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DAMNATIO MEMORIAE:
ISTRIAN MEMORIES IN THE DARK TOURISM CONTEXT

Doktorski rad

Mentor: prof. dr. sc. Gordan Črpić

Komentorica: izv. prof. dr. sc. Jasna Ćurković Nimac

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Sažetak

Doktorska disertacija prikazuje povezanost traumatičnih događaja 20. stoljeća sa suvremenom istarskom društvenom stvarnošću te tako dodaje novu dimenziju (historijskoj) sociologiji. Teorija mračnog turizma i proučavanja sjećanja pružaju dovoljno snažan okvir za povijesnu kontekstualizaciju i odgovarajuće istraživanje, kao i za identifikaciju i striktnu empirijsku provjeru suvremene prakse u prekograničnom i multietničkom području Istre. U tom kontekstu, glavne svrhe istraživanja su (a) razumijevanje onoga što sjećanje i mračni turizam znače u okvirima određenog regionalnog okruženja (Istra kao prekogranična regija) i (b) prikaz tema vezanih za povijest Istre (konflikti/sukobi) tijekom 20. stoljeća, suvremenih praksi sjećanja u sferi javnosti i mračnog turizma u vodećim regionalnim masovnim elektroničkim medijima na temelju kojih se može prepoznati specifična društvena stvarnost oblikovana od strane medija. Slijedom toga, postavljeno je šest istraživačkih pitanja za kvalitativnu i kvantitativnu analizu. Rezultati višestruke studije slučaja (4 primjera) s prikrivenim sudioničkim promatranjem pokazuju, da suvremeni mračni komemorativni događaji usmjereni na povijest u Istri ne slijede u potpunosti prijašnje prakse sjećanja. Identificirane su sljedeće njihove karakteristike: (a) ideološke teme ne mogu se izravno pripisati istarskim događajima, (b) simboli su, općenito, karakteristična značajka događaja, (c) regionalizam i convivenza obilježavaju samo mračne komemorativne događaje vezane uz Drugi svjetski rat, (d) događaje očito uglavnom posjećuje lokalno stanovništvo i (e) odsutnost ili nedostaci u turističkoj infrastrukturi. Internacionalizacija, masovno posjećivanje i općenita 'atraktivnost' za različite ciljne skupine (generacije posjetitelja) nisu tipični za istarske događaje, što ozbiljno ograničava mogućnost klasificiranja tih događaja u kontekstu mračnog turizma. Ključni nalazi istraživanja kvantitativne analize sadržaja 126 članaka, koji odražavaju medijski izgrađenu društvenu stvarnost povezanu s memorijalnim praksama pokazuju da komemoracije povezane s Drugim svjetskim ratom dominiraju među različitim vrstama suvremenih istarskih memorijalnih praksi. Pomoću TwoStep klaster analize stvorena su četiri različita klastera: „Jednostavni mračni komemorativni događaji", „Mračni komemorativni događaji ruralnih područja vezanih za Drugi svjetski rat", „Mješoviti mračni komemorativni događaji" i „Mračni komemorativni događaji povezani s ratom za neovisnost". Uz to, sve lokacije događaja mapirane su pomoću geovizualizacije. Utvrdili smo da su događaji rašireni cijelim poluotokom.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis draws upon the historical sociology to consider the dark tourism end collective memorial practices related to the traumatic 20th century and the contemporary Istrian social reality. The theory of dark tourism and memory studies offers a robust enough framework for the historical contextualization and adequate investigation as well as the identification and strict empirical checking of contemporary practices in the trans-border and multi-ethnic region of Istria. In this context, the main purposes of the research are to (a) provide an understanding of what memory and dark tourism mean in a specific regional environment, and (b) establish a representation of topics related to the Istrian history (of conflicts) of the 20th century, contemporary public memorial practices and dark tourism in leading regional electronic news media, based on which the specific media-created social reality can be identified. Consequently, six research questions for the qualitative and quantitative analysis were developed. Results of the multiple-case study approach (4 cases) and a covert participant observation show that contemporary Istrian history-centric dark commemorative events do not completely follow past memorial practices. With this in mind, the following characteristic were identified: (a) ideological topics cannot be directly attributed to Istrian events, (b) symbols are, in general, a characteristic feature of the events, (c) regionalism and *convivenza* mark only WWII-related dark commemorative events, (d) events are evidently visited mainly by the locals, and (e) absence or deficiencies in the tourist infrastructure. Internationalisation, massiveness and the general 'attractiveness' for different target groups (generations of visitors) are not typical for Istrian events, which seriously limits the ability to classify these events in a dark tourism context. Key research findings of the quantitative content analysis of 126 media reports, which reflect the media-constructed social reality related to memorial practices, show that WWII-related 'memorial services' dominate among different types of contemporary Istrian memorial practices. Four different clusters were created using TwoStep Cluster Analysis: 'Simple dark commemorative events', 'WWII-related dark commemorative events of rural areas', 'Mixed dark commemorative events' and 'Independence War-related dark commemorative events'. In addition, all event locations were mapped using geovisualisation. We found that events were dispersed all over the peninsula.

In memory of my hero,

the man of my past, present and future,

the man of my rationality, emotions and inspirations,

the man who was not helping me just to grow up,…,

in memory of my dearest father Srečko.

Dad, I am immensely glad and proud that I had You!

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

"Even today we raise our hand against our brother…

We have perfected our weapons, our conscience has fallen asleep,

and we have sharpened our ideas to justify ourselves as if it were

normal we continue to sow destruction, pain, death.

Violence and war are the language of death!"

"Can we learn once again to walk and live in the ways of peace?"

Pope Francis, Vigil of prayer for peace (2013)

Death and human tragedy are traditionally very interesting to men – see Dunkley, Westwood and Morgan (2007), Stone and Sharpley (2008), Šuligoj (2016). They are not interesting only to the ordinary people, scientist or to the media, but also to a number of world-class and less recognisable artists whose creations attract the international public. In his series *Recettes d'immortalité,* Salvador Dalí, for example, includes elements that symbolize death or suffering, e.g. *Le Piano Sous la Neige* (The Piano in the Snow; 1966), *Les Moulins* (The Mills; 1966), *Dix Recettes d'Immortalité* (Ten Recipes for Immortality; 1973) (Ciglenečki, 2017). In the Upper Adriatic area, the legacy of Hungarian war photographer and photo journalist Robert Capa was exhibited in 2017 (A Trieste Capa racconta, 2017) and the scenes of horror from the Dachau concentration camp of famous Slovenian painter, printmaker, draughtsman as well as concentration camp prisoner Zoran Mušič were exhibited at Trieste's Museo Revoltella in 2018 (Carlini Fanfogn, 2018). Of further interest is also the internationally known and award-winning novel *Necropolis* by Slovenian novelist from Trieste, Boris Pahor (2010), about his holocaust experience. On the other hand, in the wider South-Eastern European area and especially in Croatia, a 'dark exhibition' that echoed as a provocative one was 'Jasenovac – The Right to Remembrance' at the United Nations in New York on the of horror of the Jasenovac concentration camp (Nije dobro sjećanje, 2018; Exhibit opening, 2018). To have a similar effect in Serbia, was the multimedia exhibition 'Dubrovnik, a Scarred City: The Damage and Restoration of Dubrovnik 1991-1992' opened in February 2019 at the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Washington (Izložba Dubrovnik, 2019). Moving back to the Upper Adriatic, also Italian TV movies *Il Cuore nel Pozzo* (The Heart in the Pit) in 2005 and *Rosso Istria* (Red Istria) in 2019 upset not only veteran/anti-fascist organizations in Slovenia and Croatia, but also the

wider public in the region. These are only a few selected representative examples where death and suffering were exposed and which echoed in the international environment (society). Such creations are only one way in which traumatic historical moments and memories are (in)correctly transmitted to the people today. These are "sensuous memories produced by an experience of mass-mediated representations, and like an artificial limb, these memories often mark a trauma". Thus, the above-mentioned memory-related artists' creations can be linked to the so-called 'prosthetic memories'. They are not natural and the property of a single social group, they are historically specific as well as quite distinct from the various forms of collective memory, but they enter into unexpected political alliances (Landsberg, 2003: 148, 149). Because of all these specifics, this type of memory will not be specifically considered in this research. Conversely, memorial events and the related media reports, which also attract a certain number of visitors and readers, form the main research direction of this research. In order to clarify the complexity of the Istrian (collective) memory and the related dark tourism, which sometimes connects, sometimes completely separates people, an in-depth (theoretical) explanation, including historical contextualisation and then a qualitative and a quantitative investigation, is needed.

1.1. Background and rationale for the thesis

The Istrian Peninsula as a trans-border region, formally divided among Croatia, Slovenia and Italy, is populated by indigenous ethnic groups and immigrants who are able to quickly integrate into 'Istria's society'.[1] In 1994, the region, which is limited with natural and cultural barriers and not with national borders, was declared as a Euroregion by the major regional political party in the Istrian county as well in Croatia (*Istarski demokratski sabor – Dieta democratica Istriana*) (Banovac, 2004; Banovac et al., 2004; Orlić, 2009).[2] This is in line with the vision of Europe as a 'Europe of regions'; this vision, which is closer to citizens, decrease ethnic egoisms, nationalisms and interethnic tensions. However, representatives of the nation-states are against this vision and understand regionalism just as separatism (Janicki, 2009: 37, 38). How far can the thoughts of 'Istrian regionalists' go in Croatia, is also evident from the regional anthem (Cro. *Krasna zemljo, Istro mila*) and statute of the county, which has all the

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[1] Immigrants represent one of the constants of the Istrian ethnogenesis (Medica, 2011: 250).
[2] The idea in the 1990s aroused interest also in Italy, especially among (extreme) right-wingers, who had their own political calculation (described below) (Pirjevec et al., 2012: 217).

characteristics of the national Constitution (Raos, 2014: 38)[3]; due to a different approach to regionalization, the Slovenian Istria is not a formal region, but it still has an anthem (Slo. *Vstajenje Primorske*) that is common to the whole of western Slovenia. This is not just a post-independence trend or fashion, considering that Istria had a song that sounded as an anthem already in the late 19th century – '*Inno all'Istria*' (Anthem to Istria). However, many other 'anthems' created in the late 19th and the first half of 20th century became the symbol of Italian irredentism and, much later, after the Second World War (WWII), the symbol of the Italian exodus,[4] which was not particularly welcomed during the post-WWII period (Di Paoli Paulovich, 2012). D'Alessio (2012a) claims that the second half of the 20th century caused a wide circulation of emotionally coloured words, which socialised stereotypes, populisms and the politicisation of topics, which blocked trans-border collaboration in the Upper Adriatic. The research of Cattunar (in D'Alessio (2012a)) demonstrates that memories of older people (Italians) with their own traumatic experience are significantly linked to the division of the nation and their own explanations of the local/regional history. It can be added that these divisions are not rooted only in different national origins, but also in different ideological orientations.

Traumatic historical events – the Great War (WWI), the period of fascism, WWII, the revolutionary post-WWII period and the War of Independence in the 1990s – with frequent changes in power affected Istria's people of all nationalities. Because of it geostrategic position, the multi-ethnical Istria was an area of constant conflict and thus, an area with reinforced military presence (a militarised area (see chapters '5. Trans-border region of Istria' and '6. Memories and dark tourism in Istria').[5] Today, on the other hand, it is a recognizable area of peace and coexistence.[6] It seems that the slogan of the former federation, 'Brotherhood and Unity', is still alive in Istria in the late 20th century and especially at the beginning of the 21st century, although in a completely different context and not without problems. These

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[3] See also the Statute of the Istrian County (Statut Istarske županije, 2009).

[4] Term exodus is used only as (shorter) synonym for the population movement, which was defined already in Dictionary of Sociology by Fairchild (1944: 226) as "a transfer of human groups from one geographic setting to another." This means that only sociological perspective of the term is took into consideration in this thesis and not some other, e.g. the legal, political or geostrategic, which are on the other hand also relevant for the study of the 20th century of the Upper Adriatic when not only Istrian Italians moved.

[5] Complex Istrian history is presented in a manageable way in Darovec (2008).

[6] In Jun 2014 was in Strunjan near Piran planted a persimmon sapling, a descendant of a tree which survived the devastating explosion of an atomic bomb in Nagasaki at the end of WWII (*Občina Piran*, 2014), what clearly demonstrate peaceful orientation of this part of Istria. That was in Croatian part of Istria observed by Katunarić (2010: 9), which identify peace culture in the area, complementary to democratic culture.

circumstances enable the opportunity to transfer narratives and their meaning to the next generations in order to preserve individual and collective memory (Cooper, 2006; Dunkley et al., 2011). These transfers are thus similar, comparable, if not part of the intergenerational transfer of the elements of identity, cultural, behavioural and other convictions (Zadel, 2016: 58, 332). Based on these relevant findings, a new (general) issue that presents itself in this thesis is how and where the preservation and transmission of traumatic historic events to today's generations in the multi-ethnic Istria occurs. In relation to this, we can metaphorically say that Istria as a whole is one of the richest European regional museums, with equally represented tangible and intangible heritage and it is interesting from the ethnological aspect (Urošević, 2012: 95). Very important ethnological aspects are, however, intentionally neglected in this thesis since they are less common in sociological studies.

Bufon (2008b: 41–44) takes into account historical and cultural criteria when studying trans-border regions. The author highlights the individual or micro-social perception of space arising from cultural patterns of a certain living environment. Hence, he claims that people living near the border try to link something that has been politically divided in the past. This is the process of disassembling and reassembling territorial systems or systems of social life (Bufon, 2008a: 22–24), which are historically significant for the Istrian case, where the Schengen border regime represents to the people of Istria a sort of second Berlin Wall and return back to 1947 (Free Territory of Trieste) (Pipan, 2007: 231–232). Hence, the claim that cultural space has been shifted from the national to the regional/local level (Bufon, 2008a: 17), which means that (trans-border) regions as social constructs, can be considered independently.

All these circumstances justify the separate treatment of Istria and its residents in respect to the other parts of Croatia, Slovenia and Italy. In this context, this research focuses on the Croatian and Slovenian parts, which represent the vast majority of the territory of the peninsula. Raos (2014) identified many features, which significantly separate the region from the continental sides of Croatia, e.g. traffic remoteness, national structure, and the specific regional identity – see also the first paragraph of this sub-chapter. Its hybridity, multicultural orientation and tolerance make the (autochthonous) residents of Istria unique in relation to Italians, Slovenians and Croats from outside the region. In addition, according to Urošević's (2012) qualitative research carried out in Istria, 22% of the respondents (mostly from Istria County) were of the opinion that foreigners connect the word 'Croatia' with the Homeland War, the Balkans and Yugoslavia, while associating the word 'Istria' with gastronomy, nature and culture (heritage, history). Since the ethnological aspect has already been excluded in this

respect, the link with tourism[7] is the one that remains relevant. Historically speaking, beside some Western researchers and travellers who visited Istria in the 19th century and even before, e.g. Rieger (1977)[8] or Yriarte (1883), local travellers like Agapito (1823, 1826), were also active in researching the Upper Adriatic, including Istria, and their works could then be used for travel purposes.[9]

Istria, which was the leading tourist region as early as in the period of post-WWII Yugoslavia (Blažević, 1984: 5),[10] has thus been keeping its status and still has highly recognisable tourism products on the international level, e.g. sports events (ATP tennis tournament in Umag, beach volley in Poreč, Red Bull flights in Rovinj), cultural events (Film Festival in Pula or in Motovun, artists in Grožnjan, many concerts of different popular artists from Croatia or abroad at the Arena Amphitheatre or the Cave Romane quarry), Tito's and other heritage on the Brijuni Islands, the seasonal open air Ulysses Theatre on the Brijuni Islands (the founder of which is Rade Šerbedžija), traditional gastronomy, the *batana* – a protected traditional boat, small rectangular stone houses called *kažun*, many secular and sacral buildings from the Venetian, Austrian and Italian periods, including the UNESCO-protected *Euphrasiana* in Poreč, the traditional salt-fields in Sečovlje, the former *Parenzana* railroad track, and many museums in Koper, Piran, Umag, Novigrad, Pazin and Pula, where the rich legacy of the past times is presented. The Roman heritage in Pula is of great importance today, although it was highly appreciated in the past as well – see Agapito (1823: 79–101) or the *Notizie storiche di Pola* (1876). When we think about Istria, what matters is not only the coast, but also the history and its importance in the international context (Rusinow, 1963a).

As a Roman colony and in the time of the Templars, Pula had a special military and warfare significance, although from today's perspective, not always an entirely positive one. The gladiatorial fights in the Arena were very well known during the Roman domination, while during the era of the Templars in Europe, many of their celebrations, knight battles and other such events were also available to visitors (Rutar, 1896: 264; Yriarte, 1883: 121, 122). Roman heritage between Pula (*Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola/Colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea*) and Trieste (*Colonia Iulia Tergeste*) is in fact the root of the dispute between the Italians, who

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[7] The case of 'UNESCO World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Toolkit' (UNESCO Sustainable Tourism, n.d.) shows that tourism and heritage in fact coexist. Many references are also listed on their webpage, which proves how long UNESCO has been systematically dealing with the coexistence of these two areas.

[8] This monography is a reprint of the original work from 1851.

[9] More can be found in Kavrečič (2011, 2014, 2015).

[10] The development of tourism in Istria from the second half of the 19th century onwards is described in Blažević (1984, 1987) and Šuligoj (2015b).

see themselves as the successors of the Roman civilization (and the Venetians), and the later immigrated Slavs. Thus, this territory evolved over time to become the hotspot of this piece of Europe. This creates different public memorial practices and a different attitude to the past. Consequently, historical events of the distant as well as the recent past (e.g. conflicts of the 20th century) offer typical examples, which are nowadays linked also to the segment of dark tourism. Light (2017: 278, 279), according to other authors, summarizes that "dark tourism is defined as involving incidences of death, disaster and atrocity that have taken place within living memory. They identified a major shift in the way that death and the dead are treated by the tourism industry, with death being increasingly commodified and commercialised." However, the commodification and commercialisation of memory of painful historical events is not a simple process and can be marked by remembrance, amnesia and forgiveness (Miklavcic, 2008: 443) as well as silence (Hrobat Virloget, 2017),[11] if we do not take into account even more deviant processes, which may stifle the societies/communities. Istria, where authorities and ideologies changed many times in the 20th century, faces all of them.

An important social term or phenomenon, usually forgotten in sociological research, is the so-called *damnatio memoriae*. The Latin phrase *damnatio memoriae* at the time of the Romans – the connection to them is reasonable for Istria – meant a severe penalty of erasure from memory (Varner, 2004: 2). Schwedler (2010) and Omissi (2016), on the other hand, understand it as a modern construct with no direct Roman root, which causes many contemporary misinterpretations.[12] Regardless of the considerable terminological confusion, a modern Latin phrase, which literally means damnation or condemnation of memory (Varner, 2004: 2) or "processes directed at the suppression or manipulation of the memory of an enemy of the state" (Omissi, 2016: 170) is taken into account in this thesis. Omissi's (2016: 170) claim that "*damnatio memoriae* is not actually a single process but an umbrella term that describes a number of overlapping but discrete activities," is relevant for humanistic and social sciences (Schwedler, 2010), and thus also for researching the history-centric memorial practices (dissonant heritage) and dark tourism as parts of social reality in the multi-ethnic Istria.

To prove how pertinent and relevant all these claims, assertions and assumptions are, including those on (Istrian) memory and dark tourism in the Upper Adriatic, was the commemoration of *Il Giorno del ricordo* (The Day of Remembrance) in February 2019 in Bazovizza/Bazovica above Treste, where Antonio Tajani, President of the European

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[11] They, in fact, constantly coexist and society is permanently filled with them (Hrobat Virloget, 2017; McAuley, 2013; Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger, 2010).
[12] More can be found in Schwedler (2010) and Omissi (2016).

Parliament, meaningfully ended his speech with the words: "Long live Trieste, long live the Italian Istria, long live the Italian Dalmatia" (Šokantan Tajanijev govor, 2019; Tajani se je, 2019). Regardless of many the harsh reactions of the Slovenian and Croatian political leaders, anti-fascist organizations, some European parliamentarians and his later (unconvincing) apology, he highlighted the positive achievements of the regime of Mussolini only a few days later and caused new reactions. With all these acts, Tajani completely ignored the 'Resolution on the importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe' (2019).

All these words and events as well as many other history-centric activities were and still are interesting for the media, which report and comment on them. Gamson et al. (1992: 385) summarise some authors who established that due to the presumed influence of the media, these turn into a series of arenas where social stakeholders struggle over the definition and construction of social reality – see also Nišić and Plavšić (2014: 74). On the other hand, the media influence opinion (Črpić and Mataušić, 1998: 673) and construct the social reality through the explanation and interpretation of the information; they are (not only a neutral) "intermediary between the event and the observer, between the creators and consumers" (Nišić and Plavšić, 2014: 74). In this context, the media also re- and co-construct memory with regard to discrete events (Edy, 1999; Kitch, 2002, 2008), can generate a culturally distributed collective memory (Pavlaković and Perak, 2017: 301), and be the 'site of memory' (Mustapić and Balabanić, 2018: 439). Hence, the next relevant question is, how are the media associated with dark tourism? On the basis of some citations and claims of Simone-Charteris, Kirkpatrick, and McLaughlin (2018),[13] the following answers can be highlighted:

- "*the media transmits images of disasters throughout the world almost as they happen, this way creating a bond with viewers, who then want to travel to these sites as they feel a connection to the event*" (pp. 70 – 71, 73);
- the media plays an important role in publicising disasters where they exploit peoples' fascination towards tragic events (p. 72);
- "*the media plays a huge role when it comes to dark tourism as it contributes to the popularization of sites; this could result in overcommercialisation of dark tourism sites and these sites becoming a spectacle*" (p. 73);
- "*the media creates mass hysteria around a dark tourism site and tourists attach themselves to these sites, whether they have a real connection to them or not.*" (p. 73).

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[13] See also Wise and Mulec (2014).

The abovementioned assumptions about the media, the Istrian past and present social reality suggest that the unified media-constructed social reality in relation to memorial and dark tourism sites in Istria is not easy to determine, especially because of multi-ethnicity/culturalism and the dynamic past. It can be additionally pointed out that social/political activities as well as scientific work on the dynamic history of the 20th century in the Upper Adriatic (e.g. *Fojbe* of Pirjevec (2012) or Slovene-Italian relations 1880-1956: report of the Slovene-Italian Historical and Cultural Commission [in Slovene] of Kacin-Wohinz (2001)) are always risky, subject to media interest, criticism and (emotional) reactions from one or the other side, but obviously always relevant and topical. At the same time, this also shows how the heterogeneous Istrian memory is a fragile topic and a weak element of the Istrian coexistence, tolerance, democracy and peace,[14] which should foster further scientific research.

Before engaging in the research purpose and objectives, let's have a quick look at the rapidly changing tourism industry. Modern time is marked by hypermodern consumerism or post-Fordism where products are tailored in accordance with tourists' expectations. The so-called *homo turisticus* is looking for their experiential dimension based on numerous possibilities of tourist services (Šuran, 2016: 69), which is completely in line with the thematic tourism theory (Douglas et al., 2001; Rabotić, 2014); this is aimed at increasing consumption. *Homo turisticus*, as the successor of *homo viator*, thus becomes *homo consumens* (Šuran, 2016: 80, 139). In the context of this thesis, he/she looks for interesting/exciting memorial sites with an (extreme) traumatic background that shapes contemporary societies only in a certain geographical area (e.g. the Soča/Isonzo Valley with the legacy of the Soča/Isonzo Front, Eastern Slavonia with Vukovar (conflict in the 1990s), Istrian memorial sites related to fascism and WWII) or wider on the international level (e.g. WWI legacy of the Western Front, the holocaust sites in Europe, the legacy of D-day landings and the Battle of Normandy, of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, or of Japan hostile military activities in Asia).[15] As he/she, however, does not necessarily understand those internationally less recognizable sites or events – see Kennell et al. (2018: 948) – "a deep balance between tourist, the other, and the world", otherwise characteristic for the *homo viator* (Šuran, 2016: 139), should be developed within modern sustainable dark tourism. In this respect, modern tourism turns back to its beginning. Such modern visitors/tourists understand, respect, feel compassion and do not merely endanger or exploit sites and communities/societies with 'dark memories' for their

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[14] Pope's words from the beginning of the chapter are thus very relevant for the Istrian social reality.
[15] Not to mention numerous cases of deliberately (forgotten) traumatic consequences of imperialism and colonialism of many European powers, or the white race in Africa, Australia and the Americas. They can also be perceived as part of the *damnatio memoriae* context.

own satisfaction/excitement. This is even more important if we consider the fact that visiting such sites is not necessarily understood among locals as part of tourism – see the already mentioned work of Šuligoj (2016), where memory turned out as the more relevant aspect.

1.2. Research purpose and objectives

The previous discussion has shown how complex the Istrian past is and how relevant said aspects are for the scientific investigation. Using historical and sociological perspectives, we can demonstrates how memory and memorial practices shape the Istrian social reality. The already mentioned historical events of the 20th century form the backdrop for the research that concentrates on the (collective) memory of the Istrians. Grounded in the literature re-evaluating the impact of the past on the present, this thesis illuminates the connection and reflection of past traumatic events in today's public memorial practices. The theory of dark tourism and memory studies offer a robust enough framework for the historical contextualization and adequate investigation as well as the identification and strict empirical checking of contemporary practices in the trans-border and multi-ethnic region of Istria. Thus the research aims to add a new dimension to (historical) sociology in providing a fresh/new in-depth analysis of history-centric memorial practices and dark tourism with useful comparative elements. This is also a reaction to the generally held view that more research is needed in dark tourism where conceptual researches dominate (Biran et al., 2011; Kidron, 2013; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Šuligoj, 2016). Consequently, more specifically, the purposes of the research are to:

- provide an understanding of what memory and dark tourism mean in a specific regional environment (trans-border region of Istria) and;
- establish a representation of topics related to Istrian history (of conflicts) of the 20th century, contemporary public memorial practices and dark tourism in leading regional electronic mass media, based on which the specific media-created social reality can be identified.

Only those public events which constitute a contemporary collective memory are relevant in this case, while those subject to social amnesia and silence were not, as they are obviously not the subject of public and, consequently, media discourse.[16] This means that we

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[16] This does not mean that they do not exist.

are dealing with public dark commemorative events[17] as they are described in the electronic media. The reasons for this orientation are explained below in this research.

According to the abovementioned research purposes, the following objectives were created on this basis:

- to compile a conceptual framework of memory studies and dark tourism with the facts of the traumatic 20th century of Istria and its public memorial practices. The multiple theory perspective associated with the historical aspect merely reinforce and enrich research achievements;
- to define different groups (clusters) and characteristics of various Istrian contemporary history-centric memorial practices and related dark tourism on the basis of the relevant media reports on dark commemorative events. Thus, we want to identify the media-constructed social (memorial) reality as an important part of the contemporary social life in Istria;
- to identify and map contemporary types and locations where public history-centric dark commemorative events take place and where, potentially, the transfer of memories occurs *in situ*;
- to describe, compare, contrast and thus fully understand a range of different dark commemorative event types with different historical background, which reflect the traumatic Istrian past and offer special experiences to the visitors.

1.3. Classification of the doctoral thesis

One of the most important discourses in contemporary Europe – especially from 1980 onwards (Ćurković Nimac, 2015: 35; Ćurković Nimac and Valković, 2018: 440)[18] – is the attitude to the memory or to the (recent) past in order to avoid all past mistakes with extremely negative consequences. According to Jerše (2017: 247), historiography has an important role in this discourse, in which scholars scrutinize and interpret the memory standpoints. As opposed to historiography in general, the memory discourse is a relatively recent historical phenomenon, a distinct phenomenon of modern and postmodern societies (see also D'Alessio (2012a)).

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[17] A 'dark commemorative event' is (only) a terminological construct used in this research, which concurrently reflects the memorial and dark tourism dimensions; reflects death, suffering, trauma, atrocity and macabre as well as the memory of them. The construct derives from the dark event typology of Frost and Laing (2013: 36–42) and Kennell, Šuligoj and Lesjak (2018: 948).

[18] Ćurković Nimac and Valković (2018: 440) use terms like 'memory surplus', 'tyranny of memory', 'cult of memory', 'memory epidemic' to illustrate contemporary trends in social sciences and humanities.

Moreover, memory discourse is to be perceived as a distinct cultural, historical and political phenomenon, which means that it is significantly connected to social sciences or even to interdisciplinary investigation. In social sciences, the past is used to measure historic progress and to bring contemporary events into clearer focus – from this aspect, history provides (only) the basic materials for historical perspective approach. The so-called 'historical perspective' is the research of a topic in light of its earliest development and it differs from the historical research focused on written documents and artefacts (Jacobs, 2010: 127, 128; Lawrence, 1984: 307, 308; Wyche et al., 2006).[19] Past or classical historical research focused on high level politics (politicians) and events (milestones), is now facilitating the adaptation of analytical and other methodological procedures, and the opening of historiography to the (other) humanities and social sciences, which is a very important step that happened to historians (Stearns, 1983: 11, 13). As in historiography, where many strategic jumps from political and economic history to social or cultural historiography were made – see Iggers (2017), Benčić (2016: 4), Kocka (2012), Bhambra (2011: 656–657) – the same happened in historical sociology (Hobson et al., 2010), where new paradigms were identified – Bhambra (2011) and Lynn & Bonnell (1999) highlighted cultural historical sociology.

"The relation between history and sociology, between narrative and explanation, between the occurrence of events and the definition of causes" are examples of the fundamental problems of social theory (Ascione and Chambers, 2016: 302). Zwitter (1937: 507) and Smith (2011: 12–13) criticized sociologists that their theories do not rely enough on the knowledge of historical sources and their ability to critically evaluate them. Some sociologists and historians insisted that a social relationships must be understood historically, in action (Abrams, 1980: 6). The temporal component is recognized in social analyses, as can be seen from publications of some recognized sociologists like Weber or Giddens (Abrams, 1980: 13),[20] which has enabled the development of the so-called historical sociology. According to the Department of Historical Sociology at the Faculty of Humanities of the Charles University in Prague (About the dept., n.d.), historical sociology is focused on long-term social processes and is not understood only as "some hybrid connection of history and sociology", but as a field where the "general object of sociology is a historically, time- and space-determined social

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[19] Proponents of the applied history use very similar (methodological) assumptions and views, but this alternative approach within the historiography has been receiving many criticisms – see Hakala (2016) and Tosh (2006).

[20] As well as in works of Marx, Durkheim, de Tocqueville, Homans, Merton, Bellah, Lipset, Tilly, Banks, Eisenstadt, Bendix, Moore, and Smelser (Calhoun, 1996: 305); see also Katunarić (1994), Smith (2011), Šubrt (2012), Šubrt and Cassling (2001) and Jeffries (2005).

reality."[21] Thus, many key topics have turned out to be relevant for the historical sociology,[22] where a number of partial, specific research areas, such as collective mentalities, habits, and social memory should also be mentioned (Postgraduate studies, n.d.; Olick and Robbins, 1998; Šubrt, 2012: 413). It is an interdisciplinary science, which cooperates with some other disciplines.[23]

An interesting perspective   is that of Giddens who sees "no logical or even methodological distinctions between the social sciences and history," although this is not generally accepted (Abrams, 1980: 14; Steinmetz, 2011: 46; Šubrt, 2012: 403). Similar views can be found in Čarni (2012: 27, 28), who argues that both history and sociology examine human society wholly or in terms of interconnectedness of (all) social phenomena and processes; the difference between them is in generalization – sociology is marked with this, while history is not and is focused on the particular, individual and unique (Čarni, 2012: 28, 29; Šubrt, 2012: 404; Zwitter, 1937: 499). Hence, Durkheim is also very much alike in his thoughts when claiming that "sociology and history are destined to merge into a common discipline where the elements of both become combined and unified" (Steinmetz, 2011: 45); this is also claimed by Zwitter (1937: 501–503), who says that Durkheim wishes to sociologise history. The introduction of quantitative techniques to historiography[24] has actually brought the sociology and history closer together – see Kiser and Hechter (1998: 786).

On the global level, recruitment to historical sociology corresponds to the beginning of the development of memory studies – see Confino (1997: 1395), Olick & Robbins (1998: 107–108) and Timmins (2013) – which, however, has not impacted the Croatian science, where memory studies have not left a significant trail yet (Ćurković Nimac and Valković, 2018: 440). Memory studies are not only a simple narrow subfield, but also provides powerful lessons for sociology, including historical sociology, and thus provides important insights for social

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[21] Focus is on "the uniqueness of the event and endeavour to explain it in terms of a conjuncture of separate, contingently intersecting causal chains" (Steinmetz, 2011: 59). However, sociological research of time was until the end of the 1970s a margin topic and grew remarkably in the 1980s (Šubrt and Cassling, 2001: 216, 217).

[22] These are: modernization, social change, civilizational analysis, religious and cultural pluralities, state and nation making, formation of world systems, integrative and disintegrative processes, and globalizing trends (Postgraduate studies, n.d.; Olick and Robbins, 1998). Smith (2011: 13) pointed out intertwining past and present, events and processes, performance and structuring.

[23] I.e. history, anthropology, political science, and economy (About the dept., n.d.; Hobson et al., 2010; Šubrt, 2012: 413).

[24] More can be found in Anderson (2007: 254–256), where all from the simplest descriptive to the more complex bivariate and multivariate techniques of statistics, borrowed heavily from sociology, political science, demography and economics, are identified as suitable tools necessary for the quantitative analysis. Some thoughts can be found also in Zwitter (1937: 504).

theory at the broadest level; the views of historians about the relationship between memory and history are much more discordant (Bosch, 2016; Olick and Robbins, 1998: 110–111, 134).[25]

The move in historical sociology to culture-oriented research can mean overlapping with the sociology of culture, which sociologist Pierre Bourdieu successfully did (Knöbl, 2013).[26] Among other things, this can illuminate the interaction of myth, memory and place and consequently open new avenues for exploring societies and their core beliefs (Borsay, 2006: 867). In addition, if we rely on Calhoun's (1996: 306–307) quest for stronger theoretical foundations and longer historical-sociological perspectives of American/Western regimes and thus implications for the future development, on the principle of analogy, we can draw parallels with the contemporary Slovenian and Croatian societies. These societies are characterized by multi-dimensional internal divisions arising from past conflicts[27] and the present post-socialist atmosphere, emigration, unresolved border and some other post-Yugoslav issues, to mention only those less pleasant. Istrian society, where public memorial practices and the related dark tourism are based on the traumatic 20th century, is not immune to these phenomena. Consequently, researching Istrian social reality within historical sociology is very reasonable, although not characteristic in this part of Europe.

Formally speaking, according to the Croatian 'Regulation on Scientific and Artistic Areas, Fields and Branches' (2009)[28], this thesis can be classified into '5.05.03 Special sociology' as an independent academic field – see Figure 1. In addition, in the 'Field of Research Classification' (2014) of the Slovenian Research Agency, only '5.03 Sociology' is listed and is not further divided into fields and sub-fields. On the international level, the same possibilities as well as limitations are offered by 'The Common European Research Classification Scheme (CERIF)' (2008)[29] and the Frascati Manual 2015[30]. Accordingly, this thesis is classified into Sociology. However, Figure 1 is largely based on the abovementioned Croatian Regulation and shows relations between sociology – history – special sociology.[31] This does not impact the principal classification of historical sociology into the academic category of social sciences,

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[25] More about heterogeneous views and methodological issues related to collective memory in historiography can be found in Kansteiner (2002).
[26] More can be found in Steinmetz (2011).
[27] Slovenians and Croats were never in a mutual armed conflict.
[28] Cro. *Pravilnik o znanstvenim i umjetničkim područjima, poljima i granama*. Further amendments to this Regulation in 2012, 2013 and 2016 did not affect the structure of social sciences and humanities relevant to this doctoral thesis.
[29] S210 Sociology.
[30] 5.4 Sociology.
[31] More can be found in Smith (2011: 369–414) where Avgust Lešnik explains terms and relations between them in the preface.

especially if we also take into account Lešnik's (in Smith (2011: 373)) and Katunarić's (1994: 165) argument that historical sociology is a special sociology; this is also congruent with Sorokin's view on sociology – see Simpson (1953) and Jeffries (2005). Further explanations from the previous paragraphs must also be reasonably used if we want to properly link this sub-filed with sociology and history, and place it in the scheme in Figure 1.

Academic category	Academic discipline	Academic field	Academic sub-field
Social sciences			
	Sociology		
Humanities		Special sociology	
	History		**Historical sociology**
		CROWOH[*]	
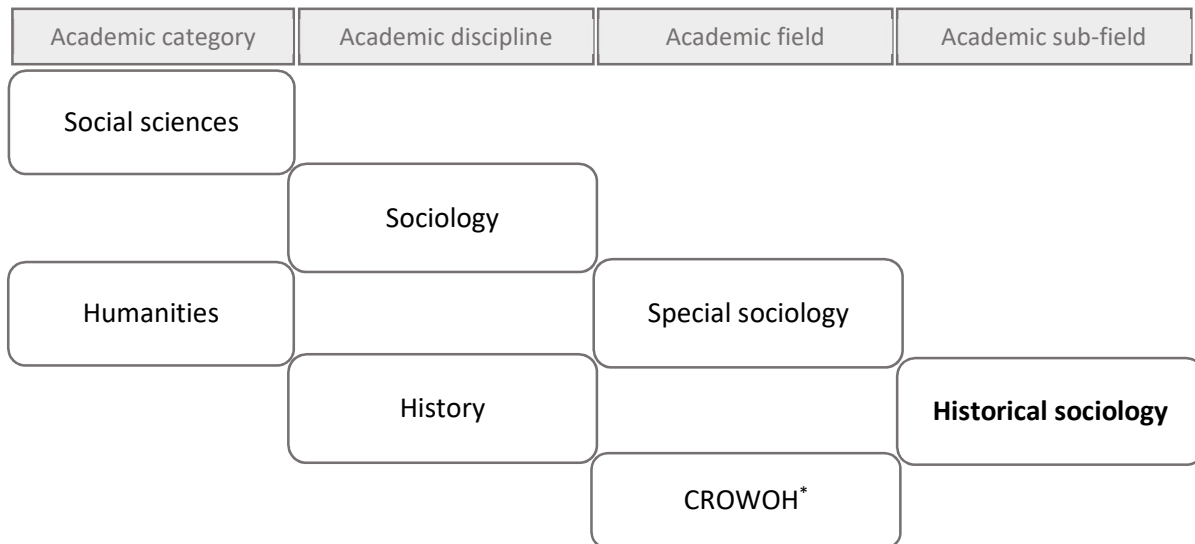
Note: * Croatian and world modern and contemporary history

Figure 1: From social sciences to historical sociology (Source: Pravilnik o znanstvenim, 2009; author's elaboration)

1.4. Doctoral thesis structure

The doctoral thesis comprises three key parts. The first part comprises a theoretical compilation and synthesis, drawing upon extant concepts and past research available in the interdisciplinary references. The second part offers a review of modern Istrian history: the traumatic 20th century with past (public) memorial practices as well as tourism development are highlighted here. The analysis of public history-centric dark commemorative practices in Istria, using both ethnographic and strict quantitative approaches, forms the third part. The doctoral thesis is divided into ten chapters, forty sub-chapters and supporting appendices.

Whilst this introductory chapter (Chapter 1) broadly establishes the research and its key components/characteristics, the second chapter begins the task of dark tourism theory

and its position in society and science. In so doing, the concept, definitions, typology, critique as well as their relation to the death system and warfare tourism as a special type, are critically discussed. Chapter three constructs a conceptual framework of memory studies, which includes linking memory with history, culture and politics. Chapter four illuminates the specific media-created social reality as an output of processes performed within the 'media environment', which evidently reflects the real social reality. Media–dark tourism and media–memory connections are described within two separate sub-chapters. Chapter five examines the trans-border region of Istria, where geographic, political, social and especially historical aspects are highlighted. Special emphasis is put on the special features of the Istrian society and the 20th century bloody conflicts that affected society and individuals on the peninsula. The following chapter focuses on dark tourism and past memorial practices in Istria, where, however, an interesting link between armed forces and tourism development is exposed at the beginning. This is followed by a presentation of public memorial practices in three post-war periods, where special attention is put on their heterogeneity – different background (e.g. national and ideological, *damnatio memoriae*) – which is always relevant and concurrently sensitive in the case of multi-ethnic areas. All chapters of the first and second part are completed with the final sub-chapters, where the main findings are summarized and the relevant dilemmas/issues that we focus on in the following chapters are exposed.

The third part of the thesis centres upon empirical research processes within a qualitative and quantitative approach. Chapter seven outlines the research philosophy followed by a description of the historical-sociological research framework. The following sub-chapter presents the qualitative and quantitative research methods and techniques used. Chapter seven includes a more detailed description of the multiple-case study approach and a covert participant observation, followed by an analysis and discussion on four completely different history-centric dark commemorative events. A description and key research findings of the quantitative analysis (quantitative content analysis) are presented and discussed in Chapter eight. Finally, the final chapter concludes the thesis by synthesising research findings with theoretical considerations and findings of past research; some possible developmental orientations are also illuminated. In addition, research limitations and directions for future research are also provided here.

2. DARK TOURISM THEORY AND DISCOURSE

In the context of the broader social change(s), people of the post-industrial era, as defined by sociologists Touraine (1971) or Bell (1976),[32] changed their travel needs and practices as well. As noted by some scholars, e.g. Wong and Cheung (1999), Robinson and Novelli (2005), Trauer (2006), Šuligoj (2018a: 19), modern tourists seek tailored tourist experiences with immaterial qualities, inner fulfilment, emotions and satisfaction as a direct response to the depersonalised and rational post-modern urban life. Consumers/tourists can, consequently, encounter a number of (thematic) tourist products in the market as a reaction to tourist demand or as products which, in fact, create demand – see Douglas, Douglas, & Derrett (2001), Kruja and Gjyrezi (2011), Štetić, Šimičević, & Ćurčić (2013), Trauer (2006). According to McKercher (2016), thematic tourist products can be grouped in the following product families: pleasure, personal quest, human endeavour, nature, and business. Tourist products as well as product families to which they belong, are thus completely in line with the thematic tourism theory (Douglas et al., 2001; Rabotić, 2014), where, many other terms are used, i.e. 'niche tourism' (Robinson and Novelli, 2005), 'selective forms of tourism' (Štetić et al., 2013) or 'special interest tourism' (Douglas et al., 2001). However, Trauer (2006: 185) sees it as part of the interdisciplinary system of the 21st century,[33] which encompasses all elements of supply and demand in the broadest sense, including "political, economical, ecological, technological, and socio-economical and socio-cultural concerns, from the local to the global level."[34] This approach in tourism is the complete opposite of mass tourism (Douglas et al., 2001: 2; Hall and Weiler, 1992), which has greatly accelerated in the second half of the 20th century, and is still a very visible model of tourism development today, e.g. in the Mediterranean.

Dark tourism, which will be further elaborated below, is only one special type of tourism (or niche tourism), but one of the most controversial and problematic ones from the scientific point of view (Light, 2017: 281). From this theoretical perspective and according to Trauer's (2006: 188) 'special interest tourism cycle', dark tourism can be placed in the 'affinity group segments', together with, e.g., senior tourism, women's tourism, or gay tourism. The heterogeneity of this segment itself greatly reflects modern society, where individuals seek excitement, pleasure, experience, knowledge and similar, even though this is related to death

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[32] For the economic point of view of the change(s), see Kenessey (1987), while the geographic aspect was highlighted by Kellerman (1985) or Selstad (1990). All works are from the period when change(s) were in (research) focus.

[33] However, the term 'special interest tourism' was, as the predecessor of 'niche tourism', conceptualised already during the 1980s (Hall and Weiler, 1992).

[34] Some general sociological explanations can be found in Šuran (2016).

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and suffering (Best, 2007: 38; Šuran, 2016: 69); service providers react with a customized offer. Nevertheless, dark tourism as a term and research area cannot be equated with dark leisure, although there may be many links between them (Stone and Sharpley, 2013). Visits to places associated with death and human suffering are conceptualised as dark tourism, while dark leisure is defined as "a form of leisure that is liminal and transgressive" (Spracklen, 2013: 204). When dark tourism is discussed in its negative deviance from the expected norms of visitors' behaviour, it is practically equal to the theoretical concept of dark leisure which is labeled with deviance, morality, and similar (Light, 2017: 281; Stone and Sharpley, 2013).

2.1. The concept of dark tourism: definitions, recognisability and critique

Visiting sites and events associated with death and suffering is not only a modern man's habit, but has its roots in the distant past, in pre-modern times (Stone, 2005; Stone and Sharpley, 2008: 574; Young and Light, 2016), which clearly shows how strongly man and societies in general were interested in 'morbid topics.' This consequently means that 'morbid topics' can constitute a relevant reason for travel, which makes this activity a tourist activity. Today, in the context of product diversity (thematic tourism), this is denoted as dark tourism. The phenomenon itself may still be theoretically limited, fragile and thus indeterminate (Martini and Buda, 2018: 3; Seaton and Lennon, 2004; Stone, 2011; Stone and Sharpley, 2008: 575; Young and Light, 2016: 68). The reason is clear. We have been dealing with serious academic studies of dark tourism no earlier than from the mid-1990s (Light, 2017; Seaton, 2018), and in this period, as usually when we start to develop new research areas, the need to develop definitions that would define and limit a particular area, was evident. Thus, the first definitions of Foley and Lennon (1996: 198) define it as "the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites", or as "the visitation to any site associated with death, disaster and tragedy for remembrance, education or entertainment" (1997: 155), or as "tourism associated with sites of death, disaster, and depravity" (1999: 46). Many other definitions were created in the following years. Tarlow (2005: 48) described dark tourism as "visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives", while Preece and Price (2005: 192) defined it as "travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity". Dark tourism is, according to Ashworth (2008: 234), a concept where the tourist's experience is essentially composed of 'dark' emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness, many of which result from the infliction of violence that are not usually associated

with a voluntary entertainment experience." It "involves visiting destinations at which violence is the main attraction" (Robb, 2009: 51). Very relevant and interesting are also two Stone's definitions: dark tourism is "the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre" (2006: 146) and later "dark tourism is concerned with encountering spaces of death or calamity that have political or historical significance, and that continue to impact upon the living" (2016: 23). All these definitions clearly indicate the breadth of the research area, as well as its essence, which are human death and suffering. Hence, it is also evident from newer definitions how important the first definitions of the abovementioned authors, Foley and Lennon, were. With respect to mass citations, we can also deduce that there is a significant degree of consensus in the academic community on these two authors having defined the phenomenon and, consequently, having corroborated the concept as a research area. Furthermore, their recognizable foundational monograph entitled *Dark tourism: the attraction of death and disaster* (2000) conceptualised dark tourism as a subset of cultural tourism and shifted it conceptually from heritage tourism (Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010; Kravanja, 2018).

The creativity of the other authors cannot be problematic, even though the connection of all subsequent definitions to the first ones is very evident. Definitions, however neglect that dark tourism also stimulates feelings, thoughts and perspectives of others, which, according to Dermody (2017: 207; Martini and Buda, 2018: 2), calls for additional surveys which should supplement the theoretical definitions. The author suggest further exploring the processes of transmitting emotions among people which is also in line with the claims of Lennon and Foley (2000) who say that emotions must go beyond memories – see also Ashworth (2008: 234). There is one more thing that must be highlighted here. Light (2017: 282) identified the similarities in definitions, and classified them into groups:

- those based on practices of visiting particular types of places, i.e. Foley and Lennon (1997: 155), Tarlow (2005: 48), Preece and Price (2005: 192), Stone (2006: 146), Robb (2009: 51);
- those based on tourism in particular types of places, i.e. Foley and Lennon (1996: 198), Lennon and Foley (1999: 46);
- those based on a form of experience, i.e. Ashworth (2008: 234), Stone (2016: 23).

The term dark tourism is not the only term to define the tourism-death connection. One of more recognised ones is *thanatourism*. As this chapter does not wish to enter into a debate over the terms, but rather acknowledge a commonly accepted general meaning of the term, as applied to tourism, only two definitions of *thanatourism* will be presented. Seaton's (1996: 240)

from the mid-1990s was one of the first, where *thanatourism* was defined as a "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death", while Dann and Seaton (2001: 24) defined it as "heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes against humanity." Beside thanatourism and dark tourism, many other terms were detected. As early as in the late 1980s, O'Rourke (1988) wrote about visiting (post) conflict areas like Lebanon, Nicaragua, and Belfast (Northern Ireland), and referred to them as holidays in hell. 'Morbid tourism' and an 'attraction-focused artificial morbidity-related tourism' (Blom, 2000), 'sombre tourism' (Butcher, 2003; Hughes, 2008), 'fright tourism' (Bristow and Newman, 2005), 'atrocity tourism' (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005b), 'grief tourism' (Dunkley et al., 2007), 'conflict heritage tourism' (Mansfeld and Korman, 2015), 'genocide tourism' (Dunkley et al., 2007), 'trauma tourism' (Clark, 2006), 'war-related tourism' (Bigley et al., 2010), 'post-war tourism' (Wise, 2011), 'war tourism' (Keyes, 2012), 'warfare tourism' (Šuligoj, 2016, 2017c), 'battlefield tourism' (Dunkley et al., 2011; Ryan, 2007), 'tourism of memory' (Hertzog, 2012), or 'memorable tourism' (Drvenkar et al., 2015; Kim, 2013) and some others are just additional detected terms related to the connection between tourism and death, which are not fully synonyms. Interestingly, at the global level, the recognisability and interest for these terms are very diverse – Graph 1 clearly shows the three keywords most often searched by 'Google search' users. The others do not appear on the graph due to a low interest among the wide professional and general public. Terms like favela tourism, (Robb, 2009), 'atomic' or 'nuclear tourism' (Freeman, 2014; Gusterson, 2004) and 'dystopian dark tourism' (Podoshen et al., 2015) are not relevant in terms of (memorial) practices in Istria and were thus excluded from the analysis. The term 'dark' is the most frequently searched tourism-related keyword in the developed countries of North America, Europe (in the post-Yugoslav states, except for Slovenia, this term is not searched) and Australia, while the other two to a much lesser extent. *Thanatourism* as the keyword is most commonly searched in the United Kingdom, while war tourism appears as the most frequent one in the United States of America. In Asia and Africa these terms are evidently not searched or to a very negligible extent (*Google Trends*, 2018). Furthermore, we separately checked the presence of these three keywords in the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian research spheres, for which the results are shown in Table 1. Results based on data from bibliographic databases

show a considerable difference in the number of papers in scientific journals.[35] This is in line with Bittner's (2011: 148) claims on the insufficiently researched topic in Croatia, while Šuligoj (2017c: 447) claims that this applies to the entire South-Eastern Europe. These findings are interesting, given the turbulent history of the wider region.

Legend:
—— war tourism
—●— dark tourism
—— thanatourism
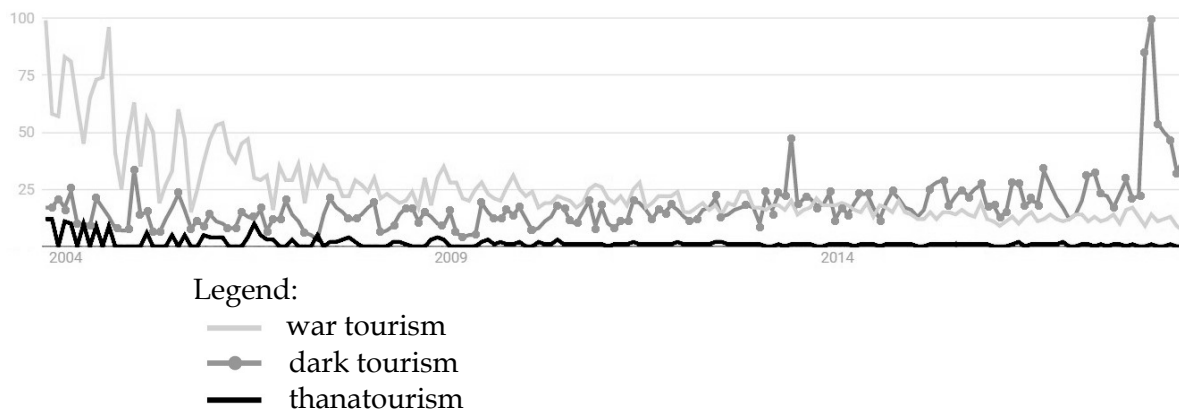
Graph 1: Global interest in the tourism-death connection topics (2004 – 2019) (Source: Google Trends, 2019).

However, Light (2017: 281) treats war tourism as sub-form of dark tourism or (closely related) forms of niche tourism, whereas he does not classify the term *thanatourism* as a sub-form of dark tourism. If we compare the abovementioned definitions of dark tourism and *thanatourism*, and deliberately ignore that *thanatourism* has a much longer historical lineage (Light, 2017: 279), than significant differences cannot be easily identified. It is also questionable to put some other definitions in such a superior-subordinate relationship. The definition of memorial tourism/tourism of memory, for example, is semantically very similar to the one of the first dark tourism definition of Foley and Lennon (1997: 155), which includes remembrance as well. On the other hand, some more selective forms of the tourism-death connection show subordination in a more expressive way, since they cover only a certain segment of death- and suffering-related sites/artefacts/events. War tourism[36] is only one example including all these sites, artefacts and events, which are directly connected to the military conflict (war) and

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[35] Due to the consistency of the analysis, the same keywords were used as shown in Graph 1. Consequently, some papers with different terminology were overlooked, e.g. memorial tourism of Kesar and Tomas (2014) or Šuligoj's warfare tourism (2017c).

[36] As well as other abovementioned variations like war-related, post-war, warfare and battlefield tourism.

violence in a certain area, as well as to the death system described below. Since it is a globally recognisable sub-form of dark tourism (see Graph 1) and relevant in the case of Istria, it will be further elaborated in one of the following sub-chapters.

Table 1: Papers on dark tourism, thanatourism and war tourism in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia (2017) (Source: Napredna pretraga, 2018; Osnovno iskanje, 2018; Jednostavno pretraživanje, 2018)

	No. of the papers		
Keyword	Slovenia	Croatia	Serbia
Dark tourism	8	2	1
Thanatourism	0	0	1
War tourism	3	3	0

Note: translated terms into the Slovenian in Croatian were also included. Only domestic authors are included in each state.

As any relatively new research area, dark tourism also faces many concerns, doubts, uncertainties and criticisms, which means that there are many interesting issues ahead of researchers and developers. Let us highlight some of the most significant ones:

- Dark tourism is a form of mass tourism and mostly developed for Western tourists (Dann, 1998; Lennon and Foley, 2000), and reflects primarily the Western perception of death and suffering;[37]
- a special issue and subject of a broader critique it is term 'dark tourism' itself and its introduction into the tourism domain (Stone, 2006: 146), which was done without the consent of the tourism industry (Wight, 2009), resulting in many experts and managers responsible for the management of death- or suffering-related sites to not be impressed (Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009; Kravanja, 2018: 114; Magee and Gilmore, 2015). Many other scholars expressed further criticism of the name. Jamal and Lelo (2010) argue that

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[37] Seaton (2009) claims that dark tourism as traditional travel is based on the history of the European culture which includes influence of Christianity, Antiquarianism, and Romanticism; see also Kang, Scott, Lee and Ballantyne (2012). Moreover, Anglo-Western centrism is a general characteristic of tourism studies, despite the evident ongoing rise of Asian tourism (T Winter, 2009).

'darkness' is nothing more than a socially constructed term with an unconvincing background and contextualisation, with Bowman and Pezzullo (2010: 191) being disturbed by "a complicated matter of perspective and privilege" as well. The adjective 'dark' implicitly exposes a contrast and, as such, attaches a negative connotation to the term (Seaton, 2009: 525) as well as to the visitors of such type of sites (Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010): dark tourism as deviant, troubling and immoral (Seaton and Lennon, 2004). Another problematic issue is the clumsy linking with other concepts, e.g. pilgrimage (Korstanje and George, 2015);

- Light (2017: 280) found that dark tourism as a research area does not enjoy general acceptance or a 'monopoly' in the death-tourism connection research, which means that a substantial body of research eschews this concept. Dark tourism is thus just one possible framework for understanding the death-tourism connection. Many scholars find it especially problematic to clearly distinguish it from heritage tourism in order to offer an independent explanatory framework. One of the most determined is Ashworth with colleagues – see Ashworth and Isaac (2015), Ashworth and Hartmann (2005a) – which have a negative disposition towards dark tourism and use other frameworks in their works, e.g. 'dissonant heritage', 'atrocity tourism', or 'atrocity heritage'; similarly, Logan and Reeves (2009) use the term 'difficult heritage';

- as already mentioned before, there is no universal definition and typology of dark tourism yet (Stone, 2012: 1569);

- the use of the postmodernist framework is questionable. Some authors find problematic the attitude to anxiety and the uncertainty about the contemporary world and modernity which remains unexplored (Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010) and not linked exclusively to the present days (Casbeard and Booth, 2012), as well as to the postmodern neglecting of psychological issues related to the interest in visiting sites associated with death and suffering (Dunkley et al., 2007). Therefore, blindly following Lennon and Foley (2000) in treating dark tourism in the postmodern context is not something axiomatic. Light (2017: 279) claims that this is, to a certain degree, a reflection of postmodernism, which is also limited in understanding the visitors of sites related to death and suffering or in managing such places.

In the end, we would like to highlight 'phoenix tourism', which is not a tourism niche, but refers to a process of rebuilding, remaking and reconciliation of the post-conflict areas where dark tourism forms a significant part of that process (Causevic and Lynch, 2011). In this sense, many areas in Croatia are more suitable for these development processes than in Istria,

where the last serious military conflicts occurred during WWII. However, especially social reconciliation, as will be described in the following chapters, is still a topic of interest in the multicultural Istria after the end of the very dynamic and conflicting 20th century.

2.2. Dark tourism typology

Heterogeneity, which is reflected in the definition of the research area, also appears in typology, although scholars are not so propulsive and creative here. The consensus between scholars is that dark tourism typology depends on the visitors' motivations and sites (Fonseca et al., 2016: 1). Fonseca, Seabra and Silva (2016), basing on the literature review, develop the following typology:

- war tourism, including battlefield tourism: visiting historically important post-conflict sites/areas (military museums, fortifications, castles, memorial landscapes and similar) for the purpose of sightseeing and historical education);
- disaster tourism: visits to places where natural or other disasters have recently occurred, in order to see the devastating consequences (informative and educational role);
- prison tourism: visiting prisons with a dark past for the purpose of education or entertainment – including ghost hunters;
- cemetery tourism: visiting cemeteries to see statues or other decorations on the graves of known/famous or unknown people or on other facilities (educational purposes);[38]
- ghosts tourism: commercialization of ghosts, either for spiritual, educational, historical or entertainment purposes;
- holocaust tourism: visiting places where the most inhumane historical events took place, especially mass killings and torture (commemorative and educational purposes).[39]

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[38] Many practical examples and descriptions can be found on the website of ASCE (Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe).
[39] Interestingly, the educational aspect of the memory was on the other hand highlighted by Ćurković Nimac and Valković (2018).

Kužnik (2015: 331–332), and Kužnik and Veble (2017: 147–148) form the following typology based on representative examples from all around the world:

- grave tourism: "visiting famous cemeteries, graves of famous individuals, or grand mausoleums of some real cult personality;"

- war or battlefield tourism: visiting post-war places/sites;

- holocaust tourism: visiting memorial sites, i.e. concentration camps, memorial museums, former ghettos and similar;

- genocide tourism: visiting places of genocide, e.g. in Rwanda, in Cambodia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and similar.

- prison tourism: visiting former jails and prisons;

- communism tourism in the current and former communist countries;

- Cold War and Iron Curtain tourism: visiting traces and remains of the Berlin Wall;

- disaster area tourism: visiting places of natural disaster;

- nuclear tourism: visiting sites of civil nuclear disaster;

- murderers and murderous places tourism, i.e. Jack the Ripper in London, Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas;

- slum tourism in developing and underdeveloped countries;

- terrorist tourism: visiting areas like Ground Zero in New York City, the Boston Marathon route;

- paranormal tourism: visiting crop circles, UFO sightings, haunted houses;

- witched tourism, e.g. visiting the city of Salem in Massachusetts;

- accident tourism, e.g. visiting places, such as the Paris tunnel Pont de l'Alma;

- icky medical tourism: visiting e.g. Josephinum, the medical museum with anatomical wax models in Vienna;

- dark amusement tourism: visiting amusement parks, e.g. the Dungeons exhibitions in London, the Dracula theme park.

Some of these types of dark tourism have a dubious connection with dark tourism, as they do not show a clear link to death and suffering (or definitions presented in the sub-chapter '2.1. The concept of dark tourism: definitions, recognisability and critique'), e.g. paranormal tourism, or icky medical tourism. In addition, some types are highly interconnected and their separate presentation is questionable, e.g. witched tourism and dark amusement tourism, communism tourism and Cold War and Iron Curtain tourism. In this context we can agree with Ashworth and Isaac (2015) and Jamal and Lelo (2010) that some

"typologies largely miss the point since sites or places are not intrinsically (or objectively) dark". In this respect, a much more consistent typology is that of Kendle (2008), although the author did not approach it in a scientific way:

- grief tourism, which includes visiting dark tourism sites related to war (concentration camps, battlefields, cemeteries) or places of tragic events and crimes;
- disaster tourism: visits to places of natural disasters with devastating consequences;
- poverty tourism includes tours to slum areas and poverty-stricken towns;
- suicide tourism involves 'travelers' going to a particular destination with the intention of committing suicide or those which travel to the states where euthanasia is legal;
- doomsday tourism: visit because of environmental problems and globing warming endangered places.

It is necessary to emphasize the latter one, as it does not cover only areas where there already were casualties. Thus, these are the areas of fear of death and demolition. They also include areas where animal and plant species, not just a human being, are endangered. Visiting these areas for empathy and education puts this form of tourism and tourists at an even higher civilizational level, especially if this should lead to changes (and it is not about the gloat over the misfortune of others). In this context, Seaton (1996) was more traditional in developing the below five categories of dark activities related to traveling to:

- sites of public executions;[40]
- sites of individual or mass deaths: areas of former battlefields, death camps and sites of genocide, places where celebrities died, sites of publicized murders, the homes of infamous murderers;
- memorials or internment sites;
- sites/areas with the purpose of viewing evidence of death or symbolic representations of it, e.g. 'morbid museums';
- places or events of re-enactments or simulation of death, e.g. re-enactment of famous battles.

Kennell, Šuligoj and Lesjak (2018: 948), on the other hand, focused only on so called dark events, which are not exclusively related to the dark tourism context. They adopted Frost and Laing's (2013: 36–42) typology and listed:

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[40] After the report of Amnesty International, public executions in 2017 were carried out only in Iran (The Death Penalty, 2018).

- dark exhibitions;

- dark re-enactments, e.g. annual re-enactment of the battles;

- national days of mourning or remembrance;

- memorial services, opening of memorials, concerts, performances;

- significant anniversaries, e.g. centenaries;

- parades, marches, processions;

- festivals.

At the end of this sub-chapter, Stone's (2006) 'seven dark suppliers' as a basis for the discussion of this typology of dark tourism should be mentions as well. According to the author, there are the following suppliers:

- dark fun factories: commercial entertainment based on real or unreal/fictional death, e.g. the Dracula Park;

- dark exhibitions that provide death-related attraction for educational, commemorative and reflective purposes;

- dark dungeons sites/attractions related to justice and criminal matters where one can 'feel the fear', e.g. former prisons open today for education and entertainment;

- dark resting places focused on the cemetery or grave markers, which circle around commemoration and history;

- dark shrines are perhaps the most non-purposeful for tourist visits because of their closeness to (real) death, where emphasis remains on the respect and remembrance of the recently deceased. There is not much tourism infrastructure, yet such events/sites are very attractive for the media;

- dark conflict sites associated with war and battlefields reflect strong political ideologies in the background. History-centric by nature and with significant educational and commemorative focus, these sites are attractive for tourism business;

- dark camps of genocides, as the darkest edge of dark tourism, reflect the sites of suffering resulted by atrocity, catastrophe and genocide performed in the spirit of some violent ideology.

Higher Political Influence and Ideology

'Sites Of Death and Suffering'

Lower Political Influence and Ideology

'Sites Associated with Death and Suffering'

| Darkest | Darker | Dark | Light | Lighter | Lightest |

Education Orientation

History Centric (Conservation/ Commermorative)

Perceived Authentic Product Interpretation

Location Authenticity

Shorter Time Scale to the Event

Suppley (Non Purposefulness)

Lower Tourism Infrastucture

Entertainment Orientation

Heritage Centric (Commercial/ Romanticism)

Perceived Inauthentic Product Interpretation

Non-Location Authenticity

Longer Time Scale from the Event

Supply (Purposefulness)

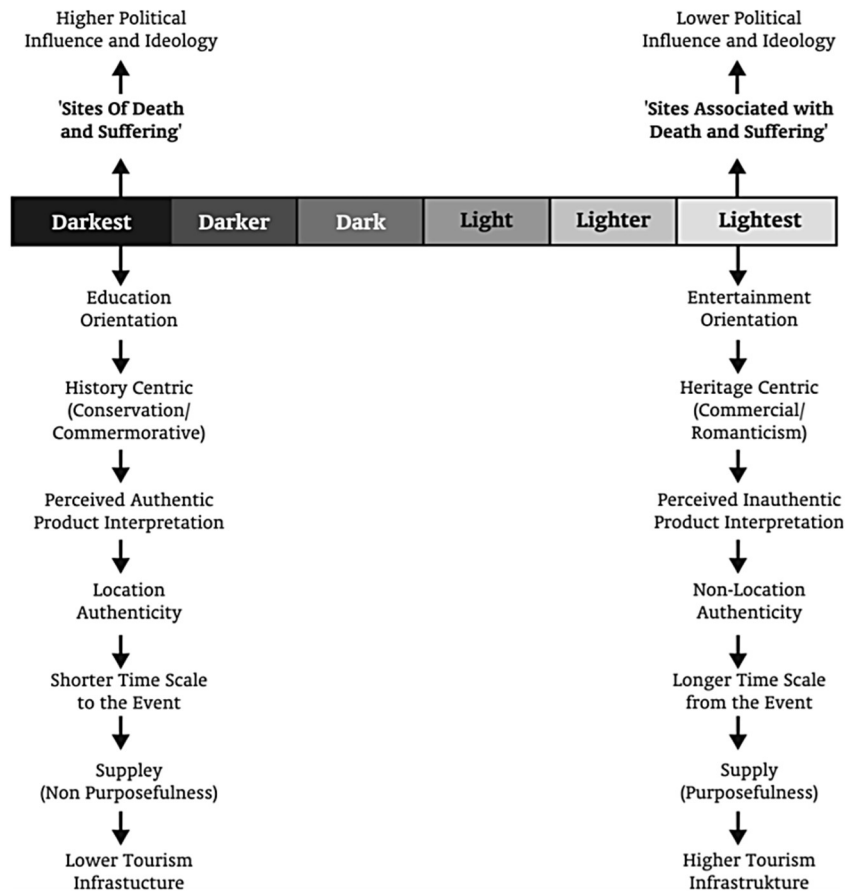Higher Tourism Infrastrukture

Figure 2: Stone's dark tourism spectrum (Source: Stone, 2006: 151)

Stone's (2006) typology relates to the spectrum of dark tourism supply which is the most influential typology linked to dark tourism – see Light (2017: 281). In this model (Figure 2), the author identified the main impacts and reflections of positions of death and suffering at both sides of a continuum (the 'darkest' and the 'lightest' form of dark tourism); each extreme side of the spectrum is additionally marked by various binaries. Although this typology importantly clarifies the nature of dark tourism supply, there have been stimulating reactions and debates of scholars in the field heritage tourism (Light, 2017: 281), e.g. Yoshida, Bui and Lee (2016) problematized its Western focus, which cannot be applied in Asia. In addition, many other scholars criticised dark tourism typologies in general: the subjectivity and missing description of methodologies (Robinson and Dale, 2011), epistemological questions, the questionable approach and objectivity (Ashworth and Isaac, 2015; Jamal and Lelo, 2010), and a very individual perception (Walby and Piché, 2011). At scientific level, these discussions can be linked and equated with dilemmas, doubts and issues that we have seen in

defining the research area. All of this is a clear reflection of the underdevelopment of the new research area, which provides researchers with many research challenges in the future.

2.3. Dark tourism and death system

In modern society, death is not a purely biological or medical issue, but also a social/sociological one. It can be investigated within the theoretical stream called 'structure-functionalism' (Doka, n.d.; Kastenbaum, 2007), which clearly shows that death is not only a matter of an individual, but of a wider social system. Although the death body and death itself were marginalised and ignored by the Western academia and society over the last few centuries,[41] they are becoming more visible/present in contemporary society, through different practices and in a greater range of contexts, which include culture, media, and tourism (Mionel, 2019; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Young and Light, 2016: 61);[42] "death is the one heritage that everyone shares and it has been an element of tourism longer than any other form of heritage" (Seaton, 1996: 234). Death-related sites provide visitors with an opportunity to contemplate and reflect upon their own death through the mortality of others in a "context that does not involve terror or dread, but which instead allows understanding and acceptance" (Young and Light, 2016: 69).[43] Indeed, …

> *…our basic human institutions – religion, matrimony, and burial, if one goes along with*
> *Giambattista Vico, but also law, language, literature, and whatever else relies on the transmission*
> *of legacy – are authored, always and from the very start, by those who came before* (Harrison,
> 2003: IX).

This legacy is present in many aspects of people's life: from semantics, memorialisation and artwork (*ibid*). In this context, the commodification of death for tourist consumption has become an important element for tourism providers which follow the contemporary trend (Stone, 2013) – Naef and Ploner (2016), Belhassen, Uriely and Assor (2014), and Naef (2011) use the term 'touristification'.

Despite the fact that the death system defined by Kastenbaum in 1977 as "the interpersonal, sociocultural, and symbolic network through which an individual's

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[41] Marginalisation of death (sociology of death) is a general characteristic of Western sociology (Mellor, 1992).
[42] More can be found in Harrison (2003).
[43] A mixture of philosophical perspectives can be found in Kirn (1986).

relationship to mortality is mediated by his or her society" has not received widespread attention among social scientists (Doka, n.d.), it is a meaningful reminder of the complex placement of death in a social context. Kastenbaum's (2007) death system in a society has five components, which are supported by illustrative examples in Table 2. Although often overlooked, the death system has many applicative characteristic/functions, which could be accepted at least in academia, i.e. making sense of death, warning of and predicting life threatening events or death, caring for the dying, disposing of the dead, preventing death, achieving social consolidation after death and setting rules about killing (Kastenbaum, 2007). If we take into account the stated definitions and other characteristics, including typologies, listed in this chapter, then it can be reasonably concluded that the death system is highly compatible with dark tourism.

Jere Jakulin (2017) identified and described elements of the basic tourism system and interactions/relationships among them – see Figure 3. The complex non-linear tourism system is an open system and can thus be considered and understood only in the context of its environment (Baggio, 2008; Gharajedaghi, 2006; Jere Jakulin, 2017). Hence, Cilliers (in Jere Jakulin (2017: 210) and Baggio (2008: 7)), among others, identified the following symptoms of complexity and adaptability:

- "complex systems are usually open and their state is far from an equilibrium" and
- "complex systems have a history, the 'future' behaviour depends on the past one."

In this context, we can conclude that a complex tourism system is, because of its flexibility and openness, compatible with the death system, which can form a complex and uniform dark tourism system. Additional arguments include linkage to past events and a (historical) transformation in definite space. Such unified system shall consist of at least the elements from Table 2 and Figure 3. Its exact structure and interactions/relationships among elements go beyond this thesis.

Table 2: Components of the death system

Component*	Examples
Individuals	Everyone; participants in funerals; professionals that often face death, e.g. doctors, rescuers, investigators, soldiers, etc.
Places	Funeral homes; graveyards; hospitals; memorial parks and open-air museums (former battlefields).
Times	Anniversaries; memorial events; individual and collective (public, religious, etc.) rituals (planned or spontaneous).
Objects	Memorials; salvaged items related to death, e.g. weapons, uniforms.
Symbols/languages	Some religious symbols; special phrases for expressing sorrow and compassion (directly or indirectly).

Note: * defined by Kastenbaum (2007).

Special emphasis in the future research of the exact structure and internal relations within the dark tourism system should be put on tourist motivations in relation to death. Young and Light (2016: 69) made a brief review of dark tourism-related papers and actually found that, despite a growing body of research into the motives of tourists, there is little evidence of an interest in death. Scholars, according to their focus, found that visitors have other motives, i.e. learning and understanding, or searching for connection and empathy, although all are indirectly related to death – see also Biran, Poria and Oren (2011). Does that mean that death itself will be merely in the background of the dark tourism system? In his past surveys, Light (2017: 295) found that local residents are overlooked as a visitor group, even though death may have a very different meaning to them compared to the one tourists attach to it. Moreover, the people whose stories are represented at dark tourism sites/events, have been largely neglected.[44]

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[44] More can be found also in Lemelin et al. (2013).
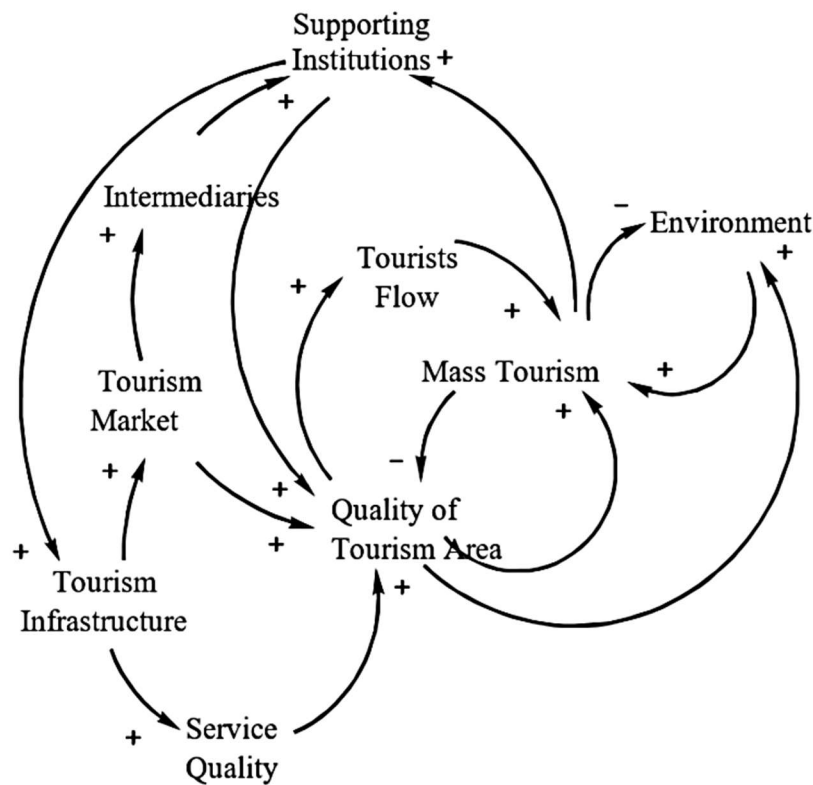
Note: The sign (+) at the arrowheads indicates a positive relation to the cause, while the sign (-) means the completely opposite.

Figure 3: Causal loop diagram of interdependent tourism system elements (Source: Jere Jakulin, 2017: 212)

A considerably different (or special in some way) example of the death system, is dance of the death (*danse macabre*). It is in fact

"*medieval allegorical concept of the all-conquering and equalizing power of death […]. Strictly speaking, it is a literary or pictorial representation of a procession or dance of both living and dead figures, the living arranged in order of their rank, from pope and emperor to child, clerk, and hermit, and the dead leading them to the grave*" (Dance of death, 2008).[45]

Such artistic presentation of death, the transience of human life (*memento mori*) regardless of the social status as well as a critique of the then society (secular and clerical classes) is known in several European countries, but we point out only two Istrian examples: the Holy Trinity Church (Slo. *Cerkev sv. Trojice*), a southern Romanesque style historical building in Hrastovlje (Municipality of Koper), and the Church of St. Mary on Škriljine (Cro.

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[45] More can be found in Lenković (2018) and Vignjević (2006, 2015).

Crkva sv. Marije na Škriljinah) close to the village of Beram (Municipality of Pazin). Their (historical) context and significance from the art history perspective is well described in Lenković (2018) and Vignjević (2006, 2015). The presentation of frescos in the church in Hrastovlje in the most famous tourist guide Lonely Planet (Church of the Holy Trinity, n.d) clearly shows their significance for tourism; the other church is obviously less recognisable and less interesting in this context. However, Lonely Planet highlights in particular the frescos' outstanding artistic value, while dark (or memorial) tourism cannot be identified; the relevant connection with today's stratified society (and social systems) marked by many social problems, e.g. inequality, poverty, corruption, conflicts and similar, is also overlooked. Nevertheless, its dark tourism and memorial relevance arises also from the eight-meter high wall (with two bastion-shaped towers in the corners), which encloses the entire building and gives the church a defensive character in addition to the religious one – it was built as a defensive measure against the Turks, who attacked and looted Habsburgs' lands in the 15th in 16th century.

Also interesting, but quite unknown, is the Church of Saint Blaise (Cro. *Crkva Svetog Blaža*) in Vodnjan, where a rich reliquary is placed. Fifty-seven different relics, archeological and liturgical objects including books, manuscripts, oil paintings on canvas, and polychromatic wood plastics (Župna crkva, n.d.; Vodnjanski župnik, n.d.) can be an exceptional basis for the 'transformation' of the church into a sanctuary and pilgrimage destination. Thus, all the abovementioned extraordinary sacral heritage and individual elements of the death system would be more closely connected and included into the tourism system of the trans-border region of Istria.[46]

2.4. Warfare tourism

As we can see in the sub-chapter '2.2. Dark tourism typology', warfare, war or battlefield tourism is only one sub-type of the dark tourism family. Many scholars, e.g. Stone (2012), Ryan (2007), Henderson (2000), and Smith (1998) claim that warfare sites probably account for the largest single category of tourist attractions dispersed all around the world. Šuligoj (2017c: 441) highlighted some of the most prominent examples, which attracted the scientific public: Gallipoli, World War One's Western Front battlefield, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Auschwitz-Birkenau and other holocaust sites, Vietnam War sites, Civil War sites in the United States,

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[46] This can also mean the 'touristification' of heritage.

Balkan Conflict sites and Cambodia War sites; some globally recognisable events are missing, e.g Korean war, the conflict in Rwanda, New York with 9/11,whereas many are completely forgotten. Although wars and human violence are as old as humankind, a considerably increasing number of visitors of warfare sites began no earlier than in 1816, after the battle of Waterloo and the inglorious breakdown of Napoleon[47] (Seaton, 1999; Smith, 1998). A much more intensive development of warfare tourism was initiated one hundred years later, after the end of WWI (C Winter, 2009a, 2009b; Winter, 2011). If we take into consideration the abovementioned examples, then we see that WWI- and WWII-related sites in Europe and Asia, which heavily reflect the catastrophic consequences on humankind in general, are very attractive to the scientific, professional and general public; many others have regional or local effects, although not less cruel and bloody.[48] As a relevant example, which confirms these claims, we expose statistics on the visit of the most recognisable and representative Nazi concentration camp in Poland; Graph 2 shows a distinct growth trend of the visits since 2001.
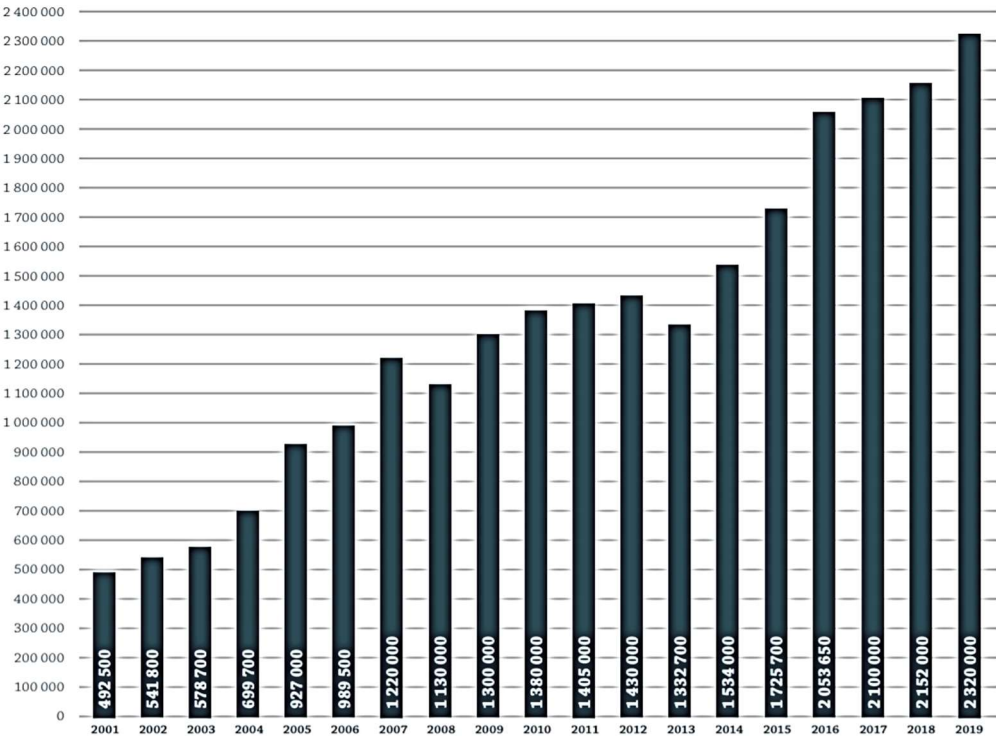
Graph 2: Total number of visitors of the former Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau
concentration camps (2001 – 2019) (Source: Bartyzel and Sawicki, 2020: 25)

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[47] The Battle of Waterloo was fought on 18 June 1815.
[48] More can be found in Šuligoj (2016, 2017c).

The first question is why such sites should be used for tourism purposes? Ryan (2007: 2) claims that "references to silences, and to discourse, and the nature of that discourse, and the relationship between agreement, disagreement, presence, and absence" are central research issues in the war – tourism relationship. According to Stone (2012) and Winter (2011), for example, all authentic sites have a distinct conservational, educational and commemorative meaning, which, according to Miles (2002), Robb (2009: 56) and Kidron (2013: 178), should foster empathy between the visitor and the victim, as well as tension between history or historical reality on one side and memory or imaginary construction on the other (Chronis, 2012: 1798). Moreover, many warfare sites interesting for tourist visits are very demanding and sensitive to (tourist) interpretation. The main reason lies in the possibilities/opportunities to write (make) history, historical revision or political description of people's lives, suffering and deaths (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005b; Goulding and Domic, 2009; Henderson, 2000; Wight and Lennon, 2007). In addition, those sites may be used as a tool for the propaganda of the achievements of the regime, e.g. the communist regime (Caraba, 2011; Ivanov, 2009), or to create a greater sense of nationalism and social bonding, e.g. in Croatia (Goulding and Domic, 2009: 99; Rivera, 2008); a higher influence of politics and ideology on the darkest examples is shown in 'Stone's dark tourism spectrum' (Figure 2). From this description we can conclude that, beside the rational, humane and compassionate meaning and purposes of warfare sites (and warfare tourism), many deviant social phenomena accompany this specific type of tourism. These phenomena should not be relevant reasons for warfare tourism development. If the first are oriented towards the prevention/avoidance of conflicts, and thus the preservation of peace and harmony, we cannot claim this for the latter. There is one more (negative) phenomena which can accompany dark tourism sites. In the Australian example, McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010) problematize the excessive sentimentalisation of WWI (especially the battlefield of Gallipoli) and understand that as systemic and unrelenting militarisation of the history and culture, although the memorial days/events associated with WWI and WWII are proclaimed as days of national importance. According to all these assertions, special emphasis should be put on the issue of how heritage is "presented in an honest, ethical and inclusive manner that minimises dissonance" (Carr, 2010; Carr and Colls, 2016); the complexity of the dissonant perspective of heritage was advocated also by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Dann and Seaton (2001), Ashworth and Hartmann (2005a), Ashworth and Isaac (2015), Hrobat Virloget (2017) and Kravanja (2018).

Many scholars, like Isaac and Çakmak (2016; 2014), Chang (2014), Podoshen (2013) Winter (2011), Bigley, Lee, Chon and Yoon (2010), Rittichainuwat (2008), Preece and Price (2005) focused on motivations and reasons for visits of dark tourism sites, where many included also warfare sites[49]. Interesting are the findings of Dunkley et al. (2011), who explored the motives for visits of WWI battlefields, and noted that the main reasons for the visits were the places themselves, a specialist interest in the war or battlefields pilgrimage/remembrance.[50] Introducing pilgrimage as a phenomenon into the warfare tourism is quite common,[51] which means that a relatively new phenomenon (research area) and a much older and well-established religious and cultural phenomenon of pilgrimage are linked this way (Collins-Kreiner, 2016: 1). Stone (2012) marks visitors of dark tourism sites as pilgrims and their visits as pilgrimage. Kavrečič (2017) and Dato (2014), for example, named post-WWI politically supported visits to the graves and mass tombs of fallen soldiers in fascist Italy as *sacro pellegrinaggio* (sacred pilgrimage).[52] Collins-Kreiner (2016: 2) claims that "both dark tourism and pilgrimage emerge from the same milieu to include the sites of dramatic historic events that bear extra meaning." However, scholars like Hyde and Harman (2011), Winter (2011) or Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) have some difficulty differentiating among religious and secular pilgrims,[53] dark tourists, heritage tourists or some other types of tourist seeking the mythical and magical; according to Korstanje and George (2015), the interests of pilgrims and dark-seekers are substantially different, which means that this two phenomena cannot be linked.[54] This also means that the term/phenomenon of 'secular pilgrimage' is not generally useful in examining dark tourism and, however, mostly linked with former battlefields and sites associated with slavery (Light, 2017: 286).

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[49] If we ignore the general reasons, such as empathy, remembrance, knowledge and similar, those more specific often depend on the target group; see also Collins-Kreiner (2016).

[50] See also Tarlow (2005), Seaton and Lennon (2004).

[51] Analyse of key issues and themes in dark tourism research for the period from 1996 to 2016 clearly shows that pilgrimage is one of the frequently used term (Light, 2017: 277).

[52] Their findings are relevant also for Istria, which was after the end of WWI annexed to Italy.

[53] Terms religious and secular pilgrimage are well described by Korstanje and George (2015), Digance (2006), Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) or Lupfer, Brock and DePaola (1992). In-depth description of these terms goes beyond of the scope of this thesis.

[54] Črpić and Jukić (1998) and Zrinšćak, Črpić, Kušar (2000: 239–241) investigated religious alternatives in relation to Christianity, and the abovementioned practices are, however, not included into their analysis.

2.5. Chapter conclusion

As already mentioned in this thesis, war-related tourism is, despite a very conflicting past, an unresearched topic in South-Eastern Europe – especially in the former Yugoslav area (Šuligoj, 2017c: 447). However, in their collection of scientific papers, Gosar, Koderman and Rodela (2015) as well as Kravanja (2018) illustrated various aspects of the development of battlefield tourism in the Soča/Isonzo valley in Slovenia, while Šuligoj (2017a) identifies some advantages and disadvantages of dark tourism sites in Slovenia; in additional papers (2015d, 2016, 2017c), he presented the Croatian homeland war focusing on the perspective of young residents of Croatia. In addition, Rivera (2008) focused on the Croatian way of presenting the state to the international public via tourism after the war in the 1990s, Goulding and Domic (2009) consider the consequences of representing a mono-cultural heritage in a multi-ethnic society in Croatia, Wise (2011), Wise and Mulec (2014) investigate how newspaper articles and official tourism websites sources construct the (re)created meanings and images of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia; Naef and Ploner (2016) and Naef (2011) presented contested memories and a dissonant heritage in tourism in the post-war former Yugoslav area. Kesar and Tomas (2014) analysed three representative examples of dark tourism sites (Vukovar, Jasenovac and Goli otok) and found that, in terms of the number of visitors, revenue and impacts on society, they are far behind the world-leading sites, but have great potential for future development. Similarly, Slivková and Bucher (2017) highlight the importance and the potential of special-interest tourism for the development in two post-conflict target destinations within Croatia and Slovakia. This is relevant from two points of view: (a) dark or warfare tourism should be presented right in the context of special-interest tourism and (b) Croatia is treated as a post-war area (state).[55]

As we can see in the previous paragraph, the topic of warfare tourism in the former Yugoslav area is a point of interest for scholars from different parts of the world; notwithstanding Šuligoj's statement at the beginning of this sub-chapter, it can be concluded that this topic is not completely unexplored. Investigating concrete examples with their specific cultural background and tragic story is a common approach in dark tourism research – generalization due to specificity is therefore not always reasonable (except exclusively within the case). This way, scholars produce a kind of a 'scientific mosaic' within a unified dark topic.

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[55] Because this is not the purpose of the thesis, a comprehensive analysis of this segment in the post-Yugoslav area has not been made.

Within this work, it is always necessary to see other perspectives and examples that may assist in the investigation and thus in addressing some gaps in the existing literature.

Based on definitions, typologies, limitations and other topics discussed in this chapter, and the objectives and purpose of this thesis, the following conclusions and directions were developed:

- in accordance with theoretical assumptions, it is necessary to investigate the attitude or understanding of warfare tourism, past experiences and its development in Istria;

- incidence of some deviant phenomena associated with warfare tourism, e.g. militarisation, politicisation, will be further explored. Namely, they are usually connected with a systematic preservation of memory or amnesia (*damnatio memoriae*);

- members of local communities as the overlooked visitor group in past surveys will be systematically involved into the research;

- although the 'death system' itself will not be in focus, its elements need to be taken into account for further research, i.e. places, time, and objects. Links to the past cannot be overlooked, nor can be the reactions in the present time;

- critiques will not be additionally elaborated, as the geographical and time limitations are known and defined in advance (this part of the wider context is clear), and despite the Istrian multiculturalism, some of the important characteristics are unique, e.g. religion. The general naming of the research area that is already used in the scientific community will be used;

- within the complex approach, all selected disciplines/areas will be treated equally. Moreover, dark tourism will play a linking role in addressing the gap identified and described in the following chapters.

3. MEMORIALIZATION THEORY AND DISCOURSE

Memory-related questions were, as noted by Aristotle and Cicero, already known in ancient Athens and Rome (Jerše, 2017: 247, 248), and they are still one of the central challenges of man and the society nowadays, when historical perception has changed as a consequence of the influence of the media (Nora, 1989: 7). However, the memory discourse is a product of the 20th century (Jerše, 2017: 248), a century which was, according to Kolko (1994), marked by wars, violence, and similar cruel events, and can thus easily be described as the Century of War. It should be pointed out, however, that not only the quantity of these conflicting events, but also their intensity and negative consequences of an extent that had never been seen before, affected people in all populated continents. Wieviorka (2005: 89) explains that the victims represent a sense of remembering.

3.1. Memory concept

The conflict and violence, both directly and symbolically, play a key role in the 'communitarianism' construction, in the formation of discourses about the past, their reproduction, dissemination and acceptance, but always in strong relation to historical power relations (Ćurković Nimac and Valković, 2018; Gur-Ze'ev and Pappé, 2003). Thus, we can understand many cemeteries, monuments and other memorial sites/events placed in a certain area, which were set up to commemorate war and/or violent regimes, and reflect the need to honour all victims (Biran et al., 2011)[56], the nation's identity and history (Misztal, 2003: 158; Nanda, 2004), or the values and goals of the nation (Hogan, 2011). The nation can be understood as a major mnemonic community, whose continuity is based on the vision of the suitable past and a believable future, which justify a sense of lasting continuity between generations (Misztal, 2003: 17). Consequently, memory and memory discourse are not only a matter of events (commemorations), but a part of everyday life which co-creates a common identity of a certain community (Ćurković Nimac, 2015; Jerše, 2017: 250); the sense of belonging and identification with the space, local history and collective memory are strongly linked to cultural heritage of a certain area (Urošević, 2013: 85; van Dijck, 2010: 266–270). Collective memory is therefore the subject of interdisciplinary discussions where the sociological perspective is not insignificant (Benčić, 2016: 2–3, 5; Hoskins, 2001: 333). Hence,

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[56] More can be found in Ricoeur (2012). These examples form the 'tangible cultural memory' (Benčić, 2016: 6).

memory and practices of commemoration are subjects of constant change, which is only a consequence of evolution and development of society (Jerše, 2017: 257; Olick, 2007; Širok, 2012: 139, 147). A new 'culture of commemoration' is constantly developing through commemorations, which links old traditions with new practices and challenges the distinction between "history, memory and the practices of commemoration" (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011: 193; Wolff, 2006). Commemoration, as a process of institutionalization of memory, establishes and fixes in the public sphere the 'correct' representations of events deemed significant by and for a given group (Jedlowski, 2002: 99). This way the past is accessible through the categories and schemes of its own culture with which we perceive the past – also in a distorted form (Burke, 1997: 45–47).

Jerše (2017: 256) summarized, that the 'sites of memory' syntagma is a metaphor which illustrates the spatial, material, narrative and non-narrative points on which the national memory is based;[57] they are material and immaterial symbols important for the memory. Sociologist Zerubavel (2005) describes this as 'a socio-mental topography of the past' – socially constructed structures that are similar to the maps with which the human mind builds the image of the past. These reconstructions of the past help us understand how collective forms of memory work. Hence, the acquisition of collective memories and, therefore, the identification with its collective past, is part of the process of acquiring social identity; the adjustment of members to this past is the main effort of assimilation. The community/society determines what is worth remembering and how this memory will be preserved. In addition, society maintains and supports collective memory, while individual memory can be understood only if individuals interpret it within the group they belongs to (Halbwachs, 1992); within the collective memory and through appropriated thinking, individuals maintain contacts with the group (Misztal, 2003: 53–54).[58] This means that memory, as a term, is not completely homogeneous/uniform (Benčić, 2016: 5–6; Hoskins, 2001: 335).[59] Thus, significantly different memories and attitude to the past must be highlighted here (Hirsch, 2008; Stone, 2012):

- first-generation memory of the people that personally experienced the trauma either first hand or through the media at the time;

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[57] More can be found in Nora (1984, 1989).

[58] Kansteiner (2002: 181–182) problematized the redundant terminological diversity of memory studies, which includes collective memory, social memory, collective remembrance, popular history making, national memory, public memory, vernacular memory, and counter-memory; see also Ćurković Nimac and Valković (2018: 440).

[59] The Rashomon effect should be (also) considered – see Roth and Mehta (2002).

- second generation memories are those of their direct descendants and their generation, and are transferred to influence their understanding of the world;

- third-generation memory (as well as all successive generations) is represented only through historical narratives.

Similarly, Halbwachs (1992) identified:

- autobiographical memory, which is related to events people experienced themselves (see also van Dijck (2010);

- historical memory, which is contained in historical records;

- history, as the past to which there is no direct connection, and

- collective memory, being an active past which forms our contemporary identity.

Milic (2016: 27) exposed and graphically displayed many other 'types of memory' (see Appendix A), of which many are pointed out in this research as well, e.g. collective, individual, prosthetic and similar; the same applies to many authors referred therein. She also shows memory–identity, memory–media, memory–history and some other relations relevant for this research. Regardless of all these perspectives and according to the purposes and objectives of this research, 'mediated' and 'transcultural' memories will be additionally highlighted.

For Erll (2011, 2015: 178) transcultural memory means the transition from the "stable and allegedly 'pure' national/cultural memory towards the movements, connections, and mixing of memories" within the globalization processes. Indeed, the author explains this as the movement of "(a) mnemonic archives across spatial, temporal, social, linguistic and medial borders as well as (b) the mixing of memories in contexts of high cultural complexity" (no version of the past ever belongs to just one community or place – the holocaust is a representative example).[60] Scientifically speaking, bringing together remembrance, globalization, governance, and transnationalism is a possible way of overcoming the often nation-centric nature of memory studies (Sierp and Wüstenberg, 2015; Wüstenberg, 2019) and thus many social problems, e.g. the disagreements in the Balkans. In this context, the actors in charge of memorial sites should strategically engage all mechanisms of commercialization and professionalization (both extremely important also from the dark tourism point of view) in order to 'translate' local memories to be understood globally (Wüstenberg, 2019); this is also fully consistent with the Resolution on the importance of 'European remembrance for the future of Europe' (2019), which is a political and legal document. It would be especially

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[60] More can be found in Radstone (2011), Sierp & Wüstenberg (2015).

reasonable to implement such approaches to enhance the understanding of memories in multicultural environments at all levels as well.

Transcultural memory can be linked to the 'mediation of memory', which refers to the perception of the media in terms of memory and to the perception of memory in terms of the media; it is a process of creation and also of re-creation. 'Mediated memory' has a strong individual character and is a crucial 'site' for negotiating the relationship between self (autobiographical reflections/perceptions of self, of family, and of larger circles beyond the private sphere) and culture at large (individuals are also active collectors of mediated culture). Exchanging self-recorded items with friends or family members and all the way to complete strangers is an important way of creating collectivity (van Dijck, 2010: 272–274). Kitch (2008: 312–313), on the other hand, claims that the news/media cover extreme events (wars, disasters, assassinations, political revolutions), which is discussed within the mediated memory context – this is a different/wider view than van Dijk's. The author highlighted journalism as the venue in which people imagine themselves to be connected, involved or part of the group who celebrates, mourns or protests. It is a memory–media connection. The same understanding of the term is perceived by Hoskins (2001: 336–337), who points to media manipulations. However, only this specific (media) perspective is relevant for this research.

3.2. Memory and history

This thesis is not particularly focused on difference between history and memory as well as the complex connections between them. This is the subject of debates among historians in sociologists. History is generally accepted as a science,[61] thus a serious, intellectual, secular and objective subject, based on proven facts. Memory, on the other hand, is the reflection of a particular group and its past, it is flexible, passable, often romanticized, but inherently connected with history (Jerše, 2012, 2017; Kansteiner, 2002; Nora, 1984, 1989: 8–9; Schwedler, 2010; Wolff, 2006: 117).[62] Nora (1989: 8) claims that memory and history now appear to be in fundamental opposition. In addition, true memories are remembered only by living individuals,[63] which is crucial for the preservation of historic continuity or its strategic transformation − cultural transformation of commemorative practice during the transfer between generations (Nora, 1989: 8; Wolff, 2006: 110). This is comparable with Halbwachs'

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[61] The same applies to sociology.
[62] In this context, Ramšak (2003) and Rožac-Darovec (2006) are critical to oral history. However, historians have very discordant views in regard to these approaches.
[63] The Rashomon effect should be considered – see Roth and Mehta (2002).

autobiographical memory and Hirsch's first-generation memory which are transmitted to the following generation. According to Garagazov (2016: 28), this approach to collective memory can be described as "a widely shared knowledge of past social events that are collectively constructed through communicative social interactions, which can have a significant impact on our behaviour, feelings, and thoughts." This knowledge, if we want to call it that, is often a traumatic experience of the first generation which is transmitted to the second in such a deep manner that it seems to constitute memories in their own right and can be described as a "transgenerational transmission of trauma" (Hirsch, 2008: 103; Nora, 1989: 18–19; Wolff, 2006: 110). Miklavcic (2008) highlighted (negative) phenomena related to collective memory in the Upper Adriatic border area, where young generations that were not directly involved into the past conflicts displayed deviant behaviour as a result of a successful transmission of past traumas.[64] This processes results in the development of stronger empathic ties to the surviving generation (Jacobs, 2014) and, therefore, remembrance changes into memorialization and eventually into history (Hirsch, 2012).

One of the first authors who used the collective memory concept in the 1920s was cultural historian Aby Warburg, although the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs was the first to have used the concept systematically. His fundamental contribution was the establishment of the connection between a social group and the collective memory limited in space and time (Benčić, 2016: 5; Confino, 1997: 1388, 1392; Kansteiner, 2002: 185; Širok, 2012: 139) – this term can thus be treated as a meta-concept in social sciences (Benčić, 2016: 2). Benčić (2016: 3-4) thus claims that the collective memory discourse relies on multiculturalism, conflicts/wars (the strongest elements of memory) and other events of 20th century (this is compatible with Erll's (2011, 2015) transcultural memory). As a complete contrast, a nation's *collective forgetting,* as identified by Haebich (2011: 1033), also exists; the terms *social or collective amnesia* are also in use. The evaluation of memories inevitably takes place in tandem with amnesia, which is the other side of the same process. Amnesia is an essential component of the building of memories of a community; it is most important to forget those events that could impede the construction of a shared image of the past (Širok, 2012: 138). Memory can be imagined as a box from which individuals can select "what to remember, what to forget, and what, eventually, to forgive" (Miklavcic, 2008: 443). Societies are strengthened because of their painful past, where particular groups may still be experiencing some negative/unpleasant consequences. The need to remain silent on the one hand, and the need to tell the associated

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[64] See also Verginella (2009b).

stories on the other hand, constantly coexist and are permanently influenced by different big shots in the society who wish to forget or to impose their particular memory (Hrobat Virloget, 2017; McAuley, 2013; Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger, 2010). In his work on memory and amnesia, and the relationship between them, Ricoeur (2012) highlights identities that are established on the act of violence (based on 'wounded memories') or on the cult of victory and the cult of mourning – see also Širok (2009, 2012) and Kushinski (2013). Memory-related topics are actually socially sensitive. Individuals or groups/communities/nations are sometimes ready to die for their interpretation of the past, which means that a wider memory conflict is always possible (Confino, 1997: 1399, 1400); interestingly, memory might produce violence, violence might become an object of memory, and memorial practices based on the past violence might also perpetuate new violence (Ćurković Nimac, 2015: 36). As an example, we can mention many politically agreed controversial and degrading consequences of WWI, which remained in the collective memory and then led to WWII. Another example are unforgettable inter-ethnic and regime-based struggles that took place during and immediately after WWII (certain disagreements emerged even earlier) on the Balkan Peninsula, which then re-emerged with the conflict in the 1990s.

3.3. Linking memory with culture and politics

"For historians, the concept of culture has become sort of a compass that governs questions of interpretation, explanation, and method" (Confino, 1997: 1386). The subject explored are the memories of people with own personal experience as well as shared cultural knowledge by successive generations, which includes also books, films, museum, cemeteries, commemorations and similar (Confino, 1997: 1386; Jerše, 2017: 249; Misztal, 2003: 6; Nora, 1989: 12). Nora (1989: 18–19) exposed three senses of the memory: material (e.g. archival material), symbolic (e.g. minute of silence), and functional (e.g. testaments, veterans reunion).

The past provides a symbolic framework for the individuals and groups by which they conceptualise their existence, which is important for emigrants, especially when they are dealing with bad memories (D'Alessio, 2012a). In this context, contemporary obsession with remembrance and testimony of the past is reasonable (Wieviorka, 1999) and sets the memory as one of the main modern pillars of the identity discourse. Collective memory (collected

memory)[65] is a composite of more individual memories, which usually means a glance into a layer of the community, usually to those who operate with means of cultural production or whose opinions are highly appreciated (Olick, 2007: 23; Širok, 2012: 139). Confino (1997: 1399) deals with the multiplicity of memory as something useful from the methodological (the question of recording) and content (avoiding artificial distinctions) aspect, as well as in thinking about the place and society as a whole. On the other hand, the less memory is practised collectively, the more it happens on the individual level (Nora, 1989: 16). In any case, collective identities must be understood as fictions in which memory/commemorative practice is linked to the historical past and the fiction of contemporary identity (Nora, 1989: 24; Širok, 2012: 147; Wolff, 2006: 116). Manipulation and a selective perception of the past are very common (Ćurković Nimac, 2015: 35, 37, 38; Širok, 2012: 142, 147).[66] The (collective) memory is manufactured, manipulated and predominantly, mediated (Hoskins, 2001: 334). Many find the contention that the past is not constructed as facts but as a myth, which serves the interest of particular communities,[67] to be problematic as well.

The term memory can be useful in the description of the connection of the relationship between the cultural, social, and political aspect, and between representation and social experience (Confino, 1997: 1387, 1388); Ćurković Nimac (2015) and Ćurković Nimac and Valković (2018) highlighted also ethical aspect of memory. Anthropologist Ballinger (2002), for example, wanted to investigate the link between history, commemoration, preservation and mythologisation of the past in Istria and the Trieste area, while historians Širok (2009, 2012) Dato (2014) and Kavrečič (2017), similarly, explored the same slightly to the north – in the Gorizia/Goriška region. In both cases, the totalitarian ideology with perpetual mobilization (constant education of the masses by the regimes) first created a collective harmony called 'fascistization' (*fascistizzazione*) in the Italian case.[68] In Italy, where the state and the ruling party were extremely connected, existing and completely new public rituals were politicized, meaning fascistized (Dato, 2014; Gentile, 1996: 25–28, 88; Kavrečič, 2017; Orlović, 2014a: 118); the custom of *damnatio memoriae* was used systematically. Post-WWII reactions in the border region were thus only a logical consequence of pre-war cultural

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[65] Terms *collected memory* and *collective memory* can not be equated. The collected memories are less interconnected, they can even be different or opposing. According to Benčić (2016: 3), some other memory related terms are also in use.

[66] More can be found in Ricoeur (2012).

[67] More can be found in Nora (1989), Olick and Robbins (1998) and Ćurković Nimac (2015).

[68] Totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, which knew the future and made up the past, were rejecting historical sociology (Smith, 2011: 11). These regimes have the same attitude to (collective) memory as well (Ćurković Nimac, 2015: 38).

violence against the Slavic population, which included completely new memorial practices. The collective memory of one community, like the identity, was/is constructed in opposition to the memories of other(s) (Hrobat Virloget, 2015: 536); *damnatio memoriae* was/is used frequently by both sides. Consequently, radical changes in the political system additionally influenced memorial practices. Different generations (people of different ages, ethnic groups, beliefs and similar) remember life in the Upper Adriatic and this is not only a question of the past but also of the contemporary moment.

Post-WWII memory is constructed around the holocaust, which is very characteristic of the (post)communist states.[69] In the (non-communist) Italian example it assumes specific forms and aims to shape the legacy of conflicts in the Upper Adriatic with the focus on the *foibe* − exodus sequence. In this discourse, Italians see themselves only as an innocent victim (Altin and Badurina, 2017: 324; Hrobat Virloget and Čebron Lipovec, 2017: 49; Orlić, 2012: 14, 2015: 477);[70] they feel as victims of the communists or Tito's terror. Under these circumstances, more effort is needed to overcome the time of memory as a sort of mourning in order to achieve 'only memory', the right degree of amnesia and reconciliation with others and with ourselves (Ricoeur, 2012). However, it is necessary to be aware that, in addition to the 'different national histories'[71] and systematic *damnatio memoriae*, a balanced integration of memory, amnesia, silence[72] and reconciliation is extremely difficult also due to different past and present ideological (political) views and socio-political systems. Political establishments in the wider region have a great role in enforcing policies that include tolerance, integration, inclusion, co-operation, coexistence, and similar. In this context, the aspect of (political) power should be emphasized in relation to memory – see Benčić (2016: 11–12).

Politics of memory are a reflection of political development and is often a revitalised ideology and thus related to political conflicts; memory in this case is a concept of (political) culture (Confino, 1997: 1393; Jerše, 2017: 249; Mustapić and Balabanić, 2018). The dominant

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[69] More can be found in Jambrešić Kirin (2004).

[70] Based on the Christian paradigm, persecutions and executions of Italians are often understood as a 'group Christ's passion and crucifixion'. The victims of said origin thus become 'victims par excellence' (such as the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in Christianity). Mercy automatically assigns victims to their dominant culture. Generally, this is also a typical view of the holocaust/shoah, which is, however, difficult to generalize and link with the Italians as victims (Accati, 2009: 188–189). This symbolical reliance on the biblical story of Jesus Christ, who was falsely accused, is certainly highly questionable in the Istrian (Italian) case. However, generalizations should be avoided and civilizational norms, such as the right to burial, the grave and memory, should be preserved.

[71] Different scientific interpretations of the past exist in the Upper Adriatic – see Franzinetti (2014) or Verginella (2009a, 2009b, 2010).

[72] More can be found Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger (2010), Hrobat Virgolet (2017) or Hrobat Virgolet and Čebron Lipovec (2017).

narrative, as defined by Misztal (2003: 160) and Mustapić and Balabanić (2018), is a memory of the political elites with whom they shape the desired image of the past (as presented in the preceding paragraphs). This is in line with Ahonen's (2012: 23) "public memory," which is described by the author as a politically canonized story of the past, an official history, emphasizing the non-academic nature of these presentations. Commemorative speeches delivered by politicians, although stimulating the increase of the "emotional dimension of arousal, unpleasantness, sadness, anger, fear and disgust," also increase "attention, motivation and reasoning about the implications of the commemoration for the national cultural model, which is one of the most important functions of commemorative rituals" (Pavlaković and Perak, 2017: 301). Hence, frequent appearances in the media can generate a culturally distributed collective memory (*ibid*). In connection with politics, we often mention historical revisionism, mythologisation[73] and/or politicisation, as well as reconciliation, which are ordinary 'companions' of commemorative practices (see Miklavcic (2008)), where the 'content' of the myth is more important than the accuracy of historical facts (Schopflin and Hosking, 1997: 19). Similarly, Confino (1997: 1402) also warns of the danger of reducing culture to politics and ideology, when it should be the exact opposite: from the political (with political significance) to social and experiential aspect, and then to memory (collective memory). The history of memory is useful in defining how the past is represented, the mentality of the people in the past, commingled beliefs, practices and symbolic representations that form people's perceptions of the past (Confino, 1997: 1389). Negative deviations, about which Confino writes above, are not difficult to find: politicisation (or even political abuse) of memory is nowadays a common occurrence in the post-socialist states. Mustapić and Balabanić (2018), on the example of Croatia, notes that the 2015 parliamentary campaign has changed into a 'site of memory' with the focus on recent history related issues; media were then a necessary medium for the transmission of these messages to the people. Thus, the media (journalism) also re- and co-constructs memory with regard to discrete events (and everyday life) as well as across time and place, furthermore, they link them to memory studies and historiography (Edy, 1999; Kitch, 2002, 2008). In this context the media stories/reports are "presented as historical truth, but they are actually narrative visions, pictures that are prescriptive as well as descriptive, mythology as much as reporting" (Kitch, 2002: 61).

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[73] On the other hand, we can take into consideration Armstrong's (1991) understanding of myth not as false consciousness, but rather as a unifying factor, lowering the strong consciousness of the group members about their common destiny: together with symbols, communication and many other cultural and symbolic components are decisive for shaping the common identity.

3.4. Chapter conclusion

Memory and memory-related issues have apparently been employing mankind in general for a long time. It is matter of belonging, of identity, of everyday life, of history and heritage and transmission among generations. Memory practices link old traditions to new practices and challenges. People frequently become nostalgic when thinking about the past, especially when memories are pleasant. Although the concepts of memory and nostalgia may be similar, they should not be equated or swapped.[74] Not to be neglected is the fact that in the post-Yugoslav area and context, the term Yugo-nostalgia is often used and even abused.[75] However, addressing issues related to memory is very relevant and meaningful in the former Yugoslav area, including the Istrian peninsula, which will be further elaborated below. The turbulent history with frequent (military) conflicts preserves the state in which the first-, second- and third-generation memory or the autobiographical, historical, or collective memory and history – to repeat the typologies listed in the sub-chapter '3.1. Memory concept' – are permanently actual. Victories, defeats, victims and heroes are subject to memory/remembrance as well as to silence and amnesia. The latter cannot be automatically equated with collective amnesia, since *damnatio memoriae* is basically understood as a series of formal measures. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the explanations in the introductory chapter will be used.

Based on the definitions, typologies and other topics discussed in this chapter, and on the objectives and purpose of this thesis, the following conclusions and directions were developed:

- collective memory is as important as social amnesia and 'living in silence'. All of them together enable life in contemporary mixed societies; cooperation and coexistence are crucial for peace and prosperity. How important were they and still are for the Istria of yesterday and today?

- Manipulation, selective perception, mythologisation and politicisation of the past are often perceived in memorial studies. In such circumstances, the memory of one community was/is constructed in opposition to the memories of another (or of others). Can a multicultural community thus maintain tolerant relationships, cooperation and coexistence?

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[74] More about nostalgia can be found in Boym (2001, 2007), Starobinski (2009), Smeekes (2015). The term is only mentioned here since its more detailed elaboration would not be consistent with the purpose and objectives of the thesis.

[75] More about Yugo-nostalgia can be found in Volčič (2007), Velikonja (2008) and Šuligoj (2018a).

- Regimes/ideologies significantly influence memorial practices, where *damnatio memoriae* is not a rare measure. How were/are frequent changes of regimes/ideology reflected in memorial practices in Istria, the region that was/is also a prominent tourist destination of the Adriatic?

- Media reports are important as a source for researchers or as a medium for the transmission of information. To what extent do the Istrian media report on memory (memorial practices)?

4. MEDIA PERSPECTIVE ON DARK TOURISM AND MEMORY

The questions of the cultural and individual memory have become interesting issues in the fields of study of visual culture, cultural studies and media studies. This means that concepts of memory (e.g. personal memories) do not necessarily come to the people (audience) from their individual experience but from their mediated experience based on photographs, documentaries and popular culture (Sturken, 2008: 75), as well as from the media. Moreover, there is a close relationship between the media and processes of remembrance (Zierold, 2008: 399). In this context, the intention of the media/journalism is to explain contemporary events in the public sphere: memory and the related past offer them a key source through which they understand and explain topical events. This even creates a 'memory superabundance' within which people identify themselves with other people's emotions and memories (Širok, 2009: 29).

The media are often accused of the (alleged) disappearance (Zierold, 2008: 399) or 'rewriting' of memory (and history) – see the example of Štok and Česnik (2012). The historical perception of society has changed as a consequence of the influence of the media (Nora, 1989: 7). On the other hand, as memory serves as a prism through which to consider media/journalism, memory-related journalistic work itself has become an interest research topic (Zelizer, 2008a: 382, 383). Accordingly, Edy (1999) suggests caution, because despite the great importance of journalistic reporting for historiography and media studies,[76] it is not always possible to rely only on these resources due to the simple and dramatic narratives of news reporting. Thus, the crucial issues of the contemporary 'media environment' (internet) are thus credibility, its operationalization and measurement (Metzger et al., 2003). The 'media environment' is understood as a fragmented, changing, globalised environment with de-institutionalized mass communication, where the masses, however, often seek to reach the masses (not to target narrow niches) (Napoli, 2010).

From the perspective of tourism studies, some questions about media and memory relations were identified as early as in the 1980s. Hence, WWII and the holocaust were among the top memory-related topics of the 1980s and 1990s (Sturken, 2008: 73) and, as indicated below, they are still the most relevant dark tourism topic. This means that tourism attractions and media are also interconnected, where the presentation in the media is the last of the five

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[76] They are not exclusively used only within these studies/sciences.

steps of creation of each tourist attraction (MacCannell in Seaton (1999)).[77] In this context, dark tourism sites and the visiting of these sites, have been attributed a special status in the media: the status of a myth or a meta-myth, a genre of travel motivation and attraction, and a social pathology, which creates moral panic (Seaton and Lennon, 2004: 63). Moreover, different groups of victims contest with each other due to memory politics and related international/national recognition. They influence public opinion and intensify pressure through the media and/or academic attention (Schaller, 2011). However, researching dark tourism from the media perspective is less common than researching it in other contexts, e.g. tourism management, heritage tourism or experience/behaviour of tourists (Light, 2017: 293).

Memory studies as an interdisciplinary research area should be in an uncomplicated and mutual relationship with the study of visual culture and new media (Sturken, 2008: 77). Contemporary technologies shape people's memories of past and present life, and simultaneously shape the media and memory as cultural concepts (van Dijck, 2010: 272). In accordance with contemporary trends related to the pluralization of processes of remembrance in societies and the media (modern media systems), such studies should include theoretical as well as empirical research (Zierold, 2008: 405–406). Landsberg (2003: 150) claims that, even though "the kinds of commodities disseminated by the mass media are different in form from more traditional commodities, they require a similar kind of analysis".

4.1. Dark tourism from the media perspective

In spite of the marginalization/negligence of a dead body and death itself by the Western academia and society over the last few centuries (see sub-chapter '2.3. Dark tourism and death system'), they are, in fact, traditionally very interesting to man – see Dunkley, Westwood and Morgan (2007), Stone and Sharpley (2008), Šuligoj (2016). This is also reflected within popular culture and media output (Durkin, 2003; Walter et al., 1995). Mionel (2019: 423) similarly claims that dark tourism is, in addition to academia, also an attractive topic for the media, i.e. newspaper articles, promotional magazines and TV programs, which is, according to Walter (2009), an interesting example of the media hype related to the fascination with death and dying. On the other hand, it is the already hyped media attention that riggers a desire to visit a death-related site, rather than the fascination with death (Morales Cano and Mysyk, 2004: 892). However, the media create and maintain a dark perception of dark sites dedicated to

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[77] These steps are: naming, sight sacralisation, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical and social reproduction.

'consumption' (Merrin, 1999), and thereby feed the 'imaginary community' of dark tourists (Anderson, 1995); they are actually being conceptualized as a major influencer (Mckercher and Chan, 2005; Trauer, 2006). Hence, there is a direct link between the media and dark tourism, which means that the media transfer a sudden or violent death to the mass of readers, viewers and listeners (Walter, 2009: 44) – thus informing people all around the world through global communication channels (and technology) (Lennon and Foley, 2000). Figuratively speaking, death was essentially brought into people's living rooms by the media (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Schofield, 1996).[78] By reporting tragic events they (perhaps) 'emotionally invigilate' people to react in a particular manner (Walter et al., 1995), which means that the moral dimensions of death-related tourism are never far from media and academic discourses (Stone, 2009). The ethical dimensions of investigating traumatic history and the related dark tourism caused (social) anxiety and subsequent moral quandaries (Lennon, 2005). Seaton and Lennon (2004) claim that the media narrative on death-related tourism generally results in a moral panic – particularly the tabloid media construct a metanarrative of moral panic around the death–tourism connection. Stone (2009) is an additional scholar who explores the emerging narrative of moral panic. According to him, there is a mass of media commentary marked with superficiality and selectiveness, and based on hunches. According to Friedrich and Johnston (2013), the media which abuse the label of dark tourism have actually caused confusion and damage to dark tourism (misunderstanding among stakeholders on the conceptual foundations of dark tourism).

With the help of the media, people become well informed and simply wish to seek to affirm the validity of tragedies and victims, which reached them through the media (Schofield, 1996). The media thus become a contemporary 'mediating institution', which links death with the individual and collective consciousness (Walter, 2009). This way the media begin a process of 'mortality contemplation' and thus the development of attitudes towards past tragic events and victims. Especially for the spectacle driven media, violence and death are attractive topics for uncritical 'reporting'. However, in this context, the recognition of dark shrines, which are the consequence of recent traumatic conflicts, crucially depends on the media agenda and awareness of high-ranking politicians. As an example, holocaust (or genocide) tourism,[79] as a key word of reference for the dark tourism concept, has continuously been reported by the media (Stone, 2007). Interestingly, the mass media exploits the interest in the holocaust, which

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[78] In the era of mass media, for example, sites ('attractions') are accessible via video and virtual reality displays, which means that sites from around the world can be easily connected in a simulated environment in the home environment (Uriely, 2005: 203)

[79] As well as the holocaust itself.

was (co)created in majority by themselves (Von Schwabe, 2005) – there is always (a potential) interdependency between the media and (holocaust) dark tourism sites. In addition, the attitude of politicians on this issue is manifested on anniversaries when state delegations gather at celebrations – see e.g. Memorial and museum Auschwitz-Birkenau (In memory, 2020) – which is always reported by all relevant media as well. Similarly, a more recent and geographically closer to Istria is the example of the Balkan Conflict in 1990s, when people all around the world were shocked by media reports on the systematic and widespread violence and rape camps (Allen, 1996; Shanks and Schull, 2000); the whole tragic period (1992 – 1995) was well covered by the international media (Šimko, 2006). The Sarajevo post-war city tours, which are primarily based on the siege of Sarajevo, also generated follow-up media interest – see for example Hawton (2004) or Farhad (2018). In this context, Wise (2011), and Wise and Mulec (2014) investigate how newspaper articles and official tourism website sources construct the (re)created meanings and images of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. An additional, globally recognisable example is the genocide in Rwanda, where contemporary tours are of media interests as well – see for example Khaleeli (2010).

Mass media advertising is also affecting dark tourism sites (Sharpley, 2009). It should be noted that dark tourism sites were/are usually not purposefully created as tourist attractions – they were/are places of memory, sorrow, pride, even heroism and similar. They gained recognisability/popularity thanks to the marketing and promotional activity of profit-oriented tourism organizations, as well as the media (Seaton, 1996). Thus, Mionel (2019: 428) and Seaton (1999) similarly claim that suppliers' marketing campaigns (including mass-media) follow consumer preferences and, in fact, create dark tourism, which is, however, subject to changes due to political and cultural influences. Thus, the tourist's image of the sites presented in the media can create motivational dynamics of tourism demand (Burns and Holden, 1995; Foley and Lennon, 1996: 198, 199). The aspect of destination image should also be pointed out, especially because the logic here is different than with other forms of tourism, where everyone avoids a negative destination image. In general, positive media images create a desire to experience the reality at a specific destination, but the peculiarity of dark tourism is that the more negative the image is (the extent of conflict, damage, casualties), the more attractive the destination becomes for 'dark tourists' (Foley and Lennon, 1996: 198).[80] Dark tourism site managers and product developers should be aware of the likelihood that prior

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[80] This applies in particular to the situation immediately after the conflict.

knowledge from the media and the inverted logic of the image are a vital component of the visit.

4.2. Memory from the media perspective

As already mentioned in this research, events related to death – in spite of the general marginalisation/negligence of the dead body and death itself – usually offer a good news story. Journalists/the media search for stories related to memory, especially when people need help with recovering from the past traumatic events,[81] i.e. the case with the news of war, crime, terror, and natural disaster (Zelizer, 2008a: 383). This way the mass media generate empathy through the production and dissemination of memory, which represents an imaginary temporal bridge that connects or separates people from the traumatic past. Thus, individuals can have an intimate relationship with the memories of past events, which they did not personally experience (Landsberg, 2003: 148); the author – see also Sturken (2008: 75) – marked such circulation of memories in mass culture as a prosthetic memory' ('the corrupted mirror of the authentic memory'). It is in some way worrying, how mass/popular culture and mass media can co-opt memories and reconfigure histories into entertainment (Sturken, 2008: 75). Hence, Zelizer (2008a: 381) – in accordance with some authors – claims that rewriting, revisiting old events, commemorative or anniversary journalism, and even investigations of seemingly historical events and happenings are regular practices in the news-making process. On the other hand, if the story tries to be neutral or simplistic, it will not get people's attention (Winter, 2006: 220). Consequently, national stories use binary symbols (and images) (Winter, 2006: 220, 221) to show a contrast and a distinction between good and bad. This approach is prone to the simplified perception of the past in order to promote concrete present-day views. The above-mentioned binarity exhibits two major patterns in stories about wars – glorification (of heroes) and victimization – usually used to "avoid historical responsibilities and muffle the discussion of the more problematic parts of national history" (Lehti et al., 2008: 411, 412). Similarly, Wertsch (2002: 95) also identified these binary interpretations of the past marked by 'heroes' (self) and 'enemies' (other side, aliens), which is not compatible with neutrality; broadcasted events use aesthetic and dramatic methods intended to guarantee the audience's attention (Ebbrecht, 2007: 225). In addition, Wertsch (2002: 95) also claims that stories cannot

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[81] According to Wertsch (2002) is story or narrative within this study perceived as a tool for transfer/dissemination of certain images of the historical events.

be necessarily objective, neutral and neither truthful. All these characteristics can be ascribed to the 'prosthetic memory' as well. According to Landsberg (2003: 149), it is not authentic or natural, but rather derived from an engagement with mediated representations, i.e. seeing a film, visiting a museum, watching a television show, using a CD-ROM. Furthermore, the author (2003: 158) mentioned cyberspace/the Internet, where prosthetic memory is co-created and can be also misused. However, prosthetic memory is not the focus of this doctoral thesis.

The natural role of the media is to prevent people being robbed of their memories[82] – past events are thus not so much subject to social or historical amnesia (Lury, 2004: 184), unless it is intentional (*damnatio memoriae*).[83] In addition, the media determines which special occasions for remembrance and elaborations deserve to be addressed/presented. It is also important to consider which media have a chance to be socially accepted when reporting on memory/remembrance (Zierold, 2008: 405): "which media from the wide spectrum of available technologies are used for socially relevant occasions for remembrance, which forms of elaborations of remembrance they allow, which are realized, how they are received and used, etc." (Zierold, 2008: 404). Influential individuals or groups, creating emotional links with their own identity, can thus promote their version of the past. This is especially sensitive from the point of view of peaceful relations between the majority and minority (Ehala, 2014: 98, 99). The media are actively involved in such social processes.

The legitimate questions are who has the power to control the media and how politics manipulate public memory; the topics are transmitted from the media to political and public debates (Hoskins, 2001; Širok, 2009: 31, 52). Authorities try to control/guide media at the time of conflicts/wars (Katz and Liebes, 2007: 162–163), which apparently continues in the post-conflict period – see also Benčić (2016) for a memory aspect. In such circumstances, individual/personal memories are connected with the memories suggested in the master narrative (Melchior and Visser, 2011: 35), which is linked to the national/state identity transferred between generations, individuals and different groups in society (Gruzina, 2011: 404). Nevertheless, some groups are excluded from the common memory (master narrative) due to some social or political reasons (Ahonen, 2001: 190). Such social heterogeneity with an alternative or counter-narrative to the existing master narrative (Burke, 2010: 108) triggers the tension between groups/communities and impedes mutual communication (Ehala, 2014: 100). In such an 'infected environment' the media can contribute to overcoming or escalating

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[82] Especially collective memory.
[83] It is difficult to preserve the memory of historical events that were not promoted also by the media; media can even silence and erase past events (Širok, 2009: 31).

conflicts, which indicates the often overlooked importance of the media. Marx Knoetze and Dhoest (2016: 267) claim that public broadcasting as the state's platform for communication in case of conflicts, usually represents some one-sided biased views (different ethnic or social minorities are ignored; see also Ehala (2014: 98, 99)). Such attitude can be ascribed to other media as well.

Anniversaries are of special importance and interest. Memories, according to Ehala (2014: 98), can thus exist in forms of narratives/stories and are exercised through commemoration events. With their ritual performance, such events become a kind of a substitution of the historical experience. They attract public as well as media attention, which offers a chance to fulfil the demand for news (Ebbrecht, 2007: 223). This is in line with Dayan and Katz (1992), and Katz and Liebes (2007), who defined the so-called media events, which are "public ceremonies, deemed historic, and broadcast live on television;" broadcasts of anniversary events (ceremonies), using a set of available channels, reach a numerous domestic and international audience. Television, for example, has thus became one of the most important memory agents, and the co-creator of social memory, which applies to new technologies as well (channels/networks became dense and spread) (Assmann, 2011: 202; Ebbrecht, 2007: 221–222); it has also become an important archive of historical images that create a collective image of historical events, a stereotyped symbol of past events and collectively shared version of history (Ebbrecht, 2007: 222; Hoskins, 2001: 341) and a manipulator of memory (Hoskins, 2001: 336). Van Dijck (2010: 271) attributes this to the media in general, while Kitsch (2008) attributes it to journalism. 'Anniversary journalism', including the related broadcasts, consists of canonized historical narrative templates, rituals, and myths, which impact the 'mnemonic synchronization of particular communities'; such journalism connects common national and cultural feelings (Harro-Loit and Kõresaar, 2010: 324–325, 337). In this context, commemorations, in addition to historical analogies, and historical contexts are the main elements used by journalists to connect the present times with the past (Edy, 1999), where the journalistic projects should have some kind of engagement with the past (Zelizer, 2008a: 384). In other words, the media, as an important operator of the transmission process, co-create a collective memory (Ebbrecht, 2007: 222; Pavlaković and Perak, 2017: 301); they can be marked as a memory agent between past (tragic) events, present day event organizers and audiences/people with their own preferences. Similarly, Zelizer (2008b) claims that this renders journalism a key memory agent. However, both journalists themselves and scholars find this difficult to accept. Let us take a look at Zelizer's (2008a) views or arguments on this topic:

- regarding the journalists' perceptions of their work, it should be pointed out that they appear to be an ill-suited stakeholder to offer an independent tracking/explaining of past events. On the other hand, they can provide a first draft of the past (historical events), while the final 'judgments' must be explained by historians (p. 379);

- a frequent orientation towards the simplification, recounting without context, a minimization of subtle differences and the twilight zones of a phenomenon all limit the media coverage associated with the past. In accordance with the constant reverence for truth and reality, singular characteristics of memory work should always be considered: "its processual nature, unpredictability, partiality, usability, simultaneous particularity and universality, and materiality" (p. 382);[84]

- dealing with the past helps journalists understand the present. This way, journalists create connections, inferences, news pegs, analogies, and short-hand explanations, and act as yardsticks for gauging an event's magnitude and impact (p. 380). Journalists (media), therefore, have an important role in making and keeping memory alive, although they act as amateur historians and sleuths of the past. Consequently, collective memory offers a better framework through which to consider journalism compared to history (p. 381). Journalism (media) functions as one of society's main institutions of recording and remembering in present time, which means that its understanding, how and why it remembers as well as the ways that it does, are important social issues (p. 386).

In addition, Zierold (2008: 403) differentiates between two groups of media dimensions:

- the material dimension consists of semiotic instruments of communication (e.g. language, images, or sounds), media technologies (e.g. print, radio, television, or internet), and media offers for remembrance (e.g. thematic newspaper articles, TV shows, and thematic internet sites);

- the social dimension consists of at least the production and distribution of a media offer as well as the reception and use of the media offer. Especially the reception and use of media offers are not socially homogenous.

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[84] See also Kitch (2002: 61) and Edy (1999).

There are many interesting examples indicating media – memory relationships, including the multidimensionality of this relationship. Thus, ANZAC Day,[85] as a consequence of vast investments of governments, institutions, corporations, commercial entities, media and community groups into online presentations (content), offers an integration of the physical and the Internet experiences (Sear, 2017: 70, 76). Hence, the American September 11 is remembered also due the frequent occurrence of the date in the media and for stories written about it, which are then linked to the emotions of traumatic events experienced by the people themselves (Širok, 2009: 37; Stone, 2009). Pavlaković (2016) highlighted how collective memories (particularly on WWII and the post-war period) were abused (manipulated by the media) and oriented through increasing disagreements between Croats and Serbs in the late 1980s and 1990s; in this context, the Jasenovac concentration camp was completely politicized. Thanks to the post-Yugoslav, Western and other mass media, the Yugoslav conflict of the 1990s has been kept at the forefront of peoples' attention for many years – see Kennell et al. (2018). Širok (2009, 2012), furthermore, points out how interesting people still find WWII, as well as the fascist and post-war violence on today's Italian-Slovenian border area. A concrete example from the Upper Adriatic are the commemorations of the Italian *Il Giorno del ricordo*, which is mentioned in this thesis several times. It is discussed in the Istrian newspapers every year in February as well. In 2020, the Croatian 'Glas Istre' tried to explain the (post-)WWII situation mainly based on a black-and-white principle, where no special empathy or reverence were expressed towards the victims (Angeleski, 2020). A completely different example was that of the 'La Voce del Popolo', where the Italian victims and other victims of the post-war revolutionary violence were very sensitively displayed in six articles. However, the time of fascism, which had previously seen violent confrontations with Slavs and anti-fascists in Istria, was almost completely neglected (Risultati della ricerca, 2020).

Many authors, who discussed different perspectives of the media's creation of social reality, were pointed out already in sub-chapter '1.1. Background and rationale for the thesis', i.e. Gamson et al. (1992: 385), Črpić and Mataušić (1998: 673), Edy (1999), Kitch (2002, 2008), Nišić and Plavšić (2014: 74), Nišić and Plavšić (2014: 74), Pavlaković and Perak (2017: 301), and Mustapić and Balabanić (2018: 439). Their claims are also relevant for the media–memory relation, as the claims of Simone-Charteris, Kirkpatrick, and McLaughlin (2018) are relevant for the dark tourism–media relations. In conclusion, Katz and Liebes (2007: 163) emphasized some extremely relevant factors related to the establishments' and media's control over the

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[85] On April 25, Australians and New Zealanders annually commemorate their victims of WWI as well as of other conflicts and peacekeeping operations.

public events: "the integrative versus disruptive character of each type of event, and the factor of preplanning versus surprise, lurks the question of control, of who is in charge."

4.3. Chapter conclusion

The 'media environment' as described by Napoli (2010), despite its obvious weaknesses, offers a relevant perspective for the investigation of memory and the related dark tourism. The specific, media-created social reality – as an output of processes performed within the 'media environment' – evidently reflects the real social reality, although some of these reflections can be customised to a special audience, policy, culture, and similar. Many authors, e.g. Anderson (1995), Merrin (1999), Mckercher and Chan (2005) Trauer (2006), Walter (2009: 44), Lennon and Foley (2000), and Sharpley (2009), highlighted different perspectives of the media and dark tourism connections. On the other hand, many authors discussed memory–media relations in a similar manner, e.g. Landsberg (2003), Lehti et al. (2008), Wertsch (2002), Edy (1999), Ehala (2014), Ebbrecht (2007), Assmann (2011), Harro-Loit and Kõresaar (2010), Pavlaković and Perak (2017), where the media co-create a collective memory (Ebbrecht, 2007: 222; Pavlaković and Perak, 2017: 301). This shows how relevant it is to investigate such topics and relations in both cases. The Upper Adriatic examples mentioned in previous sub-chapters also explain their topicality. This is even more important, because the residents of Croatia, for example, regard the media as the main source of information, especially television and newspapers, but, paradoxically, have low confidence in them.[86] In this situation, the media is not perceived as a mirror of society. Nevertheless, people emphasise their power in creating a media social reality (Nikodem and Valković, 2011: 810–812). Baloban, Črpić and Ježovita (2019: 32–34) pointed out the same findings at national level, where the data for Istria and Primorje-Gorski Kotar County do not deviate at all.

Based on the media-related perspectives and other topics discussed in this chapter, and on the objectives and purpose of this doctoral thesis, the following conclusions and directions were developed:

- as the journalism (media) function is one of society's main institutions of recording and remembering past and present time, 'anniversary journalism' will be considered in this thesis. Anniversaries (history-centric memorial practices), with their ritual performance, attract public and media attention. The related prosthetic memory,

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[86] See also Čuvalo (2010).

which is the media technology-dependent inexperienced memory (only reproduced/replicated), will be intentionally ignored;

- only material dimension of the 'media environment' will be considered: (a) media technologies (internet) and (b) the media offer for remembrance (thematic newspaper articles) as two of its components were selected. Television with its significant impact on new memory – see Hoskins (2001: 334, 341) – will not be considered;

- according to Širok (2009: 31), certain events that are irrelevant to the collective memory and that do not fit into broader historical contexts, are not initially integrated in the media nor in historical narratives. Such events are also not commercially interesting in terms of tourism – see Light (2017: 278, 279) and sub-chapter '2.2. Dark tourism typology' – so they will be intentionally ignored;

- manipulations and politicisation are pointed out similarly as in sub-chapter '3.4. Chapter conclusion'. How can this coexist in the multicultural society, where the above-mentioned binarity is even more complicated than in a homogeneous society? Can a multicultural community, where the above-mentioned binarity is even more complicated than in a homogeneous society, thus maintain tolerant relationships, cooperation and coexistence?

Questionable media objectivity, neutrality, truthfulness (Wertsch, 2002: 95) and credibility (Metzger et al., 2003) call for carefulness in the investigation and interpretation of results. Results represent a media-constructed reality. In spite of that, the growing importance and impact of the media on the modern man should not be ignored (especially when online content is considered).

5. TRANS-BORDER REGION OF ISTRIA

From the physical geography point of view, the Istrian peninsula is a territory extending south of the imaginary line linking Muggia (in the Gulf of Trieste in Italy) to Preluka (the bay between Opatija and Rijeka in Croatia); the triangular- or heart-shaped peninsula is the largest peninsula in the Adriatic. This is the area of contrasts, where the coastal part is Mediterranean, while the hinterland/inland is continental. Istria is land of bays, 'fiords', cliffs, and small islands; Istria has a karst terrain with deposits of flysch and ground water, caves and abysses as well as rivers such as Mirna, Dragonja and Raša; the Istrian soil is red, 'white' or grey, and allows the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. As early as 1851, Rieger (1977) traced the entire western coast of Istria with great precision (view from a steamboat), displaying all its natural and settlement characteristics; Yriarte (1883) described natural and cultural-geographic characteristics of the peninsula three decades later.[87] This aspect is more relevant for our topic and therefore, it will be further analysed.

Generally, Istria had been known throughout history as a poor (underdeveloped) region (Knez, 2010; Marsetič, 2014; Stradner, 1903; Vinci, 2012) and dangerous for its residents (in terms of physical security) (Kavrečič, 2015). With the constant spreading of infectious diseases before WWI (Marsetič, 2014; Radošević, 2015; Škrobonja, 2010; Železnik, 2010, 2013) as well as in the era of the Kingdom of Italy (Radošević, 2012, 2015; Škrobonja, 2010; Vinci, 2012) was not given a very promising image. These difficult living conditions strongly affected the demographic picture of the region, constantly influenced by all kinds of migrations.[88] On the other hand, in the second half of the 19th century, the regional and central authorities strongly supported the development of tourism in the Upper Adriatic, intended primarily for wealthy classes (Baskar, 2010; Kavrečič, 2014, 2015; Šuligoj, 2015b), which sounds very paradoxical.

The strategic importance of Pula as well as some other cities with their economic activities, including tourism, had undoubtedly contributed to the construction of a transport infrastructure, which:

- linked the Istrian south with Trieste and Wien by rail (Baskar, 2010: 11; Kavrečič, 2007, 2014: 52; Šuligoj, 2015a: 31). Some towns from Trieste to Poreč were linked by the gauge railway *Parenzana* (Roselli, 2002; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015);

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[87] More about Istria from the geographic perspective can be found in Blažević (1984).
[88] More about migrations in Istria can be found in Žerjavić (1993) , Klemenčić, Kušar, & Richter (1993), Ballinger (2002), Nejašmić (2014) or Šarić (2015).

- connected Istrian coastal cities by the sea with Trieste and other port cities in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean (Čučić, 2006; Lamut, 2013; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015; Yriarte, 1883);

- enabled, at the time of the Italian authority, the establishment of air links among cities of the Upper Adriatic and with Zadar, Ancona, Pavia, Torino, and Genova. Flights were carried out by S.I.S.A (*Societa Italiana Servizi Aeronautici*) and airplanes of Karl Kupelwieser (Gombač and Brezovec, 2007; Lamarche, 1929; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015: 57–59).

These findings shows that traveling in the south-north direction and then towards central Europe and the Mediterranean is therefore a historically important route for Istrians. Political and natural physical barriers have contributed to poor transport links to the central parts of Slovenia and Croatia – see also Raos (2014: 36). It is necessary to highlight that connections of the northern part of the peninsula with the continent (the direction Koper − Ljubljana) were greatly improved in the last decades.[89]

5.1. Region of Istria: a political geography perspective

The Upper Adriatic is the northernmost region of the Mediterranean Sea, which was, according to Žerjavić (1993: 632) and Ashbrook (2006: 3–4)[90], a geostrategic concern for the empires and nation-states in the neighbourhood:[91] the Habsburg Monarcy until 1918, Italy (offically from 1920 to 1943),[92] the Second Yugoslavia[93] until 1991, and then its legal successors. However, the problem of cataloguing this space, geographically and historically, which does not have the exact borders and no longer has political and administrative unity, is so clear. Space that is divided into several geographic parts, i.e. Trieste, Gorizia, the Slovenian and Croatian Istria, and Kvarner, had different denominations − always dependent on the

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[89] More about transport links in trans-border region of Istria can be found in *Koncept prostornog razvoja Istre. Istraživanje pet sadržajnih sklopova: promet, turizam, poljoprivreda, gospodarstvo i zaštićena područja* (2016).

[90] More can be found in Marcks, Knieling & Vladova (2016), Violante (2009) or Reverdito (2009).

[91] The changing geopolitical situation within the Europe of the 20th century is described in Janicki (2009).

[92] Their imperialistic preferences/desires have gone beyond this period and have been directed to the domination of the entire Adriatic.

[93] The successor state to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (The First Yugoslavia), existed under various names, including the 'Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia' (1943–1945), the 'Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia' (1946–1963) and the 'Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' (1963–1991/92), which broke-up with democratic changes, Slovenian and Croatian declaration of independence, and subsequent 'Yugoslav wars' (1991–2001).

authority (D'Alessio, 2006: 18, 2012b: 56; Marcks et al., 2016: 12–13). Additional confusion was caused by Slovenians who, after the WWII, began calling their own part of the peninsula *Obala* (Coast) or *Južna Primorska* (South Primorska region)[94] as a substitute for the historical name, Istria; the identity of space and people remained Istrian (Baskar, 2002; Kerma and Plesec, 2001).

Crossing administrative, cultural and linguistic borders and shifting from one identification to another, demands a lot the flexibility in being able to live with them as well as to use them (D'Alessio, 2006: 18, 2012b: 56). This is essential for the regional prosperity, "competitiveness and position themselves in the growing Europe" (Marcks et al., 2016). Consequently, according to Bufon's (2008b: 47) description, Istria could be classified into a Central-European trans-border group of regions as a special trans-border spatial system, well described by the abovementioned indications.

According to the definition of Dziewoński (Rykiel, 2009), the Croatian part of Istria can be understood as a tool of activity, i.e. a political (administrative or planning) region (County of Istria), while the Slovenian and Italian parts can be perceived only as a subject of investigation or cognition, i.e. a real-life objective region.

From the geographical aspect, Istria is on the periphery of the countries which it belongs to today (including their predecessors). On the other hand, when it comes to the Slovenian part of Istria, Pelc (2009: 121) claims that the area between Trieste and Koper is a typical non-peripheral region (located between two centres: Trieste, with an important historical role, and Koper), while the area toward the Croatian border is also not understood as marginalized, although, according to some trends, it will/could be faced with marginalization in the future. Peripherality of Croatian Istria is political rather than economic and cultural issue (Banovac et al., 2014: 463). Nevertheless, municipalities in the Slovenian Istria are among the above-averagely developed municipalities in Slovenia, which does not apply to border municipalities in Croatia in relation to other Croatian municipalities (Pipan, 2007: 226–227). On the other hand, indicators of economic development of the North-Eastern Adriatic region are higher than the national average of their respective state (Marcks et al., 2016: 13, 16).

The often changed state borders in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries[95] were semantically constructed as a cultural dividing line between Latins and Slavs or Italo-fascists and Slav Communists or the Democratic West and the Communist East, which was the cause

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[94] Terms like *Koprsko primorje, Slovensko primorje, Primorje as well as Šavrinija* could be the successors of the Austrian Littoral (*Avstrijsko primorje*, *Österreichisches Küstenland*). Baskar (2002) is particularly critical to Slovenian geographers, who used a series of denominations with not always clear backgrounds.
[95] More could be found in Bufon (2008b, 2008c).

and consequence of transnational conflicts (Bufon, 2008a; Kosmač, 2017: 2; Miklavcic, 2008: 442; Purini, 2012; Thomassen, 2006: 156, 157). Good past interethnic relations between Slovenians and Croatians definitely did have a positive influence on (border) historiography, while the Slav-Italian relation had a completely different impact (Strčić, 2011: 17). The recent history of the Slovenian-Croatian border is labelled with politicisation, including all the negative meanings of this phenomenon (Rožac-Darovec, 2015; Strčić, 2011: 27). The same applies to the Slovenian-Italian border, where national borders were present and mostly ideologically and politically marked (Pelikan, 2012: 282; Verginella, 2009b, 2010). One nation in the region – Italians – felt and behaved as a culturally superior nation for centuries, which triggered discomfort and resistance among the Slavs[96] (Ashbrook, 2006; Orlić, 2012; Pirjevec, 2015; Rožac-Darovec, 2010; Rusinow, 1963a; Strčić, 2011; Verginella, 2009b, 2010; Yriarte, 1883). After WWII, the reversal of a sense of superiority occurred on the Yugoslav territory (Hrobat Virloget, 2015). Istria was, consequently, known as a region of conflicts, intolerance and lack of understanding (Ashbrook, 2006: 28; Orlić, 2012: 13; Šetić, 2008: 105).[97] Cooperation and conflicts were, and still are, influenced by public opinion, which is linked in different ways to the interpretation of past events and memory (D'Alessio, 2012a). The 'Istrian-style memory' depends on relations between Slavs and Italians especially in the 20th century and reflects the ways in which national memory has preserved and exploited. The territorial contestations between nations, though formally (legally) resolved, remain unresolved and unforgettable in the community memory (Wolff, 2006: 95). If we ignore the extreme right-wing movements and their nationalist views,[98] we can, as an example, mention the movement Free Territory (*Territorio Libero, Svobodno Ozemlje*),[99] which problematizes the abolition of the Free Territory of Trieste and the related agreements between Italy and Yugoslavia (Info, 2013). The present state borders therefore remain an open issue for some social groups and individuals.

Tunjić (2004: 395–396) metaphorically describes the abovementioned solutions as 'Intermediate Europe', which marks the formation of the region in the geopolitical interest area and the interweaving of the territorial borders of the wider functional territorial systems, usually in line with geopolitical relations/agreements among great powers. Accordingly, Pelc (2009: 115–116) and Miklavcic (2008: 442–443) described an interesting transformation of the

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[96] This term had/has, primarily in fascist circles, a negative, even offensive meaning (Orlić, 2012: 16).
[97] Rožac Darovec (2010: 224) claims that this applies to the whole Upper Adriatic.
[98] More can be found in Pontiggia (2009), D'Alessio (2012a, 2012b) and many others.
[99] Movement is an open, plural, internationally and democratically oriented group of people of the Upper Adriatic.

former Italo-Yugoslav border from one of the most conflicting[100] to one of the most open borders between countries with a different socio-political system. The first formal steps in regulating border issues after 1947 were made in 1955 and then in 1962 with Udine agreements, which gave residents of the Yugoslav (Koper, Izola, Piran, Buje, Umag and Novigrad were included in Istria) and Italian border municipalities special rights in cross-border mobility (Rolandi, 2015: 562; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015: 69, 89; Šušmelj, 2005: 311–314); the independent Slovenia and Croatia became the legal successors of this agreement on the 'Yugoslav side'.

In December 2007, after Slovenia's accession to the Schengen Area, the former Italo-Yugoslav border became just some kind of administrative border within the EU. Completely opposite is the story of the border between Slovenia and Croatia, which was, until June 1991, only an administrative border, whereas after the proclamation of the independence of both countries, it became a (problematic) state border and has been, since December 2007, also the external border of the Schengen Area. Thus, according to Rožac Darovec (2015: 494) and Zajc (2015: 507), the historical alliance of two Slavic nations today is confronted with a dispute which is also based on the historical mythologisation of the border issue (Zajc, 2015: 501, 502). However, Istria reflects good interethnic relationships between Slovenians and Croats, which are not better in any other border area and are completely different from the relationship between the political elites of both countries (Bufon, 2009b: 466–467; Dukovski, 2011a: 56–58; Reverdito, 2009; Rožac-Darovec, 2015; Zajc, 2015). Good relations are highlighted also by Bufon (2008d: 178–185, 2009a: 64, 76, 77, 2009b), who established that Slovenians along the border, for example, know the language of Croats and Italians very well. Hence, he identified the cross-border migration of residents in all directions, familial and interpersonal relations, and positive perception of the border, which must have a protective role and should not restrict cross-border social and economic exchange. In addition, Berdavs and Kerma's (2009) research shows that the Italian-Slovenian border is more integrated in terms of functional factors (e.g. employment), while the Croatian-Slovenian one is more integrated in terms of social factors (e.g. personal ties). Interestingly, the border issue in Istria is one of the traditional political topics of the regional history.[101] Additional elements constantly faced in the border areas like Istria, according to Bufon (2007: 220–233), are inferiority and superiority,

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[100] More can be found in D'Alessio (2012a) and Pirjevec (2015).

[101] Generally speaking, historical borders existing for a long time become some kind of traces which often have a noticeable impact on the present territories/countries and their form of ethnic and cultural differences, distribution of infrastructure and the level of economic development (Heffner and Solga, 2009: 138).

ethnocentrism and exclusion of difference, assimilation and acculturation. The latter was perceived in the Slovenian-Italian border area in Istria also by Zadel and Sedmak (2015: 164, 165) and Zadel (2016).[102] All mentioned elements have been affecting the demographic structure of society, which is certainly different from the rest of Slovenia and Croatia.

5.2. Istrian identity

The Istrian peninsula is an area of contrasts not only from the physical geographic aspects, but from the cultural aspect as well. D'Alessio (2006)[103] found the first significant divergences in the Istrian society in the middle of the 1840s and during the 1870s, when a local political contest initiated; the political and ideological pressure was performed by the Italian *Risorgimento* and the Croatian *Narodni Preporod*[104] (National Rebirth in both cases). The Italian part (especially politicians and intellectuals) expressed the need to preserve and strengthen the role of the Latin and Roman legacies and diminish the Slavic cultural traces in the region's past, which made interethnic relations more difficult.[105] After WWI and the annexation of Istria to Italy, especially after Mussolini seized power in 1922, this has turned into state repression in order to facilitate assimilation and denationalization of Croats and Slovenes. Numbers[106] show that these measures have not been completely successful – see Scotti (2008), D'Alessio (2006) and Mattossi and Krasna (1998) – but they have left deep and ineradicable traces in the Istrian society. However, after an extremely dynamic history, including all conflicts of the 20th century, Istria remains deeply subjected to Central European, Roman and Balkan influences (Cocco, 2010; Raos, 2014: 36; Urošević, 2012: 95, 96).

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[102] See also Verginella (2009b).

[103] See also Ashbrook (2006); Klaić (2014, 2015).

[104] Collaboration with Istrian Slovenes in this 'fight' was proven by the common political party called The Croatian-Slovenian People's Party (*Hrvatsko-slovenska narodna stranka*), or by the NGO called The Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius for Istria (*Družba sv. Ćirila i Metoda za Istru; Ciril-Metodova družba za Istro*) – see also D'Alessio (2006: 34), Klaić (2014, 2015), Žerjav & Beltram (2017: 68–69) and Šetić (2008); many other organizations important for the cultural, economic and political functioning of the Slavic population in Istria are identified by Žerjav and Beltram (2017). However, Klaić (2014) identified some differences between Slovenian and Croatian views, which were marginalized due to the common struggle against the Italian irredentism.

[105] Šetić (2008: 106), according to Bertoša, identified economic, political, cultural and mental dimensions of the crack among the Istrian nations.

[106] For example: a number of surviving Slavs, a number of Italian and non-Italian cultural or educational institutions, NGOs and similar. All of them are actually the 'survival seeds' of the post-WWII multicultural Istrian society.

Today's strong identification with the region, which is greater than in other parts of Slovenia and Croatia, is thus the result of the complex history, the geographical position on the Upper Adriatic at the junction of the Latin and Slavic world with open borders, the proximity to the developed and democratic Western Europe, the remoteness from the Balkan hotspots and the relatively good economic standard. Consequently, the area is labelled with Istrian multi-ethnicity, multi-culturality, diversity and hybridity (Ashbrook, 2006; Baskar, 1999; Bufon, 2008a; Hrobat Virloget, 2015; Knez, 2010; Medica, 1998; Orlić, 2009; Raos, 2014; Rumiz, 1994; Šantić, 2000; Šuligoj, 2015a; Urošević, 2012; Žerjavić, 1993: 633),[107] with multilingualism and mixed practices, which identify people within their multilingual/multi-ethnic/multi-cultural setting (Skelin Horvat and Muhvić-Dimanovski, 2012; Urošević, 2012). Istria is thus more about identification rather than identity as a set of choices, which were made in the bi-ethnic/multi-ethnic communities, accompanied by constant processes of assimilation, linguistic socialization and nationalization[108] (D'Alessio, 2006: 18, 19, 23). This process of fusion of identities and languages was strongly evident already in the past. Austrian national statistician von Czoernig (1857) – see also Stradner (1903: 22) − who did not forget about the Slovenian population in Istria, described the population of the region in the following manner:

> "There one can meet not only Croatized Serbs and Serbized Croats, but also Croatized Vlachs, and Italianized Croats, Croatized Italians, the one and the other immemorialized of their mother tongue, and in the end, a hybrid population of Italian clothing, Slavic costumes and Serbo-Italian language."

Von Czoernig (1857) did not identify a similar intertwining and intersecting of the different nationalities in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In those circumstances, when conducting censuses of the population in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in some areas of today's Slovenian-Croatian border, they found a completely different national structure of the residents each time (also diametrically opposite) (Darovec, 2011; Dukovski, 2011a: 47, 48; Žerjavić, 1993; Žitko, 2017: 40). These oscillations were described by Klemenčić, Kušar, & Richter (1993: 622) as methodological anomalies of the census combined with unequal (previous) presentations of figures and political impacts. Darovec (2011: 141), in reference to Hobsbawn, claims that national affiliation is developed under the influence of the Centre's policy;[109] a clear national identification of Istrian residents formally

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[107] See also in Nejašmić (2014: 412), Žerjavić (1993: 633), Klemenčić, Kušar, & Richter (1993: 613).
[108] This does not refer to the action of a government taking control of a business or property.
[109] Much later, after the WWII, people did changes due to opportunistic reasons (Šarić, 2015).

occurred just after 1991. 'Istrianity' as an autochthonous regional identity, which is not an ethnically homogenous concept, was identified (Ashbrook, 2005; Bufon, 2008c: 104; Cocco, 2009, 2010; Kerma and Plesec, 2001; Klemenčić et al., 1993; Medica, 1998: 32, 2011: 253; Šuran, 1993; Zadel, 2016: 355; Zadel and Sedmak, 2015).[110] Šuran (1993: 769) understands it as "the 'weaker' identity or pluri-identity, which appears and is reaffirmed in reality as the ethically stronger one," while Medica (1998, 2011: 254, 255) describes it as a heterogeneously interpreted phenomenon, which is still not sufficiently defined in the regionalist political sense. On the other hand, for the residents of Istria, 'Istrianity' is only a natural issue of existence and a sense of belonging to this area.[111] Unification of identity would be difficult and problematic since in the 20th century only, the continual migration of nations had a strong influence on the ethnic/cultural structure of the region. It is an interesting question how, in such complex circumstances, a common identity can be developed at all.

'Istrianity' as a phenomenon was empirically (officially) confirmed in the population census as well, e.g. in 1991 (the last Yugoslav census) (Klemenčić et al., 1993: 607–608). The results of the population census in 2011 (2013) still show, in the most explicit (numerical) way, the national heterogeneity of the Istrian society – the most heterogeneous one found in Croatia.[112] Interestingly, 25.491 Croatian residents expressed their Istrian nationality, which is, in addition to the Serbian and Bosniac one, by far the most frequent one in Croatia (Buršić, 2013: 13; Raos, 2014: 37); only here Croats represent less than 75% of the total population of the County (Raos, 2014: 36). This multi-ethnicity and plurality is formally defined also in the Statute of the Istrian County (Raos, 2014: 38; Statut Istarske županije, 2009), which should not be ignored.

At micro-regional level, Istria literally illustrates today's EU motto, 'United in diversity' (Bufon, 2008b: 55; Medica, 1998), which is also evident in its historical capital Trieste as a cosmopolitan city with an idealized cultural diversity and 'Europeanness' on one side, and nationalism and competing memories of victimhood on the other (Miklavcic, 2008; Zhurzhenko, 2011). This rooted diversity/heterogeneity and complexity in Istria influenced the social life, which is evident from (Medica, 2011: 261):

- the space where economic, cultural, and political elites never have been consistent;
- the biggest differences appeared within the families;
- family relations (kinship connections) were very usefully used in the past migrations;

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[110] Medica (1998) has identified some of the main researchers of 'Istrianity' since the 18th century.
[111] More can be found in Medica (1998, 2011).
[112] Raos (2014) present many other specifics.

- continuous migration, interweaving, acculturation, assimilation, and integration are the characteristics of Istria;
- all individuals in social groups are connected into the network of the social memory;
- traditional life resists to borders and divisions;
- the division of the region between the three countries.

Interestingly, there is no problem of interpersonal communication in everyday life in Istria,[113] since there is even a special regional *lingua franca* known as the Istro-Venetian dialect (Medica, 2011: 252, 253). The importance of preserving the language, especially in the Italian national community, but not only there, is also reflected in the thematic festival called *Festival dell'Istroveneto* in Buje. Italy and Croatia are also aware of its importance and financially support its implementation (Da domani, 2018; Festival dell'Istroveneto, 2018). This is also a sign that, regardless of all past unpleasant and conflicting situations, today many organizations of Italian emigrants (*esuli*), the Italians who remained in Istria after WWII (*rimasti*), the Croatians end Slovenians would like to foster intercultural dialog and themes, which connect and do not divide the people of Istria (D'Alessio, 2012b: 66); even though some extremist and revanchist organizations resist it. Hrobat Virloget (2015: 547–548) and Hrobat Virloget and Čebron Lipovec (2017: 66), however, find that communities still live separately (in the same space) and conflicts still arise at the moment when various memories meet each other. Nobody acknowledges neither the concept of a victim on the 'other side' nor the concept of an executioner on their 'own side'. Hence, the research of Urošević (2012) identifies a certain degree of intolerance and stereotypes about other cultural and minority communities, religious and cultural divisions, and the negative consequences of the last war in Croatia; an example are the graffiti with intolerant messages, which provoked the residents and the mayor of Pula in May 2018 (Ban, 2018). This, however, points to the other side of the often idealized Istrian society.

5.3. Region of Istria: a brief historical overview

When speaking of certain nation historiography, we can expect heterogenic interpretations of certain events, especially in relation to the interpretations from the perspective of other

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[113] An interesting initiative is that, beside the Croatian and Italian languages as official languages, Bosnian as an optional additional language should be introduced into primary and secondary schools of Pula as well (Petrović, 2018a).

nations. (Hrstić, 2016: 58, 59) This is also evident in the border area the Upper Adriatic (Cogoy, 2009: 11; Pelikan, 2012; Verginella, 2010). According to Todorova, Verginella (2010: 212) claims that historians, especial those of the border areas, should avoid ethnocentric prejudices and thoughtful barriers and provide plurality − comparative historiography − which is not characteristic of the Upper Adriatic. Why does not either of the sides seriously/objectively investigate and interpret the pain, death, horror or sadness of the other side? Why are the victims of each side victims *par excellence*? The following chapters and sub-chapters will highlight the main events and milestones of the history of the 20th century, where some dissonant views and interpretations will be exposed. Therefore, we want to join those scholars who attempt to explain the society and history of the Upper Adriatic in a multidimensional way, e.g. D'Alessio (2012a), Verginella (2009a, 2009b), Scotti (2008), Kacin-Wohinz (2001) and not marked by reductionism or one-sidedness.

5.3.1. Dynamic history of the 20th century: a question of interpretation

Unlike Slovenian historiography, the Croatian one is not so rich in WWI-related publications. For political and other reasons, WWI began to be interesting in 1990, if we ignore publications from the period of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), e.g. Pavičić (1943) and Bačić (1945); some authors even publish in Slovenia, where the attitude to this war was, and still is, obviously different (Herman Kaurić, 2015a, 2015b). In addition to these findings, Hrstić (2016: 59) "determines four main periods in the Croatian historiography of WWI, which correspond to the changes of the socio-political frameworks". This means that each dominant ideology affected the selection of topics for the research (historiography was subjected to some kind of self-censorship), which indicates systematic *damnatio memoriae*. The hundredth anniversary of WWI and the related events[114] certainly bring a change in relation to this war, which was, during the last two decades, in the shadow of WWII or the Homeland War (Herman Kaurić, 2015b; Hrstić, 2016).

Public commemorations of WWI victims are not something new and have been a long-standing tradition starting immediately after the war – see Kavrečič (2017) or Klabjan (2010). In the case of (contemporary) everyday narratives of Slovenians, Croats and Italians, WWI itself does not provoke controversies and conflict so characteristic for fascism and Tito's army related topics, including commemorations (Ballinger, 2002; Klabjan, 2010: 401, 402; Pavlaković

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[114] Exhibitions and events of academic type.

and Perak, 2017). In the case of the so-called *The Vichy syndrome*, Confino (1997: 1393, 1394) describes (critically) a political memory based on the Vichy Republic and its impact on the post-WWII France – especially its use for political purposes.[115] This case clearly shows the development of society after the conflict or change of regime, which can be seen today in the post-socialist East-European countries, including those of the former Yugoslavia.[116] Since the 1990s, the living memory related to the traumas of WWII is even more distinctive here than in Eastern Europe.[117] East-European historians must deal with the relation among living (individual) memories and the collective (cultural) memories that create and preserve the (non)national heritage and ideologies; they must continuously link historical facts and contemporary complex attitudes (Wolff, 2006: 115), where the principles of *damnatio memoriae* should not be neglected.

At the beginning of the 1990s and the disintegration of the socialist Yugoslavia, similarly as in Eastern Europe, the monopoly over the interpretation of the past crumbled along with the political system, which created new explanations about WWII and the post-war period and, consequently, new memorial and commemorative practices were implemented in Croatia (Pavlaković and Perak, 2017). Something similar, but to a much lesser extent, happened in Slovenia as well. Istria has not been excluded from these changes, although, there do not seem to be radically different interpretations of Istrian history among Croatian scholars of the past and the present: in the cultural, social, political and economic sense. However, historians of younger generations, like Dukovski and D'Alessio, interpret regional history in the light of regional coexistence and cooperation (Ashbrook, 2006),[118] which is in line with the modern approaches and concepts in examining the contact areas in Europe (Pelikan, 2012: 282; Verginella, 2010: 2012). In addition, scholars (see Pelikan (2012: 283), Verginella (2010)) pointed out some research assumptions of the national-political historical paradigm, like "defining key controversial topics in which 'national historiography' is included in each national discourse and where the interpretations are the most ideological and consequently controversial". This is extremely relevant for the case of the Upper Adriatic (including Istria) and the interpretation of the historical facts of this space.

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[115] More about collective memory and history in France can be found in Nora (1984, 1989).

[116] Topics related to WWII and the post-war communist ideology are still present there.

[117] Katunarić (2010: 10) identified memory based on the WWII (the Independent state of Croatia) and its impact on the 1990s conflicts in Croatia.

[118] Written works of American anthropologist Pamela Ballinger (2002, 2006) illuminates the post-WWII period in this cross-border area of the Upper Adriatic, predominantly from the perspective of the Italian people (one-sided).

5.3.2. Istrian (military) history: the rise of Pula

After the ruin of the *La Serenissima* in 1797, and finally with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Istria was annexed to the Habsburg Monarchy. After that, Vienna declared Pula as the main military port, which changed the city from an unimportant and non-perspective fishing village to one of Europe's more recognizable naval bases; all following authorities did not succeeded in upgrading these development policies (Marsetič, 2013: 483, 484; Perović, 2006: 72, 73, 78). Nevertheless, there was some uncertainty about the most convenient place for the headquarters of the Austrian military navy,[119] with Pula being proclaimed as the main military port (*Zentralkriegshafen*) in 1853, and the first stone of the Arsenal (*K. u. K. See-Arsenal*) being placed on 9 December 1856. A ceremonial event was organized in Pula, which was attended by the Emperor and his wife (Benussi, 1923: 84; Marcotti, 1899: 156; Marsetič, 2013: 485; Notizie storiche di Pola, 1876; Perović, 2006: 85, 88; Rastelli, 2010: 212–217; Urošević, 2003).[120] The Emperor participated also in the foundation stone laying ceremony for the Church of Our Lady of the Sea (*Mornarička crkva, Marinekirche, Chiesa della Marina*) in 1891, which confirms the importance of the navy for the city also at religious level. Consequently, Pula was transforming into the biggest city of the peninsula, which was until then the city of Rovinj (Stradner, 1903: 131).

In addition to the fleet base, there were also air (seaplane)[121] and submarine centres (Milaković and Pocedić, 2015; Perović, 2006: 97). Accordingly, the Arsenal of Pula was also responsible for the construction of naval aviation (Mandić, 2006: 195–201; Milaković and Pocedić, 2015). The development of the airplane(s) was also interesting for journalists[122] and the general public. Military authorities significantly supported the development of the airport infrastructure (*K. u. K. See-Flug Arsenal*) − the biggest military aviation centre in the East Adriatic − as well as military aviation personnel trainings (*K.u.K. Schulflugstation Cosada*).[123] In addition, a special military engineering service (*K. u. K. Genie Direction zu* Pola / *K. u. K. Genie und Befestigungsbau direction zu Pola*) was responsible for the construction of numerous

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[119] Candidate cities were Muggia/Trieste, Piran, Pula, Šibenik and Kotor, although Gobbo (2017) mentions only Trieste and Pula.

[120] There is a considerable mismatch about the time of the establishment of Pula as the centre of the navy and the beginning of works (Arsenal). Since this is not the key issue for this thesis, we only summarized and used the date most often stated in the acquired references.

[121] More about that can be found in Mandić (2006).

[122] Journalist Ambrosich was, according to the Croatian newspaper *Naša sloga (Mandić, 2006: 196;* Pogled po Primorju, *1910: 1)*, due to his excessive curiosity and enthusiastic reporting, accused of spying and then imprisoned.

[123] More about that can be found in Mandić (2006), Marsetič (2013), or Milaković and Pocedić (2015).

facilities of vital maritime significance, such as shores, gates and breakwater as well as the construction of a defence system, composed of fortifications and coastal batteries (Marsetič, 2013; Perović, 2006: 120) – a brief summary of the history of the Muzil fort, only as one example, can be found in the Appendix B (Pulska grupa, 2010: 10). All these development activities led to a strong militarisation as well as a systematic urban planning and economic progress of Pula and the entire southern Istrian peninsula (Marsetič, 2013).

The liberal orientation (or immorality) of the Austro-Hungarian administration and society was reflected in legal prostitution that was carried out in brothels (*bludilišta*), inns and cafes as well as in hotels Bologna, Milano, All'Istria, Trieste, Centrale and Riviera; licensed prostitutes as well as those illegal, who came from Istria and other counties, were affectionately called nocturnal butterflies (*farfalline notturne*) (Dukovski, 2006: 23–24; Mohorović, 2017).[124] In addition to the rest of the entertainment, Pula was also extremely advanced[125] in the field of cinema, including an abundant supply of films with erotic and pornographic content (Kalčić, 2016); a wide range of serious cultural content was also available to the public, which greatly affected the quality of life in the city.[126] These facts are interesting also because of its exceptionality and it should be stated that the situation in Pula was differed from the rest of the region by presence of the army. The rural parts of the peninsula did not enjoy all the cultural and economic abundance and people lived there in poverty – see Knez (2010), Marsetič (2014) and Stradner (1903).

As mentioned before, Pula had good sea, air, rail and road links with other Istrian towns and Trieste (Perović, 2006: 145; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015; Yriarte, 1883: 118–120), which, after 1848/49, became the political and cultural centre for Istrian Croats and Slovenians (Žitko, 2011: 30).[127] Cities in the Northern part of the peninsula (Muggia – Piran) developed the processing industry (fish processing), shipbuilding and transport,[128] which also employed the largest share of the population – many people were also employed in Trieste; traditionally, salting and fishing as well as agriculture in the hinterland, were also an important (Žitko, 2017: 53–55). From 1902 until 1935, Trieste and the North of Istria were linked by a narrow-gauge railway (*Parenzana*) with some central villages and towns of Poreč (Roselli, 2002; Šuligoj and

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[124] Trieste, which was among the most 'famous' cities for prostitution in the empire, was relatively close and the way of regulating this field was transferred from there to Pula – more can be found in Dukovski (2016), Mohorović (2017) and Wingfield (2017).

[125] Labels such as decadent, hedonistic, epicurean, profligate and similar terms could also mark the city of that time.

[126] More can be found in Gortan-Carlin (2012).

[127] Consequently, both estranged from ideas generated in the continental centres of both Slavic nations, in Zagreb and Ljubljana (Žitko, 2011: 30).

[128] More can be found in Šuligoj and Medarić (2015) and Kavrečič (2007).

Medarić, 2015); the railway symbolically connected the various communities (nations) of the region. In the second half of the 19th century, tourism also began to play an increasingly important social and economic role. Upper Adriatic costal centres like Grado, Portorož and Opatija became among the most popular destinations of the mainly continental Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Kavrečič, 2009, 2015; Šuligoj, 2015c; Šuligoj and Kavrečič, 2018); the connection between armed forces and tourism is described in the sub-chapter '6.1. Armed forces and beginning of the tourism development in Istria'. The beginning of the armed conflict with the Kingdom of Italy in 1915 halted the prosperity of the region.

5.3.3. WWI and period of the Kingdom of Italy

The ghost of the war slid along the coast of the western Istria before the beginning of the military conflict on the Soča/Isonzo front (*Soška fronta*). On 12 August 1914, a civil steamboat *Baron Gautsch* sank between Pula and Rovinj after entering the minefield of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, which was intended to defend the military port and the Imperial Navy against possible hostile attacks from the sea (Spirito, 2002). Since 1915, Pula was bombed 41 times by the Italian military aviation, where the Maritime Museum in the Arsenal was also damaged (Mandić, 2006: 210–212). The men of Istria were called up, while the rest of the population of Istria, especially in 1917, suffered from hunger, which combined with diseases and dangerous living conditions led to emigration (Herman Kaurić, 2015b: 14) – the first major migration wave in the 20th century caused by an armed conflict.[129] When it seemed that in the late 1918 the period of peace finally came, two Italian commandos attacked the *SMS Viribus Unitis* ship*,* the pride of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, which had already been taken over by the new State of Serbs of Croats and Slovenes.[130] The ship was immersed at the Port of Pula on the night between 31 October and 1 November together with the crew and admiral Janko Vuković-Podkapelski (Marsetič, 2013: 515–517; Perović, 2006: 175, 177–178; Šetić, 2011b: 164). Thus, on a symbolic level, the war in Istria began and ended with the sinking of the ship. The Italian imperialist aspirations formally (at least temporarily) ended with the solution of the eastern border issue. According to the Treaty of Rapallo signed on 12 November 1920 in

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[129] In this case it was just an evacuation to the other parts of the Empire.
[130] This provisional state carried out the authority for six days (Perović, 2006: 185).

Rapallo (Italy), almost all territory of the former Austrian Littoral, Zadar (*Zara*) and some islands were finally annexed to Italy (Lipušček, 2012; Šuligoj, 2015a).[131]

After the entry of the Italian army in Pula on 5 November 1918, the golden age of the Arsenal ended (Marsetič, 2013: 494). In 1923, the Arsenal was officially renamed to *Base navale di Pola* and most of the activities were simply abolished (Regio Decreto 1426, 1923; Marsetič, 2006a, 2006b). Pula's economy radically changed and transformed: the naval base was reduced, the Arsenal was partly converted into a private shipyard – *Cantiere Navale Scoglio Olivi*, some modest private and state industries, shipyards and workshops were opened. This partial demilitarisation had not particularly positively influenced the economic development of the city which, however, remained one of the major military ports of the Kingdom. Just before WWII, it strengthened significantly with submarine capacity. Consequently, all changes between the two world wars caused a great socio-economic crisis in the city and the region (Marsetič, 2006a, 2006b; Mrach, 1927; Notizie storiche di Pola, 1876: 13), which, together with the state fascist terror, led to an increased emigration of the Slavic population and the Italian anti-fascists (Dukovski, 1998, 2010; Hrobat Virloget and Čebron Lipovec, 2017: 47; Šetić, 2011b; Violante, 2009: 98; Žerjavić, 1993) − the second major migration wave in the 20th century marked by violence and *damnatio memoriae*. Systematic refinement was upgraded by the stimulated immigration of the loyal Italians from the Apennine Peninsula, which influenced the change in the national structure of the population in the Istrian province (*Provincia dell'Istria*).[132]

Public use of Slavic languages and cultural activities in the non-Italian language were prohibited. Slavic names and surnames as well as toponyms were Italianized; the regional, provincial and local authority was in Italian hands − loyal members of the National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*) acquired the most responsible functions (Burigo, 2005: 311; Cogoy, 2009; Dukovski, 1998, 2011a; Kacin-Wohinz, 1990; Miklavcic, 2008; Orlović, 2014a, 2014b; Scotti, 2008: 26–27; Žerjavić, 1993). High-ranking fascist politician Giuseppe Cobol (1927: 805)[133] published in *Gerachia,* a fascist political magazine, that Slavic lawyers, who are dangerous to the state, should be removed from public life, as well as Slavic teachers from schools and Slavic priests from parishes. The anti-Slavic atmosphere was thus observed even in the Seminary of Koper, and bishops were aware of it (Veraja, 2013: 16–18). Moreover, fascists

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[131] The annexation to Italy was completely in line with the Treaty of London (1915), a secret pact between the Triple Entente and the Kingdom of Italy. With the Treaty of Rome the City of Rijeka was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1924.

[132] See also Altin and Badurina (2017), Ballinger (2002) or Scotti (2008).

[133] He changed his name (or pseudonym) many times: he is also known as Giulio Italico or Cobolli Gigli.

persecuted the clergy because of their work in Slavic language, while immigrant loyal Italian priests were even financially remunerated for their 'patriotic work' (Grah, 2013: 198–201, 207). Accordingly, radical changes occurred also in Catholic Church structures, where those of Italian origin and beliefs took positions, e.g. Antonio Santin, the new Archbishop of Koper and Trieste in 1938 (Scotti, 2008: 28; Zgodovina, n.d.)[134], and Rafaele Mario Radossi in 1941 in Poreč/Pula.

During the state violence in Istria, fascists began to implement fierce liquidations, including *foibe* massacres,[135] which are otherwise better known in a completely different context (Pirjevec et al., 2012; Pizzi, 1998; Scotti, 2008: 34–38). The introduction of the *foibe* into the primary reading book (Pirjevec et al., 2012: 55; Scotti, 2008: 34) is a symptomatic sign of the authorities at the time. In addition, Cobol (1919: 200) – see also in Scotti (2008: 34) and Pirjevec et al. (2012: 55) – writes interesting doggerels into promotional/propaganda material (a tourist guide) about Istria:

> *There is the Arena in Pula,*
> *there is the foiba in Pazin:*
> *they are thrown into that abyss*
> *all those who are cheeky.*
> *Who by their fantasies*
> *will cross our path,*
> *tell him clearly and loudly:*
> *move away, move away.*

These systematic state measures in the *damnatio memoriae* context were aimed to erase the identity of the Slavic people. Thus, Slavic rebels as well as native local Italians of different political ideologies were persecuted by the fascists due to common work in an anti-fascist

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[134] Some authors are rather critical of his attitude towards the Slavs, e.g. Pelikan (2000: 200), Gombač (2001); Trogrlić (2012) and Scotti (2008) also treat him as controversial, while Veraja (2013) is more benevolent to his 'character and work' (but still not without critical remarks).

[135] The Italian word *infoibare* means throwing into the abyss. In Italy and in the Upper Adriatic in general, the term *foiba* lost its geological meaning and illustrates a historical, tragic evocative resonance, which immediately recalls the memory of the dramatic events that occurred in the then Venezia Giulia between autumn 1943 and spring 1945 (this obviously does not entirely correspond to historical facts). A significant problem is the symbolic meaning of the term/buzzword, which in Italy (generally speaking) covers people who fell in combat or were shot, drowned or (simply) disappeared in the two waves of Slavic violence that occurred in WWII and its aftermath (Burigo, 2005: 310). This, however, corresponds to the term war and/or pos-twar fatalities. The Slovenian and Croatian interpretation in this context is much more straightforward and includes only those whose bodies (or their remains) were found in the abysses. This terminological heterogeneity (inconsistency or even manipulation) in meaning is problematic for the scientific consideration, to not even mention political relations – see Burigo (2005: 316).

coalition movement (Ashbrook, 2006; Dukovski, 1998; Rusinow, 1963a; Scotti, 2008; Violante, 2009);[136] wartime Italo-Slavonic cooperation was a clear sign of the so characteristic Istrian *convivenza* (Medica, 1998: 33). Consequently, a strong and organised anti-fascist resistance was formed, e.g. the Slovenian-Croatian organisation TIGR (*Trst, Istra, Gorica, Rijeka*) as well as Italian organizations *Italia libera* and *Giustizia e Libertà* – all of which illegal (Dukovski, 1998, n.d.; Hančič and Podbersič, 2008: 41; Kacin-Wohinz, 1990). However, on the symbolic level, the arson of the Hotel Balkan, also known as the National Hall (*Narodni dom*), in Trieste and the arson of the National Hall in Pula (both in the summer of 1920) were the culmination of the hostile attitude of the fascists toward Slavic people in the Upper Adriatic (Dukovski, 2011a: 50; Hančič and Podbersič, 2008: 40; Kacin-Wohinz, 1990; Scotti, 2008: 21–22). During his visit in Pula on 20 September 1920 in the Ciscutti Theater (*Teatro Ciscutti*), Mussolini presented his attitude towards the eastern border and the non-Italian population (Contropiano, Sulle foibe, 2014; Pirjevec, 2015: 381; Scotti, 2008: 12):

> *"What is the story of Fascism? It is brilliant! We have burned the Avanti! in Milan, we destroyed it in Rome. We shot our opponents in electoral struggles. We set fire to the Croatian house in Trieste, we set it on fire in Pula ... "..." In the face of a race like the Slavic, which is inferior and barbarous, one must not pursue the carrot, but the stick policy. The Italian borders should run across the Brenner Pass, Mt. Snežnik and the Dinaric Alps. The Dinarics, yes, those of the forgotten Dalmatia! ... Our imperialism wants to reach the right boundaries marked by God and nature, and wants to expand into the Mediterranean. Enough with the poems. Enough with the evangelical rubbish"*.[137]

The brutality of the fascist regime was also reflected in the innocent child victims killed or wounded on 12 March 1921 in Strunjan near Piran (Brate, 2007; Hrobat Virloget and Čebron Lipovec, 2017: 50). In the context of the then hostile ideology, it could be argued that Istria was on the path of Slavic deculturation and Italianisation (*damnatio memoriae*), which means an unrelenting transformation of 'barbaric Slavs' into a culturally more developed society.

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[136] Socialists, communists, liberals, Christian-socialists, and the workers' movement were originally included.

[137] The speech in Italian: "*Qual è la storia dei Fasci? Essa è brillante! Abbiamo incendiato l'Avanti! di Milano, lo abbiamo distrutto a Roma. Abbiamo revolverato i nostri avversari nelle lotte elettorali. Abbiamo incendiato la casa croata di Trieste, l'abbiamo incendiata a Pola…»…«Di fronte a una razza come la slava, inferiore e barbara, non si deve seguire la politica che dà lo zuccherino, ma quella del bastone. I confini italiani devono essere il Brennero, il Nevoso e le (Alpi) Dinariche. Dinariche, sì, le Dinariche della Dalmazia dimenticata! … Il nostro imperialismo vuole raggiungere i giusti confini segnati da Dio e dalla natura, e vuole espan-dersi nel Mediterraneo. Basta con le poesie. Basta con le minchionerie evangeliche.*"

5.3.4. WWII, liberation and the Cold War in Istria

The resistance of Slovenians led up to the first victims among the anti-fascists in Marezige in May 1921, who were the first casualties in *Venezia Giulia* (Kosmač, 2016: 803); the strike and resistance of the Labin miners led by Italian leftist/trade unionist in the spring of 1921, should not be neglected either (the rebellious Albona Republic (Cro. *Labinska republika*) was even formed at that time). Resistance was escalating and transforming into a serious armed conflict with the fascist army on the entire Istrian peninsula. After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, when Istria became part of a German Province under the name of *Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland* (The Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral).[138] At that time − 13 September 1943 − Istrian representatives, led by the only politically active political party (communists),[139] proclaimed in Pazin the unification with the homeland, which remained the political basis for all following strategic political decisions (Drndić, 1991; Šetić, 2008: 111) and later the annexation to Yugoslavia. In addition, the regional Slavic clergy undoubtedly supported decisions of Istrian anti-fascists and thus (often) ignored official positions of Italian bishops of Pula/Poreč and Trieste (Ćurković Nimac et al., 2014; Pelikan, 2000; Trogrlić, 2008: 124, 2012).[140] The secret anti-fascist actions of the Slavic clergy in Venezia Giulia (including Istria) during fascism are a unique phenomenon according to European criterion (Hančič and Podbersič, 2008: 41).

After the armistice of fascist Italy in 1943,[141] complete chaos and anarchy reigned in Istria in September and October – Burigo (2005: 314) described this vividly as a tumultuous peasant uprising (to the nazi-fascist regime).[142] After the liberation of Pazin (between 11 and 12 September), it became the centre of organizational, political and military administration in the Croatian part of Istria. The then anti-fascists persecuted the members of the failed fascist regime and other 'enemies' (especially class enemies, including the clergy, and not only Italians); many left to retreat back to Italy or join the liberation struggle in Istria. The arrests

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[138] It was formed out of areas that previously belonged to the fascist Italia: present-day Eastern Italy, Western and Central Slovenia, and North-West of Croatia. The capital of the zone was the city of Trieste. More can be found in Ferenc (1966) and Scotti (2008: 82–90).

[139] See also Altin and Badurina (2017: 320).

[140] This fact was and still is frequently overlooked, forgotten or simply ignored by the state or local authorities. The anti-fascist operations of the Slavic clergy and their involvement in the resolving border issue, however, did not prevent the post-war Catholic Church marginalisation – see Veraja (2013), Ćurković Nimac, Tadić & Trogrlić (2014) and Trogrlić (2008, 2012).

[141] The term 'capitulation' is used in Slovenia and Croatia.

[142] It may sound offensive, but it is necessary to take into account that the quite underdeveloped rural area was populated by a majority of Slavic rural population, which was less or uneducated, without organizational and military knowledge/skills. Educated people (involuntarily) emigrated earlier due to the fascist repression (Scotti, 2008); the exception were Catholic priests.

were followed by a brief interrogation, (extra-judicial/military) proceedings usually led by a Communist party delegate, confiscation and liquidation (often thrown in the *foibe* or mine shafts); procedures were not prescribed/standardized. Personal disagreements/disputes from the past were also resolved this way. Many times the procedures were carried out without any control (Burigo, 2005; Cogoy, 2009: 14; Pirjevec et al., 2012; Scotti, 2008: 74–79, 147) and mostly in the case of the fascists, 'convicts' were taken directly to the execution site (Scotti, 2008: 148). On the basis of some Italian historians' claims, Ashbrook (2006: 13) states that the executions in 1943 were spontaneous.[143] This violence aroused fear among residents, which consequently diminished the confidence in the liberation struggle;[144] the leadership was aware of this. A lack of Croatian patriotism was also detected (Scotti, 2008).[145] The pure Croatian patriotism was manifested primarily by the so-called *narodnjaci* (exponents of the traditional Croatian patriotism or nationalism)[146] in the central Istria with a clear anti-Italian (Burigo, 2005: 313; Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 133)[147] and later also with an anti-partisan/anti-communist orientation (Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 51, 139–140; Veraja, 2013: 214); for some of them, this was fatal.[148] Those *ultra-narodnjaci* who sought to cooperate with the Nazis, as well as the Ustasha and *Domobrani*, were particularly problematic for the communists (Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 51). The evident internal division of the Istrian society, where the struggle for liberation was developing together with the socialist revolution, in fact led to *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

The next phase was a large-scale offensive of German forces in the autumn of 1943;[149] the nazi-fascist violence lasted until the spring of 1945. Together with the revengeful fascist collaborators, they performed a real massacre on the residents of Istria; the above-mentioned

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[143] Executions in 1945 (mainly outside of Istria) were better organized (*ibid*).
According to Scotti (2008: 161–163, 168), who refers to various studies, there were 400 to 1.000 – most likely from 400 to 570 – victims of the *foibe* in Istria (the author also mentions unrealistic statements of some Italian authors). Exploring is difficult, because not only anti-fascists use abysses as execution sites in 1943 – see Burigo (2005), Scotti (2008) in Verginella (2009a: 53–61). The authors also rely on the research figures that were made immediately after the executions (during the German occupation).
[144] To avoid generalizations about collective guilt, Scotti (2008: 204–209) cites names of some 'partisans' who carried out atrocities – calling them 'criminals of the five-pointed star'.
[145] However, generalization due to regional specificity is not completely appropriate.
[146] As a national movement, they have been fighting for national (Croatian) ideas since the 1830s, and this was/is often overlooked (especially during the socialist revolution).
[147] Operations of the communists were, in addition to the liberation struggle, more ideologically oriented and marked by cooperation with the Italian communists.
[148] They even participated in the liberation struggle with the communists, but later, especially in 1946 – 1947, broke up and became their opponents (Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 51, 139–140); more can be found in Oblak Moscarda (2016).
[149] The bloody Rommel's offensive in the autumn of 1943 particularly affected anti-fascists and the Istrian society in general.

executions were alleviated (not completely interrupted),[150] although the abysses (*foibe*), for the purpose of execution, were also used by the nazi-fascists this time (Pirjevec et al., 2012; Scotti, 2008: 82–96, 150; Verginella, 2009a: 54–55, 61). During the German occupation, the allied military aircraft bombed the city of Pula; by the end of the WWII, the city was bombed 23 times, which caused the greatest destruction of urban infrastructure, numerous human casualties and destruction in the 20th century.[151] Human tragedy was marked also by the deportation of more than 20.000 Istrians to the Nazi-fascist concentration camps, from which more than 5.000 never returned (*Istarsko povijesno društvo – Società Storica Istriana*, 2018; Jokić and Čudov, 1986: 417); 5.000 Istrian Partisan fighters did not survived WWII (Jokić and Čudov, 1986: 417). Interestingly, armed forces, which contributed mostly to the establishment and economic development of Pula in its history, caused the imminent destruction of the city as well (Marsetič, 2006b: 229–231; Spazzali, 2010)[152] – then for the second time in the same century.

Pula was the last liberated area on the Istrian peninsula on 8 May, with Koper being liberated on 30 April, and Cape Savudrija on 7 May 1945.[153] Paradoxically, to liberate Pula was the (Italian) battalion 'Pino Budicin'; moreover, local Italian anti-fascists were, as partisans, equally included in the liberation of other Istrian cities, which clearly shows that not all Italians were oriented against the Slavs or supported fascism.[154] Slavic and Italian anti-fascists (often members of the Italian and Croatian Communist Party) were, however, not always concordant; relations were occasionally tense and some Italians were even executed (*foibe*) because of their pro-Italian views, e.g. Giacomo Macillis and Lelio Zustovich, trade unionist and communist from Labin (Scotti, 2008: 129, 140–146, 198).[155] As already mentioned, the violence of the foreign enemy, the liberation struggle, cross-national disagreements, the socialist revolution and similar disagreements thus caused complete confusion and death throughout Istria – see also Verginella (2009a).

The arrival of the Allied forces into Pula in June 1945 led to the division of the population into those which argued for the annexation to Italy (interpreted as a place of democracy, better life) or to Yugoslavia (interpreted as a place of communism/socialism,

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[150] More can be found in Oblak Moscarda (2016: 56–60).
[151] More can be found in Marsetič (2004) and Dukovski (2001).
[152] Systematic dehumanization was implemented as well.
[153] The liberation of Istria was a military action of the anti-nazi/fascist resistance movement led by the Yugoslav Partisans. For more see Beltram (2017), Dukovski (2001, 2011b) and Scotti and Giuricin (1979).
[154] More can be found in Scotti and Giuricin (1979) and in Scotti (2008).
[155] Anti-fascists of Italian nationality were divided into those who fought for the liberation from nazi-fascism and those who fought together with the Slavs for joining Yugoslavia (Cogoy, 2009: 15).

poverty), which was present also in other parts of the region. This resulted in society facing violence,[156] which was further deepened by the poverty/famine and major accidents of the residents. On 12 January 1946, an explosive depot exploded in Valelunga, followed by other explosions. After those in Vargarola (*Vergarolla*) in August 1946, pro-Italian forces launched a campaign to blame the 'followers of Tito' for a terrorist act and encouraged the Italian population towards emigration/exodus (Altin and Badurina, 2017; Dukovski, 2010; Kosmač, 2017);[157] in this post-war period, Istrian coastal towns represented strong centres of the Italian irredentism/centres of Italian identity (Kosmač, 2017; Sluga, 1999: 179). Executions of Italians (fascists and their followers, capitalists and possessors) by Tito's army (*foibe*) (Altin and Badurina, 2017; D'Alessio, 2012a; Radošević, 2010),[158] caused additional disturbance. In the post-war period as well as in subsequent years, the *foibe* issue became the subject of extensive Italian uncritical and one-sided (manipulative) political propaganda (Accati, 2009: 185–187; Pirjevec et al., 2012; Scotti, 2008; Verginella, 2009a).[159] Hence, the unfriendly attitude toward the believers and Catholic clerics was also evident, and the church was more and more marginalized (Grah, 2009: 11–24; Trogrlić, 2014; Veraja, 2013: 34–42).[160]

Great disagreements in Istria between Italy and Yugoslavia in determining the state border were evident, and intelligence services and propaganda played an especially important role (Kosmač, 2017). With the Paris Peace Treaties signed in 1947 Italy had to cede the entire

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[156] See also Ashbrook (2006) and Dukovski (2011b).

[157] A symbolic dimension of the exodus presented the exhumation and transfer of irredentist and hero Nazario Sauro's remains to Italy (see Kosmač, 2017: 10, 11). According to Purini (2010: 223–224), ethnic cleansing as the usual understanding of the exodus in Italy, the pro-Italian propaganda also calls it 'national genocide' or 'Julian holocaust'; see also Cogoy (2009: 16–17). In addition to the term *foibe* – see previous sub-chapter – this is another terminological inconsistency or even manipulation, which causes social and political disagreements, and complicates investigations in the social sciences and humanities.

[158] D'Alessio (2012a) claims that this topic is abused and inflated. The number of civilian victims in the Upper Adriatic was lower than in other areas where Tito's army operated. The problem of heterogeneity of empirical data in relation to the number of emigrants is also highlighted by Hrobat Virloget (2015) and Šarić (2015).

[159] Until the 1990s, the principle of silence prevailed in the 'Yugoslav Istria', but it was not completely different in Italy either, at least officially. In fact, serious discussions began after the democratization and collapse of the Second Yugoslavia. The Italian political propaganda, political discussions, litigations as well as artistic creation (especially since the 1990s) is marked as a 'culture of *foibe*' by Pirjevec et al. (2012: 234–241). The final report of the Slovene-Italian Historical and Cultural Commission – see Kacin-Wohinz (2001) – which linked the issue of the *foibe* to irredentism, fascism, war, nationalisms and communism, did not help stabilize the situation. However, more rationality was detected on the Slovenian and Croatian sides. Nevertheless, the already mentioned terminological differences related to fatalities as a reason for different interpretations – see Burigo (2005: 316) – should not be neglected.

[160] Two Catholic priests were executed by the new Yugoslav forces: Francesco Bonifacio (1946) and Miroslav Bulešić (1947) (Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 162, 163; *Porečka i Pulska biskupija*, n.d.; Trogrlić, 2008: 133). Many anti-communists and more democratically-oriented communists were also tortured and imprisoned (Oblak Moscarda, 2016). However, Grah (2009: 11–24) listed 15 Istrian priests persecuted and/or killed during different totalitarian regimes in the 20th century (1940s).

eastern Adriatic and most of Istria to Yugoslavia. The rest of the Istrian province (north of the River Mirna), as well as the province of Trieste, became a special sovereign State − the Free Territory of Trieste − under a provisional regime of the Government (Bufon, 2008c, 2009b; Dukovski, 2010; Kosmač, 2017; Rogoznica, 2011; Treaty Series, 1950; Tunjić, 2004; Violante, 2009).[161] The border issue with Italy was resolved no earlier than in 1954 and finally confirmed with the Treaty of Osimo in 1975: Northern Istria, South of Muggia, was officially annexed to the then Yugoslavia (Italy and Yugoslavia, 1987; Tunjić, 2004).[162]

Istria in the Second Yugoslavia was divided between the two (socialist) republics, Slovenia and Croatia. By the end of the war and after all related tragic events, Istria began a new period of traumatic political, economic and demographic changes, where, however, the consequences of WWII had to be overcame first. The new (totalitarian) political regime (socialism),[163] the exodus of the Italians[164] − the third major migration wave in the 20th century caused by conflict – and the immigration of Slavic people from other Yugoslav republics,[165] significantly influenced the social and economic development – see also Purini (2012), Hrobat Virloget (2015), Šarić (2015) and Oblak Moscarda (2016). In these measures we can recognize some elements of *damnatio memoriae*.

In the wider context, the President of the Second Yugoslavia (Josip Broz Tito) was completely aware of the strategic position of Istria on the 'sensitive' western border of the federation, particularly in the early years of the Cold War (Ashbrook, 2006: 5). Interestingly, Rusinow (1963a), D'Alessio (2012a) and Pirjevec (2015) understood the defining of the Italian-Yugoslav border and the Trieste question as some kind of first battle of the Cold War, while Altin and Badurina (2017: 318) understand it as a local extension of WWII. Thus, the constant militarisation of the Istrian peninsula during the Yugoslav period can be seen as a logical consequence of this situation. In accordance with the then applicable Yugoslav rules, including those at republic level, e.g. the Croatian national defence law 1991 (Cro. *Zakon o općenarodnoj*

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[161] See also Marsetič (2006a, 2006b) and Rogoznica (2005, 2011).

[162] According to Rusinow (1963a), already London Memorandum (1954) remarkably resolved the Istrian border question opened by the fall of the Venetian Republic (Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797).

[163] The doctoral thesis uses the term 'totalitarian regime' uniformly for all such regimes of the 20th century, although this may not always be entirely appropriate from the political science perspective. More about totalitarianism and authoritarianism in the Second Yugoslavia can be found in Flere (2012) and Vladisavljević (2008)**.**

[164] Including political emigrants of Slavic origins – see Bufon (2009b: 460), Pipan (2007: 226–227, 237), Purini(2012: 425) and Šarić (2015). Italians were members and followers of the fascist party and capitalists. According to Orlić (2012: 20, 21), in the Istrian example, nationality was not the main cause of migration.

[165] See also Žerjavić (1993), Klemenčić, Kušar, & Richter (1993), Nejamšić (2014), Medica (2011: 250), Violante (2009) and Bufon (2008c).

obrani (pročišćeni tekst)) and the Slovenian law on general people's defence and social self-protection 1982 (Slo. *Zakon o splošni ljudski obrambi in družbeni samozaščiti*), Territorial Defence warehouses and other facilities were established in each municipality. They may had been located also in the Yugoslav people's army's military complexes, in police buildings and some working organizations (Od 1991. do 2015., 2015). Anyway, the main Istrian military complexes of the Yugoslav people's army (YPA) were based in Pula (also the centre of the Military-Maritime Sector) and Pazin. In total, more than 150 military facilities were located in Istria in 1991 (Majušević, 2012: 446). Hence, the peculiarity of Istria were the Brijuni Islands with Tito's summer residence and, consequently, an increased presence of the police and intelligence services in this part of the peninsula.

The economic situation improved considerably after the resolution of first border disputes between Italy and the Second Yugoslavia in the first half of 1950s, although this did not quickly reflect on the payment of Istrian workers (Šarić, 2015: 203–204). The post-war reconstruction of the infrastructure began immediately after the end of the war in 1945 (Šuligoj, 2015a: 31); the nationalization of private property significantly marked the socio-economic development.[166] Besides the traditional industries such as shipbuilding (the Uljanik Shipyard in Pula and the Izola Shipyard), the coal mining industry (in Labin, Raša, Potpićan and Sečovlje),[167] fishing and the fishing industry in Rovinj and Izola, production of cement (in Koromačno, Pula and Umag), ports in Koper and Pula, agriculture (livestock breeding, viticulture, olive growing, fruit growing, vegetable production) and some other industrial activities as well as tourism as a traditional service activity of the Istrian coast, were gaining in importance (Akilić, 2012; Blažević, 1984; Klemenčić et al., 1993: 612; Šuligoj, 2015a: 31–34; Žerjavić, 1993: 644).[168] The main Istrian tourist centres such as Portorož, Umag, Novigrad, Poreč, Rovinj, Pula with the Brijuni islands,[169] and Opatija (only geographically in Istria) achieved, especially during the summer months, an enviable number of tourist arrivals. Not to be ignored in the context of militarisation is the large YPA holiday complex '13. Maj' (*Vojno odmaralište "13. Maj"*) in Fažana near Pula, which was, in addition to the members of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, also available to domestic and foreign tourists.

With its multiplicative effects (although without democracy and entrepreneurial freedom in the time of socialism), tourism had greatly helped the economic progress of the

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[166] Veraja (2013: 228–230) problematized the post-war nationalization of the church property in Istria.
[167] Strongly supported already by the fascist regime until 1943.
[168] More can be found in Blažević (1987) and Šuligoj and Medarić (2015c).
[169] More about the Brijuni islands, their history and their urban and architectural genesis can be found in Dumbović Bilušić, Jakaša Borić and Kranjčević (2015).

region, which is the most developed in Slovenia and Croatia, and the main tourist destinations in both countries to this day – see Žernjavić (1993: 645), Pipan (2007: 226–227), Akilić (2012), Šuligoj and Medarić (2015c), *Koncept prostornog razvoja* (2016); many of the main tourist attractions are listed in the introductory chapter.

Economic progress, the raising of the standard of living of the population and the protection of the rights of minorities helped the gradual development of the tolerance and coexistence among the peoples and cultures of Istria. The region became less dependent on the governments in Ljubljana and Zagreb, which promotes the desire for greater autonomy[170] – this was and still is less meaningful in the homeland-war-affected-counties dependent on constant state financial interventions. However, Istria faced an imbalanced development of major coastal towns and the rural interior of the peninsula, which resulted in the economic stagnation and depopulation of the central Istria.

The end of the Cold War and the democratisation of the two most developed Yugoslav republics in the late 1980s and early 1990s caused extensive political changes, which were especially evident after the declaration of independence of Slovenia and Croatia in June 1991. Election results in 1990 in both countries showed the victory of the new right-wing parties[171], while, on the other hand, the parties of the left-wing political bloc celebrated in Istria (Klemenčić, 1991: 103; Pesek, 2007: 141, 153–159). Some political mistakes of the central political authorities (parties) led to the enforcement of strong regional parties,[172] which were and still are more perceptive to multiculturalism, specific economic development and cross-border integration in the Upper Adriatic. This was/is otherwise consistent with the liberal-social-democratic ideological orientation of the residents of Istria (Šantić, 2000).[173]

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[170] The so-called 'balkanisation,' as defined by Bugajski (Cocco, 2010: 22), means "the degeneration of mutual trust between a majority and minority group, which would eventually turn calls for cultural protection and local self-government into secession movements", and does not as much reflect interregional relations today as it does the attitude towards Ljubljana and Zagreb; see also Banovac, Katunarić, & Mrakovčić (2014)

[171] *DEMOS,* as the winning coalition in Slovenia, was politically heterogeneous, although successors to the communist party were not included.

[172] In Croatia, *Istarski demokratski sabor – Dieta democratica Istriana (IDS-DDI),* or *Koper je naš* and *Izola je naša* in Slovenia. Relations (including political mistakes of the central political authorities) to the central political parties are identified in Cocco (2010) and Banovac, Katunarić, & Mrakovčić (2014).

[173] More can be found on the official website of the Istrian County (Istarska županija: Izbori, n.d.), Baloban, Črpić and Ježovita (2019: 44); see also the election results of *Državna volilna komisija* (Izidi glasovanja, 2018).

5.3.5. After the Slovenian and Croatian declaration of independence

In the years following 1991, the political and cultural elite of Croatia in Slovenia began with the marginalization and isolation of Istria as a potentially rebellious and unreliable region.[174] Consequently, local people reacted with ideas of the reunification with Italy (especially members of the Italian minority) or, at best, declare independence and obtain a status that would make it a 'Luxembourg of the Adriatic' (Cocco, 2009: 158, 2010: 15). Italian politicians naturally had appetites to change the borders and extend once again to the Eastern Adriatic (Janjentović, 2017: 18–22). Interestingly, Serbian influential figures, e.g. Dobrica Ćosić, Vladislav Jovanović, in the storm of political changes and in line with Serbian plans, also allowed the possibility of a re-annexation of Istria to Italy, as a consequence of the dissolution of federation (Janjentović, 2017: 18–19; Šetić, 2011a: 420). At the time of major changes in Europe (the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and Yugoslavia), a delegation of Italian neo-fascists visited Belgrade to agree on a division of territories. This also means that the then resuscitated stories of the *foibe* and the Italian exodus were upgraded with ideas of reopening the border issue – especially among the *esuli* NGOs and Italian (extreme) right-wingers (Pirjevec et al., 2012: 212, 216). In any case, Istrian regionalists wanted a stronger and Western Europe-oriented region with high standard of living, a borderland with the hybrid identity of Croatian, Slovenian, and Italian elements (multicultural identity) (Ashbrook, 2005: 482, 483, 2006: 5, 6; Ballinger, 2002; Banovac et al., 2014; Baskar, 1999; Cocco, 2010; Janjentović, 2017: 11–12; Medica, 1998; Raos, 2014; Šantić, 2000; Wolff, 2006: 111).

Although observed, these movements of the 1990s remained in the shadow of the conflict in other parts of the Second Yugoslavia. One of the first steps of the YPA was the disarmament of the Slovenian and Croatian Territorial Defence Forces, which began with the Decision of the Yugoslav Presidency as early as in 1989 (Marijan, 2008: 76–77). The Croatian homeland war in Istria was not as intense as, for example, in eastern Slavonia, in the area of Karlovac and some parts of Dalmatia. Majušević (2012: 445–446) pointed out some facts related to the Istrian police and its conflict-related activities, i.e. the confiscation of weapons of Istrian hunters, support to desert YPA, contacts with the YPA command in Pula, preparation for the mining of the Pula − Pazin road to prevent arrivals of tanks from Pazin, the prevention of fuel transportation from Slovenia to the Pula Barracks and the formation of special police units.

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[174] This linguistically mixed area has always had a sense of inferiority in relation to the more continental and nationally more homogeneous areas (Purini, 2012: 424).

Croatian Istria was 'liberated' by the end of 1991 without direct military clash, although some military incidents and, consequently, social protests were detected in 1990 and later; the YPA also established some roadblocks, e.g. at today's border crossings Sečovlje – Plovanija and Dragonja – Kaštel. More than 150 military facilities were taken over by the Croatian army (military facilities were demined and protected), mostly in Pula, from which 6.000 to 8.000 soldiers of all ranks and related people were relocated (Majušević, 2012: 446).[175] After that, a fully equipped 119th brigade was sent to the Lika battlefield;[176] later it was transferred also to the Dalmatian hinterland and Slavonia. More than 6.500 residents of Istria participated in the brigade's operations; they had 7 fatalities. The city of Pula marked its activity by giving its name to a city street (Povjesnica 119. Brigade, n.d.). Similarly, on the northern side of Croatian Istria (areas of Buzet, Labin, Pazin, Poreč, Buje, Umag), the 154th brigade was formed in 1991, in which 5.800 people were involved and (only) one soldier died. Military operations were performed mainly on the territory outside of Northern Istria, as there the YPA was not so military active (Ratni put, n.d.; Dukovski, 2011b: 384, 385). In addition to the special police unit (*BAK Istra*) which operated in the battlefields of Croatia, Home Guard formations (*Domobranske postrojbe*) were formed to operate in Istrian towns, where mainly older military serviceman were involved (Majušević, 2012: 446–447).[177] The Slovenian independence war, on the other hand, did not reach the scale of the Croatian one, but there were three brief military confrontations of the Slovenian police and Territorial defence forces with the YPA in the Istrian hamlet of Moretini, at the Bivje intersection, and at the international border-crossing of Škofije. Confrontations resulted in five wounded and three dead YPA soldiers (Filipčič, 2011: 22, 23).

During the conflict in the 1990s, the regional political initiative on the international protection of Istria was presented (Janjentović, 2017: 11). Beside the alleviation of the extremely negative impact on the Istrian economy, i.e. tourism (Akilić, 2012; Šuligoj and Medarić, 2015: 76–77), that initiative would make sense from another aspect as well. In the Croatian part of the region, more than 26.000 refugees[178] were accommodated in cooperation with humanitarian organizations and the accommodation sector (Svečano obilježena, 2016), which would cause a humanitarian crisis in the case of military operations. Humanitarian work together with the 96% response to the general mobilization (the highest in Croatia) (*ibid*) and the participation in military activities/operations in and outside Istria presents the main

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[175] Orlić (2019) reported on 12.000 soldiers in Pula in 'Glas Istre'.
[176] The air base in Pula was also part of this brigade.
[177] More about some other military units in Pula can be found in Dukovski (2011b: 385).
[178] In some media reports at the time, e.g. in the 'Glas Istre' newspaper, 14 January 1992, we can find even higher figures.

contributions of the Istrian people to the success of the Homeland war. Members of the Italian minority also played an important role in the conflict (this time with the YPA) in Istria, e.g. President of the Municipal Assembly of Pula, Luciano Delbianco, was one of the main regional political organizers of resistance and therefore in constant contact with the Croatian president and ministers.[179] Interestingly, in addition to the failed assassination attempt against Delbianco, 1991 was also marked by the cancellation of the 38th Pula Film Festival (Orlić, 2019).

Although to a lesser extent, the arrival and accommodation of refugees from conflict areas was also characteristic for the Slovenian Istria. Consequently, elementary schools for a few hundred refugee children from Bosnia and Herzegovina who came slightly after the ones from Croatia, were founded. Governments agreed on the education of children, and thus two elementary schools with the teaching language of the children of the state of origin in Koper and one in Piran operated; the school in Piran was among the most propulsive in Slovenia (Šmid and Štrumbl, 2004).

The last YPA soldier officially left Koper on 25 October 1991 (Zgodovina policijske uprave, n.d.), [180] while they remained present in Pula until 16 December 1991 (Svečano obilježena, 2016; Pulska grupa, 2010: 9). Since then, Istria has been a cross-border region without a hostile army, although not a completely demilitarized area. Thus, Slovenia, which did not experience a significant action of the Independence war at sea, formed a Costal Guard in Ankaran in the 1990s, later transformed to the 430th Naval Division (*430. mornariški divizion*), the only permanent military unit in the Slovenian part of Istria.[181] Due to the longer coastline, the Croatian Navy had and still has a greater significance, role and scope for the state. The 2nd Division of the Croatian Coast Guard is located in the port of Vargarola in Pula.[182] Hence, coastal surveillance stations in Istria, which have been established since May 1992, are now located in cape Savudrija and in Pula/Brijuni[183] (Siriščević, 2017). In addition, the military polygon on cape Kamenjak is located on the far southern part of the Istrian peninsula and includes a part of the land, sea and air space in the wide area of the significant landscape (Lokacija, zaštita okoliša, 2016). Regular joint exercises of the Croatian and Slovenian armies, as partners and members of the NATO Pact, have been held here (Scenarij, vojna vježba, 2016).

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[179] Delbianco was one of the main political figures of Istria in the 1990s, while in the first decade of the 2000s he was more engaged in the academic field.

[180] In the Slovenian case, the departure of YPA troops from Koper also meant the definitive end of military ties with the Second Yugoslavia.

[181] See also the 430th Naval Division ("430th Naval Division", b. d.).

[182] One of their main tasks is the protection of cultural assets at sea, seabed and underwater, including archaeological sites in the underwater space (Siriščević, 2017).

[183] Located in the complex of the circular fortress Tegetthof, which is the building of the Austro-Hungarian fortification architecture and today the highest-level cultural monument (Siriščević, 2017).

However, as a small and symbolic contribution to the (partial) demilitarisation of the region, it is possible to understand the transfer of the widely recognizable YPA holiday complex '13. Maj' to the civil (tourist) sphere and its renaming to Pineta camp (Odluka o davanju, 1992; Odluka o davanju, 2011), as well as a significant reduction in the number of military facilities and the number of soldiers in the trans-border region. Thus, Istria can be oriented towards tourism, which ordinarily cannot cohabit with the army.

Demilitarisation is also one of the main program points of the IDS-DDI, the main regional political party in Istria (Programska deklaracija, n.d.); every step of the government towards militarisation agitates Istrian politics – see Grakalić (2018) or Zrinić-Terlević (2018). However, Croatian Army barracks opened in Pula in November 2019. Regional and local politicians (including those from IDS-DDI) also attended the ceremony. Interestingly, they were the ones who emphasized that the development and prosperity in the past (especially in Pula) was primarily based on the army (Otvorena vojarna, 2019; U Puli svečano, 2019). Notwithstanding, Pula still does not have a defined image of a former military and port city, and possibilities offered by this legacy have not been sufficiently exploited (Urošević, 2013: 93); financial reasons for this attitude cannot be neglected. Anyway, tourism can offer many development opportunities for this heritage as well.

5.4. Chapter conclusion

As an Upper Adriatic region, Istria has had a dynamic 20th century, this includes three military conflicts and the Cold War, the 'dungeon of nations' and three totalitarian regimes, a revolutionary takeover of power and an almost constant open border issue (even today), which made this area one of the (South) European hotspots; Istria, where the Italians behaved as a culturally superior nation for centuries, acquired the image of an area of conflict s, intolerance and lack of understanding (Ashbrook, 2006: 28; Orlić, 2012: 13; Šetić, 2008: 105). Regardless of the complex socio-political situation, the area simultaneously developed economically, and is more developed today compared to the neighbouring regions in Slovenia and Croatia. The Istrian Peninsula is also an internationally recognisable tourist destination and most tourism-wise developed part of both countries. Hence, "Istria is both a brand for autonomy and a brand for the Croatian tourism" (Banovac et al., 2014: 463). However, there is still untapped potential like the exploitation of military heritage, which reflects the past identity and development of Istria (Pula) – see Urošević (2013). If we take into consideration the claims of McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010) – see

sub-chapter '2.4. Warfare tourism' – the orientation toward military heritage can be understood as a continuation of sentimentalization of armed forces and militarisation. Therefore, as we can see from the previous sub-chapters, the Istrians somehow dissociate themselves from their military history – also for economic reasons.

In these circumstances, a special 'Istrian-style memory' was developed. Memory that depends on the relations between Istrian Slavs and Italians, who still live separately, and conflicts still arise at the moment when various memories meet – see Hrobat Virloget (2015: 547–548), and Hrobat Virloget and Čebron Lipovec (2017: 66). It can be linked to 'Istrianity', which is not a homogenous phenomenon. As a result, it can be claimed that 'Istrian-style memory' is not homogeneous either. It is merely a reflection of the Istrian social reality marked by pluri-identity, multiculturalism and dynamic history; a 'memory system' composed of a plurality of memories, a natural Istrian issue of coexistence on a definite geographic area. 'Istrian-style memory' is in fact Erll's (2011, 2015: 178) transcultural memory, which is in general affected by "different social classes, generations, ethnicities, religious communities, and subcultures." However, the complete unification/uniforming of identity as well as memories would be a utopian expectation since the traumatic 20th century (if we focus only this century) impacted significantly on the multicultural Istrian society.[184] In addition, the findings of Urošević (2012) and the claims of Ban (2018) on contemporary problems with intolerance and stereotypes among communities (not only between Croats/Slovenes and Italians), religious and cultural division, and the negative consequences of the last war in Croatia, show some cracks in the Istrian society. However, a comprehensive analysis and comparison of these issues with other areas in Slovenia and Croatia was not made, as this would not be in line with the purpose and objectives of this thesis.

'Istrian-style memory' is inseparably linked to the past conflict situations. During the second half of the 20th century and to a limited extent even further, Slavic and Italian historians and scholars of other branches fought over the interpretation of WWII and its consequences, and thus created two completely separate 'truths' – see Pelikan (2012) and Verginella (2010); experts and scholars of younger generations show more perceptiveness, knowledge and understanding of the specificity and complexity of the whole Upper Adriatic – see Ashbrook (2006). Italo-Slavonic cooperation during fascism and nazism is, however, a clear sign of possible Istrian *convivenza* in the most difficult times, although it often remains in the shadow of the turbulent discussions. Similarly, the relations between Catholic church on one, and

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[184] More about about the links between memory, community and nation can be found in Benčić (2016).

fascists and communists on the other side, were also different in comparison to the other European countries that experienced the extreme left and right autocratic regimes of the 20th century – see Trogrlić (2008, 2012), Hančič and Podberšič (2008: 41). It seems that some, by exposing extreme controversial cases, would like to forget or deny all good examples of possible cooperation. All this can also be understood as a cause and a consequence of the ideologies and related regimes of the 20th century in the Upper Adriatic, which carefully selected, politicized and mythologised both, events and heroes, of the past; many of them were subject of premeditated *damnatio memoriae*, although mostly unsuccessful.

The collapse of the Second Yugoslavia and the military conflict in the 1990, although a lot less bloody than in some other parts of the former federation, also influenced the Istrian society, including 'Istrian-style memory' (transcultural memory). War created the need for new memorials and dark commemorative events, which joined the existing memorial practices. Nevertheless, after all the conflicts of the 20th century, which are the basis for numerous monuments and dark commemorative events, a complex retrospective and analysis of past and present memorial practices in Istria was not observed in available references. This also applies to dark tourism studies, which completely ignored Istria as a post-conflict area.

6. MEMORIES AND DARK TOURISM IN ISTRIA

Two world wars as well as the period of fascism and the conflict in the 1990s left traces in South-Eastern Europe (the former Yugoslavia). Today, these traces are the subject of commemorations, public debate and visits. Herman Kaurić (2015b: 20) claims that one hundred years after the end of WWI, some of the fallen soldiers' descendants are still looking for information on their (great)grandfathers, e.g in the area of battlefield of Soča/Isonzo and in the East (Eastern Front).[185] This is only partly in line with the claim of Lennon and Foley (2000) who state that the darkness of the dark site is fading away with time. Kosovo Polje with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 as an (additional) interesting case from the wider region does not confirm this claim either, and has remained deeply in the collective memory of the Serbs for centuries (Causevic and Lynch, 2011: 782). Szul (2009) similarly explains that military operations changed borders as well as people's lives, which significantly defines contemporary Baltic region. When analysing WWII and its implications in Europe, it should be noted that the final outcome of the war was determined by winning powers, their military strengths and political interests, with political factors determining other elements – the demography, economy, culture, language, migrations and similar. This was evident during the Cold War as well as after the democratic changes started in the late 1980s (*ibid*). Consequently, researching different impacts of the conflicts of the 20th century on the Istrian multicultural society is also relevant.

6.1. Armed forces and beginning of tourism development in Istria

Travelling in the Upper Adriatic was already known before the so-called modern tourism and many voyages were related to military trips (Kavrečič, 2014, 2015). In addition, the armed forces were also strongly connected with the development of the main Istrian tourist centres, such as Opatija, Portorož and also Sv. Stjepan (*Sv. Štefan*) (Blažević, 1984: 50–52, 1987: 33; Kavrečič, 2014: 79, 2015: 86). Since 1888, a sanatorium for military personnel (*Kurhaus für Offiziere; Officierskurhaus*), managed by the White Cross Society (*Weissen Kreuz*), was located in Opatija (Fischinger et al., 2007; Kavrečič, 2014: 101, 2015: 109; Muzur, 1996; Niel, 1991: 41).[186] The White Cross Society was founded in 1882 in order to provide health care to wounded and

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[185] A number of Slovenians and Croatians fought there in Austro-Hungarian uniforms.
[186] Financed by The Austrian Southern Railway (*Österreichische Südbahn*) and later donated to the Austrian White Cross (*Weissen Kreuz*)

sick military officers. In addition to the sanatorium in Opatija, it had additional ones in Portorož, Mali Lošinj and Crikvenica (Blažević, 1987: 57, 58; Brezovec, 2015: 114; Kranjčević, 2016), and in some other continental sites of the monarchy – see Fischinger et al. (2008), Kranjčević (Kranjčević, 2016: 78, 82) or *Ball der K.K Gesellschaft vom Weissen Kreuze im Wiener Konzerthaus* (1914). The latter notes that sanatoriums were included into the tourist services of the destinations (although not open for the general public) and, consequently, promoted in tourist guides and magazines from the turn of the 19th century onwards.

In his travelogue (1883), Charles Yriarte[187] highlighted the Roman heritage of Pula – especially the warfare/military importance of the amphitheatre (Arena). In addition, the author extensively described the Arsenal, its location and importance for the city (p. 128-132); a three-hour visit accompanied by two military officers, offers to the layperson a great opportunity to get an impression of the strength and organization of this enclosed military area. Despite all the attractiveness, the Arsenal administration was not in favour of issuing entrance permits, which resulted in a small number of visitors. Similarly, Marcotti (1899: 138, 149–160)[188] did not forget to mentioned the great Roman heritage in his guide (e.g. the Amphitheatre, the Twin Gates (*Porta Gemina*), the Gate of Hercules (*Porta Erculea*) and others),[189] which coexists with the military infrastructure there. The author further described, for example, the remembrance day of the Ascension of 1177, when a great naval battle and victory of the Venetian navy took place at Cape Savudria (*Punta di Salvore* or *Rt Savudrija*), the fortifications of *Tegethoff* on the Brijuni Islands as well as the fortifications around the city of Pula and other military attractions and historical facts of Pula; a list of military objects is also available to the visitors, although the Arsenal[190] undoubtedly remains its main part. Arsenal visitations were possible only with the permission of the Command (*Comando*). A number of conquered flags[191] and interesting exhibits of the Field Marshal Radetzky, Archduke Maximilian and Admiral Tegethoff were exhibited in the Maritime Museum.[192] Baedeker's tourist guide describes this as follows (Baedeker, 1900: 218):

[…] "*Near this are several buildings connected with the dock-yard (School, Barracks, Hospital, Prison). To the W., on the quay, is the imperial Naval Arsenal (Pl. C, 5, 6). A museum in the*

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[187] French writer, draughtsman, traveller and reporter.

[188] The author emphasizes the Italian essence of the Istrian towns and inhabitants.

[189] Described as early as in 1823 by the travel writer Agapito.

[190] The area was strictly insulated with floor-to-wall and floating barriers in the water (Rutar, 1896: 106; Yriarte, 1883: 129); Rutar (1896: 105–107) described many other details related to the Arsenal.

[191] Mentioned also in Benussi (1923: 245) and Urošević (2003).

[192] All important for the Austro-Hungarian military navy as the major maritime power of the Eastern Adriatic as well as for Pula as the main military Port (Gobbo, 2017).

Artillery Office contains interesting ship-models, trophies, weapons, etc. (foreigners admitted to the arsenal and museum only by permission of the war-office). – The wharves and docks are on the Olive Island, between the naval and the commercial harbour."

Rabl's (1907) guide also gives similar instructions. In this specific context, Figure 4 from Rabl's tourist guide does not show the usual view of the amphitheatre (Arena), but a statue of admiral Wilhelm von Tegetthoff , which was placed in 1877 on (*Monte*) *Borgo Zaro* next to the military port with military arsenals in Pula (see also Marcotti, 1899: 158). Rutar (1896: 105–107) approached this more scientifically and described the part of the Arsenal that was intended to visitors – especially the Maritime Museum.[193] In his monograph, he devoted a lot of space to military history and even to the then (military) situation. Hence, journalist and reporters were also interested in visiting the museum. In 1910, for example, the Command issued a permit to a journalist, which allowed him visitation of the Arsenal: the Maritime Museum, workshops and a warship by choice of the Command (Mandić, 2006: 196; Pogled po Primorju, 1910: 1). Hence, Yriarte (1883: 120) described Pula as the city of beer and wine, where foreign visitors were rare. According to the author, the highest level of the food offer in Pula and Istria as a whole, was available at the Officer's Club (*Casinò Marina*; *Marine Casino*), where entrance to civilians was allowed only by invitation of two military officers. In addition to the exceptional food service, newspapers in the Italian, English, Franch, and German language were available to the guests there. Having a library, room for meetings and other equipment, this place was also dedicated to scientific research (Gobbo, 2017).

Pula has an antique museum, a beautiful theatre, public amusement halls, public walkways with tree plantations, and a rich fountain that distributes water throughout the city. It has shops and stores supplied with all kinds of goods, hotels, traditional restaurants (*trattoria*), bars, pastries, and cafes (Notizie storiche di Pola, 1876: 17, 18). In addition, as the headquarter of the military navy (the Admiralty), Pula also had some water-related (leisure) offer which was attractive to the local residents as well. However, the military bath was relatively far from the city and expensive, which means that it was not accessible to all the inhabitants of the city (Kavrečič, 2014: 97, 2015: 105). It is necessary to take into account that the main purpose of these types of baths was not similar to civil (tourism) ones, but was aimed at acquiring and consolidating the swimming ability of the military personnel (Blažević, 1987: 58; Kranjčević, 2016: 77).[194] It is quite clear that the city of Pula was not only the centre of the

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[193] It was located in the artillery section (*Artilleriedirektion*) (Iskra, n.d.; Marsetič, 2013: 493), but was later transferred next to the administration offices (Urošević, 2003).

[194] Pula also has the Naval Swimming School on St. Peter Island (Perović, 2006: 79, 133).

Austro-Hungarian military navy, but also a tourist destination where the military infrastructure was systematically included into the tourist products.

Figure 4: A statue of admiral von Tegetthoff with the view of the harbour and the city
(*Source: Rabl, 1907: 239*)

In the period when organized tourism development began (in the mid-19th century), Istrian cities were significantly marked by the presence of armed forces. Militarisation of the main administrative and tourism centres in the region was obviously strongly linked with the establishment of these centres in a tourism-related sense. The presence of armed forces was therefore a guarantee of supply quality for the tourists from higher social classes, which is evident in the case of Opatija and Portorož, which gained the official status of health resorts (*Kurorte*).[195] Especially interesting were the Brijuni Islands (also gained the official status of a health resort), which were turned by the Vienna industrialist Paul Kupelwieser from a wild

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[195] The main reasons for the gaining were, in fact, natural assets, the infrastructure and health services – see Kavrečič (2015) and Šuligoj and Medarić (2015c).

and malaria-infected area into a tourist resort for a wealthy clientele[196] (Baskar, 2010; Dumbović Bilušić et al., 2015; Persons worth knowing about, n.d.; Perović, 2006: 165) who cohabited with the army. Photographs from the Austro-Hungarian time show[197] that military personnel wore military clothing during their holidays/health treatments in tourist destinations in Istria, which affected the atmosphere of the destinations.

In the end, it is necessary to point out that the Brijuni Islands retained a prestigious image of a top destination even in the time of Fascist Italy. After WWII, Yugoslav socialist authorities took the Brijuni Islands with a heavily damaged infrastructure, but renovated it in the style of the new ideology. The resort on the law-protected islands (natural and cultural heritage) was not publicly accessible (until the late 1980s), but was intended to be used by the political establishment (communist party), particularly by President Tito and his domestic and international guests (Jokić and Čudov, 1986: 73–74). Being a place of prestige and Tito's power, it also paradoxically hosted the signing of one of the most important documents in the disintegration of the Second Yugoslavia – the Brioni Agreement – on 7 July 1991, which has remained in the collective memory of the Slovenians and the Croats. After 1991, the independent Croatia maintained the protection of the heritage and prepared new offers of cultural programs (Dumbović Bilušić et al., 2015: 362–363).

6.2. Memorial practices and dark tourism in the post-WWI period

WWI severely interrupted the development of Pula and Istria, with tourism also suffering great losses. On the other hand, the war also brought some opportunities. Thus, during WWI, the Maritime Museum collection was additionally complemented by exhibits linked to the war in the North Adriatic (Urošević, 2003), which made the museum even more relevant and attractive.

After the Second Battle of the Piave River (in Northern Italy), fought between 15 and 23 June 1918, the Italian army came to Istria, which was – in the cities populated mostly by Italians – accepted with pleasure and celebration (Benussi, 1923; Perović, 2006: 185).[198] On the other hand, some kind of indifference, depression and resignation prevailed among the

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[196] Between the two world wars, Karl Kupelwieser (son of Paul) set up a golf course, new sports grounds (tennis, polo, etc.), an outdoor dance floor with a pavilion and a casino. Due to financial problems (the Great Depression), in 1936, the state took over the resort. During the bombing in WWII, the resort was heavily damaged (Dumbović Bilušić et al., 2015: 361).

[197] The larger collection is owned by Mr. Tomi Brezovec and Zavod Mediteranum Piran (Slovenia).

[198] These events were certainly not of a tourist nature.

Slovenians and the Croats, especially among those from the rural and ethnically mixed areas of Pula, Poreč and Koper (Klabjan, 2010: 410). Officially, the Kingdom of Italy had begun to implement its authority already before 1920, when Istria and most of the rest of the Austrian Littoral was formally annexed to the Kingdom. On 3 February 1919, the King of Italy came to Pula for the first time and visiting the Arsenal was also on his schedule. With particular interest, the King visited the Maritime Museum where he admired the Venetian flag waving in the battle of Lepanto and the numismatic collection; ship warehouses and naval warehouses were shown to him as well, and he was deeply astonished by the huge amount of material accumulated there (Marsetič, 2006a). However, the demilitarisation of the city also caused the closing down of the Arsenal (not entirely), including the Maritime museum established in 1870/71. This symbolically meant an interruption of the maritime continuity and identity of the city, as well as the erasing of traces of power of the Austro-Hungarian Navy. Considering that the museum as an institution preserved and presented some past traditions and memories, then the elements of *damnatio memoriae* are clearly recognizable here. The exhibits were either stolen or formally transferred to other museums, most of them to Austrian ones (Vienna) − some of them as early as in 1913, when the huge Adriatic Exhibition in Vienna (*Österreichische Adria-Ausstellung 1913*) took place − and after WWI to some Italian museums (Gobbo, 2017; Urošević, 2003).[199]

In the situation where an ethnic borderline separating the winners from the losers was unclear, in the post-war years, the new authorities began to construct imposing monuments and memorial parks to anti-Austro-Hungarian heroes and victims of WWI. Hence, memorial ceremonies and commemorations also served as an act of affirmation of the Italian national identity, patriotism, regime and the consolidation of power in the new annexed regions like Istria – see Klabjan (2010), Todero (2010) and Kavrečič (2017). Moreover, Todero (2010: 385) claims that the purpose of these practices was the justification of the numerousness of victims and sacrifices in the eyes of the public. In this context, on the occasion of the anniversary of the sinking of Austro-Hungarian battleship *Szent Istvan*, the Day of the Sea (*Festa del Mare*) used to be celebrated in Pula following ministerial order, which was organized for the first time on 11 June 1920. The greatest attraction was always the parade of many allegorical boats where, for example in 1938, 20.000 people/spectators participated (Marsetič, 2006a, 2006b: 217). The Italian authorities also decided that the main celebrations/commemorations

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[199] Urošević's findings are based on the interview with the manager of the Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria (Pula). According to Gobbo (2017), the *Museo Tecnico Navale della Spezia* in La Spezia, the *Museo Nazionale della Scienza e della Tecnologia* in Milano and a museum in Padova are now in possession of the exhibits from Pula.

dedicated to the Unknown Soldier (*Milite ignoto*) were to be held throughout Italy on 4 November 1921.[200] Celebrations/commemorations were thus organised in Muggia, Koper, Izola, Piran, Pazin, Pula, and Rovinj, where Italian flags were hanging from the windows of many houses. The event in Rovinj was attended by children of the Salesian Communities, pupils of all schools, a brass band, civil and military authorities, the fire brigade, war veterans' organizations, the local section of the *Fascio di Combattimento* (fascist organisation), representatives of people politically persecuted by the Austrio-Hungarian regime, and many other organizations with wreaths and flags; the procession was about half a kilometre long and at the starting point, the authorities had set a ceremonial altar with military signs and torches. In Koper, the event was attended by delegates from an important international conference being held at that time in Portorož.[201] Visitors gathered in the main town square and visited the cemetery. At the Tartini square in Piran, the manifestation was attended by more than three thousand visitors; in the events in Izola and Muggia, they threw wreaths into the sea in memory of fallen marines. There are insufficient archival documents for a definitive evaluation of events in the hinterland, populated mainly by Slavic inhabitants (Klabjan, 2010: 413–414).

In 1935, a glorious monument to the native Italian irredentist and patriot Nazario Sauro was inaugurated in Koper, where king Vittorio Emanuele III and some high-level representatives of the Kingdom were present as well (Gemmiti, 1935). The event was disclosed in the main fascist political magazine *Gerachia* back in 1927 – see Giuriati (1927: 793) – and formalised by the law in 1922 (Legge 2 aprile, 1922; Salata, 1922: 78);[202] the monument and its surroundings were places of social gatherings and political manifestations in order to preserve the collective memory and the consolidating/spreading fascist ideology − see Figure 5 (Venticinque anni, 1941: 1). The main speakers (and supporters) of fascism wore characteristic fascist black uniforms – black shirts (*Camicia Nera*).[203] The uniforms and many other facts described in this sub-chapter clearly confirm the militarisation of the then society, which was noted also by Altin and Badurina (2017: 325–326).

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[200] See also in Todero (2010) and Kavrečič (2017).

[201] The 'Portorose conference' took place between 29 October and 23 November 1921 between the successors of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Italy to regulate economic, railway and postal issues. More can be found in Marsico (1979).

[202] There were also many others which were glorified in the time of fascism in the region, e.g. Fabio Filzi, Damiano Chiesa (Todero, 2010: 390).

[203] Term originally used to refer to the loyal members of the Fascist organization founded in Italy (*Fasci di combattimento*): ex-soldiers, ultranationalist, militarists etc.

During the Second Italo-Abyssinian War (October 1935 – May 1936), mass rallies, events and manifestations contributed to the homogenization of the people in the Kingdom of Italy (Berezin, 1997; Orlović, 2014a, 2014b). Events such as the 'General Assembly of the Forces of the Regime' (*Adunata generale delle forze del Regime*) at the announcement of the start of the war on 2 October, the 'Day of Faith' (*Giornata della fede*) on 18 December, and memorial ceremonies of a mostly religious nature on 18 February and 14 April occurring in order to commemorate/glorify the fallen soldiers in the colonial campaign. Numerous celebrations of important victories were constantly organized (from February to May 1936), which also includes the day of occupation of the capital city of Ethiopia (from May 5 to May 10)[204] (Orlović, 2014a: 119–120).

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[204] May was consequently called »Radiant African May« (*Maggio radioso africano*).

Credere e Vincere

QUINDICINALE DEL FASCIO DI COMBATTIMENTO „NAZARIO SAURO"

I CADUTI PER LA PATRIA SONO PRESENTI

Venticinque anni dal sacrificio di Nazario Sauro

Non è a caso che abbiamo scelto questa data per uscire per la prima volta con questo nostro „giornale" che assume questa qualifica non tanto per la sua veste tipografica più o meno giornalistica, quanto per la tenacia e la volontà che lo hanno creato, tenacia e volontà che rimarranno sempre le stesse e anzi aumenteranno sempre più per il maggior progresso della presente pubblicazione. Oggi iniziamo il nostro primo numero ricordando Nazario Sauro al cui nome eroico si intitola il nostro Fascio di Combattimento che fiero del suo Martire, afferma ancora una volta la sua strenua volontà di Vittoria per l'Italia di Mussolini.

* * *

Il poeta ha cantato Sauro come il simbolo dell'ardente amor patrio, lo storico gli ha dato il nome di Eroe, premio e ricompensa maggiore a chi, senza nulla chiedere, dà alla Patria l'olocausto della propria vita.

Il popolo ne ha fatto un dio tutelare, il marinaio lo ha santificato e lo invoca nell' ora della procella, l'uomo lo ha trasfigurato creando di lui l'emblema del sacrificio.

La Sua terra che lo venera ed onora, che lo canta ed esalta con l'orgoglio e la fierezza creati dal Suo nome, lo ha celebrato nel XXV annuale della morte con l'austerità che si addice ai nostri tempi e con quella particolare commozione che prende chi conosce il valore incommensurabile di chi cade combattendo per un'idea.

Nazario Sauro si è formato intorno alla Sua morte un alone di epopea: la Sua morte sola è una epopea di gloria. La Sua è la poesia del martirio, è la lirica sublime della morte per la Patria.

Venticinque anni or sono il picchetto di sbirri dell'Impiccatore che gli strozzò nella gola l'ultimo Suo grido eroico „Viva l'Italia, pensò che con Sauro moriva il fervore e la passione istriana: questa passione invece si animò di più, rinnovellata in nuova luce, finchè l'Italia di Vittorio Veneto non raggiunse la nostra terra a redimerla dal giogo straniero.

Parla l'avv. Ruzzier
Al suo fianco il Federale dell' Istria

Innanzi a quell'Adriatico che fu tutto Suo, innanzi a quel mare guardato dal Monumento che lo ricorda ai posteri, Sauro è apparso nella Sua luce di gloria il 10 agosto a salutare la Sua Capodistria, a benedire la Sua terra.

Dopo che il Vescovo diocesano Eccellenza Mons. Antonio Santin ebbe impartito la benedizione del Monumento aderendo così al desiderio dei familiari e dei dirigenti del nostro Fascio e il Cons. Naz. Nicola Benagli, Segretario Federale dell' Istria, ha evocato il Suo nome e il popolo tutto ha elevato la voce a rispondere „Presente", abbiamo

visto attraverso le nebbie del passato, stagliarsi nel cielo, imponente nella sua maschia figura di marinaio, Nazario Sauro, il violatore di Parenzo e di Pirano, l'intrepido navigatore dell'Amarissimo.

E quando il silenzio di tutti ha raccolto la voce del commilitone del Martire Avv. Ruzzier, più vivo che mai abbiamo sentito lo spirito di Sauro nei nostri cuori e con impeto lo abbiamo invocato a vegliare sui destini d' Italia, che oggi si compiono nel clima terribile e santo della guerra.

Il mistico silenzio della sera faceva più austera la Sua celebrazione, la voce chiara e proromptente dell' oratore richiamava alle menti la vita la morte la gloria di Sauro. Sull' onda azzurra una corona di alloro veniva deposta per ricordare il poeta dell' abisso, il dominatore della costa istriana.

Il marinaio che guarda fiso al mare latino dall' alto del monumento, la gloria marinara che sta per spiccare il volo alle nuove vittorie della Patria, si son fatti carne quel giorno; l'attimo semplice e sublime eternato nel bronzo, della madre che rinnega il figliolo pur di salvarlo, tutto il marmoreo monumento si sono animati.

Era in essi lo spirito vivificatore dell' Eroe immortale, era in essi la passione del Suo ultimo sospiro, era in essi lo spasimo della Sua morte gloriosa. Nessuno si è dimenticato di Sauro quel giorno, nessuno ha mancato alla Sua memoria. Ogni cuore ha avuto un palpito, ogni mente un ricordo.

Le mille voci dei nostri padri e dei nostri figli che combattono, si sono unite nel terso cielo di agosto in una suprema invocazione di Vittoria che il Dio giusto assegnerà alla nostra gente.

F. A.

„Il popolo italiano, guidato dal Duce che lo rende invincibile, avverte in questo momento la certezza della sua missione e la grandezza del suo destino".

Figure 5: Monument of Nazario Sauro in the fascist magazine Credere e Vincere
(Source: Venticinque anni, 1941: 1).

For all events, appropriate media campaigns and promotions were organised in order to achieve maximum participation at the events throughout Istria. Based on the report of the local (daily) newspaper *Corriere Istriano*, Orlović (2014a: 124, 126) states there were 25.000 fascists plus thousands of other participants at the 'General Assembly of the Forces of the Regime' in Pula, whereas, based on the report of the Prefect, she states that there were a total of 125.000 participants in Istria.[205] All events in Pula were carried out (also) in the Arena amphitheatre, the symbol of the city's Roman and Latin culture. In addition, the author (p. 131) states that during the days of triumph in May, precisely on 6 May, "students of the Alessandro Manzoni school organized a visit to the Marine Cemetery, where flowers were laid on the tombs of local fascist heroes and those from WWI", which was of a strong memorial nature;[206] a number of school excursions were organized to the former Karst battlefield (Todero, 2010) and mountain battlefields (Turismo Scolastico Capodistriano, 1922), which was not only an Italian peculiarity in the post-war Europe – for some other examples see Mosse (2002) and Winter (2009b). Hence, numerous initiatives were given for commemorations, blessings of graves, anniversaries, and masses, e.g. in Pula, Vrsar, Rovinj (*Ricordo duraturo della redenzione* [Long-lasting memory of Redemption]) and elsewhere (Todero, 2010: 390, 391).

Regardless of the indisputable historical facts of the Italian military achievements, everything was in line with Mussolini's triumphant words: "Now is no time for history; it is a time for myths" (Klavora, 2011: 87). On the basis of these examples, we can agree with the findings of Todero (2010) and Kavrečič (2017) on the complete Italian monopolization of the memory of the conflict; memories and traditions of Croats and Slovenians, mostly former Austro-Hungarian soldiers, were simply prohibited (*damnatio memoriae*). From the point of view of dark tourism, all memorial and other events in Istria should be interpreted with caution. Previous research mostly shows the memorial aspect, whereas the tourist aspect is not exposed. However, there is serious doubt that these events attracted international visitors or visitors from distant places of the Kingdom. If we understand them correctly, these events were not intended to promote travel (to Istria), as they were organized throughout the Kingdom on the same days. On the other hand, all WWI-related excursion were of a strong dark tourism nature. The former Soča/Isonzo battlefield as one of the central areas of dark tourism in *Venezia Giulia*[207] was not too far away. With the closure of the Maritime Museum in

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[205] Slavic newspapers, e.g. *Istra,* anyway, reported on involuntary participation of the Slavic people and also on the diversionist actions of Slavic activists (Orlović, 2014a).

[206] Since this was visit in the local community, this action cannot be considered in the context of dark tourism.

[207] In that time it had only geographic and statistical meaning.

Pula, Istria remained completely in the shadow of the Soča Valley with all its memorial structures, the suprastructure and the related sad stories.[208]

Despite the cruel fascism, it should be noted that Pula at that time was also an Upper Adriatic cruise destination. On 25 July 1935, for example, a large group of British and American tourists disembarked from the English steamer *City of London* at the pier *Fiume* (Marsetič, 2006a). In addition, Pula used to have its communal swimming centre (*Bagno polese*)[209] which was opened in 1886 (Marsetič, 2006a: 7, 2006b: 218–219) and a centre for cultural and recreational activities for employees and workers in their leisure time periods (*Dopolavoro*), which opened in 1923 (Duraković, 2003; Marsetič, 2006a: 7, 2006b: 218).[210] Between the two world wars, tourism in Istria did not entirely die down, but was stagnating due to the complex socio-political situation, infectious diseases and the global economic crisis. The Italian State and the Italian Government Tourist Board (*Agenzia nazionale del turismo – ENIT*) implemented many initiatives in order to increase the number of tourists and thus improve tourism business in the region, but all activities had only limited success.[211] The beginning of WWII brings a new difficult period for Istrian tourism.

6.3. WWII-related memorial practices and dark tourism

After WWII, the memory of WWI was completely suppressed due to different positions of individual nations during the war[212] and due to the constitutive role of WWII for the Second Yugoslavia, including the creation of brotherhood and unity of nations (Luthar, 2000: 97, 98). Consequently, the Second Yugoslavia was systematically introducing new monuments and commemorative practices consistent with the regime and the prevailing mentality. The memorial heritage of the national liberation struggle was in service of the state, which effected the collective memory. Pre-war and WWII anti-Slavic fascist dictatorship and repression in Istria (including Nazi-terror), created post-WWII rituals of commemorations and celebrations

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[208] Many large military shrines, charnel houses, memorial areas, monuments and museums, and changed toponyms were introduced by the beginning of the WWII, what strongly stimulated the development of dark tourism there (Kavrečič, 2017).

[209] The centre was closed in 1937 due to hygienic reasons (Marsetič, 2006b: 219).

[210] Duraković (2003) more explicitly described the period of fascism in Pula in a cultural meaning. It is necessary to emphasize the role of *Dopolovoro* and other regime organizations in the promotion of the fascist ideology.

[211] More can be find in Šuligoj and Medarić (2015c).

[212] The Serbs were among the winners, while Slovenians and Croats among the losers, which means that memory cannot be unified.

that pacified the Yugoslav public opinion (D'Alessio, 2012a). The main celebrations and commemorations on federal or republic public holidays, e.g. 4 July – Fighter's Day, 29 November − Republic Day, 27 April − Day of the Liberation Front, 27 July − Day of the uprising of the people of Croatia, as well as lower-level historical days, e.g. 9 September − The day of the uprising in Istria and the Slovenian coast, significantly marked the lives of people in the Second Yugoslavia, including Istria.

In the early post-WWII period, symbols and monuments of fascism were quickly removed, although, according to Rusinow (1963b), some commemorative plaques in honour of some Italian irredentists remained. The author detected that the idea for the reconstruction of the monument to Nazario Sauro in Koper, dismantled by the Nazis in 1944, also appeared;[213] the tomb of his parents at the Koper cemetery with a large stone cross and a memorial plaque with Italian patriotic inscription from 1923 was not damaged and is still there today. However, all post-WWII generations attended ceremonies and commemorations and adored the cult of President Tito until his dead in 1980.[214] Balažič (2009: 160, 161, 166–168) treats them as relics of socialism which form the socialist landscape. The author distinguishes four types of relics, such as relics of industry, human settlement, agriculture, and ideology, with only the last one being relevant for this research. Besides physical relics, like monuments, memorial plaques and tombstones, there are many abstract/indirect relics placed in Istria, e.g. naming of streets, squares, schools and other public institutions after the anti-fascists, heroes and events related to WWII, which today symbolize gratitude, remembrance, heroism, suffering and triumph, as well as the socialist (communist) ideology and system (depending on the point of view). In this context, the Museum of the Revolution[215] was founded in Pula in 1955, which later complemented its collections and also changed its name (Povijesni i pomorski muzej, n.d.; Mandić, n.d.) – today it is known as the Historical and maritime museum of Istria.

Remaining from the socialist times, there are exactly 100 protected examples of immovable memorial heritage of local or national importance located in the four municipalities of the Slovenian Istria (Iskanje enot nepremične, 2017), while there are no registered examples from Istria in the Croatian register (Pretraživanje kulturnih dobara, 2017).

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[213] This idea was not realised.
[214] More can be found in Pavlaković and Perak (2017).
[215] A confusion in the naming was observed in the available resources: Museum of the Revolution or Museum of the National Liberation Struggle of Istria.

However, about 22.000 monumental features were created in the Second Yugoslavia[216] and, according to Đurić (n.d.: 6),[217] four of the most representatives ones were constructed in the Croatian Istria – see Figure 6. Figure 7 presents one of those 'top-monuments' in Rovinj, made of stone in 1956, which also represents an interesting work of art; two busts of two local anti-fascists of Italian nationality, Pino Budicin and Matteo Benussi – Cio,[218] which are visible in the lower right corner of the Figure, form the entire memorial. The monument is well preserved and maintained and, as seen from Figure 7, included in the local social life as well as in tourist services – see tourist brochure of Rovinj (Budicin, n.d.).[219] This location also hosts commemorations, e.g. on the national Anti-Fascist Resistance Day every June (*Grad Rovinj-Rovigno*, 2018).

In general, WWII-related monuments are mostly well preserved and maintained both in the Slovenian and Croatian Istria, and dark commemorative events are held on anniversaries at many of them. It can thus be concluded that WWII-related monuments and their background 'dark stories' are an important part of the collective memory of this multi-ethnic region.

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[216] Đurić Đurić (n.d.: 6) claims that features were/are placed in "places that witnessed the painful past, such as concentration camps, deportation, battles, massacres, mass killings and graves or, on the other hand, places of importance for the revolutionary struggle and independence;" see also website 'Spomenik Database' (n.d.).

[217] The research work was mentored by Roberto Cherubini from the Sapienza University of Rome, Italy.

[218] Both of them were proclaimed national heroes of Yugoslavia. They remain the symbol of Italian anti-fascism in Istria as well as representative examples of the Istrian *convivenza*.

[219] Thanks also to its central position in the city.
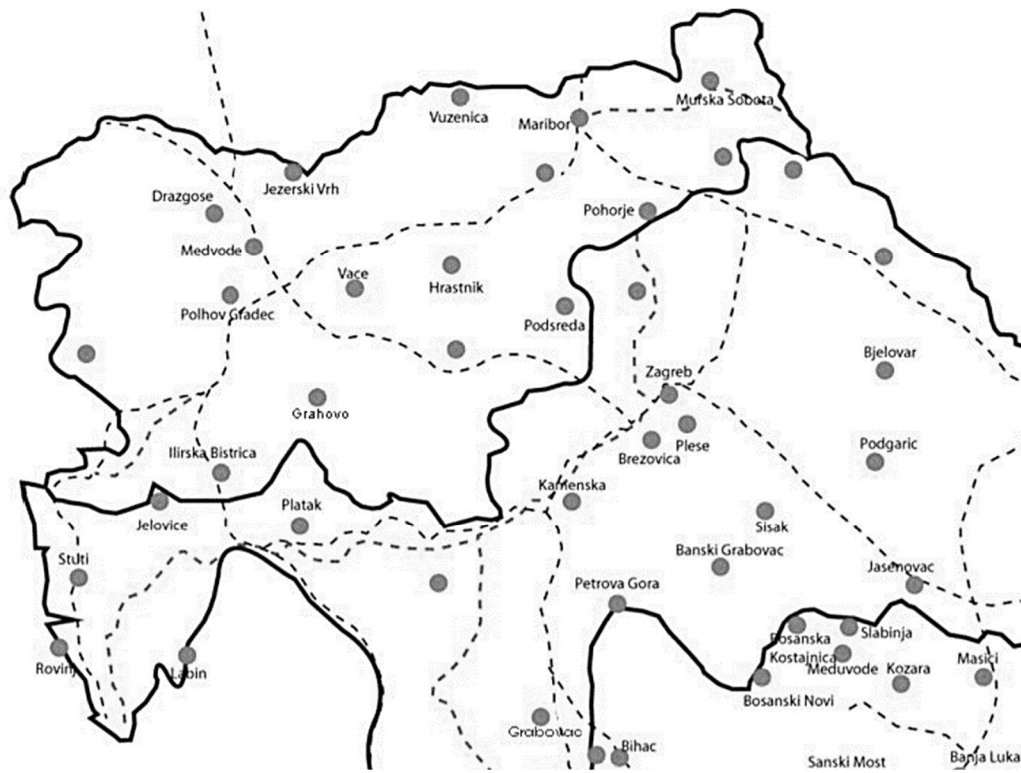
Figure 6: Map of important WWII-related memorial sites in North-West Yugoslavia (Source: Đurić, *n.d.: 104)*

Figure 7: Monument to anti-fascist fighters (partisans) in Rovinj

The values of anti-fascism are still deeply rooted in the Istrian society, which helps preserve the collective memory and thus all the memorials. This is also reflected in the membership of anti-fascist organizations where, according to the President of the Association in Buzet, more than 50% of (approximately) 15.000 members in Croatia come from the Istrian and Primorje-Gorski Kotar County (Čalić Šverko, 2018a). On the other hand, some kind of amnesia of WWII-related heritage in contemporary Croatia was perceived by media, e.g. 'Index' (Razaranje jugoslavenske culture, 2014) or 'Al Jazeera Balkans' (Skok, 2017), where the latter wrote that the monuments of the Second Yugoslavia in Istria, Gorski Kotar and Zagorje were better maintained in comparison to other areas/counties in Croatia. With the exception of this area, some kind of memorial discontinuity has been identified in Croatia since the 1990s where an extreme right-wing ideology has been revitalised (Pavlaković and Perak, 2017);[220] Lebhaft (2013, 2016) describes this also in the *damnatio memoriae* context. However, this is not completely in line with the claims of Misztal (2003: 17) or Wolff (2006: 115) about intergenerational transfers of memory practices, or the claims of Halbwachs (1992) and Confino (1997), stating that heritage and traditions unify people; this shift in attitude to the memory of WWII and socialism is more of a consequence of the developing post-socialist democracy, heterogeneity, perhaps even stratification of society and awakened post-WWII frustrations. The practices of the abovementioned areas (Istria, Gorski Kotar and Zagorje) are closer to the Slovenian ones, where WWII-related heritage is much more preserved and in many cases included into the traditional dark commemorative events (commemorations).[221] Let us list some of the most interesting examples in Istria today, which attracted even the local media:

- the commemoration on the anniversary of the establishment of the first Istrian Partisan Unit (*Prva istarska partizanska četa*) in September is one of the traditional dark commemorative events in Veli Mlun near Buzet which attracts the general public, representatives of anti-fascist associations as well as the local and regional political establishment (Čalić Šverko, 2018a);
- the Victory in Europe Day in May is celebrated in many Istrian cities, e.g. Buzet, Pazin and Pula, where flower- and wreath-laying ceremonies at relevant WWII-related monuments are held. Representatives of the associations of the Homeland War also participate at the events (M. R., G. Č. Š., P. S., 2017). In Pula, which celebrates its public

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[220] More about WWII-related heritage and changed attitude towards it in the post Yugoslav states can be found in Đurić (n.d.), Putnik (2016) and Arnaud (2016).
[221] More can be found in Šuligoj (2017a).

holiday on 5 May as the day of liberation in WWII, a series of events are organised from 24 April to 10 May. People also celebrate the Day of Victory in Europe and the Day of Europe (Dan Grada Pule, 2018). Two additional Istrian cities, Poreč and Umag, celebrate their municipal public holiday as a remembrance of the liberation in WWII;

- Višnjan and in the Memorial Area of Tičanj near Štuti (see also map in Figure 6) host the traditional September commemoration of local character (Rimanić, 2017);

- the anniversary of the proclamation of the 'Istrian people' (*Istarski narode*) of the district National Liberation Committee of Istria, which announced the unification of Istria with the Croatian motherland on 13 September 1943 in Pazin. In addition, On 25 and 26 September, a session of the Istrian People's Representatives was held in Pazin, where the decision on the unification with Croatia was confirmed.[222] The celebration of 25 September as the Day of the Istrian County clearly shows the signification of these historic moments to the Istrian people. On this occasion, a solemn session of the Pazin Assembly with high-level political representatives and representatives of anti-fascist associations is held in addition to the flower- and wreath-laying ceremony – see Dagostin (2017) and Svečana sjednica (2016). Hence, a similar event is organised also by the Istria County;

- residents of Istrian Municipalities in Slovenia also remember events related to WWII and anti-fascism on their municipal public holidays.[223] On 15 October, the formation of the first 'Naval detachment Koper' in 1944 is remembered in Piran (Občina Piran praznuje, 2017), the citizens of Izola remember the mass departure of the locals to the partisan units in 1944 on 11 July (Občinski praznik Občine, 2018), while Koper remembers the rebellion in Marezige from 15 May 1921, which was one of the first anti-fascist rebellions in Europe (Mestna občina Koper, n.d.). Besides the memorial one, these events were also of a cultural and sports nature;[224] they are also interesting because they attract – apart from local politicians and anti-fascists – all generations of the population. Hence, 15 September marks the 'Day of Restoration of the Primorska Region to the Motherland' when Slovenians, and especial the residents of its Western part including the Slovenian Istria, remember the entry into force of the Treaty of Peace

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[222] More about that in Drndić (1991), who personally participated in these historic events.
[223] The only exception is the Municipality of Ankaran, which has not yet defined its municipal public holiday.
[224] In 2017, the municipal holiday in Koper was marked by the arrival of three cruisers bringing 3.450 tourists together (UR, 2017), although their motive for the visit was not the municipal holiday.

with Italy and the definition of the western border in 1947.[225] On this occasion, an official state ceremony in one of the municipalities in this part of Slovenia held each year;

- there are two commemorations that attract people from the whole region and beyond (Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy): the commemoration in Plovanija on 22 June – the Anti-Fascist Struggle Day (Ubili oko 200 ljudi, 2018) – and in Kučibreg in the beginning of October (Jelavić, 2017), both at the Slovenian-Croatian border. What marks these events (according to media reports) are participants from three different states, multiculturalism, anti-fascism (including symbols of the national liberation struggle and the image of Josip Broz Tito), and collective memory with many regionalist topics;

- there are two traditional religious events which attract people (also pilgrimages): anniversaries of the execution of the blessed Miroslav Burešić (Pavlović, 2017) and blessed Francesco Bonifacio (Barnaba, 2016). According to Pavlović (2017), more than 1.000 believers were present in Svetvinčenat in central Istria at the 70th anniversary of Bulešić's execution on 24 August. These religious events do not attract the media, since promotion and reporting were primarily carried out by religious organizations, e.g. the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula (http://www.biskupija-porecko-pulska.hr). From a promotional point of view, the exhibition of Francesco Bonifacio in the Church of St. Servul in Buje in September 2018 (Buje: Izložba, n.d.) was a bit different because the event was, in addition to the diocese's website, advertised in advertising space in the wide local environment.[226]

Those are some of the most recognisable dark commemorative events (commemorations) in Istria. There are also many others, which are of a distinct local, regional, scientific, or other nature. Thus a round table was organised in May 2018 on 5.000 Istrians who did not return from the Nazi concentration camps, entitled '*Kadi su finili? Dove sono finiti?*'

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[225] This public holiday is defined by the Public Holidays and Work-off Days in the Republic of Slovenia Act (Zakon o praznikih in dela prostih dnevih v Republiki Sloveniji (uradno prečiščeno besedilo), 2005). However, in the case of Istria, the Act does not rely on the relevant facts, since the Slovenian part of Istria was formally assigned to the Second Yugoslavia after solving the Trieste issue in October 1954. The introduction of the holiday and the related politicization can be seen as a response to the introduction of the *Il Giorno del ricordo* in Italy – see Verginella (2009a: 39).

[226] As usually in this part of Europe, stories of post-war killings and other related events are subject to different views and ratings: anti-fascist organisations try to explain the reasons why this happened and to justify it (Ravnić, 2013), while the other side condemns the bestial execution of the priest and lists its arguments (Horvatič, 2017). The disunity of the Croatian society on these issues is also evident in all reactions related to the work and final report of Croatia's Council for dealing with the consequences of undemocratic regimes (2018). Consequently, this heritage can be treated as dissonant heritage.

(Where did they end up?) (Okrugli stol, 2018). In addition, as an always desirable and topical theme in Istria, the *Sloboda narodu! Antifašizam u Istri − Libertà al popolo! L'antifascismo in Istria* (Freedom to the people! Anti-fascism in Istria) exhibition was open to the public from September 2015 to September 2018 in the Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria (Pula) (Izložba: Sloboda narodu!, n.d.); the opening ceremony of the traveling exhibition 'Ana Frank – history for the present' was held in January 2018 (Petrović, 2018b) in memory and reminder of the consequences of the holocaust. The additional interesting example is the flower- and wreath-laying ceremony at the monument to the Vargarola victims[227] next to the Pula Cathedral. Local and regional politics, representatives of the Italian Consulate, of the anti-fascist organisations, of the Italian community as well as representatives of Istrian emigrants (*esuli*) and the descendants of the victims participated in August 2018 (Polaganjem vijenaca, 2018), which, in the spirit of today's coexistence and cooperation, sets the commemoration over the past (ideological) conflicts. The holly mass was also a part of the commemoration, which is not customary in WWII-related dark commemorative events in Istria.[228]

It seems that some events in Istria are often (too) one-sided/one-dimensional, which also reflects the 'diseases' of today's society in general (e.g. egoism, lack of pluralism, 'politicisation of everything'), while in terms of international (dark) tourism, these characteristic have, (also) due to the lack of scientific proof, a questionable meaning and value. From this point of view, the most interesting are those examples that attract more people, not only those from local communities.

Residents of Istria are benevolent to the heritage of the anti-fascism and WWII, which is reflected by the aforementioned municipal holidays and other dark commemorative events. The most extreme example might be Tito's Days in Fažana (*Titovi dani u Fažani*) near Pula organized at the beginning of May each year by Association of Josip Broz Tito Fažana and the Municipality of Fažana.[229] The purpose of the event is to preserve the memory of Josip Broz Tito's achievements and personality, anti-fascism and anti-fascists, and the critique of the state power (especially when the right-wing parties are in power) (Tito's days, 2018; Palibrk, 2018). The participants of the dark commemorative event come from the entire cross-border region, and from Zagreb, Rijeka and Međimurje (Palibrk, 2018), which means that this event has, besides the cultural and memorial one, also a tourist dimension. If we put, like some scholars,

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[227] More can be found in sub-chapter '5.3.4. WWII, liberation and the Cold War in Istria'.
[228] During the post-WWII period, "church processions were replaced by state commemorations" (Luthar, 2000: 98); see also Pavlaković (2016).
[229] The Brijuni Islands and Josip Broz Tito, as the statesman and president of Yugoslavia, are also mentioned in the main tourist brochure of Fažana (Načinović, n.d.).

e.g. Varadinova Mileva (2018), or Ivanov (2009), the heritage of communism in the dark tourism context, then Tito's Days in Fažana can simply be understood as a 'dark event'. From the ideological point of view, a completely diametrically opposed example is that of the *Civic Museum of Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Civilization* established in 2015 in Trieste (*Trieste Musei*, n.d.) – see also Altin and Badurina (2017: 318). Hence, after the institutionalisation of the 'National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe' (*Il Giorno del ricordo*) (Altin and Badurina, 2017: 318; Orlić, 2012, 2015; Legge 30 marzo, 2004*)*, Italian schools organise study tours to memorial places in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, where the traditional places of memories of WWII and irredentism are located (D'Alessio, 2012b: 62).[230] A similar practice was identified also in Istria, although this triggers many polemics in the society/media – see for example Černjul (n.d.). 'La voce del popolo (Virginia Raggi, 2018) reports that Virginia Raggi, the Mayoress of Rome, visited with a group of students and their professors some dark commemorative (tourism) sites in Friuli Venezia Giulia region and Istria as part of the 'Memory – the Drama of the Italian Eastern Border between Foibe and Exodus' project (*Memoria - Il dramma del confine orientale italiano tra foibe e esodo*). Hence, as part of the 'journey of remembrance and reconciliation' to Istria, Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian migrants from Italy, representatives of the Italian minority in Slovenia, some municipal councillors and the vicar of the Koper Bishop, performed a brief commemoration at the monument from Figure 8. The journey also included visits of selected monuments to victims of the fascist violence (Začetek komemoracij, 2012). Hence, in October 2018, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the beatification of Francesco Bonifacio, the one day pilgrimage of believers from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Trieste to Istria – Grožnjan, Krasica and Strunjan – was organised (Pellegrinaggio diocesano, 2018); the area where Bl. Bonifacio was born, lived, worked as a priest and was mysteriously liquidated. All these journeys have all the characteristics of contemporary dark tourism activities. However, similar, if not the same, but not polemic activities are carried out by Istrian anti-fascists in cooperation with local elementary and secondary schools, i.e. pupils of the Buzet schools traditionally visit Pazin and some of the villages burned in the WWII, as well as the birthplace of Josip Broz Tito, Franjo Tuđman, the Memorial of the revolt of peasants and Matija Gubec. This way they familiarize with some important historical figures, events and sites for the Croatian people (Čalić Šverko, 2018c).

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[230] The date coincides with the date of signature of the Paris Peace Agreement (1947), which presents a provocative message of disagreement with the diplomatic solution of post-war borders in the Upper Adriatic (Altin and Badurina, 2017: 324). Hence, only Italian victims are officially commemorated on the occasion of Remembrance Day, while the Slavic and other victims of the fascistic terror are not (D'Alessio, 2012a).

Some dissonant dark sites, such as the *foibe,* are so characteristic for Istria,[231] although the records are not uniform due to the influence of various extremist political movements, and the covering of different periods, e.g. the map of the extremist *Lega Nazionale* (Le Foibe in Istria, n.d.) is not coherent with the map used by Garibaldi (2018).[232] On the other hand, the official register and map of graves of post-war casualties in Slovenia, managed by the Military Cemeteries Administration within the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, shows that there are no such sites in the Slovenian part of Istria (Ferenc, 2009).[233] Regardless of this fact, a monument was constructed at the Koper cemetery (see Figure 8),[234] where commemorations and other visits are occasionally organised. However, the *foibe* and the exodus are elements of the divided memory,[235] which foster ideological and political confrontations in the Upper Adriatic (Cattunar, 2012; D'Alessio, 2012a, 2012b; Klabjan, 2010: 401; Miklavcic, 2008; Orlić, 2012). This means that a massive expansion of such dark commemorative events and dark tourism in Istria could not be socially accepted.[236] This way they are also resisting to the Italian as well as the European distortion of memory, where societies move from winners' history to victims' history principles (Judt, 2006; Orlić, 2012: 14–15). However, the damnation (*damnatio memoriae*) of dissonant heritage of the Upper Adriatic is not subject to complete amnesia, indifference or prohibition, but only to verbal social conflicts, which (occasionally) arise in the public.

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[231] They can be found also in some other parts of Western Slovenia.

[232] In the absence of official data on the field approach and record keeping method, there are reasonable doubts about the credibility of records and maps, although no one denies their existence today.

[233] More about the sites of post-war mass killings and excavations of causalities in Slovenia can be found in Ferenc (2012).

[234] The monument was constructed in accordance with the Concealed War Graves and Burial of Victims Act (*Zakon o prikritih*, 2015) and the War Grave Sites Act (*Zakon o vojnih grobiščih 2003, 2009, 2017*).

[235] Term 'dissonant heritage' can also be used.

[236] Italian post-war emigrants with different collective memory and memorials located mainly in eastern Italy – see Pontiggia (2009), Violante (2009) or D'Alessio (2012; 2012a) – thus systematically preserve and transfer memory between generations. Many contemporary Trieste's institutions, i.e. the Regional Institute for Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Culture (*Istituto Regionale per la Cultura Istriana, Fiumana e Dalmata,* n.d.), the Civic museum of Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian civilization (*Civico Museo della Civiltà Istriana, Fiumana e Dalmata,* n.d.), Warehouse No. 18 of the Old Port of Trieste (*Magazzino 18 del Porto Vecchio di Trieste*), where many items of Italian migrants are still stored today, assist in these processes.

Figure 8: The monument to the victims of post-war killings at the Koper cemetery

6.4. Other contemporary memorial practices and dark tourism

It would be wrong today to rely only on the heritage of WWII and neglect the military/warfare heritage of other periods of the 20th century. In this sense, the memory of WWI was/is not only a matter of (Kingdom of) Italy, as written in one of the previous sub-chapters, but also nations/states (which gained independence from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) and communities in today's Istria. The naval cemetery (*K.u.k Marinefriedhof*; see Figure 9) in Pula, one of the biggest European military cemeteries, where over 100.000 people are buried – not only of the Austro-Hungarian army, but also Italian, German soldiers, and partisans, can be interesting for the international visitors;[237] the victims of the sunken ships – *Baron Gautsch*, *Szent Istvan* and *SMS Viribus Unitis* – are also buried herež. Underwater locations of these ships are popular diving points today. The cemetery is included in the list of monuments under the protection of The Hague Convention. Wreaths, flowers and candles by the individual monuments or graves indicate that casual minor commemorations are held here during the year.

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[237] More can be found in Mornaričko groblje (n.d.).

Under the hill in the city centre, there is an underground tunnel network known as the *Zerostrasse*. Underground tunnels were (partly) constructed just before WWI to provide a shelter for people in case of air attacks and then expanded under the Italian administration. Today they present an interesting military/warfare heritage attraction for tourists as well as a shelter for the entire population of Pula (Underground tunnels, 2015; Milaković and Pocedić, 2015). The central location helps with greater visibility and turnout of this dark tourism site.

Figure 9: *K.u.k Marinefriedhof* in Pula (in 2018)

Rabl's (1907) tourist guide mentions 28 fortifications that protected Pula[238], which, according to the author, more or less spoiled the view. After more than 100 years, the situation in the city is still similar. The City of Pula is dealing with the problem of rehabilitation/renovation, and presentation and management of this specific historical (military) heritage. Meanwhile, this precious military heritage is deteriorating and is not fully exploited for tourism purposes – except for some examples like the *Fort Musil* or the *Zerostrasse*

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[238] More about fortifications and their construction can be found in Benussi (1923) and Perović (2006).

underground tunnels. In fact, investments in only these two examples of Pula's heritage are included in the *Master Plan of Tourism of the Istria County 2015 – 2025* (Horwath HTL, n.d.). The opposite example are the Brijuni Islands, which were recommended already by Rabl (1907: 240) (because of *Fort Tegetthoff* on *Veli Brijun*), yet today mainly visited because of the heritage of the former Yugoslav president Tito. Other heritage related to the suffering of the Istrian people, i.e. the exodus of Slavic people after WWI or Italians after WWII, both also having a cultural dimension (Purini, 2012: 420), is not valorised from the tourism point of view, despite its presence in collective memory (as mentioned before, occasional visits and events are organised). The same applies to military heritage arising from the military administration during the Free Territory of Trieste (1947–1954).

Milestone anniversaries offer an interesting opportunity to enrich the supply of tourism products. On the 100th anniversary of WWI in 2014, thirty cultural, artistic, scientific and educational programs were offered to visitors as part of the *Puna je Pula* project (Pula is full of).[239] One of the first was the exhibition of Austro-Hungarian steamer 'Baron Gautsch' which sank between Pula and Rovinj just before the beginning of the war in 1914 (Otvaranje izložbe, 2014). The 'The First World War in the Adriatic' (*Prvi svjetski rat na Jadranu*) touring exhibition was opened in Brtonigla on the North of the County, as an alternative to the thematic exhibition at Gallerion in Novigrad. The specialty of Novigrad's exhibition was in its dispersion, meaning that in addition to Gallerion, parts of the exhibition were set up in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel and in the building of the Italian community (U Gallerionu otvorena izložba, 2014; Prvi svjetski rat, n.d.). In addition, the *Posljednji car u Istri – L'ultimo imperatore in Istria* (The last emperor in Istria) exhibition was opened in Gračišće in April 2018 in memory of the visit of the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor Karl I (Izložba Posljednji car, 2018); similar exhibition as well as scientific event (*5. Motovunski kolokvij*) took place in Motovun in November 2018 (Međunarodni znanstveni skup, 2018; Rimanić, 2018b).[240] The centennial of WWI's armistice was in Pula marked by commemoration at the naval cemetery, wreath laying ceremony, museum exhibition, memorial art installation and mass as well as thematic international conference (M. V. I., 2018). Although some of the aforementioned studies have shown that WWI is not an interesting topic in Croatia (see Herman Kaurić (2015a, 2015b) and Hrstić (2016: 59)), including Istria, the milestone

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[239] More about the program can be found on the website of *Grad Pula* (Obilježavanje stogodišnjice, n.d.).
[240] The event was promoted also by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula (Izložba fotografija, 2018).

anniversaries show that this military conflict is still alive in some groups in Istria, and thus presented to the visitors interested in the dark past.

As already described in previous chapters, the military conflict in the 1990s was less intense and bloody in Istria in comparison to other Balkan battlefields (geographically speaking). Consequently, there are less monuments and memorial parks, as well as dark commemorative events organised in the trans-border region today. Croatian war veterans from Istria, who were not and are not prosecuted for their role and acts in the war at all, organize commemorations on national public holidays or on rare other special occasions: National Day in June, Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders in August, and Independence Day in October. On these occasions, flower- and wreath-laying ceremonies at Homeland War-related monuments in Istrian cities are carried out; the biggest (civil) veterans parade in Croatia is also organised each August in Pula (Dan pobjede, 2018). In this context, a special feature in Croatian cities are ceremonies at the crosses in cemeteries, which is not practiced in the Slovenian part of Istria.

There are fewer dark commemorative events in the Slovenian Istria. One of them was the opening of a memorial at Bivje near Koper on 29 June 2016 as a remembrance of the police clash with the YPA (Benevol, 2016). Veterans of the Slovenian war of independence often attend dark commemorative events of WWII veterans and vice versa. Slovenians in general attribute great importance to the Sovereignty Day on 25 October, which commemorates the withdrawal of the last YPA soldier from the territory of Slovenia; the residents of Pula/Istrian County remember a similar historic event on 16 December (Svečano obilježena, 2016). Although in Slovenia this happened in Koper, the state celebration does not take place right there every year.

In 2007 a memorial called 'the Arch of Independence' was unveiled in Koper. Interestingly, it was pointed out at the event that the monument is dedicated to all anti-fascists and fighters for freedom and independence (Obletnica odhoda, 2007). This is another clear sign that the connection between the values of WWII/anti-fascism and of the War of Independence in Slovenia[241] is more evident than in Croatia. On the other hand, the empathetic attitude toward places of crime in the areas of the former federation is more explicit in the Croatian part of Istria. In Umag (U Umagu, 2017) and in Pula (Mimohodom sjećanja, 2018), for example, they symbolically remembered the victims of Vukovar and Škabrnja in November 2017; the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula was also involved in the program of the

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[241] More examples can be found on the web-page of Association of Slovenian officers (http://www.zsc.si/location/koper/).

commemoration (I u Puli, n.d.), which is not a common practice in Slovenia at all. Moreover, the people of Istria express a certain degree of empathy to the victims of Srebrenica as well, e.g. in Buzet (Čalić Šverko, 2018b) or in Pula (Mimohodom sjećanja, 2017). Preservation of memory and compassion are therefore important elements of Istrian memorial practices, including cases of tragic (military) events and victims outside the region. Such memory practices, however, are not characteristic of the Slovenian part of Istria.

Before the conclusion, it is necessary to highlight some examples of Istrian tourism that do not completely support the idea of demilitarisation.[242] The Port of Koper often hosts foreign military ships, which attract curious visitors and media. The media reported on the visit of Italian navy sailing ship 'Palinuro' in July 2017, which was open to the public (V Koper, 2017), on the British military ship Enterprise in August 2017 and the great interest of domestic and foreign visitors (Veliko zanimanja, 2017), and on the US aircraft carrier USS Harry S. Truman in 2003, when panoramic boat tours were organized (USS Harry, 2003). Similarly, media reported on the American war movie 'Kelly's Heroes' filmed in Vižinada (1970) and related international memorial event occurred right there after 48 years (Rimanić, 2018), on similar international historical-music manifestation related to WWII in Medulin (Softić, 2018) and on the re-construction of the Allied landing operation in Istria (ARMPIT) at the end of WWII and the related international memorial weekend event in Šišan (Strahinja, 2019) . These events do not have a distinct memorial dimension, although the presence of Italian and Anglo-American armed forces in the Upper Adriatic remained in the memory of the Istrians. Additional interesting examples are the gladiatorial combats at the Pula Arena named *Spectacula Antiqua*, which also includes scenes of cruel fighting and violence. The revival of antique spectacles is welcome from a tourism and heritage point of view, although it seems like no one is questioning the appropriateness of these performances for children (especially if (expert) interpretations are insufficient or even absent).[243] Very informative, but also controversial, can be tourist visits to the once-guarded YPA complex Šišan near Pula, including the secret underground parts of the hill *Monte Madonna* (Strahinja, 2018). As part of the tourist services of the extreme south of the peninsula, there is also an option for transport by a YPA truck from Premantura to Rt Kamenjak – see Figure 10.

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[242] If we take into consideration the claims of the abovementioned McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010) on memorial days/heritage and militarisation of the history and culture.

[243] Overcommercialization and spectacularization of violence and death can often be a negative consequence of dark tourism – see Simone-Charteris et. al. (2018).

Figure 10: Military truck for transport of tourists

All the above mentioned examples are, besides the many possibilities for underwater visits to sunken military ships, representative examples of dark tourism as well as dissonant heritage. These examples of supply are adapted to the modern tourist and thus comply with the principles of thematic tourism, while at the same time coming into conflict with the ideas of demilitarisation, non-violence and similar. These findings support Urošević's (2013: 93) claims that Pula still does not have a defined image of a former military and port city, or possibilities offered by this heritage. One of the basic problems is thus the lack of consistency with the basic developmental orientations of the economy and society of Istria.

6.5. Discussion and chapter conclusion

Totalitarian as well as democratic authorities significantly influenced the memorial practice of the 20th century in Istria. The Austro-Hungarian administration, which mostly contributed to the military character of the city, constructed statues to expose the heroism of its armed forces.

Moreover, a clear memorial purpose can be ascribed to the Maritime Museum for its exhibitions dedicated to the greatest successes of the monarchy's navy. All this heritage as well as Slavic cultural tradition were subject to complete *damnatio memoriae* in the post-WWI fascist Italy; Italian patriotism and heroism were massively celebrated and commemorated – see Klabjan (2010), Todero (2010) and Kavrečič (2017); many events were of a religious nature. Anti-fascist and anti-capitalist non-democratic Yugoslav authority used similar principles, although it was not completely hostile towards the Italian presence in Istria. However, the victims of the *foibe* and the socialist revolution[244] were systematically denied in this period – a new example of *damnatio memoriae*. Istrian veterans of WWII and the conflict in the 1990s try to preserve the memory without social division (e.g. some events are organized jointly), but this does not work perfectly, because WWII-related heritage is nowadays perceived as a dissonant heritage in the post-Yugoslav states.[245] Nonetheless, memorial practices in Istria are significantly different from those in the rest of Croatia; the difference (if any) in the Slovenian case is not so obvious. It should also not be overlooked that a non-selective consideration of the 'Resolution on the importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe' (2019) is of paramount importance.

After both world wars and after all totalitarian regimes, events, heroes and victims of the conflict in the 1990s are commemorated in Istria (as part of democratic Slovenia and Croatia). The Croatian part understandably (according to identified examples of memorial practices) shows more compassion also to the victims of the other scaffolds in the wider region. The religious (Catholic) component of dark commemorative events is especially present in the Croatian part, which is in line with the claims of Seaton (2009) or Kang et al. (2012) on the influence of history and the European culture, including Christianity, on dark tourism.[246] Events on the Slovenian side are, generally speaking, more secular.

If we take into account the claims in the sub-chapter '3.1. Memory concept' – see Halbwachs (1992), Hirsch (2008), and Stone (2012) – historical facts and the time distance of the conflicts of the 20th century enable a mixture of memories and an attitude to the past in the contemporary Istria. However, due to the time distance, 'first-generation memory' or 'autobiographical memory' linked to WWI and the first years of Italian fascism is not present in Istria anymore. With the passing away of anti-fascists and WWII-war veterans, 'first-generation memory' or 'autobiographical memory' linked to WWII and the first years of the

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[244] The term was used by one of the communist/socialist leaders Edvard Kardelj (1980).
[245] More can be found in Kisić (2016), and Šešić Dragićević and Mijatović Rogač (2014).
[246] In fact, abovementioned authors identified these influences in wider cultural context.

Second Yugoslavia is slowly, but inevitably disappearing as well. On the other hand, 'second generation memory', 'third-generation memory' or 'historical memory', 'history' and 'collective memory' related to WWI and WWII are fully present in the contemporary Istrian society. A completely different example is that of the war in the 1990s. The carriers of memory, former soldiers and other participants are still alive ('first-generation memory'/'autobiographical memory'). In this special context, 'third-generation memory' or 'history' do not make any sense. The Independence or Homeland War, which especially marks today's Croatian society, is well introduced into the Istrian collective memory. However, the frequency and programmes of dark commemorative events are, for rational reasons, not at the same level as in the rest of Croatia, where the consequences of the war are still visible.

Past and present events and monuments identified in this chapter can be typified according to the typification presented in the sub-chapter '2.2. Dark tourism typology'. In accordance with the typology of Fonseca et al. (2016), the above mentioned events and monuments are classified into the group of 'war tourism including battlefield tourism', which can include most of the examples listed in previous sub-chapters. Visiting sites of post-war extra-judicial executions can be (very conditionally and one-sidedly) classified as 'holocaust tourism', although, in fact, the scale and inhumanity do not reach the level of the Nazi concentration camps, where the largest part of the holocaust occurred. Purini (2010: 223–224) claims that post-WWII events in the region are treated by the pro-Italian propaganda as a 'national genocide' or 'Julian holocaust'. A similar classification can be made according to the typification by Kužnik (2015: 331–332), and Kužnik and Veble (2017: 147–148). What is also interesting is their 'communism tourism', where all tourist visits linked to WWII-related heritage in the post-socialist/communist Istria could be included, e.g. the heritage of the national liberation struggle (e.g. commemorations at the monuments in Rovinj, Plovanija or Kučibreg) and the socialist revolution (e.g. visiting events related to the post-WWII execution of priests).

In addition to Kendle (2008), who implemented 'grief tourism' which includes visiting sites related to war, Seaton (1996) similarly developed activities related to travelling to sites of individual or mass deaths or memorials or internment sites. The types that are very relevant for this research are Stone's (2006) 'seven dark suppliers', also including 'dark exhibition', and 'dark conflict sites' associated with war, strong political ideology and historical centrism. Exhibitions related to the 100th anniversary of WWI or to the work of Catholic priest Bonifacio executed in the aftermath of WWII are interesting examples of dark exhibitions. 'Dark conflict sites' can include many WWII-related memorial monuments/plaques, which are constructed

on the spot of the military conflict, e.g. in Kučibreg or in Plovanija. The author (Stone) also defines the 'dark camps of genocides', which can conditionally be used in the case of the *foibe* and the forced post-WWII exodus (as highlighted before in relation to the typification by Fonseca et al. (2016)). The public opinion on this matter is strongly divided in the multicultural Upper Adriatic, which also refers to today's Istrian dissonant heritage that was subject to *damnatio memoriae* in the period of the Second Yugoslavia − the crimes were systematically pushed into silence, but not forgotten. Completely different, positive and benevolent, is the attitude toward the memory of the Independence War (Homeland War in Croatia), which is specific from several aspects:

- the absence of major military clashes in Istria in 1990s, which means that the Istrians fought mainly on other battlefields and the Istrian infrastructure remained un-devastated;

- participants from Istria fought on the same side regardless of their nationality or belief;

- short time distance (participants are still alive);

- Istrians were not and are not involved into legal proceedings due to their role and acts in the war.

Generally speaking, historical events of the 20th century were and still are well present in the collective memory of the Istrian people, although they are sometimes marked by 'collective silence', but not by amnesia.[247] Hence, the cohabitation of different cultures and belief systems influence memorial practices organised by different communities or social groups in Istria. In this context, Istrian memorial practices are different from the practices in the rest of Croatia. In fact, based on the available sources, the tourist component of visits and events is not particularly evident at all, which means that they may also have other purposes and thus may be intended for the local population. In this context, it is correct to rely on the 'seven dark suppliers' of Stone (2006), both in terms of terminology and in professional terms. Moreover, it was not specifically observed which part of the population is active in this regard. This is particularly relevant from the perspective of the intergenerational memory transfer − see sub-chapter '3.2. Memory and history'.

A clear orientation toward war-related tourism in the Istrian context, as defined in sub-chapter '2.4. Warfare tourism', was described within this chapter, where special emphasis was put on Stone's 'sites of death and suffering' (see Figure 2). In addition, Istrian memorial and

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[247] Coexistence of these phenomena in general is well described by Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger (2010). WWI-related dark commemorative events in Istria are evidently performed only on milestone anniversaries, which, nevertheless, shows that they have not completely sunk into oblivion.

dark tourism practices include components of the 'death system' (see Table 2). As can be concluded based on some media reports, official publications of municipalities or religious organizations, the events are intended for the general public, including war veterans and their relatives. Objects, places and times are history-centric and thus based on real times and places of conflicts, where commemorations are mostly organised today. In addition, symbols of relevant ideologies were/are present at events as well, e.g. fasces in the post-WWI period, the (red) star and the image of Josip Broz Tito in the post-WWII period or the contemporary Slovenian/Croatian coat of arms, or the Catholic cross at religious events. The terminology/language is, or was, also adapted to these circumstances, e.g. Mussolini's words in Pula in 1920 – see Pirjevec (2015: 381) – are completely unacceptable from today's perspective (extreme hate speech). Dark commemorative events are evidently subject to political influences and constant change, and thus always interesting for scientific investigation.

According to all conclusions listed in this sub-chapter, it is necessary to obtain answers to the following research questions related to the contemporary memorial practices in Istria:

RQ1: *Who are the actual visitors of various dark commemorative events?*

In the context of intergenerational memory transfer, the main indicators here are the age (generation) and number of visitors (massiveness).

RQ2: *To what extent is the (warfare) tourist essence present at dark commemorative events?*

Relevant indicators of the (warfare) tourist aspect for this thesis are: internationality, local visitors, memory of the victims as the key reason for the visit, tourism infrastructure.

RQ3: *To what extent are ideological/political elements present at dark commemorative events? Can the characteristic Istrian convivenza also be seen at dark commemorative events?*

Relevant indicators of ideological/political elements for this thesis are: highlighting ideological topics, regionalism, *convivenza* and symbols.

In the available references, these aspects were not yet investigated with a serious scientific approach.

7. METHODOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION

The main purposes of this chapter is to define main methodological orientations starting with research philosophies and approaches. Since this doctoral thesis is not of a methodological nature – the objectives are not aimed at the development of new research methods or techniques – the description of the general research framework follows the principles of theoretical simplicity (Baker, 2016) or theoretical parsimony (Aarts, 2007).[248]

7.1. Research philosophies and approaches

Through a theoretical analysis of memory and dark tourism as well as historical background of the contemporary Istrian society, this thesis creates original conceptual frameworks as the basis for subsequent empirical examinations, which all together ensure a partly inductive and partly deductive research philosophical orientation, which is in line with the claims of Kiser and Hechter (1998: 794) – see also Figure 11. The focus on a specific historical period (20th century), geographical place (Istrian peninsula) and local culture (Istrian multiculturalism) clearly demonstrates the presence of elements of historicism, especially 'Hegelian historicism' (human society/activities are defined by their history) and 'new historicism' (cultural and social contextualisation).[249] Historicism itself is not included in the outer onion's layer (Figure 11), although it belongs right there.[250]

Interpretive practices of human actions and words always depend on many factors, i.e. beliefs, values, practices, background or context of other meanings, and similar (Schwandt, 2000: 201); research methods, such as participant and non-participant observation, are an appropriate manner of data collection in such cases (Balarabe Kura, 2012: 6). In terms of interpretation in tourism research, ontological reflections are of particular significance, because tourism, in its essence, constitutes interactions between individuals and places (Hollinshead, 2004). Due to this complex relationships and circumstances, Ley (1988) also advocates the epistemological and ontological approach. Consequently, in order to understand the manifestations of this complexity related to memory and dark tourism (sites),

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[248] Parsimony is increasingly gaining importance as a methodological criterion, due to advantages it offers: economy and efficiency (Aarts, 2007: 2).

[249] More can be found in Iggers (1995).

[250] Many other philosophies, approaches, strategies choices, time horizons, techniques and procedures listed below should be also placed into the research onion, which demonstrate the phases that must be covered when developing a research; ontology, epistemology and axiology as important research directions should be also added, although perhaps on the outside of the onion.

this thesis adopted a constructionist epistemology and ontology. In addition, the interpretation of the meaning of results also dependents on the researcher's/reader's own personal perceptions and understandings, which means that post-structuralist and subjectivist characteristics of this thesis cannot be (completely) ignored; post-structuralism is suggested by Kansteiner (2002: 188) for memory-oriented research.
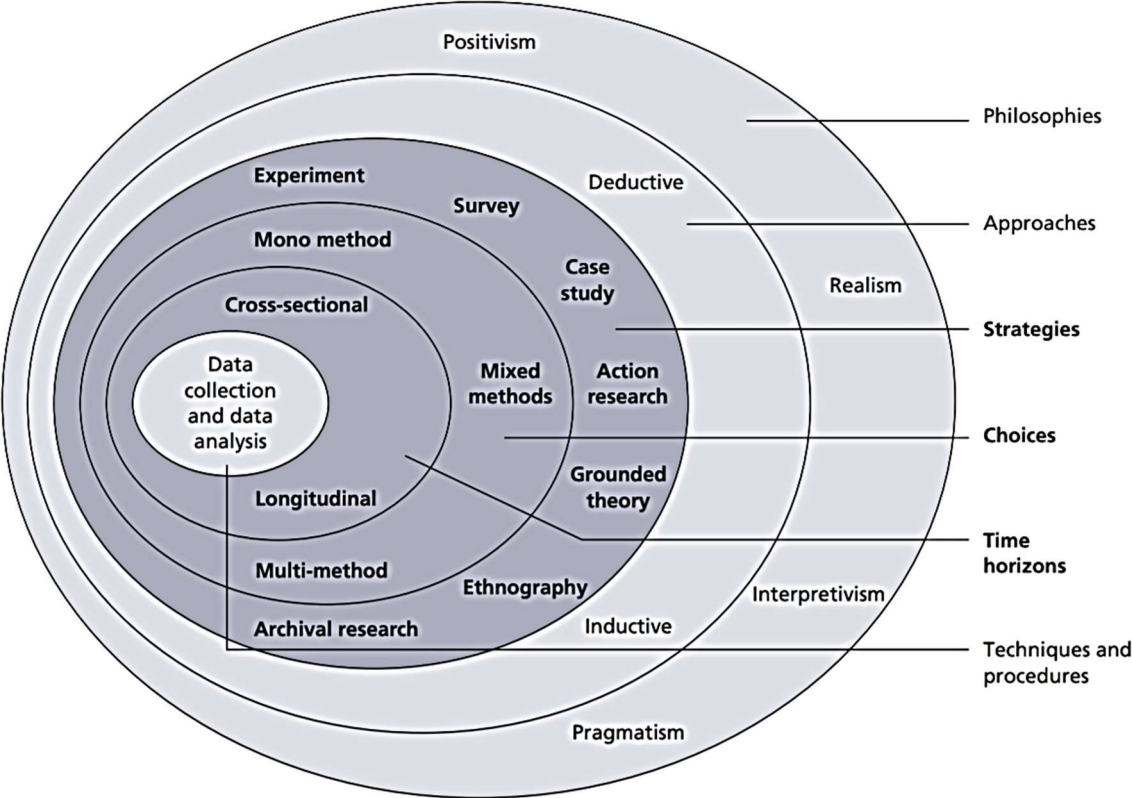
Figure 11: The research 'onion' (Source: Saunders et al., 2009: 138)

In contrast to the qualitative one, the quantitative approach with its questionnaire surveys is frequently viewed as an objectivist, methodological and rational approach in social sciences, where knowledge is factual and objective; the reasoning is based on a set of quantified facts and practices known as positivism – see Balarabe Kure (2012: 4–6) and Babones (2016). From this aspect, positivism is marked with internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity, and, according to Kiser and Hechter (1998: 790), it is not in line with causality. These orientations are encountered in the quantitative part of the doctoral thesis, which is oriented toward theoretical and empirical analyses and the interpretation of both memory

practices and dark tourism (sites) in a specific Istrian context. From the point of view of axiology, this part should be less sensitive to the influences of the researchers' philosophical views.

7.2. Historical-sociological research framework

According to Calhoun (1996: 307–308), the abovementioned research philosophies and approaches listed are characteristic also for historical sociology, which supports multi-theoretical and multi-paradigmatic research with a high degree of methodological plurality (*Historical Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague*, n.d.) with necessarily porous borders (Hobson et al., 2010). Bonnell (1980: 157, 161, 164–165) claims that theories and concepts formulated and applied to historical problems form the methodological foundations of historical-sociological research. Moreover, the interaction of theories/concepts with historical evidence and comparisons, shape this branch of sociology. Comparisons of the equivalent units and a theory/concept are, according to the author, 'illustrative', while comparisons between equivalent units in order to identify regularities that might provide explanatory generalizations are 'analytical';[251] Bryman (2012: 71), according to Yin, uses the term analytic generalization in this context. The illustrative type is used in the qualitative part of this thesis, and the latter one in the in the quantitative one.[252]

As one of the prominent scholars in the history of sociology, Sorokin advocated sociological comparative, historical, and statistical analyses of culture (Jeffries, 2005: 67, 68; Simpson, 1953). Similarly, Bonnell (1980: 164, 172–173), inspired by Wallerstein, highlighted the significance of analogy in historical sociology, where, however, the past is extrapolated from the present.[253] She also claims that modern sociological research involves both a conventional historical investigation and a general sociological analysis, which have a favourable impact on the development of historical sociology. To have an additional positive impact is the introduction of abstract scope conditions, which make the features of historical

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[251] The analytical type was used by historical sociologists such as Moore, Tilly and Bendix, while the illustrative one was applied by Wallerstein and, to some extent, by Tilly (Bonnell, 1980: 171). Comparisons of the selected units and a theory/concept are necessary because of sparse and fragmentary data in historical research (Kiser and Hechter, 1998: 808), otherwise characteristic for the analytical type.

[252] Both types were used, for example, by Tilly, Tilly and Tilly (2002).

[253] This is completely in line with the claims of Halbwachs that remembrance is to a great extent a reconstruction of the past based on the data from the present as well as a reconstruction of the earlier periods, reconstructed already in the past (Bellah et al., 2000).

cases more explicit, general and testable; the application of arguments of one place and time to others (generalizability of explanations) becomes possible as well.[254] This way, the linking of the past with the present and future becomes much easier.[255] "This is the most important contribution that historical sociology can make to the discipline as a whole" (Kiser and Hechter, 1998: 797). Mahoney (2000: 538) supports this idea, when commenting on the correct use of conceptual and methodological tools (path dependence approach) by historical sociologists. The 'path dependency theory' supports generalizability, repeatability of situations and rational behaviour of the actors involved. These lead to structural determinism of social sciences, which, however, seem to be left behind in historical sociology (Knöbl, 2013: 25; Mahoney, 2000).[256] However, historical sociologist are familiar with the studying of 'path-dependent sequences' (self-reinforcing or reactive) because they can focus on "particular outcomes, temporal sequencing, and the unfolding of processes over long periods of time" (Mahoney, 2000: 508–509). Hence, four different concepts of time have been used in recent historical social science (Aminzade, 1992):[257]

- duration: amount of time elapsed for the given event or sequence of events;
- pace: number of events in the given amount of time;
- trajectory: typical sequence of certain historical process – cause(s) and consequence(s);
- cycles: interval between two recurrences of the same phenomenon.

Relying on these concepts allows scholars to analyse the temporal characteristics of connected (past) events in the long-term historical perspective, which was already used in the theoretical part of this doctoral thesis. Temporal sequencing allows to understand the way in which actors understand/experience the temporal flow of events, which helps to understand social actors and the problematic reconstruction of the past (Aminzade, 1992).[258] On the other hand, historical sociology, which does not problematize temporal processes or the specificities of time and place, can consequently be ahistorical (Calhoun, 1996: 310; Olick and Robbins, 1998: 134). Using a causal explanation in historical sociology is thus a completely acceptable, if not even mandatory, approach.[259] This direction was already considered in the theoretical

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[254] The mainstream comparative-historical sociologists try to locate points in time with generalizable variables and attempt to avoid to define outcomes/results as indeterminate occurrences (Mahoney, 2000: 537).
[255] Mahoney (2000: 510) discusses this in a path-dependent context.
[256] For additional explanations, see also Kiser and Hechter (1998) or Mahoney (2000).
[257] Other conceptual options can be found in Šubrt and Cassling (2001).
[258] More on time in social sciences can be found in Šubrt and Cassling (2001).
[259] More can be found in Kiser and Hechter (1998).

part, where the (socio-political/socio-economic) dynamics of the 20th century in Istria are presented.

Quantitative methodology, in contrast, is more appropriate for studying modern social processes, but it can also be adapted for the study of the past in the context of historical sociology – see Šubrt (2012: 413). Thus, qualitative and quantitative approaches can be creatively combined. This way, the consequences over a longer period of time or/and connections with sociological theories can be explored. Generalization of findings is actually not impossible; everything depends on the research problem, the concepts, the theory, and the hypothesis. Consequently, there are two directions in historical sociology related to generalization as the main preoccupation in social sciences (Bonnell, 1980: 158, 161):

- less frequent strict, strenuous and exacting empirical tests used, for example, by Tilly and Moore, with an important impact on sociological knowledge or
- more 'popular' comprehensive explanations for historical patterns and structures that are inductive, deductive, or some combination of the two and with and various/limited options for generalization.

These directions are also generally in line with the triangle shown in Figure 12, where their relation to the theory is also clear. It is evident, in fact, that we have three directions/aspect/angles of historical sociology which individual scholars are prone to; the scholars in the middle triangle are prone to all three angles, although not always evenly. This also shows that historical sociologist want to combine conceptual explanation, analytic generalization and empirical research (Smith, 2011: 13, 284–287). Calhoun (1996) believes that since 1980, much has changed in researching within historical sociology. In the past, the focus was on the comparative method that led to more substantive and thematic issues being neglected. Therefore, the newest assumption is that there are no strict research 'recipes' for historical sociology (Bonnell, 1980: 171–173; Calhoun, 1996: 309–314; Skocpol, 1984: 360, 361; Šubrt, 2012).[260] Accordingly, these methodological extensions enable a more systematic/profound approach, which is indeed even more important when research topics are focused on socially more challenging topics, such as collective memory and dark tourism. In this context, Roediger and Wertsch (2008) claim that rigorous quantitative and qualitative methods are applicable to collective memory studies. In addition to traditional historiographical and other post-structural approaches, historian Kansteiner (2002) thus

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[260] Author also lists authors, such as Weber or Ragin and Zaret, who favour different research approaches (qualitative and quantitative), although there is no unified opinion on this in historical sociology. Many critiques/scruples on methodological approaches/methods in historical sociology are identified and described in Kiser and Hechter (1998).

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suggest the employment of methods of communication and media studies in particular, with which Bosch (2016: 5–6) also agrees.[261] Moreover, according to many cited authors, Bosch (2016) (see also Benčić (2016: 12)) provides a wide range of methods for memory studies, i.e. studying primary historical and archival sources, oral histories, case studies, interviews and surveys.

In this respect, dark tourism studies do not significantly differ from (collective) memory studies. Light (2017: 292) made a review of the research methods adopted over the 1996 – 2016 period, and found that the most common research approach involves qualitative methods, including authors' observations, and to a lesser extent quantitative (positivist) ones with questionnaire surveys with large samples; mixed quantitative and qualitative methods were also used by dark tourism scholars, although not very often. The author also established the growing importance of a range of web sources, including attraction websites, discussion fora, and travel blogs, as well as the occasional use of written sources, including fiction, travel writing, guidebooks, and visitor comment books, which all can provide an interesting insight into the motivations and experiences of visitors. Web sources can thus also be interesting for the investigation of memorial and dark tourism practices in Istria.

Based on this compilation, we can determine that memory and dark tourism studies are methodologically compatible research fields, which can be combined in order to reach new insights. A number of methodological approaches are available to the scholars of the social sciences, where, according to the purpose and objectives of each research, various web sources can be used as well. In this context, historical sociology with its already mentioned multi-theoretical/multi-paradigmatic orientation, methodological plurality and porous borders offers an ideal research framework, where it is necessary to pay attention merely to the historical perspective of the research problem. A considerable part of this perspective was already presented in the previous chapters.

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[261] An interesting example of such mixed approach related to Jasenovac is the research of Pavlaković and Perak (2017); media, politics and memory in Croatia are also analysed by Mustapić and Balabanić (2018) in an interesting manner.

Figure 12: Researching, generalisation and theory (Source: Smith, 2011: 285)

7.3. Research design and methods

Research design is a plan or a program of actions (blueprint) that illustrates correlations within a research: researcher, research philosophies, research strategies, techniques and methods from the data collection phase to empirical analysis. This doctoral thesis implements an adjusted research design that employed a range of compatible and complementary research approaches through a progressive and sequential way; Figure 13 schematically illustrates the methods/techniques and their interconnection. Let us first emphasize those in the qualitative part: case study with covert participant observation.

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A case study is ordinarily described as a qualitative inquiry focused more on the processes, context, and discovery rather than on the outcomes, specific variables, and confirmation to gain an in-depth understanding of a definite situation/circumstances (Bryman, 2012: 66–72; Harrison et al., 2017; Merriam, 2009);[262] it is an integrative multi-method research strategy (Harrison et al., 2017; Merriam, 2009).With its usefulness in the study of different complex social issues, i.e. phenomena, events, situations, organizations, programs of individuals or groups (Harrison et al., 2017; Kohlbacher, 2006; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2013), it offers a necessary (methodological) framework/strategy for this research (see also Figure 11). Accordingly, based on predetermined criteria, a set of sample cases of the Istrian history-centric dark commemorative events is selected (typical case sampling),[263] which means that a multiple-case study approach is in fact implemented. The following substantive criteria were previously developed on the basis of the literature review in the previous chapters:

- dark commemorative events differ depending on the type of event;
- dark commemorative events are recognizable in a regional or even international environment (significance for tourists/visitors);
- dark commemorative events must relate to different conflicts of the 20th century with human casualties (history-centrism);
- different 'background beliefs' of dark commemorative events (or of the visitors) must be clearly identifiable;
- dark commemorative events must have different 'ethnic backgrounds' (ethnic origin of past victims and current visitors).

A covert participant observation is then used for data collection, which is methodologically compatible with the claims of Harrison et al. (2017) and Kohlbacher (2006). It is an ethnographic method used in the natural setting with the purpose of an in-depth insight into a specific place (social environment) and its everyday life (Hay, 2010; Kawulich, 2005). Through community involvement, recurrent contact with people and relatively unstructured social interactions, this method thus enables a particularly effective way of exploring the peculiarities of the definite local environment (Hay, 2010); the researcher as a careful observer and a good listener in an limited time observes the interactions and behaviours, listens to the

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[262] A case study has no fixed ontological, epistemological or methodological positions (Harrison et al., 2017).

[263] Not extreme or unusual, but a broader category of cases to examine key social processes and provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered (Bryman, 2012: 70). Commemorations of 1 November are not included since they are part of a public holiday when we generally remember all the dead.

participants (speeches, conversations, including those with the researcher) and asks questions (Kawulich, 2005). This thesis deliberately adopts the covert role of participant observation, in which the researcher's identity, the aim and purposes of the research as well as the fact that people are being observed, are concealed. This may cause many ethical concerns. Researchers must therefore consider strict ethical limitations in the implementation of this method (Lugosi, 2008; Spicker, 2011). When this method is used in the public sphere, without focusing on the selected individuals, then generally there are no ethical concerns (Spicker, 2011).[264] This is a crucial methodological assumption for our covert participant observations (hereafter observation) of public dark commemorative events. After all, a narrative analysis is employed for the analysis and interpretation within the qualitative context.

In order to reach the aim and purpose of the research, many complementary research methods and techniques are employed in the quantitative part of this doctoral thesis – see Figure 13. First, a content analysis is useful in social sciences, including sociology, where its growing 'popularity' is evidenced in a number of top quality scientific publications (Neuendorf, 2017: xv, 4; Riffe et al., 2005: 5, 18). Content analysis makes it possible to analyse secondary material[265] and then create a (statistically tested) meaning.[266] Consequently, for the purpose of this thesis, we refer to a quantitative content analysis, which is "the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption" (Riffe et al., 2005: 25) or "analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner" (Bryman, 2012: 290); it can be introduced into the strategic layer of the research onion (Figure 11). According to these definitions and on the basis of the literature review in the previous chapters and findings of the qualitative analysis, substantive criteria (codes) are developed for media reports' analysis (see sub-chapter '9.1. Methodological explanations').

Secondly, the principal statistical method used for this thesis was the TwoStep Cluster Analysis, which is as the inferential statistical analysis method, "an exploratory tool designed to reveal natural groupings (or clusters) within a dataset that would otherwise not be apparent.

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[264] More can be found in Bryman (2012: 138–140), 'The research ethics guidebook' (Covert or deceptive research, n.d.) and the 'Code of Ethics' of the American Sociological Association (2018).

[265] According to Goldhorpe, secondary data analysis is common in historical sociology (Smith, 2011: 410–411; Šubrt, 2012: 405).

[266] Mixing/replacing it with (qualitative) discourse analysis would be wrong.

The algorithm employed by this procedure has several desirable features that differentiate it from traditional clustering techniques:" handling of categorical and continuous variables, automatic selection of the number of clusters and scalability (TwoStep Cluster Analysis, 2014). In addition to cluster analyses, the thesis also implements descriptive analysis, which enables the description of the basic features of the amounts of data in a simpler way, i.e. frequency tables and cross-tabulation, different variants of the χ^2 test; some of these calculations are made as auxiliary calculations to check (categorical) variables and results as well. All statistical methods are employed using SPSS version 24.

Thirdly, geovisualization (geographic visualization), as an additionally used approach, includes visualization techniques which enable visual representations of georeferenced data to make spatial contexts and problems as well as the integration of local, regional, and global information visible (National Research Council, 1997: 63); "it is the integration of multiple modes of representation – visual, textual and numerical" (Elwood, 2010: 403). Since Blažević's (1984: 64) map of Istrian historical places and events was created on specific conceptual assumptions and no longer corresponds to the present time, a new mapping of Istrian history-centric dark commemorative events is needed. We follow the methodological assumption that "scientific visualization in general constitutes a shift away from strict quantitative analysis," but is, however, used to "increase reliance on qualitative sensory perception", which makes geovisualization important not only for geography (National Research Council, 1997: 65), but also for social sciences including sociology, e.g. the introduction of dynamic choropleth maps and cartograms. It enables the exploring of patterns both spatially and over time (Elwood, 2010; Healy and Moody, 2014: 122; Zinovyev, 2010), which makes it relevant for use within historical sociology as well.

As already discussed in this chapter, the integrative nature of a mixed-method approach utilised in this cross-sectional research served to highlight different viewpoints of the Istrian social reality in relation to dark commemorative events. The multiple data collected and analysed using different strategies, approaches, methods and technique has much more significance compared to the data treated in the context of traditional dichotomy and disconnectedness between qualitative and quantitative research (Yin, 2013) – for a better understanding, see also Figure 11 and Figure 13. Methodically speaking, according to the findings of Light (2017: 292), such a mixed approach is an absolute novelty in dark tourism as well as in memory studies. Accordingly, a bigger picture of the research problem can be developed, which increases the scientific relevance of this research. Additional methodological explanations can be found at the beginning of the following two chapters.

Ethical limitations

Concluding remarks

Interpretation of research results

Geovisualization

Quantitative content analyse

Descriptive Analyse Auxiliary calculations

TwoStep Cluster Analyse

Media monitoring (selection process)

Methodological apparatus development (quantitative methodology)

Covert participation observation

Interpretation & narrative

Case I (1990s)

Case II (post-war revolution)

Case III (post-war revolution)

Case IV (WWII)

Case selection process

Methodological apparatus development (qualitative methodology)

Historical background

Theoretical background

Workflow

Workflow

Figure 13: Research design

8. ISTRIAN MEMORIES IN THE DARK TOURISM CONTEXT: THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

After brief additional methodological explanations, selected cases of dark commemorative events in Istria are presented/analysed as a result of previous fieldwork. The main findings are then compiled and linked to relevant theories, concepts and past research, as is usual for Bonnell's (1980: 157, 161, 164–165) 'illustrative' approach – see also Figure 13. Research purposes and objectives from the introductory chapter (1.2. Research purpose and objectives) served as the main orientation for the work.

8.1. Methodological explanations

A large number of potential cases, which represent the dark commemorative events (as research units) were considered; they are analysed in the quantitative part. Due to reasons of potential overlap between the selected cases, as well as economic reasons, the list of case sites was filtered. In order to provide a contrasting but in some way interrelated set of representative cases of dark commemorative events (multiple-case study), case events were selected according to the criteria presented in sub-chapter '7.3. Research design and methods.' Thus, the guideline of Kiser and Hechter (1998: 807) and Bryman (2012: 278–279) that the cases for the analysis should be selected and defined on the basis of theoretical criteria was fully taken into account. We also followed Getz's (2008: 404), Frost and Laing's (2013: 36–42), and Kennell et al.'s (2018: 947–949) descriptions of dark commemorative events as one kind of cultural celebrations related to the traumatic heritage/past as well as to the typology of the related events. With such a selection process, the typical cases listed in Table 3 were chosen. Two of them correspond to Seaton's (1996) 'sites of individual or mass death'(II, IV); according to Stone's (2006) 'seven dark suppliers', (I) and (IV) constitute examples of 'dark conflict sites', (II) is most closely related to a 'dark resting place' and (III) is an example of a 'dark exhibition'.[267] Table 3 shows also other details related to field research: location, date and time spent undertaking research activities.

The public was informed about these events via posters or promotional notifications (see Figure 14) or/and on websites, which further proves their social significance. However,

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[267] If neglecting the already mentioned claims of Purini (2010: 223–224) on widespread Italian perceptions of the post-WWII period in the Upper Adriatic.

as described in sub-chapter '6.4. Other contemporary memorial practices and dark tourism', promotional practices in general are very divergent.

Table 3: Events of the multiple-case study

Case	Type	Location	Date of the research visit	Start and end of the observation
(I) Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders	ND	City of Pula, city center	5 August 2018	7.50 – 13.00
(II) The anniversary of martyrdom of Bl. Miroslav Bulešić	MS	Parish church of Lanišće, the main square of Svetvinčenat	24 August 2018	9.45 – 12.00 17.30 – 19.30
(III) Memorial exhibition of Bl. Francesco Bonifacio	DE[It]	Parish Church of St. Servulus, town of Buje	7 September 2018	17.45 – 19.00
(IV) The anniversary of the Battle of Kučibreg	MS	Kučibreg memorial park, Municipality of Buje	5 November 2017	10.20 – 12.40

Note: events are deliberately sorted by contemporary dates of dark commemorative events. MS … memorial service; ND … national day of mourning or remembrance; DE … dark exhibition, after Frost and Laing (2013) and Kennell et al. (2018). (It) … in the Italian language.

Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders, 5 August 2018

(no poster)*

(I)

(III)

(II)

(IV)

Note: for the meaning of Roman numbers see Table 3. * … There were no posters promoting this event in Pula or elsewhere.

Figure 14: Posters for selected dark commemorative events (Source: Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula, n.d.; Porečka i Pulska biskupija, n.d.; Istarska županja, Grad Buje & Udruge antifašista Bujštine, 2017)

We strictly followed our previous decision that the observer/researcher – during his fieldwork – must behave as an ordinary visitor, which makes observations unstructured and naturalistic. It was not possible to employ structured observation due to the heterogeneity and uniqueness of each event, e.g. historical background, different programs, duration, different

locations/facilities and similar, and because the researcher had absolutely no influence over the situation(s) being observed. For a better understanding and on-site flexibility, all observations were based on systematic preliminary preparations. Behaviour sampling as a type, where an entire group is observed and the researcher records who, when and how individuals are involved in a particular kind of behaviour (Bryman, 2012: 279), was used *on situ*. Hence, the selected type of observation that relied on the strict ethical principles and the complex research topic, included the following range of activities (see also Table 3):[268]

- visitors' observation of sites where public events occurs;
- observation of speakers and honorary guest speakers at public events;
- observation of visitor interactions at public events;
- making notes of the 'research experience', including its formal interpretations: (a) scratch notes including abbreviations, keywords, short phrases, and similar[269], as well as (b) full field notes that include comprehensive final annotations of the field work;
- taking a range of photographs of each selected event as additional material, based on which to make notes as well as material for subsequent analysis.

Narrative analysis that follows data collection, relies on a relatively small data set related to the four chosen cases. Consequently, the coding and narrative flow of field notes was manually undertaken. In order to gain an understanding of the overall meaning of dark commemorative events, the analysis commenced with an accurate review of field notes. In this context, notes were not only re-read from the first page, but sub-themes were identified, assembled and formed. Within this step, abbreviations, keywords, (short) phrases/sentences, or paragraphs related to the same sub-theme were weighted from different points of view (associated with 10 predefined indicators) and then clustered together. Clusters that represent key emergent themes were thus ready for further processing – interpretation (ontological reflections). In addition, we relied on Bonnell's (1980: 157, 161, 164–165) claims about linking or compiling theories/concepts with equivalent units, which this part of the doctoral thesis defines as the 'illustrative' one; the findings of past research were included into the comparison as well. With these approaches, this qualitative part thus follows the social constructivist and post-structuralist paradigm. All activities and methodological approaches

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[268] Interestingly, similar activities were carried out also by many journalists who worked at a public events.

[269] It was used especially when it was considered inappropriate to be seen taking full written notes, e.g. at religious event in the church.

have been implemented in order to obtain answers to the research questions (RQ) defined in sub-chapter '6.5. Discussion and chapter conclusion'.

8.2. Case study event I: Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders

In the selection process it was assumed that this public dark commemorative event is recognizable on at least the regional level (significance for tourism) as it is dedicated to the Istrian defenders in the Homeland War. Moreover, it is one of the main festive national days, when dark commemorative events take place also in Pula – the administrative centre and tourist destination – in the peak of the summer season. According to the official information of the City of Pula (Najavljen 6. Mimohod, 2018a; Najavljen 6. Mimohod, 2018b), this event with a parade of defenders from the Istrian County was introduced in 2013.

8.2.1. Background of the event

'Homeland Thanksgiving Day' is a public holiday in Croatia that is celebrated annually on 5 August, commemorating the day when the Croatian Army took the City of Knin in 1995 as part of Operation Storm (*Oluja*). With this historic event, the so called Republic of Serbian Krajina was defeated, which in practice meant the territorial reintegration with the motherland. Much later, the title 'Day of Croatian Defenders' was assigned to the name.[270] This way both the current members of the Armed Forces and the veterans, are honoured.

The defenders, heroes and victims from Istria are remembered on this day as well. As already described, Istrian people did not fight in Istria, because there were no major military conflicts and no major war damage there. With such dark commemorative events, the Istrian people express respect to the historical events and also some kind of connection with other parts of Croatia where they fought. Surprisingly as shown in Figure 14, this event was not promoted in public advertising spaces; the message was available to the public on the webpages of the City of Pula and the Istrian County (Najavljen 6. Mimohod, 2018a).

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[270] See the Act Amending the holidays, memorial days and non-working days act (Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama, 2008).

8.2.2. Description of the dark commemorative event

Pula was the main venue for the national holiday in the Istrian County. The Memorial day was composed of six different events, which in fact constitute one commemorative whole – see Table 4. Events where the observation was carried out are indicated in the column to the far right.

Table 4: Event schedule (Source: author; Najavljen 6. Mimohod (2018b)

Beginning	Event	Observation
8:00	Holy Mass at the Cathedral	Yes
9:00	Wreath laying ceremony at the Central Cross and giving honour to Croatian defenders in the Homeland War	No
9:30	Wreath laying ceremony at Franz Joseph I park and giving honour to Croatian defenders in the Homeland War	Yes
10:00	Parade of Croatian Veterans of the Istrian County	Yes
10:30	A brief program at the House of Croatian Defenders	Yes
11:30	Opening of the exhibition 'Krvatska'	Yes

The Holy Mass at the Pula Cathedral (Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), which begun at 8 am, was the first event on 5 August 2018 (Table 4). A police car and van were parked in front of the cathedral, which indicated a special occasion. However, the interior of the cathedral, which was not full of believers, was not specially decorated; only ordinary Catholic symbols were naturally present. Homeland war veterans (defenders) in azure T-shirts as well as eleven uniformed police officers also participated, while high representatives of the Municipality or County did not attend. As every Eucharistic celebration, the Holy Mass had a more or less fixed structure; the war veterans did the mass readings. The sermon offered a more interesting content for investigation. The police chaplain talked about Croatian defenders, although he did not advocate excessive engagement with the past, but with the present and the future. Here he highlighted present successes, especially of Croatian footballers, which made his sermon very topical. These successes were then linked with the catholic values. Topics such as past totalitarian regimes, anti-fascism, Istrian *convivenza*, regionalism and the present political situation in the region or in the state, death- or suffering-related tourism or pilgrimage were ignored. Hence, the sermon as well as the

whole ritual were, despite the summer heat, performed in a very relaxed, occasionally even humorous atmosphere. The Holy Mass was concluded at 9 am, the believers –most were middle-aged[271] or older – left the cathedral peacefully, talked to each other, but mostly rushed towards the next point.

The following event was the wreath laying ceremony in the Franz Joseph I park (*Park Franje Josipa I*). It started with a 15-minute delay (Table 4). People were gradually forming a semicircle alongside the monument to the fallen defenders from the Istrian County, starting with flag bearers, e.g. the flag of the State and County, the City of Pula, the defenders' associations; the monument area was quite busy, which means that there were a few hundred participants. The Pula brass band, uniformed police officers (those who were at the church earlier), representatives of the Croatian armed forces and firefighters from Pula, journalists, photographers and cameramen (they were not seen before at the church at all), defenders in the azure T-shirts, local, regional and national politicians and 'ordinary' visitors were present. In terms of age, the middle- to late middle-age group was the dominant one. Three formal delegations laid wreaths and candles in the colour of the Croatian flag at the memorial: the delegations of the Croatian Parliament, of the Istrian County and of Croatian defenders. An interesting detail was that only the members of the last delegation crossed themselves.

The ceremony, which was careful monitored by journalists, photographers and cameramen, continued with the national anthem and anthem of the Istrian County, which only strengthened its regional character. This was followed by a minute of silence accompanied by the sound of the trumpet (mourning song). The police chaplain – the one who offered the morning Holy Mass – prayed for the defenders and blessed the flowers, the monument and the flags. The absence of a sound system made it really difficult to hear his speech and prayer well. This way, however, the ceremony obtained a religious (Catholic) component. As no other speaker was expected, the gradual formation of the row for the parade started. In the meantime, the attending politicians gave statements for the media. As typical for modern times, many other participants constantly made photos with their cameras or smart phones.

The memorial parade of defenders from the Istrian County, including war-disabled members, started from the Franz Joseph I park through Kolodvorska St., next to Valerijin Park, Istrian St. (next to Roman Amphitheatre), continuing down to the Giardini St. and Laginja St. to the House of Croatian defenders. The police regulated traffic and ensured the smooth running of the parade. At the helm of the parade was a long Croatian flag carried by the

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[271] The middle-age category includes people from 45 to 65 years of age.

defenders from the Istrian County, followed by flag bearers, then the Pula brass band, which played the entire time of the parade, high political representatives of the State, the Istrian County and municipalities, and, finally, other Croatian defenders (see Figure 15). There were some random (foreign and domestic) tourists watching and taking photos, wondering what was going on. The parade did not attract local residents either, as there were only a few locals on the left and right sides of the streets; some of them came from nearby bars, others were watching the parade from there. Clapping was heard, many photographed with their smart phones. Figure 15 shows the entrance of the parade participants to the yard of the House of Croatian defenders, where the brief ceremony took place – from 10.30 to 10.55 (Table 4).

Standing on the stage in the yard, the speaker welcomed all participants, especially the members of the associations of defenders. A singer then sang the national anthem and the anthem of the Istrian County. The speaker continued with her patriotic speech, where she mentioned the victims of Vukovar, Škabrnja and other sites, and linked them with the Greater-Serbian aggression and the Chetniks. This was followed by a minute of silence. In his short speech, the President of the Coordination of Associations associated with the Homeland War of the Istrian County thanked the City of Pula, the County and volunteers for their work and/or support, not forgetting to mention the success of Croatian footballers at the World Cup. The Mayor of Pula expressed his congratulations on the holiday and reminded the attendees that Croatia won the war, which means today people should be thankful and extremely proud of the defenders; because of them people can live and work in a free state. The last honorary speaker was the President of the Istrian County who thanked all participants and those who once again helped to show the image of community, unity, freedom and joy. They are especially important for children and, therefore, for the future. National pride, respect and memory were highlighted. The ceremony then turned into a celebration with Croatian music, and free food and beverages. Due to the summer heat, people mostly stayed in the shade of the trees and parasols in the yard. Some men already showed visible signs of alcohol intoxication. Lunch for politicians and other VIP guests was served in the House of Croatian defenders. There were no tourists present.

Figure 15: Defenders Parade through the streets of Pula

At 11.05, the opening ceremony of the exhibition called 'Krvatska' (Table 4) began in the main hallway of the ground floor of the House of the Croatian Defenders; posters with some war scenes from 1990s and examples of damaged cultural heritage were presented. The head of the exhibition and former defender explained that the exhibition had travelled to different countries and embassies in order to present the consequences of the aggression in Croatia in the 1990s. This way the new independent state wanted to show the catastrophic consequences of the war for the Croatian cultural heritage. He also said that the exhibition was already in Pula in 1993. The President of the Istrian County was the only politician who gave a brief speech. He highlighted Croatia and its rich heritage, the importance of peace and preservation of the memory of the defenders. He officially opened the exhibition. The police chaplain – the one who offered the morning Holy Mass and blessed the flowers, the monument and the flags in the park – blessed the exhibition. The ceremony, which attracted no more than 20 people, was very brief and was completed within 15 minutes. After the end of the ceremony, the participants – mostly middle-aged – did not stay in the hallway much longer.

Speakers at all public events did not mentioned past totalitarian regimes, anti-fascism, the Istrian *convivenza*, regionalism and the present political situation in the region or in the state, death- or suffering-related tourism or pilgrimage. However, regionalism was indirectly presented with the singing of the anthem of the Istrian County and with flags. The focus of the history-centric dark commemorative event was thus exclusively on the Homeland War, while other Istrian specifics highlighted in sub-chapter '5.2. Istrian identity' as well as any connection to tourism were simply ignored. The same applies to educational aspects, e.g. pupils and students were not present. In accordance with the above description, the event did not even have a direct significance for tourists (certainly not from the international perspective), although the defenders came from the entire County and it took place in one of the most recognizable Adriatic tourist destinations during peak season.

8.3. Case study event II: The anniversary of martyrdom of Bl. Miroslav Bulešić

We assumed that this public dark commemorative event is known in at least the regional environment (significance for tourism) as it is dedicated to the native Istrian (Croatian) blessed priest. The dark commemorative event of 24 August 2018 consisted of two parts at different locations (see also Table 3 and Figure 14):

- the Solemn Requiem Mass at the Parish Church of Lanišće lasted from 10.00 to 11.00; an additional tour of the surroundings and the parson's house ended at 12 p.m.;
- the concelebrated Mass on the square next to the Parish Church in Svetvinčenat lasted from 18.00 to 19.15.[272]

8.3.1. Background of the event: briefly on the life end work of Bl. Bulešić

The history-centric dark commemorative event was based on the martyrdom of Bl. Bulešić on 24 August 1947 in Lanišće. On that day – a festive day of the sacrament of the Holy Confirmation in Buzet and the neighbouring parishes – a young Roman Catholic Croatian priest, born in May 1920, was violently killed by a local communist. Bulešić studied in Gorizia (Slo. *Gorica*) and Koper and finally at the Gregorian University in Rome, which clearly

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[272] These hours only refer to the duration of each event. Since observations were performed before and after the event, the entire research process lasted longer – see the Table 3.

demonstrates his intellectual capacities. He knew how to engage people and be critical toward the new post-WWII totalitarian regime in Istria (Životopis Sl. Božjeg Miroslava, n.d.), which replaced fascism and nazism. As a Croatian priest he was also engaged as the secretary at the College of St. Paul's Clerics for Istria (*Zbor svećenika sv. Pavla za Istru*),[273] although he later resigned following the pressure of the Italian bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula (Trogrlić, 2008: 125, 126; Veraja, 2013: 43–45). He was also appointed vice-principle and teacher of the Diocesan Seminary in Pazin and, before that, parish priest in Baderna and Kanfanar. On the day of the murder, he was accompanying Msgr. Jakob Ukmar, a delegate of the Holy See, and local priest Stjepan Cek to the celebration of the sacrament of the Holy Confirmation in Lanišće (the first post-WWII Holy Confirmation in this part of Istria). The celebration was terminated by Bulešić's homicide and a rough physical attack on Ukmar, while Cek remained unhurt. This was followed by the burial of Bulešić in Lanišće, after which there were two post-mortem relocations of his remains, whereas the related commemorations presented an issue for the then authorities. On 28 September 2013, the ceremony of Bulešić's beatification took place in Pula's Roman Amphitheatre.[274] His late beatification was a consequence of the fact that during the period of Second Yugoslavia it was not possible to investigate the life and death of Bl. Bulešić (Veraja, 2013: 10). A similar situation has already been mentioned, for example, in connection to other post-WWII killings.

8.3.2. Solemn Requiem Mass at the Parish Church of Lanišće

Lanišće is as a village and municipality in the Ćićarija area (northern part of Istrian county) and a memorial area of martyrdom of Miroslav Bulešić. This is written in red on the wall of the renovated small chapel at the entrance to the village. The village is nucleated around a central church on the slope of the hill, which is disadvantageous when there is a large number of visitors (including pilgrims); village is not ready for mass visits (arrival of a large number of cars or buses), e.g. there is no tags, no signs, no public toilets, no souvenir shop, no info point, no special announcements, posters or similar as in other public places (tourist destinations). However, at the time of our visit, there were no parking issues, as there was enough space for parking around the church and the Municipal Hall. There were a few

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[273] Among more visible members was also priest Božo Milanović – more can be found in Ćurković Nimac, Tadić and Trogrlić (2014), Veraja (2013: 43–45).
[274] More can be found on the webpage of the Archdiocese of Zagreb (*Blessed Miroslav Bulešić*, 2013), the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula (*Porečka i Pulska biskupija*, n.d.), Trogrlić (2008), Veraja (2013) and Bogdan (2014).

vehicles with registration plates from Koper and Rijeka, whereas others were from the Istrian County. This was the first indication that visitors came mainly from the home village. There was no crowd, and the village centre was clean and tidy. Three flags were hung in front of the parish church – the flags of Croatia, the Vatican and the Municipality – flowers were laid at the bust of Bl. Bulešić and his image hung on the bell tower. All this indicated that 24 August 2018 was not just an ordinary summer Friday. The visitors were coming peacefully, some of them had brief social encounters in front of the church and soon after entered the church where the Solemn Requiem Mass was held at 10 o'clock.

The Solemn Requiem Mass, led by the local parish priest accompanied by two additional priests and altar boys, was a religious event (liturgical ritual) without any other additions (Figure 16). As every Eucharistic celebration, it had a more or less fixed structure;[275] only the parts especially related to Bl. Bulešić will be further described and analysed. One of these is certainly the sermon. The priest put special focus on forgiveness (who and to whom), repentance and prayer. Here he relies on Bulešić's thoughts – "My revenge is forgiveness." He says that Bl. Bulešić forgave his killer, which makes sense also from the aspect of forgiveness and repentance in this day and age. These historic events and people can be an example for us today. While constantly connecting and jumping from the past to the present and the future, the priest never addressed the post-war totalitarian regime, anti-fascism, the Istrian *convivenza*, regionalism or the present political situation in the region or in the state, neither death- or suffering-related tourism or pilgrimage; no verbal condemnation was detected. Memory was not at the forefront either, although the whole sermon was strongly linked to this context. The same applies to the educational aspect as there were only a few young people present.

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[275] Limited variations depend on each special occasions.

Figure 16: Solemn Requiem Mass at the Parish Church of Lanišće

The image of Bl. Bulešič, which was placed on the priest's left side, was supported by a large relic in the front of the altar and the floral arrangements – the church was not richly decorated. Moreover, there were no church choir, songs were sung by priests and believers. There were many attendants and the seats were almost all taken (see Figure 16), and some people even stood at the entrance. The vast majority were members of the late middle-aged or older generation which can be attributed to the work obligations and vacation time. Among the believers present, it was not possible to identify those who are not locals. For everyone, a particularly impressive moment was the placing of the relic of Bl. Bulešić into the altar of the parish church. The symbolic and religious significance of this moment surpasses the purpose and objectives of this doctoral thesis. The priest's closing reflections should be highlighted as well. He thanked everyone for their participation, especially the people from the Municipality of Lanišće who also attended. As the priest was transferred to a different parish, the event was concluded with his farewell speech.

At the end of the religious ritual, the believers briefly socialized in the shade by the entrance to the church, whereas many went home immediately. A cameraman who was also present at the ritual recorded some interviews at the bust next to the church. The atmosphere

was calm and tranquil. An unplanned and unannounced gathering of people took place as well. A number of individuals gathered around a local man and listened to the story of the tragic events of 24 August 1947. He was working on the reconstruction of the tragic event. Outside of the church, he first explained the widespread social circumstances of that time in this part of Istria and the events immediately before and during the solemn religious event. People listened, stopped and moved in the exact direction in which the then actors were moving. Secondly, he presented some facts in the parson's house where the homicide took place (see Figure 17). Four to eight non-local visitors – some were coming, others were leaving – participated in the guided tour, which included the visit of a simple casual exhibition of the work and life of Bl. Bulešić as well.

The man's interpretations were correct, even though he only once (to put it simply) condemned the anti-fascists for the murder. Visitors showed a lot of interest, commented on the events at that time, asked about the beatification process and sincerely talked about their prayers and requests to Bl. Bulešić. This led to a discussion on life several years after the murder – the trial, the life of the killer, and similar – the non-recognisability of Lanišće among potential visitors (pilgrims) in Croatia and the plans for the development of parson's house.

The religious event as well as following 'coincidental' guided tours show that this tragic historical event is still present in the collective memory of the local community. The locals present their perception in the public in a fairly neutral way: they do not show emotions, they do not condemn or blame, and do not respond in a hostile or similar way. They try to be honest, even if they express some things the wrong way, i.e. the equation between anti-fascists and communists, or when approaching the organization of activities (tour guiding) in a completely amateur way. In addition to these professional weaknesses, their non-tourist orientation is evident practically in all areas. Their anthropogenic tourism resources remain at a purely basic level, although they could offer, besides the religious one, also an authentic 'dark experience'. Consequently, this event can be characterized only as a religious dark commemorative event with a strong local character.

Figure 17: The scene of homicide of Bl. Bulešić

8.3.3. Concelebrated Mass in Svetvinčenat

Svetvinčenat is a village and municipality in the south-central part of the Istrian County, about 30 km north of Pula. It is also a parish where Miroslav Bulešić was actually born, where his rite of ordination of a priest was performed and where he is buried today (in the parish church). His high bronze statue is deliberately located at the entrance to the village. On the day of the Concelebrated Mass it was not especially tidy and decorated, e.g. the immediate surroundings were weedy, there were no fresh flowers, and old candles were not removed. Nevertheless, it was clear from the advertising boards and signs that his story coexists with the story of a Venetian Morosini-Grimani castle, which, in fact, dominates the village. Moreover, the village has many other attractions and an associated tourism infrastructure, which attract tourists.[276] However, there seemed to be no posters related to the Concelebrated Mass in the village (except for the narthex of the parish church), which gives an impression

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[276] More can be found on the webpage of the Tourist Board of Svetvinčenat (http://tz-svetvincenat.hr/?lang=en).

that this religious event had no tourist dimension. Nevertheless, judging by the number of parked cars, the event was not attended only by the locals; there were also several buses and organized groups. The first group of pilgrimages came at approximately 16.40, later followed by some hikers in sports apparel.[277] A black man was seen, some foreign languages were also heard, however, we cannot treat this event as a recognizable international religious event only based on these facts.

Visitors were coming peacefully to the square (*Placa*) next to the Parish Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the castle, where the stage and chairs in front of it were placed. People briefly socialized before the Mass and journalists carried out their work conspicuously (the same cameraman as in Lanišće was also there). There were many people on the square, although it was not completely full. Members of all generations were present, with predominantly late middle-aged or senior attendants; there were no political representatives attending the event.[278] Because of the greater number of people, the atmosphere was more lively than in Lanišće. People searched for shade in the hot summer sun, but the organizers invited them to move closer to the stage where the altar was standing. They dutifully responded to the invitation. The Concelebrated Mass begun at 18.00 with a solemn procession that started in the parish church, passing the believers and continuing to the stage. The procession was escorted by the singing of the church choir from Stari Pazin and the believers. The Mass led by the bishop from the Catholic Diocese of Gospić-Senj (see Figures 14 and 18) was a solemn religious event without any other additions. Consequently, our research approach was the same as at the Mass in Lanišće: only the sermon and the specifics will be pointed out/analysed.

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[277] The webpage of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Poreč and Pula (Krizman, n.d.) states that the pilgrims came on foot from Pula, Fažana, Vrsar and some other Istrian places. In total, there were about 1.000 visitors/believers.

[278] This does not exclude the possibility that they were there among the believers.

Figure 18: Concelebrated Mass at the Placa in Svetvinčenat

The sermon started by connecting the blood of Jesus Christ, who has been feeding, nourishing and filling up the Catholic Church through centuries, with what had happened in Croatia and Istria with the blood of Bl. Bulešić. The bishop also highlighted the environment that hates and persecutes Jesus's disciples. He pointed out that hatred, including hatred of the church, does not make anyone happy, and that only love can help us overcome evil and hatred. This happened also to Bl. Bulešić, who passed away saying the words "My revenge is forgiveness." His example shows that the length of life is not as important as its content and quality. Great are those who know how to serve and make sacrifices for others, and Bulešić can serve as an example for all of us. Accordingly, Bulešič and the saints were not regarded only as a historical category defined only as a historical category. Otherwise, the bishop did not even mention the post-war totalitarian regime, anti-fascism, the Istrian *convivenza*, regionalism and the present political situation in the region or in the state, nor did he talk about death- or suffering-related tourism or pilgrimage.[279] Technically speaking, the bishop's

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[279] If we ignore the bishop's thoughts on 'pilgrimage to the sky'.

sermon was marked with constant linking of the past with the present and the future, although memory was not at the forefront.

At the end of the Mass celebration, the local parish priest thanked all those present and invited them to enter the church where they could approach the altar and worship the relics: the cassock worn at the time of the homicide, the cushion soaked with his blood and the fragment of a wall plaster from the parson's house in Lanišće. This was followed by the ceremonial departure (procession) of bishops and priests from the stage to the parish church. The bishop who led the Concelebrated Mass carried a relic (blood) of Bl. Bulešić, making this part of the religious event even more solemn. The believers followed the procession in order to see the relics. The events were accompanied by the ringing of church bells. In the end, believers socialized at the square, where the clergy joined them briefly as well. The atmosphere was calm and relaxed. In the building on the opposite part of the square, a casual banquet was held for the clergy and other VIP guests.

This solemn religious event also shows that this tragic historical event with obvious Catholic connotation is still present in the Istrian collective memory. Similarly to the Holy Mass in Lanišće, this religious ritual followed the predicted form, content and religious symbols typical for such kind of occasion; any reflection of the past or current political circumstances and 'Istrianity' as well as the educational aspect were excluded – Istria was, however, mentioned in the sermon a couple of times. On the other hand, the Catholic ritual provokes an important perspective, which is neglected in memorial and especially dark tourism studies. Jesus's words from the last supper, "Do this in remembrance of me," which represent an Eucharistic or ecclesiological-ethical remembrance,[280] open a completely new perspective of the dark commemorative events related to dark tourism.[281]

The tourist dimension was more present here than in Lanišće. From a tourism aspect, Svetvinčenat is a recognizable location with heterogeneous tourism services, where, however, the religious part is not integrated well, e.g. the website of the local tourist board presents sacral heritage as well, but religious events are not particularly supported with promotional activities. The same applies for the dark tourism perspective, although the tragic story of Bl. Bulešić offers great potential, e.g. the current and previous grave is in the village, the relics related to his death are in the parish church. This means that these anthropogenic tourism resources remain unexploited. However, the above described religious event attracted visitors

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[280] More can be found in Vosloo (2017).
[281] Such a religious perspective or background is completely overlooked in dark tourism studies.

from the wider area and not just local people. In terms of (dark) tourism, this can be perceived as a whole-day or half-day trip.

8.4. Case study event III: Memorial exhibition of Bl. Francesco Bonifacio

In the selection process, it was assumed that this northern-Istrian dark commemorative event in Buje (Buie) is recognizable in the Upper Adriatic area: Croatia – Slovenia – Italy (significance for tourism). It was dedicated namely to the native Italian Istrian blessed priest who was mysteriously liquidated in the aftermath of WWII, when the Communist Party was taking the power. This event should therefore attract especially the members of the Italian minority in Istria and Istrian migrants of Italian origins from the Autonomous Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia. Trieste is only approximately 40 km away – the members of the Italian community in Slovenia and Croatia are even closer (cross-border travel). Both, *esuli* and *rimasti,* could thus be the right target groups, which gave the event a tourism connotation as well.

The presence of the proactive autochthon Italian community evidently co-creates the social and economic life of the town and the entire Municipality. This fact also significantly impacted the selection of this event for further analyses, which means that this public dark commemorative event is primarily addressed in terms of its ethnic background (ethnic origin of participants).

8.4.1. Background of the event: briefly on the life and work of Bl. Bonifacio

Francesco Bonifacio was born to poor Italian parents on 7 September 1912 in Piran. After graduating from high school in Koper, he studied at the central theological seminary in Gorizia. In the end of December 1936 he was ordained to the priesthood in the Trieste Cathedral (*Basilica cattedrale di San Giusto Martire*). As a priest, he first worked for a short time in Piran, then in Novigrad, and after that, he took under his wing the believers in the area between Buje and Grožnjan. Besides his pastoral commitment, he was especially known for work and socializing with the young and ordinary people, e.g. local fishermen, farmers, the elderly, the sick and the poor. During WWII, and especially during the German occupation between 1943 and 1945, he often offered shelter to the local people from confronting armies and thus also risked his own life. Immediately after the war, the new totalitarian power assumed authority. They did not like his pastoral as well as social engagement in the local environment. The Department for People's Protection (OZNA) arrested him on the way from

Gožnjan to Krasica, after which he was liquidated in mysterious circumstances.[282] When he was killed, most probably on 11 September 1946, he was only 34 years old. His remains have not been found and there are several theories about them: cremation, throwing into the abyss (*foiba*) or secret burial (Galimberti, n.d.; Izložba o bl. Bonifaciu, 2018)

In accordance with the decision of Pope Benedict XVI, the beatification ceremony was celebrated on 4 October 2008 in the Trieste Cathedral. The liturgical memorial of Bl. Bonifacio is celebrated every year on 11 September, the day of his martyrdom (Galimberti, n.d.).

8.4.2. Memorial exhibition opening ceremony

September 2018 was, as in many previous years, a festive month for Buje as this was the 113th celebration of the 'Grape Days' festival (*Dani grožđa Buje/Festa dell'uva*). Consequently, posters for this event were posted on all advertising spaces in town. Ads for two cultural events, which took place a week earlier, were also posted on the same places. One of them was the memorial exhibition dedicated to Bl. Francesco Bonifacio named 'On behalf of God, in service of the people'.[283] Figure 14 shows an additional poster posted in or near local churches (and on the Diocese's website).

The opening ceremony was held on 7 September 2018 in the Parish Church of St. Servulus in the centre on the top of the hill. Special signs as well as a large town map (on Josip Broz Tito Square) are available to the visitors who want to visit the church; there is also a tourist info point in the area. This gives a tourist feel to the town, although from the aspect of tourism, Buje cannot (yet) be compared with the nearby coastal towns, such as Piran, Umag or Novigrad. Parking can pose a problem in this ancient and nucleated town, which constitutes its weak point. On the other hand, five sacral buildings, the historic townscape including the fortification system, are only some of the attractions of this multicultural town.

A total of 35 people were present at the 6 p.m. ceremony in the abovementioned church; among them predominantly seniors. The primary language of the event was Italian. After the introductory words of the local parish priest, there was a short prayer. After that, he turned to the visitors and spoke about Bl. Bonifacio. He emphasized that by sacrificing his life, Francesco Bonifacio testified to the power of baptism, which is the basis of Christian identity. In this part he recalled that 663 priests and 31 nuns were killed during WWII and its aftermath in Croatia,

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[282] In 1946 many priests of different nationality were arrested in Istria including Francesco Bonifacio, which was then also liquidated (Oblak Moscarda, 2016: 162). More about political situation and events immediately after the WWII in Istria can be found in Oblak Moscarda (2016).

[283] Not presented in Figure 14.

and Bosnia and Herzegovina; communists were mentioned in this context. Then he returned to the present times and spoke about Europe's return to Christian roots, which are the basis of European civilization, which is, however, increasingly marked by secularization. He concluded that the exhibition wants to help us in living our faith. Because of all that, the speech sounded like a sermon. The local priest then blessed the memorial exhibition.

Figure 19: Parish priest and Deputy Mayoress from the Italian community at the opening ceremony

The Deputy Mayoress of Buje from the Italian community briefly addressed the visitors as well (Figure 19). Speakig in Italian, she expressed her satisfaction with the fact that the inhabitants of Buje had the opportunity to see the exhibition, emphasizing that "Bl. Francesco Bonifacio is one of those who greatly contributed to the development of the historical circumstances that set the foundation of the present in these areas that we live today." In the continuation of the opening ceremony, the president of the Society "Friends of Bl. Francesco Bonifacio" (*Gruppo "Amici di don Francesco Bonifacio"*), the initiator and author of the exhibition, explorer Mario Ravalico from Trieste, explained that the exhibition, on the occasion of the 10th

anniversary of beatification, wanted to give visitors the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the character of the young priest. He pointed out that before Buje, this exhibition was held in Piran and Trieste, where it was attended by many interested visitors. In addition, he briefly described his research work on this topic and then described the structure of the memorial exhibition – it was divided into six chronological parts:

1st part: the Bonifacio family;

2nd part: the invitation and going to the seminar;

3rd part: the pastoral work of Bl. Bonifacio;

4th part: the death. In this section, the explanation of three hypotheses about the place where the body was mysteriously buried was presented. The only known fact is the place of his arrest. Mr. Ravalico, however, emphasized that according to the latest findings, the most probable hypothesis is that his body was buried in a secret and unmarked grave in the Cemetery of St. Vid[284] in Grožnjan – this cemetery was later abandoned;

5th part: the beatification ceremony in the Trieste Cathedral in 2008;

6th part: photographs of various occasions related to Bl. Bonifacio.

In addition to photographic records, copies of various documents and similar, the exhibition was also marked by a glass showcase with Bonifacio's personal items, e.g. breviary, headgear or metal cilice, which all have a religious symbolic meaning. Panels with photographs and copies of documents were placed on the left and right side of the nave, while the showcase was placed at the end of the nave in front of the altar. The interesting initiative for the arrangement of the memorial route of Francesco Bonifacio (Trieste – Piran – Krasica – Novigrad) was also exhibited.[285]

After the conclusion of the ceremony at approximately 6.30 pm, all the main protagonists were interviewed by the present journalist. Visitors looked at the displayed exhibits together and quietly discussed them; the parish priest and Mr. Ravalico stayed with them. At around 7 pm, they all went to the square, where a table with simple snacks and beverages was set next to the church. Food and beverages were available to the visitors free of charge.

Regardless of the fact that the memorial exhibition took place in the sacral building and that the Catholic parish priest was present, it is difficult to interpret it as a typical religious

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[284] His remains were not found in the excavations of the abysses in this part of Istria. The hypothesis that he was dead or still alive thrown into the abyss (*foiba*), was therefore not confirmed.

[285] A former railroad track *Parenzana* represents an important comparative example.

event. In any case, its Italian character was much more evident, although the characteristic *convivenza* was not mentioned at all. In addition, regionalism, the present political situation in the region or in the state did not prove to be relevant for this dark commemorative event; the abovementioned memorial route can be linked with tourism – religious tourism (pilgrimage). Communism was mentioned, although not in the Istrian context. The memory of the work and personality of Francesco Bonifacio and especially of his mysterious death were at the forefront of the event. The potential dark tourism experience was reinforced also with an exhibit related to the suffering of the man, i.e. the metal cilice. Despite its expected high relevance for the people of this part of the multicultural cross-border Istria and beyond, the dark commemorative event had in fact a nearly negligible significance from the (collective) memorial or tourism aspect. The tragic history-centric story enriched with its religious, ideological and multicultural dimensions apparently did not attract visitors. The third repetition in the regional environment (Piran – Trieste – Buje) and other activities mentioned in the previous chapters, e.g. the pilgrimage of believers from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Trieste to Istria, had no positive effect on the arrival of visitors.

Other visitors of the memorial exhibition, which closed on 16 September 2018, were not an object of scientific observation. The opening ceremony as well as the whole exhibition also had great educational potential, but we do not know if it was exploited.

8.5. Case study event IV: The anniversary of the Battle of Kučibreg

As in case study event III, we assumed that the selected north-Istrian event is recognizable in the Upper Adriatic area. It is dedicated namely to the victims of the clash of the Italian-Croatian-Slovenian Partisan forces with the Nazis in 1944. Thus, this event should have attracted especially WWII veterans (anti-fascists), their descendants, sympathizers and supporters in the Upper Adriatic.

Today, Kučibreg in Croatia and Hrvoji in Slovenia are disadvantaged depopulated neighbouring border villages on both sides of the state border (with less than 1.000 meters between them). The historical event in WWII is probably not the only contemporary (anthropogenic) attraction with a significance for tourism but the full attention of this research was deliberately put exclusively on this example. Collective memory related to WWII in fact strongly connects both villages.

8.5.1. Background of the event: the Battle of Kučibreg

After the capitulation of Italy in 1943, when Istria was annexed to Nazi Germany, its army began exerciaing terrible violence in Northern Istria: military actions were directed to the Partisan units, as well as to the civilian population. In the autumn of 1944, there were the following Partisan units: the Croatian Second Brigade of the 43rd division, the Italian Battalion Alma Vivoda, and the Commands of Buje and Koper (Ivančič, n.d.). According to the reports, the Italian battalion was quite passive and faced desertion by its combatants; in general, the social situation was quite chaotic (Vlahov, 1986: 70). In November – especially 4 and 25 – the strong Nazi military forces performed and offensive against the Partisan units. About 120 Partisans of the Croatian, Slovenian and Italian nationality fell in the battle (the exact number is not well known); many were captured and then transported to the camp *Risiera di San Sabba* (*Rižarna*) in Trieste or other concentration camps. The Italian Battalion was completely broken in the battle (G. M., 2007; Ivančič, n.d.; Vlahov, 1986: 93).

In 1959, the monument in Kučibreg and the vault in Hrvoji, symbols of the heroic fight for freedom and the common struggle of all three autochthone Istrian nations, were constructed (G. M., 2007; Ivančič, n.d.). It is worth mentioning the meaningful trilingual inscription on the monument, which also has clear regional connotation:

"*To farewell and lasting memory of the brave combatants of Slovene, Croatian and Italian nationality, loyal sons of Istria, inseparable comrades in the battle and in death, who as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, gave life for their goals, that we can live better in the freedom.*"

In these specific (memorial) circumstances, the common traditional dark commemorative event, heavily anchored in the collective memory, is held each year at the vault of fallen Partisans at the cemetery in Hrvoji, after which the main part takes place at the monument in Kučibreg.

8.5.2. The dark commemorative event description: 73rd anniversary of the battle

The 73rd anniversary of the Battle of Kučibreg was held on 5 November 2017, beginning with a brief flower laying ceremony at the grave in Hrvoji (this part was not observed for logistical reasons). Political representatives of all Istrian municipalities in Slovenia and the Northern Istrian County (so called *Bujština*) as well as of the Istrian County, representatives of WWII veterans' organizations, their sympathizers and supporters, the media, and may other visitors from all over Istria, and the neighbouring regions in Slovenia, Croatia and Italy participated at the following main event at the monument in Kučibreg. According to vehicle registration

plates and inscriptions on buses parked on the parking lot (on the meadow) that was prepared and managed especially for this occasion, many came also from other parts of Slovenia and Croatia. All these additionally gave the event a (dark) tourism feel. Stands with local food and agricultural delicacies only reinforce this feeling. Many flags from three neighbouring Upper Adriatic Countries or regions as well as those of WWII veteran organizations from that countries gave the ceremonial/formal touch to the event. The Partisan choral music accompaniment was intended for the attending visitors. Despite considerably windy and cloudy weather without rain, the event attracted a lot of participants – it is estimated that there were many more visitors than in the previous years – who completely filled up the event area. There were representatives of all generations, with the late middle-age and older-age groups heavily dominating. Many individuals wore the so called *Titovka* – a green side cap characteristic of the Yugoslav Partisans – or its Slovenian version called the *Triglavka*.

The brass band from Buje accompanied the arrival of flag-bearers at 10.45 (with a 15-minute delay); visitors stood up respectfully. The presenter addressed the participants with *ladies and gentlemen and comrades* in three languages: Croatian, Italian and Slovenian. The greeting of the still living combatants of Kučibreg triggered a spontaneous applause. After the national anthem of Croatia and anthem of the Istrian County, which only strengthened the regional character of the ceremony, a minute of silence was observed to mark the respect for the victims of fascism, nazism, and the fight for independence in the 1990s. The presenter then highlighted some fact from the past and the present, i.e. the construction of the monument in 1959, values of anti-fascism, coexistence (*convivenza*), tolerance and similar. Visitors were then welcomed and hospitably addressed in three languages by the host Mayor of Buje, who was the first honorary speaker. He recapped the main points of his speech in Italian and Slovenian language as well. In his speech, he highlighted the importance of a common fight, comradeship, the preservation of the memory of victims, coexistence, tolerance and friendships between different nations and cultures; contemporary or past borders were not mentioned at all. Anti-fascism in Istria offered him a constant framework of his speech. The following honorary speakers – the Mayors of Muggia in Italy and Ankaran in Slovenia – predictably stayed within this framework. Both of them spoke in their native languages. Choral singing of the joint choirs from Umag and Novigrad followed with songs *Himna slobodi* (The anthem of freedom) in Croatian and *Fratellanzza* (Brotherhood) in Italian language.

The central phase of the event – the wreath laying ceremony at the monument – was particularly commemorative and showed a great degree of respect and compassion. Delegations of Croatian, Italian and Slovenian municipalities of the Upper Adriatic,

delegations of veterans'/anti-fascist organizations in the region and the Istria County solemnly laid wreaths, flowers and candles at the monument, accompanied by the sound of trumpets (see Figure 20). Flag-bearers approached the monument before that. The symbols of anti-fascism and WWII strongly marked the commemorative atmosphere. As typical for this day and age, this phase was massively recorded and photographed, not only by the many professional journalists, cameramen and photographers, but also by many regular visitors with their cameras and smart phones.

The solemn atmosphere continued with the rewarding the long-time organizer of the commemorations in Kučibreg, supporter of anti-fascism and former mayor of Buje, Mr. Edi Andreašić. On behalf of the 'Union of the Associations for the Values of the National Liberation Movement of Slovenia', the President of the 'Association of anti-fascists, fighters for the values of the National Liberation War and Veterans of Koper' presented him with the Golden Plate award. In a brief speech, he also remembered that the Kučibreg fighters were initially Istrians and then Croats, Slovenes and Italians.

Children of elementary schools from Oprtalj and Ankaran participated in the cultural programme; Slovenian theatre actor Brane Grubar recited the poem of Slovenian poet Srečko Kosovel. Another honorary speaker was the President of the Istrian County who relied on similar Istrian specifics as the speakers, especially Mayors, before him; his speech was in Croatian language. A point of special interest was his reflection on the governmental rejection of the proposal prepared in Istria for the legal ban of the Ustasha symbols and salutation. He also emphasized that there should be many commemorations such as the ones in Kučibreg in order to transfer the values of anti-fascism to younger generations and to prevent the resurrection of fascism. Visitors accepted his words with approval.

Figure 20: Wreath laying ceremony at the Kučibreg monument

The cultural programme at the end of the event included three other partisan songs performed by the choir from Lopar (Slovenia). The event ended with the unofficial anthem of the Slovenian Primorska region – *Vstajenje Primorske* (Rising of Primorska); all visitors rose without an invitation to do so and many participants also sang along. The event ended after an hour and a half. The visitors left very slowly - they socialized, stopped at the stands and greeted each other. Professional journalists, cameramen and photographers, who carefully observed the whole event, made the final recordings and interviews. As a consequence of all these gradual happenings, there was no chaos on the improvised parking lot; the police and stewards effectively directed the vehicles.

The above description clearly shows that this history-centric public dark commemorative event was especially rich with symbols (past and present): state, regional and anti-fascism symbols. The event was also apparently regionally oriented, since the ideas (and symbols) of regionalism were present; the critique of the state policy can be understood in the anti-fascist as well as in the regionalist context. Communism was not even mentioned, which

means that that red star, the image of Tito, the *Titovka/Triglavka*, partisan songs and some flags can be understood as symbols particularly in an anti-fascist context; religion was completely excluded from the event scenario. Nevertheless, the event had a strong commemorative connotation, with a great degree of respect and gratefulness expressed to the victims; the educational aspect was not neglected at this event. Moreover, the programme also supported the traditional Istrian trans-border collaboration and *convivenza*, tolerance and friendships between different nations and cultures. Consequently, the (dark) tourism connotation of the event was also clearly visible.

8.6. Discussion on history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria

Based on the observed cases of dark commemorative events in Istria, an 'illustrative' comparison is made in this final sub-chapter. A temporal analogy or path-dependent sequences, where the past is linked and/or extrapolated from the present, are simultaneously incorporated as an additional approach characteristic for the historical sociology. If we rely on Aminzade's (1992) concepts of time that have been used in recent historical socially sciences, than duration, amount of time elapsed for the given event or sequence of events, pace, trajectory and cycles, are not overlooked in this research. Following these directions, we avoided the danger of the ahistoricity of the whole chapter or thesis. In addition, components of the death system – see Table 2 in sub-chapter '2.3. Dark tourism and death system' – are also reasonably used.

In connection to the three research questions posed in sub-chapter '6.5. Discussion and chapter conclusion', the answers/findings are systematically outlined here in a comparable and contextualized manner. In relation to the first question (RQ1), we established that the dominating group of visitors on all locations were the middle- and late middle-aged to elderly attendees. If deliberately ignoring the dark commemorative event in Kučibreg, where the children of some North-Istrian elementary schools actually participated in the cultural programme, all other organizers almost completely ignored this target group and the youth in general; this was particularly evident at all observed events in Pula, Lanišće and Buje. Consequently, the intergenerational transfers of memory practices as identified by Misztal (2003: 17) or Wolff (2006: 115) are endangered. Some kind of memorial discontinuity has been identified in the post-socialist Croatia by Pavlaković and Perak (2017) or Lebhaft (2013, 2016) in relation to WWII-related heritage. However, results show that WWII-related dark commemorative events in Istria are less endangered than others. This further confirms the

claims of Pavlaković and Perak (2017) that the attitude to WWII is different in Istria. Nevertheless, it should be further examined how to combine professional, personal and family obligations/duties and habits (e.g. holidays, vacations and similar) as well as knowledge and awareness, by participating at history-centric dark commemorative events. This necessary step is needed in order to determine whether Istrian history-centric memorial practices are moving towards collective amnesia, which is, in general, described by Haebich (2011) and Ricoeur (2012) (see sub-chapter '3.2. Memory and history'). Moreover, if this phenomenon is a spontaneous and natural (this time not forced or penal) *damnatio memoriae* of the contemporary Istrian society, then this also requires additional interdisciplinary research. These investigations would be additionally reasonable since Istria had already encountered unadvised/prohibited memory practices (*damnatio memoriae*) in the past, e.g. Slavic-oriented in the time of fascism, religious, including those related to death of Bl. Bulešić and Bl. Bonifacio, or those related to the Italian emigrants in the period of the Second Yugoslavia.

When mentioning the age or generation of visitors, there is one more thing worth pointing out. Senior visitors of WWII-related events as well as events related to the post-WWII socialist revolution personally experienced or observed the violence, which means that their memory is first-generation memory – as described by Hirsch (2008) – or autobiographical memory as defined by Halbwachs (1992).[286] The same applies to middle-aged or late middle-aged visitors of the Homeland War-related dark commemorative events (Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders). They evidently constitute the main active target group of visitors for all observed dark commemorative events. Hence, even though the 'carriers' of the second and the third generation memory were still present (to a limited extent) in Kučibreg and Svetvinčenat, the third generation was almost entirely missing in Pula, Lanišće and Buje. The practices and consequences of the intergenerational transfer are therefore different. It can be concluded that collective memory – constructed on the traumatic and complex past – and thus the present Istrian identity ('Istrianity') are in crisis if the main criterion taken into account is only the transfer of historical facts and memories related to the past violent events to the younger generations. However, dark commemorative events are only one possible mode of transfer; in the quantitative part of the doctoral thesis, electronic media reports (media-constructed reality; mediated memory)[287] are presented as an alternative way. "People rely on the media for information and access to local, national, and world events"

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[286] Interestingly, traumatic experiences then impact the attitude of dark tourism development, where seniors with those experience can react in a very unsupportive way (Simone-Charteris et al., 2018).
[287] More about media-constructed reality can be found in Carter (2013) and Nišić and Plavšić (2014).

(Carter, 2013: 1), that is why the media are important for the transfer. However, the transfer is hindered when confidence in the media is on a low level.[288]

The number of visitors or the massiveness of the visit is our additional indicator related to RQ1. The relevance of this indicator is demonstrated by the massive visit to many dark commemorative events in the 20th century, which enables comparisons in time. Thus, for example, post-WWI Italian patriotism and heroism were massively celebrated and commemorated in Istria (see Giuriati (1927: 793), Gemmiti (1935), Marsetič (2006a, 2006b: 217), Klabjan (2010), Todero (2010) and Kavrečič (2017)), which, due to the change of regime, completely changed after WWII (see D'Alessio (2012a) and Hrobat Virloget (2015: 536)). However, the patterns remained similar/the same. In this context, some kind of continuity can be ascribed to the Kučibreg dark commemorative event, which was rooted in the Second Yugoslavia (or in the national liberation struggle), survived all political changes in the 1990s and has kept its importance and consequently its mass visit. The 73rd anniversary exhibits a trajectorial, history-centric, and cyclic perspective of the event. On the other hand, dark commemorative events in Pula and Svetvinčenat, two additional contemporary events with a higher number of visitors, and their history-centric and complex trajectory as well as ideological orientation,[289] are not comparable with those in Kučibreg. One of the main reasons is tradition – they were implemented not earlier than in the independent Croatia. However, their historical background, including the grave and commemoration of the martyrdom of Bl. Bulešić – problematic for the totalitarian authority – and the exceptional importance of the Homeland War for the people in Croatia in general, also attract more visitors, which is a prerequisite for highlighting them from the tourist perspective. However, with respect to all the analysed examples, it can be concluded that only the historical background itself does not have a decisive influence on the number and age structure of visitors.

Some basis for a substantive answer to RQ2 can be found in the answers to RQ1, as the visitors of contemporary events were discussed there. Thus, the memorial exhibition of Bl. Francesco Bonifacio in Buje (as an example of 'dark exhibitions' defined by Stone (2006)) and the Solemn Requiem Mass in Lanišće (as 'sites of individual or mass deaths', the special dark tourism example defined by Seaton(1996)) – despite previous expectations – resulted as marginal or irrelevant in terms of tourism. Their programme related to remembrance, and different ideological and cultural background was evidently not interesting enough. In

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[288] More can be found in Črpić and Mataušić (1998), Čuvalo (2010) and Baloban, Črpić and Ježovita (2019).

[289] Ideological orientation is not crucial, since, for example, the Istrian anti-fascist can also be Catholic.

addition, the local community has a partly or completely inadequate tourism infrastructure, e.g. Lanišće, Kučibreg, if we do not consider additional factors that we did not investigate, and are probably part of the problem, i.e. lack of motivation, financial resources and knowledge of tourism. The lack of tourism infrastructure is otherwise characteristic of 'dark shrines', which arise in the conflict aftermath (Stone, 2006: 155–156). Hence, for religious events (or the religious component of the events), the people's perception of faith/religion should also be illuminated. Research results of Baloban, Črpić and Ježovita (2019: 11, 34, 99) show that Istrian people attribute significantly less importance to religion and church than people in other Croatian regions.[290] Thus, these factors further prove their marginalization/irrelevance from the aspect of tourism, although the event in Kučibreg, which was organized in similar circumstances, has a large number of visitors, which means that the (negative) effect of the above-mentioned factors cannot be generalized. However, in such circumstances, the preservation of memory in the local environment were/are the main events' purpose.

In August 2018, the religious dark commemorative event in Svetvinčenat[291] – the town with tourist infrastructure – attracted local and many other visitors/believers, including pilgrims. As mentioned in sub-chapter '8.3.3. Concelebrated Mass in Svetvinčenat', this event cannot yet be considered as an international one only because of the few foreigners present. A similar situation was observed in Pula in the same month, when the entire Istrian County was full of tourists. It is worth mentioning that the County of Istria recorded over one million arrivals and 7,8 million overnight stays in August 2018 – the largest number of tourist arrivals and overnight stays in Croatia. In addition to Dubrovnik, foreign tourists spent most nights in Rovinj, Poreč, Medulin and Umag (Brozović and Perko, 2018), all internationally recognisable tourist destinations in the Istrian County. Such mass visits of foreigners were not observed at Svetvinčenat's or Pula's dark commemorative events.

Dark commemorative events in Pula and Svetvinčenat were not included into the tourism offer of the destinations, although they should be in order to achieve synergistic effects among different local products/suppliers.[292] Because the events were not properly promoted in order to inform and attract as many visitors as possible,[293] the insignificant number of foreign visitors is completely understandable. What were the past practices in Istria? As described in sub-chapter '6.2. Memorial practices and dark tourism in the post-WWI period',

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[290] The data cover Croatian part of the Upper Adriatic.
[291] In the dark tourism context it can be classified the same way as the event in Lanišće.
[292] For general explanations see Soteriades & Avgeli (2007: 336–340) and Vodeb (2014: 60–62).
[293] See Lončarić (2015: 238) for the promotional perspective. Economically speaking, the turnout contributes to the growth of local economies (Felsenstein and Fleischer, 2003).

the fascist Italy politicized (fascistized) public rituals (Dato, 2014; Gentile, 1996: 25–28, 88; Kavrečič, 2017; Orlović, 2014a: 118) as well as monopolized the memory of WWI (Kavrečič, 2017; Todero, 2010). Consequently, reasonable doubt was expressed in the international relevance of these pompous dark commemorative events in Istria; the attractiveness for visitors from distant places of the Kingdom was also problematized. Similar practices were then found in the Second Yugoslavia in the creation of a supranational identity of Yugoslavism with the slogan of 'Brotherhood and Unity' (Đurić, n.d.: 82, 94). As a product, the monuments and dark commemorative events were linked to the liberation struggle and the totalitarian regime, available to domestic tourists/visitors and thus commercialized in a way (Šuligoj, 2017a). This can be additionally confirmed by the publication of an extensive thematic tourist guide in Serbian language called *Jugoslavija – spomenici revolucije: turistički vodič* (Yugoslavia – monuments to the revolution: guide book) by Gojko Jokić and Dimitrije Čudov (1986), where Istria is also included. These examples from the 20th century show that the internationalisation of dark commemorative events and monuments has no tradition in Istria at all. In general, Kennell et al. (2018: 948) would interpret such conclusion that events "are often highly significant occasions for local communities and might not be understood by tourists." Moreover, the example of young residents of Croatia illuminated by Šuligoj (2016) shows that visits of dark commemorative events in the dark tourism context are not necessarily always understood as a tourist activity alone; their perceptions were more related to the elements of collective memory as described before in sub-chapters '3.1. Context and definitions' and '3.2. Memory and history'. Interestingly, the level of development of tourism infrastructure in the case of Svetvinčenat and especially in Pula, which is among the most touristically developed and recognizable tourist destinations in Croatia or in the Eastern Adriatic, appears as a not entirely relevant circumstance for the internationalisation of dark commemorative events. Moreover, it is difficult to place the memorial event in Pula into the dark tourism context – as per the types defined by Seaton (1996) or Stone (2006) – since it basically relies on sites and warfare events of the 1990s outside of Pula and Istria, but is nevertheless crucial for the contemporary Croatia. According to Kennell et al. (2018), however, it can be treated as dark event.

The abovementioned example of the anniversary of the Battle of Kučibreg – the 'dark conflict site' as in general defined by Stone (2006) is completely different as it attracts the international public of the Upper Adriatic; this was the most internationally marked of all cases involved. Paradoxically, considering this event as distinctively international would be, on the other hand, exaggerated. This is not in fact an event intended to foreign

visitors/tourists, but an event that arises from the local and regional (multi-cultural Upper Adriatic) collective memory, and its purpose is to preserve this memory and transfer it to younger generations. Positioning it into a natural environment without a special (tourism) infrastructure could be a restrictive circumstance – infrastructure is one of the main elements of the tourism system (see Figure 3). Locals (organizers) neutralize this weakness with a great deal of improvisation, which shows the many years of experience (tradition) of the organizers.

With the last indicator within RQ2, we tried to identify and understand the main reason for the visits, which is completely in line with Light's (2017: 279, 285–286) claims on the postmodern obsession with the understanding of the motivation and experiences of visitors.[294] On the other hand, Podoshen (2013) argued that motivations of visitors are not necessarily always directly related to simulation, interaction and their integration with death and suffering. However, the 'memory of the victims as the key reason for the visit' indicator turned out to be the least questionable at all the events involved: the memory of the martyrdom of Bl. Bulešić or Bl. Bonifacio, of fallen Croatian, Slovenian and Italian anti-fascists (Partisans) and defenders in the Homeland war in Croatia is what motivated visitors.[295]

In addition to many historical facts mentioned there, many irrational or emotional moments happen at all events, which is in line with the claims of Lennon and Foley (2000) and Ashworth (2008: 234) on emotions, which must go beyond memories at such events. Moreover, this is also completely in line with the claims of Pavlaković and Perak (2017: 301) on emotional dimensions, which also increase "attention, motivation and reasoning about the implications of the commemoration for the national cultural model, which is one of the most important functions of commemorative rituals." According to Chronis (2012: 1798), events should foster empathy between the visitor and the victim(s) and this was evident at the chosen events. Proving these findings are the many phrases of gratitude and respect, songs and performances, visitors that were singing songs with performers, and applauses.

Similarly to the Australian example highlighted by McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010), sentimentalisation of military conflicts and martyrdom was also observed. Honorary corps or other uniformed military and police representatives and salvos were not part of the programme – uniformed military and police representatives were

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[294] Even Best's (2007: 38) and Seaton's (1996: 240) definitions of *thanatourism* are based on the motivations.

[295] If we use Light's (2017: 286) findings, not only memory/remembrance should be included into the research, but a whole series of other related aspects, e.g. desire or opportunity for education, sense of moral duty, connecting with one's personal or family heritage and similar. However, in this case a more complex and in-depth quantitative approach should be used, which in fact goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

present only in Pula, where, however, they participated only as visitors. Consequently, it is difficult to understand these events as militarisation of the history and culture or encouragement of some kind of militaristic ideas. This cannot be claimed for all Istrian dark commemorative events in the 20th century, where the Istrian society was constantly heavily militarized, which was described more in detail in the previous chapters. During the period of Fascist Italy, for example, even the main speakers at the events and the most loyal members of the Fascist Party (as visitors) wore the characteristic black uniforms, which means that the carabineers and police officers were not the only uniformed people there – see Altin and Badurina (2017: 325–326). This way we only partially answered RQ3 where we were also looking for ideological topics, regionalism, *convivenza* and symbols.

Additional negative social deviations, such as historical revisionism, mythologisation and politicisation usually coexist with commemorative practices (Miklavcic, 2008). Myths are often above accurate historical facts (Schopflin and Hosking, 1997: 19), which can reduce culture to politics and ideology. Post-conflict situations in Istria from the fascist time (see Dato (2014), Gentile (1996: 25–28, 88), Kavrečič (2017) and Orlović (2014a: 118)) still face such deviations in today's post-socialist society (see Mustapić and Balabanić (2018)). It would be interesting to explore and compare the degree of mythologisation of these events in a more systematic way since many irrational actions and reactions that can be linked to mythologisation were observed in the analysed cases. Myths can be – according to Armstrong (1991) – understood as a unifying factor, which is, together with symbols, communication and many other cultural and symbolic components, decisive for shaping the common identity.

Convivenza as a characteristic feature of the common Istrian identity – described in sub-chapter '5.2. Istrian identity' – was assumed to be reflected every time and everywhere, but this was only partially confirmed. Only at the memorial in Kučibreg, common history, coexistence, collaboration and tolerance as a basis of *convivenza* were especially highlighted in the speeches and the cultural programme. At all other events they were not mentioned at all. The same conclusion can be made in relation to regionalism. Local and regional political representatives of liberal-social-democratic ideological orientation highlighted past and present life, anti-fascism in Istria, and criticised the political decisions and orientation of the Croatian government. Many of those representatives spoke also in Pula, but there such critiques or links to past life in Istria were not heard. There, politicians were focused on the Homeland War, its victims and contemporary Croatia and Istria, although not in the rationalistic context. Both in Kučibreg and in Pula, the regional anthem *Krasna zemljo, Istro mila* was sang, while in Kučibreg the anthem *Vstajenje Primorske*, the unofficial anthem of Western

Slovenia, was sang at the end as well. These regional anthems as well as the County's flag, however, gave the event a regional character at symbolic level; all these facts in 'Croatian Istria' derived from the Statute of the Istrian County (Statut Istarske županije, 2009). At the symbolic level, all dark commemorative events were extremely rich. If we continue with the event in Kučibreg, then we must point out that – in addition to the national symbols of the three countries, Croatia, Slovenia and Italy – there were many symbols of anti-fascism, which are, especially outside of Istria, usually understood very differently and cause dissonance in society (dissonant heritage), i.e. the red star and the image of Josip Broz Tito.[296] The Istrians' attitude to these symbols on the political and also broader social level is, generally speaking, positive or neutral, since they are also used at other WWII-related dark commemorative events.[297] At the event in Kučibreg, (Yugoslav) communism, with which these symbols could be linked, was never publicly mentioned – this context of symbols is thus recognized as less relevant in the present example.[298] It can be concluded that the polysemy of these symbols (anti-fascism and the liberation of Istria on the one hand and communist violence on the other) evidently does not create major problems in the contemporary Istrian society, where anti-fascist values prevail – see also sub-chapter '6.3. WWII-related memorial practices and dark tourism'.

Other observed dark commemorative events were less controversial in terms of the symbols publically presented there, although events differed significantly when taking into consideration this criterion. Religious events were predictably marked by classic Catholic symbols, including solemn religious rituals, which were carried out according to the usual procedure; the state, municipal and county's flag as well as the flag of Vatican City were also observed in Lanišće and Svetvinčenat. The opening ceremony of the memorial exhibition was not a usual religious event, but was – because of the space (the parish church) and some exhibits – also significantly marked by Catholic symbols. At the dark commemorative event in Pula, Croatian state flag and the flags of the County were flown in addition to many flags

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[296] The purpose was only to identify and not problematize these symbols, so we simply want to remind the readers of the recommendations adopted by the 'Council for dealing with the consequences of undemocratic regimes and tumultuous reactions in the Croatian society'– more can be found in the 'Dialogue Document: Postulates and Recommendations on Specific Normative Regulation of Symbols, Emblems and other Insignia of Totalitarian Regimes and Movements' (2018).

[297] This argument is based on the previous author's research, e.g. Šuligoj (2017a), or pedagogical work, e.g. Šuligoj (2017b, 2018b).

[298] Anti-fascism is included into the Statute of the Istrian County (Statut Istarske županije, 2009) and Constitution of the Republic of Croatia (Ustav Republike Hrvatske, 2010). The State Constitution relies also on anti-communism, and expresses the symbolic and formal meaning of these values. The Slovenian Constitution does not contain similar provisions (Ustava Republike Slovenije, 2013).

of the defender's associations from Istria, which highlighted the importance of remembering victims and heroes, and of patriotism. There were no symbols of some Croatian military units from the 1990s that could disturb and cause dissonance in the Istrian society. The speakers at these events did not mention any of the other symbols or ideological topics.

The Catholic ritual in the observed dark commemorative events naturally also included the phrase "Do this in remembrance of me", which means that we detected a theological aspect of dark commemorative events. Klein (2000: 130) and Barton (2007: 322) claim that this aspect is rarely highlighted in secular academic contexts; Barton then describes the link between memory and theology in a way not compatible with purpose of this research. This perspective in dark tourism studies has not been observed, although dark tourism is often associated with pilgrimage, which as a phenomenon derived from religious tradition – see Korstanje and George (2015) and Collins-Kreiner (2016). In addition, the common, theological, memorial and tourism perspective of past violent events in the post-socialist countries is also still a relevant research topic.

The summary of findings are presented in Table 5. According to the used criteria, the heterogeneity of events placed in the urban and rural (settlement and non-settlement) area is evident. All have in common local visitors, memory as the key reason for visiting and the absence of ideological topics. This also reflects heterogenic public memorial practices in Istria and also the heterogeneity of 'Istrianity' as an autochthonous regional identity described, for example, by Medica (1998, 2011), Cocco (2009, 2010), Ashbrook (2005), and different perceptions and understanding of the past, which was described by Hrobat Virloget (2015, 2017). The historical aspect thus proves to be a crucial component for understanding contemporary dark commemorative events, which means that its investigation within historical sociology is justified. Due to the included description of the historical background (trajectory), visitors (including those with autobiographical memory) and transfer of memories, past ideologies and their symbols (see Table 5), this doctoral thesis is also reasonably placed within the frames of this branch of sociology.

Table 5: Summary of multiple-case study findings

Indicator	Location of dark commemorative event				
	Pula	Lanišće	Svetvinčenat	Buje	Kučibreg
Visitors of different ages (generation)	–	–	+	–	+
Mass visit	+	–	+	–	+
Internationality	–	–	–	–	+
Local visitors	+	+	+	+	+
Memory as the key reason for the visit	+	+	+	+	+
Tourism infrastructure	+	–	+	+	+*
Ideological topics	–	–	–	–	–
Regionalism	+*	–	–	–	+
Convivenza	–	–	–	–	+
Symbols	+	+	+	+	+

Note: + … observed; – … not observed; * … only to a limited extent. Dark commemorative event in Lanišće and Svetvinčenat are treated as one event in two locations in the previous chapters.

By mixing two concepts, memory and dark tourism, we find that only the dark commemorative event in Kučibreg can be deemed a classic example of a dark event with a traumatic historical background and the evident 'international' tourism component, although with weak/improvised tourism infrastructure. The religious event in Svetvinčenat can be understood as part of both, dark and religious tourism, an event with an evident memorial component as well as regional and limited national reach. The rest exhibit only a limited local importance for certain social groups and their collective memory. Events have different traditions (cycles): religious ones were marked by silence and *damnatio memoriae* in the past (during the Yugoslav period), while those in Pula related to the Homeland War represent new memorial practices in Istria. The Istrian event related to WWII and anti-fascism has the longest tradition and actually connects people of different nationalities who share values of anti-fascism (symbolically, in the spirit of the famous French slogan *Liberté, égalité, fraternité*). Its

cycle started in the Second Yugoslavia and was later modified, and has maintained its relevance in the time of democratic Croatia.

From a tourist point of view, the observed differentiation is quite welcomed, as it enables diversity and meets needs and traditions of different target groups; because (all) foreigners cannot understand the background and circumstances of each dark commemorative event, it is not necessary to put each Istrian dark commemorative event into the dark tourism context. Hence, insufficient tourism infrastructure and an unprofessional approach to the organization are their detected weak points. Generally speaking, an interdependent tourism system (if the system from Figure 3 is sensibly applied) with such errors cannot work appropriately. Moreover, together with individuals (defenders, WWII veterans), places (Kučibreg memorial park, parson's house in Lanišće, Bulešić's tomb in the parish church in Svetvinčenat), times (all history-centric dark commemorative events), objects (memorials in Lanišće, Kučibreg or Pula) and symbols/languages (phrases of gratitude and respect, phrases at religious rituals, symbols of anti-fascism, state or County's symbols) – all components of the death system (see Table 2) – these create a special Istrian dark-tourist system, which does not operate perfectly either. Nevertheless, the main perspectives of Nora's memory (1989: 18–19) – material, symbolic, and functional – were taken into account, which also makes this doctoral thesis relevant.

9. ISTRIAN MEMORIES IN THE DARK TOURISM CONTEXT: THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter initially presents some additional methodological explanations, followed by a quantitative analysis of regional electronic media (newspaper) reports, and concludes with a discussion/comparison of findings with some theories, concepts and past research as well as results of the qualitative analysis (see also Figures 11 and 13). Bonnell's (1980: 157, 161, 164–165) 'analytical' approach that might provide explanatory generalisations is primarily used within this chapter, although some elements of the 'illustrative' approach can be seen in the final sub-chapter.

9.1. Methodological explanations

The main purpose of empirical analysis is to establish a representation of topics related to the Istrian history (of conflicts) of the 20th century, contemporary public memorial practices and dark tourism in leading regional electronic mass media (newspapers), based on which similarities and differences of public dark commemorative events can be found and, consequently, clusters of events can be created; this way, the transfer of memory via the media and the media-created social reality can also be identified. In addition, the contemporary distribution of memorial practices (dark commemorative events) within the peninsula, which had not been investigated before, is also an important purpose of this doctoral thesis. However, only those events which constitute a contemporary collective memory were relevant in this case, while those subject to social amnesia and silence were not, as they are obviously not the subject of public and, consequently, media discourse.[299] This means that we are dealing with public dark commemorative events as they are described in the electronic media. Geographically speaking, the thesis is focused on actual Croatian and Slovenian parts of the Istrian peninsula, while the Italian part, which accounts for approximately 0,36% of its territory (Gdje je Istra?, 2004), was intentionally excluded; sociologically speaking, all three main/autochthonous Istrian nations and their media were included. Research purposes and objectives from the introductory chapter (1.2. Research purpose and objectives) served as the main orientation for the work.

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[299] This does not mean that they do not exist.

According to Riffe et al. (2005: 43–45) and Bryman (2012: 291), quantitative content analysis is most efficient when dealing with explicit hypotheses or research questions. Three precise research questions were created on the basis of the two objectives:

RQ4: *Which type of dark commemorative events related to the conflicts of the 20th century have the highest regional coverage by the Istrian regional media?*

According to the findings presented in the previous chapters, the two world wars, the period of fascism, the socialist revolution and the Italian emigration (exodus) and, to a lesser extent, the bloody disintegration of the former federation in 1990, affected the Istrian society. It has not been explained yet, which contemporary events that present a reflection of past conflicts, are the most interesting for the regional media.

RQ5: *How many different clusters of contemporary history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria can be created based on media reporting?*

The regional media 'controls' the phenomena (dark commemorative events) that are presented to the people. By reporting on events, the transfer of stories, knowledge and values from the events are transferred to the readers of all generations, including the youth. The ancillary question is, what do the media report on events and what kind of media construction of events (social/memorial reality) is characteristic for Istria in the dark tourism and memorial context? Dark commemorative events as described in the electronic media are the focal point of the thesis. This has not been investigated yet.

RQ6: *What is the actual geographical dispersion of contemporary history-centric dark commemorative events all over the Istrian peninsula?*

All conflicts did not affect Istria with the same intensity. WWI primarily affected the southern coastal area, fascism and WWII influenced the coastal and central part, while no major military clashes took place during the Croatian Homeland War; there were military clashes during the war of independence in the Slovenian part. Blažević (1984: 64) mapped some examples of memorial heritage relevant for purposes of tourism, however, his map is already outdated today, and covers the topic that is the subject of this thesis only to a limited extent.

At the beginning, a limited set of leading regional newspapers (general, mass media) were selected through the expert knowledge of the author and some relevant data (see Appendix C and Graph 3): 'Glas Istre' in Croatian, 'Primorske novice' in Slovenian and 'La voce del popolo' in Italian language. They are more familiar with the local mentality and historical moments than others, which means that dark commemorative events are relevant

events for their reporting. All selected newspapers are available in printed and electronic versions, which was an additional selection criterion. 'Glas Istre' and 'La voce del popolo' together account for 60% of internet search interest of the most recognizable newspapers in the Istrian County (including those from the national level; see Graph 3). The extremely low proportion of search interest in 'La voce del popolo' was not expected, but it is necessary to take into account that we are dealing with a national minority newspaper . A similar analysis cannot be made for the Slovenian part of Istria, since Slovenia is not formally divided into regions. Nevertheless, *Google Trends* (2019) data show that 'Primorske novice' is the most sought-after newspaper in the Western and South-Western parts of the state.

If 'classes of interest in the mass media' identified by Splichal (2000: 6) are taken into account, then the selection of newspapers can be further described as follows (see also Appendix C):

- media owners: the main owners are from the region (Upper Adriatic) or abroad (EU), companies as owners dominate, the ownership stakes of other media companies have been observed as well, e.g. 'Dnevnik' is a co-owner of 'Primorske novice';

- advertisers: the national advertising shares (the only available data) of newspapers are quite low;

- different civil society organizations: it is particularly evident that the Italian newspaper, owned by the Italian community, is especially focused on 'Italian issues'.[300] It is impossible to recognize other groups/organisations (e.g. veterans, minorities, religious organizations and similar) linked to newspapers, although those from the region, generally speaking, should be very interested to be presented in the media;

- the general public (interest in the public role of the media): in general, the liberal-social-democratic ideological orientation of the residents of the trans-border region of Istria is evident[301] and the editorial policies of newspapers should not ignore it. On the other hand, 'Glas Istre', as a company, for example, supports publications of books, such as Scotti's (2008) *Krik iz fojbe* (Shriek from the abyss), where the topic is not treated one-dimensionally.

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[300] For example, it is evident that the newspaper regularly publishes topics related to *esuli* and *rimasti*.
[301] More can be found in Šantić (2000); see also the election results of *Državna volilna komisija* (Izidi glasovanja, 2018), Baloban, Črpić and Ježovita (2019: 44) and *Istarska županija: Izbori* (n.d.).
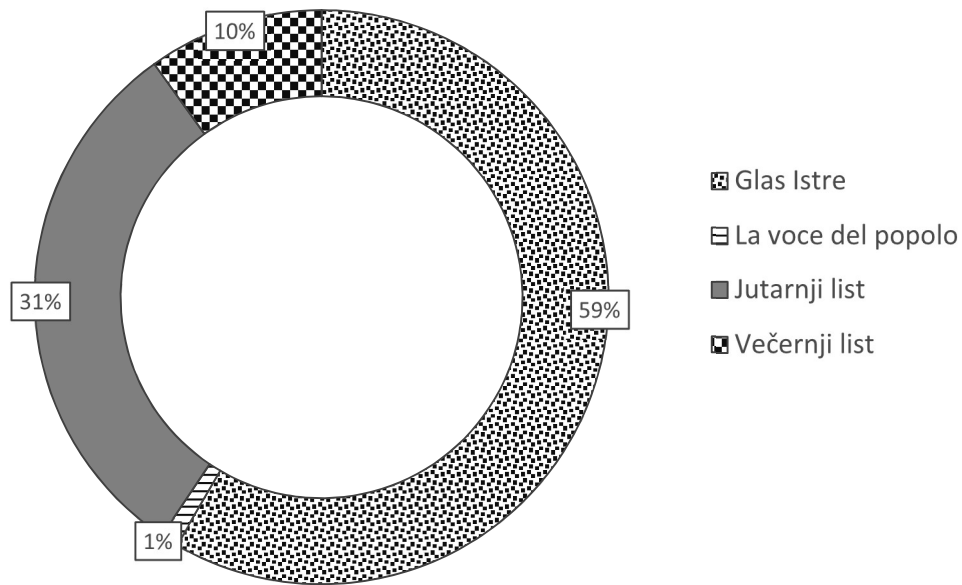
Note: the value of 'La voce del popolo' is < 1 %.

Graph 3: Internet search interest in the selected electronic media in the Istrian County (2014 – 2019) (Source: Google Trends, 2019)[302]

Within the following step, a selection of newspaper reports was made on the basis of the following criteria:

- free web press articles (reports) available to all interested readers, especially to the youth – the 'net generation' (Junco and Mastrodicasa, 2007; Nikodem et al., 2014) – which are, as presented within the previous chapter, not frequent visitors of dark commemorative events. For the youth (teens), who displaced the consumption of legacy media, the online information has become some kind of norm (Twenge et al., 2018), which means that the transfer of memories, values and stories can be effectively made by electronic media – see also Čuvalo (2010);

- press articles (reports) are particularly focused on public history-centric dark commemorative events, not including commemorations of 1 November or scientific events.

The research/coding unit was a press article (report) as an independent entity of an online version of the newspapers; reports were searched for and collected on a daily basis. All available reports from 1 February 2016 to 30 November 2018 were included in the analyses. This approach minimized the possibility that any reported history-centric dark

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[302] It should be noted that users can also use other search engines.

commemorative events would be overlooked. It is probable, however, that we did not capture all reports due to the changes on the website, but their number cannot be defined.

The quantitative content analysis allows the inclusion of both substantive (content) and form (formal) features of texts and related visual images, but only substantive and visual (photographs) features were rated within this research. Each report was coded according to 42 predetermined codes, each signifying a certain dark commemorative event (see Appendix D and Table 6). Codes were based on findings in the following sub-chapters: '2.5. Chapter Conclusion', '3.4. Chapter Conclusion', '4.3. Chapter Conclusion', '5.4. Chapter Conclusion', '6.5. Discussion and Chapter Conclusion' and '8.6. Discussion on history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria'. These indicators/codes represent categorical variables with no multiple responses allowed. To unify the coding process as much as possible, it was done entirely by one researcher. Following the suggestions of Bryman (2012: 304), a piloting phase was initially implemented in order to be able to enhance the quality of coding, which means reducing/eliminating the uncertainty about which category to employ when considering a certain dimension, or helping identify evidence that one category tends to subsume an extremely large percentage of items.

Table 6: Coding sheet summary

Group of codes	Codes
Report identification	Q1 – Q7
Dark tourism aspect	Q8, Q9, Q12 – Q14, Q18
Memorial aspect	Q10, Q11, Q15 – Q17
Political aspect	Q19 – Q22
Cultural aspect	Q23 – Q27

The process consisted of reading the text first and then carefully examining the photos, if available, which is completely in line with the options listed by Bryman (2012: 290). Content analysis is a data driven process, which means that researchers "want to code the text in terms of certain subjects and themes, which is called a categorisation of the phenomenon or phenomena of interest" (Bryman, 2012: 297). It is assumed that the process of categorisation (coding) is relatively objective.

As mentioned above, the inclusion of one researcher only made the assessment of intra-rater reliability possible. In this case, Mackey and Gass (2005: 129) and Riffe et al. (2005: 145) suggest a two-step approach:

- the researcher/coder first codes all the data of the body of the content and
- after a certain interval, they need to re-code the data or (only) part of it.

According to these suggestions, the scores of the same researcher, but at different points of time, can have the same effect as standard inter-rater reliability check procedure. Consequently, a two-week break was introduced between the 'original' and re-coding. The 20 content samples (15,9% of the body of content) for reliability testing were then randomly selected.[303] In comparison with the initial coding, recoding of the content of selected reports showed merely negligible deviations – two variables or about 0,2% of codes differed – therefore, we did not continue with the re-coding process and accepted the high level of intra-rater reliability.[304] Moreover, the above-mentioned two-step approach also shows, although in a simplified manner, the test – retest reliability of a construct. The variable type (codes) prevented the mathematical calculation of internal reliability, as is customary in sociology and other social sciences in the processing of scale variables.

The guidelines of Riffe et al. (2005: 169–170) were followed for validity testing as well. According to the authors, "content analysis can be a very strong research technique in terms of external validity or generalisability." The analysis included all available reports on public dark commemorative events, which means that all recognisable/representative events were analysed; the inclusion of the entire population and the manner of data collection indicate high external validity/generalisability. External validity can also be evaluated through the scientific relevance of the topic, which is systematically described in the previous chapters from a multi- and inter-disciplinal perspective. These descriptions demonstrate that both the history and the present of Istria as a problematic region are interesting for scientific investigation and thus this research upgrades the previous scientific findings. Hence, the construct validity derives predominantly from the mixing of the memory and dark tourism theory (although some other aspects were included as well – see Table 6), reinforced by historical facts and contemporary Istrian memorial practices that reflect the regional reality (categorical variables were

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[303] On the basis of the past research, Riffle et al. (2005: 146) suggested a sample of 5 to 25% of the body of the content.

[304] We assumed that at least 90% of codes must be equal, which is understood as ideal (Mackey and Gass, 2005: 244); Stemler (2001: 2) notes 95% of agreement. However, we (orientationally) used in the literature perceived assumption, which is characteristic for the inter-rater reliability, since the scale for the intra-rater reliability was not observed.

developed on these bases). Internal or criterion validity (also statistical validity) was tested with the nonparametric χ^2 Test of Independence to determine whether there is an association between categorical variables – see the following sub-chapter.

The TwoStep cluster analysis with the log-likelihood measure in the SPSS system was employed in order to handle categorical variables (codes).[305] The TwoStep cluster analysis can operate with mixed type attributes, although such analyses can be problematic – different combinations of the variables can impact the results, which is especially evident when continuous variables are included; the sample size has nearly no effect (Bacher et al., 2004: 13). In addition, testing both nominal and binary variables produced practically the same results (Rezankova et al., 2006: 611–612). Consequently, in order to minimize the procedural impact on the number of clusters, we decided to use only nominal and (symmetric and asymmetric) binary variables. Both Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) as well as Bayes Information Criterion (BIC) were implemented for the automatic clustering algorithm, which determines the number of clusters – we followed the practice of Kayri (2007) and recommendations of Sarstedt and Mooi (2014: 299, 304). The degree of stability was tested this way as well.

9.2. Raw data for statistical analysis

Exactly 126 reports from 34 consecutive months were included in the analysis, which is at the lower limit of acceptability. A total of 65% were published in the main regional newspaper ('Glas Istre') in Croatian language, while Slovenian and Italian newspapers account for more than 10% each. The vast majority of reports covering this subject and the place of the event were not previously published (80%); this variable was needed because we collected reports for almost three years and some events were repeated, which would be problematic in connection to RQ4 and RQ6. In addition, online reports were mostly full text reports with single photo taken at the event by a journalists or their photographer. These basic (formal) characteristic are presented also in Table 7.

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[305] It can be used to handle categorical and continuous variables: nominal, ordinal and dichotomous (Rezankova et al., 2006; Rezankova, 2009: 220; Kayri, 2007; Sarstedt and Mooi, 2014; Bacher et al., 2004). More can be found on the IBM Knowledge Center (TwoStep Cluster Analysis, 2014).

Table 7: Characteristic of included reports

Characteristic	f	Share (%)	Cumulative %
(Q1) Newspaper			
Glas Istre	82	65	65
La voce del popolo	30	24	89
Primorske novice	14	11	100
(Q4) Previously published			
Yes	24	20	20
No	102	80	100
(Q5) Report type			
Short message	30	24	24
A shortened version of the printed report	5	4	28
Full text	91	72	100
(Q6) No. of photos:			
No photos	4	3	3
One photo	92	73	76
More than one photos	30	24	100
(Q7) What kind of photos?			
Only old/historical	3	2	2
Only new photos	118	94	99
Both new and historical	1	1	100

In contrast to RQ4 and RQ6, which do not require more complex statistical analysis and preliminary row data verification, RQ5 requires more complex statistical processing of row data. We first have to check the association between categorical variables. For TwoStep cluster analysis it is assumed, in addition to multinomial distributions for categorical variables, also that the variables are independent of each other. Thus, the nonparametric χ^2 Test of Independence was employed first – the test was conducted at p = 0,05. The first issue we encountered was a low f for some codes (the distribution was very unbalanced); the problem where the expected f < 5 was established in 153/289 (52,9 %) pairs. One of the

assumptions of the χ^2 Test of Independence was violated in this case. Consequently, the following corrective actions were made for certain codes in order achieve $f \geq 5$:

- Q12: 'dark re-enactment' and 'festival' were removed since their $f = 0$, 'national day of mourning or remembrance' with $f = 9$ and 'parade, march, procession' with $f = 2$ were merged into 'national day of mourning or remembrance' with $f = 11$. Both codes were associated with 'Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders';

- Q13: 'site of public executions' and 'place or event of re-enactments or simulation of death' were removed since their $f = 0$;

- Q16: 'middle generation' was removed since its $f = 0$;

- Q17: 'no' was removed since its $f = 0$;

- Q19: 'only regional' with $f = 2$ and 'local and regional' with $f = 16$ were merged into 'local and regional' with $f = 18$; 'only state' with $f = 2$ and 'local, regional and state' with $f = 20$ were merged into 'local, regional and state' with $f = 22$. The reports only points out higher-level politicians, usually as honorary speakers, although, according to political protocol, lower-level politicians (ordinarily) host or accompany those of higher level;

- Q20: 'only from neighbouring regions' was removed since its $f = 0$; 'only from neighbouring municipalities' with $f = 1$, 'from neighbouring municipalities and regions' with $f = 1$, 'from neighbouring state(s)' with $f = 4$ and 'from neighbouring municipalities, regions and states' with $f = 1$ were merged into 'from neighbouring municipalities, regions or/and states' with $f = 7$. The participation of foreign politicians at dark commemorative events in Istria is not a common practice or electronic media do not report this often, although this is less likely. Consequently, four options related to this topic were merged into one;

- Q23a: 'of fascism' was removed since its $f = 0$;

- Q25: 'with music' was removed since its $f = 0$; 'with reading and reciting' with $f = 2$, 'with some kind of theatrical performance' with $f = 1$ and 'varied cultural programme' with $f = 46$ were merged into 'varied cultural programme' with $f = 49$. In general, the reports do not devote much space to the detailed description of the cultural programme, which means that it is difficult to determine the programme only on this basis. Therefore, this correction did not significantly change the quality of this code;

- Q26: 'no religious ritual' was removed since its $f = 0$; 'only the blessing' with $f = 2$, 'both blessing and prayer' $f = 3$ and 'the whole event has a religious character' with $f = 1$ were merged into 'blessing, prayer and similar rituals are part of the programme' with $f = 6$. Since 82,50% of reports do not even mention religious content, the quality of Q26 has not changed significantly after this correction.

Codes, for which the presence was marked with 'yes', 'no' or 'not specified', were much more problematic. The initial descriptive analysis showed a considerable imbalance, with 'not specified' largely dominating. 'Not specified' means that this code was not observed at all in the processed media report. If this is found in the vast majority of reports, we can conclude that the definite code is not relevant at all and can be excluded – see Table 8. In addition, the codes related to politicisation (Q21c), symbols (Q23b, Q23c, Q23d, Q23e, Q23g) and multiculturalism (Q24b, Q24c) were problematic due to the extremely low f:

- $16 \leq f \leq 48$ was evident for 'yes',
- $f \leq 3$ ($f = 0$ dominate) for 'no' and
- $76 \leq f \leq 107$ for 'not specified'.

They were corrected in a way that 'no' and 'not specified' were merged into the new code with $f \geq 5$. Merging two codes where 'no' had an extremely low f did not significantly affect the quality of the analysis, but even more damage would have been caused if 'yes' had been ignored (in the case of elimination of these codes).

With this correction, the share of appropriate pairs with non violated assumptions raised to 165/196 (84,2%), which is, however, not optimal. Accordingly, the generalised 'Fisher exact test' *FI(x)*, which is practically applied in the analysis of all sample sizes, especially when more than 20% of cells have an expected $f < 5$, was employed to test code association. For such cases and when the contingency tables are larger than 2 x 2, SPSS offers the 'Fisher-Freeman-Halton exact test' of independence. As a result, for 78/196 (39,8%) pairs were considered that

$$6{,}221 \leq FI(x) \leq 51{,}388 \quad \text{and} \quad 0{,}000 \leq \text{exact p} \leq 0{,}048.$$

A significant association between those codes at significance level of 0,05 was identified – the asymptotic p value was replaced with the exact p value (with two sided probability).[306] This associations in some cases were not a surprise, e.g. (Q10) Conflict – (Q23b) symbols of anti-fascism, (Q12) Event type – (Q27) Flower ceremony, (Q18) Foreign visitors – (Q24c) multiculturalism: representatives of minorities. We found that, despite all interventions, some codes remained statistically significantly related, which led us to violate the assumption of independence.[307] The χ^2 Test (Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test) procedure to test a specified multinomial distribution of categorical variable was not employed as we do no not operate with a sample.

Table 8: Excluded codes

Code	'Not specified' (%)
Politicisation:	
(Q21a) nationalist ideas	98
(Q21b) regionalist ideas	94
(Q21d) ideological issues	98
Militarisation:	
(Q22a) in plain-clothes	93
Symbols at the event:	
(Q23f) of national minority	94
Multiculturalism at the events:	
(Q24a) the multi-language event	94

9.3. Istrian dark commemorative events and conflicts of the 20th century

Exactly 88,9% of analysed regional electronic media reports at least mentioned historical facts highlighted at the events (event's background), which means that reports and events

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[306] Comprehensive calculations are stored in the author's personal archive.

[307] "Empirical internal testing indicates that the procedure is fairly robust to violations of the assumption of independence and the distributional assumptions, but you should try to be aware of how well these assumptions are met" (TwoStep Cluster Analysis, 2014).

themselves (journalists usually refer to speakers or other information obtained at the event) are history-centric. Nearly 66% of events occur at memorials or internment sites and 28,6% at sites of individual or mass deaths. On the other hand, the mythologisation of historical facts was observed in 19,8% of reports. Hence, 102 unrepeated electronic media reports were identified (see Table 7). This also means as many different regional public dark commemorative events, of which memorial services prevail with 75,2% – see Table 9. In relation to the conflicts of the 20th century, 52,5% of events are related to WWII. From the Crosstab, a special type of table for demonstrating the relationship between two categorical variables, can be concluded that dark commemorative services related to WWII are the most frequent dark commemorative events in Istria. Dark commemorative events related to the conflict of the 1990s are much less frequent and thus less often subject of electronic media reporting. Interestingly, almost 9 % represent the WWI-related events, which are definitely associated with the anniversary of the war. All these are answers to RQ4.

Table 9: Istrian dark commemorative events in connection with the conflicts of the 20th century

(Q12) Type of the event		(Q10) Related conflict of the 20th century						Σ
		A	B	C	D	E	F	
Dark exhibition	Count	5	0	4	3	0	0	12
	% of Total	5,0	0,0	4,0	3,0	0,0	0,0	11,9
National day of mourning or remembrance	Count	0	0	3	0	5	1	9
	% of Total	0,0	0,0	3,0	0,0	5,0	1,0	8,9
Memorial service	Count	4	5	45	8	9	6	77
	% of Total	4,0	5,0	43,8	7,9	8,9	5,9	75,2
Significant anniversary	Count	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
	% of Total	0,0	0,0	2,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	3,0
Parade, march, procession	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	% of Total	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	1,0
Σ	Count	9	5	54	11	16	7	102
	% of Total	8,9	5,0	52,8	10,9	15,8	6,9	100,0

Note: A – WWI, B – fascist terror, C – WWII, D – socialist revolution and Italian exodus, E – independence war in the 1990s, F – other

9.4. Clusters of dark commemorative events

On the basis of expectations arising from RQ5, the TwoStep cluster analysis was employed. Both possibilities, AIC and BIC, were implemented first (default settings were used) for the automatic clustering algorithm. As it can be seen from Figure 21, the results are not optimal, however, AIC offers a better (fair) cluster quality and it is suitable for further analytical work (see also in Graph 4 where the value of AIC is the lowest). Moreover, on the basis of these results we can also conclude that the model is not optimally stable, as the results of two approaches differ. A relatively small number of analysed media reports certainly has a negative effect on the quality of the model and its stability.
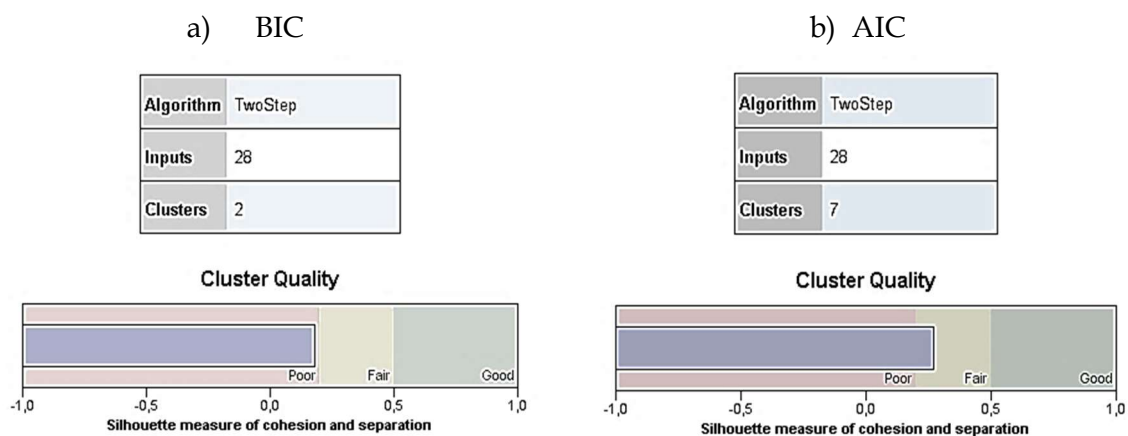
Figure 21: Comparison of model summaries

AIC, chosen as the automatic clustering algorithm, creates seven different clusters with $4 \leq f \leq 13$. The identified low f of some clusters was not satisfactory, which means that the proposed solution cannot be accepted. The clustering procedure was repeated where automatic clustering was limited to max. five clusters.[308] This resulted in four clusters (Figure 22), with $f \geq 10$ and the quality of the model being preserved as 'fair'. This means that the new solution can be accepted (see also Graph 4), although many media reports were automatically excluded (Table 10). The following syntax led us to this result:

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[308] Interestingly, the determination of max. four clusters offers the same solution, while other options associated with fewer clusters offer poor cluster quality.

TWOSTEP CLUSTER

/CATEGORICAL VARIABLES=Q9 Q10 Q11a Q11b Q12POP Q13POP Q14 Q15 Q16 Q17POP Q18 Q19POP Q20POP Q21c Q22b Q22c Q22d Q23a Q23b Q23c Q23d Q23e Q23g Q24b Q24c Q25POP Q26POP Q27

/DISTANCE LIKELIHOOD

/NUMCLUSTERS AUTO 5 AIC

/HANDLENOISE 0

/MEMALLOCATE 64

/CRITERIA INITHRESHOLD(0) MXBRANCH(8) MXLEVEL(3)

/VIEWMODEL DISPLAY=YES

/PRINT IC COUNT SUMMARY

/SAVE VARIABLE=TSC_3035.
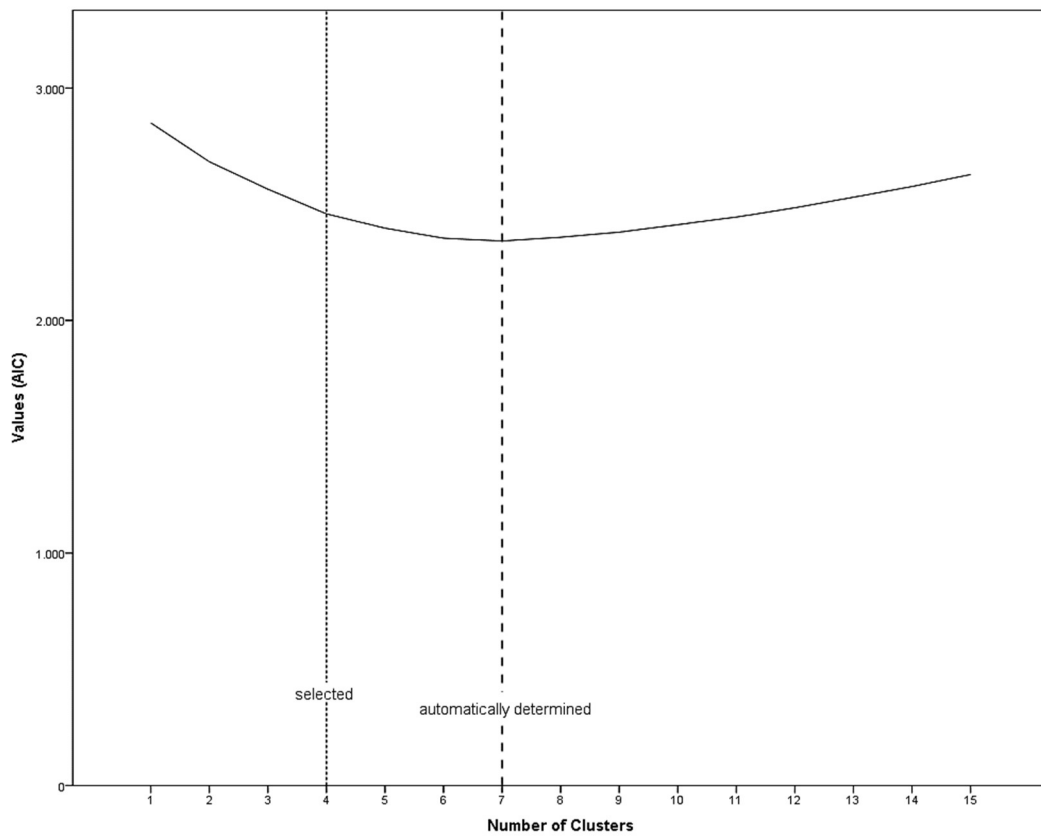
Graph 4: Automatic Clustering (AIC) and number of clusters

Graph 5 considers the relative importance of each code (predictor) in estimating the created model, where $\sum = 1{,}0$; codes in Figure 22 are also classified according to the relative importance. Militarisation-related predictors proved to be the most important ones. The ratio of sizes is 2,50 ($< 3{,}00$) which is quite adequate.
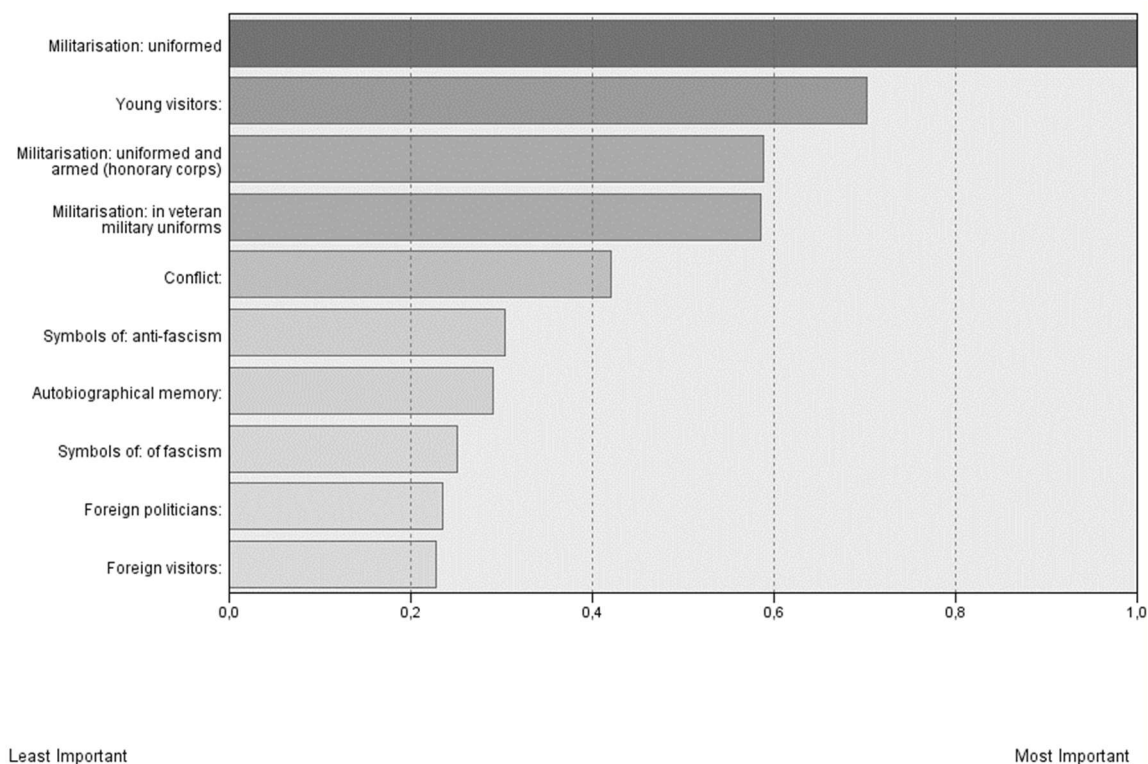
Graph 5: Predictor importance

Table 10: Distribution of cases in clusters

Clusters	f	% of Combined	% of Total
Cluster 1	10	15,2	7,9
Cluster 2	18	27,3	14,3
Cluster 3	25	37,9	19,8
Cluster 4	13	19,7	10,3
Combined	66	100,0	52,4
Excluded cases	60		47,6
Total	126		100,0

After the completion of the cluster analysis and the Crosstab process in SPSS, the individual clusters can be described in more detail. The description of clusters in the following four paragraphs relies on media-constructed dark commemorative events' features. The graphic illustration in Figure 22 is based on the calculated mode (Mo), which should be taken into account when interpreting figures from Tables 11, 12 and 13, where *f* are showed.

Cluster 1: Simple dark commemorative events

Dark commemorative events related to the liberation struggle (WWII) account for 48,5% of all events in electronic media reports, 12% of them are placed in the Cluster 1 (see Table 11 and Graph 6), the smallest cluster (see Table 10). Homogeneity is problematic, but WWII together with fascist terror prevails in any case. Said events rely on historical facts (Mo = 9) and mainly occur in towns (Mo = 7) at memorials or internment sites (Mo = 7). Memorial services dominate as the event type (Mo = 7; see Table 12) and speeches are the most frequent forms of cultural programmes (Mo = 6). Flower ceremonies, as an important component of the programme, are typical for this cluster (Mo = 6). Among politicians, only local politicians participate at such events (Mo = 7). Mixed generations of visitors are the most characteristic for Cluster 1 (Mo = 6), while foreign visitors and politicians are not present in the analysed events. Interestingly, militarisation (uniformed, uniformed and armed visitors, visitors in veterans' uniforms), mythologisation, mass visit as well as young visitors are clearly not characterising for such events. Naturally, symbols of fascism are also predictably not present.

Table 11: Clusters and conflicts of the 20th century

(No. of reports)

Cluster	(Q10) Conflict of the 20th century						Σ
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Cluster 1	0	1	4	1	3	1	10
Cluster 2	0	3	14	0	1	0	18
Cluster 3	2	0	14	5	0	4	25
Cluster 4	0	0	0	0	12	1	13
Σ	2	4	32	6	16	6	66

Note: A – WWI, B – fascist terror, C – WWII, D – socialist revolution and Italian exodus, E – independence war in the 1990s, F – other

Cluster 2: WWII-related dark commemorative events of rural areas

Dark commemorative events of Cluster 2 account for 43,8% of all WWII-related events in electronic media report (see Tables 10 and 11). They rely on historical facts (Mo = 17) and mainly occur in villages (Mo = 12) at sites of individual or mass death (Mo = 9) – only Cluster 2 events have these characteristics. Moreover, memorial services dominate as the event type (Mo = 18; most of all) and a varied cultural programme is also characteristic only of this cluster members. Flower ceremonies, as an important component of the programme, are highly significant for this cluster (Mo = 16). Among politicians, only local politicians participate at such events (Mo = 13; most of all). Mixed generations of visitors are characteristic of Cluster 2 (Mo = 15), and foreign politicians are not present in the analysed events. Young visitors are characteristic only of this cluster members – Mo = 12. Mass visits are clearly not characterising of these events. Naturally, symbols of fascism are also predictably not present, while symbols of anti-fascism are typical only for these events (or media reports on these events).

Cluster 3: Mixed dark commemorative events

The 'Mixed memorial events' cluster with *f* = 25 is the largest cluster of all, where the media relies on historical facts in the most significant way when reporting on such events (Mo = 23). These events occur mostly in towns (Mo = 10). Exactly 56% of cluster members are WWII-related (see Table 11); except for fascism- and independence-related events, this cluster contains events related to all other conflicts of the 20th century (the most inhomogeneous cluster), where those related to the post-WWII socialist revolution and the Italian exodus, as the second largest group, account for 20% of all cluster members – see Table 12. Memorial services (Mo = 17) as event types, memorials or internment sites (Mo = 13) as categories of sites where events occur, flower ceremonies (Mo = 17) at the event, the presence of mixed generations of visitors (Mo = 22; the most pronounced among all clusters) are important characteristics of these events. Other features are not generally typical for it.

Table 12: Clusters and event types

| | (Q12) Event type | | | | (No. of reports) |
Cluster	A	B	C	D	Σ
Cluster 1	0	3	7	0	10
Cluster 2	0	0	18	0	18
Cluster 3	5	1	17	2	25
Cluster 4	0	7	6	0	13
Σ	5	11	48	2	66

Note: A – dark exhibition, B – national day of mourning or remembrance, C – memorial service, D – significant anniversary

Cluster 4: Independence war-related dark commemorative events

Events related to the military conflict in 1990s and the independence war (see Table 11) are the third largest group/cluster (*f* = 13); among historical facts mentioned at events (Mo = 11), the independence war of the 1990s is the dominating one (Mo = 12). The National Day of Mourning and Remembrance with Mo = 7 is the main event type, although Mo = 6 shows that memorial services are also common (see Table 12). All events (cluster members) occur at memorials or internment sites, which are located in Istrian towns (Mo = 6). Most likely to participate are local politicians (46,15% of cluster members); foreign visitors (Mo = 7) as well as foreign politicians (Mo = 8) are not present in the analysed events, which means that only domestic mixed visitors with Mo = 13 visit these events. Uniformed representatives of repressive bodies as a sign of militarisation are present at 84,61% of events (cluster members). Participants of past conflicts are present at the event (Mo = 13). This is important for the autobiographical memory transfer (this the characteristic of this cluster only). Flower ceremonies are important components of all included events (Mo = 13), and the event programme is simpler in this case – only including a speech (Mo = 5). There is no information on religious rituals at events, while religious symbols were observed only at these events (Mo = 7).

Table 13: Clusters and presence of young visitors at events

(No. of reports)

Cluster	(Q15) Presence of young visitors			$\sum$
	Yes	No	not specified	
Cluster 1	2	8	0	10
Cluster 2	12	0	6	18
Cluster 3	3	0	22	25
Cluster 4	1	1	11	13
$\sum$	18	9	39	66

Clusters: 3 ■   2 ▲   4 •   1 ○

Category			
Militarisation: Uniformed	• (Yes)	○ (No)	■▲ (Not specified)
Young visitors	▲ (Yes)	○ (No)	■• (Not specified)
Militarisation: Uniformed and armed (honorary corps)	(Yes)	○ (No)	■▲• (Not specified)
Militarisation: In veteran military uniforms	(Yes)	○ (No)	■▲• (Not specified)

Conflict	WWI	Fascist terror	WWII	Socialist revolution and Italian exodus	Independence war in the 1990s	Other
			■▲○		•	

Category		
Symbols of: Anti-fascism	▲ (Yes)	■•○ (Not specified)
Autobiographical memory	• (Yes)	■▲○ (Not specified)
Symbols of: Fascism	▲○ (No)	■• (Not specified)

Foreign politicians	▲•○ (Not present)	(From neighbouring municipalities, regions and states)	■ (Not specified)

Foreign visitors	•○ (Not present)	(From the Upper Adriatic)	■▲ (Not specified)

Event type	Dark exhibition	National day of mourning or remembrance	Memorial service	Significant anniversary
		•	■▲○	

Mass visit	▲○ (Yes)		■• (Not specified)
	(Yes)	(No)	

Symbols of: Religion	• (Yes)	■▲○ (Not specified)

Area	City (regional centre)	Town	Village	Non-settlement area
		■•○	▲	

Figure 22: Cluster comparison

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Clusters: 3 ■   2 ▲   4 ⦿   1 ○

Politicians		(▲⦿○)			(■)
	Not present	Only local	Local and regional	Local, regional and state	Not specified

Site category	(▲)	(■⦿○)	
	Site of individual or mass deaths	Memorials or internment site	Site/area with the purpose of viewing evidence of death or symbolic representations of it

Historical facts: Mythologised		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	No

Multiculturalism: The convivenza (is highlighted)		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

Multiculturalism: Representatives of minorities		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

Cultural programme	(■⦿○)	(▲)
	Just a speech	Varied cultural programme	Not specified

Flower ceremony	(■▲⦿○)	
	Yes	No	Not specified

Religious ritual			(■▲⦿○)
	Holy mass	Only prayer	The whole event has a religious character	Not specified

Other generations	(■▲⦿○)	
	Seniors	Mixed	Not specified

Symbols of: Veterans' organisations		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

Symbols of: Other		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

Symbols of: Contemporary state		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

Politicisation: Political propaganda		(■▲⦿○)
	Yes	Not specified

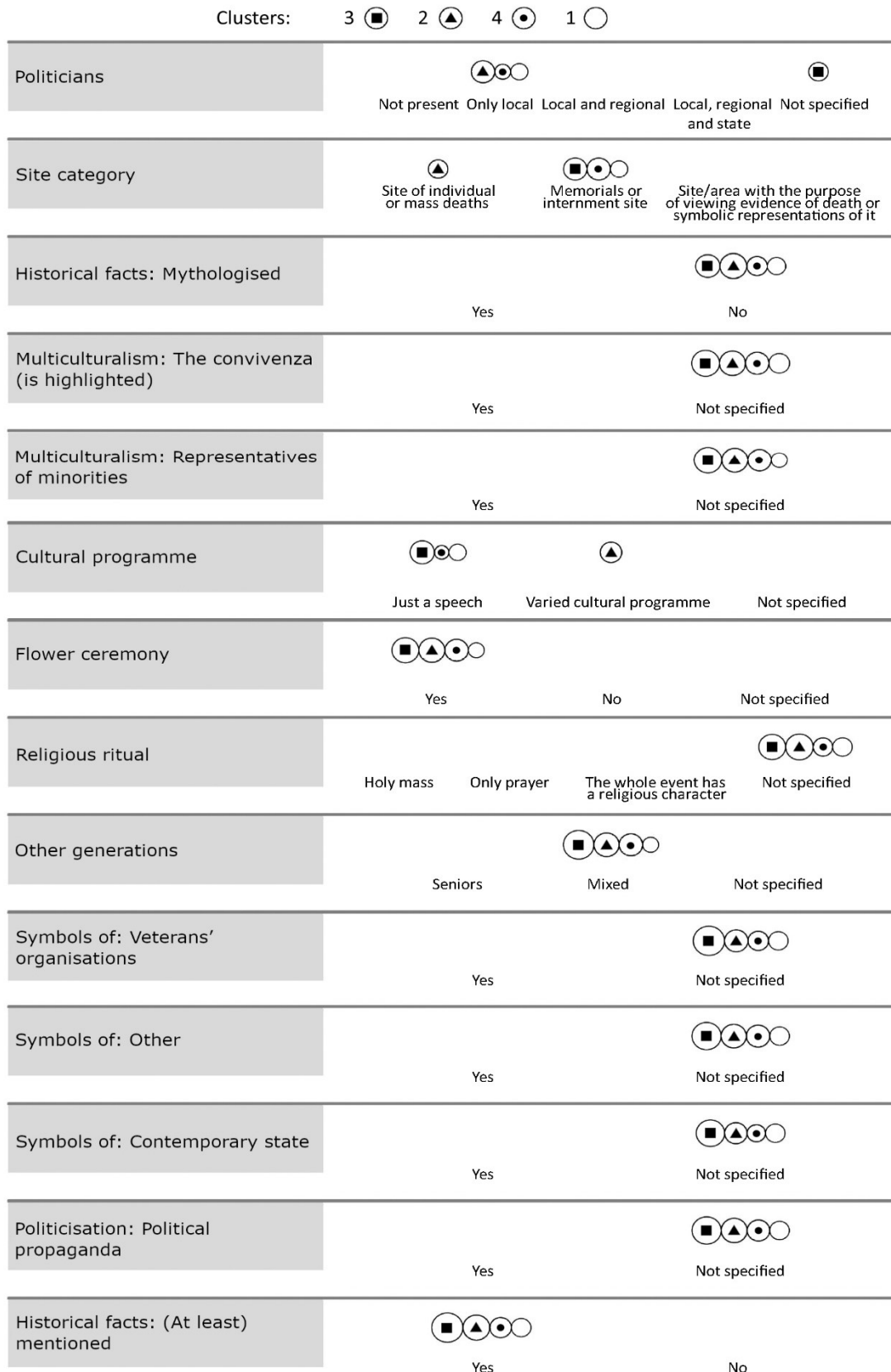|		
Historical facts: (At least) mentioned	(■▲⦿○)	
	Yes	No

Figure 22: Cluster comparison (continued)

Categorical data significantly limits further testing of cluster differences. Consequently, we decided to employ the non-parametric χ^2 one-variable test to identify associations (or homogeneity) among clusters. In all four options of the confidence interval that were arbitrarily set (see Table 14), the asymptotic p = 0,050. This is exactly the boundary value and, consequently, the asymptotic p was replaced with the MC p, which proved to be more accurate. The Monte Carlo (MC) estimate $0,050 \leq MC\ p \geq 0,054$, where all those where p > 0,050 show that the statistical difference is not significant. Table 14 shows that the change of MC p depends on the change of the confidence interval, which in fact did not affect the asymptotic p. As already stated within this research, the 95% confidence interval was considered where MC p = 0,052.

Table 14: Results of the nonparametric χ^2 test (Monte Carlo)

	Confidence Interval (%)			
	90	93	95	99
Chi-Square	7,818[a]	7,818[a]	7,818[a]	7,818[a]
Df	3	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	0,050	0,050	0,050	0,050
Monte Carlo Sig.	0,050	0,050	0,052[b]	0,054
Lower Bound	0,046	0,046	0,047	0,049
Upper Bound	0,053	0,054	0,056	0,060

Note: [a.] 0 cells (0,0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 16,5. [b] MC p = exact p

The TwoStep cluster analysis result was employed to create four different clusters of dark commemorative events found in electronic media reports, where the differences among them are not statistically significant. However, this is not the key finding, since the total population data were included in the analysis, which means that the association was calculated solely for the sake of better orientation and more exact response to QR5. This empirical analysis also gave us an answer to RQ5. Furthermore, the analysis revealed which codes are less important or irrelevant as they were not detected in electronic media reports:

(Q11b) 'Historical facts: mythologisation';

(Q21c) 'Politicisation: political propaganda';

(Q23c) 'Symbols of: contemporary state';

(Q23e) 'Symbols of: veterans' organisations';

(Q23g) 'Symbols of: other';

(Q24b) 'Multiculturalism: the *convivenza* (is highlighted)';

(Q24c) 'Multiculturalism: representatives of minorities'.

These contents are not the subject of a transfer from dark commemorative event to electronic media report readers. It can thus be concluded that, in addition to code modifications and exclusions implemented in the preparatory phase – see sub-chapter '9.2. Raw Data for Statistical Analysis' – many contents (codes) have proved to be less important or irrelevant for the Istrian dark commemorative event-related media report analysis.

9.5. Geographical dispersion of history-centric dark commemorative events

Before starting the Crosstabs procedure, all the repeated media reports were excluded. This selection resulted in a list of 102 different public events in Istria – also see Table 7. The Crosstabs procedure was then used to create contingency tables, which describe the interaction between (Q8) 'Place name' and (Q10) 'Conflict'. Within this thesis, the results of the Crosstabs procedure constitute a strong enough base for the following geographic visualisation. Relevant examples of events (locations) prepared for mapping are shown in Figure 24. All event locations were mapped to the map of the trans-border region of Istria using Google Maps (geovisualisation).

As described in sub-chapter '5.3. Region of Istria: a brief historical overview', all conflicts did not affect Istria in the same way and with the same intensity. If WWI primarily affected the southern coastal area, fascism and WWII affected both the coastal and central part, while no major military clashes occurred during the Croatian Homeland War; on the other hand, there were military clashes during the war of independence in the Slovenian part. However, the contemporary dispersion of history-centric dark commemorative events visible in Figure 23 does not completely follow these historical facts. Some WWI-related today's events occurred practically all over the peninsula, although there were not attacks and casualties. In a similar way, this applies to WWII-related events, which are scattered throughout Istria, representing the largest share of all history-centric dark commemorative

events. One of their special features is the commemorative educational tour of primary and secondary school pupils from Buzet to Pazin, Kresini, Šaini and Bokordići (it should not be considered entirely from a tourist perspective).[309] A similar example of Italian pupils tour accompanied by teachers and the Mayoress of Rome, linked to the post-WWII socialist revolution and the Italian exodus, was also observed. The entire tour exceeded the geographical framework of this thesis, and also because of the lack of information in the electronic media reports, it was not possible to accurately reconstruct its course – it is marked as an event in Pula, which was one of their target destinations. Another important finding is the difference between the two historical sites and regional centres – Koper in Slovenia and Pula in Croatia. The occurrence of dark commemorative events related to the conflicts of the 20th century in Pula is much higher and more varied than in Koper. One dark commemorative event took place at sea, between the Brijuni Islands and Rovinj, because it is connected with the sinking of the *Baron Gautsch* civil steamboat in 1914. Eight locations with 16 different dark commemorative events related to the conflict in the 1990s reflect a relatively peaceful situation in the wake of the collapse of the Second Yugoslavia in Istria. 'Other' events represent examples of dark commemorative events, which are not directly linked to WWI, fascism, WWII, the socialist revolution and the exodus, and the independence war in the 1990s in Istria, e. g. other events, commemorating the victims of the socialist totalitarian regime, or those in memory of the Italian patriots and the victims of Srebrenica.

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[309] Only locations and not the path between them were exposed in the media report, therefore, the points are simply connected on the map (Figure 23).

Note: see Figure 24 for legend

Figure 23: History-centric dark commemorative events in Istria (I) (Source: author and Dark commemorative events in Istria, map, 2019)

WWI

Symbol	f	Location
⊗	1	Brtonigla
⊗	1	Buje
⊗	1	Gračišće
⊗	1	Ližnjan
⊗	1	Motovun
⊗	2	Pula
⊗	1	Rovinj
⊗	1	Vrsar

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND ITALIAN EXODUS

Symbol	f	Location
🏃	2	Buje
🏃	1	Krasica
🏃	1	Piran
🏃	6	Pula
🏃	1	Umag

OTHER

Symbol	f	Location
⬜	1	Buzet
⬜	1	Kringa
⬜	1	Pazin
⬜	3	Pula
⬜	1	Tinjan

FASCIST TERROR

Symbol	f	Location
⚜	1	Fažana
⚜	1	Strunjan
⚜	1	Vinež
⚜	1	Vodnjan
⚜	1	Podberam

INDEPENDENCE WAR IN THE 1990S

Symbol	f	Location
⊗	1	Koper
⊗	4	Labin
⊗	1	Loborika
⊗	1	Nova Vas
⊗	1	Poreč
⊗	6	Pula
⊗	1	Rovinj
⊗	1	Bivje

WWII

Symbol	f	Location
★	1	Barbići
★	1	Bartići
★	1	Bokordići
★	1	Brgudac
★	4	Buzet
★	1	Bužinija
★	1	Gajana
★	1	Kaštelir
★	1	Koper
★	1	Kresini
★	1	Kućibreg
★	1	Labin
★	1	Lopar
★	5	Pazin
★	1	Poreč
★	2	Portorož
★	12	Pula
★	1	Režanci
★	2	Rovinj
★	1	Savudrija
★	1	Škofije
★	1	Učka
★	1	Umag
★	1	Veli Mlun
★	1	Višnjan
★	1	Vižinada
★	1	Zabrežani
★	1	Boršt
★	1	Brutija
★	1	Mala Gajana
★	1	Rušnjak
★	1	Križnjak
★	1	Stanzia Bembo

Figure 24: History-centric dark commemorative events in Istria (II) (Source: author and Dark commemorative events in Istria, map, 2019)

Graph 6, as a kind of summary or synthesis of Figure 24, shows that WWII-related dark commemorative events mainly occurred in villages (rural areas), while other events occurred mainly in cities and towns. Moreover, WWII-related events dominate in all types of areas; the events related to the conflict of the 1990s that were the second largest group of events in Istria were also present in all types of areas. The socialist revolution and Italian exodus-related dark events occurred only in settlement areas, which is surprising considering that the general public of the Upper Adriatic (not only in Istria) is most agitated by the *foibe* located in non-settlement areas.
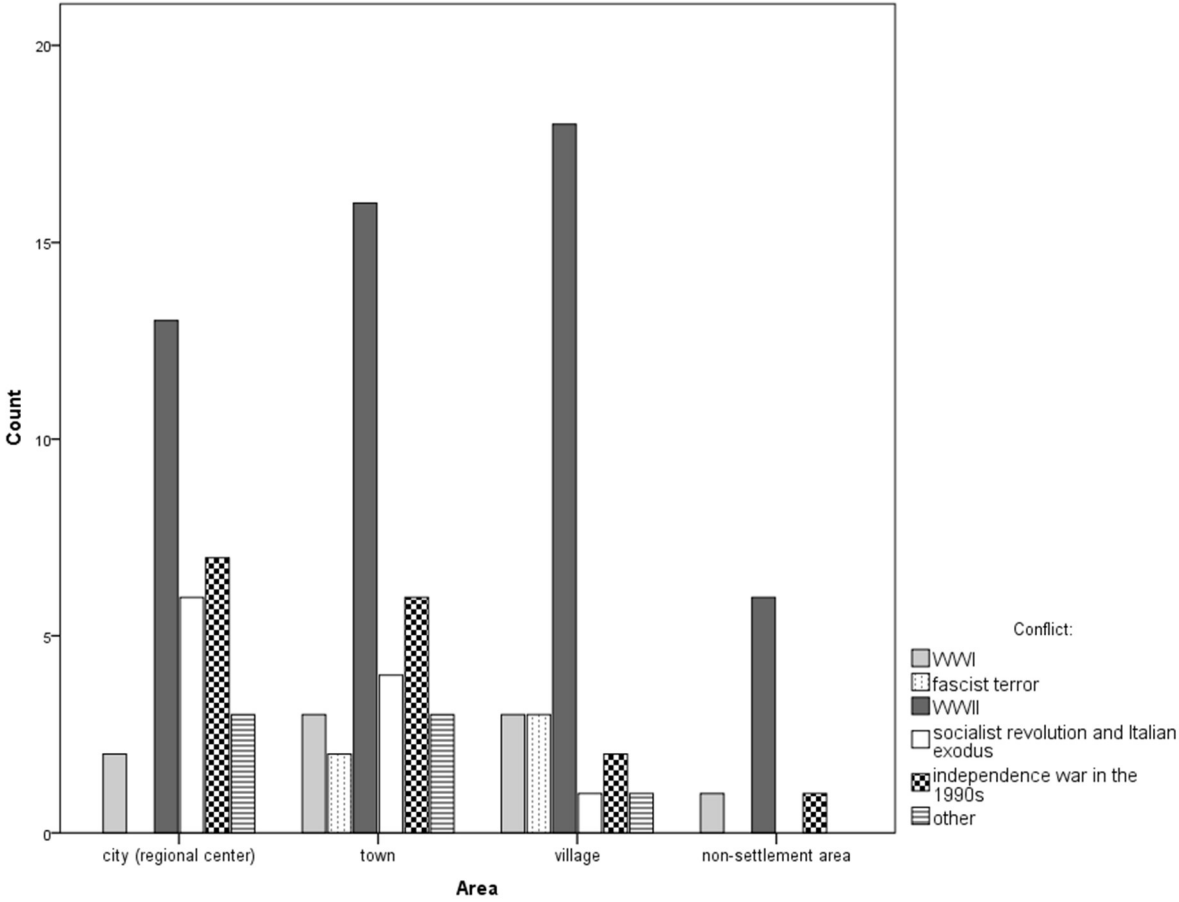
Graph 6: Type of area in relation to dark commemorative events related to the conflicts of 20th century

All previously identified locations were mapped using a visualisation technique. This allows a transparent overview of the dispersion and diversification of various history-centric dark commemorative events and thus media-constructed memorial practices (media-constructed social reality) on the Istrian peninsula. We found, that dark commemorative

events, which could be of interest to tourists are not only located on the coast and in highly recognised tourist centres, but also in central Istria and outside major cities and other populated areas. In general, this also confirms that the past development of Istrian tourist areas is not related to conflict events in the 20th century and the associated memorial heritage. Using geovisaulisation, we came to an answer to RQ6.

9.6. Discussion on history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria

The fact that just a little less than 90% of analysed regional electronic media reports at least mentioned the historical facts highlighted at the events, demonstrates and confirms that the media-constructed social reality related to memorial practices heavily relies on the Istrian past[310] – see also Figures 23 and 24 as well as Table 9. WWII and the related anti-fascism significantly dominate as the historical background of the event, while WWI does not constitute an important reason for the organisation of dark commemorative events in Istria. Herman Kaurić (2015a, 2015b) and Hrstić (2016) claim that WWI was and still is a less interesting research topic in Croatia, which was confirmed in practice (in media reporting on rituals and memorial practices) within this research as well. If we use Halbwach's (1992) terminology, the case of WWI can be classified as historical memory, while according to Hirsch (2008), this is third-generation memory. The hundredth anniversary of WWI (2014 – 2018) and the related events certainly bring a change, but apparently not a significant one in comparison with WWII. Pula, as the main military port of Austria-Hungary and the target of bombing during WWI, as well as other sites linked to this war in Istria, remain victims of a now unsystematic (and perhaps even unconscious) *damnatio memoriae*. This is completely in line with the claims of Urošević (2013: 93) on Pula's undefined image of a former military and port city, and the possibilities offered by this legacy. On the other hand, WWII-related events dominate (Table 11) in the first three out of four created groups (clusters) of dark commemorative events. According to this criterion, more than 80% of events are marked by WWII, which clearly demonstrates its importance for the contemporary Istrian society, including regional electronic media, which provide transfer of knowledge and values. This can be understood as Halbwach's (1992) collective memory. We can say that today dark commemorative events are only a reflection of the Istrian dark past, especially the period of

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[310] The historical component of dark tourism sites is also associated with Stone's dark tourism spectrum (2006).

fascist terror and following WWII, which significantly affected the Slavic culture and social life. They also had an impact on the formation of the characteristic regional identity – see sub-chapters '5.2. Istrian identity' and '5.3. Region of Istria: a Brief Historical Overview'. In the context of the most developed tourism region and within the dark tourism context, they can be further typologised as 'war tourism', including battlefield tourism (Fonseca et al., 2016; Kužnik, 2015; Kužnik and Veble, 2017) or 'grief tourism' (Kendle, 2008), whereas their related sites are classified as 'dark conflict sites associated with war and battlefields' (Stone, 2006).

Post-WWII-related memorial services within the mixed Cluster 3 are related to the socialist revolution end emigration (exodus) of Italians as well as Slavs who did not support the then new Tito's regime – see sub-chapter '5.3.4. WWII, Liberation and the Cold War in Istria'. These events should be in line with the claims of D'Alessio (2012b: 66) on fostering intercultural dialogue among *esuli* and *rimasti*, the Croatians end Slovenians, which was very difficult in the past, especially before 1991. We found that multiculturalism codes turned out to be irrelevant and that foreign visitors (in this case from the Upper Adriatic) do not participate at events (or they were just not observed by journalists), which does not exhibit intercultural dialogue. The *foibe*, the Italian exodus and post-WWII violence are elements of the divided memory and dissonant heritage, which foster ideological and political confrontations in the Upper Adriatic (Cattunar, 2012; D'Alessio, 2012a, 2012b; Klabjan, 2010: 401; Miklavcic, 2008; Orlić, 2012) – especially when extreme right positions are expressed. They also reflect the post-WWII socialist revolution, characterised by torture, imprisonment and executions of clerics – see Grah (2009), Veraja (2013) and Trogrlić (2008, 2012, 2014) – as well as other anti-communists and more democratically-oriented communists (Oblak Moscarda, 2016). In the dark tourism context, they can be typologised as 'war tourism' (Fonseca et al., 2016; Kužnik, 2015; Kužnik and Veble, 2017), 'grief tourism' (Kendle, 2008) or 'communism tourism' (Kužnik, 2015; Kužnik and Veble, 2017), while classifying them as 'holocaust tourism' – as mentioned in the previous chapters – seems exaggerated. Cluster 3, as the most extensive cluster, contains dark commemorative events with different historical backgrounds, and is therefore the most 'colourful'.

'Independence war-related dark commemorative events' (Cluster 4) are related to the last military conflict in Europe in the 20th century, which, however, did not significantly affect Istria – see sub-chapter '5.3.5. After the Slovenian and Croatian declaration of independence'. Their importance for the independent Croatia and Slovenia and the short time distance to the conflict are evident from the participation of uniformed representatives of repressive bodies and war veterans. Moreover, autobiographical memory, which is related to past events people

experienced themselves (Halbwachs (1992)) or similar first-generation memory (Hirsch, 2008) are characteristic only of members of this cluster. Sub-chapter '6.4. Other contemporary memorial practices and dark tourism' accurately describes the circumstances and facts which each single dark commemorative event relies on. Today, events such as 'National Day', 'Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders', and 'Independence Day' are organised in Istria as well. Similarly, some traditional dark commemorative events can be seen in Slovenia too. These events, e.g. the 'Day of Restoration of the Primorska Region to the Motherland' or 'Sovereignty Day' do not take place at the same place each year. In the dark tourism context, they can be typologised in a similar way as WWI/WWII-related dark commemorative events.

Four clusters quantitatively correspond to the four case study events identified in Table 3 in sub-chapter '8.1. Methodological Explanations' and then described in the following sub-chapters. In this selection, special attention – with a qualitative analysis of two different events from the time immediately after WWII – was devoted to this period of Istrian history (still often excluded from the public discourse and marked by social silence), while the quantitative analysis shows that WWII-related events account for a much larger proportion of all dark commemorative events. However, both the qualitative as well as the quantitative part proved the following historical backgrounds to be more significant for the Istrian society: WWII, the socialist revolution and the Italian exodus (namely to a lesser extent), and the war for independence in the 1990s. Case studies from the qualitative part can thus be linked to the clusters created in the quantitative part. The two approaches thus confirmed the complementarity predicted in sub-chapter '7.1. Research Philosophies and Approaches'. In addition, the comparison of the final results of both approaches is interesting as well.

A higher visitor homogeneity was found within the qualitative analysis. The importance of the political aspect in both cases proved to be less obvious (and less interesting for media reporting). *Convivenza* and the many times quoted ideas of multi-culturality/multi-ethnicity, coexistence and plurality – see sub-chapter '5.2. Istrian Identity'– in connection with dark commemorative events, are not transferred to readers through regional electronic media – in general, this results from the qualitative and quantitative analyses. The media obviously also do not pay special attention to the symbols; observation *in situ* points to a completely different social reality. Quite problematic in both analyses is the tourist aspect in contrast to the transfer of knowledge, memory and values of the past conflict to the readers, especially to the youth (the net generation). Although Istria is the most developed tourism region in Croatia and Slovenia, electronic media do not frequently report on the number of visitors: in 54,8% of

reports, visitors were not even mentioned (Q14), in 56,3% of reports, foreign visitors were not mentioned (Q18), in 59,1% of reports, the presence of the youth was not mentioned (Q15). If we look at it from a broader perspective, they do not frequently report on either foreign politicians at events (Q20; in 60,3%) or on multilingualism at events (Q24a) – in 94,3 %. This means that the tourism-related perspective of reporting on dark commemorative events is rather neglected. Based on electronic media reports (media-constructed social reality), Istrian dark commemorative events consequently cannot be treated as international tourism events. Does this mean that they cannot be discussed in the dark tourism context either? Domestic visitors of different ages were present, although it is not possible to know whether they were locals or from other places. Formally, domestic visitors cannot always and unconditionally be understood as tourists.[311] This issue also corresponds to the claims of Kennell et al. (2018), that the so-called dark events are not exclusively related to dark tourism. Moreover, they are not necessarily understood by tourists. This is supported also by Šuligoj's (2016: 265) statement that "terms like memorable tourism or tourism of memory or even heritage tourism would probably be more appropriate, although the term 'tourism' is perhaps the most problematic." Similar findings can be found in González Vázquez (2018). However, the tourist aspect cannot be categorically ignored/denied without further in-depth investigations.

Four clusters were created in relation to RQ5, where their difference is not statistically significant. Asymptotic p was replaced with the MC p, which proved to be more accurate in proving the statistical difference; the MC p is not, however, significantly higher (see Table 14). Gigerenzer (2004), and Gelman and Stern (2012) highlighted the significance of the p value and the (exaggerated) constant scholars' frustrations with a threshold value (0,05), which statistician Fisher had already dealt with. They suggested that the scholar should only be orientated according to the p value. Within our research, in addition to Figure 22, Crosstabs (Tables 10 – 13) also (descriptively) show that clusters are actually different, although the differences among some codes are not always obvious/significant. For example, the most extensive as well as the smallest clusters are 'ideologically' mixed (Table 11), which shows similarities in characteristics as well. Hence, differences in model quality (Figure 21) based on a limited number of the analysed media reports show that the model is not optimally stable and of quality ('fair'). This, however, is not a reason to automatically doubt the existence of different clusters. This is particularly relevant because the entire population's data were analysed. This avoids the problem of generalising the sample results to the population, in

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[311] Especially when the general definition of tourism is strictly followed – see Commission of the European Communities (2001: 1).

which case the p value is important. It can therefore be concluded that the differences among the included events (according to media reports) were identified and, on this basis, can be classified into four specific clusters. The characteristics of the identified clusters are symptomatic (indicative) for history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria.

There is one more thing that should be highlighted. Codes related to politicisation (Q21a) 'Nationalist ideas', (Q21b) 'Regionalist ideas', (Q21d) 'Ideological issues', (Q22a) 'Militarisation: in plain-clothes', (Q23f) 'Symbols of: national minority(s)', (Q24) 'Multiculturalism: the multi-language event' were removed, and an additional nine were corrected – see sub-chapter '9.2. Raw Data for Statistical Analysis'. From the methodological point of view, this can be understood as some kind of reductionist approach, although this was not systematically planned due to the main idea that dark commemorative events are some complex phenomena/systems, the characteristic of which should be empirically clarified. In terms of content, many scholars, i.e. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005b), Goulding and Domic (2009); Henderson (2000), Wight and Lennon (2007) point to a sensitive interpretation (to tourists) and the subjection to the historical revision or political description of people's lives, suffering and deaths, which cannot be found in electronic media reports on public dark commemorative events in Istria. Many other 'politically-coloured codes', which were included in the TwoStep cluster analysis, were also less relevant or irrelevant (see Figure 22), e.g. (Q21c) 'Politicisation: political propaganda', (Q23c) 'Symbols of: contemporary state', (Q23e) 'Symbols of: veterans' organisations', (Q23g) 'Symbols of: other' (of EU, of other organisations). Consequently, these topics were evidently not transferred to the readers. In addition, militarisation as a special dark tourism issue highlighted by McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010) was not a particularly highlighted topic in Istrian electronic media, which means that this deviation cannot be systematically transferred to the readers either. Methodologically speaking, however, militarisation-related codes were the most important predictors for the creation of clusters – see Graph 5.

Pilgrimage, which is linked to dark tourism in sub-chapter '2.4. Warfare Tourism', was not included in the quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, exposure of religious rituals (Q26) and symbols (Q23) was checked. As can be seen in Figure 22, they also turned out to be completely irrelevant for the description of the events and, therefore, these topics were not transferred to the readers either. Religious symbols are one of the possible component of the death system (Table 2), including dance of death, and are less interesting for electronic media reporting in the Istrian case. On the other hand, this also proves that religious aspects are not generally

addressed by journalists and scholars when examining dark tourism and memory (memorial events).

Within this chapter, we found that regional electronic media, available also to the 'net generation', most frequently report on memorial services related to WWII (RQ4). Media reports on dark commemorative events (which reflect the media-created social reality – memorial practices) are not homogenous, which means that four different clusters of dark commemorative events were created (RQ5), where WWII-related events are the dominating ones and some previously predicted characteristics (codes) turn out to be less important or irrelevant. In addition, the dispersion of history-centric dark commemorative events in the trans-border region of Istria was identified (RQ6) using geovisualization technique, which is also used in sociology. We found that events were dispersed all over the peninsula and that in this respect, Pula and Koper as a regional centres are very different. In addition, events mostly occurred in settled areas, whereas only WWII-related events within Cluster 2 took place mainly in the rural areas.

10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

> *About Istria:*
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> *"Here we have a pattern of tomorrow's complex European identity that awaits us and we have no real answers to it. We already have a multi-layered independence here, a post-identity, if you like. Ljubljana and Zagreb, take a close look at how it is also possible to protect differently a sacred national interest."*
>
> *Milan Rakovac, Istrian writer, 2015*

This doctoral thesis proposes that dark tourism is part of a wider and probably more commercial perspective of death, which permeates many aspects of people's lives.[312] Residents of Istria as well as people in general live the death of others (ancestors) by consuming their fate, tragedy and legacy at memorial and dark tourism sites; the contemporary world is inherently created by death and its consequences (Harrison, 2003). Both memory and dark tourism are just two interconnected ways with which the living mediate with those traumatically/violently passed away. This way, they only reflect acts of reverence, respect, gratitude and pride.

The research does not rely on one singular theory or concept, but is a multi-disciplinary doctoral thesis based on a variety of sources. It attempts to draw upon the in-depth discourses explored by many Slovenian, Croatian, Italian and other scholars from different scientific branches. We were looking for a relatively rarely investigated/discussed nexus between (dark) tourism, memory and historiography, where we could not ignore the inherent links between Istria and the armed forces. More specifically, the purposes of the research were to:

- provide an understanding of what memory and dark tourism mean in a specific regional environment (trans-border region of Istria) and;
- establish a representation of topics related to the Istrian history (of conflicts) of the 20th century, contemporary public memorial practices and dark tourism in leading regional electronic mass media, based on which the specific media-created social reality can be identified.

Dark tourism studies focus on the relationships between the contemporary generations of visitors and the dead at sites of traumatic/violent death where dark commemorative events

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[312] In this case, *thanatourism* would probably be a more accurate term, but death (and death system/dance of death) itself was not the main focus of the doctoral thesis.

occur today. Consequently, according to research purposes (see sub-chapter '1.2. Research purpose and objectives'), memory and dark tourism are initially clarified as concepts and research areas, after which history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria are identified, classified, clustered, described and located/mapped. On the basis of three basic platforms – dark tourism, memory and the traumatic Istrian 20th century history – four objectives (see sub-chapter '1.2. Research purpose and objectives') and three research questions for the qualitative analyses (RQ1 – RQ3) and three for the quantitative one (RQ4 – RQ6) were consequently developed. Ten indicators – theoretically as well as historically grounded – served as robust directions for the fieldwork within qualitative investigation. Table 5 summarises the main findings and shows that contemporary history-centric dark commemorative events do not completely follow past memorial practices on the peninsula. Ideological topics thus cannot be directly attributed to Istrian events. However, it is most ungrateful to interpret the related symbols, since this is a delicate social topic in the post-socialist/post-Yugoslav society. It should be considered that the Istrian anti-fascist movement as a winning force was nationally, and to some extent also ideologically, heterogeneous – see sub-chapter '5.3.4. WWII, liberation and the Cold War in Istria'. Various hostile forces that anti-fascists had fought against should also be taken into account (for scientific research purposes). Consequently, anti-fascist symbols used in that period can still be perceived today and discussed multidimensional, although in practice this mainly means a dichotomy between 'ours' or 'others'. Nevertheless, these different possibilities are not discussed within this thesis because the polysemy of such symbols goes beyond the purposes of this research. In general, however, symbols are a characteristic feature of the analysed events. Regionalism and *convivenza* as additional RQ3-related indicators, do not mark the analysed dark commemorative events, which does not apply only to WWII-related events. Events are visited mostly by locals who are familiar with the past traumatic events; absence or deficiencies in the tourist infrastructure are clearly less disturbing to them. Within RQ2, the events' internationalisation was also exposed as a relevant tourism indicator. The absence of internationalisation as well as the limited 'attractiveness' for different target groups (generations of visitors) and the massiveness (RQ1) seriously limit the ability to understand these events in a tourism context. They also limit the transfer of past traumatic stories and values between generations – especially to the youth (educational meaning). In sub-chapter '7.6. Results and discussion', all these (qualitative) findings are discussed and contextualized.

It was initially found in the quantitative analysis that WWII-related memorial services are the dominating ones among different event types of contemporary Istrian memorial

practices. If we connect them with the memorial events related to the victims of Italian fascist terror, then this dominance is even more evident. Dark commemorative events related to the conflict of the 1990s are less frequent, other history-centric ones are even rarer. These findings reflect the media-constructed social reality related to memorial practices (mediated memory). They were analysed in order to obtain answers to RQ4, RQ5 and RQ6. In addition, using a quantitative content analysis and clustering, four different clusters were created: 'Simple dark commemorative events', 'WWII-related dark commemorative events of rural areas', 'Mixed dark commemorative events' and 'Independence War-related dark commemorative events'. WWII and the liberation struggle offer an important background of at least the first three clusters, which clearly shows the effects and the far-reaching repercussions of this armed conflict on Istrian men. This also shows how the traumatic past is reflected in the contemporary Istrian society, where selective approaches to memorial practices were nevertheless perceived. As an example, we can mention some Slavic Istrian priests, patriots, who can be linked to anti-fascism, but have been overlooked in the past due to their beliefs, which were not coherent with the totalitarian regime of the Second Yugoslavia. Today, however, we can no longer fully perceive them as part of the *damnatio memoriae* context because the religious dark commemorative events, like those in Lanišće and especially Svetvinčenat, are well-attended. However, based on content analysis, this finding cannot be automatically ascribed to Istrian electronic media. In sub-chapter '9.6. Discussion on history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria', all these (quantitative) findings are discussed and contextualized.

A slightly different case is that of Istrian anti-fascists of Italian nationality, who significantly contributed to the liberation of Istria and lived under the political pressure of the new Yugoslav regime. However, they were not completely marginalized or forgotten, some warriors were even proclaimed national heroes – see sub-chapters '5.3.4. WWII, liberation and the Cold War in Istria' and '6.3. WWII-related memorial practices and dark tourism'. Contemporary dark commemorative events are very balanced in this respect; in past traumatic events as well as in some contemporary dark commemorative events[313], *convivenza* remains an important element of Istrian social reality.

Dark commemorative events related to the conflict in the 1990s also represent a media-constructed social reality in Istria (mediated memory). The recency of the events, the still living

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[313] This claim is based on the analysis of the event in Kučibreg as well as some others visited/researched by the author in recent years, although not systematically analysed in this research.

war veterans (defenders) with autobiographical memory, militarisation[314] and religious symbols are the main specifics of this cluster. Contemporary memorial practices in the trans-border region of Istria are consequences of the military aggression on the independent Slovenia and Croatia. Very limited military clashes in the region, which cannot be directly compared to those in some other Croatian counties or those in WWII, impact today's dark commemorative events. In the case of Croatian Istria, they are not so frequent, emotional and massive, and they significantly rely (also) on traumatic events elsewhere in Croatia where Istrian residents fought. However, regionalism in general, or 'Istrianity'(*convivenza*), are not highlighted at these events. Results of qualitative (see Table 5) and quantitative analyses (see Table 8 and a list of less important or irrelevant codes presented in sub-chapter '9.4. Clusters of dark commemorative events') support this claim. Hence, ignoring WWI-related events in the qualitative analysis has also proven to be correct. A drastic decline in the number of events and the related media reports after the 100th anniversary actually show the rather marginal significance of this conflict in the Istrian society.

Figures 23 and 24 as a reflection of the media-constructed social reality show that history-centric dark commemorative events are well dispersed across the Istrian peninsula (RQ6). This is an additional circumstance for a 365-day tourist destination development. Moreover, the development of tourism in the hinterland of major coastal locations can thus become simpler. However, answers to previous research questions show that this did not happen in Istria. The memorial context absolutely dominates in comparison to tourism.

The development of dark tourism offers many new opportunities to the Istrian society and economy, as well as some serious issues (or even hazards). First, Istria is the most developed trans-border Croatian and Slovenian region in terms of tourism, with a developed tourism infrastructure in already recognizable tourist centres. The constant introduction of interesting attractions/special sites that would attract tourists also outside of the high season (365-day tourist destination) is a global trend that needs to be followed. The identified Istrian dark tourism (and/or memorial) sites have that potential and their (additional) favourable attribute is their location, in many cases outside recognizable tourist centres – see Figures 23 and 24 – where the infrastructure is, however, less developed (strategic weakness). History-

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[314] The activation of uniformed units, e.g. the Honour Guard Battalion (*Počasno-zaštitna bojna*) and the Guard of Honour of the Slovenian Armed Forces (*Častna enota Republike Slovenije*) or other units, give the formal national importance (state and military honour) to the memorial events and their historical background. Within this doctoral thesis, however, we followed the claims of McKay (2013), McKenna and Ward (2007), and Reynolds and Lake (2010), who understand the presence of armed forces at events as systemic and unrelenting militarisation of the history and culture.

centric memorial/dark events can be interesting for developers of tourism services. The development process should address infrastructure issues, knowledge (about event and memorial site management, entrepreneurship, information and communication technology), and fundraising (e.g. EU, national, regional or other funds) in order to motivate local people to join, and thus to realize their ideas (potentials). Seaton (1999), according to MacCannell, listed five steps of creation of a tourism attraction, which should be followed by developers in Istria as well: naming, sight sacralisation, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical and social reproduction.

From the marketing perspective and according to the results of this research, the target markets for (history-centric) memorial/dark events should primarily be Slovenia, Croatia (domestic visitors, including younger generations), or visitors from the multicultural Upper Adriatic basin. The favourable fact is that each nation in Istria does not only have its own memorial/dark events, but there are also events that are common (transcultural memory preservation). Authentic multiculturalism (e.g. common grounds, multilingual events, performers from different Upper Adriatic countries) as a characteristic feature of these events, should be interesting for visitors as well. However, many Istrian memorial/dark events held by Italians, especially those related to the *esuli*, are more or less one-dimensional: they expose the Italian identity and victims, are monolingual, and similar. Regardless of that characteristic, there is a lot of tourism potential in these events as well.

As mentioned in this research, not only many Istrian Italians, but also other (political) dissidents/opponents/persecuted people of different past regimes, as well as economic migrants, are displaced throughout Europe and other continents. These people, including their descendants, may return to their birthplaces or the birthplaces of their ancestors, which can be considered as 'roots tourism'.[315] Attending memorial/dark events can significantly enrich their visit/stay in Istria. The development of visit programs should thus be systematic, taking into account the national and ideological peculiarities as well as the legal restrictions, e.g. the use of some symbols. However, such history-centric events should be strictly reverenced, dignified and focused on the transcultural memory preservation, future, coexistence and cooperation, and peace, and not on the promotion of political parties or ideas, institutions and extreme ideologies. These memorial/dark events thus represent some kind of a cross-section between dark and roots tourism, which requires some caution (not to cross the boundaries of social acceptability). If we focus only on the Upper Adriatic, we can quickly find the reason

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[315] More can be found in Koderman (2012).

behind it. In addition to the memorial event in Basovìzza/Bazovica mentioned in the introductory chapter, it is worth mentioning the Italian neo-fascists' provocation with the hanging of the flag of the Kingdom of Italy in Rijeka in September 2019; some of them were brought to police interrogation or barred from entering the state – see, for example, 'Večernji list' (Talijanski neofašisti, 2019) ili 'Jutarnji list' (Žabec and Benčić, 2019). Indeed, the monument to the extremist and poet Gabriele D'Annunzio, who occupied Rijeka in 1919, was solemnly revealed in Trieste in September 2019 (Neofašisti 'napadli' Reko, 2019). The bigoted manifestations of Italian extremists in February 2018 in Italy (*Il Giorno del ricordo*) (Rightists, leftists, 2018) were also illustrative. In fact, it could be concluded that all this is a continuation of the events of the 1990s, which also included heated political debates, media campaigns and trials, which together mystified the *foibe* issue and the Italian victims, and politicized the tragic WWII and post-WWII events (Pirjevec et al., 2012: 214–234). Incorrect media reporting (e.g. inflated numbers of victims in the announcements of the Italian state agency ANSA (Rightists, leftists, 2018; Esuli: Unione Istriani, 2019) as well as politicisation (e.g. the already mentioned words of Antonio Tajani or the words of Massimiliano Fedriga, the president of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia autonomous region)[316] have been polluting the social atmosphere in the Upper Adriatic. This is certainly a significant obstacle to the development of dark tourism in the trans-border region of Istria. Of course, the events mentioned above go beyond the past and the present of Istria, and can also be seen in the light of international (political) relations based on international agreements.

A less risky form of tourism, which is much friendlier to the local environment and more effective, is 'educational tourism', especially in the case of young people. Study tours, field research, lectures, peer meetings, learning about Istrian multiculturalism (then and now) and coexistence, and similar, can be appropriate (multi-day) activities for participants from Italy, other parts of Croatia and Slovenia, or other interested visitors of different ages. The science-based multidimensional interpretation of the past would certainly contribute to a better understanding of the complex Istrian past and present ('Istrian-style memory'/transcultural memory). On the other hand, this is also in line with the 365-day tourism principle, which is favorable for providers of accommodation, food and other tourism services.

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[316] In relation to the '350.000 Italians who left Istria', he said that the Region "*will raise its voice more and more to guarantee the truth about what happened on the eastern border. We have done it and we will continue to do it in a polite, civil way, so that what happened will not be denied*" (Esuli: Unione Istriani, 2019).

The main findings are presented and discussed in the previous paragraphs and chapters. Correspondingly, the (scientific) value of this doctoral thesis is that the relevant heterogeneous history-centric dark commemorative events, as an (electronic) media-constructed social reality of Istrian memory practices (mediated memory), were identified for the first time. Moreover, contemporary history-centric dark commemorative events were clustered based on theoretically and historically grounded characteristic, and then described and mapped, which presents an original perspective in terms of approach and content. Therefore, we are now familiar with the past and present Istrian memorial practices (and their peculiarities). In addition, we also know that despite the traumatic 20th century, which offers an ideal base for the development of dark tourism, Istrian dark commemorative events have clearly not been developing in this direction and remain, with some exceptions, traditional local or regional events intended for the people of Istria. Consequently, these visitors cannot be treated as *homo viator*, *homo turisticus* or *homo consumans*. History-centric dark commemorative events, which are known beyond the boundaries of Istria, attract visitors from the rest of the Upper Adriatic and/or other parts of Slovenia and Croatia, which shows the international recognition and importance of (dark) tourism only in a limited administrative sense. Results of the qualitative analysis confirm this assertion, which raises new questions about the point of investigation of memory in the dark tourism context. In addition, thanks to this mixed approach, we also know and understand how these events actually occur in a local environment, as well as their specifics, weaknesses and similar. In this thesis, the real social reality is thus linked and upgraded with the media-constructed social reality of Istrian memory practices ('Istrian-style memory'/transcultural memory). Therefore, these are new perspectives of dark commemorative events in Istria as well as in wider area. Within the framework of historical sociology , this gap was filled and, simultaneously, all the set objectives achieved – see sub-chapter '1.2. Research purpose and objectives'. The particular value of this doctoral thesis is that the topics/concepts that are almost taboo in the post-Yugoslav states are discussed in a multidimensional and integrated manner.

This doctoral thesis also has certain limitations, weaknesses and other features that need to be highlighted and explained:

- the quantitative analysis is made on the basis of media reports, which usually do not include all important facts (e.g. state symbols are not always mentioned or visible in the photos, although there is a high probability that they were displayed at events), visitors (their structure and number) and low-level politicians are clearly less

important for the journalists, but constitute important elements of dark commemorative events;

- websites of some Istrian municipalities, e.g. Rovinj, 25 June 2018, Labin, 3 August 2018, show that some other dark commemorative events also exist; the events in Lanišće and Svetvinčenat analysed in the qualitative part, were not observed in the regional electronic media either. This means that the quantitative analysis does not include the full range of history-centric dark commemorative events in Istria, but reflects the media-constructed social reality (mediated memory), where events are selected according to the editorial policy of three main regional media;

- despite the fact that we browsed the media websites several times a day, there was a possibility that the reports that were posted on the site for a shorter period of time could be overlooked. However, we estimate that there is no significantly big discrepancy between the real and the analysed number of events;

- there is no universal typologisation of dark sites/events– see sub-chapter '2.2. Dark tourism typology'. The selected typology of Kennell et al. (2018: 948) and Frost and Laing (2013: 36–42) showed its weaknesses, because it allowed the simultaneous classification of concrete events into several types, e.g. different events of the WWI centenary can be treated as 'Significant anniversaries', 'Dark exhibitions' or 'Memorial services, opening of memorials, concerts, performances'. The typologisation depends on the researcher's decision. Hence, Seaton's (1996) typology of dark tourism sites has proven to be insufficient, as dark/memory events can also take place for various reasons in places/spaces that do not have any special memorial meaning, e.g. sport halls or cultural centres. However, only warfare tourism as the type of dark tourism related to military conflicts is included in the research. Accordingly, 35 of the 126 analysed events from media reports remained non-typologised for this reason or as a result of missing/insufficient data;

- methodologically speaking, dealing with categorical variables limits statistical analyses, wherein the only correct approach is always to follow the objectives and the hypothesis/research questions. In addition, the number of analysed research units can impact the results, although it should be noted that this analysis does not rely solely on the sample, but on the population;

- the researcher's objective understanding of mythologisation and politicisation turned out to be problematic, especially when media reports were substantively modest. The editorial policy and writing style, worldview and cultural background of the

journalists as well as the researcher severely impede the work and objective decision of the researcher. According to ethnologist Hrobat Virloget (2015: 535), the researcher's neutral approach is practically impossible in the study of memorial practices in the Upper Adriatic. In fact, this is also congruent with constructionism and some thoughts described in sub-chapter '7.1. Research philosophies and approaches';

- memory can be investigated from some other perspectives, e.g. the philosophical, ethnological, anthropological, theological, psychological, and artistic one, which applies to the study of death as well; the biological or medical perspectives are also relevant in this respect. Moreover, many additional research methods and techniques can be also useful in the advancement of knowledge in the social dimensions of memory, e.g. focus group, in-depth interview, textual or visual analysis. However, all these perspectives and research approaches go beyond the purposes and objectives of this thesis. The same applies to dark tourism studies.

- different armed forces and military heritage were often pointed out in this research, although they constitute a slightly wider perspective of dark tourism and memory since they are not always or automatically associated with trauma. It is necessary to take into account that armed forces in Istria represents both the bright and the dark side of history, and it is therefore appropriate to include them into the research.

History and memory divide politicians (states) and other people, and can simultaneously connect them. Those processes, arising from a different national and/or ideological background, can be found in the narrower regional area (the trans-border region of Istria) or beyond. However, the search for antagonisms at all costs was not the purpose of this research. Generally, this would be inconsistent with the 'Istrianity' as a specific/distinctive regional characteristic. Nevertheless, this offers opportunities for further research, including a more systematic investigation of the past and present differences in memorial practices. Comparisons among ethnically mixed Croatian counties would also be interesting and useful in this respect. The same applies to all other post-Yugoslav or post-socialist states. All these future research should not necessary focus solely on the dissonant heritage, damnation of memory (*damnatio memoriae*) and the related dark tourism, but also on the creation of memory (*creatio memoriae*), as described by Omissi (2016). On the other hand, the 'touristification' of memory as a negative social phenomenon is also relevant for the exploration of Istria where tourism is well-developed. It should be further examined how to combine professional, personal and family obligations/duties and habits (e.g. holidays, vacations and similar) as well as knowledge and awareness, by participating at history-centric dark commemorative

events (priorities). Hence, dark tourism typologisation defects have already been exposed, which means that in order to develop a generally useful typology, a systematic interdisciplinary re-definition is needed. Additional research possibilities arise also from the various perspectives listed at the end of the previous paragraph. An interdisciplinary and mixed method approach offers absolutely more complex/complete results, thus also more credible and useful ones compared to the single-dimensional perspective. Researching within the rising historical sociology, the development of which has been similar to dark tourism and memory studies in recent decades, is absolutely reasonable.

In the end, it can be concluded that the process of facing the past is a complex, gradualist and intergenerational one. Facing the traumatic past means swallowing our own bitter pill, confronting our own sin and the sin of another. A responsible confrontation of desirable and unwanted heritage or the bright and the dark past in a way that does not increase the pain to the 'others', should be an important guideline. Tourism, with public events and media, can help, although on the other hand, this can lead to the 'touristification' of memory. At dark commemorative events as well as in the media, it is necessary to highlight peace, collaboration and look towards the common future. In addition, a respectful dialogue is a way to overcome old grudges, even those of previous generations. Politicisation and excessive mythologisation certainly do not help. "We need to affirm the importance of not awarding memory too much authority, too much authenticity, too much power" (Sturken, 2008: 77). This applies to the Upper Adriatic and perhaps even more to the Balkan Peninsula, where memorial practices are often consistent with the title 'Battle of memories', a Chinese science fiction crime thriller film from 2017 (directed by Leste Chen). Such 'collective or social hyperthymesia' as a constant, irrepressible stream of memories linked to the social deviations, such as militarisation, mythologisation, politicalisation, manipulation, nationalism and similar, 'pollutes' the societies of the Balkan Peninsula.

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK NA HRVATSKOM JEZIKU

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE: ISTARSKA SJEĆANJA U KONTEKSTU MRAČNOG TURIZMA

Uvod

Traumatični povijesni događaji 20. stoljeća - Veliki rat, razdoblje fašizma, Drugi svjetski rat, revolucionarno razdoblje nakon Drugog svjetskog rata i Rat za neovisnost 1990-ih s čestim promjenama vlasti zahvatili su stanovnike Istre svih nacionalnosti. Zbog svog geostrateškog položaja, multietnička Istra bila je područje stalnih sukoba, a time i područje s pojačanom vojnom prisutnošću. Time se ovaj teritorij s vremenom razvijao i postao žarišnom točkom ovog dijela Europe. S druge strane, danas je to prepoznatljivo područje mira i suživota. Traumatična prošlost osnova je za različite prakse sjećanja i za različite poglede na prošlosti. Povijesni događaji nude tipične primjere koji su danas povezani i sa segmentom takozvanog „mračnog turizma". Prema nekim autorima, Light (2017: 278, 279) je sumirao da se „mračni turizam definira kao uključivanje slučajeva smrti, katastrofa i zlodjela koji su se dogodili u živo sjećanje. Ti su autori utvrdili veliki pomak u načinu na koji se smrt i mrtvi tretiraju u turističkoj industriji, pri čemu se smrt sve više komercijalizira i pretvara u potrošnu robu." Ipak, komodifikacija i komercijalizacija sjećanja na bolne događaje nisu jednostavni procesi i mogu biti obilježeni sjećanjem, amnezijom, oprostom (Miklavcic, 2008: 443), i šutnjom (Hrobat Virloget, 2017). U tom kontekstu, ova teza uzima u obzir latinsku frazu *damnatio memoriae* koja doslovno znači „prokletstvo ili osuda sjećanja" (Varner, 2004: 2) ili „procese usmjerene na suzbijanje ili manipuliranje sjećanjima neprijatelja države" (Omissi, 2016: 170). Nadalje, može se ustvrditi da su povijesno usmjerene memorijalne aktivnosti bile i još uvijek jesu zanimljive za medije koji o njima izvještavaju ili ih komentiraju i koje, prema Črpiću i Mataušiću (1998: 673), utječu na javno mnijenje, izgrađuju društvenu stvarnost kroz tumačenje i interpretaciju informacija (Nišić i Plavšić, 2014). U tom kontekstu, mediji također rekonstruiraju i izgrađuju sjećanja kroz prizmu zasebnih događaja (Edy, 1999; Kitch, 2002, 2008), mogu generirati kulturološki distribuirano kolektivno pamćenje (Pavlaković i Perak, 2017: 301), i biti "mjesto sjećanja" (Mustapić i Balabanić, 2018: 439). Prema Simone-Charterisu, Kirkpatricku i McLaughlinu (2018), mediji su povezani i s mračnim turizmom, primjerice preko objavljivanja informacija o katastrofama, popularizacije i promocije mjesta na kojima su se katastrofe dogodile.

Bez obzira na stalne sukobe u prošlosti ili suvremeni pacifizam, Raos (2014) i neki drugi autori identificirali su mnoga obilježja koja značajno odvajaju Istru od zaleđa s kontinentalne strane Hrvatske i Slovenije; to je područje obilježeno (heterogenom) autohtonim regionalnim identitetom poznatim i pod nazivom „istrijanstvo" (Medica, 1998, 2011; Šuran, 1993; Kerma i Plesec, 2001; Zadel i Sedmak, 2015; Zadel, 2016). Ova te druge okolnosti opravdavaju različito tretiranje Istre i njezinih stanovnika u odnosu na ostale dijelove Hrvatske, Slovenije i Italije. U tom se kontekstu ovo istraživanje usredotočuje na hrvatski i slovenski dio koji predstavljaju veliku većinu teritorija poluotoka.

Utemeljena u literaturi koja iznova procjenjuje utjecaj prošlosti na sadašnjost, ovaj rad rasvjetljava povezanost i odraz prošlih traumatičnih događaja s današnjim praksama sjećanja u sferi javnosti. Svrha istraživanja je dodati novu dimenziju (historijskoj) sociologiji pružanjem „svježe"/nove dubinske analize praksi sjećanja usmjerenih na povijest i mračni turizam s potrebnim komparativnim elementima. To je ujedno i reakcija na općenito uvriježeno mišljenje kako je potrebno više istraživanja mračnog turizma, i to onih u kojima ne dominiraju konceptualna istraživanja (Biran i drugi, 2011; Kidron, 2013; Stone i Sharpley, 2008; Šuligoj, 2016). Konkretnije, svrhe ovog rada su:

- razumijevanje onoga što sjećanje i mračni turizam znače u okvirima određenog regionalnog okruženja (Istra kao prekogranična regija) i

- prikaz tema vezanih za povijest Istre (konflikti/sukobi) tijekom 20. stoljeća, suvremenih praksi sjećanja u sferi javnosti i mračnog turizma u vodećim regionalnim masovnim elektroničkim medijima na temelju kojih se može prepoznati specifična društvena stvarnost oblikovana od strane medija.

U skladu s gore navedenim svrhama istraživanja, na ovoj su osnovi stvoreni sljedeći ciljevi:

- sastaviti konceptualni okvir proučavanja sjećanja i mračnog turizma koji će uključivati činjenice traumatične povijesti Istre 20. stoljeća i njezinih praksi sjećanja u sferi javnosti. Višestruka teorijska perspektiva povezana s povijesnim aspektom samo pojačava i obogaćuje rezultate istraživanja;

- definirati različite grupe (skupine) i karakteristike različitih istarskih suvremenih praksi sjećanja usmjerenih na povijest i s njima povezanog mračnog turizma na temelju relevantnih medijskih izvješća o mračnim memorijalnim događajima. Na taj način želimo identificirati medijski izgrađenu društvenu (memorijalnu) stvarnost kao važan dio suvremenog društvenog života u Istri;

- identificirati i mapirati suvremene tipove i lokacije na kojima se odvijaju mračni memorijalni povijesno-usmjereni događaji u sferi javnosti i gdje se, potencijalno, prijenos sjećanja vrši *in situ*;

- opisati, usporediti, suprotstaviti i tako razumjeti niz različitih mračnih memorijalnih događaja u odnosu na različite povijesne pozadine koje odražavaju traumatičnu prošlost Istre, a posjetiteljima istodobno pružaju posebna iskustva.

Formalno gledano, prema hrvatskom „Pravilniku o znanstvenim i umjetničkim područjima, poljima i granama" (2009), ova teza može se svrstati u polje „5.05.03. Posebne sociologije". Pored toga, mogu se uzeti u obzir i Lešnikovi (u Smithu, 2011) i Katunarićevi (1994) dodatni argumenti, a tezu, kao dio posebne sociologije, svrstati u okvire historijske sociologije.

Teorijska pozadina

Smrt i ljudska tragedija tradicionalno su ljudima vrlo zanimljivi (Dunkley i drugi., 2007; Stone i Sharpley, 2008). Teorija mračnog turizma i proučavanja sjećanja pružaju dovoljno snažan okvir za povijesnu kontekstualizaciju i odgovarajuće istraživanje, kao i za identifikaciju i striktnu empirijsku provjeru suvremene prakse u prekograničnom i multietničkom području Istre.

Teorija mračnog turizma

Mračni turizam samo je jedna posebna vrsta turizma (ili nišnog turizma), ali i jedna od najkontroverznijih i najproblematičnijih sa znanstvenog stajališta (Light, 2017: 281); ratišta vjerojatno predstavljaju najveću pojedinačnu kategoriju turističkih atrakcija raštrkanih po cijelom svijetu - vidi Stone (2012), Ryan (2007), Henderson (2000) i Smith (1998). Prve definicije Foleya i Lennona (1996: 198) definiraju mračni turizam kao „predstavljanje i konzumiranje (od strane posjetitelja) stvarnih i u potrošnu robu pretvorenih mjesta smrti i katastrofe" ili kao „posjet bilo kojem mjestu povezanom sa smrću, katastrofom i tragedijom za sjećanje, obrazovanje ili zabavu "(1997: 155) ili kao„ turizam povezan s mjestima smrti, katastrofe i izopačenosti "(1999: 46). Tijekom narednih godina stvorene su mnogobrojne druge definicije, npr. definicije Tarlowa (2005: 48), Preecea i Pricea (2005: 192), Ashwortha (2008: 234), Robba (2009: 51), Stonea (2006: 146, 2016: 23). Sve te definicije jasno pokazuju širinu područja istraživanja, jednako kao i njegovu suštinu, a to su ljudska smrt i patnja.

Izraz „mračni turizam" nije jedini termin koji definira povezanost turizma i smrti: tanaturizam (Seaton, 1996: 240), odmor u paklu (O'Rourke, 1988), morbidni turizam i turizam

fokusiran na atrakcije unutar umjetno stvorenog konteksta morbidnog turizma (Blom, 2000), turizam žalosti (Butcher, 2003; Hughes, 2008), turizam terora (Bristow i Newman, 2005), turizam zločina (Ashworth i Hartmann, 2005), turizam tuge (Dunkley i drugi, 2007), turizam naslijeđa sukoba (Mansfeld i Korman, 2015), turizam genocida (Dunkley i drugi, 2007), turizam trauma (Clark, 2006), ratni turizam (Bigley i drugi, 2010), poslijeratni turizam (Wise, 2011), ratni turizam (Keyes, 2012), s ratom povezani turizam (Šuligoj, 2016, 2017), turizam bojnih polja (Dunkley i drugi, 2011; Ryan, 2007), turizam sjećanja (Hertzog, 2012), ili memorijalni turizam (Drvenkar i drugi, 2015; Kim, 2013). Nadalje, favela turizam, (Robb, 2009), atomski ili nuklearni turizam (Freeman, 2014; Gusterson, 2004) i distopijski mračni turizam (Podoshen i drugi, 2015) samo su dodatni pojmovi koji se odnose na povezanost turizma i smrti, a nisu sinonimi u pravom smislu riječi.

Heterogenost koja se ogleda u definiciji područja istraživanja također se pojavljuje u tipologiji, iako znanstvenici u ovom slučaju nisu toliko propulzivni i kreativni. Slažu se da tipologija mračnog turizma ovisi o motivaciji posjetitelja i o mjestima koja posjećuju (Fonseca i drugi., 2016: 1). Na temelju pregleda literature, Fonseca, Seabra i Silva (2016) razvijaju tipologiju sastavljenu od šest različitih vrsta, dok Kužnik (2015: 331–332), Kužnik i Veble (2017: 147–148) istu razvijaju od sedamnaest, a Kendle (2008) od pet vrsta; Seaton (1996) je razvio pet kategorija odredišta mračnog turizma, Frost i Laing (2013: 36–42) – vidi i Kennell i drugi (2018: 948) – razvili su sedam vrsta mračnih memorijalnih događaja, dok je Stone (2006) razvio sedam „dobavljača" mraka, kao i spektar ponude mračnog turizma.

Teorija memorijalizacije

Pitanja vezana uz memorijalizaciju bila su, prema Aristotelu i Ciceronu, poznata već u drevnoj Ateni i Rimu (Jerše, 2017: 247, 248) i još uvijek predstavljaju jedan od središnjih izazova čovjeka i društva današnjice, kada se percepcija povijesti promijenila pod utjecajem medija (Nora, 1989: 7). Ipak, memorijalizacijski diskurs je proizvod 20. stoljeća (Jerše, 2017: 248), posebno od 1980. godine nadalje (Ćurković Nimac, 2015: 35). Taj diskurs treba shvatiti kao poseban kulturni, povijesni i politološki fenomen, što znači da je značajno povezan s društvenim znanostima ili čak s interdisciplinarnim istraživanjima.

Jerše (2017: 256) je sintagmu „mjesta sjećanja" ukratko opisao kao metaforu koja ilustrira prostorne, materijalne, narativne i ne-narativne točke na kojima se temelji nacionalno sjećanje. Zerubavel (2005) ovo opisuje kao „društveno-mentalnu topografiju prošlosti" – društveno izgrađene strukture slične mapama pomoću kojih ljudski um gradi sliku prošlosti. Ove rekonstrukcije prošlosti pomažu nam da razumijemo kako djeluju kolektivni oblici

sjećanja. Dakle, stjecanje kolektivnog sjećanja i, prema tome, identifikacija s njegovom zajedničkom prošlošću dio je procesa stjecanja društvenog identiteta. Zajednica/društvo određuje što vrijedi pamtiti i kako će se to sjećanje očuvati. Osim toga, društvo održava i podupire kolektivno sjećanje, dok se individualno sjećanje može razumjeti samo ako ga pojedinci interpretiraju unutar grupe kojoj pripadaju (Halbwachs, 1992); u kolektivnom sjećanju i kroz odgovarajuća razmišljanja pojedinci održavaju kontakte s grupom (Misztal, 2003: 53–54). To znači da sjećanje kao pojam nije u potpunosti homogeno/jednoobrazno. Stoga ovdje treba istaknuti bitno različita sjećanja i odnos prema prošlosti (Hirsch, 2008; Stone, 2012): (a) sjećanja prve generacije, (b) sjećanja druge generacije i (c) sjećanja treće generacije. Slično tome, Halbwachs (1992) je identificirao: (a) autobiografsko sjećanje, (b) povijesno sjećanje, (c) povijest, (d) kolektivno sjećanje.

Sjećanje je odraz određene skupine i njezine prošlosti, fleksibilno je, prolazno, često idealizirano, ali nezaobilazno povezano s poviješću (Jerše, 2012, 2017; Kansteiner, 2002; Nora, 1984, 1989: 8–9; Schwedler, 2010; Wolff, 2006: 117). Povijest je, s druge strane, općenito prihvaćena kao znanost, dakle ozbiljna, intelektualna, svjetovna i objektivna grana, utemeljena na dokazanim činjenicama; Nora (1989: 8) tvrdi da su sjećanje i povijest u suprotnosti. U svakom slučaju, kolektivne identitete treba shvatiti kao fikcije u kojima je sjećanje/praksa sjećanja povezana s povijesnom prošlošću i fikcijom suvremenog identiteta (Nora, 1989: 24; Širok, 2012: 147; Wolff, 2006: 116). Prošlost pruža simboličan okvir za pojedince i grupe pomoću kojih oni konceptualiziraju svoje postojanje (D'Alessio, 2012). Prema Garagazovu (2016: 28), kolektivno sjećanje može se opisati kao „široko podijeljeno znanje o prošlim društvenim događajima koji se kolektivno grade kroz komuniciranje i socijalnu interakciju, što može imati značajan utjecaj na naše ponašanje, osjećaje i misli." Potpuna suprotnost ovome, postoji i kolektivni zaborav, kako ga je identificirao Haebich (2011: 1033) (u upotrebi su i izrazi društvena ili kolektivna amnezija). Evaluacija sjećanja neminovno se odvija u tandemu s amnezijom, što je druga strana istog procesa. Amnezija je bitna komponenta izgradnje sjećanja zajednice; najvažnije je zaboraviti one događaje koji bi mogli spriječiti izgradnju zajedničke slike prošlosti (Širok, 2012: 138). U slučaju Istre treba znati da je, pored „različitih nacionalnih povijesti" i sustavnih/sustavnog *memoriae damnatio*, izbalansirana integracija sjećanja, amnezije, šutnje i pomirenja izuzetno teška i zbog različitih prošlih i sadašnjih ideoloških (političkih) stavova i postojanja različitih društveno-političkih sustava.

Mediji preuređuju i zajednički izgrađuju sjećanje s obzirom na pojedine događaje (i svakodnevni život), kao i kroz vrijeme i mjesto, a dalje ih povezuju s proučavanjem sjećanja i historiografijom (Edy, 1999; Kitch, 2002, 2008). U tom su kontekstu medijske priče/izvješća

„predstavljeni kao povijesna istina, a zapravo se radi o narativnim vizijama, slikama koje su preskriptivne i deskriptivne, ujedno mitologije i izvještavanja" (Kitch, 2002: 61).

Istra: od prošlosti do danas

Općenito, Istra je kroz povijest bila poznata kao siromašno (nerazvijeno) područje (Knez, 2010; Marsetič, 2014; Stradner, 1903; Vinci, 2012), opasno u smislu sigurnosti (Kavrečič, 2015). Uz stalno širenje zaraznih bolesti (Marsetič, 2014; Radošević, 2015; Škrobonja, 2010; Železnik, 2010, 2013) nije odražavala odviše obećavajuću sliku. Ovi teški uvjeti života snažno su utjecali na demografsku sliku područja pod konstantnim utjecajem svih vrsta migracija. S druge strane, u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća regionalna i središnja tijela snažno su podupirala razvoj turizma u području sjevernoga Jadrana, namijenjenog prvenstveno imućnijem staležu (Baskar, 2010; Kavrečič, 2014, 2015; Šuligoj, 2015). Ipak, prema Žerjaviću (1993: 632) i Ashbrooku (2006: 3–4), ovo područje je bilo/je od geostrateškog interesa za carstva i nacionalnih država (kasnije) u okruženju.

Nakon ulaska talijanske vojske u Pulu (1918.), završilo je zlatno doba grada (Arsenal) (Marsetič, 2013: 494). Tijekom prethodne tri godine Pulu su 41 put bombardirali avioni talijanskog vojnog zrakoplovstva, a infrastruktura je bila oštećena (Mandić, 2006: 210–212). Mobilizirani su muškarci iz Istre, dok je ostatak istarskog stanovništva, posebno 1917. godine, patio od gladi, što je u kombinaciji s bolestima i opasnim uvjetima života dovelo do iseljavanja (Herman Kaurić, 2015: 14). Nakon rata započeo je sustavni proces slavenskog odnarođivanja i talijanizacije. Regionalna, provincijska i lokalna vlast bila je u talijanskim rukama - lojalni članovi Nacionalne fašističke stranke dobili su najodgovornije funkcije (Dukovski, 1998.; Kacin-Wohinz, 1990; Miklavcic, 2008; Orlović, 2014a, 2014b; Žerjavić, 1993). To su bile sustavne državne mjere u kontekstu *damnatio memoriae*. Slavenske pobunjenike i lokalno talijansko stanovništvo drugačijih političkih ideologija fašisti su progonili zbog sudjelovanja u antifašističkom koalicijskom pokretu (Ashbrook, 2006; Dukovski, 1998; Rusinow, 1963; Violante, 2009). Otpor je eskalirao i pretvorio se u ozbiljan oružani sukob s fašističkom vojskom na području cijelog istarskog poluotoka. Nakon kapitulacije Italije u rujnu 1943. godine, kada je Istra postala dio njemačke provincije pod nazivom Operativna zona Jadransko primorje, 13. rujna 1943. istarski predstavnici proglasili su u Pazinu sjedinjenje Istre s maticom domovinom, što je nadalje predstavljalo političku osnovu za sve naredne strateške političke odluke (Drndić, 1991; Šetić, 2008: 111), a kasnije i pripojenje „drugoj Jugoslaviji".

Pariškim mirovnim ugovorom potpisanim 1947. Italija je morala ustupiti Jugoslaviji cijeli istočni Jadran i veći dio Istre. Međutim, pitanje granica s Italijom riješeno je tek 1954. i

konačno potvrđeno Osimskim sporazumima 1975. (Tunjić, 2004). Istra je u „drugoj Jugoslaviji" bila podijeljena na dvije (socijalističke) republike, Sloveniju i Hrvatsku. Novi (totalitarni) politički režim (socijalizam), egzodus Talijana i useljavanje slavenskih naroda iz ostalih jugoslavenskih republika značajno su utjecali na razvoj društva i gospodarstva na pojedinačnoj, mikro i makro razini.

Kraj hladnog rata i demokratizacija dviju najrazvijenijih jugoslavenskih republika krajem 1980-ih i početkom 1990-ih uzrokovali su opsežne političke promjene koje su bile posebno vidljive nakon proglašenja neovisnosti Slovenije i Hrvatske u lipnju 1991.

Hrvatski domovinski rat u Istri nije bio toliko intenzivan kao na nekim drugim hrvatskim područjima. Humanitarni rad zajedno sa 96%-tnim odazivom na opću mobilizaciju (najviši u Hrvatskoj) (*Grad Pula*, 2016.) i sudjelovanjem u vojnim aktivnostima/operacijama u Istri i izvan nje glavni je doprinos Istrijana uspjehu Domovinskog rata. Hrvatska Istra bila je „oslobođena" krajem 1991. bez izravnih oružanih sukoba, iako su se neki vojni izgredi (provokacije) događali 1990. i kasnije. S druge strane pak, rat u Sloveniji nije dosegao razmjere hrvatskog Domovinskog rata, ali je došlo do tri kratka vojna sukoba između slovenske policije, snaga teritorijalne obrane i pripadnika JNA (Jugoslovenska narodna armija).

U godinama nakon svakog rata/sukoba nove vlasti počele su graditi (impozantne) spomenike i spomen-parkove herojima i žrtvama rata (u skladu s ideologijom vladajućih struktura i prevladavajućeg mentaliteta).

Istarska sjećanja u kontekstu mračnog turizma

U ovom radu koristi se prilagođeni dizajn istraživanja koji je koristio čitav niz kompatibilnih i komplementarnih istraživačkih pristupa: višestruku studiju slučaja s prikrivenim sudioničkim promatranjem i narativnom analizom, kvantitativnu dvostupanjsku klaster analizu (*TwoStep Cluster analysis*), deskriptivnu analizu te geovizualizaciju. Integrirana priroda mješovitog istraživačkog pristupa koji se koristio u ovom istraživanju poslužila je za isticanje različitih pogleda na istarsku društvenu stvarnost i medijski izgrađenu društvenu stvarnost u odnosu na mračne memorijalne događaje.

Kvalitativna analiza

Na temelju pregleda literature prethodno su razvijeni sljedeći temeljni kriteriji za selekciju (odabir) događaja (uzorak tipičnih slučajeva): (a) mračni memorijalni događaji moraju se razlikovati ovisno o vrsti događaja, (b) mračni memorijalni događaji prepoznatljivi su unutar regionalnog ili čak međunarodnog okruženja (od značaja za turiste), (c) mračni memorijalni

događaji moraju se odnositi na različite konflikte 20. stoljeća koji su obilježeni ljudskim žrtvama (povijesna usredotočenost), (d) različita svjetonazorska uvjerenja povezana s mračnim memorijalnim događajima (ili sjećanjima posjetitelja) moraju biti jasno prepoznatljivi, (e) mračni memorijalni događaji moraju imati žrtve nasilja i današnje posjetitelje različitih nacionalnosti. U tablici 1 navedeni su slučajevi (jedinice istraživanja) dobiveni postupkom odabira kako bi se dobili odgovori na sljedeća istraživačka pitanja vezana za suvremene prakse sjećanja u Istri:

RQ1: *Tko su zapravo posjetitelji različitih mračnih memorijalnih događaja?*

RQ2: *U kojoj je mjeri (ratna) turistička suština prisutna na mračnim memorijalnim događajima?*

RQ3: *U kojoj su mjeri ideološki/politički elementi prisutni na mračnim memorijalnim događajima? Može li se karakteristična istarska convivenza uočiti i tijekom mračnih/memorijalnih događaja?*

U dostupnoj literaturi ovi aspekti još nisu istraženi korištenjem ozbiljnog znanstvenog pristupa.

Tablica 1: Događaji upotrijebljeni u višestrukoj analizi slučaja

Slučaj	Vrsta	Lokacija	Datum istraživačkog posjeta
(I) Dan domovinske zahvalnosti i Dan hrvatskih branitelja	ND	Grad Pula, centar grada	5. kolovoz 2018.
(II) Obljetnica mučeničke smrti bl. Miroslava Bulešića	MS	Župna crkva u Lanišću, glavni trg u Svetvinčenatu	24. kolovoz 2018
(III) Obljetnica mučeničke smrti bl. Francesca Bonifacia	DE[(It)]	Župna crkva Sv. Servula, Grad Buje	7. rujan 2018
(IV) Obljetnica bitke kod Kučibrega	MS	Kučibreg memorial park, Grad Buje	5. studeni 2017

Napomena: događaji su namjerno razvrstani prema datumima mračnih memorijalnih događaja. Legenda: MS…memorijalni događaj; ND… nacionalni dan žalosti ili sjećanja; DE… mračna izložba, prema Frostu i Laingu (2013) i Kennellu i drugi. (2018); (It)… na talijanskom jeziku.

S obzirom na upotrijebljene kriterije (tablica 2), evidentna je heterogenost događaja koji su se održavali u urbanim i ruralnim područjima (naseljenim i nenaseljenim). Zajednička karakteristika svih događaja su lokalni posjetitelji, sjećanje kao ključni razlog posjeta i nepostojanje ideoloških tema. Isto se odražava i na heterogene prakse sjećanja u Istri te na heterogenost „istrijanstva" koje su Medica (1998, 2011), Cocco (2009, 2010) i Ashbrook (2005) u svojim radovima opisali kao autohtoni regionalni identitet, a Hrobat Virloget kao različite percepcije razumijevanja prošlosti (2015, 2017).

U odnosu na turizam, uočena različitost je vrlo poželjna jer omogućava raznolikost te odgovara potrebama i tradicijama različitih ciljnih skupina; budući da (svi) stranci ne mogu razumjeti pozadinu i okolnosti svakog mračnog memorijalnog događaja, nije potrebno svaki istarski mračni memorijalni događaj svrstati u kontekst mračnog turizma. Stoga su njihove slabe točke nedostatna turistička infrastruktura i neprofesionalan pristup organizaciji događaja. Sažeti prikaz činjenica prikazan je u tablici 2.

Tablica 2: Sažetak rezultata višestruke analize slučaja

Indikator	Mjesto mračnog događaja				
	Pula	Lanišće	Svetvinčenat	Buje	Kučibreg
Posjetitelji različitih dobnih skupina (generacija)	–	–	+	–	+
Masovni posjet	+	–	+	–	+
Internacionalnost	–	–	–	–	+
Lokalni posjetitelji	+	+	+	+	+
Sjećanje kao ključni razlog posjete	+	+	+	+	+
Turistička infrastruktura	+	–	+	+	+*
Ideološke teme	–	–	–	–	–
Regionalizam	+*	–	–	–	+
Convivenza	–	–	–	–	+
Simboli	+	+	+	+	+

Napomena: mračni memorijalni događaji u Lanišću i Svetvinčenatu se u ovoj disertaciji tretiraju kao jedan događaj na dvije lokacije. Legenda: +… identificiran; -… nije identificiran; * ... samo u ograničenoj mjeri.

Kvantitativna analiza

Na početku je kroz stručno znanje autora te na bazi relevantnih izvora odabran ograničeni izbor vodećih regionalnih novina: „Glas Istre" na hrvatskom, „Primorske novice" na slovenskom i „La voce del popolo" na talijanskom jeziku. Te novine su više upoznate s lokalnim mentalitetom i povijesnim trenucima od ostalih. Jedinica istraživanja/kodiranja bilo je izvješće (članak) kao neovisna cjelina internetske verzije novina; izvješća su se tražila i prikupljala svakodnevno. Sva dostupna izvješća u razdoblju od 1. veljače 2016. do 30. studenog 2018. bila su uključena u analize. Svako je izvješće (sadržaj) kodirano prema 42 unaprijed određena koda (kodovi su se temeljili na nalazima pregleda literature i kvalitativne analize). Prije toga postavljena su tri precizna istraživačka pitanja:

RQ4: *Koja vrsta mračnih memorijalnih događaja povezanih sa sukobima iz 20. stoljeća ima najveću regionalnu pokrivenost od strane istarskih regionalnih medija?*

RQ5: *Koliko različitih skupina suvremenih mračnih memorijalnih događaja u Istri se može stvoriti na temelju medijskog izvješćivanja?*

RQ6: *Koja je stvarna geografska raspršenost suvremenih mračnih memorijalnih povijesno usredotočenih događaja na istarskom poluotoku?*

Točno 126 izvješća iz 34 uzastopna mjeseca uključeno je u analizu, što je donja granica prihvatljivosti. Njihove osnovne (formalne) značajke prikazane su u tablici 3. Nakon nekoliko izvršenih početnih korektivnih radnji, korištenjem unakrsnih tablica i dvostupanjske klaster analize sadržaja (*TwoStep Cluster analysis*) utvrđeno je da su mračni memorijalni događaji vezani uz Drugi svjetski rat najčešći mračni memorijalni događaji održani u Istri, dok su mračne izložbe uglavnom vezane uz Prvi svjetski rat. Može se reći da u današnje vrijeme mračni memorijalni događaji predstavljaju samo odraz mračne prošlosti Istre, posebno razdoblja fašističkog terora i Drugog svjetskog rata, što je značajno utjecalo na slavensku kulturu i društveni život.

Tablica 3: Značajke uključenih izvješća

Značajka	f	Postotak	Ukupno %
(Q1) Novine			
Glas Istre	82	65	65
La voce del popolo	30	24	89
Primorske novice	14	11	100
(Q4) Prethodno objavljeno			
Da	24	20	20
Ne	102	80	100
(Q5) Vrsta izvješća			
Kratka poruka	30	24	24
Sažeta verzija pisanog izvješća	5	4	28
Puni tekst	91	72	100
(Q6) Br. fotografija:			
Nema fotografija	4	3	3
Jedna fotografija	92	73	76
Više od jedne fotografije	30	24	100
(Q7) Koja vrsta fotografija?			
Samo stare/povijesne	3	2	2
Samo nove	118	94	99
I stare i nove	1	1	100

U vezi s RQ5 stvorene su četiri skupine/klasteri bez statistički značajnih razlika (asimptotska p-vrijednost zamijenjena je MC p-vrijednošću koja, međutim, nije značajno veća) na temelju kojih se svejedno može prepoznati specifična društvena stvarnost oblikovana od strane medija. Karakteristike identificiranih skupina simptomatične su za povijesno usmjerene mračne/memorijalne događaje u Istri.

Skupina 1 naziva „Jednostavni mračni memorijalni događaji" najmanja je skupina u kojoj dominiraju događaji vezani uz Drugi svjetski rat. Homogenost je problematična, ali u svakom slučaju prevladavaju Drugi svjetski rat i fašistički teror. Navedeni događaji oslanjaju

se na povijesne činjenice i uglavnom se održavaju u blizini spomen-obilježja u gradovima i mjesta internacije. Cvjetne ceremonije, kao važna komponenta programa, tipične su za ovu skupinu. Što se tiče političara, takvim događajima prisustvuju samo lokalni političari. Posjetitelji različitih dobnih skupina najkarakterističniji su za Skupinu 1, dok strani posjetitelji i političari nisu prisutni u analiziranim događajima. Skupina 2 – „Mračni memorijalni događaji ruralnih područja vezani za Drugi svjetski rat" – u izvješću elektroničkih medija čini 43,8% svih događaja vezanih uz Drugi svjetski rat. Uglavnom se održavaju u selima na mjestima masovnih i pojedinačnih pogibija (ove karakteristike imaju samo događaji iz Skupine 2). Nadalje, komemoracije dominiraju kao vrsta događaja, a raznolik kulturni program također je karakterističan samo za članove ove skupine. Cvjetne ceremonije, kao važna komponenta programa, vrlo su značajne za ovu skupinu. Što se tiče političara, takvim događajima prisustvuju samo lokalni političari. Posjetitelji različitih dobnih skupina i sudjelovanje mladih posjetitelja, kao i antifašističko znakovlje tipični su samo za ove događaje (odnosno medijska izvješća o tim događajima). Skupina „Mješoviti mračni memorijalni događaji" (Skupina 3) najveća je od svih skupina u kojima se mediji prilikom izvještavanja o takvim događajima najviše oslanjaju na povijesne činjenice. Ovi se događaji uglavnom održavaju u gradovima. Osim događaja koji se tiču fašizma i neovisnosti, ova skupina uključuje i događaje povezane sa svim ostalim sukobima 20. stoljeća (najnehomogenija skupina). Ovu skupinu obilježile su komemoracije kao vrsta događaja, spomen-obilježja ili mjesta internacije kao kategorije mjesta na kojima se događaji održavaju, cvjetne ceremonije tijekom događaja i prisustvo posjetitelja različitih dobnih skupina. Posljednju skupinu („Mračni memorijalni događaji povezani s ratom za nezavisnost") čine događaji povezani uglavnom s vojnim sukobom tijekom 1990-ih godina i Domovinskim ratom. Dan nacionalne sućuti i sjećanja glavna je vrsta događaja, iako su česta i održavanja običnih komemoracija. Svi događaji (članovi skupine) održavaju se u blizini spomen-obilježja ili mjesta internacije u istarskim gradovima. Ovim događajima najčešće prisustvuju lokalni političari i samo domaći posjetitelji. Ovu skupinu obilježavaju uniformni predstavnici represivnih tijela (militarizacija) i sudionici prošlih sukoba koji su prisutni na događaju (autobiografsko sjećanje). Cvjetne ceremonije predstavljaju važnu komponentu svih uključenih događaja čiji je program u ovom slučaju jednostavan; vjerski simboli primijećeni su samo na tim događajima. Ova empirijska analiza dala nam je i odgovor na RQ5.

Na samom kraju primijenjena je i vizualizacija prostornih podataka koji se odnose na raširenost povijesno usmjerenih mračnih memorijalnih događaja (RQ6) korištenjem postupka geovizualizacije koji se koristi također u sociologiji. Utvrđeno je da su smo da su događaji

rašireni cijelom poluotokom te da su u tom pogledu Pula i Kopar kao regionalni centri vrlo različiti. Pored toga, događaji su se uglavnom održavali u naseljenim područjima, jedino događaji vezani za Drugi svjetski rat održavali su se uglavnom u ruralnom području.

Zaključak

Ovo istraživanje se ne oslanja samo na jednu pojedinačnu teoriju ili koncept, već predstavlja interdisciplinarno istraživanje utemeljeno na različitim izvorima. Pokušava se pozivati na dubinske rasprave koje su istraživali mnogi slovenski, hrvatski, talijanski i drugi znanstvenici iz različitih grana znanosti. Tražili smo sponu/presjek između (mračnog) turizma, sjećanja i historiografije koja u prošlosti nije bila predmet istraživanja/rasprave, pri čemu nismo mogli zanemariti jasne poveznice između Istre i oružanih snaga (vojske).

Znanstvena vrijednost ove (interdisciplinarne) disertacije je u tome što su relevantni heterogeni mračni memorijalni događaji usmjereni na povijest po prvi put prepoznati kao društvena stvarnost oblikovana od strane elektroničkih medija (digitalnih novina). Nadalje, suvremeni mračni memorijalni događaji usmjereni na povijest grupirani su na temelju teoretski i povijesno utemeljenih karakteristika, a zatim opisani i mapirani, što predstavlja izvorni doprinos znanosti u smislu pristupa i sadržaja. Stoga smo danas upoznati s prošlim i sadašnjim istarskim memorijalnim događajima (i njihovim osobitostima). Osim toga, znamo i da se, unatoč traumatičnom 20. stoljeću koje nudi idealnu osnovu za razvoj mračnog turizma, istarski mračni memorijalni događaji očito ne razvijaju u tom smjeru i ostaju i dalje, uz određene iznimke, tradicionalni lokalni ili regionalni događaji namijenjeni stanovnicima Istre. Povijesno usmjereni mračni memorijalni događaji poznati izvan granica Istre privlače posjetitelje iz ostalih područja sjevernoga Jadrana i/ili drugih dijelova Slovenije i Hrvatske, što ukazuje na međunarodnu prepoznatljivost i važnost (mračnog) turizma samo u nekom ograničenom administrativnom smislu. Rezultati kvalitativne analize potvrđuju ovu tvrdnju koja otvara nova pitanja u vezi istraživanja sjećanja u kontekstu mračnog turizma, npr. pitanje pluralnosti, zaborava (*damnatio memoriae*), zloupotrebe, turističkih potencijala i slično. Uz to, zahvaljujući ovom mješovitom pristupu, također znamo i razumijemo da se ti događaji zapravo održavaju u lokalnom okruženju, što se jednako tako odnosi i na njihove specifičnosti, slabosti i slično. Također je utvrđeno da svi mračni memorijalni događaji nisu od interesa za glavne regionalne elektroničke medije (digitalne novine). U ovoj disertaciji se stvarna društvena stvarnost povezuje i nadograđuje sa društvenom stvarnošću istarskih praksi sjećanja oblikovanom od strane medija.

U doktorskoj disertaciji također postoje određena ograničenja i slabosti koje treba istaknuti, npr. kvantitativna analiza ne uključuje cijeli raspon povijesno usmjerenih mračnih memorijalnih događaja u Istri, otežan je postupak klasifikacije mračnih memorijalnih događaja i njihovih lokacija, u potpunosti neutralni pristup istraživača praktički je nemoguć u proučavanju memorijalnih praksi na području sjevernoga Jadrana i slično.

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Genealogy

EMERGENCE 1900s - Freud, Bergson, Durkheim (generations - cultural memory)
Bartlett, Block & Febvre (Annales school)
1920s/1930s - Halbwachs, Warbourg
RE-EMERGENCE 1980s - Nora (collective v history), Jan & Aleida Assmann (communicative)
Heidelberg group - Dietrich, Harth (media and memory in ancient societies), Straub
(narrative), Middleton, Brown (psychology)
1990s - Rosenfeld
BOOM 2000 - Erll, Rigney, Zelizer, Esposito (social forgetting, memory dependent on
technologies (media products)
Huyssen - mediated memories

refiguring
humanities as the
study of culture

history
trauma
holocaust
witnessing
practice of memory
studies
archive

Memory studies -
historical trajectory

National Perspective

Cultural Memory

Assmann - history v
communicative memory v cultural
memory + canon v archive
(collective identity as central
function of cultural memory)
Sturken - tangled memories
reenactment
Nora - container (national)

Collective Memory:

Halbwachs -
collective v history
memory
art - Barthes - effects de simultaneously
memoire   individual and
                    collective
Margalit - common
and shared memory
(mediated)

Transcultural
memory

global new media ecologies:
globital memory - Hoskins, Reading, Van Dijck
postmemory, pre-re/mediation - Hirsch
transmedial memory- Bolter & Grusin, Rigney

global/cosmopolitan (Levy/Sznaider)
multidirectional (Rothberg)
shared/transnational sites of memory (Sengupta-Frey)
prosthetic memory (Landsberg)
mediated memories (Huyssen)
transcultural memory (Erll)

APPENDIX A: Inspiration software graph of the genealogy of memory studies (Source: Milic, 2016: 27)

1820.	**Habsburško carstvo gradi utvrdu fort Marie Louise.**
	Hapsburg Empire builds fort Marie Louise
1850.	**Izgrađena bitnica Fižela**
	Building of Fižela Battery
1852.	**Izrađen plan obrane luke i grada po kojem se gradio obrambeni sustav**
	Plan of defence for harbor and city defined locations for fortresses
1852.-1855.	**Izgradnja fort Muzil**
	Building of Fort Muzil
1859.	**Završena gradnja utvrde Marie Louise**
	Construction of new layer of fort Marie Louise has finished
1897.	**Na utvrdi Muzil postavljen signalizacijski stup za radio-telegrafske veze**
	Tower for radio and telegraph connections was installed on fort Muzil
1910-1914.	**Gradnja lukobrana dugačkog oko 1.200m. Nije dovršen**
	Construction of harbor breakwater dock 1.200m long. It was never finished
6.11.1918.	**Talijanska vojska se stacionira u utvrdi Muzil i Marie Louise**
	Italian army arrived in forts Muzil and Marie Louise
1939.	**Izgrađena Zgrada zapovjedništva**
	Command building was constructed
1943.	**Njemačka vojska preuzima upravu nad Muzilom**
	German army takes command over Muzil
3.5.1945.	**U Pulu ulaze partizanski odredi. Njemačka vojska se povlači na Muzil – njihovo posljednje uporište**
	Partizans enter Pula. German soldiers withdrawal on Muzil, last stronghold in the city
5.5.1945.	**U popodnevnim satima počinje borba za Muzil**
	In the afternoon starts the battle for Muzil
6.5.1945.	**Posljednje savezničko bombardiranje Pule usmjereno isključivo na Muzil**
	Allies bomb Pula for the last time concentrating exclusively on Muzil area
7.5.1945.	**Njemačka kapitulirala**
	German capitulation
1947.	**JNA preuzima Muzil. Uspostavlja motrilačku službu**
	Jugoslavian Peoples Army arrived at Muzil. Observation guard is constitued
1959.	**Izgradnja kasarne "Sergej Mašer" za mornaričku pješadiju na Muzilu**
	Building of barrack "Sergej Mašer" for navy infantry
1977.	**Prebaziranje glavnih pomorskih jedinica i Mornaričko-tehničkog školskog centra iz Pule u Loru u Splitu**
	Over-command of main navy units and navy-technical school center from Pula to Lora in Split.
12.1991.	**Preko Muzila teče i evakuacija vojnih osoba i njihovih obitelji iz Pule u Bar**
	Evacuation of military personnel from Pula to Bar in Montenegro runs through Muzil
16.12.1991.	**JNA u potpunosti napušta Muzil**
	Jugoslavian Peoples Army definitely abandons Muzil
17.12.1991.	**Postrojbe HV ulaze u Muzil na čelu s kapetanom bojnog broda Vedranom Antoninijem i Vjekoslavom Sekušakom, kako bi razminirali područje i osposobili devastirane i djelomično spaljene objekte za prihvat vojske**
	Croatian Army enters in Muzil under command of Vedran Antonini i Vjekoslav Sekušak. They demined the territory and enable use of devastated and partly burned facilities
20.1.1992.	**Vojarna Muzil stavljena je na raspolaganje sastavnici HV zaduženoj za obuku i odgoj vojnika**
	Drafting center of croatian soldiers starts with first generation of recruits
2.7.2007.	**Centar za obuku i odgoj vojnika prestaje s djelovanjem. Područje ostaje pod vojnim nadzorom**
	Drafting center stops running. Most of the army evacuates the area but it remains under military guard
8.3.2009.	**Organizirana prva javna šetnja građana Muzilom**
	First civil public walk was organized on Muzil

1820.-1914.

1918..-1947.

1947.-2007.

APPENDIX B: A brief summary of the history of the Muzil fort (Source: Pulska grupa, 2010: 10)

APPENDIX C: Some characteristics of selected media

Element	Media		
	Glas Istre[1]	**Primorske novice**[2]	**La voce del popolo**[3]
Language	Croatian	Slovenian	Italian
Publisher	Glas Istre novine d. o. o.	Primorske novice, časopisno založniška družba d.o.o. / Azienda giornalistico - editoriale, s.r.l., Capodistria.	EDIT RIJEKA novinsko - izdavačka ustanova Italian / EDIT FIUME ente giornalistico - editoriale
Legal entity	Limited liability company	Limited liability company	Foundation
Legal seat	Pula	Koper	Rijeka
Legal owners in 2018 (in local language) (share in %)	JOJ Media House, a.s. Bratislava (59,047%); Novi list d.d., Rijeka (30%); Vice Mandarić (10,953%).	Nada Špacapan Caharija, Ozeljan, (0,0426%); Modra linija holding d.o.o., Koper (0,0214%); Luka Koper, d.d., Koper (10,8264%); Mestna občina Koper (0,2972%); Dnevnik, d.d., Ljubljana (12,1010%); Forma inn, d.o.o., Koper (7,0963%) Mestna občina Nova Gorica (0,2522%); Splošna plovba d.o.o., Portorož, (52,4480%); Marjetica Koper, d.o.o.-s.r.l. (16,9149%)	Unione Italiana / Talijanska unija udruga građana (100%)
First published (year)	1943	1963	1944
Orientation[4]	Regional	Regional	Minority (Italian)
Importance	Principal	Principal	Principal
Printed version	Yes	Yes	Yes
Online version	Yes	Yes	Yes
Market share 2018 (advertising)[5]	> 10 %	n.d.[6]	> 10 %

Notes:

(1) Bilješke uz financijske izvještaje za godinu 2018. Glas Istre d.o.o. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Sudski registar - Ministarstvo pravosuđa Republike Hrvatske:* https://sudreg.pravosudje.hr/registar/f?p=150:28:0::NO:28:P28_SBT_MBS:040157591

(2) O družbi. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Primorske novice, d.o.o.:* https://www.primorske.si/korporativne-strani/o-druzbi#o-druzbi;

Primorske novice, d.o.o. Koper, s.r.l. Capodistria. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Agencija Republike Slovenije za javnopravne evidence in storitve:* https://www.ajpes.si/podjetje/PRIMORSKE_NOVICE%2C_d.o.o._Koper%2C_s.r.l._Capodi stria?enota=121730&EnotaStatus=1.

(3) Podaci. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Sudski registar - Ministarstvo pravosuđa Republike Hrvatske:* https://sudreg.pravosudje.hr/registar/f?p=150:28:0::NO:28:P28_SBT_MBS:040078287#a_kat _21000; Cenni Storici. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *EDIT Edizioni lTaliane – Fiume*: http://edit.hr/index.php/2019/04/11/cenni-storici/

(4) Komercijalni tiskani mediji i informativne internetske stranice. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Ministarstvo culture RH*: https://www.min-kulture.hr/userdocsimages/NAJNOVIJE%20NOVOSTI/Izvje%C5%A1taj%20-%20Radni%20materijal%209.3%20-%20Komercijalne%20novine%20i%20internetske%20stranice.pdf

(5) Istraživanje tržišta tiska za 2018. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Agencija za zaštitu tržišnog natjecanja*: http://www.aztn.hr/ea/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Istra%C5%BEivanje-tr%C5%BEi%C5%A1ta-tiska-za-2018.pdf. However, no data is available for the circulation at the publisher level.

(6) No data was observed. Printed media readership statistics show that 'Primorske novice' has a 3,7% market share at the national level – see Mediana TGI podatki o branosti tiskanih medijev. Retrieved 19 December 2019, from *Mediana*: https://www.mediana.si/aktualno/mediana-tgi-podatki-o-branosti-tiskanih-medijev/.

APPENDIX D: Coding sheet

Q1 - Newspaper:

○ Glas Istre ○ La voce del popolo ○ Primorske novice

Q2 - Date of publication:
_____

Q3 - Report title:
_____

Q4 - Repetition:
(Has this topic already been published in another newspaper?)
○ Yes ○ No

Q5 - Report type:
○ Short message ○ A shortened version of the printed report ○ Full text

Q6 - No. of photos:
○ No photo ○ One photo ○ More than one photo

IF (1) Q6 != [1]
Q7 - Photos:
(What kind of photos?)
○ Only old/historical
○ Only new photos
○ Both new and historical ones

Q8 - Place name:
_____

Q9 - Area:
○ City (regional centre)
○ Town
○ Village
○ Non-settlement area
○ Not specified

Q10 - Conflict:
(Related conflict of the 20th century):
○ WWI
○ Fascist terror
○ WWII
○ Socialist revolution and Italian exodus
○ Independence war in the 1990s
○ Other

Q11 - Historical facts:
(Historical background)

	Yes	No
(At least) mentioned	○	○
Mythologised	○	○

Q12 - Event type:
(Frost and Laing, 2013)

○ Dark exhibition

○ Dark re-enactment

○ National day of mourning or remembrance

○ Memorial service

○ Significant anniversary

○ Parade, march, procession

○ Festival

Q13 - Site category:
(Seaton, 1996)

○ Site of public executions

○ Site of individual or mass deaths

○ Memorials or internment site

○ Site/area with the purpose of viewing evidence of death or symbolic representations of it

○ Place or event of re-enactments or simulation of death

Q14 - Mass visit:

○ Yes ○ No ○ Not specified

Q15 - Young visitors:
(Attendance of the young generation)

○ Yes ○ No ○ Not specified

Q16 - Other generations:
(Attendance of other generations)

○ Middle generation

○ Seniors

○ Mixed

○ Not specified

IF (2) Q16 = [1, 2, 3]
Q17 - Autobiographical memory:
(Are participants of the 20th century conflicts present at the event?)

○ Yes ○ No ○ Not specified

Q18 - Foreign visitors:

○ Not present

○ From the Upper Adriatic

○ From other foreign areas

○ Not specified

Q19 - Politicians:
(What is the level of presence of politicians?)

○ Not present

○ Only local

○ Only regional

○ Only state

○ Local and regional

○ Local, regional and state

○ Not specified

Q20 - Foreign politicians:
(What is the level of presence of foreign politicians?)

○ Not present

○ Only from neighbouring municipalities

○ Only from neighbouring regions

○ From neighbouring municipalities and regions

○ From neighbouring state(s)

○ From neighbouring municipalities, regions and states

○ Not specified

Q21 - Politicisation:

	Yes	No	Not specified
Nationalist ideas	○	○	○
Regionalist ideas	○	○	○
Political propaganda	○	○	○
Ideological issues	○	○	○

Q22 - Militarisation:
(The presence of representatives of repressive bodies at the event as sign of militarisation)

	Yes	No	Not specified
In plain-clothes	○	○	○
Uniformed	○	○	○
Uniformed and armed (honorary corps)	○	○	○
In veteran military uniforms	○	○	○

Q23 - Symbols of:
(Symbols at the event)

	Yes	No	Not specified
Fascism	○	○	○
Anti-fascism	○	○	○
Contemporary state	○	○	○
Religion	○	○	○
Veterans' organisations	○	○	○
National minority(s)	○	○	○
Other	○	○	○

Q24 - Multiculturalism
(Multiculturalism at the events)

	Yes	No	Not specified
A multi-language event	○	○	○
The *convivenza* (is highlighted)	○	○	○
Representatives of minorities	○	○	○

Q25 - Cultural programme:
○ Just a speech
○ With music
○ With reading and reciting
○ With some kind of theatrical performance
○ Varied cultural programme
○ Not specified

Q26 - Religious ritual:
(What kind of religious ritual is part of the event programme?)
○ No religious ritual
○ Holy mass
○ Only the blessing
○ Only prayer
○ Both blessing and prayer
○ The whole event has a religious character
○ Not specified

Q27 - Flower ceremony:
(Is a flower ceremony part of the programme?)
○ Yes ○ No ○ Not specified

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