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FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF youth IN CROATIA



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Published by:

Youth Initiative for Human Rights Garićgradska ulica 7a, 10000 Zagreb www.yihr.hr

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Open source and design cooperative

Zagreb, May 2024

The study concerning attitudes of young people born after the war toward Croatian veterans convicted of war crimes is a part of the project "40: Otkrivanje, osvještavanje, osnaživanje i organizacija za ljudska prava" with a total value of 170.147 €, of which 149.922,00 € were secured through financial support of Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway through EEA grants.

The printing of this publication was made possible with the financial support of Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway through EEA grants. The content of this publication is the sole responsibility of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights and does not necessarily reflect the views of the donor countries or the Fund Manager.

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FOREWORD

Since its establishment in 2008, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights Croatia has contributed to exercising rights to truth, justice, and reconciliation regarding the unresolved aftermath of the nineties wars in post-Yugoslav countries. We question the period's legacy through advocacy, activism, and education. By doing so, we want to prevent further conflicts, and we aim to build a society of tolerance and solidarity rooted in respect for all civilian casualties of war and the understanding and exercise of human rights.

Our efforts are primarily directed towards young people, as we strive to create opportunities for them to discuss history and its unresolved aftermath, which still impacts their current life situation, their relationships with neighboring nations and national minorities, and their understanding of the complex events of the 1990s.

What do young people think about the 1990s wars? The *Wartime Nineties from the Perspective of Youth in Croatia* study is brought about by the need to understand attitudes and knowledge of young people concerning the period of the 1990s, especially regarding the events that are marginalized or completely invisible to the public eye, in education and in the dominant political discourse.

In that respect, the survey examines, among other things, information sources, knowledge levels, and attitudes of young people towards war crimes committed by Croatian forces during the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the verdicts delivered by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY/IRMCT), the individuals and units that took part in the war events, figures involved in anti–war and peace efforts and activities, and information sources on the events which are dominant in the politics of memory dealing with the 1990s.

As we always want to base our work on data that is as specific as possible and further substantiates and supports our advocacy efforts, the results of this survey will help future efforts to approach history in a self-critical, responsible, and solidary way.

In the study, the name *Homeland War* is used due to its recognizability among the respondents, a result of its predominant use in the public sphere. The study itself, however, speaks about the war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, facilitating the discussion about the underside of *the Homeland War* and critically examining its defining features.

Finally, we are sincerely grateful to Anja Gvozdanović, PhD for her assistance in the creation of the study.

Branka Vierda
Youth Initiative for Human Rights Croatia

INTRODUCTION

During the last century, the territory of Croatia, as well as those of other former Yugoslav countries, was affected by war conflicts. The traumatic experiences of war and their ramifications have often been manipulated for preparation and further escalation of a new war, according to some authors (Kardov, Lalić & Teršelič, 2010:11). In order to prevent future occurrences of this socially destructive pattern, it is vital to establish a lasting peace which presupposes dealing with the shadows of the past. **Dealing with the past is a complex and demanding process** through which a society becomes aware of the violent events from its past and takes accountability for them. It is possible to assume that the features of the process of confronting the events of the Homeland War (1991–1995) are, to a certain extent, reflected in the younger generation's attitude toward the subject.

Although born after the war had already ended, many young people experience its consequences through their family's experience and recollection of wartime events. Precisely, the family narrative represents a strong determining factor of the youth's attitude towards a war they did not experience themselves (Dragojević, 2020; Perasović et al., 2014; Svob et al., 2016; Wolnik et al., 2017). Besides the family narrative, a very important role in shaping the experience and memory of war belongs to the official narrative.

The official Homeland War narrative, along with its pervasiveness in the public space, is one—dimensional and closed off toward perspectives that remember Others as victims (Jović, 2017; Pavlaković, Pauković & Židek, 2022). Efforts to confront the war crimes committed by Croatian forces are oftentimes publically marginalized. This practice, present for nearly three decades, in a way contributes to the relativization of these war crimes and undermines the social capacity necessary for continuous dedication to building peacetime life. Neglecting to confront the past may sustain or even exacerbate the existing democratic deficits in Croatian society – especially concerning the rule of law, legal equality, and minority rights.

What makes young people so vital for the process of confronting the past? First and foremost, young people are not just a societal resource in the present; they are also the representatives of a desirable future. Through the adoption of the dominant social values passed down from generation to generation, they ensure social stability and continuity, whereas through their potential for innovation and creativity, they create discontinuity and contribute to societal development (Ilišin, 2014; Ilišin & Spajić Vrkaš, 2017). In this respect, the dominant attitudes of young people toward relevant social issues describe features of the society they are growing up in, as well as the direction of future social trends. Considering this, it could be argued that there is a common thread shared by the process of confronting the past and the population of young people – they are both crucial for the future construction of societal peace: confronting the past as a social process that may lead to lasting peace and young people as the key figures of the process. As a result, this study attempts to provide an answer to the question of how today's younger generations relate to the 1990s wartime period, especially some of its dark sides.

METHODOLOGY

The general goal of the study is to analyze the relation of young people toward the negative aspects of wartime events during the 1990s. Within the general goal, there are two secondary goals of the study:

- To determine, describe, and analyze information sources, knowledge levels, and attitudes
 of young people towards war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces during the
 war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and the sanctions for them issued by the
 International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia;
- 2. To determine, describe and analyze the correlation of the sociodemographic characteristics of young people with the studied attitudes.

During data collection, as part of an online panel¹, a structured questionnaire with closed questions was used, containing nominal and ordinal scales of measure. Quantitative data collection was carried out in March 2022, based on a sample of 514 respondents aged 18 to 30 (born between 1992 and 2004) across Croatia.

The analyses cover the descriptive level, as well as relations between subgroups. Differences between subgroups have been tested according to gender, age, family members' wartime experience (civilian and/or military casualty and war veteran status), the respondents' education level, and the respondents' mothers' education level.²

¹ Ipsos puls collected the data based on a sample stratified according to two features based on the six traditional regions (which are defined as groups of existing counties so that the sampling units were classified in line with the principles of exhaustiveness and exclusivity) and based on population size (4 groups: less than 2 000, less than 10 000, less than 100 000, more than 100.000 inhabitants). In order to ensure a better representation according to gender and age, additional quotas are set for the mentioned variables, guaranteeing geographic and demographic distribution.

² Statistical significance of differences between the subgroups was tested by the chi-squared test, between average values by the T-test and analysis of variance, with post-hoc Scheffe and Tamhane tests. A statistically significant difference is considered one with the corresponding p-value less than 0.01.

RESULTS

The analysis of the study's results presented here is structured according to the main topics concerning the respondents' knowledge, awareness, and attitudes toward the Homeland War, war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and relativization of war crimes and civil rights.

The Homeland War - Awareness and Information Sources

The degree of significance that young people ascribe to specific information sources about the events of the Homeland War may indicate the dominant features of their knowledge about the subject (**Figure 1**). The most significant source of information on the Homeland War for young people are their parents or close family members and individuals who have experienced the war personally. This information illustrates the importance of experiential and subjective elements in knowledge formation among young people concerning different aspects of the Homeland War. A field trip to Vukovar that educates them about the war in Croatia has been mandatory for all eighth—grade elementary school students since 2014. Almost a third of the young respondents believe they gained plenty of knowledge about wartime events in Croatia during the trip. In that respect, the media, especially TV and online portals, also play a significant role in knowledge and information acquisition about the subject, as the youth consider them more important than classroom interaction with their teachers. Civil society and church, as well as communication with their peers, play no significant role in forming the respondents' knowledge about the Homeland War.

The significance of specific information sources is strongly connected to a smaller number of sociodemographic features (Table 1). Young people from families with a more intense and negative experience of the war (respondents with civilian and/or military casualty family members and respondents whose family members hold a Croatian war veteran status) gain significantly more knowledge about the Homeland War through conversation with their parents and individuals who have experienced the war directly/personally, through the use of social media, during the trip to Vukovar, and in church. Besides the sources mentioned above, the respondents growing up in families with civilian and/or military casualty members also gained considerably more knowledge about the Homeland War through civil society (associations and citizen initiatives) and socializing with their friends. On the other hand, these respondents are also less likely to perceive school classes and interaction with teachers as an important source of information about the Homeland War. When grading the role of the organized trip to Vukovar in gaining knowledge about the Homeland War, age is significantly connected with the evaluation of the role of the organized visit to Vukovar in acquiring knowledge about this topic. Also, the trip is more often found to be an important information source among the youngest respondents (aged 18 to 21). The value of social media as an information source on the subject is significantly correlated to gender, with male respondents finding social media more valuable.

Figure 1: The youth's assessment of how much various information sources contributed toward the formation of their knowledge about the events during the Homeland War (%)

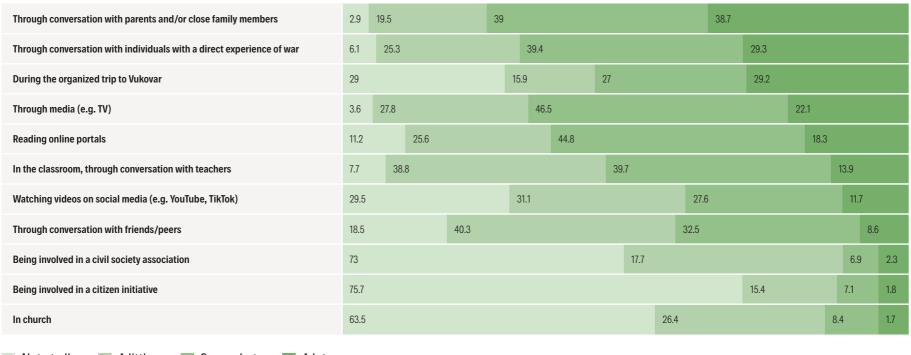


Table 1: How much various information sources contribute to young people's knowledge about the Homeland War with regard to sociodemographic features

		Through conversation with individuals with a direct experience of war	Through conversation with parents and/or close family members	Through conversation with friends/ peers	In the classroom, through conversation with teachers	Through media (e.g. TV)	Reading online portals	Watching videos on social media (e.g. YouTube, TikTok)	During the organized trip to Vukovar	In church	Being involved in a civil society association	Being involved in a citizen initiative
Gender	Male		3.13	2.37	2.55	2.91	2.71	2.36	2.48	1.52	1.43	1.38
	Female	2.91	3.14	2.25	2.65	2.84	2.70	2.06	2.65	1.45	1.34	1.32
Age	18-21	2.90	3.30	2.28	2.60	2.91	2.58	2.23	2.89	1.50	1.40	1.37
	22-25	2.92	3.17	2.28	2.61	2.86	2.64	2.22	2.59	1.49	1.36	1.30
	26-30	2.92	3.02	2.36	2.58	2.87	2.83	2.21	2.38	1.47	1.41	1.39
A member of close family was a civil or	Yes	3.37	3.42	2.52	2.37	2.77	2.74	2.46	2.87	1.63	1.64	1.62
military casualty	No	2.81	3.07	2.26	2.65	2.90	2.69	2.16	2.49	1.45	1.32	1.28
A member of close family holds the	Yes	3.12	3.33	2.34	2.57	2.86	2.72	2.30	2.68	1.52	1.41	1.37
status of a Croatian war veteran	No	2.59	2.81	2.26	2.64	2.89	2.68	2.06	2.37	1.42	1.34	1.31
The respondent's highest	Vocational school	2.96	3.01	2.13	2.55	2.82	2.67	2.25	2.46	1.48	1.46	1.43
educational	High school	2.82	3.31	2.38	2.63	2.92	2.76	2.21	2.71	1.45	1.32	1.24
attainment	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree	2.93	3.11	2.35	2.61	2.93	2.70	2.28	2.71	1.51	1.32	1.32
	Graduate degree or higher	2.94	3.16	2.43	2.61	2.84	2.70	2.12	2.42	1.49	1.41	1.37
The respondent's mother's	Elementary school or lower	2.92	3.06	2.21	2.96	2.77	2.58	2.37	2.69	1.51	1.45	1.43
highest	High school	2.90	3.12	2.31	2.58	2.91	2.75	2.22	2.60	1.50	1.41	1.35
educational attainment	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree or higher	2.98	3.21	2.38	2.53	2.83	2.66	2.14	2.49	1.46	1.33	1.32
TOTAL (1-not at a	all, 4 – a lot)	2.92	3.14	2.32	2.60	2.87	2.71	2.22	2.56	1.49	1.39	1.35

How much do young people know about war crimes committed during the Homeland War? Most respondents, half of them, think that they know a lot about war crimes committed against Croatians by members of Serbian forces (Figure 2).

Figure 2: The respondents' self-assessment of knowledge about the events and developments (%)

War crimes committed by the Serb side against Croatians	53.4				27.9	18.8
War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Serbs in Croatia	17.5		31.1		51.4	
War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina	9.9	27.1		63		
The anti-war campaign in Croatia	8.8	28		63.2		
Knows a lot about the subject Knows somewhat about the	suhiect	■ K	nows nearly nothin	a about the	subject	

knows a fol about the subject knows somewhat about the subject Knows nearly nothing about the subject

A quarter of respondents know something about the events, whereas 19% know almost nothing. In contrast, 18% of respondents know a lot about the war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces against Serbs, with nearly a third knowing something about the subject and one in two knowing little or nothing. There is a similar distribution when it comes to knowledge of war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the prevailing case here is a lack of knowledge of the events, with 63% of respondents reporting knowing little or nothing about the subject and 10% stating they know a lot. Respondents are the least informed about the Anti-war campaign, i.e., the civil society's peace efforts in Croatia during the war period. These results offer some insight into the youth population's structure of knowledge and information about the Homeland War. It can be concluded that the knowledge structure of the majority of young people relatively corresponds to the dominant official narrative, which marginalizes subjects such as the 1990s peace efforts and the casualties of Others.

Regarding self-assessment of their knowledge about the events, there are only three significant distinguishing features among young people (Table 2). In the matter of knowledge about war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a difference between genders, with male respondents reporting a higher self-assessed amount of knowledge. Considering war crimes committed by members of Serb forces against Croatians, a higher level of knowledge is reported by respondents with military and/or civil casualties of war family members and respondents with Croatian war veteran family members. Also, respondents who have a close family member with a Croatian war veteran status are much more likely to consider themselves as more knowledgeable about the Anti-war campaign in Croatia.

Table 2: The respondents' self–assessment of knowledge about the mentioned topics with regard to sociodemographic characteristics

Average rating of subjective knowledge about:		War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina	War crimes committed by the Serb side against Croatians	War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Serbs in Croatia	The anti-war campaign in Croatia
Gender	Male		3.57	2.57	2.23
	Female	2.05	3.43	2.46	2.07
Age	18-21	2.18	3.65	2.49	2.04
	22-25	2.13	3.55	2.51	2.18
	26-30	2.23	3.39	2.54	2.17
A member of the respondent's close	Yes	2.44	3.88	2.68	2.39
family was a civil or military casualty of war	No	2.12	3.41	2.48	2.10
A member of the respondent's close family holds the status	Yes	2.26	3.67	2.52	2.27
of a Croatian war veteran	No	2.05	3.22	2.52	1.96
The respondent's highest educational	Vocational school	2.01	3.40	2.33	2.07
attainment	High school	2.24	3.70	2.53	2.27
	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree	2.14	3.50	2.58	2.05
	Graduate degree	2.37	3.47	2.66	2.25
The respondent's mother's highest	Elementary school or lower	2.35	3.50	2.70	2.19
educational attainment	High school	2.15	3.51	2.47	2.13
	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree or higher	2.23	3.53	2.62	2.22
TOTAL (from 1 – knows noth	ing to 5 – knows a lot)	2.18	3.50	2.52	2.15

Considering that the subject of crimes committed against Serbs in Croatia is poorly covered in the public, a valid question to ask young people is whether they consider war crimes against Serbs were even committed (**Figure 3**).

The majority of respondents consider to a degree that war crimes against Serbs were committed, with 44% believing the crimes have occurred and 37% being sure of it. On the other hand, almost a fifth of respondents oppose the opinion, with 11% of them not being sure that some Croatian citizens and members of the military committed war crimes and 8% being confident no such events occurred.

Regarding this attitude, there are, for the most part, no significant differences between the respondents with respect to their sociodemographic features. Except for education, the respondents who graduated from a three—or four-year vocational school are more inclined to deny war crimes against Serbs than the respondents who graduated from a four-year high school or gained a higher education degree.

A further study interest is the respondents' awareness of specific war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces (**Figure 4**). Most respondents were not familiar with the majority of listed war crimes. Most respondents, close to 57%, have heard about civilians murdered during the military Operation Flash (*Bljesak*), and half of them have heard about the murder of the Zec family. **A bit less than half of the respondents are aware of war crimes following Operation Storm** (*Oluja*), and most respondents are unaware of other war crimes such as Medak Pocket (*Medački džep*), the Ahmići massacre, and the Lora prison camp.

Figure 3: The respondents' statements prompted by the question about war crimes committed against Serbs by Croatian citizens and soldiers during and immediately after the war in Croatia (%)

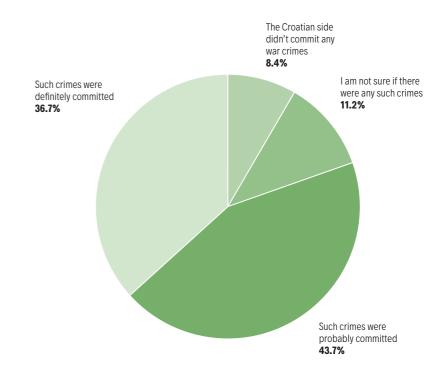
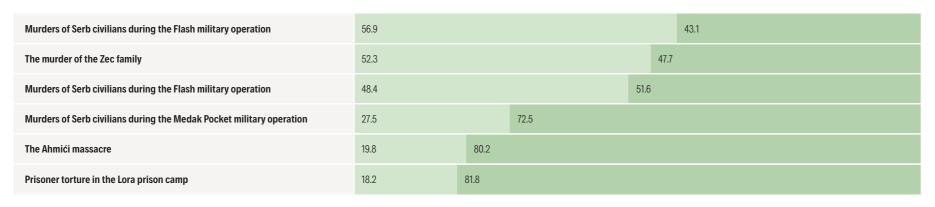


Figure 4: The respondents' awareness of certain war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces (%)



They've heard about the event They haven't heard about it

The correlation between sociodemographic characteristics and these statements is limited. Among those who have heard about the Lora prison camp torture, there is a significant amount of respondents with civilian and/or military casualty family members. Awareness of the murder of the Zec family is higher among male respondents, as well as those with a higher education degree (BA or more) and whose mothers are highly educated. Men are significantly more present among those who have heard about the Medak Pocket and Ahmići war crimes.

Other than the previously mentioned war crimes, most respondents have never heard about Josip Reihl–Kir, the Osijek police chief who attempted to prevent war escalation through negotiation between the conflicting sides and was assassinated just before the outbreak of war in Croatia (**Table 3**). The respondents, for the most part, have not heard about Milan Levar, a Croatian military volunteer who, after the war, played a significant role in the discovery of war crimes committed in Gospić. He was assassinated in 2000, and his killer has not yet been found.

Table 3: The respondents' assessment of certain individuals connected with the Homeland War (%)

	Extremely negative	Mostly negative	Neither positive nor negative	Mostly positive	Extremely positive	They haven't heard of that person
Slobodan Praljak		8.7	37.5	14.3	9.1	23.9
Tomislav Merčep	6.0	10.4	41.7	7.6	3.2	31.1
Josip Reihl-Kir	0.8	1.9	31.6	6.8	5.0	54.0
Milan Levar	0.8	2.8	33.9	4.0	3.0	55.6

A significant portion of respondents have never heard about Slobodan Praljak and Tomislav Merčep, and a relative majority of the respondents evaluate their actions during the war as neutral. Besides that, almost half of the respondents tend to evaluate Slobodan Praljak, who was convicted of war crimes, positively. In the case of Tomislav Merčep, also convicted of war crimes, this tendency is less noticeable, with 11% seeing him positively.

Attitude toward war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces

The sanctioning of war crimes, irrespective of the perpetrators' and victims' nationalities, is supported by the majority of respondents (85%) (Figure 5). Although respondents strongly support punishment for war crimes irrespective of the perpetrators' and victims' nationalities, its intensity notably weakens when it comes to systematic legal proceedings of war crimes against Serbs in Croatia (60%).

The absence of an appropriate punishment for war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces is not approved by half of the respondents, and this is evident in the sense of shame caused by an inadequate rule of law. Although the majority is not indifferent toward war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces (45%), almost 41% voices some uncertainty and neutrality toward the events, with 14% being indifferent.

Although they deem connecting Croatian war veterans with war crimes unfair, since Croatia was a victim of an imposed war (54%), the respondents mostly tend toward the statement that Croatian soldiers should not be exempted from possible criminal liability for war crimes despite the victory in the war (52%).

Figure 5: The respondents' opinions about war crimes committed by Croatian soldiers (%)



A relative majority of the respondents (43%) do not consider convicted war criminals who were members of Croatian forces as heroes. Still, despite the court conviction, half of the respondents consider them heroes or are uncertain of their opinion on the subject.

40% of the respondents reject the opinion that some crime perpetrators should be amnestied, while the majority are undecided or support the opinion. A relative majority of respondents (43%) are uncertain or abstained about the claim that there were no war crimes against Serb civilians (i.e., that all Serb civilian casualties were collateral casualties of war actions), and a quarter agree with the claim.

An interesting note is that a significant portion of respondents (between 25% and 40%) do not have a clear-cut opinion about almost any of the claims.

A possible cause of the widespread neutral attitude among a portion of young people may lie in their low awareness of the subjects existing outside the official narrative—a fact that may impede them from taking a clear stance based on their morals and values.

Most of these claims correlate to some sociodemographic features (**Table 4**). The claim that Croatia was a victim of an imposed war and that, therefore, it is unfair to connect the veterans with war crimes is more supported by respondents whose family members hold a veteran status. The sense of shame for unpunished war crimes is significantly more expressed by respondents with no civilian and/or military casualty family members.

The attitude that it shouldn't have been allowed to file an indictment against Croatian soldiers because Croatia had won the war is significantly more voiced by respondents whose family members hold a veteran status, as well as respondents whose highest level of education is a three- or four-year secondary school. The claim that there are individuals who have committed war

crimes but should be pardoned is considerably more supported by respondents whose family members hold a veteran status. This subgroup is also much more inclined to see Croatian war crime convicts as heroes, a tendency shared with the subgroups of respondents with war casualty family members and those who graduated from a three- or four-year vocational school. The support for legal proceedings of war crimes against Serbs in Croatia considerably correlates with the education level – respondents who graduated from a three- or four-year vocational school voice their support substantially less than the respondents who graduated from a four-year high school. Approval of the claim that Serb civilian casualties in Croatia were mostly incidental casualties strongly correlates with having family members who hold veteran status.

Table 4: The respondents' attitudes toward war crimes committed by the Croatian side with regard to sociodemographic characteristics

		Croatia was a victim of an imposed war; therefore, it is unfair to connect the war veterans with war crimes	Every war crime should be appropriately punished, irrespective of the perpetrator's and victim's nationality	The thought of unpunished war crimes by the Croatian side fills me with a sense of shame	Croatia won the war, so it should not have been allowed for any Croatian soldier to be prosecuted for a war crime	There are crimes committed during the war with just causes; therefore, the perpetrators should not be legally punished	Generally, I feel indifferent toward war crimes committed by the Croatian side	In my opinion, even when they are convicted of war crimes, our soldiers are heroes, not criminals	All individuals who committed war crimes against the Serb population in the Homeland War should be punished	Almost all Serb civilian fatalities were accidental and unintentional casualties of war actions
Gender	Male	3.52	4.48	3.44	2.45	2.72	2.53	2.66	3.76	2.83
	Female	3.55	4.32	3.47	2.30	2.80	2.42	2.65	3.68	2.86
Age	18-21	3.46	4.32	3.45	2.24	2.74	2.33	2.45	3.73	2.90
	22-25	3.54	4.45	3.49	2.32	2.65	2.48	2.69	3.74	2.91
	26-30	3.56	4.37	3.41	2.49	2.89	2.54	2.71	3.70	2.75
War casualties	Yes	3.70	4.28	3.15	2.61	2.92	2.55	3.00	3.47	2.79
in the family	No	3.49	4.43	3.53	2.32	2.72	2.46	2.57	3.78	2.86
Croatian war veteran status	Yes	3.73	4.35	3.39	2.51	2.88	2.51	2.83	3.62	2.96
in the family	No	3.20	4.49	3.56	2.14	2.55	2.42	2.36	3.89	2.66
The level of education of the respondent	Three-year or four-year vocational school	3.63	4.22	3.50	2.64	2.79	2.57	2.90	3.51	
	High school	3.34	4.40	3.60	2.04	2.66	2.37	2.23	3.97	3.01
	College/BA	3.54	4.50	3.39	2.43	2.75	2.50	2.75	3.66	2.70
	Graduate studies and more	3.57	4.49	3.37	2.28	2.80	2.43	2.62	3.84	2.87
The level of education of the	Elementary school and below	3.70	4.36	3.53	2.60	2.88	2.65	2.86	3.71	2.75
respondent's mother	High school	3.55	4.40	3.41	2.36	2.78	2.49	2.71	3.72	2.89
	Higher education and more	3.40	4.42	3.56	2.28	2.66	2.38	2.42	3.76	2.77
TOTAL (1–comple 5–completely ag		3.53	4.40	3.45	2.37	2.76	2.48	2.66	3.72	2.85

Further, the respondents voiced their opinions regarding specific figures from the war events in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina on a scale from 'criminal' to 'hero' (**Figure 6**).

Figure 6: The respondents' attitudes toward certain Croatian military figures



Most of the respondents consider Ante Gotovina and Blago Zadro to be war heroes. A relative majority either has not heard about or is not sure how to characterize the individuals convicted of war crimes – Slobodan Praljak and Tomislav Merčep. But, once the undecided respondents are disregarded, they are considered more heroes than criminals. These results may be seen as part of the media context and the general public context, where the treatment of Blago Zadro and Ante Gotovina's heroism is more frequent than discussion about the liability of the members of Croatian forces convicted of war crimes.

Table 5: The respondents' attitudes towards certain Croatian military figures with regard to sociodemographic characteristics

		Ante Gotovina	Blago Zadro	Tomislav Merčep	Slobodan Praljak
Gender	Male	4.30	4.42	3.22	3.40
	Female	3.87	4.00	3.16	3.18
Age	18-21	3.94	4.24	3.06	3.23
	22-25	4.11	4.27	3.25	3.28
	26-30	4.14	4.14	3.18	3.34
Casualties of war in	Yes	4.29	4.47	3.40	3.55
the family	No	4.04	4.15	3.14	3.23
Croatian war veteran	Yes	4.31	4.39	3.30	3.45
status in the family	No	3.72	3.91	3.00	3.02
The level of education of the respondent	Three-year or four-year vocational school	3.97	4.08	3.25	3.46
	High school	4.04	4.22	3.03	3.09
	College/BA	4.13	4.22	3.15	3.18
	Graduate studies and more	4.22	4.35	3.27	3.37
The level of education of the respondent's mother	Elementary school and below	3.74	4.00	3.26	3.22
modiei	High school	4.11	4.21	3.24	3.31
	Higher education and more	4.13	4.30	3.05	3.26
TOTAL (1-exclusively crimin	nal to 5-exclusively hero)	4.08	4.21	3.19	3.29

Men and respondents whose family members hold a veteran status consider Ante Gotovina a hero much more often (**Table 5**). Gender and family veteran status correlate significantly with the perception of Blago Zadro as a hero, and his heroism gains considerable recognition among respondents with war casualty family members. In the case of Tomislav Merčep and Slobodan Praljak,

respondents whose family members hold a veteran status have a considerable tendency to regard them positively and consider them as heroes.

Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Most respondents do not have a clear—cut opinion on the nature of Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (50% to 56%), probably due to a lack of relevant knowledge and interest in the topic (Figure 7). Yet, a relative majority (42%) are keen to support a gesture of apology by the highest level officials of the Republic of Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina for crimes committed in the country's territory. Almost two out of five respondents think that Croatia took part in an international armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 and 1994, and a bit more than one out of three respondents support the opinion that Croatia was defending against Serb aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A quarter of the respondents consider that the goal of Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was to maintain its territorial integrity.

Figure 7: The respondents' attitudes toward Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (%)

Lagree



As shown in Table 6, only two statements are correlated with gender and family veteran status. Men are much more familiar with the fact that Croatia was involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the respondents whose family members hold a veteran status are much more likely to think that Croatia contributed to maintaining Bosnia and Herzegovina's territorial integrity through the war effort.

I don't agree

I'm not sure

Table 6: The respondents' attitudes toward Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina with regard to sociodemographic characteristics

		Croatia was involved in an international armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 and 1994	The highest-level officials of the Republic of Croatia should apologize for the victims of Croatian crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia was defending against a Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia was involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to maintain the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Gender	Male	3.54	3.19	3.40	3.17
	Female	3.26	3.39	3.20	3.14
Age	18-21	3.41	3.45	3.17	3.07
	22-25	3.36	3.27	3.32	3.16
	26-30	3.40	3.23	3.34	3.18
Victims of war in the family	Yes	3.28	3.04	3.33	3.12
the family	No	3.43	3.35	3.30	3.16
Status of Croatian	Yes	3.39	3.25	3.37	3.23
veterans in the family	No	3.42	3.35	3.19	3.02
The level of education of the respondent	Three-year or four-year vocational school	3.25	3.21	3.27	3.16
	High school	3.58	3.46	3.21	3.08
	College/BA	3.35	3.31	3.25	3.12
	Graduate degree and more	3.48	3.22	3.45	3.23
The level of education of the respondent's	Elementary school and below	3.26	3.20	3.12	3.29
mother	High school	3.33	3.33	3.30	3.10
	Undergraduate degree and more	3.24	3.24	3.35	3.22
TOTAL (1-completely agree	e to 5-completely disagree)	3.40	3.29	3.30	3.16

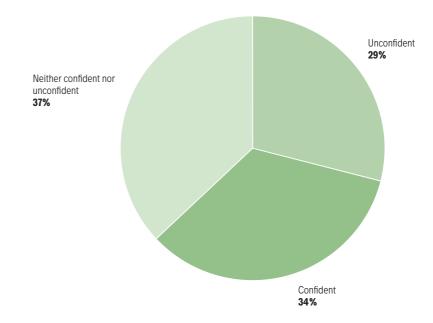
These results point to a conclusion that most respondents are not familiar with the fact ascertained by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia – that Croatia was involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The respondents' predominant lack of awareness is probably the root of their neutral attitudes toward certain features of the Republic of Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Almost all of the respondents (97%) have heard about the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (the Hague Tribunal), so they are expected to have formed opinions about the institution's role and operations. An indicator of the court operations evaluation is trusting the fairness and impartiality of issued verdicts (**Figure 8**).

Figure 8: The degree of the respondents' confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the Hague Tribunal verdicts (%)



Most respondents (37%) are neutral when it comes to trusting the fairness and impartiality of verdicts issued by the Hague Tribunal, i.e., they neither trust nor distrust the fairness and impartiality of the verdicts. The neutral sentiment is followed by trust, expressed by 34% of the respondents, whereas 29% expressed a lack of trust. Most young people are neutral, with a tendency

toward mildly trusting the fairness and impartiality of the verdicts. Considering this attitude, the respondents are mainly homogenous. However, individuals from families where there have been no casualties of war, civil or military, express considerably more significant levels of trust in the fairness and impartiality of the Hague Tribunal's verdicts (**Table 7**).

Table 7: The respondents' confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the Hague Tribunal war crime verdicts with regard to sociodemographic characteristics

		Confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the Hague verdicts for war crimes
Gender	Male	2.97
	Female	3.00
Age	18-21	3.10
	22-25	2.96
	26-30	2.96
Casualties of war in	Yes	2.68
the family	No	3.05
Croatian war veteran	Yes	2.93
status in the family	No	3.07
The level of education of the respondent	Three-year or four-year vocational school	2.97
	High school	3.10
	College/BA	2.89
	Graduate studies and more	3.00
The level of education of the respondent's mother	Elementary school and below	2.94
mother	High school	2.95
	Higher education and more	3.05
TOTAL (no trust 1 – complet	re trust 5)	2.98

Another goal was to determine how young people see the Hague Tribunal's efforts in relation to Croatian society (**Figure 9**). Although a neutral attitude toward most statements prevails, certain tendencies do occur.

Most respondents think that the result of the Hague Tribunal efforts was an individualization of responsibility for the committed crimes (58%), as well as that the Tribunal contributed towards revealing the truth surrounding the events of the Homeland War (42%).

Figure 9: Attitudes about the characteristics and consequences of the Hague Tribunal's work on Croatian society (%)



I disagree I am not sure I agree

Also, most respondents reject the idea that the founding of the Hague Tribunal was motivated by the international community's antagonism toward the Croatian tendency for an independent country (60%). A bit more than half of the respondents are unsure whether the Hague Tribunal has positively affected the democratic development of Croatian society; a quarter agree with this statement, and 20% oppose it. Almost half of young people are neutral toward the statement that the Hague Tribunal is a political court and that it equates the victim and the aggressor in the indictments. However, alongside the neutral majority (48%), almost two out of five respondents (37%) went along with the statement claiming the political nature of the Tribunal. Additionally, when asked about the role of the Hague Tribunal in equating the victims and the aggressors, the respondents were pretty polarized.

The respondents are mainly homogeneous regarding these statements, yet some characteristics prove significant in two cases (**Table 8**). The attitude toward the statement that the Hague Tribunal was a punishment toward the Croatian people for an independent Croatia is significantly correlated with the respondents' education level—individuals who graduated from a three—or four–year vocational school agree with it more. The role of the Hague Tribunal in the individualization of responsibility for war crimes is significantly less recognized by respondents whose family members hold a veteran status.

Table 8: Attitudes about the characteristics and consequences of the work of the Hague Tribunal on Croatian society with regard to socio-demographic characteristics

		The Hague Tribunal greatly contributed toward revealing the complete truth surrounding the events of the Homeland War	The Hague Tribunal was founded in order to punish Croatian people who wanted an independent country	The Hague Tribunal's indictments equated the aggressor and the victim	The Hague Tribunal's work showed that individuals, not entire nations, bear the responsibility for war crimes	The Hague Tribunal war crime processes and verdicts have had a positive effect on the democratic development of Croatian society	Generally, the Hague Tribunal was a political court, not a legal institution
Gender	Male		2.08	3.07	3.66	2.98	3.26
	Female	3.23	2.05	2.89	3.61	2.94	3.29
Age	18-21	3.14	2.06	2.99	3.52	2.94	3.27
	22-25	3.21	2.12	3.02	3.69	2.99	3.24
	26-30	3.20	2.01	2.93	3.63	2.93	3.30
Casualties of war in	Yes	3.02	2.18	3.07	3.42	2.75	3.53
the family	No	3.24	2.04	2.96	3.69	3.01	3.21
Croatian war veteran	Yes	3.20	2.10	3.04	3.55	2.88	3.34
status in the family	No	3.19	2.01	2.88	3.78	3.10	3.16
The level of education of the respondent	Three-year or four-year vocational school	3.16	2.34	3.12	3.48	2.97	3.35
	High school	3.28	1.71	2.82	3.79	2.93	3.08
	College/BA	3.12	2.10	3.00	3.70	2.89	3.22
	Graduate studies and more	3.25	2.00	2.93	3.63	3.04	3.38
The level of education of the respondent's mother	Elementary school and below	3.22	2.23	3.04	3.73	2.77	3.23
mouter	High school	3.17	2.10	2.97	3.63	2.93	3.29
	Higher education and more	3.24	1.92	2.97	3.63	3.09	3.24
TOTAL (1-completely agree	- 5-completely disagree)	3.19	2.06	2.98	3.64	2.96	3.27

Support for generalization of war crimes and civil rights

Relativization of war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces is symbolically displayed in many ways; among them are murals – public surfaces illustrated with faces of war crime convicts. Most young people are not supportive of such symbolic expressions of support toward war crime convicts since 80% of the respondents are inclined to support legal sanctioning of such expressions (**Figure 10**).

Figure 10: The need for legal sanctioning of certain phenomena (%).

Murals (illustrated public surfaces) containing faces of war crime convicts	79.5			20.5
The use of the Cyrillic script	55.1		44.9	
"For the Homeland - ready" salute	36	64		
"Death to fascism, freedom to the people" salute	33.3	66.7		
Public naming and criticism of the role of Croatian wartime leaders	31.4	68.6		

YES

NO

The Ustasha salute "za dom spremni" (which translates literally from Croatian as 'for the homeland – ready') is present to a degree in Croatia's public life, especially during certain public events. Most respondents, a bit less than two—thirds, would not legally sanction the use of this salute. A very similar distribution is seen in the case of the "smrt fašizmu, sloboda narodu" salute (which translates to 'death to fascism, freedom to the people') — with a third of the respondents finding both the Ustasha and the antifascist salute problematic. More precisely, the respondents who would sanction the Ustasha salute are much more likely to sanction the antifascist salute, and vice versa – those who are not intent on sanctioning the public use of one salute are also not intent on doing so with the other. This can mean that many young people equate symbols representing opposing values. This may represent a severe cultural challenge for the future construction of a democratic society founded

upon antifascist values. Moreover, a democratic society needs the majority of young people to support the protection of human and civil rights. Yet, in the case of the Homeland War, almost a third would restrict freedom of speech when it comes to public expression of critical opinion about Croatian wartime leaders. In addition, the Serb national minority's right to official use of their language and script³ is not met with majority support. More than half of the respondents would legally sanction the use of the Cyrillic script in public institutions in Vukovar. Respondents whose family members were casualties of war or war veterans are significantly more inclined to sanction the use of the Cyrillic script. The tendency to legally sanction public criticism of Croatian wartime leaders is much more expressed among women and respondents who graduated from a three—or four-year vocational school.

³ The study was conducted in March 2022, when the right was supposed to be provided to members of the Serb national minority in Vukovar.

CONCLUSION

Most young respondents, in principle, support the process of confronting the past, especially concerning the need for all war crimes of the period to be processed in court. Yet, at the same time, a significant portion of the respondents are not sufficiently sensitized to the subject. In general, young people lack knowledge about subjects related to the Homeland War, which are usually less represented in the public, such as war crimes committed by members of Croatian forces and the involvement of Croatia in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, there is a notable lack of awareness regarding the peace initiatives undertaken by a segment of civil society during the 1990s.

The knowledge structure of young people about the Homeland War can be described as a combination of three factors: the intergenerational knowledge transfer within the family, the dominant official narrative offering a one–dimensional interpretation of the events of the 1990s, and the probably lower amount of interest among young people in such subjects. This probably produces neutrality and ambivalence in a significant portion of the respondents toward subjects that require expressing their perspective of morals and values. There is a noticeable tendency toward relativization of war crimes, which in turn reflects in the relativization of national minorities' civil rights or freedom of speech.

Young people assess the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia favorably; however, many remain neutral concerning the effects of the Tribunal's work on Croatian society. This may indicate a lack of knowledge or information about the wider sociocultural and sociopolitical context of the post–war period in Croatia, where the Tribunal's social role exceeded its disciplinary function.

Concerning their expressed attitudes, the respondents are a proportionately homogenous group. However, the differences in attitudes primarily come from the intensity of the war experience among close family members. In other words, the respondents' attitudes vary the most according to the following factors: whether close family members hold a war veteran status and whether close family members were civil and/or military casualties of war. The attitudes vary the least according to gender, age, education, and the social background of their family. Therefore, this study confirms a strong correlation between the family's experience of war and the respondents' attitudes toward the wartime nineties. Moreover, the respondents whose family members weren't directly involved in the war and/or were not directly affected by it more often adopt a perspective that includes a more pronounced criticism toward the Homeland War's negative aspects.

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ADDENDUM - Questionnaire

Q1. According to your opinion, should the following public expressions and actions be punished by law?

		Yes	No
1	"For the Homeland – ready" salute	36	64
2	"Death to fascism, freedom to the people" salute	33.3	66.7
3	Murals (illustrated public surfaces) containing faces of war crime convicts	79.5	20.5
4	The use of the Cyrillic script	55.1	44.9
5	Public naming and criticism of the role of Croatian wartime leaders	31.4	68.6

Q2. We gain knowledge and notions of significant social events in different ways. Please indicate to what degree you have gained knowledge and notions about the Homeland War on a scale from 1 to 4 (1 – Not at all; 2 – A little; 3 – Somewhat; 4 – A lot):

		Not at all	A little	Somewhat	A lot
1	Through conversation with individuals with a direct experience of war	6.1	25.3	39.4	29.3
2	Through conversation with parents and/or close family members	2.9	19.5	39.0	38.7
3	Through conversation with friends/peers	18.5	40.3	32.5	8.6
4	In the classroom, through conversations with teachers	7.7	38.8	39.7	13.9
5	Through media (e.g. TV)	3.6	27.8	46.5	22.1
6	Reading online portals	11.2	25.6	44.8	18.3
7	Watching videos on social media (e.g. YouTube, TikTok)	29.5	31.1	27.6	11.7
8	During the organized trip to Vukovar	29.0	14.9	27.0	29.2
9	In church	63.5	26.4	8.4	1.7
10	Being involved in a civil society association	73.0	17.7	6.9	2.3
11	Being involved in a citizen initiative	75.7	15.4	7.1	1.8

Q3. How would you assess your KNOWLEDGE of the following events and developments during the Homeland War on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning "I know nearly nothing about it" and 5 meaning "I know a lot about it"

		I know nearly nothing about it	2	3	4	I know a lot about it
1	War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina	31.7	31.2	27.1	7.2	2.7
2	War crimes committed by the Serb side against Croatians	5.8	12.9	27.9	31.8	21.6
3	War crimes committed by the Croatian side against Serbs in Croatia	18.1	33.3	31.1	13.7	3.8
4	The anti-war campaign in Croatia	33.0	30.2	28.0	6.4	2.5

Q4. How would you assess specific individuals from modern Croatian history?

		Extremely negative	Mostly negative	Neither negative nor positive	Mostly positive	Extremely positive	I have never heard of the individual
1	Slobodan Praljak	6.5	8.7	37.5	14.3	9.1	23.9
2	Tomislav Merčep	6.0	10.4	41.7	7.6	3.2	31.1
3	Josip Reihl-Kir	0.8	1.9	31.6	6.8	5.0	54.0
4	Milan Levar	0.8	2.8	33.9	4.0	3.0	55.6

Q5. Some developments during and after the Homeland War are specified in the Croatian public as crimes committed against Serbs by Croatian citizens and soldiers. Do you think that Croatian citizens and soldiers during and immediately after the Homeland War committed crimes against Serbs, or do you think that the Croatian side didn't commit any war crimes?

The Croatian side didn't commit any war crimes	Such crimes were probably committed	Such crimes were definitely committed	I am not sure if there were any such crimes
8.4	43.7	36.7	11.2

Q6. To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning "Completely disagree" and 5 meaning "Completely agree":

		Completely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Completely agree
1	Croatia was a victim of an imposed war; therefore, it is unfair to connect the war veterans with war crimes	9.0	10.7	26.5	25.8	28.0
2	Every war crime should be appropriately punished, irrespective of the perpetrator's and victim's nationality	1.9	2.7	10.7	23.3	61.5
3	The thought of unpunished war crimes by the Croatian side fills me with a sense of shame	10.4	6.5	32.6	28.2	22.3
4	Croatia won the war, so it should not have been allowed for any Croatian soldier to be prosecuted for a war crime	36.0	15.8	30.5	10.5	7.3
5	There are crimes committed during the war with just causes; therefore, the perpetrators should not be legally punished	22.9	18.2	29.8	18.7	10.5
6	Generally, I feel indifferent toward war crimes committed by the Croatian side	25.6	19.9	40.5	8.8	5.1
7	In my opinion, even when they are convicted of war crimes, our soldiers are heroes, not criminals	27.3	15.7	31.9	14.4	10.7
8	All individuals who committed war crimes against the Serb population in the Homeland War should be punished	5.8	8.0	25.7	29.0	31.4
9	Almost all Serb civilian fatalities were accidental and unintentional casualties of war actions	16.8	15.3	42.7	16.9	8.4

Q7. To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements concerning the Republic of Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1990s? (1 – Completely disagree to 5 – Completely agree; 9 – no response):

		Completely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Completely agree
1	Croatia was involved in an international armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 and 1994	2.9	5.3	53.4	25.5	12.9
2	The highest-level officials of the Republic of Croatia should apologize for the victims of Croatian crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina	10.4	9.4	37.9	25.7	16.6
3	Croatia was defending against a Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina	5.1	7.7	50.5	25.3	11.4
4	Croatia was involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to maintain the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.8	10.6	56.0	21.2	7.3

Q8. After the war events on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there was often talk in public about the operation and importance of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, i.e., the Hague War Crime Tribunal. Have you heard of the Hague Tribunal?

1	Yes	96.7
2	No	3.3

IF THE ANSWER IS NO, SHOW THE TEXT:

The Hague Tribunal, officially the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was a United Nations tribunal that dealt with war crimes committed during the conflicts on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Q9. To what degree do you trust the Hague Tribunal's verdicts to have been fair and impartial:

1 – I have no confidence	2	3	4	5 - I have full confidence
13.2	16.3	36.5	27.3	6.8

Q10. To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements concerning the characteristics of the Hague Tribunal and its effects on Croatian society:

		Completely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Completely agree
1	The Hague Tribunal greatly contributed toward revealing the complete truth surrounding the events of the Homeland War	8.4	10.5	38.8	37.8	4.5
2	The Hague Tribunal was founded in order to punish Croatian people who wanted an independent country	44.5	15.8	29.9	7.9	1.8
3	The Hague Tribunal's indictments equated the aggressor and the victim	12.1	15.3	43.7	20.3	8.6
4	The Hague Tribunal's work showed that individuals, not entire nations, bear the responsibility for war crimes	2.5	5.5	34.2	41.3	16.5
5	The Hague Tribunal war crime processes and verdicts have had a positive effect on the democratic development of Croatian society	12.0	8.5	55.6	19.3	4.6
6	Generally, the Hague Tribunal was a political court, not a legal institution	5.6	10.1	47.6	24.7	11.9

Q11. The following names elicit different opinions from different people. Please state your opinion for each individual by using the following grades: 1 – Completely a criminal; 2 – More of a criminal than a hero; 3 – More of a hero than a criminal; 4 – Completely a hero; 5 – Neither one nor the other

		Completely a criminal	More of a criminal than a hero	More of a hero than a criminal	Completely a hero	Neither one nor the other
1	Ante Gotovina	2.5	5.8	31.3	44.3	16.2
2	Blago Zadro	1.5	2.6	19.1	54.0	22.7
3	Tomislav Merčep	5.7	13.3	21.9	10.8	48.2
4	Slobodan Praljak	6.3	11.7	28.0	12.8	41.2

Q12A. Mentioned below are some events during the Homeland War. Please indicate whether you have heard about them or not:

		Yes	No
1	The murder of the Zec family	52.3	47.7
2	Murders of Serb civilians during the Medak Pocket military operation	27.5	72.5
3	Murders of Serb civilians during the Flash military operation	56.9	43.1
4	Prisoner torture in the Lora prison camp	18.2	81.8
5	The murders of civilians after the Storm military operation	48.4	51.6
6	The Ahmići massacre	19.8	80.2

IF THEY HAVE HEARD ABOUT THE SPECIFIC EVENT:

Q12B. Do you consider it a war crime?

		Yes, it was a war crime	No, it was not a war crime
1	The murder of the Zec family	81.5	18.5
2	Murders of Serb civilians during the Medak Pocket military operation	83.2	16.8
3	Murders of Serb civilians during the Flash military operation	77.7	22.3
4	Prisoner torture in the Lora prison camp	92.2	7.8
5	The murders of civilians after the Storm military operation	89.7	10.3
6	The Ahmići massacre	86.9	13.1

IF THE ANSWER IS NO:

Q12C. Do you believe that the event happened or not?

		1 – I don't believe that it happened at all	2	3	4	5 – I completely believe that it happened
1	The murder of the Zec family	2.2	6.2	19.0	27.6	45.0
2	Murders of Serb civilians during the Medak Pocket military operation	9.1	16.8	52.8	12.8	8.5
3	Murders of Serb civilians during the Flash military operation	14.9	31.7	23.3	20.4	9.7
4	Prisoner torture in the Lora prison camp	14.3	27.3	29.8	14.3	14.3
5	The murders of civilians after the Storm military operation	15.5	38.9	17.7	23.6	4.4
6	The Ahmići massacre	7.8	40.6	44.4	7.1	0

Q13. Does a member of your close family hold the status of a Croatian war veteran?

1	Yes	62.8
2	No	37.2

Q14. Was a member of your close family a civil or military casualty of war?

1	Yes, a civil casualty	5.4
2	Yes, a military casualty	9.3
3	Yes, both civil and military	4.5
4	No	80.8

Q15. What is your highest educational attainment?

1	Elementary school or lower	0.4
2	Vocational school	28.1
3	High school	19.4
4	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree	26.4
5	Graduate degree	22.3
6	Postgraduate degree	3.5
7	Doesn't know / will not respond	0

Q16. What is your father's highest educational attainment?

1	Elementary school or lower	7.9
2	Vocational school	63.3
3	High school	23
4	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree	8.8
5	Graduate degree	12.7
6	Postgraduate degree	2.9
7	Doesn't know / will not respond	2.0

Q17. What is your mother's highest educational attainment?

1	Elementary school or lower	9.7
2	Vocational school	56.5
3	High school	5.1
4	Bachelor's degree / undergraduate degree	11.2
5	Graduate degree	13.2
6	Postgraduate degree	2.8
7	Doesn't know / would not respond	1.4

Q18. You are currently:

1	A student (primary/secondary education)	1.2
2	A student (tertiary education)	39.9
3	Unemployed	7.8
4	Employed	49.4
5	A farmer	0.2
6	Other	1.5

Q19. What is your nationality/ethnic background?

1	Croatian	95.6
2	Serb	1.1
3	Muslim (Bosniak)	0.2
4	Albanian	0
5	Montenegrin	0.2
6	Czech	0.2
7	Hungarian	0
8	Macedonian	0
9	German	0
10	Roma	0.4
11	Ruthenian	0
12	Slovak	0.4
13	Slovenian	0
14	Italian	0
15	Jewish	0
16	Other nationalities	0.2
17	Undefined	0.4
18	No response	1.4

