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Author info:

Tamara P. Trošt, Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, tamara.trost@ef.uni-lj.si

Title:

**Remembering the Good:
Constructing the Nation through Joyful Memories in School Textbooks in the Former
Yugoslavia**

Abstract

Studies examining the reification of nationhood narratives in history textbooks have typically focused on memories rooted in trauma (stories of loss of territory, victimhood, and perpetual enmity with neighbours), although glorification of the nation, ideas of who belongs to the nation, and what constitutes the nation, are also found in joyful memories. In this paper, I examine how memories of joy are accounted for in a classical nation-building subject such as history. Which discursive strategies do textbooks use in instilling particular images of the nation in pupils' heads, and how do they differ from those used in non-joyful events? Relying on content analysis of history textbooks currently used in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia, I examine how "joyful" memories are represented in memories of "banal" or everyday joy (memories of sports events, music, literature, and popular culture); and in memories of "hot" or explicit nationalism (memories of victories in battles, reclaiming territory, etc). I conclude with reflections on the usefulness of studying memories of joy when examining issues of nation-building, national identity, and nationalism.

Keywords: Balkans, history textbooks, myths, nationhood, nationalism

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Author biography:

Tamara P. Trošt is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University (2012). She previously taught at the University of Graz as a Visiting Professor, and was a Fung Fellow at Princeton University 2015-2016. Her research interests include nationalism, ethnic identity, and political propaganda, and qualitative and mixed methods. Her most recent publications include *Changing Youth Values in Southeast Europe: Beyond Ethnicity* (co-editor, Routledge, 2018) and "Ruptures and Continuities in Nationhood Narratives: Reconstructing the Nation through History Textbooks in Serbia and Croatia" (*Nations and Nationalism*).

History textbooks and history teaching in general are typically considered to be sites of “hot nationalism”, containing explicit ideas about the nation and ethnic identity, represented through national symbols, flags, maps, borders, and stories of who belongs to “us” versus “them”. History textbooks serve the explicit purpose of legitimizing the state’s preferred narrative (Apple, 1979), and are the primary site of nation-building myths: glorification of the nation, stories of victimization, persecution, unjust treatment, loss of territory, and perpetual enmity with neighbours. These nation-building myths serve as the “essential building block of nations, a key feature of national identity and a core element in nationalist politics” (Zubrzycki, 2011:22), with immense “explosive power” and capacity for generating emotion in successive generations (Smith, 1986: 201). As such, most research on the use and misuse of history has focused on these particularly “flammable” facets of nationhood narratives, particularly those rooted in trauma (such as loss of territory and victimization), and in stereotyping or “othering” neighbouring peoples. However, many nation-building myths and ideas of what constitutes the nation are in fact positive: national glorification relies on myths of renewal, of the Golden era, superiority myths, and myths of reprisal against tyranny. These glorification strategies all contain joyful memories, but have received much less attention by scholars.

Nation-building myths rely on a wide repertoire of symbols and rituals which constitute the narrative. They are an instrument of cultural reproduction: a “set of beliefs, usually put forth as a narrative, held by a community about itself”, which create an intellectual and cognitive monopoly on ordering the world and defining world views, and establish boundaries within the community and with respect to other communities (Schopflin, 1997:19). They represent the political *modus operandi* for simplifying complex realities (Schwandner-Sievers, 2002) and are as such pervasive in society (Zubrzycki, 2011:21). At the same time, the constructed nature of myth is taken as a given: the invention of traditions – usually by elites – in order to create an “imagined community” among individuals who will never see each other, and to fabricate a sense of community among masses (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Anderson, 1991). The power of myths comes from their production and narration, as is done by historians and textbook writers as the “extended arm of the state” (Podeh, 2000:65), maintaining or strengthening group boundaries (Armstrong, 1982:8). In order to justify claims of cultural and national difference, ethnic entrepreneurs codify idioms via “the selection of signals for identity and the assertion of value for these cultural diacritica, and the suppression or denial of relevance for other differentiae” (Barth, 1969:35). Thus, the role of elites and “ethnic entrepreneurs” who might utilize myths for their own interests is of critical importance: the past in and of itself does not inherently wield power, memory is rather a “plasticine to be moulded according to the changing needs of the present” (Hutchinson, 2007:48). In this way, national myths are constructed to serve as the “glue” holding together the nation, by definition relying on the past, but simultaneously creating a common vision of the future. In order for the nation to be convincingly represented, a “worthy and distinctive past” must first be appropriated, necessary for the nation to “aspire to a glorious destiny for which its citizens may be expected to make some sacrifices” (Smith, 1997:36). This combination – of rooting the nation in the past, while building some kind of “glorious” future – inherently includes both positive (glorious) and negative (traumatic, justifying) myths.

In the case of the former Yugoslavia in particular, many studies have pointed to the relevance of nation-building myths, providing evidence that the (mis)use of political myths contributed to the ethnic violence accompanying Yugoslavia’s violent disintegration (Mojzes, 1993; Mertus, 1999; Čolović, 2002; Anzulović, 1999; Gavrilović and Perica, 2011). Misuse of such myths can perpetuate nationalist discourse, aid in boundary-definition (Kolstø, 2005:23), and breed conflict, because they “overemphasize the cultural and historical distinctiveness of the national group, exaggerate the threat posed to the nation by other groups, ignore the degree to which the nation’s own actions provoked such threats, and play down the costs of seeking national goals through militant means” (Snyder and Ballantine, 1996:11). Numerous studies of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia have demonstrated the deliberate work of elites in re-writing history to fit the new, preferred, national narrative, and the types of myths in which these new histories are rooted (see especially edited volumes by Höpken, 1996; Koulouri 2002; Brunnbauer, 2004; and Dimou, 2009, as well as Stojanović, 2009; Sindbaek, 2012; Koren and Baranović, 2009; Najbar-Agičić and Agičić, 2007; and Pavasović Trošt, 2018).

These studies have highlighted the omnipresence of nationhood myths rooted in trauma in the textbooks across the former Yugoslavia.

Common to these studies are four main groups of myths. First, *myths of ethnogenesis, foundation, descent, antiquity and the Golden Age* define the roots and history of groups. Efforts are made to de-emphasize or deny shared cultural characteristics with the neighbouring group (Kolstø, 2005:18) and establish primacy over all other ethnic groups in a given territory: because one group was there first, it has a superior right to that territory over all others (Schopflin, 1997). These also include homeland myths, foundation myths, myths of descent, and myths of national character; the myth of antiquity, via which the group attempts to establish oneself as the original group in the area in question, and myths of the heroic age, which include the Golden Age or high point of the original nation (Smith 1986). Second, *myths of superiority and uniqueness* establish the group vis-à-vis other groups: superiority that could be based on direct cultural or religious comparisons to specific Others. Co-nationals are superior to people of other nationalities; and have rights greater than others (Kecmanović, 1996). The uniqueness of the group could also be stressed via its inclusion in some larger and allegedly superior cultural entity that enhances its status vis-à-vis other groups who do not belong, or positing that the group has been chosen by divine providence to sacrifice itself in order to save the larger civilization of which it is a part (the myth of being “antemurale”, “defenders of the gates,” “the bearers of true civilization,” “ramparts of Christendom,” and the “bulwark of Christianity”; Schopflin 1997).

Third, *victimization, martyrdom, persecution, threat, and unjust treatment* focus on the qualitative interpretation of a group’s history. They emphasize how frequently and badly a group’s co-nationals have been deprived, marginalized, thwarted, and represent members of the group as victims of envy and of hegemonic and expansionist tendencies of other peoples (Kecmanović, 1996). In the “theme of threat”, the nation is represented as constantly threatened by both internal and external sources; the “theme of universal culprit” refers to the perception of members of another nationality as the source of all evil and responsible for ills that have befallen the group, and the “plot theme” denotes the existence of instigators or perpetrators of a secret plot aimed at undermining the group’s national subsistence (Kecmanović, 1996). The nation is the perennial target of discrimination and persecution (the “martyrium myth”); stories about the wrongs afflicted upon the group in the past are simplified and ritualized, while atrocities committed on other occasions by members of the group are passed over in silence (Kolstø, 2005). Fourth, *myths of renewal, reprisal, military valour, and revolution against tyranny* emphasize the special regard in which a collectivity holds itself because it has performed deeds of military valour/revolution against intolerable tyranny (Schopflin 1997).

As is evident, only one of the groups of myths summarized above (of victimization, persecution and unjust treatment) – precisely those myths on which most of the memory studies literature is focused – necessarily relies on traumatic memories and is inherently negative in character. The other three groups rely on memories that could be rooted in either joy or trauma and could thus be positive primarily positive. At the same time, the role of emotions – either positive (e.g. pride, happiness) or negative (e.g. sadness, fear, grief, anger, anxiety) – has been less studied by nationalism scholars. Critics of modern scholarship’s dismissal of emotions – or lumping them under “non-rational” motives (Scheff, 2000), have called for an urgent reconsideration of the “irrational and emotional aspects” of nationalist ideologies, stressing “the theoretical importance of a sociology of emotions for a political sociology of nationalism” (McLaughlin, 1996:256). Partly due to the marginalization of emotions in political analysis (see Demertzis, 2013, Malešević, 2013), most studies of emotions and nationalism fall under the domain of psychology and psychoanalytically-based approaches. These studies have demonstrated how grief, anger, fear, anxiety are frequent causes of aggression and conflict (Scheff and Retzinger, 1991; Volkan, 1988), while Scheff (2000:128) pointed to the additional emotion of shame as the “master emotion” in the causal chain leading to nationalist violence. Malešević (2006, 2011) examined the processes necessary to create the “emotional social glue” that fosters national solidarity, demonstrating how physical threat and accompanying feelings of fear, insecurity, and anxiety, can act both as catalysts for national unity as well as for national disintegration. In his study of nation-building, Bloom (1990) also stressed “the deep psychological nature” of the relationship between individuals and their national identities and the importance of the

psychological security of a shared culture (p. 129). Despite the disparate approaches and levels of analysis in these works, central to all of these studies is the emphasis on the basic social and psychological human need for belonging and identification with groups (in the case of nationalism, nations).

However, few studies have offered a full theory of the functions played by positive (based in joy) and negative (based in trauma) emotions in nation-building or nationalist violence. In his seminal examination of the role of emotions in nationalism research, Heaney (2013) stresses that, whereas the role of emotions in social life re-emerged in the social sciences following the “emotional turn” in the 1970s, the nationalism literature still reinforces old dichotomies: “When emotions are discussed at all, they are again cast in negative terms, seen as motors of irrational violence and ethnic hatred, and associated with ‘hot’ or ‘bad’ nationalism”, while “rational” attachment to civic virtues has been viewed as normatively “good” (pp. 243-7). Berezin (2002) offers a useful distinction: in the “secure state”, the emotional template includes the feelings of security, confidence and comfort, which are described by patriotism and civic nationalism, while the “insecure state” is characterized by fear and lack of confidence (pp. 38-39); but importantly, even in the case of the secure state, the state must constantly reproduce the feeling of national belonging through schools, language, symbols, etc (*intra*-institutional activities), as well as to create “communities of feeling” (*extra*-institutional political emotions) by public rituals in order to “serve as arenas of emotion, bounded spaces where citizens enact and vicariously experience collective national self-hood” (p. 44). How these “communities of feelings” and national selfhood are created and reproduced through national myths is precisely the central focus of this paper.

In this paper, I tackle the question of memories of joy in school textbooks: how are memories of joy accounted for in the realm of what are traditionally considered nation-building subjects such as history? Do they serve different functions than memories of trauma? Which discursive strategies do textbooks use in instilling particular images of the nation in pupils’ heads, and how do they differ from those used in non-joyful events? Relying on content analysis of history textbooks currently used in Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia, I propose a new model for classifying nation-building myths, summarized in Table 1 below: I conceptually divide “joyful” memories into two broad categories: first, memories of “banal” or everyday joy – as per Billig’s (1995) “banal nationalism” or Fox and Miller-Idriss’ (2008) “everyday nationhood” approaches – which includes memories of sports events, music, literature, and popular culture; and second, joyful memories of “hot” or explicit nationalism, which includes memories of victories in battles, territory gain, stories of the Golden era, etc. Similarly, I divide negative memories into memories of “hot” nationalism (memories of territory loss, victimization, unjust treatment) and memories of banal or everyday trauma (conspiracy theories about loss in international music and sports competitions, everyday reproduction of trauma in popular literature, music and tabloids). I reflect on the differences in the role played by the joyful memories, discursive strategies utilized in presenting the memories (visual, semantic, etc), both between the two types of joyful memories (banal vs. hot), and across countries. I conclude with reflections on the usefulness of studying memories of joy when examining issues of nation-building, national identity, and nationalism.

Basis of memory	“Hot” or explicit nationalism	“Banal” or everyday nationalism
Based on joy (positive)	Memories of victories in battles, territory gain, stories of the Golden era, myths of foundation, descent, uniqueness, ethnic superiority	Memories of success in sports events, music, literature, popular culture; superiority in living standards, travel, tourism, democracy, equality, women’s rights
Based on trauma (negative)	Memories of territory loss, victimization, threat, persecution, martyrdom, unjust treatment	Memories of trauma in “unjust” international sports losses, and music competitions, reproduction of trauma in popular literature, music, tabloids, etc.

Table 1. Classification of nation-building myths based on the basis of the memory (joy or trauma) and type of nationalist message (“hot” or “banal” nationalism)

Methodology: History textbooks as sites of nation-building

In order to examine the differences in nation-building myths across the former Yugoslavia, I focus on history textbooks. History textbooks are not only chosen because of their role as an agent of socialization, but more importantly, as aids of social and cultural reproduction of society. Curriculum conveys the dominant cultural values and relations in society (Halstead & Taylor, 1995) and textbooks represent the cultural objects that manifest these dominant beliefs and values. History textbooks play a critical role in societal reproduction, because “history is not only a definition of the past and present, but also an attempt at continuity in national memory, upon which a collective identity is founded and the future is predicated” (Soysal et al, 2005: 14). As such, they are particularly important “sites of memory” (Hein and Selden, 2000:3-4) – while collective belonging is commonly marked by various cultural symbols, such as the national flag, national anthem, and national currency, it is via the teaching of history that ancestry, heritage, and the victories and calamities of the nation are learned (Antoniou and Soysal, 2005: 105). This is not to say that textbooks are necessarily effective in the *adoption* of certain nationhood messages by pupils – the actual impact of textbooks is beyond the scope of this paper – textbooks are taken as an object of analysis due to their role in creating “what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful”, promoting certain belief systems and legitimizing a particular political and social order (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991:4).

In this paper, I analyse 8th and 9th grade history textbooks approved for use in the 2016-2017 schoolyear in five of the former Yugoslav republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. I chose eighth (or in the case of nine-year primary schools, ninth) grade, as national 19th and 20th century is covered during this school year; all pupils across all republics learn the same material during the course of this year, and the first 8/9 years of primary school are compulsory, meaning that this material is expected to be learned by all of the country’s youth. While this precludes the analysis from analysing myths of antiquity, the 19th and 20th centuries are the era during which most nation-building processes occurred, and the limited time scope allows for a systematic observation of the differences across as well as within the countries.

Within each country, the Ministry of Education approves the textbooks that can be chosen by teachers for use every academic year. In the case of 8th/9th grade history textbooks, most of the republics have since the 2000s opened their textbook markets to private publishers, meaning that multiple textbooks are offered for each subject for each year (though still controlled by the same curriculum and approved by the Ministry). In Croatia and Slovenia, there are typically four history textbooks offered for 8th/9th grade, in Serbia up to eight, while Montenegro still only has one textbook issued by the state agency for textbooks. The situation in Bosnia is slightly more complicated: of the two entities comprising the state, Republika Srpska has only one official textbook (referred to in-text as the

Bosnian-Serbian narrative)¹, while within the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, each canton has authority over approving textbooks; I include four written by Croatian authors (referred to as the Bosnian-Croatian narrative) and three written by Bosniak authors (referred to as the Bosnian Muslim or Bosniak narrative).² In total, this amounts to 25 textbooks. The text analysis was done by a combination of close reading and thematic analysis of the entire text, including sidebars, questions for discussions, and images. Only text dealing specifically with national history was included, and each instance in which a joyful or traumatic memory appeared was transcribed and coded according to the categories above (banal versus hot, rooted in joy or rooted in trauma). The selected passages were then again coded using thematic analysis: pattern recognition within the data in order to determine the main themes of nationhood narratives (Boyatzis, 1998, Braun and Clarke, 2006), resulting in several themes, presented in the results below.

Results

Stories glorifying the nation that rely on joyful memories can be found in various forms in most of the analysed history textbooks, though the extent to and manner in which these are used in each republic differs. In the sections below, I divide memories of joy into two groups: joyful memories found in sites of “hot” nationalism, as companions to the nation-building myths rooted in trauma described above (stories of military valour, reclaiming territory, myths of statehood and independence, superiority, prestige); and joyful memories found in “banal” or everyday nationalism (glorification of successes in sports, culture, education, literacy, and pop culture).

Nationhood myths rooted in memories of joy: “hot” nationalism

Nationhood myths in memories of joy found in “hot” or explicit nationalism are typically found as variations of the nationhood myths outlined above. I find four main expressions of these nationhood myths based in joyful memories: 1) myths of military valour, resistance, heroism, bravery despite overwhelming odds, righteousness, and memories of territory gain; 2) myths of independence, statehood, and preserving national identity and consciousness; and 3) myths of superiority and uniqueness (in cultural advancements, literacy, modernization, environment, etc).

1. Myths of military valour, resistance, heroism, and bravery, are found in memories of war-time battles which stress the bravery of soldiers, resistance against overwhelming odds, and military righteousness. The primary theme is stories of *military bravery and heroism*. The nation is glorified through stories of the unprecedented and well-known bravery of one’s own military. For instance, Slovenian soldiers in WWI were “good and brave soldiers [...] they saw the battle as a defence of Slovenian territory, so they demonstrated greater courage and combativeness than other soldiers” (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 12-14). Serbian soldiers are similarly said to have been “considered unflinching soldiers” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 33), demonstrating “great endurance and bravery” (p. 77). Stories of bravery are frequently accompanied by emphasising resistance and bravery *despite overwhelming odds*. For instance, in WWI, Montenegrin soldiers “defeated the more numerous and better equipped enemy” (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 36); although Montenegro was not ready for the war, “poorly equipped, lacking modern weapons and especially artillery [...] lacking even uniforms”, the Montenegrin king promised Montenegro’s solidarity with Serbia (ibid., 38). That the enemy was stronger and better equipped is additionally stressed: in WWII Montenegrin soldiers were victorious over the *motorized* Italianian army (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 99), and in the battle of Sutjeska the enemy was courageously defeated despite its numerical outnumbering (p. 103). Bosniak textbooks similarly write about bravery “even though they were few in number, exhausted, weary, and hungry, they fought like giants”, many of them returning several times to bring wounded soldiers to safety (Šabotić and Čehajić, 2012: 160). Serbian textbooks also frequently mention victories despite the “multiple times more numerous” Austro-Hungarian units (battle of Kolubara, Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 56) and the defeat of the “more powerful” enemy (battle of Kadinjača, ibid., p. 144). In units about the 1990s war, Croatian textbooks highlight the numerical outnumbering of Croatian soldiers against the “far better armed” Serbian soldiers (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 217).

That the *heroism of soldiers was internationally recognized* is also stressed. The Bosniak textbook, in WWI, speaks about how Bosnian regiments were “considered elite units... brave, determined, devoted, and loyal fighters”, and were as such the “most decorated unit of the Austro-Hungarian military” (Šabotić and Čehajić, 2012: 127). An Austrian general is quoted to have referred to Bosniaks as “real soldiers”: “I still see them before me, this magnificent group of me, tall like poplars, with eyes of a falcon, and loyal hearts...³”, and in a sidebar, another story narrates how Austro-Hungarian units would dress in Bosniak dress in order to avoid attack, as “simply the Bosniak appearance on the battle line instilled fear in enemy ranks” (ibid., p. 127). Serbian textbooks also highlight the opinion of foreigners about the bravery and heroism of Serbian soldiers. One of the textbooks mentions German general August von Mackensen, “who had a high opinion about the bravery of the Serbian army and Serbian people”, and ordered to have the fallen Serbian soldiers buried with military honours, and a monument to their bravery erected in Košutnjak (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 73). Another Serbian textbook explains that the Serbian victory in Cer surprised the world, “who didn’t expect that such a small country can militarily resist a great power” (Omrčen and Grbović, 2014: 95).

Righteousness and pride in being on the morally ‘right’ side of history is also present in these military stories: Montenegrin textbooks speak with pride about how the people stood up to the fascists in WWII, under the paroles “better the grave than a slave!” [*bolje grob nego rob*] and “better war than a pact [with the fascists]” [*bolje rat nego pakt*], and that the people quickly organized themselves and “provided powerful resistance” against the fascists (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 92). The Montenegrin textbook also tells the story of when the Montenegrin prince Mihailo Petrović Njegoš was offered the Montenegrin crown; he chose to rather be a prisoner than a king under the occupier (ibid., p. 98.) As is evident, though, these joyful memories frequently accompany a memory of trauma, as they are brought in to highlight a broader victimization narrative. For instance, the joyful description of the bravery of Montenegrin soldiers and their success in defeating the “far more numerous and better equipped enemy” in WWI described above, is followed by a statement that “despite this victory, Montenegro was abandoned and left without the support of her allies (ibid., p. 40).

Memories of *territory gain* serve as a complement to myths of heroism and bravery, though they stress the importance of victory in reclaiming national territory, not simply military bravery, and are the counterpart to myths of territory loss in trauma-evoking memories. Slovenian textbooks especially highlight episodes of territory gain, as one of the central nationhood myths is the struggle to protect Slovenian territory from foreign occupation. Here, success is defined as the placement of the national border “where the state and national borders overlap”, meaning that the areas with a predominantly Slovenian population were included within the state borders: Maribor “finally became part of the Slovenian territory” (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 42). Most of the time, myths of territory re-claiming are joined with stories of territory loss (trauma): when the Serbian textbook lists which territories it gained in the Balkan wars and WWI, each paragraph is followed by a list of the territories it did not manage to keep or were forcefully and unfairly taken away (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 22): Serbia “was victorious in freeing Kosovo and Old Serbia, but was not able to preserve the economically and strategically important access to the Adriatic Sea”; “Montenegro enlarged its territory, but despite great casualties, had to give up Skadar” (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 50). However, that memories of neighbouring peoples claiming one’s own territory do not have to necessarily be negative, as is stressed in most textbook analyses, can be found in the way the Slovenian textbook describes the way Italians dealt with the Slovenians left within the Italian state borders post-WWII: Italy allowed the reestablishment Slovenian schools and Slovenian cultural organizations, a Slovenian cultural home was built, and even today, there are 30 Slovenian schools and many Slovenian organizations in Italy, including a newspaper, radio and television station, etc (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 133).

2. Myths of independence, statehood, and preserving national identity emphasize the joy in finally achieving statehood and being victorious in protecting the nation. The importance of *achieving*

statehood is stressed: “after 88 years, Montenegro finally became an independent state” (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 88), or, when listing former President Tuđman’s greatest successes, the Croatian textbook includes “achieving independence of the Republic of Croatia and establishing sovereignty over the entire Croatian territory” (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 210). Slovenian textbooks similarly discuss achieving statehood as a long-awaited and glorious moment in history, though interestingly, it is not accompanied by a victimization narrative as in the Montenegrin and Croat textbooks. One of the Slovenian textbooks simply states that the 10-day war did not cause many casualties, “apart from some destroyed objects and freight vehicles”, it subsequently ratified a new Constitution and was accepted in the UN – “with this, Slovenian efforts for international recognition were successfully concluded” (Burkeljca et al., 2010: 149). Serbian textbooks talk about the formation of the Kingdom of Serbia in 1882 as having brought “great international prestige”, particularly among the Balkan nations (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 24), and Montenegrin and Bosniak textbooks positively evaluate the establishment of the Socialist Yugoslavia, as having enjoyed “a great reputation in the world” (Šabotić and Čehajić, 2012: 124). Even Serbian textbooks, which are otherwise critical of the period of the Socialist Yugoslavia, take pride in the international recognition of the country, and its “vast political influence, which was disproportional to the country size” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 183).

Similarly, myths of *national identity perseverance* serve as an antipode to the myths of persecution and threats of other groups. Slovenian textbooks, for instance, talk with pride about how Slovenians were able to “remain nationally loyal” and preserve the Slovenian word and tradition in hidden cultural societies, despite the pressure of Italians and Hungarians, emphasizing the perseverance of the language and “national consciousness” (Kern et al., 2007: 73) – a phrase that is frequently repeated throughout Slovenian textbooks. The efforts of Slovenians around the globe in supporting the Slovenian national cause throughout the 1990s are also highlighted – all the while preserving their national consciousness (despite having left the country half a century earlier) by establishing numerous Slovenian societies, magazines, and Slovenian schools overseas (p. 150). Serbian textbooks use similar language in praising Serbs in “preserving the feeling of national belonging and culture” in the early 20th century, done through cultural, choral, and educational societies which “guarded Serbian tradition and nurtured the national consciousness” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 39). The phrase “preserving national consciousness” repeats several times throughout the Serbian textbook as well: helping protect the Serbian nation from assimilation was done through sending books, bringing teachers, and opening schools (pp. 26 and 45). Bosniak textbooks similarly express pride in the preservation of “our Bosnian language” for 130 years by Bosnian emigres in Albania (Valenta, 2007: 24).

3. Myths of superiority and national uniqueness appear in various forms throughout the historical narratives. One of the main places where the superiority of the nation is stressed is in the discussion of whose contribution to the fight against fascism was the greatest. Almost all of the textbooks have a special subunit titled “Contribution of [country] to the battle against fascism”, and that the nation contributed more than others is frequently present. For instance, the Montenegrin textbook explains that “the contribution of Montenegro to the anti-fascist struggle exceeded its size and population size” (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 107). Other types of superiority myths are drawn *vis-à-vis Others*, highlighting the superiority of the nation over those of the neighbouring states. When looking at just one historical period – interwar Yugoslavia – stories of the superiority of one’s group over the others within the same country can be found in all of the analysed textbooks. Slovenian textbooks, for instance, frequently highlight the differences in the levels of development, education, and literacy, of the Slovenian people versus the neighbouring Yugoslavs. For instance, one of the textbook highlights that during the inter-war Yugoslavia, illiteracy was 8.8% in Slovenia, while it was 83.8% in South Serbia, that the Slovenian actress Ita Rina was the *only* Yugoslav actress who made it in the European film scene (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 58), and that the Nebotičnik building in Ljubljana was the highest building of all buildings built in inter-war Yugoslavia. Serbian textbooks explicitly compare the economical standing of Serbs in comparison to “the other two nations living in Bosnia and Herzegovina” at the beginning of the 20th century, emphasizing that from all of the banks in the entire country, Serbs owned more than half (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 41); and that because of their success in trade, they were able to have more influence over local affairs than merchants of the other national

groups (p. 44). Croatian textbooks similarly emphasize that the Croatian bank was the strongest, Zagreb the most developed city, and Split the most important port in the entire country (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 79).

Finally, myths of uniqueness can also be found in discussions of being *more modern and more developed* than the (less civilized) neighbours: a version of Kolstø's antemurale myth discussed above. One of the few aspects of Socialism that Croatian textbooks praise is the rapid decrease in the share of the population that relied on agriculture – down to only 15% by the 1980s, “far less than in the other republics” (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 201). Serbian textbooks also emphasize the Serbian “progressive” way of looking at the world: as early as 1888, the Serbian Constitution already was “exceedingly modern” given the times in which it was drafted, based on the principles of democracy and parliamentarism, and guaranteeing civil liberties (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 26), and in interwar Yugoslavia, Serbian cities quickly lost their “orientalist (Turkish, Eastern) look” and became European (ibid., p. 31). Similarly, in Socialist Yugoslavia, whereas the leadership of other republics decided to focus on national emancipation, the Serbian leadership was more future-looking and opted for political and economic modernization instead (ibid., p. 182). Bosniak textbooks similarly emphasize that economic growth of Bosnia was “the highest” in all of Yugoslavia (Šehić et al., 2009: 233), and that Bosnia was the “mining basin and industrial elixir of the entire state economy” (Valenta, 2007: 183). One of the Slovenian textbooks emphasizes that Slovenia was already attractive to (foreign and rich) tourists already in inter-war times, when the rest of Yugoslavia was still undeveloped: half of all foreigners who visited Yugoslavia, including Danish, Dutch, and Egyptian tourists – came to Slovenia particularly, many of them for several weeks at a time (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 55).

Memories of joy in “banal” nationalism: everyday joyful memories of the nation

While the myths of the nation proposed by earlier studies have roots both in trauma and in joy, and frequently serve as antipodes to each other (e.g. memories of territory loss vs. territory gain), the textbook analysis revealed another category of joyful memories: those found in “banal” or everyday memories of the nation. Although they are not related to military, heroism, or territory, in the usual sense of nation-building, these memories, as will be demonstrated below, also serve as powerful anchors of nation-building and can serve nation-glorifying functions. Below, I outline the main themes through which memories of joy are used in the nationhood narratives: 1) national success in the field of culture, education and science; 2) joyful memories of everyday life (including living standards, travel, tourism, and the environment); 3) joyful memories of popular culture (including music, film, and sports); and 4) memories relating to the legal sphere – constitutionality, democracy, and political participation, and gender equality and women’s rights.

1. Culture, education and science. One of the most frequently recurring positive memories can be found in the pride in increases in education and literacy, culture, and science, across all five republics. Pride in *education and literacy rates* was expressed in all of the analysed textbooks. Serbian textbooks highlight the Law on Primary Schools passed as early as the late 19th century (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 31), as a testament to the nation’s commitment to education for all. Most advancements in education and literacy are found in the units on the Socialist Yugoslavia, where even the textbooks most critical of the Socialist period emphasize the great improvements in education and literacy rates. For instance, in Montenegro, that illiteracy was reduced from 44% in 1945 to only 2.3% in 1991 is highlighted, as is the conscious investment of the state in education (including a picture of a modern-equipped classroom), the founding of universities, scientific institutions, and the establishment of free education (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 127). The Bosniak textbook also highlights the drop of the illiteracy rate from 40.2% in 1953 to 14.5% in 1981, the founding of three universities, and the National Academy of Arts and Sciences (Šabotić and Čehajić 2012: 177). The Slovenian textbook, in a unit aptly titled “Slovenia: a story of success?”, points out that during Socialism, attendance of youth in higher education reached 50% of all youth, and up to 58.3% among females (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 149).

The second issue through which nationhood pride is represented in history textbooks is via stories of *advancements of national culture and science*: the building of theatres, inventions of scientists, launching of national newspapers, and similar. Lists of these advancements start in the early 20th century: for instance, the Serbian textbook mentions Serbian cultural advancements already in 1861, with the establishment of Matica Srpska: “because of this flight of culture, Novi Sad was titled the Athens of Serbia” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 37), similar to pride in Croatian and Bosnian-Croatian textbooks regarding the establishment of Matica Hrvatska in 1842 (Matković et al., 2012: 67) and the first radio station in the Yugoslav area in Zagreb in 1926 (Koren, 2014: 96). While most of the successes in culture can be found in the Socialist era units, advancements in the inter-war period are stressed, though given that the inter-war state is generally viewed as negative across all of the republics, these advancements are slightly muted given the overall negative evaluation of the entire historical period. Nonetheless, the inter-war period advancements listed include, in Bosnia: the founding of the Higher Islamic Sharia Theological School, cultural-educational societies, theatres, magazines and newspapers, the National Museum (“whose archaeological and ethnographic collections still today have a high reputation in Europe”) numerous writers, poets, etc (Šabotić and Čehajić, 2012: 148-9); in Montenegro the opening of museums, building of the Tara bridge, newspapers *Politika* and *Obzor* (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 63-9); in Serbia a “solid theatre tradition in almost all bigger cities”, blooming of literature, operas, radio stations, professional as well as amateur ensembles, and world-renown scientists (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 116); in Croatia the filming of the first Croatian film, the worldwide success of Croatian writers and composers and the establishment of research institutes and universities (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014:100); in Slovenia, the establishment of University of Ljubljana in 1919, theatres, radio, academia, the national museum, famous writers and poets, architecture, film, etc (Razpotnik and Snoj, 2013: 98). The list of cultural achievements during Socialism – which is otherwise also relatively negatively assessed across most of the textbooks – is even more extensive: all of the republics discuss advancements in the field of medicine, establishment of health clinics, cultural institutions, statistical institutes, film, literary works, libraries, architecture, etc.

2. Joyful memories of everyday life include stories related to increasing living standards, travel, tourism, and the environment. Virtually all of the joyful memories in this theme are found in the Socialist era of the textbooks, where similarly to advancements in education and science, a rosy picture of life in Socialism is represented, despite an otherwise general negative political evaluation of the Socialist era. In Montenegro, for instance, the textbook explicitly states that “even though it wasn’t democratic, the socialist government contributed greatly to the transformation of the country” and higher living standards (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 115, 126). Serbian textbooks specify the ways in which the living standards improved, specifying the increasing number of private automobiles and television sets (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 180), as do Slovenian textbooks (Kern et al., 2007: 204-5), while Croatian textbooks additionally point to the increase in accessories “for fun” including record players, radios, and electrical appliances that made housework easier (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 202). Serbian textbooks mention the influx of new fashion styles, furniture fairs, shopping trips to Trieste, jeans fashion, miniskirts, and long hair (Sviljar Dujković and Dujković, 2013: 185). Slovenian textbooks also discuss the shortening of the work week by making Saturday a non-work day, increase in the number of vacation days, longer maternity leave, and a general increase in leisure time for most people (Dolenc et al., 2008: 153).

A clear sign of improved life standards is also depicted through *travel and tourism*, where the idea that people could travel freely and affordably is pronounced. In Slovenian textbooks, a unit titled “We could afford vacation at the sea” describes how vacations began as workers’ vacations, but the increasing standard of life allowed workers to also be able to spend vacation at the Adriatic Coast, which by the 1980s became affordable to the average Slovenian family (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 142). Similarly, the Croatian textbook discusses advancements in tourism already in the late 19th century (Bekavac and Jareb, 2014: 54); a summer vacation later became a “mass occurrence” in the 1960s, when most citizens of Yugoslavia could freely travel overseas (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 205), adding that Yugoslavia was one of the only Socialist countries that allowed mass tourists to visit the country (p. 201). That rising standards attracted tourists is also explained in Montenegrin textbooks:

the number of foreign tourists grew from 5,000 tourists in 1946, to over a million in 1978 (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 126). One of the Serbian textbooks also discusses university exchange programs with the USA and other Western countries, through which thousands of Yugoslav students were able to study abroad” (Simić and Petrović, 2016, p. 221). Croatian history textbooks additionally discuss the environment, emphasizing that Croatia is “one of the few European countries” that has large quantities of drinkable water” (Đurić, 2014: 248).

3. Joyful memories of popular culture include positive memories of national achievements in film, music and sports. *National sports achievements* are stressed already in the interwar years. Slovenian textbooks contain the most extensive discussion of the importance of national sports: already in 1938, Slovenia had forty football fields, twelve athletic fields, two bicycle routes, fifteen swimming pools, twenty-three ski jumps; the weightlifting teams won three gold medals at the 1924 and 1928 Olympic games, and tell how the construction of the Planica ski jump was so impressive, that even Scandinavians, who invented Nordic skiing, forbade competitions in Planica out of jealousy (Burkeljca et al., 2010: 57). The textbooks stress the importance of sports to Slovenes, by pointing out that even during WWII, sports competitions were organized, including pictures of a 1941 athletics competition and the 1945 Cerklje ski jump competition (pp. 86-7). The Croatian textbook says “undoubtedly the most popular sport in Croatia was football”, discusses the long Croatian tradition in football (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 102), and mentions the passion and success of Croats in water polo, tennis, and women’s handball (p. 103). Discussions of sports increase in the units covering the Socialist period. In this period, Montenegrin textbooks expand the focus from football to women’s handball, which became the “most successful sports team in Montenegro” (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 27). Slovenian textbooks have entire sections devoted to the importance of sports during the Socialist era: the opening of the Tivoli sports arena, which hosted the 1965 world championship in table tennis and the 1966 world championship in hockey (Burkeljca et al, 2010: 139); the successes of individual Slovenes in world-wide competitions (the first Slovenian team to climb Mount Everest, Bruno Parma’s grandmaster title in chess), as well as massive attendance of Slovenes at various sports events and watching ski jumps. In discussions of contemporary times, Croatian textbooks again return to sports, highlighting the successes of individual Croats in world-wide competitions, including Janica Kostelić, the “best alpine skier of contemporary times”, Dražen Petrović, “the best Croatian basketball player and one of the first European basketball players to be successful even in the American NBA league”, and Goran Ivanišević, “one of the best tennis players in the world” (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014, 245). Another Bosniak-Croatian textbooks says: “It could be said that no other aspect of social life did not do as much and produce as much publicity for Croatia in the world as much as sports” (Bekavac et al. 2015:194; same quote in Bekavac and Jareb, 2014: 192). One of the Serbian textbooks says how most sports created “world class” players who represented Yugoslavia at international competitions, “thrilling the population and bringing them closer together” (Vajagić and Stošić, 2016: 192).

As in the previous section, memories relating to *music* are mostly contained in the units during the Socialist era. The Slovenian textbook even has a unit titled “When we drank Cockta and listened to the Kameleons”, an entire section covering Slovenian pop culture of the 1980s: a description of the uniqueness of Slovenian rock n’ roll, magazines devoted to rock music (Jubox magazine – “the first rock magazine in the Socialist world!”), and preference for “new, avant-garde theatre forms” which reinvigorated the theatre scene (Razpotnik and Snoj, 2013: 128-9). Bosniak textbooks take pride in the so-called “Sarajevo pop-rock school” artist movement, which saw the formation of Bosnian bands including Indeksi, Bijelo Dugme, Crvena Jabuka, Plavi Orkestar, and others, which were “listened to throughout all of Yugoslavia” (Hadžiabić et al., 2007: 135). Serbian textbooks refer to this period as “the golden era of Yugoslav culture” (Bondžić and Nikolić, 2015: 232), though interestingly the list in all of the Serbian textbooks includes bands from all over Yugoslavia, whereas the Croatian, Bosniak, and Slovenian textbooks include only bands of their national origin.

4. Joyful memories belonging to the legal sphere include national achievements in the sphere of constitutionality, democracy, and political participation; including gender equality and women’s rights. These are found in units throughout the textbooks. The Serbian textbooks, for instance,

highlight the *equality* of Serbian people already in the late 19th century: “In comparison to other countries, where some families owned several thousands of hectares of land, whereas others did not have any property, social differences in Serbia were significantly smaller. Because of this, it is frequently said that Serbian society was a society of equals” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 31). Pride in the democratic constitution, strong parliamentary system, and well-developed state institutions is similarly expressed (Ljušić and Dimić, 2013: 31). Bosniak textbooks also emphasize the importance of equality, although primarily equality in terms of national belonging (mentioned up to three times on a single page), as well as human rights, national equality, freedom of consciousness and religious affiliation, freedom of assembly, and gender equality (Šabotić and Čehajić, 2012: 164). Later, when discussing Bosnian statehood, the idea of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an “equal member” in international political, cultural, economic, and sports organizations is again stressed (p. 182). Croatian textbooks also highlight the importance of the “democratization of political life” in the 1960s, and that Croats could finally express their thoughts more freely (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 198). Pride in *joining the EU* and EU institutions is also present in some Slovenian and Croatian textbooks (picture of the sign saying “Welcome, Croatia!” on the building of the European parliament in Strasbourg; Koren, 2014: 295), while Slovenian textbooks also express national pride in the development of social movements for equality and eco-movements led by youth.

The field of *gender equality* and women’s rights is also found in many of the textbooks. Serbian textbooks, for instance, label as explicitly unequal those periods when there were more boys than girls in secondary schools, defining patriarchy as “a society that avoids modern values” (Đurić and Pavlović, 2016: 31). Slovenian textbooks are normatively explicit in their lauding of advancements during socialism in gender equality, which moved society away from traditional Catholic principles “that pushed women into a subordinate role in the family and society”, emphasizing advancements such as the right to divorce and abortion (Dolenc et al., 2008: 153). Croatian textbooks also discuss how, during WWI, women had to take over many “male jobs” (quotes in original), and quickly demonstrated that “they could handle these types of jobs without any problems. Voices saying that a woman who is into politics will ‘neglect her family responsibilities’ were also silenced” (Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 31). Later units on contemporary Croatia explicitly discuss the presence of “numerous associations working for human rights [...], protecting the rights of children, and women’s rights” (Đurić, 2014: 247).

Discussion

In the results above, I outlined the main types of nationhood myths and pointed to the different sources of each type of myth (based on a traumatic vs. joyful memory). I then highlighted the differences between nationhood myths relying on memories rooted in trauma, and nationhood myths rooted in memories of joy, including those rooted in joyful memories of “hot nationalism” (territory, military, bravery, national distinctiveness), as well as joyful memories of “banal” nationalism or everyday life (sports, music, pop culture, living standards, travel, equality). In addition to conceptually dividing memories into these four categories (outlined in Table 1 above), the analysis points to a greater need for scholars to analytically distinguish the following four dimensions:

- 1) The *source* of the memory: is the memory based on a positive/joyful or negative/traumatic event? – is it a story of territory loss or gain; a military victory or military loss?;
- 2) The *type* of nationalism of the memory: is the memory explicitly nationalist in character (“hot” nationalism), or only implicitly nationalist (“banal”/ “cold”/everyday nationalism)?
- 3) The *emotion* evoked by the memory: does the memory evoke positive (pride, comfort, happiness) or negative (anxiety, shame, anger, fear) emotions? A story of losing territory to a neighbouring country likely evokes negative motions of anger and resentment; whereas a story of military martyrdom – though rooted in a traumatic memory – might evoke positive feelings of pride and joy;
- 4) The *behaviour* the emotion is meant to, or in practice, evokes: pride, for instance, could be considered both positive and negative, depending on the type of behaviour it could potentially elicit.

Whereas the first two dimensions were systematically analysed in the preceding sections, and are outlined in Table 1, the questions of emotions and behaviour require further discussion. While the role of certain emotions – including fear, anxiety, shame, and anger – in evoking violence has been extensively covered in the literature (see discussion above), the findings in this article highlight the need for more analyses of nationhood myths evoking *positive* emotions. As emphasized by virtually all scholars of emotions and nationalism (Bloom, 1990; McLaughlin, 1996; Demertzis, 2013; Scheff, 2000), identification with groups happens largely because of the need of humans to bond, belong to, and identify with groups, yet, where nations are concerned, we still do not properly understand the role of positive or negative emotions in filling this need. The analysis does, however, demonstrate the extent to which – especially in societies with difficult pasts – positive memories, such as glorifying the nation through sports, music, and popular culture, might be an alternative to building social cohesion and provide the “emotional glue” necessary for national solidarity. Given the preponderance of joyful memories in the textbooks – particularly relating to cultural advancements, literacy rates, pride in equality, democracy and women’s rights – it seems reasonable to suggest that emphasizing these kinds of memories, and building the national “glue” on these memory fragments rather than persecution or victimization ones, might be a worthwhile undertaking. Previous research has demonstrated the particular need of youth to feel national pride in *positive* memories: when asked about things about their nation they are most proud of, Croatian youth included the environment, natural beauty, and the seaside, while Serbian youth resorted to 12th and 13th century historical victories, or listed successes in sports and music (Trošt, 2018), which demonstrates that these types of national memory fragments are less accessible (likely less emphasized in schools and media) in the minds of Serbian students. Particularly given the overall fatigue of youth with history and politics (Stojanović et al, 2010), and the need of youth to have a source of national pride separate from the burden of history they might not identify with (Miller-Idriss, 2009), examinations of positive nationhood memories – particularly those not explicitly nationalist in character – might be of critical importance.

However, while we can assume that facilitating memories that evoke fear or anger is more precarious than facilitating memories based on joy or pride, it is still unclear whether certain types of memories (like ethnic pride) are in any way “better”, and for whom. Are memories of joy in any way less potent than memories of trauma for nationalist mobilization, or are they just as flammable? For instance, studies have shown that pride (which can otherwise be classified as both a positive and negative emotion; see Robinson, 2008) serves as an ambiguous function: some Serbian youth feel national pride in stubbornness (not succumbing to pressure regarding Kosovo), and many Croatian youth feel national pride in the 1990s war despite of war transgressions committed by Croatian troops (see Trošt, 2018). Similarly, research has shown the potency of both “hot”/explicit and “cold”/banal nationalism (Malešević, 2006; Billig, 1995; Skey and Antonsich, 2017), and as such, the analysis does not propose insights as to whether one or the other is necessarily “better” (and again, for whom). This article merely attempted to bring memories of joy into the discussion of nationhood myths and nationalism and offer an analytical model for understanding them, but further discussion on the functions of memories –regarding the type (hot/cold), the emotion (positive/negative), and the behaviour/effect (potency for violence) is still needed.

Further, it is important to note that the analysis above was based on a study of history textbooks, which have an explicit agenda of building national solidarity and cohesion in pupils. Thus, we can expect that the memories included in the textbooks are inherently biased and do not represent the full range of nationhood memories in the public sphere – it is reasonable to expect that the textbooks are deliberate in their choice of which emotion to evoke. Even so, the analysis revealed significant *national differences* in the ways in which both memories of joy and trauma are employed across the post-Yugoslav region. The existence of national differences could suggest several things. First, it could point to the existence of a “national habitus”, as proposed by Heaney (2013), in which cognitive and emotional processes are intertwined – “an embodied social site in which both ‘political’ and ‘psychological’ processes intersect” (p. 260), leading to different national predispositions in political-emotional orientations. A similar proposition can be detected in psychological studies which

demonstrate that, while positive and negative emotions are generally seen as universally desirable/undesirable, there are clear cultural differences in how important emotional experiences are to members of particular nations (Kuppens et al., 2008). In my analysis, the reliance on particular emotional imagery seems to be context-specific: both types of memories were related to distinctive episodes in each nation's historical consciousness, in which certain types of trauma (or joy) are "reserved" for particular historical memories. Slovenian textbooks, for instance, do not exhibit any traces of victimization when talking about the 1990s war, but victimization is very pronounced in the units covering the period of inter-war Yugoslavia, when many Slovenians were left in countries outside of the state borders. Similarly, the most graphic and emotionally-laden persecution and threat text in Serbian textbooks is found in sections about Kosovo and about the Croatian fascist puppet state (Independent State of Croatia) in WWII, where the discourse and choice of words (biological extermination, forceful assimilation) is very similar, and is absent in all other sections, even those where the nation-state arguably suffered similar losses. Thus, in each country, certain historical episodes are distinguishably traumatic in nature, and in these, the content is particularly emotionally-laden and exclusively negative; while other less-problematic episodes can combine elements of memories evoking both trauma and joy.

Relatedly, the article points to the relevance of the *function* served by the joyful memory, and the broader *meta-narrative* to which it belongs. The individual memories reviewed above such as pride in a sports competition, or pride in a military victory, all belong to a broader narrative, which could be a particular historical episode, or the larger, meta-nationhood narrative. If the broader historical era is generally deemed by the broader national meta-narrative as a negative one, then the individual memories from the era, although positive, are subsumed within this larger narrative. Some joyful memories were thus followed by qualifiers (joined with a trauma-evoking memory), depending on the nationhood purpose they were meant to fulfil. For instance, as the inter-war period is generally seen as politically damaging to Croatia's statehood aspirations, the joyful memories of this period (such as the reduction in the proportion of the illiterate population) are necessarily followed by qualifiers ("... but, in some parts of Croatia the percentage of illiterate people was still very high", Erdelja and Stojaković, 2014: 99). Similarly, the Montenegrin textbook, when speaking about the inter-war era, follows every positive statement with a negative one: the agrarian reform significantly improved the economic position of peasants (however, it was unsuccessful in actually improving agriculture); science, technology and modernization were rapidly spreading (however, most of the country was still isolated); illiteracy throughout the country was significantly decreased (however, inequality in education levels in different parts of the country were vast) (Burzanović and Đorđević, 2016: 63-8). Some nationhood myths are so potent – such as the victimization myth in Serbian textbooks, or the persecution-innocence myth in Croatian textbooks – that all individual memories, both positive and negative, are brought into this broader meta-narrative. The Bosnian-Serbian textbook, for instance, speaks proudly about Nikola Tesla ("a Serbian scientist, and one of the greatest geniuses in science, ever"), but the text about his scientific discoveries is accompanied by a quote emphasizing that others stole his ideas (Pejić et al., 2017: 20). In addition to "diluting" the joyful memories to fit in with the broader narrative, another strategy is silencing or ignoring these events. One of the Bosnian-Croatian textbooks (Miloš 2008), for instance, has such a pronounced victimhood and persecution narrative, that it is difficult to point to any individual positive memories. In Serbian textbooks, the discussion of joyful memories of everyday life in Serbia varies from widely – those textbooks with a more positive evaluation of Socialism include extensive discussions of joyful memories, both of the "hot nationalism" variety (pride in Tito's political successes and of the non-aligned movement) as well as of the "everyday nationalism" kind (positive memories of everyday life, culture, music, in Socialism); on the other hand, textbooks with a negative evaluation of Socialism (e.g., Pavlović and Bosnić, 2016) simply skip over these historical events altogether. Thus, if a particular historical episode, or nationhood narrative as a whole, is generally negatively evaluated, even the joyful memories will be dampened or qualified by negative ones (or simply excluded) – individual memory fragments are pulled "on board" to corroborate the broader meta-narrative.

The analysis above attempted to provide a template for examining the utilization and function of memories of joy in nationhood narratives, suggesting the importance of examining nationhood myths

in their entirety, moving beyond the focus on trauma. As stressed in the nationhood literature, national identity is inherently emotional in character and represents a “feeling of belonging, not simply a cognitive allegiance” (Heaney, 2013:260), and as such, exploring how this feeling is constructed, both via positive and negative emotions, is certainly of relevance. Nationhood myths which serve to construct a glorious national past are multi-faceted, and do not rely simply on stories of territory loss, military victories, and persecution, but importantly necessitate joyful memories as well, including those rooted in “blatant” and everyday issues such as music, sports, and culture. The link between these emotions, and whether they differently relate to national solidarity, “type” of nationalism, or likelihood of nationalist violence, warrants more attention. Finally, as discussed above, the findings have applied relevance, as they demonstrate the importance of providing youth with “versions” of history – or at least, a more effective blending of memory fragments that are not rooted primarily in trauma – to provide positive senses of national pride and belonging.

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Notes:

¹ It is important to highlight that while referring to the “Serbian” or “Croatian” narrative might imply one unitary national narrative, these narratives are certainly not unitary and are frequently internally contested; some of these within-country contestations are visible when comparing the various textbooks approved within each country. However, each “national” textbook must follow the government’s prescribed curriculum, which contains the state’s vision of what youth should learn.

² The Bosnian-Serbian and Bosnian-Croatian narratives largely mirror – and are in many cases written by the same authors – as the mainland Serbian and Croatian ones.

³ In original: “*Vidim ih pred sobom, tu raskošnu momčad, visoku kao jablani, s očima sokola i vijernih srca..*”