ETHNIC NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN POST-WAR CROATIA

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Executive Summary

The collapse of the Soviet Union and attendant regimes has been followed by an upsurge in ethnic nationalism as well as by the establishment of economic and political liberalism in various parts of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The questions raised in this paper are directed at these seemingly opposite tendencies. We analyze ethnic nationalist and liberal sentiments in Croatia in the aftermath of a protracted war – a war inspired at least in part by ethnic-nationalist sentiments. We provide an analysis of the structural conditions fostering these sentiments, which is potentially applicable to a range of societies presently in transition. Based on 1996 survey interviews (N=2,202) conducted throughout Croatia, we show that nationalism in the Croatian context is not solely of the ethnic variety, nor is ethnic nationalism as broadly supported as is usually supposed. We find that, coterminous with ethnic nationalism, there exists a broadly embraced support for economic and political liberalism that can undergird a liberal nationalism compatible with Western European practices. The implications of these findings extend beyond Croatia to other formerly socialist countries involved in the transition to capitalist democracy.
The civil wars and international conflicts that have followed the collapse of the Soviet Union present a challenge for social scientists to develop effective theories of nationalism that not only explain what has happened but that also can help guide unstable nations toward peaceful and productive transformations (Diamond and Plattner, 1994). Post-war Croatia provides a crucial and timely opportunity to rethink and reexamine nationalism at the end of the twentieth century. As a new country in transition, it is poised between a politics of identity that promotes interests and rights associated with being Croatian and an opportunity to develop liberal institutional arrangements that mesh more closely with Western economic systems and political ideology (Eley and Suny, 1996; Gilliland, 1996).

We analyze the relative strength of sentiments and attitudes related to two ideal types of nationalism posed in the literature (Barrington, 1997): organic or ethnic nationalism and civic or liberal nationalism. Our analysis highlights the future of liberalism more generally in societies in transition from communism. While we do not expect to find only one type of nationalism, to the exclusion of the other, the strength and social support for each in post-war Croatia helps us understand the political effects of independence gained through war, public sentiments of post-socialist formations, and the prospects for future developments of national economies and polities in Croatia and in many similarly situated countries throughout the world (Judt, 1994).

**CONTRASTING FORMS OF NATIONALISM**

**Ethnic or organic nationalism**

In describing ethnic nationalism, Hans Kohn (1955:34) observes that the ethnic state is not a “societal organization based upon individual human law with the purpose of assuring man’s liberty, security and happiness, but an organic personality.” He goes on to describe this version of nationalism as an “organic folk-community which would immerse the individual in the unbroken chain of tradition” (Kohn, 1955:35). John Plamenatz (1973:33) recognizes the same type of nationalism as being based on “the desire to preserve or enhance a people’s national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened.” In Michael Ignatieff’s (1993:8) view, ethnic nationalism insists, “that an individual’s deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen.” According to Berry (1987:353), in an ethnic
nation-state “people should give their highest loyalty to their own nation,” while Anthony Smith (1995:152) describes the attachment to a “‘core doctrine’ that demands primary loyalty to the nation.” Similarly, Hayden (1992:42-43) discusses the nation “as a kind of collective individual” whose citizens hold this status “by virtue of ethnic heritage.” Breuilly’s (1985:349) frequently cited analysis recognizes how ethnic nationalism, “seemingly seeks to abolish the distinction between culture and politics, society and state, private and public.”

The dimensions of organic or ethnic nationalism implicit in these observations provide guideposts for research into the actual attachments of people to such ideologies. Other researchers are even more explicit. Judith Shklar (1990), a strong opponent of ethnic nationalism, describes it as ethnocentric, atavistic, exclusionary, xenophobic, authoritarian and often expansionist (see also Neilsen, 1999:120). Other, less critical scholars reject the inevitability of authoritarianism (Brass, 1985; Connor, 1994; Kymlicka, 1989; Tamir, 1993; Yak, 1999), but Anthony Smith’s (1995:152) observation that ethnic nationalism is “patently not a democratic or liberal movement” would be disputed by few. Smith’s (1995: viii) agreement with Benedict Anderson (1991) is also germane: ethnic nationalism “is far more akin to religion and religious community than to...liberalism and socialism,” rooted as it is in “pre-modern ethnic symbolism and modes of organization”(7).

The understanding of ethnic nationalism has been advanced by no one more than by Ernest Gellner. In his seminal *Nations and Nationalism* Gellner (1964:94) shows how, under conditions of unequal power in society, variation in two conditions – access to education and homogeneity of culture – can result in “nationalism-engendering and nationalism-thwarting situations.” In particular, Gellner identifies a form of nationalism he calls “Habsburg nationalism” (94-97). This form is the outcome of the masses having culture forms significantly at variance with those of elites and upper classes. These classes experience blocked access to the means – typically education – of acquiring the more valued elite culture and lifestyle (Gellner, 1983:57). In response, they revive folk traditions and myths as a mainstay of their political identity and rationale, seeing themselves as carrying out a “nationalist imperative” which establishes “close relations between the state and culture which is the essence of nationalism” (Gellner, 1964:101). Once in power, ethnic nationalists are likely to manage state affairs in ways that
treat democratic practice as an outcome of benevolent policies rather than as a process for making decisions about the uses and limits of state power (Deutsch, 1969; Elias, 1996).

Civil or liberal nationalism

One of the first to draw this now-standard distinction, Kohn contrasts organic nationalism to a version of nationalism more attuned to the ideals of seventeenth-century European political thought, in particular its “recognition of individual dignity” (Kohn, 1955:25). “In the modern West, nationalism was predominantly a political movement to limit governmental power and secure civil rights. This movement’s purpose was to create a liberal and rational civil society” (29). Similarly, Plamenatz’s term, “Western nationalism,” though only sketchily developed, is clearly identified with ideas of progress (rather than preservation), in which individual differences are tolerated, if not fully valued. It is a credo that “is not entirely liberal, [though] was so more often than not” (1973:29). Smith’s (1989) examination of the transition from an “ethnic” nation (or “demotic ethnie”) to a “civic” nation carries much the same message. As a civic nation emerges, ethnic members are made into “legal citizens” who are conferred “common civil, social and political rights and obligations” (Smith, 1989:356). This distinction is also developed by Greenfeld (1992), who sharply contrasts the collective character of ethnic nationalism to the individualism of civic nationalism.

For Gellner, the structural condition most conducive for the emergence of “classical liberal Western nationalism” (1983:94) is the accessibility to the lower classes of the means of acquiring the dominant cultural forms necessary for success in the society. The lower classes’ distinct culture becomes a casualty of the modernization process, as the “high culture” manages to generalize itself “throughout the whole of society” (95). The “close relation” between “state and culture which is the essence of nationalism” (101) is typically achieved at the expense of the culture forms and distinct histories of subordinate classes in society. This “unification nationalism,” however, is liberal and thus supportive of individual rights of property and association, a diversity of religious beliefs and practices, and widespread political participation, as well as unpopular and minority opinions.
Ignatieff (1993:6) describes civil nationalism as envisaging “the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachments to a shared set of political practices and values...by shared attachment to certain institutions.” In contrast to what Calhoun (1993:387) describes as an ethnic nation “of like individuals rather than as webs of social relationships,” Ignatieff (1993:7) believes that “most Western nation-states define their nationhood in terms of common citizenship and not by common ethnicity...[W]hat holds a society together is not common roots but law.”

There is considerable controversy about whether or not nationalist sentiments can accommodate a liberal political ideology (Habermas, 1995). For some like Judith Shklar, the two are totally incompatible. At the other pole, Tamir (1993) and Kymlicka (1989) and Yak (1999) make cogent arguments that echo both Weber and Durkheim. In the Durkheimian tradition, they contend that no nation-state can rest entirely on “political formalism” (Levinson, 1995:627) but is a “cultural community...[that] makes use of the state for purposes of self government” (Yak, 1999:109). While Weber (1978) emphasized the state as claiming a monopoly on legitimate force, he also saw the nation as having a myth of common descent and speaks of it as a “prestige community.” The anti-liberal aspect of ethnic nationalism is its willingness to accord rights on the basis of ethnic identity rather than universal citizenship, a basic denial of the principle of equality before the law central to a liberal polity. In contrast, according to Sprinng (1994:4), “liberals are suspicious of according some sort of political or legal status to groups.” Clearly, different conceptions of nationhood and nationalism undergird a variety of citizenship policies and state orientations (Brubaker, 1996).

The social and political implications of these differences are apparent in the conceptualization of a liberal nation. Liberal nationalism seeks to keep separate the private and public spheres, and, in Spinner’s (1994:4-5), view fosters protection for a third sphere, civil society, including churches, professional associations, an independent media, and so forth. “[L]iberals favor religious toleration, an independent judiciary, and liberty of thought and expression”(3).
John Locke was the first to spell out the contours of a liberal political formula, promoting it as “a device for resolving or managing issues, such as the protection of property” (Hardin, 1993:123). His writings explore both political and economic liberalism and, according to Hardin (127) “made no claim for their being logically or empirically related.” There is, however, a common normative basis for both; Pejovich (1993) describes this as “inclusion.” Others see a similar basis in the theory of utility or in the doctrine of laissez faire (Hardin, 1993:127), which promotes the application of universalistic legal principles and the idea of protection of all persons (and their property) under a rule of law. Political and economic liberalism are not only compatible but, according to scholars of such different views as Barrington Moore and Frederich Hayak, tend to support each other’s development.

By considering varying trends and structural circumstances across a society, it may be possible to draw some conclusions not only about the way in which nationalism of one version or another is fostered in transitional societies but also about the future direction of a country. If liberal sentiments are strong and ethnic nationalism is weak, there is reason to anticipate particular outcomes in both the political and economic spheres. If liberalism is weak and ethnic nationalism is strong, especially among those portions of the population in a position to most significantly affect the course of events in the nation, other outcomes are more likely. The implications of these different possible patterns of findings are discussed in the conclusions of this article.

**SOCIETAL TRANSITION, ETHNIC NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM**

The transformations of economies and political systems in the past decade in Eastern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere have given rise to new schemes and rekindled old themes about national sovereignty and self-determination (Gyani and Radzai, 1993; O’Leary, 1997; Hodson, Sekulić and Massey, 1994; Schnapper, 1995; Vujacic, 1996). Ignatieff (1993:8) sees ethnic nationalism “gaining ground” in some countries and flourishing in others that are “formally committed to civic democracy.” Part of the current appeal of ethnic nationalism is in “overturning some legacy of cultural subordination” (9). Another foundation for ethnic nationalism can be found in its solution to the problem of “who will protect me” and in the view that one should “only trust those of your own
blood” (Ignatieff, 1993:10). Nowhere have these messages had more serious and costly consequences than in the former Yugoslavia.

Peter Sugar (1995:176-177) describes Serbia as a nation with a long-standing tradition of “popular nationalism” and the same could be said for other republics of the former Yugoslavia. During the socialist era, Tito and the federal leadership of the communist party used regime strategies to manage ethnic rivalries and discourage the formation of ethnically-based political groups (Warwick and Cohen, 1985). After his death, the devolution of power from the federal center accelerated, and republic-level parties took on a more obvious national identity. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, this helped set the stage for the dramatic transformations that spread across the Balkans.

Political instability provided an opportunity in socialist Yugoslavia for new political interests to emerge, while leaders of the previous regime maneuvered for power in the new order (Woodward, 1995a). Brass’ observation that elite manipulation is fundamental to nationalism is born out in the Yugoslav case. The revival of nationalist sentiments for opportunistic purposes is well documented (Silber and Little, 1996; Cohen, 1995). On the other hand, for many people in Croatia (and Slovenia) there was a sentiment that only by seceding from Yugoslavia could a liberal society be established. The tendency to conflate communist domination with Serbian domination meant that a break with the communist past required a severing of ties with Serbia. According to Hayden (1992:46), Croatia’s president, Franjo Tudjman, embraced the view of the “nation as collective individual” – a view which Hayden feels was widespread throughout Croatia (46).

In this article we pose Hayden’s conclusion as a question: to what degree and by whom is ethnic nationalism embraced in Croatia? And, to what degree and by whom is liberalism more firmly held (Gligorov, 1991)? The answers to these questions hold implications that go well beyond the Balkans.

After 1989 countries formerlly within the Soviet sphere of influence or dominated by a ruling communist party independent of Moscow (as was the case in socialist Yugoslavia) were in a position to adopt both liberal political and economic schemes (Akhavan and Howse, 1995; Cohen, 1995). For many reasons, neither of these projects could be accomplished quickly or without great costs, and the sentiments of the population would be critical
for sustaining the policies required for implementation. A greatly expanded field of operation for international
capital brought with it myriad consultants, financiers, professors, journalists and others whose message was
economic liberalism and the promise of free market capitalism. New economic opportunities were now available to
individuals who had not previously had access to capital, markets, and legal safeguards for engaging in business. For
these and other reasons, economic liberalism and the liberal state could be expected to appeal to a large portion of the
population in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and other communist states in East Europe.

It was clear from the outset that economic changes would mean dramatic reductions in the quality of life for
many of the people in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The collapse of the economy in
many regions, especially where ties to the Soviet Union were most important, left millions of people bereft of the
ability to sustain themselves, continue their education, obtain basic health care, or know that in the future they would
be supported because of their previous contributions. Millions of other people, in less dire straits, have experienced a
decline in living standards and are highly doubtful about the prosperity envisioned just a few years before. In these
cases, appeals to liberalism may have a less enthusiastic audience than appeals to group solidarity and a social
compact between powerful leaders and their ethnically identical followers that promises a path to prosperity and
security based on reconstructed images of past glories and ethnic hegemony, or even purity, in the new nation-state.

**Political crisis and war in Croatia**

Yugoslavia’s gradual road to disintegration accelerated in 1987 with the consolidation of national leadership
under Serbia’s Slobodan Milosevic. His core goal was to restructure Yugoslavia and strengthen the position of
Serbia within it.² The actions that followed heightened ethnic tensions across Yugoslavia. Divisions and conflicts
exploded into a series of wars, beginning with the Slovenian war in 1990 and continuing as of the writing of this
article with the ongoing war in Kosovo (Ramet, 1992:225-238).

The communist leaders in Slovenia and Croatia attempted to stabilize their political base and increase their
legitimacy through elections and, in the case of the Slovenian leadership, through balancing liberal reforms with
appeals to Slovenian ethnic nationalism. For several reasons, Croatia’s communist party was not in a position to
embark on the same strategy. Croatia was a multiethnic republic with a large Serbian minority, and so had to be careful not to directly confront the realignment of Yugoslav politics. This became known as the “policy of Croatian silence.” Second, Serbs were overrepresented in the composition of Croatia’s communist leadership, obviating the mobilization of nationalism as an organizing force against the realignment. Even Croat members of the communist leadership were averse to appeals to ethnic nationalism, many having been promoted to positions of power following the 1971 anti-nationalist purges (Cohen, 1995:80-85).

Simmering ethnic issues, however, helped mobilize support for HDZ (Croat Democratic Community), the winner of the first multiparty elections in 1990. In June 1990 the new government drafted amendments to the Constitution, defining Croatia as the sovereign state of the Croatians. Other ethnic groups were designated as minorities living in Croatia, enraging the Serbs who took umbrage at being defined as a minority (Tanner, 1997). The crisis culminated in the summer of 1990, when the self-appointed Serbian National Council of the Serbian-dominated Krajina region proclaimed a “Declaration of the Sovereignty and Autonomy of the Serbian People.”

The stalemate between the Croatian government and the Serbian National Council, which was backed by the Yugoslav Army, exploded into a full-blown war a year later. By the end of 1991 Serb forces had taken control of nearly a third of Croatia, including most of Krajina and Slavonia in the eastern part of the country. Croats and other ethnic minorities were forcibly expelled from these areas. The price of fighting was tremendous. According to official Croatian data, 6,651 persons were killed with an additional 13,700 missing and presumed dead (Tanner, 1997:278). About 210,000 houses were destroyed, comprising 12% of all housing stock.

When the first wave of fighting stopped in early 1992 the United Nations sent into Croatia the second largest international peacekeeping force it had ever deployed. According to the chief U.S. negotiator: “Almost one third of Croatia now lay in areas supposedly protected by the United Nations but in fact controlled by the Serbs. Ethnic cleansing of the Croats from these ‘United Nations Safe Areas’...proceeded under the passive eyes of a thirty-nation U.N. force. [These events] left a legacy of pent-up Croatian nationalism that would explode in the Krajina three years later” (Holbrooke, 1998:32-33).
In 1995 the Krajina was retaken militarily by Croatia and in the process the entire Serbian population (around 150,000 people) was “ethnically cleansed.” Within days, the returning Krajina Croats and Croatian army burned down dozens of Serb villages and looted the Serbs’ empty homes (Tanner, 1997:298). Eastern Slavonia was soon returned to Croatia by negotiation and Croatia accepted the responsibility to protect the Serbian minority there. Not until the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in November 1995 was peace in Croatia formalized.

Plamenatz (1973:29) saw nationalism as being embraced by persons “defeated in war or disappointed in victory,” particularly among persons who are at a disadvantage in the competition of modern life. In the case of socialist Yugoslavia, the most destructive war in Europe since World War II was at best was only a partial victory for Croatia and one that came at great cost. The war mobilized nationalist sentiments that would translate into a political ideology lasting well beyond the war itself.

Spencer, Schumpeter, and many others have recognized the difficulty war poses for maintaining a democratic system and a non-corporatist version of capitalism. The conduct of war makes more palatable a greater authoritarianism, a political legitimacy that harkens back to past traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), a centrally controlled and managed economy, and weakened safeguards for cultural diversity and dissent. Differences of opinion and political ideology are less likely to be tolerated, and elites find it easier to arouse public approbation against minority views. In order to facilitate measures for military preparedness and the conduct of a war, governments seek to manipulate public sentiment, generate symbolic representations idealizing both citizens and combatants, demonize the enemy, and construct contrasting images of the future, one of victory and one of defeat, that leave little doubt about the importance of winning the war. These generally come at the expense of what are often identified as liberal democratic values: access to information needed to make informed political decisions, accountability of leaders to the citizenry, open discussion and rights of assembly, and equality before the law for all citizens, regardless of ethnic, religious, or racial status.

**RESEARCH HYPOTHESES**
Though Gellner and others writing about ethnic nationalism provide few explicit hypotheses, their work suggests several insights about the structural basis for ethnic nationalism and support for economic and political liberalism. The impact of the war in Croatia across different groups offers additional hypotheses derived less from a theory of ethnic nationalism than from the social psychology of conflict and victimization.

Rather than posing ethnic nationalism versus liberalism, we anticipate a more complex picture in post-war Croatia. Because there are clear incompatibilities between the two, in some respects those groups most attracted to ethnic nationalism will be less likely to support liberalism in the economy and polity. In other respects, for instance with regard to liberal policies in economic matters, there is no necessary incompatibility between liberalism and ethnic nationalism. Conversely, some anti-liberal policies, such as government supervision of the economy, might have little appeal to ethnic nationalists, especially if this is associated with a previous, discredited regime that followed a politically anti-nationalist agenda. As an example, a private entrepreneur need not reject ethnic nationalism and, in fact, may support a version of economic nationalism that promotes a Croatian economy and Croatian firms over those owned and operated by non-Croatians. Hence, ethnic nationalism and liberalism cannot automatically be considered to be opposites. Some categories of persons may be favorably disposed to both, while others may be opposed to one but favorably disposed to the other.

Those persons not incorporated into the mainstream of a modernizing society are more likely to embrace ethnic nationalism, including the more poorly educated, those more fundamentalist in their religion, older persons and those living in rural areas (Anderson, 1991). Conversely, minorities have little to gain from a politics strongly imbued with nationalist sentiments, and so we expect them to be less nationalistic.

We anticipate that liberalism will be opposed by the elderly and the unemployed who are suffering directly from economic liberalism, and those in rural areas most hard hit by economic restructuring and the loss in international trade of agriculture products (Woodward, 1995b). Along with persons who felt victimized by the liberalization of the economy, those also likely to reject liberalism include categories of persons more favorably disposed to past policies (e.g., past members of the League of Yugoslav Communists). Persons involved in entrepreneurial activity or working in the private sector or with job skills most in demand in the restructuring
economy should be more favorably disposed to liberalism than persons whose skills are of more questionable value. Because it is often attached to images of Western Europe and North America, liberalism has symbolic significance for groups looking to the West. This is especially the case for the urban young. Intellectuals and other professionals, the better educated, and people with a more secular orientation should be the backbone of support for political and economic liberalism.

We anticipate that groups with a more direct wartime experience of loss will respond with a greater sense of ethnic nationalism than those less directly affected. Ethnic nationalism celebrates the experience of having fought for Croatian independence or having been caught in the fighting. Such experience is testimony of one’s loyalty and commitment to the nation. We anticipate no direct impact of war experience on liberalism.

Finally, we are interested in the way exposure to the news affects one’s political sensibilities. Given the government’s interest in the content and perspective of the media during the war, the media’s presentation of government policies and the actions of government figures in a positive light, and the continuing capacity of the government to influence the media, we anticipate that those who have the greatest contact with the news will be more likely to express a sense of ethnic nationalism. At the same time, the obvious favoritism in news reporting toward the government, even as it failed to tolerate a more open media, has resulted in opposition parties and ideas being given limited coverage. Those with greatest contact with the news should thus be less supportive of political liberalism. The fact that Croatia has not moved toward economic liberalization as quickly or as broadly as many of its neighbors has often been excused or justified in the media. Those who have greater contact with the news should thus be more likely to accept Croatia’s minimalist or arrested economic liberalism as a good thing.

ANALYSIS VARIABLES

We analyze ethnic nationalism and liberalism in post-war Croatia using survey data collected in March and April, 1996, by the Center for the Investigation of Transition and Civil Society in Zagreb, Croatia. Ninety-five out
of a possible 350 opšine (sing. opšina), or counties, were selected to form the sampling base from which households and, then, individuals were randomly sampled. Opšine were selected in a purposeful manner to maximize variation related to people’s experience of the war. The face-to-face survey was administered to a random sample of 2,202 respondents within the 95 opšine.

**Ethnic nationalism**

The touchstone of ethnic nationalism is a political formula that recognizes the importance of the ethnic nation above the rights and protections of individual citizenship. A major role of the state is to protect persons on the basis of their ethnicity and to promote cultural practices and respect traditions associated with the dominant ethnic group. These cultural traditions take on a quasi-religious significance and look to the past for their inspiration.

The 1996 survey of Croatia provides information that makes possible the measurement of support for an ideology and policies of ethnic nationalism. We constructed a scale from the eight items, each of which was answered on a 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). The items are:

- The history of our people must be a holy object for all of us.
- Every inch of our country should be held and treated as a holy object.
- The common origin of our people is the basis of our mutual trust.
- We should not trust foreigners too much.
- A nation/people that does not honor their traditions deserves to perish.
- The peasant is the best protector of our nation.
- After a century of exploitation, we can for the first time have a rich country.
- We acquire dignity when we fight for our country.

This scale of ethnic nationalism has a reliability coefficient of .81. The distributions across the response categories for the eight items comprising the scale are presented in Table 1 (at the end of this paper).

The validity of this scale rests on ethnic nationalism’s emphasis on appeals to unity, common historical origin, traditions, and the sacredness of ethnic identity. Distrust of others, the linking of personal dignity and defense of the nation, and resentment of past injustices at the hands of outsiders are also central to the ideology of ethnic nationalism.
Liberalism

Throughout Central and East Europe there has been a major shift since 1990 in policies toward both political and economic liberalism. Liberal policies have often been pursued in an effort to emulate the situation of well-established capitalist countries with democratic political formations. Private ownership of the major productive assets, few restrictions on the movement or investment of capital, opportunities to hire labor and pay the market rate with few employer obligations for financing benefit packages, the use of limited regulatory mechanisms to enforce environmental and occupational safety standards, and government financial support for private business and trade are all part of the package of economic liberalism.

Political liberalism is usually seen as a necessary companion to economic liberalism (Moore, 1966). In place of a commanding state system, citizens express their views and share responsibility for governmental policies through voting, initiatives, civic organizations, political party activities and so forth, while showing skepticism about the scope of state power, the prerogatives of elected officials, and the efficiency of government actions. A liberal political formation in turn requires an independent judiciary, professional police and military forces, a privately-owned media free of political censorship, the separation of church and state, and a general toleration for a diversity of opinion and inquiry in the educational system and in society at large (Guttman, 1987).

The 1996 survey in Croatia asked eight questions that probe individuals’ support for political and economic liberalism, each answered on a 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). A scale was constructed from these eight items in an identical manner to that for the ethnic nationalism scale. The items used to construct the scale of political and social liberalism are:

A multiparty system guarantees the interest of all groups.
An independent media is necessary for the development of democracy.
The less the state interferes in the economy, the more successful the economy will be.
Total freedom of speech would lead to the total disorganization of society (reversed).
In the last resort the judicial system should serve the interests of the state (reversed).
The state must have control over the management of the economy (reversed).
The media should be more understanding of the state (reversed).
A media that doesn’t care for national interests should be prohibited (reversed).

The reliability coefficient for this scale of eight items is .70.
The validity of the liberalism scale rests on its ability to gauge what are usually considered liberal views regarding the media, the judiciary, freedom of speech and the economy. The ethnic nationalism and liberalism scales have a correlation of -.330 indicating that they are negatively related but are not diametric opposites.

**Position in the economic transition**

Though privatization of the previously socialized economy has not been as thorough in Croatia as in Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland, there has been a major reorientation of the economy. Thousands of manufacturing and assembly jobs have been lost, huge cuts in clerical and mid-level managerial staff have been made, and unemployment has remained high, probably much higher than the official figure of 10.6 percent in 1996. There has been a severe reduction in the standard of living, both because of the costs of the war and because of chronic problems of economic performance.

Among those most dramatically affected by the economic transition, in large part due to weakened state support, have been pensioners and small farmers. Hyper-inflation in the last years of socialist Yugoslavia cut deeply into peoples’ savings while at the same time making loan repayment much easier. The elderly, less in a position to be advantaged by inflation, were initially compensated through rising pensions. Since the economic transformation began, however, pensions have fallen far behind in terms of the cost of living, and cannot be expected to support an elderly person, even at the most meager level. Farmers, too, have suffered from the state’s failure to replace price and earning supports with fresh initiatives that would benefit them in a more open-market environment. The distribution of respondents across economic positions and across other social characteristics is reported in Table 2 (at the end of this paper).

Along with the unemployed (many of whom were former factory and clerical workers), we recognize pensioners and small farmers as the most adversely affected groups in the population. At the other pole, people who have retained their managerial positions and new entrepreneurs will be most advantaged by the economic changes. While business owners resent new and often unpopular taxes, as a group they are the present and future winners in
the new economic arrangements. We include an eight category classification (retired or not working, unemployed, private farmer, blue-collar worker, service or clerical worker, professionals, managers, and entrepreneurs) as a measure of economic position in Croatian society.

Experiences of war

The war had quite diverse consequences for people living in different parts of Croatia. Persons living in close proximity to fighting are more likely to have experienced the disruptions, insecurities and personal costs of the war. Those who served in the military and who were actively involved in the fighting will have also had a direct experience of the war. Being made a refugee or having temporarily evacuated an area can be enormously traumatizing. Persons who lost a friend or relative or who are close to someone who was seriously wounded or suffered property damage or financial loss are perhaps less affected, but still have indirectly experienced the trauma of war. Others may have been concerned, frightened or angry about events during the war, but their immediate loss or threat to their safety was not as salient.

We measured war experiences with four variables: military service, experience of a traumatizing event, other traumatic wartime experiences, and loss of one’s home. The experience of a traumatizing event was measured by responses to a single question: “Have you experienced or witnessed a war-related event that involved actual or threatened death or injury to which you responded with intense fear, helplessness or horror?” Other wartime experiences were measured by a summed score of responses to questions about 20 possible experiences, including having been forcefully dislocated from one’s home, having been wounded, having had one’s live endangered, and having had a friend or relative disappear, be wounded, attacked, captured or killed. [See the Appendix, at the end of this paper, for a full listing of these events.]

Additional explanatory variables
Additional explanatory variables include urbanism, education, contact with the news, past membership in the League of Yugoslav Communists (LYC), sex, and age. Respondents were scored on “urbanism” in terms of their present locale: a village, local village center, općina center, regional center, macro-regional center, or republic or province center. Education was coded as years of schooling completed. Respondents were asked how frequently they watched a variety of different television news and political programs (see Appendix). Persons indicating previous membership in the LYC are distinguished by a dichotomous variable. Serbs and persons with other minority identities are also distinguished from majority Croats using a dichotomous variable. Gender and age are combined to form four additional dichotomous variables: young men, adult men, young women and adult women, with respondents younger than 30 designated as “young” (Achen, 1992). The combined age/gender variable will allow us to investigate the possibly distinct nationalist attitudes of young men and young women – the groups potentially most traumatized by the war.

To measure level of religiosity, respondents were asked a summary question about the strength of their religious beliefs. Respondents were also asked questions on a three-point scale indicating level of belief in: God, life after death, and the idea that God created people. Respondents were also asked about the appropriate role of religion in the media, in schools, and in picking a marriage partner (see Appendix). All items scaled positively with item-total correlations above .4. The resulting seven-item standardized scale has a reliability index of .79.

**FINDINGS**

Returning to Table 1, it can be seen that the scores of the eight items comprising the ethnic nationalism scale are on average somewhat higher than the scores of the eight items comprising the liberalism scale. While not wanting to exaggerate these differences, it appears that the intensity of feelings in favor of ethnic nationalism is somewhat greater than the intensity of feelings in support of liberalism. It should also be noted, however, that for five of the eight items in the liberalism scale, voicing an opinion in favor of liberal principles required disagreeing with the item as stated in the survey. Acquiescence bias in the survey responses may thus account for part of the apparently lower level of support for liberal nationalism (Osterlind, 1983). The principal focus of our analysis,
however, will be on patterns in the relationships between ethnic nationalism and liberalism, on the one hand, and the explanatory variables, on the other, rather than in the mean response levels.

Table 3 (at the end of this paper) presents least-squares regression analysis of ethnic nationalism and liberalism. These analyses provide a first opportunity to examine ethnic nationalism and liberalism in a state recently emerging from a war of national separation and just starting a process of economic and political liberalization.

The analysis of ethnic nationalism shows support for several of the expectations developed in the previous sections. There is a strong relationship between religiosity and ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism, as anticipated, is also stronger among those who have greater contact with the news. Conversely, more educated respondents are less likely to voice support for ethnic nationalism. Professionals and urban entrepreneurs are also less supportive of ethnic nationalism. Blue-collar workers, farmers and retirees support ethnic nationalism somewhat more strongly than other occupational groups. Adult males are significantly more likely to hold ethnic nationalist sentiments than are other age/gender groups.

Having performed military service is unrelated to ethnic nationalism. Experiencing a traumatizing event or suffering damage to one’s home during the war are, however, positively associated with ethnic nationalist sentiments.6

People of minority ethnic status have lower scores on ethnic nationalism. This may reflect the threat to minority groups (such as Serbs) in Croatia posed by a Croatian majority embracing nationalist sentiments. Of course we must also take into account the fact that the Serbian population surveyed is missing the large number of Serbs who were expelled from Croatia in operation “Storm” in 1995. In our sample we have 3.1% Serbs and according to the 1991 census the proportion of Serbian population in Croatia was 12.2% (Petrovic, 1992). Croatia has yet to hold a census after the war, but if our sampling is correct we can approximate that the Serb population in Croatia was reduced by three-fours as a result of the war. The people with more ethnic nationalist attitudes are likely to have been among those who were expelled (or left) the country.
There is no relationship between ethnic nationalism and having belonged to the League of Yugoslav Communists. This null finding may reflect the structural contradictions of the party in the decades prior to the party’s demise. While there was evident interest in promoting a non-nationalist agenda, there were considerable rivalries and redistributive conflicts among the parties of the various republics (Burg, 1983; Woodward, 1995a). Also, because party membership was an important criterion for social mobility, many of the more educated and ambitious were attracted to the party (Massey, Hodson and Sekulić, 1994). When education is controlled, as in the current analysis, there is no significant distinct relationship between party membership and attitudes towards ethnic nationalism.

The second column of Table 3 displays the relationship of these same independent variables with political and economic liberalism. As in the case of ethnic nationalism, educational attainment and religiosity stand out as the strongest predictors of sentiments toward liberalism: but in this case, education is positively related and religiosity is negatively related to liberalism. These two effects are the mirror opposites of those for ethnic nationalism.

Surprisingly, there is not a strong, positive relationship between liberalism and being an owner of a firm or being an urban resident. Nor do we find the expected negative relationship between liberalism and having been a member of the LYC. Only retirees, a group likely to be particularly hard hit by a liberalized economy, are opposed to liberalism.

**DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

Ethnic nationalism is distinctly less strong among professionals and the better educated, while showing its greatest strength among those expressing fundamentalism in their religion. There is also a positive relationship between contact with the news and ethnic nationalism, and ethnic nationalism is strongest among the adult male segment of the population. War experiences are not the most salient determinant of ethnic nationalism. Indeed, wartime experiences influence such sentiments less strongly than religiosity, education or professional status.
These findings leave the impression that ethnic nationalism does not necessarily have an easy future in Croatia. Its strongest adherents are not the populations likely to be in a dominant societal position in the years to come. If education can play its traditional role of opening up peoples’ horizons and if the grip on the media presently exercised by the central government can be loosened, ethnic nationalism may be readily replaced by its more palatable cousin, national patriotism. On the other hand, religion grew in popularity in the 1990s, but even in the socialist period religion was strong in Croatia. It is unlikely to be a less significant factor in the near future and may remain a mainstay for nationalist sentiments and a contributing factor to ethnic nationalism.

Our evaluation of the foundations of liberalism is more equivocal. Education and religion work in opposite directions, as in the determination of ethnic nationalism. For liberalism, education has a positive effect and religion has a negative one. If Croatia follows the Western-oriented course, we can expect the role of education to persist while that of religion wanes from its current war-time high point. Despite the efforts of Western countries and foreign corporations to instill values of economic and political liberalism in Croatia, the effect of the news content as a dampening influence is apparent. While some elements of Croatian society support strong government control over the press and other spheres of life, liberal elements within Croatia may gradually loosen the government’s hold and support a truly independent media.

Neither ethnic nationalism nor liberalism dominate Croatia today. At present ethnic nationalism is stronger (Table 1), but the experience of the war is perhaps critical as a factor contributing to this difference. As the impact of the war fades and more persistent structural influences such as education remain, this balance may shift. As well, with growing entrepreneurship – negatively correlated with ethnic nationalism – there may be a further shift away from ethnic nationalism. For many, the solution to declining living standards lies in a privatized economy that promotes small businesses. Support for this is gradually overshadowing questions of nationality as political parties that emphasize more liberal ideals and eschew ethnic nationalism are gaining support. Finally, citizenship and voting rules conditioned on ethnicity are not highly salient for the people of different ethnicities living in Croatia today, but remain very important for the diaspora Croats, especially Herzegovina Croats, who remain the strongest supporters of the ruling HDZ party and continue to tip the balance of power.
Conversely, if Croatia’s economy continues to suffer – from the destruction caused by the Croatian war, the precipitous decline in tourism exacerbated by the Kosovo crisis, and the tendency common throughout Eastern Europe, Russia, and the former Soviet Republics to replace socialist ownership with “crony capitalism” (Agocs and Agocs, 1993) – resentful and impoverished working and middle classes may find the only path to human dignity available to them in ethnic nationalism and a particularistic, highly emotional and combustible politics of identity. If Croatia can find much-needed political leadership to solve its immediate problems and can increase the value of its human capital through education and the development of more modern workplaces, then ethnic nationalism may recede as the memories and scars of the war of national separation fade.

Our analysis suggests that international policies addressing “resurgent ethnic nationalism” not only in Croatia but also throughout the many countries in the process of transformation may be misdirected if they focus on ideological appeals or an effort to isolate leaders espousing such ideologies. Rather, more moderate economic and political policies, including greater support for a more open media and opportunities for gainful employment, appear to be the key to shifting opinion away from exclusionary and emotional appeals of ethnic nationalism and toward the recognition of individual citizenship as a status that incorporates a diverse population into the political and economic community.
Endnotes

1 The term “primordial” is also often used in discussions of ethnic nationalism. Quoting Geertz (1963), Brass describes this most clearly: “every person carries with him through life ‘attachments’ derived from place of birth, kinship relations, religion, language and social practices that are ‘natural’ for him, ‘spiritual’ in character, and that provide a basis for an easy ‘affinity’ with other people from the same background...‘rooted in the non-rational foundations of personality’” (Brass, 1994:83; see also Connor, 1978:381; Hutchinson, 1994).

2 The 1974 Federal Constitution created a highly decentralized de facto confederation of the six republics and two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). Federal decision-making regarding foreign policy, military affairs, and principles of the economic system was based on a consensus of the eight units. The first goal of Milosevic was to change the existing power structure by orchestrating the dissolution of the governments in Vojvodina and Kosovo and by replacing the government of Montenegro with his loyalists, thus giving Serbia half the votes in the federal presidency.

3 The HDZ received 42% of the votes but garnered 67.5% of the seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Parliament.

4 Latin was recognized as the official alphabet (replacing Cyrillic which was used in predominantly Serbian localities), and ancient Croatian symbolism (a coat of arms, flag and national anthem) were recognized as the official insignia of the republic. These symbols were offensive and frightening to many Serbs, reminding them of the Croatian Ustasha regime, which during World War II carried out genocidal policies toward the Serbian minority (see Denitch, 1994).

5 The Center was established in Zagreb in the early 1990s as a separate entity from the University of Zagreb in response to government control of research activities and decreased funding for social research. A non-profit organization primarily staffed by current and past faculty from Institute for Social Research at the University of Zagreb, it is primarily funded by private U.S. and European foundations. In addition to carrying out research, the Center organizes conferences on social transformation.

6 We also evaluated interaction terms between the war events and the age/gender groups. None of these coefficients are statistically significant suggesting that any political effects of the war experiences are not specific to age/gender groups.
References


Connor, Walker. 1978. “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a...” *Racial and Ethnic Studies* 1:379-388.


Table 1: Ethnic Nationalism and Liberalism Questions, Croatian Survey, 1996 (N = 2,202)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Response Categories (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETHNIC NATIONALISM  (alpha = .81)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our history is sacred</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our country is sacred</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual trust is based on common origins</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should not trust foreigners</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should honor our traditions</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The peasant is the protector of the nation</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have suffered a century of exploitation</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We gain dignity by defending our country</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIBERALISM  (alpha = .70)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiparty systems protect all interests</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent media needed for democracy</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State interference slows the economy</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free speech leads to chaos (r)</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The courts should serve the state (r)</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The state must control the economy (r)</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media should support the state (r)</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media should support the nation (r)</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (r) indicates reverse coding. The scores for the reverse-coded items are calculated prior to reverse coding and thus indicate support or disagreement with the item as stated. The correlation between the two scales is -.330.
Table 2: Explanatory Variables, Croatian Survey, 1996 (N = 2,202)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Nationalism</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>scale (see Table 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberalism</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>scale (see Table 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>none through post-university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanism</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>village through Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>standardized</td>
<td>scale (see Appendix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-communist</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>former member of Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News contact</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>scale (see Appendix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>Croatian nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority nationality</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>minority nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WAR EXPERIENCES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military service</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>served during the war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War-related violence</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>0-18</td>
<td>index (see Appendix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traumatizing event</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>(see Appendix for wording)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of home</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>0=no, 1=partial, 2=full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC POSITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired or NILF&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private farmers</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>econ. status and occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and clerical</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>econ. status and occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>econ. status and occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>econ. status and occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban entrepreneurs</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE-GENDER GROUPS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>female younger than 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young men</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>male younger than 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult women</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>female 30 or older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult men</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>male 30 or older</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>NILF = Not in Labor Force.
Table 3: Regression of Support for Ethnic Nationalism and Liberalism on Social Characteristics and War Experiences, Croatian Survey, 1996 (N = 2,202)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Ethnic Nationalism</th>
<th>Liberalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.046^a</td>
<td>-.094^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanism</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>-.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.205^a</td>
<td>.269^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-communist</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News contact</td>
<td>.153^a</td>
<td>.158^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian (baseline)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority nationality</td>
<td>-.298^a</td>
<td>-.105^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WAR EXPERIENCES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military service</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War-related violence</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>-.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traumatizing event</td>
<td>.099^c</td>
<td>.047^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of home</td>
<td>.067^c</td>
<td>.046^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC POSITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired or NILF^1</td>
<td>.117^b</td>
<td>.074^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private farmers</td>
<td>.151^c</td>
<td>.054^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar</td>
<td>.133^c</td>
<td>.055^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and clerical (baseline)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>-.170^b</td>
<td>-.059^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>-.063</td>
<td>-.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban entrepreneurs</td>
<td>-.167^c</td>
<td>-.046^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE-GENDER GROUPS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women (baseline)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young men</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult women</td>
<td>.104</td>
<td>.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult men</td>
<td>.241^a</td>
<td>.152^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.613</td>
<td>1.152^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Squared</td>
<td>.221^a</td>
<td>.192^a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: a = ≤ .001, b = ≤ .01, c = ≤ .05 (2-tailed t-tests). The columns labeled "b" and "beta" report unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients, respectively.
^1NILF = Not in Labor Force.
APPENDIX: Interview Questions and Scale Construction
RELIGION  (standardized and averaged across 7 items; alpha = .79)

How strong are your religious beliefs? (6-point scale)
Do you believe, have doubts about, or don't believe in the following? (all as 3-point Likert scales)
   Existence of God
   Life after death
   God created people
The presence of church on Croatian TV should be: (1) reduced, (2) kept as it is now, (3) expanded.
Religious instruction should be: (1) thrown out of school, (2) the choice of family and student, (3) obligatory in school.
Religious beliefs are important in picking a marital partner. (4-point Likert scale)

NEWS CONTACT  (averaged across the 6 six questions)

How often did you see the following on T.V.? (1-never, 2-seldom, 3-often, 4-frequently)
   Political information programs
   Evening news
   Daily news
   "Croatia Today"
   News program with interviews
   Political advertising

TRAUMATIZING EVENT  (yes or no)

Have you experienced or witnessed a war-related event that involved actual or threatened death or injury to which you responded with intense fear, helplessness, or horror?

WAR-RELATED VIOLENT EXPERIENCES  (summed across the 20 items)

Did you have any of these war-related experiences? (yes or no)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forcefully emigrated</th>
<th>Family member wounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wounded</td>
<td>Relative wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured</td>
<td>Family member attacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life endangered</td>
<td>Relative attacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starving</td>
<td>Family member captured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In concentration camp</td>
<td>Relative captured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to avoid fighting</td>
<td>Friend captured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member disappeared</td>
<td>Family member killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative disappeared</td>
<td>Relative killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend disappeared</td>
<td>Friend killed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>