



<https://doi.org/10.5559/di.32.2.06>

"MEMORIES OF A FORGOTTEN WAR" AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY (DARK) TOURISM IMPLICATIONS: AN ISTRIAN MEDIA PERSPECTIVE

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UDK: 338.48-6(497.472+497.571):94(100)"1914/1918"
725.945(497.472+497.571):94(100)"1914/1918"

Original scientific paper

Received: February 10, 2022

Employing a sociological discourse analysis of media reports, this study aims to identify and typologise World War I-related memorial events in the cross-border region of Istria, which is traditionally heavily involved in international tourist flows in Slovenia and Croatia. The theory of memory, social amnesia, and dark tourism are thus intertwined. A corpus of 15 anniversary-related (and all accessible) media reports from three leading regional news media outlets was included in the analysis, which negates the complete social amnesia of war; they were typologised as memorial services or dark exhibitions. We found that memorial events are also related to sport/recreation (diving) and meetings of scholars (conferences, round tables, presentation of the book), which resulted in a revised typology of memorial events. The analysed events scattered throughout the peninsula have limited tourist significance and also reflect the Istrian social reality, specifically multiculturalism and transcultural memory. The paper concludes with an overview of the scholarly and practical implications and limitations of the approach used.

Keywords: memorial events typology, dark tourism, Istrian peninsula, Istrian history, WWI



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INTRODUCTION

The film "Memories of a Forgotten War" narrates candidly about the human cost and difficult past related to the Korean War that has been 'forgotten' in Korean American communities and beyond them (*Memory of Forgotten War*, n.d.). By using this film metaphor, we want to draw attention to social amnesia, which also appears in connection with some other past conflicts. For example, Croatian historiography has paid little attention to World War I (WWI) (Herman Kaurić, 2015, 2016). For political and other reasons (e.g., Croats fought on the losing side, tense post-war relations with Serbs (one of WWI's winners), the war was researched by amateur historians, no institutional support, WWII was at the forefront of politics and historiography after 1945), WWI was almost forgotten by the early 1990s (Herman Kaurić, 2015b; Hrستیć, 2016). This indicates the impact of each dominant ideology on the selection of research topics. The centenary of WWI and the related memorial events certainly brought about a change in relation to this war (Herman Kaurić, 2015b; Hrستیć, 2016). After the end of the 'memorial period', which lasted from 2014 to 2018, it is possible to carry out an analysis of memorial events that are related to this significant anniversary; generally, significant anniversaries are interesting to international scholars (e.g., Le et al., 2021), and this exploratory study contributes to this trend.

Although Istria, as an Upper Adriatic peninsula, was quite far from the Isonzo battlefield in present-day Slovenia, the war did not bypass it. At least two specific circumstances contributed to this. First, the Istrian city of Pula/Pola was the main Habsburg military port (with the Arsenal) and thus an important target of Italian expansionist policy. Second, in Istria dwelled a rather influential Italian community with irredentist and nationalist tendencies (see Sujoldžić, 2016) directed against Habsburg supremacy. Nevertheless, the war here did not have as catastrophic consequences as in the Isonzo Valley. However, these historical events and circumstances can be interesting today, especially but not exclusively to visitors from wider Adriatic and former Austro-Hungarian lands, which have (direct) links to the historic conflict;¹ the war/military heritage could be presented through tourism, the so-called dark tourism as outlined below. Examples show that this can be an important part of tourism supply (see Biran et al., 2011; Chronis, 2012; Šuligoj, 2019; Kennell & Powell, 2021). To avoid excessive simplification, such heritage is not exclusively related to dark tourism and non-local visitors (Kennell et al., 2018) but also to local communities (Dolenec & Vodeb, 2022; Kavrečič & Hrobat Virloget, 2019; Vojnović, 2020). Moreover, it is

also attractive to the media, which thus generates a culturally distributed collective memory (Pavlaković & Perak, 2017, p. 301) and, simultaneously prevents social amnesia (Lury, 2004). Research in post-Yugoslav countries, for example, shows how a tragic past and today's memory are interesting for media reporting (e.g., Mustapić & Balabanić, 2018; Šuligoj, 2019, 2021; Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021). However, only the last two papers include data related to WWI.

In this paper, we offer an examination of WWI-related contemporary memorial practices, which are interesting to the news media. The occasion of the centenary of the war is remarkable enough to warrant this work. Pierre Nora (1989), one of the key researchers of memory, was also aware of the media's importance. Accordingly, this research uses his idea of *a lieu de mémoire* (site of memory), as well as social amnesia, its complete opposite and often accompanying phenomenon (Ricoeur, 2012). They are interwoven with the theory of dark tourism. Our chief objective is to identify and typologise anniversary-related memorial events in the cross-border region of Istria, which is heavily involved in international tourist flows in Slovenia and Croatia, and thus deepen some previous research (e.g., Frost & Laing, 2013; Kennell et al., 2018; Šuligoj, 2019; Vojnović, 2020).

THE MEMORY OF WWI IN ISTRIA: MEMORIAL EVENTS AND TOURISM

Pula, as the main Austro-Hungarian military port, developed into one of Europe's more recognisable naval bases of that time with good sea, air, rail, and road links (Marsetič, 2013, pp. 483, 484; Perović, 2006, pp. 72–78, 145). In military terms, it represented an important strategic point for military attacks. After the opening of the Italian Front in 1915, Pula was bombed by Italian military aviation 41 times (Mandić, 2006, pp. 210–212). The men of Istria were recruited, while the rest of the population of Istria suffered from hunger, disease, and bad living conditions, which led to their evacuation or emigration (Herman Kaurić, 2015b, p. 14). However, the rest of the peninsula was less affected directly by the war, and the military events in Istria were overshadowed by the Isonzo slaughter. When peace was in sight in late 1918, the SMS *Viribus Unitis* ship, the pride of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, was attacked (and sunk) by two Italian commandos (Marsetič, 2013, pp. 515–517; Perović, 2006, pp. 175, 177–178, 185). Finally, the then-Italian imperialist aspirations in the Istrian case (temporarily) ended with the solution of the eastern border issue confirmed by the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920.

The war severely affected socio-economic life in Istria, which was famous for its health tourism, especially in Opatija, Portorož, Sv. Stjepan (*Sv. Štefan*) (Blažević, 1984, pp. 50–52, 1987, p. 33; Kavrečić, 2015, p. 86) and the Brijuni Islands (Baskar, 2010; Perović, 2006, p. 165), as well as Roman heritage and the 'Italian atmosphere' (Marcotti, 1899, pp. 138, 149–160).

After the establishment of Italian authority in Istria, the construction of imposing monuments/memorial parks to Italian heroes and victims of WWI began, for example, a glorious monument to the native Italian hero of WWI and patriot Nazario Sauro in 1935 in Koper (Gemmiti, 1935). Similarly, numerous initiatives were given for commemorations, triumphant demonstrations, blessings of graves, anniversaries, and masses (Kavrečić, 2017; Klabjan, 2010; Marsetič, 2006; Toderó, 2010). There were mass Italian gatherings (Klabjan, 2010, pp. 413–414), which served as an act of affirmation of the Italian national identity, patriotism, regime, and the consolidation of power in the newly annexed regions, including Istria (Kavrečić, 2017; Klabjan, 2010; Toderó, 2010). Introducing them into the context of the tourism of Istria was/is thus quite questionable.

After World War II and the resolution of the border issue, these practices changed completely. The constitutive role of the second world conflict for socialist Yugoslavia plunged WWI into the background (amnesia); the new authorities introduced new memorial practices (Luthar, 2000, pp. 97, 98). After the dissolution of Yugoslavia (in the 1990s) and democratisation of its successors, there was, again, no place to commemorate WWI. Pula, for example, could not thus develop an image of a historic military (port) city with interesting heritage (Urošević, 2013, p. 93), which can be understood as a *shared* or *inclusive heritage* (Tracey & Lilley, 2020) for parties that were on the opposite side in WWI. However, the previous Istria-related research has not yet established if significant anniversaries were different. A look at some of the more important regional websites (e.g., Istria tourist board, municipalities, major societies) showed a different response from local/regional communities in the anniversary period of 2014–2018. There were, for example, a set of events called *Puna je Pula* (Pula is Full) (*Obilježavanje stogodišnjice Prvog svjetskog rata*, n.d.), the 'World War I in the Adriatic' exhibition in Brtonigla and the thematic exhibition at Gallerion in Novigrad (*Prvi svjetski rat na Jadranu*, n.d.; *U Gallerionu otvorena izložba 'Prvi svjetski rat na Jadranu'*, 2014), and 'The Last Emperor in Istria' exhibition in Gračišće (*Izložba 'Posljednji car u Istri' u Gračišću*, 2018).

THE INTERTWINING OF MEMORY AND DARK TOURISM IN MEDIA REPORTING

The news media also re- and co-construct memory with regard to discrete events (and everyday life), time, and place (Edy, 1999; Kitch, 2008) and thus can generate a culturally distributed collective memory (Pavlaković & Perak, 2017, p. 301) and help prevent social/historical amnesia (Lury, 2004). Nevertheless, it is not always possible to rely only on these resources due to the simple and dramatic narratives (Edy, 1999) or even manipulation in media reports (Hoskins, 2001, pp. 336–337). Specifically, the media construct social reality with the selection, explanation, and interpretation of information (Nišić & Plavšić, 2014, p. 74) and their integration into reality (Van den Bulck, 1999).

Memorial events are part of the institutionalisation of memory, which establishes and fixes the 'correct' representations of events deemed significant by and for a given group (Jedlowski, 2002, p. 99); they may also be known as typologically diverse dark commemorative events (Frost & Laing, 2013, pp. 36–42; Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021), which is not a uniformly accepted term (Šuligoj & Rudan, 2022). Anniversaries as days of special memorial importance and interest exist in a form of narratives or stories that are portrayed through commemoration events (Ehala, 2014, p. 98) attractive to the public and the news media (Ebbrecht, 2007, p. 223). Similarly, anniversary journalism consists of canonised historical narrative templates, rituals, and myths that affect the "mnemonic synchronisation of particular communities" (Harro-Loit & Kõresaar, 2010, pp. 324–325, 337). In this context, journalists connect the present times with the past (Edy, 1999); the media are thus an important operator of the transmission process that co-creates a collective memory (Ebbrecht, 2007, p. 222; Pavlaković & Perak, 2017, p. 301; Šuligoj & Rudan, 2022). However, in this complex intertwining of social processes, we recognise remembrance, amnesia, and forgiveness (Miklavcic, 2008, p. 443), as well as silence (Hrobat Virloget, 2017; Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger, 2010). We deliberately ignore the last two and focus on memory and amnesia.

Memory is the reflection of a particular group and its past; it is flexible, passable, and often romanticised but inherently connected with history (Jerše, 2017; Nora, 1989, pp. 8–9). Related collective memory can be described as "a widely shared knowledge of past social events that are collectively constructed through communicative social interactions, which can have a significant impact on our behaviour, feelings, and thoughts" (Garagozov, 2016, p. 28); the first explanation of the concept was given by Maurice Halbwachs (1992). Its complete

contrast is collective forgetting (Haebich, 2011, p. 1033) or social/collective amnesia; it is an essential component of the building of memories of a community, the other side of the same process, which co-construct a shared view of the past (Širok, 2012, p. 138).

The case of Istria, a multicultural and developed region in terms of international tourism, requires an additional memorial perspective: transcultural memory, which means the transition from the "stable and allegedly 'pure' national/cultural memory towards the movements, connections, and mixing of memories" within the globalisation processes. In this cultural complexity, no version of the past ever belongs to just one community or place; the Holocaust is a representative example (Erll, 2014, p. 178). Thus local memories became understandable globally (Wüstenberg, 2019), which is extremely important from the dark tourism point of view. It is described by Stone (2016, p. 23) as "encountering spaces of death or calamity that have political or historical significance, and that continue to impact upon the living". Specifically, it develops at sites of public executions, of individual or mass deaths, memorials or internment sites, sites/areas with the purpose of viewing evidence of death or symbolic representations of it, places of re-enactments or simulations of death (Seaton, 1996); here, a direct link is created among these sites, memorial events, and dark tourism (Šuligoj & Rudan, 2022). Accordingly, Istria can 'offer' places of death, memorials, as well as symbolic representations of WWI, which can be especially attractive for visitors from Italy and all former Austro-Hungarian lands (Central Europe) related to the historical conflict. Based on this, we pose a question: what kind of memorial events did the cross-border region of Istria offer to locals and visitors during the centenary of WWI (2014–2018)? We were interested in recognisable events that mark the contemporary Istrian social reality and were covered by the regional media.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

This highly exploratory study is buttressed by the constructivist theory, aiming at capturing a media-created reality as described by Nišić & Plavšić (2014). In fact, the media have become an important data source for research into tourism (Li et al., 2018). However, despite many doubts about their reliability (Edy, 1999; Hoskins, 2001), numerous studies show that investigation of the media perspective of memory (mediated memory, see Kitch, 2008, pp. 312–313) and (post-conflict) dark tourism is relevant; for example, this was studied in the former Yugoslavia area by Wise (2017, 2011), Wise and Mulec (2014), Volcic et al. (2014), Šuligoj (2019, 2021), Šuligoj and

Kennell (2021). The same applies to the WWI–media connection (e.g., Silletti, 2021; Aleshina & Razuvaeva, 2021; Žvanut, 1979). However, dark tourism-WWI-related memorial events connected to Istria have previously not been considered. Employing sociological discourse analysis (SDA) of media reports fills this gap.

Discourse analysis in tourism and/or memory-related studies is a well-known approach (see Qian et al., 2018; Li et al., 2018; Tracey & Lilley, 2020; Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021); SDA, which is marked by sociological theories and concepts and "allows us to understand social intersubjectivity because discourses contain it and because social intersubjectivity is produced through discursive practices" (Ruiz, 2009, p. 11), is less common. Nevertheless, according to Ruiz's (2009) suggestions, three levels of SDA were carried out simultaneously within this research:

1. a textual level (discourse characterisation) aiming to give a descriptive characterisation of the discourse. Accordingly, headlines of the reports presented in Tables 1 and 2 create only a representation of events and not broader narratives. A corpus of 15 anniversary-related reports from three leading regional news media (*Glas Istre*, *La Voce del Popolo*, *Primorske novice*), more familiar with the local mentality and historical moments than others, were prepared for the SDA. This means all available relevant reports from 1 February 2016 to 30 November 2018 were analysed; in total, 132 reports related to various memorial events in the cross-border region of Istria were otherwise detected.

2. a contextual level (understanding of discourse) required engagement with the deeper meanings of each news media report, which were then analysed in more detail;

3. an interpretive level (explanation of the discourse) involved drawing connections between the discourse and its broader social context related to contemporary Istrian social reality, dark tourism, and memory. The following discussion section presents this phase in detail.

DISCUSSION

Discussion on memorial events in the cross-border region of Istria

Regardless of the significant anniversary, only 11% of reports were related to WWI; no relevant report was found in the Slovenian daily *Primorske novice*. This certainly indicates incomplete social amnesia (some 'Memories of a Forgotten War' still exist) as described by Haebich (2011) and Ricoeur (2012), and probably a questionable connection with the regional identi-

ty (see Cocco, 2010 and Hrobat Virloget, 2017). Table 1 shows that memorial events were scattered throughout the peninsula, also outside recognisable tourist centres (e.g., Ližnjan, Gračišće, Buje, Brtonigla). Many locations/sites are not authentic sites of death, but, according to Seaton's (1996) typology of dark sites, only 'symbolic representations of death' (C, D, F, G, H, I). The typologisation of memorial events, using Frost and Laing's (2013, pp. 36–42) typology, is rather questionable. If we ignore festivals, this typology does not include composite or multi events, but merely independent ones: 'dark exhibitions', 'dark re-enactments', 'national days of mourning or remembrance', 'memorial services, the opening of memorials, concerts, performances', 'significant anniversaries' and 'parades, marches, processions'. All events listed in Table 1 are part of a 'significant anniversary' consisting of 'memorial services, the opening of memorials, concerts, performances' and 'dark exhibitions'. 'Significant anniversaries' should be thus defined as an umbrella term and not just one type of memorial event.

Pula, as the centre of Croatian Istria with clear military history and connection with WWI (Herman Kaurić, 2015b; Mandić, 2006; Vojnović, 2020), implemented the *Puna je Pula* project (*Obilježavanje stogodišnjice Prvog svjetskog rata*, n.d.), which included 30 different events related to WWI (articles C, J, O). In the nearby Municipality of Ližnjan, in connection to the centenary of WWI and the sinking of the ship "Cesare Rossarol", "The Wreck of the Warship Cesare Rossarol" project was implemented, consisting of cultural, tourist-recreational, religious, educational, and audiovisual events with memorial significance. Together with the location of the *Baron Gautsch* shipwreck, it is one of the most attractive diving locations in Istria and Croatia for diving and thus interesting for tourists (A, B); the *Baron Gautsch* shipwreck is one of the 50 most famous wrecks in the world. It is already a well-known memorial dive with which "divers symbolically remembered the victims of the sinking by placing a wreath on the wreck of the ship" (E). This establishes a connection between memory and sports/recreation in the dark tourism context as well; connecting memory with sport is already well-established in the history of sport, see Shimizu (2012). Frost and Laing (2013, pp. 36–42) overlooked it, and it was not identified within the scope of dark tourism either. The situation is different with religious content, which is often included in memorial events in Croatia (Šuligoj, 2021).

Very interesting are (dark) exhibitions in the towns of central Istria that were not directly affected by the war. The exhibition of Gračišće was prepared by an international team. It was a great event for the local community, which wanted to

attract, among others, people who have roots in the area and could identify ancestors in the pictures (H). An exhibition in Brtonigla (I) was dedicated to the Adriatic naval battlefield and was prepared by the head of the *Gallerion* from Novigrad in cooperation with individuals and institutions from Croatia, Slovenia and Italy. The journalist (I) focused mainly on the authors and the story of the exhibition but did not focus on the visitors or the interesting surroundings that could create a tourist experience together with the exhibition.

The next three articles (D, F, G) are interesting because they reflect Istrian multiculturalism; the link to the shared or inclusive heritage (Tracey & Lilley, 2020) and transcultural memory (Erl, 2014) is reasonable. We can certainly link these articles (events) to reverence and remembrance but certainly not to tourism. The first one highlights the Italian aviator Natale Palli and the value of his aerial photographs he took in 1918, which were presented for the first time outside Italy. The next article is focused on the memory of Egidio Grego, a native Istrian Italian hero, who fell in the final battles of WWI near Venice, while the last one (I) explains the memorial event of the Slovenian Cultural Society from Pula, marked by the laying of wreaths, exhibition, and lectures. Here the journalist quotes the words of a member of the Slovenian embassy: "Wars divide people, and culture unites them." These words are compatible with the Istrian social reality – multiculturalism and transcultural memory (Erl, 2014).

● TABLE 1
Media reports
on memorial events
in Istria

| Title (translated) | Location | Event type | News- paper | Date |
|--|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------|
| (A) The Ceremonial Programme Marked the Anniversary of the Shipwreck: 'Cesare Rossarol' is Today an Unavoidable Destination for Divers | Ližnjan | Memorial service | Glas Istre | 18/11/2018 |
| (B) Anniversary of the Sinking of the Ship 'Cesare Rossarol', an Italian Light Reconnaissance Cruiser | Ližnjan | Memorial service | Glas Istre | 15/11/2018 |
| (C) One-Hundredth Anniversary of the End of WWI | Pula | Memorial service | Glas Istre | 1/11/2018 |
| (D) Istria and the Great War in the Shots of Natale Palli | Rovinj | Dark exhibition | La voce del popolo | 20/09/2018 |
| (E) The Pride of the Austro-Hungarian Fleet Sank in Just a Few Minutes: the 104th Anniversary of the Sinking of the Adriatic Titanic | the sea near Rovinj | Memorial service | Glas Istre | 14/08/2018 |
| (F) Vrsar Pays Homage to the Hero Egidio Grego | Vrsar | Memorial service | La voce del popolo | 9/11/2017 |
| (G) Wars Divide People, and Culture Unites Them | Pula | Dark exhibition | Glas Istre | 16/11/2018 |
| (H) Emperor Charles I Again in Gračišće After a Hundred Years | Gračišće | Dark exhibition | Glas Istre | 8/04/2018 |
| (I) Great Naval Battles and Sufferings in the Adriatic | Brtonigla | Dark exhibition | Glas Istre | 3/10/2017 |

The events discussed above are independent or composited (several events presented under a common title) and typologised, as shown in Table 1. The typologisation of events in Table 2 proved to be more problematic. Frost and Laing's (2013, pp. 36–42) typology does not include memorial events with scientific/scholarly content (and international participants). However, such events evidently exist and can also be linked to so-called scientific tourism (see Ilyina & Mieczkowski, 1992). Understandably, most of them were carried out in Pula, a city with a military history (Mandić, 2006) and with the necessary infrastructure nowadays. However, an exception among such media-covered events is that in Motovun (L), with a predominantly regional and non-touristic character. The event on the topic of 'Habsburgs and Istria' consisted of two main parts: a meeting of scholars and the exhibition 'Charles of Austria – Emperor, King and Blessed in Istria'. In addition, the influence of book presentation (K) and round table (O) was also very limited. At the local round table, debaters (historians, a publicist, and a writer) discussed WWI-related events as overlooked topics, while the presentation of a four-language book by researchers of Istrian history was more ambitious: the first census of names of the fallen, wounded or imprisoned Istrians in WWI. Speakers defined the forgotten victims as human heritage that must be preserved. This also shows how much the topic of WWI has been overlooked.

In 2018, domestic and Austrian organisers prepared a series of events in Pula, including a commemoration at the naval cemetery and the site of the wreck of the *SMS Viribus Unitis*, an exhibition, a solemn mass, and an international conference called 'The Situation in Pula in the Autumn of 1918', with speakers from German-speaking countries and Croatia (J). Particularly interesting are two media reports (M, N) on the conference 'In the Shadow of the Great War: A Reflection of the War on the Life of the Istrian Civilian Population' with participants from Croatia, Italy, Austria and Slovenia. The discussion showed that just a little over 50 papers on the history of the war period had been published in the previous 70 years; panellists expressed hope that the significant anniversaries would increase the interest of researchers. This was pointed out also by a panellist at the Istria-related regional meeting of researchers in Trieste, Italy (not in Table 2) (Turcinovich Giuricin, 2018). In Pula, one panellist said that "WWII 'ate' the interest for WWI, and then the theme of national relations, the creation of national identities, etc. ate up the second one, the connected but neglected social story of everyday life and people at war" (see also O). This is in line with Luthar's (2000, pp. 97, 98), Herman Kaurić's (2015b), and Hrstić's (2016, p. 59)

TABLE 2
Istrian media reports
on scholarly events
related to the
significant anniversary
of the war

claims about WWI as an overlooked research topic in Croatia. After the end of the memorial period (2014–2018), the interest in memorial events in the regional media declined because there were probably very few on which to report. This misses the opportunity to make 'dark local history' and related remembrance comprehensive in an international environment (see Wüstenberg, 2019).

The tourism–meetings connection is another matter altogether. Thematic meetings have attracted participants from Central Europe and Italy, which means that we cannot deny their connection to (dark) tourism.

| Title (translated) | Location | Newspaper | Date |
|--|----------|--------------------|------------|
| (J) Pula Remembers the Great War | Pula | La voce del popolo | 1/11/2018 |
| (K) List of Losses 1914–1919'. A Volume of Exceptional Value | Pula | La voce del popolo | 4/11/2018 |
| (L) The Eminent Conference Marked Its 5th Anniversary: The Role of Habsburg Rule in Istria | Motovun | Glas Istre | 20/11/2018 |
| (M) A Synthesis of the History of Istria and Istria in WWI Has Not Yet Been Written | Pula | Glas Istre | 8/10/2016 |
| (N) How the Events of the War Affected the Life of an Istrian Man | Pula | Glas Istre | 4/10/2016 |
| (O) Would Anyone in Pula Want to Kill Franz Ferdinand? | Pula | Glas Istre | 28/5/2014 |

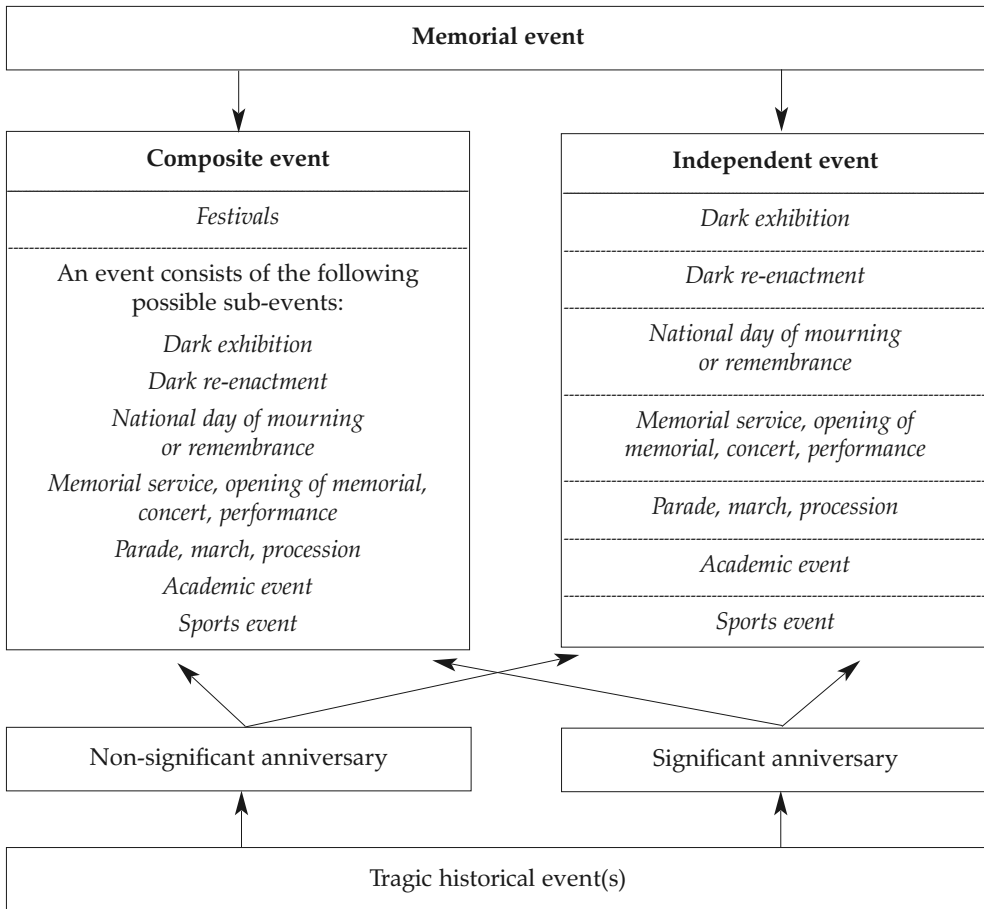
Further discussion and tourism implications

By considering the media perspective of memorial events, WWI-related memorial practices, and their relation to dark tourism, this research provides a new understanding of Istrian memorial events, which, however, cannot always be included in the dark tourism context; this is, after all, consistent with the claims of Kennell et al. (2018), because local communities understand/experience these events/processes in their own way (Dolenec & Vodeb, 2022; Kavrečić & Hrobat Virloget, 2019; Vojnović, 2020). This research thus showed the local and wider scope of memorial events in the region marked by tourism. It also pointed to the event's heterogeneity, thus indicating the need to define a revised typology. The theoretical implication of the research is precisely in this revised typology, which is shown in Figure 1. The model was created based on an updated list of the existing typology (see Frost & Laing, 2013, pp. 36–42). Dissonances and/or deviances (Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021) were not observed at the analysed events in Istria, and therefore they are not included in the model (Figure 1) as non-peculiarity.

'Significant anniversary' was removed from Frost and Laing's (2013, pp. 36–42) typology with seven types of memorial events, as it is a significant circumstance, which is then re-

FIGURE 1
 New model of
 typology of memorial
 events

flected at the operational level as concrete independent or composite events. The latter can be organised as projects or multi-event manifestations with a series of heterogeneous activities (sub-events) already recognised by Frost and Laing, e.g. in Pula or Ližnjan (A, B, C, J, O); festivals are also basically multi-day or otherwise compound events (Falassi, 1987), but they were not detected in this research. Research shows that significant anniversaries affect the frequency and structure of these events; for example, a memorial dive is an event that is becoming traditional and does not depend on significant anniversaries, which is not the case for all others.



Memorial events are also related to sport/recreation (King, 2016) and meetings of scholars, which are not included in Frost and Laing's (2013, pp. 36–42) typology. The cases detected in this research are not a special feature of Istria. For example, divers from NATO armed forces based in Turkey commemorated the Gallipoli Campaign in September 2018 (Morse,

n.d.), and the World Underwater Federation organised a special commemorative diving expedition to Jutland in the North Sea (*The CMAS Jutland WWI Memorial Dive for Peace Expedition*, 2015). In academia, in contrast, centennial memorial conferences were organised in Malaysia in 2014 (*Re-Visiting World War I*, 2014), in Bruges, Belgium, in 2014 (*Underwater Cultural Heritage from World War I*, 2014), and in Kansas City, USA, in 2017 (*1917: America Joins the Fight*, 2017). The target group of participants was completely different compared to the usual memorial events, which also applies to memorial sports events. Nevertheless, they also help in the fight against social amnesia and thus offer the relevant background to the revised typology (Figure 1). In general, this typology is not appropriate exclusively for WWI-related memorial events.

In practical terms, destination managers, event organisers, and NGOs should be aware that memorial events can be interesting to local and non-local visitors (tourists). Research shows the usefulness of the project approach in organising memorial events. This is, of course, reasonable in the case of complex composite or multi-events (Figure 1) that are attractive to various target groups of visitors. Their connection to the sport and meetings industry offers additional development opportunities. Visitors can thus create tourist experiences based on the (commodified) intangible and tangible heritage of a particular socio-cultural area, for example, a visit to a memorial event and an authentic site associated with death and tragedy. Istria offers several such sites, but mainly in connection with anti-fascism, see Šuligoj (2019) and Vojnović (2020).

CONCLUSION

Memorial events can be understood from the perspective of dark tourism (Kennell et al., 2018; Šuligoj, 2019), cultural tourism (Morales Cano & Mysyk, 2004), or difficult heritage (Logan & Reeves, 2009). Moreover, they can be discussed in the local context or in the context of domestic or international tourism. This present paper offers an insight into the case of the memory of WWI in the cross-border region of Istria, a recognisable region/destination of the Upper Adriatic. We explained what kind of memorial events had taken place there in the past and, especially on the centenary of WWI, also topical for the media. This gave us the answer to the research question, even though we had to revise the existing typology by Frost and Laing (2013, pp. 36–42).

Notwithstanding the theoretical and practical implications highlighted in the previous section, this research also has to recognise several limitations. The research is exploratory in nature and thus has limited generalisability. The focus on

only one specific geographical and cultural environment is limiting by nature, although such an approach is not out of the ordinary in qualitative research. As a consequence, future research can triangulate the findings of this research by capturing different socio-cultural areas, the heritage of various conflicts and related dark tourism, and using different methodological approaches. Hence, new media-related topics, such as the use of traditional and non-traditional media and information technology, are emerging and are neglected in this research.

One of the limitations is also the sampling period, which is not completely in line with the entire anniversary (2014–2018). However, the first serious airstrikes on Pula took place in May 1917, and data gathering '100 years later' is not problematic in this respect. Hence, many aspects related to memorial heritage and dark tourism, despite their importance, are not specifically mentioned (e.g., educational, identities, intergenerational transfer of stories, commodification). Additional research will fill these gaps. Further research with larger samples will continue to verify the typology in Figure 1; some types in this research with a limited set of events were not detected, but this was not a sufficient reason for their removal. Hence, there are still many (conceptual) ambiguities related to dark memorial events, which call for additional research.

NOTES

¹ In the area of the former battlefields of the Isonzo Front, memorial practices developed immediately after the end of the war and the annexation of this area to Italy (see Kavrečić, 2017 or Klabjan, 2010), which is not a peculiarity of the post-conflict era in Europe.

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"Sjećanja na zaboravljeni rat" i njihove implikacije na suvremeni (mračni) turizam: perspektiva istarskih medija

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Koristeći se sociološkom analizom diskursa medijskih izvješća, cilj je ove studije identificirati i tipologizirati spomen-događanja povezana s Prvim svjetskim ratom u prekograničnoj regiji Istre, koja je tradicionalno snažno uključena u međunarodne turističke tokove Slovenije i Hrvatske. Tako se isprepliću teorija sjećanja, društveni zaborav i mračni turizam. Analiziran je uzorak od 15 (dostupnih) medijskih izvješća spomen-događanja triju vodećih regionalnih informativnih medija, koji negiraju potpuni društveni zaborav rata; izvješća su tipologizirana kao spomen-događanja ili mračne izložbe. Utvrdili smo da su spomen-događanja povezana i sa sportom/rekreacijom (ronjenje) i susretima znanstvenika (konferencije, okrugli stolovi, predstavljanje knjige), što je rezultiralo revidiranom tipologijom spomen-događanja. Analizirani događaji rasuti

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 32 (2023), BR. 2,
STR. 297-317

ŠULIGOJ, M.:
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Istarskim poluotokom imaju ograničeno turističko značenje i odražavaju istarsku društvenu stvarnost, posebno multikulturalnost i transkulturalno pamćenje. U zaključku se daje pregled znanstvenih i praktičnih implikacija te ograničenja primijenjenog pristupa.

Ključne riječi: tipologija spomen-događanja, mračni turizam, Istarski poluotok, istarska povijest, Prvi svjetski rat



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