

FOOTBALL, POLITICS AND CULTURAL MEMORY: THE CASE OF HNK HAJDUK SPLIT

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Abstract: Memory is not something given or fixed, it is specific process which includes various definitions and re-definitions, interpretations and re-interpretations. Cultural memory could change through time and space; production of cultural memory depends also on various social actors. Starting from such position we wish to present main discourses and types of changes in interpretations of 102 years long history of Croatian football club Hajduk from the city of Split. Rogić (2000) divided contemporary Croatian history in three most important phases - 'primitive capitalist modernization' (from 1868. To 1945.), 'totalitarian socialist modernization' (from 1945. to 1990.) and 'transition' (from 1990. till today). In similar manner, we should divide history of Hajduk in three key phases: from 1911. when the club was founded to the end of the WW2. Second phase is marked by the Yugoslav period, from 1945. to 1990. The third phase starts with the independent Croatian state and the foundation of Croatian football league (1992). The presidents of the club and whole management, in all three periods, belonged to the local and national political/economical elite. Political elites were most influential social actors, shaping and changing interpretations of the past, in this case it means shaping relation to symbols and history of the club itself. The direction of those changes is linked to dominant discourses of particular

social periods. While emphasis on Croatian identity of the club was silenced in the Yugoslav period, in the recent period of Croatian state, the anti-fascist component of the identity of the club is mostly forgotten or denied. Our thesis is based on the qualitative analyses of official books and monographs on the history of the club, with our focus on permitted and forbidden stories.

Keywords: football, cultural memory, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Hajduk.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, a group of university students in Prague set out to establish a football club in their native city of Split after the model of the Czech *Slavia Praha*, founded in 1892. In addition to the authorities in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy stalling the authorization of the club's operation for two years, the founders also experienced problems deciding what the club's name would be. Eventually, they agreed on *Hajduk*. At that point, for the club's founders, who considered themselves Croatian patriots, the club's name indeed corresponded with the Latin saying, 'Nomen est

omen'. *Hajduk* is a Turkish term for 'outlaw' and has been present in the Balkans since the Middle Ages. In the 18th and 19th centuries, as the power of the Ottoman Empire declined, the *hajduks* came to be leaders of local uprisings against the Turks the aim of which was to liberate the conquered lands. Over time, in the oral folk tradition their name became a synonym for fighters for their peoples' freedom. The rules of the newly founded club were presented to the Regency in Zadar and approved on 13 February 1911, with which *Hajduk* Croatian Football Club [HNK *Hajduk*] was granted permission to pursue its activities. The Republic of Croatia is the fifth state in which the club has been active, having outlived the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1918), the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1941), Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991), as well as the occupying fascist Kingdom of Italy (1943) and the Independent State of Croatia [NDH] (1945). During the World War II Italian occupation of Split and the administration of the NDH, the leaders of *Hajduk* decided that the club would cease all activity. Its former chief rivals, such as Zagreb's *Gradanski* and *HAŠK* and Belgrade's *BSK* and *SK Jugoslavija*, continued their activities and went on to compete in the championships of the NDH as well as Srpski Kup and the Belgrade Ball Playing Sub Union.¹ After World War II, *Hajduk*, Zagreb's *Dinamo*, and Belgrade's *Partizan* and *Crvena Zvezda* comprised the popular 'Big Four' of Yugoslav football. As of 1979, *Hajduk* no longer played at the rundown *Stari Plac*, the former *Kraljeva Njiva*, but at the modern roofed Poljud stadium with 33,000 seats. At present, *Hajduk* is one of the two most popular Croatian football clubs. It has won the total of 17 national championships and 15 cups, the biggest Euro-

pean successes being three quarterfinals of *Champions Cup/Champions League* and one semi-final each of *UEFA Cup* and *Cup Winners' Cup*. Because *Hajduk* has outlived all the states in which it has been active under the same name, since it was founded, and as because some of its rivals are either no longer active or have changed their names, the main slogan of the fans of the Split club is '*Hajduk živi vječno*' [Hajduk Lives Forever]. Football is a major and important cultural institution of the modern age (Vrcan, 2003). Every staunch football fan believes their beloved club to be special, different, and worthy of various sacrifices and all the negative emotions that supporters experience when the club is unsuccessful. Torcida, the staunchest supporters of Hajduk, is the oldest supporters' group in Europe, founded in 1950. The production of collective memory depends on various social protagonists in a given time and socio-political context (Hobsbawm, 1991; Olick, 2007). Collective memory changes through time and space. In view of the importance that Hajduk has for a large number of people, in certain periods the club was instrumentalized by political elites. Taking those theoretical positions as the starting point, this paper will analyze the production of cultural memory in official club monographs. This will provide an insight into various and occasionally opposing interpretations of and narrations on important club events as well as socio-political events in the century-old history of *HNK Hajduk Split*, depending on the years of the monographs' publication. In the past two decades, following the breakdown of Communism, we have witnessed various reinterpretations of historical events, organizations, and persons associated primarily with the events in World War II in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. What was once the official and

institutionalized Communist interpretation of World War II is most frequently pushed back by various narratives of the formerly suppressed personal and group memories, which were most frequently banned interpretations punishable by law during the socialist period. The fact is that, during socialism, the society in Croatia was under totalitarian control of the ruling Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which included the operation of the football clubs. This paper will attempt to establish the differences and similarities between the production and interpretations of memories of the key events in the club history of HNK Hajduk Split in the two stages of modernization of the Croatian society (1945–1990; 1991–present day).

II. CULTURAL MEMORY

History is a scientific discipline that has, since the late 19th century, questioned its own purpose, methodology, and scopes of cognition. Janeković Römer (2001 : 205) emphasizes: "Modernist theories of history have tried to reduce all the diversity, individuality and unpredictability, all the chaos of history to an absolute, to an objective process or machine that moves history and assigns to all events a certain meaning and place within the 'historical development'". Similar to what Berger and Luckmann (1966) said about social reality, Halbwachs said about social history several decades earlier. Halbwachs (1950) conceptualized the term *collective memory* as selective adoption of the past from the perspective of the present. The central thesis that Halbwachs advocated in his works is the one about the social determination of memory. He used the term of social frameworks (*cadres sociaux*) as "establishing and stabilizing memory". The subject of

memory is always the individual, depending on the social frameworks that organize their memory. Therefore, memorizing is a psychological process, while memory is a constant or sporadic renewal of a notion about the past. In the past three decades, a powerful research faction focused on the 'construction of collective memory' was established within the framework of the interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon (Janeković Römer, 2001). Assmann (2006) emphasizes that collective memory represents a group of memories shared by a community, and since it is tied to a community, collective memory is a fragile fruit of a momentary consensus within the community. This is especially true of political communities. "The notions of space and time of collective memory are vitally connected to the forms of communication within a group, which connection is affective and based on value... There is another characteristic of collective memory that most closely relates to being tied to a group, which is the reconstruction potential. Therefore, remembering has a reconstruction effect. It cannot preserve the past as is. It is continuously reorganized through the changeable relational framework of the present moving forward." (Assmann, 2006 : 55–57). Therefore, collective memory adapts to social and political changes. Since collective identities and their meanings are changeable, so are the 'memories' and values on which those identities are based (Sundhaussen, 2006). The subject of *cultural memory* is 'the memory that makes a community'. Assmann (2006 : 65) emphasizes: "It is not factual history that is important for cultural memory but only remembered history. One may also say that, in cultural memory, factual history is transformed into remembered history, and thus into myth. Myth is a founding history, a history that is re-

told in order to shed light on the present from the position of the source." Memories are operationalized as objects of cultural significance and tangible existence. They are monuments, museum exhibits, media reports, books and publications, commemorative rituals, and similar objectified memories (Nora, 1996; Assmann, 2006; Olick, 2007). Of special importance for this text is also *official memory* (Olick, 2007), a type of memory that is brought about by institutional production, that is, under direct supervision of the authorities of a certain social and political system.

III. MODERNISATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN CROATIAN SOCIETY

The continuity of development of modern civic society in Croatia is that of modernization discontinuities. This syntagm summarizes all the radical social and political conflicts and changes typical of modernization of the Croatian society. Each new stage in the modernization of the Croatian society involved a dramatic institutional, cultural, symbolic, and discursive break-up with the legacy of the previous period. In the past two centuries or so, the modernization discontinuities in the Croatian society have not favoured the development of democratic values but quite the opposite – authoritarian values, institutions, and norms, as well as the social climate favourable for various forms of personality cults, the hero code, and loyalty to a party or nation. Placing Croatia in the European geopolitical and historical context, Rogić (2000 : 613) claims the following is central: "Croatia is on Europe's periphery, in a system of state formations that are themselves a European modernization periphery." Rogić (2000, 2001) and Županov (2001), prominent researchers

and theoreticians of the modernization of the Croatian society, believe that the process of modernization of the Croatian society took place in three major periods. The achievements of the first stage of modernization (1868–1945) are very modest. After the model of Wallerstein (1976), Županov (2001 : 18) calls the modernization of Croatia in that period peripheral capitalism. The second stage of modernization in Croatia (1945–1990) is a typical socialist totalitarian one. It is important to emphasize that capitalist modernization and socialist modernization are two projects that emerged from the same enlightenment and progressivist origin and that their geopolitical and territorial mapping were a direct consequence of the outcome of the war and the post-war events following the year 1945. The disintegration or collapse of the Communist regimes in Europe was a logical result of the unsuccessful Communist modernization model. Analyzing the achievements reached in the course of modernization in the totalitarian society in Croatia, Županov (1995) concludes that a series of radical changes took place in many social sectors, from changes in demographic trends to urbanisation, establishment of a new social distribution of labour, major development of education, creation of a modern industrial stratification, increase in the standard of living, and to transformation of the family. Županov (1995 : 168–169) also emphasizes: "The process was not an even one and included numerous aberrations and sidetracks, and in the last decade trends of deindustrialization and devolution of the social system appeared." The third stage of modernization in Croatia (1991–present day) is called transition. Transition marks certain processes that are agents of change or a transition from one political and social system to another. In Croatia this term

marks a transition from totalitarian to democratic society, that is, a transition from planned economy to a capitalist economic system, as well as all the sociocultural processes that the two transitions cover. Transition encompasses the period following the fall of the Berlin Wall, and, according to Kalanj (1998 : 12), represents "some type of shortened, compressed process of integration into capitalist modernity." Considering the achievements of transition in Croatia in the last decade of the 20th century, Županov (2002) emphasizes the stratification rearrangement that came about through movements and changes within the political elite, changes of authorities in the initial stage of the transition, and the war. In the initial stage of the transition, *horizontal* social conflicts (establishment of the new state organization) dominated, while after the war was finished the *vertical* (class) conflicts were intensified. Županov (1995 : 172–183) also notes the controversy of simultaneous increase in the value of individual utilitarianism (on the individual level), nationalism and the hero code (on the national level), and radical egalitarianism (on the societal level), thus providing a value framework of the contemporary Croatian society and the associated crucial changes in the first transition decade.

IV. THE LEGACY OF WW2 (1941-1945) AND SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Those summaries of the modernization processes in the Croatian society involve crushing statistical indicators of human casualties as direct or indirect consequences of the transition from the first to the second modernization stage and from the second to the third modernization stage. The casualties, consequences of

war conflicts, have caused family and collective traumas that continue to exert a powerful influence on the social and political processes in Croatia.² In the course of World War II, about 600,000 partisans and civilians were killed, of which as many as about 350,000 were Serbs, while the number of casualties of collaborationist soldiers has been estimated at about 200,000 (Žerjavić, 1993). The holocaust in the NDH constitutes a special chapter of tragic bloody events. While the exact number of the people killed in the biggest concentration camp Jasenovac is impossible to establish, according to the research conducted so far, it is estimated at about 83,000. By nationality, the number of casualties is as follows: 47,000 Serbs, 16,000 Roma, 13,000 Jews, 4,000 Croats, and so on. (Jasenovac Memorial Public Institution, 2013). In 1945, the Axis powers and the collaborationist military forces in Yugoslavia were defeated, in which tens of thousands of so-called "class enemies", soldiers of the defeated armies and their civilian sympathizers, were killed at numerous execution sites such as Bleiburg, Kočevski Rog, and Žumberak. In his research of the number of the victims from the defeated collaboration armies, Žerjavić (1992) establishes that about 50,000 people were killed at Bleiburg, Austria, which was the biggest execution site. The building of the new state of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was headed by the war winners, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and partisan Marshal Josip Broz Tito. In the first post-war years, the Soviet model of building a socialist society was implemented. As a consequence of the well known conflict between Tito and Stalin in 1948, thousands of members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were persecuted and sent to work camps for years of forced labour over their pro-Stalinist positions. World War II

and the socialist Yugoslavia, its founders, and the founding motives were inextricably tied. World War II was the central point of the Yugoslav collective identity. "This symbiotic connection turned out to be counterproductive in the 1980s and the 1990s. The war as the central social 'experience' provided legitimacy and meaning, but, in the long run, it did not suffice in shaping the present and the future." (Sundhaussen, 2006 : 243). In the later stage of socialist Yugoslavia, in the 1980s, changes in the practices of cultural memory of World War II by the federal republics became apparent in the mass media and in popular culture, which is also true of Croatia.³

V. TRANSITION AND THE HOMELAND WAR (1991-1995)

The inevitable breakdown of totalitarianism in Yugoslavia freed the formerly suppressed various national interpretations of historical events, which were largely opposed. In 1991, following the failure of the attempt to find a solution to the political and economic agony of socialist Yugoslavia and as a consequence of the militant policy of Serbian political leader Slobodan Milošević, a series of bloody wars in the last decade of the 20th century (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo) took place. Živić and Pokos (2004 : 737) established that the direct demographic losses in the Croatian *Homeland War* (1991–1995) were 22,192 people (36.7% of which were Croatian defenders, 29.8% civilians, according to Croatian institutions' data, 5.5% missing Croatian defenders and civilians, and 28% missing and killed members of the army of the so-called *Republic of Serb Krajina* and civilians). The years of war operations and hundreds of thousands of refugees, as well as damage worth billions of dollars, additionally exacerbated the necessary

processes of economic consolidation and democratization of the society. Moreover, there was a considerable increase in the number of the unemployed, the majority of the citizens became impoverished, and a radical gap opened between the majority and the small group constituting the 'New Rich Class'. In this new socio-economic milieu, the Croatian football developed, marked by numerous scandals, corruption, and court sentences involving crime. Vrcan (2003) emphasizes that the modern political culture, totalitarian or democratic, is inseparable from football and the football culture. Therefore, ever since its inception, football has had an impact on the construction and perception of social reality, among other things.

VI. METHODOLOGY, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION⁴

In the years of Hajduk's existence, a large number of media reports have been aired, numerous documentaries and one television series have been filmed, and books and various publications have been written. HNK Hajduk Split has officially published the total of eight monographs, the following of which were analyzed for the purposes of this paper: *Pola stoljeća Hajduka* [Half a Century of Hajduk] (1961), *Hajdučka legenda* [The Hajduk Legend] (1971), *Hajduk 1911–1977* (1977), *100 godina Hajduka* [100 Years of Hajduk] (2011). The research method employed was content analysis. As far as the visual content is concerned, quantitative content analysis was conducted, in which photographs were used as units of analysis. All the photographs in the analyzed monographs were included. In analyzing the photographs, a matrix was constructed that included the following classification categories: the year of publication of the monograph, the page on which the photograph is located, the size

of the photograph, the theme of the photograph, and the text below the photograph. Moreover, a qualitative analysis of the narrative of the textual content in the monograph was conducted. As opposed to quantitative analysis, the procedure of qualitative analysis of the content is not determined by firmly defined methodological criteria, which is why, in the application of qualitative analysis, conclusions regarding the characteristics of analyzed content were based primarily on the existence or absence of a certain characteristic rather than on the frequency of their appearance. First the texts of the club monographs were qualitatively analyzed. The focus was not on the text – its linguistic characteristics, for example – but on the past social reality politically interpreted in the text. Instead of the term, historical truth, constructing cultural memory was taken as relevant. Therefore, an attempt was made to establish the dominant topics in the monographs in two different periods of modernization of the Croatian society, totalitarian and transition ones, and the way in which their interpretation constructs cultural memory. The events from the club's history and the society as a whole that were taken as the determinant criteria of the past for the purposes of qualitative analysis of the text are the following: the founding of the club in 1911, World War I, the Hajduk players' participation in the operation of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and refusal to greet the players of AC Roma us-

ing the fascist salutation of *Saluto Romano* in 1937, the refusal of the offer made by the fascist authorities that Hajduk play in the Italian professional league of *Serie A* for a handsome reward, the dissolution of the club in 1941, the participation of the club's players and officials in the anti-fascist struggle in the period between 1941–1945, the resumption of club's operations in 1944 and changes introduced to the club coat of arms (the five-pointed red star instead of the Croatian checkerboard coat of arms), the declaration of the club a team of the NOVJ (People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia) in 1944, the club's international tour as the NOVJ team 1941–1945, the Hajduk administration's refusal to become a military club and move to Belgrade in 1945, the establishment of Torcida supporters group in 1950, the official visits to Yugoslav President Tito. Since the first three monographs were published in the course of the 'second stage of modernization' (1961–1977) and the last one in the 'third stage of modernization' (2011), the recent historical events to which only the last monograph could refer were also analyzed – the announcement of President Tito's death during a Hajduk–Crvena Zvezda match at Poljud and the audience's reaction in 1980, the reinstatement of the club's original coat of arms (Croatian checkerboard coat of arms instead of the five-pointed red star) in 1990, and the Homeland War 1991–1995.

Table I Chronological overview of the key events in the club's past and their political interpretation in the monographs in the course of the "second" (1945-1990) and "third" (1991-present day) modernization stages

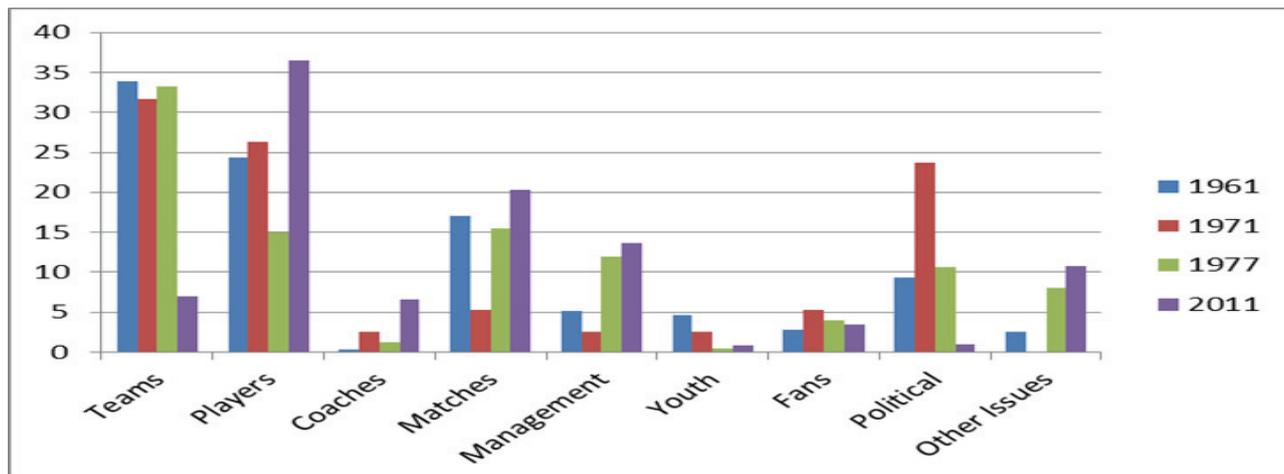
Event	Monographs published in Yugoslavia (1961; 1971; 1977)	Monograph published in Croatia (2011)
1911	interpreted as an act of Yugoslav patriotism	interpreted as an act of Croatian patriotism
World War I	interpreted in the context of development of Yugoslav idea	not politically interpreted at all
1937	proud emphasis of Hajduk players' participation in activities of League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia; refusal to greet players of AC Roma using a fascist greeting (<i>Saluto Romano</i>) seen as an organized act on the part of Communists	no mention of the activity of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia in the club; refusal to greet players of AC Roma using a fascist greeting (<i>Saluto Romano</i>) not linked with Communists but interpreted as patriotism
1941	decision to dissolve club and resistance to occupiers interpreted as leadership's antifascism, Communist activity	dissolution of club interpreted as an act of patriotism rather than Communist activity
World War II	proud emphasis of illegal Communist activity of some Hajduk players in Split since 1941, joining the partisans, and death of three players in fighting fascists in 1943 and 1944	mention is made of players' joining partisan units in 1943 (Livno) and 1944 (Vis)
1944	long, detailed description of collective transfer of remaining players from occupied Split to free territory, reestablishment of club on island of Vis, new coat of arms with five-pointed red star	short description of collective transfer of remaining players from occupied Split to free territory, reestablishment of club on island of Vis, new coat of arms with five-pointed red star
1944-1945	long, detailed description of political context, emphasis on pride over decision of NOVJ Supreme Headquarters to declare Hajduk its sport representative	short description of political context and declaring Hajduk NOVJ representative
1944-1945	emphasis of political role of Hajduk in promotion of Tito and Yugoslav Communist leadership at matches and in the allies' media, especially Britain and France	neglect of political dimension of Hajduk's matches on international tours, focus on sport results at international meets
1945	detailed description of Hajduk being declared honorary team of Free France	detailed description of Hajduk being declared honorary team of Free France
1945	shy and brief report on Hajduk's refusal to become a military club and move to Belgrade	interpretation of the refusal to move to Belgrade as a heroic act
1950	brief mention of the establishment of Torcida without mention or interpretation of the fact that Torcida founder Žuvela was convicted and imprisoned	long, detailed description of the founding of Torcida and punishment of its founder for "nationalism"
Meetings with Tito	"favourite meetings" (total of six official receptions with president Tito) – one of the most important elements in the monographs, accompanied by a multitude of photographs of comrade Tito and players and leaders of Hajduk as well as text typical of socialist "personality cult"	chapter entitled, Meetings With Statesmen, includes, among photographs of other meetings (e. g. Pope John Paul II, Tudman, etc.), only one photograph and a short text
1980	N. A.	no mention of Hajduk – Crvena Zvezda match, during which news of Tito's death was announced and the audience at the stadium in Split sang "Druže Tito, mi Ti se kunemo" [We Swear to You, Comrade Tito]
1990	N. A.	original coat of arms put back on Hajduk uniform during tour of Australia in 1990 portrayed as a heroic and patriotic act
1991-1995	N. A.	detailed description of the role of Hajduk in the promotion of truth about the war for freedom in a "state-forming discourse", with emphasis of good relations with representatives of Croatian Army and humanitarian actions

The second level of analysis relates to quantitative analysis of the content of the photographs published in the monographs. The first monograph (1961) includes 324 photographs on 284 pages, the second monograph (1971) 38 photographs on 302 pages, the third monograph (1977) 226 photographs on 223 pages, and the latest monograph (2011) 1,209 photographs on 551

pages. There is an evident disproportion in the number of pages and photographs in the monographs as well as in the number of photographs by themes.

Nevertheless, it is evident that, considering themes, the number of photographs of teams and individual players is the highest. This is shown in *Fig. 1*.

Fig. 1 Share of photographs (%) in monographs by themes and years of publication



When, viewed by themes, the 'political photographs' are considered, it becomes clear that the latest official monograph of Hajduk has a considerably lower share of photographs with political themes in relation to the other themes (1961 - 9,3%; 1971 -23,7%; 1977 - 10,7%; 2011 - 1%). However, despite the decline in the number of 'political photographs', the situation is

much more complex as far as political issues and their interpretations in the text of the monographs are concerned. In the earlier period (1945-1990), the majority of the analyzed political issues may be said to have been passed over in silence or interpreted differently in relation to the transition period (since 1991).

VII. CONCLUSION: MEMORY OF FOOTBALL CLUB ADAPTED TO THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

In the first three monographs (1961, 1971, 1977), the dominant worldviews in the interpretation of past events and political issues are antifascism and Yugoslavism, while in the latest monograph (2011) antifascism appears infrequently and hesitantly in relation to the dominant idea of the Croatian nation. The reasons for such construction of cultural memory in the club monographs should be sought in a broader social and political context. Namely, the club chairmen and the administration members were all recruited from the local and national political elites (earlier, always from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and later principally from the state-forming party of the Croatian Democratic Union). Over different periods, the club leaderships formed the narratives about the club past in complete harmony with the current narratives of the ruling social order regarding the social past. The original national (Croatian) identity was present in the club from the time of its founding, and in the period between 1945 and 1990 it was suppressed, not mentioned, and replaced with its Yugoslav and antifascist determinants built in World War II. After the totalitarian period, it was the antifascist determinants of the identity acquired in World War II that were suppressed and not mentioned. The latest monograph emphasizes almost exclusively the Croatian national determinants of the club's identity. The collective identity of Hajduk and the meanings of its key determinants have changed, as have the 'memories' and the values on which they have been based. It means that political/economical elites in both periods (socialist

and post-socialist) had a crucial impact on construction of official memory of the football club.

ENDNOTES

- [1] More about football in Croatia during WWII see at Kramer and Klemenčić (2004), and more about football in Serbia during WWII see at Zec (2011).
- [2] Šiber (1997) analyzes the influence of the "political biographies" of the families of the respondents in World War II on the preference of political parties. The survey was conducted on a sample of inhabitants of the major Croatian cities. It was established that about 50% of the respondents had unambiguous political biographies of belonging either to the partisan movement (NOVJ) or to the NDH military forces. The assessment of the Croatian state in the course of World War II and Ante Pavelić (leader of NDH) on the part of the individuals whose political biographies belong to the framework of the "NOB" [People's Liberation Struggle] is much more negative, while their assessment of Josip Broz is positive, they are a great deal less religious, and prefer the parties of the left. The assessment of the Croatian state in the course of World War II and Ante Pavelić on the part of the individuals with "NDH" biographies is positive, while their assessment of Josip Broz is negative, they are considerably more religious, and choose the parties of the right. The individuals whose families were not involved in the conflict or have "mixed" political biographies are moderately religious and choose the parties of the centre.
- [3] For details, consult Ramet (1996), Čolović (1997), Thompson (1999), Jambrešić Kirin (2004).
- [4] This research is a part of large international research FP7 project 'Myplace' (Memory, Youth, Political Legacy and Civic Engagement)

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