

How Does this Monument Make You Feel?: Measuring Emotional Responses to War Memorials in Croatia

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Abstract:

In this paper we present the results of a study on the influence of the emotional and cognitive dimensions in the mechanism of social memory transmission. We are in particular interested in measure the basic individual stance, as measured by various affect appraisal dimensions, and the level of engagement to the presented narrative, expressed by the difference between non-conceptual and conceptualized representations.

Keywords:

Collective memory, Jasenovac, affect

Introduction

Since the collapse of communism and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, collective remembrance in all of the successor states underwent dramatic transformations as part of nation-building projects and strategies to bolster the legitimacy of new political elites. This included nationalist revisionism of the narratives of the Second World War and the creation of founding myths based on the bloody wars accompanying Yugoslavia's dissolution. In Croatia, which successfully waged a War of Independence (known as the *Domovinski rat*, or Homeland War, 1991-1995), the so-called "red-black ideological division" in society resulted in seemingly perpetual political debates over communist Partisans, fascist Ustaša, and Serb extremist Četniks that were amplified by the more recent traumas of the 1990s conflict. The need for unity during the Homeland War led to the policy of "national reconciliation" under the first Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, which emphasized the struggle for statehood among the Croatian Partisans and whitewashed the Ustaša movement of its fascist ideology. The long-term consequences were the demonization of the antifascist struggle and the rehabilitation of Nazi-fascist collaborators, which was played out across the country's memoryscape: thousands of Partisan memorials were damaged or completely destroyed, while new monuments and public spaces were dedicated to some of Hitler's most fervent allies. The victorious and emancipatory narrative of antifascism was slowly replaced with an anti-communist victimization discourse perpetuated through commemorative practices at various sites of memory.

Croatia's efforts at joining the European Union meant that the governments since 2000 had to adopt the transnational narratives of antifascist founding myths, and thus restore some of the positive connotations of the Partisan struggle. However, right-wing political parties also adopted EU discourse in condemning communist crimes, and sought to equate all totalitarian systems through EU memorial days such as the Day of Remembrance for Victims of all Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes (23 August). After Croatia was admitted to the EU on 1 July 2013, many political observers and scholars predicted that the bitter polemics over the Second World War would fade away and society would focus on economic development in order to ensure a higher standard of living in the long-wished for common European space. Yet since accession, symbolic politics centered on interpretations of the Second World War as well as the Homeland War dominated headlines and divided the political elites at a time when

a unified strategy for resolving the economic crisis was most needed. After the return of a right-wing coalition to power in 2016, the red-black divide seems more present than ever.

Previous research presented at conferences related to COST action IS1203 (In search of transnational memory in Europe) has traced the top-down strategies of rehabilitating the Ustaša in post-1990 Croatia, transnational EU discourse in Croatian memory politics, and collective remembrance of communism.¹ The challenge, however, is how to measure the reception these various stages of reframing the past. As a part of the project “Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Cultural Memory of 20th Century Traumas,”² this paper seeks to analyze to what degree perceptions of past wars is shaped by commemorative practices, monuments, political speeches, and media representations of political rituals. Drawing upon the material gathered at several commemorations (including video footage of speeches, photographs of monuments, and media coverage), our initial goal was to develop a survey to measure emotional responses to two controversial memorials from the Second World War, firstly as **a purely visual reaction and** secondly as a response to **various commemorative speeches imbuing** the static monument with meaning. The two memorials include one dedicated to the antifascist uprising in 1941 (located in Srb), and the other commemorating the notorious concentration camp of Jasenovac. Both sites of memory have been targeted by nationalist revisionists who have sought to erase, or at least radically redefine, the narratives associated with the memorials. In the case of the Srb monument, it was actually physically destroyed in 1995 and rebuilt in 2011, while the Jasenovac memorial complex was looted during the early part of the war, eventually receiving a new permanent museum exhibition in 2006.

However, due to complications in setting up the survey and collecting enough responses, as well as the fact that Jasenovac has been subject to systematic attacks bordering on Holocaust denial by various extreme Croatian nationalists in 2015 and early 2016, this study will focus on the results related only to Jasenovac, even though the Srb case study will be completed once more data is collected.

The Second World War in Croatia and Memory Politics

Although the Second World War radically transformed and affected all of the republics of the former Yugoslavia, the traumas and deep divisions of that conflict can particularly be felt in contemporary Croatia due to the complex relationship between state-building narratives, legacies of both right- and left-wing extremist ideologies, and interethnic violence perpetrated on a massive scale. The Homeland War in the 1990s reawakened many of the unresolved issues from the past, which had been suppressed for decades as part of the socialist regime’s efforts to maintain its monopoly over the historical narrative. The ideology of “brotherhood and unity” was coined to emphasize the unified struggle of all of Yugoslavia’s peoples against the foreign occupiers and domestic collaborators rather than focus on the internecine slaughter of civilians and revenge killings. The cultural memory politics of socialist Yugoslavia (with some regional differences) reflected this interpretation of the past in commemorative practices, monument construction, official historiographies,

¹ “Remembering War the European Way: Croatia’s Commemorative Culture and the EU”, EU Politics of Memory Conference, European University Institute, Florence, Italy (20 June 2015); “EU Narratives and the Specter of Communism in Croatia,” COST Conference – Memory of Communism in Europe, Paris, France (15-16 May 2014); and “Creating Victims out of Perpetrators: Symbolic Strategies of Rehabilitating World War Two Collaborators in Croatia since the 1990s,” COST meeting Social Construction of Guilt and Victimhood, Krakow, Poland (16 September 2013).

² This project is funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ - Hrvatska zaklada za znanost).

educational systems, and a broad range of cultural production until the system began unraveling in the 1980s following Tito's death.

The Second World War on the territory of former Yugoslavia was not a clear-cut struggle between foreign occupiers and a revolutionary guerrilla movement, but a multisided civil war characterized by the systematic persecution of rival ethnic and religious groups for over four bloody years (Hoare 2006; Pavlowitch 2008; Ramet 2007; Tomasevich 2001). The spiral of violence was particularly brutal in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH – *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), which included not only most of today's Croatia (notably lacking the Istrian Peninsula and most of the territory on the Adriatic coast) but also present day Bosnia-Herzegovina. Members of the Ustaša terrorist movement established the NDH on 10 April 1941, just a few days following the Axis invasion and destruction of royal Yugoslavia. Ante Pavelić, who returned from exile in Italy, quickly established a harsh dictatorship that passed racial laws against Serbs, Jews, and Roma; built a system of concentration camps (the most notorious one being the Jasenovac complex); and violently repressed any opposition to his regime. While many Croats initially welcomed the NDH as salvation from the Serb-dominated interwar Yugoslav state, the totalitarian methods of the Ustaša regime quickly revolted the majority of the population. Serbs, who comprised nearly 30 percent of the NDH's inhabitants, were the main targets of the Ustaša's genocidal politics. They swelled the ranks of the growing Partisan resistance movement, organized by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia under Tito's command. Other Serbs joined the Četniks, who fought for the restoration of royal Yugoslavia but engaged in numerous atrocities against Croat and Muslim civilians and eventually fully collaborated with the pro-Axis forces. The various factions and shifting alliances unsurprisingly resulted in "near-anarchy and an ideal situation for revolutionary war" (Pavlowitch 2008: 273), from which the Partisans eventually emerged victorious.

The Ustaše stayed loyal to Hitler until the end, and while much of the leadership, including Pavelić, were able to escape to the West after May 1945, tens of thousands of others associated (or allegedly associated) with the regime suffered in postwar communist massacres, death marches, or other types of persecution, symbolically commemorated as the Bleiburg massacre and the Way of the Cross every year in May (Grahek Ravančić 2009). Croats in particular were saddled with the guilt of the Ustaša crimes, even though by the end of the war hundreds of thousands of ethnic Croats had fought in the Partisan ranks. The legitimacy of the post-war socialist regime was based upon the official narratives of the Partisan struggle, referred to in the historiography as the People's Liberation Struggle (NOB - *Narodnooslobodilčka borba*). Although by the 1960s Yugoslavia was far more liberal in many aspects than its neighbors in the Soviet bloc, challenging the state's interpretation of the past, especially the numbers of victims, was a taboo topic that could result in prison sentences. Renata Jambrešić-Kirin, writing on the socialist-era politics of memory related to the Second World War, concludes that "the Yugoslav animators of cultural memory" were important in "affirming the political order, the ideology of brotherhood and unity, and the legitimacy of the ruling party, while repressing the problem of interethnic conflicts" (2006: 166). In addition to the introduction of new rituals, commemorations, and burial ceremonies, the socially constructed memory of the Second World War involved monuments and memorials, history books, films, the cooption of the artistic community and youth organizations, and the complete ideological conformity of the educational system.

After multiparty elections in 1990 and the rapid disintegration of communist ideology in Yugoslavia as well as Eastern Europe, the monopoly over the past crumbled along with the former political system. A proliferation of debates about the Second World War in Croatia contributed to the deterioration of Serb-Croat relations and the slide towards a new cycle of war. Slobodan Milošević, Serbia's president and architect of Yugoslavia's bloody dissolution, used his propaganda apparatus to spread fear among Croatia's Serbs of a renewed

Ustaša threat. At the same time, Tuđman (himself a former Partisan officer) and his Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ – *Hrvatski demokratski savez*) tolerated the rehabilitation of the Ustaše in an attempt to bridge the red-black ideological divide among Croats. Despite the shameful policies during its brief existence and its inglorious end, the NDH remains romanticized in certain circles because of the predominance of the state forming ideology (*državotvornost*) and ideas of “state right” among nationalists. In their interpretation, the Ustaša supposedly established the first independent state since the loss of national sovereignty in 1102, ignoring the fact that the NDH was divided and controlled by both Italy and Germany. The consequence of this alleged “thousand year dream for an independent state” (Tuđman’s oft used phrase) meant that for many Croatian nationalists it was more important to have a state (even a fascist one) than a democratic political system. Thus, even a criminal regime such as that established by the Ustaše would have legitimacy in certain circles. Fetishization of the state led to the whitewashing of Ustaša crimes by the post-1945 émigré community, a trend that entered mainstream Croatian political culture after 1990. Nevertheless, the Croatian Constitution (adopted in December 1990 and amended most recently in 2010) cites the Partisan movement and ZAVNOH (State Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia, the governing body of the Croatian Partisans) as part of the continuity of Croatian statehood.³ The establishment of statehood (whether the NDH, the Socialist Republic of Croatia within a federal Yugoslavia, or independent Croatia in 1991) remains at the heart of war remembrance in Croatia, and it is one of the predominant discursive motifs in all commemorative speeches.

Commemorations, along with other political rituals such as rallies, parades, anniversaries, and other mass gatherings, are symbolic public activities that elites use to construct a grand narrative of a nation-state’s history. “Politics is expressed through symbolism,” asserts anthropologist David I. Kertzer, suggesting that even people in modern societies are influenced more by symbolic forms than rational calculations (1988: 2). The change to Croatia’s commemorative calendar took place soon after the HDZ came to power, even though certain antifascist sites of memory remained embedded in this narrative, such as 22 June (Antifascist Struggle Day) and 22 April (Jasenovac memorial day). While the majority of monuments remained the same (those that weren’t among the 3,000 damaged or destroyed ones), the content of the commemorative practices, especially the commemorative speeches, inscribed new meanings into old sites.

In analyzing how the relationships between cultural memory and national identity in Croatia changed from the war years in the 1990s to the present day, it is necessary to define the three levels in which memory functions. The first level is individual memory, or the remembering of events actually experienced by individuals. Since people who experienced the Second World War are still living, their oral histories contribute to the communicative memory and discourse of those events, although it can be expected that the death of this generation will change the way the war is remembered (Assmann 2005: 59). The second level is collective memory, a term coined by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. He argued that group memory was socially constructed through interaction with others and reflected the dominant discourses of society (Halbwachs 1992). Institutional memory, the way ruling elites as well as their opponents construct historical narratives, represents the final level of memory and is the most relevant framework for analyzing the post-socialist transition in Croatia. Commemorations, textbooks, the names given to public spaces, and monuments are a few elements of institutionalized memory which states and regimes use to present their interpretation of the past in order to justify the present political order.

³ Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, online version at <http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske>.

Controversial Monuments – Srb and Jasenovac

Along with the Bleiburg commemoration, the collective remembrance of Srb and Jasenovac are among the most controversial in post-1990 Croatia. Unlike Bleiburg, they also have recognizable monuments at the sites of memory, and have been controversial as physical markers irrespective of the commemorative events that take place there. The monument in Srb, by sculptor Vanja Radauš, depicts various bronze figures in a socialist realist style on a large stone obelisk, as well as bronze reliefs with scenes of the 1941 uprising. The Jasenovac “Flower”, designed by architect Bogdan Bogdanović, represents the later trend of abstract memorial design known as Yugoslav socialist modernism. While Radauš’ peasant rebels, grieving mothers, and heroic flag-waving Partisans provide a great deal of the narrative, Bogdanović’s enigmatic, almost alien monument gives no indication that it marks the location of a brutal extermination camp. These monuments thus provide interesting case studies in trying to measure emotional reactions to sites of memory where the Yugoslav regime invested considerable resources in constructing specific narratives of the past.

The Srb memorial was erected to anchor the communist narrative of antifascist resistance that began in 1941. While individual acts of resistance and isolated actions by communists had been taking place all summer, a full-blown revolt against the Ustaša dictatorship began in the village of Srb near the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The mass uprising that began on 27 July, which was subsequently celebrated as Croatia’s Uprising Day, involved a small number of KPJ members, but also many Četniks and Serb extremists. Although the uprising in Srb was commemorated as a Partisan and communist rebellion, a significant number of the rebels fell under the influence of local Četnik forces. These groups committed atrocities against the Croat and Muslim civilian populations and destroyed settlements such as Boričevac and Kulen Vakuf.⁴ Historian Max Bergholz has shown how the innocent victims killed in Kulen Vakuf in the summer of 1941 were never commemorated because they were murdered by Serb insurgents who later joined the Partisans and even held important postwar political positions (2010). Yet it was precisely the events of 27 July and the KPJ’s interpretation of them which would form the central commemorative event in Croatia promoting brotherhood and unity.

The dominant memorial in Srb was the monument to the Uprising of the Peoples of Croatia, a 15.5 meter white obelisk decorated with bronze figures sculpted by Vanja Radauš. The figure on top of the obelisk carried the flag of the Communist Party, while two other figures depicted a rebel with a rifle and a villager armed with a pitchfork. At the front of the monument was the figure of a mother in traditional peasant garb, while the base was encircled by reliefs depicting scenes from the war. Completed in 1950 on a hilltop near the center of the town, the monument was formally unveiled on the tenth anniversary of the uprising in 1951. The decision to use stone from the island of Brač for this monument proved unwise, as the harsh winters in the Lika region quickly eroded the building materials and it had to be renovated in the 1960s. While the monument in Srb was the focal point of commemorative events and established the narrative of what was to be remembered, two neighboring villages are testimony to what the regime wanted forgotten. According to local Nikola Čanak, there was never any memorial built in Suvaja, one of the villages destroyed by Luburić’s Ustaše on

⁴ For a Croatian nationalist perspective on the events of July and August 1941, see (Pavičić 2012). In certain publications and memoirs, the Partisan participants in the uprising admitted crimes had been committed against Croats as well. For example, in a 1963 book one of the leaders of the 27 July uprising, Đoko Jovanić, not only admits that pro-Četnik elements among the rebels killed Croat civilians and burned villages, but that the KPJ’s control over the revolt were minimal (Jovanić, 1963: 123-124). However, in subsequent texts and especially in commemorative speeches, Jovanić and other authors neglected to mention that the rebels were themselves perpetrators of atrocities against innocent civilians (Jovanić, 1973: 269-271). In this version Jovanić emphasizes that “the Communist Party organized the uprising and had things under control from the first day” (271).

2 July 1941 (Goldstein 2007:125).⁵ Čanak's interpretation was that a monument to such an atrocity would have complicated efforts at reconciliation with Croats after the war. The other "site of amnesia" was Boričevac, the Croat town burned by the rebels in the early days of the uprising. After the war the original inhabitants were prohibited from returning, and there was no memorial marker until 2011 when the association of exiles placed a commemorative plaque on the ruins of the village's Catholic Church.⁶



Unlike Auschwitz, Dachau, or other former concentration camps, the Jasenovac Memorial Site lacks authentic buildings and is dominated by the massive concrete Flower monument near the museum space renovated a decade ago. Shortly after the Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed in April 1941, a number of racial laws against Serbs, Jews, and Roma were enacted, followed by both systematic arrests of non-Croats and mass killings

⁵ Interview with Nikola Čanak in Srb, Croatia, 25 November 2009. Since most of the men had already fled to the woods, the majority of the nearly two hundred victims were women and children. Čanak claimed the Ustaše came from Boričevac and Kulen Vakuf, apparently as a way of justifying the subsequent revenge killings in these towns.

⁶ *Novi list*, 28 July 2011, p. 21.

of Serbs by so-called “wild” Ustaše.⁷ In contrast to the gas chambers of the Nazi death camps, victims in Jasenovac, nearby Stara Gradiška, and other Ustaša camps were often murdered by less systematic but more brutal methods (Mataušić 2003; Rimay 2006; Deverić and Fumić 2008). The estimated number of victims at Jasenovac has fluctuated wildly over the years and was subject to considerable political manipulation almost immediately after the end of the war. The statistic of 700,000 victims was considered sacrosanct in communist-era Yugoslavia, and by the 1980s some scholars inflated that figure to allege that over 1 million individuals, predominantly Serbs, were killed in the camps alone (Žerjavić 1992: 11–12, 44; Mataušić 2006: 47–48). The reaction of Croatian nationalists, such as Franjo Tuđman, was to minimize the numbers. Even before he became president, Tuđman argued that the total death toll for camps in Croatia was not more than 40,000, a figure he continued to cite in the 1990s.⁸ The museum’s website currently lists just over 80,000 Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats, and individuals of other nationalities as victims,⁹ although scholars estimate that the final tally of victims is probably as high as 100,000.¹⁰ In her work on socialist Yugoslav monuments, historian Heike Karge has shown that the debates over the number of victims affected the decisions related to the building of a memorial at Jasenovac, including at the highest political levels of the communist regime (Karge 2014).

As mentioned above, at the Jasenovac site no original structures remain. The Ustaše destroyed the camp and nearly all administrative records in 1945 when it became clear the war was lost, and in subsequent years the inhabitants of the town of Jasenovac scoured the ruins for building material to repair their devastated homes. In the 1950s local officials floated the idea of creating some kind of memorial at the site, but it was not until 1963 that 1,500 people participated in a “work action” to clear the terrain and a decision was made to construct a monument (Lončar 1977: 13–14). The Croatian People’s Liberation War veterans’ organization chose Belgrade architect Bogdan Bogdanović’s “Flower” (sometimes referred to as the “Stone Flower,” *Kameni cvijet*, even though it is made from reinforced concrete) design, symbolizing “indestructible life,” as the central monument.¹¹ Work on the monument lasted from 1964 until the opening ceremony on 4 July 1966 (Lončar 1977: 13–14). Gal Kirn, a leading scholar of Yugoslav modernist monuments, explains that the abstract forms represented universalist values, timelessness, and an antifascism that was not tied to a single nationalism (2013: 288; Kirn and Burghardt 2012: 7–20). These memorials, even when located at the site of death camps such as Jasenovac, shared the vision of modernization and education which Yugoslavia strove for but was ultimately unable to achieve due to its internal lack of cohesion. Construction on a museum was begun in September 1967 and completed in

⁷ For example, the “Decree regarding Racial Affiliation and the Decree regarding the Protection of Aryan Blood and the Honor of the Croatian People” was passed on 30 April 1941, less than three weeks after the NDH was established. *Hrvatski narod*, 1 May 1941, 1.

⁸ Interview with Tuđman, reprinted in *Novi list*, 23 April 1996, 21. The discussion about the manipulation of the number of Jasenovac victims was featured in Franjo Tuđman’s most well-known and controversial book, *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti* (1990: 56–58). The notion of collective guilt was one of the central tenets of Tuđman’s challenging the number of Serbian victims in the Second World War. According to him, the number of victims was exaggerated to justify a unified Yugoslavia and Serb dominance in key party, police, and military positions in Croatia (1995: 330–331).

⁹ Tables identifying the victims at the Jasenovac camp by nationality can be found at www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6711 (accessed 5 May 2016).

¹⁰ Archive of Javna ustanova Spomen područje (JUSP) Jasenovac, Fond SPJ–Komemoracije, A-745, Slakvo Goldstein, “Procjene o priližnom broju žrtava ustaškog logorskog sustava Jasenovac 1941–1945,” 21 April 2005.

¹¹ Bogdanović stated in an interview that “in the Jasenovac Flower I denoted life—the crimes which took place in Jasenovac were terrible, but it is important to show what comes afterwards” (Quoted in Jovičić 2007: 229).

July 1968, the same year the Jasenovac Memorial Site Institution was established to administer the museum. In 1983 the Jasenovac Memorial Site was expanded to include all of the outlying camps that constituted the Jasenovac system, such as Krapje, Uštice, Stara Gradiška (the location of a women's camp), and Donja Gradina. The latter location is a massive killing field across the Sava River and is currently located in Bosnia-Herzegovina (in the Republika Srpska entity), which has physically divided the once-united memorial site between two countries. The fragmentation of the memorial site has resulted in two radically different constructions of the past: the Croatian one, which offers a contemporary museum space and commemorative site, and a Bosnian Serb one that perpetuates the Jasenovac myths from the communist period.



In 1991 the memorial site was occupied by rebel Serb forces that devastated the museum and looted its collection. The objects ended up in a storage facility in Banja Luka (Bosnia-Herzegovina), were transferred to Washington, D.C., with the help of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2000, and were finally returned to Croatia in 2001 (Mataušić 2006: 54).¹²

¹² Croatian authorities estimate that about 30 percent of the collection, which in 1991 consisted of some 14,000 objects and 2,500 publications, is still missing. It is believed to be in Bosnia-Herzegovina or Serbia.

While former presidents Stjepan Mesić (2000-2010) and Ivo Josipović (2010-2015) made efforts to restore antifascist traditions and commemorations, including the anniversary of the final breakout attempt in Jasenovac every April, current President Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović chose to break the practice of her predecessors and did not attend the commemoration to the Jasenovac victims in 2015 (she laid a wreath at the site several days earlier). Having been the HDZ's candidate in the presidential elections, her position on Croatia's antifascist heritage signaled the direction a HDZ government would take once they took power. In addition to her avoiding the Jasenovac commemoration, she removed a bust of Tito from the presidential office (which even Tuđman had kept), and then agreed to sponsor the Bleiburg commemoration in May 2015 since the government had ended support in 2012, claiming that it contributed to the rehabilitation of the Ustaša movement. The electoral campaign prior to parliamentary elections in the fall of 2015 were notable for the HDZ's virulent anti-communist discourse, threats of imminent lustration, and decision to include parties openly sympathetic to the Ustaše in their coalition. Once the HDZ was able to form a government in early 2016, many of its initial moves seemed to confirm fears that the radical right wing of the party was pushing an ideological agenda which mirrored some of the developments in other Central European countries such as Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. Some of the first decisions of the new government were to appoint a controversial (some would say revisionist) historian, Zlatan Hasanbegović, as the minister of culture, restore parliamentary sponsorship over the Bleiburg commemoration, and propose to change the name of the parliament to the name it had during the NDH (*Hrvatski državni Sabor*).

Furthermore, the government did not react when demonstrators marched and threatened the electronic media council while shouting fascist slogans (*Za dom spremni*, the Ustaša motto meaning Ready for the Homeland) because it punished a broadcaster for hate speech against minorities, and turned a blind eye on threats and even physical attacks on representatives of the Serb minority and independent journalists. The general atmosphere was additionally poisoned by a sustained media campaign lasting over a year in the right-wing press discrediting the numbers of victims at Jasenovac, which included references to the annual Jasenovac commemoration as a "Demonic Dance of Red Bandits."¹³ Right-wing weeklies, such as *Hrvatski tjednik*, *Hrvatsko slovo*, and *Vijenac*, along with publications such as *Jasenovački logori* (2015), have argued that even the current numbers of victims are greatly exaggerated, as well as claiming that the "truth" about the concentration camp is that it allegedly continued to exist as a communist-run camp until 1952 where all of the victims were actually Croats.¹⁴

In April 2016, the premier of Jakov Sedlar's revisionist film, *Jasenovac – Truth*, which included several falsifications identified by investigative journalists, was the straw that broke the camel's back and spurred an outcry from human rights NGOs, the Serb minority, Roma and Jewish organizations, the antifascist association of Croatia, and even the Israeli ambassador.¹⁵ Consequently, all of these groups boycotted the official commemoration, resulting in an international scandal. While the official commemoration was held on 22 April, attended primarily by government ministers and parliamentary deputies, alternative

¹³ *Hrvatski tjednik*, 30 April 2015, front page.

¹⁴ The questionable historical methodology and clear ideological agenda of the revisionist camp prompted Slavko Goldstein to respond with his own book countering the claims of the Society for Jasenovac Camps (*Društvo Jasenovačkih logora*), titled *Jasenovac: tragika, mitomanija, istina* (2016).

¹⁵ *Jutarnji list*, 8 April 2016, p. 5. The Israeli ambassador to Croatia, Kalay Kleitman, stated that after seeing the film she felt that it "selectively depicted history, attempted to revise many known historical facts, and offended the feelings of people who lost their loved ones in Jasenovac."

commemorations were held on 15 April (organized by Croatia's Jewish community) and 24 April (organized by the Association of Antifascist Veterans of Croatia and the Serbian National Council), along with a protest in Zagreb organized on the same day as the official event. The rival interpretations of the nature of the Jasenovac camp were thus present not only in academic publications and the media, but in a number of commemorative rituals and official government statements. It is within this context that the respondents were asked to comment on the emotional reaction to the Jasenovac memorial, which was especially present in the public sphere in March and April 2016.

Research questions and theoretical approach

One of the important questions in the research of the collective memory is the influence of the emotional and cognitive dimensions in the mechanism of social memory transmission. How successfully are the subjective qualities of the individual memories transmitted and elicited in the inter-subjective communication? What are the salient emotional and cognitive features of the narration that successfully construct a socially shared memory? Can we measure the level of affective and cognitive engagement of the receivers to the representations of the cultural memories prominent in the communication and media? Could we predict the behavioral and pragmatic tendencies based on the level of emotional and cognitive appraisal? Can we correlate the level of emotional and cognitive appraisal with the representation of a particular event in a collective memory? In this paper we attempt to tackle some of the above mentioned questions by investigating the effects of the monuments, commemorative political speeches and media coverage on the individual's affective and cognitive stance about the traumatic events in the Croatian collective memory. In order to formulate the reception of this image we situate the present study on the collective memory within the theoretical framework of embodied cognition (Barsalou 2008) and componential appraisal theory of emotion (Fontaine, Scherer and Soriano 2013).

In this study we measured the emotional and cognitive engagement of individual receivers by quantitatively comparing the non-conceptual elicitation, via static image of the monument (Illustration x), versus conceptualized elicitation of affective appraisal and cognitive stance towards a monument. The conceptual elicitation was activated by the speeches delivered by the distinguished memory producing actors. We compared the results from those two types of elicitations with the basic assumption that level of emotional and cognitive engagement produced by non-conceptual elicitation via image represents the basic individual's stance to the constructed (mediated) collective memory. This 'shallow' categorical knowledge is seen as the activation of the salient conceptual pattern in the dynamic system of individual mental representation (knowledge) of the event. On the other hand, the conceptualized elicitation of the event via speech is seen as the framing of the individual's conceptual model involving more response of the affective and cognitive resources, producing more elaborated affective appraisal and complex activation of entrenched conceptual networks. Qualitative and quantitative data of both types of elicitation are valuable for the description of the metacognitive status of the collective memory within the process of (intergenerational) transmission, appropriation and remediation of the meaning in culture. The construction of the event memory consist of establishing meta-cognitive networks that can include several models related to the event (Radvansky and Zacks 2014:17; Lakoff 2009). The affect response is thus seen as a measure of the affective stance, cognitive entrenchment and dynamic psychological negotiation between cognitive and cultural models that constitute individuals relation to the collective identity.

Object of study

In the following chapters we present the findings of the research on emotional and cognitive responses for the Jasenovac monument (illustration x), and speeches from commemorations

and media appearances from 2015 given by three memory producing actors: Zoran Milanović (the former prime minister of Croatia), Igor Vukić (a revisionist historian and contributor to the controversial book *Jasenovački logori*), and Aleksandar Vučić (prime minister of Serbia). We conducted a questionnaire¹⁶ with 126 participants, mostly students from the University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. They were distributed in three groups according to the approximately five minute-long speeches delivered by either Vukić, Milanović, or Vučić.

Table 1: The numbers of the participants in the Jasenovac study:

JS Vukić	JS Milanović	JS Vučić	Sum
41	57	18	126

This paper will focus on the impact results of the questionnaires from the groups who observed the speech by Milanović¹⁷ and the interview with Vukić.¹⁸

Phases

The questionnaire was conducted in the following phases: 1) general questions, 2) presentation of the monument, 3) questionnaire with 21 dimensions measuring affective appraisal and stance, 4) presentation of the speech, 5) reiteration of the questionnaire from the phase 3.

In the following sections we describe the results and the design of the questionnaires.

¹⁶ The questionnaires can be found on the following web-addresses:

1) Vukić https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1Un5i3gKEYo_M7x7jDPQyAm3hVqoTI0n0g3YyL0Kfuk

2) Milanović <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1aZ0dqwYREIXPQQFxfjVJPk1ixnjOyjCRUKNVSnsonKf4>

3) Vučić <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1ynh0sIZIVXHwNly0VD2FoCinywDGIDJB5JIAwm3G4Qk>

¹⁷ The summary of the answers:

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1aZ0dqwYREIXPQQFxfjVJPk1ixnjOyjCRUKNVSnsonKf4/viewanalytics>)

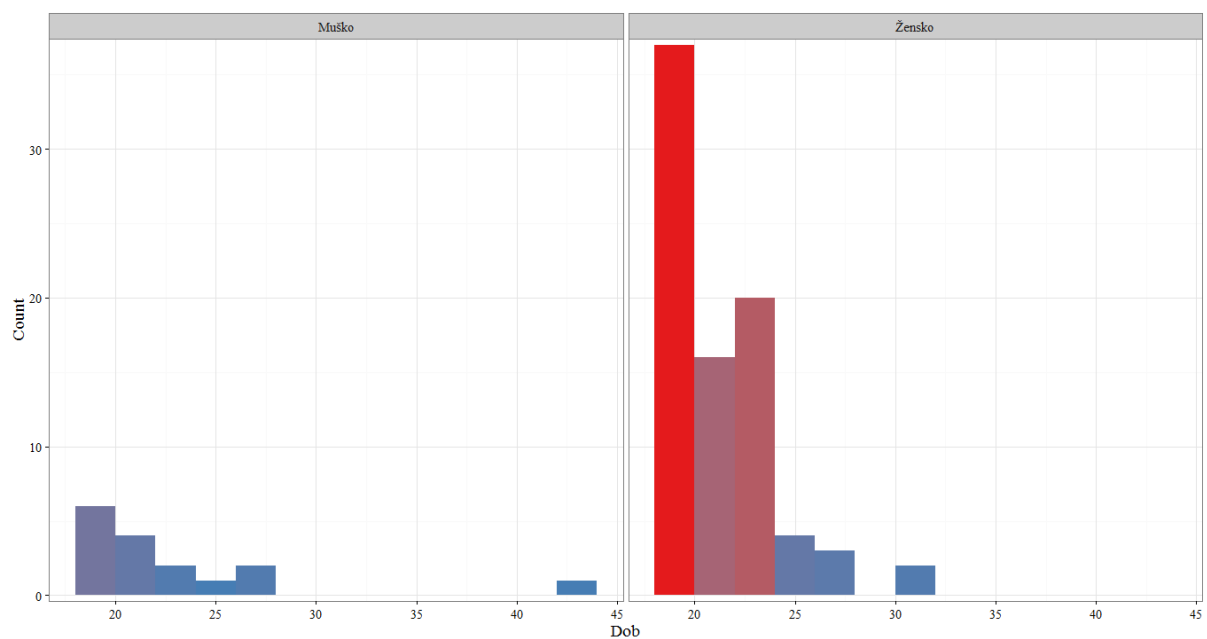
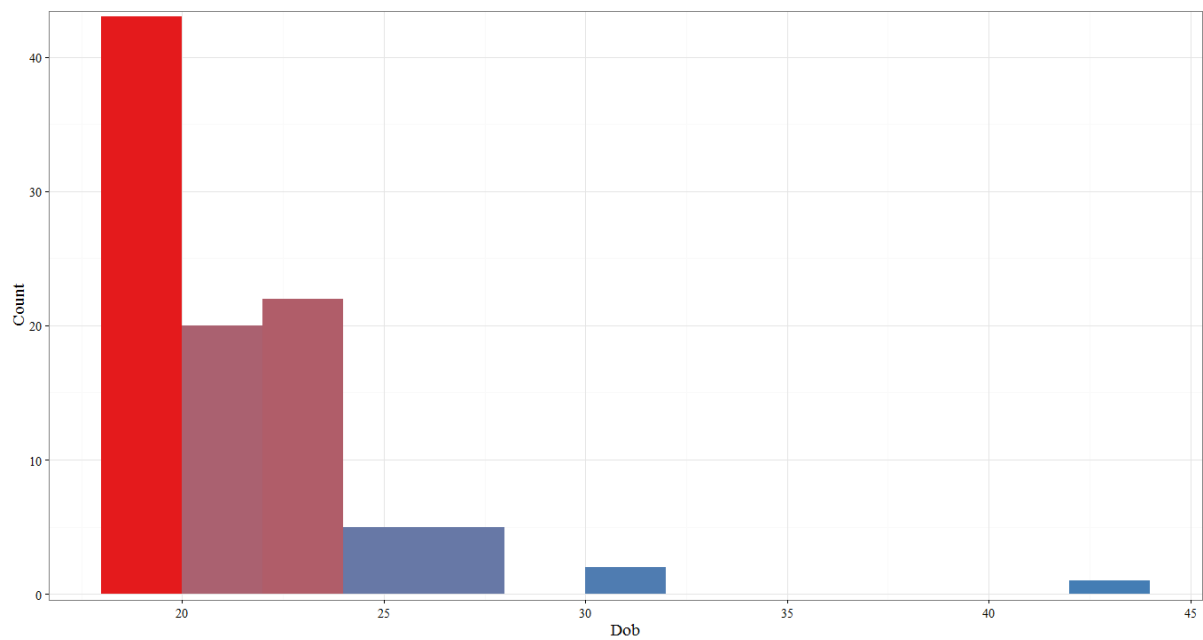
¹⁸ The summary of the answers:

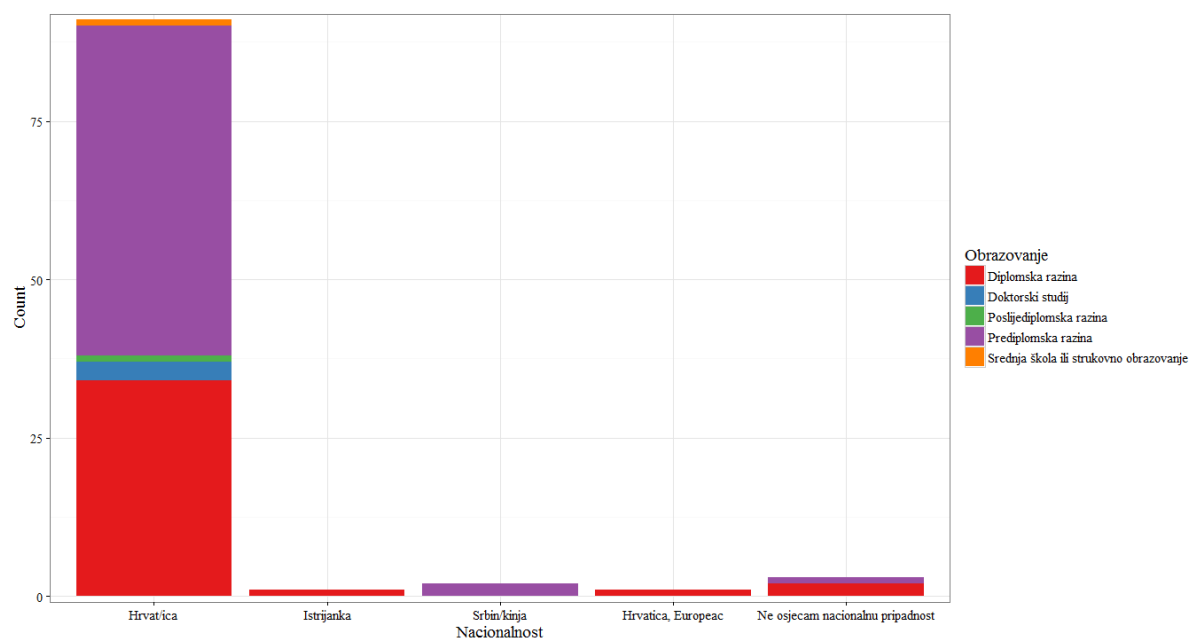
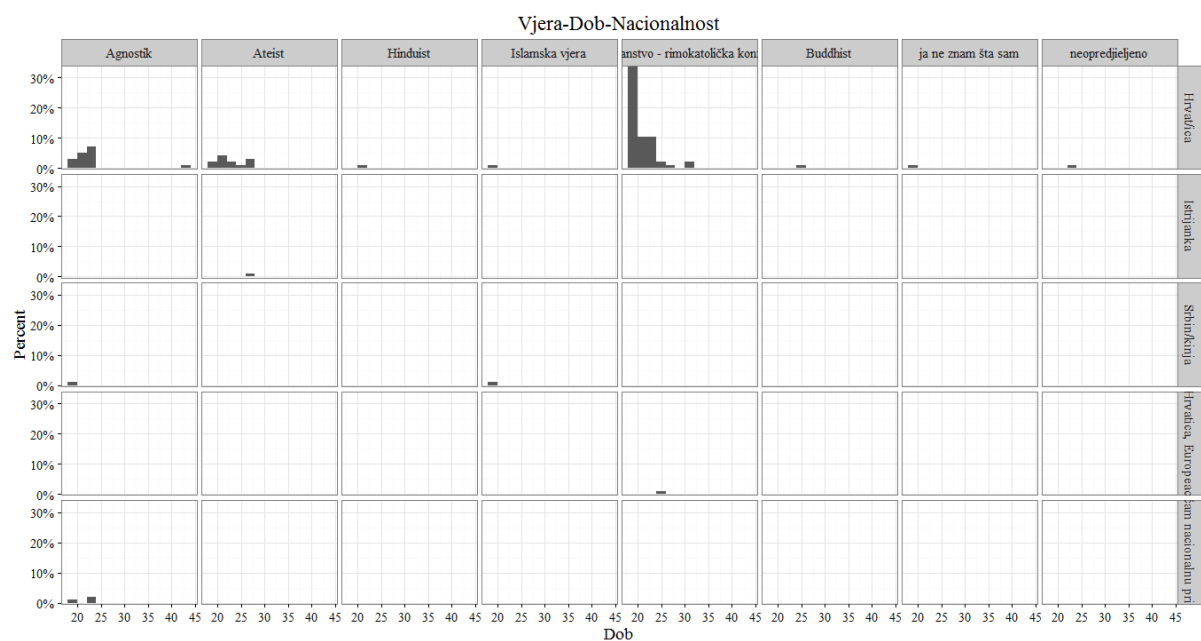
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1Un5i3gKEYo_M7x7jDPQyAm3hVqoTI0n0g3YyL0KfukY/viewanalytics

Phase 1 General questions

First phase of the questionnaire recorded 7 dimensions: education, profession, nationality, political affiliation, age, faith, stance on abortion, stance on gay marriage, stance on theory of evolution.

Age		Sex	
Min.	:18.00	Man	:16
1st Qu.	:19.00	Woman	:82
Median	:22.00		
Mean	:21.85		
3rd Qu.	:23.00		
Max.	:43.00		





Education

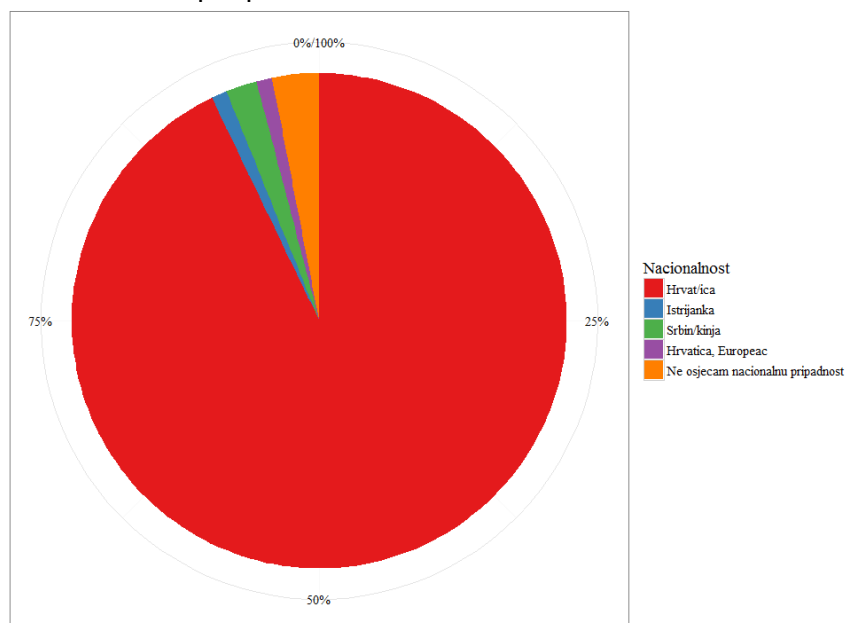
MA	:39
PHD	: 3
BA	:55
High School	: 1

Profession

Pedagogy	:22
Cultural studies	:20
Psychology	:15
Polytechnics	: 5
English	: 5
Other	:29
NA	: 2

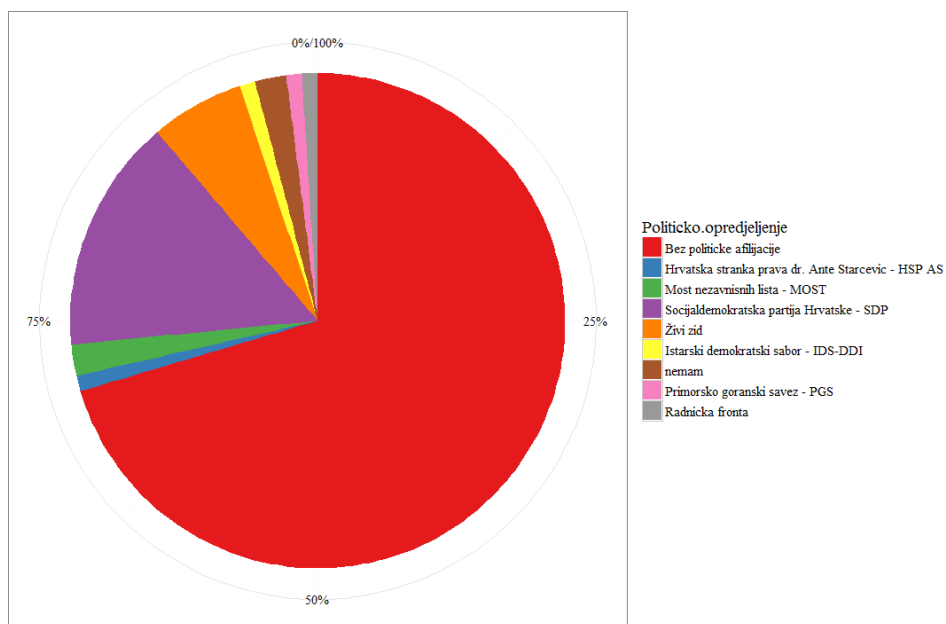
Nationality

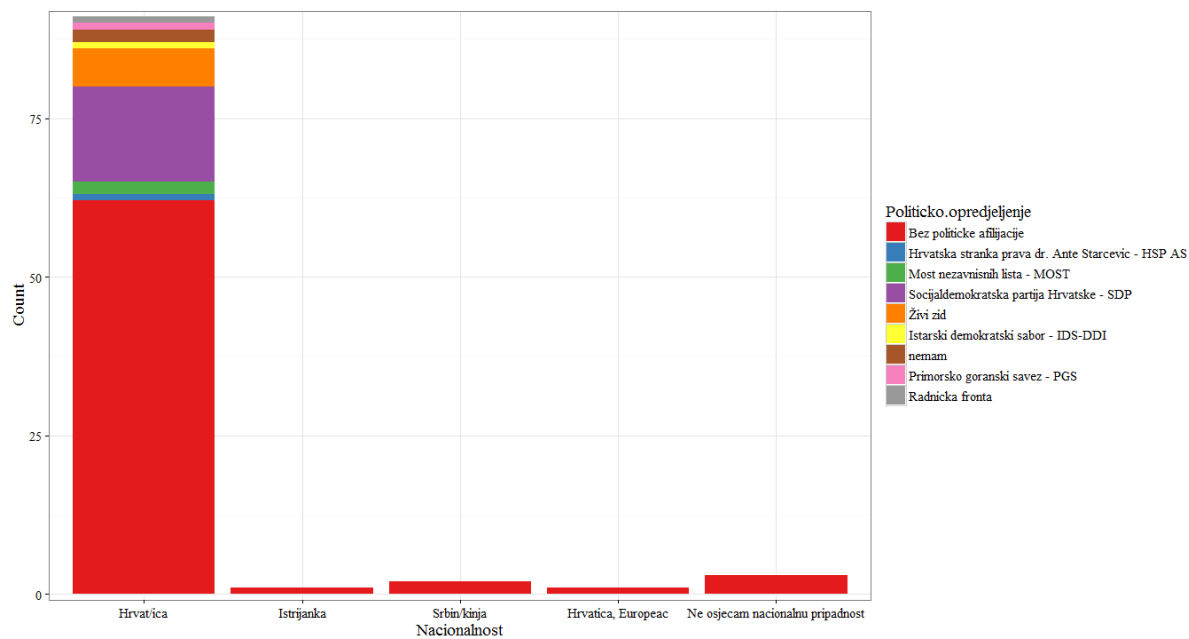
Hrvat/ica	:91
Istrijanka	: 1
Srbin/kinja	: 2
Hrvatica, Europeac	: 1
Ne osjećam nacionalnu pripadnost:	3



Political affiliation

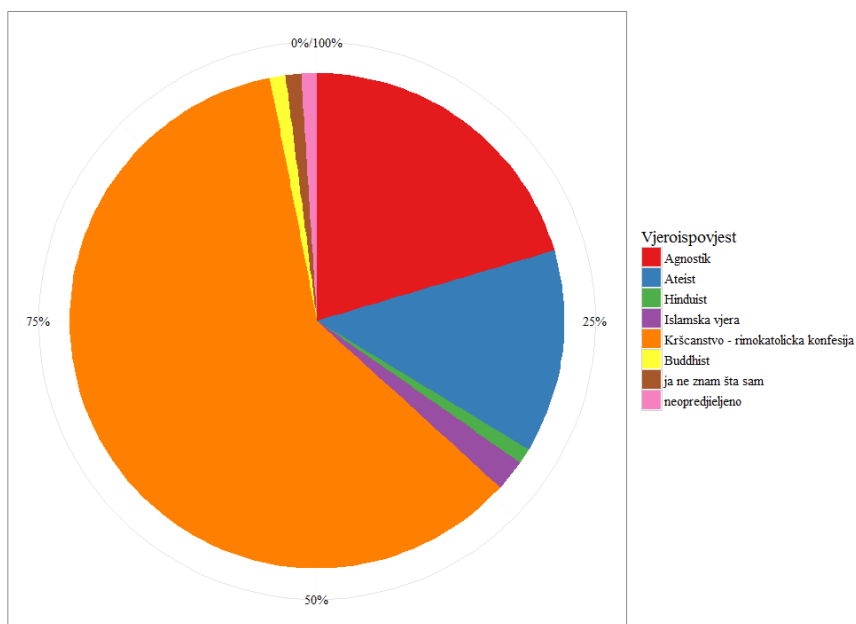
No affiliation	:69
Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske - SDP	:15
Živi zid	: 6
Most nezavisnih lista - MOST	: 2
nemam	: 2
Hrvatska stranka prava dr. Ante Starcevic - HSP AS	: 1
(Other)	: 3

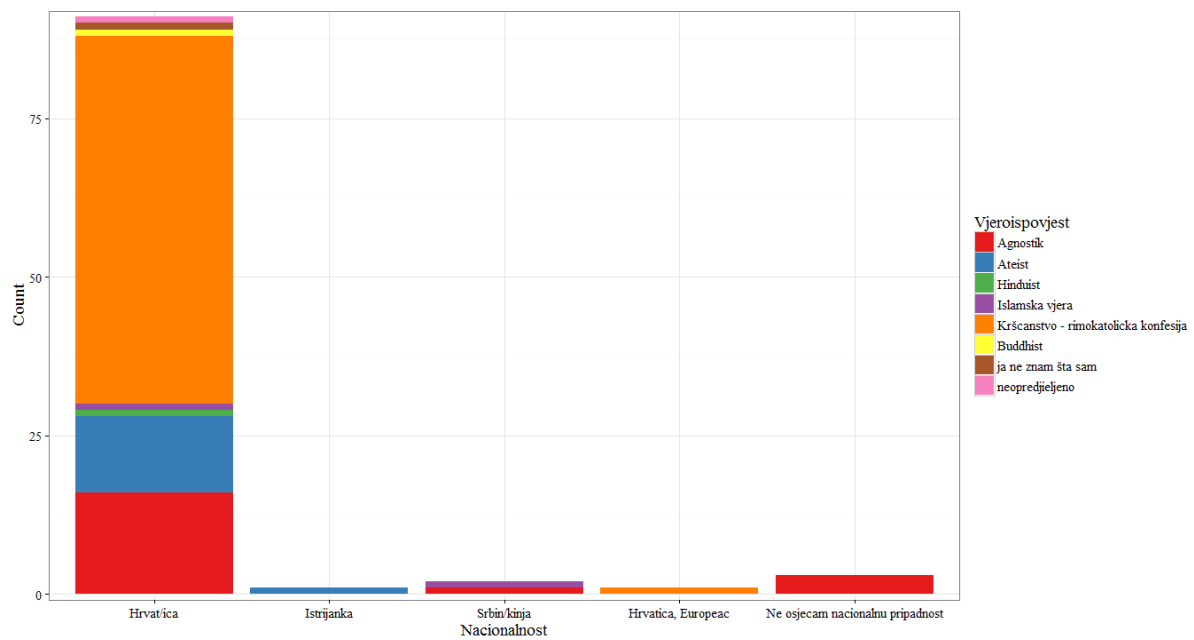




Faith

Roman Catholic	: 59
Agnostic	: 20
Atheist	: 13
Muslim	: 2
Hindu	: 1
Buddhist	: 1
(Other)	: 2





Phase 2: Presentation of the monument

In the second phase of the research design we exposed the participants to the illustration of the monument (illustration 1.) without any other information about it.



Illustration x

Phase 3: Questionnaire with 21 dimensions measuring affective appraisal and stance

In order to measure the affect response as a dependent variable we have formulated questions in a form of a 5 level Likert scale:

1 strongly disagree, 2 disagree, 3 neither agree nor disagree, 4 agree, 5 strongly agree.

Typical question:
By looking at the monument + {I feel sadness,.....} feature:

Gledajući ovaj spomenik doživljam tugu.*

1 2 3 4 5

ne slažem se potpuno ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ slažem se potpuno

Illustration 2. Likert scale question about the feature.

Table 1 and chart 1 presents aggregate of answers ordered according to the mean level of agreement from 5 to 1 (Milanović+Vukić), indicating the level of emotional engagement and appraisal after the ‘shallow’ non-conceptual activation via image 3.

Table x

Features of emotional engagement and appraisal	M+V	Milanović	Vukić
Behavioural tendency: keep and promote the monument	3.3825	3.228	3.537
Sadness	3.0285	2.789	3.268
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument promotes values in accordance with my values	2.5285	2.667	2.39
Unpleasantness	2.5185	2.842	2.195
Anger	2.408	2.596	2.22
Arousal	2.398	2.333	2.463
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument inspires me to promote my identity and values	2.326	2.579	2.073
Monument inspires me to question my identity and values	2.243	2.632	1.854
Pride	2.177	2.281	2.073
Shame	2.1355	2.491	1.78
Pleasantness	2.056	2.088	2.024
Fear	2.027	2.298	1.756
Disgust	1.9715	2.211	1.732
Love	1.809	1.789	1.829
Behavioural tendency: deinstall the monument	1.8065	1.93	1.683
Happiness	1.6955	1.684	1.707

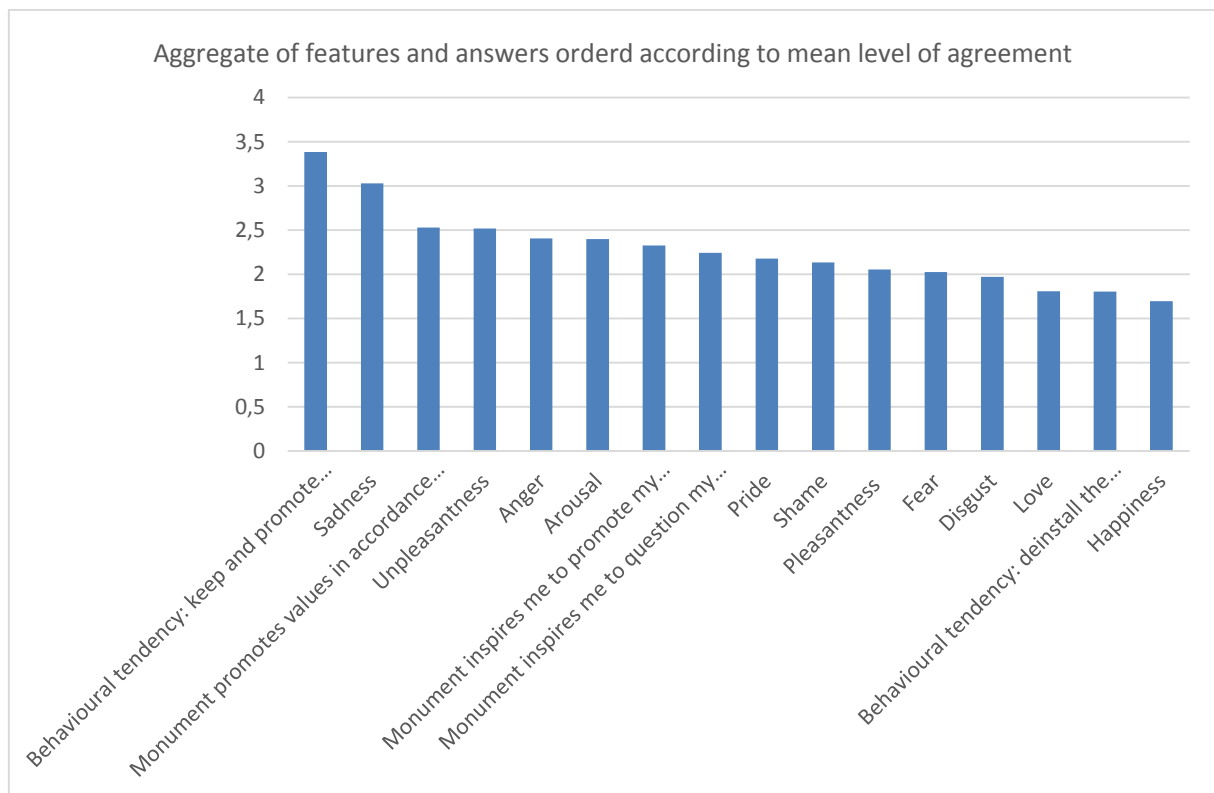


Chart x

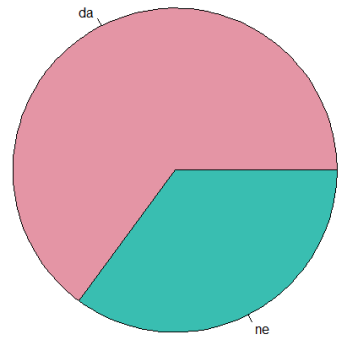
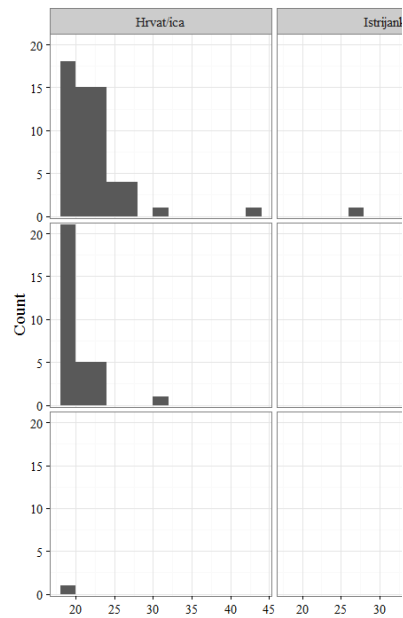
The overall results in this phase of experiment show that elicitation via image of the Jasenovac monument activates the behavioral tendency to keep and promote the monument and emotional category sadness. On the other hand, the participants tend to dissociate with affective values of disgust, love, happiness and behavioral tendency to deinstall the monument.

Around two third of the participants recognized the monument, mostly from the media sources and their education.

Recognize the monument.

yes :68

no :34



I recognize the monument from:

medija :39

high school :15

basic school :14

Phase 4: Presentation of Political speech

In the 4th phase of the experiment, we exposed our participants to the one of the political speeches related to the Jasenovac monument. The political actors were:

- a. Igor Vukić, {anti-communist, pro-Croatian},
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RaVpIIXFi6g>)
- b. Zoran Milanović, {anti-fascist, pro-Croatian},
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSMYMs1rFUA>)
- c. Vučić {anti-ustaša, pro-Serbian}
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llvK8qzg-G4>)



Phase 5: Stance towards the speaker and the message

In order to measure participant's stance to the speaker and the message, the design of the research we included some questions measuring qualitative and quantitative values.

Milanović	Vukić:
<p><i>I have positive attitude towards speaker</i> Mean :3.088</p> <p><i>I agree with the content.</i> Mean :3.561</p> <p><i>Short highlight of the speech</i> treba se voljeti svoju zemlju, al poštivati druge - Isticanje rijeci, gesta, ideja vezanih za događaje koji su vezani za nehumane postupke poput zarobljavanja i ubijanja drugih ljudi ne smiju biti dio hrvatske stvarnosti koja bi trebala biti demokratska i sticanje vlastitih vrijednosti : 1 antifašizam - Da se o ratnim zločinima, pogotovo onima iz 2. svjetskog rata treba pričati i da je to dio politike. Milanović promice antifašizam te kritizira izjave "za dom spremni" kada se koriste u neprimjerenim situacijama. : 1 - Govor želi potaknuti na ljubav prema domovini i odati počast poginulima.</p> <p><i>Which words aroused the most emotions?</i> : 3 Živio hrvatski antifašizam! - citiranje Ustava - "silovanje" - tipično politički i upotrebljena riječ koja garantirano i ciljano djeluje na emocije slušaoca : Najviše me emotivno probudilo kad je spominjao Bleiburg i Jasenovac, te kada je pričao o partizanima u svojoj obitelji, jer su i moji preci bili u partizanima., : 1 Ako se već on ne može pomiriti s time da su partizani i ustaše desetljecima iza nas i da je hrvatski narod poslije toga zahvatila daleko veća nepravda, nekako ne nameće svoj primitivni stav drugima.: 1 (Other)</p>	<p><i>I have positive attitude towards speaker</i> Mean :2.61</p> <p><i>I agree with the content.</i> Mean :2.463</p> <p><i>Short highlight of the speech</i> logor u Jasenovcu koji nije bio logor smrti : 2 ne znam da Jasenovac nije bio logor smrti nego radni logor : 1 Događaji u Jasenovcu, koji ljudi su zarobljavani i gdje su odvođeni.: 1 eksplozorao mi je mozak od istaknute "ideje" : 1</p> <p><i>Which words aroused the most emotions?</i> 'Jasenovac nije bio logor smrti. Moj se otac sjeća kako su ga ustaše nosile na ramenima i igrali se s njim!': 1 Broj smrti : 1 Čitanje tisuća dokumenata i izjava osoba povezanih sa događanjima u Jasenovcu. : 1 Da brojka od 700 000 žrtava nije točna, već da je broj žrtava manji. : 1 da se s djecom igralo i da su ih vojnici nosili na ramenima. : 1 Emocije ljutnje</p>

The overall results show more positive attitude towards Milanović than towards Vukić, as well as to the message delivered by Milanović. Some of the highlights from Milanović's talk include the prototypical national messages with the aim to bolster national pride connected with the antifascist resistance, denunciation of the Ustasha regime and recent attempts to reintegrate the Ustasha salutation "za dom spremni" into popular nationalist repertoire. Some of the participants have related the message with their family partisan history, which made the talk more emotional and meaningful for them. However, some of the participants clearly state the need to leave this futile rhetoric and divisions in the past, perceiving it as primitivistic division of the Croatian people.

In the Vukić talk the most interesting conceptualization is construed by the narrative depicting his father playing with Ustasha soldiers in the Jasenovac. This particular scene frames the whole event with an emotional flavor of cheerfulness intended to support a cognitive

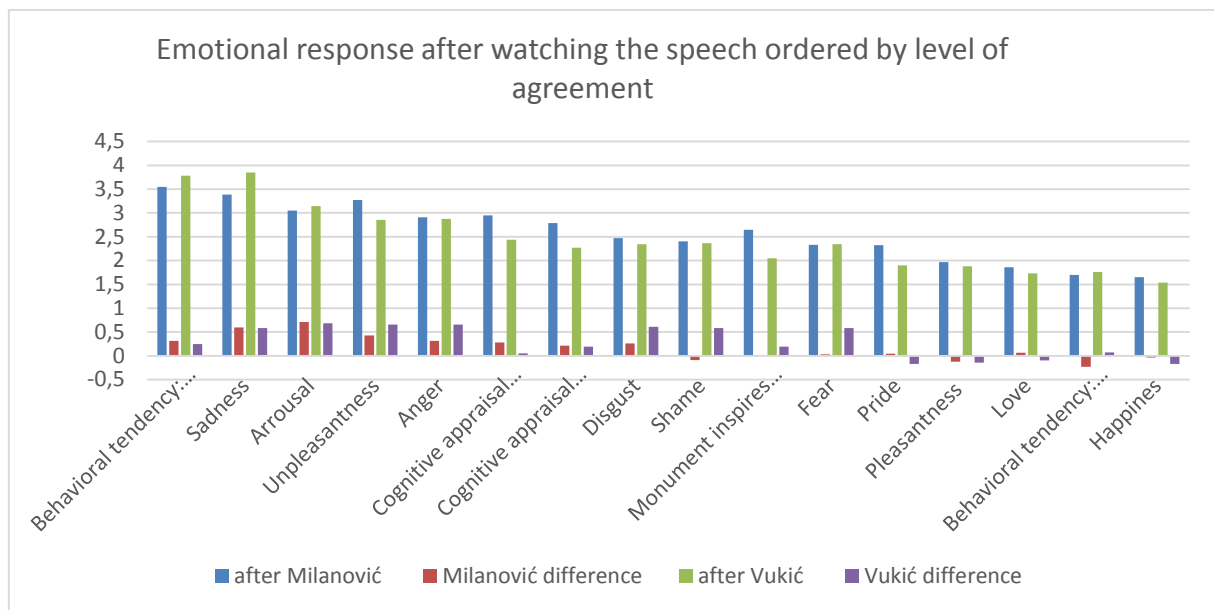
conceptualization of Jasenovac as a working camp, not a death camp. This positive manipulation of the children frame is seen as especially important for the construal of the affective load necessary to superimpose the more frequent negative suffering frame connected with the Jasenovac narrative.

Phase 6 Repetition of the question in phase 3

After exposing our participants with the political talks we wanted to compare the affective response with regards to the Jasenovac monument. The questionnaire A with 21 dimensions was introduced again. This enabled us to measure the difference between affective appraisal and stance before and after the talks. The difference is seen as the personal impact of the political talks caused by the deeper elicitation of the profiled conceptual networks. The following illustrations show the differences between Milanović and Vučić talks as measured by the difference in mean values. The data with measured values is given in the table 1

Features of emotional engagement and appraisal	M+V After	Milanović after	Milanović difference	Vukić after	Vukić difference
Behavioral tendency: keep and promote the monument	3.6625	3.544	0.316	3.781	0.244
Sadness	3.6185	3.384	0.595	3.853	0.585
Arousal	3.0965	3.047	0.714	3.146	0.683
Unpleasantness	3.0635	3.273	0.431	2.854	0.659
Anger	2.895	2.912	0.316	2.878	0.658
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument promotes values in accordance with my values	2.693	2.947	0.28	2.439	0.049
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument inspires me to promote my identity and values	2.5285	2.789	0.21	2.268	0.195
Disgust	2.4075	2.474	0.263	2.341	0.609
Shame	2.385	2.404	-0.087	2.366	0.586
Monument inspires me to question my identity and values	2.349	2.649	0.017	2.049	0.195
Fear	2.337	2.333	0.035	2.341	0.585
Pride	2.1125	2.323	0.042	1.902	-0.171
Pleasantness	1.9215	1.965	-0.123	1.878	-0.146
Love	1.7945	1.857	0.068	1.732	-0.097
Behavioral tendency: deinstall the monument	1.729	1.702	-0.228	1.756	0.073
Happiness	1.593	1.649	-0.035	1.537	-0.17

Table 1



From this response we can calculate the relative difference between features representing the effect of the speech on affective engagement and appraisal.

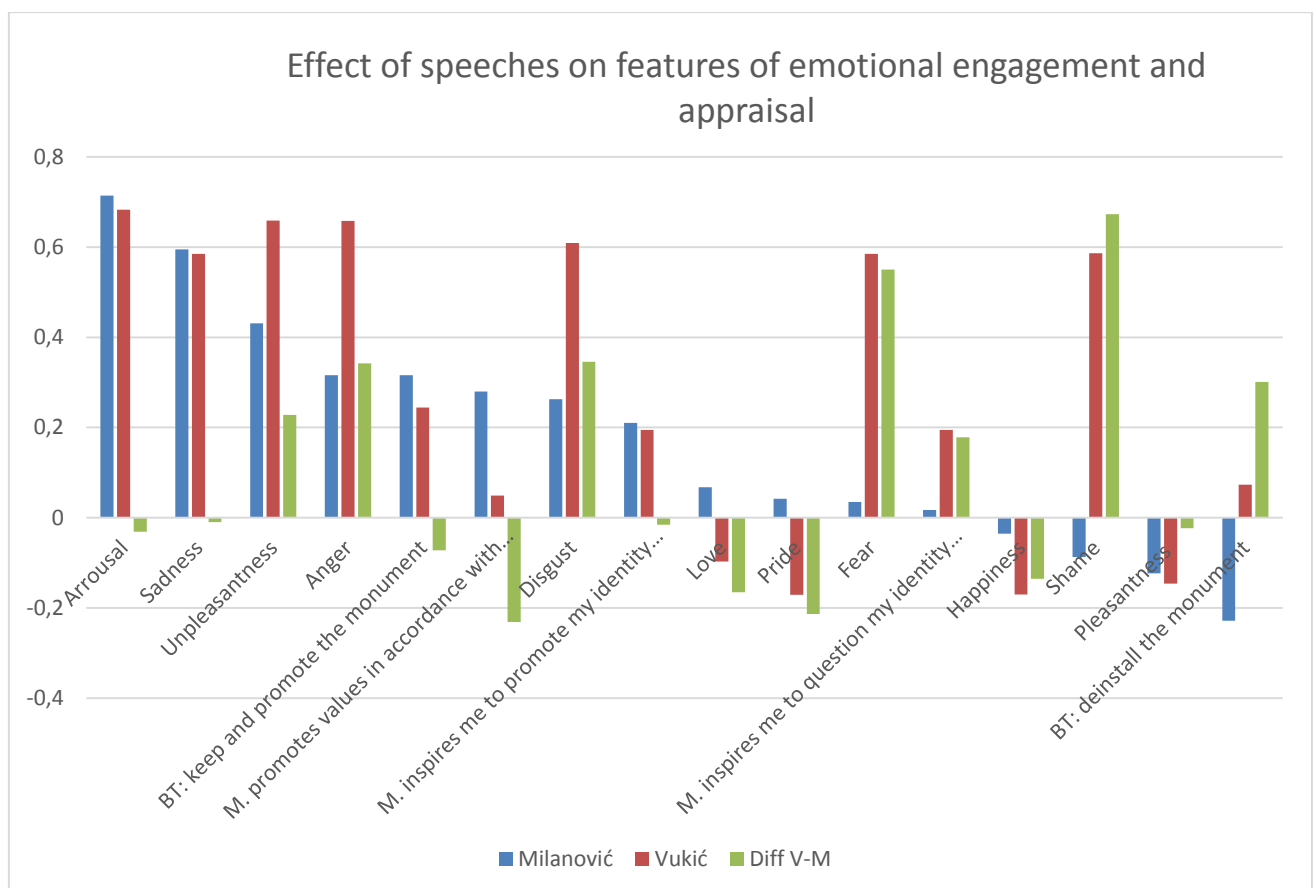


Illustration 3

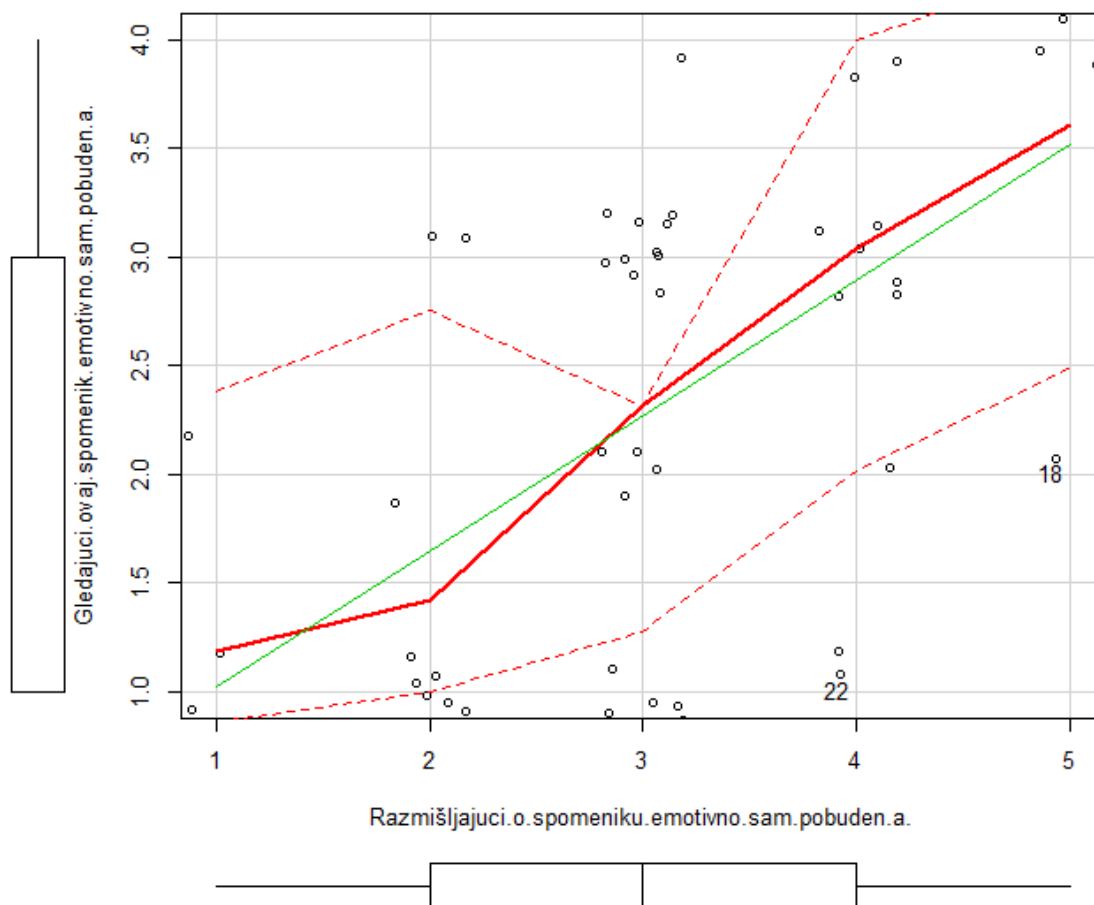
Representing the dimensions

The data is represented in numeric mean values: a) before the speech, b) after the speech and c) the difference. The distribution of those two dependent variables is represented on a two dimensional scatter plot. The y axis shows the values before the speech, and the x axis represents the values given by the participants after the speech. The green line is a measure of nonparametric regression indicating the tendency and the division in the distribution between the participants that were a) more prone to agree with the question after the speech (below the line) and b) more prone to disagree with the question after the elicitation (above the line)

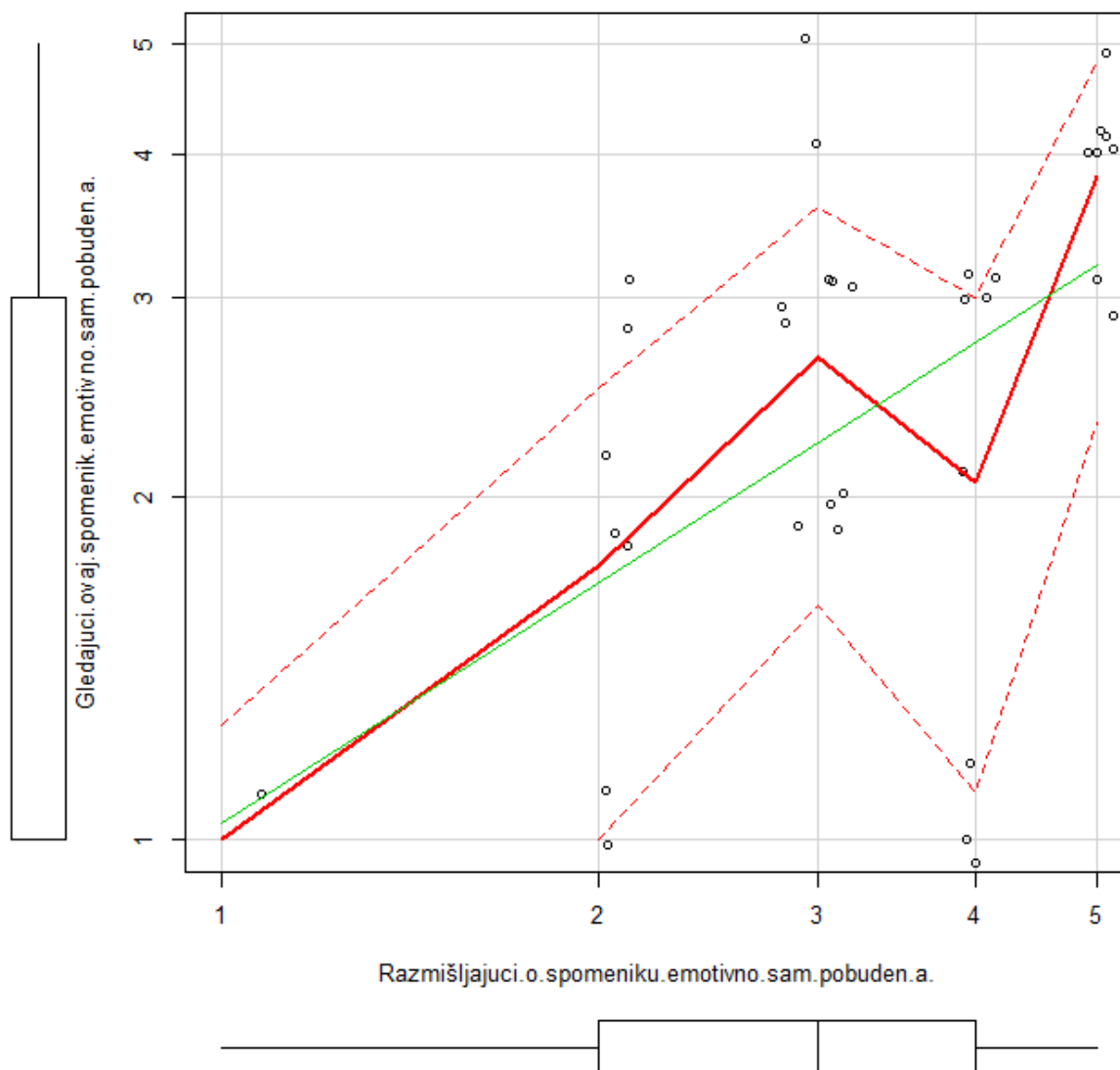
Arousal

The first dimension measured is arousal as a general level of intensity of affective state.

JS Milanovic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.714
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.333	Mean :3.019	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :5.000	



JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.683
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.463	Mean :3.146	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



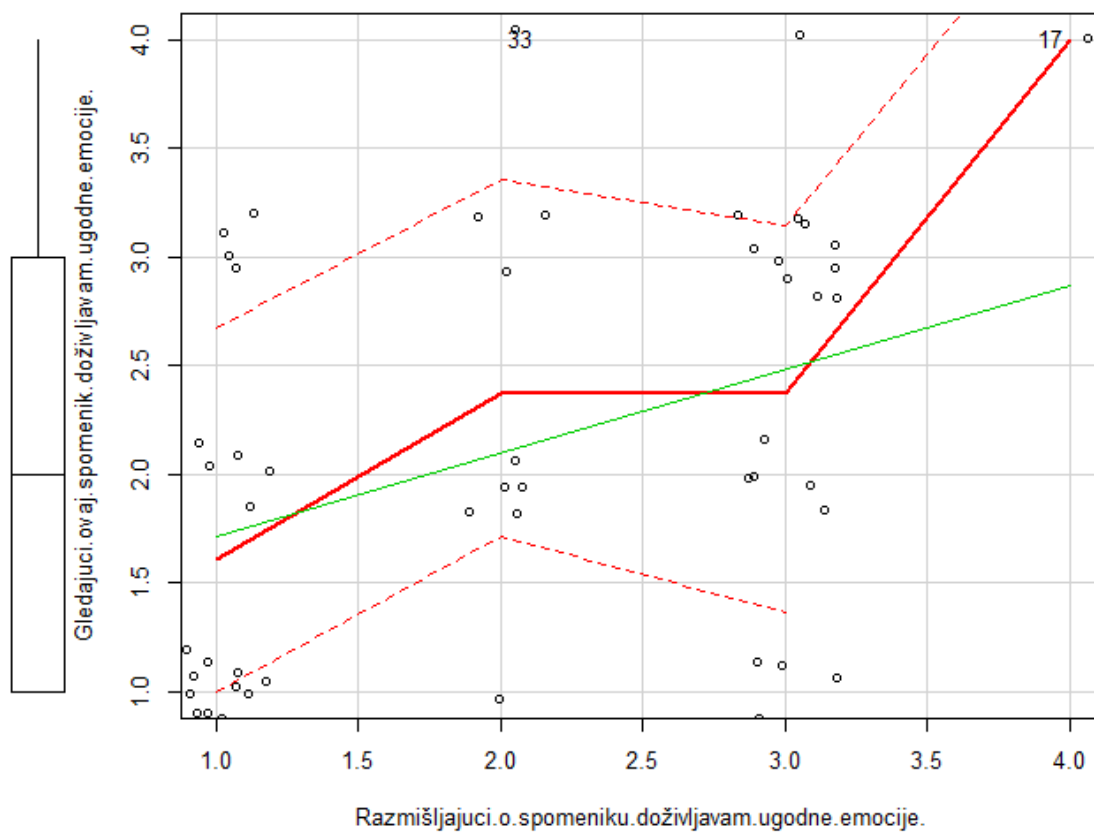
In both groups the level of arousal was slightly heightened after the speeches.

Pleasantness

Pleasantness is a positive part of the hedonic valence dimension.

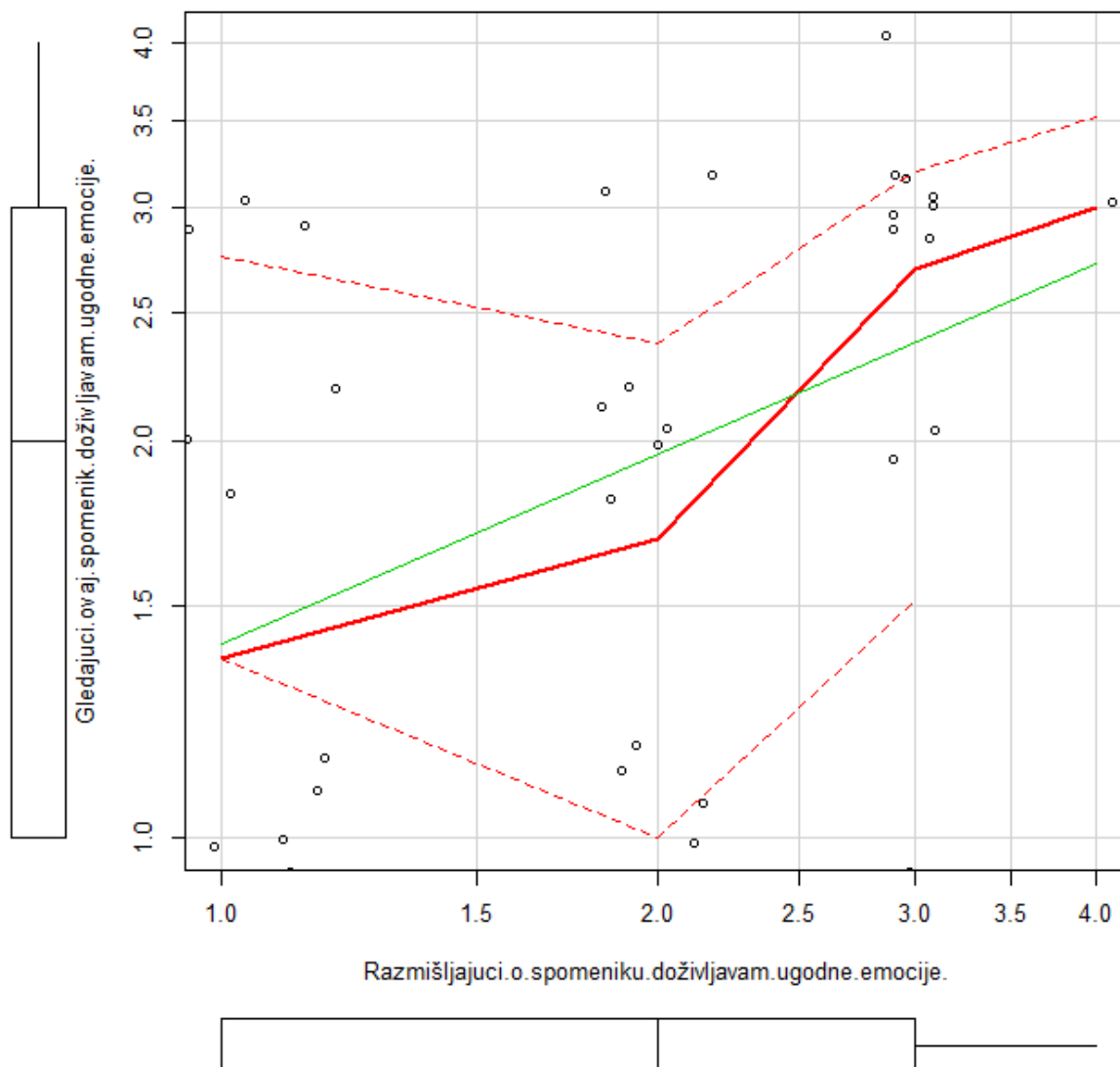
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	-0.123
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.088	Mean :1.965	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	

3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :4.000	



--	--	--

JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	-0.146
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.024	Mean :1.878	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :4.000	

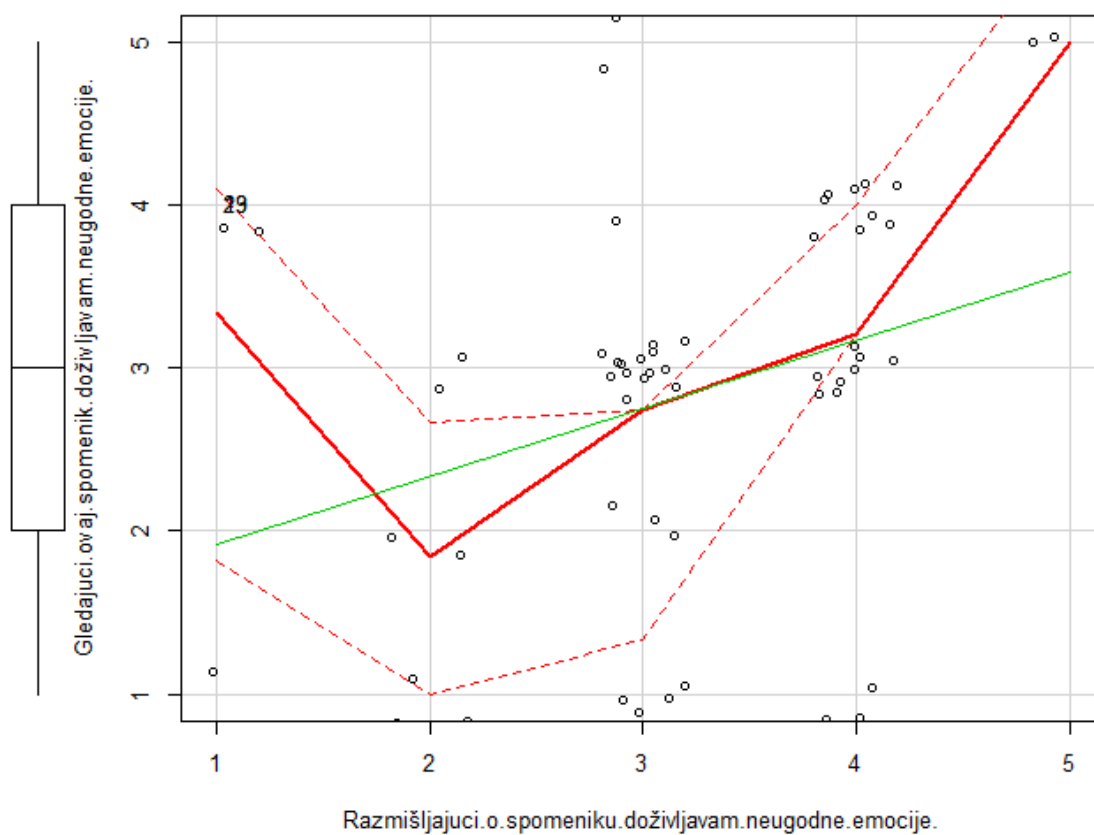


It seems that participants of both groups experienced a slightly less pleasant state after the speech.

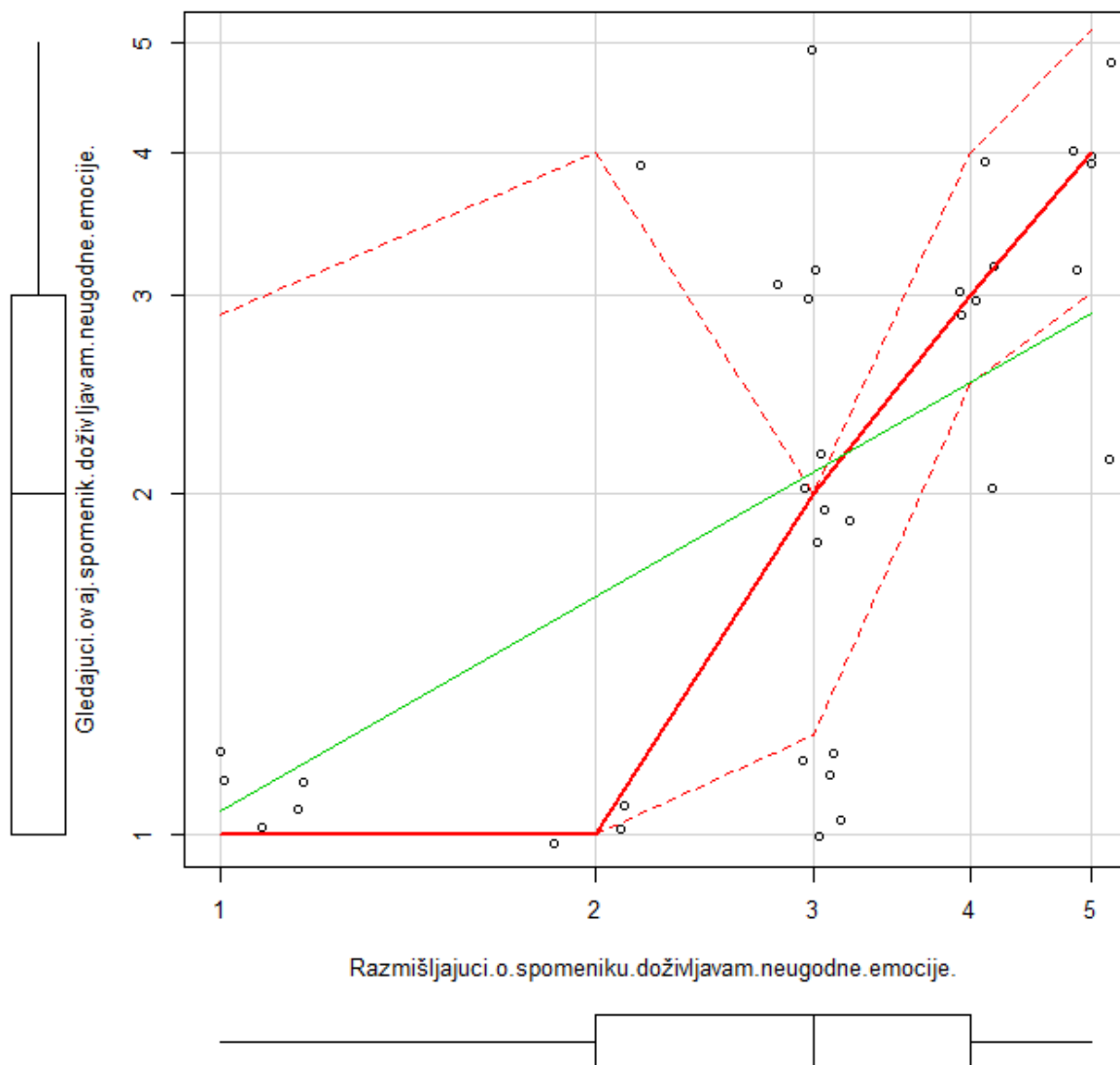
Unpleasantness

Unpleasantness is a negative part of the hedonic valence dimension.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.431
1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:3.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.842	Mean :3.211	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	0.659
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :2.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.195	Mean :2.854	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	

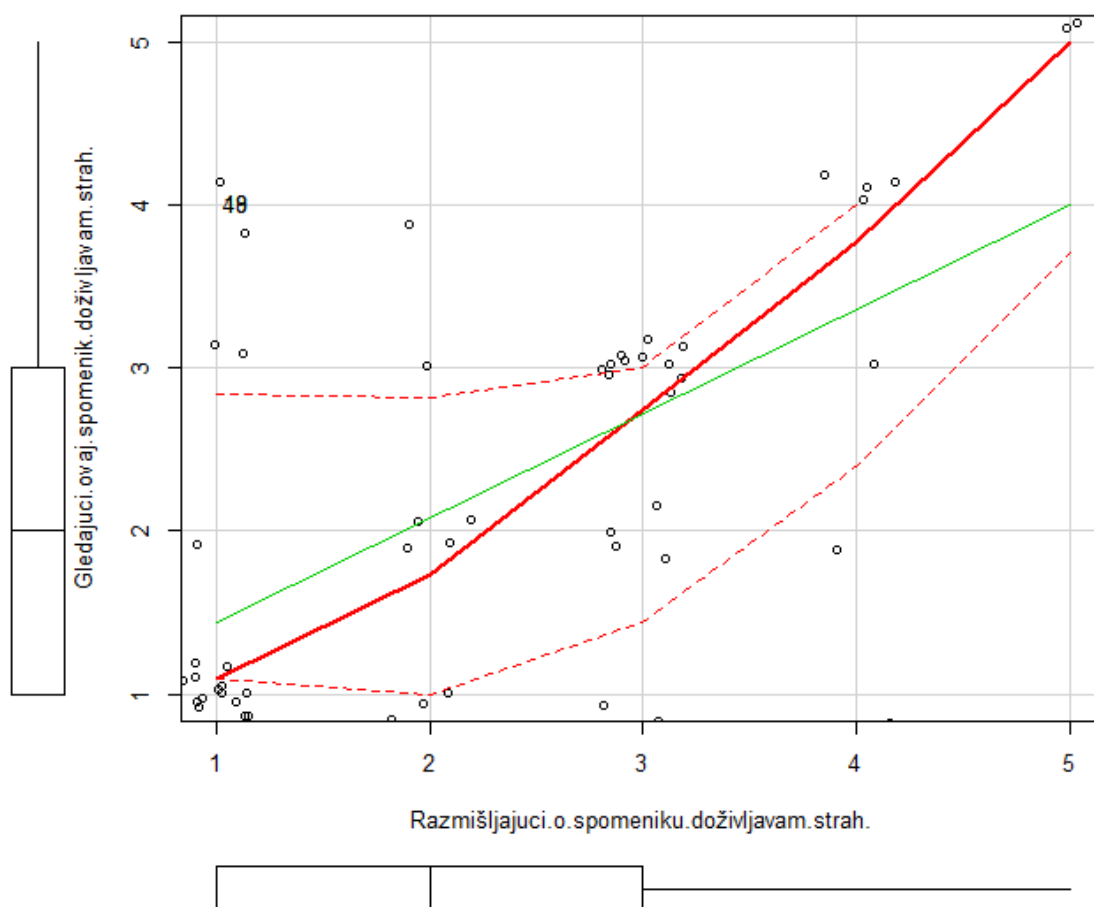


In accordance with the lower level of positive value, the negative hedonic valence slightly went up after the speech.

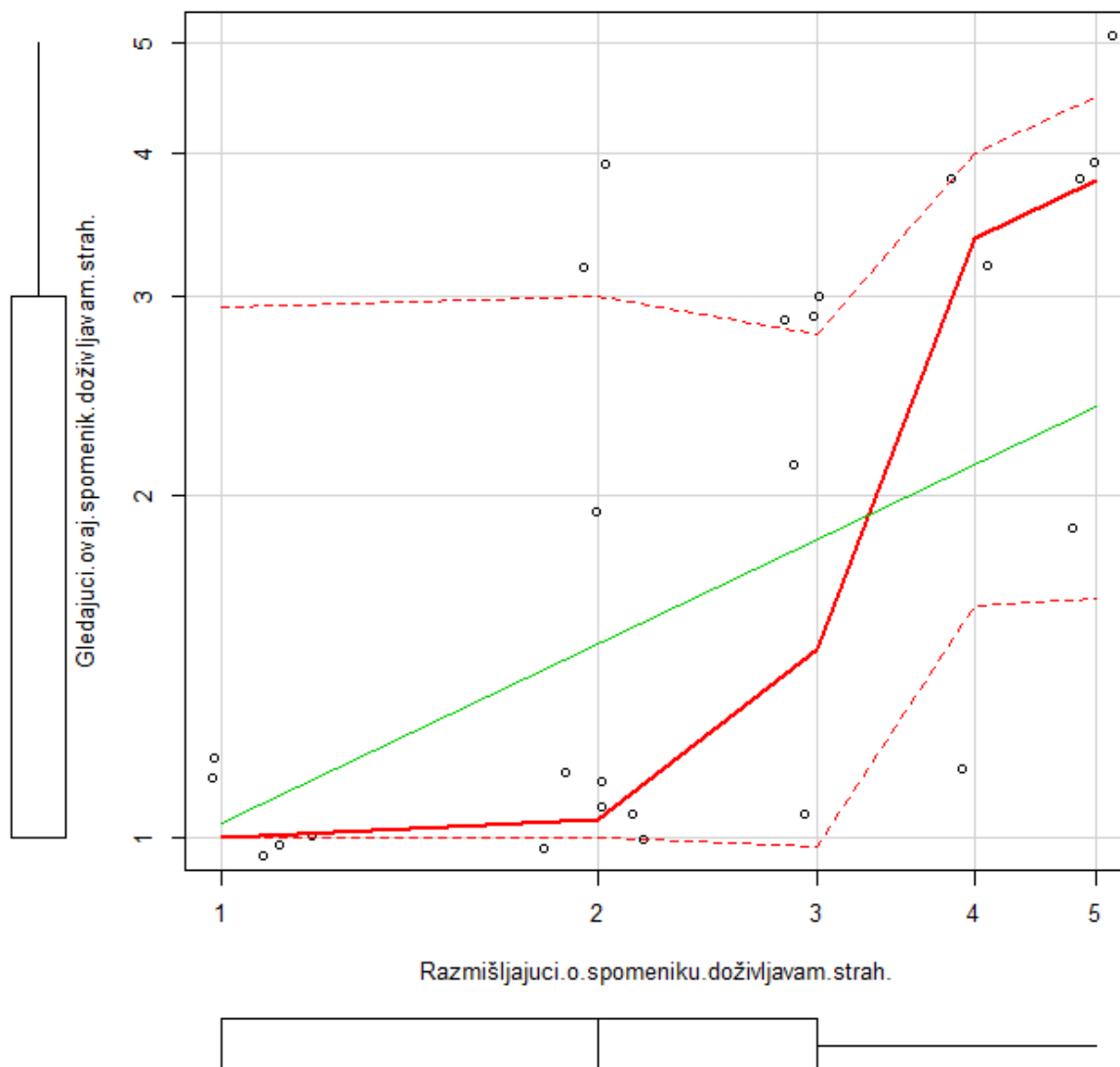
Fear

The fear is an emotion with basic existential functions.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.035
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.298	Mean :2.333	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.585
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :1.756	Mean :2.341	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



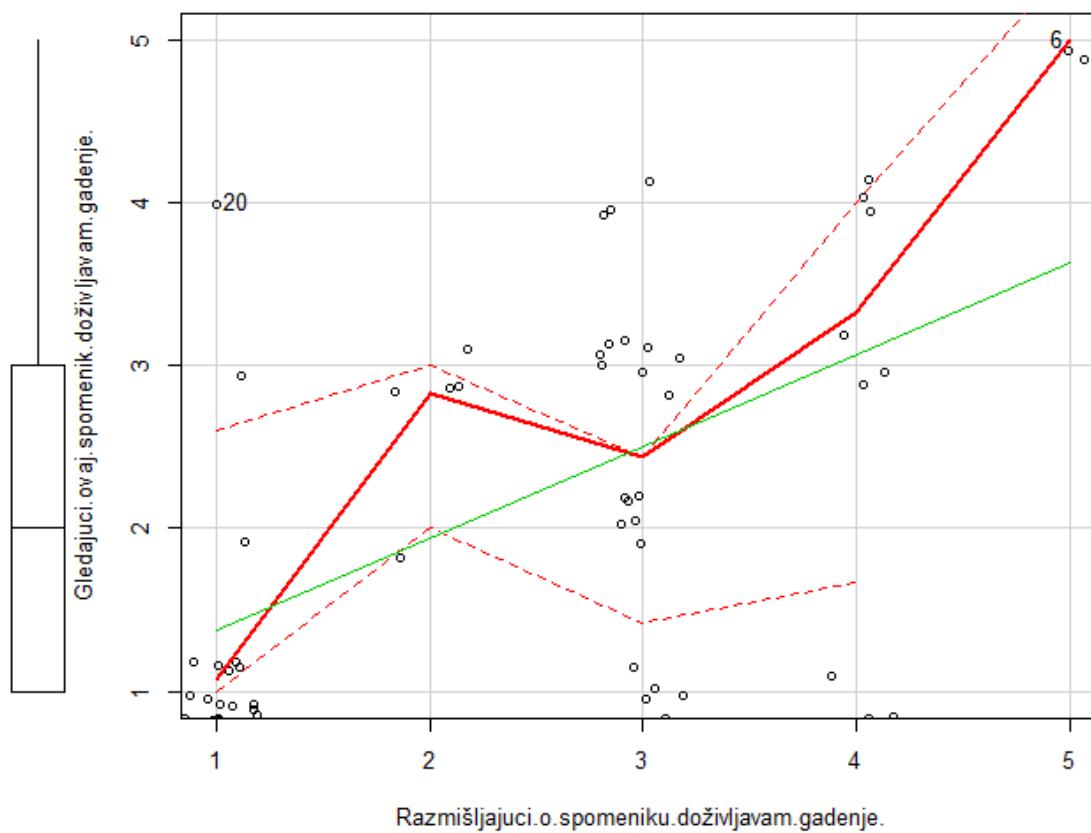
The lack of the difference in the elicitation of the fear by the speech can be understood by the fact that the narration by the Milanović was uplifting and no threatening situation was been reconstructed in either speeches. However, the fear level in Vukić group was elicited more after the speech.

Disgust

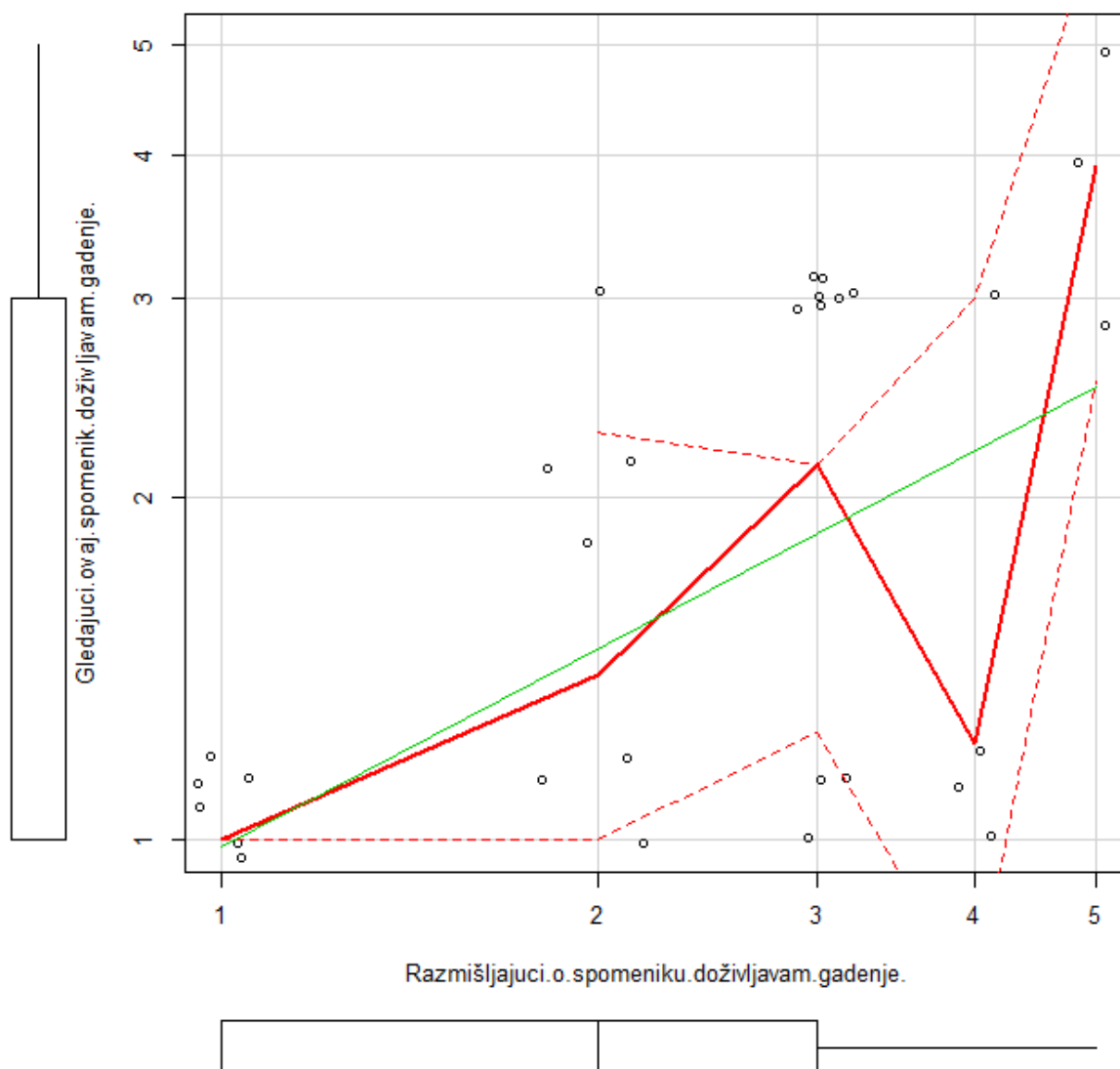
Disgust is a primary emotion related to the embodied feeling of repulsion towards some unpleasant object.

JS Milanović		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.263
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.211	Mean :2.474	

3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.609
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :1.732	Mean :2.341	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	

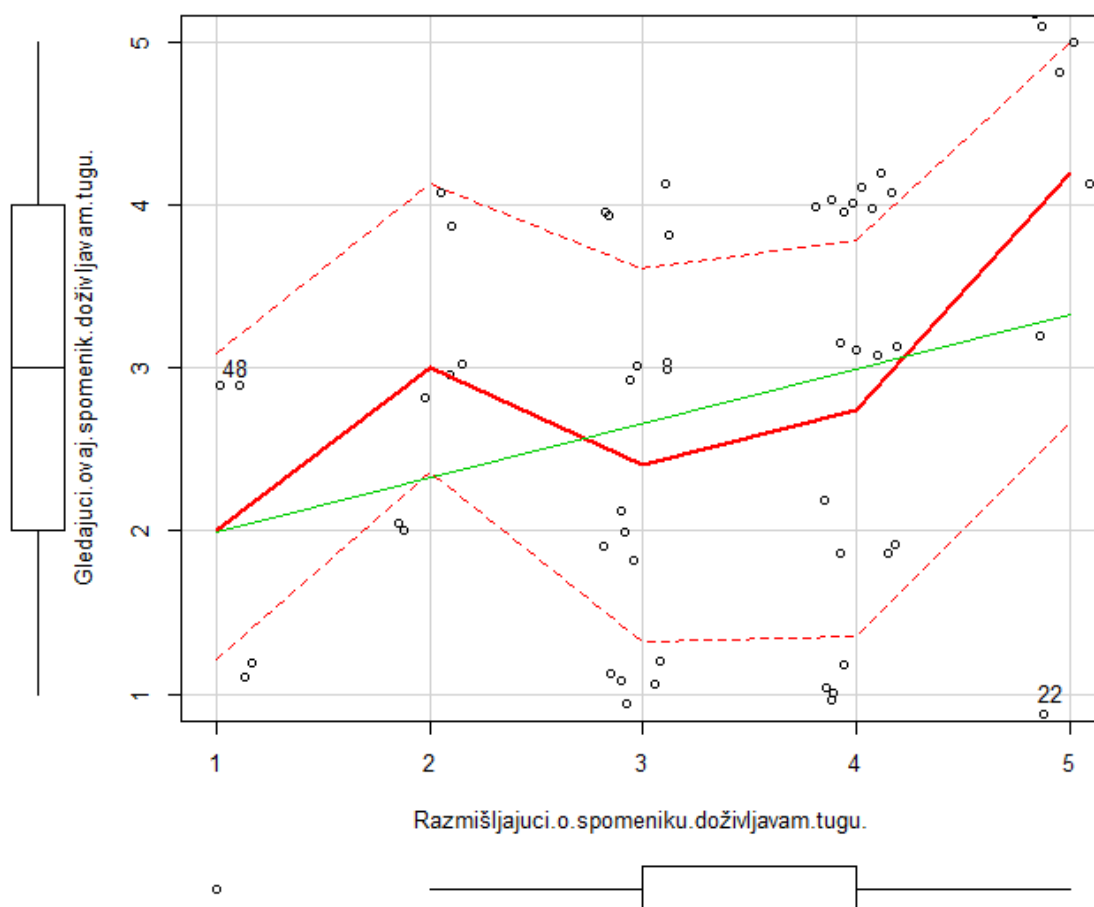


A small change towards neutral affective state actually implies small effect of repulsion generated by the speech. It can be noted that the level of disgust was elicited more in the Vukić group.

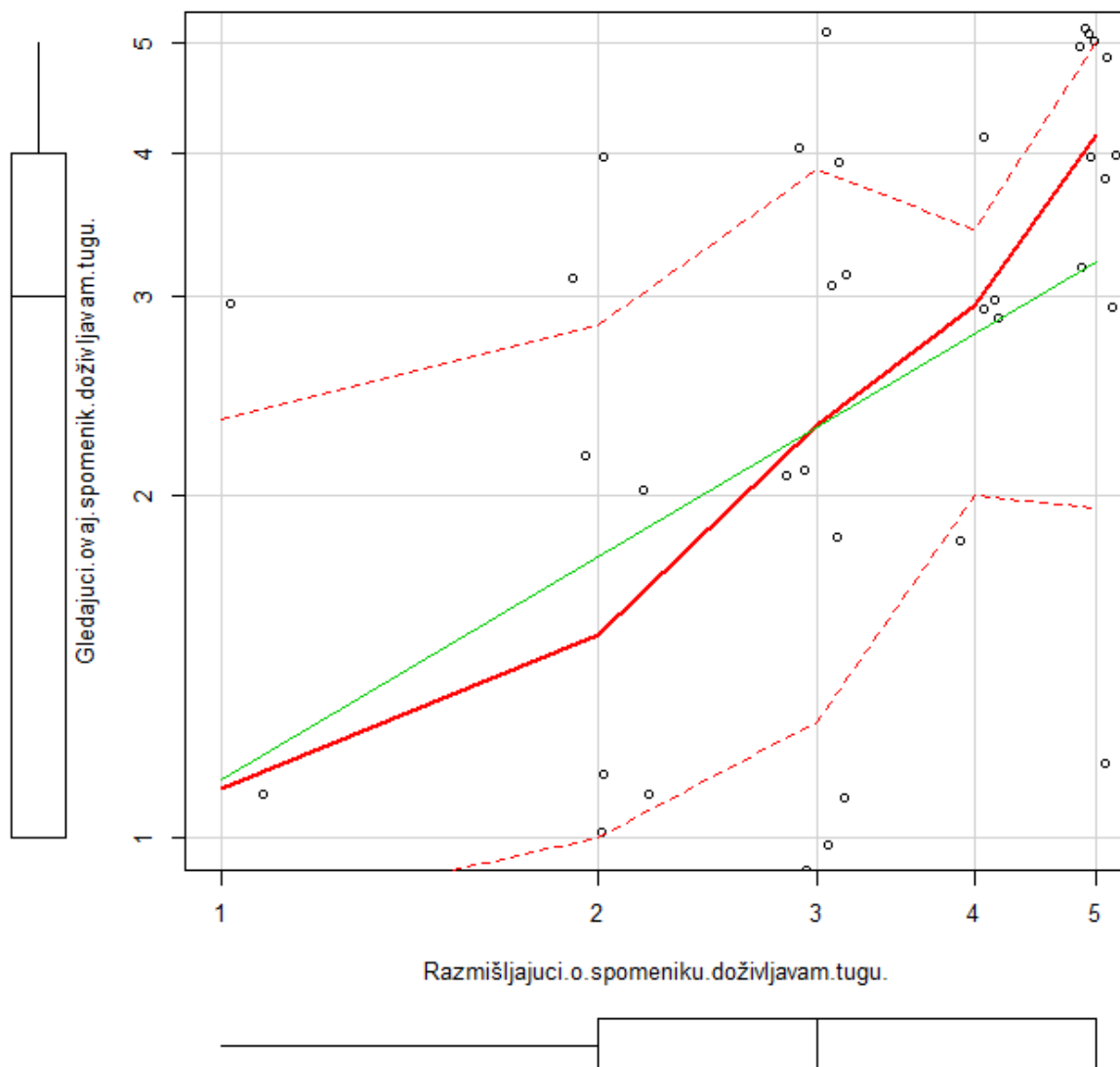
Sadness

Sadness is very important emotion for the commemoration events. It is related to the personal or collective loss of the loved ones and is expected to show upsurge in the appropriate speech event during the commemoration.

JS Milanović		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.595
1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:3.000	
Median :3.000	Median :4.000	
Mean :2.789	Mean :3.386	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



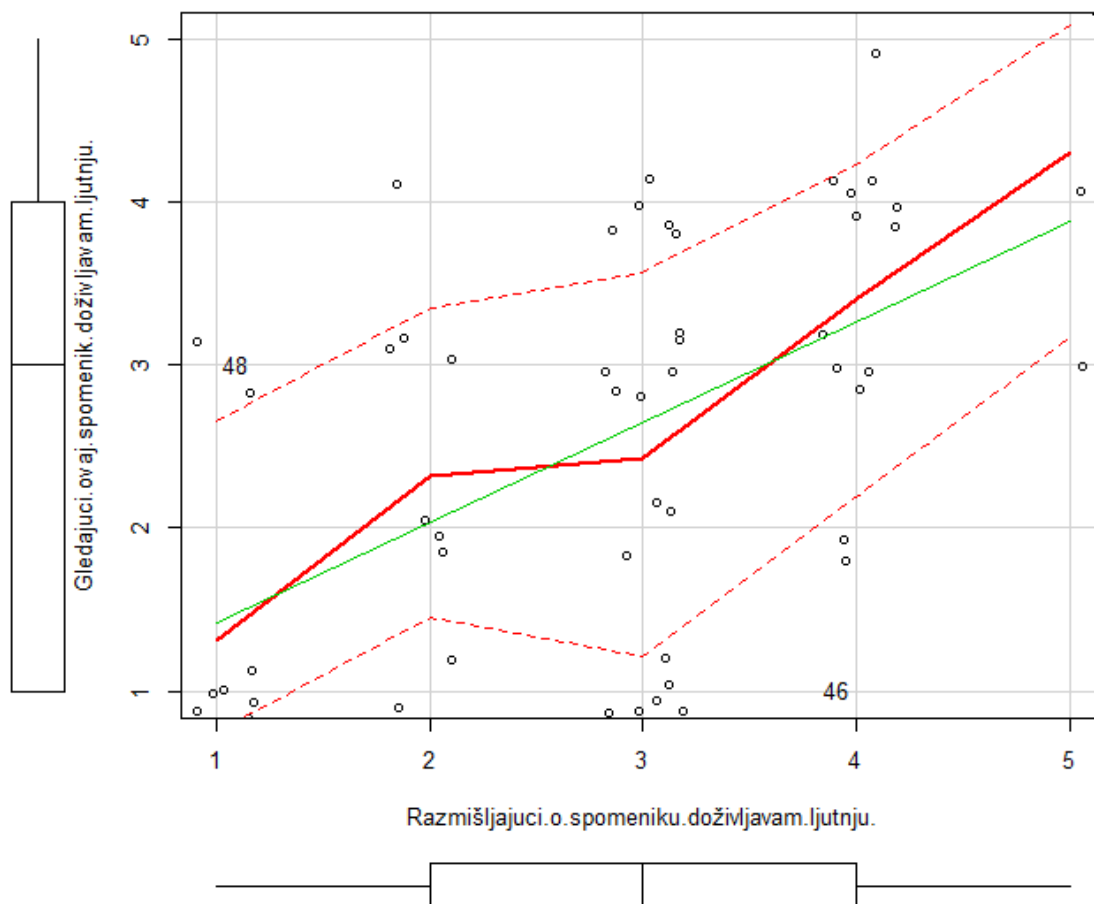
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.585
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.683	Mean :3.268	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:5.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



Anger

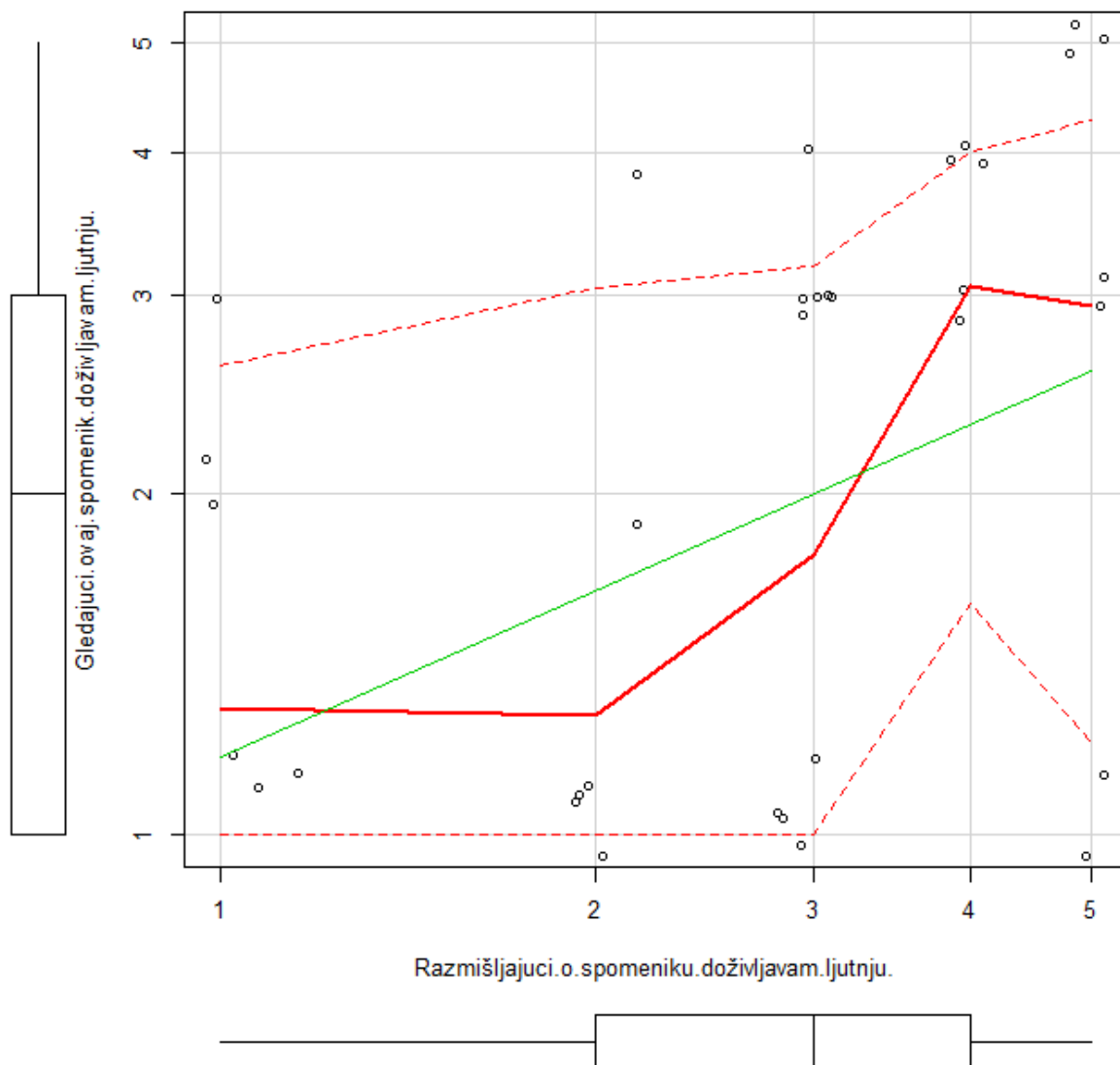
Aggression as a part of construction of hierarchy and social order and plays important part in the consolidation of the culture.

JS Milanović		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.316
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.596	Mean :2.912	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



The results show slightly more quality of the emotion anger moving towards a neutral state after the elicitation.

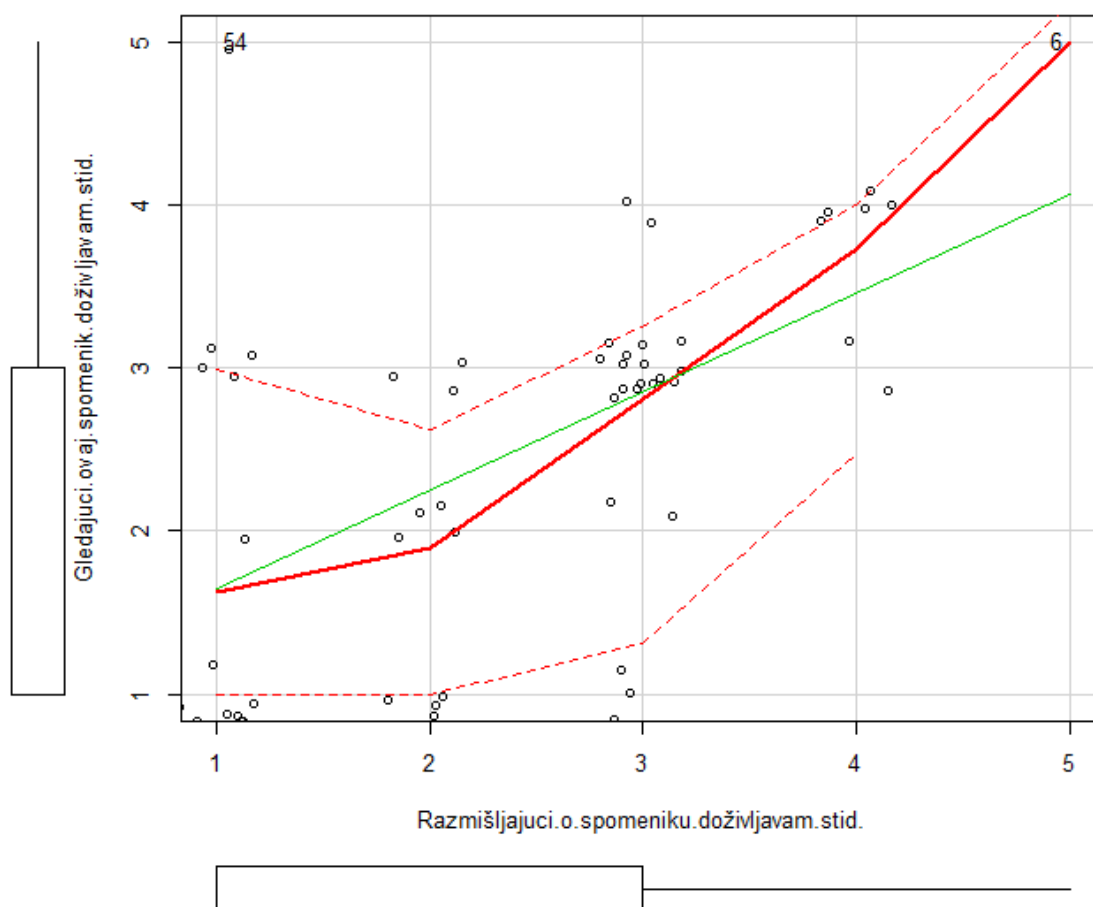
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.00	Min. :1.000	0.658
1st Qu.:1.00	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :2.00	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.22	Mean :2.878	
3rd Qu.:3.00	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.00	Max. :5.000	



Shame

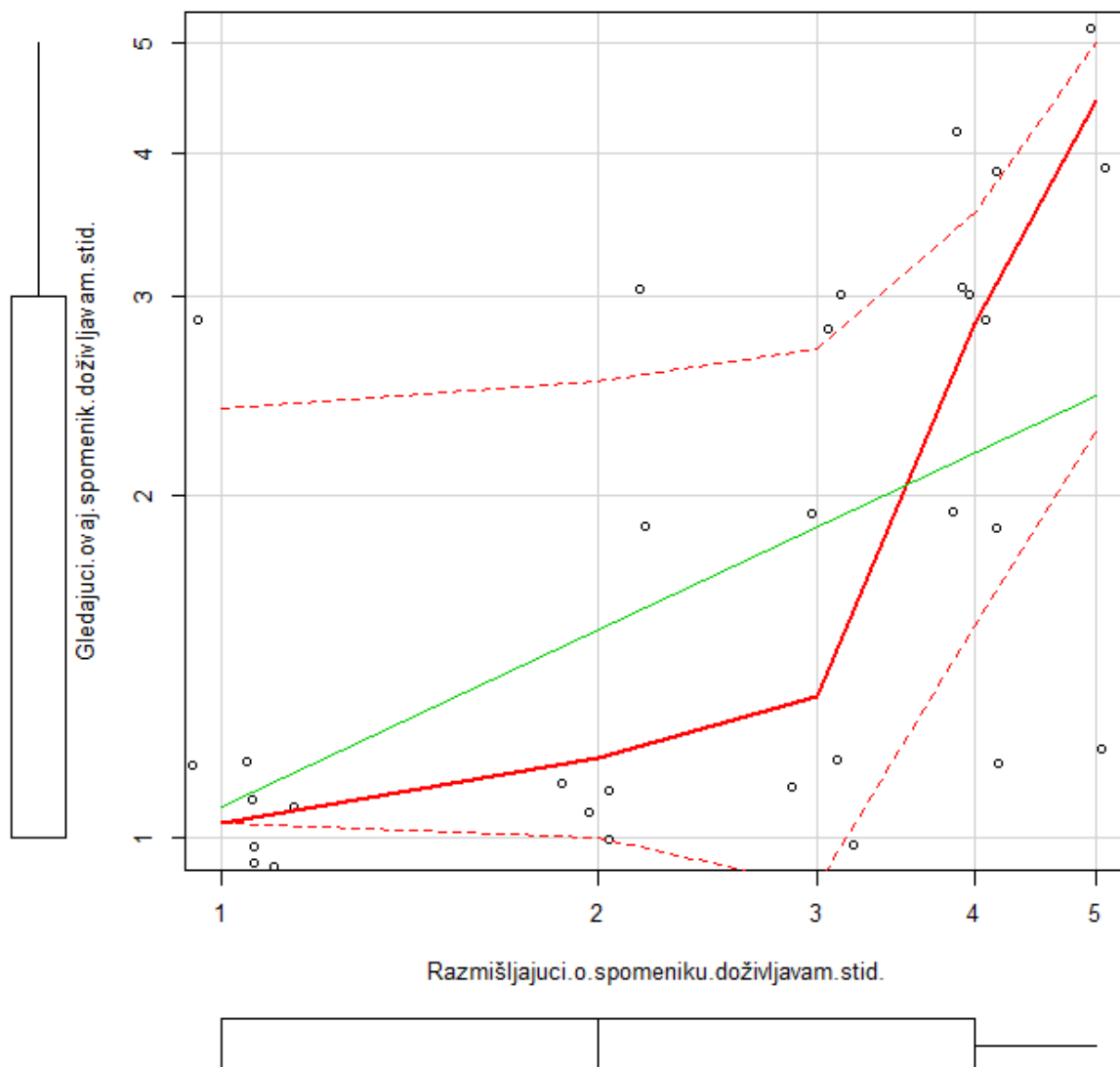
Shame is a highly culturally constructed emotion, giving rise to the sense of lack of power and submissiveness.

JS Milanović		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	-0.087
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.491	Mean :2.404	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



The effects of the elicitation are small, yet they indicate even wider gap towards lack of shame with regards the monument and commemoration. This can be interpreted as a success in the Milanović's construal of the commemoration as a war victory event.

JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.00	Min. :1.000	+0.586
1st Qu.:1.00	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.00	Median :2.000	
Mean :1.78	Mean :2.366	
3rd Qu.:3.00	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.00	Max. :5.000	

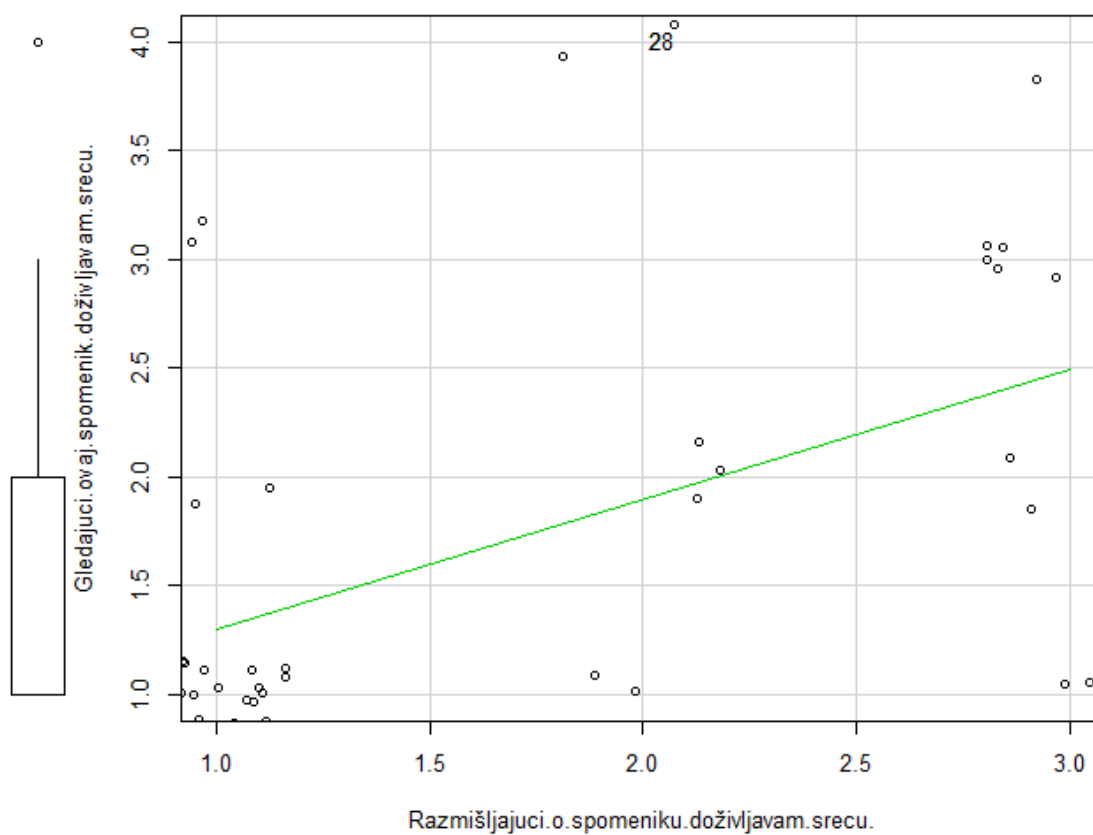


On the other hand, we see a tendency to feel more ashamed after the revisionist construal of Jasenovac as a working camp by mr. Vukić.

Happiness

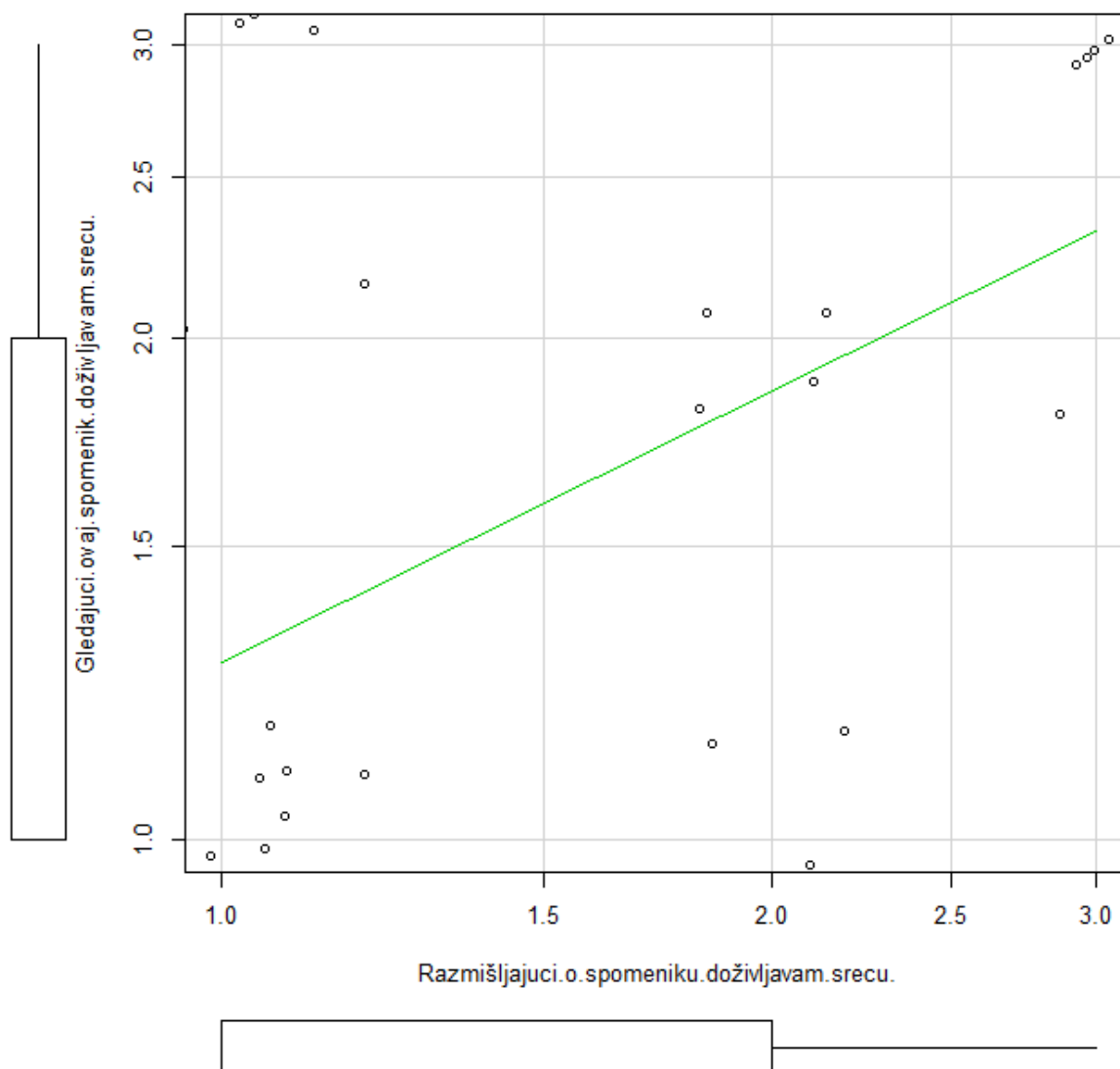
Happiness is related to the joyfulness and positive hedonic valence. In the commemoration of atrocities of the war it is highly unlikely that the monument would activate this emotion.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :1.000	
Mean :1.684	Mean :1.649	-0.035
3rd Qu.:2.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	+1
Max. :4.000	Max. :3.000	-1



The effects of the speech are insignificant regarding the emotion of happiness.

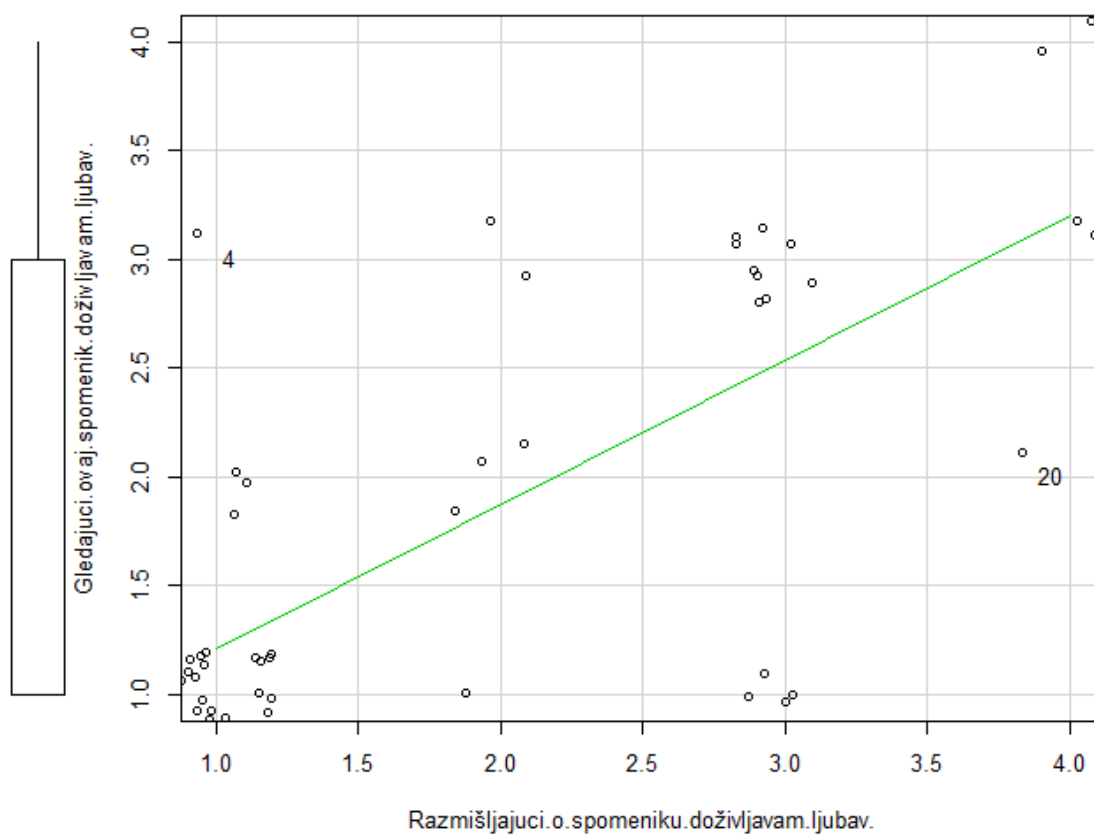
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	-0.170
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :1.000	
Mean :1.707	Mean :1.537	
3rd Qu.:2.000	3rd Qu.:2.000	
Max. :3.000	Max. :3.000	



Love

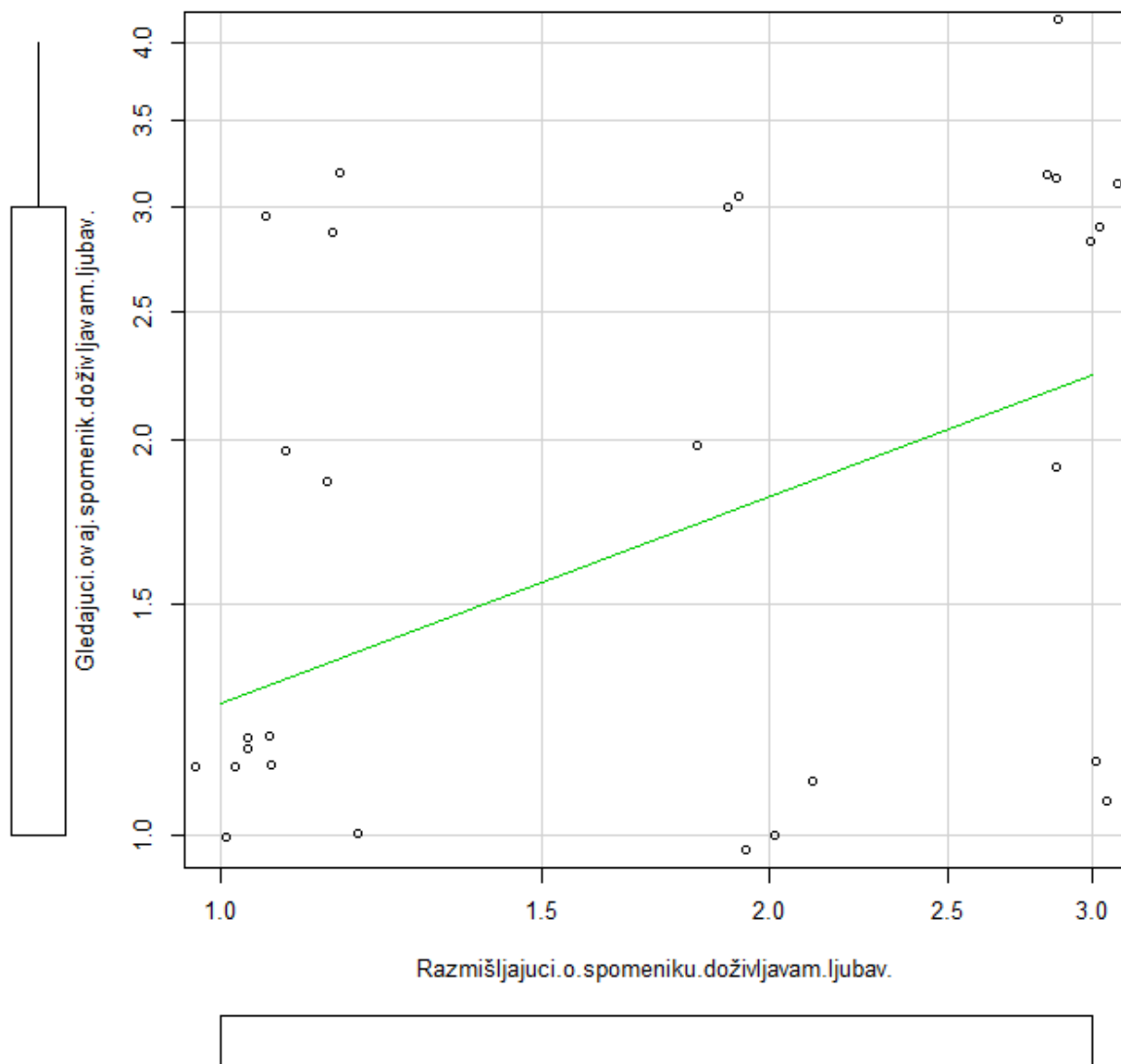
As a complex positive emotion directed towards other fellow humans, love is not expected to play a large role in the evaluation of the commemoration monuments or events.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.068
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :1.000	
Mean :1.789	Mean :1.877	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :4.000	



The effects are small in the positive direction, indicating perhaps a more positive stance towards the Milanović construal of the event.

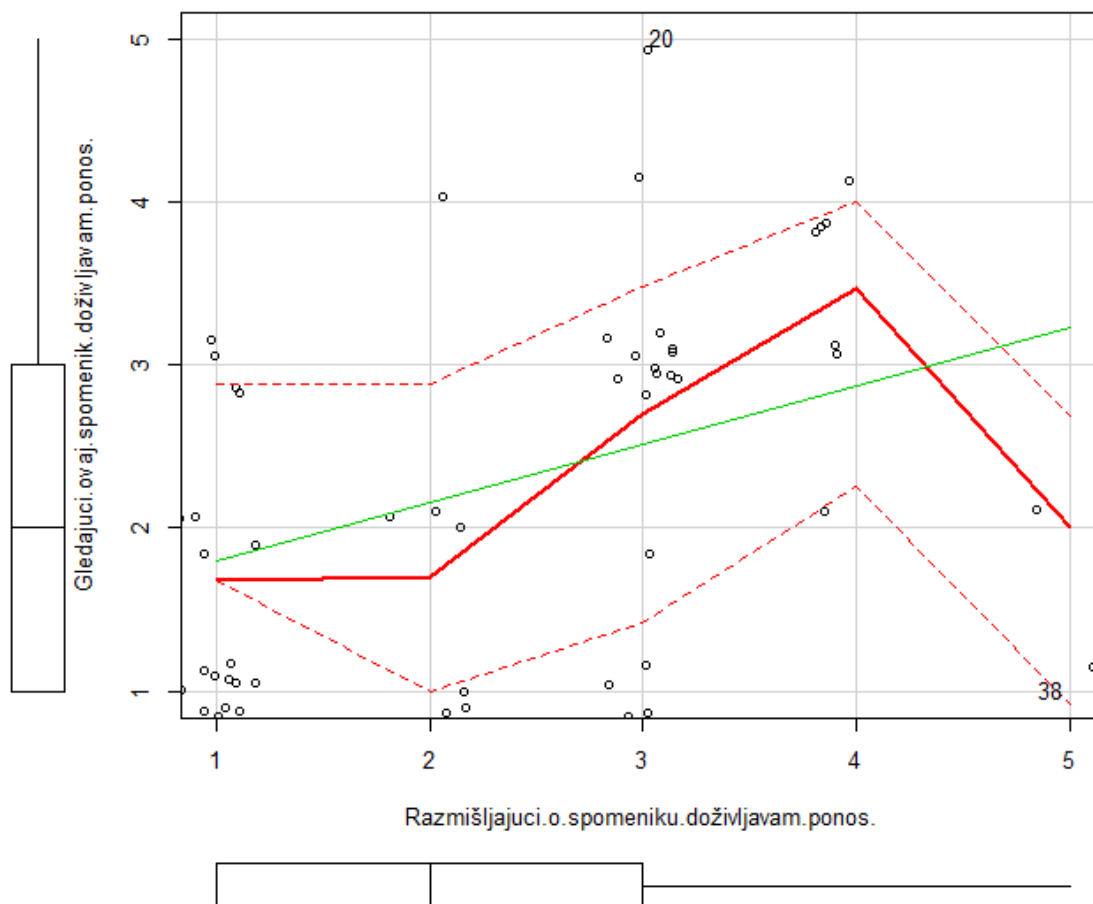
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	-0.097
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :1.000	
Mean :1.829	Mean :1.732	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :3.000	



Pride

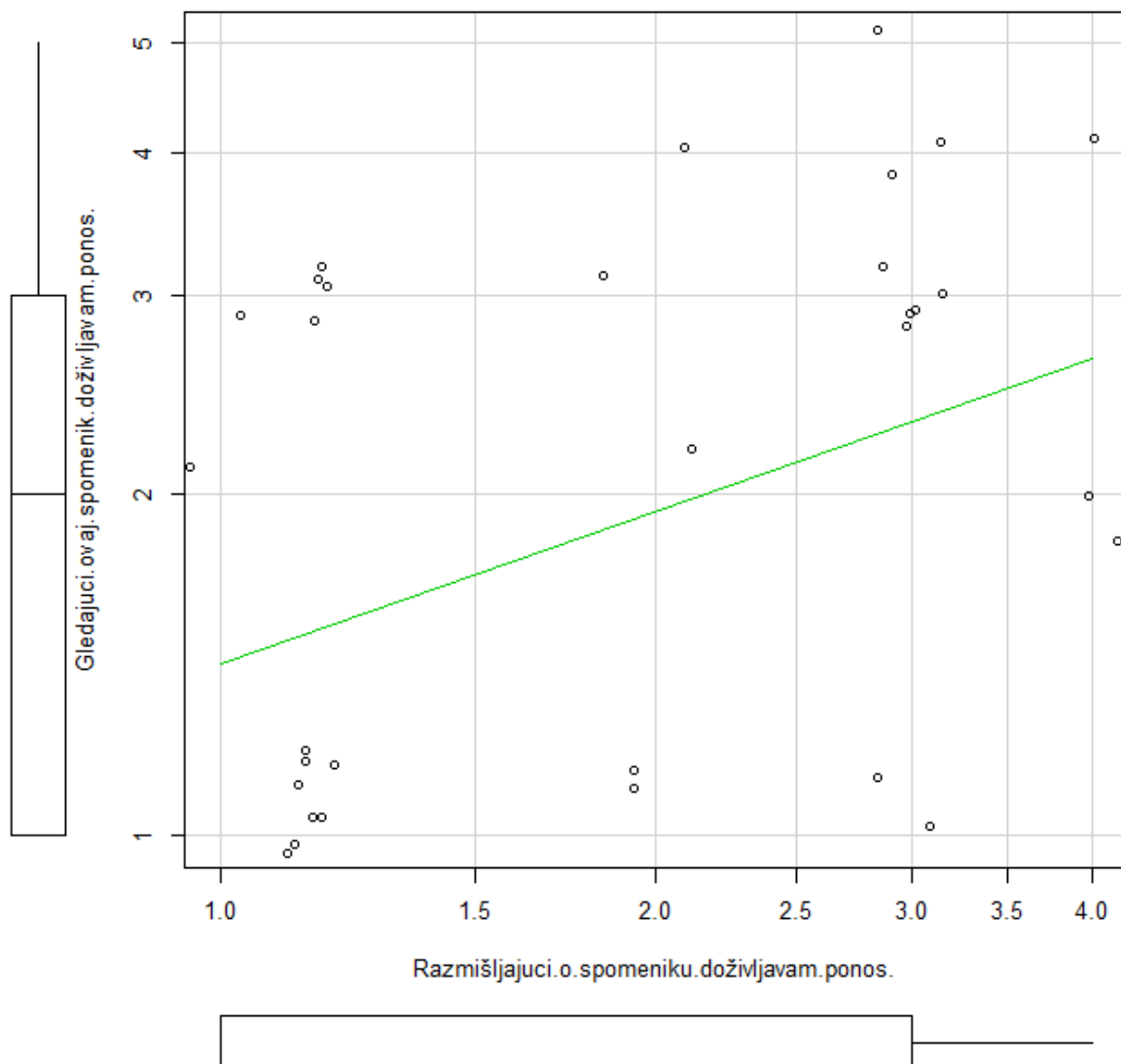
Pride is one of the most important emotions in terms of constructing the positive individual and collective representation of the self. Of course, the nature of the Jasenovac camp is not on the list of the things to be proud of, but the nature of the dealing with the uncanny past could be.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.042
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.281	Mean :2.333	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



The effects are small but towards positive side of the scale indicating that positive nature of the speech.

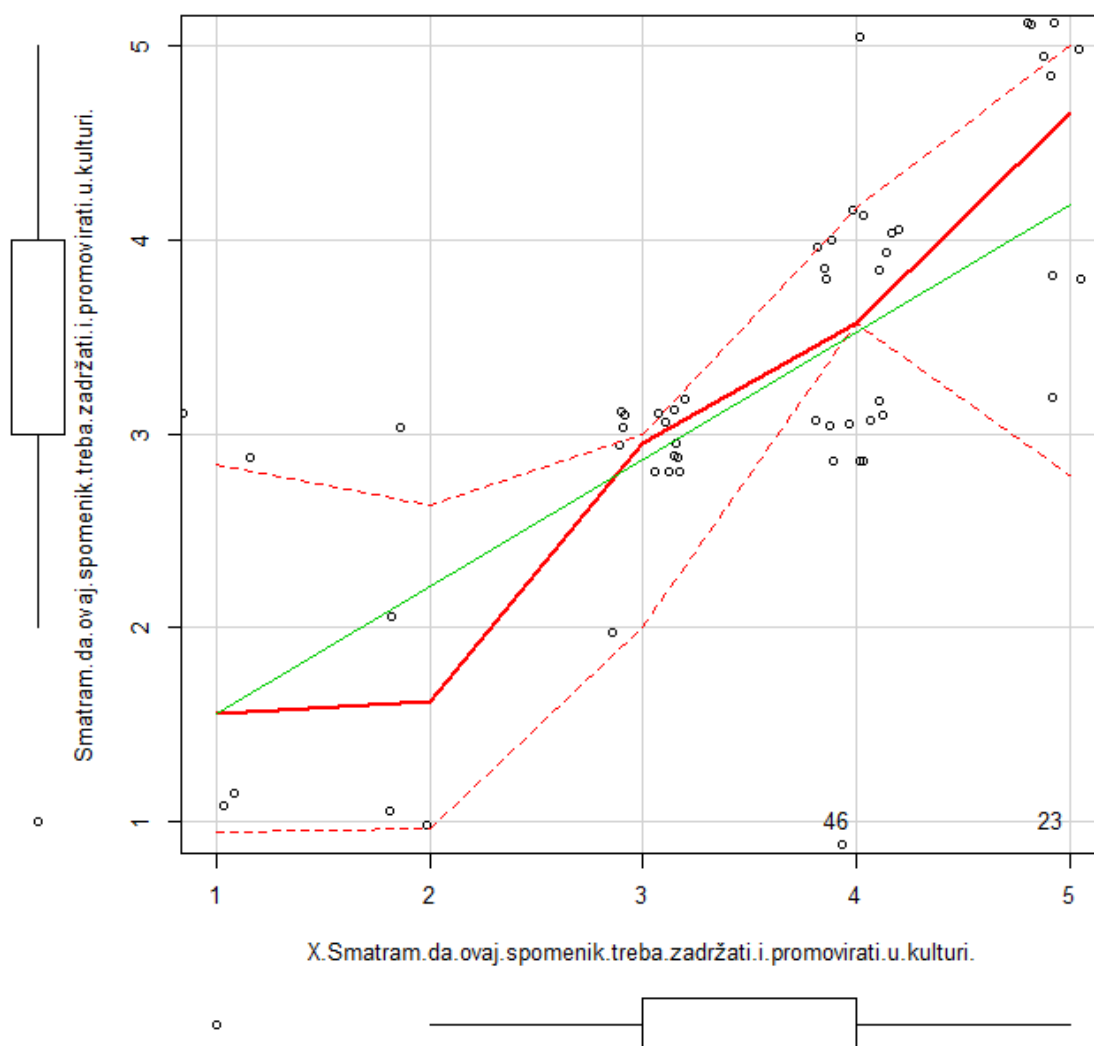
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :1.000	-1
Mean :2.073	Mean :1.902	-0.171
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :4.000	-1



Behavioral tendency: keep and promote the monument

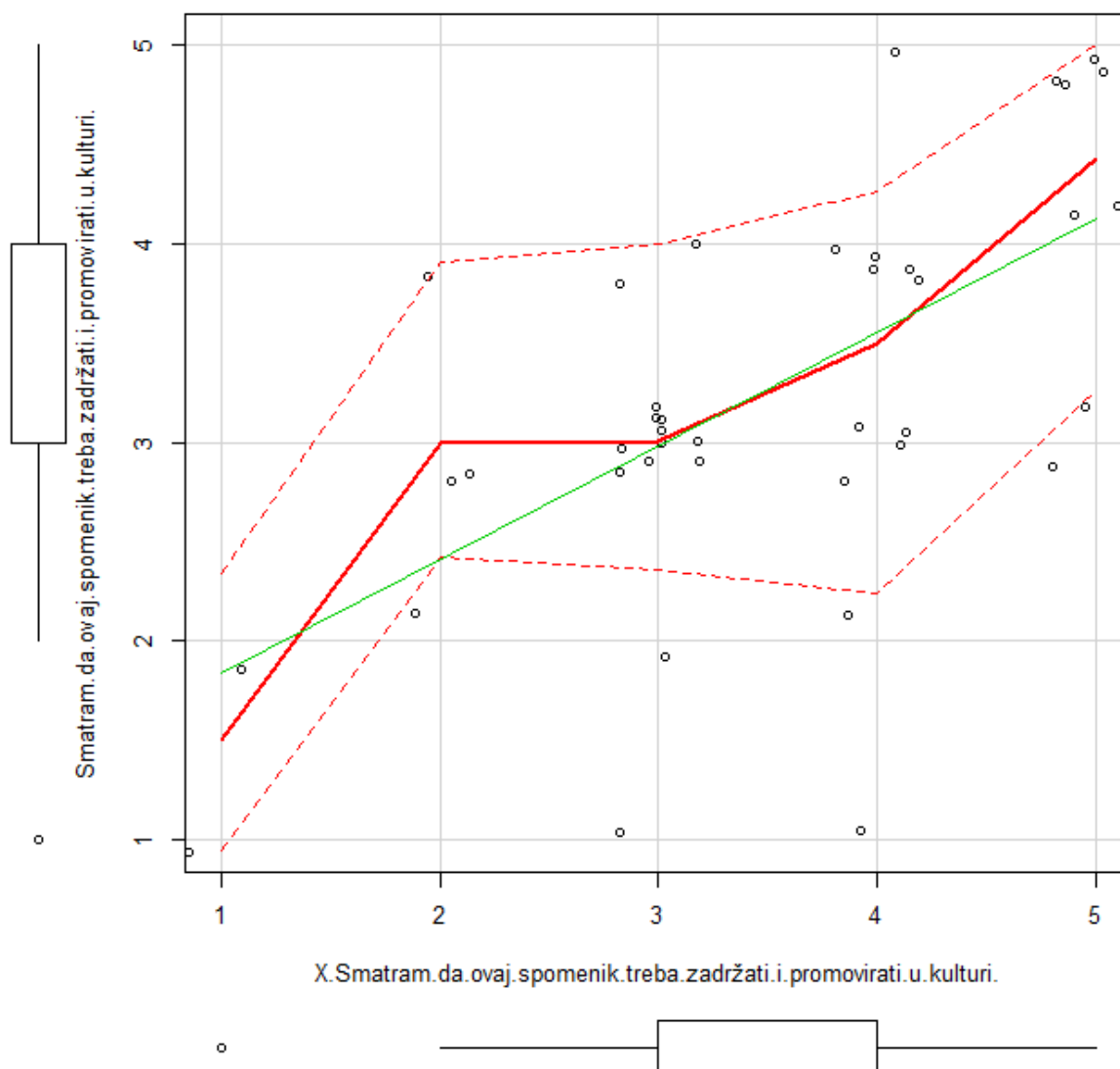
Behavioral tendencies are important for the political side of the commemorative speeches. With this feature we tried to investigate the stance towards the monument, and overall memory it implies.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+1 +0.316
1st Qu.:3.000	1st Qu.:3.000	
Median :3.000	Median :4.000	
Mean :3.228	Mean :3.544	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



This feature has quite large change of the value towards positive side of the scale indicating that subjects in the Milanović group deem important to keep the monument and the cultural memory of Jasenovac events.

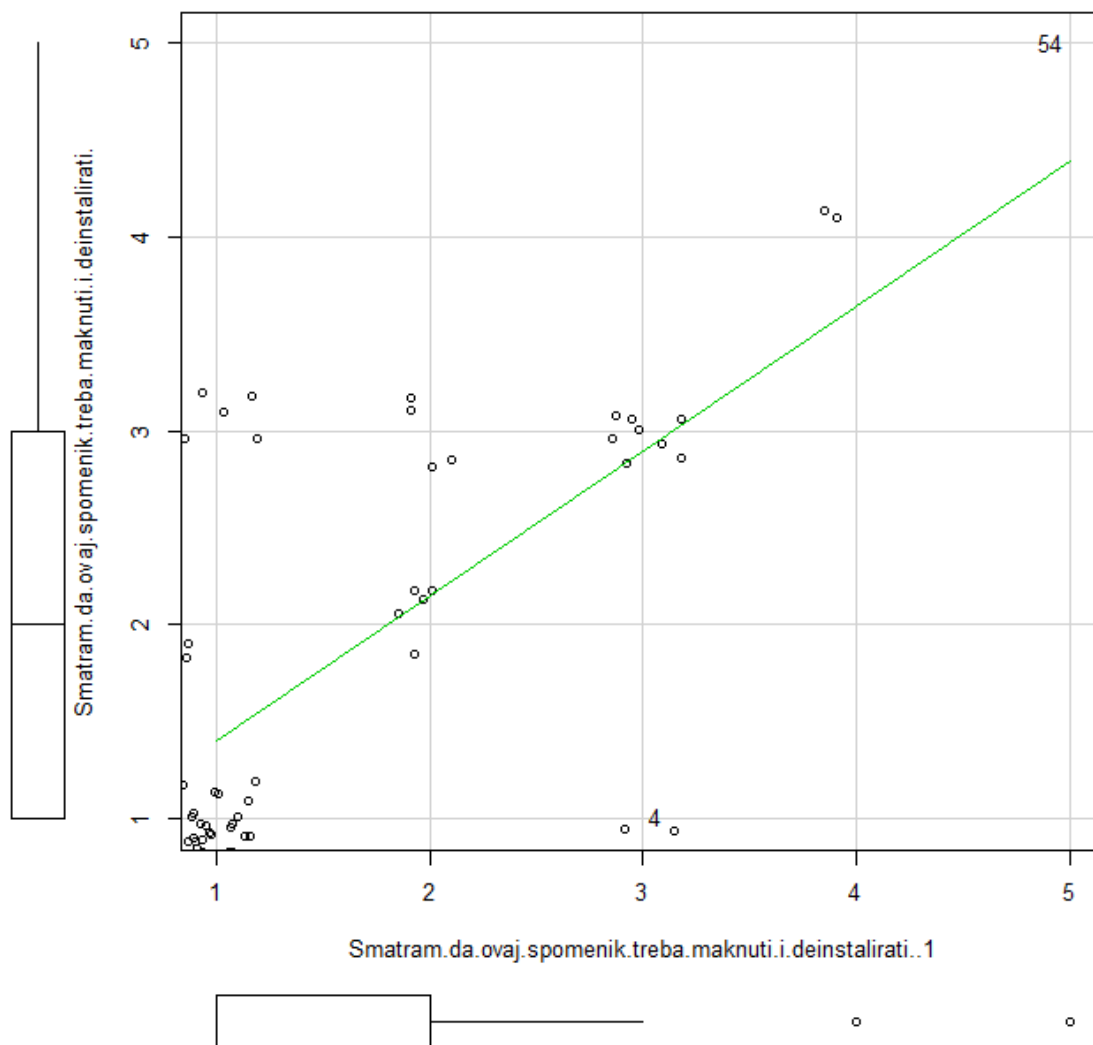
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+1 +0.244
1st Qu.:3.000	1st Qu.:3.000	
Median :3.000	Median :4.000	
Mean :3.293	Mean :3.537	
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



Behavioral tendency: deinstall the monument

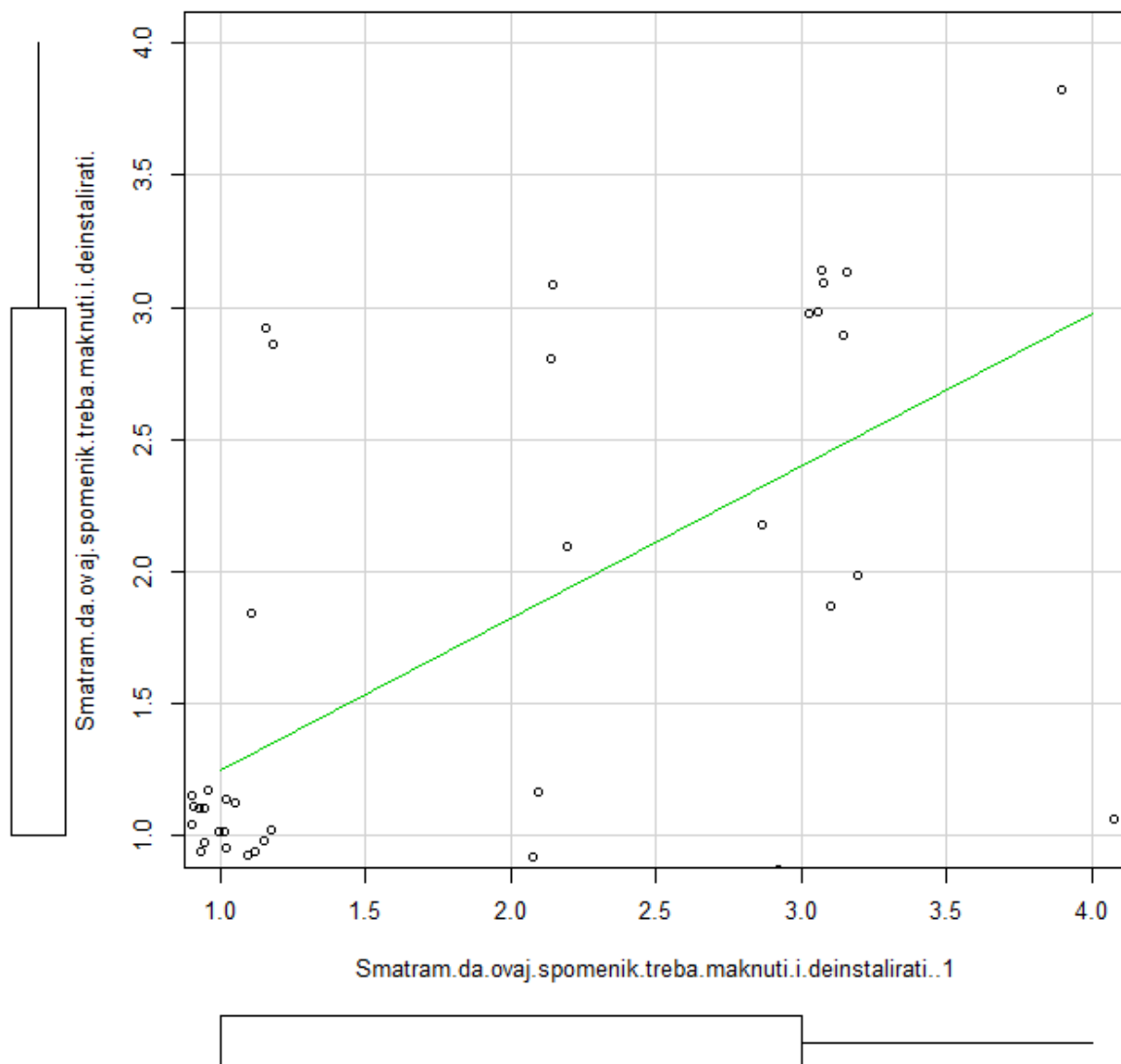
This is the opposite of the former feature.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.00	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:1.00	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.00	Median :1.000	-1
Mean :1.93	Mean :1.702	-0.228
3rd Qu.:3.00	3rd Qu.:2.000	-1
Max. :5.00	Max. :5.000	



The mean results show disagreement towards deinstallment of the monument after the Milanović speech, consistent with previous dimension and tendency to keep the monument and presumably the cultural memory of Jasenovac.

JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.073
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :1.000	
Mean :1.683	Mean :1.756	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :4.000	

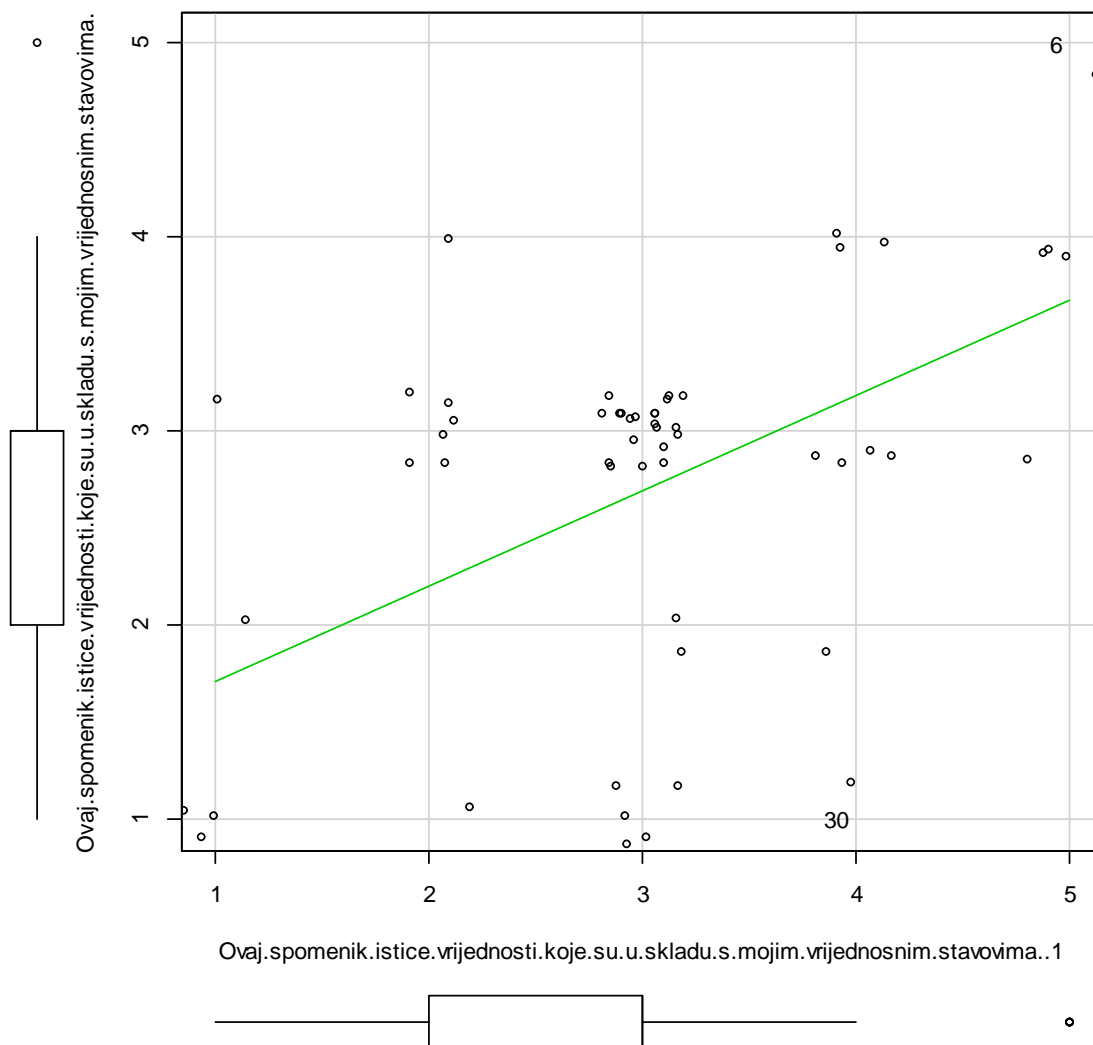


There is an indicative difference with regards responses between two groups that can be interpreted that some of the participants in Vukić group actually agreed with Vukić's narrative and opted for the removal of the monument.

Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument promotes values in accordance with my values

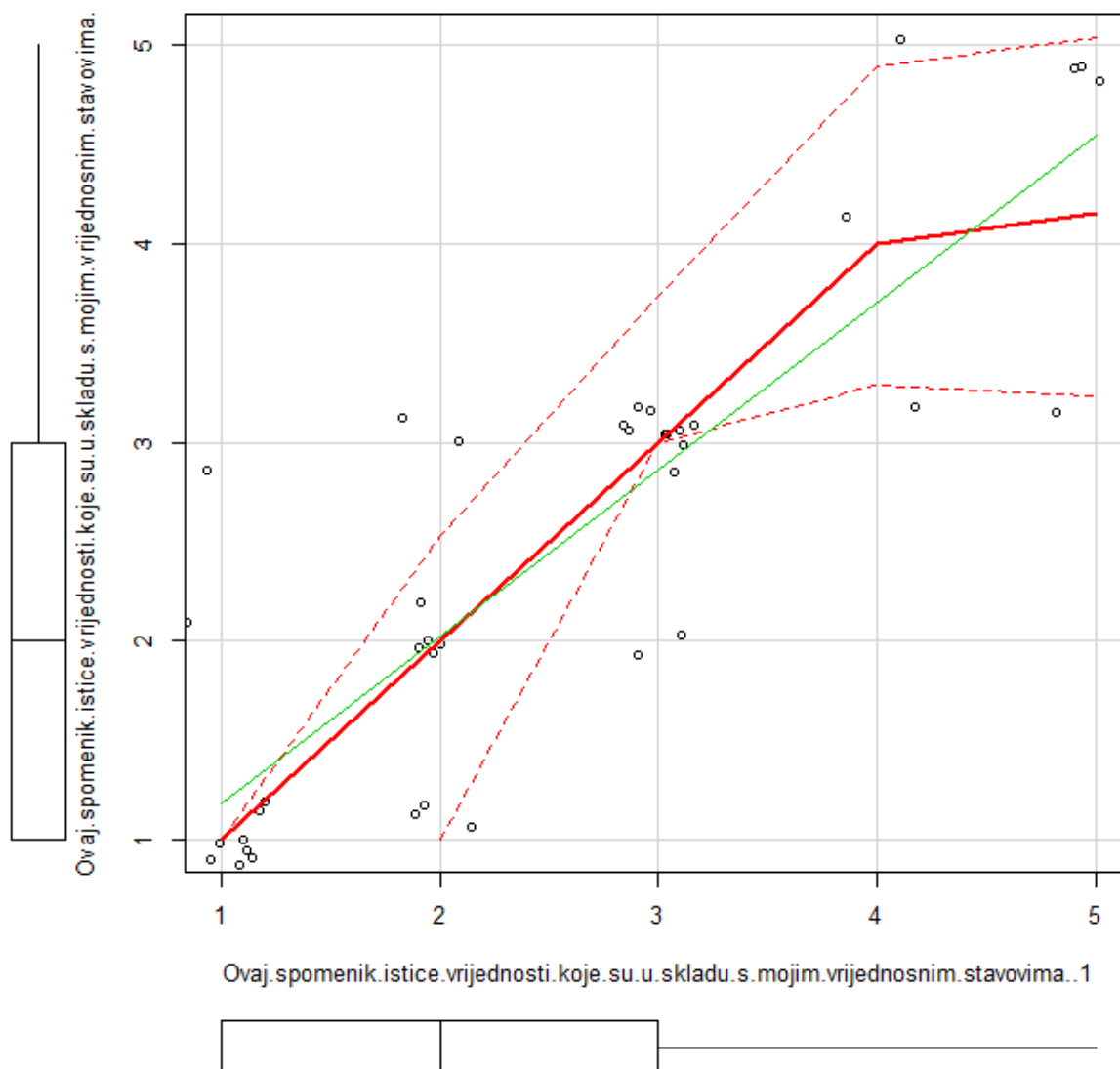
This feature is supposed to measure the identification of the ideas related to the monument via the commemoration with the current state of the subject's identification process.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	+0.280
1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.667	Mean :2.947	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



Although the features of preservation were heightened, it seems that overall the monument's do not convey the values that would be universally supported. This feature needs further research with regards to the distribution within the groups determined by independent variables.

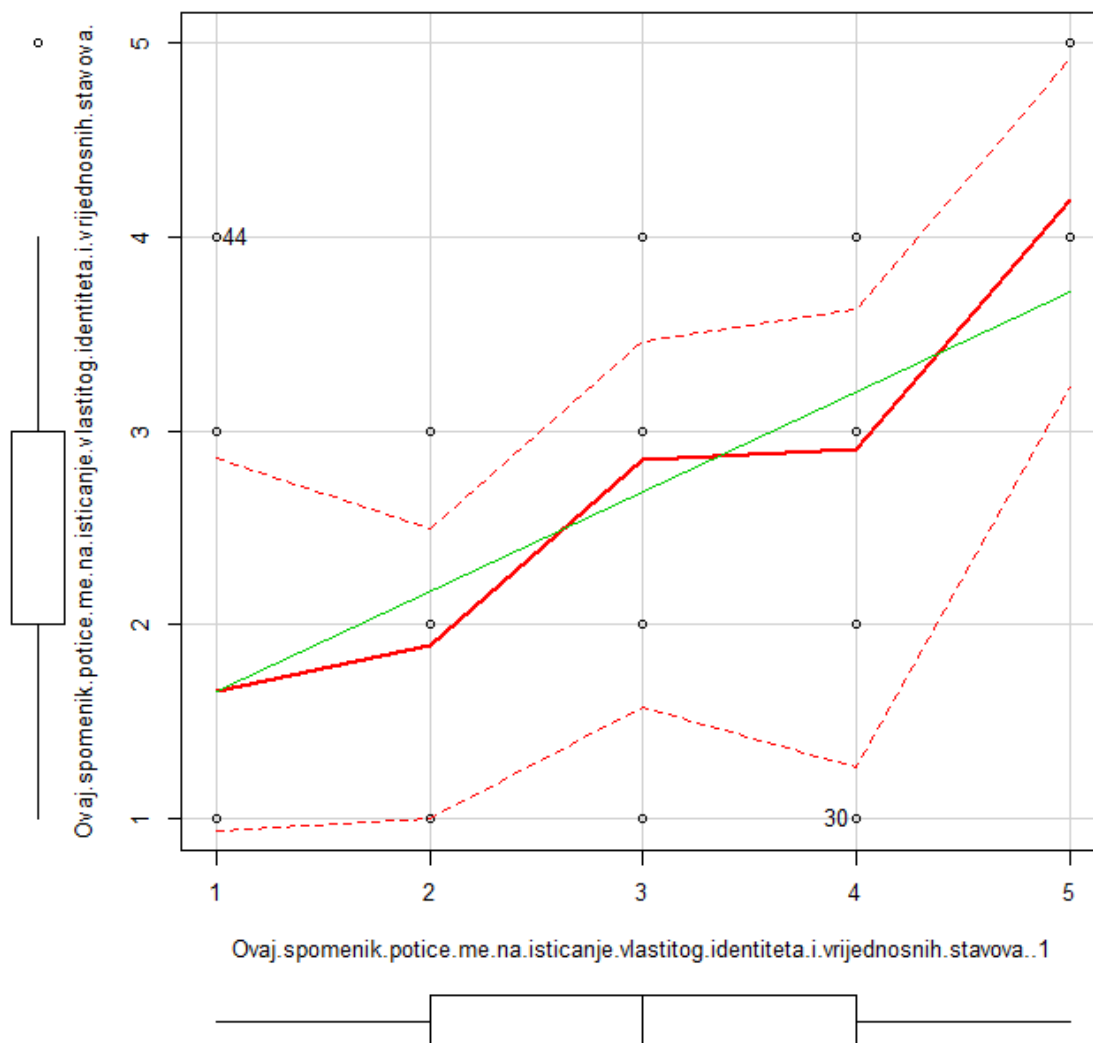
JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.00	Min. :1.000	+0.049
1st Qu.:1.00	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.00	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.39	Mean :2.439	
3rd Qu.:3.00	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.00	Max. :5.000	



Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument inspires me to promote my identity and values

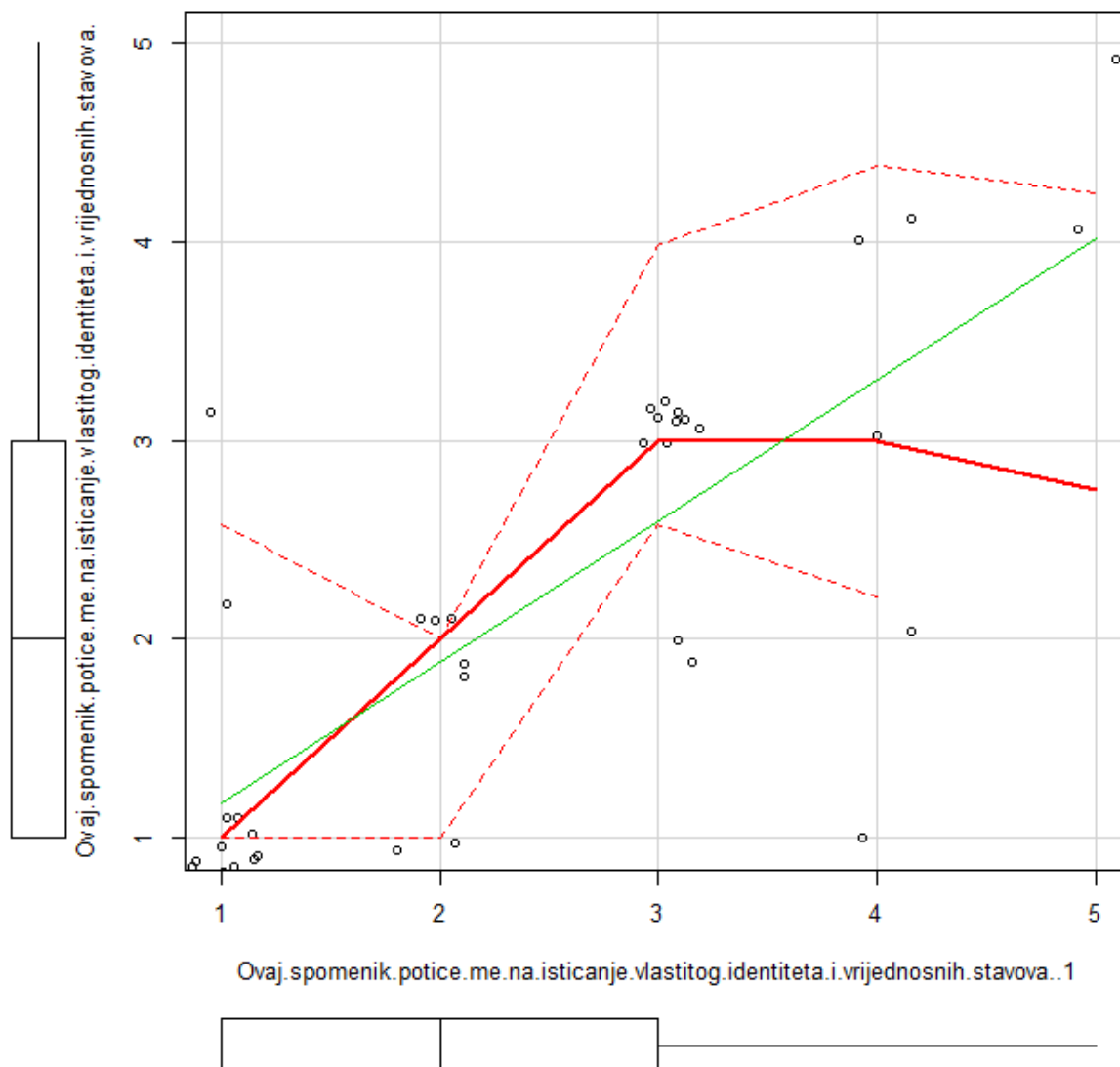
This feature measures the level of positive self and social identification with the symbolic values of the monument.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.579	Mean :2.789	+0.21
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	+1
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



In accordance with the Milanović positive interpretation of the role of Croatian antifascist movement in the history that obviously resonated with the participants construal of the memory, this message produced a measurable impact on the level of the self-, social-confidence that reinforced the sense of self identity promotion.

JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	0.195
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :2.000	Median :2.000	
Mean :2.073	Mean :2.268	
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	

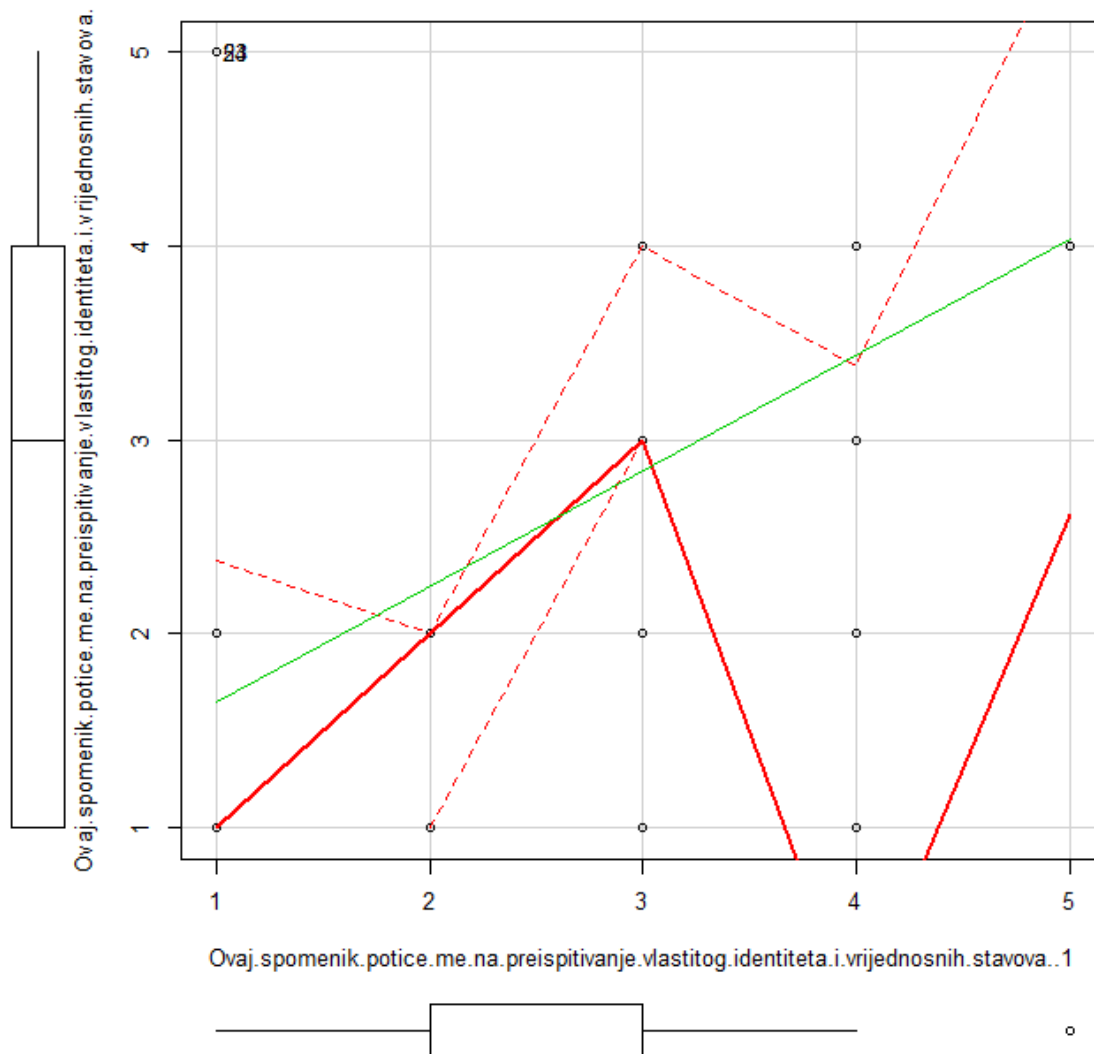


The revisionist talk by Vukić activated different models, and although it tried to reconstruct the history of the Jasenovac in a positive manner, it left a different impact reactivating the negative guilt model that is not conducive for promotion of one's identity.

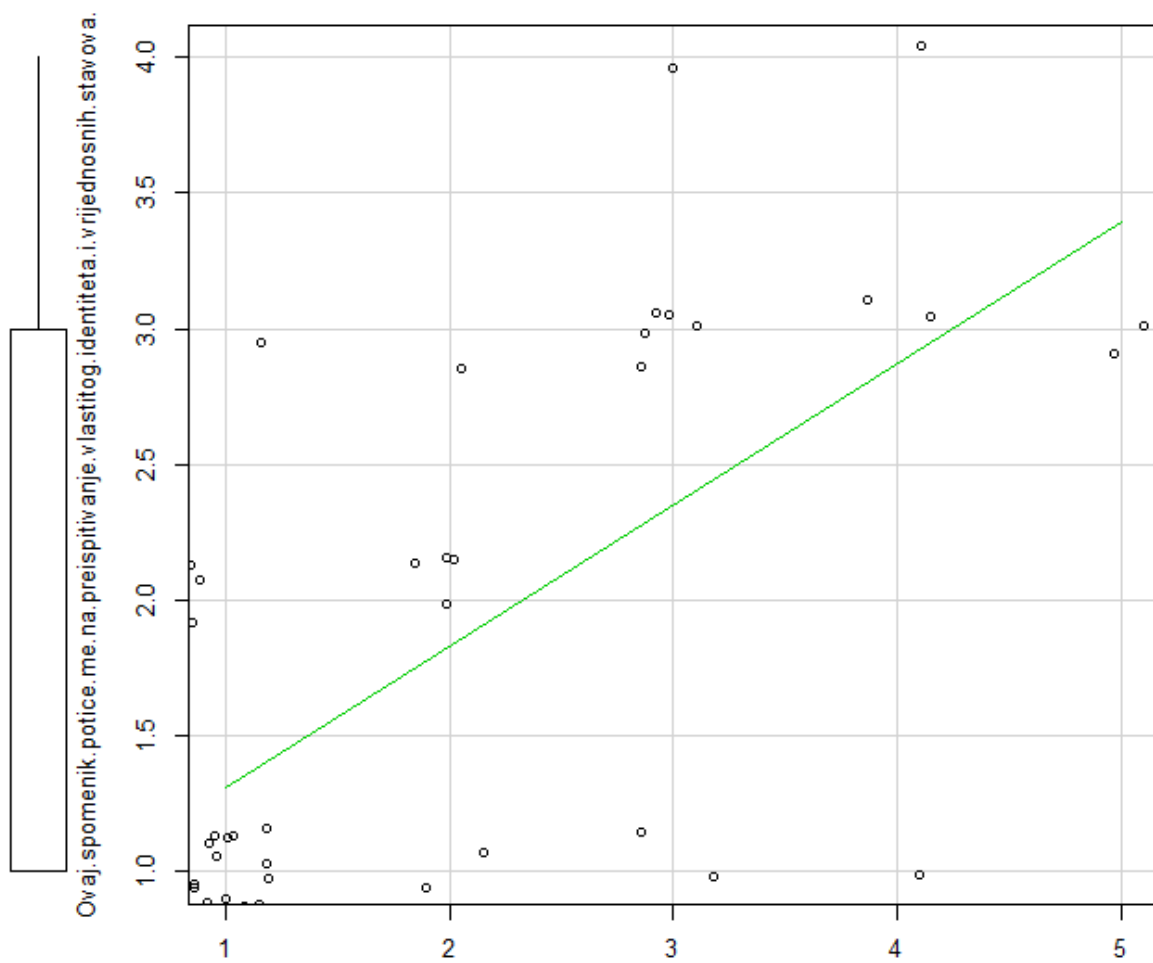
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument inspires me to question my identity and values

This feature measures the level of metacognitive and discursive self and social identification as well as the possibility to accept the position of the Other conceptualization, memory, cultural group.

Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	
Median :3.000	Median :3.000	
Mean :2.632	Mean :2.649	+0.017
3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	-1
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	



JS Vukic		
Before	After	Diff
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.000	
Median :1.000	Median :2.000	+1
Mean :1.854	Mean :2.049	0.195
3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	
Max. :4.000	Max. :5.000	+1



Summary of the effects of commemorative speeches and media by Zoran Milanović and Igor Vukić across the features for Jasenovac monument:

From the qualitative data on effects of elicitation induced by Milanović and Vukić talks we can calculate the relative difference between two groups, indicating which of the features were stimulated more saliently by which speaker.

Table 3

Effect of speeches on features of emotional engagement and appraisal	Milanović	Vukić	Diff V-M
Arousal	↑↑ 0.714	↑↑ 0.683	-0.031
Sadness	↑ 0.595	↑ 0.585	-0.01
Unpleasantness	↑ 0.431	↑ 0.659	0.228
Behavioral tendency: keep and promote the monument	0.316	0.244	-0.072
Anger	0.316	↑ 0.658	↑ 0.342
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument promotes values in accordance with my values	0.28	0.049	↓↓ -0.231
Disgust	0.263	↑ 0.609	↑ 0.346
Behavioral tendency: deinstall the monument	↓ -0.228	0.073	↑ 0.301
Cognitive appraisal (self and social identity): monument inspires me to promote my identity and values	0.21	0.195	-0.015
Pleasantness	↓ -0.123	-0.146	-0.023
Shame	-0.087	0.586	↑↑ 0.673
Love	0.068	↓ -0.097	↓ -0.165
Pride	0.042	↓↓ -0.171	↓ -0.213
Fear	0.035	0.585	0.55
Happiness	-0.035	-0.17	-0.135
Monument inspires me to question my identity and values	0.017	0.195	0.178

From this dataframe we can calculate which of the values had been more influenced by particular speech.

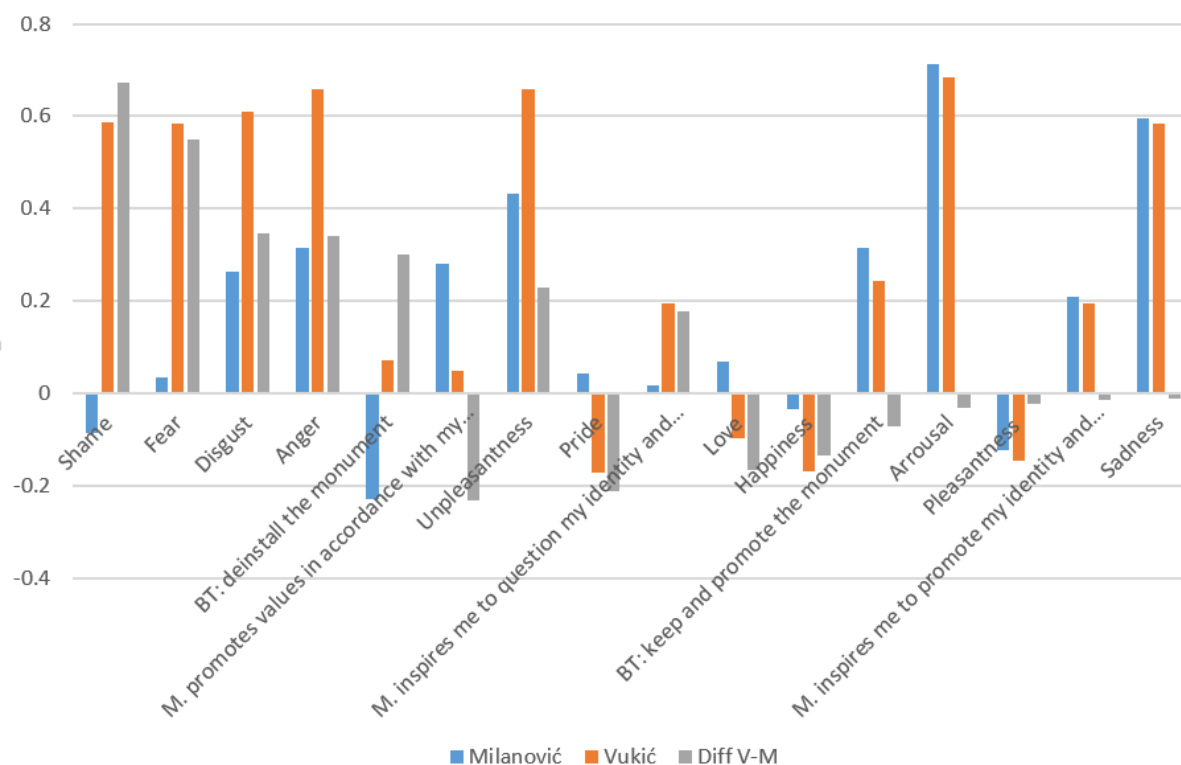


Illustration x. Difference (Diff V-M) of emotional response between elicited by Milanović and Vukić talks

The data shows the greatest difference in affective features after the elicitation induced by Milanović and Vukić talks for dimensions shame, fear, disgust and anger. This difference is on a scale of 0.4-0.7 of a 5-point likert scale. All these negative affective dimensions are more salient for the responses in the Vukić group. The behavioral tendency to deinstall the monument was also heightened in the Vukić group, as well as the unpleasantness. All other values had negative tendency for the Vukić group: promoting values in accordance with my values, pride, inspiration to question my identity, love, happiness. The features with similar amount of difference for both groups after the elicitation are: arousal, pleasantness, inspiration to promote identity and sadness.

Conclusion

In this article we presented the methodology and results of a study intended to experimentally measure the psychological impact of political talks on the conceptualization of the national identity and cultural memory as represented by the Jasenovac monument. The goal was to devise qualitative and quantitative methodology to empirically research the question how political elites use memory sites to elicit particular emotional reactions. In accord with embodied cognition theory, we argue that emotion and affect elicited by the memory actors and their narrative practices are important in consolidating, reevaluating and renegotiating cognitive models, values, social identities and cultural memory. This experimental design aims to measure the affect response as an indicator of elicited emotions in the inter-subjective communication. This initial study is a proof of the concept, and in the future we plan to broaden the pool of respondents, including regional diversity, political orientation and age groups.

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