FAMILY AS A CRADLE FOR NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY - YUGONOSTALGIA AMONG THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IN ZAGREB

Vigor Vukotić
MA student of Department of Ethnology and Social Anthropology
University of Zagreb
vigor.vukotic@gmail.com

Keywords: Islam, Muslims, Zagreb, Islamic community, Yugoslavia, Yugonostalgia, family

1. Introduction

I was inspired to do this research based on a similar one I did In Bitola, FYROM. Results of that one were astonishingly one-sided: all interlocutors expressed their regret for the former state, frustration with the current economic situation and longing for the socialist era. In that survey, I did not have an opportunity do to a selection of interlocutors based on their denomination or nationality. I limited my survey in Zagreb on the smaller community. As I have done other surveys involving members of the Islamic community in the past, I was very well informed about their opinions on different subjects, I decided to examine how the Zagreb Muslims look at Yugoslavia from today's perspective.

Initial source of data for Muslim history, the book "Muslims in Zagreb" (Muslimani u Zagrebu) by the author Zlatko Hasanbegović, covers time span up to the year 1945, and mainly focuses on the time of the NDH - Independent state of Croatia. For the period after 1945, there are a few written sources, especially for the city of Zagreb. Therefore,

the other aim of this paper was to try to fill a gap in the history of Muslims in Zagreb.

The main method used was an interview, which took form of an extensive semi-structured interview, in which interlocutors were encouraged to do a sort of a monologue about the subject.

Regarding the history of the Muslims before 1945, I used the abovementioned book "Muslims in Zagreb." Besides showing detailed description based on the research of historic documents, this book stays stuck in its own period of time and doesn't really catch the true part the Muslims played in NDH from today's perspective.

I used papers by Nataša Bajić- Simeunović (2012) and Ivana Spasić (2012) to create a theoretical foundation for the fieldwork and to form methodology. With the same goal, I used the book "Titoslagija", written by Mitija Velikonja, in which he brings the detailed definition of the term Yugonostalgia, the definition I used while writing this paper. Additions to the definition of the term Yugonostalgia are from the articles by Monika Plamberger (2008) and Zala Volčić (2007).

2. What is actually Yugoslavia?

Yugoslavia was a country in the Southeast Europe, consisted of the modern republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Monte Negro, Macedonia, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this paper, Yugoslavia I am referring to is Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that existed in the period from 1945 - 1992. Yugoslavian leader, Josip Broz Tito is the key figure for creating the myth about bliss in Yugoslavia, on which the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia is based on. Tito himself was a metaphor for Yugoslavia, and his death meant the beginning of its end.

"At the time Stalin wanted to spread his influence on the region of Yugoslavia, Tito decisively confronted him, and this moment is remembered as a "Tito's NO to Stalin", an event which had great

consequences in later history of Yugoslavia, and it greatly helped to form Tito's cult following. (...) During the time of the Cold War, as relations between USA and SSSR got worse and worse, Yugoslavia was making efforts to hold its neutral position, developing its role in Non-aligned movement. Its first conference was held in 1961 in Belgrade, and its main principles were: mutual respect of territorial independence, non-attacking politics, equality and peaceful coexistence. (...) Before the Second World War Yugoslavia was one of the most undeveloped countries in Europe. But in the period form 50s do 80s had a very fast development, much faster than in the other countries in Europe. In that period, industrial production grew up to eight times. (...) Development was evident in almost all aspects: education, employment, reducing poverty, great investments, urban development, traffic, culture, sex equality. All these aspects were working towards making life in Yugoslavia considered to be blissful and happy." (Bajić, 2012:131)

3. Research

Research was carried out on a sample of four interlocutors who live in Zagreb, with whom I had made extensive semi-structured interviews, and all of them agreed to be published under their full name. People I spoke to are either active believers, or were raised in some religious surroundings or come from families that were once religious. This combination, together with the fact that all the interlocutors live their whole life, or the most of it, in Zagreb, is forming an interesting picture, and their stories about how they, individually or as a part of the family, got closer of further from the religion, are showing the different influence of political processes in Yugoslavia. The period before the adoption of the Yugoslavian constitution of 1974, is very poorly documented and my interlocutors have had scarce information about it.

Indications about the period after the end of the Second World War until the adoption of the constitution can be found in the concluding chapter of the book Muslims in Zagreb by Zlatko Hasanbegović.:

"The whole social struggle of the first generation of Zagreb Muslims was at stake. Societies and institutions, with an exception of religious leadership have been disbanded, and Zagreb mufti being sentenced to death, repression towards prominent members of Muslim community, and finally, closing of the mosque in Zagreb, have all marked the end of the first era of Muslim presence in Zagreb. (Hasanbegović, 2007:451)

Unfortunately, as I've predicted, reduced availability of the potentially interesting interlocutors played a negative selection role. Also, despite numerous attempts, I was not able to get into contact with the office of Islamic community in Tomašićeva Street in Zagreb, a place that played a key role in a Muslims life in Yugoslavia, until the new mosque in Zagreb was built.

4. Research questions - forming memory of Yugoslavia

Interviews with the interlocutors were in a form of a semistructured interview, and they were asked to state their opinion about each of the subtopics: national orientation, religious freedoms, education, opinion about Tito, description of life after the year 1991, and fall of Yugoslavia. The description of life after the end of Yugoslavia has served as a comparison to the socialist era. Some sort of a conclusion, "drawing the line" under everything interlocutors told me, was the last question: "Do you think that among the members of the Islamic community in Zagreb Yugonostalgia exists in any form?" This question made the interlocutors think about everything they said before that and inspired them to look back on their stories from today's perspective. Because of the interlocutors age (39-64) focus of my research was from the middle of the seventies further. The questions were deliberately general in their form, in order to encourage interlocutors to have some sort of a monologue, and they were asked to focus on more specific topics if necessary. Based on their answers I realized the importance of the role of the family in their lives, since all interlocutors were mostly referring to experiences of their family members, and how their influence shaped their identity. Even though the focus of interlocutors' stories was not their family life itself, it was the starting point of most of them.

5. History of Muslims in Zagreb

According to the book "Muslims in Zagreb" by Zlatko Hasanbegović, during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on the Croatian territory "the legal action for recognition of Islam as a religion in the Austrian half of the monarchy has begun in 1909, after annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (...) the law regarding the recognition of Islamic denomination has been enacted in the parliament on the 14th of January 1916, and took effect on 30th of March the same year." (Hasanbegović, 2007:48)

During the NDH Ante Pavelić considers Muslims citizens with equal rights in his public appearances and encourages them to "decorate their mosques and homes with the flag of Allah and Croatian national three-colored flags." (Hasanbegović, 2007:170) After the fall of NDH the number of people who are self-identifying as Muslims is extremely small. With the establishment of the Socialist State of Yugoslavia begins a period of history of the Muslims in Zagreb which is very poorly documented. Situation has drastically improved by the acceptance of the constitution in 1974, which allows them to self-identify as Muslims. Most of the religious life in Yugoslavia was placed in masjit in Tomašićeva Street 12 in Zagreb, basically in the apartment in the city

center. However, as Yugoslavia was facing its end, in 1987, a stunning Islamic center was built in Folnegovićevo naselje containing a mosque.

It's interesting to point out that on the web pages of the Islamic community of Zagreb, under the sub-section "history", by the end of this research, was absolutely no information.

6. Definition of Yugonostalgia

In this paper, I'm referring to the definition of Yugonostalgia given by a few authors. Mitija Velikonja in his book "Titostalgija" defines Yugonostalgia as:

"a series of interesting social phenomena and cultural curiosities across former Yugoslavia. The professional public and ordinary people both refer to these as "Yugonostalgia," or nostalgia for the late country. Its manifestations are extremely diverse, varying with the region, time, group of people or intentions. It involves pleasant memories of various "things Yugoslav," rather than things specific to individual nations of former Yugoslavia. These include Yugoslav pop-culture (ranging from starogradske songs and Dalmatian belcanto to rock'n'roll, punk and new wave), Yugoslav film, television series, comedy programs, the entertainment scene, victories of national sport teams, informal (friendly, love) relationships and formal ones (forged while participating in work brigades, serving in the military, visiting twin towns or schools, taking part in country-wide contests), travel and vacationing from the Vardar River in Macedonia to Mount Triglav in Slovenia, employment opportunities across the former country, various phenomena of everyday life, cult industrial and food products etc." (Velikonja, 2008:13)

His book is focused on one certain aspect of Yugonostalgia, and that is nostalgia for an image and legacy of Josip Broz Tito. The attitude towards him is also analyzed in this research.

Further on, Monika Plamberg also analyzes Yugonostalgia:

"In some successor states, more than in others, Yugo-nostalgia has taken on the role of a counter-discourse to the respective dominant public discourse. Yugoslav successor states, however, are not unique in their nostalgia for the socialist times, which indeed can be found in all post-socialist countries. One should also be aware that this nostalgia cannot be explained by the negative side effects of the so called "transition period" alone, since nostalgia is also present in post-socialist countries that went through a relatively painless transition, like Slovenia." (Plamberg, 2008:357)

Zala Volčić brings the other aspect of Yugonostalgia: "Yugonostalgia is not longing for some realistic past, as much as it is a longing for wishes and fantasies that were possible then. " (Volčić, 2007:27)

Based on the above-mentioned definitions, for this research I will define Yugonostalgia as a wide range of phenomena, which manifest themselves through longing for Yugoslavia, the feeling of Yugoslav national supra-identity, longing for all positive elements of life for which individuals think that they existed in Yugoslavia, and that they are missing now completely of to some degree.

7. Interview analysis

7.1. National identification

Interlocutors pointed out the problem of possibility of expressing their national identity in Yugoslavia, lack of freedom in expressing it, and that they have changed their expressions in various time periods in Yugoslavia depending on the political events. Professor Abadžić - Navaey is emphasizing the fact that in her youth there wasn't a clear national identity, but only religious one, and adds:

"Regarding the national identity, I have never felt Croat, nor Yugoslav, because after the seventies we could express ourselves as Muslims. That, in a way became the national identity and that's how I express until 1992 and all my documents state that I'm a Muslim, but that national identity was not significant, because in my case, nation was equal with the religion, something like in the Ottoman empire, where society was divided between Muslims and non-Muslims. (...) I would say that in my identity the religious affiliation was more important than the national one, which is the way it is in Islam." (Azra Abadžić -Navaey)

"That expression of identity was legitimate, even some Croats were expressing themselves as Muslims, I mean...not Muslims, but Slavs. They identify themselves with the state and with the religion that was legitimate for a while, to express your nationality as a Muslim. Nationality -Muslim. "(Zinun Skenderi)

Situation is defined differently by professor Mustajbegović, who emphasizes that she originates from the non-religious family, even though she says that her older relatives are and were active believers.

"...and then my brother said that we didn't marry Serbs and Croats. My brother's name is Zefir. He said we married those who we loved. It's hard to fit that opinion to this one, where you are forced to belong somewhere." (Jadranka Mustajbegović)

Similar example is quoted in the article by Gordana Rabrenović:

"When my cousins and I were asked about our own ethnic identity, we identified ourselves as Yugoslavs. We did not want to choose between our mothers' and our fathers' ethnic groups. We became the losers in this war, just like a Croatian woman who, when urged to move to Croatia from Serbia, responded: "But, why should I go? I do not know anybody there!" (Rabrenović, 1997:95)

This quote is not by a Muslim, but it shows the ever-present mixture of nationalities in Yugoslavia, reaching above the idea of the nation-state, something that would drastically change after the fall of Yugoslavia.

7.2. Religious liberties

Religious life in Zagreb during the period of Yugoslavia was mostly held in the area of masjid in Tomašićeva Street in Zagreb. Unfortunately, while writing this paper I did not gain access to it, but prof. Abadžić-Navaey describes it as undercapacitated and says

"...there wasn't a lot of interest and it was not publicly visible. A lot of Muslims actually didn't even know that they could send their children there. A bit of a change happened in 1987, when the Islamic center was opened and when the organized and institutionalized religious education was established." (Azra Abadžić - Navaey)

Regarding the celebration of Bayrams, interlocutors didn't cite any problems:

"Every year at the time of Bayram, my mother came to school and said to the teacher: "Faris and Senad (interlocutor's brother) will not come to school tomorrow" - there were no problems. That was a behavior to a minority, but a very well organised minority. " (Faris Nanić)

"It wasn't something you would talk about publicly, but we arranged it with our professors, my parents had a deal with their supervisors at work, and we didn't go to school or work on those days, and we had a nice social status, different from the others and they would always give us a day off. I could always have a justified excuse from school on the first day of Bayram. And people knew."

(Azra Abadžić - Navaey)

The area of masjid might be interesting for future research, since it fits right in the definition of the site of memory, by Pierre Nora, being an important place (before) and phenomenon (now) in the religious life of Muslims. (cf. Nora, 1996: XVII). The masjid played a key role for Muslims during the period of Yugoslavia and was the only physical location mentioned in the interlocutor's statements. According to the information I have managed to gather, the space that was once masjid is now used for offices of Islamic community in Zagreb.

7.3. Education

Availability of education, and the lack of discrimination, were one of the key factors in shaping the Yugoslav, supranational identity. Again, the irony that the religious education was silently tolerated is best described by the following:

"There was no discrimination. At least I didn't feel it, nor anyone close to me. I told you that there was discrimination only in the public and political sector. Nowhere else was discrimination, based on nationality and religion, . Education was completely free and guaranteed for everyone, and there was no discrimination while enrolling in any level of education. That was the politics of Yugoslavia. And that was the paradox - you had the situation where you couldn't express your nationality, and state has narrowed your religious identity, but at the same time, you gave education to more people than ever before. During the period of Yugoslavia Muslims got more education that they ever had before." (Faris Nanić)

"Generally speaking, in education there were no set-backs, you could get in all of the schools, regardless of your religious identification. Nobody was left out because of his name of religion he or she can't enroll on some university." (Azra Abadžić - Navaey)

7.4. Opinion about Tito

The interlocutors stated their ambivalence towards Tito, which is a result of their discomfort towards regime, but affection towards his politics.

"Opinion about Tito was not negative. Because of the very excluding nationalism in the nineties, affection towards Tito was created even among the Muslims, because we were trying to reduce these differences. (...) but nationalism was so strong, that even the image of Tito, who was not benevolent to religion, became fondness maybe even more than he deserved. In my family, everyone's opinion is relatively positive. (Azra Abadžić - Navaey)

"Yugoslavia's opinion towards Tito as a politician was not altogether bad, he still brought the Constitution, which was a huge step forward, our provinces gained status as a part of the federation. At that point of time that was.not bad. " (Zinun Skenderi)

"...now we are angry on those priests who are supporting HDZ (Croatian rightwind political party) publicly, but for them (the interlocutor is talking about her dad's experiences) hoca told during the juma, "lets pray for our ruler" and at the time, it was Josip Broz. (Jadranka Mustajbegović)

"On one side, you have a person like him, totalitarian regime, and on the other you have a sympathy to the fact that he supports Palestine in its fight, and at the same time he opens very good relations with the leaders of Muslim countries and opens a space for serious investments and development of our companies, which have made a very big infrastructure works since then until the end of Yugoslavia." (Faris Nanić)

7.5. After Yugoslavia

As a comparison to the life in Yugoslavia, I asked my interlocutors to state their opinion about the time after Yugoslavia, which was marked in Croatia by a wave of nationalism, as in the other newly formed republics of Yugoslavia:

"The parties that won elections in the early 1990s had a nationalist orientation. (...) Although they all supported liberalization of economic life, as soon as they came to power they introduced complicated bureaucratic procedures to limit sales of public property to private shareholders. Freedom of public speech, independence of the media from political control, and trade union organizing were restricted as well. (...) The criterion for any promotion in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia, became the loyalty to the party in power as well as ethnic identity. Nationalist ideology thus replaced socialist ideology in Yugoslavia. (Rabrenović, 1997: 98)

My interlocutors are stating the same, delivered from their personal experiences:

"The fact is that since 1991, HDZ government was very strict in a process of croatisation of all segments of society, and as a fairly large number of people was a part of some national or religious minority, there was a tendency to remove them from the functions that they used to have until then, and goes the same for Muslims, especially for Bosnians." (Faris Nanić)

"In my (academic) life, I had no set backs, on the contrary, maybe during the beginning of the nineties, when there was some NDHish approach to the Muslims, those were the soldiers of Ante Pavelić, but, then they realized that we are not all soldiers of his, so that enthusiasm dived off too. But since the conflict in Bosnia begun, between Croats and Muslims, that was also uncomfortable...but that was not against me, it

was against the symbol represented by my last name." (Jadranka Mustajbegović)

7.6. Yugonostalgia - yes or no?

The concluding question was meant to summarize everything that they told me up to that point, interlocutor's memories and the way they present those memories, the way they themselves see the life in Yugoslavia from today's perspective, and how people they socialize with and how Islamic community as a whole looks at Yugoslavia.

"Among the Muslims of Zagreb there are mixed feelings, if there are people who are yugonostalgic, they feel that way mostly for economic reasons, because economic situation in Croatia is very bad, people are trying to make ends meet, and if Yugonostalgia comes back in any way, it will be because of the economic situation. Regarding religion and national identity, situation is much better now, after the 1995. " (Azra Abadžić - Navaey)

"I don't think that Yugonostalgia exists. I see it this way: it is a process that ended and I try not to think about it too much, for me it's one finished part of the history that was the way it was." (Zenun Skenderi)

"In Islamic community as a community, no. And as far as Yugonostalgia goes, I would say that every form of Yugonostalgia is basically nostalgia for the zeitgeist which meant security, even though it might have meant a false one. (...) Today you don't have that global atmosphere where every country has the right of self-development and the help of the international association." (Faris Nanić)

Professor Mustajbegović says that she is not in the contact with the Islamic community nor its members, but points out that in Yugoslavia

there was an identity above nationality and above religion, and, when asked if she though if something like that is missing today, adds:

"Old people cocoon themselves, for some people its ok to live in some sort of their miniature intellectual and emotional sphere, God forbid to go out of it, you look at the world through your little pinhole." (Jadranka Mustajbegović)

8. Role of the family

Stories made by interlocutors have a background in their own families. It is interesting to note that the referring to family strongly depends on the topic. Interlocutors are mentioning their families most often during the talk of the religious identity and never mentioning them while talking about life after the fall of Yugoslavia and in the concluding question about presence of Yugonostalgia.

While talking about religious identity all interlocutors mentioned their families in one way of the other, Faris Nanić talking about his mother, Azra Abadžić-Navaey mentioning her parents, (both of them talking about arrangements for celebrating Bayram), and Azra Abadžić-Navaey also stating that families did not know about the possibility of their children getting religious education in Yugoslavia.

On the topic of national identity, in the time of Yugoslavia interlocutors had to state their religious identity as their national one, and because of that their national identity always came second. Here, interlocutors scarcely referred to their families and sort of generalized the problems they had to the level of all Muslims in Yugoslavia. The thing is even more radical in the concluding topic of the existence of Yugonostalgia. Even though the focus of the whole research was on the Islamic community, this is the only topic where the interlocutors did not mention their families at all.

Most researches connected with topics of family and identity are usually going in direction of answering the question how is identity formed within family by its members, rather than how family as a group forms each other's individual identity. That being said, families from the oftenchanging surroundings like Yugoslavia are especially interesting for a possible future case-study, as noted here: "We hypothesize that the family's adaptability, member (dis)agreement, synergy/discord, commitment, and the type and extent of barriers they face are linked to both the identity needs of the family and the resulting enactments." (Epp and Price 2008: 59)

These acknowledgements are giving me a strong methodological direction for further research - focusing on one particular family, making it a case study.

9. Conclusion

Interlocutors are unanimous stating that the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia among the members of the Islamic community in Zagreb - does not exist. Still, they agree that some of its aspects, especially economic ones, are very much present, because of, in words of Azra Abadžić-Navaey, a very bad economic situation in Croatia, in comparison to the "golden" seventies and eighties.

Remembering Yugoslavia is mostly fragmented and it mostly depends on the subtopic. As most problematic, interlocutors state lack of religious freedoms, and a silent tolerance towards religion, as long as its in small, publicly inactive communities. Here interlocutor Nanić states that Muslims were in a sort of privileged position:

"It was much easier to be Muslim in Zagreb than in Sarajevo at the time. For a very simple reason. Muslims were a majority in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and therefore, they posed a threat to the socialist regime, if they were to organize. Muslims in Croatia were an extreme minority, almost unnoticeable, and this is what gave them space to function freely. " (Faris Nanić)

Interlocutors remembering is not unambiguous, and tends to idealize some aspects (economy) or to be ambivalent to some other aspects (Josip Broz). Because of this fragmentation of the memory and a view on Yugoslavia as a mixture of positive and negative aspects, Yugonostalgia as a phenomenon is missing. After finishing this research, I got the feeling that if I focused my research solely on the religious freedoms, I'd get only negative answers, or, in other case, only on the feeling of togetherness, only positive. This pointing out of togetherness is accordant to the Velikonja's definition of Yugonostalgia and "things Yugoslav", as a supranational and suprareligious ideals. However, this research, that asked interlocutors to form a "bigger picture" about Yugoslavia, based on specific mentioned subtopics, resulted in big divisions inside the statements of every interlocutor.

Bibliography

- 1. Epp, A. M. and Price L. L. (2008). Family identity: A Framework of Identity Interplay in Consumption Practices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35/1, 55-70.
- 2. Hasanbegović, Z. (2007). *Muslimani u Zagrebu 1878.-1945*. Zagreb: Medžlis Islamske zajednice u Zagrebu, Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar.
- 3. Plamberger, M. (2008). Nostalgia matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as potential vision for a better future. *Sociologija*, L/4, 355-369.
- 4. Rabrenović, G. (1997). The Dissolution of Yugoslavia: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Exclusionary Communities. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 22/1, 95-101.

- 5. Spasić, I. (2012). Jugoslavija kao mesto normalnog života: sećanja običnih ljudi u Srbiji. *Sociologija*, LIV/4, 578-594.
- 6. Simeunović-Bajić, N. (2012). Jugonostalgija kao istraživački koncept istorije komuniciranja: moguće perspektive istraživanja. *Etnoantropološki problemi*, 7/1, 127-141.
- 7. Velikonja, M. (2008). *Titostalgia: A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*. Ljubljana: Mirovni Inštitut.
- 8. Nora, P. (1996). General Introduction: Between Memory and History. In: *Realms of Memory. The Construction of the French Past* (Vol.1 pp. 1-20.). New York: Columbia University Press.
- 9. Volčić, Z. (2007). Yugo-Nostalgia: Cultural Memory and Media in the Former Yugoslavia. *Critical Studies and Media Communication*, 24/1, 21-38.

List of interlocutors

- Azra Abadžić- Navaey, date of birth: 1976., residence: Zagreb, university professor, location and date of the interview: Zagreb, 15.12.2015.
- Faris Nanić, date of birth: 1964., residence: Zagreb, director of the Vijadukt department in Bosnia and Herzegovina, location and date of the interview: 15.12. 2015.
- Jadranka Mustajbegović, date of birth: 1951., residence: Zagreb, university professor, location and date of the interview: Zagreb 28.12.2015.
- Zenun Skenderi, date of birth: 1955., residence: Zagreb, university professor, location and date of the interview: Zagreb, 24.12.2015.

ԸՆՏԱՆԻՔԸ ՈՐՊԵՍ ԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԵՎ ԿՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԻՆՔՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՕՐՐԱՆ. ՀԱՐԱՎՍԼԱՎԱԿԱՆ ՆՈՍՏԱԼԳԻԱՆ ԶԱԳՐԵԲԻ ԻՍԼԱՄԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱՅՆՔԻ ՇՐՋԱՆՈՒՄ

Ամփոփում

Վիգոր Վուկոտիչ vigor.vukotic@gmail.com

Բանայի բառեր. Իսլամ, մուսուլմաններ, Ջագրեբ, մուսուլմանական համայնք, Հարավսլավիա, հարավսլավական նոստայգիա, ընտանիք

ուսումնասիրության հիմնական նպատակն Uju ուսումնասիրել Զագրեբի մուսուլմանական համայնքի ընդհանուր վերաբերմունքը կլանքի նկատմամբ Հարավսլավիալի կազմում և համեմատել այն Խորվաթիայի հանրապետությունում իրենց կարգավիճակի որոշ ոլորտներում՝ ազգային գիտակցություն, ազատություններ, կրթական հնարավորություններ, ինչպես նաև լսել կարծիք Հարավսլավիայի առաջնորդ Ջոզեփ Բրոզ Տիտոլի մասին։ Իմ նպատակն էր տեսնել, թե ինչպես են զրուցակիցներս րնկալում Հարավսյավիան այսօրվա տեսանկյունից։ Բացի այդ, ուսումնասիրությունը կարող է կիրառվել որպես Զագրեբի մուսուլմանական համայնքի պատմության «բացր լրացնելու» միջոց։ Թիրախալին խմբում եղել են մուսուլմանական համայնքի մի քանի անդամներ, մասնավորապես նրանք, ովքեր ապրել են և՛ Խորվաթիայում, և՛ Հարավսյավիայում։ Հիմնականում կիրառվել է կիսաստանդարտացված հարցազրույցի մեթոդր։

FAMILY AS A CRADLE FOR NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY - YUGONOSTALGIA AMONG THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IN ZAGREB

Summary

Vigor Vukotić vigor.vukotic@gmail.com

Keywords: Islam, Muslims, Zagreb, Islamic community, Yugoslavia, yugonostalgia, family

The main goal of this research is to explore the general attitude among the members of the Islamic community of Zagreb toward the life in Yugoslavia and compare it to life in the Republic of Croatia in a few fields of research - national designation, religious liberties, education opportunities and opinion about the Yugoslavian leader Josip Broz Tito. I was aiming to see how interlocutors are looking at Yugoslavia from current perspective. Besides this, this research can be used as a sort of "gap filling" of the history of Muslims in Zagreb. Focus group was a smaller sample of interlocutors from the Islamic community, with the emphasis on that they have lived both in Croatia and in Yugoslavia. Main method used is semi-structured interview.

СЕМЬЯ КАК КОЛЫБЕЛЬ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ И РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ - ЮГОНОСТАЛЬГИЯ СРЕДИ ИСЛАМСКОЙ ОБЩИНЫ ЗАГРЕБА

Резюме

Вигор Вукотич vigor.vukotic@gmail.com

Ключевые слова: Ислам, мусульмане, Загреб, исламская община, Югославия, югоностальгия, семья

Основная цель данного исследования заключается в изучении общего отношения членов исламского сообщества Загреба к жизни в

составе Югославии и сравнении его с их статусом в Республике Хорватии по нескольким направлениям - национальное сознание, религиозные свободы, возможности получения образования, а также мнение о лидере Югославии Иосипе Броз Тито. Я стремился увидеть, как собеседники смотрят на Югославию с сегодняшней точки зрения. Кроме того, это исследование может быть использовано в качестве своего рода "заполнения пробелов" истории мусульман в Загребе. Фокус-группа составляла несколько членов исламского сообщества, живших как в Хорватии, так и в Югославии. Основной используемый метод - полуструктурированные интервью.