

“THAT THIN RED LINE”: MEMORY AND YUGONOSTALGIA AMONG THE ITALIAN MINORITY IN ISTRIA

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This article examines how the documentary *Vedo Rosso* may be seen as a form of Yugonostalgia on the part of the Italian minority living in Rovinj, Croatia. Based on a textual analysis and video elicitation, this project explores the multiple and somewhat ambivalent ways in which this specific community has reacted to a visual reconstruction of the 1980s under socialism. A combination of interviews conducted by the authors and interviews presented in the documentary enables the reconstruction of a memoryscape influenced by intragenerational factors, as well as by the broader geopolitical changes that have transformed, at several times and in several ways, the Istrian Peninsula and the maritime town of Rovinj in particular. Deeper links between memory and nostalgia were the subject of detailed analysis in what is now vast and rich interdisciplinary literature. This article is an attempt to contribute to the existing debates on Yugonostalgia, in the sense that it shows that Yugonostalgia, as a form of memorialization, represents a complex and articulate way to interpret a mutable and uncertain present on the part of a relatively marginal ethno-linguistic minority in contemporary Croatia.

Keywords: Yugonostalgia, Italian minority, Istria, video elicitation, memory

On 3 November 2012, in the “Antonio Gandusio” theater in Rovinj, Croatia, the documentary *Vedo rosso – Anni '70 tra storia e memoria degli italiani d'Istria* [Seeing Red – the 1970s between history and memory among the Istrian Italian community] was shown for the first time.¹ The documentary, directed and produced by Sabrina Benussi who experienced

¹ Film Editor: Associazione culturale Fuoritesto; Scientific Advisor: Alessandro Casellato e Orietta Moscarda. Shooting format: HD; video: Betacam SP PAL – screen ratio 16: 9. Available at: www.vimeo.com/187190254 (password entry: VEDO ROSSO EN).

the 1970s as a child and a teenager, is a rather original and somewhat autobiographical attempt to engage with the everyday life of an Italian minority in the former Yugoslavia during the 1960s and 1970s, the last decades of Tito's regime. It is also an attempt, on the part of the author, to provoke among her local community a first self-reflection on those years, on their involvement in the rituals of Socialism, on the cult of President Tito. Her narrative – marked by a pervasive sense of irony – seeks to probe what it meant to be a member of the Italian minority living in former Italian territory whilst simultaneously being embedded in the regime's cosmopolitan rhetoric.

Today, Rovinj is a coastal town on the Istrian peninsula with a population of 14,000 inhabitants. It is a very attractive tourist destination visited for its beaches and the impressive Venetian architecture which characterizes its historical center. Rovinj is also the center of the most important Italian community in Istria and is the location of multiple Italian cultural associations, including the influential *Centro di Ricerche Storiche* (Centre for Historical Research), founded in 1968 by the Italian National Community and funded by the EU, Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. This explains why investigating *Yugonostalgia* in Rovinj today with reference to the Italian minority is of particular interest historically as well as for its contemporary political implications within the transformed Croatian cultural and institutional context. Therefore, this study was conceived with the broader framework of this special issue in mind, and started with the question of what can be learned, in the present day, by analyzing the reception and the effects of the concept of *Yugonostalgia* for an Italian minority living – now and then – not too far away from the Italian border. We were equally interested in the reactions that a film like *Vedo Rosso* might have sparked among the different components of today's Italian minority in Croatia, including various forms of neglect and resistance to any public debate concerning the socialist period and the presumed co-implication of the Italian community with Tito's regime.

ITALIAN YUGONOSTALGIA

Bilingualism (Croatian and Italian are both official languages) is formally recognized in Rovinj, as the town is part of a territory which was subjected to several (re)divisions during the long post-Second-World-War period. Initially, after the Italian defeat in the Second World War, Istria was assigned to Yugoslavia by the Memorandum of London (1954). As a consequence, only a minority of the preexisting Italian population remained, while a large majority fled in stages, generating a substantial movement of exiled people described by the diasporic Istrians as *l'Esodo* (the exodus). This movement was analyzed in depth by anthropologist Pamela Ballinger in *History in Exile* (2003). Many Italian Istrians moved to Italy, and in particular to Trieste (doubling its population by about 125,000 new residents), but also to dedicated refugee camps in other parts of Italy. Others went to Australia, the Americas and other parts of Europe (Cattaruzza, Dogo and Pupo 2000). Even today, some 60 years after the "exodus", the "abandonment" of their lands and properties is the

source of dispute between Italy and the countries that inherited the territories of the former Yugoslavia. Tension also exists between the Italians in exile and the *rimasti*, those who decided to stay in Istria, under the new socialist and Yugoslavian banner. These *rimasti* are therefore often regarded as Communists or collaborators by those who left. This is so despite the fact that many local families were made up of both *rimasti* and those who sought exile (Ballinger 2003: 1, 335–383; Contini 1997; Crainz 2005).

This postwar division of the peninsula was followed by the collapse of Yugoslavia. The secession of Slovenia and Croatia in the early 1990s, and the years of conflict that followed, brought about dramatic changes, including a new division of Istria between these two countries. This may explain why the narratives recalling the events of the past six or seven decades are fragmented and highly diverse, depending on which “camp” those who relate the events belong to. In other places and in other communities, Yugonostalgia is considered little more than a fascination for the past and its vintage material memories (records, music, symbols, etc.). Yet, here, in Rovinj, and among the members of the Italian community in Croatia, the topic is a minefield, a terrain of high sensitivity, and an issue all too often strategically dismissed.

Despite the difficulties created by such a complex set of entanglements with the past and with present-day politics, at its inaugural screening, the film was apparently very well received by a fully booked theater, with over 400 viewers. This marked a first attempt to initiate a tentative, scattered, but nonetheless unprecedented public reinterpretation of the “Yugoslavian years”. The film has subsequently been shown in many different settings, in Croatia and Italy. It has managed to create a space in which, at least for many who directly experienced those years as Italians living in Socialist Yugoslavia, both the nostalgia for a past that will never return, and the desire to voice the complicated condition of being a socialist citizen and a member of a minority group regarded as “the former enemy”, could be voiced. But it has also become a site for the emergence of family histories related to a place that has changed flags and regimes many times during the past century or so.

In my family we were born in the same home, but not in the same nation; my grandmother was born under the Austro-Hungarian empire, worked in Italy, retired in Yugoslavia, and died in Croatia... We are those who were born in Yugoslavia, an extinct country now, we were the children of the roaring 1960s, the Beatles and Rolling Stones generation. (G. D.)

These statements by the director’s elementary-school teacher in the interview which opens the film, are followed by the introduction to a children magazine called *Il Pioniere* (The Pioneer). This magazine is used by the author as a common red thread running through the entire film narrative. The film includes many interviews with former “pioneers” – the Yugoslavian youth taking part in the rituals and the education of Tito’s regime – merged with an extraordinary assemblage of clips from TV programs, personal footage, family souvenirs, official Party documents, school memorabilia, and sport events. The sequence is aimed at providing a light but well-documented approach to the mundane aspects of life in Socialist Yugoslavia.



Figure 1. Cover of *Il Pioniere*, 1981. Copyright permission by Edit Publisher, Rijeka

This article investigates the “special effects” of Yugonostalgia with reference to the present-day Italian community in Rovinj. These effects, precisely because of Rovinj’s vicinity to the Italian border, may provide a unique perspective on this form of collective nostalgia. We use *Vedo Rosso* as a primary source around which emotions and feelings have been stirred in ways that may reveal interesting insights into the capacity of nostalgia – and of Yugonostalgia in particular – to contribute to the critical analysis of mainstream historical interpretations of today’s Croatia, with multiple “Yugonostalgic” narratives representing a powerful “discourse of memory” among many others (on this see Burić 2010; also Lindstrom 2006). It especially focuses on the Italian community’s institutional representatives and their strategies of remembering and forgetting the Yugoslav years.

In engaging with questions of nostalgia we have been inspired by Svetlana Boym’s distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia in order to understand collective memories as “common landmarks of everyday life” (Boym 2001: 53; also, again, Lindstrom 2006). By assuming Yugonostalgia to be a form of active re-elaboration of the past and of political and cultural actualization of the past, we have therefore started by asking the following questions: how is Yugonostalgia metabolized by a community that was converted into a minority precisely with the incorporation of their territories into the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1950s? How are the collective memories of “the Tito years”, and of the 1970s in particular, recalled today by people who experienced their youth under the regime, while being exposed to everyday socialist rituals and education and, at the same time, the influence of Western media and of Italian culture on the other side of the (soft) iron curtain? Furthermore, how can a documentary like *Vedo Rosso* become a vehicle capable of exposing (and sometimes contesting) some of the narratives which serve as the foundations of contemporary claims of identity in an entirely transformed political context (that of the Republic of Croatia)? And, finally, how are individual memories entangled in those more politicized collective memories?

For lack of space, we cannot venture into a comprehensive overview of the vast and rich literature on nostalgia (on the diverse contemporary manifestations of Yugonostalgia see, in particular, Burić 2010; Kovačević 2008; Lindstrom 2006; Matić et al. 2004; Pauker

2006; Volčič 2007; for an analysis of Yugonostalgia in the form of *Titonostalgia* see Velikonja 2008). However, broadly inspired by that literature, in this article we focus on how the appearance of the documentary *Vedo Rosso* may have reactivated memories and contemporary interpretations that have remained silent and unnoticed for a very long time, drawing out counter-narratives which resist well-established mainstream interpretations. We are also interested in the ways in which "personal" and individual memories tend to emerge in the accounts offered by our interviewees, confirming that even institutional memories about the Yugoslav years are always actualized and mobilized by subjective interpretations and influenced by trans-generational discourses.

The 12-month fieldwork and collection of the textual materials for this paper took place in 2014. It included several trips to Rovinj, but also to Rijeka and Trieste, in Italy, where the film director lives and where the documentary was shown on many occasions. The ethnographic approach adopted involved about 50 participants, and employed a series of diverse methods. Participant observation and attending numerous public and private film screenings was accompanied by semi-structured interviews, focus groups and video-elicitation (Harper 2002; Pink 2007, 2009; MacDougall 2005). We also collected a large number of photos, analyzed websites, newspaper articles, and archival documents (Banks 2007; Worth 1981). In addition, we have solicited the opinion of some of the key official institutional sites of the Italian community in Istria, in particular the *Centro di Ricerche Storiche* and the official publisher of the *Unione degli Italiani* in Slovenia and Croatia (a legacy of the Yugoslavian institutional arrangements to support Italian-speaking residents in the socialist republic), the *Edit-Arcobaleno* that publishes the daily newspaper *La Voce del Popolo* and other political and cultural magazines (Focus group and interviews with the Edit's editorial staff, Rijeka 1/26/2015).

The many interviews appearing in the documentary were also analyzed as part of the narrative proposed by the film director as a form of cultural history. The documentary itself was treated as a key source, since it represents an assemblage of visual materials collected by the film director as part of three-year archival work by *Tele Capodistria* (TV Koper, in Slovenian). This station was launched in the 1970s as the official broadcaster for the Italian community in Yugoslavia. It is still active today, with programs in both Italian and Slovenian (Imre, Havens and Lustyk 2013: 34). The documentary *Vedo Rosso* was produced with the support of this broadcaster, in collaboration with RAI, the Italian national television broadcaster, and numerous Italian associations in Istria. It was awarded a prize at the 2013 *Trieste Film Festival - Alpe Adria Cinema*, a festival that focuses on film production in Eastern Europe. As noted above, in the past few years, the film has been shown in numerous locations across the transnational border region including Italy, Slovenia and Croatia, with many screenings in Trieste, where a large number of Italian Istrians fled after the Second World War and where they continue to reside, and still exerting a strong influence on the city's political and cultural life. It was also presented in other Italian cities (Venice, Mestre, Perugia, Pordenone, Ferrara, Milan) often following the trail of the Italian diasporic Istrian communities. All of these screenings provoked highly emotional

reactions, with people commenting on the period and the related "lost" memories in tears (Pink 2009). They also provoked tense and often difficult discussions on-site (and in the media, although sometimes deliberately ignored by certain newspapers) about the legacy of Yugoslavia, and the re-elaboration of individual and collective positionings in the complex political context of the past and, inevitably, in the present.

The film exposes the complications (and co-implications) related to the individual and the family trajectories across the iron curtain border of Italy and Yugoslavia. It is marked by an explicit self-ironic vein and a degree of disbelief in the Yugoslav regime and its practices. Yet, what prevails is a sense of soft nostalgia about a time – and one's youth – that will never return (Casellato 2014). The intersection of these diverse registers is one of the most interesting elements of *Vedo Rosso*, especially with regard to the lack of self-reflection over those years that seems to characterize the official political and historical narratives provided by the bodies representing the Italians living in Istria. Accordingly, the film has been criticized for its "light touch" on major political issues – for example censorship, the cult of Tito, the repression of the Italian minority and of religious beliefs, etc. After the screenings, some viewers have accused the director of representing the Italian community as "communist". Others have accused her of exactly the opposite, that is, of reproducing the long-standing bourgeois and nationalist fascist rhetoric which traditionally characterizes the Italian minority and its representatives. The film has managed to provoke some much needed controversy and public confrontation about the period. Yugonostalgia, for the Italian community – it emerged from our study – is a big deal, a terrain still difficult to openly confront; a land inhabited by ghosts and unspoken and unspeakable truths.

SEEING RED

The documentary was used in our research as a provocative tool to stimulate interviews and focus groups and address the question of Yugonostalgia (see Harper 2002; Mac-Dougall 2005; Bank 2007; Pink 2007). A well-established method in visual anthropology (Worth 1986; Banks and Morphy 1997), this form of video elicitation has been recently extended to the new social media and to the broader field of visual methodology (Rose 2012), including elements of research co-production and multisensoriality (Pink 2009; Garrett 2011). In other words, our project adopted the film-documentary as both a direct and an indirect source, as a series of public events and as a metaphorical site around which sentiments, individual and collective memories, political leanings emerge and are re-interpreted and actualized. We found this multiple use of the documentary very useful methodologically, since it allowed us to explore how manifestations of controversial memories tend to come together and to conflate when provoked, precisely by a documents/event/site like *Vedo Rosso/Seeing Red*. More specifically, we attended six public screenings of the documentary, while recording and directly engaging with the often emotional reactions of different viewers, including those who directly witnessed and participated in

some of the key events narrated by the film, those who, belonging to subsequent generations, established a “post-memory” (Hirsch 2008) relationship with those socialist years and its practices, but also those who left Istria as part of the post Second World War “exodus”. Using visual elicitation was necessary because the consumption of media products has been recognized as key to the circulation of Yugonostalgic sentiments (Imre, Havens and Lustyik 2013; Volčič 2007; Matić, Adrić and Arsenijević 2004). The documentary adopts a self-ironic nostalgic trope about “the Tito years” using the narrative of a young girl (the director herself) who belongs to the first generation exposed to the mass culture circulated via the regime’s television broadcasts, but who also had frequent and intense contacts with Italian culture and society (often via Italian TV and radio). As reported by *La Voce del Popolo* (2/11/2012) “*Vedo Rosso* draws an intimate and lighthearted portrait of the Italian community in Istria from the 1970s to Tito’s death in 1980, through the gaze and memory of children and teenagers of the Italian minority”. This generation, born in the 1960s, attended Italian schools in Istria, and was trained to comply with the socialist education system and ideological indoctrination. This training was organized around a hierarchy of role models spanning from “the Pioneers” and “the Socialist Youth”, to the “League of Communists”:

Red scarf around our neck, white shirt and blue skirt. I felt strangely similar to anybody else, I could blend into the majority; even the Časna Titova pionirska (the swearing of loyalty to Tito by the pioneers) was translated into Italian. (Dabovic 2012)

Most of the interviewees who feature in the documentary are in fact children or grandchildren of the *rimasti*. Rough (and contested) calculations estimate that about 20,000 people (*rimasti*) decided to remain under the newly founded Socialist regime after the exodus. They are therefore part of a complicated and never entirely pacified transnational history, whose often-controversial interpretations still take up a significant segment in non-academic historical accounts and local newspapers on both sides of the border. Nonetheless, the *rimasti* have gathered very little attention from the academia, with the exception of the work of Pamela Ballinger (2003) and Glenda Sluga (2001), both scholars based abroad, and both largely ignored or dismissed by the local stakeholders.

Vedo Rosso features a sequence of local daily scenes from the Yugoslav period. These mostly comprise ordinary mundane practices, including a series of consolidated individual and social practices dictated by the Yugoslavian version of real socialism, the related consumption styles, and the ideological collective rituals practiced in school. Seeing clothing styles of the past and Zastava cars, to name but two highly evocative categories of consumption, stimulated strong emotional reactions in the interviewees, with the emergence of somewhat repressed expressions of nostalgia, but also strong polemical and critical feelings against the regime’s forms of control and ideological alignment.

I suffered under Socialism because I experienced it as an imposition to be part of the Pioneers, to become a member of the Socialist Youth [...] to be forced to write letters to our dear comrade Tito. (I. R., 1/26/2015)

The documentary provides a convincing combination of old TV news clips, educational programs for children and teenagers coupled with interviews, provoking the viewer by a re-elaboration of everyday situations and the atmosphere of the period in question. The montage of original archival audiovisual sources offers an insight into the cultural and social practices in Socialist Yugoslavia for this specific community. It provides a first-hand account of materials and memories contributing to the cultural histories of the everyday in Istria in the 1970s. While the documentary has no claim over the objective realities of the investigated period, it may be read as an original form of cultural production, a form of interpretative audio-visual self-representation aimed at stimulating various possible individual reconstructions of the memories of those controversial years in Rovinj (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002; Banks 2007).

It is already in the first sequences that several key tropes seem to clearly emerge. Emphasis is placed by the director on childhood education and the permanent and pervasive training of young pioneers, who, in a rather touching scene, are asked to “be loyal and respect our socialist mother nation, to care for our friendship and always tell the truth”. For the Italian pupils of the day, attending school also meant learning Serbo-Croatian and, the Yugoslavian socialist jargon. Tellingly, the first word learnt in Serbo-Croatian was *drugarica*, that is, female comrade, used to address their primary school teacher.



Figure 2. Sections dedicated to Comrade Tito, *Il Pioniere*, 1980. Copyright Permission by Edit Publisher, Rijeka

A former comrade-teacher, G. D., in a long filmed interview, ironically recalls how “starting with the first months of school we were organized in ways similar to those previously adopted by the Fascists”; what changed was merely the color of the uniforms but not the practices. Keywords like “spring, future, homeland, freedom” were encountered in school and metabolized via endless rituals and events. This was done, for example, through writing competitions in honor of Comrade Tito, poems read out loud, public pronouncements and acknowledgments dedicated to the omnipresent Marshal: “Thank you Comrade Tito...!”

School textbooks used to claim that “the Yugoslavian Communist Party was a vital party, driven by a revolutionary spirit”, and among the key

topics taught were Marxism and economic self-management. Schools provided students with psychological and physical training to be prepared for a hypothetical attack; they visited military barracks, shot M48s, were introduced to the use of landmines and the principles of spying. The only subject taught in Serbo–Croatian was dubbed “National Defense”. Its aim was to protect the country from the fascist and capitalist “external enemy”. This enemy, rather paradoxically for the Italian minority, meant the former mother country where many relatives resided after “the exodus”.

Vedo Rosso and our interviews have therefore allowed us to collect and confront memories of an everyday made up of the collective spatiotemporalities typical of the Yugoslavian Socialist education, interpreted as a sort of secular religion of “brotherhood and unity” (Abram 2018). The images used in the film show young pioneers in their red uniforms surrounded by red flags and various other choreographed elements, swearing loyalty to the country and its bright socialist future:

In our red uniforms for the parade, we used to go all together to the sports ground, it was a grand event, a true feast... after all, it was nothing but a gymnastic exercise, but our movements were harmonized, and we were under the impression that we were performing a sort of a collective product we were having some workout together. (G. P., in *Vedo Rosso*)

The typical rhetoric of the socialist regime of the day was thus incorporated via recurrent bodily performances, grand events often choreographed as sport manifestations (Lindstrom 2006). Most of the interviewees remember the Socialist Youth Day in particular, celebrated on May 25, Tito’s birthday, when all schools were closed to allow pupils to attend the collective performances and celebrations: “For us Tito was a myth... I still recall the literary competition on TV for his birthday, although I never fully understood if May 25 was dedicated to the Socialist Youth or to his birthday” (S. R., in *Vedo Rosso*).

A sense of nostalgia for a lifestyle centered on a cyclical calendar composed of recursive collective rituals emerges from the interviews. The explicit use and display of disciplined and trained bodies was an integral part of the visualization of mainstream oversimplified geo-historical narrations about the socialist nation: “questions were simply not asked. We did not ask questions, we did stuff... everything seemed to be entirely natural” (S. R., in *Vedo Rosso*). The uniforms and the corporeal discipline displayed in the documentary that were part of their collective habitus in the Yugoslav era provoked a form of nostalgic heritage (MacDonald 2013). Tele Capodistria used to devote a lot of airtime to sports competitions involving the numerous Italian communities in the region, including those of Fiume (Rijeka), Pola (Pula) and Dignano (Vodnjan). Choreographed images repeatedly showed athletes clad in red forming the word T-I-T-O with their bodies. Many interviews nostalgically reflect on other everyday practices of the time, including the gatherings and social events of the Italian Community Association, Italian films and books of the day, popular songs and customs. A sense of belonging to the Italian national community based in Yugoslavia, in those golden Yugoslavian days, was perpetuated through local practices, translated into a specific Italian way of being part of the Yugoslavian socialist project.

Accordingly, the interviewees recall how songs sang in Italian or even in the local (Istrian Venetian) dialect often referred to the Socialist people, their patriotic feelings, and partisan epics. Examples included *Bandiera Rossa* (Red Flag, the Italian Communist Party anthem) and *Bella Ciao* (an Italian partisan song popular also among the International Socialist of the day). During the Song Festival organized by Tele Capodistria in 1978, children were shown dressed as Partisans while engaging with those songs, as recalled by a teacher:

I experienced the Tito years with enthusiasm: I am a musician; I even composed a few patriotic songs back in those days. Being a teacher too, I have always enjoyed manifestations of this kind, since I trained children to perform onstage in Rovinj. (V. B., 10/18/2014)

However, the birth of “free” Italian private local radio stations and transborder trade in the late 1970s had a significant impact on this soundscape, bringing important “contaminations” introducing for example, Italian and English progressive rock. Today, the music of those years acts as a Yugonostalgic catalyst (Čvoro 2014). The spectrum from popular antifascist songs (Lindstrom 2006: 240) to Yugo-rock is recalled with a sense of nostalgia by many interviewees (Pauker 2006). However, the “mythological Lexicon” (Matić et al. 2004) for the Italian Istrians was both a Yugoslavian and a transborder one, with music coming from Italy becoming gradually more and more relevant, especially among the younger generations. *Vedo Rosso* clearly shows that Partisan hats and American jeans purchased in Trieste were worn together. Bob Dylan and Bob Marley records were listened to alongside albums by Yugoslavian stars. Mirko Cetinski famously interpreted the song “Yugoslavia” in Italian in a video filmed in the Rovinj harbor in 1980, whereas Goran Bregović, a popular Yugoslavian star, was interviewed in Italian in 1978 about his band *Bijelo Dugme*.

The interviews in the documentary eloquently reveal that Italian and Western TV, radio, cinema and even cartoons penetrated the living rooms of Istrian Italians. While loyalty to the Yugoslavian project was never explicitly questioned, TV antennas were nonetheless always turned towards Italy. “We were always having dinner with the news from the Italian national TV [in the background]”, recalls one interviewee. This presence created, day after day, a sense of belonging and a connection to what was happening across the border. Italian commercials, which Italian kids loved, the shock felt at the occurrence of dramatic events like the 1976 earthquake in Friuli and the 1978 kidnap and murder of Christian Democratic leader Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades terrorist group, all impacted the Italian community in Istria. The Cinema in Rovinj, originally named “Roma”, later renamed “Beograd-Mosca”, normally featured classical propaganda films on the heroic Second World War Partisans, while at the same time, Italian TV channels influenced the Istrians’ daily lives with the Western culture of the 1970s. The latter meant the introduction of forms of consumption and trends, as well as ideologies which stirred the political conflict which was characteristic of Italian society at the time.

The interviews are more than merely nostalgic, they also reveal criticism against the Yugoslav era. Some individuals recall that the authorities urged people to denounce suspected “spies” among the general population, they recall censorship of conversations

about politics and the Party, as well as forms of internal resistance to the mainstream propaganda, put up at home. As one former student notes, “we could not evoke the name of Tito in vain”. Catholic practices were generally allowed and tolerated, even though many counter-nostalgic accounts today argue that religion was banished to the private and domestic realm. Little nostalgia emerges for the forms of discrimination towards the Italians, often suspected of being fascists by default, something inherent to the official rhetoric of the Socialist Yugoslavian state (Contini 1997; Casellato 2014). One interviewee in the documentary reports to have been confronted several times with comments like: “you little Italian, return to where you came from (in Croatian)”.

The documentary ends with Tito’s death, in May 1980:

We were all speechless, shocked, it felt like someone in our family died, one of us... the future suddenly seemed uncertain... I clearly recall the funeral, since our teachers brought us to see it on TV... I still recall the long procession of people accompanying his body from the Ljubljana hospital to Belgrade where he was buried. (S. S., in Vedo Rosso)

Another nostalgic account goes so far as to state that

for me Tito was like God, I remember when I heard the siren announcing his death... I cried when he died, I was 18 years old, an adult already, but we were indoctrinated like horses. (O. C., in Vedo Rosso)

YUGONOSTALGIA AND THE ITALIAN MINORITY IN ROVINJ

From our investigation it clearly emerges that various age groups understand Yugonostalgia differently. The interviewees who are now in their fifties and early sixties (the same generation as the film director) express nostalgic sentiments frequently intersecting with memories of childhood or, more generally, their youth. Frequently, this nostalgia for their youth is accompanied by memories of the socialist regime as a context in which everyone felt safer and less precarious than today, mainly due to the challenges imposed by contemporary capitalism:

What I liked the most back then was the fact that we were often together, we socialized a lot, and many of us were genuinely happy and serene: I remember social events, I also recall that when Tito died we sang a song together to commemorate him, we were united, and we danced and sang hand-in-hand. People were doing things together, many were happy. (I. D., 10/18/2014)

Such perception of precariousness is now exacerbated by the persistence of the present economic crisis and the sense of uncertainty about the future that it provokes:

Under Yugoslavia, once one ended school, one found a job very easily, while a house could be bought for very little. Today there are no jobs, and this is what makes us feel nostalgic for those better times. (I. D., 10/18/2014; see also Croegaert 2011)



Figure 3. Representatives of the Italian minority singing during a Socialist celebratory event, Rovinj, 1961

In contrast, in the younger generations born after the fall of Yugoslavia what tends to prevail is a sense of nostalgia manifested via the consumption of and the appreciation for the vintage aesthetics of old popular objects from the Socialist period, devoid of any clear historical reference or critical reflection (Lindstrom 2006): “Yugonostalgia is evident among many in the younger generations, even if they did not experience Yugoslavia, and they know nothing about it since they were too young or were not even born yet” (T. C., 1/26/2015). During our fieldwork we discovered numerous street markets with stalls displaying Yugoslavian memorabilia, but also new products, like art objects made of recycled records produced by *Jugoton* – the largest record label and chain store in the former socialist Yugoslavia – or other similar objects “made-in-YU”, reassembled into new “vintage” objects (Velikonja 2008).



Figure 4. Recycled Yugoslavian objects on sale (Rovinj, 9/21/2014)

Arguably, many of these new Yugonostalgic objects tend to evoke Yugoslavian music and entertainment industry (including records, gadgets, etc.) (Luthar 2006), confirming, even among the post-memory community, the importance of popular music in the Yugoslavian Lexicon (Rolandi 2015; Matić, Adrić and Arsenijević 2004; Čvoro 2014). This may also be found in the guise of the recent ethno-music revival: "Today, the younger generation appreciates folk music, those awful songs from Bosnia that we hated. They do this as a form of contestation, precisely as we used to do with rock music" (T. D., 1/26/2015). These forms of popular consumption of Yugonostalgic merchandise are not necessarily linked to specific memories. However, as noted among others by Sharon Macdonald (2013), these processes of surreptitious memory tend to build a virtual past, against which such practices may be perceived as real or at least realistic: "Among youth there is indeed a degree of curiosity about how we lived under communism" (I. R., 1/26/2015).

Such manifestations of vintage consumption do not differ much from other more generic forms of Yugo-revival present in other areas and among other social groups of the former Yugoslavia, related to popular music and films (Čvoro 2014; Imre, Havens and Lustyk 2013; Radovic 2014). What is specific about the Yugo-memories and the related nostalgia of the Italian community is that Yugonostalgia is mixed with and pervaded by the influence of the Western media (Rolandi 2015; Volčič 2007). If it may have been the case that, generally speaking, "Yugoslavia's peculiar geopolitical position and relative independence from the Soviet bloc made its media system particularly open to Western programs" (Mihelj 2013: 16), this was particularly true for the Italian communities in Istria, with their antennas capturing the TV and radio programs broadcasted from Italy, where many relatives resided.

Compared to Romania, Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries, this was the big difference, we had a satellite antenna and were able to watch Italian programs; this gave us a sense of freedom and difference, also compared to the other Yugoslavian citizens. Moreover, although with some difficulties, we were nonetheless able to cross the border and go to Trieste as many times as we wanted, to purchase Italian and western products. This is what made Yugoslavian socialism very different from all other forms of socialism. This was indeed a key factor in our identity and well-being. (D. S., 1/26/2015)

The documentary attempts to somehow recompose the above-mentioned pluralist and fragmented memories, divided by the borders, and the different experiences of the *rimasti* and the *esuli*. As a consequence, our study has confirmed the existence of an Italian community in Rovinj which, in light of the Second World War that divided it between two ideologically "enemy" countries, appears to have been rather inward looking. This bisected community remains very attached to a nostalgic past that is influential in the present-day production and circulation of, often divisive, historical memories.

Such divisive memories are based on what Ballinger describes as a "politics of submersion" (Ballinger 2003: 12), which is related to varied forms of contestation and ethnic tensions on both sides of the political spectrum (Pontiggia 2013: 15). For Ballinger (1998),

a politics of submersion refers to witness views of memory as an indelible imprint whose experiential truth counters the falsities of official historiography. One dominant trope in these narratives among our interviewees is that of trauma, trauma due to being historically and ethnically separated from Italy (Accati and Cogoy 2007; Beneduce 2010). This stands in opposition to the fact that the interviews revealed a significant presence of mixed marriages and the persistence of domestic multilingualism.

My father has seen all his family depart; my aunt, born in 1919, also has the experience of this loss of *italianità* and has long expressed anger towards the political culture of Yugoslavia which, according to her, had deliberately eradicated her family and the broader community, but this was not the case with my mom, who belonged here. (M. P., 10/18/2014)

Another interviewee explains:

I am the child from a mixed marriage, my father Italian, my mom Serbian, at home we were always very open about what it meant to be Italian; I was brought up in a fundamentally bilingual context, I felt I was Italian even though my mom considered herself Serbian. (D. P., 1/26/2015)

In this sense, the regime change after the collapse of Yugoslavia, together with a re-emergence of Croatian nationalism and the introduction of free market capitalism, have determined what some describe as a “double defeat” (focus group with editorial staff of Edit Publisher, Rijeka, 1/26/2015). This is a source of important nostalgic sentiment: on the one hand, the defeat of the Yugoslavian state project which aimed to protect and recognize its diverse cultural and ethnic components; on the other, the defeat of Socialism and its ideology. The *rimasti* in Rovinj, who in many cases decided to stay and embrace the new politics, are particularly aware of this notion:

I am nostalgic because back then, when we were in our twenties, we had no idea if our friends were Serbs, Macedonians, Croats, [or] Slovenes, we were all the same: Yugoslavian. After the 1990s we discovered these differences as they emerged in the civil war: some were enrolled by the Serbs, others would become Muslim, something really shocking... Until then, we, as a minority, felt integrated even if we did not speak Croatian. (T. D., 1/26/2015)

What emerges here is the nostalgia for “multiethnic unity” under the guise of uniforms, shared training and ideological indoctrination. The Yugoslavian myth of “brotherhood and unity” (Abram 2015) that Tito forged and managed to keep together is still very strong today. As written by a journalist belonging to the Italian minority:

I was aware that Yugoslavia was a political experiment aimed at suppressing difference and nationalism [...] I was born in Rijeka, oh my God, I mean Yugoslavia, in a tense political period when, after the shock of the [Second World] War, peace merged and was conflated with tiredness, and it was not entirely clear if it was real peace or simply the result of the war stress, or of the fear to speak up. (Dabovic 2012)

If one reads scholarly literature on Yugonostalgia it is remarkable how each and every post-Yugoslavian context relies on a set of specific modalities in the nostalgic re-composition of the past; the group investigated here being no exception. Among present-day Italian-speaking-Croats in Istria, who are often ex-Yugoslavians, but to some extent also ex-Italians and ex-Austro-Hungarians, the stratification and re-composition of nostalgia is a complex and, in many ways, contradictory process. The very idea of Yugonostalgia in the version proposed by *Vedo Rosso* has contributed to the re-emergence of multiple and contested historical readings of Yugoslavia, which, it may seem, had been kept hidden in the karst caves dotting this very territory. This is somewhat of an unfinished project for this Italian minority. The absence of open and negotiated historical re-examinations underpins the controversy as well as present divisions among the Italian minority in Istria. When dealing with questions concerning the former Yugoslavia, we felt on many occasions during this research that we were faced with the major source of the political present for the Italian minority, which included a set of perspectives frozen in space and time. It seems that, for many interviewees, but in particular for those who refused to be interviewed, it was important to neglect the very concept of Yugonostalgia. This stems from the belief that approaching it analytically, and making it part of public debates, may result in the possible subversion of the present political and social hierarchies within the Italian community, and of the narratives on which these hierarchies seems to rely. Yugoslavia is indeed still very much alive among the practices and the implicit political narratives of many key components of the Italian minority in Istria, and *Vedo Rosso* has somehow exposed this very fact in an innovative and provocative way (Casellato 2014).

Even today, the dominant narrative about post-Second-World-War Yugoslavia tends to represent the role and place of the Italian minority in Yugoslavia as the result of antifascist resistance and the Partisan victory. This oversimplified and selective historical narrative has remained seemingly intact for a very long time, with the consequence of neglecting the existence of very diverse and contested understandings of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslavian period among the Italians now living in Istria. "It is only after the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s that some of the differences and ambiguities characterizing the members of this community in their relationship to communism and antifascism began to partially emerge" (V. B., 10/18/2014). This explains why Yugonostalgia became such a controversial concept for many, while at the same time it was embraced by others – also thanks to *Vedo Rosso* – as an opportunity to attempt to recompose a divisive but nonetheless shared past in ways that may become a source of conflict amelioration in the present.

The Istrian peninsula, or the *Marca Giuliana* (the Julian March or Julian Venetia), as it was described by Pamela Bellinger (2003: 1, 15 – inspired by the work of Triestine writer Claudio Magris 1999) in order to evoke a shared "field of memory" rather than using terms suggesting (further) partitions and related nationalist claims, has – for a very long time – been a patchwork or, to perhaps put it better, a complex hybrid cultural context. Here, multiethnic and multilingual realities were often merged or entangled in equally complex relationships marked by long histories. These realities and differences were

deliberately protected during the Yugoslav period by policies that provided for bilingual schools, cultural and sports associations, which were often very successful thanks to the active and intense participation on the part of the community members.

In my school, one of the four Italian schools in my hometown, we had to read *Pinocchio*, the *Libro Cuore* [both "classics" for Italian elementary school children]. I sweated my way through Petronio's classic anthologies of Italian literature. I used to watch Italian TV and its beautiful commercials. But my shoes, those uncomfortable and hard Borovo shoes, those were certainly Yugoslavian. Croatian kids in the street made me equally uncomfortable. They used to make fun of me because I was not familiar with the Croatian declensions. In Fiume I was addressed as *mala talijanka*, a small Italian; in Piedmont on the other hand, when I visited my grandmother, I was called *s'ciavetta* (derogative term for Slav), because of my Venetian accent. (D. T., 10/26/2015)

The border, at the same time, provided an important sense of belonging:

Since we felt the Partisan pride of those who knew they were "on the right political side", but also a sense of subalternity typical of those who are exposed to epochal changes with no capacity of actually choosing or even understanding, and this was particularly true of those living in the rural areas and with relatively poor schooling. (D. T., 10/26/2015)

Through endless practices of crossing and exchange, this community nonetheless incorporated the border – with its practices of mobility and related porosity – into their identity. So it should not come as a surprise that a sense of nostalgia for the old border emerged very clearly from the interviews. As noted above, a sense of belonging was built day after day through the rituals imposed by Tito's socialist apparatus conflated with the exposure to Italian TV channels and the forms of consumption and cultural exchange with the mother country enabled by travelling across the border (Luthar 2006). This *mélange* of elements seems to have promoted among the Italian community historical interpretations marked by the trope of *double abandonment*: abandoned by Italy first, and by Yugoslavia next (Ballinger 2003). The latter abandonment was the consequence of the collapse of Yugoslavia with the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, sanctioned by the referenda in 1991. On that occasion, the newborn Croatian Republic formally asked the members of the community in question to identify themselves as either Italians (and therefore a minority) or as Croats. This decision forced them to take a radical position despite the fact that many, as mentioned above, were part of or even born out of mixed families. Being "mixed" in Yugoslavia, according to their narration, never represented a problem, they were simply Yugoslavians.

Our youth was shaped by a strong sense of brotherhood, and the feeling that we all belong together to Yugoslavia. Since 1991 the worst thing was to be faced by people who attended Italian language schools addressing you in Croatian because of the presence of the "commission" on nationality. Before, the Italian minority was much freer. (I. D., 10/18/2014)

I am not Yugo-nostalgic; when the Berlin Wall came down I was happy since I hoped that our freedom would become greater. However, the opposite occurred, we had to deal with multiple forms of radical nationalism that produced the conditions for the civil war to break out in 1991, and precipitated the various economic crises that have followed. (D. P., 1/26/2015)

Compared to other regions of the former Yugoslavia, the Istrian peninsula was not significantly affected by the armed conflict during the Croatian secession; only few Istrians were directly involved in the war: “The secession war was not felt directly here, but many people had to leave because of the war” (T. P., 10/18/2014). With the collapse of Yugoslavia, the tropes of abandonment and separation, so clearly embedded in the history and the key narratives of the *rimasti*, resulted in a renewed loss of the home country and another change of citizenship, once again without having moved from home (Ballinger 2003). Italians living in Istria today often present themselves as survivors of an almost extinct culture, now faced with the extinction of the Yugoslavian communitarian socialist project as well (ibid.). Despite having never left their home region, Istrian Italians may be considered somewhat similar to internally displaced people (IDPs). They could be regarded as “stationary IDPs” who remained home while the boundaries and nations around them moved (Salvatici 2008). Their identity narratives incorporate a sense of loss and abandonment that determines a subtle but very present nostalgia for the homeland *and* for the (Yugoslavian) past (Mallki 1995; Audenino 2015). Consequently, for the Italian community, the sense of belonging is a liminal arena based on narratives produced and circulated by those who directly experienced the Yugoslavian past. Their form of Yugonostalgia, therefore, becomes a filter through which political nationalist readings of the past considered key to the survival of their community are selected.

AGAINST NOSTALGIA

Vedo Rosso provoked an array of emotional reactions among the Italians of Rovinj, possibly because it never claimed to describe the facts of the era. Rather it sought to share individual and intimate memories of Yugoslavia, at a historical moment when the post-Yugoslavian transition seems unending. The fact that Yugonostalgia is an important and controversial topic among the Rovinj Italian community is confirmed by the refusal of the director of Rovinj’s *Centro di Ricerche Storiche* to discuss this phenomenon with us, claiming that the very concept is alien to the culture of the Centre and its affiliates, although he belongs to the generation actively involved in the construction of the Italian socialist community. We consider this an excellent example, out of many others, of how this topic is still perceived as controversial and uncomfortable to be discussed publicly.

By the same token, some members of the minority were offended by the fact that *Vedo Rosso*, according to their reading, shows the Italians as Communists: “the *Unione degli*

Italiani has decided not to circulate the documentary; perhaps they fear the reaction of the Istrians in Trieste" (T. D., 10/26/2015).

After the 1954 London Memorandum, on both sides of the border,² attempts of reconstructing a "true" interpretation of historical facts were made in Italy, which manifested itself through an intense and almost obsessive production of books and conferences on the events of the Second World War in Trieste and Istria and on "the exodus" (a tendency even more clearly manifested in the past two decades or so, especially after the dissolution of Yugoslavia). *Vedo Rosso* indeed documents political strategies implemented by an Italian community that, after the Second World War, suddenly became a minority and part of a socialist state. The compromises, negotiations and practices of the decades preceding the collapse of Yugoslavia stem from this previous transition. However, to be quite explicit, *Vedo Rosso* does not intend to propose new historical re-interpretations, or to resuscitate forgotten histories, but rather focuses on the hybrid and somewhat unique everyday life of the Italian minority in Rovinj during a specific period. At the same time, by describing some of these practices, the film perhaps aims to facilitate the process of reconciliation of a collective memory otherwise divided by the Second World War and by the border (Contini 1997). In this sense, *Vedo Rosso* may be seen as an attempt to use Yugonostalgia in positive and constructive ways, in order to analyze and de-dramatize some of the mainstream historical accounts of the period. It urges the viewer to come to terms with a whole set of Yugoslav practices (Hall 2007), all too often forgotten or deliberately denied in the official accounts claiming historical truth:

This film is recent history. Now that the enthusiastic embrace of Italian nationalism of the 1990s has evaporated, the film seriously questions the official accounts that have been elaborated as identity pillars for the Italian community in the post [Second] World War period and also after the end of Yugoslavia. (D. S., 1/26/2015)

What is particularly relevant for the main argument of this chapter is that the intelligent use of Yugonostalgia in this documentary has allowed many exiled Italians to individually recompose what had previously been regarded as entirely divided memories. The bottom-up approach of the documentary somehow managed to penetrate some of the untouched spaces of memory of this transborder community. These spaces were not allowed to emerge until now due to the imposition of official accounts and the political radicalization of the parties on both sides of the border. For example, in the official narratives of the Yugoslavian state, the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Italians from the Istrian peninsula was simply neglected. By the same token, in the Yugoslavian cinema and television the theme of the impending invasion of an external enemy was ever-present. The Italians across the border, according to the official narratives of socialist Yugoslavia became the capitalist and fascist other, the enemy.

² More specifically, on the Yugoslav/Croatian side there has been an intense production of books since the 1950s, but only on WW2; on the Italian side, the intense and obsessive production starts in the 1990s and deals mainly with the exodus.

Today, the history of the Italian minority in Istria is presented by some as an example of a diasporic community that, despite its separation and the political division from the “mother” community provoked by the regime change and the related *exodus*, remains nonetheless marked by a shared identity. Others describe themselves as Italians because of their language and lineage. A sense of a common ethnic heritage has become potent among the *rimasti* (Crainz 2005; Pontiggia 2013). *Vedo Rosso* deliberately challenges these accounts, but in ways different from what has been attempted by other revisionist narratives, especially those produced by the new nation-states born out the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The *rimasti* have indeed recently tried to establish a new dialogue with their diasporic peers, both those near and far. When Yugoslavia collapsed, for example, the Dieta Democratica Istriana (DDI) (the Party describing itself as representing “Istrian special interests” in the context of the newly-formed Croatian state) proposed an agenda set to safeguard a region with a hybrid Istrian Slavic-Italian identity. This was in clear opposition to the nationalist agenda supported by the Croatian Democratic Union party (HDZ) that governed the country under the leadership of Franjo Tuđman immediately after the secession from Yugoslavia. The DDI’s newly-imagined multiethnic Istrian identity largely rests on the historical legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Italian state that followed. It panders to an idea of a regionally distinct Istrian identity within the broader Balkan “patchwork”, which broadens the often orientalist connotations of the projected identity of former Yugoslavians who became migrants within the EU. The addition of this identity to the “Balkan panoply” sits well with EU policies aimed at overcoming all forms of radical ethno-nationalism in a region otherwise fraught with such problems.

Tito’s capacity to mediate and keep ethnic tensions within the former Yugoslavia under tight control is still remembered by most of our interviewees with nostalgia. Today, the new referent is “Europe”, which has, with its brand of European brotherhood in line with its humanistic tradition, to some extent replaced Tito’s model. “When the European Union arrived, after more than twenty years of border crossing, I was very happy, because it made me feel that we were part of something bigger; I have always suffered because I was not able to go beyond my narrow community of peers” (S. B., 10/18/2014).

The Italian minority in Croatia is weaker politically and numerically smaller than it was during the golden years of Yugoslavia. Istria’s sociolinguistic identity is also influenced by the presence of new migrants who have come from what used to be southern Yugoslavia (Vojnović 2015). At the same time, the economic and cultural influence of Italy has declined due to the general economic crisis of the last decade. Italian schools in Rovinj and Rijeka are now attended by Italians, as well as by Albanian, Kosovar and Chinese students; new minorities in the Istrian context, who are, to a certain extent, competing with the Italians. Some interviewees read these arrivals as a symptom of the end of their community’s cultural homogeneity and a threat to their identity; others, however, believe these “new Italians” may be key to the survival of a declining group, and of its linguistic presence in Croatia: “Perhaps in ten years they will declare themselves as Italians” (I. R., 1/26/2015).

The number of Italian tourists – once a dominant presence in Istria – has diminished. This requires new linguistic skills for those seeking work in the sector. A sense of decline, risk and uncertainty accompanies many interviewee comments about the future perspectives of their community, especially when compared to the past:

My opinion is that signs of Yugonostalgia are very evident today, also among the younger generations who know nothing about that period, since they did not experience it. Most people who express their Yugonostalgic feelings are influenced by the present lasting economic crisis in Croatia. In Yugoslavia they felt more secure and protected. (T. D., 1/26/2015)

Yugonostalgia is indeed perceived as an important theme by the media in relation to the Italian minority:

We have recently published the declaration of a Russian politician in our newspaper *La Voce del Popolo* entitled "Under Tito we lived very well". Our Facebook page has almost immediately received about 1500 comments, half in Italian half in Croatian; it was an absolute record in terms of contacts. This very fact shows the importance of the topic. (D. S., 1/26/2015)

The present notion of hybrid *Istrian identity* as expressed by the *Unione Italiana* has become a mix of exclusionary strategies fueled by claims of territorial belonging, and the desire for recognition of the minority's need for protection by the EU authorities. It is also driven by the continued arrival of migrants of other backgrounds who further minimize the importance of the Italian community in terms of their political influence and numerical clout. Former "brothers" under Tito's tutelage (like Bosnians or Kosovars) are now rebranded as foreign migrants to be kept out of Croatia and Slovenia, in order to maintain the Italian community's privileged minority status under the European judicial umbrella (Kovačević 2008; Vojnović 2015; Ballinger 2004).

In conclusion, if we adopt Svetlana Boym's (2001) conceptualization of nostalgia, what has emerged in our study is the presence of a stream of restorative nostalgia limited to the forms of revivalist consumerism of the newer generations, and to the sense of a lost golden age and of its collective practices among some middle-aged interviewees. However, the most significant form of nostalgia for Yugoslavia reflected in the interviews and the secondary sources is of a "reflective" nature. This manifestation of nostalgia in fact uses memory and its accounts as a form of strategic reconfiguration of identity borders and bordering, which relies on selective forgetting and "selective remembering", in order to define the present and to project possible futures (Anderson 1991). The role of borders in relation to the historical and geographical memories circulating among the members of this community remains key – despite their disappearance in the grand European geography of Schengen. These borders are constantly recalled in the redefinitions of a collective Self of a minority embedded in a political and economic context set across multiple scales (the Istrian "region", two sovereign states, Schengen, "Europe").

I do believe that our society continues to work according to myths, which means that Tito's Yugo is also an operating myth, just like that of a Croatian nation is. The ideological indoctrination and the emotional charge are still far too strong today for us to be able to speak with some degree of detachment about Yugoslavianism. [...] There is a clear need to avoid further division and conflict. After the exodus and the second secession and the related new exodus of the 1990s, we have been beheaded. (I. R., 1/26/2015)

I believe the film may be perceived as threatening to some people, because at a certain point we will also have to rethink who we are, as an Italian community in this new context, but in order to do that we will have to admit and reflect on the past errors as well. The Italian minority in Istria has not experienced its own grand catharsis as yet. Such catharsis is necessary because we have to clean ourselves up from a complicated past, and start thinking about how to move on and reinvent new ways to be an Italian minority in this part of the world that has changed so dramatically over the past decades. (D. P., 1/26/2015)

This deep "memory-complex" (MacDonald 2013) therefore emerges as an assemblage of practices, objects, affect, materials of different nature that will be necessary in order to rethink a shared and possibly coherent narrative about the past and, especially, to build a positive and constructive sense of the future. Yugonostalgic sentiments therefore can either be part of this process of re-composition of past memories and imaginations for the Italian minority, or simply become the final stage of the development of an inward-looking identity based on conflicting narratives of the past that may soon disappear, alongside the representatives of that era and perhaps even the Italian cultural presence in Rovinj and in Istria as a whole.

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"TA TANKA CRVENA NIT": PAMĆENJE I JUGONOSTALGIJA MEĐU TALIJANSKOM MANJINOM U ISTRI

Ovaj se članak bavi pitanjem kako se pojava dokumentarnog filma *Vedo Rosso* mogla shvatiti kao oblik jugonostalgije talijanske manjine koja živi u Rovinju. U radu se na temelju analize teksta i elicitanje pomoću video materijala proučavaju različite i dijelom ambivalentne reakcije te zajednice na vizualnu rekonstrukciju 1980-ih godina socijalističkog razdoblja. Pomoću intervjua koje su proveli autori i intervjua prikazanih u dokumentarnom filmu, u radu se rekonstruira pejzaž sjećanja na koji su, s jedne strane, utjecali međugeneracijski čimbenici, a s druge šire geopolitičke promjene koje su u nekoliko navrata i na različite načine transformirale istarski poluotok, a posebice primorski grad Rovinj. Dublje veze između sjećanja i nostalgije detaljno se analiziraju u postojećoj opširnoj i bogatoj interdisciplinarnoj literaturi. U tom je smislu ovaj rad pokušaj doprinosa dosadašnjim raspravama o jugonostalgiji, kako bi se pokazalo da je taj oblik memorijalizacije kompleksan i bogat način interpretacije promjenjive i nesigurne sadašnjosti od strane razmjerno marginalne etnojezične manjine u suvremenoj Hrvatskoj.

Ključne riječi: jugonostalgija, talijanska manjina, Istra, video elicitanje, sjećanje