UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES

Regional Master's Programme in Peace Studies

MASTER'S THESIS

Academic supervisor:

Professor Nemanja Džuverović

Student: Emvalee Usawaprem

Index number: 26/2017

Belgrade 2020

CONTENTS

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

—**George Santayana**

Memorial museums have become a crucial tool in the "memory industry" around the world. Memories preserved for public display in memorial museums are mostly associated with historical events, majority of them armed conflicts and warfare. In peace studies, one might simply wonder if visiting a museum and learning about conflicts will in any way help rid our world of wars. Possible answers to this will be useful largely in several ways.

This research project is envisioned to arrive at a theory that can illuminate the said phenomenon, following a thorough observation of relevant areas. Its purpose to explain how memorial museums contribute to the society seeks to find that out specifically in connection to peace. Based on findings coming out of the investigation, it will move to form a theory that can be applied in general with credibility. Practically, a better understanding of the interrelationship between memorial museums and peace should benefit people who work in applicable fields, among them peace activists and museum professionals. An examination of this topic will likely improve chances for our society to install positive culture of remembrance, one that functions in the public's interests, not just an influential group of people or elites.

The objective of this thesis is to shed light to the following research question: does culture of remembrance facilitate culture of peace? Before answering that, this following question will open the door to that—is commemoration in a form of memorial museum beneficial to reconciliation and installation of peace in post-conflict societies?

To that end, it will look specifically into how memorial museums play a role in shaping, reshaping, distorting, morphing or influencing, the public's collective memory and whether these memories are responsible in creating a remembrance culture that stands in the way of reconciliation and peace initiatives in post-conflict societies. The study was conducted as a case research on a chosen memorial museum in Croatia dedicated to the Yugoslav wars. Through a

questionnaire survey, interviews/testimonies and war image collection as sources of data, this research expects to gain an understanding what the position these institutions have in the society and in remembrance culture in post-conflict nations. On the premise that the museum shows a strong intention to educate visitors about the calamity of wars, the study will scrutinize narratives woven together by stacks of war photos, whether they successfully convey the intended messages. It will examine whether stories told by those photographs permit multiple contradictory interpretations of the conflicts among contemporary audience who have different backgrounds, experience, knowledge and memories; and in what way, if they do.

Today, culture of remembrance is said to be in its heydays in many parts of the world, but when Steve Brown (2015) mentions a "memory boom" that "has left Europe littered with monuments", it implies that remembering may be good for some and bad for others. And however prosperous or saturated they may be, the growing presence of memorial sites with proliferation of culture of remembrance begs the question in peace studies: are they serving any purpose of peacebuilding? Is culture of remembrance compatible with culture of peace? If we remember the past wrong, will that help deter it being repeated? These questions reflect lingering doubts as to what kind of lessons a society learns from remembrance cultural practices, and whether those lessons are accommodating to conflict transformation, in post-conflict societies.

Through various changes over decades, culture of remembrance is now attached with pedagogic mission, and no longer kept exclusively for private reflection as was in the past (Rybczynski 2015). Memorial sites specifically strapped to this mission are museums, which, as public learning spaces, allow users to educate themselves through informative collections and archives about history. But history has an intimate link to memory—it determines how people recollect past events in a specific way, telling them what to remember and in what way (Assman 2008). A culture of remembrance encourages people to make sense of stories of the past in their present moments. Bearing that in mind, contemporary surrounding contexts are believed to be simultaneously at work when people learn about history. These contexts include prior knowledge of museum users, nation-state discourse, dominant political climates, national narratives, nationalistic fervor, museum policies and ethics, among others.

Museums can choose to delineate selected stories or in certain cases, half-truth biased history, to construct certain narratives, myths or to conceal certain facts, hoping to steer groups' memories

towards intended directions. “[T]he collection of any museum is the product of reconstructions based on selection and choice, on selective omission and voluntary commemoration” (Poulot 20, 7). The overarching problem is whether museums trying to disseminate desired messages of past events to the public has become an establishment that ends up causing deeper divisions. Following that problem comes an equally important one: whether the popularization of a remembrance culture works to reinforce collective memory that emphasizes ingroup love and outgroup hate in post-conflict societies, especially ones that involve contending ethnic groups.

A case in point is the controversial visits to the Yasukuni Shrine in Japan, which honors 2.5 million Japanese war dead. It exemplifies how collective memory is reinforced constantly among Japanese by state-sponsored rituals. An annual commemoration is held at the shrine and is participated by high-ranking officials, sparking an outcry from China and South Korea which suffered wartime atrocities committed by Japan’s Imperial troops during the Pacific War and World War II. The shrine also housed a museum on the Pacific War, displaying locomotive used during the opening of Siam/Burma railway, aka “the death railway.” The display did not mention the death of over 100,000 Southeast Asian forced laborers and 13,000 allied war prisoners during the notorious construction. This explains that part of Japanese collective wartime memories have been formed by national half-truth narratives—a myth that a small group of military leaders were responsible for all the wrongdoing while the rest of the nation were innocent victims; and a mythical idea of heroic and noble sacrifice of Japanese soldiers that gave them exclusive honor (Maciej 2014). These narratives have also been fed through its history textbooks that have been rewritten to remove negative portrayal of Japan’s past (Masalski 2001).

In the Balkans, the Yugoslav wars ended in 2001 after a decade of bloodshed that witnessed massive human rights violations. Repercussion lasts until now and the antagonism towards each other is still largely felt in all countries. Truths about series of regional conflicts are inconsistent, being in thrall to manifold facts intransigently maintained by each party—the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosnians, among others. An incident of the same nature as the aforementioned Japanese wartime controversy was also reported in the region when Croatia made a protest to Serbia over an honor bestowed to the General who commanded the attack of YPA in Vukovar in 1991 (Vladisavljevic 2019). But Misa Vacic, the leader of Serbian Right, insisted that “Serbs never attack nobody, never in all our history” (*The Newsmaker* 2019). Problematically, the two narratives are compounded by memorials, ceremonies, rituals or other kinds of commemorations

to remember past events which incorporate messages that may have set the scene for the conflict being protracted, or even escalated, imbuing people with nationalist sensation.

An analysis of the circumstances in the region denotes a domination of nationalist orientations in all countries involved in the wars, posing a serious challenge to an effort to establish inclusive truths, thus encumbering reconciliation initiatives (Subotić 2012; Bešić 2017, Banjeglav 2018). This vehement patriotism certainly impinges on regional culture of remembrance in a way that prevents cessation to hostilities. Some researchers contended that institutionalized narratives in these countries are responsible for intense hostility that remains nearly two decades after the end of the Yugoslav wars (ibid.).

The argument above pointed out that memorialization initiatives can easily be turned into political tools and utilized to serve a certain political agenda. The optics of this state of affairs does not bode well for any attempts to install positive peace. In view of this, it is worthwhile to inspect the matrix of the phenomenon concerning culture of remembrance and its impact on culture of peace. While the situations in the Balkans twenty years after the war have not shown significant improvement, it merits thorough investigation to see whether continuous hostility and negative peace have been an outcome of such toxic remembrance. This investigation is expected to provide a clearer picture of the complex relationship between remembrance culture and culture of peace.

There were a few difficulties in carrying out this research. The first one concerned selection of a museum for a case study. It was not the first intention of this research to investigate the phenomenon using a museum in Croatia as a case study. But the plan to find a museum devoted to the subject of the Yugoslav war in Serbia turned out to be an impossible task because there is yet to be such kind of an initiative in this country. As a result, the project was forced to look for museums outside Serbia, hence the Image of War Museum.

It has been an intention of this research to obtain the most accurate findings that are trustworthy enough. By way of achieving that trustworthiness, it is a must to ensure adequacy of measures. Because of that, it had been difficult to adhere to work schedule for a large part of work depended on cooperation of contributing outsiders, i.e. questionnaire respondents, curators. Indeed, it suffered a setback when getting a valid number of questionnaire respondents became a testing task, as it turned out. To solve this issue, a few respondents were recruited digitally from

TripAdvisor website which has a review section for travelers to leave opinions about their visits to places around the world, in this case the Image of War Museum. Even so, it also took quite a while to get any reply from those reviewers. Similarly, the curator, after agreeing to give an interview, was not able to find the time for that, thus affecting the work schedule.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. It begins with an introduction outlining the structure of the thesis. Chapter 1 is a survey of relevant literatures. The two foremost subject areas of discussions with reference to relevant literatures are: 1) memory and culture of remembrance; and 2) socialist legacies and peacebuilding in the Balkans. The first area comprises four main parts, that is, memory and history, culture of remembrance in memorial museums, the "never again" message, and war photos in museums. The second area focused on the political landscapes of Yugoslavia and its legacies in remembrance culture in the region. Theories and academic papers in the above-stated areas will be referenced later in the discussion of the findings in the empirical part of the study.

Chapter 2 outlines methodological framework of this study. It provides description of a research design, rationale behind selected procedures. i.e. the mixed method, a case research, as well as data collection. Analytic strategies are laid out separately for each data source. The chapter also covers details of a case study, that is, background information of the Image of War Museum that includes the institution's missions, how it originated, details of space and the exhibition that is the centerpiece of this research project.

Principal findings are presented in Chapter 3. The results of the investigation are put across in the first part of the chapter with the help visual aids of graphs and charts to ensure easy and clear understanding. They are displayed in the following order: the questionnaire survey, the photo collection and interviews/testimonies of the curator and photographers. Altogether, these findings are interpreted and examined in latter part. Overall findings are then presented, yielding answers to the research question. Chapter 4 leaves the final part to comments and suggestions from the project that hopefully will be of use to people working towards peace in this region and elsewhere in the world. It is written with a strong wish that this research paper does not end up filling the shelves of the library not to be picked up by anyone.

This research paper ends with Chapter 4, the concluding chapter, in which a recap of all works that been done in this study will be provided, the most important part—an answer to the research

question. It will also review what this research has elicited based on the completed observation, which will yield meaningful findings. The conclusion chapter is dedicated to an overall evaluation of the whole project and the significance of the research in peace studies.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical part of this research is devoted to reviews of literatures of relevant theories and contextual information. The review is organized thematically. The first section of this chapter is a survey on scholar writings in memory studies and peace studies, offering an exploration of various arguments of memory, history and remembrance culture with regard to culture of peace. The second section contains comprehensive discussions and analysis about the pre-war era of the Balkans, i.e. Yugoslavia, and the post-war scenarios of multiple state actors that is of important to this research. Both parts shall give a clear analysis of existing works in the field.

1.1 MEMORY, CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE AND MEMORIAL MUSEUMS

1.1.1 Memory and history

One of the primary elements of memory deserving attentions in the topic of remembrance culture is its social feature, which has a symbiotic relationship with identity (McGrattan and Hopkins 2017). This relationship has been the focal point of memory-making activities sponsored by states, which has often been manipulative and exploited for specific purposes (Schudson 1997; Lea 2017), particularly in the nation-state building, and even more so in societies emerging out of conflicts, including nations in the Balkans trying to legitimize their presence (Pavlaković 2017). In all nations, identity creation is steered through historical education. “History become the stuff of which political memory, identity and myth is made of” (Assmann 2008).

One of the most prominent authors who championed the idea that memory is not a strictly personal experience is the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who, in 1925, challenged the popular belief that memory is an individual property and introduced a concept of “collective memory”. While Halbwachs did not completely reject the exceptionally slight possibility of strictly individual memory, he declared that memory is a social activity in its essence. In other words, individuals recollect in a manner that is fundamentally social. According to the French sociologist, it is simply when people retreat into their own thoughts or even in dreams, they can only do so with connection to events and people in them, although the experience may appear so personal that one might conveniently assume that he has completely isolated himself from the

outside world. Besides, for Halbwachs, human memories are social because people must be equipped with certain social-based tools to be engaged in remembering—language is one of them—without which one cannot generate the meaning of memories and relate with them.

Memory is also contextual. Halbwachs argued that we remember bygone times not purely as it happened but in connection with our today's contexts, rendering a process he called "reconstruction of the past". People revisit their old memories while attaching themselves to conditions they are presently under, connecting those events with a whole host of interacting social elements, such as time and space. The process of reconstruction occurs within a set of social frameworks, including class, family and religion, that is at work in the act of remembering. Owing to its dependency on social frameworks, memory is a dynamic entity that is open for repetitive interpretations, and as a result constantly being challenged and negotiated. In such fashion of revisiting and reconnecting, it somehow forces us to rework the way we remember and identify with those pasts, thus none of the memories remain in its originality. It permits space for recollections that might or might not subsist in the real world (Halbwachs 1992). Michael Schudson (1997), likewise, argued for the inextricability between memory—both individual and collective—and social process. But he lays more emphasis on the premise that memory is distortion. It is so, wrote Schudson, because memory is "variably and invariably selective […] a process of encoding information, storing information, and strategically retrieving information, and there are social, psychological and historical influences at each point" (1997, 384).

This points to an intimate relationship between memory and history, so intimate that Halbwachs (1992) called them metonym, which became what he termed "historical memory", that is, memory recalled by historians. When information of the historical past is retrieved, it is done tactically—not all past events are passed on but ones which have been better preserved or chosen to be preserved (Schudson 1997). This passing on is made, particularly by institutions in power, via secondary sources such as shared representations of public narratives, rendering "generalized history", which is then reconstructed as "our history," making it remains relevant to the present and future generations (Assman 2008). This explains how collective memory is processed by being interpreted, reinterpreted, negotiated, contested, challenged, and so on, and retold in the name of history. The relationship between memory and history can becomes ambiguous when both are polarized (ibid.). Where this happens, Assmann notes, a historian can play a role to

neutralize them by assuming ethical function and focusing on what has been left out in state-sponsored memory to be forgotten, thus creating counter-memory.

1.1.2 Culture of remembrance in museums

After the second half of the twentieth century, there has been a notable shift in a culture of remembrance that are significant to this research. That is, a huge surge in commemorative practices, which is correspondingly in step with rises of memorial museums to the point that can be called a memory boom or, in Amy Sodaro's words, "memorial frenzy". Memorial museums come into being to serve as a place for victims to heal, and for the public to educate themselves of the past wrongs (Barsolou and Baxter 2007; Sodaro 2018). Seemingly, this is a positive turn to overall peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts in societies that have been through conflicts and to society as a whole.

It should be fair to say that culture of remembrance feeds off collective memory. Based on notion of collective memory given by Halbwachs (1992), commemorative practices and rituals cannot be carried on without memory of a social group. But then again, a social group, having no memory of its own, at least in terms of neurological sense, needs something tangible to preserve that memory. This is where culture of remembrance comes in. Members of a social unit erect a monument, holds a commemoration, build a museum, and employs other techniques to help people within it either remember or forget a certain past (Assmann 2008; Meusburger, Heffernan and Wunder 2011). By doing so, memory of a group can last from generations to generations regardless of their varying experiential knowledge. With the help of such memory projects, collective memory is then planted as well as reinforced in a social group for preservation. As a result, monuments and statues litter places around the world to celebrate selected memory of important persons or events. Who or what gets selected and deemed important to be remembered is usually done by the establishment (Schudson 1997; Assmann 2008; Meusburger, Heffernan and Wunder 2011; David 2017; Pavlaković 2017).

Memorialization is a politicized process in different ways. Numerous authors write about this from various perspectives. Ljiljana Radonić (2018) postulates that museums, in producing historical knowledge and by showing how a society looks at its past, are contested space that operates under cultural patterns and inclusion/exclusion mechanisms. Similar argument is made by Rivera-Orraca (2009), who states that an act of remembering, when made under different

"triggers," has a potential to cause both consent and dissent alike. She goes on to propose that spaces of memory hold power to display only truths that the institution allows. Muchitsch (2013), meanwhile, contends that in post-conflict societies, there is also a challenge to avoid turning war-related museums into a means of politics by fostering a formation of national identity. This view, however, is contrasted by Poulot (2011) who, referring to national museums, claims of the need to connect representations of the past in museums to construction of national identities. He also points out that fabrication of "master" narratives is exceptionally fruitful in state-run museums. Franzenberg (2018) proposes that remembrance, as a result of a negotiation between the past and the present, is partially a political process in pedagogical sense, since it engages with reconciliation and creation of a civic society.

Accordingly, to showcase traumatic and contentious historical events is a delicate task. Museums displaying wars face a dilemma over how to "present the unpresentable" and to stand as a learning institution that can deal with a test of surmounting national agendas (Muchitsch 2013). The task is particularly tricky when museums have to engage with violent pasts of utter atrociousness such as genocides, holocaust, because it entails exhibiting horrendous stories in a way that are both able to convey the desired narratives and yet appeals to visitors (Winter 2013).

One of the practices that poses a threat to memorial museums telling the actual truths is concerned with the tradition to dehumanize enemy. Dehumanization of enemy is somehow purported to legitimization of the use of force (Whitmarsh 2000; Bogumił 2015). In exhibitions, as explained by Bogumił, the main character of the story's identity and existence are jeopardized by the enemy, implying the "we-other" relations, which has become part of political construction that obstructs the existence of a diversified world. Meusburger (2011, 55) puts it succinctly that "the dichotomy of we (us, our) and they (them, their) is equated with good and bad, civilized and barbarian, truth and lie, religion and superstition, and chosen people (holy nation) and terrorists"; and this propaganda only works to its full effect when not the whole truths are exposed. This is why some truths are kept by the establishment in order to control how people form their national identity. Similarly, Sodaro (2018) points out that when enemies are dehumanized, "we" are victimized; and since victimization equals virtue, the practice of sharing collective identity as victims leads to a shift in political and moral power from the victors to the victims.

On the other hand, there are opposing views on possible effects of these commemorations. Meusburger, Heffernan and Wunder (2011) assume that memorials and exhibitions, while arguably inspiring introspection of the past, may or may not transmit the designers of memorials or curators of museums' intended messages to audience, particularly the well-informed ones. They maintained that manipulative power of images, statues or texts is weaker than a person's prior knowledge, experience, cognitive framework, among other things. On the contrary, Franzenberg (2013), although subscribing to the idea that knowledge is part of remembrance, postulates that the source of our knowledge and things we know about the past often comes from popular narratives. Consequently, what this implies is that an individual's knowledge of the past might not be trustworthy because part of it has been obtained from dominant narratives. On top of that, there is the vexed question of how to oscillate between "fascination of terror and its instruments" and "the didactic urge to explain violence […], make it easier to come to terms with or prevent" (Muchitsch 2013, 10).

1.1.3 The "never again" message

The Holocaust committed against Jewish and several "other" people during the World War II is one of the factors that helps laid grounds for culture of remembrance of the present day. When Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany unexpectedly dropped to his knees at the Warsaw Ghetto during commemoration of the Jewish victims in 1970, it was highly regarded as a symbolic moment of a remembrance culture (*DPA* 2019). Since then until lately, it had grown stronger and became a global practice. Celebrated in multiple forms, culture of remembrance ranges from structural establishments such as memorials and monuments that are dotted around the world, to memorization practices, such as commemorations and days of remembrance that have similarly spread throughout the year.

UNESCO, by inaugurating 27 January as an annual International Day of Commemoration in the memory of the victims of the Holocaust, underlines the Holocaust remembrance in connection with education of the crime. It affirms the shared responsibilities of the world community to be self-critical about the atrocity and to educate younger generations of hatred ideologies as declared by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, "[w]e vow to apply the lessons of the Holocaust to our lives and to those of succeeding generations."

By definition, culture of remembrance is by and large attached with lessons, providing moral messages about violence and conflicts. It facilitates a connection between remembering the violent past and preventing it from happening again (Simon 1997, Meusburger 2011, Sodaro 2018). Functions of memorialization, memorial museums included, range from being a place for truth telling, preserving the past, mourning, healing, promoting reconciliation to encouraging civic activities, symbolizing community's commitment to values such as democracy and human rights, and so on (Barsolou and Baxter 2007, Sodaro 2018). All these impacts to the society will not be possible without the one essential task of culture of remembrance—to teach. When learning occurs, the society is more equipped to maneuver through the traumatized past and become resilience (Simon, 1997). That holds out a prospect for the democratic values to take root in post-conflict societies, or any society.

From various angles, several other scholars persuasively contend for culture of remembrance as a probable remedy for conflicts when it encourages learning as Schudson (1997, 359) declares "memorialization moralizes the past." Aleida Assmann (2015) writes that "[a]nniversaries provide self-assurance. They offer a moment of respite to reflect on one's position in history," and that "…overcoming a traumatic past involves confronting it and gaining new direction from the memory of the crimes." Likewise, Meusburger (2011) considers that culture of remembrance opens up opportunities for some breathing space that might lead to contemplation and optimally reconciliation. Franzenburg (2018), by the same token, assumes that learning to forgive is possible when one is able to accept traumatized memory of the violence past, which could be achieved with the help of commemoration.

To be able to create a space of memory with moral education, there are tactics that are generally used by memorial museums. Sodaro (2018) suggests that heuristic and affective strategies are pursued to induce moral reflections on the past wrong; and to that end, it is essential to encourage empathic emotions among visitors so that they can identify themselves with those who were and have been through such tormenting experience of wars and conflicts. She further notes that testimonial accounts are often considered to be a dependable way to create experiential moments in which visitors could somehow feel the same agony. Likewise, Simon (1997) maintains that when observers witness testimony of traumatic events, they watch with their own eyes human survival and loss; this can be an inspiration for them to see the continued existence of humanity that warrants democratic values or compassion. When that happens, witnesses

simultaneously internalizes moral obligations towards a better world. “When memory and history are brought together in these aspirations, testimony imposes particular obligations on those called to receive it—obligations imbued with the exigencies of justice, compassion, and hope that define the horizon for a world yet to be realized” (ibid., 175). For Bogumił (2015), this is the desired diversified world without “us” and “them.”

A large number of memorial museums around the world have committed themselves to pedagogic remembrance. In Sodaro’s writing, a well-known dictum “never again!”, is often used as a core moral message at these museums, in which remembering is practiced for the good of the future generations. The Apartheid Museum in South Africa is one of them. As the first of its kind, the museum was opened in 2001 with a mission to deliver an insightful experience for anyone who wants to learn about the South African Apartheid. Along with that, the museum was inaugurated, as stated in its website, with hope to show the world how the nation has come to grips with its repressive past and has since charted a course that is hoped to bring about South Africa that truly belongs to every South Africans. Christopher Till, the museum’s Director, quoted Archbishop Desmond Tutu as saying, “We will have looked the beast in the eye. We will have come to terms with our horrendous past and it will no longer keep us hostage. We will cast off its shackles and, holding hands together, black and white, we will stride together into the future. And looking at our past, we will commit ourselves: Never again!” (Till 2018).

On the other side of the coin, it is arguably not empirically proven that people stop killing each other and consent to coexist peacefully despite existing feuds when memorial museums or monuments are erected or that commemorations are practiced (Sodaro 2018). It is also a fact that there is no empirical evidence indicating that there is a necessity for people to confront disturbed memories in order to be able to come to term with it (David 2017). David’s argument is captivatingly made against the global uniformization of commemoration practices which have extensively been grounded on “facing the past” framework. She contends that the healing effect of facing the traumatized past has been misguidedly given credence because there is in fact no universal approach to how each society as a collective unit, or each individual, should do to cope with past traumas. She states that this current universalist mindset totally ignores other surrounding factors such as cultural, religious, societal differences, not to mention the resultant westernized values being forced upon the non-western societies.

1.1.4 War photographs in museums

When it comes to manipulation of collective memory, images are more powerful than texts. Meusburger, Heffernan and Wunder (2011, 4) explicates that images are superior to texts in that there are more possibilities for images to convey wider ranges of information than oral or written language. They attribute such ability to the fact that images can carry with them messages beyond linguistic and cultural barriers in a way that is impossible for texts, allowing meanings to be disseminated across communities. Visual images' adaptability to make visible what would be incomprehensible or hidden gives them power to mold public perceptions, and as a result, are ideally appropriate for delivering emotions such as patriotism, heroism, tragedy, pathos, joy and pain (ibid.).

As regards war photographs, they are generally perceived as genuine testimonies, crucially because photographers were present at the location where the incident took place (Vitaljić 2013). Nonetheless, Bounia and Stylianou-Lambert (2013) argued that documentary photographs such as war images exhibited in museums should not be taken as a neutral account of any given historical event, in much the same way that museums are not always houses of truth storing objective knowledge of history, as discussed above. They insist that museum photographs, notwithstanding their authenticity, are hardly truthful evidence of historical events because they are selected, arranged and presented in a well-thought-out manner by museum decision makers, thus "a result of a complex network of personal, social, political and economic circumstances and decisions" (ibid. 155). On top of that, how images are read is entwined with memory of a person which is constantly influenced by various social frameworks.

Another reason for photographs to contain elements of prejudice comes from the way they are produced, which makes their perceived status as unbiased proof questionable. Bounia and Stylianou-Lambert (ibid,) postulate that photographers, in the process of production, make choices of what to include and exclude within the frame to achieve the intended photographic results. Vitaljić (2016) makes a similar argument on this point, asserting that photographers in the battlefields are mostly forced to document wars from their own sides, prompting concerns about neutrality. She further argues that every so often this is more complicated with local photographers because, unlike their foreign colleagues, they have to cope with feelings of love

towards their own countries, jeopardizing the way they portray the events. This contention comes as a warning against viewing war photographs as objective witness of the history.

Documentary photographs, along with films, diaries of observer statements, novels, stories, among others, are medium that can be used to make disturbing historical events meaningful; and are used as "modes of instruction" (Simon 1997). This is the reason why *The Diary of a Young Girl*, which chronicles life in hiding of Anne Frank and her family during Nazi occupation is included in many countries' school reading list, including Croatia up until 2019, to teach about the Holocaust. On a side note, the Croatian government's decision to drop the book in 2019 interestingly illustrates the state's attempt to manipulate collective memory pertinent to crimes committed by the Nazi regime, thanks to the Ustaša government's close collaboration with Nazi Germany during the World War II (Chernick 2019).

1.2 SOCIALIST LEGACIES, CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE AND PEACEBUILDING IN THE BALKANS

This section discusses briefly about Yugoslavia and its fragmentation that caused a political watershed in the Balkans. The downfall of the ill-fated socialist state, a process that lasted from 1990-1992, had dragged all involved nations that were the results of the breakup into a series of brutal wars. Persistent hostility is still largely evident as the remnants. This section is helpful in understanding the unique backdrops of the Western Balkans in the present day.

1.2.1 Coexistence of the people and disintegration

Yugoslavia was created as a product of war that strived to put together the South Slav people who lived separately throughout history. In the end, it had become a melting pot of Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, many others of different roots and identities such as Hungarians. Categorizing the state into any clear-cut political system might never be possible, although it labeled itself as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. While on the outside the state looked monolithic, on the inside it strained to find a unified endeavor on how to run this country of hybrid identity (Brunnbauer 2016).

Yugoslavia's systems, engineered from within, were extremely complicated owing to Tito's determination to maintain the balance among ethnics (Uvalić 2018). As a multiethnic nation-

state of six republics, namely Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Serbia, which also held two autonomous provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo, Yugoslavia's political system, at least after the 1970s onwards, was designed to distribute a relatively equal power to all groups within a federal system (Hislope 1995; Wachtel and Bennett 2013). The parliament of Yugoslavia, based on its 1974 Constitution, was formed based on shared power—19 representatives from each republic and 15 from each autonomous province regardless of the number of populations in each republic or province.

The fabric of the society was kept under "brotherhood and unity," seen as a serious effort to mend strained relations among the brothers after the World War II catastrophic fratricide (Denich 1993). Despite several shortcomings, the second Yugoslav project was successful in bringing together people of various descents at least until 1987 (MacDonald 2009). The coexistence was said to be peaceful and constructive. Interethnic marriage was not uncommon among inhabitants of different republics. Despite long-standing rivalries generating nationalist sentiments, "linguistic similarities and historical commonalities" offset the antagonism, fostering the idea of the one nation of Yugoslavia as opposed to "us" against "them" (Botev and Wagner 1993).

However, the creation and existence of the Yugoslav state were to numerous scholars a brewing storm that presaged dismemberment of the state in many ways. Crucially, the multinational state struggled to accommodate different needs of different ethnics it brought together under one nation (Pesic 1996). The Communist Party, which downplayed the notion of historical precedent and ethnonationalism, assumed that a creation of supranational one-size-fits-all culture model was a solution to bring about unity within the regime (Wachtel and Bennett 2013). It was only much later that the regime turn to decentralization to quell growing demand of more autonomy from the federal government (Pesic 1996). The power sharing system was enforced but it instigated over- and underrepresentation (Hislope 1995), causing uncorrectable detriment to the monolithic federation. Effectively, it handed over each republic and province more authorized power that intensified the process of republicanization. Fragmentation became more pronounced now that each one of them worked in its national terms, inevitably triggering conflict of interests among them (Hislope 1995; Watchel and Bennett 2009).

Nationalism that was spreading like wildfire (Denich 1994) took a turn for the worse from the 1980s onwards after Tito's death. Pesic writes that mutual distrust sprouted to the level that "[a]lmost everyone of Yugoslavia's peoples has been perceived as a threat to another national group or has felt threatened itself" (1996, V). A call for republicanization and nationalization was rampant. Secessionist attempts were progressively perilous to the existence of Yugoslavia. Crumbling economy pushed socioeconomic circumstances downhill. Faced with non-dominant groups building up national support for their homelands, leaders in Belgrade perceived a necessity to resuscitate its dominance. To make matter worse, political leaders were not hesitant to exploit all that happened to fulfill their own agendas (Watchel and Bennett 2009). With things being on decline and entangled at all fronts, it was obvious that Yugoslavia was not going to be able to avoid dismemberment and finally being wiped off from the world map.

1.2.2 Destructive ideologies in pre- and post-war era

Knowing that nationalist ideologies are the biggest menace to peaceful Yugoslavia, the Titoist regime struggled to control reminders of disquieting memories of the World War II. For example, the atrocities carried out by the Independent State of Croatia's Ustaša against Serbs at Jasenovac concentration camp were made vanished from the mainstream memory as much as possible; if they had to be mentioned, it would be done so in collective categories such that the Serbs would be referred to as "victims of fascism" and the Ustaša "foreign occupiers and domestic traitors" (Denich 1994).

Subsequent to the demise of Yugoslavia, all nations seeking transit from a socialist republic to a democratic society through a nation-state process saw their national ideologies that were compromised during the socialist time were even more manifest (Bešić 2017). There are reasons to that. If we cling on to an argument that human memory plays a part in constructing identity, the other side of the equation must be that hegemonic remembrance imposed by states imposes similar effects on social memories and thus bolstering national identity. According to many researchers, public remembrance has power to form homogenized collective identity (Schudson 1997, Assmann 2008, Meusburger 2009, Pavlaković 2016, McGrattan and Hopkins 2017). Aware of this claim, state authorities mostly work on collective remembering to steer its people's memories to a desired direction: we are a proud independent nation. This is a reason why nations

with newly gained independence put a strong focus on nation-state building ideology wherein nationalism is considered the Holy Grail.

Nationalism is also much to blame for incompatible hegemonic narratives in each Western Balkans nation. It is responsible, together with other factors, for the current scenario wherein rival nations remain stuck in their own national narratives and rebuff historical interpretations coming from others. Miloš Bešić (2017) writes that amid continuing tension and deep ethnical divisions, the peril of differing truths poses more detrimental effects, thanks to political elites who are adamant in pursuing their nation-state goals that have been set after the breakup of Yugoslavia. His study stressed the paramount importance of shared truths, to be sure, but it is often the case that nationalism is not always an equivalent of truth. Alongside political entities, various other institutions, be they media, schools, religious structures, educational institutions, etc.—the usual suspects in probably all conflicts—are also responsible for propagating specific versions of 'truths' as opposed to factual truths, which are often unpopular as they contradict with what nationalists are willing to believe.

Nationalist discourses are thought to be a major stumbling block to reconciliation initiatives in this region as cited by a great number of authors (for example, Denich 1994, MacDonald 2009; Fischer and Petrović-Ziemer 2013; Bešić 2017; Subotić 2018). They are still deep-rooted in every successor state and MacDonald (2013) cited multiple evidence showing just that. Numerous studies carried out between 1997-2003 evidenced clearly much higher ethnic segregation. The results show that the unwillingness to have individuals of other ethnics as family members is most salient among Bosnian Serbs, which might suggest that situation of ethnic division in Bosnia-Hercegovina is gloomier, compared with others. A research project "Dealing with the Past and Peacebuilding in the Western Balkans" which assessed progress of reconciliation 15 years after the Dayton Peace Accord. The findings bear out a bleak picture in Bosnia, when compared to Serbia and Croatia (Fischer 2013). The project reported multiple impediments undermining positive moves by both local and international civil society actors. Among them are ethno-nationalist polarization and fragmentation among institutions that hold back the process of dealing with the past. Due to an incomparable degree of brutality experienced in Bosnia during the war, distrust and hatred among former neighbors of different ethnics is exceptionally deep and intense.

1.2.3 Toxic remembrance

The more conventional argument found in literatures on memory and national narratives is that hegemonic elites are able to leverage collective memory to serve their political purposes (see for example, Schudson 1996, Assman 2008; Banjeglav 2015, Bešić 2017, Subotić 2018). It is politicized and depoliticized. As a result, we can see that memorials around the world are practiced serving multilayered political functions. National identities constructed through one-sided narratives create a grim prospect for any peacebuilding initiatives, especially in the exact circumstances faced by the successor states of Yugoslavia. That is because these identities are defined "dialectically in relation to one another," and rival discourses about crimes committed during the post-Yugoslav wars are still parts of what define their relationships today (Allcock 2011).

One only has to look at a calendar marking national holidays of these states or occasions they choose to celebrate together to get a good grasp of how contradictory their historical narratives are to each other. In Croatia, its parliament inaugurated 5 August, which was the day its Operation Storm succeeded in taking back a city of Knin from the Serbian Republic of Krajina, the Homeland Thanksgiving Day. It was also later designated the Day of Croatian Defenders. People come together to celebrate the day with jubilation and all kinds of festivity to mark their nation's victory over Serbian Army in 1995. As for the Serbs, the operation that saw a mass exodus of over 200,000 residents in that region and scores of Serbians killed deserves a mourning. Therefore, while Croatians celebrate the day, praising its Operation Storm as a "textbook successful military operation", it is a mourning day for Serbs (*AP* 2018). Another example is when, in the same celebratory event in the year that mark 20th anniversary celebration of the victory, 2015, a nationalist singer sang a song with lyrics that read "Za dom spremni," meaning "Kill a Serb," after which the crowd also chanted "Here we go, Ustasa" (Milekic 2020). This kind of remembrance bears out the reality that it is somewhat an exercise of futility in terms of peacebuilding. People came together only to vent their spleen, reiterating hatred towards those who are no "us," constructive manner that encourages moments for introspection. Evidently, every annual celebration creates intensifying bilateral tensions, prolonging mutual antagonistic relationship between the two nations (Banjeglav 2012).

The education system in the Balkans is also responsible for each republic's exclusive history. This incoherence is not unknown but a socialist legacy which had a hand in the doom of

Yugoslavia (Hislope 1995). Since there had never been any central education system throughout the existence of socialist state, what was taught in a history class in schools varied among republics. This means that each has its own historical uniqueness and national ideologies, enabling further ethnic distance. Nowadays, ethnic segregation schools still exist many countries in the Balkans. In Bosnia, what was supposed to be a temporary measure to address the post-war ethnic frictions has become a permanent policy enforced till today. The infamous measure of "two schools under one roof" demands that schools divide students based on their ethnicity, i.e., Croat and Bosniak, allocating separated learning space and plan different curriculums for each respective group. Similar practice is witnessed in southern Serbia, where some schools are used by students of different ethnics at different times of day. While ethnic Serb students are taught that Kosovo is a province of Serbia, Albanian kids were implanted with knowledge that Kosovo is an independent state (Hajdari 2017).

Perhaps, such corrosive legacy can be blamed for historical textbooks containing exclusive accounts of each nation. As far as building of a nation-state goes, the notion of national myths always comes into play. A state-forming process involves myth making as claimed by a French philosopher Ernest Renan that "the act of forgetting—I might almost say historical error—is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation" (quoted in Assmann 2008). Charles Ingrao (2009) elaborated on this point that legitimization of these newly formed nations' separate existence is also dependent on mythologized narratives. Thus, national narratives are crafted with such agenda in mind, with distortion of facts, omissions of inconvenient truths or even fabrication of history. He additionally noted that this kind of half-truth narratives manages to fuel mistrust and hatred between Serbs and their other former fellow countrymen like the Croats, Bosnians, Slovenes and Kosovars.

A supporting argument is made by Subotić (2018) who highlighted the damaging impact of nation-building projects carried out in these countries. She set out a detailed description of historical textbook problems in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, where it is highly evident that involved state bureaus exert excessive influence over historical contents. Distortions are common. In some cases, they are made in the name of patriotism such as an incident in Croatia where a group of historians called the authors who tried to stick to the actual facts on Jesenovac crime unpatriotic. That is not all. Croatia's history textbook supplement with a statement, written by local historians of younger generations, that Croatia had committed war crimes against Serb

civilians during the 1990s, was not approved by Croatian Education Ministry (ibid., 2018). Despite some progress over the years to soften hostile contents, exclusiveness subsists. This state effort to keep the public ignorant of what happened in reality during those wars has been relatively successful in Serbia, observed Subotić, considering how uninformed people are about their country's past.

1.2.4 Landscape of Croatian Memory

Wartime memory is strategically utilized by all post-Yugoslavia nationalist regimes to reinterpret their Yugoslav history that labeled multicultural co-existence as part of national victimization (Jansen 2002). Croatia is no exception. The claim that nation was liberated to fulfill its ancient dream of establishing a purely Croat state (The realization of its allegedly "one-thousand-year-old dream of independence", as repeatedly proclaimed by Croatia's strongman Tuđjman) is the keystone of the nation's remembrance culture, together with the Homeland War that would later be celebrated at many official commemorations and inaugurated as national public holidays. The elites in power of the newly independent state viewed this war as a defining moment in its contemporary history and has been trying to reconstruct official national narratives around these "heroic" events (Banjeglav 2012; Pavlaković 2016; McConnell 2018), underscoring an act of sacrifice of the Croats in defending their sacred homeland. It became a symbol of pride and identity of Croatians.

By branding Serbia an aggressor, Croatia was thus forced into war only in an act of self-defense against their attackers (Subotić 2012). This narrative has been a primary source of Croatia's identity built in two versions (Banjeglav 2012, 11):

> that of a heroic victim, which was attacked by rebel Serb forces and the JNA [Yugoslav's People Army], and that of a victorious hero, which needed to defend itself and, in the end, won the war. Thus, in this narrative, the Croatian state is simultaneously an innocent victim of Serbian aggression as well as a victorious hero who managed to liberate its territory and restore peace and security.

McConnell (2018) wrote that three main battles during the War of Independence are the points of memory for many Croats, viz., battle of Vukovar in eastern Croatia beginning in August 1991, the eight-month siege of Dubrovnik starting in October 1991 and Operation Storm in Knin in

August 1995. Out of these battles came the Victory Day and Homeland Thanksgiving Day as well as the Day of Croatian Defenders on 5 August; 18 November, which was the day the battle ended, is Remembrance Day for Homeland War Victims and Remembrance Day for Victims of Vukovar and Skabrnja (latest official changes were made in October 2019 in what was reasoned as an attempt to get rid of vagueness of Croatian commemorations) (The government of the Republic of Croatia 2020). Moreover, there are other political rituals, ceremonies such as commemoration of the siege of Dubrovnik on 1 October, which marks the commencement of the attack. Such memorialization is undoubtedly "instrumentalized" by the state to preserve collective memories of the wars that have rewarded the nation its hard-earned independence, a thousand-year dream came true. This is part of the grand narrative of a nation-state building accomplished endeavor.

To conclude, this chapter, by laying out notable works relevant to areas of inspection, has presented existing topical knowledge and arguments made by several authors. It put across important theories on memory, with arguments about the social property of memory, how culture of remembrance makes use of that property in museums, how these museums operate as a learning institution, as well as war photography in museums. Moreover, to provide backgrounds of the context of this study, many academic papers on Yugoslavia, pre- and post-war period, Croatia and Serbia were included in the literature review. These papers also bring the discussion around to topics of politics of memory and unique culture of remembrance in the Balkans that are believed to be one of the culprits for protracted hostility within this region.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the selected methodology and its application to the research, which attempts to find out if a culture of remembrance poses a threat to a culture of peace, serving its purpose to understand more clearly about peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. Examination of the chosen methods, theories and philosophical paradigm will be laid out to demonstrate research design of this study. Along with that, other key components relevant to methodology will be discussed, including the overall process, data collection, study participants, data analysis, ethical considerations and validity. This research will build a theory about a social phenomenon relevant to remembrance culture and peacebuilding as an outcome of it. Starting by observing the cultivation of culture of remembrance, it attempts to extrapolate a theory out of this observation, with the following research questions—one with an objective to draw a conclusion of the phenomenon while another trying to tackle a more specific aspect of such phenomenon:

Does a culture of remembrance facilitate a culture of peace?

The question leads to an investigation of remembrance culture vis-à-vis its prospect to promote peace.

- ***Is commemoration in a form of memorial museum beneficial to reconciliation and installation of peace in post-conflict societies?***

  This is an examination on a certain form of culture of remembrance and its power to influence the public's mindsets when it comes to reconciliation and the attainment of peace.

Peace research, as pointed out by Wallesteen (2011), has been inspired by utopian ideas, which do not only explain how the world functions as a society but also push for the betterment of it, from the current conditions wherein peace in its most critical sense is somewhat missing—that is

to say to envisage a more peaceful world. By posing a research question that asks if a commemoration in the form of memorial museums a positive addition to remembrance culture that facilitate installation of positive peace, the study embraces that ideal ambition of making the world a peaceful place. Answers obtained as findings should be of use to peace practitioners who are working in or are interested in this area.

Since peace research deals with issues of violence, there is a preference that the investigation is done empirically, uniting the two sources of it, namely theory and evidence (Wallesteen 2011). Accordingly, this is considered, to start with, the most fundamental reason to conduct an empirical research on this study which is aimed at understanding the impact of the flourishing culture of remembrance on peacebuilding.

2.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research adopts an inductive approach. Conducting a research inductively, as explained by Héritier (2008), is to gain a new insight of a certain phenomenon being studied by examining relevant viewpoints of concerned actors; steps involve collecting data, interpreting the empirical evidence conceptually and drawing an inference based on the analysis and readings. The concerned actors investigated in this research comprise museumgoers, a curator and photograph collections, from whom collected data was analyzed and then theorize. In addition, content analysis was the approach utilized to good effect in this study, given that materials from the museum account for the majority of data gathered for analysis.

The researcher's ontological approach is grounded on critical realism paradigm whose main feature is a refutation that there is objective worldview and determinate knowledge about this world (Maxwell and Mattapalli 2010). For critical realists, there is no individualist approach in explaining a given phenomenon because there is always a reality out there that is unconnected with what a person thinks (Bhattacherjee 2012). In other words, a phenomenon does not possess an intrinsic meaning totally free of external determinants and contexts.

2.1.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design was carried out based on the nature of this study that was challenged by small samples. The problem of small samples is that it raises the question of transferability (Bryman

2012). Accordingly, a mixed-mode research design was selected, and a case research was deemed suitable for this study. By integrating qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis, the approach combines each method's advantages, enhancing the capacity to provide broader and richer analyses. This is particularly true for peace research that can benefit from the fact that different methods, in dealing with the same research question, allow for different perspectives (Brounéus 2011). Not only that the more robust investigation will likely be achieved, quantitative and qualitative methods, when taken together in a single project, can complement each other in that they can be "pressed into the service of another" (Bryman 2012, 631). One method also supplements the other as findings of both can be compared against each other to check for corroboration (ibid.). This is a prominent characteristic of this approach.

2.1.2 CASE RESEARCH

A case is "a phenomenon, or an event, chosen, conceptualized and analyzed empirically as manifestation of a broader class of phenomena or events" (Vennesson 2008). Intensively used in social research, case research or case study was taken owing to its two strengths as laid out by Bhattacherjee (2012). First, in conducting a case study, a researcher can examine a phenomenon of interest from multiple perspectives of multiple participants as was done in this research. Second, case research tends to allow for a richer and more authentic interpretation of a phenomenon, since it can capture a large contextual data. Here, the Image of War museum is chosen to be studied empirically in order to build a theory about culture of remembrance as a supportive vehicle for peacebuilding.

2.1.3 USES OF MIXED-METHOD APPROACH AND RATIONALE

A questionnaire survey was used as a quantitative approach while a semi-structured interview and content analysis were conducted in qualitative manner. These approaches are selected based on their advantages and appropriateness to this research. In content analysis, its most favorable quality the researcher finds beneficial in justifying the findings is its transparency, that is, the quality of presenting an examination with objectivity (Bryman 2012). Photograph collections in the museum and an interview with the curator, as well as testimonies of photographers were analyzed using content analysis approach. Analysis of data from the above-stated sources altogether formed the findings of this research. As a result, the outcome represents three actors in

explaining the social phenomenon in question, namely, audience (museumgoers), messengers (curator, photographers) and medium (exhibitions), substantiating verifiable claims of the final findings.

The mixed-method strategy employed in this research is applied with a use of *triangulation*, whereby more than one method or source of data is adopted to explain a social phenomenon. Chief value of triangulation is validity enhancement. In peace research, triangulation is especially emphasized as a way to improve quality of information and detect bias (Höglund and Öberg 2011). It also utilizes *completeness* to obtain a more complete answer to the research questions. The idea behind this is the implication that there may be more than one interpretation to a given situation, creating a more justifiable research outcome. For that reason, content analysis of still visual images and non-visual materials, i.e. captions, testimonies, as well as a semi-structured interview with a curator of the museum were performed, along with a questionnaire survey that allows an understanding of museum audience's perception of the exhibition. Findings of the three methods help enhance each other's validity with uses of triangulation and completeness.

2.1.4 DATA COLLECTION

The three sources of data generation are described as follows:

1. Exhibition materials: War photographs showcased in the museum were used as objects of analysis, along with captions describing the events and testimonies of photographers. As the research question asks if culture of remembrance in a form of memorial museum plays a constructive role in peacebuilding, all photographs were interpreted by coding. This would tell us what kind of messages concerning peace the exhibition conveys to audience. Although this would also shed lights on the pertinence of curatorial authority.
2. Questionnaire (see Appendix for full questionnaire): a questionnaire survey fulfilled the quantitative methodological based on small sample. Opinions of visitors at the War Image Museum was obtained through questionnaires to find out their overall impression of the visit in connection to peace and reconciliation both in general and the Balkans. With an approval sought from the museum's director, questionnaires were distributed to visitors with the help of museum's staff from June-July 2019. The museum receives

visitors in the region of 400 per month on average. Since this study ran a random sample of 10 percent, 40 respondents were asked to fill out the questionnaire.

3. Interview and testimonies: an interview was conducted with the sole curator of the exhibition to get the behind-the-scenes process of the foundation of the museum as well as her stances towards peace in a post-conflict society. With open-ended questions conducted in semi-structured manner, the interview was to provide an understanding of what kind of remembrance might have been shaped at the decision-making level at memorial museums and how might that contribute to culture of peace. Due to the busy schedule of the interviewee, it was suggested that the interview be done in written form for her convenience. Questions were sent and answered through email exchange. Follow-up questions were sent when either clarification or elaboration were needed, or when something else came up later. Moreover, testimonies given by photographers are also analyzed within the same domain to find out perspectives of the messengers.

2.1.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The aim of data analysis is to process the obtained data in an organized way to be able to elicit meanings and draw a convincing conclusion based on a research question (Bengtsson 2016). Given a mixed-method approach, an analysis is performed in line with quantitative and qualitative processes explained below.

Quantitative analysis

Questionnaires were analyzed quantitatively with the following steps. First, raw data from responses were sorted using simple coding system implemented on an excel sheet. Completed questionnaires from 40 respondents were processed manually. After that, data were transformed using univariate analysis, meaning that questions were analyzed completely independent of each other and responses were measured in nominal scale. The questionnaire comprises both open- and close-ended questions. While answers of each close-ended questions were transferred and tabulated straightforwardly, coding responses from open-ended questions required meaningful interpretation on what they suggest in relation to research questions. This was done by exploring themes in those responses and then create broad categories of them.

Qualitative content analysis

Most forms of qualitative data analysis have coding as their starting point (Bryman 2012). One of those forms is content analysis, which relies exclusively on coding. Data analysis for the qualitative method was performed under thematic or conceptual analysis, that is, data was systematically coded in search of not just explicit but also underlying themes. An explanation offered by White and Marsh (2006) explains succinctly that qualitative content analysis is performed to create a picture of a selected phenomenon that operates within a certain context. This picture "incorporate context, including the population, the situation(s), and the theoretical construct," to "depict the 'big picture' of a given subject, displaying conceptual depth through thoughtful arrangement of a wealth of detailed observations" (ibid., 39).

Qualitative content analysis is a reflective process in that there is no step-by-step procedure to get through and call it a day. All processes of coding, categorizing and reflecting on the analysis are iterative within the boundary of the research question, which is always the initial focal points of the researcher (White and Marsh 2006). Coding can be grounded on both priori and inductive codes—the former developed before the whole process of coding begin and the latter while coding is ongoing. Also because of that, coding was done interpretatively. Coding was largely guided by the research questions. This means that it was conducted against the backdrop of Yugoslav Wars, while taking into consideration how these codes would lead to answers of the research questions and to the "the big picture," within the specified context.

Content analysis of museum materials: each photograph and its accompanying captions were looked at as a set of data, not as a separate unit. Analyzing photos or texts alone may not yield accurate results since both offer features that form a "narrative complexity" (Franzenburg 2018). Moreover, the qualitative analysis, which is an iterative process, revolves around application and reapplication of contexts (White and Marsh, 2006). Therefore, it was often the case that photographs on their own convey certain messages but with the captions, they speak more or in a different manner to the person who look at them repetitively. These materials, when analyzed for multiple times, amplify chances for the researcher to either come up with new themes or different readings or both. Thematic codes were created based on the literatures discussed in Chapter 1 and are applied through the analysis. The method is to measure the frequency of each theme being represented in the entire collection of photographs exhibited at the museum.

Details and application of each code are explained below.

CODES	APPLICATION
Antagonism	Applied to materials that exhibit hatred or trigger feelings of hatred
Antiwar messages	Conveying explicitly messages that shows disapproval of war
Controversial/subjective	Texts or images that likely cause a stir, disagreement or disapproval among those who "feel" differently
Counter-narratives	Coded to materials that contradict hegemonic narratives
Croatia/Croats as villain/aggressor	Depiction of Croatia/Croats as being malevolent or one who started the war
Croatia/Croats as victim	Texts or images that portray Croatia/Croats as war victims
Exclusive narratives	Suggestion of one-sided stories
Horror of war	Materials with scenes or words expressing brutal, frightening and unpleasant consequences of war
Humanity as victim	Texts or images that show human, regardless of nationality, suffering loss, pains, mentally or physically, and other hardships caused by war
Just cause	Portrayal of war being morally right and was fought with a valid reason
Nationalism	Expressions of pride in own nation, people and cultures
Pedagogic	Materials that educate people, explicitly or subtly, about the ugly face of war, as well as the pedagogy of horror
Serbia/Serbs as victim	Texts or images indicating Serbia/Serbs as being victim of war
Serbia/Serbs as villain/aggressor	Portrayal of Serbia/Serbs as being malevolent or one who started the war
Violence	Applied to the presence of casualties, including debris, human/animal remains, or other objects associated with act of violence such as firearms
War as tragedy	Materials depicting war as a catastrophic event that causes great suffering, traumas, separation and loss of life, with no positive outcomes in sight.

Content analysis of interview and testimonies: an interview with the curator and testimonies of photographers are analyzed together as one unit. The reason behind this is that both curators and photographers are considered a sender of messages, producers of the content presented in this museum. As already discussed, just as curators select which images fit the overarching message their exhibitions seek to convey, photographers make choices of what they want to present in their photographs (Bounia and Stylianou-Lambert 2013). This means that they both work to send messages they have to their audience, be they news consumers or museumgoers. While an interview expresses curatorial process, along with the curator's perspectives on a memorial museum such as this one, testimonies reveal various aspects of photographers' final products. Their accounts range from eyewitness stories of what happened while the given photos were taken to their private observation about war, to their work ethics. These materials were coded

qualitatively to address research questions from the perspectives of the messenger, identifying identify recurring themes and relationships between them. The latter, however, was more direct and did not require rigorous interpretation.

Themes used to analyze interviews and testimonies are the same as those used for photo collection, except that one themes is added, i.e. "truthful representation." This code applied to practices and/or attitudes to deal with the subject in an honest way, characterizing accuracy and realism. Accordingly, it reflects: 1) the actual event of a given situation; 2) equal representations of all sides involved in the event.

Units of analysis comprise a semi-structured interview with the curator, a video of an interview with the museum director and photograph collection of the "Up Close and Personal—War in Croatia" exhibition. A computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) was brought in to accommodate data analysis process for the interview and content analysis. Clearly making the coding and retrieval process faster and more efficient, CAQDAS is believed to help improve the transparency of the process as researchers become more explicit and contemplative when analyzing data with it (Bryman 2012). RQDA was selected for this research simply because of its essential two advantages: it is a free tool and compatible with Windows operation system.

2.2 CROATIA AND IMAGE OF WAR MUSEUM: A CASE STUDY

Background and space of the museum

In 2018, a Croatian lawyer Danilo Gregović raised funds through a crowdfunding campaign on Indiegogo platform[1]. The campaign, which titled "Let's Save the War in Museum," succeeded well, receiving supports from 97 backers whose financial contributions mounted to USD8,418, higher than the USD8,000 goal in just two weeks into the campaign. The project got off the ground and gave rise to Croatia's first crowdfunded museum, which opened in the city center of Zagreb in August 2018. The primary idea behind this anti-war museum is revealed in its key message to visitors: "war belongs in a museum" or "Rat pripada u muzej" in Serbo-Croatian, that is, to make war a thing of the past by stimulating dialogue about its devastating consequences

[1] "Image of War – Spremimo rat u muzej!", Indiegogo, accessed January 25, 2020, https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/image-of-war-spremimo-rat-u-muzej#/

and educating about the imperative of peace for everyone. The whole space and resources are dedicated to educating visitors about the calamitous wars that supervened after the collapse of Yugoslavia. Series of the ensuing war spanned over a decade from 1990-2000. The fact that the museum was built through crowdfunding money, to a certain extent, demonstrates how people are enthusiastic about this non-profit anti-war project.

The Image of War Museum, emerging from a group of well-intentioned social actors and funding from the like-minded people, wants to send its critical message "Never Again Begins with You" across its audience, with a mission to "Preserve the Past, Influence the Present, Change the Future" as it declared itself as:

- an independent project unrelated to any political or ideological movement
- a museum with a mission: we improve lives of refugees and victims of wars today
- a place where current and future generations will learn about the importance of peace
- a place where war will not be trivialized but taken seriously
- a place where state-of-the-art war photography will be exhibited[2]

The museum's small space of 160 square meter presents a permanent exhibition of war photographs taken by 32 international photographers, six of which Serbians. Some of these photographers were not professional war photographers but were forced to undertake the duty which otherwise would be just about local news in general. The displays, comprising 101 photographs in total, are used as evidence of the "real" events of the war in the Balkans in the nineties, the Homeland War in particular. Testimonies of photographers whose work are part of the display are scattered around, with some being made more noticeable than others. In the basement, visitors are led to a wall that gathers photographs from ordinary people depicting and describing, with their stories, how they went about their life during the harsh time.

Photographs in the exhibitions were selected from numerous photographers as records of incidents from different points of times during the war of independence which lasted from 1991 to 1995, and from varying locations, including Knin, Vukovar, Dubrovnik and Zagreb. Given the miniature space, the museum simply exhibits images and texts on the wall without any other multimedia, except for a video presentation in the basement, showing interviews with four

[2] Indiegogo, "Image of War – Spremimo rat u muzej!" https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/image-of-war-spremimo-rat-u-muzej#/

photographers telling their wartime experience. One side of the walls attached a large graphic visual representation giving information about the timeline of the war. Highlights of the museum, seemingly, are photographers' point of view about wars, including what appears to be private laments for the risky business they were undertaking—hence the title of the exhibition "Up Close and Personal: War in Croatia" or Izbliza i osobno: Rat u Hrvatskoj.

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses findings of all data obtained for the research, beginning from a questionnaire survey, the museum's photo collection and interviews/testimonies of museum producers. Then, it presents the overall findings obtained from analyses of the results

3.1 FINDINGS

This part provides a thorough and detailed investigation of the Image of War museum, presenting multi-faceted aspects of remembrance culture in post-conflict societies, one from audience as a receiver, one from content producers as sender and the other from the medium itself. Observations made at the Image of War museum are then drawn into inferences and form a theory. It presents key findings of the research that have been discovered through the methods described the Chapter 3. Results are structured in three categories as per sources data generation, i.e., a questionnaire survey, interviews and war photograph collection.

3.1.1 QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Data from the questionnaire was analyzed to identify museum visitors' opinions on culture of remembrance with respect to peace. Figure 1, 2 and 3 illustrate demographic profiles of the 40 respondents in terms of gender, education and nationality, respectively.

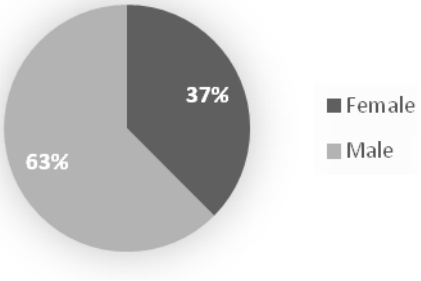
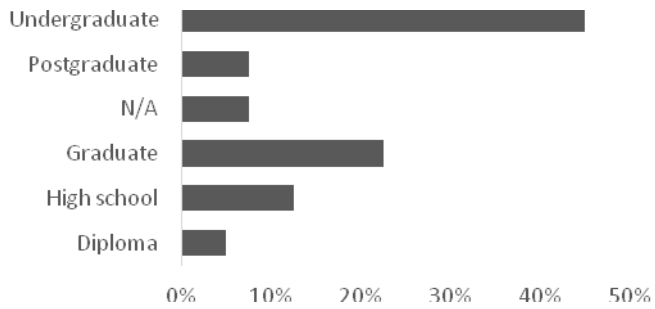


Figure 1 *Respondents' gender*

Figure 2 *Respondents' education profile*



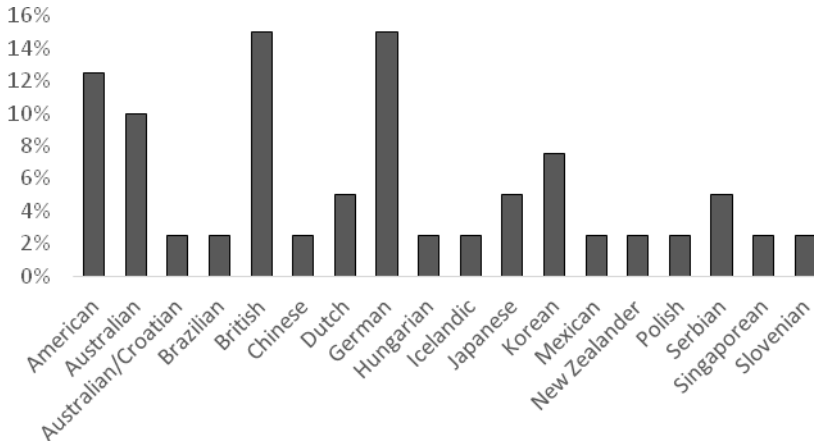


Figure 3 *Respondents' nationality*

In a nutshell on demographics, there were more male respondents than female. Nearly half of them, 45%, held undergraduate degree, while almost one-fourth, 23%, finished graduate level programs. 13% were high school graduates and 8% hold doctorate degree. Regarding nationality, Figure 3 shows that British and German comprised the highest number of respondents, each made up 15% of the total number. American came third at 13%, following by Australian, 10%. There were 8% of Korean while Dutch, Japanese and Serbian represented 5% of the entire respondents. Others included Australian/Croatian, Brazilian, Chinese, Hungarian, Icelandic, Mexican, Polish, Singaporean and Slovenian, at 1% each.

Visitors at the Image of War museum were asked to give their viewpoints on the issue adopted *before* and *after* the visit by filling a questionnaire which seeks to understand perspectives of the

museum's audience on peace before they visited the museum, which boasts a "war belongs in museums" motto, and after viewing the photo exhibition of Croatia's War of Independence.

On the two questions that inquired about respondents' perspectives on peace before the visit, they were asked if they think museums in general should function in a way that promote peace. Referring to Figure 4, 35 respondents out of 40 believed that it would be sensible for museums to work towards promoting peace, accounting for 88%, with 3 respondents, 8%, giving negative answer. To the second question that asked if memorial museums could teach the public about peace and war, nearly all respondents, 98% of them, believed so, as shown in Figure 5.

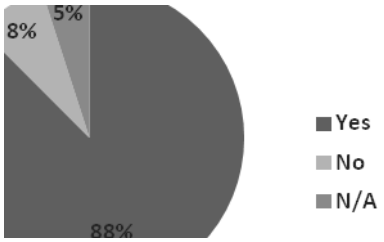


Figure 4 *Responses to question: Should museums function in a way that promotes peace?*

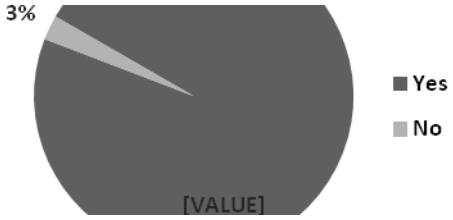


Figure 5 *Responses to question: Can memorial museums teach the public about peace and war?*

Figure 6-10 illustrate responses for questions asked for respondents' perspectives after the visit. In Figure 6, it is apparent that the vast majority of respondents, 97%, agreed that remembering about tragedies by viewing war photos helped promote peace. As to whether they considered that the museum was successful in sending the "never again" message, the results are presented in Figure 7. 80% of respondents believed the message is conveyed through the exhibition while the rest of 20% believed otherwise.

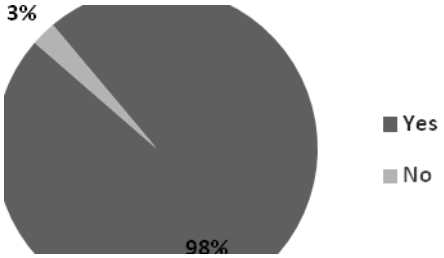


Figure 6 *Responses to question: Do you think remembering about these tragedies by viewing war photos helps promote peace?*

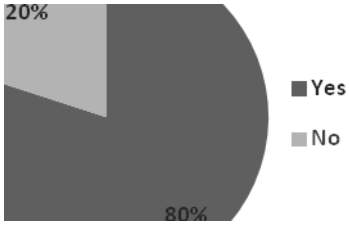


Figure 7 *Responses to question: Do you think the Image of War museum succeed in sending the "Never Again" message to visitors?*

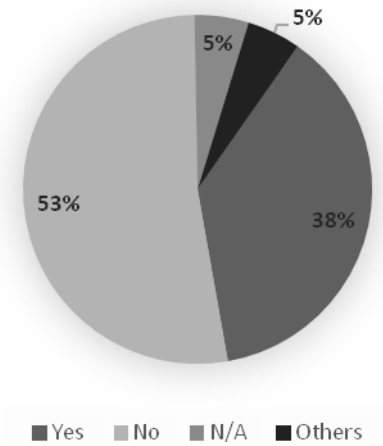


Figure 8 *Responses to question: Does the exhibition in this museum equally represent all conflicting parties?*

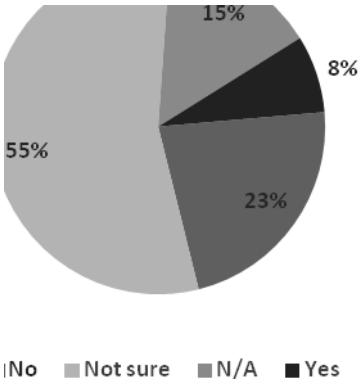


Figure 9 *Responses to question: Can the ongoing conflicts in the Balkans be solved by contributions of memorial museums?*

However, as demonstrated in Figure 8, mixed feelings were manifested over the neutrality of the museum among respondents when asked whether the exhibition represents all conflicting parties of war equally. While 37% of respondents trusted that the exhibition is unbiased, 55% of them did not; and 5% could not say certainly. Those who thought the museum failed to represent all warring sides equally had the impression that representation of Croatians dominated the exhibition. Finally, Figure 9 shows the results obtained from asking if respondents think that conflicts in the Balkans can be solved by contributions of memorial museums. The majority of 55% are not sure if that will be possible, with 23% being certain that it is impossible and 8% are positive that it will.

The pie chart below (Figure 10) shows the percentage of people being skeptical about images exhibited in the museum. Most respondents, 75%, have no doubt about the authenticity of photographs, whereas 20% of them are suspicious.

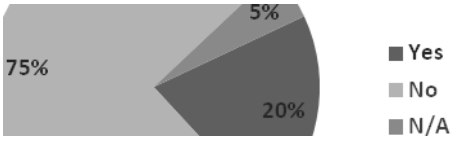


Figure 10 *Responses to question: Are you skeptical about materials exhibited in the Image of War museum?*

3.1.2 EXHIBITION MATERIALS

Based on the literatures discussed in Chapter 1, analyses of materials in the museum were performed on 22 themes demonstrated in the chart below (Figure 11) to find out what the research question asks: does culture of remembrance facilitate culture of peace?

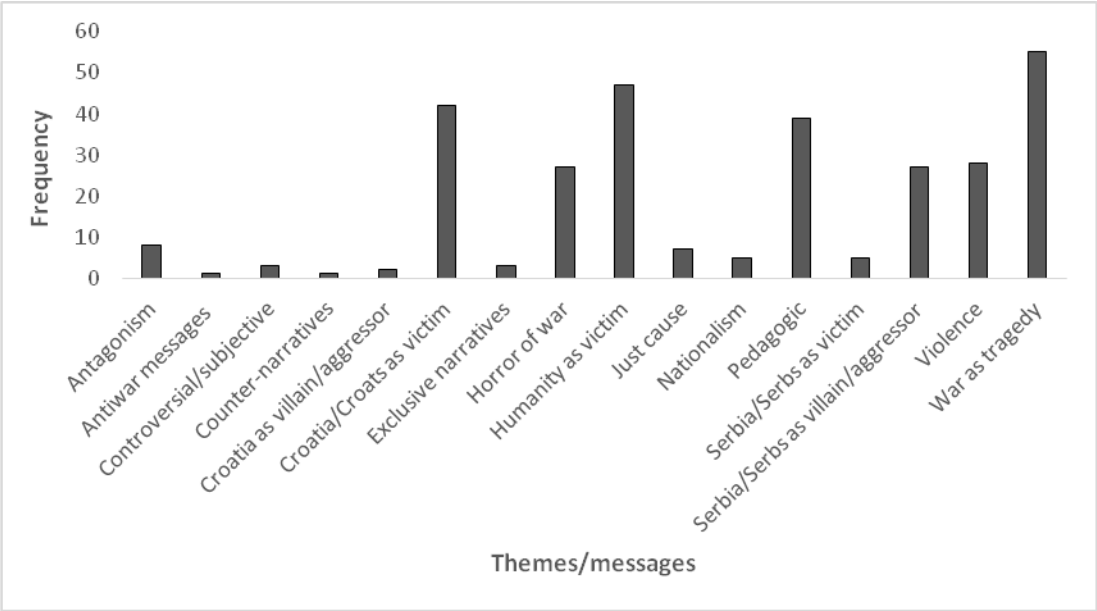


Figure 11 *Thematic codes in exhibition materials*

Frequency of themes of photograph collection. A theme most associated with photographs and captions is "war as tragedy" with a total frequency of 55. "Humanity as victim" is the second most depicted theme, 47. Materials are seen to present the "Croatia/Croats as victim" theme 42 times, followed by "pedagogic", 39. Frequency of the "violence" code was logged 28 times. The "Serbia/Serbs as villain/aggressor" and "horror of war" themes are represented at equal number of times, that is 27. "Antagonism" was detected eight times across the samples, being trailed closely by "just cause" at seven. While "Serbia/Serbs as victim" is represented five times, frequency of representation of "Croatia as villain/aggressor" is three. Equally, the number of times that materials are perceived to express "controversial/subjective" content is three. Finally, "antiwar messages" and "counter-narratives" are coded one time each.

According to the numbers above, the most recurring message embedded in the collection is that war is a tragic event—it is perceived as horrific, frightening, bringing only loss and grieve. It is also worthy of note that the photograph collection portrays Croatia/Croats as an aggressor at a significantly low frequency, when compared to that of its nemesis, Serbia/Serbs, as stated in the findings.

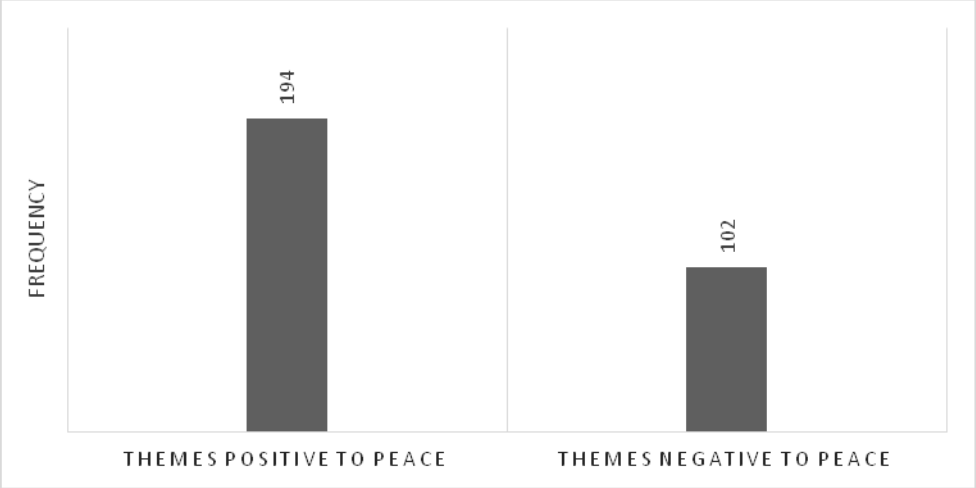


Figure 12 *Frequency of theme category in exhibition materials*

Frequency of theme category. The above chart demonstrates frequency of theme categories, which were grouped based on the research question:

1. Themes that are positive to culture of peace, namely antiwar messages, counter-narratives, horror of war, humanity as victim, violence, pedagogic and war as tragedy

2. Themes that are inimical to culture of peace, i.e., antagonism, controversial/subjective, Croatia/Croats as victim, Croatia/Croats as aggressors, exclusive narratives, nationalism, just cause, Serbia/Serbs as victim and Serbia/Serbs as aggressor.

As can be noticed in Figure 12, total frequency of themes of each group is markedly different. Representation of themes that are considered to be conducive to culture of peace are counted 194 times; 102 for those that are thought to be inimical to peace.

3.1.3 INTERVIEWS AND TESTIMONIES OF CURATORS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS

An interview given by Sandra Vitaljić, the curator of the museum, as well as a video of an interview given by the museum's director, were coded together with interviews and testimonies of photographers. Details of themes detected are depicted in the chart below (Figure 13)

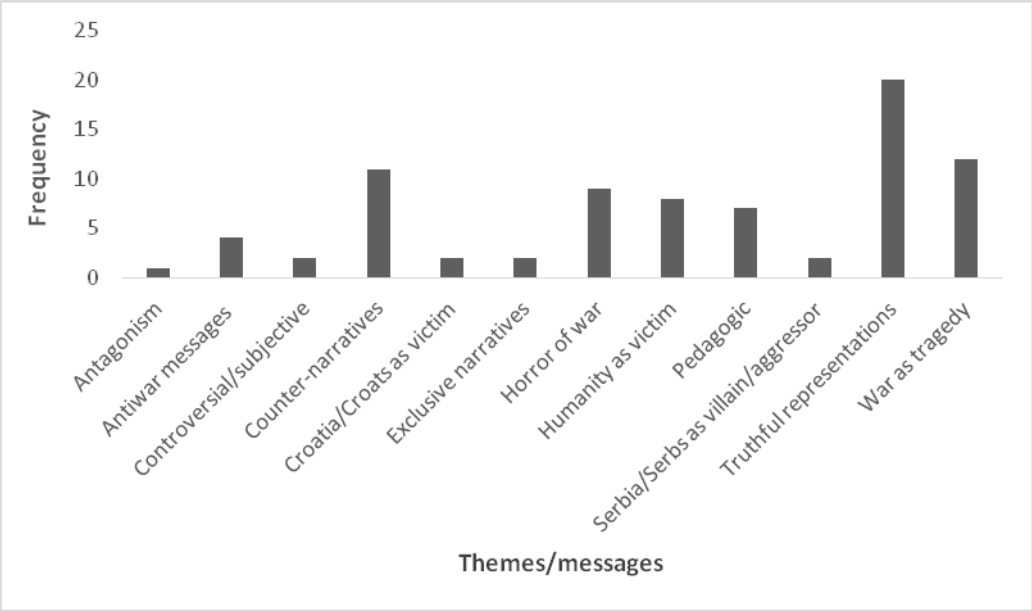


Figure 13 *Thematic codes in interviews and testimonies*

Coding reveals that "truthful representations" was cited most frequently in the interviews and testimonies at 20, followed by "war as tragedy" at 12. Trailing closely behind is "counter-narratives" at 11. "Horror of war," "Humanity as victim" and "pedagogic" are mentioned nine, eight and seven times, respectively. "Antiwar messages" was revealed three times, followed by

"Croatia/Croats as victim," "exclusive narratives" and "controversial/subjective," all were detected two times each. The coding detected zero reference on the following themes: "just cause," "nationalism," "Croatia/Croats as aggressor," "Serbia/Serbs as victim," "violence"

Frequency of theme category. The below chart demonstrates frequency of theme categories exhibited in this data group:

1. Themes that are positive to culture of peace, namely antiwar messages, counter-narratives, horror of war, humanity as victim, pedagogic and war as tragedy
2. Themes that are inimical to culture of peace, i.e., antagonism, controversial/subjective, Croatia/Croats as victim, Serbia/Serbs as victim and Serbia/Serbs as aggressor.

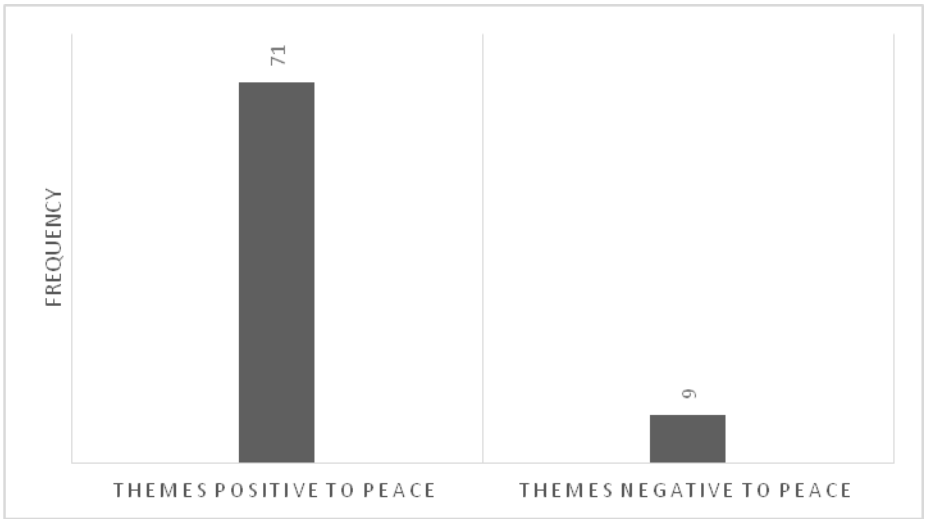


Figure 14 *Frequency of theme category in interviews and testimonies*

Manifestly, as shown in Figure 14, reference to themes conducing peace are substantially higher than themes threatening peace, 71 against 9.

3.2 DISCUSSION

This part is dedicated to discussion of the findings of the research displayed above. It will gradually form an idea of how much or how little the Image of War museum, as part of culture of remembrance, have been a contribution to mitigating hostility within the region, and to overall peace. Collected data will be discussed in detail in the following sequence: questionnaire survey, photograph collection, interviews/testimonies. All findings will then be evaluated interconnectedly and discussed in the final part.

3.2.1 QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Memorial museums being a constructive tool for peacebuilding. Museumgoers consider these institutions of memory to be of high value to peace as revealed by responses to the three questions asked about the role of memorial museums as a vehicle for peace. The three questions are:

- Should memorial museums function in a way that promote peace?
- Can memorial museums teach the public about peace and war?
- Do you think remembering about these tragedies by viewing war photos help promote peace?

Memorial museums' primary functions are to educate the public about past violence, creating space of history revision to forge a link between ethical obligation of remembering and the public (Schudson 1997; Simon 1997; Meusburger 2011; Assman 2015; Sodaro 2018). Questionnaire results also indicate that the public use memorial museums to educate themselves about war vis-à-vis peace and adopt critical thinking about sustainable peace. It is a near unanimous among respondents who agreed that memorial museums have such commitment to the society and that peace may be promoted by initiatives that encourage people to learn about the disturbed historical events. Almost all of them cited the effectiveness of education attached to memorial museums that can lead viewers to a path of self-reflection and awareness. Many of them expressed their certitude in images of war in enabling museumgoers to resonate with war victims and truly unscramble the horror of war, which affirms the "never again" message.

The argument that testimonial artefacts can be a powerful tool for people to be self-reflective is highlighted here (Simon 1997; Sodaro 2018). Many respondents had similar opinions on how viewing war photos can be a practical way to put themselves into war victims' shoes and better fathom the ordeal suffered by those people. One respondent expounded "[b]ecause when you see persons on pictures, you compare automatically for example with relatives, people of your family or with friends. You think more about the question how war would influence your own life." "By viewing real life stories, you get an untainted view of what war is actually like," one commented.

Despite that trust, as shown in Figure 4, 5 and 6, most have doubts that memorialization alone would be able to contribute so much so conflicts can be solved. One respondent's take on this is

that the museums “have role but only people can solve the conflicts.” One placed his doubt on memorialization’s contributions to conflict resolution, saying that “[j]ust watching photos in museums does not change anything. At best the photos will show the ugly face of war and frighten generations after the war with it. Promoting peace would be another task entirely.” One comment reflected similar opinion that “I think it is very good to show what happened, but I don't think the impact is big enough and at the right people to promote peace.” Another reckoned that “unfortunately, the persons deciding about war/peace who are well aware of this cruelty (Putin, Assad, etc.) seem not to be influenced by this knowledge...”

Audience’s backgrounds come into play. Halbwachs’ notion of collective memory suggests how human’s memory is reconstructed within social frameworks. This manifests in responses given by both Serbian respondents. While one concisely stated that “[m]y truth is a little bit different,” the other claimed outright that the exhibition is “highly biased,” disputing that “the term ‘Homeland War’ is the Croatian side of truth. The term military/police operation ‘Storm’ is not true. It’s an ethnic cleansing, by standard of international law, as well as human and ethical point of view.” This has made clear to a certain extent that hostility between the two countries still rumbles on and it has much to do with how each country has been wrangling over the legitimacy of their own truths; thus preventing cessation of an antagonism between groups.

The social framework of nationality strongly frames how the above respondents, as Serbians, remembers and construes the events. In particular, the second respondent’s knowledge of the said military operations may have stemmed from his identity as a Serbian male. Although identity is the culmination of a slew of factors beyond this research is tied to, in the manner of remembering, years of going through the memory- and history-making processes that involve exclusive narratives from both sides can leave an imprint on who he is and what matters to him (Schudson 1997). These processes which give rise to what Franzenberg (2013) calls popular narratives have become the source of his knowledge and things he knows about the past. Now in his forties, the respondent spent time under the Yugoslavian regime, going through life in the wartime and now under an independent nation of Serbia. As regimes in questions had or have had their fair share of producing institutionalized nationalist narratives that help fan the flame of ethnic hatred (Subotić 2008; Banjeglav 2012), one of the main culprits in this scenario seems to be the politicized memory, which plays a pivotal role in toxic remembrance that is prevalent in this region.

Prior knowledge and experience also determine how an individual receives the message sent through testimony like images, texts or other artifacts. As argued by Meusburger (2009), well-informed persons are likely less receptive of any shock or other emotions transmitted from the messages, in this case war photos. A German respondent, with not much information about the war, said "[i]t brings emotions. You see what happened; you feel the crime…" But that is not always the case. A Brazilian respondent, who stated that he was moderately informed about the war, conveyed a sense of shock: "I felt shock because these facts occurred so recent."

3.2.2 EXHIBITION MATERIALS

Museum fulfilling pedagogic mission. Considering the results of the content analysis, it can be inferred that the museum managed to fulfill this mission by displaying materials embedded with the "never again" message. This extrapolation was drawn from the empirical data which verified that the exhibition presented themes connected to peacebuilding more than those with contrasting themes that might hinder reconciliation or be detrimental to peace. Looking at it this way, the museum seemed to be well on the path to achieve its goal as a learning space. As stated in its website (http://imageofwar.hr), the museum believes that "the world of peace begins by raising awareness of the consequences brought on by wars". Messages that its collection conveyed to visitors are shown to encourage them to think about war and its after-effects in a contemplative manner, that hopefully would lead to what they can contribute to make a difference.

Using pedagogy of horror. Throughout the exhibition, visitors see photos of dead bodies, sufferings as a result of war, cities torn apart, places burnt down to the ground and other forms of casualties and ordeals. By gazing at such traumas, one can become emotional and empathic and this is when the essence of peace education is realized, that is, when there is space to engage with traumatic historical events (Simon 1997, Franzenburg 2018). By visiting the museums, one witnesses the cruelty of the War of Independence being transmitted by first-hand observers, i.e. photographers. This is a crucial step for learning to take place since, as explained by Simon (1997), ones feel obliged ethically, by witnessing the testimonial accounts, to not restrict themselves as a bystander—it has a tendency to became "obligatory remembrance" whose impact is more lasting.

Evidence of equivocal displays. Undoubtedly, images are notorious for their ability to imply multiple meanings (Bounia and Stylianou-Lambert 2013). This complicates museums' tasks to

get the intended messages across visitors. And unfortunately, the exhibition, packed with images documenting the horrors of the "Homeland War" that caused death, injuries, eviction and the whole host of sufferings inflicted on both combatant and non-combatant alike, is not without provocative messages that can instigate ambivalent feelings to some visitors. There are several evidences of how selected images, along with testimonial texts, in the museum were organized in a way that can stir up negative emotions or confusion over the instilled messages. The most striking one that should be mentioned is a detailed testimony of an American photographer which was put up noticeably across the entire wall. His statement implies, to say the least, the brutality of Serbian troops against a Croat civilian as it reads:

> A Serbian paramilitary, who I was standing shoulder to shoulder with, grabbed and pulled a man out of this very line of people. The Croatian man looked like he was in his 40's, wearing just his tracksuit. Without saying a word, the Serbian paramilitary fired around 20 rounds from a range of only 3 meters directly into the chest of man in the blue tracksuit. The Serbian man turned directly to me and stared into my eyes, eyes that said, 'what are you going to do about that'. No, I did not press the shutter, out of fear for my own life. Thirty minutes later, I went and photographed the slain man in the blue tracksuit. The streets were littered with countless executed men. Croats who survived the siege only to be executed by people that were once their neighbors and friends.[3]

The above account, described elaborately how the incident unfolded in the ruthless face of enmity between Croatia and Serbia, indicated the complex dynamic of the past being told. It purveys a myriad of readings that are inevitable when dealing with the past (Halbwach 1992). More importantly, it raises doubts over curatorial standpoints, whether it has been tilted towards any party in particular.

Victims and enemies. Portrayal of victims and enemies in the exhibition illustrates multifaceted aspects of culture of remembrance. Coding reveals that there were representations of Croatia/Croats as victims in much higer proportion than that of Serbia/Serbs. The same is true considering representations as aggressor, with the latter in much higher proportion than the former. The first aspect of this finding may be explained by the notion of the image of enemy and the we-other dichotomy (Bogumił 2015) as well as the concept of victim equal virtue (Sodaro 2018).

[3] Christopher Morris, *Up Close and Personal – War in Croatia*, Image of War Museum, Zagreb, Croatia.

Figure 15 *A photo of Serbian soldiers and a dead body of Croatian civilian*

High proportion of photographs with theme of Serbia/Serbs as aggressor portrays the villain image of them in this war. On the other hand, representations of Croatia and Croats as being victimized imply that they are the good guy—merciless enemy legitimately warrants fighting back. It indicates that there is an element of a traditional way of depicting war enemy by dehumanization. Across the museum's hall, there are several photos of Serbia/Serbs and JNA, who fought alongside the Serbian army, or "other," in violent actions that inflicted sufferings to the opposing side, or "our" side. These fit perfectly the stereotypical of enemy as inhumane and evil. A photo showing the face of a Serbian paramilitary, an enemy, and a Croatian civilian, a victim, after an incident in Vukovar, on November 18, 1991, (Figure 14) typifies this very narrtives with a short caption by the photographer himself that says, "Serbian fighters showing me the face of an executed Croatian man. Showing with pride, like a trophy."[4]

[4] Christopher Morris, *Up Close and Personal – War in Croatia,* Image of War Museum, Zagreb, Croatia.

Figure 16 *An incident on the bus where prisoner exchange took place in Sarvas, August 14, 1992.*

Franzenberg (2013) pointed out the necessity of analyzing both photos and texts together. There are literally no faces of any enemy as far as the eyes can see here in this photo (Figure 13), but the caption, a statement from a Serbian photographer who took it, communicates clearly of the hostility in that scene. It read, "[d]uring the prisoner exchange, the Croatian prisoners on the bus were forced to keep their heads down and sing '*Who is saying, who is lying that Serbia is small*.'"[5] Restating what happened on the bus, the caption denoted animosity of Serbians towards Croatians, not the other way around. Here again, what is seen is the image of enemy, Serbians, and victimized Croatians. It is also noteworthy to point out that because this statement was made by a Serbian photographer, it indicated his truthful portrayal of the photo he took. The next part which analyzes photographers' testimonies and interviews will deal with this subject of truthful representations by looking into photographers' standpoints.

Bogumił (2015), nevertheless, warns that no analysis of an exhibition, and representation of the enemy, should be conducted without putting into perspective preparation processes. It is assumed that preparation time of the exhibition as well as a curator's interpretations affect how the enemy is represented. This exhibition was prepared in early 2018 and was inaugurated in August the

[5] Dragoljub Zamurovic, *Up Close and Personal – War in Croatia,* Image of War Museum, Zagreb, Croatia.

same year. The museum puts up stories of what had happened 27 years ago to contemporary audience. In the period between the preparation and now, antagonism between the two countries remains high as previously discussed. To make matters worse, political discourse in Croatia is now pointing towards the likelihood that nationalistic hysteria will flare up again (Vladisavljevic 2020). The curator made a comment on this point that she was disappointed seeing that the nationalist sentiments in Croatia had deepened, after being a part of a project that was meant to see things in the other direction.

Concerning the curator, whose interpretations are extremely relevant, her nationality as a Croatian likely influences the exhibition to a certain extent, to say the least. The image of Serbians and Croatians in the museum's photo collection exposed a stark contrast between the two warring nations in that one is presented as victims, thus the good, and one as villain, thus the bad. To be fair, there is a few points to take note of. First, the fact that representations of Serbia/Serbs is more hostile than that of Croatia/Croats might have something to do with the events which have Croatia as a battlefield. Second, the curatorial process was met with a difficulty in getting hold of photographs of Serbian victims, as reported by the curator.

In any case, the whole victims-enemy, we-other discourse demonstrated in the museum's photo collection is a reflection of nationalist narratives with which Croatians have been familiarized themselves since the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Two Croatian hegemonic narratives are reflected here. The first one, the keystone of Croatians' identity, is the realization of Croatia's one-thousand-year-old dream of independence, which came true once the country reclaimed territories fallen into Serbian's hands, thereby becoming independent (Banjeglav 2012). Secondly, Croatia had to fight this war only because they were invaded by the Serbian Army and JNA (Subotić 2012). However, as far as the narratives go, Croatians were not only heroic victims but also victorious hero (Banjeglav 2012).

3.2.3 INTERVIEWS AND TESTIMONIES OF CURATORS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS

Truthful representations. Most frequently coded, the theme was appreciated by all parties involved in the making of this exhibition. They stood firm in producing works that are objective, free of prejudice, and tried to create representations that are truthful. Photographers kept their work truthful by adhering to work ethics as journalists, that is, seeking truth and telling them to the world. Believing in the power of photos, they were certain that their visual works were

reflections of the truths, the real events happening during the war. “These photographs are witness that these people were here. Everyone who photographs war does so not for the art but to document that they were there and that these things actually happened,” said Nikola Solic, a Croatian-born photographer who covered the war for Reuters during the time, in a video presentation at the museum.

Even so, photographers might not be an innocent witness of what they capture after all, owing to their locations, nationalities, or patriotic feelings (Vitaljić 2013). It is particularly challenging for photographers to adopt a neutral stand as they are constrained by the said factors, among other things. In the same video presentation, another two photographers whose works were part of the exhibition presented contrasting testimonies on this point. Darko Bavoljak, a Croatian photographer, maintained that “we were not directed what kind of photos to take. Instead, we had absolute freedom to present war as we saw and experienced it.” Conversely, Branimir Butkovic, also a Croatian, said “[g]enerally in war people don't want the journalists and photographers to walk freely or to show something that's against the interest of one of the conflicted sides.” The opposing statements suggest the probability of photographers not being able to deliver truths.

As for the curator, truthful representations mean to her in a way that all sides of the war are represented in the exhibition. With that, she hoped to get rid of selective memory, offering space to the non-hegemonic stories, and have the museum speaking out for both Croatian and Serbian sides. In order to achieve that, she included photographs from photographers of various nationalities, including Serbians. That said, she, too, has patriotic feelings, thanks to collective memory as a Croatian, to play against. She might not be able to set herself free from hegemonic memory or popular narratives. Thus, it is possible that selection of materials, display arrangements and all other curatorial procedures were influenced, consciously or unconsciously by the said elements. It resulted in a collection that saw an unequal representation of Serbians and Croatians as discussed in the preceding part.

Didactic and counter-narratives themed. Museum-produced exhibition was created with an aim to educate people about the horror of war with images that appear to bear witness to the tragic events. An act of viewing historical photographs that combine memory and history gives viewers a sense of moral responsibility towards this violent world (Simon 1997). The museum is resolute in creating a learning space for the public, using pedagogy of horror to show the brutal

face of series of armed conflicts in the Balkans. Personal viewpoints of frontline photographers, with some being plain vivid accounts of the events and others personal laments of the harsh time when they had to witness daily sufferings and death, are attached with moral lessons of the horrors of the past violence. One of the Croatian photographers lamented a senseless act of war:

> In every war, there are winners and losers – both at the front line and behind it. The self-proclaimed "generals" and "liberators" are already emerging; people who will grab authority if they haven't done so already, under which we'll suffer more than we do now from the Serbs. There will be a witch-hunt, inquisitors and heretics; and the common people, who only care for peace and a better future, will suffer the most.[6]

The theme of counter-narratives ranks second in terms of frequency, thus confirming the objective of the museum to be a place that tells different stories. The museum's director and curator alike emphasized their firm intentions to make the Image of War Museum a space for people to break away from hegemonic narratives that everyone has been sold to by offering alternatives perspectives that have all sides of the war represented. For an independent museum, the mission is possibly less challenging to accomplish, compared with national museums which are mostly prone to being used by the establishment to promote national ideologies (Meusburger 2015), with fruitful results (Poulot 2011). The curator stated that the museum "open[s] space for different culture of memory […] for the unseen/unheard stories to break national narratives of victimhood […] and included all events and victims no matter from what conflicting side they come."[7] Creators of the museum were certain that this would mean one step closer to overcoming dominant narratives. This pedagogic mission also echoed the museum's approach that was conceptualized from the standardized practice in memorialization of confronting the past wrong (David 2017).

3.3 OVERALL FINDINGS

Findings of the three sources of data are now analyzed interconnectedly, representing results from all three perspectives, namely, sender, message and receiver. As this study intended to utilize *triangulation* and *completeness* to make the findings as accurate as possible, results of all three sources were cross-checked. They lead to an extrapolation that the Image of War Museum serves its chief purpose of being a learning institution that teaches people about peace. It

[6] Pavo Urban, *Up Close and Personal – War in Croatia,* Image of War Museum, Zagreb, Croatia.
[7] Sandra Vitaljić, interview by the author, March 2020.

showcases photographs of the Homeland War as “modes of instruction” to deliver experiential knowledge obtained from viewing disturbing testimony.

The study found that the sender of messages, i.e. museum decision-makers and photographers, were resolute in producing truthful materials, and representing truth and all sides of war. The exhibition’s photo collection was embedded with themes that address the dreadfulness of war. On the receiving end, museum visitors got a good grasp of how horrifying the war was and were empathic with the victims. These offered them chances of introspection that leads to obligatory remembrance. Clearly, findings of the three sources are consistent. By virtue of this, observations made by this study deem that the museum is successful in spreading the moral pedagogic words of “never again” to people out there, thereby making it a valuable instrument in the peacebuilding movement in Croatia, the whole Balkans or the world, for that matter.

3.4 COMMENTS AND SOLUTIONS

This study has a strong attribute of trustworthiness of its findings. Since they were obtained from analyses of three sources of data, *completeness* and *triangulation* intended for this research were achieved. These implementations have enhanced the validity of the findings which evidence constructive function of memorial museums in peacebuilding. However,

As a digression from the fundamental findings, I would like to remark upon a major common pitfall that could be difficult to avoid for memorial museums in general, basing my opinion on the fieldwork at Image of War Museum. The museum may be able to label itself a peace museum, being a positive addition to a peacebuilding force behind the long-standing regional conflicts. At its core, however, lies a problematic issue faced by most, if not all, memorial museums—it will always be a place of contestation. As with any memorialization, memorial museums deal comprehensively with the past and memory. The versatility of memory has made it impossible for museums to be in total control of messages they want to disseminate. With that in mind, memorial museums with an ambition to repair the society should operate with cautiousness that there are almost always a host of determinants with manipulative power to produce undesirable and adverse outcomes that have detrimental effects on the museum’s mission.

Even with the seemingly strong curatorial intentions to remove exclusive narratives, lopsided representations are demonstrated in a significant proportion and it warrants a few remarks. One of the possible explanations is that the museum took an overly simplistic approach when preparing the exhibition by seeing all audience as one, regardless of their backgrounds. In reality, it will never be the case that messages are received with uniform meanings or that they generate same thoughts in every museumgoer (Meusburger 2009). This simplicity may have resulted in dissent among certain audience with an outcome that deviates further away from peace. This is the type of remembrance central to a critique of standardized memorialization practices around the globe, which shows blatant disregard for differences among societies, culture being the most important one (David 2017). By taking a simplistic stand, museums trust that people of all various backgrounds will simply visit and come to terms with the past in the same fashion.

Perhaps, it is justifiable to consider a slim chance of the museum displaying disproportionate representations instinctively despite the promise to be a space for alternative narratives. Then, why did this happen? The line of reasoning is now forced to circle back to the above argument about the way memory operates under multiple factors and thus is not independent of external frameworks. It is contextual. The fact that message senders, curators and other producers, are likely influenced by those factors, must be factored in. Their memories about national past must be assessed to understand the unequal representations seen in the exhibition which so firmly declared to be free from any political or ideological movements. In an ideal world, historical exhibitions should get rid of the stereotyped representations because they obstruct the existence of a diversified world (Bogumił 2015) and a better world that can be built out of compassion and justice that people feel are needed after witnessing the testimony of a calamitous war (Simon 1997).

Indeed, this then points to limitations of this study and underscores the interdisciplinarity of peace studies. In many areas that this research project did not touch could provide interesting and differentiated insight into culture of remembrance and peace. To get a holistic understanding of such potential pitfall or others, various fields of study and approaches are needed. For instance, encoding/decoding model in media and cultural studies which offers explanations of how messages are produced, circulated and construed; or humanistic psychology which attempts to understand an individual’s reasons for his/her behaviors.

While the findings reveal collective positivity towards memorial museums' role in teaching people about wars, not many people have confidence on their contributions to solving conflicts. To be sure, it does sound valid since it would mean that every social actor, from plain museumgoers and peace activists to rebel commanders, Defense Ministers and countries' leaders, can exert equal level of influence that will stop wars from being waged and people from killing each other. Since the seventies, series of protests against the Vietnam war or the more recent ones in 2003 when strong public opposition against Iraq war was expressed through global demonstrations are proof of public awareness. But they were to no avail. Still, some argue that political reconciliation can establish a foothold not with conflicts being solved but understood (Meusburger 2009); and this is part of memorial museums' function to the soiety.

Be that as it may, a path to peace is far more complex than that. It involves across-the-board reconciliation process, integrating various initiatives, embracing self-critical memorialization or other unconventional memorialization that is culturally sensitive as well as policy-level changes that allow justice, reparations and restitution. These measures will make it easier for victims to be at peace with traumatic past. In any case, I am certain that the Image of War Museum has laid the groundwork for positive culture of remembrance in Croatia, where the ruling elites have always fallen back on nationalism. It is a small civil step further away from toxic remembrance infested with one-sided stories.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the role of culture of remembrance in culture of peace, by specifically looking at a memorial museum chosen for a field-researched case study and its contributions to peacebuilding and reconciliation initiatives. The literature review provided a comprehensive account existing academic works and researches in such areas of relevance as collective memory, memorial museums, and culture of remembrance in the Balkans.

The research was conducted with an in-depth investigation of the Image of War Museum in Croatia. Three sources of data obtained from the museum, i.e. a questionnaire survey of visitors,

photographs from the exhibition as well as interviews and testmonies of the curator and photographers, were used for qualitative and quantitative analyses. The findings of each source of data were presented and discussed. By looking at each source separately and then interconnectedly, the study could determine if the exhibition's mission to teach people about the war was accomplished. As a result, it tackled the problem statement about the phenomenon within culture of remembrance in relation to peacebuilding.

The research question of this study aimed at defining the role of remembrance culture in peacebuilding initiatives in post-conflict countries. Taking account of the empirical investigations, carried out qualitatively and quantitatively, of a memorial museum as a representative of culture of remembrance, it can be inferred that culture of remembrance plays a constructive role in culture of peace. Its inputs into peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts in societies emerging from conflicts were seen to be fruitful.

The answer had been sought by exploring the phenomenon in question in a real-life setting. The Image of War Museum was the selected setting, from which the three sources of data were brought together for separated and combined analyses. Based on the analyzed data, this study has demonstrated that memorial museums can be conducive to peace. Two meaningful themes have been concluded from the findings and are as follows:

Theme 1: The museum's pedagogic mission to educate the public about the horror of war was fulfilled. This was clear considering messages sent by museum producers and received by visitors. The message itself, conveyed through a war photograph collection, was also embedded with a message that preaches the evils of war, therefore "never again." Through largely pedagogy of horror, visitors were made a witness of historical traumas, became empathetic and likely promised themselves to be part of a peaceful future. As a result, the obligatory remembering is instilled, implying positive contribution of memorial museums to create environment that is supportive to peacebuilding activities.

Theme 2: The conclusive findings of the above case study has made it possible for this research to arrive at a theory about culture of remembrance being a supportive vehicle to bring about peace. Through its empirical observations, the study was able to depict the big picture of the phenomenon operated in a memorial museum of a certain context, from which a conclusion is drawn. Empirically, culture of peace in the form of memorial museums sets the stage for the

public's introspection towards a peaceful world and therefore playing a constructive role in memorialization.

On a separate note, the research found that culture of remembrance will almost certainly always be under constant threats, with politics of memory being one of those threats. The case study demonstrates that museums are a contested site and never neutral spaces of memory, no matter how much effort is put in to create one. In the worst case, it can do more harm when it fuels unremitting hostility, such as that shown in nationals of relevant countries. Empirically, despite messages conveyed from museum producers to visitors being consistent, there will always be a gap between them that allows an undesirable outcomes to fill in. This gap is triggered by the conjecture that collective memory relies on social frameworks to function. This property is potent enough to play a pivotal role in controlling how a certain event is remembered among a certain group of people. It makes memory vulnerable to manipulation in a way that allows state-sponsored narratives to be able to take control over the society's remembrance culture.

This project has been designed to observe the role of remembrance culture and has elicited empirical information that proves the culture of remembrance's values in our conflictual society. Taken as a whole, this is a promising indication of flourishing culture of peace. The findings bear out genuine potential of memorial museums in functioning as a public learning space, equipping the society with educational tools for peace lessons and democratic values. For future generations, memorial museums can add to their formal form of education to enlighten themselves about the calamity of war by obtaining experiential knowledge that have more durable impact than, for example, studying from a textbook.

For peace researchers and advocates alike, including myself, its significance lies in the knowledge that culture of remembrance in museums can be utilized as an effective peace initiative for culture of peace to establish a firmer footing in the world battled against wars and conflicts. Specifically, for civil actors in the Balkans, this project addresses regional culture of remembrance in one of memorial museums in Croatia, thus can be studied to understand the unique setting of memorialization in the region. In Serbia, where the first memorial museum on the subject of Yugoslav Wars in the nineties is not yet on its way, this research could be particularly practical for activists, organizations, or even relevant official workers, to delve into for empirical information about Croatia's memorialization practices in the museum of the said

war. Moreover, the study can serve as a blueprint for research on memorial museums elsewhere, either following the methodology or using it as a reference point in areas that it lacks.

After all, this project serves a utopian idea of a better world that have always been an inspiration for peace research. It is true that the dynamics behind that utopian vary—it could be sustainability, prosperity, diversity, equality, social inclusion, or peace, and the list goes on. For better or for worse, the study reveals the positive forces behind memorialization and culture of remembrance that help bring the world closer to that desirable betterment.

APPENDIX

A questionnaire for visitors at the Image of War Museums

☐ Male ☐ Female Age: _____ Nationality: _____Education: _____

Before the visit

1. Should museums function in a way that promotes peace?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No
2. Can memorial museums teach the public about peace and war?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. How much informed are you about Yugoslav Wars during the '90s before visiting the "Image of War" museum? (On a scale of 0-5, **0** being **very ill-informed** and **5** being **very well-informed**)

☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5

4. How much would you say Yugoslav Wars during the '90s effect your life? (On a scale of 0-5, **0** being **no effect at all** and **5** being **seriously effect**)

☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5

After the visit

5. Are stories told in the Image of War Museum <u>different</u> from what you knew before?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I never knew about this war

6. Do you think remembering about these tragedies by viewing war photos helps promote peace?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why? _____

7. Do you think the Image of War Museum succeed in sending the 'Never Again' message to visitors?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. Is the Image of War Museum different from other museums on the Yugoslav Wars you have visited?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I have never been to other museums of this subject.

How? _____

9. Does the exhibition in this museum equally represent all conflicting parties in Yugoslav Wars?

☐ Yes ☐ No

10. Are you skeptical about materials exhibited in the Image of War Museum?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why? _____

11. Can the ongoing conflicts in the Balkans be solved by contributions of memorial museums?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I'm not sure.

Reference List

AP. "Croatia celebrates 1995 blitz; Serbia call it Nazi policy." Accessed 19 February 2020. https://apnews.com/ba421b38870c4afabea329e4aee32d79.

Assmann, Aleida. "Transformations Between History and Memory," *Social Research*, Vol. 75, No. 1, Collective Memory and Collective Identity (SPRING 2008), 49-72.

Assmann, Aleida. "Culture of Remembrance." *Deustchland.de*, March 18 2015. https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/culture-of-remembrance.

Banjeglav, Tamara. "Conflicting Memories, Competing Narratives and Contested Histories in

Croatia's Post-war Commemorative Practices." *Politička misao* 49, br. 5 (2012): 7-31. https://hrcak.srce.hr/99490

Barsalou, Judy and Victoria Baxter. "The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and Transitional Justice," *Stabilization and Reconstruction Series* No. 5 (January 2007), United States Institute of Peace.

Bhattacherjee, Anol, "Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices." In *Textbooks Collection*. Vol.3 (2012). http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/oa_textbooks/3.

Bengtsson, Mariette. "How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis." Nursing Plus Open 2 (2016), 10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001.

Bešić, Miloš. *Learning from Reconciliation Initiatives in the Western Balkans*, Calgary, Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary Press 2017, 49-82.

Bogumił, Zuzanna, Joanna Wawrzyniak, Christian Ganzer, Tim Buchen and Maria Senina. "Introduction: The Enemy on Display" In *The Enemy on Display: The Second World War in Eastern European Museums*, edited by Bogumił, Zuzanna, Joanna Wawrzyniak, Christian Ganzer, Tim Buchen and Maria Senina. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013. 10.2307/j.ctt9qd9gr.

Botev, Nikolai, RA Wagner. "Seeing Past the Barricades: Ethnic Intermarriage in Yugoslavia During the Last Three Decades," in *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 11 no. 1&2 (1993), 29-38.

Brown, Steve "Europe is Not a Museum," *The European Magazine*, May 19, 2015. https://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/steve-brown/10132-our-vandalized-and-forgotten-memorials.

Brunnbauer, Ulf. "Migration and Economic of Yugoslavia." March 17, 2016, https://ostblog.hypotheses.org/728.

Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012.

Chernick, Ilanit. "Outcry in Croatia as Anne Frank's diary dropped from school curriculum," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 15, 2019, https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Outcry-in-Croatia-as-Anne-Franks-diary-dropped-from-school-curriculum-580757.

David, Lea. 2017. "Against Standardization of Memory." Human Rights Quarterly 39 (2): 296–318. doi:10.1353/hrq.2017.0019.

Denich, Bette, "Unmaking Multi-ethnicity in Yugoslavia: Metamorphosis Observed." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 11, no. 1&2 (1993): 48-60, https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/aeer/issue/view/42.

Denich, Bette. "Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and the Symbolic Revival of

Genocide." *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 2 (1994): 367-90, http://www.jstor.org/stable/645894.

DPA. "Never Forget—Germany's Culture of Remembrance." Accessed 25 August 2019. https://www.deutschland.de/en/germany-year-usa-20182019-germanys-culture-of-remembrance.

Franzenburg, Geert, Dzintra Iliško, and Hugo Verkest. "Embracing the Culture of Resilience and Remembrance in Teaching Contested Historical Narratives." *Discourse and Communication for Sustainable Education* 9, no. 2 (January 2018): 111–22. https://doi.org/10.2478/dcse-2018-0018.

Fisher, Martina and Ljubinka Petrović-Ziemer (eds). Dealing with the Past in the Western Balkans: Initiatives for Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, Berghof Report No.18. Berlin: Berghof Foundation 2013.

The Government of Republic of Croatia, "PM: New calendar of public holidays, memorial days, will clear doubt, vagueness," https://vlada.gov.hr/news/pm-new-calendar-of-public-holidays-memorial-days-will-clear-doubts-vagueness/27969, accessed 8 February 2020.

Hajdari, Ismet. "Going to schools in the Balkans, segregated by ethnicity." *AFP*, 13 September 2017, https://news.yahoo.com/going-school-balkans-segregated-ethnicity-032027650.html

Halbwachs, Maurice and Lewis A. Coser, "The Social Framework of Memory" In *On Collective Memory*. 37-167, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992.

Héritier, Adrienne. "Causal explanation." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by della Porta and Keating, 61-79. Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Hislope, Robert Lee. *"Nationalism, Ethnic Politics, and Democratic Consolidation: A Comparative Study of Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina."* PhD diss., Ohio State University 1995.

The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Program, "2008 International Day of commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust. Accessed June 12, 2019. https://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/2008/SG%20message%20statements08.shtml.

Jansen, Stef. "The Violence of Memories: Local narratives of the past after ethnic cleansing in Croatia," *Rethinking History*, 6:1 (2002): 77-94.

McConnell, Taylor. *"KRVatska", "Branitelji", "Žrtve":(Re-)framing Croatia's politics of memory and identity*. Accessed February 9, 2020, https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/livacuk/ewc/docs/Taylor,McConnell_Working,paper_

KRVatska,Branitelji,Z%CC%8Crtve-,(Re-)framing,Croatias,politics,of,memory,and,identity.pdf

Maciej, Pletnia. “Asian Identity: Regional Integration and Collective Memory of the Pacific War in Contemporary Japanese Society.” *The IAFOR Journal for Asian Studies* 1 no.1 (Winter 2014): 1-12.

Maxwell, Joseph A. and Kavita Mattapalli, “Realism as a Stance for Mixed Method Research” In *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*, edited by Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, 145-167, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 2010.

McGrattan, Cillian and Stephen Hopkins. “Memory in Post-Conflict Societies: From Contention to Integration?” *Ethnopolitics*, 16:5 (2017), 488-499, DOI:10.1080/17449057.2016.1218644

Masalski, Kathleen Woods. “Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies.” *Stanford Program on International and Cross-cultural Education*. Accessed 22 February 2020, https://spice.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/examining_the_japanese_history_textbook_controversies.

MacDonald, David, “Living Together or Hating Each Other,” In *Confronting the Yugoslav Memories*, edited by Charles Ingaro and Thomas A. Emmert, 390-424. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press 2009.

Meusburger, Peter. “Knowledge, Memory, and Politics.” In *Cultural Memories*, edited by Peter Meusburger, M. Heffernan and Edgar Wunder. 51-69. Dordrecht: Springer 2011.

Meusburger, P., M. Heffernan and Edgar Wunder. “Cultural Memories: An Introduction.” In *Cultural Memories*, edited by Peter Meusburger, M. Heffernan and Edgar Wunder, 3-14. Dordrecht: Springer 2011.

Milekic. Sven. “Croats Chant Anti-Serbs Slogan at Nationalist Concert.” *Balkan Insight*, accessed 18 February 2020, https://balkaninsight.com/2015/08/06/croats-chant-anti-serb-slogans-at-nationalist-concert-08-06-2015/.

The Newsmaker, “Why is Serb Nationalism Influencing the Far Right?” Accessed May 5, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/TheNewsMakersOnTRTWorld/videos/292282758364492/?v=292282758364492

Muchitsch, Wolfgang. *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*. 9-12. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag 2013.

Pavlaković, Vjeran. “From Conflict to Commemoration: Serb-Croat Relations and the Anniversary of Operation Storm,” University of Rijeka 2016.

Pavlaković, Vjeran, and Benedikt Perak. “How Does This Monument Make You Feel?: Measuring Emotional Responses to War Memorials in Croatia.” In *The Twentieth Century in European Memory: Transcultural Mediation and Reception*, edited by

Andersen Tea Sindbæk and Törnquist-Plewa Barbara, 268-304. LEIDEN; BOSTON: Brill 2017. Accessed February 7, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h377.17.

Pesic, Vesna. *Serbian Nationalism and the Origins of the Yugoslav Crisis: Peaceworks No.8,* Washington: United States Institution of Peace 1996.

Petrović-Ziemer, Ljubinka. "Analysis of Interviews with Civil Society Actors: Peace and Human Rights Activists, Journalists, War Veterans' Unions, and Victims' Organizations," *in Dealing*

Poulot, Dominique. "Uses of the Past—Historical Narratives and the Museums," in *Great Narrative of the Past Traditions and Revisions in National Museums* 2011. https://ep.liu.se/ecp/078/ecp11078.pdf.

Rivera-Orraca, Lorena. "Are museums a site of memory?" *The New School Psychology Bulletin* Vol. 6 No. 2 (2009): 32-37.

Rybczynski, Witold. "Unnecessary Scale." *The European Magazine,* 20 May 2015, https://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/witold-rybczynski/10138-the-trouble-with-memorials

Schudson, Michael, "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," in *Memory Distortion: How Mind, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past,* edited by Daniel L. Schacter et al., 347-364, Harvard University Press 1997.

Simon, Roger I., and Claudia Eppert. "Remembering Obligation: Pedagogy and the Witnessing of Testimony of Historical Trauma." *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne De L'éducation* 22, no. 2 (1997): 175-91.

Subotić, Jelena. "The Past Is Not Yet Over: Remembrance, Justice and Security Community in the Western Balkans." *Journal of Regional Security* 7, no. 2 (2012): 107–18. https://doi.org/10.11643/issn.2217-995x122sps24.

———. "Remembrance, Public Narratives and Obstacles to Justice in the Western Balkans," *RECOM,* 18 November 2018, http://recom.link/remembrance-public-narratives-and-obstacles-to-justice-in-the-western-balkans.

Till, Christopher. "Support the Apartheid Museum," The Apartheid Museum. Accessed February 19, 2018. https://www.apartheidmuseum.org/support-museum.

Uvalić, Milica (2018). *The Rise and Fall of Socialism in Yugoslavia: A Special Report,* Berlin: Dialogue of Civilization Research Institute.

Vennesson, Pascal. "Case studies and process tracing: theories and practices." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective,* edited by della Porta and Keating, 223-239. Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Vitaljic, Sandra. "War of Images - Contemporary War Photography." Rat Slikama - Suvremena

Ratna Fotografija, 2013.

———. “Photographer as a social actor.” *Magazine for Contemporary Visual Arts*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (2016): 74-85

Vladisavljevic, Anja. “Nationalist May Hold Key to Power after Croatian Election,” *BIRN*, May 22, 2020, https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/22/nationalists-may-hold-key-to-power-after-croatian-election/.

———. Vladisavljevic, Anja. “Croatia Protests after Serbia Honours Yugoslav General,” *BIRN*, November 8, 2019, https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/08/croatia-protests-after-serbia-honours-yugoslav-general/.

White, Marilyn and Emily Marsh. “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology.” In *Library Trends* (June 2006). 55. 10.1353/lib.2006.0053.