Plural Pasts and Monolithic Present: Youth and Multicultural Heritage in Croatia

Anita Sujoldžić

Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb, Croatia

ABSTRACT

The present paper seeks to explore the awareness and knowledge about past cultural diversity of young people in four Croatian cities (Pula, Rijeka, Zadar and Zagreb) with rich multicultural historical legacies. It is based on the results of a survey obtained from 631 high-school students in these cities. The survey focused on students' awareness and knowledge of plural cultural heritage in their respective cities and their ideas about what should be valued and how. It also included students' attitudes and beliefs about current diversity issues and intercultural values, which enabled the researchers to explore the association between their knowledge of heritage and their intercultural attitudes in more detail. The results obtained indicate that both the degree of awareness of past diversity and acceptance or rejection of intercultural values varied by specific spatial, historic and current socio-demographic contexts of the cities. While the overall findings suggest a comparatively strong association between heritage and intercultural values, some of them indicate that appreciation of past cultural diversity may also co-exist with current anti-multicultural attitudes. This has implications for education policy and strategies in facing the challenges of a decline in socio-political support for intercultural values in both Croatia and a wider European context.

Key words: *cultural heritage, multiculturalism, attitudes, youth, anthropology*

Introduction

In recent years, most European societies, and particularly the post-socialist countries of Europe, have witnessed a marked expansion of heritage as a field of discourse and practice. This concern for heritage preservation seems to be directly linked to globalisation processes and the perceived losses of traditional culture and lifeways, prompting societies to define themselves increasingly by their relationship to the past. At the same time, cultural pluralism, mutual recognition and tolerance are seen as important European values by which we should evaluate not only our present but also our past. While Europeanization processes have renewed scholarly interest in intercultural encounters and multilingualism and there is an increasing recognition that such current practices are not unprecedented, the official discourses and approaches are far away from accepting such processes as a historically-rooted phenomenon and part of common cultural heritage.

While there is a multiplicity of meanings and interpretations of heritage, most scholars agree that it denotes everything handed down to us from the past and infused with present purposes.[1,2] Critical heritage studies regard heritage as a social construction and a result of the process managed by the authorized heritage discourse that legitimizes certain experiences and identities. Although the value of cultural heritage is often seen as universal and eternal, Smith[3] points to a very specific origin of such authorized heritage discourse, which goes back to the 19th century Western European upper-middle class ideology, and is thus »as much a discourse of nationalism and patriotism as it is of certain class experiences and social and aesthetic value«. Brett maintains that, heritage is a »contemporary form of popular history which cannot but be involved in pertinent questions about the nation, the state, the region, identity and culture«.[4] According to Smith,[3] the official selection of heritage is based on the authorized heritage discourse which views heritage as tangible, aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places or landscapes that are immutable, and which are interpreted within the canon of national myths and aimed at building the national identity. The authoritative power of this discourse emanates from relevant national institutions and international organizations, such as UNESCO. UNESCO

suggests that 'Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations',[5] and it distinguishes between three types of heritage: cultural, divided into tangible and intangible, and natural heritage. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines 'intangible cultural heritage' as:

The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environments, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.[6]

As it can be seen from the above quote, intangible heritage is perceived as incorporating a wide range of non-material aspects, not only in the form of knowledge and practices but also as values, norms and belief systems. Accordingly some scholars even argue that all heritage is intangible as material or tangible heritage is not inherently valuable, but derives value and meaning from the present day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken around it.[3] According to Graham et al.[7] the term »heritage« has been recently broadened to such an extent that it includes almost any sort of inter-generational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals.

The focus of heritage studies has recently shifted from the role heritage has in contemporary life on the actual processes that transform things, places, acts and experiences into heritage, especially having in mind that these processes can be »read« as a narrative of identity, politics and power.[8] The rationale for taking such an approach lies in the belief that the selection, reproduction and consumption of heritage representations is never a fully transparent process. As a result of ideologically motivated processes of selection, heritage is partial and sometimes not true collection of the past chosen to be represented, [8] but often one affected by nationalism, cultural elitism and social exclusion. Heritage is thus viewed as a process of meaning-making or »a mode of cultural production in the present that has a recourse to the past«.[9] It is a set of practices involved in the construction and regulation of values, a discourse about negotiation, about using the past, and collective and individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and to perform identities.[3] People engage with heritage through »a process of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present«.[3] In the process of engagement, next generations may either appropriate certain set of past resources or contest their validity and even reject them.[10] Both education of young generations and heritage practice need to »recognize and critically deal with issues of dissonance and the use of memory in the formation of heritage and identity«.[3] The main mission of education is to preserve the past so that the young have

the cultural and intellectual resources they need to deal with the challenges of the future. Clearly, the process of meaning making resulting in either appropriation or contestation of past resources presupposes a body of knowledge, skills, and modes of expression which constitute the heritage of the cultivated classes.[11] For Bourdieu heritage is reproduced through education where under the assumption of common values between pupil and teacher the system acts to conceal its real function, namely, that of confirming and consequently legitimizing the right of the heirs to the cultural inheritance, and only when the heritage has taken over the inheritor can the inheritor take over the heritage.[11,12] Education and knowledge are thus the preconditions for the appropriation of heritage by the inheritors in next generations that would enable them to draw on the insights from centuries of human experience in their engagement with both the present and the future.

Most European nations in response to the diversity caused by immigration strive to foster a strong national identity and the common core of the nation. In new nation-states, such as Croatia and other post-socialist countries, heritage is often perceived as a resource for promoting national sovereignty, and fostering the feelings of unified identity, belonging and continuity in both official discourses and school textbooks.[1] As argued by Penrose, such discourses are exclusionary as within newly empowered nation-states those »individuals and places which do not fit into the newly recognized nation's self-construction will continue to be marginalized« or pressured »to conform to the definition«.[13] In spite of declared values of inclusive democracy and multicultural education, by impressing upon children the values of the nation-state, schools play a critical role in its perpetuation by teaching a dominant historical narrative that celebrates the nation and contains dissonant aspects of the nation's history that could undermine civic loyalty. During the past two decades, multicultural education has emerged as a vehicle for developing competencies to deal efficiently with such cultural processes and to raise multicultural awareness. This awareness might be defined as a set of beliefs and explanations that recognizes and values the importance of ethnic and cultural diversity in shaping lifestyles, social experiences, personal identities, and educational opportunities of individuals, groups, and nations.[14] The formation of such beliefs depends on knowledge, that is never neutral but is influenced by human interests, and reflects the power and social relationships within society.

Urban multicultural heritage of Austria-Hungary

In view of the claim that the study of the past should inform our understanding of the present and expectations in the future, history education needs to focus on advancing students' ability to construct meaningful and coherent narratives that have practical use for them, opening access to competing ideological and political ideas that offer different perspectives on the future.[15,16] The restored memories of the multicultural past have the potential to

become such a resource for the negotiation and transformation of present values and identities and better orientation in time.[17]

The coexistence of regional, national and supranational allegiances in multi-ethnic and multilingual Austria-Hungary provides a proper context for the study of intercultural practices within the areas of Southeast Europe. The Empire was clearly a contact zone of migrants and travellers, where people drew on the practices of their various places of origin to organize social relations, and where contests over their multiple languages and cultural logics took place, along with intercultural dialogue. During the time of the Dual Monarchy, some towns in the region experienced vibrant urbanization, industrialization and modernization that facilitated mobility and immigration of military, civil servants, merchants, craftsmen, labourers and other professions from diverse parts of the Empire while better access to schooling and working possibilities attracted the inhabitants from the nearby villages. Thus, the town of Pula became Austria's main naval base and a major shipbuilding centre, Rijeka became a major commercial port of the Hungarian part of the Empire and developed several important industries. Zadar was the administrative capital of the province of Dalmatia, while Zagreb was the capital of Croatia and Slavonia. In addition to this, there were certain differences between the cities in terms of their political configuration: Zagreb as capital of Croatia and Slavonia continued to exercise autonomous powers although within the Kingdom of Hungary, Rijeka was governed directly from Budapest, while Pula and Zadar were part of the Austrian kingdom. From a demographic perspective, they all followed a relatively similar trajectory during the course of the 19th century and the beginning of the next century registering significant rates of population increase which was largely due to an extensive immigration.

At the beginning of the 20th century, all four cities transformed from small provincial towns into major urban centres characterized by a high degree of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity. This mixture of people was involved in transnational practices framed by variable political and discursive structures of power relations and a triple Italian, German and Hungarian hegemony. Nevertheless, cross-boundary interdiscursivity between national or non-national discourses was possible not only through migration, but also through the common use of multilingualism as a major form of communication. Croatian-Italian bilingualism was practiced in all three port cities, and the use of German in Zagreb was widespread. While today this legacy is visible in buildings or some monuments and coffee houses which remind us of the era of Austro-Hungary, its reproduction and appropriation is not straightforward. Due to wars and military conflicts and multiple regime changes, the ethnic composition of the cities and whole regions changed fundamentally. The cultural diversity of the cities either considerably diminished or vanished while generational memory has begun to fade into history making the representation of lost diversity more difficult.

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the attitudes of young people living in the four cities toward cultural diversity and cultural heritage with a focus on the legacy of Austria-Hungary. While analysing these various cities, we addressed the same set of questions considering that public appreciation of cultural heritage is closely tied to the value of heritage: What counts as 'heritage' for the young people? What is the role of heritage in terms of identity and cultural diversity? How is Austro-Hungarian heritage perceived and/or appropriated? Are there any indications that young people are able to overcome national narratives in favour of more cosmopolitan attitudes toward heritage and in their current life?

Methods

With the research questions in mind a quantitative survey was designed with a range of questions focusing on heritage and multiculturalism. The survey included one section of items to measure general knowledge and attitudes toward cultural heritage. It was aimed at students' perceived meaning of cultural heritage and its value for cultural identity and cultural diversity, learning history and tourism. A separate section of items measured these variables with respect to the specific case of the Austro-Hungarian heritage. The third sets of items measured students' general attitudes toward cultural diversity and intercultural practices.

The survey was administered to a sample of high-school students in their schools in four cities: Pula, Rijeka, Zadar and Zagreb. The sample included 631 students aged between 16–18 years (mean age 17.5). It is fairly well distributed across towns under study, with highest number of participants in Zagreb (36.8%) and the lowest in Rijeka (16.7%). Among students 51% were girls and 41% boys (Table1). Most of the students were born in the town where they now attend school (87%), 3.5% of them were born in a wider town region, 5.2% were born in other places of Croatia, while 4.3% were born in other countries, mostly those that once made part of Yugoslavia. The highest number of students born in the town wider region was in Zadar, the highest number born in other parts of Croatia was in Pula and Zagreb, while the highest number of those born abroad was found in Rijeka (Table 2).

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY TOWN AND SEX

Town	Sex		
	Males	Females	Total
Pula	70	93	163
Rijeka	43	63	106
Zadar	48	82	130
Zagreb	98	134	232
Total	259	372	631

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Town	Place of birth				
	Town county	Wider region	Croatia	Abroad	Total
			%		
Pula	89.4	0.6	6.8	3.1	100
Rijeka	82.1	2.8	4.7	10.3	100
Zadar	83.0	7.6	3.1	5.3	100
Zagreb	89.2	3.4	5.6	1.7	100
Total	87.0	3.5	5.2	4.3	100

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY SELF-DECLARED NATIONAL BELONGING

Town	National belonging			
	One nationality	Mixed	Undeclared	Total
		%		
Pula	64.42	28.22	7.36	100
Rijeka	66.98	24.53	8.49	100
Zadar	88.55	6.87	4.58	100
Zagreb	88.41	3.86	7.73	100
Total	78.67	14.22	7.11	100

One of the questions asked students about their national belonging. It offered students several possible answers: to declare their national belonging to one nationality (Croatian or otherwise), to express their belonging to two or more nationalities or to decline to declare their belonging to any nationality. The distribution of the sample by national belonging is given in Table 3. Overall, most of the total number of students declared that they belong to one nationality (mostly Croatian) (78.67%). A considerable number of students belonged to two or more nationalities (14.22%), while 7.11% declined to declare their nationality. As it can be seen from the table, there is an unequal distribution of different declarations of belonging across towns under study: the highest percentages of students affiliated with only one nationality were found in Zadar (88.55%) and Zagreb (88.41%), of those with mixed belonging in Pula and Rijeka, 28.22% and 24.23% respectively, and of those with undeclared nationality in Rijeka (8.49%). Such a distribution corresponds well to findings on national belonging in general population of the examined towns which indicate higher number of one-national Croatian belongings in Zadar and Zagreb (94.15% and 93.14%, respectively) and lower in Pula and Rijeka (70.14% and 82.52%, respectively).[18]

The survey responses were entered into a study database and analyzed through the use of SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Descriptive analyses were conducted for the overall sample. Frequencies and percentages were calculated for categorical variables, whereas means, standard deviations (SD), minimums, and maximums were calculated for Likert scale items and statistical analyses. Statistical significance testing was used throughout data to compare various sections of the sample (e.g. comparing different towns, males and females, by place of birth and by national belonging).

Results

Perceptions of what represents heritage

To gain a better understanding of the various perceptions the students have when it comes to heritage, respondents were firstly asked in an open question of the survey how they would define heritage. A majority of students define cultural heritage as something that we inherited from previous generations, using often the word tradition to explain it. Next, they were asked to identify features from an extensive list of both tangible and intangible types of heritage (including the built environment, folklore, languages, the cultural/lifestyle features) which according to them represent heritage. Figure 1 addresses this by identifying the features which are most commonly seen to be heritage by the students. It can be seen that most of the students chose monumental buildings and sites, excluding those that might be less appealing, like old industrial objects (factories, railway structures or bridges) or even cemeteries. On the other hand, the forms of intangible heritage chosen by the majority of students refer to traditional feasts and performances, songs and dances, and, interestingly, languages and dialects. Much lower percentage of students included lifestyle as a form of heritage, while only 6.6% of the students marked all types of heritage offered on the list.

For the majority of the students (74.41%), these ideas of a shared heritage are clearly linked to the cultural identity of their towns and contribute to their »place distinctiveness« or what makes the place identifiable and different. It may be said that specific types of heritage,
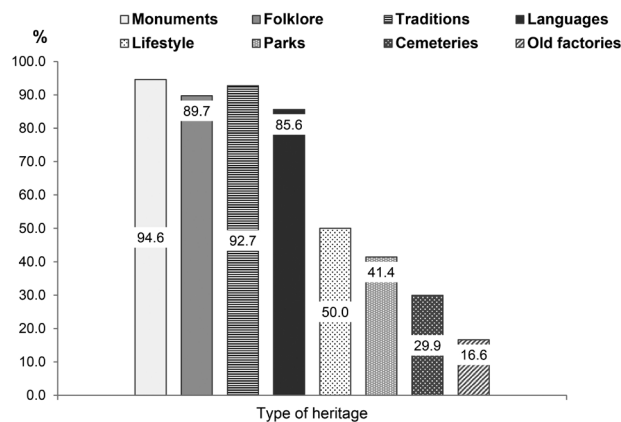

Fig. 1. Elements perceived as heritage by students.

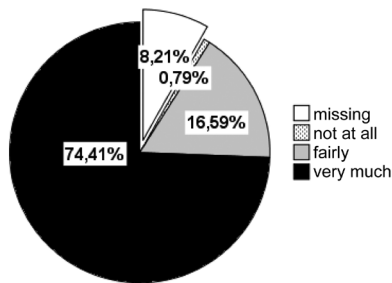Cultural heritege strenghtens cultural identity

Fig.2. Perceived importance of cultural heritage for the maintenance of cultural identity.

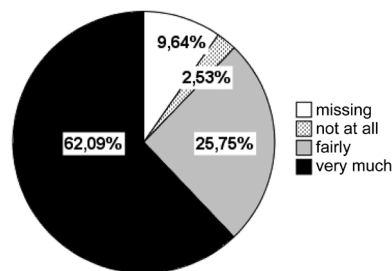Cultural heritage contributes to cultural diversity

Fig. 3. Perceived contribution of cultural heritage to cultural diversity.

Fig. 4. Students'perceived importance of historical periods for current cultural identity of their town.

Fig. 5. Students'perceived degree of contribution to current cultural diversity of their towns by historical periods.

particularly in terms of more iconic landmarks, serve as shared points of reference and, are invested with symbolic power and shared meaning. This finding suggests that students give considerable importance to heritage and place as a means of anchoring and expressing their identities (Figure 2).

A somewhat lower number of students (62%) perceive heritage as contributing to cultural diversity, understood in terms of religion, ethnicity, gender, age, etc. This finding indicates a tendency to view heritage as a rather homogenous, unchangeable set of ideas, less affected by past migration processes (Figure 3).

To develop an understanding of the types of heritage by historical periods that the students consider important for the identity and cultural diversity of their towns, respondents were asked their views about each specific historical period. The results obtained are statistically significant by towns (p < 0.1) and they indicate that Austro-Hungarian period received high values in Zagreb, Rijeka and Pula as compared to Zadar, where students consider that heritages from Antiquity and Middle Ages are the most important markers of their town's identity. Interestingly, the students in Pula also regard heritage from Antiquity as most important, while Yugoslav socialist period turns out to be second by importance for cultural identity of Rijeka (Figure 4). Similar, statistically significant differences (p < 0.1) were obtained with respect to the students' perceived degree of contribution to current cultural diversity of their towns by historical periods. Again, the students in Pula and Rijeka consider the Austro-Hungarian period as the
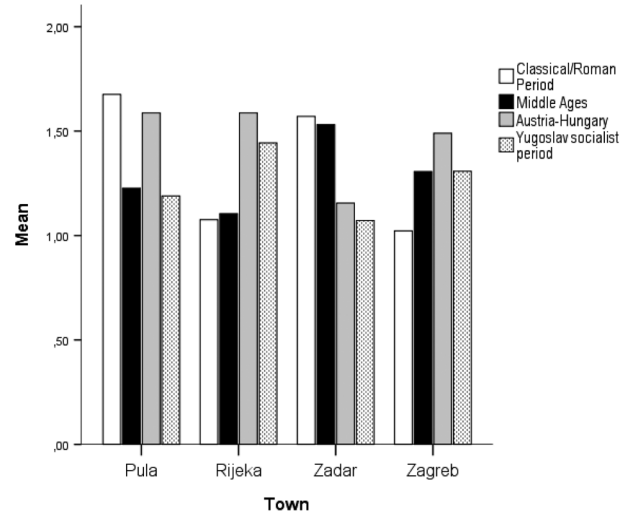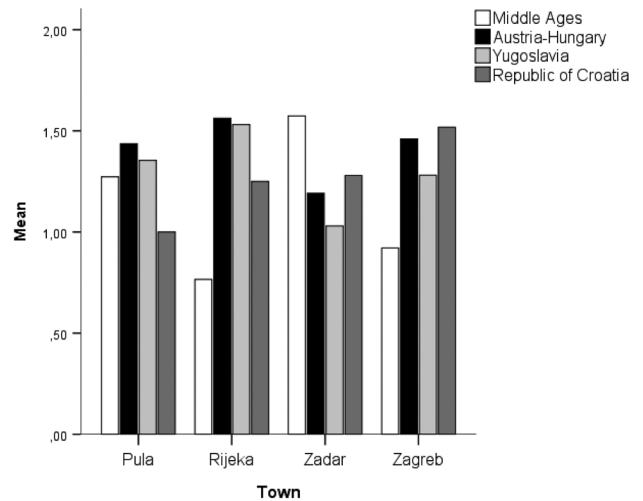
most important in terms of cultural diversity; those in Zadar regard the contribution of Antiquity as the most important while the students in Zagreb feel that the most recent period of the Republic of Croatia has brought most of cultural diversity to their town (Figure 5).

Attitudes toward Austro-Hungarian heritage

The next step in the analysis was directed toward the students' views of the multicultural legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in terms of both cultural diversity and its symbolic value for the cultural identity of their towns. Table 4 shows the proportion of the students who think that Austro-Hungarian heritage is important for their respective towns. The findings reveal that only 46% of the students consider this part of the history as relevant con-

TABLE 4
PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN
HERITAGE

Town	Do you think Austro-Hungarian heritage is important for your town?		
	No	Yes	Missing
	%		
Pula	9.8	67.5	22.7
Rijeka	18.9	53.8	27.3
Zadar	30.5	20.6	48.9
Zagreb	19.7	42.1	38.2
Total	19.3	46.1	34.6

tribution to their town's cultural diversity and part of its identity. While 19.3% of the students do not perceive at all the Austro-Hungarian legacy as part of the heritage, even 34.6% did not write anything to this question which indicates that they do not know whether this heritage is important or not for their towns (Table 4).

It was also imperative to determine how the students themselves self-evaluate their knowledge on and familiarity with Austria-Hungary. Figure 6 shows the proportion of the students who feel they have a good level of knowledge about this heritage. As it can be seen, only 9.4% of the students feel they have a good understanding of what this heritage means. A high 66.3% of the students admit that their knowledge about the Austro-Hungarian period is poor, while about 23% of the students are not sure about that. This level of understanding is similar across the sample, with no significant differences across towns unders study. With that in mind, perceived understanding is notably higher amongst those from Pula and Rijeka, suggesting that this type of heritage is potentially more salient for these communities.

When we questioned their interest in Austria-Hungary, as many as 43% of the students claim that they are not at all interested in learning about this period as compared to 23% of those who are interested in this part of history, while even 33% of the students could not decide about that. This clearly indicates that both formal and informal education have not been efficient in transmitting the knowledge of this relevant part of multicultural heritage to the students (Figure 7). The distribution of findings related to the lack of knowledge about and interest in this part of heritage again showed that it is less pronounced in the towns of Pula and Rijeka, indicating that some more efficient forms of multicultural education are at work in these towns in terms of raising awareness among students about past multicultural experiences.

The analysis of attitudes toward specific positive (multilingualism, ethnic diversity, tolerance) and negative features (economic poverty, problematic ethnic relations, the prison of nations) of the Austro-Hungarian heritage performed by towns under study again showed variable distribution of findings. For the analysis the responses were
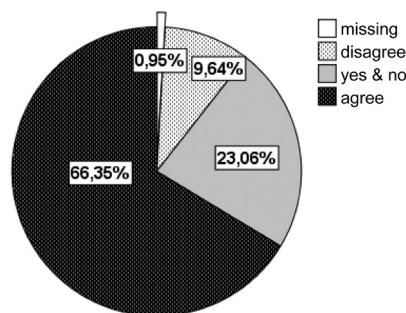
My knowledge about Austria-Hungary is poor

Fig. 6. *Students' reported lack of knowledge about Austro-Hungarian heritage.*
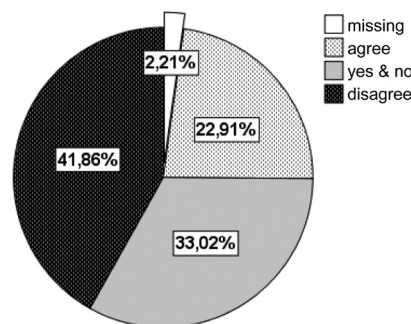
I am interested in Austria-Hungary

Fig. 7. *Students' reported degree of interest in Austro-Hungarian heritage.*

aggregated into two composite variables denoting positive (P2) and negative attitudes (N2) toward Austria-Hungary, and their mean values are shown in Figure 8. It can be seen from the figure that the overall negative attitudes are somewhat higher than the overall positive attitudes toward Austria-Hungary. However, although the overall findings indicate that the students do not think that it would be better if the Habsburg monarchy did not dissolve, as expected, more positive views of that part of history can be seen for the towns of Pula and Rijeka, as compared to Zadar and Zagreb (Figure 8). The findings are statistically significant by town and sex, with somewhat less pronounced negative attitudes of female students. As indicated by previous data shown in Table 4 and Figures 6 and 7, these findings are partly due to the lack of knowledge about this part of history.

Attitudes toward cultural diversity and multiculturalism

The analysis of students' general attitudes toward diversity shows that overall, a majority of students have a more positive than negative view of various forms of diversity, but there are hints of a concerned minority that is supportive of diversity with some important reservations. For the analysis the responses were aggregated into two composite variables denoting positive (P1) and negative
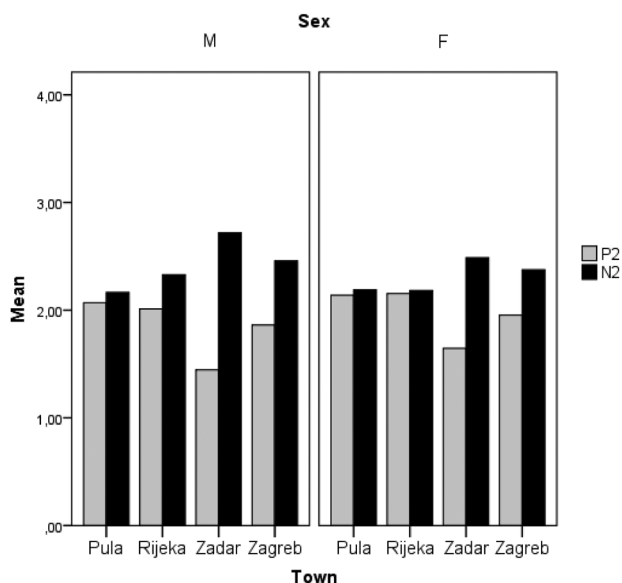
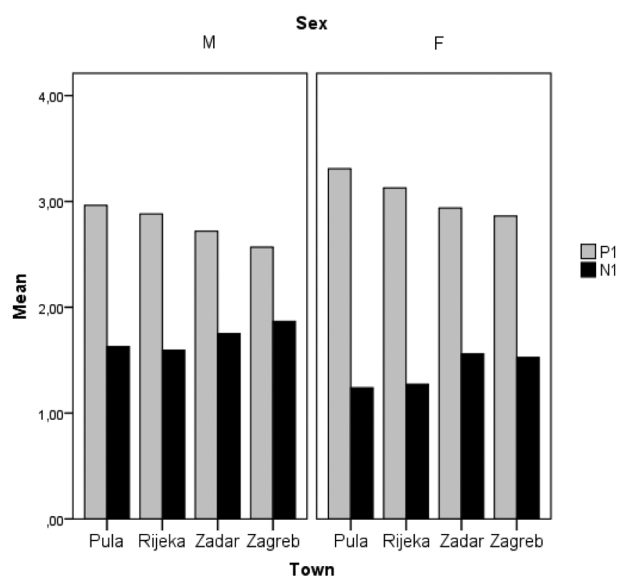*Fig. 8. Students' positive (P2) and negative (N2) attitudes towards Austro-Hungarian heritage by town and sex.*

Fig. 9. Students' positive (P1) and negative (N1) attitudes towards cultural diversity by town and sex.

ing to other ethnicities (48%). Statistically significant differences between examined towns reveal that a more substantial appreciation of cultural diversity and positive attitude toward intercultural contact are shown by youth in the towns of Pula and Rijeka in comparison to those from Zadar and Zagreb (Figure 9).

These findings are confirmed also by the analysis of negative attitudes toward cultural diversity which shows a similar overall distribution across towns. Although the overall values, as shown previously, are lower than those for positive attitudes, still more than 32% of students state that they are more comfortable with people of their own nationality and culture, while over 22% of the students think that immigrants of other ethnicities endanger their culture and their lifestyle. Again, the distribution varies across towns revealing that students from Pula and Rijeka are less inclined toward such attitudes than those from Zagreb and Zadar. Across these various questions, support for diversity is consistently higher and negative values lower among female students, although this tends to be a question of degree rather than of a completely different viewpoint (Figure 9).

Further analyses of students' attitudes towards cultural diversity indicated statistically significant differences by place of birth and by national belonging ($p < 0.1$). The support for diversity is significantly higher for the students born in other countries and those that immigrated to the towns under study from other parts of Croatia (Figure 10). As to the findings by national belonging, significantly higher appreciation of diversity is linked to students with mixed national belonging and those that decline to declare their nationality, while more negative attitudes toward diversity are found among students belonging to only one nationality (Figure 11).

To examine possible associations between the appreciation of the Austro-Hungarian heritage and general stu-

attitudes (N1), and their mean values are shown in Figure 9. A more detail examination of the students' positive attitudes toward cultural diversity reveals that overall most of the students are generally interested in meeting other cultures (89%) and would agree that ethnicity or nationality are less important in defining persons than their personal qualities (92%). However, a lower number of students are happy to see other ethnicities living in their town (60%). The lowest number of students think that the presence of different ethnicities enrich their town and country (35%), while in terms of intercultural contact students are less inclined to make friends with people belong-
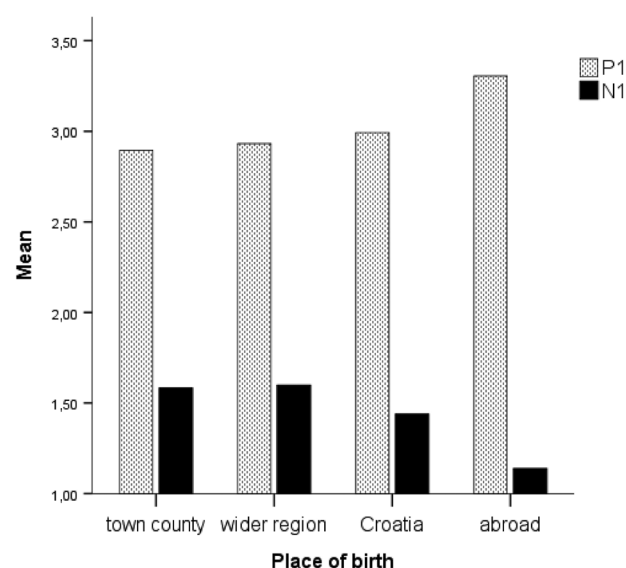

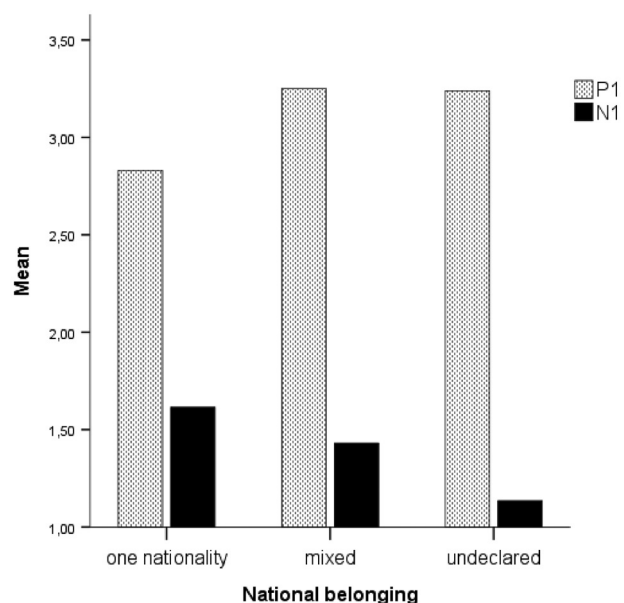*Fig. 10. Distribution of students' positive (P1) and negative (N1) attitudes towards cultural diversity by place of birth.*

Fig. 11. Distribution of students' positive (P1) and negative (N1) attitudes towards cultural diversity by national belonging.

tural diversity. These findings were further confirmed by the analysis of mean values of positive and negative attitudes towards Austro-Hungarian heritage and towards cultural diversity across towns under study. Table 6 shows statistically significant differences between all towns for both types of attitudes. In terms of the appreciation of Austro-Hungarian attitudes significant differences were found between all towns except for Pula and Rijeka. As to attitudes toward cultural diversity there are significant differences between Pula and both Zadar and Zagreb, and between Rijeka and Zagreb. The findings of correlation analysis and of mean values across towns both indicate a strong association between the knowledge and appreciation of Austro-Hungarian heritage and general students attitudes toward cultural diversity and multiculturalism.

Discussion and conclusions

The analyses performed show that the students' definition of cultural heritage is related to selective processes at both general typological level and at the level of the origin of the cultural heritage, which is more linked to identification processes. The ideas of a shared heritage mostly focused on the tangible forms of historic built environment, and aesthetically pleasing material objects as the most visible sign of a link with the past. These findings fit what Smith[3] calls the authorized heritage discourse referring to »a dominant Western discourse about heritage that works to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage«, i.e. defines what heritage is, and what it is not. It is a »discourse which is concerned with the negotiation and regulation of social meanings and practices associated with the creation and recreation of 'identity'«, which is selective and exclusionary in nature. It is focused mainly on tangible heritage, which it defines as national treasure that people use to articulate common identity, especially national.[3]

dents' attitudes toward cultural diversity as well as other variables the nonparametric Spearman correlation analysis was performed. As shown in Table 5, highly significant correlations were found between town, sex, place of birth and national belonging and attitudes toward cultural diversity. Importantly, a highly significant positive correlation was also found between positive attitudes toward Austro-Hungarian multicultural heritage and positive attitudes toward cultural diversity, while negative attitudes toward Austro-Hungarian heritage and lack of interest in this type of heritage were significantly and negatively associated with positive attitudes toward cul-

TABLE 5

NONPARAMETRIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR ATTITUDES TOWARDS CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Variables	Positive attitudes towards cultural diversity		Negative attitudes towards cultural diversity	
	SPEARMAN'S CORRELATION COEFFICIENTSa			
	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Town	−.278**	.000	.159**	.000
Sex	.213**	.000	−.190**	.000
Place of birth	.105**	.008	−.075	.061
Nationality	.293**	.000	−.160	.000
Positive attitudes towards AH multicultural heritage	.218**	.000	−.117**	.003
Negative attitudes towards AH multicultural heritage	−.138**	.001	.066	.096
Lack of knowledge about AH	−.035	.375	−.005	.894
Lack of interest in AH	−.159**	.000	.066	.102

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

a N= 611

TABLE 6
MULTIPLE MEAN COMPARISONS BETWEEN TOWNS (BONFERRONI TEST)

Dependent variable		Positive attitudes towards diversity (P1)			Negative attitudes towards diversity (N1)			Positive attitudes towards AH heritage (P2)			Negative attitudes towards AH heritage (N1)		
(I) Town	(J) Town	Mean Differ-ence (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Mean Differ-ence (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Mean Differ-ence (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Mean Differ-ence (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Pula	Rijeka	.13244	.07098	.375	.00348	.09265	1.000	.01195	.06980	1.000	−.06226	.06452	1.000
	Zadar	.31686*	.06657	.000	−.23854*	.08690	.037	.54723*	.06547	.000	−.40114*	.06051	.000
	Zagreb	.42286*	.05800	.000	−.26655*	.07572	.003	.18679*	.05705	.007	−.22760*	.05273	.000
Rijeka	Pula	−.13244	.07098	.375	−.00348	.09265	1.000	−.01195	.06980	1.000	.06226	.06452	1.000
	Zadar	.18442	.07421	.079	−.24202	.09687	.076	.53528*	.07298	.000	−.33888*	.06746	.000
	Zagreb	.29042*	.06663	.000	−.27003*	.08698	.012	.17485*	.06553	.047	−.16534*	.06058	.039
Zadar	Pula	−.31686*	.06657	.000	.23854*	.08690	.037	−.54723*	.06547	.000	.40114*	.06051	.000
	Rijeka	−.18442	.07421	.079	.24202	.09687	.076	−.53528*	.07298	.000	.33888*	.06746	.000
	Zagreb	.10600	.06191	.524	−.02801	.08082	1.000	−.36043*	.06089	.000	.17354*	.05628	.013
Zagreb	Pula	−.42286*	.05800	.000	.26655*	.07572	.003	−.18679*	.05705	.007	.22760*	.05273	.000
	Rijeka	−.29042*	.06663	.000	.27003*	.08698	.012	−.17485*	.06553	.047	.16534*	.06058	.039
	Zadar	−.10600	.06191	.524	.02801	.08082	1.000	.36043*	.06089	.000	−.17354*	.05628	.013

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.01 level; 95% Confidence Interval

As regards the students' views on the links between cultural heritage, diversity and identity, the findings indicate a high degree of general appreciation of cultural diversity and of heritage as a marker of cultural identity. However, at the same time they also indicate ambivalent attitudes toward intercultural practices and some dimensions of diversity in terms of presence of other ethnicities. The specific findings on the attitudes toward Austro-Hungary as an important multicultural resource from the past contributing in a desirable way to the cultural diversity of the towns in question and their identities reveal clearly ambivalent attitudes about its symbolic value. This can be partly explained by a rather low level of awareness and knowledge about this period of history and multicultural legacy of Austria-Hungary.

The obtained differences between the towns indicate that recent dynamic immigration history and a long-term presence of other ethnicities contributes to positive appreciation of diversity and intercultural communication. The cities differ in history, size and geographic location, in the scale of demographic changes, and in the extent of the material destruction they suffered in the twentieth century. The findings might also be explained by the specific historical contexts of Pula and Rijeka and political configuration. Pula, as part of Istria, is characterized by the long-term co-existence with the Italian minority, supported also by the current official policy of bilingualism in Istria.. Also, both Pula and Rijeka experienced considerable immigration from other parts of ex-Yugoslavia after the Second World War, as well as during the homeland war in the 90s, when they were less exposed to direct involvement in the war than Zagreb and particularly Zadar.

The results also point to possible influences on youth attitudes as a consequence of the effects of national politics on one hand, and globalization and Europeanization processes on the other, on local politics of memory within the cities in question. Memories of multicultural past in cities like Pula and Rijeka are considered as commodities for sale in tourism, and often as tools used by the local political elites to display that they were complying with the values promoted by the EU, so that it is not possible to measure to what extent differences in positive attitudes toward diversity represent pure performance and conformity and how much they reflect the real internalisation of these values.[17]

The lack of knowledge of potential past multicultural resources shown by the students has clear implications for multicultural education. As noted by some scholars, transformative academic education requires active inquiry to discover and include knowledge and perspectives that have previously been ignored or suppressed.[19] This is the only way to help students with historical knowledge construction and the development of an inclusive concept of heritage which would acquaint young people with the legacy of the past as a resource to deal with current and future challenges.

Acknowledgement

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A. Sujoldžić

Institute for Anthropological Research, Ljudevita Gaja 32, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: anita@inantro.hr

PLURALNA PROŠLOST I MONOLITNA SADAŠNJOST: MLADI I MULTIKULTURNA BAŠTINA U HRVATSKOJ

SAŽETAK

Rad istražuje stupanj informiranosti i znanja mladih o kulturnoj raznolikosti i interkulturnim procesima u prošlosti u četiri hrvatska grada (Puli, Rijeci, Zadru i Zagrebu) sa bogatim multikulturnim nasljeđem. Temelji se na rezultatima upitnika 631 učenika i učenica srednjih škola u navedenim gradovima. Upitnik je bio usmjeren na informiranost i znanje učenika o pluralnom kulturnom nasljeđu njihovih gradova i njihove stavove prema tom nasljeđu. Također je uključivao i pitanja o stavovima učenika prema interkulturnim vrijednostima i suvremenoj kulturnoj raznolikosti kako bi se istražila potencijalna povezanost između znanja o multikulturnoj baštini i interkulturnih vrijednosti. Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju statistički značajne razlike među ispitivanim gradovima u znanju o multikulturnoj baštini i prihvaćanju ili odbacivanju interkulturnih vrijednosti koje su povezane sa specifičnim prostornim, povijesnim i suvremenim socio-demografskim okolnostima pojedinih gradova. Uz utvrđenu općenito značajnu povezanost između znanja o baštini i interkulturnih vrijednosti, neki rezultati pokazuju da poznavanje kulturne raznolikosti u prošlosti može supostojati s negativnim stavovima o multikulturalnosti. Ovi pokazatelji važni su za politiku obrazovanja i razvoj strategija u suočavanju sa sve izraženijim opadanjem socio-političke podrške multikulturnim i interkulturnim vrijednostima, kako u Hrvatskoj tako i u širem europskom kontekstu.