This paper analyses the spatial layout and possibilities of the antifascism tangible heritage for memorial tourism development in the municipalities and towns of Southern Istria. In the first half of the 20th century, the antifascist struggle in Istria was a crucial part of several political turning points. Those historical turning points had far-reaching consequences and, for the most part, were marked by armed conflicts, individual and mass human casualties and terror over the population. The motive of travel in memorial tourism here is to visit the places where these tragic events occurred and commemorate the victims. The aim of the research was to determine the geographical distribution of the antifascism tangible heritage in Southern Istria and their suitability for the development of memorial tourism. An additional objective was to propose thematic routes of memorial tourism in Southern Istrian municipalities and towns. Methods of analyses of historical research, fieldwork, participant observation, spatial and GIS analysis were used. The survey indicated that six South Istrian municipalities and two towns have 167 well-preserved and marked tangible antifascism monuments. The largest number of monuments are located in the central district of the city of Pula. The main contribution of this article was to provide re-evaluation of antifascism tangible heritage as the potential resource for the memorial tourism development as the innovation in the tourism supply of Istria.

**KEY WORDS:** Southern Istria, tangible heritage, monuments, antifascism, memorial tourism
INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, special interest tourism evolved from exclusive and individualistic form of tourist motivations, activities and behaviours to the generally accepted component of spatial development model in tourism-receiving regions and states. From the early 1990s to the present days, special interest tourism has been considered as a counterpoint to mass tourism (McKercher-Chan, 2005; Weiler, Firth, 2021). Croatian national tourism board and Ministry of tourism recognised such a large potential of special interest tourism as a tool in terms of reducing spatial and seasonal concentration of tourists in coastal municipalities and towns. Accordingly, Croatian Ministry of tourism in the strategic document Tourism Development Strategy until 2020 (URL 1) recognized cultural tourism as one of the main tourism products (alongside the sun and bathing, nautical and business tourism). Aforementioned Strategy emphasizes relevant cultural tourism products for Croatia: urban tourism, heritage tourism, event tourism, creative tourism and religious tourism.

Istria County, as the top Croatian tourist county by the tourist beds in commercial accommodation facilities, total tourist arrivals and total tourist overnight stays, has faced great challenges and problems of tourism intensity, extreme seasonality and spatial concentration in coastal municipalities and towns, especially on the western and southern part of the County. To avoid or reduce potentially negative spatial effects and unsustainable environmental, sociocultural and economic consequences of tourism development, Istria County tourism board in the strategic document The 2015 – 2025 Master Plan for Tourism in Istria County (URL 2) suggests special interest tourism such as rural, sports, event, and cultural tourism. Among these, heritage tourism and the revival of folk customs as a part of cultural tourism supply have been distinguished as the most important (Ruzic, Medica, 2010; Grzinić, Vodeb, 2015; Orlic, 2019). Moreover, the development of tourism products based on cultural heritage or tourist valorization of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, monuments and sites is one of the most essential operational and strategic measures in this Master plan (URL 2). To improve diversification of tourism supply, Master plan suggests seven clusters among which is Southern Istria.1 Related to the main strategic measures and goals of the aforementioned Master Plan, tourist entrepreneurs, promoters, regional

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1 The Master plan, in the subchapter Marketing plan of Istrian tourism 2015-2018., uses a term cluster, but from a geographical perspective is better and more acceptable term tourism region.
and local tourist boards over the last twenty years have been trying to implement many subtypes of cultural tourism including sustainable tourism valorization of cultural heritage.

Despite significant efforts and support of regional and local authorities on the implementation of the Istrian Master plan (UrL 2), memorial tourism as the part of large cultural tourism spectrum is not recognized and developed. Similarly, tangible heritage in Istria dedicated to the tragic events in the first half of 20th century, especially those one dedicated to the antifascism movement and struggle, are neglected in County's tourism supply. Similarly, according to the Istrian Master plan (UrL 2), Southern Istria as the main cultural heritage offers, alongside Roman monuments, industrial heritage of Pula, but didn’t recognize antifascism heritage. Potential values for memorial tourism development and neglect of tangible antifascism heritage were the main motive in this paper. So, the first objective of this research was to identify and define spatial distributions and potentials of antifascism heritage sites as the basis of memorial tourism development in Southern Istria. As a secondary objective was to propose thematic trails and routes as a tool of memorial tourism development connected with antifascism in the areas of Southern Istrian towns and municipalities. This tourism region was chosen as the case study of the research by the author's decision for several reasons. In the first place, Southern Istria is the most populated part of Istria, where is the largest city of Pula located. Secondly, tourism is the very prosperous and developed activity in this region. Furthermore, according to historians' research, sources and publications, Southern Istria had a rich history of events and processes, connected with the antifascist movement and struggle. Finally, methodological, spatial and temporal constraints of this work have directed and focused the whole process in this region due to purposeful and facilitated scientific research.

In the 20th century Istria and Southern Istria has had numerous historical turning points, as well as ground-breaking events and processes with far-reaching consequences for its overall political, social and economic development. One of the most remarkable ground-breaking processes in the first half of 20th century was the establishment and development of Istran antifascism movement and struggle as the reaction and act of the necessary resistance to the oppression of Italian fascist government and local authorities. This combat was marked by armed conflicts followed by individual and mass human casualties, as well persecution and atrocities.

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2 Istria is geographically equated with the regional self-government unit of Istria County, which consists of 10 towns and 31 municipalities.
committed by military and paramilitary fascist forces against individuals and the population. Antifascism movement and struggle in Istria, unlike the other counties of Croatia, begun in 1920 (DRNDIĆ, 1978; DUKOVSKI, 2001, DUKOVSKI, 2011; RADOŠEVIĆ, 2020; RADOŠEVIĆ, 2021) and lasted to the end of World War II (WWII) and the immediate post-war period (MIKOLIĆ, 1973; MIKOLIĆ 2003; GIRON, 2004; BURŠIĆ, 2011; KEŠAC, SKULJAN BILIĆ, 2018) that is the historical framework of this research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The challenging theoretical issue in this paper is to discuss the major differences between dark and memorial tourism. Concerning the theoretical fragility and eclecticism of dark tourism literature (STONE, 2006) there are significant divergences between dark and memorial tourism which are relevant to this research. In the first place, dark tourism has a broader network of tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions than memorial tourism, including locations, and attractions associated with fun and entertainment (STONE, 2006; STONE, SHARPLEY, 2008; BOWMAN, PEZZULLO, 2009; STONE 2012; MIONEL, 2019). Although, dark and memorial tourism include locations of death, disasters, and atrocities (FOLEY, LENNON, 1996), memorial tourism couldn't be associated with the attractions, as STONE (2006) and RAINÉ (2013) classified and named: Dark fun factories.

Secondly, as González Vázquez (2018) and Virgili et al. (2018) argued, memorial tourism was implemented soon after World War I by tourist agents and organizations that promoted battlefields in northeastern France, and this included memorial heritage. Unlike that, dark tourism was created and established by scholars as a more academic term in use, covering a broader group of locations and dissonant heritage (TUNBRIDGE, ASHWORTH, 1996; DANN, SEATON, 2001; HARTMANN, 2014; ASHWORTH, ISAAC, 2015; NAUERT, 2017; BATTILANI ET AL., 2018; URL3).  

Finally, but in the context of this research, the most important, is the aspect of dark tourism supply including fun and entertainment. Above-mentioned dark fun factories (STONE, 2006; RAINÉ, 2013) as one of the dark tourism locations or attractions are not appropriate and in the case of the memorial tourism and antifascist tangible heritage of Southern Istria couldn't be applied. Moreover, the tragic events, suffering and deaths of individuals and groups associated with

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3 Dissonant heritage is heritage that recalls past events, not easily reconciled to the values and everyday experiences of contemporary visitors. Synonyms are difficult heritage and contested heritage (STUBLIĆ, SAMOVOJSKA, 2018).
antifascist movement and struggle, which are the thematic framework of this paper, are still in the living memory of the Istrian and Croatian population who commemorate its victims regularly (Frykman, 2003; Šuligoj, 2019; Vojnović, 2020; Frykman, 2021). Respecting these reasons, it is very dubious, antifascism heritage in Southern Istria to consider and include in the group of contested or dissonant heritage as Dragićević Šešić, Rogač Mijatović (2014) and Naef, Ploner (2016) suggested in the cases of the Balkans and former Yugoslavia.

As Čaušević (2019) and Horvatinčić (2020) underlined and defined, antifascist heritage sites before Croatian independence and break-up of Yugoslavia were thematically related to the antifascist struggle and the socialist revolution of the Second World War in Yugoslavia and have celebrated antifascism and shared humanity. Nevertheless, it is worthy to emphasize, as Horvatinčić (2017) noted, antifascism tangible heritage in post-socialist Croatia was neglected, damaged or even destroyed. Exceptions to these destructive processes are recorded in Istria, Gorski kotar and Kvarner where the monuments are preserved or renewed. But, as Čaušević (2019) explained, in the last decade, there are the revival and revalorization of the antifascist monuments in ex-Yugoslav republics which could improve memorial tourism development. These tangible heritage and commemorative events are a part of regional and national identity and are linked to the descendants of the victims and those who wish to pay their respects even today (Dukovski, 2001; Kesar, Tomas, 2014; Drvenkar et al., 2015; Šuligoj, 2016; Vukojević, Opačić, 2017; Šuligoj 2019; Vojnović, 2020; Frykman, 2021).4 For these reasons, the locations and the tangible antifascist heritage in this work cannot be termed as the tourist attractions, rather as memorial sites (Seaton, 2002; Sharpley, Stone, 2009; Vojnović, 2020).

In the end, memorial tourism, in this paper, is considered to be visits and stays in locations of individual and mass casualties caused by war and other armed conflicts, excluding casualties caused by natural disasters, or industrial and traffic accidents (Kesar, Tomas, 2014; Hertzog, 2016; Vojnović, 2020). Likewise, there are excluded sites of morbid religious rituals and mystical

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4 The most iconic example in Southern Istria is the commemoration of innocent civilian victims executed by Nazi military forces and fascist militia in Šajini village in Barban Municipality. Every year, descendants, local officials of Barban Municipality and Istria County lay flowers and wreaths at the monument to the victims in the central part of this village.
events, the purpose of which was primarily fun and entertainment (KESAR, TOMAS, 2014; GONZÁLEZ VÁZQUEZ, 2018).

Dark and memorial tourism sites and locations has attracted visitors and tourists for a long time. Consequently, such broad interest of public, has increased large spectrum of authors and scholars in tourism studies, human geography, anthropology, psychology, history, economics, sociology, ethnology and the other scientific fields. The book Ways to Escape by Chris Rojek (1993) is considered as the first publication which included the term Black spot as the initial scientific explanation of dark and memorial tourism locations. In the first period of scientific research, scholars considered and discussed definitions, theoretical concepts, practices and historical development of dark tourism (FOLEY, LENNON, 1996; LENNON, FOLEY, 2000; SEATON, 2002; WIGHT, 2006; STONE, SHARPLEY, 2008; SHARPLEY, STONE, 2009). The more recent research of memorial and dark tourism supply including dark tourism spectrum (STONE, 2006; Raine, 2013), the new directions in research (HARTMANN, 2014; HERTZOG, 2016; MIONEL, 2019) and dark and memorial tourism theoretical models and divergences (GONZÁLEZ VÁZQUEZ, 2018), are the most important for this work.

There are the numerous case studies that considered European tourist regions and their suitability for memorial tourism development. Such research included sites and areas of individual and mass casualties as their spatial framework and studied tourism importance of WWI major battlefields and war cemeteries in France, Belgium, and Italy (SEATON, 2000; WINTER, 2011; IRIMIÁS, 2014; VIRGILI ET AL., 2018). Equally, the essential research topics are WWII battlefields, museums, and monuments dedicated to civilian casualties in Berlin, Dachau, Auschwitz and Eastern Europe (WOLASTON, 2005; BROWN, 2015; LIYANAGE ET AL., 2015; VOJNOVIĆ, KURKA, 2021). Croatian scientific studies and studies in the countries that share a similar or identical political and socio-economical turning-points throughout the 20th century like Croatia, are of the particular significance for this paper. Those papers studied the potential values and valorization of the memorial tourism sites and routes in Romania (GHETAU, ESANU, 2010), Slovakia (HORODNIKOVA, DERCO, 2015), Serbia (MINIĆ, 2012), Slovenia (GOSAR ET AL., 2015; HROBAT VIRLOGET, ČEBRON LIPOVEC, 2017; ŠULIGOJ, 2017a), former Yugoslavia (PUTNIK, 2016) and

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5 The term morbid religious ritual isn’t associated with official and recognized religious beliefs and communities (Christianity, Islam etc.), but with obscure sects, blasphemous cults, unofficial subcultural groups such as the goths, satanists or pagan worshippers.
Croatian part of Istria (VOJNOVIĆ, 2020). Finally, the most influential scientific research and papers on memorial tourism in Croatia consider potential of development and which include Croatian war of Independence heritage (DRVENKAR ET AL., 2015), symbolic memorial value of the town of Vukovar, the island Goli, the WWII concentration camp Jasenovac (KESAR, TOMAS, 2014; ŠULIGOJ, 2016; VUKOJEVIĆ, OPAČIĆ, 2017; SLIVKOVA, BUCHAR, 2017; KENNEL ET AL., 2018), warfare tourism (ŠULIGOJ 2016; ŠULIGOJ 2017b) and antifascism heritage (TOMAŠ, 2019).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Above-mentioned analysis of theoretical background of memorial tourism, historical importance of the antifascist struggle in Southern Istria and literature review including revalorization of tangible antifascism heritage point to the following research questions: To what extent are antifascist monuments preserved and accessible in Southern Istria? Does the antifascist tangible heritage in Southern Istria can become part of memorial tourism supply?

The research tested following hypotheses:

H1 Southern Istrian municipalities and towns have favourable spatial distribution of tangible antifascism heritage.

H2 Tangible antifascism heritage in Southern Istria is well-preserved and accessible to potential visitors and tourists.

H3 The density and accessibility of the antifascist monuments in Southern Istria create opportunities for the memorial tourism development.

In order to realise research objectives and obtain scientific results, several scientific procedures, methods, tools and techniques were used. The first stage of this research included analyses of relevant historical research, scientific papers, books and other publications regarding the crucial events and the most significant turning points in the first half of the 20th century in Southern Istria connected with antifascist movement and struggle (MIKOLOŠ, 1973, 2003; DRNDIĆ, 1978; DUKOVSKI, 2001; GIRON, 2004; MARUŽIN, ROJNIĆ, 2004; SCOTTI, 2008; BURŠIĆ, 2011; DUKOVSKI, 2011; KEŠAC, SKULJAN BILIĆ, 2018; RADOŠEVIĆ, 2020; RADOŠEVIĆ, 2021). Using such applied historical research and publications, the crucial events connected with antifascist movement and struggle could be divided in two main periods: the interwar period (1918 to 1940) and the World War II (WWII) period including the immediate post-WWII period (MARUŽIN,
In the second stage of this research, multiple fieldworks, including participant observation, were undertaken as defined by Hall (2011) de Walt and de Walt (2011) Ribeiro, Foemmel (2012) and Phillips, Johns (2012). Fieldwork and participant observation lasted 10 months: September 2021 to June 2022. During these visits and observations of antifascist tangible heritage monuments and sites, precise positions and geographical coordinates of each of the individual monument using GPS device (Garmin Montana 680t) have been determined. The other reason of fieldwork and participant observations was the visit to commemorations and anniversaries of tragic events organized by South Istrian communities to understand importance of antifascism for local inhabitants. The third reason of these methods is testing of the accessibility of each individual monument, and as well as a suitability for thematic routes and memorial tourism supply (Horvat, Klarić, 2012; Balazić, 2013; Horodnikova, Derco, 2015; Matečić, 2016; Hrobaj Virloget, Čeborn Lipovec, 2017; Slunjski, 2017). Simultaneously, in this stage of research, the mapping using GIS as a tool are used as defined and suggested by Boers and Coetrell (2007), Chhetri and Arrowsmith (2008), Curić et al. (2012), Glamuzina et al. (2017). The QGIS (version 3.22.3) application was used for this purpose. Additionally, photo documentation put in use as proposed by Jacobsen (2007), Rakić, Chambers (2012) and Brown (2015).

The final stage of research includes proposals of a list and typology (Stone, 2006; Raine, 2013; Vojnović, 2020) of antifascist tangible heritage sites by the Southern Istrian municipalities and towns, using data compiled and generated through the fieldwork, participant observation, GIS supported mapping, and photo documentation. The purpose of the list of monuments and typology is a creation of the key points of potential thematic routes as a tool of memorial tourism development, similar to the valorized routes in the Southern and Central Europe (Ghetau, Esanu, 2010; Irimiás, 2014; Horodnikova, Derco, 2015; Gosar et al., 2015; Hrobaj Virloget, Čeborn Lipovec, 2017; Nauert, 2017; Suligoj, 2017a).

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6 The antifascist movement in Istria, unlike the other Croatian counties, according to the relevant scientific research, papers and publications by historians, begun in the immediate post-WWI period. The first period ended in 1940, when Italy declared the war to the Allies.

7 In the research period, numerous events or informal gatherings are visited. The most important among them are commemoration to Vladimir Gortan in Gortan cove (Pula), in Sajini village, Commemoration at the Mill (Pula), to antifascist celebrations of Day of Antifascist Struggle (various events and gatherings) etc.
SOUTHERN ISTRIA AS A TOURISM REGION

Southern Istria (Fig. 1) as a tourism region in Istria county has a total area of 571.8 km$^2$ with a population of 81,293 (2021), administratively divided into two towns (Pula and Vodnjan) and six municipalities (Barban, Fažana, Ližnjan, Marčana, Medulin and Svetvinčenat) (VRESK, 2002; LUKIĆ, 2012; MAGAŠ, 2013). This part of Istria offers in 2019 89,857 tourist beds in commercial accommodation facilities (30.5% of Istria county) and receives 1,147,254 overall tourist arrivals (1/4 arrivals in Istria county) and realizes 6,750,918 overall overnight stays which is 25.6% of stays of home county (CROATIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, 2020).

![Map of Southern Istria in Istria county](image)

**Slika 1. Gradovi i općine Južne Istre u Istarskoj županiji**  
**Figure 1** Towns and municipalities of the Southern Istria in Istria county

The geographical location of Istria county and Southern Istria is defined by four key determinants. First, the County is positioned on the edges of large European physical geographical regions: Alps, the Dinarides, the Pannonian basin, the Po Valley and plain and northern Adriatic
Sea as a part of the north Mediterranean basin. Furthermore, Istria county is the westernmost part of Croatia and a part of Croatian region North Adriatic littoral. Thirdly, transport network, routes (highways and railways) and hubs (road junctions, international airports and seaports) contribute to the favourable geographical location in the similar ways as the vicinity of tourist-generating markets, regions and states of the Central and Western Europe.

Southern Istria offers two groups of tourist attractions that are equally important in the design of an overall tourism supply. The first group are natural attractions and the most significant of them are geomorphologic forms (marine and karst forms of relief), 268.6 km long sea coast and Adriatic Sea suitable for four to five months of sun and bathing tourism and similar coastal recreational activities, mild climate, natural and cultivated vegetation zones (open fields, pasture, parks and forests). The second group of attractions consists of protected cultural and historical heritage from the prehistoric, Roman, Medieval and modern-day periods, cultural institutions (museums and galleries) and special events such as film festival, book fair and various types of music festivals (VOJNOVIĆ, 2012).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Using the aforementioned methodological apparatus and research techniques in Southern Istria are located 167 tangible monuments and sites associated with antifascism movement and struggle including both of two historical period of the first half of 20th century. Using proposed historical periodization, in Southern Istria are located 13 monuments and sites dedicated to the interwar period and 154 to the memory of the antifascism struggle and movement in WWII including the immediate post-war period. Larger number of the WWII monuments and sites in comparison to the ones of the interwar period is understandable considering the intensification and concentration of the historical events and processes connected with armed resistance, armed conflicts and battles against fascism (DRNDIĆ, 1978; DUKOVSKI, 2001; GIRON, 2004; BURŠIĆ, 2011). Spatial layout of antifascism tangible heritage by administrative units of Southern Istria confirms the presence of these monuments and sites in all of six municipalities and two towns (Fig. 2).
Southern Istria has the monuments’ density where 2.9 antifascist monument or site placed on each 10 km². The largest number of the tangible antifascism heritage in Southern Istria is located in the town of Pula where are 51 monuments and sites which make 30.5% of all monuments. Moreover, the town of Pula has the densest network (number monuments to 10 km²) of these monuments, in which 9.5 monuments is placed on 10 km² of surface area.

Such numerous the monuments in Pula are deeply associated, not only with population size, but the political, social, economic and historical role of the town in the first half of the 20th
century as the most important hub of the antifascist movement and resistance. Moreover, historical research (Dukovski, 2001; Dukovski, 2011; Mikolić, 2003; Maružin, Roinić, 2004) undoubtedly emphasizes the key role of the town of Pula in that period.

Using the dark tourism suppliers (Stone, 2006; Raine, 2013) which, in this paper, it excludes as inappropriate dark fun factories in Southern Istria are determined six modified types of the antifascism tangible heritage (Tab. 1). Thus, in this region are located memorial exhibitions and museums, monuments in cemeteries, monuments to historical personages, to the battles and armed conflicts, to the mass casualties of population and the others. The largest number of the antifascism tangible heritage called Others are those monuments which are dedicated to the significant meetings, gatherings and foundations of antifascist organizations and combat units. The most important criterion of this typology of antifascism tangible heritage is the main dedication of monuments or reason to be erected.

**Tablica 1. Materijalna baština antifašizma prema tipu i upravnoj jedinici Južne Istre**

**Table 1 Antifascism tangible heritage by type and administrative units of Southern Istria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/ Municipality / Grad/općina</th>
<th>Memorial exhibitions and museums / Memorijalne izložbe i muzeji</th>
<th>Cemeteries / Groblja</th>
<th>Historical personages / Povijesne osobe</th>
<th>Battles and armed conflicts / Bitke i oružani sukobi</th>
<th>Mass casualties of populations / Masovno stradavanje stanovništva</th>
<th>Others / Ostalo</th>
<th>Total / Ukupno</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barban</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fažana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ližnjan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marčana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medulin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svetvinčenat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vodnjan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Istria / Južna Istra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these types, the monuments, and sites dedicated to the mass casualties of population (53 monuments) and those one dedicated to the historical personages (50) are the most numerous. These two types have almost 2/3 of all the antifascism monuments and sites in Southern

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8 The criterion to list monument in the type of Mass casualties of populations was numerous victims, no matters if they were antifascists or innocent civilian victims. The type of Historical personages includes monuments dedicated to the individual places such as are places of birth, living, arrest, torturing, or death of the antifascists.
Istria, and the largest number of them was located in the town of Pula (31 monuments and sites) and Marčana Municipality (24). On the other hand, there are only two locations of memorial exhibitions and museums. One of them is the Historical and maritime museum of Istria, located on Kaštel hill, in the central urban district of Pula. Museum fundus has over 100,000 items of cultural, historical, political, military and ethnographic character, deployed in 18 collections. The museum regularly organizes occasional exhibitions about the antifascism movement and struggle in Istria (KEŠAC, SKULJAN BILIĆ, 2018). The other one memorial museum is the permanent exhibition room in the village Šajini (Barban Municipality) dedicated to the massacre of innocent civilian population of this village at the beginning of 1944 committed by Nazis and paramilitary fascist troops (MIKOLIĆ, 2003; MARUŽIN, ROJNIĆ, 2004; BURŠIĆ, 2011). The monuments placed inside the local cemeteries are the most numerous in the town of Pula. Inside the town cemetery of Pula are placed 4 monuments, one monument is placed in the cemetery of the urban district of Štinjan and one of the monuments is at the Naval cemetery which has a memorial character. There are 20 monuments in Southern Istria dedicated to battles and armed conflicts against fascism (Tab. 1). The most significant battles and armed conflicts in Southern Istria against fascism, by historians’ perspective, occurred in September and October 1943 after the armistice of Italy and the last months and weeks of WWII (MIKOLIĆ, 1973; MIKOLIĆ 2003; GIRON, 2004; SCOTTI, 2008; BURŠIĆ, 2011). The most iconic monuments and sites dedicated to the mass casualties of population in Southern Istria, respecting all dimensions of the human suffering and tragedy, are placed in the above-mentioned village of Šajini, the village of Bokordići (Svetvinčenat Municipality), Barban Municipality, Marčana Municipality and towns of Pula and Vodnjan. The number of antifascist monuments spatially located in all the Southern Istria towns and municipalities and their typological diversity confirm the first hypothesis of this paper.

Considering characteristics of the tangible heritage’s cultural value discussed by Matečić (2016), the most important values in the case of the antifascism monuments and sites are their social, historical, symbolic and authenticity values. For the memorial tourism development in Southern Istria, aesthetic and spiritual values of this heritage are less significant. Similarly, among four groups of criteria for cultural heritage valorization, suggested by Slunjski (2017) the most

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9 Monuments dedicated to the battles and armed conflicts against fascists are divided into the two groups. The first one is the group of the monuments placed where a battle or armed conflict had occurred. The second one is the group of the monuments dedicated to the antifascist combatants who died somewhere else in Istria or other Croatians regions.
applicable for this research are tourist criteria, including accessibility and proximity, cultural and educational criteria. In the same way, Balažič (2013), in the case of socialist heritage of the neighboured region, Slovenian part of Istria, emphasises accessibility, authenticity, present condition and marketing potential of monuments and sites. Horvatinčić (2017) noted that Istrian antifascist monuments are well preserved and authentic. Respecting mentioned theoretical approaches and empirical achievements, in terms of memorial tourism valorization of the antifascism monuments and sites in Southern Istria, the most influential features are the number, accessibility and proximity of the monuments and sites to potential visitors or tourists. Likewise, using fieldwork and participant observation as the methods, the present conditions of antifascism tangible heritage in Southern Istria is assessed as well-preserved. Furthermore, to identify potentials of the tangible antifascism heritage as the basis of the memorial tourism development in Southern Istria and applied value of the monuments as the key points of tourist routes, accessibility was assessed as the most important criteria. The accessibility and number of the monuments are the main criteria in the planning of thematic cultural routes (HORVAT, KLARIĆ, 2012). Using mapping supported by GIS tool which are additionally tested using the fieldwork and participant observation methods, 167 antifascism monuments and sites are divided in two groups by the criteria of the accessibility (Tab. 2).

**Tablica 2. Dostupnost materijalne baštine antifašizma po administrativnim jedinicama Južne Istre**

**Table 2 Accessibility of antifascism tangible heritage by administrative units of Southern Istria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/Municipality / Grad/Općina</th>
<th>Paved road / Asfaltirana cesta</th>
<th>Footpath / Pješačka staza</th>
<th>Total / Ukupno</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barban</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fažana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ližnjan</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marčana</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medulin</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svetvinčenat</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vodnjan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Istria</td>
<td><strong>155</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>167</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10 Local authorities in Southern Istria (towns and municipalities) preserve all the cultural heritage together with the Ministry of culture and media, regional authority and conservationists.
The first group includes 155 monuments and sites which are regularly accessed by paved road using vehicles or by foot. Only 12 monuments and sites are accessed using only footpath, but all of those points are very close to the paved road. The most favourable position in which all the monuments and sites could be accessed by paved road are located in the municipalities of Fažana, Medulin, Svetvinčenat and the town of Pula. The main shortcoming of antifascist monuments in Southern Istria in terms of memorial tourism supply is the lack of multilingual information tables nearby. As the example of good practice is the main antifascist monument in Tito’s park in the central part of Pula where 4-languages (Croatian, English, German, and Italian) information tables are posted. Nevertheless, antifascism tangible heritage in Southern Istria has favourable accessibility and state of preservation, thus confirming the second hypothesis of this paper.

THEMATIC ROUTES AS A TOOL OF MEMORIAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In the final stage of this research, as mentioned above, the antifascism memorial tourism routes of Southern Istria are proposed. Numerous monuments and sites connected with antifascism in Southern Istria with existing network of tourism attractions and infrastructure could provide new opportunities, revalorization and reaffirmation of the existing tourism supply. The valorized cultural tourism supply and established routes in this region, as some scholars have considered and suggested (Ružić, Medica, 2010; Gržinić, Vodeb, 2015; Orlić, 2019; Iveković Martinis, Sulojidžić, 2020), could be used as the example of good practises and motive for the development of antifascism heritage. Similar examples of good practices of including memorial tourist routes in the tourism supply are developed in Slovenia (Gosar et al., 2015; Šuligoj 2017a), Romania (Ghetau, Esanu, 2010), Slovakia (Horodnikova, Derco, 2015; Slivkova, Bucher, 2017) and Italy (Irmiáš, 2014).

Considering favourable locations, density and accessibility, all antifascist monuments and sites in Southern Istria can be included as the potential key points or stations of the proposed thematic routes. Moreover, simultaneously using fieldwork and participation observation including visits of commemorations and anniversaries of antifascism struggle, it is confirmed that local communities are deeply connected with that historical period. Unlike other Croatian counties where almost 3500 monuments were damaged or destroyed in the post-socialist era (Hrženjak, 2009); in Istria the monuments were preserved regardless of the ruling political option in the municipality/town (Frykman, 2003; Vojnović, 2020; Frykman, 2021). Moreover, as Kennel et
al. (2018) and Šuligoj (2019) discussed, the antifascist commemorations and anniversaries in Slovenian and Croatian Istria are well-presented by regional printed and electronic newspapers. In accordance with the large number, good accessibility and preservation of the potential key points or stations in all municipalities and towns of Southern Istria, four thematic routes of memorial tourism associated with the antifascism heritage could be established: The route of the resistance to fascism in interwar period (1918 – 1943), The battles route (1943 – 1945), The route of mass casualties of civilians (1943 – 1945) and The route of antifascist historical personages (Tab. 3).

**Table 3.** The antifascism memorial tourism routes in Southern Istria and potential key points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thematic route / Tematska ruta</th>
<th>Potential key points by municipality or town* / Potencijalne ključne točke po općini ili gradu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Route of the resistance to fascism in interwar period (1918 - 1943) / Ruta otpora fašizmu u međuratnom razdoblju (1918. - 1943.) | Marčana (1)  
Barban (2)  
Medulin (2)  
Pula (7)  
Vodnjan (1) |
| Battles route (1943 – 1945) / Ruta bitaka (1943. – 1945.) | Barban (2)  
Ližnjan (1)  
Marčana (2)  
Pula (5) |
| Route of mass casualties of civilians (1943 – 1945) / Ruta masovnih stradanja civila (1943. – 1945.) | Barban (7)  
Fažana (1)  
Marčana (4)  
Pula (2)  
Svetvinčenat (2)  
Vodnjan (3) |
| Route of antifascist historical personages / Ruta povijesnih osoba antifašizma | Barban (1)  
Ližnjan (6)  
Marčana (12)  
Medulin (2)  
Pula (16)  
Svetvinčenat (4)  
Vodnjan (5) |

*Numbers in the brackets are potential key points on the route / Brojevi u zagradama su potencijalne ključne točke na ruti

**Route of the resistance to fascism in interwar period (1918 – 1943).** The most important antifascism monuments and sites of this memorial tourism routes are in the town of Pula, where seven potential key points are located. Those points are connected with armed conflicts against paramilitary fascist troops and the places of birth, living, arrest, torturing, or death of the prominent antifascists. This route connects the town of Pula, Vodnjan and the municipalities of Medulin and Marčana. The most valuable sites in terms of national memorialization and collective identity of people in Istria are those in Marčana Municipality and settlements of Šegotići, Kavran, Krnica, Mutvoran (Fig. 3) and all others which are all linked to the Proštinska buna (Proština uprising) in
From the historians’ perspective, great importance has a monument in Vodnjan, where the resistance to fascism in Istria had begun (RADOŠEVIĆ, 2021). Potential key points of this route are placed near commercial tourist accommodations (hotels, resorts, holiday homes and camping grounds) and are all well-connected by public paved roads and public transport. Additionally, this route could be merged with thematically similar routes in Eastern and Central Istria.

**Battles route (1943 – 1945).** This route connects settlements of Southern Istria where armed conflicts occurred in the past two years of the WWII and the intermediate after war period. Battles route includes places connected with armed conflicts (battles) between antifascist combat units on the one side and large and various groups of the enemy (Regular German army, elite SS combat troops, special SS police force, paramilitary fascist troops etc.) on the other side. The most iconic site of this thematic route of memorial tourism is the Magran Forest in proximity to Jadreški settlement (Ližnjan Municipality), where the first battle against Nazi occupation armed forces took place.

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11 The most important monument and site of this uprising against fascist oppression is located near the village Šegotići, where paramilitary fascist troops in 1921 burned it to the ground in response to the peasant rebellion.
place (September 1943) (Fig. 4). Equally important is the location in Pula’s urban district Stoja, where was the last front line of the WWII in Istria was organized in May 1945. Similar importance has a monument in the front of the Mill in Pula where in January 1947, three antifascists died to prevent stealing and removing of machines from this industrial unit (Dukovski, 2001; Dukovski, 2011; Buršić, 2011). As well as the previous route, the monuments and sites along this route are placed along paved public roads and well-connected by local and regional bus public transport. The advantage of the route is the connection with similar routes in the other Istrian regions.

**Route of mass casualties of civilians (1943 – 1945).** This route has 19 potential key points or stations in six administrative units of Southern Istria. The route of mass casualties of civilians is connected with places where retaliatory strikes and tragic repressions of the enemy combat units against the unarmed civilian population in villages and towns occurred. The route connects the urban districts of Pula (Districts Veli vrh and Pragrande) with the village Gajana near town Vodnjan, the village Šajini (Barban Municipality) (Fig. 5) and the village Bokordići (Svetvinčenat Municipality). Respecting memorialization of innocent civilian victims and hostages, the monuments on this memorial tourism route are sites where official commemorations, organized
by local authorities, take place every year. Nevertheless, these locations have only potential memorial tourism value. Similarly, this memorial tourism route, as in the above-mentioned cases, can be thematically linked with potential routes which include the other Istrian regions. Although this route has great memorial tourism potential, including a large network of commercial tourist accommodations and well-organized public transport, the main disadvantage is dissonant heritage associated with the tragic, disturbing, shocking historical events, and inhuman atrocities.

**Route of antifascist historical personages.** The most numerous potential key points or stations (46) are dedicated to the prominent antifascists. This memorial tourism route includes monuments and sites dedicated to the places of birth, living, arrest, torturing, or death of the Istrian antifascists. The largest number of these locations is in town Pula (16 sites) and Marčana municipality (12). So, this route connects some of the most iconic places associated with collective identities of local people and regular memorialization. Among those places are monuments dedicated to Vladimir Gortan (1904 – 1929) in the tourist-recreational, coastal district of Pula.
(Gortan’s Cove) (Fig. 6), the place of living and the place of death of young antifascist activist Sergio Dobrich who is one of the last killed in WWII in Pula. Also in Pula, is a monument dedicated to antifascist Luigi Scalier, who was killed in 1921 by fascist paramilitary troopers. As a part of the overall cultural heritage in the most visited, central district of Pula, is the main Istrian monument dedicated to all antifascist combatants. Outside of Pula, there are monuments in Svetvinčenat Municipality dedicated to antifascists activists Ruža Petrović and Foška Doblanović. Similarly, the other administrative units of Southern Istria have the monuments dedicated to the local antifascist historical personage as the potential key points of this memorial tourism route. As in the case of the route of the mass casualties of civilians, this route has great memorial tourism potential, but respecting the tragic, disturbing and shocking historical background. However, the route has, as the previous routes, great tourism capabilities due to large supply of the tourist accommodation facilities and transport infrastructure.

These four memorial tourism routes connected with the accessible, densely distributed and well-preserved antifascism tangible heritage of Southern Istria provide opportunities for development of that form of special interest tourism, thus confirming the third hypothesis.

**Slika 6. Spomenik na mjestu strijeljanja antifašiste Vladimira Gortana (1929.)**

**Figure 6** Monument at the place where the antifascist Vladimir Gortan was executed (1929)

Izvor/ Source: Author
Moreover, memorial tourism has additional developmental possibilities. These routes could be merged and integrated in already developed Istrian cultural tourism routes and other anthropogenic attractions and locations as a part of the overall tourism supply of this region. Furthermore, the routes could use, beside the public roads, the large network of existing, well-marked bicycle, motorcycle, and trekking routes. Finally, these memorial tourism routes connected with the antifascism heritage, considering the domestic and as well as experiences from abroad, should be included in the future tourist and spatial planning.

CONCLUSION

This research has shown that in two towns and six municipalities of tourism region Southern Istria are located 167 tangible monuments and sites dedicated to the antifascism movement and struggle. Respecting historical, social and political particularities of Istrian turning points in the first half of the 20th century, the antifascism tangible heritage of Southern Istria is divided in six types suitable for memorial tourism development. The spatial layout of this heritage in Southern Istria clearly shows that the most prominent monuments and sites could be identified as key points in the formation and promotion of thematic memorial tourism routes. Considering examples and experiences of good practices in European countries and regions that are similar to Croatia in their socio-economic, political and historical development, four memorial tourism routes inspired by antifascism heritage in Southern Istria have been proposed.

The main advantage of the four proposed routes is observable in their spatiality and interconnectivity, including all eight South Istrian administrative units in this form of memorial tourism supply. Another advantage, confirmed in this work, is good preservation of the antifascism tangible monuments and sites supported by the experts, local and County authorities as well as their accessibility by the main roads with regular public transport connections. The accessibility and suitability of the proposed thematic routes are additionally improved by the large network of the pre-existing cultural and recreational routes. Finally, the advantage of these routes is observable in the well-developed supply of commercial tourist accommodation, natural and anthropogenic attractions as well as the overall infrastructure of South Istria region.

From a methodological perspective, in this research are applied long-lasting, mutually connected and simultaneous fieldwork and participant observations. The fieldwork and participant observation in this research had a broader framework than usual applications in the established
methodology of the human geography. Priority is given to the individual researcher in the role of potential memorial tourist in the specific tourism region. Such extended using of traditional methods provide testing in the real time and environment of locations, accessibility and assessment of potential importance of heritage for memorial tourism. Research of the special interest tourism, but tourism study generally, in which the lack of the available spatial, infrastructural and/or statistical data of potential sites are the main limiting factors, could be prevailed using these extended but more applicable approaches.

From practical point, study of the antifascism tangible heritage using developed tourism region as the spatial framework and model could be applied for new research of memorial or and dark tourism. Memorial tourism routes suggested in the research can be applied to European tourism regions where similar historical events and processes occurred. In the same way, this work can represent a foundation for new developmental directions of cultural tourism in the region. Practical value could be application of the research findings in the spatial and tourism planning of the similar tourist regions on the national and international level. Finally, this work can be used as the template in the new research on the revalorization and reaffirmation of the tangible antifascism heritage as the locations or points of memorial tourism development in Croatian tourism regions.

The shortcomings of this research are due to the duration and complexity of demanding fieldwork and participant observations. Simultaneously, limitations of material and financial resources have impacted as well as elements of the dissonance of this tangible heritage, including certain controversies about the historical events and processes connected with the antifascism and the present-time memorialization in Southern Istria. However, the above-mentioned shortcomings did not devalue or endanger the elaboration and use of the proposed methodological apparatus, achieving of research results or the accomplishment of the research’s objectives.
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