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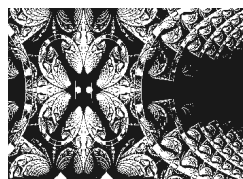
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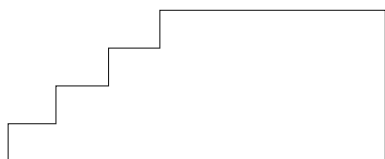
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*SPOMENIČKA BAŠTINA I  
KULTURA SJEĆANJA  
NA PRVI SVJETSKI RAT*

*MONUMENTS HERITAGE  
AND THE  
FIRST WORLD WAR  
CULTURAL MEMORY*







*Tema broja Spomenička baština i kultura sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat usmjere-  
na je primarno na istraživanja s područja povijesti Prvoga svjetskog rata i kulture  
sjećanja (komemorativne prakse, mjesta sjećanja, memorijalizacija, kolektivno sjeća-  
nje, spomenička baština) u Hrvatskoj. Iako su Prvi svjetski rat i kultura sjećanja sredi-  
nom 20. stoljeća postala multidisciplinarna i interdisciplinarna istraživačka tema  
društveno-humanističkih znanosti, tzv. "memory boom", kako ga je nazvao Jay Winter,  
na početku 21. stoljeća aktualizira raspravu o novim oblicima i načinu sjećanja na  
žrtve i događaje iz Prvoga svjetskog rata. Proslava stogodišnjice Prvoga svjetskog  
rata u Europi i u svijetu od 2014. do 2018. godine potaknula je prvi put i veći interes  
znanstvenika, ali i državnih institucija u Hrvatskoj, za taj povijesni događaj, koji je  
dugi niz godina bio duboko potisnut u kolektivnom sjećanju hrvatskoga naroda. U  
Hrvatskoj je ponovno otkrivanje zapostavljenih istraživačkih tema vezanih uz Prvi  
svjetski rat i kulturu sjećanja dovelo do okupljanja međunarodnoga interdiscipli-  
narnog tima znanstvenika u okviru projekta Prvi svjetski rat u kulturi sjećanja –  
Zaboravljena baština (2020. – 2023.), što ga financira Hrvatska zaklada za zna-  
nost. Osim mnogih projektnih aktivnosti, pod ovom vrlo aktualnom temom spome-  
ničke baštine i kulture sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat organiziran je 2021. godine u  
Zagrebu i međunarodni okrugli stol. Neki od autora koji su sudjelovali na tom okrug-  
lom stolu rezultate svojih recentnih istraživanja prikazali su u ovom tematskom  
broju Društvenih istraživanja.*

*Kao sudionik okrugloga stola i poseban gost, u ovom broju je Jay Winter, ugledan  
znanstvenik iz Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, profesor emeritus na Odsjeku za povi-  
jest Sveučilišta Yale. Njegov istraživački interes obuhvaća Prvi svjetski rat i utjecaj  
toga rata na 20. stoljeće. Njegova istraživanja i knjige, kao što je Sites of Memory,  
Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History, postali su  
nezaobilazna literatura za sve one koji se bave Prvim svjetskim ratom i kulturom  
sjećanja. Jay Winter je dobitnik počasnoga doktorata Sveučilišta u Grazu, Sveučilišta  
u Leuvenu i Sveučilišta u Parizu. Uz njega su autori u ovom tematskom broju kole-  
gice i kolege koji se bave lokalnim/nacionalnim temama vezanima za spomeničku ba-  
štinu i kulturu sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat. Radovi u ovom broju Društvenih  
istraživanja svojom tematikom pridonose znanstvenoj analizi važnih aspekata kul-  
ture sjećanja i baštine Prvoga svjetskog rata, ponajprije u Hrvatskoj, a onda i na me-  
đunarodnoj razini. Istraživanja se odlikuju suvremenim metodologijama i složenim  
multi/interdisciplinarnim teorijskim okvirima interpretacije dobivenih podataka.*

*U uvodnom radu o značenju mjesta sjećanja i nositeljima sjećanja (memory agents),  
koji ih čuvaju u kolektivnom sjećanju i na nacionalnoj i na međunarodnoj razini, Jay  
Winter propituje palimpsestske odlike ratnih spomenika. Palimpsestske odlike ratnih*

spomenika, tvrdi Jay Winter, upućuju na višestruka značenja koja se vezuju za njih i koja odgovaraju kolektivnom sjećanju lokalnih, regionalnih, nacionalnih, međunarodnih i transnacionalnih zajednica. Višeznačnost mjesta sjećanja, na koja Jay Winter upozorava u svojem zaključku, nadilazi nacionalne granice patnje i gubitka života. U svojoj imaginaciji mjesta sjećanja pronalaze prostor na cijelom kontinentu i zajednicama ratnih žrtava te na taj način izlaze iz okvira lokalnog u svijet čija se ikonografija gubitka odvoja u posebnoj geometriji pamćenja. Horizontalnost okvira prenošenja poruka mjesta sjećanja tvori kontinuitet komemorativnih referenci – palimpsest sjećanja – koja traju do danas.

Ljiljana Dobrovišak u svojem radu o spomeničkoj baštini Prvooga svjetskog rata u Hrvatskoj od 1914. godine do danas pruža uvid u ostatke te baštine na današnjem području Republike Hrvatske. Spomenici podignuti u čast poginulim austro-ugarskim vojnicima i okolnosti njihova podizanja te stavovi i odnos državnih vlasti spram ratnih veterana i žrtava rata i njihovih obitelji autorica interpretira u kontekstu kulture sjećanja. Istodobno, Ljiljana Dobrovišak na temelju tako provedenog istraživanja donosi kategorizaciju mjesta sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat i tragove njihova postojanja na hrvatskom tlu do danas.

Filip Hameršak u svojem radu daje prikaz zakonodavnog okvira i društveno-političkih i kulturnih prilika koje su omogućile izgradnju i održavanje vojnih groblja iz Prvooga svjetskog rata na teritoriju Hrvatske od 1914. do 1941. godine. Komemorativne prakse, javni spomenici i pojedinačni ratni spomenici podignuti u čast poginulih, najvećim dijelom hrvatskih vojnika austro-ugarske vojske, istražuju se kroz periodizaciju koju Filip Hameršak dijeli na habsburško razdoblje (1914. – 1918.), kratki intermeco (1918. – 1921.) i razdoblje vladavine Karađorđevića (1921. – 1941.). Autor podsjeća kako su, s jedne strane, ambiciozne planove izgradnje vojnih groblja austro-ugarske vlasti samo djelomično ostvarile, dok, s druge strane, nove vlasti Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije od 1919. do 1941. godine ipak nisu isključivale pripadnike austro-ugarske vojske (kako Hrvate, tako ni Srbe i Slovence) na svojim grobljima, iako su najveći teret izgradnje i održavanja podnosile lokalne vlasti, veteranske udruge i sami građani.

Vijoleta Herman Kaurić potom u svojem radu istražuje i interpretira okolnosti, društveni kontekst i stavove hrvatskih vlasti tijekom organizacije komemorativnih aktivnosti vezanih za obilježavanje stogodišnjice Prvooga svjetskog rata (2014. – 2018.) u Hrvatskoj. Autorica upozorava na činjenicu kako danas odnos prema komemoriranju toga povijesnog događaja u hrvatskom društvu pokazuje u kojoj je mjeri protekom vremena hrvatska baština Prvooga svjetskog rata "umalo" postala zaboravljena.

Nenad Lajbenšperger govori o poslijeratnom odnosu državnih vlasti Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije spram ratnih veterana i poginulih vojnika sukobljenih strana, sada ujedinjenih u jednu državu. Autor upućuje na različit odnos vlasti prema grobovima "ne samo različitih vojski" nego i različitim lokacijama na kojima su groblja bila smještena. S vremenom, tvrdi autor, podignuta groblja i spomen-kosturnice kako srpskim borcima tako i vojnicima austro-ugarske vojske po završetku Prvooga svjetskog rata

polako nestaju; a nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata i raspada socijalističke Jugoslavije države nasljednice svoj su odnos i razumijevanje ratnih žrtvi i mjesta sjećanja iz Prvoga svjetskog rata baštinili svaka na svoj način, pa tako i u svrhu turizma.

U posljednjem radu ovoga tematskog broja autor Metod Šuligoj na temelju kvalitativnog sociološkog istraživanja provedenog za područje istarskoga pograničja tvrdi kako se suvremene komemorativne prakse – spomen-događanja – na mjestima sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat mogu razumjeti kroz prizmu "mračnoga turizma", "kulturnoga turizma" i "problematičnoga naslijeđa". Reaproprijacija sjećanja i mjesta sjećanja kao baštine Prvoga svjetskog rata, kaže autor, doveli su do nove tipologije spomen-događanja u istarskoj pograničnoj regiji, koji sada poprimaju karakteristike transkulturalnosti i glokalizma.

Svjescni da su ovi radovi samo malen dio rasprava koje se danas vode u znanstvenoj zajednici o suvremenim aspektima kulture sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat, ali i baštine koju nasljeđuju poslijeratne generacije, nadamo se da će pridonijeti boljem znanstveno utemeljenom rasvjetljavanju odnosa kolektivnoga sjećanja, kulture sjećanja i memorijalizacije Prvoga svjetskog rata kroz komemorativne prakse i mjesta sjećanja, čime će pobuditi daljnju pozornost znanstvenika na ovom području.

Ljiljana Dobrovšak i Sandra Cvikić

## THE THEME

*This issue's theme about memorial heritage and the First World War memory culture is focused primarily on the research area related to the First World War history and memory culture in Croatia (commemorative practices, sites of memory, memorialisation, collective memory, memorial heritage). In the middle of the 20th century, the First World War and memory culture became multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research subjects of social studies and humanities. However, the 21st century 'memory boom', according to Jay Winter, has updated the discussion about new forms and ways of remembering – memories about First World War victims and events. The commemoration of the First World War centenary (2014 – 2018) in Croatia had elicited for the first time greater attention from the scientific community and institutions. It sparked interest for the event that was deeply repressed in the collective memory of the Croatian nation for a very long time. Newly discovered research subjects related to the First World War and memory culture in Croatia had brought together an international interdisciplinary team of scientists in the project World War I and the Culture of Memory – Forgotten Heritage (2019 – 2023) financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. Among project activities was one related to the organisation of an international round table in Zagreb (2021) actualising the memorial heritage and cultural memory of the First World War. Some of the round table participants are now authors of papers in this thematic issue of Društvena istraživanja presenting their recent research findings.*

*As a round table participant and special guest in this publication is Jay Winter, a renowned scientist from the USA, professor of history emeritus at Yale University. He is a specialist on the First World War and its impact on the 20th century. His research and books such as Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History have become an indispensable reference for all who are involved with the First World War and cultural memory. Jay Winter is a recipient of honorary doctorates from the University of Graz, The University of Leuven, and the University of Paris. Next to Jay Winter, papers from colleagues who research local/national subjects related to the memorial heritage and cultural memory of the First World War are presented in this thematic issue. Papers in this issue therefore contribute to the scientific analysis of the important aspects related to the memory culture and heritage of the First World War primarily in Croatia, and then internationally. Contemporary methodological and complex multi/interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks are used in research and the interpretations of research findings.*

*In the introduction, in his paper about the meaning of sites of memory and memory agents – meanings contained in the collective memory on the national and international level, Jay Winter questions war memorials as palimpsests. War memorials are palimpsests, according to Jay Winter, in the sense that they have multiple levels of meaning attached to them, corresponding to the collective memory of local, regional, national, international, and transnational communities. The multilayered meaning behind the sites of memory, Jay Winter concludes, transcends the national boundaries of suffering and loss of life. In their imagination, sites of memory find their space on the continent and in the communities of war victims, thereby going beyond local frameworks into the world whose iconography of loss develops through a particular geometry of remembrance. The site's of memory horizontal framework of message transfers thus creates a continuum of commemorative references – a palimpsest of memories – that linger to this day.*

*Ljiljana Dobrovišak in her paper about the First World War memorial heritage in Croatia (from 1914 until today) provides an insight into the remnants of this heritage in contemporary Croatian territory. Memorials built in honour of the fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers and the circumstances surrounding their construction, are interpreted by the author in the context of cultural memory. At the same time, based on her research, Ljiljana Dobrovišak provides a categorisation of the First World War sites of memory and their remains on Croatian soil until today.*

*In his paper, Filip Hameršak provides an overview of various legal frameworks and socio-political and cultural circumstances that enabled the construction and maintenance of the First World War military cemeteries on Croatian territory in the period 1914 – 1941. Commemorative practices, public monuments, and individual war memorials built to honour, predominantly Croatian, fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers, are investigated by Filip Hameršak through the periodisation he himself constructed: the Habsburg Period (1914 – 1918), the Intermezzo (1918 – 1921), and the Karađorđević Period (1921 – 1941). The author recalls how on one hand, the ambi-*

tious plans for military cemetery constructions were only partially realised by the Austro-Hungarian authorities; while on the other hand, the new regime (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Yugoslavia) in the period 1919 – 1941 did not entirely exclude members of the Austro-Hungarian army (both, Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes) from its military cemeteries. However, he points out, that most of the financial burden related to the construction and maintenance of military cemeteries was shared among local authorities, veterans' associations, and citizens.

Vijoleta Herman Kaurić in her paper investigates and interprets the circumstances, social context and attitudes of state authorities in the organisation of commemorative events related to the First World War centenary (2014 – 2018) in Croatia. The author points out the fact that the relationship regarding the commemoration of this historical event in Croatian society shows the extent of which, as time passed by, the Croatian heritage of the First World War was almost forgotten.

Further on, Nenad Lajbenšperger talks about the post-war relationship between state authorities of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Yugoslavia and war veterans, and the relationship towards fallen soldiers of all sides now united into one state. The author shows how state authorities have treated differently the graves of soldiers belonging to various armies, as well as their different attitudes towards cemeteries in various locations. Over time, the author claims, the cemeteries and ossuaries established at the end of the First World War for both Serbian soldiers and soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army have slowly disappeared. However, after the Second World War and with the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, each successor state inherited a different relationship towards and understanding of the First World War victims and sites of memory, thus reappropriated for tourism.

The last paper of this thematic issue introduces Metod Šuligoj's qualitative sociological research conducted in the cross-border area in Istria. He claims that contemporary commemorative practices – memorial events – organised at First World War sites of memory can be understood through the prism of dark tourism, cultural tourism, and difficult heritage. Reappropriation of emotions and sites of memory as heritage of the First World War, the author indicates, have brought about new typologies of memorial events in the Istrian cross-border region which now acquire characteristics of transculturalism and glocalism.

We are aware that the presented papers make up only a small part of the contemporary scholarly discussion today about the aspects of the First World War memory culture and heritage inherited by post-war generations. We do hope that the presented papers will contribute to an improved scientifically-based clarification and understanding of the First World War collective memory, memory culture and memorialisation through commemorative practices and sites of memory. All this, we hope, could raise more attention among scientists in this field in the future.

Ljiljana Dobrovošak and Sandra Cvikić





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# PALIMPSESTS: NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL, AND TRANSNATIONAL SITES OF MEMORY

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In this essay I claim that all sites of memory have both local and national meanings, since they say that something happened here or to the people who live here, in this country, which is worth remembering in public. Only some sites of memory are international, in that they are constructed not solely by locals or residents of a particular region or state, but by groups of people in different countries drawing attention to events they think significant. However, transnational sites are those which were constructed or designated as significant by people from different places or different states, who worked together to represent the past from a transnational perspective. Therefore, the central question of my research is what did memory agents, that is, the people who built or used these sites of memory, want to achieve through them? What were they for? The answers I present are based on war memorials and museums. Reflecting on these sites underscores the ways in which war memorials are palimpsests, in the sense that they have multiple levels of meaning attached to them, corresponding to the collective memory of local, regional, national, international and transnational communities about our violent age.

Keywords: national, international, and transnational sites of memory, war memorials



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All sites of memory are local and national, in that they draw attention to a particular site in a particular place in a state or territory where a significant event or events happened. What Dolores Hayden (1995) calls 'the power of place' arises when people tell stories about a past that unfolded here, in this town and in this country. The question arises whether these local or national sites at one and the same time can also be international or transnational in character. I believe they can. International sites of memory mark events and movements which unfolded in more than one country, for instance the operation of and abolition of the slave trade. Transnational sites are those which were constructed or designated as significant by people from different places or different states, who worked together to achieve transnational goals, for instance the emergence of the European Union or the drafting and adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What makes a site international is the coming together of associations in more than one country to mark events that were significant in different national contexts. What makes a site transnational is the way it is marked by people who work outside of or beyond nations to achieve transnational objectives. International sites are marked by the efforts of different actors operating in national associations, like the Second International, the League of Nations, or the United Nations. Transnational sites are fashioned by people working in transnational associations, such as *Médecins sans Frontières*, the Roman Catholic Church or the Red Cross. They have national standing, as does the Archbishop of Paris, but their primary allegiance is to a transnational Church or organization or coalition.

I claim therefore that all sites of memory have local and national meanings, since they say that something happened here or to the people who live here, in this country, which is worth remembering in public. Only some sites of memory are international, in that they are constructed not solely by locals or residents of a particular region or state, but by groups of people in different countries drawing attention to events they think significant. And other sites of memory involve other groups, whose identity arises not from national associations but from transnational affiliations.

Diasporic memory, for example, is both international, since it refers to a homeland and to the scattered members of that homeland, and transnational, since it frequently refers to a town or region, from whence people migrated. Some practice transnational memory in *Landsmanschaften*.<sup>1</sup> I discovered that my Russian grandfather came from Brest-Litovsk, on the Polish-Byellorussian border, from a notice the association of emigrants from Brest-Litovsk published in a newspaper in 1924. My family came from that trans-national entity the 'Pale



of settlement', which was both part of the Russian empire, and a Jewish world that spanned many national and imperial borders. After 1945, Germans expelled from many parts of Eastern Europe created their own equivalents of *Landsmanschaften*. Similar organizations existed far from the world of Eastern Europe, e.g., alumni of universities who wanted to recall the fun of being young and relatively free from their own associations based on their shared experience. These groups span the globe, but they do not necessarily perform acts of global memory. In most of these groups there is a core and a periphery, a place of origin, semi-sacred in character, and a place of nostalgia, where those attached to the origin can recall its delights. Here memory dissolves into 'nostalgia', as Svetlana Boym (2001) observed, a warm and cloudy place, like a sauna, where we can conjure up a past that (most of us know) never existed in the first place. Global memory, in my view, is an illusion, a site of fantasy rather than a site of memory.

World heritage sites are not global sites of memory, but rather those designated by a trans-national organization, or by one of its auxiliary bodies, to be worthy of preservation. The work of UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) founded on 16 November 1945 in Paris, was and remains the promotion of peace through education, science, and culture. Being founded and centered in Paris just after the end of the Second World War, UNESCO faced multiple tasks. One was the repair of European culture from the damage inflicted on it by the Nazi occupation of France and the rest of Europe. The great powers then were still proudly imperial, and no one saw this as a contradiction alongside UNESCO's campaign against racism. It was only from the 1960s that it became a crime (or at least an embarrassment) to be an imperial power. Only in 1966 did the British Colonial Office merge with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Not always, but all too frequently, the term 'Global Culture' (Berger, 1997) means the products of the Atlantic world marketed to everyone else. Nike, the maker of footwear, or the United Colors of Benetton, show us the way the term 'global culture' has been reduced to a marketer's slogan. Those who sell designer clothes are not agents of global memory.

Colonial and imperial sites of memory are both international and transnational. They originate to express a binary bond, between the settler and the country of origin. Two examples are two statues honoring Cecil Rhodes, the British magnate, and Prime Minister of the Cape province. The first was installed in 1934 prominently at the University of Cape Town<sup>2</sup> and removed in 2015. The second is on the external wall of Rhodes' college in Oxford, Oriel, and dates back to 1911.<sup>3</sup> It will remain in place with an explanatory plaque alongside. Initially these monuments tied London or Oxford to Cape

Town, but the controversy over preserving them in place was transnational, drawing in people from all over the world. The same distinction between the international and the transnational may be seen in the establishment of the Rhodes scholarships in 1902.<sup>4</sup> Initially a project to bring the sons of white settlers to Britain, it was expanded in 1903 to include German students, nominated by Kaiser Wilhelm II. These scholarships were redirected in 1914 to Canadian and West Indian candidates, and then restored for Germans in 1930. That came to an end in 1939, but once more, in 1970 the Rhodes Trust opened the competition to students from the Federal Republic of Germany. The Rhodes scholarships were imperial in origin but became transnational over time. The same is true for sites of memory in other imperial or colonial settings. I stick to my view that there are four levels on which sites of memory operate. What distinguishes them is the subject position of the memory activists who create or sustain them. We find traces of these four levels of memory work in local and national archives. But we also learn about them through the records of international and transnational movements and associations.

Sometimes, a site of memory attracts all four levels of associational activity. Consider the example of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, a museum and documentation center on the Holocaust. Here is a Jewish site, transnational in character. It is also an international site, recognizing the Just among the Nations, those people who were not Jewish who risked their lives to save Jewish people during the Holocaust. It is a national site, the place where foreign dignitaries and heads of state go on official visits. And it is a local site, facing the hills of Judea and the coastal plain. St Peter's Church in Rome is similarly a palimpsest. It is local, national, international, and transnational, simultaneously. The tomb of Lenin in the Red Square, in Moscow, near the Kremlin, is a local site, to be sure, but also where national and international Communist leaders paid their respects and where tourists follow in their footsteps to this day. In its early days, after 1917, communism attracted people who believed it was a transnational project; that belief did not last long, but while it lasted, this site was transnational as well. Levels of meaning arise from the collective work of those who create, preserve, appropriate, use, or destroy particular sites of memory.

This four-part typology of sites of memory is useful heuristically, since it helps us see that meanings are multiple, flexible, and so are the narratives people build on them. What matters most is to recognize how porous the boundaries between the local, national, international, and transnational character of the work of those we call memory agents are. They are the ones who tell us what a site of memory means.

## MEMORY AGENTS

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This focus on memory agents leads to what I have termed a social agency interpretation of sites of memory. The source of this intervention was a sense of discomfort first with the original idea and secondly the subsequent free-floating and at times vague notion of what Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (site of memory) actually did. For him and the authors of the extraordinary seven-volume series published between 1984 and 1992, what they did was to act as political astronomers, attempting to describe the political and social universe of France after the twin demise of communism and Gaullism. To see the future of France one had to see the past, inscribed in a host of places, traditions, and texts. It was a brilliant success, both as a publishing venture and as an inspiration to hundreds of other scholars, me included. Here was an approach that offered an alternative to two schools of historical thought that appeared in the 1980s to have exhausted their potential. By the 1980s, Marxism as a theory of history and as a theory of action had disintegrated, well before the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites. In the same period social scientific history, based on quantification in demography, urban history and economic history had lost its appeal. The scholarly work appearing in these fields was useful, but it did not change our understanding of the past.

The field of memory studies was born in the 1970s and came to dominate not only history but cognate disciplines, in particular literary studies. It was at this time that the topic of post-traumatic stress disorder received the imprimatur of the American Psychiatric Association, and the delayed arrival of Holocaust studies transformed the history of the Second World War. The study of dark memory expanded rapidly now that the technology of audio and video capture and retrieval of survivors' testimony became easily accessible to scholars all over the world. What I call the 'memory boom' of the last decades of the twentieth century, was overdetermined (Winter, 2000). But it drew on a turn among historians and others to study the narratives embedded in objects, monuments, or buildings of a commemorative nature. To be sure, the choice of objects was subjective, but the violent history of the Twentieth Century had more than enough material to launch an intellectual current that is still powerful. That current informed the growing discipline of cultural history, defined as the study of the way men and women find meaning in their past (Winter, 2006).

Nora's seven-volume project was a foundational moment in the arrival of cultural history as a dominant historical discipline (Winter, 1997). It was not an alternative to social

history or to political history, but a way to inform both by introducing an element of reflexivity. That term simply means that what meaning people ascribed to their past mattered centrally to the exercise of political power today and tomorrow. Here was the appeal of Nora's project, and the inspiration for many like it. This body of work both excited and troubled me too, in that, aside from investigating in ingenious ways what we now call political culture, it was unclear to me what have all the spin-off studies inspired by Nora achieved. On the one hand, they helped shift attention from social and political history to cultural history in the late 20th Century and after; on the other, they made cultural history a *pot pourri*,<sup>5</sup> in which, in effect, anything goes. That is why in the 1990s I focused on a functional interpretation of sites of memory. In part this arose from fruitful exchanges with an astonishing group of social anthropologists at Cambridge, in particular Meyer Fortes (1949), which seemed to me to describe the social and cultural practices of a vast, local, national, international, and transnational community in mourning during and after the First World War. Anthropologists like Caroline Humphrey pointed out too that the Eurocentric nature of Nora's 'les lieux de mémoire' was too narrow, and that to understand commemorative sites in Europe, it was necessary to understand African, Asian, and Latin American forms of remembrance as well (Humphrey & Laidlaw, 1994). Over time that project has come of age, though it has taken time to mature. Currently, anthropologist Heonik Kwon (2008) has shown the way forward. I learned from these anthropologist neighbors how to shape a study of war memorials as quintessential sites of memory.<sup>6</sup> Drawing too from J. L. Austin's (1962) marvelous study *How to Do Things with Words*, I decided to focus on the performative element in the construction and use of *les lieux de mémoire*. And in doing so, I wanted to show that Nora (1989) was mistaken in one of his fundamental claims. It was not true in the 1980s (and it is not true today) that *milieu de mémoire* (memory space) are ersatz, substitutes for a departed regime of *milieu de mémoire*. If Nora had shifted his gaze beyond the 6th *arrondissement* of Paris, he might have seen that there are *milieu de mémoire* all over the world, local, national, international, and transnational.

The best way to make this point was to adopt a lightly functionalist approach to the subject. The central question of my research (as it was then) is now what the people who built or used these sites of memory did with them. What were they for? A preliminary answer came out of both archival work and numerous visits to local war memorials dotting the countryside in France and Britain. They were evidently places where people mourned. The second part of my argument appeared

once again both through archival research and by using my eyes. These sites were overwhelmingly local. A few were national, and even fewer were imperial, international or transnational in character. Especially before the Second World War, and before television and cheap tourism, most people mourned the dead of the First World War at local sites, alongside their neighbors and friends. There women got into the narrative of war as mourners, given pride of place by everyone else, including veterans. In effect, the evidence was overwhelming that despite the importance of the national ceremonies, local sites were the places where people mourned. I call these people memory agents. They form small groups and engage in public acts of remembrance, and they do so mostly at certain sites within their reach. The work of these memory agents breathes life into these sites of memory and mourning. Working in local archives shows clearly that when those who activate these practices move away, or die, or fall ill, or become preoccupied with other projects, then these sites of memory fade away. All have a half-life; all fall victim to time, to the succession of generations, and to the work of other people who either reappropriate these sites or let them fade away into the landscape. That is the sum and substance of my contribution to the debate over *les lieux de mémoire*.

Decades ago, I asked my students at Cambridge what they saw at the first roundabout when they took the bus from the railway station into town. They mostly didn't know what I was getting at. But then the penny dropped, when I referred to an interesting, even odd, war memorial at the roundabout of Station Road, which none of them saw. A decade ago, it was removed from the roundabout, and now has faded into the landscape as a sculpture on the side of the road, but not a site of memory. Nobody does anything *there* anymore. *Homo agens* (man as an acting being) rules; memory agents either keep sites of memory alive or by their inaction, they let these sites lose their charge until they fade away (Winter & Sivan, 1999).

How does the appearance of international and transnational sites of memory affect this interpretation? I believe the approach I have just outlined still stands. However, it is necessary to add a dimension to this interpretive framework to which I have given insufficient attention in the past. I want to emphasize more clearly that all sites of memory are palimpsests, which have layers of meaning attached to them from their very beginnings. And this is even more evident when we deal with sites of memory created or adopted or adapted by subaltern or colonial populations, who use their own notation on top or alongside that of the once or still hegemonic power.

## SITES AND SIGHT

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That there are layered meanings in sites of memory should surprise no one. But in the English language, the synonym of sites and sight brings us to another way of understanding palimpsests. The meaning of war memorials is inscribed not only in iconography but also in what I call the geometry of remembrance (Winter, 2017). By that I mean that over the course of the Twentieth Century, there has been a conversation among artists, architects, public officials, and activists which has led to a change, with major exceptions, in the way sites of memory are configured. My claim is that those who build or adopt transnational and international sites of memory, like those who built local ones, now tend to prefer the horizontal axis to the vertical. Why should this be so? My reasoning is that the horizontal is the axis of mourning and applies to family groups as well as to very large transnational populations. The vertical is the visual grammar of redemption, of hope; the horizontal is the visual grammar of mourning, of loss. Their relationship is dialectical; if you prefer, they are in dialogue with each other. Here we can see a change over time. The vertical, which is the vector of hope, is very frequently the posture of national affirmation. When we survey sites of memory over the course of the Twentieth Century and beyond, we can see a change over time. The later the monument, the more likely it is to be horizontal in design or to have horizontal elements in it. I believe this turn to horizontality is even more striking after the turn of the Twenty-First Century and is likely to remain the dominant pattern of public remembrance at sites of memory in the foreseeable future.

## THE LOGIC OF HORIZONTALITY

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In this chapter, I want to illustrate the logic of horizontality in three sites of memory which are either international or transnational in character. All are palimpsests, in the sense of having multiple layers of meaning, some iconographic and others geometric in character. The first is *the Historial de la Grande Guerre* in Péronne, Somme, France, which opened in 1992.<sup>7</sup> The second is the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, designed by Peter Eisenmann and Buro Happold, inaugurated in 2004.<sup>8</sup> The third is the *Anneau de la mémoire*, a memorial structure built at the largest French battlefield of the First World War at Notre Dame de Lorette further north in France near Arras, designed by Philippe Prost and inaugurated in 2014.<sup>9</sup>

First a word of disclosure. I had the good fortune to be asked to join the team designing the museum and constructing its narrative, both spatial and written. I do not have the

same insider's knowledge about the other two projects discussed here, but I have spent a considerable amount of time at them and admire the thoughtfulness and artistic power of the designers of the memorials in Berlin and Notre Dame de Lorette.

The first question is this: are these three sites of memory international or transnational? The answer is both: they are both international and transnational at the same time. *The Historial* is the first museum of the Great War designed as an international site of memory. That is, the standpoint, and artefacts relating to the three great powers whose soldiers fought at this site from 1 July 1916 to 10 December 1916, are French, British, and German, without preference for the home country. Indeed, the vitrines or showcases are organized on three levels, and when I tried to calm down an outraged French official, I got him to see that putting the German story and objects first, was simply a matter of alphabetical order: *L'Allemagne, La France, Le Royaume-Uni*. The fact that the museum was then entirely funded by French local authorities did not change the order. And now that the museum and its research center have received state funding instead of regional funding, nothing has changed. The museum took the catchment area of its narrative as the unified and discrete story of the three million soldiers from the armies of France, Germany, and Britain, the Empire and Dominions who fought there. But unlike many war museums that remain entirely about 'our side', *the Historial* crossed the boundary between the soldiers who fought on different sides of the same battle. Since the Treaty of Westphalia, most battles were international, but their representation in painting, prose, poetry, and exhibition spaces was either national or imperial or both. That was true of all First World War museums before *the Historial* came on the scene. Now we have been joined by the In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres, which also has an international character, telling a Belgian, French, German, and British story, and doing so in a state that has ceded cultural affairs, including museums, to the regions, in this case, Flanders.<sup>10</sup> What joined the *Historial* together with the *In Flanders Fields Museum* was the view that all the soldiers who fought in either sector were equally victims of a war the world had never seen before – industrialized war among the world's greatest industrialized powers. The distance between the international and the transnational is slight, but it does reflect different emphases. Both the *Historial* and the *In Flanders Fields Museum* are transnational, in that they honor men who came from over 70 different countries and dependencies to fight in northern France or Flanders. The lucky ones went home again. To make this point, in 2018 British installation artist Val Corwin inaugurated an installation of chairs

donated by ordinary people from 70 different countries. These chairs are empty and will remain in Ypres.

Emptiness is the dominant motif of the Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. The victims of this crime were killed because they were members of a race, by definition, a transnational category. Until 1948, Jewish identity had no national focus. The Holocaust was a transnational crime, the murder of people for the crime of being who they were, wherever they lived. It was also an international crime, with criminals from many nations participating in their own way and on their own ground. As in many other cases, the Shoah defies easy classification.

The central feature of the three sites of memory discussed here is that the story they tell is both international and transnational. The First World War was an imperial and national war which, especially after the Russian Revolution of 1917, mutated into a new kind of war, one more like a continental civil war, in which most victims were civilians. This civilianization of war occurred then and there; it was not born then, since there were many events which pointed in this direction before 1917. But wars which attacked civilians directly and incessantly marked the period after the Armistice of 1918 in new ways. In 1914–1917 war was waged between armies. After 1918 war fragmented, shattered, mutated. The revolutionary and counter-revolutionary wars fought from 1917 on, wars which determined the fate of the Russian Revolution and the shape of the Twentieth Century, occurred in what we now call the shatter zones of empire, where no authority reigned and where new claimants challenged other claimants for the right to establish national sovereignty over Lithuania, Galicia, or Finland. And these post-1918 national wars were marked by the direct targeting of civilians – either Jews in the old Pale of Settlement or Muslim Turks first, and then Greek Christians in Anatolia. Yes, national boundaries were fixed in this era of transnational warfare, but in addition, the creation of transnational enemies – including the Jews – became a part and parcel of the counter-revolutionary struggle. That is how the Nazis concocted at that moment the fantasy of the Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy as a central part of their ideology. Not long after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stood at the port of Izmir (Smyrna having been burned to the ground in 1922), Hitler launched his beer-hall putsch. The Nazis did not invent the claim that a religious group could not be part of a nation: it was Lord Curzon and his colleagues at Lausanne in 1923, who made 'compulsory population exchange' the rhetorical fig leaf covering the ethnic cleansing of Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece (Winter, 2022, pp. 1–20).



There is one further dimension of the transnationality of sites of remembrance which followed the Second World War. In part because of the Holocaust, and in part because of atomic weapons, war has lost much of its legitimacy as a form of politics, in Clausewitz's sense of the term. This is not true everywhere, but in many parts of the world, it is impossible to mobilize a population to go to war for the nation's honor, or to uphold treaties, or even to protect the vulnerable from predatory states. That is why George W. Bush and Tony Blair had to lie about weapons of mass destruction; without an existential threat – clear and present – war was a choice most people in most parts of the world reject today. That is why the world of remembrance has brought together the military and the civilian victims of war into an alliance of the dead and the survivors against the deadliness of modern war. All three of the international or transnational sites of memory I describe share this common outlook: alongside the names of those who have died in modern wars, what we need to remember, the designers of these sites implicitly say, is that war itself is our enemy. In this context, transnational and international sites of memory tend to transmit pacifist messages perhaps more clearly than do local or national sites.

## **THE HISTORIAL DE LA GRANDE GUERRE**

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The idea of horizontality dominated the design of the interior of *the Historial de la Grande Guerre*, which opened in 1992. My colleagues and I who helped design the museum and its narrative were not at all happy with the verticality of the Imperial War Museum in London, with its rockets and aircraft soaring to the heavens. Instead, we wanted to convey the idea that in the Great War most people lived underground in order to survive and put up with rats and lice and other physical hardships precisely because, in Ford Madox Ford's (2011) words, a man can't stand up in these trenches. Not if he wants to live another day. The horizontal represented the only way to shield the body from the revolutionary effects of artillery fire, which killed roughly 80 percent of all those who died in the war. Only by emphasizing the vulnerability of the body, flattening itself to or below the horizon did soldiers have a chance of survival. This point was missed in *the Imperial War Museum* and in other war museums, which minimized the horrors of the daily life of soldiers in 1914 – 1918.

In addition, the horizontal, we believed, would force viewers to look down when contemplating war, either at the dead, or at the underground world which soldiers created to survive. Our working group came up with the design of *fosses* (shallow pits) for representations of the front, and *vitrines* (show-

cases) for representations of civilian life, with *bornes videos* (video terminals) in between. Horizontality and a stylized representation of the soldiers' kit in the trenches then became the central motif of the museum's design.

The second feature of *the Historial* linked to horizontality is silence. Here is a matter of principal which I managed to persuade my colleagues to adopt. Silence is the language of mourning, and therefore silence is the right 'accompaniment' to a horizontal museum (Ben-Ze'ev et al., 2010).

## MEMORIAL TO THE MURDERED JEWS OF EUROPE, BERLIN

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A second instance of the use of the horizontal perspective is Peter Eisenman's *Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe* near the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> The monument is an ensemble of 2,711 concrete rectangular shapes of varying heights, many above human height, others below. The result, not entirely anticipated by the architect, was to create a space of disappearance. Here is Eisenman's own sense of the effect of his design, from an interview on 9 May 2005:

Just yesterday, I watched people walk into it for the first time and it is amazing how these heads disappear – like going under water. Primo Levi talks about a similar idea in his book about Auschwitz. He writes that the prisoners were no longer alive, but they weren't dead either. Rather, they seemed to descend into a personal hell. I was suddenly reminded of that passage while watching these heads disappear into the monument. You don't often see people disappear into something that appears to be flat. That was amazing, seeing them disappear.  
(Hawley & Tenberg, 2005).

Like a concrete maze, Eisenman's monument suggests a nightmare, in which tombstones change size, and some grow to become huge rectangular blocks, imprisoning those who wander among them. From above, the field of stone looks like waves in a sea. Another way of capturing the effect his design produces is that it likens entry into the time and space of the Holocaust to a black hole, which absorbs all light or energy in its orbit. Here too we are deep into the language of loss, descent, entrapment, and horror.

The way this monument is shaped creates a landscape of disorientation, discomfort, and at times, panic. But not everyone who has been there feels these negative emotions. The monument has no border, and thus children skateboard over and through this space. Its abstract title says little about which murdered Jews it commemorates and who were the murderers. True, there is a visitors' center in one corner, but that underground space is not part of the monument visitors see. And

yet, part of Eisenman's achievement is that his work captures the uncanny character of the crime. It tells us that the Holocaust happened, and that Berlin is the place to remember it, since here was where the orders went out to kill every Jew in Europe. And yet that matter-of-factness is just the beginning of a story which still seems strange, unnatural, otherworldly.

## L'ANNEAU DE LA MÉMOIRE

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In 2014, 22 years after the opening of *the Historial de la Grande Guerre*, a second project was completed in northern France. It was a monument rather than a museum, though it bears striking similarities in one important respect to *the Historial*. It is resolutely horizontal in form and both transnational and pacifist in character. The *Ring of Memory* is a huge elliptical structure set alongside one of the largest military cemeteries in France at Notre Dame de Lorette, near the city of Arras and the Canadian memorial at Vimy. The monument is a 328-meter cast concrete ring, bearing 525 copper-toned panels. On each plaque written in specially designed calligraphy are the names of approximately 1,000 soldiers who died in Artois and Flanders in the First World War. These names are arranged alphabetically without reference to nationality. Once again, this is a local site, not far from Arras, which left lasting traces on a region. It is also a national site, the largest French war cemetery in the country. But what Philippe Prost added to these levels of meaning brought out the synergism between the international and the transnational in the creation of a site of memory. The 'Ring of Memory' was inaugurated on 11 November 2014, by President François Hollande, whose family fled this region in 1914, and whose grandfather served in the war.<sup>12</sup>

Here is a regional site of memory. Financial support for commemoration is part of the effort regional authorities are making to redefine their profile and to present their 'heritage' to tourists and schoolchildren alike. Here was the site of global war, drawing in military units and munitions from all over the world (Prost, 2015). In addition, this part of the Western front extended into Belgium, passing through the city of Ypres, virtually destroyed during the war. The Flemish government, autonomous on questions of culture under Belgium's divided political structure, has been a very active player in commemorative politics with an emphatic pacifist tone to their interventions.

A secondary element in the public profile of the project was its entirely transnational character. To list names without nationalities describes its European and humanist character in a crystalline way, highlighted by the development of an

original typeface and process for engraving 580,000 names on the 580 large rectangular plates placed in the ellipse. Of these names, roughly half served in British forces.<sup>13</sup> Given the fact that many of the names are those of non-Europeans who served in European armies, honoring all those who died in precisely the same understated way is a political statement at a time of rising xenophobia and tension over immigration, in particular Muslim immigration, to France and Belgium, as well as to the rest of Europe. Treating the names of German men as indistinguishable from the names of all the others follows the same Europeanization of the history of the war, understood as a common catastrophe, that we saw in the Historial.

Designer Philippe Prost acknowledges that the horizontal axis was the organizing principle of the project from the start. Adjacent to a vertical Catholic Basilica, and a vertical stone lantern and beacon to the 'glory of the dead', Prost's ring unfolds in an entirely different spatial universe. His elliptical structure was placed so as to be below the line of the horizon. The rhythm of the 500 copper-toned sheets of names recalls, he stated, the elegant rhythms of the Campo Santo cemetery in Pisa. In this project, the names and only the names are what matters. Here his work echoes the precedent set by the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission but diverges in using a metal rather than a concrete surface on which to etch the names of the dead. Like one of the rings of Saturn, Prost's 'Ring of Memory' is perched on a slope, with a section unanchored to the ground. His purpose, he said, was in part to suggest the fragility of memory and of peace.

A Twenty-First Century addition to the practice of using the horizontal as the defining spatial element in commemorative projects, Philippe Prost's 'Ring of Memory' both continues what is now a clear line in the practice of remembrance, and breaks new ground in its silent, spatial dialogue with older, vertical monuments and religious buildings near it.

## CONCLUSION

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I began this article with a plea for us to attend to the multivocality of sites of memory. The three instances I have chosen describe suffering and loss of life which transcended national boundaries. They speak of a whole continent, and its imperial holdings, and not solely of particular states. They imagine a community of victims of war which extended (and in some respects still extends) all over the world. And they did so through framing the iconography of loss through a particular geometry of remembrance. Their horizontality is the way they frame their message. And yet we should not be too extreme in separating the local, the national, and the regional, from the trans-

national. They form a continuum of commemorative references, one on top of the other, a palimpsest of memories that linger to this day. The polyvalent character of these sites and their lives as palimpsests are also there in front of us, if only we had the eyes to see them.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> On origins: A *landsmanshaft* [Yiddish: לאַנדסמאַנשאַפֿט, plural: *landsmanschaften* לאַנדסמאַנשאַפֿטען] is an immigrant benevolent organization, formed by ex-residents of the same locality or town (לאַנדסמאַן *landsmān*, plural: לאַנדסלײַט *landsleit*). These aid organizations were established to deal with social, economic, and cultural problems, and provided a social framework for mutual assistance. For additional information see official website of The Global Home for Jewish Genealogy Jewish Gen: <https://www.jewishgen.org/infofiles/landshaf.html>

<sup>2</sup> See the official website of the University of Cape Town, Iyuniversthi Yasekapa, Universiteit van Kaapstad: <https://www.uct.ac.za/>, and Contested Histories website: <https://contestedhistories.org/resources/case-studies/cecil-john-rhodes-statue-at-the-university-of-cape-town-in-cape-town/>

<sup>3</sup> See the Oriel College, University of Oxford official website: <https://www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/cecil-john-rhodes-1853-1902>, and <https://www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/about-college/college-history/contextualisation-rhodes-legacy>

<sup>4</sup> For additional information on Rhodes Trust and Scholarship history and current activities see Rhodes Trust official website: <https://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/scholarships/the-rhodes-scholarship/>

<sup>5</sup> According to Merriam-Webster's dictionary, the meaning of *pot pourri* refers to a miscellaneous collection, see: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/potpourri>

<sup>6</sup> Without them I never would have written *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Winter, 2014), nor would I have seen the need to break through the European frontier in this field.

<sup>7</sup> Further on referred to as *the Historial*. For more information see museum's official website: <https://www.historial.fr/en/>

<sup>8</sup> For more information see the official city website: <https://www.berlin.de/en/attractions-and-sights/3560249-3104052-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.en.html>

<sup>9</sup> For more information see the memorial's official website: <https://memorial1418.com/anneau-de-la-memoire/>

<sup>10</sup> For more information see museum's official website: <https://www.inflandersfields.be/en>

<sup>11</sup> On the site and the controversy of the design, see: Young, J. E. (1999); Åhr, J. (2008); and Marcuse, H. R. (2010).

<sup>12</sup> '14-18: en inaugurant "l'anneau de la Mémoire", Hollande se confie sur son grand-père', MY TF1 News, 11 Nov. 2014. <http://lci.tf1.fr/france/societe/centenaire-de-14-18-hollande-veut-faire-passer-un-message->

d-espoir-8517229.html?xtmc=notre%20dame%20de%20lorette%20%27anneau%20de%20memoire&xtcr=2

<sup>13</sup> See 14-18: *Inauguration of the Memory Ring on the official website of the Ministère De La Culture*: <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Actualites/14-18-Inauguration-de-l-Anneau-de-la-memoire>.

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## Palimpsesti: Nacionalna, međunarodna i transnacionalna mjesta sjećanja

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U ovom eseju tvrdim da sva mjesta sjećanja imaju i lokalno i nacionalno značenje, jer govore da se nešto vrijedno javnoga sjećanja dogodilo ovdje ili ljudima koji žive ovdje, u ovoj zemlji. Samo su neka mjesta sjećanja međunarodna, jer ih ne grade samo mještani ili stanovnici određene regije ili države nego skupine ljudi u raznim zemljama, skrećući pozornost na događaje koje smatraju važnima. Međutim, transnacionalna su mjesta ona koja su izgradili ili označili kao važna ljudi iz raznih mjesta ili država, radeći zajedno na predstavljanju prošlosti iz transnacionalnoga vidokruga. Stoga je središnje pitanje mojeg istraživanja što su nositelji sjećanja, odnosno ljudi koji su izgradili ili rabili ta mjesta sjećanja, htjeli njima postići. Čemu su služila? Odgovori koje iznosim temelje se na ratnim spomenicima i muzejima.

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Razmišljanje o ovim mjestima naglašava načine na koje se ratni spomenici mogu smatrati palimpsestima, u smislu da im se pridružuju višestruke razine značenja koje odgovaraju kolektivnom sjećanju lokalnih, regionalnih, nacionalnih, međunarodnih i transnacionalnih zajednica o dobu nasilja u kojem živimo.

Ključne riječi: nacionalna, međunarodna i transnacionalna mjesta sjećanja, ratni spomenici



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# THE MEMORIAL HERITAGE OF WORLD WAR I IN CROATIA FROM 1914 UNTIL TODAY

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In this paper, the author offers a brief overview of the memorial heritage that was created/erected/set up in honour of the fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers of World War I, including Croatian citizens from 1914 until today. Based on the extant research, the author presents a categorisation of *sites of memory* related to World War I and writes about the attitudes of the countries that existed on Croatian soil after the collapse of Austria-Hungary towards these sites up to the present.

Keywords: World War I, sites of memory, World War I memorials, Croatia



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## INTRODUCTION

Numerous papers about World War I have been published in Croatia during the past few years, prompted by the World War I centenary commemoration (Herman, 1999–2000, pp. 491–498; Hameršak, 2013, pp. 177–192; Herman Kaurić, 2016, pp. 21–44; Herman Kaurić, 2020, pp. 347–392). Among the numerous topics on which research had begun, the topic of the existing memorial heritage created in memory of Austro-Hungarian soldiers fallen in World War I (which includes many Croatian citizens) became a focus of research among Croatian historians. Since 2014, several papers analysing the circumstances in which various memorials to Austro-Hungarian soldiers – Croatian citizens – who fell in World War I were created were published (Huzjan, 2014, pp. 161–188; Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125; Medvarić-Bračko

& Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62; Dobrovšak, 2017a, pp. 53–66; Dobrovšak, 2017b, pp. 439–461; Huzjan, 2018, pp. 179–222; Dragoni & Mlikota, 2019, pp. 179–194; Dobrovšak, 2019a, pp. 331–349; Dobrovšak, 2019b, pp. 239–269; Huzjan, 2019, pp. 437–453; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 399–426; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 375–398; Vukičević, 2020; Cvikić & Dobrovšak, 2021). All these papers, as well as those that indirectly address this topic, such as the numerous catalogues of World War I-related exhibitions, were consulted in the writing of this paper. Due to the lack of concrete sources – such as blueprints of the memorials – newspaper articles and parish books of remembrance, in addition to Croatian and foreign literature, were analysed. In some cases, the necessary data was acquired by analysing the memorials themselves during field research. The aim of this paper is to, through the analysis of all available sources, examine the relationship of states (countries) towards fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers (Croatian citizens) from World War I and the number of memorials erected to these soldiers, and to establish where all these 'sites of memory' are located.

## The Culture of Memory of World War I

Before we say something about the memorial heritage of World War I, we must consider that there is no culture of memory of the victims and fallen soldiers of World War I in Croatia. Since a culture of memory regarding World War I was not cultivated in Croatia, and there were no commemorations or systematic censuses or research regarding sites of memory of World War I, most sites were forgotten, devastated, or removed. Although a registry of cultural goods is available on the web pages of the Croatian Ministry of Culture and Media, it does not contain all sites of memory that are related to World War I (Registar kulturnih dobara, 2022). Memorial heritage of Croatian citizens who were the victims of World War I was created outside of Croatia, but we do not know how many of these memorials exist or where they are located, and they are not considered in this paper (Tominac, 2016; Paščenko, 2016).

## Sites of Memory

Researching *sites of memory* or *sites of remembering* has recently become popular among scholars, particularly among historians and sociologists (Szpociński, 2016, p. 245). The study of sites of memory began with French historian, one of the key researchers of memory, Pierre Nora, in an article entitled *Mémoire collective*, published in the early 1970s. Nora never defined the term, but it seems that he used it primarily to refer to institutionalised forms of collective memories of the past (Szpociński, 2016, p. 246). The most important work of Pierre Nora, the organiser and inspiration behind an influential collection of

essays on sites of collective memory, was *Les lieux de mémoire*, published between 1984 and 1992 in seven volumes (Winter & Sivan, 1999, p. 1).

Nora identified a trend in historical debate which he called *Les lieux de mémoire* or *a place in our memory* (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Nora made the distinction between memory as a concept that exists in an almost mythical sense in the minds of common people, and 'history' as the 'story' written by an academic in a professional sense (Nora, 1989, p. 8). For Nora, *les lieux de mémoire* are places 'where memory crystallises and secretes itself, has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn – but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory' (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Memory is itself different from history, and as a result exists in cultural sites or 'lieux' that hold a specific significance for national identity (Nora, 1989, 8). Memory is blind to all but the group it binds, which is to say, as Maurice Halbwachs claims, that there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific, collective, plural, and yet individual (Nora, 1989, p. 9). Nora said these sites of memory 'are fundamental remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it'. The sites of memory originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organise celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarise bills because such activities no longer occur naturally (Nora, 1989, pp. 11–12). As Nora has said: 'without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away' (Nora, 1989, p. 12). For Nora, sites of memory 'are sites in three senses of the word – material, symbolic, and functional' and 'are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination'. Without the intention to remember, sites of memory would be indistinguishable from sites of history / *lieux d'histoire* (Nora, 1989, pp. 18–19).

Before and after Nora, there was much scholarly debate about sites of memory, culture memory, and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Connerton, 2009; Assmann, 1995; Winter & Sivan, 1999, pp. 6–39; Szpociński, 2016, pp. 245–254). However, World War I historian Jay Winter went furthest in his search for a definition of a site of memory (Winter & Sivan, 1999; Winter, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2014). For Winter, *sites of memory* are places where groups of people engage in public activity through

which they express 'a collective shared knowledge [...], of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based' (Winter, 2010, p. 312; Winter, 2008, p. 61). These groups that go to such sites inherit earlier meanings attached to the event as well as adding new meanings. Their activity is crucial for the memory and preservation of the commemorative sites. When such groups disperse or disappear, sites of memory lose their initial force, and may fade away entirely. As Winter pointed out, the term was first used by P. Nora but, in a brief essay published in 2008 and 2010, Winter defined the term more narrowly to mean physical sites where commemorative acts take place. During the 20th century, most of these sites marked the loss of life in war (Winter, 2008, p. 61; Winter, 2010, p. 312). For Winter, 'states do not remember; individuals do, in association with other people. When such people lose interest, or time, or for any other reason cease to act, when they move away, or die, then the collective dissolves, and so do collective acts of remembrance' (Winter, 2006, 4). Winter has said that agents of remembrance work in the borderlands, linking families, civil society, and the state. During and after a war, individuals, and groups, mostly obscure, come together to do the work of remembrance (Winter & Sivan, 1999, p. 40).

One could say that sites of memory are mostly created and defined in public, often en masse, in processes that happen ritually and cyclically. Most often, these involve the erection of memorials, opening museums, or organising public, often mass celebrations, meetings, and ceremonies, which, in the process of the secularisation of culture, preserve a form akin to religious ceremonies. Building on existing research, this paper offers a brief overview of the memorial heritage that was created as sites of memory of soldiers who fell in World War I, from the war until today.

Based on the existing research (Prost, 1997, pp. 307–330), the memorial heritage of World War I in Croatia has been categorised into: military cemeteries, memorials (memorial lindens...), war memorials, ossuaries, memorial plaques, crucifixes, cross trees, altars and votive chapels, paintings and frescoes, cenotaphs, individual graves, and family tombs (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 409). Due to the scope of the analysis, we have placed the most emphasis on war memorials.

## **The Attitude of States in Croatia Towards Sites of Memory**

The idea of memorials as 'an honour to heroes' appeared already during World War I. On this occasion, the Imperial and Royal office for promoting crafts in Vienna (*Kunstverlag Schröll und Kopm*) published a work entitled *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmal*. The catalogue was published in 1915 and made with

the cooperation of 25 distinguished Austrian artists. Here one can find a slew of blueprints for memorials using all sorts of materials, for individual and collective graves, for rural areas and cities, for lowlands and hilly regions (*Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale*, 1915).<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the Austrian and German governments established a travelling exhibition called *Kriegergrab und Kriegerdenkmal* in 1916. The exhibition displayed artistically designed graves on the battlefields and behind the front lines and in military cemeteries in the homeland as well as performances of minor homages and the awarding of medals for courage to soldiers (Jezernik, 2014, p. 332). The exhibition was also written about in the Croatian press. The article 'In Honour of Our Heroes', published in the *Ilustrovani list*, opined that every soldier should have 'an honourable soldier's grave, that is, a warrior's headstone' (*U počast junacima...*, 1916, pp. 543–544). Next, a public debate developed in military circles during 1916 about what kinds of memorials should be raised in honour of fallen heroes. Military circles proposed the raising of classic memorials, one memorial post or plaque for each soldier on his native soil. There were also proposals to create a monumental collective memorial in the centre of each municipality or village, which would contain some trinket to preserve the memory of each fallen soldier hailing from there (Herman Kaurić, 2007, pp. 195–196). Civilian circles considered the proposal to erect individual graves unacceptable due to the economic situation in the country and proposed a completely different model: investing money gathered through various charity events in raising an orphanage for children of fallen soldiers (*Za spomenike...*, 1916, p. 3). Of all the listed proposals, almost nothing was implemented during the war, though there were a few exceptions. Although a *banal* order issued in May 1916 established the Land Cemetery and Grave Care Committee for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia, presided over by Count Teodor Pejačević and with the goal of establishing a foundation to fund permanent crosses and great collective memorials (Herman Kaurić, 2007, p. 196; *Domaće vijesti...*, 1916, p. 3), there were no large efforts or raising of memorials because the Committee ceased its activities in early 1917, though its secretary continued to handle its correspondence until the end of 1918 (MKM-PKB-OVK).

During the Committee's existence, an idea was put forth to erect a memorial to the unknown soldier and was supposed to be further developed by the then Committee secretary, Croatian architect Viktor Kovačić, but this was never realised (Galović, 2015, pp. 82–93; Kiš, 2014). Within the frame of the Military Command in Zagreb, there existed a separate Warrior Graves Department, which was mostly responsible for con-

structing and maintaining over 500 warriors' graves throughout Croatia and Slavonia (Herman Kaurić, 2007, p. 196). Although there were various ideas on what military cemeteries should look like, only the one in Karlovac's suburb Dubovac, made according to H. Bollé's plans, took on the proper form of a military cemetery (Damjanović, 2013, pp. 469–473). Only the *Glorieta* and several headstones attest to its existence today.

## Memorials Erected During World War I

The extent to which Croatian authors followed plans from Austrian and German magazines has not yet been sufficiently researched, but memorials were erected, and individual cities, towns, and villages did manage to put up some markers in memory of the soldiers who fell on the battlefields. War memorials of various forms were put up in public spaces, squares in the centres of towns or villages, city/town parks, near parish churches, but most commonly at the local cemeteries. For some of them, we know who initiated their construction, the circumstances in which they were built, and who were their authors, but for most we have no data. Memorials were erected by fellow soldiers, the families of fallen soldiers, civilian and military associations, and only rarely by town authorities or municipalities. They most often had the form of pyramids or obelisks. Some of them displayed the names of the fallen in alphabetical order, or simply the years 1914–1918, which point towards World War I. Of the other forms, there were memorials in the form of pavilions that stood separately or contained a sculpture of a Home Guardsman within the frame of the pavilion, usually made of wood. Several had the form of a cannon shell. However, most took the form of crucifixes, with a text explaining that the memorial was erected to the victims of World War I. In Punat on the island of Krk, a statue of an angel was put up in honour of the victims of World War I, while the cemetery in Varaždin included an obelisk bearing a sword, helmet, and cross. One of the few figural memorials was in Kopačevo and depicts a warrior. Another figural memorial was the *Pieta* erected above the ossuary in Mirogoj.

Memorials to Austro-Hungarian soldiers who fell in World War I were erected: at St James' cemetery in Ogulin (1915), in the city square in front of the Franciscan church in Varaždin (1915), in the city cemetery of the Holy Spirit in Koprivnica (1916), in the military camp Ivanovčani near Bjelovar (1916), within the military convalescent home in Osijek (1916), on the promenade in Novi Vinodolski (1916), in the city park in Sisak (1916), in the military cemetery in Karlovac (1916), in the square in Sušak (1916), in Hober Park on Korčula (1917), in the military camp in Orahovica (1917), outside the cemetery of the

village Klarići near Drivenik (1917), and at the Veprinac shrine near Makarska (1917). Two war memorials were raised in Otočac, one in the town park (1916), the other in the town cemetery (1917). (Barčot, 2015, pp. 247–250; Huzjan, 2019, pp. 437–453; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 410–412) In addition to commemorating soldiers who fell in World War I, most of these memorials had attributes related to Emperor and King Franz Joseph I and were thus mostly removed or destroyed later. Among those that survived, albeit in bad shape, are those in Ogulin, Orahovica, Novi Vinodolski, and the Otočac town cemetery, while those in Korčula and Karlovac have been partially preserved (Nadgrobni spomenik..., 1916, p. 99; Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 412).

### **Memorials in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia**

Even though it was previously believed that the newly-created political circumstances in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia were an obstacle to erecting memorials to soldiers who fell fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary, this is only partially true. While certain memorials were removed from public spaces in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, these were mostly memorials to Emperor and King Franz Joseph I, the Austro-Hungarian state, and the Austro-Hungarian army. In addition, a part of the memorial heritage that had been created in numerous settlements with the goal of collecting material assistance for fallen soldiers and their families was also destroyed. Thus, numerous memorial lindens, shields, coats of arms, falcons, posts, statues, boats and similar were removed from public spaces in towns and cities (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 405–406). As one example of this destruction, we can mention the memorial boat on the Nova Obala in Zadar, which had been made for hammering in nails and was not yet finished when it was destroyed during the unrest in the city in November 1918 (Zadar..., 1918, p. 662; Veliki rat, 2014, p. 21; Škiljan, 2014, p. 162).

War memorials continued to be erected in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, a country that united the 'victors' (former citizens of Serbia) and the 'vanquished' (former citizens of Austria-Hungary, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Bosniaks), though not with the same enthusiasm (Jezernek, 2014, p. 335; Jezernek, 2018). Thus, memorials in Serbia in honour of fallen Serbian soldiers were raised with state support, while those in other parts of the Kingdom were raised by fellow soldiers, or less often, veterans' associations or individuals (Šarenac, 2014a; Šarenac, 2014b, pp. 153–212; Lajbenšperger, 2015, pp. 330–336). According to research, approximately 150 memorials to fallen 'Slovenian heroes' were erect-

ed in Slovenia by summer 1926, and by 1935 there was no settlement in Slovenia without some form of marker (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 129–161; Hazler, 2021, pp. 41–86). In Croatia, this number was far lower. It should be mentioned here that, after Peter's death, King Alexander I Karađorđević attempted to impose himself as the main political factor – his influence became obvious within the ranks of all major Serbian parties, and the Ministry of War was directly under the Crown. The Serbian army was given a policing role in the 'newly liberated' lands and worse, its commanders believed that they were leading a preventive political war against non-Serbian national movements. The result of this policy was a series of tragic conflicts, with assaults and beatings by the military becoming commonplace in northern Croatia, Bosnia, and – to a lesser extent – Dalmatia. Because of this, the already questionable reputation of the Serbian army among the Croats was ruined. In Slovenia, which was never considered a part of Greater Serbia, the military authorities were much more restrained, and this was reflected in the greater number of memorials raised to Slovenes fallen in World War I (Banac, 1984, pp. 141–148). After the creation of the new state, the question of former Austro-Hungarian officers, and their integration in the Serbian/Yugoslav army, arose. The issue of the position of Austro-Hungarian officers is still a matter of debate. According to some authors, mostly representatives of Croatian historiography (Banac, 1984, pp. 141–148; Bičanić, 1938, pp. 120–125), as well as some foreign authors (Deak, 1990, pp. 205–212; Newman, 2015, pp. 14–15), former Austro-Hungarian officers were subjected to humiliation after the Unification; they had to request to be admitted into the army and were commanded by insufficiently educated Serbian officers, Serbian war veterans were favoured, etc. Serbian historian M. Bjelajac, however, offers a different opinion, claiming that the advancement of Serbian officers had been on hold during the war, that the quality of their education was not so bad when compared to those of Austria-Hungary, and that former Austro-Hungarian officers were not prevented from joining the army of the new state (Bjelajac, 1988, pp. 22–33, 91–106; Bjelajac, 1999, pp. 16–27). Without going deeper into this debate, if we limit our view to the attitude towards the culture of memory of Austro-Hungarian soldiers who fell on the battlefields of World War I, it comes as no surprise that only a few memorials to fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers were put up in Croatia by 1925. In addition, Croatia celebrated the millenary of the crowning of King Tomislav and the founding of the Croatian kingdom in 1925, so most efforts to raise memorials in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were instead focused on the millenary jubilee (Jareb,



2017, pp. 109–176, 191–207; Matković, 1998, pp. 271–280; Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1998, pp. 281–306). The lack of efforts to raise memorials to those who fell fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary also had other, far more mundane reasons. Initiatives to raise memorials or put-up memorial plaques were led by small groups of individuals, associations, sometimes even lone individuals. City governments often could not reach agreements regarding the raising of memorials, or they did not have sufficient funds, or the competitions lasted too long, or there were bureaucratic obstacles when licenses needed to be procured. Smaller towns and villages usually lacked the funds for memorials, so they produced memorial plaques, printed photo-panels, or raised crucifixes. In those settlements where no memorials or plaques were set up, family members inscribed the names of those soldiers who were buried far from their homeland onto family tombs. Photos of fallen soldiers were also added to some tombs (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 407–408). In addition to this, the difficulties regarding the raising of larger memorials and plaques were complicated by the provision that no memorial or memorial plaque could be raised anywhere in the country without the approval of the arts section of the Ministry of Education in Belgrade. Thus, in 1933, the Society of Brethren of the Croatian Dragon was forced to remove a high relief depicting King Tomislav that they had set up in Ozalj, because they had done so without permission (Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1998, p. 294). For this reason, memorials, memorial plaques, and crucifixes were mostly raised in cemeteries, around or inside parish churches. Most of these memorials have survived until today but are for the most part neglected, damaged, and the local population does not know the reason behind their raising.

During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, memorials, memorial plaques, crucifixes, votive chapels, or altars were raised in Dol on Hvar (1918), Kalinovica (1919?), Orolik (1920?), Pakrac (1920?), Žrnovo-Korčula (1921), Ivanovčani near Bjelovar (1922), Veliko Trojstvo near Bjelovar (1923), Čazma (1924), Pleternica (1925), Jakšić (1925), Šemovci (1924 or 1925), Novigrad Podravski (1926), Slakovci (1926), Gotalovo (1927), Gola (1927), Vrbanj on Hvar (1928), Vukovar (1928), Čakovec (1929), Našice (1929), Punat on Krk (1930), Daruvar (1930?), Varaždin (1930), Karlovac (1930), Varaždinske Toplice (1933), Samobor (1934), Dol (?), Koprivnički Ivanec (?), Ciglenica (?), Kijevo (?), Belišće (?), Kastav (?), Rijeka (?), and Viškovo near Rijeka (?) (Medvarić-Bračko & Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62; Barčot, 2015, pp. 247–250; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 412–413; author's personal archive).

All these memorials were dedicated to all victims regardless of their nationality or religion. However, there are exam-

ples to the contrary (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 413). These include the memorials erected to fallen Germans in Jarmina (1922), Breznica Našička (1925), and Krndija (1926), to Hungarians in Kopačevo (?), Novi Bezdán (1935), and Lug (?), and to Jews in Slavonski Brod (1919?), Zagreb (1930), Koprivnica (1934), and Križevci (1935) (Dobrovšak, 2017b, pp. 439–461; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 413, author's personal archive). Here we can include memorials to fallen soldiers of the enemy armies who died in civilian and military hospitals in Croatia. There are several of these, mostly in city cemeteries. For example, the Zagreb city cemetery contains two such memorials, one to fallen French soldiers, and the other to Italians (Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125). The circumstances under which these were erected remain unknown. Memorials and ossuaries for fallen Italians were built at local cemeteries in Zadar (1937 to 1939), Pula, and Rijeka (Sacrari e cimiteri..., 2005, pp. 103–107; Dragoni & Mlička, 2018, pp. 179–194). A memorial plaque to Serbian soldiers was put up at the Split waterfront, on the side wall of today's St Peter's Quay (Kečkemet, 2009, p. 181).

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the most significant effort to commemorate the soldiers fallen in World War I was linked to the raising of the *Memorial to the Unknown Hero* on Avala hill and another memorial in Mirogoj, Zagreb's main cemetery. The first memorial was built in the period between 1934 and 1938 by Ivan Meštrović and was supposed to be dedicated to all victims of World War I, but the years inscribed in it (1912–1918) show that it was also dedicated to the victims of the Balkan Wars (Ignjatović, 2006, p. 229; Ignjatović, 2010, pp. 624–651). The second memorial was the one in Zagreb, erected in the Mirogoj cemetery. Around 3,700 soldiers were buried there during the war and in the first months of 1919, including those who died in numerous civilian and military hospitals and Red Cross hospitals in Zagreb. According to the cemetery statute of 1878, the 3rd class graves, in which most of the soldiers were buried, had to be dug up after 15 years, so the 'Association of Reserve Officers and Warriors, Zagreb Sub-Committee' took charge of the effort. The initiative to raise a collective tomb, exhume, and transfer the mortal remains of soldiers buried at Mirogoj was launched by the Zagreb City Government in 1927. The construction of the ossuary was financed wholly through the Mirogoj Foundation, owned and administered by the city authorities. However, nothing was done until 1931 due to the administrative inertia of the city and state apparatus. The ossuary, whose construction was prompted in 1931 but prolonged for a whole decade due to lack of funding and poor organisation, is the work of Zagreb architect Ante Grgić, while the *Pieta* monument was made by Vanja Radauš and Jozo Turkalj. The lower part of the ossuary was

completed in 1934, the same year when the exhumation was performed. The ossuary is divided into several chambers and is actually a secondary tomb of the fallen soldiers. It contains the remains of around 3,300 soldiers of various national, religious, and military affiliation, including over 1,000 Croats, 450 Hungarians, 330 Serbian prisoners-of-war, over 150 soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 110 from Austria, and a smaller number of Slovenes, Montenegrins, and others. The tomb was built in 1939. Due to a lack of funds, the city budget did not consider the upper part of the tomb, i.e. erecting a memorial, until 1938. At a new competition for the memorial in 1938, after numerous financial and judicial dilemmas, the memorial *Pieta* by sculptors Vanja Radauš and Jozo Turkalj was selected, and finally put up in March 1940, when the tomb was officially presented to the public (Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125).

Immediately after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, the culture of memory regarding World War I and those who perished in it took a visible place on the Croatian public scene. The Croatian regime began to create a cult of the Croatian warrior, and for this reason reached for the heritage of World War I (Hrvati..., 1941, pp. 6–7; Delić-Dubički, 1942, p. 9) and began to commemorate its victims (Na grobovima..., 1941, p. 8; Svi sveti..., 1941, p. 9). However, as the war went on, the World War I heritage began to fade, and the cult of the Croatian warrior, hero, and martyr of World War II arose; commemoration of fallen warriors from World War I was cancelled in 1942. Several memorials to victims of World War I were erected during the Independent State of Croatia. Two were in the town cemetery of Nova Gradiška (1942) and in Zastrazišće on Hvar (1941) and survived the war, while a third, in Drnje (1942), was demolished by the Partisans in 1945 because they considered it associated with the Ustasha regime. It is not known who was responsible for raising the memorials on Hvar and in Drnje, while the inscription on the memorial in Nova Gradiška attributes it to the Association of Decorated Warrior Croats of 1914–1918, founded after the Independent State of Croatia was established (author's personal archive).

No further memorials were raised after World War II; in fact, some of them were transformed into memorials to fallen People's Liberation Struggle fighters (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 414; Medvarić-Bračko & Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62). This situation persisted until recently, when initiatives within the framework of the World War I centenary commemoration appeared in some settlements, including Zagreb, with the aim of putting up plaques in memory of soldiers who perished in World War I (Pali hrvatski vojnici..., 2015). Over the last several years, old memorials were restored and new ones erect-

ed. The memorial in Čakovec that had been removed in 1945 was restored and returned in 1994 but placed in a new location. The memorial at the Mirogoj cemetery was restored in 2014. The Croatian officers' choir of the Istria Municipality set up a plaque to Croatian sailors and soldiers in the naval cemetery in Pula in 2015. Collective memorials to victims of multiple wars were put up in some settlements, such as Prelog, Presečno near Varaždin (2014), and Donja Voća near Varaždin, while new memorial plaques to World War I soldiers were put up in Karlovac (2013), Pula (2014), Zagreb (2015), and Dugo Selo (2015) (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 414–415, author's personal archive).

## CONCLUSION

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We can conclude that the memorial heritage of World War I in Croatia does exist. However, due to historical circumstances and states that did not commemorate the victims of World War I, these sites of memory disappeared from collective memory. Although the official authorities in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia did not stop the raising of memorials to World War I victims who had fought on the 'enemy side', they also did not support it, so memorials were not built in adequate numbers, unlike in Slovenia and Serbia. One of the reasons for not commemorating those who fell in the war is related to the fact that most towns and cities did not have sufficient funds for building such memorials after World War I. Furthermore, the Yugoslav state promoted the erection of memorials dedicated to individuals or events that had contributed to its unitarist ideology, such as those dedicated to King Peter I and Alexander as well as those dedicated to King Tomislav during the millenary of the Croatian kingdom. Despite all these aggravating circumstances, memorials and memorial plaques to all Croatian citizens-soldiers who fell while serving in the Austro-Hungarian army were put up during the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, mostly next to churches and in local cemeteries. These efforts were mostly initiated by various associations such as Croatian Women's (but not veterans' associations), local authorities, or the families of fallen soldiers, and only rarely by city administrations and state institutions. Furthermore, Austro-Hungarian World War I cemeteries were not removed and were sometimes maintained. Neglect and destruction of graves, military cemeteries, and memorials from World War I were commonplace after 1945 and World War II, when some of the memorials were transformed into memorials dedicated to fallen People's Liberation Struggle fighters. Memorials were ruined simply due to the passage of time, as

wooden crosses rotted away, while families forgot about them or moved to other regions, leaving nobody to care about them. Some iron crosses and plaques survived, but time has completely erased the inscriptions on them.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The only example of this work in Croatia is found in the Croatian Ministry of Culture and Media. *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale*, Herausgegeben vom K. K. Gewerbeförderungs-Amte, Wien, 1915, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co. Gesellschaft M.B.H. In addition to this work, several others proposing what memorials should look like were published: *Steirische Kriegerdenkmale*, Verein für Heimatschus in Steiermark, Graz im Jul 1915; *Denkschrift über Kriegsgräberanlagen*, Von der vom k.u.k. Kriegsministerium in den Bereich des k.u.k. Militärkommandos Krakau entsendeten Studienkommission, Wien, 1916; *Kriegsdenkmäler die beim wettbewerb des K.K. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht durch preise oder ehrende Anerkennung Ausgezeichneten Entwürfe/Neunzig bilder und Pläne mit erklärendem text und einer Einleitung*, Wien, 1916, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., Ges M.B. H. in Wien; *Soldaten-Gräber, Krieger-Denkmal, Erinnerungszeichen Entwürfe und Vorschläge* herausgegeben vom Bauerischen Kunstgewerbe-Verein, München, 1916.

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## Spomenička baština Prvoga svjetskoga rata u Hrvatskoj od 1914. do danas

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U ovom radu autorica daje kratak pregled spomeničke baštine koja je od 1914. godine do danas nastala/podignuta/postavljena u čast palim austro-ugarskim vojnicima iz Prvoga svjetskog rata hrvatskim državljanima. Autorica na temelju dosadašnjih istraživanja daje kategorizaciju spomeničkih mjesta vezanih uz Prvi svjetski rat te piše o odnosu država koje su nastale na hrvatskom tlu nakon raspada Austro-Ugarske prema tim mjestima sjećanja do danas.

Ključne riječi: Prvi svjetski rat, mjesta sjećanja, spomenici Prvoga svjetskog rata, Hrvatska



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# THE MILITARY CEMETERIES OF THE GREAT WAR IN CROATIA 1914–1941

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This contribution strives to give an initial overview of various legal frameworks and the connected everyday practices concerning military cemeteries containing the remains of Croatian soldiers – for the most part members of the Austrian-Hungarian armed forces – and to situate them within the changing political and cultural context, including memorial manifestations such as public monuments, individual war memoirs, and soldiers' frontline newspapers. As a consequence, the 1914–1941 period is further subdivided into the 1914–1918 Habsburg period, the short 1918–1921 intermezzo, and the 1921–1941 Karađorđević period, albeit none of this was exactly uniform. Apart from literature and published sources, the research was also based on archival documents (Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade).

Keywords: First World War, military cemeteries, memory, Austria-Hungary, Croatia



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## **INTRODUCTION**

Although the situation is constantly improving (Herman Kaučić, 2016; Hameršak, 2016), even as of today the grand total of the knowledge and attitudes towards the First World War in Croatia – of the historiographers, the political elite, and the general public – is deeply conditioned by the decades-long promoted view that the Habsburg Monarchy was, to put it short and simple, nothing more than "a dungeon for nations",

the term, among others, equally encompassing ethnic Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes (Hameršak, 2013, pp. 177–192; Hameršak, 2015a, pp. 21–56).

Ostensibly proclaimed to bring about their liberation, the post-1918 Yugoslav states (both the monarchist and the communist one) were natural growth media for such claims, but often not in the same way, as their political, social, and cultural systems differed a lot. For instance, although official educational and memorial practices were centralised in a uniform way for most of the interwar period (pertaining to the pre-unification traditions of the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty, the state, and the army), and although the Habsburg armed-forces veterans mostly enjoyed an unfavoured status (Newman, 2018, pp. 187–200; Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 203–215, 323–330; Šarenac, 2014, pp. 213–230), the autonomous public continued to exist to a significant degree, thus contributing to the heterogeneity of memory, allowing – for instance – communal monuments to be erected (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 140–157; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 405–414), which were dedicated to those who died in the Habsburg army (that fact was not explicitly mentioned, but it was obvious, and "the fallen" were generally treated as victims, not as heroes). Similarly, by the 1930s, non-demonising, or even to a degree positive, accounts of personal experiences within the First World War Habsburg army units written by some Croatian authors were published (Hameršak, 2013, pp. 245–250, 265–345).

Conversely, although for most of the post-1945 period the federal constitutional framework (and the power-relations within the republican branches of the ruling Communist Party) allowed for somewhat varied educational practices (that sometimes even extended the notion of "the dungeon for nations" to include the first Yugoslav state), the practical non-existence of an autonomous public made the memory concerning the First World War much more uniform. Within that scope, because of their nationalist, non-communist, and royalist connotations, even the traditions of the pre-unification Serbian army had some difficulties in re-emerging (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 330–349), while the dominant stance towards ethnic Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes serving in the Habsburg Army was again that they were "Kanonenfutter", *i. e.* cannon fodder, albeit not important enough to deserve public monuments of significance (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 414; Hameršak, 2015a, pp. 21–29, 42–49; Hrštić, 2016, pp. 65–68).

Since the 1990s democratic transition and the establishment of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia as an independent state, many of the neglected or one-sidedly treated themes were re-opened, including the First World War and the last years of the Habsburg Monarchy, resulting in various

new insights and making the whole picture more layered as well as paving the way towards a more balanced view of the 1914–1918 period regarding the Croatian soldiers serving in the Habsburg army, their cemeteries, and the whole culture of memory.<sup>1</sup> All of these complex themes should, of course, be studied in a broader, European or global context, but in such overviews, disregarding their high informational value, not even the larger countries Croatia had been part of (*i. e.* Habsburg Monarchy and Yugoslavia) could have been given adequate systematic attention (cf. Prost, 2011, pp. 135–151, and Bokovoy, 2001, pp. 160–181).

## **THE HABSBURG PERIOD (1914–1918)**

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Although the majority of the pre-First World War Croatian political and cultural elite<sup>2</sup> was dissatisfied with the constitutional framework and especially with dubious para-constitutional practices, the main accent was on the internal reform, rather than the destruction, of Austria-Hungary. Under the terms of the 1867 Austrian-Hungarian and the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Compromises, the historical Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia were an entity with traits of statehood, while Dalmatia, Istria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (occupied in 1878, annexed in 1908) enjoyed a lesser degree of autonomy (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 173–208, 218–227, 233–235, 254–258). Between them, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia nominally constituted a Triune Kingdom that was regarded as a basis for potential further unification and state-building, notwithstanding the fact that Dalmatia (as well as Istria) belonged to the Austrian half of the Monarchy, while Croatia and Slavonia belonged to the other, Hungarian half (according to the Croatian text of the 1868 Compromise: Kingdoms or Lands of the Crown of St Stephen or of the Hungarian Crown).

The idea of Yugoslav or South Slav unification outside of the Habsburg domain started to gain serious momentum only during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars, and was silenced after the outbreak of the First World War, not only by the arrests of its proponents, the discontinuation of public political life, and the inauguration of preventive censorship, but also with an inner shift towards those agents of Croatian politics who advocated the view that Croatian and Serbian national interests cannot be reconciled, and that loyal fighting in the Habsburg army is the best possible way towards the protection and, hopefully, solidification of Croatian statehood (cf. Hameršak, 2013, pp. 259–339, including references).

Therefore, at least in Croatia and Slavonia, the Monarchy-wide notions of dynastic loyalty and revenge against the "sneaky and aggressive" Kingdom of Serbia (and later Italy) were supplemented with a thesis that the war is also being

waged in the more narrow, Croatian interest, combining the defence of the Triune Kingdom (as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina and, later, Istria and Dalmatia) with possible future constitutional reforms (Hameršak, 2015b, pp. III–IX; Hameršak, 2017, pp. 278–283, 292).

Of course, the exact influence of such views is hard to tell, not only because of a degree of Hungarian control over Croatia and Slavonia, but also because of the imposed self-censorship of various political agents. Also, after the 1915–1916 occupation of Serbia, a South Slavic unification of a sort, within the Habsburg framework, and not necessarily around a Croatian centre, was again put forward even by some Vienna circles (Krizman, 1977, pp. 22–25; Matijević, 2001, pp. 45–95).

Therefore, the new rise of the Yugoslav idea, prominent with the 1917 liberalisation of political and cultural life within the Habsburg Monarchy (such as the May Declaration, put forward to the Imperial Council in Vienna), was not necessarily as anti-Habsburg subversive as it has been re-interpreted after 1918 (for instance, Hameršak & Pintar, 2019, pp. 171–180). After all, by the spring of that year, all of the Monarchy's belligerent neighbours were either defeated or seemingly neutralised: Russia, Italy, Serbia, and Romania.

Be it as it may, the aforementioned notion of Croatian interest was also regarded to have some roots in the special position of the Croatian-Slavonian Home Guard (*Domobranstvo*) founded after 1868 as a somewhat autonomous part of the Royal Hungarian Home Guard (*Magyar Király Honvédség*), which itself was analogous to the Austrian *Landwehr* and parallel to the Habsburg Common Army (*Das Heer*).

Although the exact degree of that autonomy was disputed, and although the early combined "Hungarian-Croatian" title of *Domobranstvo* was soon officially abandoned, its Croatian-Slavonian department retained a separate war flag and oath of enlistment (adjusted to include elements of Croatian national identity), Croatian as the command and official language, and the regional commander had to be of "native" origin, which was enough to enable sporadic unofficial talk of a "Croatian Home Guard" (Hameršak, 2015b, pp. III–IX), or even a "Croatian Army" (Hameršak, 2017, p. 279).

As a result, in contrast to the arguably more supranational or even anational identity of other Habsburg units recruited on the territory of the Triune Kingdom during the First World War, the Zagreb- and Karlovac-seated 25th and 26th Home Guard Infantry Regiments (forming one half of the 42nd Home Guard Infantry Division) showed more traits that were characteristic primarily of the Croatian national identity and, apart from the occasional unit commanders' incentive speeches (Hameršak, 2015b, p. VII–XIII), these traits were also reflected



in some of the burial and memorial practices (Hameršak, 2017, pp. 278–283; Hameršak, 2020, p. 378), such as "the Fallen Croatian Heroes" (*Pali hrvatski junaci*) pictorial necrologue series in the *Ilustrovani list* magazine (Dobrovšak, 2018, p. 117), uncensored contributions in the *Sudrug* (*Comrade*) low-circulation regimental frontline newspaper (Hameršak, 2017, pp. 278–283, 291–291), battlefield military monuments at cemeteries centred around the "Bog i Hrvati" ([only] God and Croats) inscriptions, built in 1916–1917,<sup>3</sup> and other similar landscape insignia (Paščenko, 2016, pp. 53–81, 108, 114, 118–119, 159, 173, 179–184).

Among other things in 1914, the initial "home before Christmas" attitude, the mobile nature of the fighting,<sup>4</sup> and the high death toll did not favour quick and uniform standardisation of the burial procedures and memory practices (Reichl, 2019, pp. 63–64). Austrian-Hungarian soldiers killed on the Serbian and Russian battlefields were often buried near the moving frontline, in individual or collective graves, as it seemed fit, in a somewhat improvised manner, without detailed plans (later to be known as cadastres), and with dubious identification procedures (Lanović, 1919, pp. 91, 164–165; Reichl, 2019, pp. 91–105; Paščenko, 2016, pp. 161–185). However, means were sometimes found for the remains of fallen officers to be transported home, where their family members would take care of the burial. On the other hand, wounded or sick soldiers that died in hinterland military or civilian hospitals were largely buried either in the pre-existing cemeteries (military as well as civilian) in respective towns and cities, or in new cemeteries organised near the hospitals (Hameršak, 2020, p. 379). Discrimination also existed among the ranks, as fallen officers and several of the NCOs were given individual portraits in daily newspapers (Dobrovšak, 2018, p. 117), praising their deeds, while the names of the majority could only be ascertained from the *Verlustliste* (the official, periodically publicised lists of casualties).

In 1915 and later through the war, as the frontlines became more static, especially on the Russian and the Italian fronts,<sup>5</sup> many of the battlefield cemeteries were appropriated in a way by singular battalions or regiments that had fought in the area for some time, and whose members tended to form the majority of the buried.

As battalions and regiments regularly rotated covering the same battlefield area, some cemeteries even became "divisional" in their character, with up to several thousand graves. On the other hand, as some former battlefields became for all intents and purposes devoid of fighting army units (Western Galicia since 1915, Western and Northern Serbia since 1916, the Isonzo river area since 1917), their respective cemeteries

ceased to be active in previous ways. That is, bodily remains continued to be found all over the landscape, but death in combat and the related more or less improvised burial practices were not so frequent any more. Moreover, many of the scattered burial sites proved difficult to maintain, and gradually it was taken as a general principle that, where possible, smaller cemeteries should be abandoned, and the remains transported to a lesser number of larger ones (Hameršak, 2020, pp. 376–378).

As far as Austria-Hungary is concerned, the first ever dedicated "War Graves Department" (*Kriegsgräberabteilung*) was founded in November 1915 within the Cracow Military District, covering approx. 10,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Until the end of the war, around 400 military cemeteries containing the remains of 100,000 soldiers were maintained in that area, their improvements requiring the efforts of architects and painters as well (Reichl, 2019, pp. 64–71).

Already in December 1915, a similar but central department was founded in the Vienna-seated common War Ministry (Reichl, 2019, pp. 73–85), which initialised the organisation of adequate departments in other military districts, including the Zagreb Military District (*Militärkommando*) that covered Croatia and Slavonia (equal to the 13th Corps area). According to the available, probably incomplete, archival sources for the 1914–1918 period, stored in the Croatian State Archives (State Government for Croatia and Slavonia, Department of Religion and Education), during the First World War at least 9,000 military and attached persons were buried on the territory of Croatia and Slavonia (HR-HDA-80, boxes 1550–1564; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 378–379).

Probably echoing trends in northern parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, during late spring and early summer 1916, Zagreb-seated popular periodicals such as *Narodne novine* and *Ilustrovani list* wrote about the need to give more attention to the cemeteries of "our fallen heroes", including individual and collective monuments (Dobrovšak, 2018, p. 404).

However, a sequence of preserved Zagreb Military District orders starts with Order No. 203 issued on 1 August 1916 (HR-HDA-1697, box 1; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 379–380).<sup>6</sup> According to it, single individual graves located outside of existing military or civilian cemeteries were to be transferred to the closest existing ones. On the other hand, grouped individual graves could be preserved and fences built around them, and this was postulated as a general rule for collective graves (in cases of establishing new military cemeteries, the military authorities were instructed to buy land from private owners).

Among other things, officers and soldiers of "proven heroic deeds" were to be given individual graves, and members

of enemy armed forces were to be given separate graves, which were to be maintained with "equal care". Where possible, original layouts had to be retained, showing the "modesty" and "innocent simplicity" of earthen graves provided with wooden crosses (Catholic, Orthodox) or other adequate religious insignia (Muslim, Israelitic, Augsburg Evangelical, Calvinist Evangelical).

For identification purposes, sheet iron plaques were to be painted a black base colour for "our soldiers", white for allied, and light blue for enemy soldiers, and brush-written with standard data containing dual inscriptions in German and Croatian (Common Army, allied armies, enemy armies) or Hungarian and Croatian (Hungarian Home Guard), as well as only Croatian inscriptions (*Domobranstvo*).<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, for every single cemetery or a discernible cluster of graves, local military authorities, hospitals, and gendarmerie stations were obliged to run a so-called cadastre sheet, including a 1:2,800 scale situation map (allowing for every single grave to be visible). A duplicate copy of each sheet had to be sent to the Zagreb Military District, where a central cadastre had to be founded, run by the War Graves Inspectorate department for Croatia and Slavonia (*Nadzornišтво ratnih grobova, Kriegsgräberinspektorat*).

The same Order No. 203 prescribed the standard paper forms and tables, and also an annual maintenance subsidy of two Crowns per every ten single graves or per every twelve square metres of a collective grave. Obviously, because of high costs, procurement of "extraordinary monuments" was explicitly left for "more peaceful times", and civilian as well as spiritual authorities were called to do their part.

The Zagreb Military District Order No. 286 issued on 29 October 1916 (HR-HDA-1697, box 1; Hameršak, 2020, p. 380) contained further details. Apart from mentioning an unspecified instructory book that had been sent to the lower levels of command,<sup>8</sup> it was stipulated that single graves had to have the form of a mound, and that the aforementioned wooden crosses could be replaced with a low tombstone or a memorial plaque, while one common pyramid-shaped (or other simple-design) monument should also be erected in each cemetery ("Art Nouveau and fancy letters are forbidden"). Also, it was ordered that officers' and other ranks' graves should look alike and be evenly cared for, in order to "stress their common warrior's deaths". If relatives of the deceased desired some additional ornamentation, they were free to ask for the exhumation and transfer of the bodily remains "to a place where such, often lavish, monuments would not impede the modesty of the military cemetery and the honour of battle comrades". Apart from that, the final design of tombstones, memorial plaques,

and the optional larger common monuments was left to the special, mostly civilian, State Committee for Warriors' Graves Care (*Zemaljski odbor za skrb ratničkih grobova*) to decide.

Finally, the Zagreb Military District Order No. 14 issued on 14 January 1917 (HR-HDA-1697, box 1; Hameršak, 2020, p. 380) focused on the general layout of the cemeteries, footpaths, and gardening. Interestingly, instead of a common pyramid-shaped monument, a cross was now preferred (no official reason was given for this change), made of wood, metal, stone or concrete, eventually, as an alternative, to be replaced with an obelisk or a chapel.

Responding to the plea of the Zagreb Military District No. 4083 issued on 13 May 1916, the aforementioned State Committee for Croatia and Slavonia was founded by *Ban* Ivan Skerlec's Decree No. 2699 issued on 25 May 1916 (HR-HDA-78, box 922). As said, the Committee was given the task of devising the military cemeteries' design from an artistic aspect. Therefore, apart from incumbent or former high Government officials such as Teodor Pejačević, Ferdinand Mixich, and Vladimir Nikolić-Podriński, its appointed members were the renowned architects or sculptors Janko Holjac, Martin Pilar, Ivan Kerdić, Robert Frangeš Mihanović, and Viktor Kovačić, while the military was represented only by the lieutenant-colonel Demeter Kučeković, in an advisory role (HR-HDA-78, box 922; Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 404; Hameršak, 2020, p. 380).

However, according to the fragmentary documentation, the Committee "abruptly" ceased to function already in early 1917 (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>9</sup> It is only known for sure that architect Kovačić travelled to Vienna in order to study possible designs (HR-HDA-78, box 922),<sup>10</sup> and several of his coloured drawings have lately been reproduced in print (see Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 405 and Hameršak, 2020, p. 381). We can only assume that some of the Committee's recommendations influenced the aforementioned Zagreb Military District Order No. 14, particularly concerning the abandonment of the pyramid-shaped central monument. Also, it follows that the Committee prepared the founding of a public foundation intended to finance additional permanent crosses and common monuments, but there is no record whether this was accomplished.<sup>11</sup>

## **THE INTERMEZZO (1918–1921)**

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Although formally proclaimed on 1 December 1918, the Yugoslav political and administrative unification was a gradual, non-linear, and severely disputed process. Since first serious talks about it were started during the war, resulting in the 1917 Declaration of Corfu, Croatian and Slovene émigré politicians strived to secure their respective nations and terri-

tories an adequate degree of influence against possible Serbian hegemony. For instance, the Karađorđević dynasty and the unitary structure of the future joint state were accepted, but qualified majority voting was stipulated for the future constitution (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 209–210). Similar steps were also taken by the Croatian State Parliament and its members during October and November 1918, which proclaimed separation from Austria and Hungary on 29 October, and at the same time willingness to join the new, greater South Slav state as well as acknowledging the authority of the temporary People's Council. For a month preceding the formal unification with Serbia into the Kingdom (*Kraljevstvo*) of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the former Habsburg territories of the Triune Kingdom, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of the Slovenian lands were known as the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, having separate government bodies (initially responsible to the People's Council), army, administration etc., which later only gradually ceased to exist (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 261–272).

According to fragmentary documentation, it may be concluded that, due to the withdrawal or even dissolution of the majority of the Habsburg military units during late October and early November 1918, war graves' maintenance temporarily ceased for all intents and purposes, even in the central Zagreb cemetery of Mirogoj, where not enough personnel were available for pallbearing, while the frequency of funerals skyrocketed because of the Spanish flu (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>12</sup> Moreover, during the ensuing civil unrest and turmoil, a number of local military cemetery cadastre sheets were destroyed (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, instead of military and gendarmerie units, in some places the maintenance was taken over by the civilian communal services (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 381–382).<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, already in early November 1918, the duties as well as the cadastres and some of the personnel of the former Zagreb-seated War Graves Inspectorate were taken over by the newly founded Military Department of the Government of the People's Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (*Odjel za vojne poslove Vlade Narodnoga vijeća Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*), that is, more precisely, by its Zagreb-seated 1st Military District, within which a body of the same name as before, the War Graves Inspectorate, was established in early 1919 at the latest (cf. Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 199–200).<sup>15</sup>

As follows from the documents, the new/old Inspectorate, responsible for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia, continued to care about the cemeteries in the same way, without discrimination concerning the citizenship and nationality ("narodnost") of the fallen soldiers (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195; Hameršak, 2020, p. 381).<sup>16</sup>

Already on 14 November 1918, the 1st Military District wrote about an earlier proposal concerning erecting collective memorial plaques in the parish churches, initiated by colonel Slavko Štancer and the Society of Brethren of the Croatian Dragon (cf. Gabelica, 2022, pp. 401–402), and also about the possibility to appoint a new State Committee for Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in January 1919 another earlier proposal was reconsidered, the one about hiring disabled veteran soldiers as cemetery custodians (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195),<sup>18</sup> and in April that year individual sheet iron memorial plaques were mentioned in a way leading to the conclusion that a significant number of graves still lacked them.<sup>19</sup>

Since early 1919, the aforementioned 1st Military District had an extended title, "in liquidation", which was part of the process of gradual dissolution of the army of the short-lived State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and the transfer of its agendas to the army of the Kingdom (*Kraljevstvo*) of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was practically an enlarged army of the Kingdom of Serbia. As a result, during that time the 1st Military District functioned with reduced means, inadequate even for the previous maintenance subsidy of two Crowns, let alone for further improvements.<sup>20</sup>

A telling case of poor coordination, or even malevolence, emerged in June 1919, when a query was sent from the Presidency of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia to the newly constituted 4th Army District of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (supposed to substitute the 1st Military District), asking for instructions on how to deal with war graves, especially whether there exist some uniform rules that should be implemented on the entire new state territory (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195; Hameršak, 2020, p. 382).<sup>21</sup> Reacting to that query, in August that year, the 4th Army District appointed a special Commission for War Graves, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, a Catholic archvicar, and a Serbian Orthodox protoiereus (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195),<sup>22</sup> which by the end of September 1919 reported that the State Government should directly contact the War Graves Inspectorate, the only one that still existed, as part of the Building Department of the 1st Military District, in liquidation (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>23</sup> Obviously not satisfied with such an answer, in October 1919 the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia requested further clarification both from the 4th Army District and the 1st Military District, in liquidation (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>24</sup> The sole answer came in November 1919, from the former, stating that it was precisely the 4th Army District on whose orders the only two officers of the War Graves Inspectorate had been sacked, and that the Building Department was in

such a way forced to take over its activities. Moreover, in the 1st Military District's opinion, the aforementioned 4th Army District's Commission for War Graves was totally redundant, and it was best for the civilian authorities to take responsibility for the graves themselves (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195).<sup>25</sup> Apparently, in a kind of almost circular paradox, not willing to take additional, expense-laden responsibilities, the Commissariat for Education and Religions (*Povjereništvo za prosojetu i vjere*), a sort of a ministry of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia, declined such an idea, at least until the cemeteries are properly arranged (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195; Hameršak, 2020, p. 382–383).<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, several months earlier, in March 1919, while it had still been operational, the Zagreb War Graves Inspectorate directly addressed the Belgrade central authorities with a suggestion that maintenance of approx. 500 cemeteries should be rationalised by erecting one central, common monument per every cemetery, instead of the costly dealing with individual graves.<sup>27</sup>

Another curious case is a short notice on the alleged, draft-stage statute (decree) on the arrangement of the "warriors' graves", prepared in late 1918 by an unknown department of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia, but supposedly permanently misplaced within the files of the newly established Commissariat for Public Health of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia (HR-HDA-1363, inventory number 195; Hameršak, 2020, p. 382).<sup>28</sup>

Finally, in March 1920 the same problem was also addressed by the Commissariat for Internal Affairs (*Povjereništvo za unutarne poslove*) of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia (Hameršak, 2020, p. 383), suggesting three possible solutions to the Belgrade Ministry of Religions (*Ministarstvo vera*). According to the first, a completely new department within the Commissariat for Internal Affairs should be organised; according to the second, the General Register Office (*Matičarska referada*) of the Commissariat for Education and Religions should also take care of the war graves; according to the third, the responsibilities should go to the Public Health Department (now a part of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs).<sup>29</sup>

## **THE KARAOĐORĐEVIĆ PERIOD (1921–1941)<sup>30</sup>**

Even after the June 1921 Vidovdan Constitution had been ratified (only with a simple majority, which resulted in a long-lasting unrest among the Croatian political elite and public), the processes of administrative and legal unification were rather gradual, concentrated on the standard areas of state power, and the seemingly unifying identity notion of the "three-tribe people" of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes soon lost its momentum (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 268–276).

Interestingly, a letter of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the State Government of Croatia and Slavonia dating from March 1920 did not mention the fact that, already in January that year, the Belgrade central Government had published a Decree on the Organisation and Maintenance of Our Military Cemeteries in the Homeland and Abroad (Uredba, 3 January 1920; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 383–384; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 209, 214–215).

In tune with the founding traditions of the new Yugoslav state, the Decree put special emphasis on the graves of "the fighters for freedom and unification of our people", which signified members of Serbian and probably also the former Montenegrin army. However, the provisions that followed mentioned "our soldiers that fell in the past wars", which – if understood according to the ethno-national key – did also include Austrian-Hungarian soldiers of Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian origin (opposite opinion in Jezernik, 2018, p. 130). Furthermore, implying international relations of the Kingdom of Serbia during the First World War, the Decree regulated the care for the graves "of the soldiers of the allied armies" on the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Contrary to the Austrian-Hungarian legal framework, where the armed forces had the rights as well as duties of supervision, and in many instances also of direct organisation and maintenance, the 1920 Decree set the Belgrade Ministry of Religions as a supervisory body, while everyday care was delegated to the "church municipalities and parish priests" of the respective locality.

Either because of the central government Decree, or because of some other yet unknown legal ground, valid only for Croatia and Slavonia, in early 1921 the Zagreb-seated Commissariat for Education and Religions distributed "warriors' graves" cadastre sheets for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia precisely among the local Catholic and Serb Orthodox parishes, trusting them with "evidence and maintenance". From the preserved lists and handover protocols, it follows that several Catholic parish priests officially declined such a move, stating "the unregulated burden of expenses" as the only reason for their stance (HR-HDA-80, box 1550).<sup>31</sup>

According to the 1920 Decree, for larger military cemeteries situated abroad, such as those of Serbian army members after its 1915 withdrawal from Serbia, of prisoners of war, and of the interned civilian persons on the territory of former Central Powers (these instances were given in the original text), Yugoslav diplomatic representations were declared responsible, and special priests were to be assigned the status of state employees for this task.



Furthermore, all military cemeteries were declared to be temporary, as all of the remains were to be gradually transferred to the representative ossuaries ("mausoleums") planned on the level of one per "province" (*pokrajina*), which was generally in accordance with the contemporary tendencies in France and Italy, and one or two steps further than had ever been envisioned in Austria-Hungary (Hameršak, 2020, pp. 376–378).

As far as expenses were concerned, a somewhat unclear provision stated that the Ministry of Religions should provide for them, that is, if the expenses "cannot be covered through voluntary contributions of the relatives and of the whole people, who are obliged and willing to pay respect to the graves of heroes and martyrs".

The 1920 Decree said nothing about the members of the non-allied armies in which none of "our soldiers" had fought. However, the 1919–1920 peace treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, also signed by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, provisioned that signatory states should maintain all military cemeteries on their respective territories, notwithstanding their affiliation (Hameršak, 2020, p. 377).

Consequently, in April 1922, the previous Decree was replaced by the Law on the Organisation of Our Military Cemeteries and Graves in the Fatherland and Abroad as well as Fallen Soldiers and Seamen, Prisoners of War and Interned Persons, Citizens of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria that were Interred on Our State Territory (Zakon, 22 April 1922; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 384–385; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 210, 212–216).

Apart from provisions concerning the members of the former enemy armies, the 1922 Law introduced more precise provisions than the 1920 Decree, and also restyled some of the already existing ones. For instance, besides "our fighters for freedom and unification", a phrase followed that mentioned "our fallen and deceased soldiers in the wars for freedom and unification", which logically could more directly have encompassed Austrian-Hungarian soldiers of Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian provenance, thus opening the legal possibility not to treat them (solely) as (former) citizens of Austria and Hungary.

At the moment we do not know much about the everyday praxis, but available sources testify that the "priest-custodian" (*sveštenočuvár*) seated in Prague, obliged to cover Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria and Hungary, at least during the 1927–1928 period, also surveyed the military cemeteries of Austrian-Hungarian soldiers of Croatian, Slovenian, and

Serbian provenance in those countries (AJ-69, folder 117).<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the activities of the Belgrade Ministry of Religions (that is, of its Central Information Department for Warriors' Cemeteries and War Casualties, *Centralno izveštajno odeljenje za ratnička groblja i ratničke gubitke*) concerning data retrieval and evidence of "our soldiers' graves" undoubtedly included cemeteries of Austrian-Hungarian soldiers, such as prisoners of war that died in Italy or fell on the Russian front, for which purposes the provincial governments received a subsidy already in 1920 (Kosić, s. a., pp. 101–113). One of the more curious examples is a file on the eight Austrian-Hungarian soldiers buried in the Swedish town of Trelleborg during the 1915–1918 period, who died after being released from Russian captivity (AJ-69, folder 126).<sup>33</sup>

However, when judging about the level of attention given by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the cemeteries of the non-allied armies, one must also have in mind that otherwise friendly Czechoslovakia formally protested because of the inadequate maintenance of the graves of Austrian-Hungarian soldiers of Czech and Slovak provenance, and that even the effort of the Serbian Orthodox priest-custodian Miron Janković, who was in charge of the Serbian army cemeteries on the island of Corfu, was criticised as "unworthy" (Kosić, s. a., pp. 105–106).

Greatly worried because of the budgetary constraints, even the renowned Serbian writer Miloš Crnjanski (1926) publicly wrote about the necessity of the better treatment of outland graves of Serbian army soldiers and interned civilians (for other instances see Jezernik, 2018, pp. 129–130; Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 210–211; Šarenac, 2014, pp. 196–197 and Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 215–216).

Following King Alexander's autocratic takeover (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 278–283), in the 1929 re-organisation, the Ministry of Religions was disbanded, and its affairs were transferred to the Religious Department of the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as the state was renamed. Nowadays, its archive holds the most copious collection of documents (AJ-63, folders 186–240) pertaining to military cemeteries in Croatian territories that were once a part of the Habsburg Monarchy, and, as it seems, also to Austrian-Hungarian military cemeteries in other former parts of Yugoslavia (many of these documents were originally delivered from the former provincial administrations of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, in the early or mid-1920s).

Contrary to the 1920 Decree, the 1922 Law prescribed that the secular (administrative) communes were also responsible for the organisation and maintenance of the military ceme-

teries, and the higher-level counties (*oblasts*) were burdened with some of the costs. Along the same line, the priest-custodians were to be assigned lay assistant officials. Furthermore, private owners of the lands on which cemeteries were erected were entitled to a fee. There was also a provision that all of the cemeteries should be given permanent fences, and that wooden crosses should be replaced with more durable ones made of stone or concrete. These articles surely testify to the complexity of the military cemetery organisation and maintenance, and of the inadequate means dedicated to that purpose. Reasonably, the 1922 Law also set a two-hundred-grave limit, meaning that all bodily remains in smaller cemeteries were to be exhumed and transferred to the larger ones. However, as in the 1920 Decree, not even these larger cemeteries (at least in the case of "our soldiers") were considered to be permanent, as they were to be abandoned in favour of more representative ossuaries. However, according to the same law, the building of these ossuaries was delayed until the post-1928 period.

The 1922 Law stayed in power for the rest of the interwar period, and mostly served as a basis for the organisation and maintenance of the Serbian army cemeteries near former frontlines (Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 216–217). However, some of the greater memorial projects did include former enemies: the Zagreb Mirogoj ossuary in the mid- and late 1930s, containing the remains of approx. 3,300 soldiers of Austrian-Hungarian, Serbian, and other armies (Kukić, 2015),<sup>34</sup> the Crni Vrh (Gučevo) ossuary in the late 1920s and mid-1930s, containing the remains of approx. 3,700 soldiers of the Serbian army and of the predominantly Croatian Habsburg 53th Infantry Regiment (Lajbenšperger, 2015), and the 1926 Olomouc mausoleum, containing the remains of approx. 1,200 Austrian-Hungarian soldiers of Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian provenance (Skoupy, 2016).

Apart from finally reaching a sort of Croatian-Serbian compromise, reflected in the establishment of the Banate of Croatia (Čepulo, 2021, pp. 282–294), the late 1930s also witnessed a significant public debate on the marginalised experience of the Habsburg soldiers (though they were, in fact, more numerous among the citizens), stemming from the critical reception of Pero Blašković's recently published war memoirs,<sup>35</sup> and also the beginning of other changes concerning their status (Hameršak, 2014, pp. XIX–XXX).

Be it as it may, in spring 1941 events took a completely different turn, leading to a whole series of further upheavals in the field of military cemeteries and the First World War memory.

To conclude, it can be said that ambitious and detailed Habsburg period plans concerning military cemeteries were only partially realised. Some of the causes are surely the 1918 demise of Austria-Hungary and of its constituent parts such as Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, entailing the focus switch towards the fallen of the Serbian Army as a key founding factor of the new Yugoslav state. However, contrary to the post-1945 period, one must bear in mind that 1919–1941 regulations on the matter did not exclude cemeteries of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes fighting in the ranks of Habsburg armed forces, and that at the present state of research several notable instances of significant state care are known to have occurred, notwithstanding more numerous actions by local authorities and civil and veteran associations that contributed to the heterogeneity of the First World War memory, especially in the late 1930s. Apart from nation-building, ideological reasons, the whole process had also been affected by relegating cemetery maintenance from military to civilian authorities, growing financial constraints and, presumably, by over-centralising the cadasters which had been duly transferred to the undermanned Belgrade-seated Ministry of Religions already in the early or mid-1920s, making them for all intents and purposes unknown to the Croatian public (and even the cemetery officials) until most recent times.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The most prominent current effort in this field is represented by the aforementioned project, *The First World War in the Culture of Memory*.

<sup>2</sup> In this text, generalised terms such as "Croatian elite" and "Croatian soldiers" may well, to a certain degree, encompass agents of non-Croatian ethnicities on the territory of the Triune Kingdom, bearing in mind that constraints of space do not allow for a more subtle treatment.

<sup>3</sup> Probably first used by Ante Starčević in his 1861 speech against Austrian rule, that motto called for the sovereignty of Croatian people and state. Two such monuments have been preserved in the regimental military cemeteries in nowadays Ukraine, in Dobrinivci and Glibivka. Without Habsburg insignia, just in Croatian, the simple laurel wreath at the Glibivka monument also reads "for King and Homeland", while the Dobrinivci one, modelled on the Lion of Aspern, bears no state symbol other than the Croatian chessboard coat-of-arms.

<sup>4</sup> During 1914, most of the Habsburg units from the territory of the Triune Kingdom were deployed against Serbia, and only a small proportion against Russia.

<sup>5</sup> Between early 1915 and early 1918, the majority of Croatian-Slavonian units were deployed in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, being transferred to the Asiago plateau and upper Piave area only in the

spring of 1918. On the other hand, a majority of Dalmatian units served on the Isonzo front from mid-1915 to late 1917, advancing towards the river Piave during the Caporetto offensive. All in all, most of the Triune Kingdom Habsburg units spent the last months of war on the Italian front.

<sup>6</sup> These orders apparently recapitulated earlier Vienna War Ministry instructions. Available also in the official Croatian translation, all of them were signed by Generalmajor Josef Seipka.

<sup>7</sup> Croatian inscriptions were excluded for the Rijeka (Fiume) area.

<sup>8</sup> Among several books and booklets, the most probable candidate is *Denkschrift über Kriegsgräberanlagen* (Wien 1916), prepared by the War Ministry commission attached to the Cracow Military District.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from the 1st Military District to the Military Department of the Government of the People's Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (14 November 1918).

<sup>10</sup> Decision concept in file No. 4353 Pr/1916.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 10 reference.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from the Mirogoj Military Cemetery to the Zagreb Military Command of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (23 November 1918).

<sup>13</sup> Letter from the 1st Military District to vicar Ferdo Rožić (26 September 1919).

<sup>14</sup> Letter concept in file No. 12761, Commissariat for Internal Affairs to the Presidency of the State Government for Croatia and Slavonia (20 March 1920).

<sup>15</sup> It is also possible that the Inspectorate never ceased to exist during the late 1918 upheavals, as some of the military units and offices directly switched from the Habsburg authority to that of the People's Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Military Department for Croatia and Slavonia to the Intendancy of the 1st Military District, in liquidation (7 April 1919).

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 10 reference.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Presidency of the State Government to the Commissariat for Internal Affairs (8 September 1919).

<sup>19</sup> See footnote 17 reference.

<sup>20</sup> See footnote 14 reference.

<sup>21</sup> Letter concept in file No. 26228/1919, subject title "Maintenance of the Warriors' Graves in Croatia and Slavonia".

<sup>22</sup> Letter from the Commissariat for Internal Affairs to the 4th Army District Command (16 September 1919).

<sup>23</sup> Letter from the Commission for War Graves to the 4th Army District Command (30 September 1919).

<sup>24</sup> Five letter concepts in file No. 50261/1919, subject title "Maintenance of the Warriors' Graves in Croatia and Slavonia".

<sup>25</sup> Letter from the Building Department of the 1st Military District, in liquidation, to the Commissariat for Internal Affairs (1 October 1919).

<sup>26</sup> Official transcript of the Commissariat for Education and Religions statement (28 February 1920).

<sup>27</sup> See footnote 24 reference.

<sup>28</sup> Letter concepts in files No. 44821 (16 September 1919) and No. 7245 (22 November 1919) from the Commissariat for Internal Affairs to the Military Department, in liquidation, and from the Presidency of the State Government to the Commissariat for Internal Affairs, respectively.

<sup>29</sup> See footnote 15 reference.

<sup>30</sup> A significant part of this chapter is grounded in the copies or excerpts of documents stored in the Archives of Yugoslavia (Belgrade), provided to me by Ljiljana Dobrovšak, Nenad Lajbenšperger, and Hrvoje Baričević, to whom goes my deepest gratitude.

<sup>31</sup> Letter concept in file No. 1287, from the Commissariat for Education and Religions to the Bishop's Ordinariate in Đakovo (1 January 1921).

<sup>32</sup> Letter No. 60 from the priest-custodian attached to the embassy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Prague to the Minister of Religions in Belgrade (20 March 1928).

<sup>33</sup> Official translation of letter No. 778 from the military envoy of Czechoslovakia in Belgrade to the General Military Department of the Ministry of Army and Navy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (27 October 1921).

<sup>34</sup> The Italian and French soldiers, as well as Jewish soldiers of Austria-Hungary, were previously buried separately.

<sup>35</sup> Active Habsburg officer and Kronenorden bearer, until the early 1920s Blašković also served in the King's Guard of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. His 1939 memoirs were denigrated by reviewers close to the Serbian Cultural Club, and praised by Yugoslav intellectuals such as Milan Ćurčin and Ilija Despot.

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## Vojna groblja Prvoga svjetskog rata u Hrvatskoj od 1914. do 1941.

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U radu se nastoji dati početni pregled različitih zakonskih okvira i povezanih svakodnevnih praksi u svezi s vojnim grobljima s posmrtnim ostacima hrvatskih vojnika – većinom pripadnika austro-ugarskih oružanih snaga – te ih smjestiti unutar promjenjivoga političkoga i kulturnoga konteksta, uključujući memorijalne manifestacije, kao što su javni spomenici, individualna ratna sjećanja i frontovske vojničke novine. Vremenski raspon od 1914. do 1941. analitički je podijeljen na habsburško razdoblje od 1914. do 1918., na kratki intermezzo od 1918. do 1921. te na razdoblje Karađorđevića od 1921. do 1941., iako ni jedno nije bilo posve ujednačeno. Osim literature i objavljenih izvora, istraživanje se temeljilo na arhivskim dokumentima (Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu).

Ključne riječi: Prvi svjetski rat, vojna groblja, sjećanje, Austro-Ugarska, Hrvatska



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# THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMEMORATING THE WORLD WAR I CENTENARY AS AN ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE OF THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THAT WAR IN CROATIA

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The commemoration of the World War I Centenary (2014–2018) was the most important social event in the last decade in the developed countries of Western Europe, especially Britain and France, and in the former British dominions, Canada and Australia. In contrast to these victorious countries, the countries defeated in the war (primarily Germany and Austria) had a significantly more modest and different approach to the commemoration. The emphasis was on all war victims, soldiers and civilians, regardless of which side of the war they had fought on. Since Croatia, as a former part of Austria-Hungary, found itself in a completely new state union after it was united with the Kingdom of Serbia after the war, veterans were ill-advised to mention their participation in the war on the wrong side. It was no better after the end of World War II, when one victor's narrative replaced another, and made the mentioning of formerly existing monarchies completely unacceptable. All these facts influenced attitudes towards World War I, which was almost completely forgotten in Croatia over time.

Keywords: centenary, World War I, Croatia, commemorations



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Important anniversaries, such as the World War I Centenary, should be moments of reflection for countries and their peoples because they offer an opportunity for the reflection of existing narratives about a past event, through which their meanings to individual or collective identities, as well as their importance to political and social relations in these societies, are confirmed or changed (McCartney & Morgan-Owen, 2017, p. 235). Of course, this presumes that these narratives exist, which is quite questionable in Croatia's case.

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In contrast to these victorious countries, the countries defeated in the war (primarily Germany and Austria) had a significantly more modest and different approach to the commemoration. The emphasis was on all war victims, soldiers and civilians, regardless of which side of the war they had fought on. Since Croatia, as a former part of Austria-Hungary, found itself in a completely new state union after it was united with the Kingdom of Serbia after the war, veterans were ill-advised to mention their participation in the war on the wrong side. It was no better after the end of World War II, when one victor's narrative replaced another, and made the mentioning of formerly existing monarchies completely unacceptable. All these facts influenced attitudes towards World War I, which was almost completely forgotten in Croatia over time. The researchers of this period of history in Croatia sometimes get the impression that the country has not yet heard Jay Winter's sentence, 'Memory is always about the future.' (Winter, 2017, p. 239).

Anniversaries of important historical events are ideal opportunities for historians to open new topics or research new areas within the existing ones, including opening completely new perspectives on the recent or distant past, and calling attention to their influence in today's public arena. Different views of the same event present a lesser problem to them because the pluralism of thought and perspectives is an integral part of history as a discipline (in contrast to certain other humanities and social sciences). Unlike historians, Croatian politicians are significantly more careful in commemorating events linked to the war, the only exception being the Homeland War, despite the fact that wars had a decisive influence on the history of humanity in general, and the 20th century in particular (Winter & Sivan, 1999, pp. 19–29; Winter 2006, pp. 17–20). Or, perhaps, precisely because of this.

The main goal of this article is to shed light on several fundamental questions regarding the commemoration of the

World War I Centenary (2014–2018) in Croatia such as: when the preparations began, which public and political institutions were the main coordinators and organisers of the commemorations, and what was considered the most suitable way of marking the beginning and ending of the First World War. Newspaper reports published at the time in various papers proved to be an invaluable source of information as well as pictures, especially in their still accessible online editions. Publicly available archives of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Culture have facilitated access to data in the organisational and financial part of the centennial commemoration, although all documents have not been made available yet.

The teaching of the most basic facts regarding the root and proximate causes and flow of World War I on all the fronts, and not only on the Western one (as is the case in some European countries), was an integral part of the history curricula in primary and secondary schools in the period after World War II. As an example, I will mention the secondary school textbook from the late 1980s, which was used by most of today's politicians in Croatia, and whose text was written by Dragutin Pavličević and Nikša Stančić. In it, one can find brief but correct information on the flow of the war, including the occupation of Serbia and the retreat of the Serbian army through Albania, but without any mention of Croats within the Austro-Hungarian military forces (Bilandžić et al., 1987, pp. 101–126). A Croatian component was added after Croatia achieved independence, but, despite a partial change in the narrative, the emphasis remained on the political history, mostly the activities of the Yugoslav Committee and the creation of a new state union after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Other components of the war shyly broke through to the public during the 2000s, when they were first published in two issues of *Hrvatska revija*, on the 90th anniversary of the beginning of the war, which was explicitly stated in the editorial (Tema broja, 2004, p. 15). This was followed by the exhibition *Dadoh zlato za željezo – Hrvatska u Prvom svjetskom ratu (I Gave Gold for Iron: Croatia in World War I)* in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb, and a comprehensive catalogue was published in 2011. At the same time, an exhibition about Svetozar Boroević was staged in the Croatian State Archives and an international colloquium was held in his birthplace, Mečenčani (published as conference proceedings in 2011). Since two conferences were held on the 90th anniversary of the end of World War I in late 2008, the first in the Matica Hrvatska and the second in the Croatian Institute of History (both resulted in conference proceedings, published in 2012 and 2010), it appeared

that the preconditions for a successful World War I Centenary commemoration in Croatia were slowly being fulfilled (Herman Kaurić, 2020, pp. 347–392).

Preparations for the Centenary commemorations, first of the outbreak, then of the end of the war and the signing of the peace treaties, and finally the commemoration itself occupied the public arenas of developed countries throughout the past decade. In developed countries, preparations began years before the official beginning, with the United Kingdom and its former dominions taking a leading role, using the distinctive Poppy of Remembrance as its symbol, which all public persons wore on their lapels at public appearances (Noakes; Mullen, 2015; Winter, 2014, pp. 168–170; McCartney, 2017, pp. 289–303). In Germany and the former countries of Austria-Hungary, preparations began only after they had already gained momentum among the former western Entente countries, with each country approaching the commemoration differently because the burden of guilt still lay with Germany, and they had fought on the defeated side (Mombauer, 2017, pp. 276–288; Brennan, 2015, pp. 139–170). The importance of the Centenary for each individual country can be easily read from the budget it assigned for this purpose. Thus, the UK had a budget of 50 million pounds, Australia around 552 million dollars, and Germany around 3.5 million euros, while France set aside 20 million euros for its 800 or so projects (Winter 2014, p. 167; Mombauer 2017, p. 279).

Russia and Ukraine (formerly part of the Russian Empire) had a specific relationship towards this event because of the revolutionary events that removed Russia from the winning side near the end of the war and were followed by civil war and the victory of communism, which drastically influenced the relationship towards the tsarist heritage, and thus World War I, making it a 'forgotten war' (Bazhenova, 2021, pp. 368–383). Something similar happened in Croatia, a former part of Austria-Hungary, which, soon after the ceasefire was signed, entered a new state union with the Kingdom of Serbia, a country on the winning side. This was followed by several schizophrenic decades for veterans of the war that hailed from the former countries of the Monarchy, during which they were ill-advised to mention their participation in the war, especially in the campaign against Serbia, while the victories of the Serbian army were glorified (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 134–142). It was no better after World War II, when the state policy of the 'brotherhood and unity of the peoples and ethnicities of Yugoslavia' determined a selection of acceptable topics that were supposed to contribute to the creation of a new social order. Although World War I was potentially a very problematic topic, it could not be circumvented due to its great importance for

the following periods, so an acceptable narrative was created using strictly filtered data.

As time went by, news about the plans of other countries for the World War I Centenary commemoration began to arrive in Croatia, but there was no response. One of the first calls for participation in an international project came to the Croatian Institute of History via the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport in early September 2012. It was the call of a Canadian non-profit organisation for participation in the video projection entitled *The World Remembers*, which was forwarded to Croatia via the Croatian Embassy in Canada. Attached to the invitation was a description of a complex project that was to be conducted from 2014 to 2018, and its most publicly visible component would have been a display of the names of fallen soldiers on public buildings. Agreement to participate needed to be given by 31 November 2012, with the Canadians pledging to provide logistic and technical support, though each country was to bear the costs of the project's implementation on its own territory (Udruga 1914–1918, Document No. 1). It later turned out that this project had been realised on a significantly lower scale than expected precisely due to a lack of funding in the participating countries, though some of them, such as Slovenia, incorporated their fallen into the online version of the project (Svoljšak). However, even if there had been a will for cooperation, Croatia would have had a significantly greater problem than that because it did not have a registry of fallen soldiers then, just like it lacks one now.

In conversation with the heads of other public institutions, it became apparent that they too had been asked to participate in similar Centenary commemoration projects by other ministries. However, in time, it also became increasingly apparent that no institution in Croatia was planning to participate in a foreign project or conduct something similar on the territory of Croatia. This was a signal for the few Croatian World War I researchers scattered among various institutions to gather in a joint initiative dubbed The Initiative Committee for Commemorating the World War I Centenary, established in November 2012 at the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb. They attempted to point out the importance of World War I and the need to commemorate the Centenary by sending letters to all relevant institutions: the President of Croatia; the Prime Minister; the Parliament Speaker; the ministries of culture, defence, foreign affairs, and science; the Croatian History Museum; the Croatian State Archives; the Zagreb city government; etc. They contacted anyone they considered would be willing to help and whom they believed needed to participate in this, but most offers were turned down, with the explanation that the institution in question does not believe itself

responsible and that they should contact a different one. Aversion to political/war topics is not a specificity of Croatia but is significantly more pronounced there than in developed democracies that experienced two world wars in the 20th century. In contrast, Croatia experienced three bloody wars, of which only the latest was not a global conflict but was relatively recent. This defensive war for the independence and territorial integrity of the country was fought from 1991 to 1995 and is usually called the Homeland War in Croatia itself, though no consensus on the name or its many consequences has been reached. Since all World War I researchers agree that remembrance of 'their' war has been completely overshadowed by the experience of World War II (Winter, 2010, p. 321; Beaumont, 2015, p. 530), it is easy, through simple analogy, to understand the reasons behind the mentioned reactions of Croatian state institutions when the need to commemorate the Centenary of the outbreak of World War I was pointed out to them.

A step forward was made in mid-April 2013, when the Croatian Government adopted the Decision on the Founding of the Commission for Coordinating the World War I Centenary Commemoration, with the goal of drawing up and monitoring a Centenary commemoration programme, 'which particularly includes: the creation of a digital list of the fallen, the marking of places where Croatian soldiers fell and their cemeteries outside the borders of the Republic of Croatia, the organising of modern historiographical and political-science discussions about the significance of World War I, and the making of an analysis of cultural, museological, and literary segments on the topic of World War I.' Funding for the Commission's work was supposed to be secured 'from the national budget of the Republic of Croatia at the position of the Ministry of Culture', and Committee members were not given the right to any allowance or compensation. The Committee consisted of 13 representatives of 12 different institutions, led by the president of the Committee, the then minister of culture, Andrea Zlatar Violić. All the members' names were stated in full in the Decision, together with their full academic titles and names of their parent institutions (Ministarstvo kulture, 2013c). The very next day, the portal Obris generally welcomed the Government's decision, but also pointed out the brevity of time for such a voluminous amount of work, highlighting the creation of a list of the fallen as a priority. The author of the text considered the lack of a representative of the History Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb problematic, while Filip Hameršak was described as the 'weakest link of the newly-formed body' for no visible reason (Knežević, 2013). Especially, since the Commission included people with lower academic qualifica-



tions than him. If the problem is in the institution from which he comes, it should be said that the First World War is not the focus of research at any institution in Croatia.

The Commission met a total of five times: the first time with the goal of drawing up a programme draft for the Centenary commemoration (27 June 2013), the second for the creation of a preliminary list of programmes/projects and a projection of costs (24 July), the third in order to review and evaluate the proposed projects (7 April 2014), the fourth to get acquainted with the formal commemoration ceremony proposal (24 April), and the fifth to establish the commemoration programme (14 May) (Udruga 1914–1918, Document No. 2–5). Unless my personal archive and my memory deceive me, the Commission did not meet after that, though it was never formally abolished. Furthermore, at the 87th session of the Croatian Government, held on 29 March 2018, the Decision on the Amendment of the Decision on the Founding of the Commission for Coordinating the World War I Centenary Commemoration was adopted, through which new Committee members were appointed, I assume for the commemoration of the end of World War I. The decision was prompted by the 'passage of time since the founding and appointment of the members [...] in order to secure the functioning and implementation of the decisions and duties of the Commission'. The names of most representatives and institutions were changed, but the greatest change was that the still active minister of culture, Nina Obuljen Koržinek, was listed as president (Vlada RH, 2018a; Vlada RH, 2018b). It is interesting that the original list of members is still found on the official website of the Ministry of Culture, but this amended one is not; the members were neither informed about their appointment, nor did they ever meet.

By the time the Commission had had its first meeting in the Ministry of Culture, the Initiative Committee for the World War I Centenary Commemoration had drawn up an Action Plan for the commemoration, entitled 'Croatia and World War I 1914–1918 / 2014–2018', which encompassed a programme of public, cultural, and scholarly activities through all four years (Herman Kaurić, 2013), and later added a proposal for a commemoration at Mirogoj. Both proposals were presented to the Commission and other institutions but proved too ambitious for the then-existing level of consciousness about the need for a commemoration. Commission members often sent substitutes, as a rule completely uninformed, and it appeared that nobody present had any authority to do anything, and that everything needed to be addressed to some higher authority. Soon, only one thing became clear: there would be no separate budget for the Centenary commemoration, so that anything

that was planned had to be done within the existing budgets of the ministries involved in the Commission's work, with particular emphasis on the budget of the Ministry of Culture. The only thing that the Ministry of Culture could do in such a short timespan was to prompt museums and galleries to register projects about World War I within existing competitions that are traditionally published every year, with the indication that said projects are linked to the Centenary commemoration, which was done on 2 August (Udruga 1914–1918, Document No. 6). Since the application deadline was 15 September 2013, I suppose that the documentation was sent only by those who already had their projects prepared or who had improvised them with exceptional skill (Ministarstvo kulture, 2013b). The original list of 115, mostly one-year, programmes related to the Centenary commemoration grew to 132 projects by March 2015, and included multi-year computerisation and digitisation programmes. Traditional book fairs in Leipzig and the *Sa(n)jam knjige* book fair in Pula were highlighted as the spearhead events, together with a substantial number of real and virtual exhibitions, lectures, concerts, book translations, and other cultural events (Ministarstvo kulture, 2013a). The focus of the registered programmes in the museum-gallery field was on war events in the broader or narrower local community. Essentially, an attempt was made to brand everything that had been planned for that year as relevant to the Centenary commemoration and place it on the official list.

The decision of the Ministry immediately caused controversy regarding the fairness of the 2014 competition, and questions arose about how much Committee members were influencing the selection of the programmes/projects, and especially the distribution of funding. The Ministry's regular method of functioning proved an excellent basis for speculation because the publicly available list of projects/programmes about World War I does not contain any data about the amount of allocated funds, and this is despite the fact that this information is available on the list of all approved programmes for that year according to field of activity, individually by institution, and by programme. However, the official numbers are different from those in analyses of individual programmes, likely partly because it is not exactly defined which entry refers to what. Visible data show that, as part of its archival and museum-gallery activities, the Ministry of Culture spent just over 720,000 kuna, i.e. just under 100,000 euro, on the World War I Centenary (Ministarstvo kulture, 2014, *Muzejsko-galerijska djelatnost*, pp. 2–24; *Ministarstvo kulture*, 2014, *Arhivska djelatnost*, pp. 2–6). Although most of these activities were exhibitions, this does not mean that the figure includes the publishing of exhibition catalogues, because pub-

lishing activities could have been funded via other competitions. In addition, the figure does not include various other programmes, such as book translations or setting up digital platforms, whose funding is currently impossible to determine, and some of which were certainly significantly financially more demanding than those we have found. However, it seems to me that funding was significantly lower than what the public perceived in 2014, especially when compared to the overall funds spent for these activities and the budget of the Ministry of Culture as a whole (Ministarstvo kulture, 2015, p. 37).

As regards the commemoration, the prevalent opinion at first was that the international conference organised by the EUNIC (European Union National Institutes for Culture) and funded by the Ministry of Culture, *Commemorating 1914 – Exploring the War's Legacy*, held on 5–6 May 2014, would be enough (Ministarstvo kulture, 2014b; Ministarstvo kulture, 2014c; HINA/MK, 2014). Even though 23 lectures by top scholars were held then, the absolute star was Christopher Clark with his introductory lecture, 'The Sleepwalkers – How Europe Went to War in 1914'. On that occasion, the translation of the identically-named book (Clark, 2018) into Croatian was arranged, and was published several years later, by which time the pomp had died down considerably. Public interest was substantial, which is not surprising since his book had brewed up a storm among historians throughout the world, and especially in Serbia (Ponoš, 2014; Šarenac, 2013, pp. 267–280; Vukotić, 2013; Bjelajac, 2014). Disagreements about the events that led to the war spread to the sphere of politics, so the central European commemoration of the Centenary that had been planned for a few years under the name *Sarajevo, srce Evrope* (Sarajevo, Heart of Europe) saw some changes (Jelin-Dizdar 2013; Ambassade de France, 2008–2016; Delegation of the EU, 2014; HINA, 2014). One of the most obvious was the split in the great historians' 'conciliation' conference of 28 June 2014, which was supposed to have gathered experts from 26 countries in Europe and further abroad, and which the Serbian side boycotted at the last moment, after it had been announced that Christopher Clark and like-minded individuals would attend (Winter, 2017, pp. 242–243) in Sarajevo.

However, for some reason, in late April, talks started about a commemoration ceremony and central observance of the Centenary in Croatia, including a laying of wreaths near the grand *Pietà* of Vanja Radauš and Jozo Turkalj at the central Zagreb cemetery, Mirogoj. Although the base of the monument bears the inscription PALIM HRVATSKIM VOJNICIMA U PRVOM SVJETSKOM RATU ('TO THE FALLEN CRO-

ATIAN SOLDIERS OF WORLD WAR I'), on the eve of the Centenary, thanks to the research of Boris Kukić, it was established that this is not true because the memorial ossuary contains the remains of 3,300 participants of the war, of which only approximately one-third are Croats (Rašović, 2014). It turned out that the inaccurate inscription was put up in 1994 by the association *Hrvatski domobran* (Croatian Home Guard), without consulting the relevant authorities and without permission or, there is no record of this, which surprised the competent institutions (Kukić, 2015, p. 124). The information that some 450 Hungarians had been laid to rest in the ossuary caught the attention of the Hungarian military attaché, so the Ministry of Culture and the Republic of Croatia found themselves in a delicate position, faced with a problem that they could not ignore. Instead of launching an urgent procedure to remove the inscription, the Ministry ordered a brief study from Kukić, an abstract of which was then printed in Croatian and English on a panel set at the foot of the ossuary, until a way to resolve the problem is found. This temporary solution has remained in place to this day, except that, after seven years, it is in an embarrassing state; the inscription is cracked and difficult to read, though at least someone has made sure that it no longer falls over in strong winds.

The Ministry of Culture chose the international conference *Prvi svjetski rat i avangardna umjetnost: dekonstrukcija – konstrukcija* (The First World War and Avant-Garde Art: Deconstruction – Construction) as the cornerstone of the Centenary commemoration. It was held in the Museum of Contemporary Art on 28 and 29 June and organised by the Institute for the Research of the Avant-Garde and the Marinko Sudac Collection, under the high sponsorship of the Ministry. The Centenary commemoration supposedly began with an opening ceremony of the accompanying exhibition on the evening of 26 June and ended the next evening with a cocktail party marking the beginning of the conference (Ministarstvo kulture, 2014a; MK/HINA, 2014). The conference was attended by 24 theorists of contemporary art from six countries, but I did not manage to find any material regarding the events, not even in the Museum of Contemporary Art, except for the official communication published in the press (Franceschi, 2014; Moj Zagreb 2014; Glas Istre, 2014). The Ministry of Culture generously supported both events, setting aside 90,000 kuna for the needs of the conference and the exhibition (Ministarstvo kulture, 2014, *Vizualne umjetnosti*, pp. 2-23). The central national World War I commemoration took place between these two bizarre events.

At 9 o'clock on the morning of 27 June 2014, a common wreath was laid down by Zlatko Garelić, defence advisor

and representative of the Croatian President Ivo Josipović; Goran Beus Richembergh, representative of the Croatian Parliament Speaker; Predrag Matić, veterans' minister and representative of the Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanović; and Berislav Šipuš, deputy minister of culture. It is interesting that the event announcement did not mention a representative of the Parliament, who obviously attended, so one can assume that he joined the ceremony later (Ministarstvo kulture, 2014a; *Ministarstvo branitelja*, 2014). However, the inscription on the wreath's ribbon claims that it was brought by three central Croatian institutions, without the Ministry of Culture, which was perhaps omitted simply due to lack of space and laid down 'In remembrance of the victims of World War I'. The dreary impression of the entire commemoration was highlighted by the two empty stands that had been set up by employees of the City Cemeteries, who had likely thought that there would be three delegations with three wreaths.

This was followed by ceremonial speeches in the Croatian State Archives at 10 o'clock, accompanied by an artistic programme conducted by the Croatian Radiotelevision Choir led by Maestro Tonči Bilić. A considerable number of representatives of the institutions gathered there, especially those from the higher diplomatic and political milieu, including Prime Minister Zoran Milanović, had already left to participate at the central Centenary commemoration in Sarajevo. I must, however, stress that the commemoration was attended by Croatian President Ivo Josipović, who had promised to do so at the preparation meeting with members of the Initiative Committee, and only left for Sarajevo afterwards. Apart from him, speeches were held by the Prime Minister's representative, Predrag Matić; the Parliament Speaker's representative, Goran Beus Richembergh; Andrea Zlatar Violić as the president of the Commission for Coordinating the World War I Centenary Commemoration; and Vlatka Lemić, director of the Croatian State Archives (Puhovski & Filipović, 2014). In his speech, President Josipović recalled his grandfather, a soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army who had fought on the Isonzo and, unlike many others, returned home safely from the war, but also highlighted the complexity of the perceptions of the war in Croatia because some Croats had volunteered to serve in the Serbian army as well. In this context, he said: 'It is difficult to forget wars. Wars, unfortunately, do not seem to die and their consequences are felt through generations. But it is our duty, the duty of all those involved in politics, in society, to not allow new wars to begin. And for us who sit in various institutions, not only in Croatia, but in all countries throughout the world, there is no duty more important than preventing another war among us.' (Zebić, 2014).

At 12 o'clock, a solemn mass for all those who fell in World War I began in St Mark's Church in Zagreb's Upper Town, led by Military Ordinary Juraj Jezerinac in concelebration with the head of the Office for Cultural Property of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, Juraj Kolarić, and the local parish priest, Franjo Prstec. The mass was attended by representatives of the Croatian President and Parliament Speaker, the Ministry of Culture and the Commission for Coordinating the World War I Centenary Commemoration, the Zagreb City Veterans' Office, and the Austrian ambassador, Andrea Ikić-Böhm. Apart from those mentioned, the mass was attended by a very small number of curious individuals, and the bishop finished his inspired homily with the words: 'We have gathered here in mutual love, without ideological, religious, national, or political flavour, for we know that all are equal in death. Each victim, regardless of which side they fought on, regardless of faith or nationality, or any other affiliation, deserves our respect, for we all are children of our heavenly Father. To separate them after death is not good. All need to be shown equal respect. This is why the whole world is gathering these days in a joint prayer for the repose of their souls. When we remember the World War I centenary today, let these regrettable events prompt us to think about what we are to do if a similar event afflicts us in the future. May the world never again see war as a way of life. Let this anniversary prompt us to deeper thinking about our lives and bring us to our God Christ, who is our only and true source of peace.' (IKA, 2014).

Not a word was written about the commemoration in the most widely distributed Croatian newspapers like *Jutarnji list* or *Večernji list*, and many citizens only realised the importance of the Centenary in the following years, when numerous projects conducted by local institutions and enthusiasts were presented to the public. Prompted by what they saw, a considerable number of people began to research their family histories and find participants of the war among their ancestors. The Initiative Committee continued to appeal to the Ministry of Culture, striving to prompt a commemoration of the opening of the Isonzo Front in 2015, but they were completely ignored, with the verbal explanation that the Ministry is working on removing bureaucratic obstacles that had arisen from the decisions of the previous Government. In the meantime, there was a change of government and people at the heads of all institutions, including the Ministry of Culture. In the end, they gave up and devoted themselves to their projects, which they realised thanks to private connections and acquaintances, and their private funds (Archive of the 1914–1918 Association).

In the meantime, the Hungarian military attaché managed to secure all the permits necessary for putting up a memorial plaque to fallen Hungarians, which had at first seemed impossible. The plaque was ceremoniously unveiled on 3 April 2018, with full military honours, attended by members of Croatian and Hungarian honorary battalions, defence ministers Damir Krstičević and István Simicskó, and numerous dignitaries (M. M., 2018). This example clearly shows that, when there is a will, there is a way, and what such events should look like, as the mentioned commemoration looked genuinely solemn and dignified.

The World War I commemoration in Croatia was mostly prompted by the activities of foreign institutions or countries, and the same applied to the commemoration of the end of World War I, which, in western countries, is traditionally held at 11 o'clock on 11 November, the date when the armistice on the Western Front was signed. On that day in 2018, Josip Kuštić, the rector of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saints Stephen and Ladislaus in Zagreb, held a solemn mass to mark the end of the war, and in his sermon, he emphasised reverence towards all the victims of the war. He stressed that building peace requires an unconditionally strong will to respect other people and nations and their dignity. The mass was attended by Prime Minister Andrej Plenković; Parliament Speaker Željko Reiner; Mate Granić, representative of the Croatian President; ambassadors and military attachés of numerous countries including the USA and Canada; representatives of religious communities; and numerous other invitees. Foreign officials mostly emphasised the need for cooperation in preserving the peace, which should never be taken for granted and requires constant work. They especially highlighted the fact that former enemies are now allies, and that it is possible to reconcile through earnest work. In contrast to this, in addition to expressing reverence towards all victims, Prime Minister Plenković stated that the war had changed the map of Europe and the future of the world (GS, 2018; DD/H 2018; HRT, 2018). I do not know, and perhaps I err, but I have the impression that Croatian politicians were only present because Europe and the rest of the world were commemorating the end of the war, so something of the kind had to be done in Croatia as well. At the same time, the central commemoration of the end of World War I took place in France and was attended by Croatian President Kolinda Grabar Kitarović (HINA/GS, 2018).

In addition to Mirogoj, wreaths were laid at the former military cemetery in Varaždin and next to the memorial plaque

put up in 2014 on the so-called Rudolf's Barracks in Zagreb, in honour of Croatian soldiers fallen on battlefields throughout Europe from 1914 to 1918. The exhibition *1918: A Pivotal Year in Croatia* was held at the Croatian History Museum, and resulted in a catalogue of the same name (Smetko, 2018), while a reprint of Ivo Pilar's book *The South Slavic Question and World War I* was launched at the Croatian State Archives (Pilar, 2018), in honour of the centenary of the annexation of Međimurje to Croatia (GS, 2018).

In the end, I must mention a lasting memorial to the end of World War I, a coin of 92.5 percent pure silver with a nominal value of 150 kuna, issued by the Croatian National Bank and designed by the Croatian Monetary Institute Ltd. The coin, of which no more than 2,000 were minted, became available for purchase on 31 October 2018, and the total production cost was limited to 300,000 kuna. The silver coin is 37 mm in diameter, weighs 24 g, and was designed by sculptor Ana Divković. It can be purchased for 407.5 kuna (HNB, 2018a; HNB, 2021, p. 1).

The commemorative coin's obverse depicts the representatives of the belligerent sides in World War I, witnesses and signatories of the armistice that ended the war, in front of the railway carriage in Compiègne in which it was signed. The inscription '1918–2018' is found on the left side of the depiction, and the inscriptions 'COMPIÈGNE' and '11. 11. 1918.' on the right side. Above the depiction of the signatories and witnesses of the armistice and the railway carriage, a semicircular inscription, '100. OBLJETNICA' (100th ANNIVERSARY), is written along the top edge of the coin, and is continued in a semicircle below the depiction, along the bottom edge: 'ZAVRŠETKA PRVOGA SVJETSKOG RATA' (OF THE END OF WORLD WAR I). The coin's reverse bears a depiction of the battleship *Viribus Unitis* in its centre, shown anchored in the port of Pula on 31 October 1918, when Austria-Hungary handed the ship and its entire remaining fleet over to the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, so the ship is flying a Croatian flag. Above the depiction of the battleship stands the inscription 'REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA' (REPUBLIC OF CROATIA), while the Croatian coat of arms is depicted in the upper-right part of the coin. The coin's denomination, '150', is shown below the depiction of the battleship, along with the name of the monetary unit: 'KUNA' (HNB, 2018b).

## CONCLUSION

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In 2014, developed countries honoured their citizens who had participated in the war, soldiers and civilians, in various ways, expressing sorrow for the victims and gratitude to all. Reverence was also shown for the enemy side, constantly high-



lighting the fact that war is a great evil for all, regardless of on whose side our ancestors fought. From the Croatian perspective, the attempts of other countries seemed very meaningful and unanimous, which is not entirely true, but the scant news that reached Croatia left a different impression and fed the frustrations of the Initiative Committee. Croatia eventually organised its own commemoration ceremonies on the centenaries of the beginning and end of World War I, however reluctantly and only after European institutions and civil society organisations had started their own projects, which 'leaked into' Croatia due to geostrategic conditions. Were it not for this, Croatia would have met the Centenary in silence, save for a few lonely voices here and there.

In hindsight, it was a difficult trench war between Initiative Committee and state institutions on all levels, in which the greatest obstacle was the lack of understanding of the importance of World War I for Croatia today.

Some things have changed substantially since the anniversary years, but the basic problem regarding senior institutions is, frustratingly, the same. It appears that the World War I commemoration in Croatia should be considered ancient history, because an unfortunate set of circumstances has made the war seem even further off, even more ancient, in the consciousness of ordinary people than was the case in 2014, or even 2018, when there was considerable discussion of the Centenary in the Croatian public arena. Since then, central Croatia has suffered two major earthquakes, a global pandemic, and a series of local natural disasters, and this has made discussions of some old war seem pointless, at least for the time being.

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## Bitka za komemoriranje stogodišnjice Prvoga svjetskoga rata kao ogledni primjer odnosa prema tom ratu u Hrvatskoj

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Obilježavanje stogodišnjice od izbijanja i završetka Prvoga svjetskoga rata (2014. – 2018.) bio je najvažniji društveni događaj u proteklom desetljeću u zemljama Zapadne Europe, posebice u Britaniji i Francuskoj, te u britanskim dominionima Kanadi i Australiji. Za razliku od tih zemalja pobjednica, poražene sudionice rata (prije svega Njemačka i Austrija) znatno su skromnije obilježile obljetnicu, ujedno joj pristupajući na posve drugačiji način. Naglasak je bio na svim žrtvama rata, vojnicima i civilima, bez obzira na kojoj su se strani borili. S obzirom na to da se Hrvatska kao bivša zemlja Austro-Ugarske Monarhije nakon rata našla u posve novoj državnoj zajednici ujedinjena s Kraljevinom Srbijom, sudionicima rata nije bilo uputno spominjati svoje ratovanje na krivoj strani. Ništa bolje nije bilo ni nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, kada je jedan pobjednički narativ zamijenio drugi, u kojemu je spominjanje ranijih monarhija bilo nadasve neprihvatljivo. Sve to utjecalo je na odnos prema Prvome svjetskom ratu, koji je protokom vremena u Hrvatskoj umalo postao posve zaboravljen.

Ključne riječi: stogodišnjica, Prvi svjetski rat, Hrvatska, komemoracije



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# SERBIAN VS YUGOSLAV. DESTINY OF THE GRAVES OF SERBIAN AND AUSTRO- -HUNGARIAN (OF YUGOSLAV ORIGIN) SOLDIERS FROM THE FIRST WORLD WAR – A FEW OBSERVATIONS

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After the end of the First World War, the graves of soldiers of the three armies that fought against each other – Serbian, Montenegrin and Austria-Hungarian, became war memorials of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia). The care of the state for these war graves was in constant conflict of desires and needs on the one hand, and financial possibilities on the other. Hence, there was an unequal posture towards the graves. Nevertheless, the state put in order a significant number of cemeteries and erected memorial ossuaries. In some of these ossuaries, the bodies of Serbian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers were laid together. After the Second World War, graves, cemeteries and ossuaries from the First World War fell into a state of neglect. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, a new phase of their existence begins. These soldiers are separated again, and the new, post-Yugoslav, states are now taking care of them.

Keywords: military graves, First World War, Serbia, Yugoslavia, Austria-Hungary



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Very soon after the end of the First World War the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS, from 1929 under the name Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was created. Soldiers of the three armies that had recently fought against each other – Serbian and Montenegrin on one side, and Austro-Hungarian, on the other, become citizens of the new state. Besides that, soldiers that were part of the Bulgarian army, and earlier (at the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century) part of the Ottoman army, also become citizens of the Kingdom of SCS.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the graves of fallen soldiers from Serbia, Montenegro, and of those who originated from Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman territories, which came to be part of the Kingdom of SCS, become war memorials of the newly formed state.

According to the Treaty of Peace with Germany (Versailles Peace Treaty), and its articles 225-226, all war graves became the responsibility of the state on whose territory they were located. Each state was obliged to keep and maintain graves of soldiers, sailors, prisoners of war and interned civilians. Furthermore, they had to allow and facilitate the work of different commissions appointed by other states for the purpose of identifying, registering and caring for graves, erecting suitable memorials over them, or transferring the bodies of the dead to their own country (Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany). The same articles were incorporated in peace treaties signed with Austria (Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria, articles 171-172), Hungary (Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary, articles 155-156) and Bulgaria (Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria, articles 116-117). Similar articles were part of the peace treaty with Turkey, but these were significantly elaborated in some segments (Treaty of Peace [with Turkey], articles 124-136).

The Kingdom of SCS declared a *Decree on the development and maintenance of our military cemeteries and graves in the homeland and abroad* at the end of 1919. It determined that all military cemeteries, and if possible individual graves, of all fallen soldiers should be developed and regularly maintained. All cemeteries have been declared temporary with the intention of transferring all remains to special ossuaries above which appropriate monuments in the form of chapels, churches or mausoleums would be erected. In them, every soldier of known identity would be specially laid down and marked. The Ministry of Religion was appointed as the highest body responsible for the care of military graves, and a supervisor for their maintenance and for the erection of ossuaries. The guarding and maintenance of these graves was entrusted to church com-

munities and priests in whose parishes they were located. Cemeteries and graves abroad were to be taken care of by the embassies and consulates of the Kingdom of SCS, and it was planned to appoint priests to take care of the largest cemeteries abroad. Families were allowed to transfer the remains of their relatives to their places of origin. It was also determined that the priests should make an inventory of all graves, in order that the state could make a list of all existing graves. (*Uredba o uređenju i održavanju naših vojničkih groblja i grobova u domovini i na strani*; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, p. 209; Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 202-203; Jezernik, 2018, pp. 129-130; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 383-384; Živanović, 2020, pp. 83-85).

After the declaration of the Constitution of the new state, the temporary decree was replaced by a law. Passed in April 1922, the *Law on the development of our military cemeteries and graves in the homeland and abroad, as well as the graves of fallen soldiers and sailors, prisoners of war and internees, citizens of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, buried in our state territory* confirmed and further elaborated the provisions of the *Decree concerning cemeteries and graves in the country and abroad*. It was complemented by certain articles to comply with the mentioned articles from peace treaties related to the care of cemeteries and graves of enemy soldiers. The graves of soldiers from allied countries were treated in the same way as domestic ones, but it was pointed out that special agreements would be made with each state. The law more clearly defined the obligations of the Ministry of Religion and lower bodies (regional religious and political administrative authorities in the country and embassies, consulates and clergy abroad). It was determined that all graves should receive a permanent mark in the form of a concrete or stone cross with clearly written information about the buried person, as well as that all cemeteries should be fenced. Smaller cemeteries, below 200 graves, and all individual graves were to be concentrated in one, already existing, larger cemetery. The *Law* defined that expenses for the maintenance and development of the cemeteries should be financed by the Ministry of Religion, and regional and municipal administrations (*Zakon o uređenju naših vojničkih grobalja i grobova u otadžbini i na strani, kao i grobova izginulih vojnika i mornara, ratnih zarobljenika i interniranih lica, državljana: Nemačke, Austrije, Ugarske i Bugarske, sahranjeni na našoj državnoj teritoriji*; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, p. 210; Manojlović Pintar, 2014, p. 203; Jezernik, 2018, p. 130; Šarenac, 2018, 227-228; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 384-385; Živanović, 2020, pp. 83-88). This *Law* was supplemented by another law and two changes of the laws, but with no bigger influence on the topic we are about to talk about.<sup>2</sup>

We would like to point out how the Kingdom of SCS saw soldiers from Serbian, allied and enemy armies in the aforementioned legal documents and in its everyday work on their identification, maintenance and development.

In the *Decree* it is defined that it relates to the graves of soldiers fallen from freedom and unification of *our* (italics by the author) people, regardless of the religion of the dead ones. It stressed that they made their sacrifice for the defense of our fatherland and our people with three names (thinking of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). There is no distinctive mark to tell us today if the word "our" relates only to the Serbian army, but we may say that it does because the Serbian army was the one who liberated occupied Serbian territories, militarily defeated Austria-Hungary and who possessed Austro-Hungarian territories that become part of the new state, where three South Slav nations lived together. Maintenance was foreseen for allied soldiers also. Enemy soldiers, or soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian army, but of South Slav origin, were not mentioned at all (*Uredba o uređenju i održavanju naših vojničkih groblja i grobova u domovini i na strani*, Articles 1-3).

In the *Law on the development of our military cemeteries and graves in the homeland and abroad...* we also may find the term "our" regarding the fallen soldiers to whom it applies. However, soldiers from the enemy armies of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria are also explicitly mentioned, and it is written that graveyards and graves for the soldiers of these armies should be treated according to the articles from the peace treaties from Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon and Neuilly (Articles 1-2). Articles 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 26 of the *Law* made a clear difference between "our" graves, and graves of once enemy armies. So, it is obvious that by the term "ours" the state was thinking primarily and only of the soldiers that fought in the Serbian army during the First World War.

We saw that the Kingdom of SCS was responsible for the care of graves of enemy soldiers on its territory through international obligations, incorporating them into its own relevant legislation. But there was just general mention of enemy armies, without looking at the origin of the soldiers. The situation on the field was quite different – soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army were of different nations, among which there were a vast number of Slavs, and, again, among them a vast number of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. There were also people from other nations (or national backgrounds) that were living in the territories of former Austro-Hungary and in the Kingdom of SCS at that time. To the South Slav people, their relatives and friends who died in the Austro-Hungarian army were not enemies, but still relatives and friends. And they wanted to honour them accordingly.

With the division of Austria-Hungary, its territories became parts of newly formed countries (Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Kingdom of SCS) or part of already existing states (Romania and Italy). In these new circumstances, the dead soldiers of the former Empire received new citizenship. They were not treated as members of a state that did not exist anymore, but as members of states that ruled over the places of their origin (after the First World War). For example, a soldier from Szeged became a "Hungarian" soldier, one from Arad become "Romanian", from Trieste "Italian", and Trenčín "Czechoslovakian". At the same time, those from Srem, Bačka, part of the Banat, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Slovenia became dead soldiers of the Kingdom of SCS. In this way, the Kingdom SCS's responsibility to care for the graves of Serbian soldiers abroad very soon merged with the care for the graves of Austro-Hungarian soldiers of Yugoslav origin. In documents of the Ministry of Religion of the Kingdom of SCS, and later of the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (to whom the department for military graves was transferred) we can see that the term "our" was transformed (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 137-138; Hameršak, 2020, p. 384).<sup>3</sup> Once reserved only for soldiers who fought in the Serbian army, it became the term for both Serbian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers of Yugoslav origin. But we must emphasise, it was not origin by nationality, but origin by territory. The largest number of them were really Slavs, but a smaller number were of German, Hungarian or of some other national origin. No matter their ethnic background, they were all treated according to place of birth, that is, as members of the new state.

The general situation with the maintenance of warrior cemeteries on the territory of the Kingdom of SCS was not good. There were many testimonies that the cemeteries were in very bad condition, not well maintained, and that they fell into disrepair, regardless of the origin of the soldiers buried in them (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, p. 205, 210; Hameršak, 2020, p. 385; Živanović, 2020, pp. 89-93). Simply put, the new state did not have the strength to maintain all of them in good condition. The care of the Kingdom of SCS for these war graves was in a constant conflict of desires and needs on the one hand, and financial possibilities on the other. Hence, there was an unequal posture towards the graves not only of different armies, but also in different geographic locations (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 134-150; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 406-407). Nevertheless, the state and its inhabitants manage to put in order a significant number of cemeteries and erected numerous memorial osuaries.

The building of ossuaries and monuments was not done by the state only. Most of them were built thanks to private initiative and work. Different associations of veterans and citizens, and many ad hoc groups formed just for building one ossuary, managed to do much more than the state. Most of the ossuaries were built by these groups, collecting voluntary contributions from the whole state. With a certain, usually small, contribution, the state helped their efforts (Stefanović, 2009, pp. 11-17; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 212-214; Jezernik, 2018, p. 135; Živanović, 2020, p. 93).

When we talk about public and private memory of the war, we must point out that the official memory was the memory of victory in the war – the victory that brought liberation and unification (Manojlović Pintar 2014, pp. 128-136, 139; Šarenac, 2014, pp. 173-175; Sindbæk Andersen, 2016, pp. 38-39; Jezernik, 2018, pp. 134-140; 157-161; 271-272). But private memory was quite different, depending on what army a particular group served. Serbs from Serbia celebrated victory and mourned their relatives and friends who died in the war and in captivity, during the retreat through Albania, of diseases and hunger or due to enemy war crimes and atrocities. Croats, Slovenes, Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungarians and Germans whose relatives and friends had been part of the Austro-Hungarian army mourned them (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 135, 140-147). Even today in some houses in Vojvodina you can see pictures of ancestors in Austro-Hungarian uniform from the First World War. Some Muslims went to Turkey during the war and fought as volunteers in the Ottoman army. Many of them died in the Battle of Gallipoli. Their family remembered their sacrifice. To some families in Novi Pazar and its surroundings, the role of their ancestors in Gallipoli is still very important today.<sup>4</sup> There was a very interesting situation in Macedonia, whose people served in three armies (the Ottoman, Serbian and Bulgarian) during the conflicts in the second decade of the 20th century (the Albanian uprising, Balkan Wars and the First World War). It seemed that, at least to one of them, participation in all three armies was part of their identity. When he died, four pictures were put on his tombstone. The first one is from his old age (he died in 1970). The second – in the uniform of the Ottoman army, and with the inscription beside it: "Turkish soldier from 1910–1912". The third – in the uniform of the Serbian army and with the inscription: "Serbian soldier from 1914–1915". And the fourth – in Bulgarian uniform and with the inscription: "Bulgarian soldier from 1916–1918" (Dimitrijević & Stojanoski, 2011, pp. 14-19). In this example, we can also see that people were devoted to the authorities that ruled over the territories in which

they lived, regardless of their national feelings. That is also why many Serbs fought in the Austro-Hungarian army against Serbia. Their private memory is a field that yet waits to be researched.

The focus in developing the cemeteries and building the ossuaries was on the Serbian army, as the victorious one. But throughout that work, people from different organisational boards also paid certain attention to enemy soldiers – specifically to those from the former Austro-Hungarian army. This was because, in fact, many South Slavs died on the enemy side, but they were not seen as enemies anymore, rather as brothers from the same country (or of Yugoslav origin). So, what we had in the field is the following situation: for example, some organisational boards decided to build an ossuary for deceased Serbian soldiers. They started to build it, and to plan the exhumation of Serbian soldiers, but eventually they became aware of the fact that there were also many dead Austro-Hungarian soldiers in the same area. Then people from the organisational boards decided to exhume soldiers from the former enemy Habsburg army also.

While erecting the ossuary on Gučevo, in western Serbia, the Association of Reserve Officers and Warriors asked and gained the permission from state authorities for an exhumation of the Austro-Hungarian cemetery from Banja Koviljača, to put them in the same ossuary with Serbian soldiers. Most of those Austro-Hungarian soldiers were Croats from Zagreb and its environs. The association explained the move by stating: "We want those who were led by tragic fate and by the enemy of the Slavs to fight against each other, and those whose bones lie in our present fatherland, to rest in peace together." (Udruženje rezervnih oficira i ratnika, Središnja uprava, 1929. p. 4; Lajbenšperger, 2015, pp. 509-510).

Ossuaries in Serbia that have Serbian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers in them are situated in (or on): Lazarevac, Čelije, Krupanj, Mačkov kamen, Gučevo, Tekeriš, Dublje, Arandjelovac, Čačak and Mladenovac (Vukosavljević, 1975, p. 238; Sokolović, 1991, pp. 142-143; Pavlović, 1995, pp. 115-130; Pavlović, 2014, pp. 15, 24-35; Lajbenšperger, 2008, pp. 326-327; Lajbenšperger, 2014, pp. 14-16; Lajbenšperger, 2015, pp. 509-510; Obrenović, 2013, pp. 81, 132-133, 135, 137-138, 281-282, 288, 238-241, 340, 549-550; Bogdanović, 2018, pp. 342- 346, 459-474, 485, 489-492; Šarenac, 2018, pp. 230-234). The same thing happened abroad. All ossuaries in whose creation the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia participated, and that were built on the territories of the former Habsburg empire, contained soldiers from both armies (some of them even members of the former Montenegrin army). That is the case in Jindřichovice, Olo-

mouc, Prague and Trenčín, all in former Czechoslovakia (Radovanović, 2004, p. 282; Dobuševa & Krymova 2013, pp. 61-64; Obrenović, 2013; Lajbenšperger et al., 2015, pp. 262-270, 273-282; Skoupý, 2016, pp. 84-85; pp. 361-372; Borovnjak, 2017, pp. 267-287; Šarenac, 2018, p. 226). There are also a few ossuaries today with soldiers from both armies, alongside other nations in Austria (Lajbenšperger & Ranković Miladinović, 2018, pp. 383-384; Lajbenšperger, 2019, pp. 166, 169-170), and one in Italy, on the island Asinara (Obrenović, 2013, pp. 362-372, 377-378; Hameršak, 2020, p. 386).

Burial in the same ossuaries with Serbian soldiers was reserved for Austro-Hungarian soldiers, but not for the Germans or Bulgarians. We manage to find only one ossuary in which a very small number of German and Bulgarian soldiers<sup>5</sup> were buried alongside Serbian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers before the Second World War.<sup>6</sup> It is situated in the Serbian town Čačak (Milekić, 1934, p. 3; Vukosavljević, 1975, p. 238; Pavlović, 1995, pp. 123, 125-127, 129; Pavlović, 2014, pp. 15 29-30, 32-35; Obrenović, 2013, pp. 238-241; Bogdanović, 2018, pp. 489-492). On the other hand, we do not know of any ossuaries with soldiers of the Ottoman army that died during the First Balkan War.

We found only a few examples of ossuaries for Serbian and allied soldiers that were built on Yugoslav territory. In all of them, the Austro-Hungarian soldiers also are buried. In an ossuary in Sombor, the deceased prisoners of war from the Russian and Romanian armies were also buried (Molnar, 2015, pp. 249-250; Živanović, 2020, pp. 104-106, 451). At least one Italian soldier is buried in the mentioned ossuary in Čačak (Vukosavljević, 1975, p. 238; Pavlović, 1995, pp. 128-129; Pavlović, 2014, pp. 15, 33-35; Bogdanović, 2018, p. 492). Russian soldiers lie in the ossuary at the Holy Cross Cemetery (today Žale Central Cemetery) in Ljubljana, while the prisoners of war from Montenegro, Russian and Romanian armies are in the ossuary at the Mirogoj City Cemetery in Zagreb (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 408-409; Živanović, 2020, pp. 108-109, 447, 449; Kukić, 2021).

We have cases of placing Serbian and allied soldiers in the same ossuaries abroad. One of them is in Tunisia. It was done by the French organisation *Souvenir Français* (Nikolić, 2010, pp. 193, 213-214; Lajbenšperger, 2018, pp. 301-303). Then we have two ossuaries in today's Czech Republic, where Russian soldiers were buried with Serbian ones – the first is in Prague, and the second in Jindřichovice, near Karlovy Vary (Lajbenšperger et al., 2015, pp. 262-270, 279-282).

There are numerous locations in the Kingdom of SCS / Yugoslavia or abroad where graves of Serbian soldiers were



lying alongside soldiers from one or more of the following countries: Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Greece. But there are many examples of Serbian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers that were transferred into the same ossuaries, and only one example of an ossuary in the Kingdom of SCS / Yugoslavia with soldiers from other enemy armies (German and Bulgarian) and a few with allied soldiers. We can therefore clearly see that the state was making an effort to create a new nation through deceased soldiers as well. Although from two armies, the people from the same "tribe" were united in death, through their placement in the same chambers for eternal rest. National unity was built on the bodies of the dead soldiers from once enemy armies (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, p. 27). That way, parallels were drawn between the living tribesmen in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, and their dead countrymen. But the two sides were not equal. While the brotherhood between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who were living in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia was in public discourse all the time, unification with dead soldiers was done with much less public attention. While the exhumation and relocation of Serbian soldiers in ossuaries was accompanied with adequate commemoration ceremonies, and with inscriptions in newspapers, the exhumation and relocation of Austro-Hungarian soldiers was not given the same attention. Sometimes it was mentioned in the newspapers, but big commemorative ceremonies were not organised. In honour of the dead, religious services by the Catholic clergy were held. Exceptions were made only for a little number of ossuaries that were built in Slovenia and Croatia. Ossuaries in Ljubljana and Zagreb were built for mostly Austro-Hungarian soldiers, but the Yugoslav component was underlined during the ceremonies of sanctification of these ossuaries, because a smaller number of Serbian soldiers (who died in captivity) were also transferred to them (Obrenović, 2013. pp. 93-84).

On some ossuaries dedicated to Serbian soldiers, but which also contain Austro-Hungarian soldiers in them, there is no inscription that bears witness to that. That is the case at the ossuaries on Gučevo, in Lazarevac, and many others. While on some others, we have inscriptions stating that Austro-Hungarian soldiers were also buried inside. An example of which is the ossuary in Dublje (a place in western Serbia). On the ossuary on Tekeriš, only Czechoslovakians were mentioned. It was done out of the need to show pan Slavic connections. Especially having in mind that some of them did not want to fight against Serbs and died because of that. We

also have a unique ossuary – the already-mentioned one in the Serbian town of Čačak. Its peculiarity is that four different religious symbols are on the monument over it. There is an Orthodox cross, Catholic cross, Jewish Star of David and an Islamic halfmoon. Because of that, this monument is called "The monument of four religions" (Vukosavljević, 1975, p. 234; Obrenović, 2013, pp. 238-241; Bogdanović, 2018, pp. 489-492).

Another symbol of the clear desire of the state to make a new nation, and to unite the living and the dead, is the Monument to the unknown hero. While in other European countries the tomb of the unknown soldier from the First World War was built in their capitals, in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia it was done on the outskirts of Belgrade, its capital city. Furthermore, it was not an unknown soldier from the victorious Serbian army, but a soldier that gained the Yugoslav prefix. The soldier that was picked to represent all the known and unknown warriors was really from the Serbian army, but the state determined that they should represent the new country: the country that arose from the war efforts of the Serbian army, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and not the state which won the war, the Kingdom of Serbia. The remains of the unknown hero were put in a tomb which is part of the bigger memorial: Monument to the Unknown Hero. For pointing out the Yugoslav attributes of the dead soldiers, and the so much needed unity between different South Slavic tribes in Yugoslavia, on the front and the back side of the monument big caryatids were situated representing different parts of Yugoslavia (Ignjatović, 2007, pp. 218-229; Ignjatović, 2010, pp. 624-650; Manojlović Pintar, 2014, pp. 221-236; Borić, 2017, pp. 78-86).

When we look at the available documentation about the state funding of developing cemeteries and building ossuaries, we can see that much more money was given to the places linked to Serbian soldiers, than to those linked only to, or predominantly to, Austro-Hungarian soldiers. But we must emphasise that most of the funding did not come from the state, but from the contributions of citizens or different firms. This goes both for Serbian and Austro-Hungarian cemeteries (Obrenović, 2013, pp. 84-89). When we look at ossuaries abroad, we may see that far more funds were given by the states in which the memorial was located or by individual contributions, than by the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia (Nikolić, 2010, pp. 187-254; Lajbenšperger et al., 2015, pp. 263-270; 273-281; Lajbenšperger, 2018, pp. 301-302). The only exceptions to this would be two ossuaries in Greece – one on the island of Vido, and another at Zejtinlik cemetery in Salonica.

But poorly preserved and still insufficiently researched archival materials cannot yet give us the correct information. Among cemeteries with mostly Austro-Hungarian soldiers in which the developing, exhumation or building was funded by the state, we may single out those in Osijek (in Croatia), Ptuj, Rogoznica and Ljubljana (in Slovenia) (Ministarstvo pravde, 1941a; 1941b).

Looking at part of the preserved documentation, we may see that the state did not have only financial problems, but also dealt with organisational ones as well. For example, we see that more than 80% of the budget of the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia designated for commemorations and memorials in 1931 was not spent in that year. Instead, it was transferred to the next year (Glavna kontrola, 1932). For 1933, the percentage was higher – 90% of the budget was not spent (Glavna kontrola, 1934). We don't know the real reasons for that, but we assume that there were not enough people in the ministry who could work on the adequate distribution of that money. Another problem was the slow decision-making process. Whatever the reason, we can say with certainty that it was not the lack of places where that money could have been spent.

Big differences between the treatment of Serbian and other soldiers aroused dissatisfaction among Croats and Slovenes (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 129-161, 230-232; Njuman, 2018, pp. 171-211; Šarenac, 2018, p. 226). They also did not like continual Serbian insistence that the Serbian army came out of the war a victor, and that owing to them other South Slavs were freed from Habsburg rule. But we must look at those processes from the viewpoint of that time. In the decades between the two world wars, victory gained in war was still sacrosanct, and there were very few pacifist voices. To the simple Serbian man, victory in war was very important, because in it they defeated invaders, alongside great suffering during the war. Because of that, and in addition to the wish for unity in death, we witnessed the divisions of nationalities in the period of the Kingdom. There are many ossuaries (and monuments over them), but also separate monuments that commemorated the victims from only one of the Yugoslav peoples. To be precise – only one of the people's names was inscribed on the monument. On many ossuaries in Serbia and Macedonia there are inscriptions that they are dedicated to the Serbian soldiers.

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After the Second World War, graves, cemeteries and ossuaries from the First World War fell into the background, and

often became almost completely forgotten for several decades. Some of them were even destroyed (Nikolić, 2010, pp. 257-230; Lajbenšperger & Mamula, 2014, pp. 220-221). By deliberate destruction of cemeteries of the German and Ustasha soldiers from the Second World War, many military graveyards from the First World War vanished also. Not just German cemeteries, but also Austro-Hungarian ones with South Slav soldiers, and with warriors from the Serbian army (Molnar, 2015, p. 249; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 412-413; Hameršak, 2020, p. 387).

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, a new phase had begun. Soldiers from once hostile countries were separated again. Their graves and cemeteries were now taken care of, or commemorations were held on them, by the new, post-Yugoslav, states (Sindbæk Andersen, 2016, pp. 41-49) Because of the lack of knowledge, some war cemeteries or ossuaries were appropriated by only one of the former Yugoslav nations. For example, it was thought that the ossuary in Olomouc in the Czech Republic was clearly a Serbian ossuary, but the research conducted proved that it contained a far larger number of Austro-Hungarian soldiers than the number of soldiers from the Serbian army who died in captivity (Lajbenšperger et al., 2015, p. 274; Skoupý, 2016, pp. 84-85; Šarenac, 2018, p. 239). At the Austro-Hungarian cemetery in Lebring in Austria, among the buried soldiers are Austro-Hungarian soldiers alongside prisoners of war from Italy, Romania, Russia and Serbia. Among Austro-Hungarian soldiers, the vast majority are from former Yugoslavia, and among them, the most numerous are people of Islamic faith from Bosnia. This cemetery is today the most important place of memory of the First World War for the official authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1998, Bosnia and Herzegovina erected its own monument there (Neumayer & Schmidl, 2008, p. 151; Lajbenšperger, 2019, pp. 162-163; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 389-391).

Decades of neglect of the heritage of the First World War, deliberate destruction, and not paying enough attention to existing cemeteries, caused some of them to disappear entirely. Ossuaries were neglected also, but they were made of stone and concrete so it was harder for them to vanish. But their physical existence did not mean that knowledge of their history and specifics had survived. During the years, some facts about ossuaries were forgotten, and when interests about them arose, an interesting thing began to happen. Firstly, as most of them were related to the Serbian soldiers, they were mentioned on different occasions as purely Serbian ossuaries. Secondly, when some old information came to light (such as the fact that Austro-Hungarian soldiers were lying in the same

tombs as the Serbian army), the Serbian press, tourist organisations, local authorities and individuals started to point out that some ossuaries are unique in the world because they contain the remains of soldiers from enemy armies. They saw an opportunity to say that something in their area is unique, not knowing that there are many examples like that, not just in Serbia, but in the world as well.

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In the end, we may draw a clear parallel between the fate of dead soldiers and their fellow countrymen and ancestors later on. First, they fought in different armies during the First World War, and some of them died in it. Second, after the war they became part of a new country – both the living and the dead. Third, they went through two dissolutions of Yugoslavia (1941, and 1991). And now, they are part of some new states, in which the memory of their role in the First World War differs.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> These are mainly inhabitants of today's areas of South Serbia, and North Macedonia, which were part of the Ottoman Empire before the First Balkan War (1912–1913) and occupied by Bulgaria during the First World War (1915–1918).

<sup>2</sup> *Zakon o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu, Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu, Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o uređenju naših vojničkih grobalja i grobova u otadžbini i na strani od 22. aprila 1922. godine; Zakon o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu od 23. avgusta 1925. godine i Zakona o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu od 31. decembra 1928. godine.* Lajbenšperger & Mamlu, 2014, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the cited literature, the author of these lines based his view on this topic, and many others that follow, on archival material kept in the archives in Serbia. Above all, material from the Archives of Yugoslavia, the Fund of the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (63), Religious Department, boxes from 210 to 240. That documentation contains material about developing cemeteries in the whole state and abroad, and about constructing ossuaries, exhumations of the deceased soldiers and their transfers to ossuaries.

<sup>4</sup> During their visit, one of the Muslim political leaders in Novi Pazar gave a gift to the museum in that city. It was a copy of the hat that volunteers from the Novi Pazar and Sandžak area wore while serving in the Ottoman army during the First World War and the Battle of Gallipoli.

<sup>5</sup> At least one of them was a deserter from the Bulgarian army.

<sup>6</sup> During 1942 an ossuary with German, Austro-Hungarian and Serbian soldiers was built by the German occupiers in the Serbian town Kragujevac (Karamijalković, 2020, p. 141).

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o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu od 22. avgusta 1925. i Zakona o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o narodnom priznanju zaslužnima za Otadžbinu od 31. decembra 1928. godine. *Službene novine Kraljevine SHS*, 225-LXXI/1931 (*Official Gazette*, 225-LXXI/1931);

Zakon o uređenju naših vojničkih grobalja i grobova u otadžbini i na strani, kao i grobova izginulih vojnika i mornara, ratnih zarobljenika i interniranih lica, državljana: Nemačke, Austrije, Ugarske i Bugarske, sahranjeni na našoj državnoj teritoriji, *Službene novine Kraljevine SHS*, 87/1922), 87/1922 (*Official Gazette*, 87/1922).

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## Srpski prema jugoslavenskima. Sudbina grobova srpskih i austroугarskih (jugoslavenskog podrijetla) vojnika iz Prvoga svjetskog rata – nekoliko zapažanja

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Nakon završetka Prvoga svjetskog rata grobovi vojnika triju vojski koji su se u Prvom svjetskom ratu borili jedni protiv drugih – srpske, crnogorske i austroугarske – postaju ratni memorijali novonastale Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (Jugoslavije). Briga države o tim vojničkim grobovima u stalnom je sukobu želja i potreba s jedne strane te financijskih mogućnosti s druge. Stoga je postojao i nejednak odnos prema tim grobovima. Ipak, država uređuje znatan broj groblja i podiže spomen-kosturnice. U dijelu tih spomen-kosturnica zajednički su položena tijela srpskih i austroугarskih vojnika. Nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, grobovi, groblja i kosturnice iz Prvoga svjetskog rata padaju u drugi plan. S raspadom Jugoslavije dolazi i nova faza

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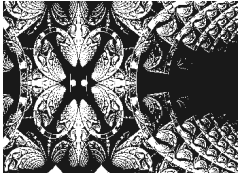
njihova života – kada se ovi vojnici ponovo odvajaju, a o njima brigu vode nove države nastale raspadom bivše Jugoslavije.

Ključne riječi: vojnički grobovi, Prvi svjetski rat, Srbija, Jugoslavija, Austro-Ugarska



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

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

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



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## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

## **THE MEMORY OF WWI IN ISTRIA: MEMORIAL EVENTS AND TOURISM**

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

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

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

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



## THE INTERTWINING OF MEMORY AND DARK TOURISM IN MEDIA REPORTING

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

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

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

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

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

## **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **DISCUSSION**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● TABLE 1  
Media reports  
on memorial events  
in Istria

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

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

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

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

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

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

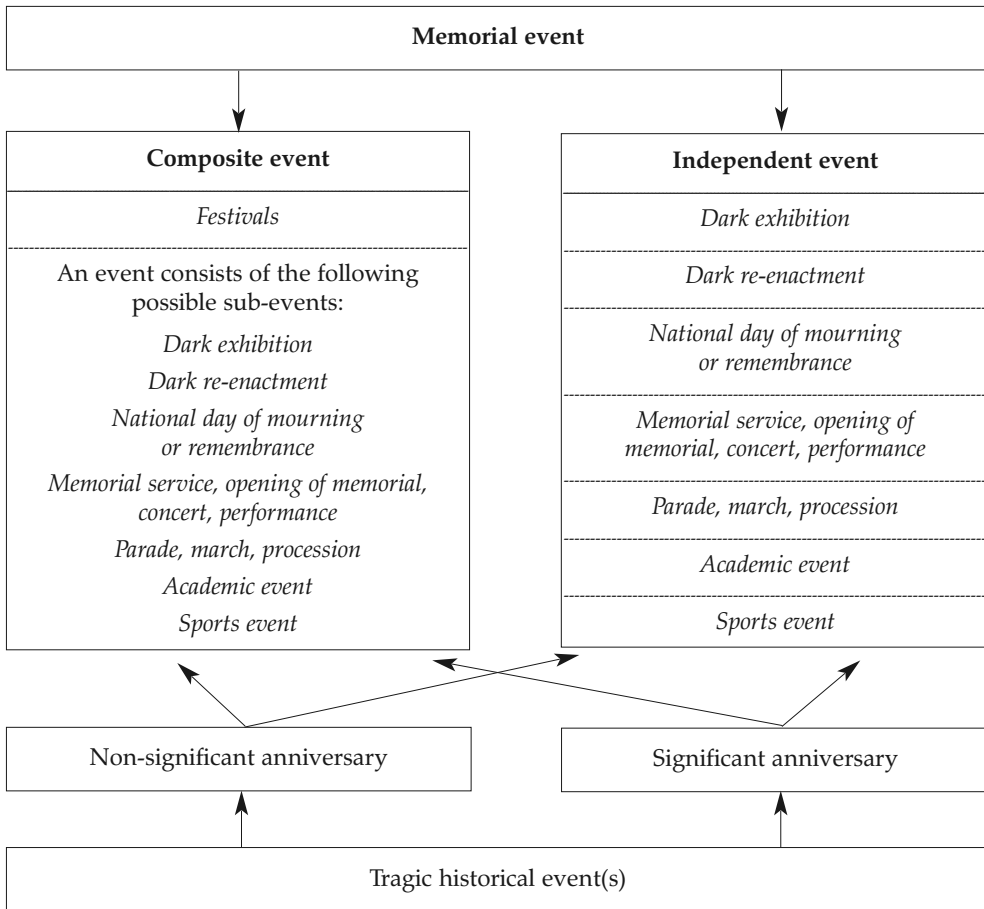
Title (translated)	Location	Newspaper	Date
(J) Pula Remembers the Great War	Pula	La voce del popolo	1/11/2018
(K) List of Losses 1914–1919'. A Volume of Exceptional Value	Pula	La voce del popolo	4/11/2018
(L) The Eminent Conference Marked Its 5th Anniversary: The Role of Habsburg Rule in Istria	Motovun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

## Further discussion and tourism implications

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

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

FIGURE 1  
New model of  
typology of memorial  
events



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

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



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

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

## CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

## NOTES

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

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

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



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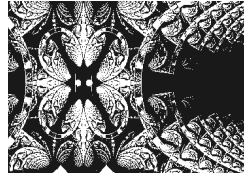
Istarskim poluotokom imaju ograničeno turističko značenje i odražavaju istarsku društvenu stvarnost, posebno multikulturalnost i transkulturalno pamćenje. U zaključku se daje pregled znanstvenih i praktičnih implikacija te ograničenja primijenjenog pristupa.

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

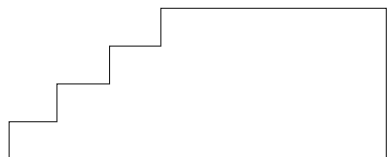


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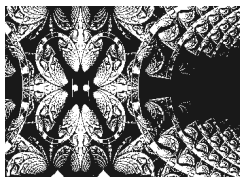




# *STUDIJE*







<https://doi.org/10.5559/di.32.2.07>

# SAMOOBLIKOVANJE POSLA KAO ODREDNICA ZADOVOLJSTVA POSLOM, ZANESENOSTI NA POSLU I DOBROBITI ZAPOSLENIKA

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Cilj je ovog istraživanja bio istražiti doprinos samooblikovanja posla zadovoljstvu poslom i zanesenosti na poslu te zadovoljstvu životom i psihološkom procvatu. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo 275 zaposlenika (od kojih je 64,4 % žena) dobi od 20 do 53 godine ( $M_{dob} = 32,13 (7,21)$ ). Rezultati su pokazali određenost apsorpcije, uživanja i intrinzične motivacije te zadovoljstva poslom pojedinim dimenzijama samooblikovanja posla, dok neke dimenzije samooblikovanja posla predviđaju i psihološki procvat te zadovoljstvo životom zaposlenika. Povećanje strukturnih resursa posla pokazalo se pozitivnom odrednicom svih promatranih pokazatelja poslovne i opće dobrobiti. Uz to, povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla pozitivno je predviđalo sve tri dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu. Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla negativno je predviđalo, dok je povećanje socijalnih resursa posla pozitivno predviđalo zadovoljstvo poslom te uživanje i intrinzičnu motivaciju.

Ključne riječi: samooblikovanje posla, zadovoljstvo poslom, zanesenost na poslu, dobrobit



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Posao se može definirati kao skupina povezanih zadataka koji su dodijeljeni zaposleniku (Ilgen i Hollenbeck, 1992). Dizajn posla često nije prilagođen osobi koja ga obavlja, nego se ona sama za to mora pobrinuti. Stoga pritisci današnjega vremena trebaju proaktivne osobe koje se neće bojati preuzeti inicijativu i kontrolu nad svojim poslom te si na taj način stvoriti pozitivnu i motivirajuću okolinu (Grant i Parker, 2009). U takvim situacijama samooblikovanje posla nalazi svoju primjenu, a definira se kao samoinicirana promjena ponašanja, pri čemu se mijenja dizajn posla u skladu s preferencijama, motivima i željama radnika (Wrzesniewski i Dutton, 2001). Postoje četiri dimenzije toga konstrukta: povećanje strukturnih resursa posla, povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla, povećanje socijalnih resursa posla i smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla. Zaposlenici nisu skloni samooblikovanju posla samo zbog dobiti u specifičnijem, poslovnom aspektu, odnosno zbog boljšega radnog učinka i vlastite prilagodbe poslu nego i zbog povezanosti s privatnom sferom života i ostvarivanjem opće dobiti. U svrhu detaljnijeg istraživanja samooblikovanja posla, u ovom su radu promotreni neki indikatori profesionalne dobiti (zadovoljstvo poslom i zanesenost) i subjektivne dobiti (zadovoljstvo životom i psihološki procvat).

Cilj je ovog istraživanja bio istražiti doprinos dimenzija samooblikovanja posla zadovoljstvu poslom, zanesenosti na poslu te dobiti zaposlenika.

### **Model zahtjeva i resursa posla**

Bakker i suradnici (Bakker i sur., 2014; Bakker i Demerouti, 2008; Tims i Bakker, 2010) predložili su uključivanje koncepta samooblikovanja posla u Model zahtjeva i resursa posla (eng. *Job – Demands – Resources Model*), jer samooblikovanje posla uključuje promjene u dizajnu posla (Tims i sur., 2012). Zaposlenici tako pokušavaju mijenjati uvjete ili granice posla, točnije: zahtjeve posla i resursa posla s obzirom na svoje vještine, mogućnosti i preferencije. U okviru ovoga modela sve karakteristike posla se mogu podijeliti u dvije kategorije: zahtjeve posla i resurse posla, pritom pokazujući kako one mogu utjecati na ponašanja i procese (Bakker i Demerouti, 2006). Spomenuti model rabi se i za prikaz kako pojedinci proaktivno pokušavaju uklopiti okolinu da im bolje odgovara. *Zahtjevi posla* odnose se na sve aspekte posla koji uključuju stalne fizičke i/ili psihološke (kognitivne i emocionalne) napore i vještine (npr. pritisak na poslu, stres, sagorijevanje), što u nekim slučajevima može dovesti do negativnih fizičkih i psihičkih posljedica, kao i negativnih emocija. *Resursi posla* odnose se na one aspekte posla koji su funkcionalni za postizanje ciljeva, sma-

njenje zahtjeva posla te potiču osobni rast, učenje i razvoj (npr. autonomija, kompetencija, razvoj, učenje). Oni mogu pridonijeti i osjećaju kontrole, sudjelovanju u donošenju odluka, većoj motivaciji, pozitivnim emocijama i raznolikosti zadatka (Crawford i sur., 2010; Upadyaya i sur., 2016). Porast dobrobiti i zadovoljstvo zaposlenika objašnjava se povećanjem resursa posla, jer oni imaju motivacijsku ulogu. S druge strane, pretpostavlja se da će se isto dogoditi i sa smanjenjem zahtjeva posla, jer oni mogu dovesti do sagorijevanja (Bakker i Demerouti, 2014). Ako postoji nesklad između zahtjeva i resursa posla, zaposlenici mogu smanjiti taj jaz tako da samooblikuju posao. Naglasak je, dakle, na stvaranju najboljega slaganja i sukladnosti između zahtjeva posla i resursa posla, ali i potreba pojedinaca.

## Samooblikovanje posla

Samooblikovanje posla definira se kao proaktivno, samoinicijativno potaknuto ponašanje, pri čemu se mijenja smisao posla i osobni identitet. Promjena se, pomoću triju tehnika mijenjanja granica posla, može odnositi na *spoznaju*, *odnos* ili *zadatak* (Berg i sur., 2013, str. 82). Mijenjanjem *spoznaje* mijenja se svrha, interes, ishod ili percepcija smislenosti posla. Promjenom u *odnosu* mijenja se količina i intenzitet kontakata s kolegama, dok mijenjanje *zadatka* donosi smanjenje neželjenih (ometajućih) ili povećanje poželjnih (izazovnih) aspekata u obavljanju toga zadatka. Zaposlenici proaktivno pokušavaju uklopiti okolinu da im bolje odgovara. Budući da se proaktivna ličnost pokazala kao odrednica samooblikovanja posla, kontroliran je njezin doprinos kako bi se odvojili efekti dimenzija samooblikovanja posla od efekta ovoga dispozicijskog obilježja. Budući da se samooblikovanje posla događa kad zaposlenik osjeti da zahtjevi i resursi posla nisu uravnoteženi, odnosno kad sam posao nije u skladu s njihovim vještinama, potrebama, preferencijama, motivima i strastima (Wrzesniewski i Dutton, 2001), smatra se da je povezan s proaktivnim ponašanjem, koje uključuje preuzimanje kontrole i uvođenje promjena (Parker i Collins, 2010).

Iako se pokazalo da samooblikovanjem posla raste dobrobit, motivacija, inicijativa i odanost organizaciji, istraživanja su oskudna jer sve do relativno nedavno nije postojala skala koja bi valjano i pouzdano mjerila taj konstrukt (Slemp i Vella-Brodrick, 2013), odnosno istraživanja ovoga konstrukta u Hrvatskoj su rijetka i relativno novijega datuma. Tek su Tims i sur. (2012), u okviru Modela zahtjeva i resursa posla, razvili i vrednovali skalu samooblikovanja posla. Ono se u okviru toga modela definira kao promjena koju zaposlenici uvode u zahtjeve i resurse posla kako bi bolje zadovoljili svoje potrebe

(Tims i sur., 2013), a ovakva konceptualizacija usmjerena je isključivo na stvarne promjene koje zaposlenik čini na svojem poslu. Definirane su četiri dimenzije samooblikovanja posla: povećanje strukturnih resursa posla, povećanje socijalnih resursa posla, povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla te smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla.

*Povećanje strukturnih resursa posla* podrazumijeva traženje autonomije i raznovrsnosti zadataka na poslu, odnosno općenitoga poslovnog razvitka osobe (van Wingerden i sur., 2017). *Povećanje socijalnih resursa posla* obuhvaća traženje savjeta, pomoći ili socijalne podrške među kolegama i nadređenima te traženje povratne informacije o obavljenom poslu (Tims i sur., 2012), dok *povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla* uključuje preuzimanje ili dodavanje novih projekata i zadataka na poslu, čime raste inicijativa, odgovornost i motivacija (Cavanaugh i sur., 2000). *Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla* odnosi se na smanjenje zahtjeva posla kad oni postanu preplavljujući (npr. nastojanje da se posao učini što manje mentalno zahtjevnim ili emocionalno napetim) (Tims i sur., 2012). Takvi zadaci ometaju mogućnost postizanja ciljeva i umaraju osobu (Bakker i Demeruti, 2014).

Zaposlenici su učinkovitiji, imaju veću percipiranu kontrolu nad poslovnom situacijom te su fleksibilniji, što dovodi do povećanja pozitivnih iskustava na poslu (npr. zanesenosti), dobrobiti te zadovoljstva poslom (Tims i Bakker, 2010; Tims i sur., 2012).

## Zadovoljstvo poslom

*Zadovoljstvo poslom* definira se kao ugodno emocionalno stanje koje proizlazi iz procjene posla ili radnog iskustva (Locke, 1976). Pokazalo se da je *dispozicijska teorija*, koja naglašava ulogu pojedinca u stanju (ne)zadovoljstva, zaslužna za objašnjenje oko 30 % zadovoljstva poslom. *Situacijska ili okolinska teorija* navodi kako vanjski faktori, poput karakteristika posla ili organizacije, objašnjavanju manje od 20 % varijance. Time čak oko 50 % varijance ostaje neobjašnjeno, pa je moguće da ostatak varijance objašnjava samooblikovanje posla (Kirken-dall, 2013).

Samooblikovanje posla povezano je s pozitivnim ishodi-ma, no malo je istraživanja koja povezuju pojedine dimenzije samooblikovanja posla sa zadovoljstvom poslom (npr. LePine i sur., 2005). Tims i sur. (2013) pretpostavljaju da bi se samooblikovanjem strukturnih i socijalnih resursa posla moglo povećati zadovoljstvo poslom, jer zaposlenici tako bolje zadovoljavaju svoje potrebe i interese. Povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva na poslu trebalo bi rezultirati povećanjem zadovoljstva poslom, jer, iako to traži dodatne napore, ipak je za zaposlenike nagrađujuće i ne vodi do iscrpljenosti. Smanjenje ometajućih



zahtjeva posla moglo bi povećati zadovoljstvo poslom jer smanjuje sagorijevanje na poslu. Novija metaanaliza upućuje na utemeljenost ove pretpostavke (Rudolph i sur., 2017). Ipak, premda je samooblikovanje posla kako su ga konceptualizirali Tims i suradnici (2012) privuklo znatnu empirijsku pažnju, manji broj istraživanja promatrao je doprinos dimenzija samooblikovanja posla zadovoljstvu poslom neovisno o individualnim razlikama (npr. proaktivna ličnost, duljina radnoga staža). Stoga su nove spoznaje, poglavito među hrvatskom populacijom zaposlenika, korisne. S obzirom na navedeno, u ovom radu pretpostavljeno je da će *povećanje strukturnih resursa, socijalnih resursa te izazovnih zahtjeva posla, kao i smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla, biti pozitivni prediktori zadovoljstva poslom (Hipoteza 1).*

## Zanesenost na poslu

Bakker (2005) definira zanesenost na poslu kao kratkotrajno vrhunsko iskustvo, karakterizirano apsorpcijom, uživanjem na poslu i intrinzičnom motivacijom. Fullagar i Kelloway (2009) navode kako je za zanesenost na poslu bitna autonomija i raznovrsnost zadataka te da će se javiti kad postoje izazovni problemi i razvijene vještine kojima se ti problemi mogu riješiti.

Istraživanja pokazuju da su ljudi više angažirani radom i više uživaju u poslu kad traže dodatne izazove i resurse, kao što su, primjerice, raznovrsnost zadataka ili prilike za novo učenje (Petrou i sur., 2012; Tims i sur., 2014). Također, zaposlenici koji povećavaju svoje socijalne resurse tražeći povratne informacije od rukovoditelja ili kolega povećavaju vjerojatnost za pojavu iskustva zanesenosti (Tims i sur., 2012), jer je neposredna povratna informacija jedna od karakteristika zanesenosti. Može se očekivati i da bi smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla moglo biti povezano sa zanesenosti, jer je koncentracija na zadatak također nužna za to iskustvo. Shodno navedenome, u ovom je radu pretpostavljeno da će *povećanje strukturnih resursa, socijalnih resursa te izazovnih zahtjeva posla, kao i smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla, biti pozitivni prediktori zanesenosti na poslu (Hipoteza 2).*

## Dobrobit

Hedonička dobrobit je subjektivna ili emocionalna dobrobit (Diener, 1984) koja teži postizanju užitka i izbjegavanju boli (Ryan i Deci, 2001), a uključuje visoku razinu životnoga zadovoljstva, visoku razinu pozitivnih i nisku razinu negativnih emocija (Kahneman i sur., 1999). Eudaimonijska dobrobit je psihološka i socijalna dobrobit, a uključuje smisao u životu, angažman, pozitivne odnose i osobni rast (Keyes, 2002). U ovom radu ispitana je povezanost između samooblikovanja posla i

zadovoljstva životom kao kognitivne komponente subjektivne dobrobiti i psihološkoga procvata (eng. *flourishing*), koji uključuje kombinaciju hedoničke i eudaimonijske dobrobiti.

Dosadašnja istraživanja pokazuju da resursi posla štite zaposlenike od previsokih zahtjeva posla kao i od sagorijevanja na poslu (Schaufeli i sur., 2009). Mijenjajući karakteristike posla, kao što su autonomija ili povratne informacije, zaposlenici mogu znatno povećati svoju svakodnevnu dobrobit (Reis i sur., 2000).

*Zadovoljstvo životom* kao kognitivnu komponentu subjektivne dobrobiti čini globalna procjena kvalitete života, a određuje se na temelju opće procjene zadovoljstva pojedinca njegovim životom (Diener i sur., 1999). Zbog ranijih empirijskih nalaza da je za zadovoljstvo životom u većini slučajeva potrebno razviti socijalne veze te osjećati više ugodnih emocija uz što manju mogućnost sagorijevanja, pretpostavlja se da bi samooblikovanje posla moglo biti najviše povezano s povećanjem strukturnih i socijalnih resursa posla te smanjenjem ometajućih zahtjeva posla.

*Psihološki procvat* (eng. *flourishing*) najviša je razina mentalnoga zdravlja koji uključuje i psihološku i subjektivnu dobrobit (Keyes, 2002). Što više resursa zaposlenici imaju, više će doživljavati psihološki procvat. S druge strane, zahtjevi posla mogu potkopati pozitivan utjecaj resursa na dobrobit. Što su više zaposlenici smanjivali ometajuće zahtjeve posla, bili su kreativniji, imali su više energije i više su pomagali drugima (Demerouti i sur., 2015), čime su se potencijalno jačale socijalne veze, odnosno socijalni resursi posla. Samooblikovanjem posla zaposlenici uživaju u poslu i čine posao smislenijim (Wrzesniewski i Dutton, 2001), što je, prema Seligmanu (2011), ključno za povećanje osobne dobrobiti, odnosno psihološkoga procvata. Ipak, nužno je naglasiti kako izazovni zahtjevi posla mogu imati dvojaku funkciju, a to je da, uz već neke navedene pozitivne efekte, mogu biti i izvorom stresa i sagorijevanja ako zahtjevi posla nisu usklađeni s resursima (Crawford i sur., 2010). Stoga su se hipoteze o doprinosu samooblikovanja posla psihološkom procvatu temeljile na povećanju strukturnih i socijalnih resursa posla te smanjenju ometajućih zahtjeva posla. Istu hipotezu vezali smo i za predviđanje zadovoljstva životom kao drugog indikatora opće dobrobiti.

S obzirom na navedeno, može se pretpostaviti da će *smanjenjem ometajućih zahtjeva, a povećanjem socijalnih i strukturnih resursa posla, rasti psihološki procvat (Hipoteza 3) i zadovoljstvo životom (Hipoteza 4)*.

Osim navedenog, istraživanje će obuhvatiti i odnos spola, stupnja stručne spreme, duljine radnoga staža i proaktivne ličnosti s pokazateljima profesionalne i opće dobrobiti kako bi se kontrolirali efekti na koje upućuju empirijske spoznaje ili

ih nalaze oprečnima. Spolne razlike u zadovoljstvu poslom, odnosno poslovnom dobrobiti, nekonzistentne su. Neka od ranijih istraživanja navode da su poslom zadovoljnije žene (npr. Clark, 1997), dok druga istraživanja ne pokazuju razlike (npr. Mason, 1995). Takvi nekonzistentni nalazi karakteristični su i za novija istraživanja, koja su pritom često vezana za specifične profesije (npr. Kaiser, 2007; Lee i sur., 2020; Liu i sur., 2021; Miao i sur., 2017), što upućuje na potrebu za novim spoznajama. Nadalje, zanesenost na poslu pokazala se izraženijom kod starijih zaposlenika s duljim radnim stažem i većim organizacijskim jedinicama te s većom plaćom (Burke i sur., 2016). Ipak, istraživanja odnosa zanesenosti na poslu i radnoga staža rijetka su. Zadovoljstvo životom raste s godinama (Penezić, 2006), a u kontekstu posla može biti veće s porastom stručne spreme, no možda ne izravno, nego povećanjem primanja i boljega standarda života (Hills i Argyle, 2002). Zahaćavajući navedena obilježja, ovo će istraživanje pružiti još jedan empirijski uvid u neke individualne razlike kao moguće odrednice opće i profesionalne dobrobiti zaposlenika.

## METODA

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### Sudionici

U istraživanju je sudjelovalo 275 zaposlenika, od čega 64,4 % žena ( $N = 177$ ) i 35,6 % muškaraca ( $N = 98$ ). Nešto manje od dvije trećine zaposlenika visoke je stručne spreme (VSS) (60,7 %,  $N = 167$ ), a nešto manje od jedne trećine srednje stručne spreme (SSS) (29,5 %,  $N = 81$ ), dok je oko desetine zaposlenika (9,8 %,  $N = 27$ ) s višom stručnom spremom (VŠS). Prosječna dob zaposlenika u ovom istraživanju iznosila je 32,13 g. ( $SD = 7,52$ ,  $TR = 20-53$ ), a prosječna duljina njihova radnog staža bila je 8,52 godine ( $SD = 8,02$ ,  $TR = 3$  mj. – 34 g.). Uzorak je bio prigodan.

### Mjerni instrumenti

*Skala samooblikovanja posla* (eng. *Job Crafting Scale (JCS)*, Tims i sur., 2012). Skala se sastoji od 21 tvrdnje i mjeri četiri pretpostavljene dimenzije samooblikovanja posla; povećanje strukturnih resursa posla (npr. Pokušavam naučiti nove stvari na poslu), povećanje socijalnih resursa posla (npr. Pitam kolege za savjet), povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla (npr. Redovito radim više zadataka nego što je potrebno iako zbog toga ne primam veću plaću) mjerene s po pet tvrdnji te smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla, koju definira šest tvrdnji (npr. Pokušavam osigurati da ne trebam donositi nikakve teške odluke na poslu). Tvrdnje se procjenjuju skalom učestalosti od pet stupnjeva, pri čemu 1 znači *Nikad*, a 5 *Jako često*. Ukupan

rezultat dobiva se zbrajanjem svih tvrdnji pojedine skale. Viši rezultat znači veću izraženost oblika samooblikovanja posla. Teorijski raspon rezultata na podskali Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla kreće se od 6 do 30, dok je na ostale tri podskale od 5 do 25. Pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha$ ) utvrđenih dimenzija pokazala se zadovoljavajuće visokom, s vrijednostima od 0,75 do 0,82 (Tims i sur., 2012).

Pri oblikovanju dimenzija slijedili smo teorijske pretpostavke, odnosno empirijski potvrđenu pokazanu dimenzionalnost skale (Tadić i sur., 2014; Tims i sur., 2012). Utvrđena pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha$ ) podskala zadovoljavajuće je visoka i kreće se u rasponu od 0,81 do 0,84 (Tablica 1). Na hrvatski jezik skalu su prevele i adaptirale Vid i Rijavec (2018).

*Indeks zadovoljstva poslom* (eng. *Index Job Satisfaction (IJS)*), Brayfield i Rothe, 1951). Rabi se kao mjera općega zadovoljstva poslom, a mjeri generalni stav zaposlenika prema poslu (npr. Poprilično sam zadovoljan sadašnjim poslom). Skala se sastoji od pet čestica, s odgovorima na ljestvici od 1 do 5, pri čemu 1 znači *Uopće se ne slažem*, a 5 *Potpuno se slažem*. Ukupan rezultat dobiva se zbrajanjem rezultata na pet čestica, čineći teorijski raspon rezultata od 5 do 25. Skala je valjana i pouzdana mjera zadovoljstva poslom (Judge i Klinger, 2008), što je potvrđeno i na hrvatskom reprezentativnom uzorku, gdje je pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije iznosila 0,88 (Galić i Plećaš, 2012). Visoka pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije dobivena je i u ovom istraživanju (Cronbach  $\alpha$  = 0,92) (Tablica 1).

*Upitnik zanesenosti na poslu* (eng. *Work Related Flow Inventory (WOLF)*), Bakker, 2008). Mjeri zanesenost na poslu i sadržajno pretpostavljene tri dimenzije zanesenosti: apsorpciju (npr. Kada radim, ne mislim ni na što drugo), uživanje (npr. Radim s puno uživanja) i intrinzičnu motivaciju (npr. Kada radim, radim zbog sebe). Dobre psihometrijske karakteristike utvrđene su u raznim zemljama i kulturama (Nizozemskoj, Norveškoj, Italiji, Španjolskoj, Južnoj Africi i Pakistanu). Tri dimenzije zanesenosti pokazane su i na hrvatskom uzorku (Bakker i sur., 2017) sa zadovoljavajuće visokim pouzdanostima unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha$ ) od 0,85, 0,87 i 0,81 za apsorpciju, uživanja i intrinzičnu motivaciju.

Sudionici procjenjuju koliko su često doživjeli zanesenost na poslu unatrag mjesec dana na skali od 1, što označuje *Nikad*, do 7, *Uvijek*. Ukupno ima 13 čestica koji čine navedene dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu s teorijskim rasponom od 4 do 28 za dimenzije apsorpcije i uživanja te od 5 do 35 za dimenziju intrinzična motivacija. U skladu s navedenim empi-

rijskim pokazateljima dimenzionalnosti, oblikovali smo tri dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu, koje su pokazale dobru pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije s vrijednostima, Cronbach  $\alpha$  od 0,88, 0,93 i 0,83 za apsorpciju, uživanje i intrinzičnu motivaciju (Tablica 1).

*Skala zadovoljstva životom* (eng. *The Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS), Diener i sur., 1985). Čini je pet čestica (tvrdnji), a mjeri kognitivnu komponentu globalnoga zadovoljstva životom (npr. Kad bih živio/la ispočetka, ne bih gotovo ništa promijenio/la). Na skali od 1 do 7 sudionici procjenjuju koliko se tvrdnja odnosi na njih, pri čemu 1 znači *Uopće se ne odnosi na mene*, a 7 *U potpunosti se odnosi na mene*. Skala pretpostavlja jednofaktorsku strukturu, a pokazana je zadovoljavajuće visoka pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha = 0,87$ ) (npr. Pavot i Diener, 1993). Jednodimenzionalna struktura empirijski je potvrđena i u Hrvatskoj (npr. Vidiček i sur., 2014), a na hrvatski jezik prevele su je Rijavec i sur. (2006). Ukupan rezultat dobiva se zbrajanjem odgovora, a teorijski raspon rezultata kreće se od 5 do 35, pri čemu veći rezultat označuje i veći stupanj zadovoljstva životom. Dobiveni koeficijent unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha$ ) iznosi 0,83 i upućuje na zadovoljavajuće visoku pouzdanost skale (Tablica 1).

*Skala psihološkoga procvata* (eng. *Flourishing Scale* (FS), Diener i sur., 2009). Skala se sastoji od osam tvrdnji koje mjere doživljaj uspjeha u važnim područjima, kao što su odnosi, samopoštovanje, svrha i optimizam (npr. Vodim svrhovit i smislen život). Doživljaj se promatra tvrdnjama slaganja na skali od sedam stupnjeva, pri čemu 1 podrazumijeva *Uopće se ne slažem*, a 7 *Jako se slažem*, što čini ukupan teorijski raspon skale od 8 do 56 s većim rezultatom kao izraženijim psihološkim procvatom. Autori skale (Diener i sur., 2009) utvrdili su zadovoljavajuće visoku pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha = 0,87$ ). U ovom radu također je pokazana zadovoljavajuće visoka pouzdanost unutarnje konzistencije (Cronbach  $\alpha = 0,88$ ) (Tablica 1).

*Skala proaktivne ličnosti* (eng. *Proactive Personality Scale* (PPS), Seibert i sur., 1999). Mjeri sklonost poduzimanja akcije i mijenjanje okoline, kako bi se postigli željeni ciljevi (npr. Stalno tražim nove načine kako si poboljšati život).

Sudionici na skali od 7 stupnjeva iskazuju slaganje s 10 tvrdnji, pri čemu 1 označuje *U potpunosti se ne slažem*, a 7 *U potpunosti se slažem*. Ukupan rezultat dobiva se zbrajanjem svih odgovora, pri čemu viši rezultat znači izraženiju proak-

tivnu ličnost. Teorijski raspon rezultata iznosi 10 – 70. Pouzdanost unutarne konzistencije skale pokazala se zadovoljavajuće visokom (Cronbach  $\alpha = 0,86$ ) (Seibert i sur., 1999). Zadovoljavajuće visoka pouzdanost unutarne konzistencije pokazana je i u ovom radu (Cronbach  $\alpha = 0,88$ ). Na hrvatski jezik prevele su je i adaptirale Vid i Rijavec (2018).

## Postupak

Od nadležnoga tijela dobiveno je etičko odobrenje za provedbu, a za sve korištene mjerne instrumente suglasnost autora za upotrebu. Istraživanje se provodilo online, Google Docs obrascem. Kriterij za uključivanje sudionika bilo je trenutačno zaposlenje te pristup internetu. Putem društvenih mreža bila je poslana i dostupna poveznica, kojom su zaposlenici mogli pristupiti ispunjavanju upitnika. Suglasnost se tražila odmah nakon pristupanja upitnicima na danoj poveznici, uz naznačenu uputu i zajamčenu anonimnost. Tijekom davanja odgovora moglo se odustati u bilo kojem trenu, stoga ne postoji informacija o ukupnom broju sudionika koji su pristupili rješavanju, nego samo o konačnom koji su upitnik ispunili do kraja. Ako na prethodno pitanje nije odgovoreno, moglo se prijeći na sljedeće pitanje, no ne i na sljedeći korak, odnosno upitnik. Sudionike bi se upozorilo ako na neko pitanje na stranici nije bilo odgovoreno te bez odgovora nisu mogli pritisnuti "Dalje" kako bi nastavili s rješavanjem. Odgovore se moglo naknadno korigirati na trenutačnoj stranici rješavanja ili unatrag uz pritisak na tipku "Natrag". Upitnici su uneseni u Google Docs ovim (nasumičnim) redoslijedom: Skala zadovoljstva životom, Skala psihološkoga procvata, Skala samooblikovanja posla, Proaktivna ličnost, Upitnik zanesenosti povezane s poslom te sociodemografski podaci na kraju (dob, spol, stupanj stručne spreme, duljina radnoga staža).

## REZULTATI

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Prosječan rezultat, raspršenje, dobiveni raspon rezultata na skalama promatranih obilježja i pouzdanost mjernih instrumenata prikazani su u Tablici 1.

Prethodno provedbi hijerarhijskih regresijskih analiza, provjereni su preduvjeti njezine provedbe. Kolmogorov-Smirnovim testom utvrđena su odstupanja od normalne raspodjele svih kontinuiranih varijabli (Tablica 1). Ipak, ovaj test na većim uzorcima i mala odstupanja od normalne krivulje karakterizira kao statistički značajna, pa je stoga provjerena asimetričnost i sploštenost distribucija. Za sve promatrane varijable vrijednosti asimetričnosti i sploštenosti kreću se unutar granica od -1 do 1, osim za varijablu *psihološki procvat*, za koju

● **TABLICA 1**  
 Deskriptivni podaci i  
 koeficijenti  
 pouzdanosti mjernih  
 instrumenata

je asimetričnost iznosila -1,07, a sploštenost 1,56. S obzirom na to da su svi koeficijenti u okviru granica od -2 do 2 kao prihvatljivoga kriterija za oblik distribucije za regresijsku analizu (Tabachnick i Fidel, 2013), sve su varijable uvrštene u analizu.

	M	SD	Raspon	KS	Asimetričnost (St. pog)	Sploštenost (St. pog)	Cron- bach $\alpha$
Proaktivna ličnost	52,64	8,41	22 – 70	0,09	-0,64 (0,15)	0,61 (0,29)	0,88
Zadovoljstvo poslom	18,43	4,96	5 – 25	0,14**	-0,93 (0,15)	0,28 (0,29)	0,92
Apsorpcija	18,11	5,18	4 – 28	0,11*	-0,26 (0,15)	-0,36 (0,29)	0,95
Uživanje	19,70	5,39	4 – 28	0,16**	-0,57 (0,15)	-0,23 (0,29)	0,86
Intrinzična motivacija	21,68	7,04	5 – 35	0,08	-0,09 (0,15)	-0,75 (0,29)	0,83
Zadovoljstvo životom	24,87	5,25	7 – 35	0,11*	-0,66 (0,15)	0,67 (0,29)	0,83
Psihološki procvat	45,37	6,28	19 – 56	0,16**	-1,07 (0,15)	1,56 (0,29)	0,88
Povećanje strukturalnih resursa posla	20,47	3,28	10 – 25	0,11*	-0,71 (0,15)	0,24 (0,29)	0,84
Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla	18,91	4,41	8 – 30	0,10*	0,23 (0,15)	-0,13 (0,29)	0,81
Povećanje socijalnih resursa	17,39	4,16	6 – 25	0,10*	-0,39 (0,15)	-0,32 (0,29)	0,81
Povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla	17,84	3,79	5 – 25	0,11*	-0,36 (0,15)	0,33 (0,29)	0,81

Osim raspodjele rezultata, promotrene su i interkorelacije obilježja (Tablica 2). Rezultati su pokazali određene visoke pozitivne povezanosti između promatranih kriterija. Najviša pozitivna povezanost pokazana je između zadovoljstva poslom i uživanja ( $r = 0,809, p < 0,01$ ) te uživanja i intrinzične motivacije ( $r = 0,794, p < 0,01$ ). Zadovoljstvo poslom visoko je povezano i s intrinzičnom motivacijom ( $r = 0,706, p < 0,01$ ). Uživanje je povezano i s apsorpcijom ( $r = 0,634, p < 0,01$ ), a približno jednaka povezanost utvrđena je i između apsorpcije i intrinzične motivacije ( $r = 0,604, p < 0,01$ ).

Dobivene međusobne povezanosti prediktora manje su izražene. Pritom su najizraženije povezanosti dviju dimenzija sklonosti preoblikovanju poslu, povećanja strukturalnih resursa posla i povećanja izazovnih zahtjeva posla ( $r = 0,559, p < 0,01$ ) te između navedene dvije dimenzije i proaktivne ličnosti ( $r = 0,549, p < 0,01$ ;  $r = 0,544, p < 0,01$ , redom). Kako bismo ispitali moguću multikolinearnost, promotrili smo koeficijente tolerancije i faktore inflacije varijance (VIF) (Tablica 3). Dobivene vrijednosti koeficijenata tolerancije dominantno teže vrijednosti 1, odnosno izrazito su iznad vrijednosti 0,1 kao granice koja bi upućivala na multikolinearnosti ili singularnost prediktora. Isto tako, vrijednosti faktora inflacije varijance (VIF) značajno su manje od vrijednosti 10, što upućuje na odsutnost kolinearnosti i opravdanost oblikovanja regresijskih modela s pretpostavljenim prediktorima.

▣ TABLICA 2  
Korelacije između  
promatranih obilježja

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1. Spol	1	0,152*	-0,033	-0,057	0,040	0,140*	0,118	0,157**	0,094	0,075	0,093	-0,108	0,160**	0,119*
2. Stručna sprema		1	-0,362**	0,015	0,089	0,154*	0,129*	0,058	0,131*	0,099	0,263**	-0,165**	0,063	0,044
3. Duljina radnoga staža			1	0,142*	0,225**	0,187**	0,207**	0,152*	0,005	0,047	0,013	-0,045	-0,199**	0,145*
4. Proaktivna ličnost				1	0,180**	0,336**	0,343**	0,312**	0,262**	0,508**	0,549**	0,208**	0,175**	0,544**
5. Zadovoljstvo poslom					1	0,484**	0,809**	0,706**	0,337**	0,368**	0,415**	-0,172**	0,267**	0,339**
6. Apsorpcija						1	0,634**	0,604**	0,345**	0,355**	0,455**	-0,008	0,214**	0,418**
7. Uživanje							1	0,794**	0,372**	0,436**	0,497**	-0,104	0,305**	0,465**
8. Intrinzična motivacija								1	0,360**	0,395**	0,477**	-0,045	0,354**	0,518**
9. Zadovoljstvo životom									1	0,667**	0,360**	0,169**	0,217**	0,232**
10. Psihološki procvat										1	0,474**	0,043	0,242**	0,334**
11. Povećavanje strukturalnih resursa posla											1	0,125*	0,389**	0,559**
12. Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva												1	0,157**	0,061
13. Povećanje socijalnih resursa													1	0,420**
14. Povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla														1

Napomena: \* $p < 0,05$ , \*\* $p < 0,01$



● **TABLICA 3**  
Rezultati hijerarhijskih  
regresijskih analiza  
predviđanja infikatora  
profesionalne i  
subjektivne dobrobiti

Kako bi se odgovorilo na istraživačke probleme, provedene su hijerarhijske regresijske analize sa tri koraka. Prvi korak, odnosno prvi prediktorski skup, činila su demografska obilježja (spol, stupanj stručne spreme i radni staž), s ciljem kontrole njihova doprinosa. Pritom smo na temelju ordinalne skale stručne spreme kreirali *dummy* varijablu (0 = SSS, 1 = VŠS i VSS). U drugom koraku u regresijski model dodana je proaktivna ličnost, dok su u trećem koraku dodane dimenzije samooblikovanja posla. Shodno istraživačkim ciljevima, kriterijske varijable regresijskih modela jesu zadovoljstvo poslom, tri dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu (apsorpcija, uživanje te intrinzična motivacija), zadovoljstvo životom i psihološki procvat. Rezultati provedenih hijerarhijskih regresijskih analiza vide se u Tablici 3.

Korak Prediktori	Zadovoljstvo poslom	Apsorpcija		Uživanje	Intrinzična motivacija	Zadovoljstvo životom	Psihološki procvat	Koeficijent tolerancije	Faktor inflacije (VIF)
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$		
1. Spol	0,02	0,11*	0,10	0,12	0,07	0,06	0,98	1,02	
Stupanj stručne spreme	0,19*	0,24**	0,21**	0,15*	0,14*	0,12†	0,85	1,18	
Duljina radnoga staža	0,30**	0,28**	0,29**	0,10	0,06	0,09	0,87	1,15	
$R^2$	0,08	0,10	0,10	0,06	0,03	0,02			
$F$	8,34**	10,50**	9,95*	5,66**	2,4†	1,95			
2. Spol	0,03	0,13*	0,11*	0,17**	0,09	0,09	0,97	1,03	
Stupanj stručne spreme	0,18**	0,21**	0,19**	0,08	0,11†	0,08	0,84	1,19	
Duljina radnoga staža	0,27**	0,22**	0,24**	0,14*	0,01	0,01	0,85	1,18	
Proaktivna ličnost	0,14*	0,31**	0,31**	0,30**	0,26**	0,51**	0,97	1,03	
$R^2$	0,10	0,20	0,20	0,15	0,10	0,27			
$F$	7,81**	16,50**	16,30**	11,56**	6,93**	25,52**			
$\Delta R^2$	0,02*	0,10*	0,10**	0,09**	0,07**	0,25**			
3. Spol	-0,06	0,07	0,03	0,07	0,07	0,06	0,92	1,08	
Stupanj stručne spreme	0,05	0,13*	0,08	-0,02	0,09	0,01	0,72	1,38	
Duljina radnoga staža	0,27**	0,21**	0,23**	0,13*	0,05	0,02	0,75	1,33	
Proaktivna ličnost	-0,09	0,07	0,06	0,01	0,09	0,41**	0,56	1,78	
Povećavanje strukturnih resursa posla	0,36**	0,26**	0,30**	0,27**	0,23**	0,25**	0,51	1,98	
Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla	-0,22**	-0,04	-0,17*	-0,11*	0,13*	-0,08	0,88	1,14	
Povećanje socijalnih resursa posla	0,20**	0,06	0,17*	0,17*	0,09	0,11*	0,68	1,47	
Povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla	0,08	0,17*	0,16*	0,39**	-0,02	-0,08	0,52	1,93	
$R^2$	0,31	0,30	0,38	0,37	0,17	0,33			
$F$	15,25**	13,89**	20,03**	19,16**	6,60**	16,44**			
$\Delta R^2$	0,21**	0,10*	0,18**	0,22**	0,07**	0,06			

Napomena: \*\* $p < 0,01$ ; \* $p < 0,05$ ; † $p < 0,1$

Spol: Muškarci – 0, Žene – 1, Stupanj stručne spreme: 0 – SSS, 1 – VSS i VŠS

Rezultati hijerarhijskih regresijskih analiza (Tablica 3) pokazuju statistički značajne prve korake regresijskih modela koji objašnjavaju zadovoljstvo poslom ( $R^2 = 0,08$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) te tri dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu; apsorpciju ( $R^2 = 0,10$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), uživanje ( $R^2 = 0,10$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ) i intrinzičnu motivaciju ( $R^2 = 0,06$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), a na nižoj razini statističke značajnosti i zadovoljstvo životom ( $R^2 = 0,03$ ,  $p < 0,1$ ). Poblize, statistički značajan doprinos spola objašnjenju apsorpcije upućuje na izraženiju apsorpciju zaposlenica u odnosu na zaposlenike ( $\beta = 0,11$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ). Nadalje, značajan doprinos stupnja stručne spreme upućuje na veće zadovoljstvo poslom ( $\beta = 0,19$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), izraženiju apsorpciju ( $\beta = 0,24$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), uživanje ( $\beta = 0,21$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) i intrinzičnu motivaciju ( $\beta = 0,15$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ) zaposlenika više i visoke stručne spreme u odnosu na zaposlenike srednje stručne spreme. U prvom koraku regresijskih modela značajnim prediktorom zadovoljstva poslom ( $\beta = 0,30$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), apsorpcije ( $\beta = 0,28$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) i uživanja ( $\beta = 0,29$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) pokazala se i duljina radnoga staža.

Uvođenjem proaktivne ličnosti u regresijske modele u drugom koraku, porasti objašnjenja varijance svih modela bili su statistički značajni. Rezultati upućuju na pozitivnu određenost svih promatranih obilježja proaktivnom ličnošću. Drugim riječima, zaposlenici s izraženijom proaktivnom ličnošću u prosjeku su iskazali veće zadovoljstvo poslom ( $\beta = 0,14$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ) i životom ( $\beta = 0,26$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), izraženiji psihološki procvat ( $\beta = 0,51$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) te izraženije sve dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu, apsorpciju ( $\beta = 0,31$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), uživanje ( $\beta = 0,31$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) i intrinzičnu motivaciju ( $\beta = 0,30$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ). Kao i u prvim regresijskim koracima, duljina radnoga staža pozitivno određuje zadovoljstvo poslom ( $\beta = 0,27$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) te apsorpciju ( $\beta = 0,22$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), uživanje ( $\beta = 0,24$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) i intrinzičnu motivaciju ( $\beta = 0,14$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ).

Rezultati konačnoga, trećeg, koraka hijerarhijskih regresijskih modela, u koji su uvedeni faktori samooblikovanja posla, doveli su do značajnoga povećanja objašnjene varijance svih promatranih obilježja. Spol zaposlenika nije se pokazao značajnim prediktorom promatranih obilježja, odnosno zaposlenice i zaposlenici iskazuju jednako zadovoljstvo poslom i životom, jednaku razinu psihološkoga procvata te jednako izražene dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu. Duljina radnoga staža ostala je značajan prediktor i u konačnom koraku modela koji objašnjavaju zadovoljstvo poslom te dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu. Poblize, zaposlenici s duljim radnim stažem u prosjeku su iskazali veće zadovoljstvo poslom ( $\beta = 0,27$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) te izraženiju apsorpciju ( $\beta = 0,21$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ), uživanje ( $\beta = 0,23$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ) i intrinzičnu motivaciju ( $\beta = 0,13$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ). U konačnom koraku regresijskih modela, stupanj stručne spre-

me ostao je značajnom odrednicom jedino apsorpcije kao dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu ( $\beta = 0,13, p < 0,05$ ), odnosno zaposlenici više i visoke stručne spreme u prosjeku pokazuju veću razinu apsorpcije u odnosu na zaposlenike srednje stručne spreme. Premda se proaktivna ličnost pokazala značajnim pozitivnim prediktorom svih promatranih obilježja u drugom regresijskom koraku, uvođenje faktora samooblikovanja posla, proaktivna ličnost ostaje značajnim pozitivnim prediktorima isključivo psihološkog procvata ( $\beta = 0,11, p < 0,05$ ). Zadovoljstvo poslom pozitivno je objašnjeno povećanjem strukturalnih resursa posla ( $\beta = 0,36, p < 0,01$ ) te povećanjem socijalnih resursa posla ( $\beta = 0,20, p < 0,01$ ), dok je smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva negativan prediktor zadovoljstva poslom ( $\beta = -0,22, p < 0,01$ ). Povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla nije se pokazalo značajnim prediktorom zadovoljstva poslom. Apсорpcija je pozitivno objašnjena povećanjem strukturalnih resursa posla ( $\beta = 0,26, p < 0,01$ ) te povećanjem izazovnih zahtjeva posla ( $\beta = 0,17, p < 0,05$ ), dok se smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla i povećanje socijalnih resursa posla nisu pokazali značajnim prediktorima apсорpcije. Sve dimenzije samooblikovanja posla pokazale su se značajnim prediktorima drugih dviju dimenzija zanesenosti na poslu, uživanja i intrinzične motivacije. Poblje, uživanje i intrinzičnu motivaciju pozitivno predviđaju povećanje strukturalnih resursa ( $\beta = 0,36, p < 0,01$ ;  $\beta = 0,26, p < 0,01$ ), povećanje socijalnih resursa posla ( $\beta = 0,17, p < 0,05$ ;  $\beta = 0,17, p < 0,05$ ) te povećanje izazovnih resursa posla ( $\beta = 0,16, p < 0,05$ ;  $\beta = 0,39, p < 0,01$ ). Smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla pokazalo se kao negativan prediktor uživanja i intrinzične motivacije ( $\beta = -0,17, p < 0,05$ ;  $\beta = -0,11, p < 0,05$ ).

Konačan regresijski model podjednako i najviše je objasnio količinu objašnjene varijance uživanja ( $R^2 = 0,38, p < 0,01$ ) i intrinzične motivacije ( $R^2 = 0,37, p < 0,01$ ). Količina objašnjene varijance psihološkog procvata ( $R^2 = 0,33, p < 0,01$ ), zadovoljstva poslom ( $R^2 = 0,31, p < 0,01$ ) i apсорpcije ( $R^2 = 0,30, p < 0,01$ ) nešto je niža, dok su promatrani prediktori najmanje objasnili  $R^2 = 0,38, p < 0,01$ .

## RASPRAVA

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Cilj je ovog rada bio ispitati doprinos dimenzija samooblikovanja posla objašnjenju zadovoljstvom poslom i zanesenosti na poslu kao pokazateljima profesionalne dobrobiti te zadovoljstvom životom i psihološkim procvatom kao pokazateljima opće dobrobiti. Pritom smo promotrili i kontrolirali doprinos individualnih razlika, odnosno spola, stručne spreme i duljine radnoga staža. Hipoteze o doprinosu dimenzija navedenim oblicima dobrobiti zaposlenika većinom su potvrđene.

## **Samooblikovanje posla i zadovoljstvo poslom**

Rezultati su potvrdili pozitivan odnos dimenzija samooblikovanja posla i zadovoljstva poslom. U skladu s dosadašnjim istraživanjima (Bakker i sur., 2012; Schaufeli i sur., 2009; Tims i sur., 2012), povećanje strukturnih i socijalnih resursa posla bili su značajni pozitivni prediktori zadovoljstva poslom. Tims i sur. (2013) navode da se tako ostvaruju potrebe za autonomijom, raznolikosti i razvojem, kao i povezanosti, podrškom i povratnom informacijom o radu. Ipak, povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla nije se pokazalo značajnim prediktorom, premda Tims i sur. (2012) ističu da je zanimljiv i neovisan posao najvažnija odrednica zadovoljstva poslom. Moguće je da izazovni zahtjevi posla, ako zaposlenik ne raspolaže resursima, pridonose osjećaju stresa i iscrpljenosti, pa time ne pridonose zadovoljstvu (Tadić i sur., 2014). Zbog toga zaposlenici mogu pribjegavati smanjenju ometajućih zahtjeva posla, koje se ovdje pokazalo značajnim negativnim prediktorom zadovoljstva poslom. Vjerojatno sklonost smanjivanju ometajućih zahtjeva posla upućuje na preveliku količinu stresora s kojima se zaposlenici ne uspijevaju konstruktivno suočiti.

## **Samooblikovanje posla i zanesenost na poslu**

Bakker (2005) je pokazao da je za zanesenost na poslu važno postojanje autonomije, socijalne podrške, *coachinga*, supervizije i povratnih informacija. Zbog ovakvih specifičnih preduvjeta smatra se da će povećanje strukturnih resursa i izazovnih zahtjeva posla biti pozitivno povezano sa zanesenosti na poslu. Pretpostavka je potvrđena značajnom pozitivnom određenosti svih triju dimenzija zanesenosti na poslu, i to s povećanjem strukturalnih i povećanjem izazovnih resursa posla. U skladu je s istraživanjima koja pokazuju da autonomija zaposlenika i raznovrsnost zadataka potiču zanesenost na poslu (Demerouti, 2006) te da izazovni zahtjevi posla potiču zanesenost, dok je ometajući uništavaju (LePine i sur., 2005). Nadalje, nešto nižim, ali značajnim, doprinosom potvrđena je pretpostavka o pozitivnom doprinosu povećanih socijalnih resursa dimenzijama uživanja i intrinzičnoj motivaciji. Nalaz je u skladu s dosadašnjim spoznajama o određenosti zanesenosti na poslu kvalitetnim odnosima, socijalnom podrškom, mentorstvom i supervizijom te povratnim informacijama (Bakker, 2005; Fullagar i Kelloway, 2009). Doprinos povećanja socijalnih resursa posla nije se pokazao značajnim prediktorom apsorpcije. Nekoliko je mogućih objašnjenja ovakva nalaza. Neki autori sugeriraju da zanesenost na poslu u većoj mjeri može biti determinirana psihološkim kapitalom kao obilježjem koje obuhvaća samopouzdanje, nadu, otpornosti i optimizam (npr. Al Kahtani i Sulphrey, 2022). Drugo moguće objašnjenje jest i

operacionalizacija, odnosno mjerenje socijalnih resursa. Poblje, mjerenje socijalnih resursa isključivo na jednoj razini organizacije (npr. na razini tima) potencijalno ograničuje doprinos zanesenosti na poslu. Stoga su potrebni novi empirijski uvidi u moguće mehanizme u podlozi odnosa socijalnih resursa i zanesenosti na poslu.

Niska negativna povezanost smanjenja ometajućih zahtjeva posla s dimenzijama uživanja i intrinzične motivacije u ovom istraživanju upućuje na to da će se zanesenost na poslu rjeđe doživljavati ako se zaposlenik više koncentrira na kognitivno i emocionalno smanjenje zahtjevnosti zadatka, umjesto na samo izvršenje zadatka. Ovakav nalaz u skladu je s istraživanjima koja navode da je za zanesenost na poslu važna uronjenost u zadatak, kompleksna aktivnost te osobna inicijativa (npr. Bakker i van Woerkom, 2017).

### **Samooblikovanje posla i dobrobit**

Dosadašnja istraživanja pokazala su da je samooblikovanje posla povezano sa zadovoljstvom životom te podržava mentalno zdravlje i sreću (Tims i sur., 2012). Kao najvažnije odrednice za ostvarenje zadovoljstva životom ističu se socijalne veze, smislenost posla te slobodno vrijeme, učenje i rast (Diener, 2006). Rezultati ovog istraživanja u skladu su s tim nalazima. Najznačajniji prediktor zadovoljstva životom jest povećavanje strukturalnih resursa posla, što uključuje osjećaj autonomije i težnju za razvojem sposobnosti i učenjem na poslu. Također, u skladu s postavljenom hipotezom, drugi značajan prediktor zadovoljstva životom jest smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla, što može imati zaštitnu ulogu od sagorijevanja. Za Timsa i sur. (2012) to je način da zaposlenici budu zadovoljniji, uspješniji te ostanu mentalno i fizički zdravi. Odmicanjem od ometajućih zadataka, navode Petrou i sur. (2012), raste dobrobit i smanjuje se stres. S druge strane, takvo ponašanje može biti negativno povezano s angažmanom i psihološkim procvatom, a može doći i do samohendikepiranja i gomilanja neriješenih zadataka (Petrou i sur., 2016). Prema tome, takvo ponašanje može voditi i do pozitivnih (npr. manja razina stresa) i negativnih ishoda (npr. prokrastinacija ili zabašavanje na poslu).

Zanimljiv je rezultat da povećanje socijalnih resursa na poslu, unatoč očekivanjima, nije bilo značajno za ostvarenje zadovoljstva životom, premda se u nekim ranijim istraživanjima pokazalo da su veze na poslu bile značajan prediktor opće dobrobiti (Loscocco i Spitze, 1990). Moguće je da zaposlenici nemaju vremena za ostvarivanje kontakata zbog preopterećenosti poslom te nastoje smanjivati ometajuće zahtjeve posla (uključujući socijalne kontakte) kako bi prevenirali sagorijevanje. No ni povećanje izazovnih zahtjeva posla nije se

pokazalo značajnim za dobrobit. Objašnjenje može ležati u tome da izazovni zahtjevi posla mogu imati dvojaku funkciju, a to je da, uz već neke ranije navedene pozitivne efekte, mogu biti i izvorom stresa i sagorijevanja ako zahtjevi posla nisu usklađeni s resursima (Crawford i sur., 2010).

Povećanje socijalnih resursa posla, uz smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla, također se nije pokazalo značajnim prediktorima psihološkoga procvata, premda su ranija istraživanja pokazala kako psihološkom procvatu na radnom mjestu prethodi dijeljenje informacija i klima povjerenja i poštovanja (Burke i sur., 2015) te da se smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva objašnjava kao strategija nošenja sa stresom koja štiti fizičko i psihičko zdravlje i pridonosi dobrobiti (Bahmani i sur., 2017). Vjerojatno je tome tako, jer se smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva može povezati i s manje stimulirajućom okolinom (Petrou i sur., 2012), u kojoj zaposlenik ne ostvaruje svoje potencijale, pa socijalnu podršku nadoknađuje u nekoj drugoj domeni života. Isto tako, psihološki procvat najviši je stupanj dobrobiti koji objedinjuje socijalnu, psihološku i emocionalnu dobrobit, a proteže se i izvan poslovne okoline.

Značajnim prediktorom psihološkoga procvata pokazalo se povećanje strukturnih resursa, što je u skladu s Keyesovim (2002) navodom o važnosti autonomije za rast, razvoj i napredak, te nalazom Bakker i sur. (2014), koji su pokazali da su zaposlenici angažiraniji u poslu i više doživljavaju psihološki procvat što više traže resurse. Uz to, kao najbolji prediktor psihološkoga procvata pokazala se proaktivna ličnost. Ona može imati ulogu u razvijanju i održavanju dobrobiti zaposlenika (Bakker i sur., 2012), a proaktivni zaposlenici ostvaruju visoku razinu dobrobiti. Proaktivno ponašanje i osobna inicijativa postali su važan dio osobnog i organizacijskog uspjeha, pokazuju istraživanja (Seibert i sur., 2001).

## **Profesionalna i opća dobrobit i individualne razlike**

Rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazali su duljinu radnoga staža značajnom odrednicom zadovoljstva poslom i dimenzija zanesenosti. Takvi rezultati mogu upućivati na lakše svladavanje zapreka i rješavanje zahtjeva radnoga mjesta s porastom iskustva i svladavanjem potrebnih vještina, što onda dovodi do većega zadovoljstva poslom. Ipak, u interpretaciji navedenoga doprinosa valja biti oprezan, jer s duljinom radnoga staža dolazi i do većih primanja i boljega životnog standarda, što može dovesti do većega zadovoljstva poslom (Burke i sur., 2016). Stupanj stručne spremne pokazao se značajnim prediktorom isključivo apsorpcije kao dimenzije zanesenosti na poslu. Valja naglasiti da su rezultati drugoga regresijskog koraka upućivali na veće zadovoljstvo poslom te izraženiju apsorpciju i

uživanje osoba više i visoke stručne sprema u odnosu na nižu. Ipak, uvođenjem dimenzija samooblikovanja posla, navedena razlika pokazala se jedino u apsorpciji posla. Čini se da povećanje strukturnih resursa i smanjenje ometajućih zahtjeva posla ima važnu ulogu, pa stručna sprema ne determinira značajno ni zadovoljstvo poslom ni uživanje i intrinzičnu motivaciju.

Nadalje, rezultati ovog istraživanja u prilog su empirijskim pokazateljima nepostojanja spolnih razlika u psihološkoj i osobnoj dobrobiti (npr. Kaiser, 2007; Mason, 1995; Liu i sur., 2021).

## Ograničenja istraživanja i pravci budućih istraživanja

U ovdje upotrijebljenom korelacijskom nacrtu, kojim se ne može odrediti uzročno-posljedična veza među promatranim konstruktima, mogući su pozitivni učinci samooblikovanja posla na zanesenost na poslu, zadovoljstvo poslom i dobrobit, ali je isto tako moguće da su zadovoljniji ljudi skloniji samooblikovanju posla. Stoga bi ubuduće trebalo promatrati obilježja kroz određeno vrijeme, što bi omogućilo oblikovanje longitudinalnih kauzalnih nacрта. Vezano uz metode regrutacije, valjalo bi rabiti neki od probabilističkih uzoraka. U ovom slučaju bilo je nemoguće kontrolirati valjanost odgovora, pa je moguće da su to učinili samo proaktivni zaposlenici, kao i oni mlađi ili zadovoljniji poslom i životom.

Korisno bi bilo razmotriti i određene karakteristike posla, ali i osobnih resursa u kontekstu samooblikovanja posla i dobrobiti zaposlenika. Primjerice, hijerarhija posla svakako je obilježje čiju bismo ulogu u odnosu promatranih varijabli trebali promotriti. S druge strane, koliko zaposlenici percipiraju svoj posao stresnim, koliko autonomiju imaju na poslu, doživljavaju li ga samo kao posao, kao karijeru ili kao životni poziv, indikatori su koje valja uzeti u obzir.

Nadalje, Nielsen i Abilgaard (2012) spominju kako skala samooblikovanja posla nije prilagođena nižoj stručnoj spremiti, odnosno *blue collars* zaposlenicima. Poblježe, zaposlenici sa srednjom stručnom spremom ne mogu baš utjecati na posao na višim razinama ili sudjelovati na novim projektima.

Nadalje, premda su Tims i sur. (2012) pri testiranju kriterijske valjanosti skale samooblikovanja posla pokazali visoku pozitivnu korelaciju samoprocjene sklonosti preoblikovanju posla i procjene takva ponašanja od strane kolega, treba uzeti i moguću inflaciju dobivenih korelacija, s obzirom na zahvaćanje svih mjerenih obilježja metodom samoprocjene.

Konačno, iako smo u radu utvrdili odsutnost multikolinearnosti, odnosno singularnosti i redundantnosti pojedinoga prediktora, i praktično je i znanstveno relevantno uzeti u obzir razumijevanje doprinosa obilježja koja su međusobno zna-

čajno povezana. U ovom radu navedeno je posebno relevantno za pojedine odnose dimenzija sklonosti preoblikovanju posla međusobno te njihov odnos s proaktivnom ličnosti. Stoga, valja imati na umu da značajan pozitivan odnos povećanja strukturnih resursa, povećanja izazovnih zahtjeva posla i smanjenja ometajućih zahtjeva međusobno te njihov odnos s proaktivnom ličnosti determinira i njihovu međusobnu varijaciju i njihov zajednički doprinos pojedinom indikatoru profesionalne i osobne dobrobiti. Navedeno treba uzeti u obzir u promatranju originalnoga doprinosa pojedinih obilježja. Ipak, opravdanost promatranja njihova pojedinačnog doprinosa kroz standardizirane koeficijente i njihove omjere, uz utvrđenu odsutnost multikolinearnosti, potkrijepljena je i dodatnim uvidom u vrijednosti i omjere originalnih doprinosa prediktora (parcijalne i semiparcijalne korelacije). Poblizje, neminovno smanjenje parcijalnih u odnosu na semiparcijalne korelacije nije toliko snažno izraženo, dok je omjer semiparcijalnih i parcijalnih korelacija približan omjeru standardiziranih koeficijenata. Navedene povezanosti dimenzija sklonosti preoblikovanju posla međusobno, uz ranije utvrđene (Tims i sur., 2013; Van den Heuvel i sur., 2015), dodatni su empirijski pokazatelj koji upućuje na međusobnu ovisnost dimenzija, što moguće sugerira konceptualizaciju modela s faktorom ili faktorima višega reda.

Ipak, uz svjesnost o svim ograničenjima, vrijednost ovog istraživanja odražava se u boljem sagledavanju relativno novoga konstrukta samooblikovanja posla, nudi odgovore na dosad još nepostavljene hipoteze te daje nove spoznaje u povezivanju poslovnoga i privatnoga života zaposlenika. Pokazuje važnost ostvarivanja autonomije zaposlenika, uz izazovne i zanimljive zadatke u suradničkom okruženju, kako bi njihova dobrobit i zadovoljstvo rasli.

Praktične implikacije idu u smjeru prijedloga menadžmentu i vodstvu organizacija da organiziraju edukacije, a u cilju upoznavanja zaposlenika s načinima samooblikovanja posla, kako bi ih se potaknulo na to ponašanje. Organizacijska klima tako bi stvarala prilike u kojima bi se zadovoljavale temeljne psihološke potrebe te omogućio i poticao rast i pojedinca i organizacije.

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# Job Crafting as a Determinant of Employees' Job Satisfaction, Work-Related Flow and Well-Being

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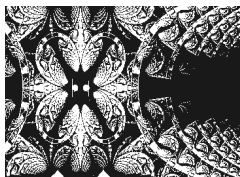
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The research aimed to examine the role of job crafting in job satisfaction, work-related flow, life satisfaction and flourishing. A total of 275 employees (of whom 64.4% were women), aged 20 to 53 ( $M_{age} = 32.13 (7.21)$ ), participated in the research. The results showed a determination of absorption, work enjoyment, intrinsic motivation and job satisfaction with certain job crafting dimensions, while some dimensions of job crafting also predicted flourishing and life satisfaction of employees. The increase in structural job resources proved to be a positive determinant of all observed indicators of job and general well-being. Also, an increase in challenging job demands positively predicted all three dimensions of work-related flow. A decrease in hindering job demands negatively predicted, while an increase in social job resources positively predicted job satisfaction and work enjoyment and intrinsic motivation.

Keywords: job crafting, job satisfaction, work-related flow, well-being



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# U RAZGOVORU S RODITELJIMA: KVALITATIVNA ANALIZA IZAZOVA RODITELJA DJECE RAZLIČITE DOBI

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NAPOMENA: Ovaj rad nastao je u okviru institucionalnoga znanstvenog projekta "Roditeljstvo danas: iskustva i izazovi", koji financira Sveučilište u Zadru (IP.01.2021.10)

Roditeljstvo je vrlo odgovorna i zahtjevna životna uloga koja se odvija u kontekstu mnogih društvenih promjena. Dinamika suvremene obitelji, očekivanja i težnje roditelja, promjene u shvaćanjima prirode djece i roditeljskog autoriteta, ubrzan tehnološki razvoj i dostupnost raznih informacija o pozitivnom roditeljstvu samo su neki od čimbenika koji mogu oblikovati subjektivan doživljaj roditeljske uloge. U Hrvatskoj su vrlo rijetka istraživanja u kojima su u fokusu roditelji, a osobito kvalitativna istraživanja koja su usmjerena na subjektivna iskustva i brige roditelja djece različite dobi. U ovom će se radu prikazati rezultati kvalitativnog istraživanja koje je imalo za cilj istražiti osobna iskustva i izazove roditelja djece različite dobi, roditelja djece u ranom i kasnom djetinjstvu, adolescenciji i već "odrasle" djece. Kvalitativno istraživanje provedeno je u hrvatskim regijama te je sudjelovalo 103 roditelja (90 majki i 13 očeva) u 16 fokus-grupa. U prikazu rezultata detaljno će se razmotriti istraživačke teme, uz kategorizaciju osobnih iskustava i izazova roditelja djece različite dobi.

Ključne riječi: suvremeno roditeljstvo, subjektivna iskustva roditelja, fokus-grupe, kvalitativna analiza



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Roditeljska uloga jedna je od najzahtjevnijih životnih uloga, koja istodobno može biti vrlo ispunjavajuća, ali i izazovna i stresna. Za mnoge roditelje ona jest izvor zadovoljstva i iskustvo koje pridonosi osjećaju ispunjenosti i daje smisao životu, međutim, za neke roditelje izrazito je stresna, emocionalno zahtjevna i iscrpljujuća (Hansen, 2012; Janisse i sur., 2009; Nelson, 2010). Suvremeno roditeljstvo obilježavaju društvene promjene, uslijed čega su današnji roditelji suočeni s drugačijim očekivanjima, pritiscima i zahtjevima u odnosu na roditelje prijašnjih generacija. Suvremenu obitelj karakteriziraju promjene u strukturi i dinamici (npr. više jednoroditeljskih obitelji te obitelji s djecom iz različitih brakova i veza), prisutne su promjene u odnosima muškaraca i žena koje se očituju u ravnopravnijoj uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoju djece. Redefinirani su odgojni ciljevi (primjerice, veća važnost djetetove samoaktualizacije), ali istodobno nisu redefinirani odgojni postupci. Poznato je što je neprihvatljivo (tjelesno kažnjavanje djece), ali ne i što i kako umjesto toga, pa se danas često govori o epidemiji popustljivosti u odgoju. Prisutne su i promjene u sustavu vrijednosti u društvu i shvaćanjima prirode djece i roditeljskog autoriteta, koje se manifestiraju u pretjeranoj kontroli i zaštiti djeteta, neprimjerenosti njegove razvojne razini (Bradley-Geist i Olson-Buchanan, 2014). Trendovi u razvoju odrasle djece (sve veća uključenost mladih u visoko obrazovanje, kasnije definiranje karijere, odgađanje braka i roditeljstva) utječu na promjene dobnih očekivanja razvojnih zadataka i uloga, što rezultira duljom ovisnošću djece o roditeljima i zadržavanju u roditeljskom domu (Nelson i sur., 2007; Padilla-Walker i sur., 2019).

U suvremenoj literaturi dominiraju *integrativni teorijski modeli*, u kojima roditeljstvo odražava Bronfenbrennerov ekološki model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), pa se roditeljstvo promatra kao posljedica međusobnih i međuovisnih odnosa djeteta, roditelja i šire socijalne okoline (Belsky, 1984; Martin i Colbert, 1997; Van Bakel i Riksen-Waldraven, 2002). Pritom se razlikuju *utjecaji na roditeljstvo* (značajke obiteljskoga konteksta, roditelja i djeteta) i *posljedice roditeljstva* (razvojni ishodi djeteta i razvoj roditelja). Dosadašnja istraživanja na području psihologije roditeljstva pokazuju da je pozitivno, konstruktivno ili tzv. optimalno roditeljstvo prilagođeno djetetovu stupnju razvoja i razvojnim potrebama. Emocionalna podrška, postavljanje visokih standarda, ali i prilagođen stupanj kontrole i autonomije, te jasna, dvosmjerna komunikacija predstavlja tzv. *optimalan stil roditeljstva*, koji omogućuje djeci razviti odgovornost, kooperativnost, psihosocijalnu zrelost i akademsku uspješnost. Razvojno gledajući, u ranom djetinjstvu optimalno roditeljstvo odražava roditeljevu osjetljivost na djetetove potrebe, dostupnost



te brigu o djetetovoj sigurnosti i organiziranju poticajne okoline. U predškolskom razdoblju naglasak je na razvoju samokontrole, emocionalne regulacije i socijalnih vještina (Obradović i Čudina-Obradović, 2003), a u osnovnoškolskom razdoblju na razvoju nezavisnosti, intelektualnom razvoju, razvoju pozitivnoga samopoimanja te socijalnoj prilagodbi (Martin i Colbert, 1997). Adolescencija predstavlja dodatne izazove roditeljima s obzirom na intenzivne promjene u toj fazi odrastanja, koje se osobito očituju u potrazi za autonomijom i većoj usmjerenosti na vršnjake (Keresteš i sur., 2011). Međutim, i u toj fazi roditeljstva ističe se važnost dobre komunikacije, uključivanje djeteta u zajedničko odlučivanje, uključenost roditelja u školu, izražavanje međusobnoga poštovanja i ljubavi (Obradović i Čudina-Obradović, 2003; Raboteg-Saric i Sakic, 2014) te poticanje povjerenja i samootkrivanja djeteta roditelju (Tokić, 2008). S obzirom na ambivalentnost u ulozi koju mladi osjećaju u razdoblju nakon adolescencije, tzv. predodraslosti, i roditelji mogu biti zbunjeni kako gledati na to razdoblje djetetova života. Iako je malo istraživanja usmjereno na proučavanje odnosa između roditelja i djece u razdoblju predodraslosti (Nelson i sur., 2007), neminovno je da su roditelji i dalje važni čimbenici u životima odrasle djece. Rijetka su istraživanja usmjerena na odnose roditelja i "odrasle" djece, a istraživanja pokazuju da se većina mladih od 18 do 25 godina ne smatra odraslima te da i dalje žive s roditeljima (Nelson i Barry, 2005; Nelson i sur., 2015). Iako su ti mladi napustili adolescenciju, njihov put u odraslu dob produljen je te se odgađaju tranzicije u odrasle uloge, primjerice ekonomska nezavisnost, ulazak u brak i roditeljstvo (Nelson i sur., 2015).

Izazovi roditeljstva i dobrobit roditelja djece koja su u različitim fazama odrastanja nameću i dalje mnoga istraživačka pitanja. Osobito su nedovoljno istraženi izazovi roditelja djece koja su u razdoblju tzv. predodraslosti ili produljenog odrastanja (Schiffrin i sur., 2019). Neki autori ističu da se roditeljska uloga znatno promijenila u zadnje vrijeme, što je rezultiralo općenito intenziviranjem ulaganja u postizanje uspješnog roditeljstva (Nelson, 2010; Faircloth, 2014). Prilagodba promjenama djetetovu odrastanju, ali i visoka očekivanja, predstavljaju velike izazove za roditelje. Danas su roditelji zabrinutiji oko uspjeha u roditeljskoj ulozi i imaju visoka osobna očekivanja (Nelson, 2010), ali i visoka očekivanja o djetetovim razvojnim dostignućima i uspjesima (Eibach i Mock, 2011). Vrlo je važna samoprocjena vlastitih roditeljskih vještina te kompetentnosti u roditeljstvu i osjećaj da se adekvatno nadzire proces odgoja tijekom odrastanja. Osjećaj roditelja koliko je sposoban i uspješan kao roditelj odražava se na roditeljsko ponašanje i kvalitetu odnosa s djetetom. Očekivanja i društvene norme dodatan su vanjski pritisak na roditelje i utječu na njihov doživljaj

roditeljstva. Stručnjaci imaju važnu ulogu u edukaciji i savjetovanju roditelja u procesu odgoja i često se usmjeravaju upravo na subjektivnu dimenziju roditeljstva. Edukativni programi namijenjeni roditeljima (primjerice u okviru UNICEF-ova programa za roditelje u Hrvatskoj "Prve tri su najvažnije!" i "Rastimo zajedno") žele omogućiti razmjenu znanja o optimalnom roditeljstvu i biti podrška roditeljima u ispunjavanju njihove roditeljske uloge, djelujući na njihov subjektivan osjećaj kompetentnosti u roditeljskoj ulozi. Održavanje optimalnoga stila roditeljstva tijekom odrastanja djece zahtijeva prilagodbe roditelja, a neravnoteža u očekivanjima može dovesti do razmirica i poteškoća u odnosu roditelja i djece, jer su roditeljski stavovi važna komponenta subjektivnoga doživljaja roditeljstva, ali i odrednica roditeljskoga ponašanja (Holden, 2010).

U ovom istraživanju roditeljstvo se razmatra kao dinamičan razvojni proces (ovisno o dobi djeteta), a zahvaćena su iskustva roditelja koji imaju djecu u ranom i kasnom djetinjstvu, adolescenciji i već "odraslu" djecu u razdoblju tzv. predodraslosti. Razvojna psihologija i psihologija roditeljstva već se dugo usmjerava na proučavanje razvojnih ishoda djece kao posljedice roditeljskih odgojnih ciljeva i ponašanja, pri čemu se roditelje razmatra u službi razvoja i najboljeg interesa djece. Međutim, vrlo je važno istražiti i subjektivnu dimenziju roditeljstva, jer unutarnji doživljaj roditelja o ispunjavanju zahtjeva roditeljske uloge u skladu s vlastitim očekivanjima te osobnim i društvenim normama neminovno utječe na dobrobit roditelja, ali i na roditeljske postupke i odgojne metode, koje, pak, utječu na djetetov razvoj. Kvalitativna istraživanja usmjerena na subjektivnu dimenziju roditeljstva i specifična iskustva i brige roditelja djece različite dobi relativno su rijetka. S obzirom na posebne izazove i pritiske s kojima se današnji roditelji suočavaju, te kako bi se ostvario značajan znanstveni doprinos području psihologije roditeljstva, cilj je ovog istraživanja razumijevanje iskustava roditelja tijekom odrastanja djece u različitim fazama razvoja i produbljivanje spoznaja o izazovima u roditeljstvu iz perspektive roditelja. Preciznije, u okviru ovoga kvalitativnog istraživanja u fokusu je subjektivna dimenzija roditeljstva, tj. osobne promjene koje roditelji doživljavaju zbog roditeljskih iskustava te percipiranih izvora zadovoljstva i stresa u roditeljstvu. Zahvatili smo i njihova razmišljanja kako je biti roditelj danas u odnosu na ranije generacije roditelja. Posebno sadržajne i vrijedne odgovore na pitanja o izazovima u suvremenim okolnostima roditeljstva može nam dati kvalitativan istraživački pristup. Stoga je cilj ovoga istraživanja bio metodom fokus-grupa potaknuti roditelje na raspravu o vrijednostima, stavovima te osobnim iskustvima roditeljstva u raznim razvojnim fazama djece.

### Sudionici i postupak

Rezultati predstavljeni u ovom radu dio su većeg istraživanja provedenog u okviru institucionalnoga znanstveno-istraživačkog projekta Sveučilišta u Zadru: "Roditeljstvo danas: iskustva i izazovi". U kvalitativnom istraživanju, provedenom tehnikom fokus-grupa, sudjelovali su roditelji djece različite dobi, čiji se odabir temeljio na dobrovoljnosti i motiviranosti za sudjelovanjem u istraživanju. Prigodni uzorak roditelja odabran je prema kriterijima istraživačke teme, a uvjet je bio da su roditelji homogeni prema razvojnom razdoblju djeteta u pojedinoj fokus-grupi. Roditelji su o provedbi fokus-grupa bili informirani na društvenim mrežama, u školama, vrtićima ili usmenom predajom, a istraživanje je roditeljima predstavljeno kao istraživanje izazova i iskustava roditelja u današnje vrijeme. Sudionici su bili iz Splita, Zadra, Varaždina, Benkovca i Biograda na Moru, ukupno 103 roditelja (90 majki i 13 očeva) prosječne dobi  $M = 41$  godina ( $SD = 6,36$ ) uz raspon od 27 do 59 godina. Sudjelovalo je 36 roditelja predškolske djece (33 majke i 3 oca) u pet fokus-grupa, 22 roditelja djece rane osnovnoškolske dobi (od 1. do 4. razreda OŠ, 18 majki i 4 oca) u četiri fokus-grupe, 25 roditelja adolescenata (7. i 8. razred OŠ, 19 majki i 6 očeva) u četiri fokus-grupe te 20 roditelja (majki) "odrasle" djece (u dobi od 18 do 25 godina) u tri fokus-grupe. Fokus-grupe su organizirane i provedene u prostorijama vrtića, gradskih knjižnica i sveučilišnim učionicama, uz poštivanje svih propisanih epidemioloških mjera. Većina sudionika ima završeno više ili visoko obrazovanje (66 %), 33 % navodi srednjoškolsko, a samo 1 % osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje.

Ukupno 16 fokus-grupa (5 do 10 članova) provedeno je tijekom rujna, listopada i studenog 2021. godine, a trajanje diskusija iznosilo je od 65 do 83 minute. Razgovaralo se o unaprijed određenoj temi uz usmjeravanje moderatora (psiholog i pedagog – psihoterapeut s iskustvom provođenja intervjua), poštivanje etičkih načela zaštite privatnosti i povjerljivosti te načela pismenoga informiranog pristanka na sudjelovanje i snimanje razgovora diktafonom. Provedba istraživanja odobrena je od strane *Etičkog povjerenstva* Odjela za psihologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru. U pripremi kvalitativnog istraživanja unaprijed su pripremljeni predloži za strukturirani razgovor s roditeljima s obzirom na ciljeve istraživanja, odnosno diskusija se vodila po unaprijed pripremljenom nizu tema i pitanja otvorenoga tipa. Razgovori su bili snimani, a zatim su audiozapisom odgovora izrađeni originalni transkripti, koji su kasnije iskorišteni u obradbi podataka.

Istraživačka pitanja postavljena roditeljima bila su podijeljena u četiri tematske cjeline:

- *Percepcija osobnih promjena u ulozi roditelja* – Koje ste promjene kod sebe zamijetili kada ste postali roditelji? Kako vas je roditeljstvo promijenilo i utjecalo na vas osobno?
- *Izvori zadovoljstva u roditeljskoj ulozi* – Koje su po vašem mišljenju dobre strane roditeljstva? Koji su vama najveći izvori zadovoljstva u vašoj roditeljskoj ulozi?
- *Izvori brige u roditeljskoj ulozi* – Koji su vam najveći izvori brige ili stresa u vašoj roditeljskoj ulozi?
- *Percepcija roditeljstva danas i nekad* – Kako je biti roditelj danas u odnosu na prijašnje generacije roditelja?

## **REZULTATI I RASPRAVA**

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Kvalitativna obradba podataka provedena je postupkom tematske analize (Braun i Clarke, 2006) uz smjernice za izvještavanje o kvalitativnim istraživanjima (prema Ajduković, 2014). Kvalitativni pristup uključuje detaljan i sistematičan pristup malom broju slučajeva s ciljem generiranja novih spoznaja na području istraživanja, a naglasak je na interpretaciji perspektive sudionika istraživanja. S ciljem evidentiranja novih tema definirana su pitanja otvorenoga tipa, a na temelju analiza grupnih diskusija očekivalo se isticanje specifičnih tema za skupine roditelja djece različite dobi te kategorizacija iskustava i izazova u nekoliko cjelina. U prvoj su se fazi analize, na temelju audiozapisa razgovora, izradili doslovni originalni transkripti razgovora, koji su pripremljeni za drugi dio analize, obradbu i generiranje inicijalnih kodova. Svaka distinktivna informacija u podacima je identificirana, tj. kodirana, te se provodio odabir živopisnih i reprezentativnih citata za svaku pojedinu podtemu. Citati koji su navedeni pored istaknutih kategorija predstavljaju detaljniju ilustraciju kategorija koje su se istaknule na temelju iskaza roditelja. Podatke su neovisno analizirala tri istraživača, autora ovog rada, koji su usporedili nezavisne tematske analize i zajednički objedinili i uskladili dobivene rezultate kako bi se umanjila pristranost istraživača. U ovom dijelu rada bit će prikazana analiza kategorizacije iskustava i izazova roditelja u četiri tematske cjeline: percepcija osobnih promjena u ulozi roditelja, percepcija izvora zadovoljstva u roditeljskoj ulozi, percepcija izvora brige u roditeljskoj ulozi te percepcija roditeljstva danas i nekad. Odgovori na pojedina pitanja sistematizirat će se kako bi se izveli zaključci o ciljevima istraživanja.

Prva tema odnosila se na percepciju osobnih promjena u ulozi roditelja, a rezultati su pokazali da je promjene koje roditelji primjećuju moguće kategorizirati u nekoliko podtema: promjena prioriteta, promjena osobnosti, pojačani strah i briga te veća razina odgovornosti. U Tablici 1 prikazane su identificirane glavne podteme te primjeri odgovora roditelja. Naz-

načena je i zastupljenost pojedinih podtema na poduzorcima roditelja djece različite dobi.

Tema: percepcija osobnih promjena u ulozi roditelja

Podteme:	Primjeri odgovora*
Promjena prioriteta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Znači, počnete živjeti za svoju djecu, ne za sebe, ne za nešto drugo, nego za njih. (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Prvo je što zaboraviš sebe skroz. Sad su oni ti koji su broj jedan u svemu. (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Ustvari više nemam sebe nego sad imam njih. Tako da ja sam se promijenio 100 %, svemir se orijentira oko njih, koncentrirani smo oko njih na nekakav dobar način... (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>Ja isto moram priznati da sam ja u nekom momentu bila skroz podređena svojoj djeci i da sam, ne mogu reći, zanemarila sebe, ali da sam sad počela, otkad su djeca starija, opet otkrivati sebe, odnosno te neke svoje potrebe koje sam imala prije. (4)</i></li> </ul>
Promjena osobnosti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Ali kad su oni u pitanju, onda se nešto čudno probudi u meni. Možda se niti ne prepoznam nekad, taj stav koji imam, nekad, pogotovo da bi ih obranila. (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Pa, možda sam malo smirenija, imam više strpljenja nego što sam imala prije. Možda sam malo smanjila očekivanja od sebe i od drugih. (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Mislim, nisam se dobro ponašao kad sam bio mlad, otkad sam dobio dijete sam se promijenio 100 %. Znači, moraš brinuti o sebi da bi mogao brinuti o njima... (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>Ja mislim da nas djeca čine boljima, manje sebičnima i da je to promjena koja nastupi, upravo taj fokus koji mičeš sa sebe i prelazi na bića koja su u početku potpuno ovisna o tebi. (4)</i></li> </ul>
Pojačani strah i briga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sad kako imam djecu, uvijek nešto strepim, uvijek sam zabrinuta. Prije nisam bila zabrinuta, ležernija sam bila skroz i pozitivno mislila, a sad uvijek nekako strepiš, baš nekakva briga. Nisam se prije toliko brinula oko toliko stvari. (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>... Uvijek sam bila bezbrižna osoba, vesela, ničeg me nije bilo strah, stopirala sam s kraja na kraj države, ... a danas, uvijek nekakav strah me prati od kad sam postala mama... (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Ja si uvijek mislim ajme ako se meni nešto dogodi, naravno briga za djecu prvenstveno, ali opet iznad svega, briga za sebe jer ako mene nema 'ko će se brinut' za njih? (3)</i></li> </ul>
Veća razina odgovornosti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>... Odjednom si sad odgovoran za nekoga i ti si mu sve, a mislim od svega toga i neka snaga se dogodi koja ono i kad ne možeš, moraš, nema ne možeš!... (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Odgovornost najviše. Odgovornost o nekom tko u mlađoj dobi ovisi još uvijek o vama, o vašim odlukama... (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Pa taj osjećaj odgovornosti. To je ono na prvom mjestu. ... i potreba da svakim danom daješ najbolje od sebe jer znaš da te gledaju i da si uzor i da na svjesnoj i nesvjesnoj razini upijaju. Uvijek imam nekako to u glavi da jednostavno trebam biti najbolja verzija sebe... (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>Odgovornost za koju, mislim da se smije reći da je u stvari teret, jer to je realno teret, znači moraš se s time moći nositi ako hoćeš biti roditelj na nivou da realiziraš sve potrebe svog djeteta... (4)</i></li> </ul>

📌 **TABLICA 1**  
Tema i podteme dobivene tematskom analizom odgovora na pitanje o osobnim promjenama u ulozi roditelja uslijed roditeljskih iskustava

\*Dijelovi transkripata prikazani su doslovno u narječju kojim govori roditelj. Citati: (1) – roditelji djece predškolske dobi, (2) – roditelji djece mlađe osnovnoškolske dobi, (3) – roditelji adolescenata, (4) – roditelji "odrasle" djece

Roditelji u raznim fazama roditeljstva ističu kao jednu od prvih osobnih promjena uslijed roditeljskih iskustava promjenu životnih prioriteta i nužnost podređivanja potrebama

djeteta. Uz to, roditelji djece rane osnovnoškolske dobi ističu zanemarivanje sebe i svojih potreba zbog intenzivne brige o djetetu, ali odrastanjem djeteta bilježi se povratak ranijim navikama i interesima, koje navode roditelji "odrasle" djece. Druga podtema, povezana s prethodnom, odnosi se na zamijećenu promjenu u osobnosti roditelja. Primjerice, roditelji predškolske djece ističu da su hrabriji i čvršći u zastupanju svojih stavova kada su u pitanju njihova djeca, roditelji djece rane osnovnoškolske dobi navode da imaju više strpljenja, da su izdržljiviji i tolerantniji, ali i smanjenih očekivanja od sebe i drugih. Roditelji adolescenata ističu s jedne strane osobne promjene, a s druge strane povećanje zabrinutosti i stalno preispitivanje osobnih odluka i ponašanja. Nadalje, roditelji "odrasle" djece navode promjene u osobnom sazrijevanju u vidu porasta empatičnosti i oplemenjivanja upravo kao posljedice roditeljskih iskustava. Treća podtema koja se istaknula u percepciji osobnih promjena kod roditelja jest povećana zabrinutost i osjećaj straha i brige za dijete, uz strah da se nešto ne dogodi njima ili partneru. Strah i zabrinutost nisu iskazali jedino roditelji "odrasle" djece, što možda odražava razvojni stadij djeteta i godine iskustva i povjerenja roditelja u odnosu s djetetom. Posljednja podtema odnosi se na istaknutu odgovornost kod roditelja svih kategorija. Uz odgovornost, roditelji predškolske djece povezuju i dodatnu snagu koju osjećaju da moraju biti uspješni kao roditelji, a roditelji adolescenata povezuju odgovornost uz svijest kako su roditelji djeci glavni uzori u ponašanju. Iako karakteristike osobnosti roditelja imaju važnu ulogu u većini *integrativnih teorijskih modela roditeljstva* (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Belsky, 1984; Belsky i Jaffee, 2006; Bornstein, 2016), rijetko se u istraživanjima roditeljstva razmatraju promjene i razvoj samih roditelja kao posljedice roditeljskih iskustava. Podaci dobiveni od roditelja djece različite dobi u ovom se istraživanju uvelike podudaraju te pokazuju kako se osobne promjene uslijed roditeljskih iskustava odnose na nužnu prilagodbu prioriteta u životu, ali i veću razinu zabrinutosti i odgovornosti zbog odgoja djeteta. Naveden je i porast empatičnosti, tolerancije i hrabrosti u situacijama kada se treba zauzeti za vlastito dijete, ali i samoostvarenje kroz roditeljstvo uz percepciju svrhovitosti, zahvalnosti i ispunjenosti u roditeljskoj ulozi.

Druga tema odnosila se na percepciju izvora zadovoljstva u roditeljskoj ulozi, a definirane podteme pokazuju da se izvori zadovoljstva mogu svrstati u tri kategorije: roditeljstvo je izvor pozitivnih emocija, izvor motivacije, snage i osobnog rasta te pruža osjećaj ponosa kod roditelja zbog uspjeha djece. U Tablici 2 prikazane su identificirane glavne podteme te primjeri odgovora roditelja uz naznaku faze roditeljstva ovisno o dobi djeteta.

Podteme:	Primjeri odgovora*
Pozitivne emocije	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Onda kada ti možda kaže iz čistog mira da te voli ili tako nešto "vрати se brzo", a da ih nismo ničim potkupili i pitali jel me voliš, mene ili tatu, nego iz čista mira kada te želi zagrliti i izjavi da me voli... (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Pa eto nismo sami, imamo zajedništvo, radost i veselje... (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>"Mama volim te, hvala ti, najbolja si mama"... (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>... Odnos, povjerenje, općenito, sigurnost njihova, i taj feedback da su oni sretni i zadovoljni i takav dojam ostavljaju... (4)</i></li> </ul>
Izvor motivacije i snage/ osobni rast i razvoj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pa mislim da učimo jedni od drugih, ne samo oni od nas. (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Dobre strane su u principu šta mislim da roditeljstvo daje smisao na kraju svenmu, nekako dok nisan ima ducu skroz sam drugačije na to sve gleda, meni je sve bilo ravno, a kad dobiješ ducu, to je ko da onda u principu imaš nekakav smisao u svom životu. (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Oni te zapravo znaju, u onim lošim trenutcima ili kad si zapravo loše volje, onda te znaju nekim takvim sitnicama, pogledom, dodirom, ono prisutnošću, zapravo te znaju, toliko razveseliti, toliko ti ispuniti srce, da zapravo ništa drugo na svijetu ne može biti tako i ne može to zamijeniti. (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>Stvarno je tu jedna ispunjenost, jedna ljubav koja nema riječi, to je jedno zadovoljstvo, ... treba poštivat tu njihovu privatnost, ali to je u biti ta čar odrastanja i roditeljstva, a oni su prvenstveno nas ispunili, postanemo bolji uz njih, naučimo sebe kontrolirat, ta samokontrola koju naučite i neke stvari ispravljat a to ti dijete tvoje omogućava da to uspiješ... (4)</i></li> </ul>
Ponos zbog uspjeha djece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Najveći izvori zadovoljstva su definitivno kad mi netko pohvali djecu. Hvala Bogu, to čujem stvarno često, svakodneвно. Njezini uspjesi kao da su moji uspjesi... (1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Pa vidim djecu kako usvajaju gradivo, znanja, vještine, i napredak njihov općenito... I vidim da u biti ova sva muka ima smisla... (2)</i></li> <li>• <i>Veselje i ponos zbog djetetovog uspjeha, razvoja i priznanja od strane okoline... (3)</i></li> <li>• <i>Svaki njihov uspjeh je zapravo naš, ono trodupli uspjeh u smislu zadovoljstva... (4)</i></li> </ul>

📌 **TABLICA 2**  
Tema i podteme dobivene tematskom analizom odgovora na pitanje o izvorima zadovoljstva u roditeljskoj ulozi

\*Dijelovi transkripata prikazani su doslovno u narječju kojim govori roditelj. Citati: (1) – roditelji djece predškolske dobi, (2) – roditelji djece mlađe osnovnoškolske dobi, (3) – roditelji adolescenata, (4) – roditelji "odrasle" djece

Prva podtema koja se istaknula kao izvor zadovoljstva kod svih roditelja jest da je roditeljstvo velik izvor pozitivnih emocija. Roditelji navode kako su im spontane izjave ljubavi djeteta i povratni odgovori djeteta (kao što su djetetov zagrljaj ili izjave volim te) velik izvor zadovoljstva, a navode i iznimnu sreću kada je dijete sretno te osjećaj sigurnosti i povjerenja koje kao roditelji pružaju djetetu. Druga podtema jest roditeljstvo kao izvor motivacije i snage u životu roditelja i pozitivan utjecaj na osobni rast i razvoj. Roditelji ističu kako u roditeljstvu imaju priliku za zajednički rast i učenje kroz kontinuirane izazove i prilagodbe tijekom djetetova odrastanja. Navode da im je njihova uloga blagoslov, da su zahvalni na

prilici i osjećaju smisla koji im je život pružio kroz roditeljstvo. Ističu pri tome kako im je usmjerenost na dijete i izgradnja bliskog odnosa s djetetom tijekom vremena ispunjavajuće iskustvo, pa čak i utjeha i zaštita od svakodnevnih stresora. Osobito se istaknulo kako roditeljstvo daje zaokruženost i smisao životu te ispunjenost i osjećaj pripadanja. Izvor zadovoljstva roditeljima jest i ponos zbog djetetovih dostignuća i priznanja od okoline. Roditelji ističu ponos i zadovoljstvo zbog djetetove izgradnje vlastitih interesa, pronalaska vlastita puta, pri čemu su roditelji često samo ohrabrenje i podrška. Ponašanje djeteta izaziva reakcije roditelja kroz osjećaje ponosa, radosti i ljubavi, ali i stida, ljutnje i tuge. Na području emocija, u roditeljstvu se najčešće ispituje uloga individualnih razlika u prirodi i intenzitetu emocija roditelja te njihovoj sposobnosti emocionalnog reguliranja, jer navedeno utječe na kvalitetu odnosa roditelj-dijete te predviđa i individualne razlike u roditeljskoj osjetljivosti, toplini i metodama discipliniranja (Dix i sur., 2004). Roditelji koji doživljavaju pozitivne emocije usmjerene na dijete češće iskazuju pozitivno roditeljsko ponašanje, čime se podržava pozitivan odnos roditelja i djeteta. Unatoč suvremenim trendovima odgađanja roditeljstva, i dalje većina roditelja svoju roditeljsku ulogu procjenjuju iznimno važnim dijelom života i pritom važnijom od profesionalne uloge (Sočo i Keresteš, 2011).

Treća se tema odnosila na percepciju izvora brige u roditeljskoj ulozi, a podaci se mogu svrstati u nekoliko kategorija: problemi koji proizlaze iz preispitivanja vlastitih odgojnih ciljeva i roditeljskoga ponašanja, brige za zdravlje i općenito budućnost djeteta, brige oko utjecaja društva koje je izvan kontrole roditelja te izazovi suvremene tehnologije (Tablica 3).

Izvori brige koje roditelji navode uključuju nekoliko podtema, a proizlaze iz preispitivanja vlastitih odgojnih ciljeva i ponašanja prema djetetu. Roditelje mlađe djece brine djetetovo odrastanje i ispravnost odgojnih postupaka kojima se koriste. Preispituju i izgradnju ispravnoga sustava vrijednosti kod djece, s obzirom na izazove novih generacija i promjene u sustavu vrijednosti u društvu, konzumerizam i veću uključenost tehnologije u svakodnevni život. Svi su roditelji svjesni nužne prilagodbe zahtjeva djetetovu odrastanju, pa su i strahovi razvojno vrlo slični. Izazov i briga roditelja mlađe djece jest da djeca odrastu u uspješne ljude s ispravnim stavovima u životu, tj. da budu kvalitetno izgrađeni ljudi. Roditelji adolescenata ističu i strah da u nečemu ne zakidaju dijete, da možda propuštaju prepoznati neke potrebe djeteta zbog zauzetosti drugim obvezama i rjeđom komunikacijom s djetetom u toj dobi.



Rezultati kvantitativnih istraživanja stavova roditelja adolescenata u Hrvatskoj (Keresteš i sur., 2011) navode kako roditelji razdoblje djetetove adolescencije procjenjuju teškim i zahtjevnim, ali istobitno navode razmjerno nizak doživljaj roditeljskoga stresa. Roditelji u ovom istraživanju ističu i brigu za budućnost djeteta zbog načina odrastanja, u kojem su svjesni da ih prezaštićuju te iskazuju bojazan da se djeca možda neće znati sama nositi s poteškoćama u životu zbog pretjerana zaštićivanja. U novijim istraživanjima opisuje se upravo takvo roditeljsko ponašanje, tzv. *helikopter roditeljstvo*, koje se odnosi na roditelje koji "lebde" iznad svoje djece i spremno čekaju "sletjeti" i riješiti sve njihove probleme (LeMoyné i Buchanan, 2011). Ponekad se takvo roditeljstvo naziva i "omotavanje u pamuk", jer roditelji ne žele da njihova djeca iskuse bilo što negativno. Primarno takav stil roditeljstva karakterizira razvojno neprikladna količina uključenosti roditelja u djetetov život (Schiffrin i sur., 2014).

☐ TABLICA 3  
Tema i podteme dobivene tematskom analizom odgovora na pitanje o izvorima brige u roditeljskoj ulozi

Tema: izvori brige u roditeljskoj ulozi

Podteme:	Primjeri odgovora*
Preispitivanje odgojnih ciljeva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>Hoću li dobro odgojiti svoje dijete?... Ja se u principu najviše brinem da u hodu nešto ne pokvarimo (1)</i></li><li>• <i>Pa ja bi izdvojila upravo tu brigu da ih uspješno izgradim u odrasle osobe sa ispravnim stavovima u životu ... hoću li ja njih dovoljno dobro oblikovati i stesati da nauče razmišljati svojom glavom, da budem sigurna da neće napraviti nekakvu glupost... Znači, cijelo vrijeme propitkivanje svojih postupaka u odnosu na dijete i hoće li oni uroditi plodom kasnije... (2)</i></li><li>• <i>Al recimo onda tu razmišljaš, strah te da nešto tu propuštaš, da ne bi i on sa svojim potrebama zapravo ostao zakinut zbog zauzetosti drugim obavezama. (3)</i></li><li>• <i>... Teško mi je kad se ne slažem s njezinim odlukama... (4)</i></li></ul>
Briga za zdravlje i budućnost djeteta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>Trenutno me brine što ništa nije fino što mama kuha. (1)</i></li><li>• <i>Mislim da je nekakva osnovna roditeljska briga koja je nama svima zajednička to da oni u nekom momentu svom kad odrastu budu kvalitetno izgrađeni ljudi. (2)</i></li><li>• <i>Sve je prelako, sve mora biti brzo dostupno, mora se brzo odojijati; uopće kao da nisu u kontaktu sa svojim životom, sa stvarnim problemima i situacijama nego svijet promatraju nekako virtualno kroz igrice. I onda najveća briga mi je zapravo da ne budu imali otpornost za sve kaj bu ih u životu dočekalo. Jer baš iz tog aspekta sve je lako, sve je dostupno, svega ima, sve se može i onda svaki problem izgleda kao katastrofa... (3)</i></li><li>• <i>... koga će sresti u životu, hoće li biti zadovoljan, hoće li se ostvariti u životu, iskoristiti svoje potencijale? (4)</i></li></ul>
Briga oko utjecaja društva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>... moj sin je jako nježan i ne znam hoće li se znati postaviti ako ga netko bude maltretirao, ako ga netko bude udario i to me trenutno brine... (1)</i></li><li>• <i>A meni su izvori stresa kakvo je društvo oko njih, kakvim budu utjecajima izloženi kad nisam s njima... (2)</i></li></ul>

(nastavlja se)

Podteme: Primjeri odgovora\*

- 
- *S jedne strane ona je rastrgana, baš ta klasična priča odobravanja vršnjaka – u smislu da bude prihvaćena, da bude na tim nekim mrežama, da sudjeluje u tim razgovorima; da uopće ima mobitel stalno, a s druge strane vidim da joj to šteti na neki način... I ne razmišlja ona šta bi, već šta će većina... (3)*
  - *Zapravo ja uvijek njima kažem da ja njima vjerujem, ali da sam više zabrinuta zbog okoline da li će oni znat biti dovoljno zreli, da li su nešto usvojili od onoga što smo im prenosili, da li će znat reagirati u toj nekoj situaciji prema tim izazovima koji ih čekaju, ovo govorin općenito u životu. Jer nekad je ipak taj utjecaj društva jači koliko god se mi trudili... (4)*
- Izazovi suvremene tehnologije
- *... oni sad imaju te mobitele. Oni samo vise, visili bi na mobitelima. To nije prednost, neg je nedostatak. Jer ti ne moš to dite izbacit vani, jer R. ima mobitel – on je na mobitelu... (1)*
  - *Problem je 'ekranitis', 'mobitelitis', nema ih čuti, stalno su im slušalice na ušima, svak je u svom kantunu, svak ima svoje obaveze i nekako funkcioniramo, al opet s druge strane mi se uvek provlači misao to je svijet koji sam ja stvorila u koji su oni ušli... (2)*
  - *Kad je počela online nastava dodijelili smo im računalo i jednostavno tu se zapravo sve zbilo pred našim očima. Dok su oni se navukli, ne odmah naravno, ali postepeno; kad su se navukli već je bilo kasno jer su sve naše mjere tog zaustavljanja bile uzaludne. ... te igrice koje oni igraju, to mene užasno zabrinjava. I onda u dodatku još mobitel uz to i potpuna nezainteresiranost za čitanje. To me užasno muči. A knjige su totalno nezanimljive u odnosu na to igranje na kompjuteru i to me užasno, užasno muči... (3)*
- 

\*Dijelovi transkripata prikazani su doslovno u narječju kojim govori roditelj. Citati: (1) – roditelji djece predškolske dobi, (2) – roditelji djece mlađe osnovnoškolske dobi, (3) – roditelji adolescenata, (4) – roditelji "odrasle" djece

Nadalje, briga za budućnost kod roditelja mlađe djece očituje se i u brizi za djetetovo zdravlje, često zbog izbirljivosti u prehrani, ali i vezano uz zrelost i spremnost za školu. Roditelji mlađih osnovnoškolaca ističu probleme postavljanja granica, strah od utjecaja vanjskih čimbenika koji su izvan kontrole roditelja, brigu kako naučiti dijete suočavanju s društvenim izazovima. Ističu vlastitu odgovornost u poticanju djetetove samostalnosti, ali su u isti mah zabrinuti za djetetovu sigurnost kada oni nisu kod kuće. Svjesni su potrebe prilagođavanja djetetovu odrastanju i odricanja pretjerane zaštite djeteta. Roditelji adolescenata osobito ističu brige oko utjecaja društva (društvene mreže, prvi izlasci), a navode i brige zbog opterećenosti djece školskim ocjenama i budućim obrazovnim izborima. Izazovi tehnologije i društvenih mreža zasebna su briga, osobito roditelja adolescenata, posebno druženja online, iako i roditelji mlađe djece navode probleme, kako sami kažu, tzv. "mobitelitisa" i "ekranitisa". Ovi su rezultati u skladu

s novim svjetskim podacima, prema kojima rani adolescenti provode više od 7 sati dnevno pred ekranima, a na što je znatno utjecala pandemija (Nagata i sur., 2022). Jedino roditelji "odrasle" djece ne navode brige oko suvremene tehnologije, nego oko budućnosti djece, njihovoj karijeri, izboru budućega partnera te samoostvarenja. Muče ih i brige svakodnevnoga života (primjerice, nesreće u prometu), ali i neslaganje oko životnih odluka koje odrasla djeca samostalno donose. Ipak, svjesni su nužnosti prihvaćanja odluka i izbora djeteta.

Četvrta tema odnosila se na percepciju roditeljstva nekad i danas te osvrst roditelja na suvremene izazove u roditeljstvu. Odgovori roditelja djece različite dobi prikazani su u Tablici 4.

Analizirajući odgovore roditelja, može se uočiti da roditelji predškolske i školske djece te roditelji adolescenata percipiraju roditeljsku ulogu izazovnijom danas nego nekad. Jedino roditelji odrasle djece navode kako je roditeljstvo uvijek jednako izazovno, a izazovi su generacijski različiti. Razmatrajući nezavisne odgovore roditelja djece različite dobi, može se uočiti kako roditelji djece predškolske dobi navode da su roditelji danas nesigurniji u svojoj roditeljskoj ulozi i da suvremeno roditeljstvo pati od nedostataka granica, velike popustljivosti i stalnom pregovaranju s djecom. Smatraju da su djeca danas nesamostalnija jer su roditelji prisutniji i previše fokusirani na djecu. Kao izazov ističu pritisak koji je rezultat imperativa savršena roditeljstva, plasiranog u medijima i na društvenim mrežama. Također, navode kako se roditelji danas više educiraju o roditeljstvu, razvoju djece i češće traže podršku u roditeljskoj ulozi.

Roditelji djece mlađe osnovnoškolske dobi ističu manjak zajedničkog vremena zbog roditeljske preopterećenosti poslom, a djece raznim aktivnostima. Smatraju da tome pridonosi i upotreba tehnologije u obiteljima. I oni navode kako je danas prisutna veća angažiranost i uključenost roditelja u život djeteta te da su djeca danas ranjivija i zaštićenija i imaju manje obveza. Navode i izazove konzumerizma i preplavljenost djece materijalnim stvarima (igračkama i odjećom).

Roditelji adolescenata smatraju kako je roditeljstvo danas izazovnije zbog utjecaja okoline te da je odrastanje i okruženje u ranijim vremenima bilo sigurnije. Navode i manju samostalnost djece, nedostatke konzumerizma te dvojbe oko izgradnje sustava vrijednosti, zato što je djeci dostupno sve i sva. Ističu i nedostatak autoriteta izvan obitelji u odnosu na prijašnje generacije djece, gdje je i učitelj, uz roditelje, bio autoritet. Smatraju da nove generacije roditelja i djece imaju znatne izazove potaknute društvenim mrežama, primjerice nasilje među djecom, koje virtualna komunikacija danas omogućuje. Istaknuli su današnje pretjerano uvažavanje prava djece i prisutnost velike popustljivosti u odgoju.

Poduzorci

roditelja:      Primjeri odgovora\*

Mišljenja roditelja djece predškolske dobi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>boje se povrijediti svoju djecu te im iz straha daju previše slobode i ne kažnjavaju ih</i></li><li>• <i>djeca su prezaštićena, roditelji ih se boje kažnjavati – djetetu se ovih dana ne smije reći ne, ne smije ga se kažnjavati...</i></li><li>• <i>kao da su sada mlađe generacije roditelja uplašene da se zamjere djeci, da ostave neke traume i iz toga straha se ide u neku drugu krajnost, nema granica</i></li><li>• <i>djeca su prova na listi prioriteta, roditelji danas sami sebi stvaraju probleme...</i></li><li>• <i>majke su pod velikim pritiskom, koji potječe velikim dijelom iz medija i društvenih mreža, da moraju biti savršene mame</i></li><li>• <i>Moja majka sigurno nije išla ovako na seminare, radionice, od vrtića pa na dalje...</i> <i>odgajala je u hodu, danas je nekako sve puno teže, puno više se očekuje...</i></li></ul>
Mišljenja roditelja djece rane školske dobi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>ranije su se djeca socijalizirala na ulici s drugom djecom, danas su više na uređajima, u pustim aktivnostima i ljudi su općenito otuđeniji danas...</i></li><li>• <i>mi smo se više svi družili, razgovarali, nije bilo toliko stresno, cijele dane smo bili jedni s drugima</i></li><li>• <i>prije su bile izrazite egzistencijalne brige roditelja, dok su odgojno, emotivne i razvojne brige oko djeteta bile zanemarene, a danas se sve "mora"</i></li><li>• <i>djeca danas imaju manje obaveza i radnih navika</i></li><li>• <i>Moja mater mene nikad nije pitala: hoćeš li ti tu marku?</i></li></ul>
Mišljenja roditelja adolescenata	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>ja mislim da je osjećaj sigurnosti u vremenu u kojem smo mi odrastali i ovoga sada neusporedivo...</i></li><li>• <i>djeca su ranije bila samostalnija i više se oslanjala na sebe; roditelji se nisu toliko zamarali sanim roditeljstvom nego više onim "normalnim" egzistencijalnim brigama</i></li><li>• <i>... prije je bilo lakše biti roditelj jer roditelji nisu ni znali što se događa s njihovom djecom...</i></li><li>• <i>danas su roditelji izloženi velikom broju detalja i informacija; roditelji su postali preosjetljivi na djecu jer puno više znaju</i></li><li>• <i>nekad je ta edukacija i kontraproduktivna, pa se i više brinu; uzrok promjena u doživljaju roditeljstva danas nije samo okolina nego i sami roditelji koji su više danas fokusirani na djecu</i></li><li>• <i>... je li tužan, je li to pubertet, je li previše anksiozan?... Ja stvarno vjerujem u edukaciju, moramo imati neka znanja, ali malo nas je poteglo onda i u tu drugu krajnost. ... puno znamo, puno čitamo, onda puno više i brinemo možda?</i></li><li>• <i>još ova civilizacija konzumerizma je nešto što, u principu, svakom roditelju vjerojatno izbija sve vrijednosti koje nastoji usaditi djetetu, ... drugačije poruke dijete dobiva izvana od onih koje se kući govore</i></li><li>• <i>učitelj je prije bio autoritet kao i roditelj</i></li><li>• <i>nasilje među djecom koje društvene mreže i online komunikacija pospješuju</i></li><li>• <i>prevelik naglasak na dječjim pravima od malih nogu ali bez pozivanja na odgovornost i dužnosti</i></li></ul>
Mišljenja roditelja "odrasle" djece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>... danas roditelji teže tome da djeci budu prijatelji i da djeca s njima sve podijele...</i> <i>danas roditelji puno više pričaju i raspravljaju sa svojom djecom (što nije nužno dobro); prije su roditelji bili strogi autoritet djeci koja su ih slušala...</i></li><li>• <i>A mi nekako od straha da dijete zaštitimo, malo više smo ih stavili pod stakleno zvono. I otežali sebi ulogu roditelja...</i></li><li>• <i>izdvojila bih pritisak medija i sve te informacije koje su roditeljima dostupne, velika količina nefiltriranih sadržaja koje potiču liberalan odgoj</i></li></ul>

📌 **TABLICA 4**  
Odgovori roditelja na pitanje o percepciji roditeljstva nekad i danas kod roditelja djece različite dobi

\*Dijelovi transkripata prikazani su doslovno u narječju kojim govori roditelj

Roditelji odrasle djece imaju drugačiju perspektivu u shvaćanju roditeljstva danas i nekad te su jedini istaknuli kako je roditeljstvo uvijek izazovna uloga. Osvrnuli su se na

slabu strukturu odnosa unutar obitelji, pri čemu dijete dominira, a suvremeno roditeljstvo pati od nedostatka granica, pravila i poštovanja autoriteta. Smatraju da se danas djeca prezaštićuju iz pretjerana straha roditelja te da se potiče prijateljski odnos s djecom. Istodobno misle kako su roditelji pod većim pritiskom i više se brinu danas te kako mediji, okruženje i kontradiktorni savjeti o roditeljstvu dodatno zbunjuju roditelje. Smatraju da je preopterećenost i nedostatak vremena danas velik izazov roditeljima. Roditeljstvo se odvija u kontekstu mnogih društvenih promjena (Nelson, 2010; Faircloth, 2014), a danas se ističe intenziviranje ulaganja napore roditelja u postizanje uspješnog roditeljstva, koje se očituje u visokim osobnim očekivanjima, ali i u visokim očekivanjima djetetovih razvojnih dostignuća i uspjeha (Eibach i Mock, 2011; Faircloth, 2014; Nelson, 2010). Neki su roditelji preokupirani roditeljstvom i težnjom da budu savršeni roditelji, pa u suvremenoj literaturi bilježimo nove konstrukte, poput roditeljskoga perfekcionizma (Kawamoto i Furutani, 2018) ili sagorijevanja u roditeljskoj ulozi zbog intenzivnih roditeljskih očekivanja i zahtjeva (Roskam i sur., 2018).

Nedostatak provedenog istraživanja jest prigodan uzorak roditelja. Kako je dobrovoljnost nužan aspekt kvalitativnog istraživanja, potrebno je istaknuti da se radi o roditeljima koji su bili voljni razgovarati o svojim iskustvima u roditeljskoj ulozi pa njihova iskustva mogu biti pristrana u odnosu na populaciju roditelja. No s obzirom na značajan broj roditelja (103 roditelja) koji je pristao sudjelovati i sadržajnost njihovih roditeljskih iskustava, smatramo da smo prikupili važne informacije i dobili detaljan uvid u specifične izazove roditelja danas.

## ZAKLJUČAK

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U zadnje vrijeme zabilježene su promjene u shvaćanju roditeljstva (Faircloth, 2014), pa su roditelji danas više zabrinuti oko uspjeha u roditeljskoj ulozi (Nelson, 2010). S obzirom na rijetka kvalitativna istraživanja usmjerena na subjektivna iskustva, brige, zahtjeve i očekivanja roditelja, ovim se istraživanjem pridonijelo razumijevanju izazova roditeljstva tijekom odrastanja djece. Razgovor s roditeljima djece različite dobi bio je podijeljen u četiri tematske cjeline: (1) percepcija osobnih promjena u ulozi roditelja, (2) izvori zadovoljstva u roditeljskoj ulozi, (3) izvori brige u roditeljskoj ulozi i (4) percepcija roditeljstva danas i nekad. S obzirom na nepostojanje sličnih podataka u Hrvatskoj, dobiveni podaci predstavljaju vrijednu analizu iskustava roditelja i detaljniji pogled na njihovu percepciju roditeljske uloge. Roditelji navode da vlastitu ulogu doživljavaju ispunjavajućom, dragocjenom i zahtjevnom, a istaknute promjene u shvaćanju roditeljstva danas je-

su: visoka očekivanja, preispitivanje uloge i postupaka te stalno učenje. Roditeljstvo ima specifične izazove s obzirom na razvojne značajke djeteta, pa je međuodnos članova obitelji dinamičan i donekle promjenjiv tijekom odrastanja djeteta. Razmatrane zasebne teme upućuju na sličnosti u odgovorima roditelja djece različite životne dobi, ali i na neke razlike u promatranim temama. Općenito, suvremeni su roditelji više uključeni u djetetov razvoj, više se brinu, preispituju i educiraju o roditeljstvu. Izvori podrške roditeljima raznoliki su, a tekstovi o roditeljstvu na internetu i društvene mreže često su izvor kontradiktornih savjeta koji dodatno zbunjuju roditelje. Važno je istaknuti kako su roditelji naveli da im je sudjelovanje u fokus-grupi bilo ugodno i poučno iskustvo, a pruženu mogućnost razmjene iskustava kroz razgovor s drugim roditeljima procjenjuju vrijednim i korisnim.

Velika prednost kvalitativnoga istraživačkog pristupa jest i otvaranje novih pitanja te bogatstvo dobivenih podataka koji mogu biti okosnica za izradbu vjerodostojnijih i primjerenijih mjernih instrumenata na području istraživanja roditeljstva u budućim istraživanjima. Vrijednost ovih kvalitativnih podataka, uzimajući u obzir dinamičnost obiteljskih interakcija zbog promjena u odnosu roditelja i djece u različitim fazama odrastanja, može unaprijediti sadašnju metodologiju istraživanja roditeljskoga ponašanja te otkriti i nova sadržajna područja vrijedna daljnjih istraživanja. Primjerice, navode roditelja o prezaštićivanju djece i epidemiji popustljivosti u odgoju valjalo bi dodatno provjeriti u budućim kvantitativnim istraživanjima, kao i razvijati instrumente za istraživanje kulturno specifičnih roditeljskih izazova i ponašanja.

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# Talking with Parents: Qualitative Analysis of the Challenges of Parenting Children of Different Ages

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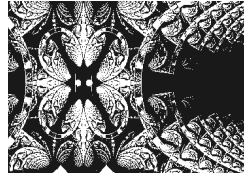
Parenting is a very responsible and demanding life role that takes place in the context of various social changes. The dynamics of the modern family, parents' expectations and aspirations, changes in perceptions of the nature of children and parental authority, rapid technological development, and availability of various information on positive parenting present just some of the factors that can shape subjective parenting. Research that focuses on parents, specifically qualitative studies focused on the subjective experiences and concerns of parents of children of different ages are very rare in Croatia. This paper presents the results of a qualitative research that aimed to explore the personal experiences and challenges of parents of children of different ages – parents of children in early and late childhood, adolescence, and children in emerging adulthood. Qualitative research was conducted in different regions of Croatia and a total of 103 parents (90 mothers and 13 fathers) participated in 16 focus groups. Results include detailed analysis of research topics, with the categorisation of personal experiences and challenges of parents of children of different ages.

Keywords: contemporary parenting, subjective experiences of parents, focus groups, qualitative analysis

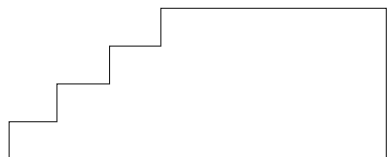


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# *PRIKAZI*





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## **Savina Sirik** **NEGOTIATING** **MEMORIES** **Survivor Narratives** **of Victimhood in Post-** **-Conflict Cambodia**

University of Gothenburg. Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Global Studies, Peace and Development Research. Doctoral Thesis (Book – Monograph). 2022, 225 pp.

After having gained independence, Cambodia saw decades of incessant wars, crimes against humanity, and genocide. It started with a five-year long civil war (1970–1975), followed by the mass violence imparted by the Khmer Rouge during the time of Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979), and ended with yet another civil war, which went on for almost two decades (1979–1998), after the fall of the Khmer Rouge's reign of terror. Local society suffered immensely during these decades of war, oppression, terror, mass violence, expulsion, famine, forced labour, forced marriages, and family separation. The end result was complete destruction of the country's economic and physical infrastructure, along with virulent tension between those who supported the Khmer Rouge and those who did not. In times of conflict, differences in belonging lead to a dissolution of society's communal bonds, which often manifests in polarisation, referring individuals to either one or the other identity group. Identities that arise from armed conflicts and mass violence are, however, often more complex than those suggested by the simple "victim" vs "perpe-

trator" dichotomy. Previous research shows that an individual may often be both victim and perpetrator in a certain situation, and in a series of situations over time.

The distinction between victim and perpetrator may be reinforced through formal mechanisms of transitional justice and national commemorative institutions, since these strive to create a clear-cut representation of what happened and who was responsible for the crimes committed. Such efforts tend to fail to capture the complexity of experiences of violence. Previous studies have shown that the complexity of individuals' identities tend to be overlooked in the implementation of transitional justice mechanisms following wars and mass abuse. This may, in part, be a result of lacking critical engagement in defining what constitutes a victim, which has ultimately led to certain victims being excluded from memorial processes and not receiving legal justice or damages. The book (thesis) points out that these aspects give rise to critical questions as to what dimensions shape ideas about victimhood and who could be seen as responsible for defining victimhood, as well as how individuals identify themselves.

This book analyses how individuals that have been identified as perpetrators from a social and political point of view construct, reconstruct, and negotiate victimhood through narratives following a period of war and mass abuse, and how they are represented in the implementation and narrative of memorialisation. The study starts out from the idea that narratives are not only representations of the past, but a form of discourse in which different versions of the past are constructed through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Narratives thus often represent a discursive device through which what happened in the past is interpreted and reinterpreted by different actors, to serve contemporary and future needs and interests. The present book aims to analyse the relations between individual constructions of victimhood and official narratives about the Khmer Rouge

period, by examining Khmer Rouge narratives in Cambodia after the civil war and genocide. On the one hand, the book explores the ways in which former Khmer Rouge survivors construct narratives about victimhood and claim victim status; on the other hand, it examines the Khmer Rouge narrative and implementation of memorialisation, in order to understand how public and non-public actors represent victims.

The present study is based on semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and observations conducted during 2018 and 2019, in different locations in Cambodia. It aims to deepen our understanding of the complexity of victimhood, as constructed in narratives, and, more specifically, to examine narrative constructions of victims, by analysing former Khmer Rouge members' memories, as well as narratives and memorialisation practices in post-genocide Cambodia. Keeping the complex context of post-genocide Cambodia in mind, the study builds on the idea of a "complex survivor", which refers not only to individuals who suffered the complexities of war, mass abuse, and genocide – something that has contributed to their multifaceted identities in a post-genocide society – but also to former Khmer Rouge members, who had their own share of suffering and struggling for survival in the period following the fall of Democratic Kampuchea – hardships that may be contributing to transforming them into complex individuals, whose struggles for survival and experiences of victimhood may not have received the same social or political recognition, and which are therefore constantly being negotiated.

This book discusses three research questions. To answer the first question – "How do former Khmer Rouge survivors

construct victimhood in their narratives of the Khmer Rouge period?" – claims to victimhood made by former Khmer Rouge members are analysed. The analysis is based mainly on narratives by a number of former Khmer Rouge members, who make claims to victimhood, and argue for these claims in various ways, for instance by negotiating the Khmer Rouge identity, and challenging the perpetrator label. In the analysis, individual narratives are discussed in terms of official narratives about collective victimhood, and social and cultural reference frames that individuals refer to in their accounts. The author uses theoretical perspectives taken from existing literature on victims and victimhood, along with the concept of an "ideal victim", to be able to discuss the former Khmer Rouge narratives and create a better understanding of how individuals construct their status as victims, and negotiate identities imposed by society.

To answer the second question – "How do former Khmer Rouge survivors construct temporality in their narratives of victimhood?" – the temporal aspects of the narratives are analysed. From an analytical point of view, the temporal theme ties in with the first research question, in that the former Khmer Rouge survivors' claims to victimhood build on narratives of alternative times. By analysing survivors' construction of different kinds of temporality (i.e., the understanding and representation of time), the study sheds light upon the way in which narrators use temporality to construct narratives about victims: namely by challenging time limits for Democratic Kampuchea and generally accepted assumptions about temporal linearity and past/present, or present/future dichotomies. In this discussion, the concepts of "time collapse" and "multiple temporalities" are used as an analytical tool to analyse temporal conflicts that have arisen between individual constructions of temporality and official time.

To answer the third question – "How are images of victims represented in me-

morialisation?" – key aspects of memorialisation of victim complexity are analysed. As part of this theme, the representation of victims in memory narratives and in practice is analysed. The analysis is performed with the help of literature on memorialisation of complex political victims and complex identities, engaging in the critical discussion of whether the complexity of victimhood should be pointed up or brushed aside.

The present book makes an empirical and analytical contribution to our knowledge about victimhood, survivor narratives, and memorialisation in the context of post-genocide Cambodia. It presents the reader with detailed and expressive narratives about the complex dynamics of survival in post-genocide Cambodia, and analyses these narratives about victimhood from the perspective of former members of the Khmer Rouge. Previous research on the memories of former members of the Khmer Rouge has focused on the tension between these individuals' understanding of the past, and the narrative about justice and reconciliation in post-genocide Cambodia. The present study analyses narratives about victimhood by former members of the Khmer Rouge, focusing on their self-identification as victims.

In contrast to much previous research in this context, the present book does not analyse the Khmer Rouge narratives only as stories that oppose official memory. Rather, it analyses these narratives as a discursive device by means of which the former members of the Khmer Rouge negotiate their memories relative to different parts of the current official narrative about collective victimhood and Khmer Rouge demonisation, stigmatisation, and discrimination, so

as to construct and reconstruct their own status as victims and challenge the perpetrator label.

Furthermore, the book contributes to our understanding of victimhood in the context of transitional justice, by shedding light on how a plurality of temporalities may be used to articulate, redefine, and expand the definition of victimhood. The analysis shows that victimhood can be better understood by contextualising individuals' experiences beyond the strict temporal boundaries of Democratic Kampuchea – which have dominated proceedings in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia – and looking instead at victimhood as a continuous and dynamic phenomenon that does not know temporal limits. The analysis aims to show that victimhood may be contextualised to better capture the continuity of violence and suffering, and the coexistence of these experiences in the past, the present, and the future.

Another contribution that the present book makes has to do with the previously mentioned concept of an "ideal victim". The complexity of victims is analysed by examining how survivors engage in the discourse about ideal victims. The analysis shows that traits such as innocence, helplessness, vulnerability, and morality, which are included in the idea of the ideal victim, are used by survivors as a means to claim victimhood. That is, in contrast to previous research, the present study shows that rather than opposing the idea of the ideal victim, the former Khmer Rouge members' constructions of victimhood seem to be compatible with the attributes of the ideal victim. Not only do the former Khmer Rouge members represent themselves as victims – they also draw on social and cultural reference frames, such as the Buddhist concept of karma and merit, the collective identity of the Khmer, tales of heroism, and parts of the official narrative about collective victimhood.

Finally, the book contributes to the study of victim representation in post-war

memorialisation, by pointing out the ambivalence inherent in the representation of victims that have themselves both suffered and committed genocide. At the same time as the many nuances and complexities of victims are recognised in memorialisation, the representation of victimhood is influenced by the traits of the ideal victim, which focus on innocence and inability to act. In exhibitions, the representation of the Khmer Rouge – of their experiences and assumed victimhood – is reduced to a homogenous representation of ideal victims.

Using the above-mentioned analytical/theoretical starting points for the analysis of the collected empirical material in the form of documents, qualitative interviews and observations has its limitations. It turns out that certain concepts have high relevance to the field and one can indeed see many empirical sequences that are successfully analysed with the help of previous research and theory. But sometimes the analysis is almost limited by the theory, where one would have liked a more elaborate idea for the social life, victimhood and reconciliation in post-genocide society that Sirik writes about. The attempt at the analysis of photographs in museums as a narrative of victimhood and genocide is interesting and could possibly be a contribution for further research. In the book, however, it is difficult to fully see the strength of the analysis, especially what it adds beyond talking about the unsaid narrative that must be described first before the said narrative is created. Overall, Sirik's contribution to the understanding of a complex field of post-genocide studies is welcome and indicates a drive and creativity that will be exciting to follow in the future.

Goran Bašić

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## **Sanja Tatalović Vorkapić i Jennifer LoCasale-Crouch (Ur.) SUPPORTING CHILDREN'S WELL- -BEING DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD TRANSITION TO SCHOOL**

IGI Global, Hershey, 2021., 432 str.

U sklopu serije knjiga *Napredak u ranom djetinjstvu i obrazovanje K-12* u izdanju IGI Global 2021. objavljena je knjiga *Pružanje podrške dobiti djece tijekom prijelaza u vrtić i školu*. Navedenom knjigom urednice prof. dr. sc. Sanja Tatalović Vorkapić i prof. dr. sc. Jennifer LoCasale-Crouch obogatile su stranu stručnu literaturu koja se bavi dobiti djece tijekom prijelaznih razdoblja, konkretno prijelaza u dječji vrtić i osnovnu školu, koje neka djeca shvaćaju kao svoja prva velika prijelazna razdoblja. Prijelazna razdoblja pružaju prilike i izazove osobnom rastu i razvoju djece i mogući su izvor raznih anksioznosti i nesigurnosti, kako za samo dijete, tako i za njegovu obitelj.

U knjizi se iskustvo prijelaza pružava prije svega iz perspektive djece, no ni perspektiva roditelja i odgajatelja nije zanemarena, jer oni mogu facilitirati proces adekvatnoga prijelaza. Urednice navode kako su knjigu zamislile kao alat čija je funkcija preispitivanje suvremenih teorijskih modela prijelaznih razdoblja, provedenih istraživanja i implementiranih praksi.

Knjiga je tematski organizirana u četiri sekcije, svaka ima četiri poglavlja, u kojima su stručnjaci iz raznih dijelova svijeta i kulturnih pozadina pružili svoj doprinos kroz teorijski i empirijski pristup te primjere dobre prakse. Knjiga sadrži i predgovor, uvod, priznanja, popis referenci, poglavlje o suradnicima te indeks pojmova.



Prva sekcija, *Iskustva djece tijekom tranzicije u vrtić i školu*, usmjerava se na prikaz iskustava u prijelaznom razdoblju kroz perspektivu djece.

Prvo poglavlje, *Socijalna i emocionalna dobrobit djece imigranata i izbjeglica tijekom prijelaza u predškolsku ustanovu*, prikazuje proces prijelaza kod posebno ranjive skupine djece, djece izbjeglica i imigranata. Navedeno poglavlje proučava povezanost pozitivnih i negativnih ranih iskustava roditelja, kao što su stres akulturacije i iskustvo mikroagresije te socijalne i emocionalne dobrobiti djece, što je prikazano u okviru kratkoga pregleda rezultata istraživačkoga projekta "GRACE". Autorice zaključuju da vrijeme prijelaza u obrazovni sustav u ranom djetinjstvu pruža priliku za suradnju roditelja, učitelja i istraživača, s ciljem facilitiranja dugotrajne prilagodbe djece izbjeglica i imigranata.

U drugom poglavlju, *Briga o sebi putem usredotočene svjesnosti za ranije školovanje: Kako briga o sebi može pomoći učenicima steći emocionalne kompetencije za suočavanje s prijelazima u ranijoj dobi*, autorice najprije definiraju pojam brige o sebi prakticiranjem usredotočene svjesnosti, nakon čega se usmjeravaju na efekte prakticiranja usredotočene svjesnosti na brigu o sebi i važnost modeliranja u učenju brige o sebi, a zatim se dotiču korisnosti brige o sebi u razdoblju prijelaza i perioda ranoga djetinjstva, implikacija za ranije javno školovanje s popratnim praktičnim primjerima iz raznih zemalja te poglavlje zaključuju pružanjem smjernica za provedbu budućih istraživanja, kako bi se produbilo razumijevanje koncepta brige uz pomoć usredotočene svjesnosti.

Treće poglavlje, *Dječja perspektiva na prijelaz iz vrtića u osnovnu školu: Hrvatsko*

*iskustvo*, sažima dječje razumijevanje procesa prijelaza na temelju 40 intervjua prikupljenih u kontekstu ranog obrazovanja. Ukratko, rezultati su pokazali da djeca razlikuju dječji vrtić i školu na osnovi objektivnih i subjektivnih pokazatelja, školu djeca doživljavaju primarno kao obrazovnu instituciju i razlikuju je od vrtića na osnovi aktivnosti i vlastite uloge u njima. Nadalje, djeca su o školi davala kontradiktorne izjave, odnosno naglašavala su razlike i iskazivala negativna očekivanja, a istodobno iskazivala pozitivne emocije prema školi, učiteljima i procesu učenja, dok su o vrtiću davala pozitivne izjave. Autorice na kraju poglavlja zaključuju da uzimanje u obzir perspektive djece pruža razumijevanje proširenoga konteksta prijelaznog razdoblja.

Četvrto poglavlje, *Usklađivanje predškolskog i vrtićkog iskustva učioničkog učenja: Efekti na spremnost djece za polazak u školu*, ističe važnost integracije ranih obrazovnih iskustava i pruža uvid u rezultate sekundarne analize podataka "2009 FACES" istraživanja. Rezultati tog istraživanja pokazali su da djeca koja su imala podjednak ili veći broj centara zasnovanih na aktivnostima u vrtićkom i u predvrtićkom kontekstu pokazuju bolje ishode povezane s jezičnom pismenosti i matematikom nego djeca koja su imala manji broj tih centara u vrtićkom kontekstu. Veći broj djece u grupi bio je povezan i s boljim socijalno-emocionalnim ishodima djece. Na kraju poglavlja naglašava se važnost kontinuiteta razvojno primjerenih praksi u ranoj predškolskoj dobi, kako bi se poboljšali rani obrazovni ishodi djece i facilitirao njihov proces prijelaza u školu.

Druga sekcija knjige, *Uloga i iskustva obitelji tijekom prijelaza u vrtić i školu*, usmjerava se na značajne utjecaje iz neposredne djetetove okoline, a to je, kao što i sam naslov sekcije otkriva, djetetova obitelj.

Peto poglavlje, *Tko odabire školu? Razumijevanje roditeljskih nastojanja za prijelazom djeteta iz kuće u obrazovne institucije ranog djetinjstva u Bangladešu*, započinje prikazom izazova ranog obrazovanja u Bang-

ladešu i povezivanjem procesa roditeljskoga donošenja odluke o tome hoće li se dijete uključiti u taj oblik obrazovanja s teorijom racionalnog izbora. Zatim su prikazani rezultati višestruke studije slučaja, koji pokazuju da roditelji odabiru škole koje će djeca pohađati na temelju vlastitih obiteljskih vrijednosti i specifičnih aspiracija tijekom perioda prijelaza djece u školu. Zaključno, naglašava se važnost kreiranja mehanizma socijalne politike koji udovoljava potrebama obitelji iz raznih socio-ekonomskih pozadina u društveno pravednom procesu odabira škole.

U šestom poglavlju, *Kako izbori i ograničenja u odlukama roditelja o ranom obrazovanju utječu na spremnost djece za polazak u školu*, obrađuje se problematika razlika u spremnosti za školu, koje se pripisuju ranim iskustvima između kućanstava najniže i najvišega socioekonomskog statusa, pri čemu je moguće posebno istaknuti nejednakosti u kvaliteti i kvantiteti ranih obrazovnih iskustava. Pružen je pregled istraživanja koja su ispitivala povezanost ranih obrazovnih iskustava djece, stupnja njihova kognitivnog razvoja i procesa donošenja odluka njihovih roditelja te njihove spremnosti za školu. Autorica zaključuje da bi smjernice roditelja u kombinaciji s razumijevanjem sistemskih i kulturnih čimbenika koji pridonose malobrojnim upisima i velikom broju izostanaka mogli poboljšati kreiranje efikasne reforme i intervencija koje bi djeci omogućile jednaku početnu poziciju u obrazovnom sustavu.

Sedmo poglavlje, *Podrška djeci i obitelji tijekom prijelaza u vrtić: Posjećivanje doma usredotočeno na odnos*, prikazuje interventni program pod nazivom "Posjećivanje doma usredotočeno na odnos", kojemu je cilj osnaživanje pet domena odnosa:

roditelj-škola, dijete-učitelj, dijete-vršnjak, roditelj-zajednica, dijete-roditelj, kako bi se procijenili kratkotrajni i dugotrajni efekti intervencije na djetetovo dostignuće i njegove socijalno-bihevioralne vještine. Rezultati preliminarnе analize učinkovitosti ovog interventnog programa upozorili su na njegovu korisnost i zadovoljstvo uključenih roditelja.

U osmom poglavlju, *Prijelaz u osnovnu školu u Hrvatskoj: Ispitivanje odrednica dječje rane prilagodbe na školu*, prikazani su rezultati istraživanja potencijalnih odrednica uspješnoga prijelaza u osnovnu školu. Kao pozitivni prediktor akademske prilagodbe identificirane su specifične kognitivne vještine, a kao negativni roditeljska informiranost, dok su socijalno-emocionalne kompetencije, spol, specifične kognitivne vještine i roditeljska uključenost predviđale odnos djece i učitelja. Na kraju poglavlja autorice sugeriraju daljnja istraživanja prijelaza u školu, kako bi se definirali najprikladniji odnosi svih sudionika uključenih u taj proces i identificirale aktivnosti koje će zadovoljiti njihove potrebe.

Treća sekcija, *Uloga i iskustva odgovornika tijekom prijelaza u vrtić i školu*, usmjerava se na odgovornike kao važne sudionike razdoblja prijelaza.

Deveto poglavlje, *Uloga odgovornika u ranom djetinjstvu u prijelazu predškolske djece u osnovnu školu*, definira četiri ključne uloge odgovornika u razdoblju prijelaza u školu, kako bi se poboljšala dobrobit djece – to su učitelj spremnosti za školu, facilitator odnosa i kontinuiteta, menadžer resursa i slučajeva te zagovaratelj politike prijelaza. Nadalje, svaka od navedenih uloga jest teorijski i empirijski potkrijepljena, predstavljena u kontekstu primjera aktualnih programa obuke i popraćena prijedlozima za razvoj svake uloge. Na kraju poglavlja pružene su smjernice za poboljšanje procesa obuke odgovornika kako bi se osigurala dobrobit djece.

U desetom poglavlju, *Što je bitno? Studija slučaja perspektive učitelja osnovnih škola na tranziciju u školu*, prikazani su re-

zultati studije slučaja jedne škole na uzorku kineskih učitelja koja je ispitivala njihovo viđenje izvedbe učenika tijekom tranzicije u osnovnu školu. Pokazalo se da učitelji generalno procjenjuju da su se djeca uspješno prilagodila školskom rasporedu, rutinama, pravilima i propisima, no neki su učitelji izvijestili da među djecom postoje i određene individualne razlike koje se odnose na navike učenja i sposobnost brige o sebi. Na kraju poglavlja prikazani su prijedlozi za vrtiće, odgojitelje i obitelji, kako bi se poboljšao proces prilagodbe djece na školsku okolinu.

Jedanaesto poglavlje, *Sveobuhvatan pristup profesionalnog razvoja za potporu znanosti, tehnologiji i inženjerski kurikulum u Predškoli: povezivanje konteksta za učenike dualnog jezika*, prikazuje preliminarne rezultate istraživanja koje je ispitivalo učinke uvođenja kurikula utemeljenog na znanosti, tehnologiji i inženjerstvu na spremnost djece, učenika dvaju jezika, za ulazak u najranije oblike formalnog obrazovanja. Preliminarni rezultati analiziranih anketa učitelja upozorili su na pozitivne učinke navedene intervencije na stavove, praksu i znanje učitelja o znanosti, tehnologiji i inženjerstvu, a analizirane ankete i učitelja i roditelja upućuju na pozitivnu povezanost između doma i škole.

U dvanaestom poglavlju, *Razumijevanje početne prednosti u tranziciji djece u vrtić: Podaci iz ankete o doživljajima obitelji i djece*, prezentirani su rezultati analize tzv. "Head Start" programa, kojemu je cilj uspostavljanje uspješne prilagodbe djece na vrtićko okruženje. Pritom su analizirani podaci dviju kohorta koje su sudjelovale u "FACES" istraživanju i koji su prikupljeni iz više izvora. Autorice poglavlja zaključile su da većina programa i centara provodi

aktivnosti kako bi se promovirali uspješni prijelazi i podržavajući odnosi, no i da kod manjega broja programa postoji nedostatak usklađivanje standarda, kurikula i procjena u obrazovnim kontekstima.

Četvrta i posljednja sekcija, *Nove smjernice i razmatranja o prijelazu u vrtić i školu*, pruža pregled tema novih istraživanja i praksi u domeni prijelaza u školu.

U trinaestom poglavlju, *Rani školski ishodi djece koja kasnije kreću u vrtić*, prikazani su rezultati istraživanja koje je uspoređivalo rane osnovnoškolske ishode etnički i jezično raznolike djece koja su kasnije krenula u vrtić i one njihovih vršnjaka koji su u vrtić krenuli na vrijeme. Pokazalo se da djeca koja kasnije kreću u vrtić postižu nešto bolji učinak na mjerama povezanim s akademskim i socijalnim ishodima tijekom predškolske godine u usporedbi s vršnjacima koji ne odgađaju polazak u vrtić. No isto se tako pokazalo da ti efekti nestaju do kraja prvog, odnosno drugog, razreda osnovne škole. Autori zaključuju kako navedeni rezultati sugeriraju da postoji nedostatak prednosti odgađanja polaska u vrtić i da stoga takva praksa nije preporučljiva.

Četrnaesto poglavlje, *Partnerstvo obitelji i učitelja kako bi se podržao uspješan prijelaz u školu kulturalno i lingvistički marginalizirane djece*, opisuje empirijski zasnovane strategije koje učiteljima pomažu da se upoznaju s kulturalno i lingvistički marginaliziranim obiteljima i njihovim vrlinama s ciljem olakšavanja prijelaza u školu. Pružaju se i preporuke kako osnažiti učitelje i na koji način pružiti podršku takvim obiteljima da se uključe u školovanje djece na način koji odražava njihove snage i potrebe.

U petnaestom poglavlju, *Dvogenezijski pristup do promicanja uspješnog prijelaza u vrtić: Program Djeca u prijelazu u školu*, prikazani su principi programa "Djeca u prijelazu u školu", kojim se nastoji djeci i roditeljima pomoći u stjecanju vještina nužnih za pozitivan doživljaj prijelaza u vrtić. Evaluacija programa upozorila je na pozitivne efekte intervencije, kod djece je pro-

obuhvatnost, suvremenost, kulturna različitost, inovativnost. Upravo zbog njih ova knjiga može biti podjednako zanimljiva i korisna ne samo stručnjacima i istraživačima nego i studentima, ali i roditeljima djece koja su na prijelazu.

Hana Gačal

gram imao pozitivne efekte na vještine samoregulacije, a kod roditelja na njihovu uključenost u učenje u školi i kod kuće, pozitivne odnose prema učiteljima i školi te na njihovo discipliniranje djece.

Šesnaesto i posljednje poglavlje, *Kvalitativno istraživanje ranog obrazovanja u djetinjstvu: Interjuiranje kako bi se istražilo prepoznavanje fondova znanja u prijelazu u vrtić od strane škola*, prikazuje doživljaj prijelaza u vrtić kod obitelji i njihove "fondove znanja". Na temelju rezultata analize transkripata polustrukturiranih intervjua identificirane su četiri sveobuhvatne teme: školsko osoblje kao podrška sudjelovanju obitelji, raznolikost školskog okruženja kao resurs obitelji, usluge podrške kao promicanje kulturne reaktivnosti i napetosti u prepoznavanju obiteljskih fondova znanja. Autori zaključuju da razumijevanje iskustva obitelji može pridonijeti konceptualizaciji uključenosti obitelji u proces obrazovanja djece.

Na kraju ovoga prikaza važno je istaknuti i sve doprinose knjige, što je svakako zastupljenost međukulturne perspektive kroz istraživanja i praktične primjere sa svih strana svijeta. Nadalje, knjiga je rezultat uspješne međunarodne suradnje urednica iz Hrvatske i SAD-a, što je posebno važno za Hrvatsku, koja se time pozicionira kao ravnopravan sudionik stručne rasprave o tematici prijelaznih razdoblja u najranijoj dobi. Svoj doprinos knjizi kroz predgovor i njezina poglavlja dali su i vrhunski svjetski priznati stručnjaci, a sama su poglavlja važna zbog povezivanja znanosti i prakse, kao i smjernica koje autori pružaju za osmišljavanje novih istraživanja i prijedloga za unapređenje prakse uspješnih prijelaza. Velika vrijednost knjige očituje se i u njezinim tehničkim karakteristikama: jednostavnost, preglednost,

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### MOLIMO SURADNIKE DA POŠTUJU SLJEDEĆE UPUTE

#### Radovi

1. Opseg rada (uključujući bilješke, bibliografiju i mjesta za grafičke priloge) ne bi trebao prelaziti 7000 riječi.
2. Tekst treba biti oblikovan dvostrukim proredom, sve stranice trebaju biti numerirane.
3. Na prvoj stranici rada treba pisati ime i prezime autora, naziv i adresa ustanove u kojoj je autor/ica zaposlen, *e-mail* adresa i naslov rada ispisan velikim slovima (Uredništvo će ove podatke izbrisati prije slanja rukopisa na recenzije).
4. Časopis koristi APA stil (Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 7th edition – <http://www.apastyle.org/>) za oblikovanje referenci u tekstu i u popisu literature.
5. U popisu literature (bibliografiji), treba navesti pune podatke o svim radovima koji se spominju u tekstu, ujedno u popisu literature trebaju biti samo oni izvori koji se spominju i u tekstu. Radovi se navode abecednim redom prema prezimenima autora i kronološkim redom za radove istog autora. Ako se navodi više radova istog autora, koji imaju istu godinu izdanja, treba ih razlikovati slovima (a, b, c itd.) iza godine izdanja. U slučaju zajedničkog rada više autora, u popisu literature ne koristi se oblik "i suradnici", nego se navode svi autori. Ako se radi o člancima ili bibliografskim jedinicama koje imaju DOI, u popisu literature na kraju treba navesti i DOI broj za svaku od tih referenci. DOI broj može se provjeriti preko CrossRef servisa na adresi <http://www.crossref.org/SimpleTextQuery/>. Za ostale mrežno dostupne radove potrebno je, nakon dostupnih osnovnih referenci (naslova, autora itd.), navesti mrežni izvor (<http://...>).
6. Radovima treba biti priložen sažetak na engleskom jeziku, a autori iz Hrvatske trebaju priložiti i sažetak na hrvatskom jeziku. Sažetak ne bi trebao prelaziti 180 riječi, te treba upućivati na svrhu rada, upotrijebljenu metodologiju, najvažnije rezultate i zaključak. Autori trebaju navesti do pet ključnih riječi.
7. Grafički prilozi (tablice, slike i sl.) trebaju biti crno-bijeli, numerirani po redosljedu, imati naslov, te spremljeni u izvornom formatu. Njihovu veličinu i složenost valja prilagoditi formatu časopisa kako bi se jasno vidjeli svi elementi. Grafički prilozi dio su rukopisa i trebaju biti priloženi unutar teksta. Iznimno mogu biti na kraju rukopisa, a njihov položaj unutar rukopisa mora biti precizno naznačen.

## Oblikovanje referenci u tekstu prema APA stilu

Izvore treba navoditi u tekstu, a ne u bilješkama. Referenca se stavlja u zagrade i sadrži prezime autora, godinu izdanja, te, ako je riječ o citatu, broj stranice; na primjer:

(Mumford, 1968) ili  
Mumford (1968) ili  
(Mumford, 1968, str. 99).

Ako rad ima dva autora, treba navesti oba, na primjer:

(Berger i Luckmann, 1992).

Ako rad ima tri ili više autora već kod prvog citiranja koristi se oblik "i suradnici", na primjer:

(Prelog i sur., 1979) ili  
Prelog i sur. (1979).

Sve reference u tekstu navode se kao i prvi put, odnosno ne koriste se oblici poput "ibid.", "op. cit." i slično. Autorima se sugerira da bilješke rezerviraju isključivo za komentiranje ili dopunu rečenog u tekstu.

## Izrada popisa literature prema APA stilu – primjeri

Knjiga – jedan autor:

Mumford, L. (1968). *Grad u historiji*. Naprijed.

Knjiga – više autora:

Portes, A. i DeWind, J. (2008). *Rethinking migration: New theoretical and empirical perspectives*. Berghahn Books.

Rad iz zbornika:

Štambuk, M. (2002). Selo u europskom iskustvu. U M. Štambuk, I. Rogić i A. Mišetić (Ur.), *Prostor iza* (str. 363–390). Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar.

Članak u časopisu s DOI brojem:

Raboteg-Šarić, Z. i Pećnik, N. (2010). Stavovi prema samohranom roditeljstvu. *Revija za socijalnu politiku*, 17(1), 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.3935/rsp.v17i1.889>

Članak u časopisu bez DOI broja:

Klempić Bogadi, S. i Podgorelec, S. (2011). Sociogeografske promjene u malim otočnim zajednicama – primjer otoka Zlarina. *Geoadria*, 16(2), 189–209. [http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=119558](http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=119558)

Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija:

Prezime, X. (Godina). *Naslov disertacije*. (Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija). Naziv institucije.

Objavljeno izlaganje sa skupa:

Šundalić, A. i Pavić, Ž. (2011). Obrazovanje i karijera: nastajanje novog identiteta Slavonije i Baranje. U A. Šundalić, K. Zmaić i T. Sudarić (Ur.), *Gospodarske i kulturne odrednice regionalnog identiteta*. Izlaganje sa skupa Globalizacija i regionalni identitet 2011, Osijek, 16.–17. rujna 2011. (str. 99–113). Osijek: Ekonomski i Poljoprivredni fakultet.

Zakoni:

Zakon o lokalnoj i područnoj samoupravi. *Narodne novine*, 33/2001, 129/2005.

Članak u novinama (autor nije potpisan):

Naslov članka. (Datum izdavanja). *Naziv novina*, str. xx.

Članak u novinama (autor je potpisan), elektronički izvor:

Šakić, T. (2010, 20. svibnja). Filmski život književnih djela. *Vijenac*, 423. Dostupno na [http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac423.nsf/AllWebDocs/Filmski\\_zivot\\_knjizevnih\\_djela](http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac423.nsf/AllWebDocs/Filmski_zivot_knjizevnih_djela)

Ostali primjeri mogu se vidjeti na <http://www.apastyle.org/>. Detaljnije upute dostupne su na internetskoj stranici časopisa: <http://drustvena-istrazivanja.pilar.hr/index.php/drustvena-istrazivanja/index>



# INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS

## 1. Scope of the journal

*Društvena istraživanja* publishes works from various social and humanistic disciplines: sociology, psychology, politics, history, law, economics, demography, linguistics and other disciplines. The journal publishes theoretical, empirical and review articles, and priority is given to articles that are of wider social and international interest, in particular empirical research and international comparative research that are not locally specific and thematically narrowly specialized.

Only manuscripts of sufficient quality that meet the aims and scope of *Društvena istraživanja* will be reviewed.

## 2. Submission of the manuscript

Editorial board receives only unpublished manuscripts in Croatian or English. Manuscripts should be submitted only in electronic form online via the Open Journal System: <http://www.pilar.hr/drustvena-istrazivanja/>.

There are no fees payable to submit or publish in this journal. The journal supports an open approach, which means that all of its contents are freely available without charging to users and their institutions.

Authors are responsible for the originality and authorship of their manuscripts and should behave in accordance with the ethical principles and rules of scientific honesty for the authors of the European Association of Scientific Editors (EASE): <http://www.ease.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/EASE-Guidelines-2017-English.pdf>.

## 3. What do we publish?

*Društvena istraživanja* publishes:

- Scientific articles (original scientific articles and review articles (up to 7,000 words without abstract);
- Reviews of books and conferences (full-length up to 2,000 words).

Exceptionally, the journal publishes professional articles and short communications. The journal publishes periodically special thematic issues. Call for proposal for thematic issue is continually open.

## 4. Peer Review Policy

All manuscripts undergo initial editorial check in order to assess whether the manuscript comply with the scientific and editorial standards of the journal, and if it fits in the objectives and themes of the journal.

Those manuscripts that pass this initial scrutiny are sent to a double blind review. After receiving the reviewers' reports, the authors, in addition to the new version of the manuscript, submit to the Editorial board a cover letter stating which reviewers' proposals were accepted and in what way, and which were not (with explanation and argumentation).

## 5. Similarity check and creative commons license

All received manuscripts are subject to routine disclosure of similarity with exiting literature (plagiarism and self-plagiarism) through iThenticate Similarity Check program: <https://www.crossref.org/services/similarity-check/>). Papers published in the journal are licensed under the Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC.

## CONTRIBUTORS ARE REQUESTED TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING

### Articles

1. The length of articles (including references, notes, figures and tables) should not exceed 7000 words.
2. Contributions should be double-spaced and all pages should be numbered.
3. The first page should contain the author's name and surname, the name and address of the institution in which the author is employed, and the title of the article written in capital letters (The Editorial board will delete this information before sending the manuscript to be reviewed).
4. The journal uses APA style (Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 7th edition – <http://www.apastyle.org/>) to format references in the text and bibliography.
5. In the reference list or bibliography, the author should provide full references for all the works mentioned in the text; also, the reference list should contain only those sources mentioned in the text. They should be listed alphabetically according to the surname of the author, and chronologically if a particular author has more than one work. If several works by the same author were published in the same year, they should be differentiated by letters (a, b, c, etc.) following the year of publication. If a work was written by several authors, all authors should be listed instead of using "et al." or "and collaborators".

When an article or bibliographic record has a DOI, use the DOI number in the reference list (it is possible to look up the DOI number here: <http://www.crossref.org/SimpleTextQuery/>).

For works accessible through the internet, the main information (title, author etc.) and the source (<http://>) should be provided.

6. A summary written in Croatian and English should also be included. The summary should not exceed 180 words and should indicate the aim of the work, the methodology used, and the most important findings and conclusions. Authors should specify up to five key words.
7. Graphical appendices (tables and graphs) need to be in black and white, saved in original format, with their size and complexity adjusted to the format of the Journal so that all elements are clear and visible. They must be numbered consecutively in order of appearance and include title. The graphic appendixes are part of the manuscript and should be enclosed in the text. Exceptionally, they may be placed at the end of the manuscript, while their exact position should be indicated in the text of the manuscript.

Formatting references in the text according to APA style

The sources should be cited in the text, not in the footnotes. The reference should be in brackets, containing the author's surname and year of publication e.g.:

(Mumford, 1962) or  
Mumford (1962).

The page number should be included for quotations or references to books e.g.:  
(Mumford, 1962, p. 99).

If the reference was written by two authors, both should be mentioned e.g.:  
(Berger & Luckmann, 1992).

If the work was written by three or more authors, the form "et al." is used from the first citation on, e.g.:

(Prelog et al., 1979) or  
Prelog et al. (1979).

All references in the text should be given as they were given the first time, i.e., forms such as "Ibid.", "Op. cit." and the like, are not used. Authors should use footnotes exclusively for commenting on or expanding on what is referred to in the text.

The reference list should be written in APA style as in the following examples.

Book – one author:

Mumford, L. (1962). *The city in history*. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

Book – several authors:

Portes, A., & DeWind, J. (2008). *Rethinking migration: New theoretical and empirical perspectives*. Berghahn Books.

Work from an anthology:

Greenberg, M., & Hughes-Evans, D. (1980). Air pollution. In J. Aldrich (Ed.), *Atmosphere, weather and climate* (Vol. 3, pp. 35–75). Methuen.

Article in a journal with a DOI number:

Leach, S., & Lowndes, V. (2007). Of roles and rules. Analysing the changing relationship between political leaders and chief executives in local government. *Public Policy and Administration*, 22(2), 183–200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076707075892>

Article in a journal without a DOI number:

Galešić, M., & Stepanić, J. (2003). Toward parameterisation of E-mail mediated communication. *Interdisciplinary Description of Complex Systems – INDECS*, 1(1–2), 54–65. <http://indecs.znanost.org>

Unpublished doctoral dissertation:

Surname, X. (Year). *Title of dissertation*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Name of institution.

Published conference paper:

Author of Paper, A., & Author of Paper, B. (Year, Month date). Title of paper. In A. Editor, B. Editor, & C. Editor, *Title of published proceedings*. Paper presented at Title of Conference: Subtitle of Conference, Location (inclusive page numbers). Place of publication: Publisher.

Laws and regulations:

Act on vocational rehabilitation and employment of persons with disabilities.  
*Official Gazette*, 143/2002, 33/2005.

Article in newspaper (unsigned):

Article title. (Date of issue). *Name of newspaper*, p. xx.

Article in newspaper (signed by author), electronic source:

Author, A. A. (Year, Month, Day). Title of article. *Title of newspaper*. Available at URL of specific article.

Other examples can be found at <http://www.apastyle.org/>. More detailed instructions are available on the journal's website: <http://drustvena-istrzivanja.pilar.hr/index.php/drustvena-istrzivanja/index>.

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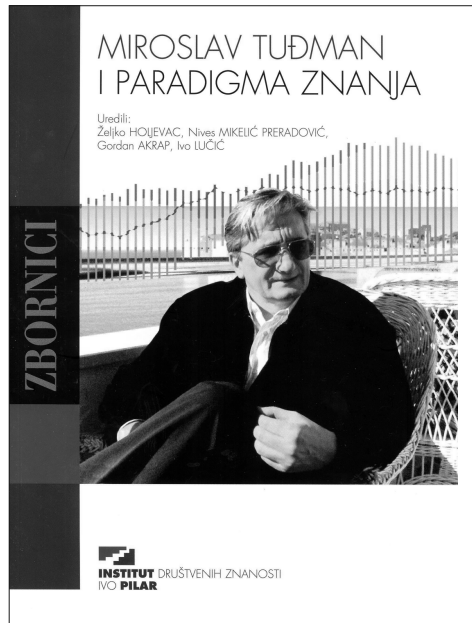
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Zagreb, 2023., 448 str.

U povodu prve godišnjice smrti prof. dr. sc. Mi-  
roslava Tuđmana održan je u Zagrebu 31.  
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Izdanja u suradnji s drugim institucijama

Andrej Čebotarev  
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Zagreb, 2022., 319 str.

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