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Table of contents / Kazalo

ARTICLES / ČLANKI

- 5 **Jürgen Pirker**
Memory Wars and Minority Rights: From Ethnic Conflict towards a Peace Region Alps-Adria?
Spominske vojne in pravice manjšin: Od etničnega konflikta do Mirovne regije Alpe-Jadran?
- 33 **Daniel Wutti, Eva Hartmann, Nadja Danglmaier**
Minority Topics, Ethnic Questions and Their Potential for Memory Work in Schools
Manjšinska in etnična vprašanja ter njihov potencial za spodbujanje kulture spomina pri delu v šolah
- 49 **Metod Šuligoj**
“Navik on živi ki zgine pošteno”: Versko obarvane komemoracije v hrvaških novičarskih medijih
“Whoever Dies Righteously, Lives Forever”: Religious Content of Commemorations in Croatian News Media
- 65 **Ana Toroš**
Minority Literature and Collective Trauma: The Case of Slovene Triestine Literature
Manjšinska književnost in kolektivna travma: Primer slovenske književnosti na Tržaškem
- 83 **Marina Perić Kaselj, Maja Vizjak, Kristina Duvnjak**
Quantitative Analysis of Active Labour Population Migrations – The Case of Croatia
Kvantitativna analiza migracij delovno aktivnega prebivalstva – primer Hrvaške
- 99 **Klaudia Szeidl, Antal Aubert**
The Role of Minority Education in the Expansion of the Functions of Hungarian Landscape Houses
Vloga manjšinskega šolstva pri širjenju programa tradicionalnih madžarskih podeželskih hiš

Jürgen Pirker

Memory Wars and Minority Rights: From Ethnic Conflict towards a Peace Region Alps-Adria?

Described as “the age of extremes” by historian Eric Hobsbawm, the 20th century was defined by heavily-contested borders and identities in Central Europe: politically, culturally, socially, and intellectually. With the end of World War I, communities found themselves in new nation-states, and the politics of assimilation and relations between minorities and their kin-states created tensions that continue to reverberate today. Using the Slovene minority in Austria as a case study, the article provides insight into two international projects that involve civil society actors in the field of memory politics and young people and their attitudes towards history and minorities. In drawing lessons from these initiatives dealing with troubled pasts to counteract current forms of exclusive identity politics, the article proposes that effective minority protection depends on a conducive social environment that allows for the reflection of opposing narratives stemming from ethnic conflict and acknowledges diversity as enrichment.

Keywords: memory politics, ethnic conflict, dialogue, Austria, Carinthia, plebiscite.

Spominske vojne in pravice manjšin: Od etničnega konflikta do Mirovne regije Alpe-Jadran?

20. stoletje, ki ga je zgodovinar Eric Hobsbawm poimenoval “čas skrajnosti”, je zaznamovalo sporno določanje mej in identitet v Srednji Evropi, tako v političnem kot v kulturnem, družbenem in intelektualnem smislu. Ob koncu prve svetovne vojne so se posamezne skupnosti nenadoma znašle v novih nacionalnih državah, politika asimilacije ter odnosi med manjšinami in njihovimi matičnimi državami pa so ustvarili napetosti, ki jih je moč zaznati še danes. Na študiji primera slovenske manjšine v Avstriji prispevek ponuja vpogled v dva mednarodna projekta, ki sta vključevala akterje civilne družbe na področju politike spomina ter mlade in njihov odnos do zgodovine in manjšin. Na podlagi izkušenj, pridobljenih z omenjenima projektoma, ki se z obravnavo bolečih preteklosti skušata zoperstaviti aktualnim oblikam izključujoče identitetne politike, avtor ugotavlja, da je učinkovita zaščita manjšin odvisna od tega, koliko družbeno okolje dopušča nasprotujoče si in iz etničnih sporov izhajajoče diskurze ter v raznolikosti prepoznavna prednost.

Ključne besede: politika spomina, etnični spor, dialog, Avstrija, avstrijska Koroška, plebiscit.

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1. Introduction: The Angel of History and its Legacy of the Future

After the end of World War I, many new nation-states emerged across Central and Eastern Europe. Numerous cultural and linguistic communities became minorities within these new states. The politics of minority assimilation and relations between minorities and their kin-states caused tensions within and between the new national states, and these tensions can still be felt today. This article thus deals with the interplay of memory politics, diversity management, and approaches to dialogue for dealing with a troubled past. These instruments complement measures of minority protection by promoting the notion that “a climate of tolerance and dialogue” is required for cultural diversity (which is often considered a dividing factor) in order to contribute to the enrichment of society, as it is proclaimed in the preamble of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe.

Drawing on this approach, the article explores the bilateral dimensions of the situation of the Slovene minority in Austria, as a case study. It builds on and brings together the findings of several previous studies (Pirker 2020; 2018; Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker & Hofmeister 2015; Pirker 2013; 2012 a; 2012 b). From an Austrian perspective (for a recent juxtaposition of Austrian and Slovene positions see e.g., Brousek et al. (2020); for a comprehensive analysis of the history of the Slovene ethnic group since World War II from a Slovene perspective, in German, see Klemenčič, M. & Klemenčič, V. (2010)), it provides insight into two international projects with different foci: one involves civil society actors in the field of memory politics, whereas the other focuses on young people and their attitudes towards history and minorities.

These initiatives deal with the troubled past in the field of minority rights. They are based on a complementary approach to minority protection through law and dialogue, since effective minority protection depends on a conducive social environment that, on the one hand, allows for a reflection of opposing narratives stemming from ethnic conflict and, on the other, acknowledges diversity as enrichment. This is particularly the case in the Alps-Adriatic Region, an area located at the center of Europe that experienced all of the major conflicts and upheavals of the 20th century. Hence, the article provides lessons in overcoming deep historical divisions for the European Union.

2. A Typical European Case? The Ethnic Conflict in Carinthia (Austria)

Europe is inherently diverse: 190 minorities live within the European Union (Pan 2009). The respect for its cultural, ethnic, or linguistic diversity poses an

obligation (cf. Article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union or Article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights) as well as a challenge for the EU, as an ever closer union, especially in times of economic or migration crisis, when old patterns of ethnic or national exclusion are reinforced and borders are closed again. Minority issues all over Europe indicate that old nationalism has not yet been overcome (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Brousek 2018), as, e.g., recently illustrated by the consequences of Brexit 100 years after the partition of Ireland. These issues emphasize the importance of dealing with mechanisms of othering and the dichotomy of them versus us that often use and misuse the past. These mechanisms should be tackled by initiating dialogue aimed at fostering mutual understanding through dealing with a troubled past.

The Alps-Adriatic Region lies at the heart of Europe, at the crossroads between Austria, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, and Hungary (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Brousek 2018; Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 17); for the development of the term Alps-Adria and the former Alps-Adriatic Working Community see Valentin (2011b). From a historic perspective, this region suffered during all major European conflicts in the 20th century, from the two World Wars to the Balkan Wars. It is characterized by its ethnic and linguistic diversity (Wintersteiner 2011; Bajc 2011; Brousek & Pirker 2016; Brousek 2018). This region includes a founding member of the European Community (Italy, a member since 1957), a member since the fourth Enlargement of the European Union in 1995 (Austria), two members that acceded during the first Eastern Enlargement in 2004 (Slovenia, Hungary), and the most recent member that joined in 2013 (Croatia). Within this little Europe, Austria serves as an ideal focus point for studying the questions of dialogue and dealing with a troubled past regarding minority rights. It has a tradition of minority protection dating back to the Habsburg Empire, which was a multicultural entity that developed its first instruments for the protection and equality of ethnic groups. At the same time, the laws and institutions in the Austrian Empire led to disputes over language rights during the rise of nationalism from the middle of the 19th century (Judson 2016). After the fall of the Habsburg monarchy, these disputes culminated in the most aggressive forms of nationalism under the Nazi Regime. Subsequently, in the second half of the 20th century, Austria developed a promotive form of minority protection: the Constitution of Austria recognizes the country's cultural diversity represented by its autochthonous minorities (Article 8 paragraph 2 of the Federal Constitutional Law) (Pirker 2020).

The Austrian province of Carinthia is often regarded as a special case in Austrian contemporary history (Valentin 2009). This description relates to the ethnic conflict, which affected the history of this federal state (*Land*) for more than 150 years, particularly during the "age of extremes" (Hobsbawm 1994). This conflict still forms the basis for public discussions about minority rights. In recent decades, these became particularly emotional. These ethnic disputes

revolved around symbols, such as bilingual municipal signs as markers of identity, or even around mentioning the Slovene ethnic minority in the Constitution of the Land Carinthia, as in a public debate in the spring of 2017. In the end, the ethnic group was mentioned and proclaimed to be protected pursuant to the Federal Constitution; however, an explicit reference to the German language as the official language (*Landessprache*) of the Land Carinthia was included (Adamovich 2018, 22–23; Pirker 2020). These disputes are highly charged with symbolism. Within the Carinthian – as well as within the federal – constitution, the ethnic group and its language can be acknowledged as an integral part of the Land, while bilingual municipal signs represent a visible expression of bilingual heritage or evidence that this Land is home to the ethnic group; or, alternatively, to some these signs can even present a threat to concepts of German national identity (Pirker 2012a; 2020; cf. Jordan 2012).

A simplified mapping of the linguistic situation in Carinthia, including language censuses (despite all doubts about the soundness of the questions asked or the political pressure in the context of a census), reveals a tremendous assimilation and recession of the use of the Slovene language as a language of intercourse in the 20th century: in 1911, 18.3 % of the population of Carinthia used Slovene as a language of intercourse, while only 2.3 % did so in 2001 (Inzko 1988, 37; Reiterer 2000; Pirker 2013, 113). On the other hand, the numbers of people learning the Slovene language in primary education has increased steadily in past decades, reaching up to 40 % in the territory covered by bilingual schooling, while, on the other hand, the number of children with language skills acquired in the family is decreasing dramatically (Busch 2010, 139–140; Domej 2000, 47–48; Reiterer 2000; Vavti 2009, 166; Pirker 2013; for an analysis of the motivation for and functions of learning Slovene see also Zorčič (2019)). The last factor points to a decline of the ethnic group. Increasing interest in the Slovene language indicates that today, it is no longer an ethnic marker, though prejudices and mechanisms of othering are still present within younger generations, even though they did not experience any of the violent phases of the conflict (Wintersteiner 1996; 2015; Vavti 2009; Pirker 2014; 2018, 34–38).

The ethnic conflict can only be fully understood by analyzing its history in connection with the emergence of nationalism in the middle of the 19th century and based on language as the main feature distinguishing Germans and Slovenes (Hobsbawm 2005, 108–109, 114; Anderson 1996, 72–82). Events of the late 19th and 20th centuries set the basis for antagonistic paradigms and opposing narratives and must, therefore, be considered at least briefly (for this outline with further references cf. Pirker 2018, 22–38), starting with the desire for Slovene as the official language and the language of education in 1848 and the disputes about the bilingual school system in the second half of the 19th century. After World War I, the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS State) claimed and occupied parts of the Southern Carinthian territory

where Slovene was spoken. This military action, which in Slovenia is commonly referred to as a struggle for the northern border, in the sense of establishing borders along ethnic lines, caused a military response from the Carinthian side, the so-called Carinthian defence war (*Abwehrkampf*). After international intervention, a plebiscite was held in 1920 to end this conflict. As a result of this plebiscite, Carinthia remained within Austria. This was only possible because about 10,000 Slovene-speaking people voted for remaining in Austria (see Valentin 1993; Fräss-Ehrfeld 2000).

The Carinthian government had even promised to further protect the Slovenes' ethnic identity within Austria. However, these promises were not kept after the plebiscite: policies of Germanization followed, culminating in the deportation of Carinthian Slovenes under the Nazi Regime. These incidents caused resistance and attacks by partisans, followed by renewed territorial claims for southern parts of Carinthia by the Yugoslavian government after World War II. After Yugoslavia reduced its claims, specific minority rights for the Slovene minority living in Carinthia and Styria as well as the Croat minority living in Burgenland were included in the Austrian State Treaty in 1955. The 1950s and 1980s were once again dominated by disputes about the bilingual school system in Carinthia, while intensive conflicts surrounding bilingual municipal signs characterized the 1970s: after the federal government decided to set up 205 bilingual town signs in local villages and towns, these were violently removed by the people belonging to the majority.

Bombings in the bilingual area further escalated the conflict, leading to tensions between Carinthia and Slovenia, though this issue was never fully internationalized opposite Austria by Yugoslavia. A new Federal Law on the Legal Status of Ethnic Groups of 1976 and a decree of 1977 temporarily ended this conflict with a regulation stating that in Carinthia, bilingual municipal signs should be erected in areas with a bilingual population of around 25 %. In 2001, the Constitutional Court of Austria declared this regulation unconstitutional, considering the aim of the Austrian State Treaty to protect the ethnic group (Decision VfSlg 16404/2001). This decision was exploited politically by various actors, among which the Carinthian and Austrian right-wing parties were dominant, until a constitutional law regulated the issue in 2011 (for an overview of Carinthian contemporary history and the ethnic conflict see, e.g., Valentin 2009; 2011a; Suppan 2004; Fräss-Ehrfeld 2000; Barker 1984; Inzko 1988; Haas & Stuhlpfarrer 1977; cf. for this illustration Pirker 2018, 22–33).

In the ten years since this settlement, the climate has improved (Vouk 2016). This comes down to many factors: from a change in politics, which no longer instrumentalizes the conflict as in earlier phases, to a change in the population's appreciation of the second language that was fostered by the disintegration of Yugoslavia and Slovenia's accession to the European Union. The new climate was visible at Carinthia's official and partly bilingual celebrations of the 100th

anniversary of the referendum on the 10th of October 2020, when – in presence of the president of Slovenia – the Austrian president apologized officially in German and Slovene to members of the Slovene minority for past injuries and failures in the implementation of minority rights: “As Federal President, I would like to apologize to you, dear citizens of Slovene mother tongue, for the injustice suffered and for the failures in the implementation of constitutionally guaranteed rights” (Address by Federal President 2020, 3).

Against the background of the history of the ethnic conflict in Carinthia, this act held enormous symbolic significance and importance. It presented an official acknowledgement of the suffering of members of the ethnic group in the last century, but this did not happen without criticism from the opponents of such an apology (e.g., a press release by representatives of the right-wing Freedom Party Austria on 10 October (FPÖ, 2020) or of the bilingual elements of the celebration in general. On a practical level, numerous issues regarding the implementation of minority rights remain to be addressed or improved (education, language protection and promotion, effective participation – see in detail Vouk 2016) and will constantly arise in the future as the protection of minorities and their languages has to be considered as a process that needs to be adapted to current requirements. This was also confirmed by the president in his speech, when he pointed out that “[m]inority policy must always be further developed” and “adapted to current living conditions and needs” (Address by Federal President 2020, 3). The same is true for the persistent improvement of the conducive atmosphere that is needed to effectively guarantee minority rights and their enactment. A sustainable process needs to permanently and further address the causes of the conflict and its dynamics; not only on the level of politics on specific occasions, but also within the wider public, to overcome official, collective, and individual narratives that stem from the conflict and contribute to its perpetuation or the transfer of its pattern to new problems in everyday life, such as migration.

3. Memory Culture and Memory Traps: German and Slovene Narratives

German and Slovene arguments in the context of the conflict in Carinthia refer to mutual historic grievances that are connected to specific fears: a typical Slovene position might place emphasis on promises broken by the Carinthian government after the plebiscite or the oppression by the Nazi regime, and it would claim minority rights guaranteed by the Austrian State Treaty. The Slovene side’s major fears revolve around the deprivation of rights, assimilation, or even extinction of the group. The arguments on the German side, on the other hand, relate to territorial claims after the two World Wars, emphasizing the status of the Ger-

man language as the state language and the portrayal of the minority as already privileged, while a loss or division of their homeland are among their major fears (Kramer 2004, 208–209; Pirker 2012b; 2014; 2018, 308–309). A central point of memory to address these fears in Carinthia is the annual commemoration of October 10th in remembrance of the Carinthian Plebiscite in 1920 (Valentin 1993; Valentin et al. 2002; Gstettner 2010). Over the course of the 20th century, the plebiscite was related to many narrative connotations – such as a pretend German victory, the right of self-determination, or even the common effort of minority and majority – in combination with an overall image of Carinthia as an area that is distinct, strong, and capable of defending itself (cf. Rumpler 1998; Fräss-Ehrfeld 1998; Pirker 2020).

Memory and the narratives of the past are connected to identity. Individuals integrate themselves into the official narratives of their community that strengthen their group identities and predict future actions (Assmann A. 1999; Assmann J. 1997; 1998; Halbwachs 1966). Groups tend to prefer common memories and exclude others (Halbwachs 1967), while there can be opposing narratives and even dialectics of official and unofficial memories (Pirker 2012b; cf. Pirker 2020). Jan Assmann (1988) and Aleida Assmann (2006, 134–137) further distinguish a “communicative” and “cultural” memory beneath a “functional” memory – corresponding to the official memory of a group serving the main purpose of legitimization – and a “storage” memory. The communicative memory has a scope of about 80 to 100 years. Its contents are related to people who have themselves experienced the incidents that are remembered collectively, and this memory can still be re-negotiated. Astrid Erll (2017) highlights the complexity of these differentiations by adding that some events may not be as old as 100 years but are nevertheless used to create cultural perceptions and therefore must be considered part of cultural memory, while others may be quite old but are made to be part of actual public debate and therefore belong to the communicative memory. Consequently, Erll introduces the distinction between “nearness” and “farness” of events in question (Erll 2017, 113). These concepts provide helpful analytical tools to explain why, and under which circumstances, past events, such as the Plebiscite in 1920, which have reached the floating point of transition from communicative to a rather stabilized cultural space of memory, can again become part of a public debate renegotiating its commemorative functions for collective identity, as is to be seen from the 2020 anniversary. It was the narrative of the minority, which is not dominant in the Carinthian context, that was addressed by the Austrian president’s apology, while various speakers pointed to a future respecting common cultural heritage.

Besides these concepts, unconscious and encompassing forms of memory and the passing of memories between generations have been considered by Harald Welzer (2001), who conceived the notion of “social” memory. Remembrance of the past is always a present process, related to identity formation and

a future purpose (Assmann 1997; Schmidt 2006; cf. Pirker 2018). In situations of ethnic conflict, groups tend to narrow down their identity concepts and people may then primarily be perceived as members of an ethnic group, speaking a specific language, or observing a specific religion (Volkan 1999a; cf. Heintel 1982). Commonalities are blanked out or overseen; e.g., that someone may have similar concerns in their everyday life or even be burdened by past traumatic events or grief (Sen 2007), that some are “indifferent” (Judson 2016) or in-between the majority and minority, since they question the fixed concepts of belonging and supposedly pose a threat to the group (Pirker 2018). Memory is thereby constantly negotiated, which leads to multiple, often contradicting narratives (Wintersteiner 2015). Despite criticism of the vagueness some of these concepts exhibit, they are helpful in understanding and analyzing memory conflicts in minority-majority situations.

Within Carinthia, language has become the main contested element in the conflict. Historic arguments and narratives are often utilized in disputes about minority rights and thus also the identities of the groups and the (common) land. One step towards understanding these mechanisms can be to bring them to the surface by revealing and acknowledging the diversity and variety of family histories, narratives, and identities without forcing the individuals to give up their very own story, but rather by accepting that this story may only be one possible and subjective perception among many others (Pirker 2014; Graf 2015). Concepts of identity and narratives are fluid, can be detected, analyzed, questioned, seen in relation to each other and in their mutual conditionality and relativity. Starting a dialogue can be one way to initiate this process (Kelman 1997) of contesting narratives in conflict.

4. The Challenge of Dialogue: Mutual Understanding through Dealing with a Troubled Past

Conflict interventions have to integrate various dimensions of a conflict in order to bring its underlying dynamics to the surface instead of fostering conflict mechanisms. As outlined by Friedrich Glasl (2011; 1980), conflicts develop from an initial fixing of positions to a common descent by total confrontation in the worst-case scenario. In the context of a minority-majority conflict, it is necessary to consider the dynamics of ethnopolitics (cf. Mujkić & Hulsey 2010), social dynamics and expectations, as well as institutional or systemic factors (Meyer 2011, 61–69). In a long-term perspective, Vamik Volkan (1999 b), in his “Tree-Model”, proposes to first explore the roots of the conflict, including the perceptions, fears and needs of conflict parties, before initiating a dialogue among the conflicting parties about their positions, and finally to invite them to develop initiatives and projects to intervene and change the conflict landscape. Within

this landscape, sustainable interventions should target, as Lederach (1999) and Lederach and Appleby (2010) argue, the levels of (1) political leaders, (2) people in a mid-level position, who can influence political leaders, but who are not official representatives, and (3) the “grassroots” level of civil society (Lederach 1999; Lederach & Appleby 2010, 35–38; see also Hamber 2015, 10–14; cf. Pirker 2018). An intervention must therefore consider the level on which it is carried out and the fault lines between and within the groups, actors and generations.

In a minority-majority context, there can be dialogue groups between the minority and majority as well as within the groups (Graf 2015). These groups are not monolithic, but often consist of various interest groups. This can be seen in the Slovene minority in Carinthia that has developed various cultural organizations, one political party, and three political organizations: the two major Narodni svet koroških Slovencev (NSKS) and Zveza slovenskih organizacij na Koroškem (ZSO), and the younger Skupnost koroških Slovencev in Slovenk (SKS) (for more see Wutti 2017). The focus of dialogue interventions is set on an internal transformation of collective group identities in a way that allows groups to accept the other groups and their needs (Kelman 2010c; 1997; cf. Rothman 1997; 2012). Therefore, the basic needs of the conflict actors are to be identified in joint examinations to allow trust and empathy for the other’s perception (Graf 2015; Kelman 2010c).

The ethnic conflict in Carinthia shaped collective and individual perceptions, memories and narratives, or caused traumata that are passed on within generations. Ethnopolitical and civil society actors representing interest groups within the majority and minority have different agendas, thus passing on various, even opposing, narratives and presenting themselves as representatives of the groups. Deeper dimensions of the conflict are created through symbolic, epistemic or structural violence as a result of power relations, asymmetries between the majority and minority, alliances of group actors with political decision makers, individual and collective identifications, traumata, as well as narratives and counter-narratives and their political use and misuse. The institutionalized power relations in public institutions can foster power relations and identifications (Pirker 2018). These structural factors constitute the complex and multilayered framework of dialogue initiatives. The following sections analyze two different interventions that have been carried out in the context of the Carinthian ethnic conflict: an initiative for creating a Peace Region Alps-Adria (Brousek 2018), which addresses civil society actors and people engaged in ethnopolitics, and a youth initiative that targets adolescents on the grassroots level, both within Carinthia and between Carinthia and Slovenia.

5. Dealing with Memory Politics: Peace Region Alps-Adria

In 2013, a dialogue was initiated concerning the troubled past between Austria and Slovenia (Graf & Brousek 2014; Brousek 2018; Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018, 338–343; Graf & Brousek 2020). In 2016, participants from Italy were also included in this conversation. The idea was to establish processes of dialogue at an international level between actors from different states on an intra-national level within and between conflict parties by including extreme positions and hardliners, and to influence the public through the dissemination of the results of this initiative (Graf & Brousek 2014; Brousek 2018; Pirker 2018). The initiative invited civil society actors that influence memory politics and the preservation of specific narratives in Austria and Slovenia (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018; Graf & Brousek 2020). The participants were not engaged in official politics (track one), though they were active in ethnopoltics and some of them were in positions to inform or advise politicians regarding minority rights or memory politics (track two). Participants were recruited from various age groups, with various ideological positions and professions, yet the percentage of males and academics remained high (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 28; Graf & Brousek 2020).

The main task of the process was to explore the historical roots of the conflicts, their sociopsychological and political dynamics, as well as the perceptions and needs of the conflict parties involved. Despite these tasks, the overall ambition was directed towards the future development of inter-ethnic relations within the region by addressing the main questions of how to: deal with the complex conflict parameters within one's own and the neighboring country; avoid these conflict lines being instrumentalized by politics; and to create a peace region focusing on future perspectives (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 28; cf. Wintersteiner 2012). Initiating a dialogue about new forms of dealing with opposing narratives and developing common perspectives, policy advice, and common public events with the timely focus on the 100th Jubilee of the Carinthian Plebiscite were identified as working tasks for the dialogue group (Graf & Brousek 2020, 61).

This initiative, which was decisively shaped by the Herbert C. Kelman Institute, was based on a broad range of methodological approaches of interactive conflict resolution, building on the format of "Problem Solving Workshops" (Kelman 1972; 2010a; 2010b) and the methodology of Track II diplomacy (Fischer 2002; Ahlbrecht et al. 2009; Graf et al. 2006; Graf 2015; Brousek & Pirker 2016; Brousek 2018; Pirker 2018; Wintersteiner et al. 2020b; Graf & Brousek 2020). One of the underlying theoretical pillars beneath interactive conflict resolution (Brousek 2018, 97) was the concept of an open and inclusive public dialogue that must be open for all parties interested in a plural context, and that must not be limited to specific topics; rather, it needs to be facilitated with regard

to the interest of the actors involved and structured with a clear distribution of roles among actors (Žagar 2020, 120–121; cf. Žagar 2008). The overall structure of the project led to the establishment of an international (plenary) dialogue group and various sub-groups. It included the positions of civil society coordinators from Carinthia and Slovenia, researchers, facilitators, a central coordinator, and participants (see in detail Graf & Brousek 2020, 60–61), mainly suggested and invited by the civil society coordinators and facilitators.

After the first phase of establishing confidential conversations (cf. Hoffmann 2011), the approach of interactive conflict transformation applied by the Herbert C. Kelman Institute aimed at setting up a process from (1) the analysis of the current conflict through (2) a deeper analysis of the structural, socio-political and cultural dimension of the conflict context to (3) a context-sensitive conflict transformation (Schönbauer-Brousek et al. 2016; Graf 2015; 2010; Pirker 2018; Graf & Brousek 2020). Some of the topics and challenges addressed by the international group were related to the overall heritage of violent conflicts in the countries involved, taboos in dealing with the specific past of each country or group, relations between the states and groups, and the instrumentalization of these factors by politics (Graf & Brousek 2020, 64). Sub-groups focused on specific issues and made up the core of the working phase of the project in the sense of Volkan's "trunk" of the tree (Graf & Brousek 2020, 67). The groups worked on youth initiatives, minority rights, World War II, integration issues, or memory culture (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018; Graf & Brousek 2020). Their outcomes were discussed in the international plenary sessions. One first joint effort to communicate results and contribute to a public discourse was the publication of a declaration of the international dialogue group.

For this first declaration, dealing with the 100th anniversary of the beginning of World War I in 1914, the international dialogue group agreed on the preamble cited below. The aim of this preamble was to frame the underlying idea of dialogue about a troubled past, which acknowledges contradictions and subjectivity in memory and suffering but tries to frame contradictions in the broader sense of a common history of violence without relativizing crime and suffering. The preamble states: "In memory of all victims who died because politics did not resolve conflicts peacefully. Dialogue as a way of recognizing diversity, historical reconciliation and common future-oriented action" (Feldner et al. 2018, 31 [translated to English from German]). Additionally, the working group outlined the vision of the project:

One hundred years after the outbreak of World War I, we are witnessing a global crisis and deep upheavals, which seriously question the great project of European integration. This development relates not only to the emergence of new political and social conflicts – from the economic crisis and the conflicts over migration to the impotence of European diplomacy in the face of new armed conflicts (from the Ukraine to the Middle East) – but also to the return of stubborn "old European"

attitudes such as nationalism, chauvinism, fundamentalism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance and the lack of recognition of the other. [...] The 20th century was a century of two horrendous World Wars, [...] and it is by no means sufficient to concede that political peace prevails and there are good economic relations between the states and ethnically defined nations of Europe. We must overcome what has separated us for so long and sometimes made us enemies. Otherwise, there will be a risk that old enemies will re-emerge as in Ukraine and the Middle East this year or the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. [...] The Alps-Adriatic region is still very much influenced by the consequences of these all-European historical conflicts. Therefore, history should be critically and self-critically reflected in the entire Alps-Adriatic region, beginning in Slovenia and in Austria, and especially in the borderland of Carinthia, with the desire to achieve a deeper recognition of the potentials of cultural differences in the region to achieve a more “objective” historical memory and to take the first steps towards reconciliation between minorities and majorities. [...] In the 20th century, the Alps-Adriatic region became a battleground of different totalitarian ideologies, which have not yet disappeared from the collective memory of the peoples in this region. [...] A prerequisite for the formation of a peace region Alps-Adria must – as one of the experiences of history – be the willingness to discuss on all sides, aiming for reconciliation. A cross-border dialogue cannot revive the historically neglected cultures of this region. However, it can try to use the memory of these neglected forms of living together to find new forms of regional, European, and global coexistence. Such a cross-border dialogue is the next step in establishing a transnational, multicultural, multilingual and economically prosperous peace region Alps-Adria – with the guiding principles of diversity, intercultural education, regional development and constructive conflict management (Feldner et al., 2018, 31–34 [translated to English from German]).

A similar declaration was prepared by the working group in 2015, 70 years after the end of World War II, highlighting the strategy of overcoming historic collective trauma through cross-border dialogue. This second declaration hints at the divergences in memory cultures in Austria and Slovenia that are related to different interpretations of World War II and at the ideologies of communism and fascism between and within the states which became visible in public commemorative events as every side sought to hide the dark sides of their own history (Feldner et al. 2018, 57–58; cf. Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 16). Yet, the declaration lists various political and civil societal achievements in international relations, even if an official systematic approach of reconciliation has not been developed on a political level (Feldner et al. 2018, 58–59; cf. Graf & Brousek 2020). Building on this premise, the declaration of the working group calls for the recognition of the other’s interpretation of the past as well as “the victims of the other side in their victim status” (Feldner et al. 2018, 59–60 [translated from German to English]), including shared grief and eventually conducting joint commemoration events (Feldner et al. 2018, 60). This acknowledgement is outlined as a first step in the process of initiating a dialogue that strives for empathy for the various experiences of violence suffered by different groups living in the Alps-Adriatic Region, while analyzing the power relations in the past and present that become visible

in manifold personal stories and facilitating a dialogue that respects the deeper human needs behind the visible strategies of the conflict parties involved (Feldner et al. 2018, 61).

Joint commemorative events among participants of the working group were carried out on the initiative of the consensus group (*Konsensgruppe*), a platform of the German civil society organizations Kärntner Heimatdienst (KHD) and Plattform Kärnten and two of the three political organizations of the Slovene minority, the ZSO and SKS. This platform was initially created while jointly working on a draft solution for the place name sign issue in 2005 on behalf of the federal chancellor. In the first commemorative events, representatives of the German organizations and the Slovene minority (mainly the ZSO) remembered victims of the Nazi Regime as well as partisans on respective sites in Carinthia and Slovenia. This was continued after 2013 within the framework of the outlined cross-border dialogue initiative with participation of the civil society coordinators from both countries and in the spirit of the preamble of the first declaration (cf. Feldner et al. 2018, 60; Graf & Brousek 2020).

The 100th anniversary of the Carinthian Plebiscite in 2020 served as the occasion for the publication of a book including the statements of participants of the project and articles written by scholars (Brousek et al. 2020). The book contains chapters on Austria, Slovenia and Italy. It presents a reflection of a dialogue in which opposing narratives, such as interpretations of World War I, territorial claims or atrocities in and after World War II, were addressed and confronted in a structured way that assumes a shared and interrelated space of memory between the countries (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 13, 21). Considering the overall ambition of the project, some of the articles were even published in form of a controversy between opposing positions (Lausegger & Wintersteiner 2020). Parallel to this joint initiative, various participants of the dialogue group initiated further projects with the collaboration of other members of the international dialogue group or outside the group that were dedicated to dealing with the past or forms of political education, e.g., the publication of an Alps-Adriatic Manifest (Wintersteiner et al. 2020a; cf. Graf 2020; Graf & Brousek 2020; Wintersteiner et al. 2020b).

As the editors of the joint 2020 publication outline, the prior task and outcome of the dialogue initiative was to identify models for addressing various (subjective) historic truths by people with often opposing perspectives, which requires the establishment of a consensus on dissensus (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 29). This allows, as one of the facilitators argues, for a plural dialogue that, contrary to reconciliation, addresses the past as well as current issues while focusing on alternative solutions (Žagar 2020, 123–124; cf. Žagar 2009). The international working group's meetings, including intensive debates on opposing understandings of past events and the establishment of sub-groups, the two declarations dealing with the acknowledgement of these divergences and their use

as a resource for understanding the other group's perspective and needs as basis for a dialogical process, projects related to the dialogue, as well as the complementary initiatives and the 2020 publication can all be regarded as achievements of this process.

Limitations and challenges also emerged in the process. Some of the topics addressed could not to be dealt with in the given time. This caused opposition between participants seeking for more in-depth discussions, while others aimed at producing outcomes in the form of public declarations or events (Graf & Brousek 2020, 70). A compromise was found in working on the common declarations parallel to continuing the debates related to controversial issues. Some of the participants refrained from the dialogue because of these kinds of proceedings (Graf & Brousek 2020, 71). Internal tensions between the in-depth dialogue and producing public outcomes thus continued to influence the working process. Additionally, the roles of the facilitators and scientists were sometimes blurred (Graf & Brousek 2020, 74), as some engaged in debates with the participants about narratives from their own perspectives.

Among the actors involved, a further tension became visible between reconciliation and orientation towards the future (Nicolescou & Graf 2014; cf. Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018). The dialogue process thus aimed at enabling empathy for experiences of violence that have been experienced by various groups in the 20th century and which still influence them as "victim and perpetrators, but also as victim-perpetrators and perpetrator-victims" (Graf 2020, 105 [translated to English from German]). Working on historic traumata and violations of human rights by totalitarian regimes addresses, as one of the facilitators explains, the experiences of war and violence, the transmission of trauma and possibilities of a politics of reconciliation in the form of dialogue as a learning process (Graf 2020, 106) from a systemic macro as well as an individual perspective, including the necessary reflection of the historic context and power asymmetry without legitimizing or the equation of unequal parameters or the reversal of perpetrator-victim relations but to allow for an context-related understanding of the ambivalent perspectives (Graf 2020, 110).

In line with this approach, Marjan Sturm, one of the civil society coordinators of the international dialogue initiative and former head of the ZSO, provides an example for contesting narratives by arguing that in Carinthia, the narrative of Austria being the first victim of Nazi aggression and the Land being confronted with renewed territorial claims after World War II was accompanied by the denial of early engagements in national socialist activities and the assigned deportation of Carinthian Slovenes to the Nazi regime. On the other side, the resistance against this regime was, in Sturm's assessment, used to emphasize the antifascist alliance, while the atrocities of the Nazi perpetrators provided legitimation for the movement in favor of the annexation to Yugoslavia and the killing of Carinthians after the end of the war (Sturm 2020, 364; cf. Wintersteiner et al.

2020b, 24). Within the discussions of the working group, a Slovene perspective could emphasize, for example, the necessity to acknowledge the contribution of German-Carinthian actors to the assimilation of the minority. From a German-Carinthian point of view, by contrast, the demand for the acknowledgement of partisan crimes, the detection of involvement in bomb attacks in the 1970s, or even the activities of Yugoslav intelligence on Carinthian territory, which have become a focus of recent historiographic and public interest (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 20; Pirker 2018), may be demanded. Notably, these are just examples, which are asymmetrical and not causally linked.

As these narratives influenced the separation of the population along ethnic lines, Sturm and others argue that a new form of dialogic remembrance should acknowledge one's own suffering while providing space for the other's suffering in one's own memory, and that it should comprise common historic knowledge regarding complex and changing constellations of perpetrators and victims within a shared history of violence (Sturm 2020, 365; cf. Bauriedl 1998; Brousek 2006; Graf et al. 2014). This requires, in the retrospective evaluation of the editors of the 2020 publication of the project, accepting contradictions in one's position and perspective, establishing at least a basic consensus on why under specific circumstances and times one group acted as perpetrator or became a victim, and accepting that there are manifold subjective interpretations of the past beneath established historic truth that motivate one's behavior and perception in understanding other's positions without agreement or legitimization (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 25–26). This kind of reframing can be explained with concepts by Erll (2017, 132), who argues that opposing narratives may be interrelated and interdependent, for example in specific and mono-causal victim-perpetrator interpretations of a violent past. She suggests framing such constellations – without tapping into relativism – with regard to a common history of violence and allowing memories and different interpretations of the past to become more agonistic than antagonistic by paying respect to the specific context of a conflict and at the same time trying to promote orientation towards a more transnational future.

The overall question of how to confront a troubled past properly is related to this issue. In Carinthia, over the last century there have been numerous initiatives fostering mutual understanding, yet some initiatives result in a dialogue between conflicting parties that forges trust and alliances with the partners involved and then creates a new differentiation between dialogue advocates and dialogue opponents (cf. Pirker 2018). This new separation often builds on conflict lines within the groups and seemingly aspires to generate legitimacy for one specific way of dealing with the past. There is imminent danger of the dialogue being exploited for ethno-political reasons. Thus, a “dialogue about dialogue” is needed in order to invite conflicting parties to discuss their perceptions, strategies, and possible complementary approaches to dealing with the past (Brousek &

Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018). In this sense, a particular challenge was caused by the fact that the initiative is in part a continuation of the mentioned consensus – and a dialogue processes between two organizations (KHD and ZSO), led by Josef Feldner and Marjan Sturm (Graf & Brousek 2020). These earlier processes have been the subject of public support as well as intensive criticism from both within and outside the groups involved (Pirker 2018, 246–279), e.g., by the conservative NSKS. These earlier developments even caused the invited participants to refrain or withdraw from the international dialogue. It has thus been and continues to be evaluated differently by supporters and opponents of the earlier initiatives on both sides of the border, and it is therefore either framed as a continuation or as a different initiative.

Finally, this points to the challenge of deciding which participants are to be selected. It depends on the analysis of the field of conflict as well as the willingness of the actors to engage. Thus, they should identify who is to represent, or even influence, which groups; they should also consider how to integrate hard-liner positions, which may otherwise hamper the process. This must be done without legitimizing extreme positions, but by reckoning and analyzing them as part of the conflict field and its dynamics. In connection with this, there is a risk that extreme positions from the countries involved might strengthen the other extreme positions (Wintersteiner et al. 2020b, 22), or cross-border alliances between parties may foster internal conflicts within different interest groups within the majority of the minority (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018).

The conflict itself, as a system, entails the risk of spilling to different levels or establishing new alliances if resources for conflict transformation are insufficient. What is needed to tackle this is a transformation of (1) individual and family histories, (2) collective memory and politics, and (3) cultural and social structures and power relations. In dealing with the past, it is often necessary to deepen and broaden the process: to deepen it by allowing adequate time and space for intensive reflection on emotions, individual stories, and perceptions; at the same time, the process may need to be broadened by raising its complexity (cf. Graf et al. 2010), that is, by including more issues and additional countries and improving impact on the public sphere. This process should target society as a whole, as well as new conflict lines, such as those between old minorities and new ones, in order to acknowledge lessons for dealing with diversity (Brousek & Pirker 2016; Pirker 2018). The dialogue initiatives highlighted the necessity of conflict transformation in the field of memory politics and functioned as a learning process for civil society (Graf & Brousek 2020). Continued and extended on-site dialogues in villages and towns, facilitated by civil society organizations or municipalities, could provide possibilities to talk about individual stories and make narratives visible on all levels – from politics to civil society. The international dialogue process targeted actors from civil society in expectation of a kind of spillover effect to official politics. This is important in influencing the social

parameters, the social and political climate, of a conflict situation, but it was not carried out systematically on all possible levels, which makes it difficult to assess its outcomes.

The 100th anniversary of the Carinthian Plebiscite in 2020 and the 10th anniversary of the regulation of the municipal sign issue in 2021 provide(d) opportunities for increased public attention for initiatives reflecting the past on a broader and interactive scale, as was also one of the intentions of the official exhibit of the Land of Carinthia Carinthia 2020. It moved around the country and focused on the following topics: infrastructure/economic development/space, networking/neighbors/dialogue, and identity/memory culture in the past, present and future (Fritz 2020). The current period could be used for further refining and evaluating dialogue initiatives regarding these intentions. The 10th anniversary of the regulation of the municipal sign issue would be apt for taking stock and identifying possibilities for further improvements to minority protection regimes in correspondence to the needs of the groups concerned, considering often-overlooked gender and intergenerational perspectives.

6. Involving the Next Generation: Separate Ways – Common Future

Involving young people in working on past conflicts sets up a specific challenge for peace initiatives and dialogue processes. Between 2013 and 2015, a project named Carinthia and Slovenia: Separate Ways – Common Future aimed at raising awareness for the troubled past, principles of minority protection, and transnational understanding in Europe among young people. By including nearly all grammar schools (secondary education) in Carinthia and Slovenia, more than 5,000 pupils aged 16 to 18 took part in a survey on their attitudes towards minorities, languages, neighboring countries, and the European Union, as well as the history and relations between Carinthia and Slovenia. In the second part of the project, 80 pupils explored their family history and attitudes among family members and friends towards the mentioned topics. In the end, they were invited to discuss these topics in a three-day workshop dealing with the past, present and future of the region (Pirker 2014; 2015; Pirker & Hofmeister 2015; Danglmaier et al. 2017).

In their research on family histories and opinions among families and friends that allowed an emotionalization of the topic (cf. Danglmaier et al. 2017, 236–237), some of the pupils found out that, in fact, they have manifold relations to the ethnic question in their family history of which they had not been previously aware. For others, it was their first chance to talk to members from the ethnic group or pupils from Slovenia. The joint discussion of various family histories and perceptions of the other group or country in the meeting opened the floor

for questioning one-dimensional narratives and learning about another's perspective. The project allowed direct contact and instructed the pupils to work on common tasks as they had to prepare for a joint discussion with experts from the areas of diplomacy, politics, and education at the end of the process (cf. Pirker 2015). Members of the Slovene minority, with their language and intercultural competence, functioned thereby as a bridge between Austrian and Slovene participants. Building on the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954; Güttler 2003) and concepts of dialogue, the project worked on the reflection of common history, narratives, and the transformation of perceptions towards an inclusive and multilingual region. Accordingly, participants within the project stated, e.g., that "commonalities evolved primarily from family histories", while others became aware of the influence of history and narratives on their own perceptions (Pirker 2014).

Regarding minority protection, the outcomes of the quantitative survey indicate that two thirds of pupils evaluate measures that (a) promote language education or (b) support cultural organizations of minorities in a positive way (Carinthia/Slovenia: (a) 65 %/72.7 %; (b) 61.5 %/60.2 %). This is specifically the case for measures that may also offer advantages for the majority, such as learning the other language for economic reasons (Pirker 2014; Pirker & Hofmeister 2015). The project in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions indicated that language awareness, combined with an exploration of family histories and narratives beneath the history of the region, information about the purpose of minority protection, and personal contact to get involved with the another's perspective, enables reflection on narratives and promotes a positive perception of minorities and bi- or multilingualism (Pirker 2014). To ensure sustainability, such initiatives of dealing with the past must become part of school curricula and could be used for a joint analysis of the processes of memory and identity formation, starting with the individual historic consciousness of the pupils involved, based on family histories and value systems, as well as the perspectives and perceptions of others, for which narratives in cross-border areas offer a specific potential (Danglmaier 2020). Dealing with emotionally challenging issues such as World War II demands sufficient time but also a response to specific interests articulated by pupils, while allowing for some autonomy in the definition of the issues addressed (Albing 2017, 222).

The initiative provided some additional lessons for complementary processes of dialogue. Young people may serve as a bridge between different organizations and generations, ideologies, or intra-familiar patterns. For example, one girl participating in the project began interviewing her parents based on the questionnaire of the project. She found out that her father was in fact a member of the Slovene minority but had decided not to pass on the language to his children. In cases of intermarriage, the loss of the minority language and assimilation of one partner was often a common consequence of the intense conflict context (Vavti 2009). When her father started talking about his Slovene origin, her mother

interrupted and did not wish to discuss this issue. The girl continued to work on these issues in school and her parents both read the book *Angel of Oblivion* (*Engel des Vergessens*), an autobiographical novel by Maja Haderlap about the situation of the minority, its resistance against the Nazi regime, and its later treatment by official Austrian memory. In the end, the girl expressed her feeling of loss and her wish to learn the Slovene language. In the families of other participants, grandparents who had experienced World War II began discussing their experiences with their grandchildren. Some of them had kept silent until then, though traumatic events may be passed on over generations even if they are not discussed. It is, thus, sometimes easier for people to talk with their grandchildren than with their children (Wutti 2015; cf. Wutti 2018, 20–25). Additionally, within workshops at the University, as neutral ground for conflicting parties to talk with students, young people within opposing groups showed readiness to talk with older people from the other side and to question fixed narratives. They were willing to detect commonalities through talking in a safe atmosphere.

Secondly, there is a possibility of re-considering identities in contact by reflecting on one's own and another's perspective. Within the workshop, one girl identified being Carinthian Slovene as one of her most important identifications. She further reflected that in the context of the conflict she feels that she always must fight for her rights as her group always had to seek the protection of language and the minority (Pirker 2014). As a result, she further argued in the talks with other pupils, she cannot speak of herself as simply Carinthian in a broader regional sense, because she considers herself excluded rather than included by this term. In the end, the girl stated within a public discussion that she had learnt that there is no contradiction between being Carinthian, which was for her related to being German, and being Slovene. She had been able to integrate these identity layers and to learn that she could be both, without fear of losing either her Slovene or Carinthian identity. Such and many other personal anecdotes helped participants to relate to or at least to understand the other's perspective and the diversity of identity concepts.

In fact, there are plenty of identifications in between minority and majority which tend to be blended out in case of conflict (Brunner 1988). However, studies indicate that in the minority and majority context, young people especially tend to identify in a more global or cosmopolitan way, and some of them even reject the notion of choosing between the groups, but prefer to express multiple identifications (Vavti 2009; 2012; 2013; cf. Zorčič 2019). Highlighting this pluralism can be helpful in relativizing fixed borders. The concepts on both sides are not static but fluid, which can become visible through personal contact and exchange between minorities and majorities within and across state borders. Peace initiatives can, thus, involve also young people and reflect on their heritage of the past as well as use them as a resource in the context of reflecting memory and working towards a common future.

7. Memory Wars and Memory Cures

24

The above considerations highlight a few principles regarding sustainable dialogue about a troubled past: (1) First, in the case of cold (non-violent, past) conflict, one should raise awareness about the relevance of past incidents and their interpretation for peaceful living together and for managing diversity. Narratives should be identified in this respect. (2) Within discussions, the other perspective needs to be acknowledged based on respect for different views and interpretations. One way of providing the necessary sensitive framework for such proceedings is outlined in the approaches of interactive conflict transformation, the initiatives targeting young people and their engagement in research of the common past and the influence of history/ies on one's own perspective and perception, as well as the approach of open and inclusive public dialogue. (3) A multi-level approach is thereby required for addressing actors on different levels with common actions, including different generations and taking account of pluralism within the groups concerned, on an international, national, and intra-group level. (4) It includes giving voice to manifold positions that are usually not heard in the context of conflict: young people, women, people that position themselves in between or within both of the groups, outsiders, or people who have lost or neglected their cultural heritage in the form of not passing on the minority language. An in-depth analysis of the history of the respective conflict and the interethnic relations, as emphasized by theoretical approaches of conflict resolution, is a precondition for the identification of such positions that contest major narratives in and between the groups involved. (5) Cross-border lines of conflict should be considered in this regard, as well as the institutionalization of memory, the strategies of political players, and the functions of legal instruments. (6) Overall, this calls for a multilayered approach to diversity recovery within the Alps-Adriatic Region that, in the end, might contribute to the development of context-sensitive interventions and legal instruments of minority protection that correspond to the needs of the groups involved and contribute to the improvement of interethnic relations.

Without a doubt, research on minority issues and dialogue is a unique undertaking in that it should consider the specific preliminaries and context of the majority-minority situation (historic development, political discussion, and actors) to produce appropriate explanations and impulses for conflict transformation. Law provides a specific way of conflict resolution that seeks to balance legitimate interests by assuaging emotions and conflict history/ies, whereas approaches in conflict management or resolution tend to ignore the regulative functions of law in conflicts. A complementary approach seeks to learn from history and open perspectives to foster mutual understanding, in addition to instruments of minority protection.

A complementary approach to conflict resolution regarding the long-lasting, highly symbolic and political municipal sign issue could have been based on the needs of the groups involved, e.g., by recognizing the minority's longing for recognition or (symbolic) security, and the majority's need for the homeland and their identity to remain uncontested; these are interwoven with various complex narratives and the wish for an acknowledgement of subjective individual and collective suffering in the past. Related to these needs were the opposing strategies of ending the conflict once and for all or leaving at least the door open for further increasing the number of municipal signs to be erected in the future. Ending the conflict legally by regulating it on a constitutional level to hamper further revision could thus have been complemented by public support for in-depth dialogues about the troubled past within the region and municipalities concerned, while allowing a regulation that is open for further adjustment at a later date if requested by a substantive part of the population of the respective town. This simplified example hints at the necessity of designing legal solutions that at first contribute to a regulation of the conflict, as the municipal sign issue has done.

Looking back over the past ten years since this regulation, it has been stated from many sides, even its critics (e.g., Vouk 2016), that it has helped to calm the debate, to hinder political instrumentalization of the topic, and it has contributed to an improvement of the situation of the Slovene language in public discourse and the overall climate of inter-ethnic relations. As can be seen from the history of the conflict, this climate is important for the effective protection and implementation of minority rights. Taking the contested issue off the table through compromise can, thus, be a first step towards calming the conflict. Yet, complementary formats of dialogue could further contribute to an improvement of interethnic relations. Legal regulations should be open to further adjustments considering this improvement, which might result in acknowledging the minority, its language, and culture, as well as shared diversity as an added value.

Finally, broadening the perspective on a specific issue means not only digging in history/ies through the common examination of narratives, power structures, and individual/collective needs, but also including current challenges of diversity raised, for example, on the level of European (dis-)integration or by migration into the dialogue about the narratives relating to the troubled past and present of national identities. Mechanisms of othering tend to be the same, increasingly shifting from excluding old minorities to others from outside the state. Migrants are perceived as the others in terms of culture. Laws even institutionalize their otherness, based on assumptions of their requirements and needs for integration. To positively use diversity as a resource and ensure that old patterns of conflict may not be reaffirmed by processes of migration, we need to rethink classical concepts of minority protection while facing challenges raised by globalization and migration. The complementary approach of dialogue

thus seeks to learn from history and open broader perspectives related to current challenges in diversity. This ambition requires an interdisciplinary approach and cooperation between research and practice to work complementarily on the interrelations of memory politics, minority rights, and conflict transformation by using history as a starting point for a broadly-effective public reflection and transformation process that, in the selected case of Carinthia, emits signals for Carinthia, the Alps-Adriatic region, and Europe.

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Daniel Wutti, Eva Hartmann, Nadja Danglmaier

Minority Topics, Ethnic Questions and Their Potential for Memory Work in Schools

Divergent narratives and memories face each other in a certain hierarchy. The dramatic events of the last century are interpreted differently in a democratic and pluralistic society, and different societies hand down disparate hegemonial narratives and counter-narratives. Two recent research projects in the field of memory studies in education have been conducted in the Austrian bilingual region of Kärnten/Koroška. Both projects focused on suspected transformations of memory culture towards more inclusive narratives in educational work. The following article introduces the methodology of these projects, along with new perspectives extracted from the assembled data – with a certain focus on ethnic aspects and the question of minorities in memory culture. Perspectives on how these matters could address and foster contemporary school lessons conclude the article.

Keywords: memory culture, historical and political education, minorities, ethnicity, memory of the others.

Manjšinska in etnična vprašanja ter njihov potencial za spodbujanje kulture spomina pri delu v šolah

Različne spominske pripovedi in spomini se soočajo v določeni hierarhiji. Dramatični dogodki zadnjega stoletja se v demokratični in pluralistični družbi različno razlagajo, različne družbe pa podajajo različne hegemonistične pripovedi in proti-pripovedi. V avstrijski dvojezični regiji Kärnten/Koroška sta bila nedavno izvedena dva raziskovalna projekta na temo kulture spomina v okviru izobraževanja. Oba projekta sta se osredotočila na domnevno preoblikovanje obravnave kulture spomina v bolj vključujoč diskurz znotraj pedagoškega procesa. Pričujoči članek opisuje omenjena projekta in nove perspektive, zasnovane na podlagi zbranih podatkov s poudarkom na etničnih vidikih in vprašanju manjšin v kulturi spomina. V zaključku članek ponuja priporočila za obravnavo omenjenih vprašanj v okviru sodobnega šolskega kurikula.

Ključne besede: kultura spomina, zgodovinsko-politično izobraževanje, manjšine, etničnost, spomin drugih.

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1. Historic Memory Culture in Kärnten/Koroška/Carinthia. Moving Slowly towards Inclusive Narratives

On 7 May 2015, the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, a new memorial was installed at the *Burghof* in Klagenfurt/Celovec. It was created by the artist Melitta Moschik and installed by the NGO Memorial Kärnten/Koroška. The memorial addresses the victims of National Socialism, who were interrogated and tormented in the *Burg* (fortress) of Klagenfurt/Celovec, where the German GESTAPO had its regional headquarters. The circular background of the memorial is fully black, and in a brighter text one can read in German and Slovene the following words:

In diesem Gebäude war in den Jahren 1938–1945 der Sitz der Geheimen Staatspolizei. Hier wurden Menschen aufgrund ihrer Weltanschauung, ihrer ethnischen Zugehörigkeit oder ihres Widerstands gegen die NS-Gewaltherrschaft gefoltert. Das Unrecht, das sie erlitten haben, sei uns Mahnung und Auftrag im gemeinsamen Ringen um Freiheit, Demokratie und Menschenrechte.

V tej stavbi je bil v letih 1938–1945 sedež gestapa, kjer so mučili ljudi zaradi njihovega svetovnega nazora, narodne pripadnosti ali ker so se uprli nacističnemu nasilju. Krivica, ki so jo doživeli, naj nam bo opomin in poslanstvo pri skupnem prizadevanju za svobodo, demokracijo in človekove pravice.

From 1938 to 1945, this building was the seat of the Gestapo. Here, people were tortured for their worldviews, ethnicity, or for resisting to Nazi tyranny. The injustice they experienced should serve as a reminder and a mandate in our common struggle for freedom, democracy, and human rights [translated to English].

Until 2015, no visible sign or mark reminded visitors of the former National Socialist purpose of the *Burg*. The belated installation of the memorial, like the memorial itself, can be seen as a symbol of Austria's and Carinthia's struggle with the burdening past of National Socialism. Even today, memorials for fallen *Wehrmacht* soldiers are the most visible monuments related to WWII. Monuments and memorials for the victims of National Socialism can hardly be found – and have most likely been installed by NGO members on a voluntary basis, far from populated cities. While Germany took full accountability for its National Socialist past, Austria managed to deny its active involvement until the late 1980s, when the victim thesis began to be questioned on a broader societal level.¹ Until then, in official narratives, Austria was seen as the first victim of Nazi Germany, one that spinelessly had to participate in the felonies of National Socialism. This, certainly, never matched the historical facts.² Subsequent to the (belated) declarations by Chancellor Vranitzky of moral responsibility for and complicity in National Socialism, which occurred in 1991 in front of Austria's

national council and again in 1993 in Israel, and the creation of an Austrian fund for victims of National Socialism, many victim groups³ that had previously been overlooked gained respect through modest compensation payments.

In speaking of memory, we refer to an active process of reconstructing the past, a process initiated, controlled and organized by political actors. Memory does not just exist; it is to be fought for (Gstettner 2012, 30). The choice of historical events that are given special attention in a society, or those remembered as a national or a regional holiday (figures that are named in schoolbooks, and whose names can be found on memorial plaques), is inevitably determined from the perspective of the group that holds the power of interpretation. This group determines what history is and imposes its vision of the past through memorial sites, archives, museums, books, movies, education and popular culture. Certain historical events or persons are not as visible or remembered as others. In public and private spheres, different narratives of the history of a country, a region or a nation clash with one another. The power of definition of history is not static; rather, it is disputed and challenged and is therefore fluid. What is commonly named a culture of memory is thus a dynamic field of negotiation and conflict. It is an unfinished process of debate on what a group should call (its) history (Uhl 2010, 8). As established also by Nagy and Wintersteiner:

Which groups are able to officially exhibit and celebrate their view of history depends on [...] the place they occupy in the hierarchy of memories [...]. The choice of interpretations and narratives that are put forward is always politically determined, and the result of a permanent negotiation process (Nagy & Wintersteiner 2015, 17).

In pluralistic democratic societies, a certain heterogeneity of historical narratives is considered to be normal (Uhl 2002, 225). Following that, Carinthian Slovenes are not just a minority from an ethical or national point of view, but they have been part of (heterogeneous) memory communities with ineluctably lesser power. As a result of the complex societal changes in the last century, Carinthian Slovenes passed down different narratives and alternative views on the past, views which diverge considerably from those of the dominant German-speaking community in Carinthia. This specifically concerns the period of National Socialism. Many Carinthian Slovene individuals and families who had been victims of National Socialism because of their cultural and political activities defend memories that were diametrically opposed to the public memory of both Austria and Carinthia (Wutti 2015, 40). In Carinthia's public memory, the so-called *Abwehrkampf* (defense struggle) is still the main marker of and identity forming element in hegemonic (German-Austrian) memory culture. In the *Abwehrkampf*, Carinthian armed formations resisted Yugoslav/Slovene troops, who strove for annexation of the southern parts of Carinthia, which for centuries were mainly Slovene inhabited.⁴ In a specific ideological amalgamation of heroism

and patriotism, the *Abwehrkampf* legitimized regional aspects of WWI and WWII and thus became the historical marker to be focused on, heroic, and bearing witness to a self-determined (German-speaking) Carinthia. Remembering and commemorating the *Abwehrkampf* – together with 10 October 1920, when almost 60 % of Carinthians opted for Austria in opposition to Yugoslavia in a democratic referendum – are certainly more pleasant than commemorating the losses in WWI and the guilt and actions of National Socialism. For example, there has been only one museum that addresses particularly the Partisans' fight against National Socialism. Known as the *Peršmanhof*, this museum is remotely located, almost 1,000 meters above sea level and far from other cultural and political centers. It can be seen as a metaphor for the manner in which the Slovene narrative is handled. Since WWII, it has proven difficult for Carinthian Slovenes to make their version of history visible, as access to Carinthia's cultural memory was out of reach. Slovenes handed down their narratives in family memory and within their own community.

Cultural memory is, following Assmann (2010, 13), strongly institutionalised: various formal institutional bodies make decisions about what is to be published in schoolbooks, exhibited in museums or printed in magazines. Committees of historians argue about the historical truth of a national group, whether in a majority or a minority situation. However, tendencies such as the above-mentioned installation of a publicly visible memorial for victims of National Socialism in the *Burg* of Klagenfurt/Celovec, give evidence of a transformation of memory culture in Carinthia. Since 2010, several similar installations have appeared all over the region. Several memory initiatives have been increasingly influencing the discourse towards a more inclusive – and bilingual – memory culture.⁵ Since 2015, research has been done on how this transformation is influencing school education and how such transformations could be used to address contemporary teaching and schooling about the past – in pursuance of learning for a democratic and inclusive future. Research was conducted in two particular scientific projects at the University of Klagenfurt and the University College of Teacher Education in Carinthia.

2. Research Projects in the Field of Memory Studies in Education in Carinthia

With the two research projects, *Erinnerungsgemeinschaften in Kärnten/Koroška: Eine empirische Studie über gegenwärtige Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Schule und Gesellschaft* (Memory Communities in Carinthia: An Empirical Study of the Current Confrontation with National Socialism in Schools and Society) at the Alpen-Adria University of Klagenfurt/Celovec (Danglmaier et al. 2017a) and *Erinnerungskulturen im Grenzraum – Spominske kulture na obmejnem območju* (Cultures of Remembrance in the Border Area)

at the University College of Teacher Education (Wutti et al. 2020), essential cornerstones were laid for the empirical documentation and recording of issues relating to the culture of remembrance at Carinthian schools.

The work at the University of Klagenfurt/Celovec, which began in 2014 and lasted until 2017, opened up a broad field of research. The focus was on the teaching of content on topics of commemoration and remembrance culture at schools in Carinthia. The following project at the University College of Teacher Education builds on these previous research activities. The project duration extended over a period during which the federal state of Carinthia was preparing the 100th anniversary of the 1920 Carinthian referendum as well as the associated celebrations and commemorative events. This project was part of the state exhibition curated for this purpose under the title CarinthiJA 2020.

Both research projects used a research design for data generation and collection, which included both qualitative and quantitative research instruments. The mixed methods approach has meanwhile developed into an independent paradigm in the field of empirical social research (Kelle 2014, 154).

2.1 The Empirical Study of the Project *Erinnerungskulturen in Kärnten/Koroška* from 2014 Onwards

The scientific research project at the Alpen-Adria University of Klagenfurt consisted of an interdisciplinary research team at the interface between the fields of education, history, media and communication studies, and psychology. The empirical study focused on the question and analysis of the transmission of memories and educational knowledge about the time of National Socialism to the grandchildren of witnesses in schools and social areas. What differences are recognizable in the memory work compared to the four decades before? Can conclusions and recommendations for future work in the field be derived from this? Using different methodological approaches to the research, attempts were made to answer these questions during the individual project phases.

a) Project part: Discourse analysis of the *Kleine Zeitung* from 1986 onwards

At the beginning of the project, a database was created with relevant articles on media coverage of topics related to the Carinthian culture of remembrance in the daily newspaper *Kleine Zeitung* – the largest daily newspaper in Carinthia. By means of discourse analysis, categories and assumptions were first collected, and classifications were organized based on the interpretive analysis. Starting from the current research point of view, the newspaper material was interpreted in a reconstructive and constructive manner, and superficial units of meaning were summarized (Gitschtaler & Hudelist 2017, 38).

As one of the central transformations of the discourse on remembrance and commemoration, the researchers were able to observe and analyze the increasing coexistence and plurality of different narratives about and per-

spectives on the past, based on reports in the *Kleine Zeitung*. The analysis showed that the youth in Carinthia have been actively involved in shaping and co-determining the discourse of remembrance since 2000, e.g., as members of memorial associations and participants in memorial events (Gitschtaler & Hudelist 2017, 51).

- b) Project part: Quantitative surveys for school principals and teaching staff
In the course of one phase of the project, a link to the online questionnaires on the subject of National Socialism and the Holocaust in classrooms was sent to all Carinthian schools at the primary level as well as secondary levels I and II. One of the two questionnaires was addressed to the principals of Carinthian schools, while a somewhat more extensive questionnaire was aimed at teachers in Carinthian secondary schools. The target group was primarily teachers who are required to discuss topics related to National Socialism and the Holocaust in the federal curriculum (history, political education, religion, German and Slovene⁶) (Danglmaier et al. 2017b, 58).

Principals from 98 schools in Carinthia participated in the online survey. The survey sample included schools from both urban and rural areas. The aim of the survey for teachers at secondary level I and II was to find out what attitude they had towards dealing with the subject of National Socialism in the classroom, which areas of the subject were mainly dealt with and which teaching methods and teaching materials were used to convey these subjects. The response to this survey resulted in 223 fully completed questionnaires, with 39 people indicating that they did not address National Socialism and the Holocaust in class. A further eleven teachers taught in the elementary school sector, which, however, was not included in this study. For the data evaluation, 173 fully completed questionnaires were considered. The authors of the study point out that it is presumably mainly teachers who are interested in these topics who took part in the survey. The results must therefore be viewed and interpreted according to this initial situation (Wakounig 2017, 65).

- c) Project part: Qualitative interviews with teachers and students
In the course of the quantitative online survey of teachers, they were also invited to participate in individual, qualitative interviews. Twenty-one people responded to the call and were then invited to single or double interviews (Danglmaier et al. 2017b, 60).

By means of the snowball effect – also known as chain sampling – 22 pupils were then invited to group interviews via their interviewed teachers. These pupils had participated in specific projects about National Socialism and the Holocaust in the past five years (Danglmaier et al. 2017b, 60).

The case analysis was chosen as the method for both the individual interviews and the group discussions, while the problem-centered interview according to Witzel (1985) was used as the qualitative survey method for all interviews. As an evaluation method for the data obtained, the interview

transcripts were subjected to a qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2008). For this purpose, the material was inductively categorized by two independent coders. In a further step, a third person brought the categorizations together (Danglmaier et al. 2017b, 61).

2.2 The Project Cultures of Remembrance in the Border Region from 2019 Onwards

Building on the results and findings of the extensive empirical study at the Alpen-Adria University, the project *Erinnerungskulturen im Grenzraum – Spominjske kulture na obmejnem območju* placed greater focus on the region as a border area. At the start of the project, the 100th anniversary of the referendum in Carinthia was approaching. 10 October 1920 plays a prominent role in the Carinthian culture of remembrance, as established at the beginning of this article. The results of the empirical study by the University of Klagenfurt/Celovec in 2015 showed that this day was being widely discussed and celebrated in schools – especially at the primary level (Wakounig 2017, 71). This thesis was confirmed and examined in more depth during the subsequent project in 2020 (Hartmann & Merva 2020).

The research interest of the cross-border project was therefore focused on the Carinthian state holiday: How is it celebrated in Carinthian elementary schools? Which topics have been foregrounded so far? Where do the teachers get their knowledge from? Furthermore, the research team looked across the border. How is the Republic of Slovenia dealing with these historical events? Which topics of remembrance culture are foregrounded in lessons in Slovene schools?

In order to emphasize this cross-border character, teachers from Slovenia and Carinthia were brought together in the course of the project to exchange ideas about their own access to historical narratives at the border and to reflect on their teaching of the topic. In the following school year, they carried out school projects with their pupils on a sub-area of the broad topic of cultures of remembrance in the border area, projects which were accompanied and evaluated by the project team. The exchange of teaching practice, the content orientation of the lessons on memory culture on both sides of the border and project concepts then led to the development of cross-border, inclusive, innovative and multi-perspective teaching concepts especially for the border area that are presented in the anthology to the project (Wutti et al. 2020).

a) Project part: 10 October at Carinthia's elementary schools

In the period between December 2019 and May 2020, an empirical survey was carried out whose research interest lay in the teaching content for celebrations of the state holiday at Carinthian elementary schools. The data was collected in two successive survey phases. With the help of a quantitative

online survey, a general picture of the mood of the target group questioned – the principals of elementary schools in Carinthia – could be recorded and sketched. In the subsequent nine qualitative interviews, aspects were discussed that could not be dealt with in such detail in the online survey. After the end of the survey, a response rate of around 60 % can be assumed, which certainly allows for the deduction and interpretation of a general mood on the topic in Carinthian elementary schools (Hartmann & Merva 2020, 89).

In the course of the online survey of the elementary school principals, an invitation to a personal interview was issued. About 25 principals from nine out of ten political districts in Carinthia accepted this invitation. One director from each district was contacted at random and then interviewed. These were case analyses, with a problem-centered interview according to Witzel (1985), supported by an interview guideline.

In addition to those surveys, four teachers and elementary school principals who had actually submitted and carried out school projects in the course of the CarinthiJA 2020 exhibition were also interviewed. The survey method used to analyze the submitted school projects was the expert interview, and the material was evaluated using qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2008).

b) Project part: Culture of remembrance in schools in Slovenia & Austria – some examples

Two further sub-areas of the research activity in the course of the project *Erinnerungskulturen im Grenzraum – Spominske kulture na obmejnem območju* dealt in more detail with the teaching of commemorative and remembrance culture in secondary schools. The target or research group for this purpose was defined somewhat more broadly, across national borders. Both Carinthian and Slovene teaching practices on these topics were examined.

After a thorough literature search, the search or choice of interlocutors in Slovenia was carried out by chain sampling. Eight expert interviews on how schools deal with topics of remembrance culture in Slovenia were evaluated, compiled and structured into a database. From the interviews, essential sub-areas were described in more detail, and analyzed particularly regarding their cross-border potential and design options. Some best-practice-examples were then presented in the anthology to the project (Kelih 2020).

In addition, interviews were held in Carinthia with teachers who had drawn attention to themselves with particularly outstanding school projects on topics of remembrance culture, both currently and in the recent past. These were mainly projects that were planned, prepared and carried out over a lengthy period of time. From the research activity in the course of both projects, it was possible to identify and record essential findings and recommendations for (project) teaching on topics and areas of the culture of remembrance (Peko 2020, 129).

3. Minority Topics, Ethnic Questions and Their Potential for Memory Work in Schools

41

The existence of regionally distinct communities of memory is reflected in schools. Both teachers and students have a historical identity and a historical consciousness that is based on family histories, media information and associated feelings, which shape value concepts and political attitudes. Cognitive content tends to remain secondary (Georgi 2003, 198). Schools can occupy a central space in the development of education for the nation. Common ideas develop on the basis of which a sense of national belonging emerges (Markova 2013, 56). Schools must be aware of this role, as it holds considerable potential and dangers at the same time. Until now, teaching about historical events has often remained monocultural and focused on nation-state identity formation. Changes in society make it necessary to initiate a change in perspective, to think more pluralistically, to allow for more controversy (Borries 2000, 135) and not to avoid, but to stimulate a confrontation with foreignness – Looking past your own nose, as we called it in our project *Erinnerungskulturen im Grenzraum – Spominske kulture na obmejnem območju*. It showed how historical narratives on both sides of borders can have an inclusive rather than a divisive effect. One example would be the numerous visits of Slovene school classes, as well as individual pupils to Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla in Austria in 2019 and 2020 in order to prepare for school leaving examinations. In Slovenia, questions about Carinthian Slovene author Maja Haderlap's novel *Angel of Oblivion* became part of these exams, which led to increased interest in the history of Carinthian Slovenes (Kelih 2020, 121).

a) Why is memory culture addressed in school lessons?

Our questionnaire, sent out to principals in Carinthia in the course of the first research project in 2014 (see section 2.1.b in this article), included both rural and urban areas and different types of schools. Ninety-three % of the principals stated that a central aspect of their idea for addressing National Socialism and memory culture in school lessons was to achieve an understanding of and respect for diversity of people among the students. For 79 %, understanding linguistic and cultural diversity was a key learning objective. Other objectives, focused more on factual knowledge about history and awareness of tradition, were given less importance. However, regional differences were also evident here: in the area of the minority school system in Carinthia as well as in the urban area of Klagenfurt/Celovec and Villach/Beljak, the understanding of linguistic and cultural diversity was given particular importance. In rural areas and outside the area of the minority school system, more attention was paid to tradition and awareness of the homeland (Wakounig 2017, 66). Similar findings and results emerged from the research project at the primary level in 2019 (see section 2.2.a in this article), which specifi-

cally examined the content and topics that were taught in elementary schools around the Carinthian referendum of 1920. In the surveys and interviews with principals, it became apparent that topics of diversity and bilingualism in Carinthia are increasingly being emphasized at schools in the area of the minority school system and in urban areas. At the same time, these school principals tend to reject traditional and homeland-related content (Hartmann & Merva 2020, 97). This finding is both central and interesting, since it tells us about the priorities in learning content chosen by teachers. For example, we found that currently, just two of four planned elementary school projects for Carinthia's celebration of the 100th anniversary of the plebiscite also dealt with the topic of bilingualism, and just one of these schools focused on the dispute about the resettlement of the Carinthian Slovenes during the Second World War (Hartmann & Merva 2020, 102). Teachers could have chosen instead to address generalised topics of humanity, democracy and tolerance, rather than raising the burdening and, to a certain extent unresolved, topics of the past.

b) Who addresses memory culture in school lessons?

Teachers design their lessons according to their own level of knowledge, interests and (family) experience. In the case of knowledge about the events surrounding National Socialism and the Carinthian referendum of 1920, our studies with both secondary school teachers in 2014 and elementary school principals in 2019 were able to demonstrate a strong correlation between personal interests and the subjective perception of knowledge. Those teachers who are personally interested in the topic also feel well informed about it – and are more likely to teach it. At this point, the family experience is obvious; teachers with strong biographical ties to the topic of National Socialism (e.g., because their ancestors were victims) rated their interest in the topic higher than others. This finding also corresponds with the fact that higher levels of participation was recorded by schools from the bilingual school system in Carinthia (Wakounig 2017, 66).

On the other hand, it emerged that neither teacher education nor teacher training were central sources of knowledge among those being questioned. Personal sources of information were identified as the most important source of knowledge in both studies. Those who teach in bilingual schools feel that they are generally better educated than others on the subject of National Socialism. This could be linked to the content of the lessons and the special education of bilingual teachers, but it could also be interpreted as meaning that these people are more likely to choose relevant content in their education because of personal interest (Danglmaier & Wakounig 2017a, 78).

c) The pupil's point of view

Results of the quantitative interviews with pupils in 2015 (see section 2.1.c in this article) showed that lessons where teachers brought in personal de-

tails and addressed their own family involvement, as, for example, victims of National Socialism, were appreciated (Danglmaier & Wakounig 2017b, 98). In the study, this was demonstrated by teachers who belonged to the Slovene ethnic group and who brought their family biography into the classroom. Parallel to this, pupils who identify with the ethnic group of Carinthian Slovenes show stronger interest in history as well as a more intense personal connection to history than others. The results of the interviews show the danger of emotional apathy among pupils without family connections (Wutti & Abing 2017, 192).

d) Teaching between the emotional and analytical approaches

One way to compensate for the lack of family connections is by regional references. This makes it possible to reduce the distance from historical events and to approach the topic on the basis of concrete biographies and familiar places, thus integrating an emotional component (Wutti & Abing 2017, 200). This represents a clear demand from the interviewed students, who spoke out against the teaching of purely factual knowledge (Abing 2017, 211). A study on dealing with National Socialism and the Holocaust at schools in Salzburg in 2017 yielded similar results to our study in 2014. Teachers and students decidedly demanded an emotional component in lessons related to National Socialism; only factual knowledge would not be remembered in the long term (Kühberger & Neureiter 2017). The confrontation with historical events should be designed neither to exclude feelings nor to deliberately evoke them. Astrid Messerschmidt warns that the core elements of National Socialism cannot be recognized if revulsion at the cruelty and unbounded violence determines the approach to the topic (Messerschmidt 2015, 274). Educators should not expect students to empathize with the victims, but to empathize with their situation, and to reflect on their position in society. Minority/majority issues should be objectively addressed, as well as hegemony and power in society.

e) Connections to currently relevant topics

The goals that teachers set themselves in relation to learning about historical events are strongly influenced by connections to currently relevant topics and range from awareness of democracy, human rights education and sensitization for injustice, to prevention of right-wing extremism. In our interviews with teachers at the secondary level I and II in 2014, they mentioned broad goals connected to these topics. One teacher stated that his goal was to counteract young people's indifference to and disenchantment with politics, to sensitize them to politics in general and to educate them to become mature democrats (Wutti et al. 2017, 128). Another teacher put it even more bluntly. For her, it was about teaching students to deal with moral questions concerning humanity. Stimulating inquiry through questioning was often stated as a learning objective.

The ambitious and noble goals of teachers in connection with learning about National Socialism raise the risk of overloading the lessons and establishing a tense atmosphere (Kühner et al. 2008, 79). In this respect, teachers move in a difficult field of tension between their own high demands, progressive decontextualisation of events and the extinction of contemporary witnesses.

Nevertheless, historical-political educational work includes various possibilities for identification, which result from the fact that historical narratives structure the confusing past (cf. Wrochem 2010, 59). Historical remembering conveys a sense of belonging, as Viola Georgi demonstrated in her studies of young migrants dealing with National Socialism. Identification with the historical narrative of the majority can create an experience of increased affiliation for people without family roots in the region, in particular migrant pupils. Thus, dealing with National Socialism as a field of negotiation for recognition and belonging can result in fostered inclusion (Georgi 2003, 185). Considering the differences between pupils, one should be careful not to create new differences, e.g., by making ethnic attributions. Multi-perspective approaches to historical topics consider the variety of pupil's initial situations. Nora Sternfeld (2011) uses the term contact zone, in reference to the concept of Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford. In a contact zone, every individual can act and contribute, while remaining aware of asymmetry in power relations. Hierarchy is always considered but is not the only significant factor. Contact zones are social spaces where different positions are negotiated – sometimes in conflict (Sternfeld 2011). The concept of contact zones can be applied to the culture of memory in regions where players with different degrees of power shape historical narratives. It can also be applied to classrooms and can help teachers to deal sensitively with multi-perspectivity.

4. Outlooks: Towards Inclusive Historical Narratives

In the study *Erinnerungskulturen im Grenzraum – Spominske kulture na obmejnem območju*, school principals described respect, togetherness and tolerance as their guiding ideas when addressing the plebiscite of 1920. Their goal, they said, was to focus on what is common across borders and to teach students to be open to others. However, as our research showed, in practical implementation in the classroom, traditional forms of memory work predominated, which aimed at strengthening awareness of the homeland and patriotism. The national traditional viewpoint prevailed (Hartmann & Merva 2020, 103). This is precisely where we see great potential for establishing new forms of memory culture and more inclusive historical narratives. Theory must be turned into practice. For this, one must look past the end of one's nose, and old, traditional thought patterns must receive critical reflection. Schools from the minority school system in Carinthia tended to approach these challenges more openly, compared to schools in regions without a traditional ethnic minority presence.

Teachers who had a particular personal interest in memory work in schools also exhibited more interest in thinking and working across the national border as well as including the perspectives of minorities – and those were often Carinthian Slovene teachers with biographical ties to victims of National Socialism. Teachers in bilingual schools felt that they were generally better educated than others about National Socialism. Meanwhile, Carinthian Slovene pupils showed higher interest and knowledge concerning topics of memory culture in comparison to their colleagues from non-minority areas. We also found that pupils applauded and appreciated lessons that included personal information from and engagement by teachers. This was demonstrated by teachers who belonged to the Slovene ethnic group and who brought their family biographies into the classroom. The presence of a vivid and visible minority seems to foster democratic education.

The results of our studies show a clear requirement for future historical-political education for teachers. Teaching rigid dogmas and factual knowledge does not bring us closer to the ambitious and broadly defined goals. Rather, there is a need for forms of active participation in which teachers act as learning guides. Our task as teachers is to create a negotiating space with open learning processes, where dissent is allowed, if not encouraged (Sternfeld 2011). It can be of great advantage to address the constructive character of history, rather than teaching a single truth. There is no single true view on the past; instead, historical events are interpreted and evaluated in different ways. This can be of vast interest to pupils, especially in border regions and concerning events and topics that are still controversial. In this way, the classroom becomes a space for discourse in which everyone finds a place with their own individual narratives of history, and controversy is encouraged. This enables us to achieve our ultimate goal of having an impact on young people's actions through our teaching and ultimately fosters democracy education.

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Notes

48

- ¹ See also Knight (2017).
- ² An interesting fact in this context is that the Moscow Declarations of 1943 demanded that Austria take an active role in liberation from Hitler's Germany, if the country sought to regain sovereignty within its borders from before 1938. This active role was mainly played by Carinthian Slovene Partisans – who in so doing, built the foundations for Austria's consolidation after National Socialism. Certainly, it is one of the most contradictory specifics of the Austrian and Carinthian memory discourse, that Carinthian Partisans have mainly been connoted negatively – i.e., solely as communist fighters for Yugoslavia and thus traitors to Austria – in broader public spheres.
- ³ E.g., victims of euthanasia and forced sterilisation, slave laborers, homosexuals, and socially marginalised groups such as the homeless. Carinthian Slovenes who were deported in 1942 were not counted as victims until the 12th amendment of the Victim Welfare Act (*Opferfürsorgegesetz*) in 1961 (Danglmaier & Koroschitz 2015, 403). As late as 2014, the first Austrian memorial for deserters was erected in Vienna (*Denkmal für die Verfolgten der NS-Militärjustiz*).
- ⁴ In Slovenia's narratives, these events are handed down as *boj za severno mejo* (struggle for the northern border).
- ⁵ E.g., the Organisations *Erinnern Gailtal*, *Erinnern Rosegg / Rožek se spominja*, *Erinnern Villach*, *Kuland Verein für Kultur & Informationsvielfalt*, *Memorial Kärnten/Koroška* and the *Mauthausen Komitee Kärnten/Koroška*, who are oriented towards a more inclusive memory culture.
- ⁶ In accordance with the Minority Schools Act for Carinthia (*Minderheiten-Schulgesetz für Kärnten* 1959), Slovene is taught at eligible elementary, middle and high schools.

Metod Šuligoj

“Navik on živi ki zgine pošteno”: Versko obarvane komemoracije v hrvaških novičarskih medijih

Glavni namen pričujoče raziskave je bil ugotoviti, koliko so verske vsebine na komemoracijah, ki jih lahko razumemo kot komponento utrjevanja nacionalne identitete ali kot del temnega turizma, predmet medijskega poročanja in o katerih lastnostih komemoracij poročajo hrvaški novičarski mediji. S pomočjo kvantitativne analize vsebine smo najprej kodirali vse arhivirane javno dostopne spletne članke ($f = 363$) iz hrvaških novičarskih medijev/časopisov. Za statistično analizo so bile uporabljene križne tabele in binarna logistična regresija. Ugotovili smo, da poročanje o verskih obredih na komemoracijah ni odvisno od medija (časopisa, časopisne hiše), torej medij ne vpliva na pogostost poročanja. Poročanje o vključenosti verskih obredov v komemoracije prav tako ni povezano s poročanjem o ostalih lastnostih teh prireditvev. Medijske prakse torej ne izkoriščajo nekaterih izhodišč, ki jih ponuja katoliška vera v povezavi s spominom, ampak so bolj skladne z nevarnostmi, ki jih lahko določena vera predstavlja za multikulturna post-konfliktna območja.

Ključne besede: komemoracije, temne prireditve, temni turizem, religija, identiteta, novičarski mediji, Hrvaška.

“Whoever Dies Righteously, Lives Forever”: Religious Content of Commemorations in Croatian News Media

The main purpose of the present research was to determine the extent to which Croatian news media report on religious content at commemorations and on other characteristics of commemorative events. Commemorations can be understood either as a component aimed at consolidating national identity or as a component of dark tourism. Using quantitative content analysis, we first coded all archived and publicly available online articles ($f = 363$) from Croatian news media/newspapers. For statistical analysis purposes, we used cross tabulations and binary logistic regression. We found that reporting on religious rituals at commemorations does not depend on the medium (newspaper, newspaper publisher) and that the medium does not influence the frequency of reporting. Likewise, reporting on the inclusion of religious rituals in commemorations is not related to reporting on other features of these events. Hence, on the one hand, media practices do not take full advantage of certain assumptions offered by the Catholic religion in relation to memory and are, on the other hand, more in line with the threats that religion can pose in post-conflict multicultural settings.

Keywords: commemoration, dark events, dark tourism, religion, identity, news media, Croatia.

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1. Uvod

Številni tragični dogodki iz preteklosti ostanejo v kolektivnem spominu in so oblikujejo identiteto nekega naroda (Halbwachs 1992; Misztal 2003; Prijatelj 2014; Žanić 2019). Gre za metaforično povezane kraje posebnega pomena za določeno skupino/skupnost/narod, imenovane tudi "mesta spomina", prostorske, materialne, narativne in nenarativne točke, na katerih sloni spomin (Asmann 1992, citirano v Jerše 2017, 256; Nora 1989). S tem so povezane tudi komemoracije, ki temeljijo na procesih institucionalizacije spomina (Jedlowski 2002, 99). Te prireditve lahko razumemo tudi kot temačne spominske prireditve (Dolasinski et al. 2020; Frost & Laing 2013; Kennell et al. 2018; Šuligoj 2019), povezane s teorijo temačnega turizma (Dolasinski et al. 2020; Frost & Laing 2013; Kennell et al. 2018; Light 2017; Šuligoj 2019). V tem smislu se izraz temačne spominske prireditve nanaša na komemoracije, povezane s smrtjo, katastrofami in trpljenjem, ki so hkrati tudi značilnosti temačnega turizma (Frost & Laing 2013; Kennell et al. 2018; Šuligoj 2019).

V pričujočem prispevku se naslanjamo na hrvaško domovinsko vojno, ki je del jugoslovanskega konflikta s konca 20. stoletja. Konflikt je pustil trajen pečat in še vedno močno vpliva na narodno samobitnost. Odsev tega je opazen tudi v Zakonu o praznikih, spominskih in dela prostih dnevih v Republiki Hrvaški (2020). Zakon med drugim formalizira rek *Navik on živi ki zgine pošteno* (slovensko: Za vedno živi, kdor umre pošteno), vzet iz borbene pesmi Frana Krste Frankopana iz 17. stoletja, zapisane v kajkavski ikavici. Verz je z leti prerasel v splošen simbol žrtev borbe Hrvatov za svobodo in lastno domovino. Cerkev ima tu pomembno, a ne povsem izkoriščeno vlogo pri spravi in gojenju kulture dialoga (Baloban 2017). Seveda je vse to odsev prevladujočega katoličanstva, religioznosti in s tem družbene identitete prebivalcev Hrvaške (Nikodem 2011), čeprav je religija za prebivalce po pomenu na petem mestu – za družino, prijatelji in znanci, prostim časom in službo (Baloban et al. 2019, 10). Nadalje Žanić (2019) na podlagi analize poročil verskih medijev (Glas Koncila) pokaže na povezavo med spominom in cerkvijo. Ta in tudi Balobanov (2017) članek kažeta, da je cerkev angažirana pri ohranjanju spomina na domovinsko vojno, kar se kaže tudi pri vključevanju teh vsebin v verske medije (Žanić 2019). V dosedanjih raziskavah resnejše študije o vključevanju verskih vsebin v komemoracije v splošnih novičarskih medijih nismo zasledili.

Skladno z zapisanim je glavni namen pričujoče raziskave ugotoviti, koliko so verske vsebine na komemoracijah predmet medijskega poročanja in kakšen je vpliv novičarskih medijev. S pomočjo mešanega kvantitativnega raziskovalnega pristopa (analiza vsebine časopisnih člankov, križne tabele in binarne logistične regresije) želimo ugotoviti, ali je medijsko poročanje o vključenosti verskih obredov v komemoracije povezano s poročanjem o ostalih lastnostih komemoracij ter ali časopis (medijska hiša) vpliva na pogostost poročanja o vključenosti

verskih obredov v komemoracije. To sta osrednji vprašanji te raziskave, katerih teoretični temelji so predstavljeni v poglavjih, ki sledijo.

2. Komemoracije, temačni turizem in vera

Ko komemoracije postanejo množične prireditve, ki presegajo lokalne okvire, jih brez težav umeščamo v kontekst temačnih prireditev oz. temačnega turizma (Kennell et al. 2018; Rojek 1994). Kljub nekaterim kritikam koncepta temačnega turizma (cf. Ashworth & Isaac 2015; Jamal & Lelo 2010), kjer lahko izpostavimo tudi njegovo moralno spornost (Causevic & Lynch 2011; Seaton & Lennon 2004), ga v splošnem vseeno lahko upoštevamo kot pomemben širši sodoben okvir, s pomočjo katerega lahko opredelimo obiskovanje komemoracij na Hrvaškem. Te so vselej množično obiskane – komemoracijo, povezano z obletnico padca Vukovarja, novembra vsako leto obišče med 1.800 in 15.000 obiskovalcev (Žanić 2019, 132). Ob 25. obletnici se je skupaj s številnimi domačimi politiki prireditve udeležilo prek 100.000 obiskovalcev (Bradarić 2016). Med pomembnejšimi je tudi vsakoletna komemoracija avgusta v Kninu (Jutarnji.hr 2019). Tovrstne prireditve vzpostavljajo ustrezne pogoje za prenos spomina med posamezniki in generacijami (Dunkley et al. 2011; Maros 2015; Prijatelj 2014, 264). Ti prenosi so podobni, primerljivi in pravzaprav del medgeneracijskega prenosa elementov identitete ter kulturnih, vedenjskih in drugih prepričanj (Zadel 2016, 58, 332).

Kraji spomina odpirajo prostor za raziskovanje prisotnosti svetega v sodobnem življenju, kjer se je sveto v veliki meri preselilo izven cerkva v laični prostor (Winter 2009). Raziskave s področja izrazito versko obarvanega temačnega turizma, ki bi posegala na področje obiskovanja lokacij, povezanih na primer z mučeniki v krščanstvu ali drugih religijah, doslej nismo zasledili. Vsekakor pa tu ne moremo kar enostavno povezovati (še manj pa enačiti) temačnega in verskega turizma, čeprav imata oba vsaj eno zanimivo stično točko – romanje. Dunkley et al. (2011) so med motivi za obiske nekdanjih bojišč prve svetovne vojne zasledili tudi spominsko romanje na nekdanja bojišča. Podobno sta Kavrečić (2017) in Dato (2014) politično podprte obiske grobov in množičnih grobnic v Veliki vojni padlih vojakov v času fašistične Italije poimenovala *sacro pellegrinaggio* (sveto romanje). Povezovanje romarstva z vojno povezanim turizmom je precej pogosto, kar pomeni, da sta na ta način povezana razmeroma nov pojav/raziskovalno področje (temačni turizem) ter precej starejši in uveljavljeni verski in kulturni fenomen romanja (Collins-Kreiner 2016, 1–2). Tako Stone (2012) obiskovalce temačnih turističnih krajev označuje kot romarje, njihove obiske pa kot romanja. Pri teh povezavah pa je kar nekaj kontroverznosti. Alderman (2002), Hyde in Harman (2011) ali Winter (2011) opozarjajo na določene težave pri razlikovanju med vernimi in posvetnimi romarji, turisti, ki obiskujejo temačne kraje, turisti, ki se zanimajo za dediščino, ali nekaterimi drugimi vrstami

turistov, ki iščejo mitsko in čarobno. Alderman (2002) trdi, da se s tem koncept romanja širi in vedno pogostejše uporablja v širšem sekularnem kontekstu, čeprav na drugi strani Korstanje in George (2015) pravita, da se interesi romarjev in iskalcev temačnosti bistveno razlikujejo, kar pomeni, da teh dveh pojavov ni mogoče povezati.

Komemoracije privabljajo domače in tuje obiskovalce ne glede na poimenovanje (romarji, turisti, obiskovalci, udeleženci ...). Niso pa izključno povezane s temačnim turizmom in tujci jih vedno ne razumejo v celoti (Kennell et al. 2018; Šuligoj 2016, 265). Različna razumevanja so se pokazala na primeru Hrvaške (Šuligoj 2016, 265), tradicionalnih prireditev v Istri (Kavrečić & Hrobat Virlogget 2019), dneva ANZAC¹ med Avstralci (Roppola et al. 2021) in spominskega območja Auschwitz-Birkenau na Poljskem (Ward & Stessel 2012, 46). Število akterjev, ki sodelujejo v procesu aktualizacije spominov, pa tudi dodatnih načinov prenosa spominov prek (novih) medijev raste. Zaradi tega se spomin sooča s pospešeno resničnostjo, kjer akterji svoj spomin soočajo z novimi družbenimi situacijami in tehtajo pomembnost preteklosti za sedanjost in sedanjosti za preteklost (Žanić et al. 2016, 265), čeprav bi pravzaprav morali biti usmerjeni v prihodnost (Petkovšek 2016).

Skladno z namenom raziskave izpostavljamo posebno vlogo mesta Vukovar v hrvaški domovinski vojni – mesto je bilo razglašeno za mesto s posebno pieteto (Zakon o proglašenju Vukovara mjestom posebnog domovinskog pijeteta 2020). Kot simbol odpora proti agresiji se je oblikoval že konec 20. stoletja (Žanić et al. 2016). Čeprav v zakonu verska komponenta ni zajeta, pa slogani preteklih komemoracij nakazujejo tudi na to perspektivo: Beli križ pošilja opozorilo (2003), Zazvonite zvonovi vseh zvonikov (2004), Romanje za hrvaško svobodo (2006), Vukovar – sveto ime (2012). To in vključevanje visokih cerkvenih dostojanstvenikov in obreda v program vsakoletne komemoracije (Žanić 2019, 132) kaže na povezanost (katoliške) vere in kolektivnega spomina in s tem tudi identitete Hrvatov. Vsekakor je današnji način ohranjanja spomina na Vukovar rezultat vplivov politike, medijev, katoliške cerkve, veteranskih organizacij itd. in s tem občutne metamorfoze te prireditve (Žanić et al. 2016).

Pred koncem tega poglavja je treba med predhodno navedenimi vplivnimi dejavniki/deležniki osvetliti še politike (vidik medijev bo predstavljen v naslednjem poglavju). Povezava komemoracij s tragično preteklostjo, spominom in izobraževanjem, pa tudi s politizacijo in okrevanjem po konfliktu je jasna (Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Šuligoj 2016; Šuligoj & Jovanović 2019). Spominski ali svečani govori politikov krepijo "čustveno razsežnost, vznemirjenost, neprijetnost, žalost, jezo, strah in gnus", obenem pa povečujejo "pozornost, motivacijo in sklepanje o posledicah komemoracij za nacionalni kulturni model, ki je ena najpomembnejših funkcij spominskih obredov" (Pavlaković & Perak 2017, 301). Udovič (2020) odpre novo dimenzijo, ko analizira spominsko versko prireditev (mašo za domovino), ki ji pripiše diplomatsko-politično razsežnost. Prireditev

namreč pritegne domače politične in cerkvene elite in tudi predstavnike tujih držav. Seveda pa je treba omeniti še druge vidike, kjer v povezavi s politiko pogosto omenjamo zgodovinski revizionizem, mitologizacijo in/ali politizacijo ter spravo (Miklavcic 2008). S tem se komemoracije lahko spremenijo v prireditve politično-verskih ekspezejev versko-političnih elit, ki izkoriščajo žrtve in njihove bližnje, in kjer spomin pravzaprav niti ni v ospredju in ne temelji na poznavanju oz. dejstvih o preteklih tragičnih dogodkih (Tokača 2013, 17). Kakorkoli, program komemoracij krepi simbolno kontinuiteto življenja žrtev, kar nekako odražajo tudi komemoracije same (Dimitrovski et al. 2017). Tota (2004) je še bolj konkretna in navaja pomembne elemente spominskih dogodkov v Bologni (Italija), na primer: spominska maša, pohod, minuta tišine, slovesnosti in govori pomembnih oseb, polaganje vencev, glasba in podobno.

3. Komemoracije in temačni turizem v medijih

Temačni turizem ne zanima zgolj raziskovalcev, ampak je privlačna tema tudi za medije (Mionel 2019, 423). Mediji predstavljajo aktualne dogodke različnim skupinam bralcev/gledalcev/poslušalcev (Kitch 2008) in vplivajo na priljubljenost turističnih destinacij (Volcic et al. 2014). V teh okvirih so mediji krajem s tragično preteklostjo in obiskovanjem teh krajev pripisali poseben status, status mita ali meta-mita (Seaton & Lennon 2004, 63). Tu lahko prepoznamo tudi povezavo med mediji in spominom oz. ohranjanjem spomina (Zierold 2008, 399)² in turizmom.

Dojemanje preteklosti se v družbi spreminja, kar je tudi posledica vpliva medijev (Nora 1989, 7). Poleg tega služi spomin kot prizma za pogled na medije/novinarstvo in je s tem postal zanimiva raziskovalna tema tudi v duhu spominskih študij (Zelizer 2008, 382, 383). Vendar je z vidika medijev raziskovanje temačnega turizma manj pogosto kot raziskovanje v drugih kontekstih (Light 2017, 293); verski vidik je tudi precej spregledan. Edy (1999) predlaga previdnost, saj se kljub velikemu pomenu novinarskega poročanja za zgodovinopisje in medijske študije zaradi preprostih/poenostavljenih in dramatičnih pripovedi poročanja ni vedno mogoče zanesti le na te vire. Tako so ključna vprašanja sodobnega medijskega okolja (predvsem virtualnega) verodostojnost, njegova operacionalizacija in merjenje (Metzger et al. 2003).

Raziskovanje prisotnosti spominskih praks in povezanega imidža v medijih na področju nekdanje Jugoslavije ni pozabljena, a vseeno ne razširjena raziskovalna tema. Redki primeri (cf. Wise 2011; Wise & Mulec 2014; Mihajlović Trbovc 2014; Volcic et al. 2014; Šuligoj 2019; Žanić 2019) osvetljujejo različne vidike preteklosti, ki se odražajo v današnjih komemoracijah in obiskovanju krajev s tragično preteklostjo. Zaradi tega so na tem področju še vedno praznine v poznavanju oz. znanju o tej perspektivi, kar je z vidika velikega pomena medijsko ustvarjene družbene realnosti (Nišić & Plavšić 2014) zelo relevantna raziskoval-

na tema. Tu ne gre zanemariti niti nacionalne (Mihajlović Trbovc 2014) in ideološke orientiranosti medijev (Malović 2007; Vozab 2017) in s tem povezane pogostosti, načina in vsebine poročanja o tej družbeno občutljivi temi. Raziskave o medijskem poročanju o komemoracijah v post-konfliktni in post-socialistični družbi, kot je Hrvaška, doslej nismo zasledili. Tu lahko izpostavimo še problem nacionalizma (Goulding & Domic 2009; Jović 2012), ki pa je v letu 2020 postal manj očitni problem komemoracij (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia 2020).

4. Metodologija

Zbiranje in obdelava podatkov je potekala fazno. Na osnovi analize medijev hrvaškega Ministrstva za kulturo (Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske) smo najprej naredili izbor dnevnih časopisov (splošni novičarski medij). Vsi izbrani časopisi (preglednica 1) ponujajo tiskane in brezplačne elektronske različice – dnevni časopisi so najbolj iskana spletna vsebina na Hrvaškem (Kvaka – Ured za kreativnu analizu 2020).

V naslednjem koraku smo naredili izbor člankov³ z naslednjimi ključnimi hrvaškimi besedami: *komemoracija domovinski rat* (komemoracija domovinske vojne), *godišnjica domovinski rat* in *obljetnica domovinski rat* (obletnica domovinske vojne).⁴ V raziskavo so bili vključeni vsi arhivirani javno dostopni članki. Za analizo je bilo tako pripravljenih 363 člankov, objavljenih od leta 2010 dalje. Ne-katere splošne značilnosti izbranega sklopa člankov so podane v preglednici 1.

Preglednica 1: Značilnosti člankov iz dnevnih časopisov v vzorcu

Značilnost		f	Delež (%)
Časopis	Novi list	9	2,5
	24 sata	37	10,2
	Slobodna Dalmacija	52	14,3
	Glas Istre	57	15,7
	Glas Slavonije	62	17,1
	Večernji list	71	19,6
	Jutarnji list	75	20,7
	Skupaj	363	100,0
Fotografije	Nove in stare	3	0,8
	Zgolj stare/zgodovinske	14	3,9
	Brez fotografij	33	9,1
	Zgolj nove	313	86,2
	Skupaj	363	100,0

Leto objave	2010	6	1,7
	2012	12	3,3
	2011	13	3,6
	2013	15	4,1
	2015	22	6,1
	2014	28	7,7
	2017	29	8,0
	2016	31	8,5
	2018	36	9,9
	2020	85	23,4
	2019	86	23,7
	Skupaj	363	100,0

Vir: avtorjeva analiza podatkov.

V naslednji fazi je bila uporabljena kvantitativna analiza vsebine.⁵ Skladno s tem in na podlagi pregleda literature so bile predhodno definirane kode (spremenljivke) za analizo izbranih člankov (glej preglednico 2). Te spremenljivke predstavljajo lastnosti komemoracij in jih lahko umestimo v tri vsebinske sklope.

Preglednica 2: Vsebinski sklopi dihotomnih spremenljivk za kodirno listo

Vsebinski sklop	Spremenljivke/kode	Vir
Obiskovalci	Množični obisk; mladi; srednja generacija; starejši	Roppola et al. (2021), Yankholmes in McKercher (2015), Ward in Stessel (2012), Kavrečić in Hrobat Virloget (2019).
Prisotnost politikov	Lokalni; regionalni; državni; tuji politiki	Pavlaković in Perak (2017), Kennel et al. (2018), Udovič (2020).
Program	Slavnostni nagovor udeležencev; polaganje vencev/cvetja; kulturni program z glasbo, recitiranjem ipd.; verski obred	Dimitrovski et al. (2017), Tota (2004).

Vir: avtorjeva analiza podatkov.

Pri kodiranju člankov, ki je bilo izvedeno oktobra 2020, smo upoštevali besedilo in fotografije. Da bi bil postopek kodiranja čim bolj poenoten, ga je v celoti opravil en raziskovalec. Bryman (2012, 304) in Riffe et al. (2005, 145) predlagajo dvostopenjski pristop – raziskovalec najprej kodira besedilo in po določenem časovnem intervalu to ponovi – čemur smo sledili tudi pri tej raziskavi. Ko smo po dvotedenskem premoru ponovno kodirali istih dvajset naključno izbranih člankov, smo med obema testiranjema zaznali zgolj manjša odstopanja ($\approx 1\%$ spremenljivk). To je bil znak visoke ravni zanesljivosti. V nadaljevanju smo preverjali še veljavnost in možnost posploševanja. Analiza je vključevala vsa razpoložljiva poročila o relevantnih komemoracijah (reprezentativne prireditve), kar ob izbranem načinu zbiranja in preverbe podatkov kaže na visoko zunanjo ve-

ljavnost in možnost posploševanja. Zunanjo veljavnost je mogoče ovrednotiti tudi z znanstveno ustreznostjo teme, ki je z multidisciplinarnega in interdisciplinarnega vidika sistematično opisana v prejšnjih poglavjih.

V okviru empirične analize smo preverjali, ali so komemoracije z verskim obredom povezane še s kakšnimi drugimi lastnostmi komemoracij iz preglednice 2 in nato še s časopisom iz preglednice 1. Povezave smo preverjali s pomočjo križnih tabel z robustnejšo Yatesovo korekcijo (χ^2_{yates}) pri 2 x 2 tabelah ali s Fisherjevim eksaktnim testom (P_{fisher}) pri ostalih tabelah; $p \leq 0,05$ kaže na statistično značilno povezanost spremenljivk. Izračunana Cramerjev ali Phi koeficient nam pokažeta moč povezav. S temi izračuni smo iskali odgovor na naslednje raziskovalno vprašanje:

RV1: Ali lahko na osnovi medijskih poročil trdimo, da je poročanje o vključenosti verskih obredov v komemoracije povezano s poročanjem o ostalih lastnostih teh prireditvah?

Nadalje je bila uporabljena binarna logistična regresija⁶ za pridobitev razmerja obetov (*odds ratio*) ob eni pojasnjevalni/neodvisni (*predictor*) in eni odvisni spremenljivki. S tem pristopom smo iskali odgovor na naslednje raziskovalno vprašanje:

RV2: Ali časopis (medijska hiša) vpliva na pogostost poročanja o vključenosti verskih obredov v komemoracije?

5. Rezultati in diskusija

Najbolj brani hrvaški časopisi v svojih spletnih poročilih o komemoracijah navajajo tudi verske vsebine (obrede), a to v manj kot polovičnem deležu (41,3 %). Preglednica 3 prikazuje povezave med komemoracijami z verskimi obredi in drugimi lastnostmi teh komemoracij. Razvidna je statistično značilna povezanost pri štirih spremenljivkah; razlika med P_{fisher} in χ^2_{yates} je bila opazna in tudi upoštevana zgolj pri povezavi tuji politiki – verski obred. Ne glede na to pa $\Phi \leq 0,150$ kaže na zanemarljivo povezanost med spremenljivkami. Nadalje, preglednica 4 kaže, da prav tako ni povezave med časopisom in poročanjem o verskih obredih ($P_{\text{fisher}} = 0,000$; Cramer's $V = 0,297$).

Rezultati iz preglednice 4 ponujajo dobro podlago, da se v to problematiko še bolj poglobimo, kar nam omogoča binarna logistična regresija. V analizo smo vključili dve spremenljivki: časopis in poročanje o verskem obredu. Preglednica 5 prikazuje precej nizek delež pojasnjene variance (Nagelkerke R^2) v modelu. Kakorkoli, pomembnejša je ugotovitev, da časopis pomembno prispeva oz. vpliva na poročanje o verskem obredu na komemoraciji ($p = 0,009$). Posebej indikativno je razmerje obetov v zadnjem stolpcu tabele ($\text{Exp}(\beta) < 0$), kjer izračunana vrednost kaže, da je 1,135-krat bolj verjetno, da časopis o verskem obredu na komemoraciji ne bo poročal (glej matematični zapis modela).

Preglednica 3: Križna tabela (povezava med poročanjem o verskem obredu in drugimi lastnostmi komemoracij)

Spremenljivka		Verski obred f		Povezanost	
		Da	Ne	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Phi
Obiskovalci	Masovni obisk	244	119	0,003*	0,157
	Mladi	79	284	0,796	0,018
	Srednja generacija	266	97	0,005*	0,151
	Starejši	222	141	0,230	0,066
Prisotni politiki	Lokalni politiki	175	188	0,915	0,008
	Regionalni politiki	144	219	0,588	0,029
	Državni politiki	201	162	0,238	0,067
	Tuji politiki	11	352	0,030**	0,116
Program	Slavnostni nagovor udeležencev	276	87	0,017*	0,130
	Polaganje vencev/cvetja	316	47	0,000*	0,207
	Kulturni program z glasbo, recitiranjem ipd.	32	331	0,189	0,075

Opomba: * statistično značilna povezanost; ** $\chi^2_{\text{yates}} = 0,058$ (ni statistični značilne povezanosti).
Vir: avtorjeva analiza podatkov.

Preglednica 4: Križna tabela (povezava med poročanjem o verskem obredu in časopisom)

Časopis	Verski obred		Skupaj	Razlika (Da-Ne)
	Da	Ne		
Jutarnji list	29	46	75	-17
Večernji list	15	56	71	-41
24 sata	14	23	37	-9
Novi list	4	5	9	-1
Slobodna Dalmacija	32	20	52	12
Glas Istre	35	22	57	13
Glas Slavonije	21	41	62	-20
Skupaj	150	213	363	-63
Exact Sig. (2-sided)				0,000
Cramer's V				0,297

Vir: avtorjeva analiza podatkov.

Glede na podatke iz preglednice 5 bi matematični model zapisali na naslednji način:

$$\log\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = 0,844 - 0,126 x_{\text{časopis}} \quad (1)$$

ter pri tem dodatno izračunali še

$$\frac{1}{0,881} = 1,135 \quad (2)$$

Preglednica 5: Spremenljivke vključene v regresijsko enačbo

	β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(β)
Časopis	-0,126	0,048	6,884	1	0,009	0,881
Constant	0,844	0,219	14,864	1	0,000	2,327
Negjelkerke R ²						0,026
Log-likelihood						485,259

Legenda: β – B-koeficient; S.E. – standardna napaka; Exp(β) – razmerje obovetov.

Vir: avtorjeva analiza podatkov.

Najbolj brani hrvaški časopisi v svojih spletnih objavah o komemoracijah nava-
jajo tudi verske vsebine (obrede), a smo to zasledili v manj kot polovičnem de-
ležu. Mediji predstavljajo aktualne dogodke različnim skupinam bralcev (Kitch
2008), pri čemer ne gre zanemariti, da mediji s tem vplivajo tudi na dožemanje
preteklosti (Nora 1989, 7), ki pa je na Balkanu precej problematična. Na tej točki
ne moremo spregledati niti vpliva ideološke orientiranosti medijev (Malović
2007; Vozab 2017). Če se naslonimo na Vozabin (2017, 6) prikaz o ideološki
orientaciji hrvaških medijev, bomo težko zasledili razlike pri poročanju o verskih
obredih na komemoracijah med desno, levo ali sredinsko orientiranimi mediji.
Naj kot zanimivost izpostavimo, da Večernji list, ki velja za desno orientiranega,
ne poroča več od ostalih. V splošnem pa velja, da obstaja celo rahlo večja ver-
jetnost, da novičarski mediji o tem ne bodo poročali, kar nam na koncu daje
odgovor na RV2. S takim pristopom mediji ne spodbujajo zdravljenja bolečin
preteklega nasilja ter preseganja ustaljenih in ozkih vzorcev razmišljanja in delo-
vanja, kar nudita/omogočata tudi religija in spomin – glej razmišljanja Prijatelj
(2014). Katoliška cerkev v tem smislu izpostavlja pomen odpuščanja, kesanja,
spreobrnjenja in vzora, ki ga mora cerkev dajati ostalim pri t. i. očiščenju spomina
(Štrukelj 2018). Tudi Maros (2015) izpostavlja pomen odpuščanja, ki ne pome-
ni pozabe, ampak kritično uporabo spomina, ki odvrta od maščevalnosti. To je
še posebej pomembno, ko je spomin v službi prihodnosti (Petkovšek 2016). Ti
pogledi pridejo prek hrvaških novičarskih medijev do bralcev zgolj v omejenem
obsegu, kar preseneča. To še posebej velja, če upoštevamo, kako pomembna je
Hrvatom katoliška vera/cerkev (Baloban et al. 2019; Nikodem 2011).

Na osnovi medijskega poročanja ni mogoče enačiti spominskih praks v Vu-
kovarju (Žanić 2019, 132; Žanić et al. 2016) z ostalimi v državi. Takšen pristop
k poročanju ima v duhu časa in prostora lahko še eno ozadje, ki ga mediji (ali
družba na splošno) v želji po umiritvi družbenih napetosti verjetno ne želijo
pretirano izpostavljati. Prijatelj (2014, 260) namreč trdi, da je religija lahko tudi
povod za nasprotovanje, grožnje, nasilje in vojne, a da je takšen pogled zelo ozek
in poenostavljen. Morda res, a ko obravnavamo narode na balkanskem poloto-
ku (avtorica tega ne spregleda), kjer imajo nasprotja tudi različno versko ozadje,
bi bilo podcenjevanje tega vidika zelo napačno.⁷ To lahko podkrepimo z dvema

primeroma, ki ju mediji niso spregledali. Med vojno konec 20. stoletja so eden drugemu namenoma napadali/rušili sakralne simbole in medverska nesoglasja se nadaljujejo tudi po vojni (Perica 2014), poznana pa so tudi današnja nesoglasja med hrvaškimi katoliki in srbskimi pravoslavci glede vloge zagrebškega nadškofa Stepinca v času Neodvisne države Hrvaške (NDH) in s tem povezane kanonizacije (Grbić 2019).

Identificirana dinamika poročanja ne nakazuje na izrazite (leve ali desne) svetovnonazorske poglede in vplive urednikov in novinarjev posameznih medijskih hiš na poročanje. To lahko trdimo tudi zato, ker poročanje o vključenosti verskih obredov v programe komemoracij ni povezano s poročanjem o ostalih lastnostih teh prireditvev (RV1). Zatorej ne moremo trditi, da je pogostost poročanja o verskem obredu povezana s pogostostjo poročanja o obiskanosti (na splošno ali pri posameznih starostnih skupinah), prisotnostjo politikov ali programom komemoracij.

6. Sklep

Glavni namen raziskave je bil ugotoviti, koliko so verske vsebine na komemoracijah predmet medijskega poročanja in kakšen je vpliv novičarskih medijev. S pomočjo empirične analize vsebine člankov iz heterogenega nabora časopisov smo dobili odgovore na dve raziskovalni vprašanji in na osnovi tega razvili tudi matematični model. Ugotovili smo, kakšna je pravzaprav medijska podoba teh prireditvev in kakšen je vpliv na poročanje novičarskih medijev. To je skupek novih pogledov, ki doslej niso bili preučevani. Nov je tudi mešan kvantitativni raziskovalni pristop na področju, kjer sicer prevladujejo kvalitativne raziskave (Šuligoj & De Luca 2019). V raziskavi se terminološkim zagatam o spominu ali memoriji (cf. Jurić Pahor 2007) namenoma nismo posvečali in enotno uporabljali pojem spomin.

S sloganom *Navik on živi ki zgine pošteno* smo želeli izpostaviti velik simbolni pomen, ki ga imajo z domovinsko vojno povezane komemoracije za Hrvate. Pri interpretaciji rezultatov se je treba zavedati, da ti predstavljajo medijsko ustvarjeno družbeno realnost (Nišić & Plavšić 2014), ki lahko odstopa od percepcije obiskovalcev posameznih komemoracij. Ta raziskava s tem odpira prostor za nadaljnjo (interdisciplinarno) raziskovalno delo, kjer se lahko v obdelavo vključi še več spremenljivk (lastnosti komemoracij) in uporabi druge statistične metode, opravi poglobljene intervjuje ali organizira fokusne skupine z ustreznimi deležniki, med katerimi so tudi predstavniki katoliške cerkve in drugih verstev. Poleg tega bi veljalo preučevati tudi spremembe pri organizaciji in programu ter retoriki, ki se pojavlja na komemoracijah. Zаметki sprememb v odnosu do srbske manjšine in srbskih (ter drugih ne-hrvaških) žrtev, ki so bile opažene v letu 2020, nakazujejo na opazen preobrat, ki bi moral pritegniti tudi raziskovalce.

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60

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Opombe

64

- ¹ Dan spomina na padle v Veliki vojni in ostalih oboroženih konfliktih; danes je to državni praznik v Avstraliji in na Novi Zelandiji.
- ² Zanimiv je Hermanikov (2008) primer preučevanja identitete manjšin v povezavi s spominom (in tudi mediji) na Zahodnem Balkanu.
- ³ Izključeni: intervjuji, komentarji, kolumne, fotoreportaže, promocijski članki ipd.
- ⁴ Hrvaški besedi *godišnjica* in *obljetnica* razumemo kot sopomenki (Anić 2003); obe sta pogosto uporabljeni v medijih. Powell in Kennell (2016) ponudita še druge ključne besede za iskanje na spletu, a niso vse relevantne za pričujočo raziskavo.
- ⁵ Več o tem v Riffe et al. (2005) in Camprubi in Coromina (2016).
- ⁶ Več o tem v Sperandei (2014).
- ⁷ Več o tem v Beširević (2010).

Ana Toroš

Minority Literature and Collective Trauma: The Case of Slovene Triestine Literature

The study focuses on the relationship between minority literature and collective trauma. Drawing on the theory of trauma, psychoanalysis, memory studies, and literary representations of memory, we argue that the trauma resulting from the suppression of Slovene identity in Trieste during fascism is transmitted into literary discourse through two channels. Firstly, through the normative model of remembering the trauma in question – namely through literary works that can be described as fictions of memory. Secondly, we paid attention to the manifestations of trauma that (unconsciously) enter the narrative structure, regardless of the time and events, which are not necessarily tied to the period of fascism and to concrete events and places of memory. In this context, we illuminated the literary characters from the perspective of literary imagology (the I and the Other).

Keywords: collective trauma, collective memory, minority literature, Trieste, literary representations.

Manjšinska književnost in kolektivna travma: Primer slovenske književnosti na Tržaškem

Članek preučuje odnos med manjšinsko književnostjo in kolektivno travmo. Na podlagi teorije travme, psihoanalize, študij spomina in literarnih reprezentacij spomina avtorica ugotavlja, da se je travma, nastala zaradi zatiranja slovenske identitete v Trstu v času fašizma, v literarni diskurz prenesla na dva načina: skozi normativni model spomina na omenjeno travmo, natančneje skozi literarna dela, ki jih lahko opišemo kot fikcije spomina, poleg tega pa se avtorica osredotoča še na pojavnosti travme, ki (nezavedno) prodirajo v pripovedno strukturo ne glede na čas in dogodke, torej ne nujno povezane z obdobjem fašizma in konkretnimi dogodki in kraji spomina. V tem kontekstu članek osvetljuje literarne junake iz vidika literarne imagologije (Jaz in Drugi).

Ključne besede: kolektivna travma, kolektivni spomin, manjšinska književnost, Trst, literarne reprezentacije.

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1. Introduction

The aim of the present study is to demonstrate one of the possible ways of understanding and studying Slovene Triestine literature, namely by incorporating findings from the field of trauma studies. First of all, we should clarify that today there are various approaches to the study of the relationship between literature and trauma, because this topic is treated differently by researchers from across the humanities and social sciences based on varied theoretical and methodological starting points.

Trauma studies is an area that came to the fore in the early and mid-1990s. Cathy Caruth, one of the leading authors in the field, explains it as follows: "Trauma is a repeated suffering of the event, but it is also a continual leaving of its site" (Caruth 1995a, 10). Importantly, she explains, "trauma is not experienced as a mere repression or defense, but as a temporal delay that carries the individual beyond the shock of the first moment" (Caruth 1995a, 10). Caruth further states, "For those who undergo trauma, it is not only the moment of the event, but of the passing out of it that is traumatic" (Caruth 1995a, 9).¹

Trauma is thus characterised by a latency period (i.e., a period of time from the traumatic event and its repression to the reaction to it). When a traumatic event occurs, the victims are not fully conscious, so they seem to survive the event unscathed. Because this traumatic event "was only vaguely perceived at the place and time when it really happened, [it] may become apparent only later, after a certain latency period – in connection with another space and time" (Jurić Pahor 2011, 168). Moreover, the psychological trauma seems alien, as it cannot be incorporated into consciousness and memory. At the same time, there is an inability to forget, an inner need to talk about the events: "Perhaps the most striking feature of traumatic memory is the fact that it is not a simple memory. [...] [W]hile the images of traumatic reenactment remain absolutely accurate and precise, they are largely inaccessible to conscious recall and control" (Caruth 1995b, 151). Caruth refers to "intrusive thoughts, nightmares, or flashbacks" as traumatic reenactment (Caruth 1995b, 152). And continues: "[W]hat returns in flashbacks is not simply an overwhelming experience that has been obstructed by a later repression or amnesia, but an event that is itself constituted, in part, by its lack of integration into consciousness" (Caruth 1995b, 152). In other words, "[An] event in trauma may be associated with its elision of its normal encoding in memory" (Caruth 1995b, 152). It is thus a paradoxical connection between "the elision of memory" and "the precision of recall" or "the imposition as both image and amnesia" (Caruth 1995b, 153). The main characteristic of the traumatic event, then, is that it has never been "integrated into understanding. The trauma is the confrontation with an event that [...] cannot be placed within the schemes of prior knowledge" (Caruth 1995b, 153). It cannot be integrated "into a completed story of the past" (Caruth 1995b, 153). Therefore, in the heal-

ing process, trauma requires integration and witnessing: “[T]he transformation of trauma into a narrative memory that allows the story to be verbalised and communicated [...] may lose both the precision and the force that characterizes traumatic remembering [...] may mean the capacity to simply forget” (Caruth 1995b, 153–154).

The use of trauma theory in literary texts has recently been addressed in, for example, *Reflections of Trauma and Selected Works by Postwar American and British Literature*, which analyses the “most crucial traumatogenic stressors that affect the lives of the novel’s characters” (Tseti 2011, 1). Thus, the focus is on literary characters who have been shaped by a traumatic past, and how the trauma has been written into them is of interest. Zuzana Burakova examines, for example, the divided, damaged or disrupted identity of literary characters (Tseti 2011, 2). Stanislav Kolar focuses on Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder – the reflection of the survival syndrome in literature (Tseti 2011, 2).

A different approach is taken by Dalia Said Mostafa (2009), who focuses on the literarisation of the traumas brought by the war in Lebanon (1975–1990) in *Literary Representations of Trauma, Memory, and Identity in the Novels of Elias Khoury and Rabī Jābir*. She is interested in how the war has affected the technique of writing itself and the narrative style of Lebanese novelists of different generations. On the one hand, she observes narrative through metaphor, dream imagery, hallucination, montage, fragmentary narration, and interruptions of narrative. On the other hand, she also observes the technique of reportage and detective storytelling. Moreover, she registers the repetition of certain words and phrases (Mostafa 2009, 208–236).

It is also important to highlight the point of view of Stef Craps and Gert Buelens, the authors of the introduction to *Postcolonial Trauma Novels*. The latter point out the inadequacy of a one-sided view, such as a purely Western view of trauma, which can occur if we consider only (Western) theoretical works and traumatic events. For the analysis of postcolonial literary representations of trauma, we should be aware of alternative (different) concepts of trauma and their inscriptions in literary texts, in addition to the dominant discourses on trauma (Craps & Buelens 2008, 1–11).

In Slovenia, the relationship between trauma (as a consequence of events during fascism and the First and Second World Wars) and Slovene literature has been studied by, for example, Boris Paternu and Marija Jurić Pahor. Marija Jurić Pahor researched war trauma in the context of Slovene and other literatures. She analysed literary works that deal with motifs and themes from war and war-related events (Jurić Pahor 2019). Her article *Timeless: The Trauma of Fascism and National Socialism in Light of the Need for “Latency” and Transgenerational Transmission* is also worth mentioning. The essence of her contribution is the observation that the trauma of fascism and National Socialism was a phenomenon that required a long latency period, and that, for the traumatised community, it gained the status of an indelible time that transcends (Jurić Pahor 2004, 40).

In the article *Po sledih jezikovnih travm v sodobni slovenski književnosti* (Traces of Linguistic Traumas in Contemporary Slovene Literature), Boris Paternu (2005) analysed the impact of language trauma on the writer, on literary language, and on the content of literary works themselves. Thus, in the introduction, he points out that over the centuries the Slovene language has had a crucial function in the constitution of the Slovene nation. "Language and everything that happened to it has always been, and to a large extent still is, an extremely sensitive area of Slovene personal and communal consciousness" (Paternu 2005, 65). He points out that the older generation of Slovene writers

[s]till have a strong memory of the experience of linguistic genocide in their childhood and also later. These are writers and poets who went through the experience of being Slovenes under Italy and under Austria [...]. Therefore, among so-called cross-border writers, language trauma is a very conspicuous and well-elaborated theme (Paternu 2005, 65).

He observes the latter in two ways: through the content itself, which focuses on the traumatic events of the ban on the Slovene language, and through the choice of language in which the works of these writers are written. In the context of Slovene writers from Trieste, he cites examples written by Boris Pahor and Alojz Rebula. Boris Pahor's story *Metulj na obešalniku* (Butterfly on a Coat Hook) (Pahor 1959a) describes the punishment of a Slovene girl who spoke Slovene in class during fascism, which led an Italian teacher to hang her from a coat hook. In the case of Alojz Rebula, he refers to an excerpt from *Vrt bogov* (Garden of the Gods):

For example, that I pay attention to Slovene at all. That there is some kind of convulsive anger in between, I do not know for whom. Who knows, if not Benito Mussolini. Yes, he robbed me of a Slovene primary school, and I would like to take revenge on him, so I would enthusiastically use Slovene in all its flavours and colours (Rebula 1986).

Many discussions of Slovene Triestine literature and trauma refer to Boris Pahor's *Necropolis*.² The author's alter ego, the narrator of a traumatic story who survived the tragedy of a concentration camp, carries trauma that brings him back to the scene of the crime after many years. Even writing about this experience can be understood as a process of coming to terms with trauma. In this respect, Ivanka Hergold concludes the accompanying study *The Torment of Living and the Rebellion of Unfree People in Boris Pahor's Opus*:

The victim remained forever a victim [...]. For Pahor (as a surviving victim), his ineffability appears, on the one hand, with the symbolism of the preservation and protection of the camp as a sacred place [...]. On the other hand, the writing of the novel is only subordinate to this symbolic function (Hergold 1997, 228).

Various research questions are posed in the corpus of literature and trauma research – questions that can be divided into the following four major thematic sections:

- Descriptions of traumatic events in literature.
- The impact of (linguistic) trauma on literary language.
- Literary representation of trauma through specific writing techniques and narrative style.
- Observations of (traumatised) literary characters: what symptoms of post-traumatic syndrome can be attributed to them?

Our research perspective will consider all four research starting points, but it will be based on a broader perspective. We will focus on what happens at the level of literature belonging to a minority burdened with collective trauma. Are there certain common transgenerational features at the level of literature created under the influence of collective trauma?

To this end, the specificity of literary discourse in relation to collective memory and trauma must be considered. While studies of literary representations of individual memory have long been established, it is only recently that research has begun to examine literary representations of collective memory. The term “memory fictions” has become established for literary works “that represent processes of remembering” (Neumann 2008, 333). These are literary works produced by a particular culture to answer the question: Who are we? Furthermore, they are often “imaginative (re)construction of the past in responses to current needs” (Neumann 2008, 334). Moreover, literary creation is not a closed system “but a part of the principal meaning-making process of a culture, interacting with other symbol systems” (Neumann 2008, 335).

From this point of view, Slovene literary discourse in Trieste can also be understood in the function of preserving the memory of the traumatic repression of Sloveneness in Trieste. At the same time, this minority literary discourse can offer “normative models” (Neumann 2008, 341) for the narration and interpretation of the minority’s own past. As Aleide Assmann puts it, “writing is not only a means of immortalisation; it is also an aid to memory” (Assmann 2011, 174).

Literary discourse, then, can participate in the process of remembering traumatic events. In this case, literary discourse incorporates already conscious and articulated traumatic events. In other words, the literalisation of trauma occurs after its transformation into narrative memory. It is characteristic of trauma itself that it is not conscious and that it appears in flashes in different places and at different times. When we become aware of the trauma and articulate it, the process of its integration into narrative memory (Caruth 1995b, 153–154) and emotional processing begins.

Since literary writing is a conscious act, it also follows that writing about trauma does not necessarily presuppose an author burdened with trauma. However, if the author is (was) burdened by the trauma he or she is writing about, he or she has already transformed (at least to some degree made conscious) it into narrative memory (and worked through it).

Considering this, we can analyse literary texts from two starting points:

- How is the transformed trauma (as narrative memory) reflected in literary discourse? Here we are interested in the normative (literary) model (Neumann 2008, 341) of remembering traumatic events.
- Following the finding that the collective trauma of fascism triggered the “transgenerational transmission” of trauma (Jurić Pahor 2004, 40), we can hypothesise that the transgenerational transmission of trauma is also reflected at the level of literary discourse.³ Is trauma, then, also integrated into Slovene Triestine literary discourse in its original (unconscious, pre-narrative) form? Following this, are there certain elements in the literary structure that the authors did not intentionally (consciously) incorporate into their literary works?

2. Slovene Triestine Literature

Before focusing on the relation between Slovene Triestine literature and the trauma suffered by the Slovene community in the province of Trieste, we should provide a clear definition of the concept of Slovene Triestine literature. In her article *Periodizacija slovenske književnosti na Tržaškem* (Periodization of Slovene Literature in Trieste), Marija Pirjevec speaks of four phases of development: the pre-literary, related to religious needs and lasting until the 19th century; the literary phase of national awakening, covering the period 1848–1918; literature in the true sense of the word begins with the Italian occupation in 1918, with the more important authors of this period writing their works in exile; and the fourth phase of developed literature, written by authors in Trieste, begins with the end of the Second World War (Pirjevec 2011, 353). In this study, we will consider literary works from the third phase onwards. We can hypothesise for this literature that it often follows a certain literary model (e.g., normative model, cf. Neumann 2008, 341) that was established at the beginning of the 20th century as a consequence of the traumatic events concerning the Slovene community in Trieste.

The name for this corpus of literature (i.e., Slovene Triestine literature) relates to the concept of *letteratura triestina*, i.e., literary works written from the second half of the 19th century by Italian-speaking authors from Trieste. The time of creation of this corpus of literary works coincides with the shaping of the Italian Triestine identity. This is also when the concept of *triestinità* (triestinity) is used, along with the concept of *letteratura triestina* (Triestine literature). The

concept of *triestinità*⁴ is discussed by Elke-Nicole Kappus in her article The Future for Trieste or a Reconstruction of History, in which she points out that before the 19th century,

71

[t]he nation of Trieste was not defined as a national entity in the contemporary sense, wherein a nation is characterised by cultural and ethnic homogeneity and, above all, by the idea of its members having a common origin and descent, but the Triestine nation was an economic community of interests. It was ready to integrate all who were for the common good (Kappus 1997, 172).

In this sense, the *triestinità* was not an ethnic entity. It enabled the integration of the linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity of the city (Kappus 1997, 173). From the 19th century onwards, with the nationalization and ethnicization of culture (Kappus 1997, 176), *triestinità* (as *Trieste italianissima*, Kappus 1997, 176) began to assert itself in literary discourse.

The concept of *triestinità* was actually shaped and strengthened precisely through Italian-language literature from the province of Trieste, and it was born out of a contrast with the rest of Italian culture and literature, i.e., the culture and literature from Italy's central regions. While, on the one hand, the Italian-speaking inhabitants of Trieste embraced Italian cultural traditions, on the other hand, they felt somehow special, owing to the fact that for a long period of time they lived at the crossroads between the Germanic and the Slavic world, i.e., under Austria-Hungary.

It should be underlined that the concept of Triestine literature does not include contemporary literary works from the province of Trieste, which are written in the Slovene language (nor does it include literary works from this region, which are written in other languages). Thus, the concept is limited to Italian-language literary production. In the period known as Triestine irredentism, it had a common narrative and conceptual framework (e.g., normative model, cf. Neumann 2008, 341), namely that of representing Trieste as a future Italian town. Since, in terms of language and content, the meaning of *letteratura triestina* is fairly limited, the Slovene term *tržaška literatura* is by no means its equivalent. In fact, the Slovene term covers a much broader area and is much less circumscribed. The Slovene term *tržaška literatura* actually includes literary works from Trieste written in both Slovene and Italian. Moreover, it can also include literary works from the province of Trieste, which were written in other languages. Slovene literary historians felt the need to express the concept of *tržaška literatura* concisely in the Italian language and started adding the word Slovene to the Italian term *letteratura triestina*, i.e., Slovene Triestine literature (Košuta 1997, 109). Owing to the widespread confusion surrounding the concepts of *letteratura triestina* and *tržaška literatura*, especially in Slovene-to-Italian translations, in the work Images of Trieste and of the Triestine Region in Slovene and Italian Poetry

in the First Half of the 20th Century, two new, distinct terms are used: “Slovene Triestine literature” (*slovenska tržaška literatura* in Slovene; *letteratura triestina slovena* in Italian) and “Italian Triestine literature” (*italijanska tržaška literatura* in Slovene; *letteratura triestina* in Italian) (Toroš 2011).

The concept of Slovene Triestine literature is useful not only when distinctions must be made between Slovene and Italian literature in the province of Trieste, but also when talking about Slovene Triestine literature in relation to the term Slovene literature. Since the end of the First World War, and increasingly after the end of the Second World War, the term has also been used to make a distinction between Slovene literature from Slovenia and Slovene literature from the province of Trieste. In fact, since the end of the First World War – or, symbolically speaking, since the arson attack on the *Narodni dom* in Trieste⁵ – Slovene Triestine authors started using literature to raise awareness about the oppression of the Slovene people in the province of Trieste and by doing so a specific way of writing literature (e.g., narrative model, cf. Neumann 2008, 341) was established within the Slovene literature from Trieste, which was not characteristic of the rest of Slovene literature.

3. Collective Trauma in Slovene Triestine Literature

In what follows, we will highlight some recurrent features within Slovene Triestine literature that can be understood in the context of the normative literary model of remembering traumatic events. Moreover, we will draw attention to some phenomena within Slovene Triestine literature that can be related to trauma in its original, pre-narrative form. For our analysis, we have selected literary works by authors belonging to different generations, which show how traumatic experience was passed on from the generation of writers who experienced the suppression of the Slovene identity to the younger generations.⁶

3.1 Narodni dom

If we examine Slovene Triestine literature in the 20th and 21st centuries, we find that its current themes are often based on events that occurred in the province of Trieste in the first half of the 20th century, which was a traumatic time for the Slovene Triestine community. As Aleida Assmann states, “there has been a strong alliance between memory and place. [...] This topological orientation leads logically to architectural complexes as embodiments of memory” (Assmann 2011, 147).

An excellent example is the novel *Črni obroč* (Black Ring) by Marij Čuk (b. Trieste, 1952), published in 2020, 100 years after the arson attack on the *Narodni dom* (1920), the event at the heart of the novel. In symbolic terms, the novel tells of the loss and violent destruction of Slovene culture in Trieste. The author

is Slovene and was born in Trieste in the post-war period. Although he did not witness the arson firsthand, his descriptions of the event are similar to those in the short story *Kres v pristanu* (The Fire in the Port), published in 1959 by Boris Pahor (b. Trieste, 1913), who saw the arson with his own eyes. In this way, the *Narodni dom* – or the arson of this Slovene cultural centre in Trieste – further consolidates itself as a literary symbol marking the beginning of the destruction of Slovene culture in the province of Trieste.

3.2 Literary Characters

An important theme in Slovene Triestine literature is, therefore, the sense of belonging to the Slovene nation, i.e., the efforts to maintain and strengthen the presence of the Slovene community in the province of Trieste. Consequently, literary characters could be defined on the basis of their attitude towards Slovene culture: positive, highly moral, and mostly Slovene-speaking characters (the I) strive to keep Slovene culture alive in the province of Trieste; their counterparts (the Other) are mostly Italian-speaking characters who despise the Slovene population and culture. They are usually unpleasant, immoral, and physically unattractive. Such characters can be analysed with recourse to literary imagology, which examines the attitudes of members of a culture (the I) toward members of a foreign culture (the Other).⁷

For example, the analysis of the literary characters in the novel *Zlata poroka ali Tržaški blues* (The Golden Wedding or The Blues of Trieste) published in 2010 by Evelina Umek (b. 1939) has shown that the description of the novel's characters – residents of the city of Trieste – depends very much on their attitude towards the Slovene community. The more the characters identify as Slovenes, the more positively they are portrayed (they have strong ethical values, they feel positive emotions, and they are physically attractive). The greater their distance from the Slovene community and culture – i.e., the more they try to hide their Slovene identity or even act against Slovene people – the more negative their portrayal (they are violent, emotionally unstable, insecure, prone to alcohol abuse, and unattractive) (Stekar 2015). However, such characterization does not reflect the author's purposeful/conscious choice (Stekar 2013). It can be inferred that this was the author's only pre-existing understanding of the situation in Trieste.

Such an arrangement of characters can be understood with the help of Pavel Fonda's theory.⁸ Namely, the vulnerable group is characterized by a paranoid-schizoid position in which the object world is narrowed down to a hostile group and an idealized object (i.e., group of belonging). Based on the paranoid rule (either with us or against us), there is a threat of exclusion and projective identification that identifies or assimilates the representative of the native group, who does not conform to the native group, with the Other – the enemy (Fonda 2009).

In our specific case, we are facing the author's (unconscious) arrangement of literary characters according to their preference for the idea of Sloveneness. The latter points to the author's trauma, which arose due to the suppression of Slovene identity.

That in the given case one can speak of the emergence of a collective trauma within literary discourse that is passed on to the next generation can be demonstrated by the narrative *Identiteta črne maše* (The Identity of the Black Mass) published in 2013 by Igor Pison (b. 1982). The narrative, whose very title foregrounds the question of identity, opens up in grotesque scenes the traumatic memory of the suppression of the Slovene language for the Slovene community in Trieste. The memory of the ban on the use of the Slovene language during church services is particularly emphasised.⁹ Slovene characters who move away from a Slovene identity and closer to an Italian identity are also negatively displayed. The Other are Italian-speaking characters, represented by the chief and government officials, highlighted in black. The narrative clearly indicates that the story is set in the countryside of Trieste, among representatives of the minority (Pison 2013, 161). Thus, the second part of the narrative begins with the subtitle: *Šef udari ponovno in nepričakovano začne maševati po italijansko* (The chief strikes again and unexpectedly the mass begins in Italian) (Pison 2013, 168). As a result, those present at the black mass begin to speak out on the issue:

"Povsem neupravičeno je maševati le v italijanskem jeziku!" zatuli Andrej. [...] Celo strežnik Matej, ki je lep del obreda sam vodil šov, napade šefa, saj so se Slovani dalj časa ukvarjali z magijo, medtem ko so se Latinci kmalu predali "alla ciarlataneria cattolica". [...] "Italijani niso sleparji", odvrne slovenski prvak, ki že leta sodeluje z italijansko desnico. [...] "Noi avevamo Dante, Leonardo, Leopardi, e voi?" doda še drugi. Ivo, profesor zgodovine na višji šoli, skuša miriti navzoče ter razloži, da je povsem upravičeno zahtevati dvojezično črno mašo. [...] A dobri volji navkljub se je šef zoperstavil vsem pravičnim pobudam. [...] Šef se je razburil: "No, siamo estranei a qualunque etichetta razzista, sciovinista o fascista." [...] "Tega ne smemo v templju!" je histerično vzkliknila šefova žena, gospa Majda, Slovenka, ki se že nekaj let sramuje, da se je rodila Slovenka (Pison 2013, 168–172, original text).

"It is completely unjustified to preach only in Italian!" shouted Andrej. [...] Even the servant Matej, who conducted a good part of the ceremony, attacks the chief, saying that the Slavs practiced magic for a long time, while the Latins soon capitulated *alla ciarlataneria Cattolica*. [...] "Italians are not fraudsters", says the Slovene president of a political party, who for years has collaborated with the Italian right-wing party. [...] "Noi avevamo Dante, Leonardo, Leopardi, e voi?" adds another. Ivo, a history professor at the high school, tries to reassure the audience, explaining that the demand for a bilingual black mass is entirely justified. [...] Despite his good will, the chief opposed all reconciliation initiatives. [...] "Noi siamo estranei a qualunque etichetta razzista, sciovinista o fascista." [...] "We must not do this in the temple!" cried the chief's wife hysterically, Mrs. Majda, a Slovene who has been ashamed for some years that she was born a Slovene (Pison 2013, 168–172, translation).

It should not be overlooked that Franz appears in the story as “one of the few members of the Italian majority who learned Slovene” (Pison 2013, 173). His name (Franz, not Francesco) associates him with the Germanic world. In fact, as the narrative progresses, the narrator himself associates Franz with the Habsburg frame, which could be linked to the memory of the cultural development of the Slovenes in Habsburg Trieste. Indeed, Franz mentions “the famous Habsburg law” (Pison 2013, 173).

The narrative ends with concerned questions about the possibilities of protecting Slovene identity in Trieste. The verb *must* is emphasized:

We must consider how the story of Black Mass will continue. We must fight for the Slovene elite mass. [...] We must work secretly, perhaps to call someone from Slovenia (Pison 2013, 174).

3.3 *Ščavi*

Another common feature of Slovene Triestine literature is the frequent repetition of the racist swear word *ščavi*. As Cathy Caruth explains: “To be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event” (Caruth 1995a, 4).

In Slovene Triestine literature, this word is usually associated with an event, with a representation of the confrontation between the I and the Other who utters this word, thereby denigrating Slovene culture. As Fonda explains, words such as the word *ščavi* cause pain through alluding to an already introjected painful experience (Fonda 2009). Namely, the victim (the I) involved carries the conviction that he or she is inferior to the Other and actually identifies as *ščavi*.

In this regard, Fonda points out that a member of a minority unconsciously introjects several images of the majority’s national identity. As a result, he finds two stereotypes about his own national identity: how the minority sees itself and how the majority sees the minority (Fonda 2009).

The literary scenes of confrontation between the I and the despicable Other can occur at different times and thus are not necessarily tied to the period of fascism. The latter speaks in favour of the thesis that we are dealing with trauma. Moreover, they seem to intrude unintentionally into the narrative structure.

From the perspective of literary imagology, the use of this swear word to characterise the Other creates a meta-image (Leerssen 2016) that reflects how the I sees itself in the eyes of the Other.

For a better understanding, let us look at another example from the novel *The Golden Wedding or The Blues of Trieste* by Evelina Umek. In this case, the Other is represented by the character of Fiore, the descendant of Italian-speaking Istrian refugees who have fled to Trieste. It can be assumed that the role assigned to him by the author (unconsciously) is to reactivate the traumatic

experience (the cultural humiliation experienced by Slovenes in Trieste, dating back to the first half of the 20th century). The narrative climax of the novel is a golden wedding anniversary celebration within the Slovene Triestine family. The celebration is disrupted by a drunken Fiore, who is married to a Slovene woman and is actually the son-in-law of the celebrating couple. Fiore addresses the Slovene guests at the party with the following words: “Tomorrow – no, on Monday – I will see my lawyer and file for divorce. I have had enough of all of you, damned *Sciavi*!” (Umek 2010, 130).

3.4 I and the Other – a Dysfunctional Relationship

The next recurring element within Slovene Triestine literature that can be linked to collective trauma is the dysfunctional love relationship between representatives of the native (Slovene) and the foreign (Italian) culture.¹⁰ It is already hinted at in the quoted scene from Eveline Umek’s novel *The Golden Wedding or the Trieste Blues*, wherein Fiore announces his divorce from his Slovene wife. As can be seen in the novel, this aspect of Slovene-Italian relations also appears in different time frames.

For these representations, we can also hypothesize that they are created from a paranoid-schizoid position, where everything negative is projected outwards, onto the Other (Fonda 2009). As a result, any relationship with the Other is also inconceivable.

Let us analyse a novel by a younger writer, Vilma Purič (b. 1966), *Burjin čas* (The Time of Bora), published in 2009. This novel, set during the Second World War, tells the love story of a Slovene woman named Brina and an Italian man named Pino. The Slovene community does not approve of this love, and in the end, Brina also has to admit that she made a mistake. Indeed, when she is caught and imprisoned by the authorities for her anti-fascist activities, Pino leaves her. Despite her love affair with Pino, Brina remains a positive character: she realises that she made a mistake (in starting a relationship with Pino) and actively participates in the liberation front of the Slovene nation. Had she not acted as she did, she would probably have been portrayed in a negative light. This is the case of Fani, the anti-heroine in the novel *Parnik trobi nji* (A Steamboat Blows to Her) by Boris Pahor (published 1964). Fani has a relationship with a fascist and she is portrayed as vulgar, adulterous, and rude to her mother. In the novel, she is eventually punished for her behaviour: she is run over by a train while drunk.

3.5 Identity

Finally, let us consider an example of the literalization of the suppression of (Slovene) identity, which is at the core of the novel *Frizerka* (The Hairdresser) by Evelina Umek (2005). We will observe the main literary character, Romana,

who rejects her Slovene identity. Such literary characters are presented in other analysed stories only dimly, in black and white, i.e., with negative character traits. In the given novel, the author delves into the psyche of the (anti) heroine from a mixed Slovene-Italian family throughout the novel.

Romana represses her childhood memories of her Slovene-speaking grandmother, who taught her to pray in Slovene, and generally all painful memories related to her Slovene roots.

To understand Romana as a representation of a traumatized person, the fact that components of both cultures accumulate in a child from a mixed marriage may be helpful (Fonda 2009). Interethnic tensions and group traumas reinforce the child's paranoid-schizoid position. As a result, the individual (Romana) is forced to identify herself with only one group. This is associated with a high degree of coercion over certain parts of herself (Fonda 2009). At this level, false ethnic identities are created that prevent an individual from freely expressing different parts of their self (Fonda 2009).

This oppression and its consequences are very well portrayed in the novel itself, for Romana's life lacks the joy of life, the will to live. Her whole life is permeated by an agonising grey, there is an absence of feeling, a suppression of her own emotions, a lack of contact with herself, her own feelings, an escape from her own feelings.

Her inner emptiness contrasts with her friend Ivana, who is described as "smiling" and "cheerful", which clearly expresses her Slovene origin. Thus, when Romana asks Ivana if she knows Slovene, she answers: "Of course, I am Slovene" (Umek 2005, 90).

The author's portrayal of Romana might be associated with a non-domestic internal stranger (Fonda 2009). As Fonda points out, it is unusual when we discover in ourselves parts of the negative, despised, repressed identity of the Other. All of it forces its way to the surface and requires a constant expenditure of energy to maintain repression or division. Thus, a repressed, unconscious image of the doppelganger, that is the Other, is formed. To consolidate the repression, additional defence mechanisms are necessary, such as reactionary formation expressed in the excessive assertion of a pure group identity (Fonda 2009). In this case, Romana might be a literary image of the author's unconscious, repressed, or detached identity.

4. Conclusion

As we have shown, these analysed works within Slovene Triestine literature have specific features, which can be better understood from the perspective of (transgenerational) collective trauma. In this regard, we have highlighted some recurring transgenerational elements within the Slovene literature of Trieste. Drawing on the theory of trauma, psychoanalysis, memory studies, and liter-

ary representations of memory, we argued that the trauma of the suppression of Slovene identity in Trieste during fascism is transmitted into literary discourse through two channels. First, through the normative (literary) model of the trauma in question, namely through literary works that can be described as fictions of (collective) memory. Secondly, we paid attention to the manifestations of trauma that most likely enter the narrative structure unconsciously, regardless of the time frame, which is not necessarily tied to the period of (pre-) fascism and to concrete events and places of memory (e.g., the burning of the *Narodni dom*). In this context, we examined literary characters from the perspective of literary imagology. We tried to understand their representations and the relations between them through the lens of certain psychoanalytic concepts (paranoid-schizoid position, non-domestic inner stranger, introjections, projections).

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Notes

- ¹ In this context, it is worth mentioning Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which was officially recognized by the American Psychiatric Association in the 1980s, as “a response to an event ‘outside the range of usual human experience’” (Caruth 1995a, 3). The latter causes symptoms formerly called “shell shock”, “combat stress”, “delayed stress syndrome”, “traumatic neurosis” (Caruth 1995a, 3). Some dissociative disorders also belong in this group (Caruth 1995a, 3).
- ² See, e.g., Pirjevec and Tuta Ban (1993), Pregelj and Kozak (2011). Traumas, related to Slovene writers from Trieste, are also touched upon in the works of Miran Košuta and Tatjana Rojc.
- ³ The term transgenerational transmission of trauma is generally used to refer to transmission that spans up to four generations, after that we refer to it as traumatic collective memory. In addition to certain patterns of transgenerational transmission of trauma, silence and identification are the main mechanisms of trauma transmission from one generation to another. Although the traumatic past is not spoken about, it is expressed through gestures, hints, repeated interruptions of conversations. In identifications, subjects identify with the life history of objects (Wutti 2013).
- ⁴ On Italian Triestine literature and the concept of *triestinità*, see also Ara and Magris (1997), Pizzi (2005; 2007; 2013). On the difference between the terms *triestinità* and *tržaškost* in the context of literature, see Toroš (2014). For more on trauma and the Triestine region, see Ballinger (2003). The author examines identity and memory in Trieste and Istria in relation to their traumatic past. The discussion by M. Jurić Pahor (2014) is worth considering, in which the author tries to understand Slovene Triestine literature through Homi K. Bhabha’s concepts, which, despite the traumatic past, make it possible to create closeness in dialog: cultural hybridity, the Third Space and translation.
- ⁵ The *Narodni dom* was the main Slovene cultural centre in Trieste. It was burned down in an arson attack in 1920. For more information on the *Narodni dom*, see Kafol and Mermolja (2020).
- ⁶ We have selected a sample of literary works that illustrate the emergence of trauma and the normative (literary) model of remembering the traumatic experience in Slovene Triestine literature from the first half of the 20th century onwards. A more extensive study would, of course, point to other features and deviations, which is beyond the purpose of the present study.
- ⁷ For additional information on imagery, see Pageaux (2010) and Leerssen (2016).
- ⁸ The theory of psychiatrist Pavel Fonda is particularly suitable for our research, because it is applied to the territory of Trieste. He uses the concept of positions developed by Melanie Klein (1952, cited in Fonda 2009) and extends it to group psychic action. In this context, he explains that there are three categories of mental positions of an individual or group. In a dangerous situation, the group retreats into a paranoid-schizoid position because it is better suited to solidify the group, to determine a common enemy, to reinforce positive emotions regarding one’s group, and to externalize negative ones. Trauma victims are also in a paranoid-schizoid position. Characteristically, everything experienced is separated into good and bad, with everything bad

projected outward. In Trieste, throughout the 20th century, a group paranoid-schizoid mood prevailed: pure Slovenes and *italianissimi* Italians (Fonda 2009, 101–134). In this context, Fonda gives an example of contrasting representations of Triestine landscape (with different focus) in Slovene and Italian non-fiction books. Slovene works emphasise the Slovene element of landscape, while Italian works do not mention it (Fonda 2009). A similar duality is evident at the level of literature (fiction), for example, in the analysis of Slovene and Italian poetry in Trieste and its surroundings in the first half of the 20th century (Toroš 2011).

⁹ On the importance of the clergy in preserving the Slovene language, see, for example Klinec (1979).

¹⁰ See also Toroš (2020).

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Quantitative Analysis of Active Labour Population Migrations – The Case of Croatia

Migrations are a worldwide phenomenon occurring for centuries and an ongoing topic among numerous researchers. As such, global migrations have an impact on the labour market and the economy, Croatia being no exception. A dynamic history of migrations resulted in Croatia being labelled as a traditional emigration country. With the global financial crisis in 2008, an increasing number of active-labour population is migrating from Croatia to, mainly, developed European countries. After Croatia's accession to the European Union in 2013, a new market and new opportunities opened up for job seekers. In a time when more and more individuals are emigrating and a continuous need for active labour population is emerging, the question of the scale of migrations is raised. The article investigates how wages and unemployment influenced migrations in Croatia between 2007 and 2016. The data was tested using a multiple regression model and additionally confirmed by the MAPE. The obtained results confirm the significance of the model and its parameters.

Keywords: labour market, unemployment, wages, multiple regression, MAPE.

Kvantitativna analiza migracij delovno aktivnega prebivalstva – primer Hrvaške

Migracije so svetovni fenomen. Prisotne so že več stoletij in zato predmet številnih raziskav. Svetovne migracije vplivajo na trg delovne sile in gospodarstvo, čemur smo priča tudi na Hrvaškem. Zaradi dinamične migracijske zgodovine se Hrvaške drži sloves tradicionalne države izseljevanja. Tako se tudi vse od svetovne finančne krize leta 2008 dalje vse več delovno aktivnega prebivalstva seli s Hrvaške zlasti v razvite evropske države. Vstop Hrvaške v Evropsko unijo leta 2013 je odprl nov trg in nove priložnosti za iskalce zaposlitve. V času, ko državo zapušča še več posameznikov in vse bolj narašča potreba po delovno aktivnem prebivalstvu, se zastavlja tudi vprašanje obsega migracij. Članek preučuje vpliv plač in brezposelnosti na migracije na Hrvaškem med letoma 2007 in 2016. Podatke smo preverili s pomočjo modela večkratne regresije in naknadno potrdili z MAPE. Pridobljeni rezultati potrjujejo pomen modela in njegovih parametrov.

Ključne besede: *trg delovne sile, brezposelnost, plače, večkratna regresija, povprečna absolutna odstotna napaka (MAPE).*

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1. Introduction

The destabilization of Croatian demographics started in the 1960s with economic migration mainly caused by uncontrolled deagrarization leading to a reduction of employment in agriculture, deruralization as a result of emigration from rural areas, and, finally, accelerated urbanization causing overpopulation of larger cities (Akrap 1998), e.g. Zagreb. According to Podgorelec et al. (2019), Croatia has traditionally been a country of considerable emigration, which is proven by its demographic picture that reflects migration trends. Such dynamic history contributed to a long-term negative migration balance which consequently labelled Croatia as a traditional emigration country. Moreover, as Živić et al. (2005) emphasize, migrations are a highly important determinant of Croatia's population development. This is certainly not an issue faced by Croatia alone, but rather a global, transnational issue. In the era of globalization, migration trends are intensifying as, on the one hand, the demand for labour on the integrated world economy market is growing, while on the other hand demographic projections show that migration is and will remain a crucial factor of development of a globalized world (Skupnjak-Kapić 2008). Milardović (2008) emphasized that the demographic and economic dimensions of globalization are complementary, and although the focus in social sciences is not on demographics, they are interesting in the context of observing global trends of world population movement and migration. The free movement of people in the global labour market is one of the goals of universal liberalization and of the international organizations present on the global market today. This was confirmed by a survey conducted by GCIM (2005) showing that approximately a half of all international migrants are economically active workers. Open borders are an essential determinant of growth and development due to the mobility of goods and services as well as population and capital, as seen in the case of developed countries. With Croatia's accession to the European Union in 2013, access to the European market increased the mobility of both capital and workforce. The article investigates the scope, spatial distribution and demographic structure of the Croatian migration contingent and presents the long-term negative effect on socio-economic and, especially, demographic development. Negative demographic projections triggered by an aging population, declining birth rates as well as economic, social, health and political factors, which continue to this day, have long been a point of interest and concern for experts and the scientific public as foundations of a society and its economy. There are numerous reasons why one would migrate in search for a better life, among which wages and low living standards (Mlikota & Prelas Kovačević 2013), organization and governance of the state, the futility and demise of the state, society and nation, corruption, crime and nepotism in the country (Jurić 2017), religious intolerance and nationalism, absence of positive changes in the country (Jerić 2019), unfavourable economic

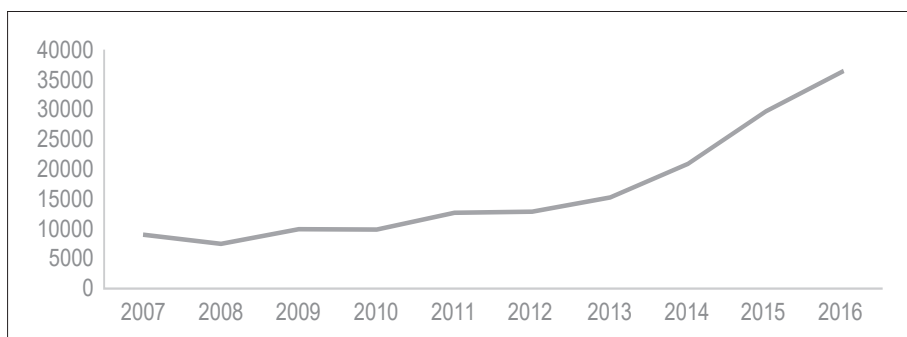
conditions, a decline in the overall employment rate and living standards, poor entrepreneurial climate, long waiting employment opportunities, and the inability to find permanent employment in one's profession (Župarić-Iljić 2016). The above resulted in the emigration of a concerning number of young people without whom the development processes and the prospects of a prosperous country are impossible. This negative demographic trend leaves many destabilizing consequences for Croatia's basic systems: healthcare, pension, work, financial and educational (Bališa 2019). Therefore, the article studies the migrations of the active labour population since the beginning of the global economic crisis to determine the scope and the drivers of migration from Croatia. This period is selected for analysis as the consequences of migrations are mostly visible during this time.

2. Explorative Analysis of the Croatian Labour Market

Voluntary or involuntary migration, promotion of labour mobility, formal education and lifelong learning programmes, as well as knowledge-based work and intellectual capital are a crucial prerequisite of competitiveness and readiness for change within the economic system (Vasilj & Ereš 2018). These factors are part of a contemporary labour market review, which requires abandoning the traditional form of organization and transitioning to a learning organization (Azemović & Azemović 2018). The actual migration reality is convincing evidence that this phenomenon cannot be accepted as a simple mechanical one, but as a complex dynamic process of narrow interaction between socio-political, economic and demographic factors, which only confirms that they reflect on the level of development of the said factors (Lajić 2002; Bogunović 2006; Nejašmić & Mišetić 2004). Researchers and the general public have never been more interested in labour market issues as they are today, given the political and economic developments before and especially after the 2008/2009 global economic crisis, when unemployment in some countries almost reached the percentage of the first major global crisis in the 1920s (Radman Peša 2015). The economic crisis, which only recently ended in Croatia, has prolonged and dramatically affected the unemployment trend in Croatia (Puljiz 2001) and strengthened the desire to leave Croatia. The increasing unemployment rate in Croatia, which is also the main driver of active labour population migrations, is a consequence of the mismatch between the supply and demand of employment with regard to occupation, education and skills of employees and the requirements of employers (Obadić 2008). Furthermore, there is the question regarding the actual number of unemployed population or emigrants as stated by Obadić (2008). Namely, the survey unemployment rate is considerably lower than registered, suggesting that a number of officially unemployed people are working in the unofficial sector of the economy. Regardless of the speculations, the data used in this paper

are taken from the official statistics bureau, the Croatian Bureau of Statistics. Methodological problems are conditioned primarily by the lack of a systematic static base – the Population Register. Data on emigration of the population from Croatia can be obtained on the basis of the census and the annual report of the Central Bureau of Statistics on Migration. However, censuses only indicate data related to the last relocation and not on previous migrations (Klempić Bogadi & Lajić 2014). The annual reports of the Central Bureau of Statistics on Migration are based on statistics kept by the Department for Administrative Affairs, but are methodologically questionable especially when it comes to external migration because the emigrating population generally does not deregister their residence in Croatia. According to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2017a), First Release of the Migration of Population of the Republic of Croatia, the number of emigrants from Croatia abroad is increasing, and in the last few years this process presents a sharp upward trend as seen in Chart 1 below.

Chart 1: Migration of Croatian population, 2007–2016



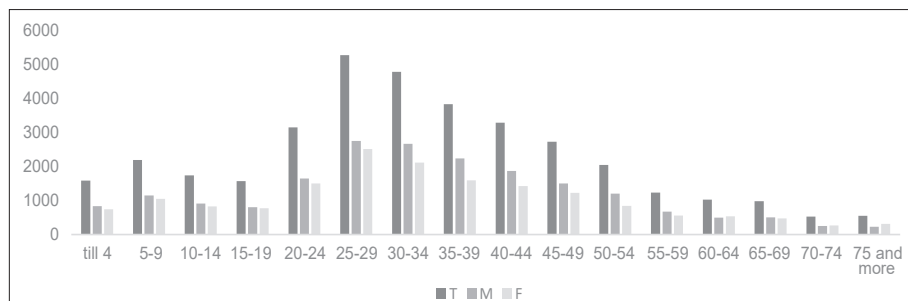
Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2017a).

Numbers of emigrants from Croatia have peaked in 2016, as seen in Chart 1, from 29,651 in 2015 to 36,436 in 2016 although intensive emigration of the population began already in 2013. The main reason for migrating is the inability to find a job in Croatia which is suitable for one's education, skill or experience level. The majority of the population migrating are young people or families with children in a search for a better life, as shown further in Chart 2. However, as mentioned earlier, other reasons are increasingly highlighted.

Data show that 57.6 % (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2016) of people aged 25–49 were unemployed in 2016, which is a very high rate of young unemployed people and the numbers are increasing (60.3 % in 2017, according to the Statistical Yearbook of Croatia (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2017c)). Young people seem to be the most affected by the global crisis. Back then, they were in a transitional period, lacking professional experience and sometimes adequate knowledge and education, which made them a vulnerable employment group

(Obadić 2011). To minimise costs in such times, employers reduce the number of jobs and increase the number of low-income workers thus making employment unstable, which discourages young people from finding employment (Obadić 2017). This corresponds to Chart 2 where the peak of the migrating population is between 25 and 39 years, approximately, with the age group 25–29 having the total highest number of migrations (T = 5.263) equally distributed between male (M = 2.751) and female (F = 2.512). The labour active group that is most represented in emigration is the one trying to be active in the labour market but, unfortunately, with less success, as employers in Croatia are mostly looking for experienced workers, thus leaving the young people who have just graduated without many opportunities. To present the magnitude of the research issue, the following table shows population projections related to migrations.

Chart 2: International migration of population, by age and sex, 2016



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2017a).

Table 1: Population estimate of Croatia by main age groups, 2011/2017

Population	2011	2017	2011/2017
Total	4,284,889	4,125,700	–3.72 %
Under 15 years	652,428	594,300	–8.91 %
15–64 years	2,629,652	2,468,000	–6.15 %
65 years and above	661,333	825,400	24.81 %

Source: Elaboration modified by authors based on the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2018).

The demographic trend shown in Table 1 demonstrates a strong negative trend in the age group under 15 (–8.91 %) followed by the 15–64 group (–6.15 %). The positive trend in the group 65 and above shows that Croatia is an ageing nation. This shows that, without young population, there will be a decline in employment rates associated with an increase of unemployment and growing economic inactivity, an increase in early retirement and the number of social benefits for the disabled and veterans, a growing share of informal economy and an increasing effect of discouraged workers (Obadić 2017), which puts in ques-

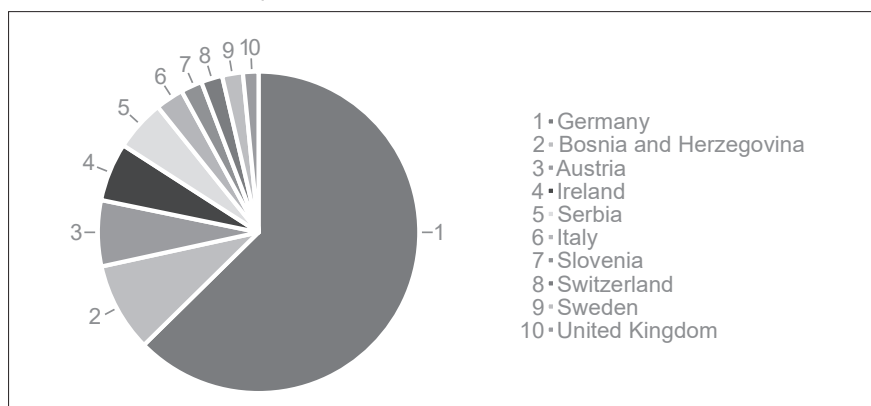
tion the prosperity of the country. Negative or positive effects of emigration from Croatia are best reflected in the national economy and are visible immediately and without a time lag. Emigrations are reflected in reduced spending and a decrease in total employment, as well as a decrease in budget revenues and expenditures due to the decline in the number of taxpayers and budget users (Jurić 2017). As the majority of emigrants is in the labour active group, the revenue side of the budget will suffer the most (Akrap et al. 2017). Akrap et al. (2017) emphasize an additional issue of the state budget structure itself, as most budget revenues come from the taxation of spending and a considerable part of budget expenditures is allocated for pensions. This will put even more pressure on the pension system in Croatia, with the already extremely unfavourable ratio of active insureds and pensioners 1.17:1 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2017b). In his study Šterc (2016) highlights that if the current state continues, Croatia will have a ratio of three inactive per one active insured, which is not sustainable in the long run.

Croatia is economically and population-wise a less developed country and, thus, more exposed to migration processes. By joining the EU which advocates labour mobility, its position further weakened (Mesić 2014). Even before the global crisis, Croatia faced numerous historical, political and economic circumstances that made it one of the countries with the most significant and long-lasting emigration. As Čizmić et al. (2005) state, in some periods more than a third of the Croatian population was outside their homeland. Emigration began in the 1960s, mostly to Germany. In 1972, nearly half a million migrants in Germany were workers from the former SFRY, and although official German statistics are not accurate as countries of the former SFRY were labelled as Yugoslavia until their independence, it seems that most of them were Croats motivated by political and economic factors (Čizmić et al. 2005). The positive and continuing migration trend is also confirmed by the data provided by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics and presented in the chart below.

Out of the total number of emigrants (36,436) from Croatia in 2016, the majority (56.08 %) migrated to Germany. The reason mainly lies in the already established Croatian migrant networks in Germany, which resulted in numerous mediations between family, relatives and others, which indeed plays a major role in emigration (Jurić 2017). Upon EU accession in 2013, the last major wave of emigrations (Jerić 2019) to EU countries, primarily to Germany, began and peaked in 2015, as presented in Chart 1. Following Germany is Bosnia and Herzegovina with 8.02 %. This can be explained with the high percentage of emigration from BiH in the post-war period and their subsequent return to their homeland (Pejanović 2006). Other top ten countries are Austria (5.94 %), Ireland (5.26 %), Serbia (4.60 %), Italy (2.53 %), Slovenia (1.93 %), Switzerland (1.91 %), Sweden (1.87 %) and the United Kingdom (1.40 %). A further research should investigate whether these countries are chosen for their geographic position or

for migration networks that have been created in the past. Countries and their main destinations shown further on in brackets (not presented in Chart 3, such as Asia (China), Africa, North and Central America (Canada and USA), South America, Oceania (Australia) and New Zealand, as well as unknown destinations) represent 8.12 % of the total migration. Migrations had a positive trend even after 2015, up until 2018 when total migration started to decrease. The labour mobility provided by the EU greatly contributed to Croatia's negative demographic trend, destabilizing healthcare, pension, work, financial and educational systems.

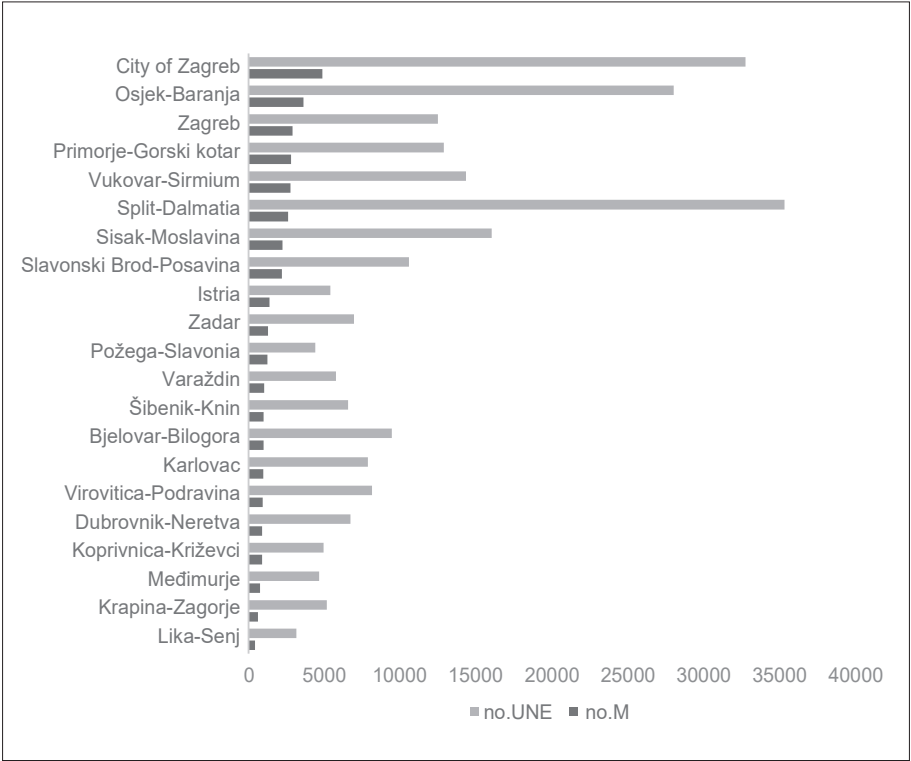
Chart 3: International migration from Croatia, by country of destination, 2016



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2017a).

Another issue is the internal migrations from specific parts of Croatia, which present an asymmetric and specific development. This increases the challenges facing Croatia as every new empty space encourages new migrations (Bališa 2019), both internal and external, continues the negative demographic trend, and decreases overall development. An example thereof is Continental Croatia, more precisely Slavonia. As this part is not as developed as Adriatic Croatia or Zagreb, the majority of the population migrates to more developed parts of Croatia or abroad, mainly to Ireland. Data presented by Rajković and Horvatin (2017) show that in 2016 the largest negative migration balance was related to the Osijek-Baranja county (–3,634 persons), followed by the Vukovar-Srijem (–2,763 persons) and Brod-Posavina (–2,208 persons) counties that recorded the highest numbers of emigrants, as presented in Chart 4. Demographic recourse can mainly be explained with continuous unfavourable processes that started before the Homeland War and resulted with pronounced spatial homogeneity of depopulation (Živić 2016). The following chart shows the number of unemployed population (no. UNE) and the number of emigrants (no. M) in all Croatian counties.

Chart 4: Unemployed population and emigrants by county in 2016



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2017a).

Although the Split-Dalmatia county has the highest number of the unemployed, as seen in Chart 4, the leaders in terms of the number of migrants are the city of Zagreb and the Osijek-Baranja county. The largest share of total unemployment is seen in the counties with the highest concentrations of population and the largest cities – Split-Dalmatia county, Zagreb, and Osijek-Baranja county (Botrić 2009, 85–86). Namely, after Croatia’s EU accession, the emigration of mostly the young labour active population intensified. The following table shows migrations by educational level.

Table 2: Total number of emigrants by education, 2013–2017

Education level	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Basic/secondary school education	36,600	41,800	47,300	54,600	60,600
Higher education	74,900	70,800	66,500	79,600	77,900
Total emigration	266,000	276,000	296,800	329,500	348,300

Source: Eurostat 2018.

Table 2 shows the total number of emigrants by education and confirms what has been stated above – that higher educated people are migrating. In such regard, it is necessary to draw attention to the transition from the education system to the labour market and to the ways to reduce the mismatch between the needs of the two, and investigate whether a high level of education is the answer to unemployment in Croatia (Obadić 2017). Some studies show that certain target groups in the labour market, such as non-economic migrants, young people, women and less educated workers, in most cases, have difficulties in finding employment, as opposed to the basic age group of men aged 25 to 54 (Obadić & Smolić 2007). Emigration from Croatia is twice as significant as reported by the Central Bureau of Statistics, as some researchers have highlighted (Živić 2016). Oračić (2008) argues that although there is no reliable and accurate data on the educational structure of emigrants, it seems that a relatively large number of highly educated young people left Croatia, half of them between the ages of 15 and 34, in search of higher salaries, better working conditions, and training opportunities. According to OECD (2018) data, 76,000 Croats immigrated to the developed countries of the world in 2016, although the statistics from the CBS and the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia (2016) show that 36,400 people checked out of Croatia that same year. The majority migrated to Germany, which in 2016 registered 62,100 immigrants with Croatian citizenship. The OECD (2018) claims that 29,000 people emigrated annually between 2006 and 2015, while in 2015 and 2016 the number of immigrants moving to developed countries rose to 77,000 per year. Croatia is among the four EU countries with the largest drop in unemployment rate in 2018 according to Eurostat, but statistically this drop is the result of a decrease in overall active labour population rather than a direct consequence of positive economic trends.

3. Data and Methodology

Oračić (2008) states, as is also the case in this paper, that the relative position in the labour market is usually indicated by the unemployment rate and wages. Regarding this assertion and the assumption that the main reason for migration are low wages and high unemployment, while on the other hand there is a high demand for labour active population, the paper investigates the extent to which average monthly net wages and the number of the unemployed affect the emigration of the population using multiple regression analysis. The main hypotheses are as follows:

H_0 = *The number of emigrants from Croatia does not depend on average monthly net earnings and the number of unemployed persons in Croatia.*

H_1 = *The number of emigrants from Croatia depends on the average monthly net wages and the number of unemployed in Croatia.*

The research is based on annual data for Croatia in 2007–2016 collected from the Migration of the Population of the Republic of Croatia report (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2017a) and the Statistical Yearbook of Croatia obtained from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2018). Data from Chart 1 are tested with a multiple regression model:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_i + u_i \tag{1}$$

Where:

- $Y =$ dependent variable
- $X =$ independent variable
- $U =$ random variable
- $I =$ i number of observations
- β_0 and $\beta_1 =$ parameters of the model (β_0 intercept constant and β_1 slope coefficient)

According to the equation (1), the dependent variable is the number of migrations (M) and the independent variables are the number of the unemployed (UNE) and average net wages (W) for the period 2007–2017. Output results are presented as follows:

Table 3: Output results

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	−263177.1	24878.52	−10.57848	0.0000
UNE	−0.101350	0.020847	−4.861616	0.0028
W	56.72374	4.662942	12.16480	0.0000
R-squared	0.962262	Mean dependent var		17230.11
Adjusted R-squared	0.949683	S.D. dependent var		9887.070
S.E. of regression	2217.812	Akaike info criterion		18.50763
Sum squared resid	29512129	Schwarz criterion		18.57337
Log likelihood	−80.28434	Hannan-Quinn criter.		18.36576
F-statistic	76.49612	Durbin-Watson stat		2.561423
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000054			

$R^2 \text{ adj.} = 0.9497$

$RSS = 29512129$

$X^2 \text{ Auto (1)} = 0.262$

$X^2 \text{ Norm} = 0.599$

$X^2 \text{ White (5)} = 0.705$

$VIF = 1.05$

$$M = -263177.1 + 56.72374 W - 0.10135 UNE \tag{2}$$

Where:

- M = Number of migrated populations
 W = Average net wages in Croatia
 UNE = Total number of unemployed in Croatia
 RSS = Sum Squared Residuals
 X^2 Auto = Breusch-Godfrey test for autocorrelation
 X^2 Norm = Jarque-Bera test for normality of residuals
 X^2 White = White test for heteroscedasticity

Output results presented in Table 3 are obtained with EViews 9 software using data from Chart 1. Output results and equation (2) confirm the significance of the model as well as parameters. Furthermore, diagnostic statistics shows that the coefficients of variables are significant at 5 % level. For serial correlation presence, we used the Breusch-Godfrey test and obtained the critical value of 0.262, whereby the null hypothesis of second order correlation is accepted. The hypothesis of normally distributed residuals for the selected model can be accepted as Jarque-Berra statistic is 0.5999 and thus smaller than the critical value of $X^2(2) = 5.99$. Finally, the White test is used to test the presence of heteroscedasticity and confirms the null hypothesis of no heteroscedasticity with 0.499.

To further confirm the tested model, mean absolute percentage errors (MAPE) are also tested according to equation (3).

$$MAPE = \frac{1}{T} \sum_{i=1}^t \frac{|Y_i - \hat{Y}_i|}{Y_t} \quad (3)$$

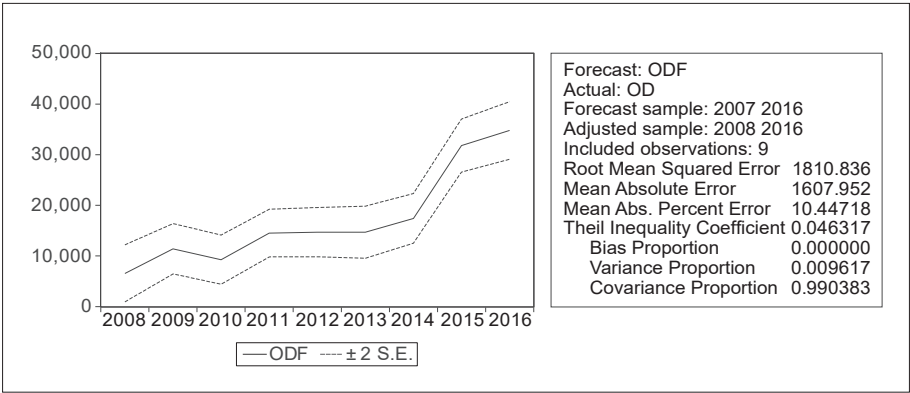
Where:

- Y = actual value of observations
 \hat{Y} = forecasting value of observations
 T = total number of observations
 t = time period

According to Baggio and Klobas (2011), when analysing models, MAPEs in the high-reliability rank or <10 % would be ideal, while models in the 11–20 % and 21–50 % range are classified as good or satisfactory. Models whose average values are greater than 50 % should not be further analysed, i.e. should not be accepted as significant. MAPEs for the model in equation (2) are shown below.

The model in Table 3 was additionally confirmed with the obtained MAPE at 10.44 %, which shows they are borderline in high-reliability rank, as mentioned above. This further confirms the significance of the model.

Chart 5: Obtained MAPE for tested model



4. Results

Equation (2) shows that even if the wages increase, the labour-active population will still migrate from Croatia. The hypothesis set in this paper about migration of the labour-active population depending on the average monthly net wages and the number of unemployed is confirmed by the multiple regression model. Furthermore, empirical results show that the tested model presents relatively good predictability performance in terms of MAPE. This proves that even if the average net wages increase and total unemployment decreases, the labour active population will continue to migrate. Although the model shows significance, it raises the question of what are the true motives of labour active population migration, considering that wage – as shown by the obtained results – obviously is not.

5. Discussion

Equation (2) shows that although the average net wages will increase by 56.72 in the coming period and unemployment will decrease by 0.10, the past period (2006) shows a decrease in wages. This past period, dominated by low wages and high unemployment, can be considered as a driver of intense active-labour population migrations and the global crisis that followed in the same period. For further research, it is necessary to analyse the level of education and jobs in order to obtain a more complete result for active labour population migrations. The limitation of this research is the low number of observations ($n=10$), which can be explained with the specific time period that was taken for analysis. In addition, the hypothesis is confirmed by the assumptions of the classical linear regression model. In addition, the significance of the model itself was confirmed by MAPE, which resulted in high reliability.

6. Conclusion

This research, explorative in nature, aims to identify the reason for emigration from Croatia in the period of the global crisis between 2007 and 2017, which mainly influenced this process in recent history. Being an aging country and in decline of active labour population – as presented by the above data – is facing an overall demographic challenge mainly in the labour market. The contribution of this research is to determine the effects of migration of the active labour population over a specific period – the global crisis and EU accession – and find out by means of a multiple regression model what drives individuals to emigrate. The dynamic migration history of Croatia plays an important role in defining active labour population as explained by numerous socio-economic factors. The main issue that emerged in this research is that the emigration of young and highly-educated population increased after EU accession, which additionally influenced changes in the decreased activity rate of the labour market. In a dynamic environment such as the labour market, this is not surprising. This leads us to the conclusion that additional measures should be introduced to encourage labour active population to remain in Croatia and even return. If wages are not a key factor for leaving or staying, then the measures should be oriented towards the social aspect of an individual who is eager for growth and development and for an opportunity for additional education and the acquisition of good practice, as offered abroad. In addition, Croatia lacks existential security and stability. With the decrease in active labour population, increasing difficulties regarding the state budget and the financing of a growing number of pensions can be expected.

95

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Klaudia Szeidl, Antal Aubert

The Role of Minority Education in the Expansion of the Functions of Hungarian Landscape Houses

The stages of Hungarian cultural life can be seen in landscape houses, which hold and demonstrate the local community's appreciation of ancient times and the culture of the local ethnicities in a museum-like environment. The uniqueness of the Hungarian landscape house network is noted in the fact that in 2002 they were nominated on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage sites. In the lifecycle of the landscape houses, there has been a change in paradigm, owing to which the museum function has lost its central role. Our research focuses on a survey of the efficiency of the cooperation between landscape houses and minority educational institutions. In the framework of such cooperation, the present state of the landscape houses and their programme supply have been mapped. In terms of feedback, students participating in minority education were asked about their opinion on and their experiences surrounding landscape houses.

Keywords: cultural tourism, Hungarian landscape house network, landscape house utilisation model, minority education, function expansion.

Vloga manjšinskega šolstva pri širjenju programa tradicionalnih madžarskih podeželskih hiš

Pomemben element madžarskega kulturnega življenja so tradicionalne podeželske hiše, ki v muzejskem okolju ohranjajo in prikazujejo zgodovinske vrednote lokalne skupnosti in kulturo tamkajšnjih narodnosti. O edinstvenosti madžarske mreže podeželskih hiš priča dejstvo, da so bile slednje leta 2002 uvrščene na poskusni seznam Unescove svetovne dediščine. Vendar pa se njihov namen sčasoma spreminja in tako njihova muzejska funkcija ni več v ospredju. Prispevek temelji na raziskavi o učinkovitosti sodelovanja med podeželskimi hišami in manjšinskimi izobraževalnimi ustanovami. V okviru tega sodelovanja sta bila opredeljena trenutno stanje podeželskih hiš in njihova programska ponudba. Z namenom pridobitve povratnih informacij glede možne uporabe podeželskih hiš smo preučili mnenja in izkušnje v manjšinsko šolstvo vključenih učencev.

Ključne besede: kulturni turizem, mreža tradicionalnih madžarskih podeželskih hiš, model uporabe podeželskih hiš, manjšinsko šolstvo, širitev ponudbe.

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1. Introduction

One of the central elements of the international tourism market is cultural tourism, established on the values of a local society in which, owing to its complexity, unique attractions came into view. Landscape houses attract visitors in a museum-like system mainly with static exhibitions, but with the appearance of new trends, the base function of the property as a museum was slowly but surely overshadowed. Parallel to this, the needs and the demand have been transformed as well, and previous travel habits have been altered. Tourists favour visiting spectacles that are peculiar and offer uncommon visitor experiences.

The main aim of the present study is, besides designing the lifecycle of landscape houses, to suggest utilisation opportunities for cultural institutes. As a result of preliminary surveys, we have detected that the lifecycle of landscape houses is facing a change, since with their basic museum function falling into the background, it became necessary to rethink the opportunities provided by them. One of the downsides of landscape houses is their static exhibitions. The creation of a community space strongly bonded to a certain ethnic group will assure the future of the institution. One of the pillars of the function expansion is to combine the houses with minority education as an authentic location for subjects on folklore and other thematic days. Adequately arranged museum pedagogy workshops and the work of the trained staff are essential elements for this. The results of the survey within the framework of the research serve as feedback on the students' opinions, experiences, and levels of satisfaction surrounding landscape houses.

2. Methodology

Due to the multifaceted approach to the topic, a variety of data collection methods have been used. The survey was structured around 4 subunits. First, we framed the theoretical background of the Hungarian landscape houses through a secondary source analysis, based on the studies of Hungarian geographers, historians, and political scientists dealing with the ethnic background and their spatial allocation of Hungary, and the studies of ethnographers researching the ethnic values and the history of the landscape house network. In the next step, as a summary of the field surveys and the interviews with the leaders of the related organisations, we received accurate information on the present state, programme supply, difficulties, and future plans for the landscape houses. Finally, during a two-step questionnaire survey, we gained further knowledge from the managers of the landscape houses about the institutions, and we also mapped the opinion and experiences of the students on the landscape houses included in minority education. As a result of the interviews carried out with 56 landscape

house managers, we created a landscape house utilisation model that includes those secondary functions, which contribute to the enhancement of their tourism functions and to the maintenance of visitor interest. The presentation of the programmes and the museum pedagogy workshops helped us to compile the questions for the survey.

3. The Ethnic Issue in Hungary

A country's cultural engagement is significantly influenced by the attractions associated with the nationalities living in the region. The word *ethnic*, derived from the word *ethnos*, meaning folk, comprises the historically evolved community of people who share common and relatively stable cultural features and are aware of their unity and their distinctness from other similar communities (Bromlej 1976). The notion of nation, which refers to a historically common origin, is ambiguous in Europe, with the result that the notion of nationality is also different in Western and Eastern Europe. While in Western countries it means belonging on the basis of citizenship, in Hungary it is understood as a national minority. In other words,

[t]he group of people living in the certain country but not belonging to the majority, hence living in minority, which is interconnected and disassociated primarily by the language, culture, common historical past and the behavioural peculiarities and psychological characteristics from other ethnic groups and nations (Kósa 1980, cited in Tóth 2002, 188).

In Hungary, ethnic groups are defined by law as follows:

According to the Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Nationalities, all ethnic groups resident in Hungary for at least one century are nationalities which are in numerical minority amongst the population of the State, are distinguished from the rest of the population by their own language, culture and traditions and manifest a sense of cohesion that is aimed at the preservation of these and at the expression and protection of the interests of their historically established communities (Act on the Rights of Nationalities 2011).

Under this Act, there are 13 granted national minorities in Hungary: Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma/Gypsy, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Ukrainian, as well as Hungarian for the Roma and Armenian national minorities (Act on the Rights of Nationalities 2011, Section 22).

3.1 The History of Minorities in Hungary

102

The ethnic structure of Hungary changed at the end of the 17th century, after the Turkish occupation. In order to terminate the spatial inequalities, based on the serious loss of population, and also to revive the economy, an internal migration process had begun. From the northern and eastern mountains, thousands of Slovaks, Ruthenians and Romanians migrated to the unpopulated areas (Szabó 1941). Nevertheless, this arbitrary process did not bring the expected results, so the Imperial Court commanded organised settling (Szita 1996). The 1722–1723 Hungarian national assembly commanded the settling of the unpopulated areas with German settlers (Tilkovszky 1997). Within the framework of the settling, which was organised in 3 waves, tens of thousands of German-speaking residents arrived first in the villages of Banat, Bačka and South Transdanubia. The most successful settling was initiated by Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780) between 1763 and 1773, during which 40,000 Germans were settled in South Hungary (Bellér 1981; Manherz 1998). By the end of the 18th century, the total population of the Carpathian Basin increased from the earlier 4.3 million to 9.9 million, of which 3.1 million were Hungarians and 6.8 million were non-Hungarians, resulting from the settling of the German, Serbian, Romanian, Ruthenian and other ethnic groups (Wellmann 1989; Kovács 1920; Szabó 1941; Kocsis 1996). As an effect of these measures, a basic asymmetry in the ratio between the Hungarians and the nationalities were eventuated, and through the state-organised settling, these closed ethnic settlement blocks were created (e.g., the area populated by the Germans named *Schwäbische Türkei* in the South Transdanubian area of the country), where certain nationalities could preserve their traditions, identity, and culture in a rather homogeneous environment (Kocsis 1996; Manherz 1998).

Concerning the nationalities in Hungary, the 19th century was an era of assimilation and Hungarianisation. The occupation of the Hungarian ethnic space and the spread of the Hungarian nation and language were also aided by the government's decree supporting conscious Hungarianisation, wherein Hungarian became the official language and the rights of nationalities were tightened in the 1868 law (Kocsis 1996; Manherz 1998). The assimilation primarily affected the urban population, owing to which in the 1910 census 77.5 % of the country's urban population considered themselves Hungarians (Kocsis 1996). The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 made radical changes to the history of the Hungarian nationalities. Two thirds of the area of Hungary was annexed to the neighbouring countries, which, apart from the loss of several millions of Hungarians, affected the minorities as well. The redrawing of the national border severed many Slovenian, Croatian, and German settlement groups. With these processes, the ratio of the non-Hungarian population decreased to 7.1 % (Kocsis 1996).

After the World War II, due to the compulsive migrations and state organised ethnic and agrarian and socially aimed settlings, millions changed their places of residence (Kocsis 1996). The sanctions on these nationalities concerned the population in several waves. Those of German nationality suffered forced deportation in the greatest measure, which was called *málenkij robot*, namely forced labour. The next negative demographic wave was caused by the 0060th command in the Soviet zone on the deportation of the German population based on collective guilt. Between 1945 and 1948, nearly 220,000 Germans were deported. The settling in of the Szeklers from Bukovina and the Slovakian Hungarians took place parallel to the expelling of the Germans. During the Czechoslovakian-Hungarian population exchange, around 73,000 Hungarian Slovaks were deported to Czechoslovakia (Kocsis 1996). These migration processes and their negative impacts on the identity of the nationalities led to the disintegration of ethnic areas. It led to the majority of the intellectuals leaving and to a drastic decrease in consciousness of nationality. In the area of present-day Hungary, between 1941 and 1949, the number of members of specific nationalities decreased from 660 thousand to 129 thousand (Kocsis 1996). The period after the world war, the deportation, the confiscation of property, the forced settling, and the outlawry to this day still have an impact on the lives of the Hungarian nationalities, especially on the Germans (Frank et al. 1998). The second half of the 20th century saw the beginning of a revival and strengthening of national identity.

The 1990s brought a new turning point in the life of the people of these nationalities, but unlike the past, the new measures supported the ethnic groups. Based on different ethnic values and traditions it became possible to form cultural organisations, followed by the appearance of ethnic language and culture in public education. In the years after the 1989–1990 change of regime, nationality became a central issue. Based on the 1993 Hungarian nationality law, the first minority local governments were formed in 1994, first on a local and then on a national level (Amending Act on Public Education 1997). With this step, the government emphasized the importance of the preservation and the transmission of ethnic values. As an impact of the measures supporting nationalities, the number of civilian organisations started to grow by the millennium, and with the establishment of countless dance groups, choirs, orchestras, etc., the maintenance and transmission of ethnic culture has been assured for future generations.

Currently, the major nationalities in Hungary are the Germans, the Croats, and the Roma. Romanians, Serbians and Slovaks are also present in high numbers. The members of the other ethnic groups are present in minimal numbers only, sporadically in a few settlements.

3.2 The Nationalities in Numbers

In Hungary, ethnic affiliation is requested within the framework of the censuses every decade. In Tables 1 and 2, the distribution of minority nationalities

in Hungary is presented between 1941 and 2011. The political measures after World War II drastically redrew the ethnic composition of the country. Because of the forced relocations and changes in population, the number of people of other nationalities in the country decreased by hundreds of thousands. Those of German nationality were the most affected by the events in 1940, owing to which the number of Germans decreased by more than 90 % by 1949 in Hungary. Since the basis for the 1945–1948 deportation was the data from the 1941 census, the remaining German population did not dare to declare their ethnic affiliation, since they were afraid of the further sanctions. A further large decrease can be seen in those of Slovakian nationality as well, which was caused by the intergovernmental Hungarian-Slovakian exchange of population. With the subsidence of the political conflicts, as a result of the laws on the rights of the nationalities, from the 1960s, a strengthening of the identity of the nationalities came into prominence again, which later, during the years of the change of regime, became one of the central issues.

Table 1: The distribution of the Hungarian nationalities between 1941 and 1980

	1941		1949		1960		1980	
	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue
Croatian	4,177	37,885	4,106	20,423	14,710	33,014	13,895	20,484
German	302,198	475,491	2,617	22,455	8,640	50,765	11,310	31,231
Roma	27,033	18,640	37,598	21,387	56,121	25,633	6,404	27,915
Romanian	7,565	14,142	8,500	14,713	12,326	15,787	8,874	10,141
Serbian	3,629	5,442	4,190	5,158	3,888	4,583	2,805	3,426
Slovakian	16,677	75,877	7,808	25,988	14,340	30,690	9,101	16,054
Slovenian	no data	4,816	no data	4,473	no data	no data	1,731	3,142

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2011).

From the early 1990s, community life and civil society organisations linked to nationalities became possible, and the first national minority local governments were elected in 1994, providing an organisational background for national minorities. After the turn of the millennium, tradition-preserving associations and clubs were formed one after the other. As a result of the free exercise of nationality rights and the provision of a legal and organisational framework, public confidence seems to be reviving, which has significantly increased the acceptance of a person's nationality.

Table 2: The distribution of the Hungarian nationalities between 1990 and 2011

	1990		2001		2011	
	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue
Bulgarian	no data	1,370	1,358	1,299	3,556	2,899
Greek	no data	1,640	2,509	1,921	3,916	1,872
Croatian	13,570	17,577	15,597	14,326	23,561	13,716
Polish	no data	3,788	2,962	2,580	5,730	3,049
German	30,824	37,511	62,105	33,774	131,951	38,248
Armenian	no data	37	620	294	3,293	444
Roma	142,683	48,072	189,984	48,438	308,957	54,339
Romanian	10,740	8,730	7,995	8,482	26,345	13,886
Ruthenian	no data	no data	1,098	1,113	3,323	999
Serbian	2,905	2,953	3,816	3,388	7,210	3,708
Slovakian	10,459	12,745	17,693	11,817	29,647	9,888
Slovenian	1,930	2,627	3,025	3,180	2,385	1,723
Ukrainian	no data	674	5,070	4,885	5,633	3,384

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2011).

4. The Landscape House Movement in Hungary

In Hungary, in the system of museum institutions, the landscape house appears as a separate group, which is inspired to preserve the cultural historical values of the local population and to demonstrate it to visitors. Other institutional systems that are similar to landscape houses, which were nominated for the tentative list of world heritage, functioning as Hungarian remembrance locations, can be found primarily in Europe in Germany (*Heimatismuseum* or *Heimatstube*) and in Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the form of heritage centres.

4.1 The Concept and Description of Landscape Houses

In defining a landscape house, the museum as a space for the presentation of cultural goods is an indispensable notion, since the landscape house is a special form of museum institution in the Hungarian cultural scene. According to the international definition by the International Council of Museums (ICOM),

[a] museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment (ICOM 2004, 7).

According to Hungarian judicial regulations, a museum is a public service and museum institution, which is composed of scientifically catalogued collections of cultural goods. These goods have a scientific and educational purpose, they also aid in heritage protection and knowledge presentation, and besides its collection, a museum preserves, catalogues, restores, scientifically elaborates, publishes, exhibits, and mediates in any other ways to promote lifelong learning and sustainable development. A museum also has the necessary material and physical resources and qualified human resources (Act on Historical Institutions 1997; Amending Act on historical Institutions 2012).

According to Bodnár et al. (2017), historical buildings preserve memories of the past, and through their central allocation, play an accentuated role in the museums' tourist attraction along with the themes of the exhibitions and the related interactivity.

According to the Hungarian Act on Historical Institutions (1997, Par. 3 of Art. 48), the traditional landscape house is an exhibition place of public utility, which is, by the permission of the minister, eligible to exhibit cultural goods, architectural sites, and buildings or a group of buildings together with their accessories and equipment. Furthermore, traditional landscape houses are open-air folklore collections which, together with locally collected and reserved objects, present a certain settlement's or landscape's traditional material culture – the furnished indoor spaces of the buildings that are important from the point of view of folk architecture (possibly qualified as folk monuments), sometimes workshops, farming buildings, or simple industrial establishments (Bereczki 2009, 1). Based on this, in the case of traditional landscape houses, the exhibition is not only established inside of the building, but the building itself is a part of the exhibition. The objective of the exhibition place is to present the folk culture of the local community and preserve and present the material and intellectual values for younger generations of locals and for visiting tourists (Füzes 1997, 312).

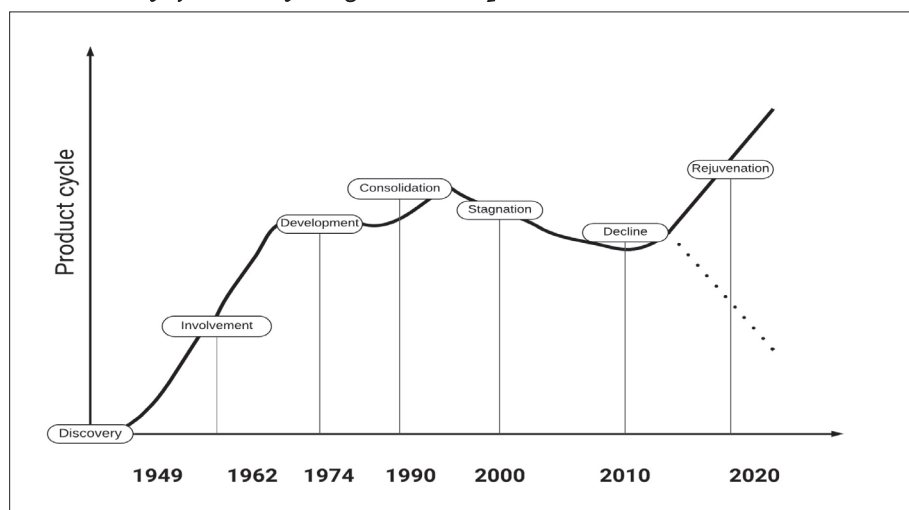
In the case of landscape houses, besides the exhibited objects, the division of the land, the allocation of the buildings, and the division of the dwelling building all reflect the peculiar lifestyle and traditions of the given nationality. One of the largest nationalities to live in Hungary is the German nationality, so we compared the characteristics of Hungarian landscape houses with the description of Swabian landscape houses. The living space of German families is well demonstrated by the bent parcelled farmhouse described by Mendöl (1963), which at the same time also refers to the ethnic agricultural activity. A typical Swabian peasant house has a whitewashed gable wall facing the street, with two

street windows with coloured (yellow, brown, or green) shutters. The long side of the building faces the courtyard, where one used to enter through the street door, but these doors have now lost their former function through renovations and alterations. Behind the ornate door, there is a long and spacious corridor, the porch. Upon entering the house, one first encounters the kitchen, where most of the family life took place, and from here the doors open in two directions. The street room was used to receive and entertain strangers, this was the so called clean room. The living room and bedroom open from the other side of the kitchen. Behind them, we find the chamber and sometimes the summer kitchen, then the horse stable and the cow and oxen stable. The pig and poultry hutches are situated across the courtyard from the house, and beside them one finds the corn-crib (Mendöl 1963). The living spaces of the different nationalities differ from those of the Germans mostly in colour and decoration, and in the absence of agricultural activity, the farm building would have been replaced with workshops for industrial activities.

4.2 The Lifecycle Model of Landscape Houses

The undulating life curve of tourist attractions was first conceptualised and mapped by Butler (1980), who found that tourist attractions follow a similar life course, regardless of their theme, wherein the difference can be primarily demonstrated through the length of time of a certain lifecycle period. In the case of landscape houses, one can easily define the designated periods (Chart 1).

Chart 1: The lifecycle curve of Hungarian landscape houses



Source: Own editing.

I. Discovery

The formation of the institutional system of landscape houses dates back several decades. The idea of establishing such institutions was sparked by the village lifestyles related to nationalities, their spiritual traditions, and the strengthening of folk art and a sense of identity in the second half of the 20th century.

II. Involvement

The extension of the 1949 Act on the Protection of Monuments to include ethnographic values and the creation of the network of county museums in 1962 created a professional framework that greatly facilitated the creation and professional development of landscape houses.

III. Development

The catalyst for the establishment of the network of landscape houses was the decision of the Council of Ministers in 1974, which provided significant financial support for the establishment of landscape houses, village museums, and open-air museums for the presentation of locally-preserved folk monuments (Bereczki 2009, 2). The first wave of landscape house establishment took place between 1974 and 1984, during which nearly 200 landscape houses opened their doors. With regard to the spatial allocation, the Great Plains Region and the South Transdanubian Region, populated by Croatian and German nationalities, can be highlighted.

IV. Consolidation

By 1985, the first wave of country house foundations had come to an end and a period of intense consolidation had begun. The presence of the members of the network of country houses became part of public consciousness and a cultural base was established.

V. Stagnation

In the mid-1990s, the life curve of the country houses entered a phase of stagnation, a period which caused considerable damage to the network of almost 300 establishments. As a consequence of the reorganisation, the county museum network ceased operation, thus the connection with professional monitoring organisations, together with the support from the management of the landscape houses, also came to an end.

VI. Decline

The ownership was reorganised as a consequence of political changes. The majority of the museums were then run by local governments. The lack of financial sources and the professional integration, together with the negligence that followed the change in ownership, resulted in an atrophy of the landscape house network.

VII. Rejuvenation

At the turn of the millennium, as a result of the appearance of various tender opportunities and the strengthening of identity, new tendencies appeared in regard to the landscape houses. Since an interest in local values became prominent, the preservation and transmission of peculiar cultural values gained more and more attention. A combination of factors led to a second wave of landscape house creation in the first decade of the 2000s, with more than 50 landscape houses being granted operating licences. In this boom, besides the assurance of financial sources from tenders, the reorganisation of ownership relations also had a positive influence on this process. The operation of most of the landscape houses was transferred from the municipal governments to the national minority governments and NGOs, thus strengthening the role of the country houses in preserving national identity.

Hungarian Landscape houses are at a crossroads. In order to ensure the survival of the institutions, to preserve the values of the nationalities, and to present them to visitors, it is becoming increasingly important to rethink and reorganise the services and programmes offered by landscape houses. Both for the members of the nationality and for the demand of tourism it is necessary to provide experiences and to acquire new things. For this reason, it is foreseeable that in the future, successful institutions and attractions will be open to today's demands and trends, and that they will be integrated into the tourist supply.

4.3 The Role of Landscape Houses in Tourism

One of the pillars in the realm of cultural attractions in Hungary is the presentation of folk customs, traditions, and heritage values related to the nationalities that reside in the country. Landscape houses, and the collection of material and spiritual goods, can also be interpreted as a form of roots tourism in Hungary (Falk & Dierking 2013). Identity and seeking one's roots play a decisive role in the motivation of those enquiring about landscape houses, and further on, they also embody a return to memory, the revival of memories of times gone by, which is why we can define landscape houses as a kind of memory site. While the last few years have seen an increase in the demand for ancestral prints in Hungary, owing to the impact of international trends, the main motivation of the demand has changed drastically. The demand for cultural goods among consumers has increased, with a focus on acquiring new knowledge and learning in an interactive way, i.e., the search for experience.

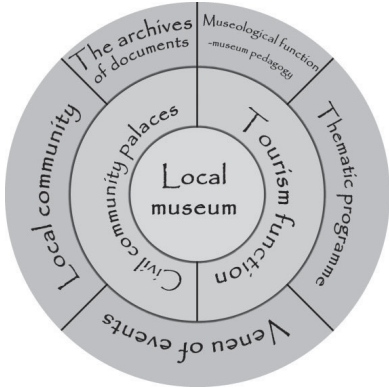
In order to satisfy the needs of experience-oriented demand it becomes necessary to rethink and reform the elements of the cultural attractions and to assure opportunities for gaining experiences. As a consequence of this focus change, emphasis has been moved from the exhibited objects to the visitors, since an object cannot necessarily maintain long-term interest (Simpson 1996).

According to the new museum pedagogy ideology, the exhibition plays a crucial role, since it is not the exhibited object, but rather its context and its interpretation, in other words the museum experience, that is the most important (Ross 2004). Therefore, one of the success factors in present day museums lies in their investment into objects with content (Walsh 1992). In the process of knowledge transfer, interpretation becomes more interesting for the visitors than the object itself. As discussed by Smith (2003, 78), it is not a question of whether an object is visually interesting or not, but whether it could generate any interest. In the Hungarian museum institution system, landscape houses represent a peculiar group, since, in the case of the exhibited objects presenting the local minority heritage values, interpretation became particularly important. With the loss of the elderly generation, there is a shrinking pool of people with relevant knowledge about the function of the exhibited objects in everyday life and how they are used. In Hungary, landscape houses alone have difficulty competing with other tourist attractions, but the new supply elements, appearing as a result of the paradigm shift in recent years, has led to a significant reduction in the negative view of museums as being boring and dusty. According to Hooper-Greenhill (2000), the market role of museums is determined by the needs of a relatively narrow social group, which is particularly true in the case of Hungarian landscape houses.

For this reason, landscape houses with a basic museum function should be equipped with new, additional functions that attract the interest of tourists and provide visitors with an unforgettable experience beyond the mostly-static exhibitions and interiors (Szeidl & Aubert 2018, 462).

Based on joint research with the Central Directorate of Hungarian Landscape Houses, those secondary functions have been collected, and they can serve as an alternative in expanding the functions of ethnic landscape houses.

Figure 1: The landscape house utilisation model



Source: Szeidl and Aubert (2019, 57).

Based on the target demand, the landscape utilisation model in Figure 1 can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, to the tourism functions, which contribute to enhancing tourism competitiveness, and on the other hand, to the social functions, which serve to enhance the ethnic identity of the local population. In other words, they serve as a civilian community space in the cultural framework of the specific settlement.

The educational activities in the museum, which are based on the basic museological function, serve to strengthen the tourism potential, since in the present knowledge-based society, museums working as informal venues for lifelong learning have become more important among attractions. Edutainment, i.e., learning in an entertaining way, is a fundamental task of the postmodern museum, which is also a role expected by the visitors (Falk & Dierking 2000). The thematic programmes that are attached to various special days and holidays (e.g., carnival, Easter, harvest, Christmas) can be defined as stabilisers in terms of the tourism supply. During certain programmes (e.g., craft activities, craft demonstrations, food preparation), visitors become users of the exhibited objects, and the resulting co-creation further enhances the experience and the satisfaction of the visitors (Simpson 1996). It is important to note, however, that it is not advisable to put the expectations of the guests before the exhibition, as this can cause the objects to lose their value and significance (Smith 2003). For this reason, programmes and related technical equipment should be designed to be closely linked to the objects preserved in the landscape house.

The exhibition space, as a novel utilization of the location of the traditional landscape house, both enriches the role of tourist and civilian community space. The events organised in an authentic environment on the one hand strengthen the tourism potential of landscape houses, and on the other hand, besides the cultural satisfaction of the visitors, they contribute to strengthening the ethnic identity of the local population. A common example is the creation of a separate activity space inside the landscape house, while an outdoor or covered (tent, barn) event space in the courtyard allows for the organisation of events for smaller or larger groups. Although, due to their capacity, the event spaces in landscape houses are not adequate for the organisation of larger regional or national events, the smaller events still serve as a platform for the local and neighbouring civilian organisations, local producers, and guest caterers. These locations can be used not only for a larger audience, but they also serve as extra space for rehearsals (dance groups, bands, choirs), organising handcraft workshops and literature classes, thus further strengthening the community-shaping functions of landscape houses. In addition to this, the documents included in the exhibition, or in several places the specially-created document library, serve as a starting point for ethnographers and historians, thus laying the foundations for the preservation of the historical and folkloric values of the local community for future generations (Szeidl & Aubert 2019, 57).

5. The Role of Landscape Houses in the Renewal of Minority Education

5.1 The Current Situation of Minority Education in Hungary

The rough historical events of the 19th and 20th centuries significantly influenced the education of Hungarian ethnic groups in their mother tongues. First, the Nationality Act of 1868 restricted the rights of national minorities, and a few years later, the Act of 1879 made the teaching of Hungarian language and literature compulsory in non-Hungarian schools (Szenyéri 2008). By tightening the law, the government aided in triggering the process of spontaneous assimilation. Nationalities who wished to belong to the middle class that ran the state were quickly Hungarianised. To speak and feel Hungarian was to be a member of the gentry (Manherz 1998). In the first part of the 20th century, and until 1945, minority education was present in Hungary in 3 forms. Type A included institutions where education was provided in the group's mother tongue and in the national language. In these schools, all subjects – except Hungarian language and literature – could be taught in the mother tongue of the given nationality, in accordance with the laws of the time. In type B schools, the language of instruction was distributed proportionally, so that half of the subjects were taught in the national language and half in Hungarian. The language of instruction in Type C schools was Hungarian, and the other national language was taught only as a subject (Bindorffer 2011, 54).

In the period after World War II, the legislative background changed continuously; in the beginning, type B schools were abolished, then the status of ethnic language schools was changed. Fearing political sanctions, the those of nationalities other than Hungarian were afraid to claim their ethnic affiliation and identity, and this decrease in the number of ethnic students resulted in the termination or contraction of institutions. After the Second World War, there was no German-language education in the country until the mid-1950s, when those of German nationality, who were declared war criminals, were deprived of education in their mother tongue, and German-language classes were not even begun, citing the expulsion. After the sentence was lifted, their citizenship rights were restored, and German education could resume.

Initially, German education took the form of C-type schools (Kállai 2011, 13). It was primarily the Romanian, Slovakian, and Southern Slavic schools that became victims of the 1961 regionalisation of schools, and so they merged into the Hungarian schools. In the 1962/1963 school year, the total number of primary schools teaching minority national languages was 318 (139 German, 12 Romanian, 54 Serbian-Croatian, 106 Slovakian, 7 Slovenian), in which there were 25,800 students (11,219 German, 290 Romanian, 3,876 Serbian-Croatian, 9,902 Slovakian, 513 Slovenian). On the contrary, the number of ethnic bilin-

gual schools decreased to 26 (2 German, 10 Romanian, 8 Serbian-Croatian, 6 Slovakian), and ethnic language education was only assured for 2,504 students (Kállai 2011, 10). One of the turning points in minority education was the 1985 law, which provided the chance for a step-by-step restitution of ethnic language education, and among the principles of the law, the issue of minority education received great emphasis. The law soon made a difference, and by the autumn of 1989, more than 58,000 pupils were receiving national minority education in Hungary (Föglein 2004, 9, cited in Kállai 2011, 10).

After the change of regime, the government provided opportunities for minorities to exercise their national minority rights, for the strengthening of identity, for the establishment of civil society organisations for the preservation of cultural assets and, last but not least, the first national minority local governments were elected in 1994. The freedom of national culture reinvigorated the population's exercise of nationality, and they began building a network of nationality organisations. This positive change not only gave a green light to cultural life, but also brought to the fore the possibility of national education. The Governmental regulation in the national curriculum (Transitional Rules of Public Educational Act 1995) assured the realisation of minority education in several forms. The currently applicable Decree on the Issuance of the Guidelines for the Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry for Culture and Education (2013) states that because of the different languages and specific cultural characteristics of the national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary and the diversity of nationalities, national minority education can be organised in the following five forms:

- a) Native language education: In native language education, with the exception of Hungarian language and literature, education and instructional work take place in the minority language. The pedagogical programme includes a teaching schedule for the native language and literature subjects and for ethnography.
- b) Bi-lingual minority education: Bi-lingual minority education contributes to the achievement of minority education goals by providing a deeper understanding of the language and by using the language as a language of instruction. This form allows the school to use the language in real-life situations, and ensures the development of balanced bi-lingual knowledge. The pedagogical programme includes a teaching schedule for the native language and literature subjects and for ethnography.

Within the framework of bi-lingual education, at least three of the subjects specified in the pedagogical programme (with the exception of native language and literature) must be taught in the minority language and must amount to at least 50 % of the total weekly class hours. Bi-lingual education may be extended to include all subjects under the condition that the language of instruction be the minority language for at least 50 % of the total

- weekly class hours. Regulations on language preparation grades must also be applied in this form of bi-lingual minority education.
- c) Language training minority education: Language training minority education contributes to the achievement of minority education goals by teaching the language and subjects on literature and minority ethnography. Language training minority education can be conducted in two forms:
- Traditional language training education, in which the language of instruction is Hungarian; instruction of the minority language and literature shall be conducted within class hours starting from the 1st grade. Instruction of the minority language and literature shall amount to at least 4 hours of the mandatory weekly class hours, and five hours a week for German language training schools. With the exception of German language training schools, the mandatory weekly hours dedicated to instruction of the minority language and literature may be distributed between various grades or between weeks in a particular grade, under the condition that the number of obligatory hours is no less than 3 hours per week in any grade.
 - Extended language training minority education, the goal of which is to prepare for bi-lingual forms or native language forms of minority education. Study of the minority language and literature is conducted at the same time as instruction in the minority language. The minority language and literature shall be taught for at least 5 hours per week. Study of at least three subjects in the minority language must be made possible. Instruction of the minority language and literature and the classes held in the minority language account for at least 35 % of the weekly class hours. The extended language training form may commence in 1st grade and be concluded by 8th grade.
- d) Academic improvement education for the Roma minority: Academic improvement education for the Roma minority ensures familiarization with Roma cultural values and the teaching of information on the history, literature, arts, music, dance culture, and traditions of the Roma minority. Instruction in Romani is a non-obligatory element of this programme, but depending on the needs of the parents, it ensures instruction of the form of Roma language spoken by the parents. This form of education facilitates the academic success of Romani pupils in school and reduces any disadvantages which may be present. It ensures instruction on the situation, rights, organizations, and institutions of the Roma minority. Using pedagogical tools, it facilitates the integration of the Roma minority, without any expectation of assimilation.

Inter-cultural education: Inter-cultural education can be organized by schools implementing any of the forms listed under Paragraphs a) – d) of Title 1 “forms of minority education” (hereinafter referred to as “minority education” for the purpose of this Title) for those pupils who are not taking part in

minority education in the school in question. The goal of inter-cultural education is to teach both pupils not participating in minority education and pupils participating in minority education about the culture of the particular minority within the framework of non-obligatory class hours (Decree on the Issuance of the Guidelines for the Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry for Culture and Education 2013).

Since the middle of the 2000s, a few national minority local governments have established and operated educational institutions or have taken over the maintenance and operation of national minority educational institutions. At that time, the largest minority education centres were established in, e.g., Budapest, Baja, Pécs.

A number of national minority local governments have joined the operation of educational and training institutions in the last 10 years. Along with a change in those providing maintenance, the form of financing of institutions has also changed; the maintenance costs of an institution previously financed by the state are now borne by the national minority local government. This change in structure impacted the number of classroom and leisure time workshops related to the presentation of ethnic peculiarities, and these were enhanced significantly. Infrastructural developments also took place in several institutions. At the start of the 2019/2020 school year, 138 training and educational institutions – of those 56 were nursery schools, 73 were elementary schools, 8 were grammar schools and 1 was a technical college – were maintained by national minority local governments. In the 2019/2020 school year, 17,500 students took part in minority education, of whom 11,859 were enrolled in elementary schools, 1,935 in grammar schools, and 35 in technical colleges (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2020).

5.2 The Landscape House as an Educational Space

In addition to teaching one's mother tongue and literature, national minority education places great emphasis on the specific culture and traditions of the nationalities concerned. In minority schools, pupils can learn in detail about the main characteristics of their nationality through the subject of ethnography. The concept of ethno-ethnicity as a subject means knowledge that a nationality group considers to be valid for itself and that functions as the group's self-knowledge, thus helping it to define itself and to experience its difference from others (Kállai 2011, 55).

This subject is built around the following topics: development of oral and written skills in one's national language, familiarization with and participation in historical traditions, mother tongue culture, music, arts, folk poetry, customs and traditions, getting to know the life, culture and history of the mother coun-

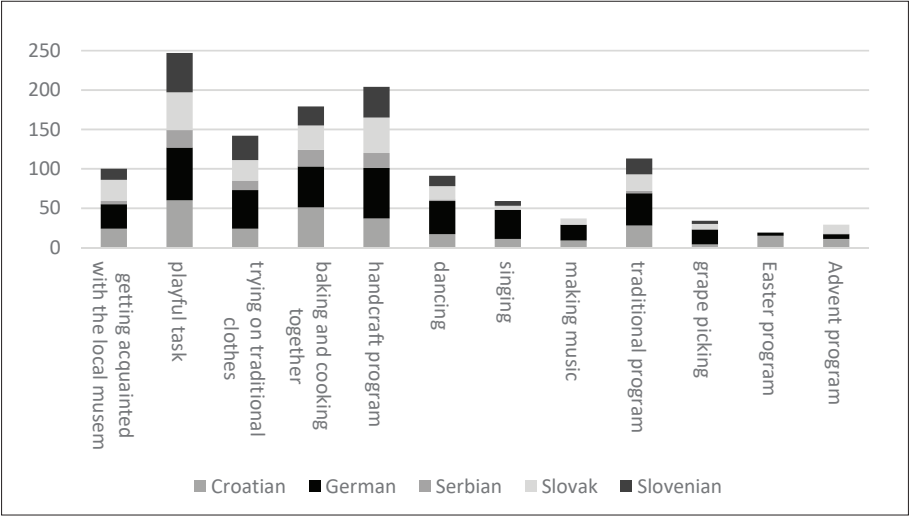
try and, through understanding the values of different cultures, educating for tolerance and the acceptance of diversity (Kállai 2011, 55). Thanks to a number of national and mother country funding sources, students involved in national education are active participants in project days with various themes. The particular syllabus in minority schools allows for extra-institutional education as well. On these project days, students visit locations that are closely related to the history and particular culture of the specific nationality. Landscape houses as cultural institutions are excellent locations for familiarizing the students with the values of these nationalities. The permanent and periodic exhibitions in landscape houses greatly promote the creation and strengthening of the pride of the nationality. During the museum pedagogy workshops, students can familiarize themselves with the functions of the various personal articles, the various agricultural tools, and the related labour processes. The time spent in the landscape house and the workshops plays an important role in the process of building a community.

As a result of the present study, we received feedback from students participating in nationality education on how useful it is for them to visit the nationality's landscape house and to participate in educational sessions at the museum. A total of 418 students from 9 minority schools took part in the survey. Owing to the Covid-19 pandemic, the questionnaire was completed in spring 2020 and the survey was conducted online in class, under teacher supervision. In the survey, we asked about the experiences, satisfaction, and opinions of students from German, Slovakian, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian minority schools.

Eighty-four % of respondents had been to a landscape house, and most of them (79 %) had visited a landscape house with their classmates during a school programme. Several students had also visited institutions presenting national values in the company of their families and group mates (band, dance, choir). Chart 2 shows the factors that students liked most during their time at the landscape house. All of the nationalities considered the playful activities, the craft activities, and cooking together to be the most enjoyable activities. This was followed by the traditional costume fitting and traditional activities, which are ranked in order of popularity. For those of German nationality, dancing, singing and playing music together stand out. Of the thematic events, the harvest was highlighted by respondents, and was particularly popular among the German ethnic group. The least number of responses related to the Easter traditions and the Advent period, which might be because these events are not available in the programme of all landscape houses.

The students participating in the survey rated their experience in the landscape house by rating the strength of predefined indicators. Based on the responses received, we can conclude that landscape houses are interesting and exciting places where students can have playful and educational experiences. Respondents partially or strongly disagreed with the statement that landscape houses are boring and uneventful (Table 3).

Chart 2: The programmes popular among students at the landscape houses



Source: Own empirical data.

Table 3: The strength of attributes related to landscape houses based on the students' answers

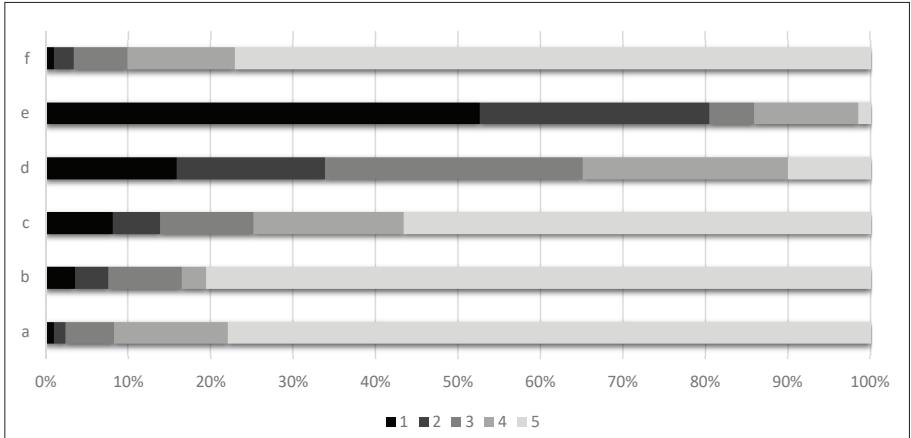
	interesting	exciting	boring	edifying	playful	eventless	realistic
School 1							
School 2							
School 3							
School 4							
School 5							
School 6							
School 7							
School 8							
School 9							
	4.34	4.01	2.97	3.41	3.88	2.81	3.67

Source: Own empirical data.

At the end of the survey, students assessed the accuracy of the predetermined statements based on their own opinions and experiences. The results shown in Chart 3 indicate that the students like learning in landscape houses, where they can gain useful knowledge. Seventy-one % of the respondents would like to visit landscape houses more often and take part in more thematic programmes and activities as much as possible. The willingness of getting to know the values of other nationalities is no longer as tangible. The answers provided by the students

are proportionately divided between the negative, neutral, and positive responses. Respondents agree that the authentic environment provided by landscape houses makes it easier for students to learn and that the knowledge they acquire here greatly helps them to learn the mother tongue of their nationality.

Chart 3: Students' opinions



- a) It is better to learn in a landscape house than at school/at home.
- b) I would like to take school trips to a landscape house more often.
- c) I would like to take part in more workshops at a landscape house.
- d) I would like to get to know landscape houses of other nationalities as well.
- e) I can learn more easily in the classroom/at home than in a landscape house.
- f) The knowledge acquired in the landscape house helps in language learning.

Source: Own empirical data.

6. Conclusion

The network of landscape houses is unique in Hungarian cultural life, and it contributes to the preservation of the population's national identity and the cultivation of traditions. Deriving from the multi-ethnic composition of Hungary, the preservation and maintenance of landscape houses is of key importance in the life of the national minorities, since they play a key role in the demonstration and transmission of the minority culture, assuring the memories of the past remain for future generations. Since the turn of the millennium, new trends in cultural offerings have been emerging, with the result that the museum function, understood as the basic function of landscape houses, is slowly being pushed into the background. At the same time, there is a parallel need to create and introduce new elements that continue to be attractive and have a positive impact on the growth of visitor numbers. The landscape house model includes a number of elements and options that can be used to ensure that landscape houses remain at the centre of the national community.

The channelling of landscape houses into minority education and the strengthening of pre-existing cooperation can establish a stabilisation and an increase in the number of visitors and can also provide a chance for enhancing the programme supply in landscape houses. The effectiveness of museum pedagogy workshops, configured for various age groups, is proven by the survey conducted during this study, which showed that students participating in nationality education prefer to visit landscape houses and participate in various thematic activities, where they can learn about the values and traditions of the minority nationalities, their everyday objects, and enrich their knowledge of their national language in an authentic environment.

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