including action research perspectives.

Last but not least, the results of this study clearly demonstrate the fact that academic research and critical evaluation of major public events may represent an important part of historic record-keeping on social actions relevant to human rights and social justice at a given time and in at given social, whether in Croatia or else (Mahajan, 1998).

LITERATURE

- BARÁTH, Á. (1999). “Nemzeti tudathasadások a XX. század történetében. (Splitting in the national awareness of the 20th century)”, in: F. Csefkó, F. Horváth (eds). *Magyar és európai civil társadalom*. Pécs: MTA RKK Dunántúli Tudományos Intézet – Pécs–Baranyai Értelmiségi Egyesület, pp. 200–209.
- CSEPELI, Gy. (1989). *Structures and contents of Hungarian national identity: Results of political socialization and cultivation*. Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York – Paris: Verlag Peter Lang.
- DENITCH, B. (1990). *Limits and possibilities: The crisis of Yugoslav socialism and state socialist systems*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- FARNEN, R., D. GERMAN (1992). “Political, communications, and educational change in Eastern Europe: Implications for political socialization research”, *Politics and the Individual*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 1–20.
- FEISCHMIDT, M. (1988). *Bibliography on ethnic relations in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989*. Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI bibliography series, 1).
- KOVACS, P. (1999). *Personal communications*. June 02, 1999.
- MAHAJAN, G. (ed.) (1998). *Democracy, difference and social justice*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- ROMSICS, I. (1998). *Nemzet, nemzetiség és nemzetállam Kelet-közép és Délkelet-Európában a 19. és 20. században*. (Nation, nationality and national state in Central East and South East Europe in the 19th and 20th century). Budapest: Napvilág Kidó.
- SEKULIC, D., G. MASSEY, R. HODSON (1994). “Who were the Yugoslavs? Failed sources of common identity in the former Yugoslavia”, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 59, no.1, pp. 83–97.
- STAUB, E. (1989). *The roots of evil: The origin of genocide and other group violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON ETHNIC RELATIONS AND MINORITIES IN CROATIA AFTER 1989

compiled by Ivana Đurić

This bibliography, as all other annotated bibliographies published by LGI managing Multiethnic Communities Project, contains two parts. The first part is on the books printed after 1989, devoted to the ethnic issues in Croatia. The second part contains various articles published in periodicals after 1989 on the same topics. The bibliography had no intention to become complete and focuses mainly on publications in the Croatian language, but not exclusively. Although minority languages and scripture are included, the language of the bibliography is Croatian because it compiles literature published in Croatian. The main purpose of bibliography is to inform rather than to reflect dominant trends in Croatian academic production.

Criteria of selection

Subjectivity was an important characteristic of the selection procedure. The basic intention was to include scholarly works on interethnic relations in Croatia after 1989. This means that non-academic writings, memoirs and testimonies are avoided. Also, the articles shorter than 3 pages are not taken into account. As agreed with LGI, nationalistic discourse is excluded. The year 1989 has been selected as the starting point due to the changes that affected ethnic relations and social sciences in all post-socialist countries. During selection an attempt has been made to represent a variety of academic themes. Therefore the selected titles can be placed into 5 categories: ethnic identity, war in Croatia, interethnic relations, human and minority rights, multiculturalism. Despite the attempt to balance representation of all social sciences, it is evident that sociology, history, ethnology and political science prevail. Also, a great number of selected items deal with Serbo-Croatian relations which is due to the recent war in Croatia. Special attention has been made to include works completed by minority writers. All selected titles are publicly accessible. The research has been conducted in National University Library, City Library and Božidar Adžija Library in Zagreb, Croatia.

Acknowledgement of reviewers

I owe a special recognition to Nenad Dimitrijević (CEU – Budapest, Political Science Department), Vladimir Bilandžić (CEU – Budapest, Southeastern-European Studies Department), Mislav Kukoč (Croatian Studies, Zagreb), and Árpád Bárath (Janus Pannonius University, Pécs) who reviewed the bibliography and provided valuable comments.

ANTIĆ, Lj. (1996). *Srbi – obespravljani ili privilegirani*. Zagreb: Papir-grafika.

ARTUKOVIĆ, M. (1991). *Ideologija srpsko-hrvatskih sporova: (Srbobran 1884–1902)*. Zagreb: Naprijed.

BAHTIJAREVIĆ, Š., DUGANDŽIJA, N., HODŽIĆ, A., LAZIĆ M., ROKSANDIĆ, D., STOJKOVIĆ, A., LAY, V., ŽUPANČIĆ, M., KRIŠTOFIĆ, B., KATUNARIĆ, V., PUPOVAC, M. (1991). *Položaj naroda i međunacionalni odnosi u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

BANAC, I. (1995). *Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji: porijeklo, povijest i politika*. Zagreb: Durieux.

BANAC, I. (ur.) (1998). *Srbi u Hrvatskoj: jučer, danas, sutra*. Zagreb: Hrvatski Helšinski odbor za ljudska prava.

BANOVAC, B. (1996). "Etničnost i regionalizam u Istri: povijesni rakurs i suvremeni kontekst", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 12, br. 4, str. 267–288.

BEHSCHNITT, W. D. (1992). "O tipologiji nacionalizma u Srba i Hrvata", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, god. 24, br. 3, str. 227–240.

BILANDŽIĆ, D. (1991). "Državna kriza Jugoslavije", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 28, br. 2, str. 47–57.

BILANDŽIĆ, D., ČOVIĆ, B., JURKOVIĆ, M., KLEMENČIĆ, M., LETICA, S., PAVIĆ, R., TOMAC, Z., ŽULJIĆ, S. (1991). *Hrvatska između rata i samostalnosti*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada; OKC.

BOECKH, K. (1995). "Židovska vjerska općina u Zagrebu do 1941. godine", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, god. 27, br. 1, str. 33–53.

BORME, A. (1992). *La Minoranza Italiana in Istria e Fiume*. Trieste: Università popolare de Trieste; Rovigno: Unione Italiana – Fiume.

BURDA, S. (ur.) (1995). *Rusini i Ukrajinci u Republici Hrvatskoj: (1991–1995)*. Zagreb: Savez Rusina i Ukrajinaca Hrvatske.

CARATAN, B. (1991). "Rat i mir u Hrvatskoj", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 28, br. 4, str. 33–49.

CRKVENČIĆ, I., KLEMENČIĆ, M. (1993). *Aggression against Croatia: geopolitical and demographic facts*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku.

CRKVENČIĆ, I., KLEMENČIĆ, M., FELETAR, D. (eds) (1994). *Croatia – a new European state: proceedings of the symposium held in Zagreb and Čakovec, September 22–25, 1994*. Zagreb: Zavod za geografiju i prostorno uređenje; Prirodoslovno-matematički fakultet.

CRKVENČIĆ, I., KLEMENČIĆ, M., GELO, J. (ur.) (1998). *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske: 1880–1991.: po naseljima*. Knj. 1–5. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku.

ČAČIĆ-KUMPES, J. (1992). "Etničnost, rat i silovanje", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 8, br. 2, str. 95–104.

ČIČAK, Z. (ur.) (1997). *Tolerancijom protiv mržnje*. Zagreb: Hrvatski Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava.

ČIČAK-CHAND, R., KUMPES, J. (ur.) (1998). *Etničnost, nacija, identitet*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk; Institut za migracije i narodnosti; Hrvatsko sociološko društvo.

ČOVIĆ, B. (ur.) (1991). *Izvori velikosrpske agresije*. Zagreb: August Cesarec; Školska knjiga.

ĆIMIĆ, E. (1994). "Bosanska raskrižja", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 3, br. 6(14), str. 611–628.

- Deložacija u Republici Hrvatskoj: pravni, etički i socijalni aspekti* (1994). Zagreb: Hrvatski Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava.
- DIKLIĆ, M. (1989). *Položaj Srba u SR Hrvatskoj* (Magistarski rad). Zagreb: Fakultet političkih nauka.
- DOMINI, M. (1990a). “Gradišćanski Hrvati – zajedništvo usprkos granica: (osvrst na sudbinu ogranka gradišćanskih Hrvata u Mađarskoj)”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 6, br. 3, str. 325–334.
- DOMINI, M. (1990b). *Manjine u Alpsko-jadranskom prostoru*. Zagreb: Institut za migracije i narodnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.
- DOMINI, M., VUKAS, B. (1995). “Prava i slobode etničkih i nacionalnih zajednica/manjina”, u: *Ocjena stanja demokratskih sloboda u Republici Hrvatskoj: projekt: (prilog raspravi)*. Zagreb: Europski pokret Hrvatske; Europski dom, str. 22–32.
- DRAGANIĆ, D. (1991). “Mi smo Cigani, ali oni drugi jesu gadže”, u: Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin (ur.). *Simboli identiteta: (studije, eseji, građa)*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko etnološko društvo, str. 242–252.
- DUŠKOVIĆ, V. (1991). “Crkveno krštenje kao oznaka etničkog identiteta” u: Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin (ur.). *Simboli identiteta: (studije, eseji, građa)*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko etnološko društvo, str. 177–183.
- GEIGER, V. (1996). “Nijemci u Hrvatskoj od kraja II svjetskog rata do danas”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, god. 28, br. 1–2, str. 227–233.
- GRBIĆ, J. (1993). “Etnicitet i razvoj”, *Etnološka tribina*, Zagreb, god. 23, 16, str. 57–72.
- GRBIĆ, J. (1994). “Identitet, jezik i razvoj”, *Narodna umjetnost*, Zagreb, god. 31, str. 9–143.
- GREČIĆ, V. (ur.) (1990). *Seobe Srba nekad i sad*. Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu; Matica Srba i iseljenika Srbije.
- GRUBIŠA, D. (1995). “Ljudska prava u Hrvatskoj: studija slučaja”, *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 13, str. 26–36.
- HADŽIJAHIĆ, M. (1990). *Od tradicije do identiteta: geneza nacionalnog pitanja bosanskih Muslimana*. Zagreb: Islamska zajednica Zagreb.
- HERŠAK, E. (1993). “Panoptikum migracija: Hrvati, hrvatski prostor i Evropa”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 9, br. 3–4, str. 227–302.
- HRANILOVIĆ, N. (1990). “Žumberčani – subetnička grupa u Hrvata”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 6, br. 4, str. 593–612.
- HRVATIĆ, N. (1996). “Romi u interkulturalnom okruženju”, *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 5, br. 5/6 (25/26), str. 913–933.
- JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN, R., POVRZANOVIĆ, M. (eds) (1996). *War, exile, everyday life*. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research.
- JELAVICH, C. (1992). *Južnoslavenski nacionalizmi: jugoslavensko ujedinjenje i udžbenici prije 1914*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus; Školska knjiga.
- KASAPOVIĆ, M. (1992). “Temeljni politički sukobi u Hrvatskoj nakon izbora”, *Encyclopaedia moderna*, Zagreb, god. 13, br. 1(37), str. 15–22.
- KATUNARIĆ, V. (1992). “O modelu etničke kompetitivnosti u slučaju Hrvatske”, *Revija za sociologiju*, Zagreb, god. 23, br. 1–2, str. 117–124.

- KRESTIĆ, V. B. (1998). *Genocidom do Velike Hrvatske*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska; Beograd: Arhiv Srbije.
- KUKOČ, M. (1991). “Sukob mirovnih inicijativa”, *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 28, br. 4, str. 62–67.
- KUMPES, J. (1990). “Napomene o religiji, crkvi i etničkom identitetu: (na primjeru Hrvata u Mađarskoj)”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 6, br. 3, str. 363–370.
- KUMPES, J. (1992). “Religija i etnički konflikt na južnoslavenskom prostoru: (sociološki i socijalno-historijske napomene)”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 8, br. 1, str. 15–33.
- LAUC, Z. (1997a). “Etničke i nacionalne manjine u Hrvatskoj”, *Odvjetnik*, Zagreb, god. 70, br. 3–4, str. 63–81.
- LAUC, Z. (1997b). “Zaštita nacionalnih manjina”, *Pravni vjesnik*, Zagreb, god. 13, br. 3–4, str. 306–327.
- LAZIĆ, M. (ur.) (1991). *Socijalna struktura i kvaliteta života u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb; Institut za društvena istraživanja Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.
- LEROTIĆ, Z. (1997). “Može li teorija Maxa Webera objasniti boljševički i populistički nacionalizam?”, *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 34, br. 2, str. 28–37.
- LETICA, S., LETICA, B. (1998). *Postmoderna i genocid u Bosni: “etničko čišćenje” – velika prevara našeg doba*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk; Hrvatsko sociološko društvo.
- LIVADA, S., HUDELIST, D. (1995). “Kordunski rekvijem”, *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 13, str. 15–25.
- Ljudska prava u Hrvatskoj* (1997). Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo za zaštitu i promicanje ljudskih prava.
- MALEŠEVIĆ, S. (1994). “Recepcija etničkog identiteta: aplikacija jednog modela”, *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 10, br. 1, str. 31–54.
- MATAN, A. (1998). “Nacije kao klubovi”, *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 35, br. 2, str. 196–212.
- MATUŠEK, J. (1997). *Česi v Chorvatsku*. Daruvar: Jednota.
- MEŽNARIĆ, S. (1995). “Migracije, prinudne migracije, izbjeglištvo: građa za konceptualizaciju”, *Revija za sociologiju*, Zagreb, god. 26, br. 1–2, str. 35–42.
- MILARDOVIĆ, A. (1991). *Srbijanski masovni pokret i hrvatsko pitanje*. Zagreb: Institut za migracije i narodnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.
- MIRIĆ, J. (1989). “Manjine, većine, konsenzus”, *Naše teme*, Zagreb, god. 33, br. 11, str. 2762–2772.
- MIŠČEVIĆ, N. (1995). “Kulturni nacionalizam: pokušaj tipologije”, *Agora*, Rijeka, god. 1, br. 1–2, str. 3–20.
- Nijemci u Hrvatskoj jučer i danas: zbornik* (1994). Zagreb: Njemačka narodnosna zajednica.
- “Okrugli stol ‘Srbi i Hrvati’: Zagreb, 20–22. 11. 1993.” (1994), *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 5. [tematski broj]
- PAVLIČEVIĆ, D. (1994). *Moravski Hrvati: povijest – život – kultura*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.

- PERUNOVIĆ, S. (1990). "Hrvati i recentne promjene u Mađarskoj", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 6, br. 3, str. 371–383.
- PICULA, T. (1992). "Odnosi u prostoru moći: iskustvo Jugoslavije", u: O. Čaldarović, M. Mesić, A. Štulhofer (ur.). *Sociologija i rat*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko sociološko društvo, str. 11–20.
- PIRŠL, E. (1996). "Istra i interkulturalni odgoj", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 5, br. 5/6 (25/26), str. 895–911.
- Politički aspekti povratka Srba u Republiku Hrvatsku* (1997). Zagreb: Hrvatski Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava.
- PREVIŠIĆ, V. (1996). "Sociodemografske karakteristike srednjoškolaca i socijalna distanca prema nacionalnim i religijskim skupinama", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 5, br. 5/6 (25/26), str. 859–874.
- ПУПОВАЦ, М. (1997). "Распад Југославије и Срби у Хрватској", *Љемонис Српског културног друштва Просвјета*, Загреб, св. 2, стр. 256–264.
- ПУПОВАЦ, М. (1998). "Модерни идентитет Срба у Хрватској", *Љемонис Српског културног друштва Просвјета*, Загреб, св. 3, стр. 177–196.
- PUSIĆ, E. (1995). "Identitet – diverzitet – kapacitet", *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 11, str. 2–10.
- PUSIĆ, V. (1994). "Upotreba nacionalizma i politika prepoznavanja", *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 8, str. 2–21.
- Rat i ljudska prava na prostoru Republike Hrvatske* (1993). Zagreb: Antiratna kampanja.
- REŠKOVIĆ, V. (ur.) (1998). *Romi u Hrvatskoj danas: zbornik izlaganja i rasprava: okrugli stol održan 26. i 27. lipnja 1997. godine*. Zagreb: Centar za direktnu zaštitu ljudskih prava.
- ROKSANDIĆ, D. (1989). "Hrvati i Srbi u hrvatskim zemljama godine 1861. između etnosa, naroda i nacije", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 5, br. 2–3, str. 131–143.
- ROKSANDIĆ, D. (1990). "Ljudska i građanska prava i otvorena pitanja personalne i kulturne autonomije Srba u Hrvatskoj", *Scientia Yugoslavica*, Zagreb, god. 16, br. 3–4, str. 217–228.
- ROKSANDIĆ, D. (1991a). *Srbi u Hrvatskoj: od 15. stoljeća do naših dana*. Zagreb: Vjesnik.
- ROKSANDIĆ, D. (1991b). *Srpska i hrvatska povijest i "nova historija"*. Zagreb: Stvarnost.
- SALOPEK, H., HEĆIMOVIĆ, M. (ur.) (1996). *Glasnik Foruma hrvatskih manjina*, Zagreb, 7. 12. 1996. Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika.
- SEKULIĆ, D. (1997). "Prostor i identitet", *Erasmus*, Zagreb, br. 19, str. 46–57.
- SEKULIĆ-MAJUREC, A. (1996). "Interkulturalizam u obrazovanju kao metodološki izazov.", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 5, 5/6 (25/26), str. 875–894.
- SUPEK, O. (1989). "Etnos i kultura", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 5, br. 2–3, str. 145–153.
- ŠAKIĆ, V. (1993). "Opći okvir za proučavanje srpske agresije na Hrvatsku 1991.", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 2, br. 2–3 (4/5), str. 217–246.
- ŠIBER, I. (1995). "Nacionalno i nacionalističko: psihološki mehanizmi međunacionalnih sukoba na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije – Što da se radi?", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 32, br. 2, str. 77–90.

- ŠIBER, I. (1997). "Izborne orijentacije i ideološki sukob tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata: značenje političke biografije obitelji", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 34, br. 2, str. 104–128.
- ŠIMIĆ, M. (1998a). Ostvarivanje kulturne autonomije nacionalnih manjina u Republici Hrvatskoj. Zagreb: Vlada Republike Hrvatske.
- ŠIMIĆ, M. (1998b). "Područja ostvarivanja etničkih prava pripadnika nacionalne zajednice ili manjine", *Politička misao*, god. 35, br. 2, str. 57–64.
- ŠTERC, S., PEPEONIK, Z., NEJAŠMIĆ, I., ŽERJAVIĆ, V., CRKVENČIĆ, I., OLIVEIRA-ROCA, M., PEJNOVIĆ, D., KLEMENČIĆ, M., OREŠIĆ, D., BOGNAR, A., ŽULJIĆ, S. (1991). *Političko-geografska i demografska pitanja Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Savez geografskih društava Hrvatske.
- ŠTULHOFER, A. (1996). *Solidarni egoizam: etnički sukobi i racionalnost* (Disertacija). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za sociologiju.
- ŠTULHOFER, A. (1992). "Predviđanje rata? – etnosociologija Dinka Tomašića", *Društvena istraživanja*, Zagreb, god. 1, br. 2, str. 299–313.
- ŠTULHOFER, A., MATIĆ, D. "Sociologija etničkih odnosa: skica jednog promašaja", u: O. Čaldarović, M. Mesić, A. Štulhofer (ur.). *Sociologija i rat*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko sociološko društvo, str. 63–74.
- ŠVOB, M. (1997). *Židovi u Hrvatskoj – migracije i promjene u židovskoj populaciji*. Zagreb: K. D. Miroslav Šalom Freiburger; Židovska općina.
- TATALOVIĆ, S. (1996). "Горски Котар између рата и мира", *Љебонис Српског културног друштва Просвјета*, Загреб, св. 1, стр. 323–333.
- TATALOVIĆ, S. (1997a). "Civilno-vojni odnosi", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 34, br. 2, str. 61–82.
- TATALOVIĆ, S. (1997b). *Manjinski narodi i manjine*. Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta.
- TATALOVIĆ, S. (1998). "Etnički aspekti sigurnosti Jugoistoka Europe", *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 35, br. 2, str. 65–78.
- TELIŠMAN, T. (1990). "Etnički identitet hrvatskih intelektualaca u Mađarskoj", *Migracijske teme*, Zagreb, god. 6, br. 3, str. 423–432.
- TOŠIĆ, D. (1997). *Stvarnost protiv zablude: srpsko nacionalno pitanje*. Beograd: S. Mašić.
- УЗЕЛАЦ, С. (1996). "Сувремене тенденције у промјенама националног, вјерског и особног идентитета у Републици Хрватској", *Љебонис Српског културног друштва Просвјета*, Загреб, св. 1, стр. 300–308.
- UZELAC, S., MAGDALENIĆ, I., MILINKOVIĆ, B., LAZIĆ, N. (1997). *Identitet i strah: doživljaji zagrebačkih učenika u vezi s njihovom nacionalnom i vjerskom pripadnošću s posebnim osvrtom na učenike srpske nacionalnosti*. Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta.
- VALENTIĆ, M. (1990). "Turski ratovi i hrvatska dijaspora u XVI stoljeću", *Senjski zbornik*, 17, str. 45–60.
- VALENTIĆ, M. (1992). "O etničkom korijenu hrvatskih i bosanskih Srba", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, god. 24, br. 3, str. 1–21.
- VUČIĆ, P. (1991). *Jugoslavija – izmišljena država: plaidoyer za konfederaciju*. Zagreb: Azur Journal.

- VUJEVIĆ, M. (1996). Politička kultura: rat u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini. *Politička misao*, god. 33, br. 4, str. 221–242.
- ŽANIĆ, I. (1998). *Prevarena povijest: guslarska estrada, kult hajduka i rat u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, 1990.–1995. godine*. Zagreb: Durieux.
- ŽIVKOVIĆ, I., ŠPORDER, Ž, SEKULIĆ, D. (1995). *Asimilacija i identitet: studija o hrvatskom iseljeništvu u SAD i Kanadi*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- ŽUNEC, O. (1998). *Rat i društvo: ogledi iz sociologije vojske i rata*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk; Hrvatsko sociološko društvo.
- ŽUPANOV, J. (1995a). “Masovni medij i kolektivno nasilje”, *Politička misao*, Zagreb, god. 32, br. 2, str. 140–148.
- ŽUPANOV, J. (1995b). *Poslije potopa*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus.

Árpád Baráth

ZNANSTVENICI S PODRUČJA DRUŠTVENIH ZNANOSTI O ETNIČKIM ODNOSIMA U HRVATSKOJ NAKON 1989: ANALIZA SADRŽAJA BIBLIOGRAFIJE S KOMENTARIMA

SAŽETAK

Članak prikazuje glavne rezultate kvalitativne analize anotirane bibliografije o etničkim odnosima u Hrvatskoj nakon 1989., koju je priredila Ivana Đurić sa Srednjoevropskog sveučilišta (CEU), Odsjeka za jugoistočne evropske studije (Budimpešta). Bibliografija je odabrani uzorak akademske literature (50 knjiga i 58 članaka) čiji su autori, uz nekoliko iznimaka, hrvatski znanstvenici s područja društvenih i političkih znanosti, a tiskana je između 1989. i 1998. Odabrano je pet glavnih kriterija klasifikacije koji “najbolje” opisuju glavni tok akademskog interesa u Hrvatskoj i za Hrvatsku tijekom posljednjeg desetljeća. To su teme koje se bave: 1. etničkim identitetom, 2. nacionalizmom i etničkim sukobima, 3. ratnim i ljudskim stradanjima vezanim uz rat, 4. ljudskim i etničkim pravima i pravima manjina, i 5. multikulturalizmom i demokracijom. S iznimkom nekoliko naslova (11 jedinica), recenzent smatra anotiranu bibliografiju potpunom, s uobičajenim knjižničnim podacima za pretraživanje, reprezentativnom zbog širokog spektra disciplina, balansiranom u odabiru i zato poučnom kako za studente, tako i za istraživače moderne hrvatske akademske literature. Niz kompleksnih (multivarijantnih) statističkih zaključaka izvučeno je iz baze podataka te podvrgnuto analizi sadržaja i relevantnim kvantitativnim metodama. Prvo, odabrana akademska literatura najčešće se bavila temama koje se odnose na etnički identitet (40%), zatim na etničke sukobe (28%) i ljudska prava (14%), tim redoslijedom. Drugo, otkriven je statistički znatan pomak akademskog interesa tijekom posljednjih deset godina od problema etničkog identiteta i sukoba prema temama multikulturalizma i ljudskih prava. Prilično indikativno, oko 2/3 bibliografije bavi se temama koje su relevantne isključivo za Hrvatsku, dok su reference za ostale susjedne zemlje raštrkane i marginalne, uključujući države sljednice bivše Jugoslavije. Zbog toga se bibliografija u cjelini ne može smatrati reprezentativnom za etničke odnose u ostalim dijelovima bivše Jugoslavije, kao ni za multietničke probleme u ostalim susjednim zemljama, primjerice Mađarskoj ili Italiji. Bibliografija također sadržava mnogo socioloških, povijesnih i političkih znanstvenih publikacija (preko 55%), dok se reference za ostala područja pojavljuju mjestimično (primjerice psihologija, antropologija). Znakovitim se čini i razmjerno visok postotak radova s NA (neutvrđenom) klasifikacijom discipline (17%) što se, s druge strane, može uzeti kao “indeks” za multidisciplinarnu pristupe. U raspravi autor objašnjava činjenicu da akademsko istraživanje i kritička evaluacija glavnih javnih događaja može predstavljati važan dio povijesnog bilježenja društvenih djelovanja koja se odnose na ljudska prava i društvenu pravdu u različitim vremenima i za različite etničke i nacionalne skupine kao *condicio sine qua non* u izgradnji pravednijega i mirotvornijega multietničkog društva na povijesnim teritorijima srednjoistočne Europe, kao što je Hrvatska.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Hrvatska, društvene znanosti, etnički odnosi, rat, ljudska prava

Árpád Baráth

TRAVAUX DES SCIENTIFIQUES DU DOMAINE DES SCIENCES HUMAINES SUR LES RAPPORTS ETHNIQUES EN CROATIE APRES 1989: ANALYSE COMMENTEE DU CONTENU DE LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur présente les principaux résultats de l'analyse qualitative de la bibliographie annotée à propos des rapports ethniques en Croatie après 1989 éditée par Ivana Đurić, de l'Université d'Europe Centrale, Département d'études du sud-est européen (Budapest). La bibliographie embrasse un échantillon de travaux académiques (50 livres et 58 articles) dont les auteurs, hormis quelques exceptions, sont des scientifiques croates du domaine des sciences sociales et politiques, et ayant été publiés entre 1989 et 1998. Cinq critères principaux de classification ont été choisis, qui décrivent « le mieux » le courant dominant des intérêts académiques en Croatie et pour la Croatie au cours de la dernière décennie. Ces thèmes traitent: 1. l'identité ethnique, 2. le nationalisme et les conflits ethnique, 3. les dommages et les souffrances humaines liés à la guerre, 4. les droits de l'homme et des ethnies ainsi que les droits des minorités, et enfin 5. le multiculturalisme et la démocratie. A l'exception de quelques titres (11 ouvrages) l'auteur du compte rendu de lecture considère que la bibliographie annotée est complète, comportant les références bibliographiques usuelles, représentative de par le large éventail de disciplines abordées, équilibrée dans sa sélection et par tant édifiante tant pour les étudiants que pour les chercheurs travaillant sur la littérature académique croate contemporaine. Une série de conclusions statistiques complexes (à variantes multiples) a été tirée de la base de données, soumise à une analyse du contenu et observée à la lumière de méthodes quantitatives significatives. Primo, la littérature académique sélectionnée traite le plus souvent de thèmes relevant de l'identité ethnique (40%), puis des conflits ethniques (28%) et des droits de l'homme (14%), qui apparaissent dans cet ordre. Secundo, on observe un glissement statistique notable dans la littérature académique au cours des dix dernières années, du problème de l'identité et du conflit ethnique vers les thèmes du multiculturalisme et des droits de l'homme. Il est assez indicatif de noter qu'environ 2/3 des bibliographies traitent de thèmes qui ne concernent que la Croatie, tandis que les références quant aux pays voisins sont disséminées et marginales, y compris pour les pays issus de l'ex-Yougoslavie. En conséquence, on ne peut pas considérer la bibliographie dans son ensemble comme représentative des rapports ethniques dans les autres régions de l'ex-Yougoslavie pas plus que des problèmes inhérents à la pluriethnicité dans les autres pays voisins, tels la Hongrie ou l'Italie. La bibliographie contient aussi beaucoup de publications scientifiques d'ordre sociologique, historique et politique (plus de 55%), tandis que les références pour les autres domaines (par exemple la psychologie ou l'anthropologie) ne sont qu'épisodiques. Le pourcentage (17%) d'ouvrages relevant d'une discipline non précisée (NA) par la classification apparaît également comme significatif et assez important, et peut par ailleurs être retenu comme un « index » des approches pluridisciplinaires. Dans son article, l'auteur explique le fait que la recherche académique et l'évaluation critique des événements publics principaux peut représenter une part importante de la notation historique des actions sociales concernant les droits de l'homme et la justice sociale à des époques diverses et pour des groupes ethniques et nationaux différents, comme *condicio sine qua non* de la mise en place d'une société pluriethnique plus juste et plus pacifique sur les territoires historiques de l'Europe centrale et de l'Est, telle la Croatie.

MOTS CLES: Croatie, sciences humaines, rapports ethniques, guerre, droits de l'homme