



Università  
Ca' Foscari  
Venezia

Master's Degree  
in Environmental  
Humanities

Final Thesis

# Memory of an island

Anthropological and  
environmental memories of the  
island of Lussino

**Supervisor**

Ch. Prof. Shaul Bassi

**Assistant supervisor**

Ch. Prof. Sabrina Marchetti

**Graduand**

Federica Chalvien

Matriculation number

863351

**Academic Year**

2022 / 2023

A Umberto Chalvien

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## **Introduction**

The island of Lussino is situated in Croatia, in the northern part of the Adriatic Sea, within the Quarnero Gulf, not far from the Istrian Peninsula.

The inspiration for this thesis sparks from a deep personal connection, one that weaves together the threads of my family history and a profound curiosity about the evolving perception of nature in our contemporary world. The subject that is the island of Lussino managed to let my fascination towards it grow the more I researched the many aspects that define it and that direct towards the concept of collective memory shaped by the profound events that unfolded on its shores.

The family history that so deeply influenced me is one that has been passed down to me through stories and tales that made me aware of a past of the island that was hard to wrap around my mind, while the stories' location was the same that would form in my mind when thinking about the island, some other parts of my family's stories were hard for me to wrap my mind around; these aspects of the stories were the ones that described a life on the island that did not coincide with the contemporary image that I had of it, the enduring bonds between the people of the Lussino and the vibrant liveliness of the island, at the time populated by friends and families that no longer are part of it nor my family's lives.

It is with this blend of nostalgia for a time gone by and the witnessing of the transformations this island is enduring that the topics of this thesis were propelled into reality. This interest on the island of Lussino started to shift from a personal plane to a more general one that wanted to understand how the perception of nature evolves during time of change; the shifting landscape of our planet fueled my curiosity towards the dynamics of human-nature interactions. The question that was sparked was one regarding how historical connections grapple with the tides of environmental consciousness.

However, what truly set Lussino apart from many other locations, was the presence of an intricate web of historical narratives and collective memory, most notably intertwined with the tragic event of the, so called, Exodus that unfolded in the aftermath of World War ii. This pivotal event etched into the island's annals, marked the departure of countless families, their home left empty and the vibrance of the life on the island dimmed; Lussino was irrevocably altered after the Exodus, as if a piece of its soul had been torn away and left only memories behind. It is this complex interplay of history and memory that renders Lussino a unique case study.

The concept of memory, both individual and collective, became the theme that would shape my journey during this thesis, I strived to understand how a place that was so deeply described through memories of its past, now confront the transformations that it is enduring in its present. I wanted to understand how the experiences and memories shaped the identity of the island of Lussino. One of the central themes that therefore emerged through the work on this thesis is the interplay between environmental changes and human sentiment. I wanted to between understand how, when people started to return to the island after the Exodus and the Yugoslavia limitation on foreign entry, they were confronted with the changes in the environment of the island of Lussino and the evolving emotions that were present within themselves. This changes in what one calls home are the nexus of environmental change and human emotion, a nexus that could give us insight into the difficult topics of identity, belonging, and memory that shape the experience of witnessing a transformed homeland. This historical event stands as a defining chapter in the island's chronicles, and its echoes continue to reverberate through the narrative we explore throughout this thesis.

It is also important to situate this thesis in the context of climate change, a phenomenon that will only amplify and depend that complexity of the transformation and the evolution of Lussino. Environmental and climate changes imply not only a shift in most of the natural aspect of the island, with the menace of rising sea levels, shifting weather patterns, and unpredictable ecological shifts, but also a transformation and an impact on the emotions and lives of the island's inhabitants. In this thesis, Lussino is poised on the bring on transformation, a spot in the eye of the storm that are the anthropogenic consequences of climate change.

The journey of this thesis was also able to explore my own journey dealing with environmental anxiety, an emotion that often overpowered me when contemplating the changes that I witness on the island. This thesis also wanted to serve as a validation of the feelings of dread and concern that I, and many others, experience when confronting with the transformation that often so violently affect natural spaces that one cherishes. These feelings of anxiety are human responses and should be acknowledged as emotions that are not isolated or irrational but a response to a world that is changing through force behind our control and that are intrinsically bigger than an individual. This research underlines the importance of documenting places that contain an environmental significance for people's lives, in a changing world that often endures interventions that change the landscape irreversibly, the presence of memories that will preserve the image of these place is vital to maintain the humanity connected to them. While it is impossible to shield all nature from all changes, showing the importance that places hold in a personal or collective consciousness is important to at least shield what remains of them from being forgotten and replaced.

The memory of Lussino, in particular, carries a particular significance as it is a place both lived and left and already became a repository of memories and emotions for those who departed from it during the Exodus. This research is therefore magnified by the fact that some of the memories regarding the island are the only remaining connection to their homeland and the life they had in Lussino.

Within the environmental humanities genre, this research challenges the notion that the changing nature of our world should leave places like Lussino into oblivion, contributing on the ongoing discourse surrounding the preservation of environmental memory. The significance of this thesis lies in the exploration of environmental changes and the validation of our emotional responses to it, reminding us that feeling of attachment to places like Lussino are markers of our shared humanity.

Many populations and stories traveled and settled on the island of Lussino, its history can be traced back to the Greeks and Romans, from Venice Republic to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, this vast history culminates with one of the historical occurrences that most defines the territories of Istria and Dalmazia, the Exodus. In this thesis I put

forth my utmost effort in making the reader understand how this tragic event took place, the history behind it and how it affected how the island exists to this day. The Exodus is a pivot moment in my thesis, it is the moment in which the island is abandoned and it becomes for many only a memory, an image in their minds, no longer a physical place that they could touch, walk upon, breath, and live, it became the homeland that they abandoned and was no longer in their lives, it became unreachable and lost.

The Exodus affected many, both the people that left that the ones that stayed, and while it has a human aspect to it, it is most often discussed in political terms at it is at its core a politically born tragedy. The fleeing of people from the nation of Yugoslavia sparks from a political pressure that consisted of suppression of dissent, strict ideological control, censorship, and limitation of political freedom that created a state of fear in the population as the repercussions for going against what was imposed on them were often deadly. The origin of the Exodus phenomena are therefore violent and the narrative surrounding this event were often skewed by political beliefs, Italy, who is the nation that welcomed the majority of the fleeing population, has often used the Exodus as a weapon against communism and left-sideing ideals; it is only with the passing of time, the fall of the Yugoslavia regime, and a more pressing education of the matter that the conversation surrounding the phenomena have started to become more focused on the human effect of the tragedy.

While many studies on the Exodus have been conducted in the Italian language and many of the people that fled Yugoslavia where Italian speakers, many other researches and documents are produced in the Croatia or Slovenian language, as well as many others of ex-Yugoslavia territories; the latter documentation was not accessible to me as I am not a Croatian speaker and many of these resources were not translated in English or any other language that I have enough knowledge of, nevertheless a few briefer documents were successfully translated via internet resources and have been incorporated into my thesis. I want to therefore underline that the resources present in this thesis, for what concerns the Exodus, are mainly in the Italian language.

In the pursuit of this thesis the language barrier posed a significant challenge in accessing primary sources, nevertheless I conducted comprehensive research in order to



board this linguistic gap and ensure that my documentation remained unbiased; my aim is to present a well-rounded and accurate representation of the island of Lussino. The issue of the language is also underlined throughout this thesis through the use of Italian names as all geographical names present in this thesis are presented in their Italian translation, this decision was taken both because of the historical and cultural background of the country of Croatia and the familiar use I have in relation with them. Croatia was influenced by the Italian language and, more in particular, Istro-Veneto dialect that was widely used in all territories under the Venetian Republic, this influence was then kept on with the Austro-Hungarian Empire that left the use of language mostly undisturbed; both powers controlled the territories of modern Croatia and therefore the language tradition managed to resist until the modern day as a mean of communication. The Italian language is known by roughly 23% of the Croatia population with a spike in the Istria region of which is part the island of Lussino. Because of this influence my family always referred to geographic location on the island in the Italian language and this habit has persisted until this day as we still use in our day to day life not only when talking within my family but talking with everyone that comes from the island or lives on it.

## **Methodology**

The methodology of this thesis is characterized by a multidisciplinary approach, typical of the Environmental Humanities. It draws from various fields of study to comprehensively explore the island of Lussino, capturing its complex interplay of human experiences, emotions, and environmental changes that define its narrative. Its cultural fabric is intricate and anthropological research entails immersing oneself in the lives and costumes of the people that live on the island, both past and present. Through ethnographic fieldwork and the analyses of oral histories, the aim is to reveal the aspects of island life that might be more difficult to catch at first glance and that are not readily apparent in historical records. Anthropological analysis allows to delve into

how culture has served as both a source of resilience and a mean for preserving the island's collective memory.

The literary analysis dimension of this methodology introduces a more personal and emotion layer to this thesis, focusing on the author Elsa Bragato. By analyzing her works it is possible to gain access to an intricate web of emotions and, through an interpretation of her writings, the aim is to capture the essence of what it means to confront the loss of a homeland and the complex emotions that arise when facing a changed past.

Comparative analysis is also a common thread throughout this thesis, connecting different angles and time periods of Lussino's culture and history. Through this approach the patterns of change and continuity are discerned, creating the mosaic of the island's narrative through juxtaposing historical, literary, and contemporary accounts and narratives.

In addition, qualitative interviews were conducted in order to better understand the present reality of Lussino and the experiences of the people living on it. The addition of qualitative interviews wants to strengthen the multidisciplinary approach of this thesis, offering a more complete and human-centered perspective on the island of Lussino and its evolving story, bridging the gap between academic research and real-life stories and experiences.

## **Structure**

The structure of this thesis wants to provide a total understanding of the island of Lussino ranging from its historical roots to its present-day challenges and future prospects.

The thesis firstly introduces the island of Cherso and Lussino giving a geographical and anthropological overview of the islands, touching on many of the traditions, cultural nuances, and historical developments that have shaped the identity of these communities.

The explain than shifts into understanding what is an island and explore the concept of islands as microcosms, with a particular focus on the dimension of SIDS (Small Island Developing States) and the challenges they face dealing with the effects of climate change, giving an insight into the vulnerability and adaptations required to adapt to shifting environmental realities; SIDS will be our introduction to migration and mobility giving an overview on how and why many leave their island homeland.

In the following chapter I dwell deeper into the topic of migration as we will analyze the events of the Istro-Dalmatian Exodus, the forced relocation that caused Lussino to change its identity and transform itself under the Yugoslavia regime. Exploring the effects of the Exodus on the people that left and their experience dealing with the grief of losing what they once called home because of the coercive measures and political dynamics that caused them to leave.

I show how it felt to come back to Lussino, focusing on the literary works of Elsa Bragato. As one of the most renowned authors of the island, Bragato's writing serve as a testimony of the profound sentiments triggered by the transformations witnessed on her home land; her books provide an intimate glimpse into the depths of grief and nostalgia she felt upon revisiting an island decisively changed in her absence. Her evocative narratives gives us a new view of the nature and life on the island adding to them the complexities that arise when one confronts a place once cherished to one that one cannot recognize anymore.

In the final chapter I look at the present situation of Lussino, its future projects and initiatives that are currently shaping its trajectory. Here I engage with the island's contemporary realities, exploring the evolving relationship with the environment and the present perception of nature by the people that live on the island considering the challenges of climate change and sustainability in the modern era.

In summation, the structure of this thesis wants to provide the reader with a multidimensional understanding of Lussino, making it walk on the island while discussing geography, anthropology, history, migration, and environmental awareness. Each chapter wants to offer a different lens through which one can look at the island's past, present, and future, culminating in a comprehensive portrait of a place that holds significant importance for many. The intricate interplay between humanity and the

environment is shown, and the profound significance of memory and environmental memory.

## **Images**

All images present in this thesis are, if not specified, from the private collection of vintage postcards of my late uncle Umberto Chalvien. The use of postcards wants to show the depiction of Lussino that people sent across the world, showing the connection between individuals not present in the same location. Postcards are meant to be shared across distances, they are a mean of communication both by the words written on the back of them and the images printed on them, showing beautiful landscapes or iconic interest points that convey the atmosphere of the place visited. These postcards, with their carefully chosen images, carry the collective experience and sentiments of those who sent and received them.

Moreover, these postcards hold a deep personal significance for me. They are not simply historical artifacts but part of my family's legacy, looking through the ones that were sent by my family to their loved ones felt like being able to see them in their younger years, seeing their handwriting change the older they got, from the big letters of the signature of a child, to a fancier italic signed by a teenager.

In using postcards, I aimed to convey not only the historical and symbolic aspects of the connections between people but also the deeply personal and emotional dimension tied to my own family history and memory.

## 1. The island of Cherso

The island of Lussino, also known as Losinj, is located in the northern Adriatic Sea. It is part of the Cres-Losinj archipelago, which also includes the neighboring island of Cherso, Cres. The islands are situated in the Quarnero Bay, which is a stretch of the Adriatic Sea that lies between Istria, Cherso, Lussino, and Fiume on its northern side. The Quarnero Bay is known for its strong currents and the Bora, a strong northeastern wind that creates difficult conditions for navigation. The islands have a typical Mediterranean climate, with mild winters and warm summers. The highest point on the island of Cherso is Mount Osorščica, which stands at 588 meters above sea level. The islands are home to several species of plants and animals that are endemic to the region, including the Cres Griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*) and the Losinj Aegilops (*Aegilops neglecta*), a type of grass of the *Poaceae* family. The island of Cherso is the largest island in the Quarnero Bay, with an area of approximately 404 square kilometers. It has a rugged and rocky coastline, with numerous bays and coves that offer sheltered anchorages for boats. The island is also known for its freshwater lake, Vrana, which is one of the largest natural lakes in Croatia. The lake is situated in the central part of the island, at an altitude of approximately 70 meters above sea level. It is fed by several small streams and springs, and it is home to several species of fish and birds. The island of Losinj, on the other hand, is smaller than Cres, with an area of approximately 75 square kilometers. It is known for its numerous bays and beaches, as well as for its dense pine forests. The island is also home to several small villages and towns, including Lussinpiccolo, Lussingrande, and Neresine. These towns are popular tourist destinations, especially during the summer months. The trip in order to reach the island, for my family, has always consisted of a four-to-five-hour ride by car from the city of Trieste, I used to despise this part of my vacation, as most children do, mostly for the early hours we had to wake up for and for a strong car sickness that cursed all my trips.

But, my father had it worse. In stereotypical dad-fashion, my father liked to remember to all of us how much harder the trip was when he was younger and, just as me, he was hit by car-sickness as well. These remarks were usually made in the worst parts of the trip, when me and my brother began to pinch at each other and become restless. My father underlined how the car ride to reach Lussino, in their times, was well over five hours, all roads were dirt roads, the ferry to reach the island had no real time table, the Slovenian border could check on cars for hours and the car they rode in was a Fiat 500 with five people crammed into it. When hearing about this story me and my brother could only settle down and agree that, after all, our air-conditioned car ride with an mp3 in hand was not that bad. In order to reach the island of Cherso, from which you are able to reach the one of Lussino, you have to catch a ferry that departs more or less every hour, tourists wait outside their cars, catching a breath of fresh air and stretch a bit, looking afar to the other coast in order to see if the ferry has departed from its destination. The distance is not long, a mere 2.7 km, but the capacity of the ferries many times forced my family and others to be stopped a few meters from the boat, doomed to wait another hour and prolonging the journey. I was fond of this waiting most of the time as it was snack time and as we used to travel with two cars and this meant that I could finally say hi to my uncles and grandma as I was too sleepy before. When you are waiting in Brestova you smell the Quarnero, you can start to get again used to all those familiar smells that were not available at home, the flora starts to become the one that I was used to and the water clearer than the one in Trieste but I knew that this was just the hors-d'oeuvre, there was still too much civilization, cars and pollution for me to be satisfied. When we finally and eventually board the ferry, we can leave our cars and go on the dock, to look out at sea and feel our island getting closer and closer. The trip is approximately 15 minutes long, if you stay outside too much you often get back to the car feeling sticky and a little salty from the humidity of the sea. The Quarnero is a funnel-shaped section of the Adriatic Sea that, on its northern side, divides Istria from Cherso, Lussino, and Fiume. The Bora, a forceful north-eastern wind, and the strong currents that dominate this section of the sea frequently combine to create treacherous navigational conditions, earning the Quarnero its notoriety. It covers an area of approximately 3,000 square km and has a maximum depth of 55. When the coast is

close to the touch we make our way back to the cars, the trip is halfway through by now but from the moment you set foot on the island of Cherso you feel way closer to your destination and, usually, the rest of the trip passes in a breeze. Not much has changed, since my childhood, on the island of Cherso, a few roads have been upgraded but other than the new asphalt the landscape has remained almost untouched: sage still grows on Mount Sis, sheep still roam on the cliffs of the island and griffons continue to fly above our heads while we drive towards Lussino.

### **1.1. Mountain pass**

The first stop on the Island of Cherso is always Križići mountain pass, where a large lay-by is present, and while glancing over to see both the coast of Istria and Croatia, my grandmother and my mother walk down the steep mountain side in order to collect some sage plants (*Salvia officinalis*) that grow abundantly in the area. Here is also present the crossroad that brings you to the city of Beli. Here is present the ecological center of Caput Insulae Reserve. Founded in 1994, the center managed the conservation of the habitat of griffon vultures now endangered by the reduction of the number of sheep on the island and the introduction of game, such as boars, pushed by local hunters. Working in collaboration with the farmers, a guaranteed presence of sheep was established in order for griffons to prey on them. Sheep were once the strongest Agricultural potential of the island, together with, but in smaller amount, goats. On the island the animals always stayed outdoors, being moved from pasture to pasture. In a fundamental example of the interweaving and equilibrium of economic activities, sheep were considered of fundamental importance for the growth of olive trees (*Olea europaea*). The sheep substituted the human hand by cleaning out the weeds beneath the trees and softening the soil, making it responsive to the fertilizer they made with their manure. Where figs (*Ficus carica*) and vines (*Vitis vinifera*) were planted next to the olive trees, sheep were banned from entry as they could have potentially destroyed the plants with their grazing. In the economy of the island, sheep were considered fundamental for the sale of cheese and, even more importantly, lamb. After lambing, it

was traditional to leave the lambs with the ewes for around one month. The lamb was sold after it reached a weight of between 10 and 15 kg. Cherso's lamb meat was highly prized on the market due to the exceptional quality achieved through open grazing, particularly due to the grasses and forest debris exposed to the salt-laden breezes blowing off the sea. The more prosperous villagers saved a lamb or two for themselves. Lamb flesh, grilled on the spit, was a popular addition to the Easter dinner. Along with milk and cheese, mutton meat was one of the most present foods in the diet of the population of Cherso, it more times than not cured and rarely eaten fresh. Sheep-raising, therefore, left its imprint on many aspects of these islanders' past life, whether in cuisine, wardrobe, home inventory, participation in agricultural operations, or products destined for the market.

The vulture population of Cherso is unique because of the possibility of nidification on the cliffs that are inaccessible for men. Caput Insulae Reserve works also in close collaboration with fisherman that scoop out of the water, vultures that fell in the sea: younglings have a high chance of diving during their first test-flies and fishermen help over a dozen young vultures every year that, without their prompt action, would not have been able to survive. As of 2017, there were a total of 108 nesting pairs with 76 young birds ready to fly; it is worth noting that the Ordinance on the conservation objectives and basic measures for the conservation of birds in the ecological network area (Narodne novine Official Gazette, No. 15/2014) states that between 110 and 130 nesting pairs are required to preserve the species, implying that the Caput Insulae Reserve is on the right track for the preservation of Vultures on Cherso-Lussino.



## 1.2 Fresh water: Vrana Lake

After leaving the lay-by we continue proceeding down the island where, after a 40-minute car ride you pass Lake Vrana, the largest and only fresh-water lake in the otherwise waterless island. It serves as a source of the Cherso-Lussino Island region's water supply. The deepest portion of the lake's bottom is around 61.5 m below sea level since the lake is a crypto-depression with an absolute depth of about 74.5 m and a mean water level of about 13 m above sea level. Because there is no decomposition and the lake is pristine (oligotrophic), it is unusual among karst waterways: because there are virtually no microorganisms in the water, unfiltered lake water is used for plumbing; the water supply pipes were checked 15 years after they were installed and determined to be completely clean, attesting to the water's total cleanliness. There are no major towns, businesses, sewage systems, or rivers that fall directly into the lake; instead, they are lost in the gravel of the beach and therefore filtered. As a result, the water at Lake Vrana is extraordinarily translucent, with depths ranging from 10 to 24 meters. The area's natural scenery and a special socioeconomic importance from ancient times to the present have an impact on the water's remarkable cleanliness. Due to the lake's relatively difficult access and the sparse local population, the use of the lake for drinking water, fishing, and animal feeding could not compromise the environment's integrity. The fact that the freshwater lake is situated on an island and is surrounded by salty sea water raises the issue of how much water can be used without upsetting the natural equilibrium. The lake level can be reduced to a height of 3 m above sea level, according to M. Petrik's calculations, without the lake filling with seawater, as the lake level would still be in hydrostatic equilibrium with respect to the height of the surrounding must's column at that elevation. After the water supply system was constructed and hook-and-line sport fishing was made the only type of fishing allowed, the lake was protected in 1983, converting its northern-western portion into an ornithological reserve that was placed into the European "bird areas". Sedge (*Carex baldensis*), rush (*Juncus effusus*), and reed (*Phragmites australis*) coexist with other plant species on the park's grounds, and there are also vibrantly colored perennial

flowers that draw a lot of butterflies, dragonflies, and other insects and provide a year-round home for birds. There are 249 species of birds in the ornitofauna of the lake, 102 of which nest on park property, and many others to spend the winter on the shores of the lake. Many wading birds, herons, ducks, birds of prey, and passerines are also significant species for the stability of the lake ecosystem, including the purple (*Ardea purpurea*) and white (*Ardea alba*) heron, bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*), marsh harrier (*Circus aeruginosus*), king quail (*Excalfactoria chinensis*), coot (*Fulica atra*), green reed warbler (*Acrocephalus scirpaceus*), lesser shag (*Phalacrocorax carbo*), and squacco heron (*Ardeola ralloides*). While the richness in bird species present is one of the main draws of the park, the lake is also home to numerous significant fish species and marine animals; for example, eels (*Anguilliformes*) and *salaria fluviatilis* are two indigenous species of freshwater fish present in its waters. Fishing has a very long history on Lake Vrana, the first instance of this is from 1439 when the prince of Cherso was given permission to permit unrestricted fishing on the lake by the Venetian general provider for Dalmatia. According to Alberto Fortis, who wrote about his voyages through Dalmatia in 1771, the Cherso's town council had previously leased the lake for fishing reasons, and the importance of fish in the diet of the populace of the nearby communities is emphasized. The area is furthermore protected by a zone around the lake where it is prohibited to raise and feed animals, use chemical fertilizers in agriculture, clear trees, and camp, due to the lake's increasing importance as a source of water. By outright forbidding visitors and the use of motor boats, residents of the nearby communities safeguard the lake from any pollution. However, they do emphasize that, as seen by the lake's clear water, traditional commercial activity has not yet caused harm to the lake or its surroundings. Because of its ecological importance and its beauty, the natural park of Lake Vrana was instituted on the 21st of July, 1999, preserving its clarity and purity for present and future communities.

### **1.3 Modernity: Orlec-Trinket solar plant complex**

Something new that we will start to see just next to Lake Vrana will be the Solar Plant Complex of Orlec-Trinket. The Orlec Trinket solar power plant is a collaboration between the Primorsko-Goranska county, Hrvatska Elektroprivreda (HEP), and Monastery of St. Frane-Cres. The solar plant project, which will cost €6.1 million, is located on Cres Island and estimated to have an installed capacity of 6.5 MW, making it the largest solar park in Croatia. This development is a part of HEP's Development Strategy, which aims to increase the percentage of electricity generated from renewable sources to 50% by 2030 and 70% by 2050. The Orlec Trinket solar plant is the first HEP project of its kind outside of rooftops. Currently, there are only two solar parks under development in Croatia, and Orlec Trinket is one of them. Croatia has a high solar potential as a country, with over 2,600 hours of sunshine each year. Developing solar energy can assist Croatia in reducing its reliance on fossil resources and meeting its climate goals. Solar power facilities can also generate jobs, stimulate economic growth, and reduce air pollution. As a result, investing in solar power plants is a wise decision for Croatia's long-term development. It is crucial to highlight that the visibility of solar power plants in the landscape is determined by a variety of elements, and research has been undertaken to quantify their impact on energy landscapes. Energy landscapes are the end effect of such shifts. The perception of a group of volunteers was used in Tadej Bevk's study from the University of Ljubljana to explore how solar power plants affect how people perceive landscapes. Volunteers visited landscapes with solar power plants, recorded their observations through writing and photography, and then discussed them in focus groups. An opinion poll of the general public served to confirm the findings, because 25 out of the 28 field trip participants snapped pictures of the solar power facilities, the findings demonstrate that they are distinguishable features in the environment. In 42% of the images, the landscape was depicted unfavorably, 23% indifferently, and 27% positively. As they introduce modernity and an air of industrialization into a setting that can appear wild to the eye, solar power plants have generally been criticized as being inconsistent with the rural character of the landscape.

For some, the solar power plant's ability to blend in with the surroundings depended on its design. Participants frequently emphasized sustainability-related qualities while characterizing solar power facilities, in addition to the visual and character mismatch with the surroundings. The findings demonstrate that the energy landscape is not yet a recognizable type of landscape and that by carefully planning, particularly by imitating the existing structures in the landscape, it is possible to enhance the coherence between solar power plants and landscape and raise the acceptance of the intervention among the general public.

## 1.4 A dry land: masiere

By traveling through the island, the landscape is rocky and dry, transformed both by anthropogenic presence and the exposure to the Bora wind. Deforestation caused the island to lose its oak forest cover and replace it with rockery areas used for sheep grazing. The seemingly barren pastures and rockeries actually hide quite rich and endemic flora, characterized by significant biodiversity with approximately 1400 plant species present on the island. This land's cultivation was neither straightforward nor easy. In fact, it had to be reclaimed from the stone. Countless village generations were compelled to remove the stones from very tiny humus areas on a daily basis.



Figure 1 Example of the dry walls known as "masiere"

The peasants from Cherso carefully piled the stones along the borders of his lot creating dry walls that established a network over the entire region throughout the years. Although these walls represent human spatial intervention, the harmony of the natural

environment was not disturbed due to the use of autochthonous natural materials in an elementary technique - simple stacking of the stones without the use of any bonding materials - and the modest dimensions of the walls. The role of these dry walls was considered fundamental also in the fertilization process as due to a chronic lack of manure, the Cherso peasants would occasionally fertilize their groves with fresh soil that was found beneath the stacked stones and that retained all of its natural components. To get there, the locals had to disassemble the road with picks and move the stones to another area before recreating the path or the wall after the soil was gone. This was an extraordinarily time-consuming procedure. It demonstrates not just their innovation, but also the perseverance displayed by these islanders in their battle against the scarcity of their natural resources. These dry-stone walls are the most visible aspect of the island's rural anthropogenic legacy. The walls vary in design, height, and function. The most prominent example can be found in and near Cherso and they are still one of the most important landscape characteristics in the Cherso area today. When the land had to be divided or sold, new dry-stone walls would be built. The use of these pastures entailed the need to maintain them, which included restoring demolished dry-stone walls, removing puddles. Dry stone walls inside communal pastures mostly encircle large irregular parcels to separate them from neighboring managed pastures or to separate communal pastures belonging to various administrations. Smaller stones, stacked lower, were used for the creation of walkways alongside the plots, as well as supports for the grapevines. The Venetian Republic has attempted and partially succeeded in establishing a control in these lands since the 11th century. The Venetian authorities formed a feudal connection and began systematically dividing the land with drystone walls. Such management persisted even throughout Austrian authority (1814-1914) and during the Italian annexation period until 1945.

## 1.5 Ossero

After another 30 minutes of car ride, we start to reach the point where we will leave the island of Cherso and set foot on the island of Lussino. The once united islands are now divided by the canal present in the city of Ossero. The canal is no modern presence on the island, the limb of the sea that connects the Quarnero to the Quarnerolo can be dated back to Roman times when the town became more populated and fortified. The canal, known as Cavanella, lets boats pass through it rather than circumnavigating the 33 km of length of the island of Lussino and the 65 km of the one of Cherso; this passage is important not only for the time cut but also for the passing to calmer waters that would let the navigation be smoother. Ossero can be considered the pivot of both islands: its importance as a town of passage and its strategic position determined its fortune and made it the most historically important town for Cherso and Lussino for centuries.

Abbot Alberto Fortis, author of two extensive essays on Venetian Dalmatia, focused part of his “Travels into Dalmatia” on the city of Ossero. Abbot Fortis says of the town: “Tutte le storie de’ paesi, che fin dalle più rimote età furono illustri, sono così mescolate colla favola, che difficilissima cosa riesce il poterne separar il vero. I racconti appoggiati a fatti in origine reali, e non istriani acquistaron il meraviglioso passando di bocca in bocca: e dal semplice al figurato condotto agevolmente, restarono poscia in quasi totale impotenza di ritornare alla primitiva purezza. A ogni modo, quantunque volte il nome d’na Terra costantemente ritrovasi presso molti Scrittori antichi come Teatro di qualche favolosa, o mista novella rammemorato, di là sa d’uopo incominciare la Storia; cercando colla buona critica di bene vagliare le tradizioni alterate, o se si po’ coll’osservazioni, e co’ fatti provandole ragionevoli, e non totalmente lontane dall’essere veritiere” It is indeed true that Ossero is a city that is funded by legend and its longevity made the legends on it continue and expand. The archipelago’s name “Apsyrtes” derives from the ancient name of the city, Apsoros or Apsorus, for the legend that brings the name back to the brother of Medea. The city can be traced back to prehistoric times, becoming then part of Greek and Roman properties. Its first basilica was erected during the byzantine empire in the V century. As Abbot Fortis notes in his

essay on the island of Cherso and Lussino: “Dopo la decadenza dell’Impero Romano passò Cherso ed Osero da un Padrone all’altro; ed ora all’Impero Grego, ora alla Corona d’Ungheria fu incorporata, ora da Bani, e da’ Re Slavi ricevette leggi, senza che avvenimenti rimarchevoli la rendessero illustres”. Osero became part of the Republic of Venice during the XV century, there are both Gothic and Renaissance noble residences in Osero, each with its own interior courtyard and well. Many palaces of the time’s noble families have vanished, leaving just the enclosure walls of the gardens visible today. Only citizens (cives) had the right to own property in the city, which was split into nobles and commoners. The simple dwellers, or habitatores, also lived in the urban area and had the option of obtaining citizenship. But Osero, while looking as if still stuck in Venetia times, managed to be involved in modern legends as well. Many people from the city of Trieste take part in this legend, still referring to the bridge in Osero as the old bridge present in the Grand Canal in Trieste. The voice spread that the bridge that connected the two sides of the canal present in the Borgo Teresiano and that used to caress the church of Saint Anthony was repurposed in Osero to connect the two islands. The misunderstanding was born due to the similarity between the two bridges which can be traced back to the Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino that produced both bridges, the one in Osero was painted with “two coats of anti-rust red lead and two coats of green” that gave it the same color of the one in Trieste and, possibly, the same designer. Osero’s bridge was commissioned in 1878 with an estimated construction time of six months, Trieste’s Grand Canal bridge remained connected until 1950, making this legend impossible to take place; nevertheless, many people from Trieste keep on telling this story while crossing this bridge making their way towards their vacation destination.



## **2. The island of Lussino**

### **2.1. A change of scenery**

While on the island of Cherso, the road climbs upwards to some of its highest points as soon as you step foot on it. On the other hand, when arriving on Lussino via the bridge of Ossero, the slope is much gentler, bringing you back to the height of the vegetation around you; you are no longer able to look down on the rocky terrain as you did on Cherso. As you travel through the first part of the Island of Lussino, you start to come across numerous beaches. These beaches are mostly pebbled and often packed with tourists, no matter how small the slice of land present. These small yet beautiful beaches are characteristic of the island. They feel like small pearls found among the harsh vegetation. The blue and light blue of the sea clash and mix with the sap green and yellowish tones of the vegetation, separated and linked by the white rocks and stones of the beach. These beaches feel like magnets; as soon as you see these colors, the whole body wants to strip down and immerse itself in the fresh waters of the Mediterranean. Floating on it and diving down to cool down the heads boiled by the long trip and the metal of the car. The vegetation seems to be greener on Lussino, in contrast with the paler colors one can see on Cherso. But the feeling of the island being more colorful might as well be determined by the fact that the road tends to pass through many more places where tourists are present. The colors of their swimming suits and beach towels might as well trick on to see more life on the island and project this feeling onto the vegetation that surrounds them. Cherso feels more sparse, it is hard to see tourists while travelling through it (even though Cherso in 2019 registered twice as many tourists as Lussino, for a total of 500,000 visitors), this might be why I always saw the island as dimmer and dryer, with more grass burnt by the sun and cut by the teeth of sheep rather

than flourishing with olive trees and oaks. The trip in order to arrive in Zabodaski, our final destination for this car ride, still consists of around 30 minutes by road. The dirt road once used to pass through the small village of Ciunski, but now it caresses it letting even fewer cars through the now narrow main road. People still peek through their windows when a foreign license plate drives through the village, even though its small but wonderful beaches, and easy connectivity throughout the area, make it a strategic vacation accommodation. Sometimes, a house from Ciunski is put up for sale, and on these occasions, we often get the backstory of the people who left the village and, most of the times left the country to create a new life for themselves. It is not rare for grandsons of people who were born in Ciunski to now live in the USA or Australia, many islanders left the country with the Austro-Hungarian Transoceanic line and settled themselves on the continent. If we were to continue on the main road we would after another 25-minute drive, to the town of Lussino.

## 2.2 Papaline: a story of working women



*Figure 2. Workers in the Kvarner factory – courtesy of*

If you were riding down that road in the 70's, before arriving in Lussino, on your right side, you would have found one of the most important factories on the island. Kvarner on Lussino was operated by the food industry company, S.A. Prodotti Alimentari G. Arrigoni, from Trieste, focused on the production of canned sardines and closed in 1974. Until 1996, a similar factory was also present on the island of Cherso, Plavica, that was founded by the Parisian company, Société générale française de conserves alimentaires, with a branch office in Trieste. Canneries were a usual view in the past as, because of the lack of refrigeration options available, fish had to be packed as fast as possible, therefore the product was fished, landed and packed in record times.



Figure 3 Label from Kvarner Factory, Lussino

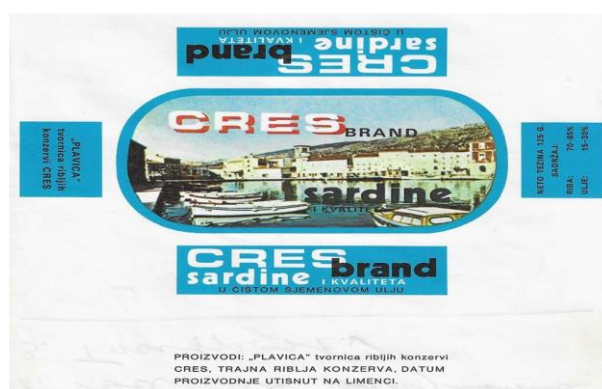


Figure 4 Label from the Plavica Factory, Cherso

The peculiarity of the fish canning industry was that it employed a large number of local women, and the work was “physically demanding and not socially appreciated” but it was made even more challenging by the tasks that they often had to endure “having their hands immersed in cold water for hours; they often worked outside on the open shop floor, also during the winter, carried heavy loads, moved between open spaces and rooms with different ambient temperatures, cut and cleaned the fish without protecting their hands, operated dangerous tin-can closing machines”. One woman recalls, talking to Iva Kosmos who is currently researching the working life of the cannery industry as material for a future publication titled “Life in a can”, that: The worst thing was preparing the salted sardine fillets ... you have to chop them, wash them, divide each fillet in half, roll them up, and then put a caper in its center. Working in such close contact with fish caused these women to smell as such, this characteristic became a stigma around the community, especially in Lussino where a more tourist-oriented and refined image was starting to get painted for the city and population alike. Several stories were told by women who used to work in these factories, one of the most recalled topics was that everyone used to “smell”, women used to say that it was normal to smell when you work, deflected the conversation and took pride in the slogan “I might stink, but my money does not”. Because of this stigma they expressed even more pride in their work, talking about the excellence of the product they worked on, they also rightfully bragged about their decent social status and financial independence, trying to shut people that were talking behind their back as well as in front of them. At first, the work in these canneries was organized as seasonal and only later permanent employment was offered, giving workers the possibility of taking out loans and advancing economically; this caused the position of women in their families to change drastically as they became the one to secure accommodation through their work in the factory. Life in these factories was characterized by the presence of different ethnic groups, young women from all over Yugoslavia began to travel and look for work in different cities and many arrived in Lussino and Cherso where they often chose the hard work but easy employment of the cannery industry. Life in the industry was not always peaceful and often integration was hardly achieved. There were different levels of differentiation between workers, the first level was established by the local, ethnic or

regional identity. “Women from the same place would stick together”, locals from Cherso and Lussino would speak in Italian dialect rather than Croatian, separating themselves from others. Another example of these behaviors can be found in Istria where “there was a social and symbolic difference between female workers in tobacco factories (*tabakine*) and fish canneries (*sardeline*). While *tabakine* were considered ladies and were of Italian origin, *sardeline* were mostly Slavic and had a lower social reputation”. A nickname was also given to the women that worked and lived in Cherso and Lussino, they were called papaline, a small oily fish, similar to the sardine. The factory’s shop floor was a space of distancing and integration. The second level of differentiation was their education and overall behavior. Often women who did not receive an education worked in the factory next to women who took pride in their studies, older and less educated women were marked negatively and often mocked for the fact of not knowing their date of birth, one of the notions that would totally distance themselves from younger and more educated women. Women who worked in the canning industry were also women who came from difficult social situations, such as being single mothers or having run away from their husbands. These women were deemed “women with problems” and were referred to in hushed voices, a white-collar worker from Cress remembers how “The factory would often receive phone calls from husbands and families, looking for their wives and mothers”. Women who escaped from the traditional feminine frame of morality were considered less than on the shop floor. Employment in these factories can be seen as a double-edged sword as, on the one hand, women who worked there were seen as at the bottom of the society, on the other hand, they were granted economic survival and independence. The reason for a lower social reputation for workers in canneries sparked both from “traditional moral prejudice regarding female labor and bias regarding hard, smelly and unwanted physical labor”. The factory was also often seen as a sexually charged place, the moral prejudice towards female labor painted many of the women who worked in canneries as promiscuous and out of control: the emancipation of women through work pushed them further away from their image as daughters, wives, and mothers; by distancing themselves, directly or indirectly, from this view, they were often therefore considered without any sort of societal boundary that would stop them from promiscuity and

occasional sex. This view was often shared by women who worked elbow to elbow with one another, further deepening the division already present in the factory. Some still remember today how they used to be harassed by men who shouted slurs at them, at the same time the same women that experienced this harassment used to judge the women that decided to take part in occasional sexual activities, sometimes even getting paid. One woman from Plavica recalls: “Papaline were those from whom fishermen hoped to get pussy. They would come in front of the building [where we lived] and yelled: ‘Is there any pussy available?’ We were humiliated. But I would answer on purpose: ‘There is, gentlemen, but we charge 50 marks just to enter our rooms!’” she added that some women would take advantage of this opportunity and put 50 marks in their pocket. The workers from Lussino tended to recall more the hard work and the unfavorable and unfair working and living conditions, such as inappropriate accommodation, low wages, the pressure of the piece-rate production system, the incredibly long hours that they worked in the time of the fish season with no childcare provided. Olga, who left her city of Benkovac to go to Lussino at 17 years old in 1964, recalls the conditions the workers used to live in: “The workers stayed in a building that was very similar to the factory, it was a bit far from Lussinpiccolo. We were stacked in there, much like sardines. She recalls long night sleeps on a thin mattress shared with All of them shared one single sink and the wage was not high but it was ours, we were the bosses of ourselves”. The working conditions in Cherso’s factory were different and, in many cases, favored a more inclusive environment, one woman recalls how in 1978, a Yugoslav-wide sport games event for workers in the fishing industry was held on Cres. A.K. recounted how a group of four workers got up at four in the morning to prepare food for the guests from different Yugoslav canneries. The team was composed of Đanina, Anka, Rozaria and Džamila. Đanina was a local and a white-collar worker in the administration. The others were blue-collar workers. Anka was from continental Croatia. The difference in working environment between Lussino’s and Cherso’s factories is also underlined by the number of photographs that can be found of both workers; during the research undertaken by Kosmos, women from Cherso brought with them many photographs of times of leisure enjoyed by women and men alike, even outside of the factory, as well as working situations in the factory. Photographs taken in



*Figure 5 Workers in the Plavica factory, Cherso*

the factory often depict workers posing in a joking and joyful manner without even trying to present themselves formally. What the photographs depict is a space in which the workers feel comfortable and relaxed with one another, a space of closeness and familiarity. We should underline that the reason might also be that the Kvarner factory operated in earlier times with respect to the Cherso factory, possibly, therefore, having had more organization problems and less regard for workers, as well as a less widespread practice of personal photography.

Kvarner cannery was also less technologically advanced as it was expected to be closed sooner or later and was seen as less favorable during the big development of tourism and tourism facilities in 1987, 13 years after the closing of the factory, Lussino managed to be proclaimed “champion of tourism”.



*Figure 6 Current state of the Kvarner factory in Lussinpiccolo*





### 2.3 A city's protection: the harbor of Lussino



Figure 7 Aerial view of the entrance to the harbor of Lussinpiccolo

Lussinpiccolo is now mainly known as a tourist town but its importance began during the 19th century when it became the leading regional maritime

power under the Austro-Hungarian empire. The town became the second most important port in the Adriatic for the empire, immediately after Trieste but its inhabitants were known as skillful constructors of sailing ships and as the best seamen of the Mediterranean already during the Republic of Venice's presence on the island. Bocca Vera and Bocca Falsa are the two entry points for the harbour of Lussino arriving from the Quarnero Adriatic Sea. These two entries have a fun family anecdote linked to them and the presence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the island of Lussino. My great-grandfather, the harbourmaster of Lussino at the time, had to accompany the emperor Franz Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to his boat after he visited the island. The sail happened on a Lancia, a small boat, through the entry Bocca Falsa in order to pose a challenge to the harbour master that had to manage to zig-zag around the different shoals and, if he failed, had to cut off his moustache. At the end of the trip, the emperor managed to reach his boat and both him and my great-grandfather proudly complimented each other's mustaches. The harbor of Lussinpiccolo is shielded from the Bora wind, making it a strategic location and a safe harbour for any sailor. Lussino is

located in the bay of Augustus which takes its name from the presence of the Roman Octavian fleet on the island in 32 a.C, the fleet had to stop in Lussino and wait for the winter to pass before continuing its navigation. The bay is fully protected from the Bora wind and partially protected from the Scirocco wind. The two winds are typical of the region and both create difficult conditions for navigation for very different reasons.

### *2.3.1. The hot Scirocco wind*



*Figure 8 Strong Scirocco in the bay of Zabodaski*

Scirocco wind is a warm, moist southeasterly wind that blows on the leading edge of eastward-moving cyclonic disturbances. It is not as vulnerable to local variations as Bora, although it does retain a more southern or easterly orientation in some areas due to coastal orography and channels between islands; it blows from the east to the southeast.

- Scirocco episodes are most often in November-December and February-March, and occur extremely seldom in summer;
- In the Southern Adriatic, the wind is more frequent, the speeds are higher, and the sirocco episodes are more protracted, with the wind diminishing in all of these features north of Spalato.
- Maximum wind speeds are generally lower, and wind persistence is weaker, than during bora events. According to a monthly examination of the current environment, Scirocco is most often in spring (March-April) and fall (October-November), with the highest speeds achieved in winter (December January). Even though weaker than the Bora wind, navigation can still be very tricky when one experiences intense Scirocco as the wave pattern is less sporadic but rather uniform with high waves that create difficulties in navigation.

#### *2.3.1.1 Sailing with Scirocco*

My uncle recalled a personal experience of navigation that started from the harbour of Verudella where he moored in order to understand the evolution of the weather. He left the harbour in the early hours of the morning, he sailed out of the protected bay with a pleasant breeze and warm sun starting to warm up the air, a group of fishermen passed next to the boat, smiling and waving; my uncles took the gesture as a joyful salutation, only when they fully left the bay they realized that the tone of the soft laughs in the background was one of indirect mockery as they, coming back from the open sea, already knew that the navigation would have been very challenging. Waves during Scirocco episodes can reach 3 to 4 meters in height, and the bow raises and lowers rhythmically, spraying seawater when crushing on its surface. The helmsman has to follow the wave train in order to avoid as much as possible this rise and fall of the bow, they also need to observe the sea and understand when the highest wave will arrive as, at that moment, one should luff and try to ride the wave. It is exciting when you are able to surf the wave, overcoming the speed limit that is linked to the length of the boat; when the boat is riding the wave, one tries to maintain it on the wave, following with the helm its length, the boat, in this case, has less wet surface and there is less traction. Once one arrives on the Istria coast, the Scirocco wind changes direction and takes the

name of Jugo, meaning south. The Scirocco wind forces the route to be away from the coast so as not to face any shoals or rocks, such as the ones you can find next to the town of Ossero.

### 2.3.2. The cold Bora winds



Figure 9 Scirocco hitting the bay of Privlaca

Bora is cold, dry and often gusty katabatic wind (fall wind) coming from the north-east direction; the peak frequency occurs in cold seasons (November-March) but can be experienced all throughout the year with varying intensity. Bora is triggered always in the same way that is when an oversupply of cold and dry air in the lower levels is confined windward to the Dinaric Alps and Karst plateau thus building-up a large pressure gradient across the mountains with respect to the Adriatic Sea. The main flow of the Bora comes from the northeast gaps of the Dinaric Alps, on the eastern side of the Adriatic Sea, the mountain range stretches from Slovenia to Albania from

approximately 700 km. The mountains that flank the majority of Croatia's coastline provide ideal conditions for a powerful bora. The three main culprits for its strength are the Grande Cappella, Velebit, and Biocovo mountain ranges. The Grande Cappella Bora can be encountered if you sail from Pola or Fiume between the islands of the Quarnero Bay — Veglia, Cherso, Arbe, Provicchio and Isola Calva. The regular strong winds here have shaped the northeastern and eastern parts of the islands and also affect the towns of Cirquenizza and Segna on the mainland. The Bora wind has two cyclonic patterns:

- The anticyclonic pattern, often known as white bora is distinguished by chilly, clear weather and good visibility in the lee of coastal mountains, whereas dense clouds linked with up-slope motions can be observed on mountain peaks. These clouds then disintegrate in the descending air on the left side, appearing as 'cap clouds' to observers on the west side. The airflow is from the North or the North-East all along the vertical profile. This kind of pattern happens when a solid high pressure is settled over central-eastern Europe and isobars are stretched over the Mediterranean basin. This kind of Bora is typical of the spring season in Trieste, it gives the city the characteristic color contrast of stark white buildings and deep light blue skies.
- The cyclonic pattern, also known as black bora, appears when a low-pressure center (also referred to as a Genoa Low) is located in the southern Adriatic Sea or the Ionian Sea, causing gloomy and rainy weather across the region. Black bora winds are less windy than white bora winds, but they can deliver significant volumes of rain or snow to the region. The black bora is frequently accompanied by low clouds and decreased visibility due to rain and/or drizzle with the cyclonic pattern. These circumstances are more pronounced over open sea than along the coast. The importance of protection of the harbor of Lussino from Bora winds is especially important because it is mostly impossible to moor when such a strong wind is blowing. Bora is particularly dangerous when encountered while sailing, especially in the Quarnero.

### *2.3.2.1. Sailing with Bora*

In a solitary sailing, my uncle recalls his encounter with this wind: I left Capo Promontore in Istria, where you can already see the islands of Cherso and Unie. The sailing has to be performed crosswind as the wind touches the side of the boat in bursts, this necessitates coordination between the helmsman and who trims the sails: one person needs to look at the sea and watch the wave pattern in order to understand when the next burst will face the boat; what one should be on the lookout for is the so-called “gattini”, small white waves created by the slap of the wind on the sea surface that lets salt fly in the air. When this pattern is recognized, the helmsman has to be warned. In my uncle’s crossing this process has been a one-man show. The day began with warm weather and clear visibility, the forecast called for Bora wind not over 20 knots, during the crossing the intensity escalated to double the strength. Looking out at the sea one could see the bursts of wind on the horizon, the wind was getting stronger and the sails had to be reduced. My uncle was focused, dressed in swimming shorts and a life-jacket, his skin covered in the salt that raised from the sea because of the wind; tens but getting closer to the islands of Unie and Canidole, he decided to change the route in order to arrive in Lussino keeping himself on the external end of the route. The arrival to Lussino is anticipated by the lighthouse of Punta Curilla where my uncle “finally felt at home”. From Curilla, the inner route was chosen therefore passing next to the bay of Zבודaski and its rock. By entering through Bocca Vera, with her dangerous twin Bocca falsa on the right, one finally arrives in the calm waters of Lussino where the Bora wind can no longer attack you.

## **2.4 A healthy island: the beginning of tourism on Lussino**

The importance of Lussinpiccolo shifted from sailing power to a tourist destination during the end of the 19th century. The larger presence and use of steamboats made the shipyard of Lussinpiccolo less important and its harbor was no longer as necessary as boats managed longer routes.

But not only the advancements in technology were to blame, Lussino was discovered as the natural gem that it is. In “Sulla vegetazione di Lussino” professor Ambroz Haračić explores the different plant species present on the island of Lussino; the book is important for the history of the island not only for the naturalistic aspects of it but also for its chapter on Lussino’s weather. The pages “osservazioni metereologiche” must be cited as the biggest triggers for the start of tourism on the island. Ambroz Haračić was a



Figure 10 Book cover for "Sulla vegetazione di Lussino" by A. Haračić

botanist from Croatia who attended university in Vienna for math and science. For 18 years, he conducted meteorological observation and measurement while teaching at the Marine School in Mali Losinj. In 1892, Mali Losinj was designated a health resort by the Viennese government as a result of his studies. Ambroz Haračić spent his entire life studying his own island's environment and vegetation and creating artificial pine woods. He was the "spiritus movens" and the most active member of the Society for Afforestation and Beautification of Mali Losinj, which he also created. The Society's goal was to

reforest the desert regions surrounding Mali Losinj.

In just a few years, Cigale and the other places curated by them were reforested with abundant examples of Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*) and black pine (*Pinus nigra*), under the direction of Haračić, 50 hectares of pine trees were reforested during a six-year period, and some 300,000 conifers were planted. The island of Losinj is a marine health resort and a great place for winter therapeutic rest, according to professor Haračić's meteorological records and data, for the following reasons:

- Compared to all other locations with a similar geographic location, it has a significantly milder climate.
- The clean air of Losinj has a high and uniform humidity rate, and there are no strong winds or sudden climatic changes on the island.
- The average temperature in January is 9°C, greater than the average temperature recorded in Vienna during the same period.
- The healing climate of the island of Losinj is significantly influenced by the maritime aerosol, as well as the balsamic evaporations of evergreen trees and pine forests.

In 1885, Doctor Conrad Clar, headmaster of an Austrian clinic, came upon these meteorological studies and decided to bring his son, who suffered from respiratory problems to the island. The positive results after the vacation started to skyrocket the interest in Lussino and its healing climate and vegetation thanks to the publicity given by Clar to his colleagues and medical experts, from then on, the island was considered a popular tourist destination and in 1892 it was proclaimed a climatic health resort by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first tourist was registered on 21st January 1885 and the first hotel in Mali Losinj, named Vindobona, was built in 1887. The flourishing tourism changed the architecture of the city to the one we can still see today, and the construction of private villas and hotels started to spread giving a new atmosphere to the small town. Maritime communication was strengthened through the creation of new maritime lines that would connect the main Austro-Hungarian cities to the island; we should also note the presence of the direct train line that departed from Vienna, stopped in Trieste and followed the coast of the Istrian peninsula stopping in all the most important tourist destinations.





Figure 11 Postcard showing the Hotel Vindobona on the lower left corner

### **3. What is an island?**

Islands have become of fundamental importance in the recent environmental discourse because of their peculiar characteristics make them the perfect face for environmental vulnerability.

Islands are home to one-tenth of the global population and, together with their exclusive economic zones, cover one-sixth of Earth's surface.

One of the actions that has brought a lime light on islands in recent years has been the speech given by the Ministry of Justice of Tuvalu in front of the United Nations Climate Conference in Glasgow.

The ministry, live from Tuvalu, stands in front of his podium, facing the cameras, as the speech starts and goes on the cameras pan out slowly but surely, to unmask the location in which the ministry was giving his speech: as the cameras finish their outward journey, it is revealed that the ministry is standing knee deep in the Pacific Ocean, his pants rolled up, his podium soaking up salt water, his back drop getting wet and his country's flag stuck in the sandy sea floor.

The images from this live conversation with the COP-26 quickly became viral on the web, the shock effect of the recital paid off as his speech, or at least parts of it, was heard by approximately 1 million people on YouTube and countless more thanks to reposts on other social platforms.

The aim of the message was to underline how Pacific Island States are being constantly affected by climate change effects, the metaphorical image of sea level rise that was painted physically during the speech was clear and undoubtedly powerful and managed to powerfully call out the lack of representation of such Island States in the United Nation Conference; while being among the most affect by climate change, their voice is

hardly heard even though they have become the focus of many environmental speeches made at the UN.

### **3.1. The definition of SIDS (Small Island Developing States)**

Tuvalu, a Polynesian island state, is part of what are called Small Islands Developing States, they were first recognized in the United Nations Conference of Environment and Development in June 1992.

SIDS are located in three geographical regions: the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea (AIS).

SIDS are considered vulnerable because of three main sources of possible devastation that are, as underlined by Ilan Kelman in “Islandness within climate change narratives of small island developing states”:

1. Sea-level rise, with three causes:

- (i) slow melting of ice (glaciers, ice sheets, and permafrost) leading to centimeters of sea-level rise over years;
- (ii) thermal expansion of water bodies leading to meters of sea-level rise over decades; and
- (iii) non-negligible probabilities of ice sheet collapse (Greenland and Antarctica), possibly leading to tens of meters of sea-level rise most likely over centuries. Sea-level rise could possibly submerge islands or cause them to erode.

2. Ocean acidification occurs when oceans absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

The gas combines with water to form carbonic acid which lowers the ocean’s pH.

Ocean acidification could exacerbate shingle beach erosion and, coupled with elevated sea-surface temperatures, could lead to major coral mortality through bleaching.

Without a protective reef, many SIDS islands would be exposed to the full power of oceanic waves, storms, and currents.

3. As the weather and oceans change, so will ecosystems, affecting local food and water supplies. Groundwater supplies could be contaminated by saltwater intrusion.

Because of these challenges three main programs of Action in support of Small Island State have been created by the United Nations:

- Barbados Program of Action (BPoA). 1994: it prescribed specific actions that would enable SIDS to achieve sustainable development. The Conference reaffirmed Agenda 21's principles and commitments to sustainable development and transformed them into specific policies, actions, and measures to be implemented at the national, regional, and international levels. The Conference also endorsed the Barbados Declaration, a declaration of political intent that underpins the BPoA commitments.
- Mauritius Strategy, 2005: it further implemented the Barbados Program of Action in order to fill some gaps in its implementation
- SAMOA Pathway, 2014: forged during the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States in Samoa. The pathway recognizes the adverse impacts of climate change and sea level rise on SIDS's efforts; it aims at facing the unique challenges faced by SIDS and support their development via five priority areas:
  - Encourage long-term and sustainable economic growth that is inclusive and egalitarian, with decent jobs for all, sustainable consumption and production, and sustainable mobility.
  - Implementing sustainable energy and catastrophe risk reduction programs can help to minimize climate change and adapt to its effects.
  - Protect SIDS biodiversity and environmental health by reducing the effect of invasive plant and animal species, regulating chemicals and water, especially hazardous waste, and conserving oceans and seas.
  - Improve human health and social development by fostering gender equity and women's empowerment, as well as improving food security and nutrition, water and sanitation, and lowering the prevalence of noncommunicable diseases.
  - To attain these objectives, encourage collaboration among SIDS, UN agencies, development partners, and others.

The interest in islands and island states comes also from its signature characteristics: an island is geographically finite, total, discrete, sharply precise physical entity that accentuates clear and holistic notions of location and identity; it exacerbates species

interactions in relatively higher densities; and induces a more acute competition for more limited, and less diverse, resources. Smaller scale highlights these concepts and processes of distinctiveness even more. A condition like this is prone to monopoly provision, scope economies, and lower intimacy thresholds; with decreasing size of the island's livable area and resident population, the relative relevance of locality (the first attribute) vs externality (the second feature) declines. The UN, while describing SIDS, pushes for the narrative of “their inherent vulnerabilities—including small size, remoteness, climate change impacts, biodiversity loss and narrow resource base—mean that progress for many continues to be hampered, and their status as a special case for sustainable development remains.

### **3.2 Resilience, Adaptability, Vulnerability: Traditional environmental knowledge**

Islands have always played a significant discursive role in global perspective; non islanders have described islands through their eyes giving them attributes personal to the continental world, such as to represent paradise or potential scientific discovery; if islands were once painted by artists such as Gauguin to be idyllic treasures not touched by the dirty hand of modernity, they have now become the perfect canvas to represent our climatic anxieties. This representation is so strong today that we tend to forget that islands are rarely deeply aware of climate change as we know it as they tend to feel it distant in respect to their actions and their lives; even though affected by its effects, they are aware that they cannot be considered the ones that created the situations we all found ourselves in and therefore continue to feel distant to the fight's others are fighting against climate change. Island populations are not in a position to control the fossil fuel addiction of developed nations, but are they the only passive victims?

The image of vulnerable island is underlined also by the definition of SIDS that puts its emphasis on the smallness of islands even though, as argued by Baldacchino, Papua New Guinea, while being considered a SIDS, is larger both in size and population than New Zealand, an island that is not considered a SIDS by the United Nations.

In “A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands” of 1994, Hau’ofa, Tongan and Fijian anthropologist, in order to contrast the notion of vulnerability and isolation imprinted on islands, offered a new concept for the Pacific Islands, that of “sea of islands”. The idea sparks from the concept of smallness that Hou’ofa considered relative and depending on what is included and excluded in the calculation of size. The thesis of the “sea of islands” reflects the concept of “world enlargement” that wants to extend the bounds of an island outside its physical constraints, taking into consideration the flows of people, materials, goods, and ideas that are the foundation of life on islands. The focus is put on the adaptive capabilities and resilience that islands have and have always demonstrated to have, in contrast to the vulnerable and isolated piece of land that is now often described during environmental discourses. Adaptability and resilience become the center of the “sea of islands” thesis and, in the context of coastal areas, becomes the capacity of the linked social and ecological systems to “absorb recurrent disturbances such as hurricanes or floods so as to retain essential structures, processes, and feedbacks”; islands are no longer described as passive victims without agency on the climatic issue.

This resilience and adaptability are also underlined by the presence of a very hybrid basin of knowledge on islands. Traditional environmental knowledge is a mix of island-base and scientifically derived insight, it is described by Lazrus as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment”. It is considered an essential aspect of island adaptation as it is able to incorporate spiritual, cosmological, and moral practices in people’s relationship with the environment. This makes us understand even more that subjective experience is central when talking about islands and the nuanced experience that is living on an island entails cannot be seen only as a geographical characteristics but also as places of residence, work, visitation, leisure, entrepreneurship, financial investment, social interaction, social activism, emotional attachment and many more aspects that make them the place about the people that live in it and the social relations that exist therein.

### **3.3 Islandness instead of Insularity**

Because of these notions, a new term has been gaining grounds in the discourse about islands, the one of islandness.

Insularity, figuratively used to describe a close mind and lack of interest for what is outside one's view, tended to be the term used to describe islands and all the characteristics that linked them together; its objective descriptive nature of measurable characteristics such as small area size, small population, small market, isolation, remoteness, and unique cultural and natural environment, lacked any focus on "experimental identity", the non-measurable quality that describes and express the various symbols that islands are connected to.

The term insularity, even though once preferred at the beginning of the academic exploration, underlines a disadvantage and a negative stigma against islands as negatively different from the continental, going so far as to negatively affect its accessibility, regardless of the point of view of the people who live or visit an island.

The term Islandness wants to fight back against this negative vision of island and give more space to the metaphysical sensations that can accompany the life on an island and its isolation. The term wants to enhance the new stand point in regards to islands that sees the once disadvantaged, as now something to explore and give potential to rather than categorize them under a more capitalistic view of being less than optimal for economic success.

The use of this new term wants to go against the descriptive classification given by the United Nations of Small Island Developing States as it recognizes only some qualities that are deemed shared by all while, in reality, wide differences are present between islands even in very similar geographical regions. Many islanders reject the idea that they live on a small, isolated, or remote place and that they are inherently vulnerable; islanders do not see the ocean and the sea as a barrier and do not see land as security, they perception and the importance given to these elements is fundamentally different from the one that someone who lives on the continent can have, therefore, their voice

wants to be heard and their preferred terms should be used, giving the word Islandness even more power.

The argument goes against the use of a term that has been coined by organizations that work in a top-down strategy, that hardly ever is interrogated regarding its relevance to islandness, island studies, and island development, and that wants to underline the fragility, powerlessness, and the relatively bleak prospects that islands have in a future colored by climate change.

When talking specifically of an island such as the one of Lussino we need to take into consideration that while being an island, it is also part of a state that is composed of a mainland physical portion. In these cases, Baldacchino proposes three claims in regard to islands that are part of a larger jurisdiction:

- the bigger the island's size and population in comparison to the rest of the nation, and the more remote the island is from the rest of the country, the more probable is that the island will have some kind of jurisdiction identity and power.
- The relative distance and size, in respect to a predominantly continental and costal size, rises the chance that the island contributes to the country's exclusive economic zone.
- The so called near-islands which are quite close to their country's mainland, are also bridgeable. They may eventually find themselves connected to the mainland part of their nation by a fixed link.

### **3.4 Island's mobility**

One aspect that has not been mentioned so far but is still the one that maybe most represents most islands is that of mobility. Many island communities have been labeled the world's first climate refugees. A web of justice, equity, and power issues are central when talking about mobility, climate change, and island communities.



The 2014 report by the International Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) extensively explores the multifaceted issue of mobility and migration, placing it within the broader context of climate change-induced challenges. This comprehensive examination reaffirms the panel's unwavering dedication to tackling critical topics amidst the complex and interconnected global climate change challenges, and in doing so defines human security as "a condition that exists when the vital core of human lives, as to say the universal and culturally specific, material and non-material elements necessary for people to act on behalf of their interests; is protected and when people have the freedom and capacity to live with dignity". By linking migration to social security, the IPCC falls in line with studies in the environment-migration nexus; one of the conclusions of the IPCC is that vulnerability is inversely correlated to mobility, making therefore mobility part of the vital core of human security. The IPCC observes that most people affected by environmental events do not migrate but seek to cope and adapt even when living in areas that are considered at risk. As we saw with the "sea of islands" thesis, traditional environmental knowledge is often widespread and might be considered a better resource for many in coping with climate change, rather than mobility; leaving a place that is at risk is often considered a last resort if the family one is part of does not have a history of migration and mobility, many states and island states have a long history of mobility but it is hardly ever a mobility that spreads from environmental happenings.

Mobility on islands is most of the times caused by a lack of stability on the place one is living in, such as a lack of work, healthcare, education, or by the aspiration of a life that is different from the one the individual is living, as, for example, the want of living in a big city. By leaving an island and moving to a place with better working environment the possibility is created of maintaining an extended-family network by sending home part of one's revenue and therefore maintaining part of the family that remained of the island, contributing to the care of the livelihood of the island and local resilience by also diversifying income. However, in the context climate change, migration is often considered a failure to adapt but as underlined in *Nomad Century*, mobility has not only been a historically recurring aspect of many people's life but could also be the future of

many more that could be facing intense repercussions on their livelihoods due to climate change. Many islanders right now, understand and accept that they might need to resettle and rebuild communities due to climate change but they reject the concept of fleeing as climate refugees: they want to maintain the power over their choice of movement and rather request outside assistance to support the process. Islands are never been alien to climatic events or, more in general, drastic changes and, as Pullido says in “Geographies of race and ethnicity”: “On continents, economic and political changes evolve over decades; on islands, a ship appears on the horizon, a seaplane lands in a harbor, a European explorer arrives, and a single day changes everything forever.”

#### *3.4.1 Should we consider environmental migration?*

Migration is caused by a plurality of factors and cannot be pin pointed to a single “x” event leading to a “y” outcome, it is not linear but it is rather a chain effect that often causes people to lose their vital core. As the term “environmental migration is able to contain within itself many different situations and variations, there are to main line of thought to approaching it: the so-called alarmist perspective that views migration as a by-product of climate change and imminent humanitarian disaster, and the skeptical perspective that insists in viewing migration as multi-casual and sees no need in creating a new category of “environmental migration”. While the alarmist point of view has been considered the most palpable, making environmental migration the face of climate change; in 2010, during the Cancun Adaptation Framework, migration was eventually acknowledged as an adaptation strategy rather than a failure as more and more research showed that migration is not necessarily the last resort for people confronted with environmental changes. Environmental migration is volatile and hard to quantify, firstly because there is no strict legal definition for what an environmental migrant is, the consensus stands in defining them as persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affects their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad. Secondly because the environment cannot be isolated as a distinctive factor for migration. We should also note that environmental migrants can

be both voluntary and forced, leaving for a short or a long-term displacement, migrate internationally or within their country; this creates more difficulty in having an exact figure of the number of people who migrate for environmental reasons. The CliMig Database of the University of Neuchatel is considered the most comprehensive repository of case studies on environmental migration, it brings together international publications and focused case studies, providing detailed information about the scope of the current existing research on the topic of environmental migration.

#### *3.4.2 How to measure future trends*

If environmental migration is difficult to measure in the present it is even more challenging to predict its future trends. Considered chained to future environmental degradation, predictions often fail to consider this category of migration as dependent also on political, economic or demographic contexts. In 1989, the United Nations Environment Program decided to undertake the responsibility of measuring the prediction of future trends. The figure that resulted from the calculations of Hassam El-Hinnawi and Mostafa K. Tolba estimated the displacement of 50 million people by 2010. From this starting estimate, Norman Myers, Professor of Ecology at Oxford University, predicted the figure of 150 million people displaced because of environmental causes by 2050, that was then recalibrated with the Report on the economy of climate change of 2007, bringing the figure to 200 million displaced people. All these figures have, fortunately or unfortunately, been influenced by a strong determinism that lacked the ability to foresee the different influences that will loom over environmental migration until 2050 and the different evolutionary factors that the global population will face, as well as the implementation of new and improved climate change policies. Right now, these figures are considered less and less founded and multi-agent simulation models are preferred for analyzing the future trends of environmental displacement: these models provide computer simulations of human behaviors in reaction to various stimuli. With the use of this new technology the IDMC has developed the “Disaster Displacement Risk Index” that is able to predict the number of people displaced by year by country and by type of disaster. With this new index

predictions have drastically improved and the new more widely approved figure in regards of the number of people as double since the previous 20th century predictions.

### *3.4.3 The urban dimension of migration*

Rebecca Solnit, writer, journalist, and activist, describes the idea of protection of borders in a very peculiar and personal way, her passions and interest, that spread from social rights to gardening, culminate in an image of a gated garden, a place that she associates with hope and dreams, especially when present in modern concrete jungles; any gap in the wall that protects the crops of the garden will let agents slowly contaminate the garden, therefore leak-proof walls is what would be considered the best form of protection from any external intrusion in the well cured garden that is the state that wants to see itself as closed and gated. Islands have perhaps the highest and strongest walls a “gardener of hate”, as Solnit calls states that want no external influence, can dream of, but for the population that wants to leave the island the walls can be an obstacle for their possibility for mobility. There are different outcomes in face of environmental stressor or more generally to vital core stressor.

We have seen that one of the causes for the desire for islanders to leave their homes is also in order to reach cities or bigger cities that are not available in their island, this often in order to better their living conditions but also to live out a desired lifestyle that is more easily achievable in a city environment. Ethemacan Thuran and Marco Armerio researched urban climate justice and mobility justice that goes beyond the state-centric limits. Cities emerge as the place where people on the move crash into resource constraints, global economic crisis, and xenophobic residues; migrants often find themselves at the bottom of the social hierarchy not only in their job but in their housing conditions, inhabiting often abandoned, unhealthy, or disaster-prone place. Cities are shaped by different flows, as it is observed by Nyers and Rygiel, spaces are created and constructed as a result of flow of people, goods, services, systems and the interactions between all these systems. While more traditional forms of citizenship tend to assume a static relation to territorially bounded political spaces and communities, a new radical response is taking form, demanding for new subjectivities and relationships when facing with climate change and human mobility. With this new perspective, the later cited

factors are to be embraced and seen as an opportunity to break away from the traditional concept of citizenship and border-bound identity, aiming on the contrary at creating a just, equitable, welcoming and nurturing urban solidarity. Rather than assemblage into national or global movement, struggle against xenophobic politics and climate change is considered to be best fought from the bottom up, creating insurrectional movements born out of struggle at the urban level and municipal projects that create a radical alternative to the current spatial imaginaries that divide the ones who have easier access to political, economic, and climatic safety from the ones that lack this safety. Pulido and Pellow stress the importance of the urban scale as they consider racism and social inequalities as normal functions of state-centric societies; these characteristics can then be better overcome at an urban level with practices of direct-democracy together with radical local governments. This thesis stresses the importance of enhancing urban autonomy and power distribution even though, as even Pulido and Pellow themselves were well aware, there is still the need of living side by side with the State power. An example of such a shift towards a right-to-the-city, fearless city, and municipalist movement can be the city of Barcelona where the population has experimented with neighborhood ID cards, a way for the City Council to get to know all the residents who live in the city and dignify the situation of the people, recognizing them as neighbors. The card can be requested by any non-UN national who has been cared for at least six months by social services or associations of the capital. This project is accompanied by others that started to focus more and more on the impact of climate change on the vulnerable portion of the population. Another example is the Italian city of Riace where the mayor has given the opportunity to asylum seekers to be included in the city's registry office. The conclusion is that, rather than the fit-and-conform approach, grassroots urban experimentation with radical intentions is where mobility justice and climate justice can converge.

## **4. The people that left: the Istro-Dalmatian Exodus**

People from Lussino often left their island, migration was part of their island life as well and many decided to leave their homes for the reasons we have before underlined: to have a better life and often also to help the part of the family that remained on the island. Many traveled far away, to other continents, while others only preferred to move the nearby lands and countries.

### **4.1 Voluntary migration**

#### *4.1.1 Paolo from Canidole*

An example of such migratory patterns is the island of Canidole, dear to my father's heart for its peculiar landscape where only reeds grow and sand dries your eyes during windy days. It stands under the administrations of Lussino as it stands in-between the latter, the island of Sansego and the one of Unie; it is composed of two islands, Big and Small Candiole. The island has no running water and no roads, it also peculiarly has no harbor, only two small piers that are mainly used by tourists as the population preferred leading their boats to ground. The island has no shelter for wind and this has also caused the low and almost non-existent vegetation that mostly consists of canes.

The small island was always sparsely populated but a few families still managed to live on it, a school was present that children from Canidole piccola had to reach by rowing boat, and agriculture was also practiced despite the lack of water; in 1948 187 people lived on both islands.

Claudio Magris, Italian writer, while traveling through Dalmatia for his book "Itinerari dell'Adriatico" wrote about the peculiar character of Paolo of Canidole who hid

underwater from the Yugoslavia troops in order not to be enlisted in the Yugoslavia army. Magris met Paolo in Canidole, he was then old and blind from an eye, he still lived there almost alone, in his a small house of which foundation stayed in the sandy terrain, he had a beard because being blind he could not shave and he did not have a wife to help in this task; the thing that stuck out for Magris, was the peacefulness of Paolo from Canidole, he was placid on his island and he needed nothing else, despite his past and despite how it was, he was serene.

Paolo from Canidole is an example of the men that lived in Dalmatia and that sailed between its islands; when he was younger, he used to come to Lussino to sell the few vegetables that were cultivated on his island. With his boat he sailed the sea and reached also our bay, the bay of Zabodaski, where he often sold his notorious melons, the most juicy and sugary melons one could taste. One interaction is noted by my family of this peculiar character: one day he sailed in the bay and saw my grandfather gutting and cleaning some fish he had just fished on the shore, he approached my grandfather with a wave of an hand and got closer, a few words were exchanged but the eyes of Paolo only sporadically focused on my grandfather, he was more interested and fascinated by the sharp “Star” knife he was using to clean the fish and that he got by purchasing one of their pizza boxes, it was something peculiar that no one on the island had, only someone from Italy could have brought and because of this it sparked Paolo’s interest. After another brief conversation the offer was made “I will give you a few melons for that knife, how would you like it?”, my grandfather, after insisting on paying as well gave the knife to the man and shook his hand, economy sometimes went like that in those years and he was only happy to give that gem to the man that came from Canidole. Now Canidole is mostly visited by tourists by boat, he is seen as a wild and untouched island even though it once had people living on it and enjoying its sandy shores. Most of the population has now left Canidole because the economy drove them away from the island and, keeping in mind that in order to reach the island of Lussino it is still at least a 45-minute boat ride, it was easier for the small younger generation to leave it all together. Only elderly people stayed and one after the other their bodies and their souls left it.

Canidole has now 3 inhabitants and Paolo is no longer one of them.

#### 4.1.2 *The girl from the farm*



*Figure 12 My family posing in Licchè, where the farm was located*

Another story of voluntary migration is one that is often talked about in the family, mostly because the protagonist and her family used to leave on a piece of land that is now mostly concrete.

Where now lays the airport of Lussino, at the end of the now asphalted road that then becomes a dirt one that every year we ride on to reach Zabodaski bay, there used to be a farm, the family that lived in it worked the land surrounding it, producing an assortment of vegetables and fruits on the arid but fertile land. In 1970s my father and his family were driving down the road, relieved for their eventual arrival in their home, the family of farmers waved at them, seeing familiar but not frequent faces passing by their property, the younger of the three sisters waved more energetically than the others and paced towards the car eventually asking them to stop it, a smile was lining her face as



she moved her hand in the air. When the car came to a stop, the girl was panting but did not hesitate a second to show the whole family her engagement ring, she was about too merry a young boy from Lussino and move to Fiume, on dry land. It was a big news, one that would change the farmers future as we know now as, after the death of their parents, all children left their home and the farm was eventually sold. The girl was feeling proud not only for her future marriage but also for moving away from the island, she was happy and almost bragging, it was a big deal to move out and marry a man that did not work on any ship or boat, she was marrying into a better life off of the island, a life on the continent with better expectations for her future children. My family congratulated her and her parents and, after a brief exchange of words, they were back in their car, ready to finish their trip to Zabodaski.

## **4.2 The Exodus**

But the island of Lussino experienced a specific forced flux of movement forced by ethnic and political means, the Istrian-Dalmatian Exodus.

What is now known as the Istrian-Dalmatian exodus was the forced migration of the population of Italian nationality and language from the territory of Istria, Quarnero, and Dalmazia after the second world war after these territories were annexed to Yugoslavia. In this thesis I will use the term Exodus to describe this massive displacement of people because it is the term that resonated the most with the people that were affected by it, and it is, to this day, used to describe this forced migration. The term itself is most often connected with Jewish history and wants to underline the biblical dimension of the tragedy suffered by the ones that had to leave their homeland, throughout the years, this term has taken a meaning of forced movement of specific population, similar to deportation or expulsion.

### *4.2.1 Italy-Yugoslavia relations*

Yugoslavia gained international recognition on 13 July 1922 at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris and remained a monarchy until 1945 when it was abolished and a

communist government was established, renaming the country the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The country acquired the territories of Istria, Fiume and Zara from Italy, thanks to the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947. The partisan leader Josip Broz Tito ruled the country as president until his death in 1980.

The relations between Italy and Yugoslavia were difficult already after the first world war as Zara, Cherso, Lussino, and Lastovo were received by Italy during the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the first world war and, because of this nearly, 20.000 Italians moved to those areas.



*Figure 13 Postcard commemorating the annexation of Lussino to Italy*

We should keep in mind that these territories were already multi-ethnic because of their history, as we saw these countries had Venetian influences in the past, shaping their languages, and in their closer past were under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that managed to maintain the uses and traditions of the populations living in those territories.

The relations between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Italy were affected because of the dispute over Dalmatia and the city-port of Fiume that became a free-state according to the League of Nations.

With the Fascist party in power in Italy, the relations with Yugoslavia took a turn for the worst as in 1922 many nationalistic Italianization policies were taken into action by the fascist party, greatly reducing the rights of minorities.

During the beginning of the second world war, in 1941, the Axis power's attacked Yugoslavia, The Italian army specifically occupied the territories of Slovenia, Croatia and the coast of Dalmatia, the area was annexed and occupied, and the Independent State of Croatia was created making it also a protectorate of Italy. When the fascist regime collapsed in 1943 and Italy capitulated, the territories we have just mentioned were occupied by German forces. On the border, mainly in the Istria region, the population was forced to witness the foibe massacres perpetrated by Yugoslav partisans.

On 1 May 1945 the Yugoslav and the Slovenian army corps entered Trieste, the next day the British division arrived in the city and forced the surrender of the German soldiers present. The truce was uneasy and was mitigated by the proposal of a partition of the territory: the Morgan Line was agreed and signed by the British Corps and Josip Broz Tito on 12 June 1945.

Because of these two events, the Istrian-Dalmatian exodus began and the issue of Trieste started.

In Italian the term **esuli**, meaning the ones that experienced the Istrian-Dalmatian exodus, is used to describe the citizens that were brought to leave the political borders of the territory they lived in because of governmental pressures, that showed itself both in violence and in right privation, happening during a radical political change. It is useful to underline that the forced migration was not the main objective of the government nor was the government that organized it but its actions resulted in the mass displacement that we now call Istrian-Dalmatian exodus.

#### *4.2.2 Timeline*

The Istrian-Dalmatian exodus was a phenomenon that lasted several years, from 1944 to 1957, and went through different phases that vary mostly in dimension, differentiating between the mass movement of large parts of the population and individuals and families fleeing by feet or by boat because of the military terror. The official widespread number dimension of people who left their territory is 350.000, this is mostly an estimate because of the difficulty in giving a specific nationality to many people who lived on the border; as underlined by many, the specific number loses its value in face of the fact the almost totality of the Italian population had to flee their territories, this is what is fundamental in the understanding of the event, not its largeness but the fact that it mostly targeted a specific population that was born and lived in the Istrian-Dalmatian territory and was then forced to leave it for political reasons.

The chronological order of the exodus goes as follows:

- Zara, 1934-1944: started with the bombings on the city and accentuated when the Yugoslavian troops entered the city
- Fiume, 1946-1948: starting from the departure of approximately 20.000 people, the city was left almost desert by the time the last people left.
- Pola, 1946: 28.000 of the 31.700 residents expressed their desire to leave the city if it was to be given to Yugoslavia
- Peace Treaty of 1947: the possibility was opened to let the population ask for an Italian citizenship; this option affected also the countryside that in many areas were left almost empty. 130.000 people left during the first years and then again 5.000 people left when the option to ask for the Italian citizenship was opened once again.
- B zone of the Free Territory of Trieste, 1950-1953: the Yugoslavia government managed to gain full control of the territory after the London Memorandum of 1954

#### *4.2.3 Arriving and staying in Italy*

The main reason for the start of this displacement of people was fear. Still hearing the echoes of the Foibe massacre, the insecurities and abuses that were more and more falling onto the Italian community created a tense environment filled with fear of

violence and persecution that consisted in the main motivations for many people to leave their homes.

The socialist transformation of the economy tended to destroy the majority of the jobs in which the Italian community was involved: artisans, merchants, shop keepers, entrepreneurs, people who worked for the public administration, fishermen, farmers, and also shipowners. Farmers, peculiarly, at the beginning managed to gain new terrains but lost a lot of their working freedom because of the forced entry in cooperation and the planning of the cultivations.

The Italian language and culture were not flat out prohibited but any reference to the Italian political identity were considered criminal. Also, the order that was created in the territories was put into discussion as the urban population was no longer in command, overthrown by the rural communities. The disorientation caused by this lack of reference point and the continued oppression caused Italians to feel like strangers in their own homes, this caused this group of the population to rather maintain their Italian identity and leave their country.

The Yugoslavia authority tried to apply an Italo-Slavic brotherhood but not many were accepted into it because of the strict requisites that were applied, bourgeois and anyone who did not actively fight for the Yugoslavian presence in Istria and Dalmazia were to be considered not fit for this sort of inclusion in the new society that beginning to appear. It should be noted that even Italians who were communist proletariats left Yugoslavia when Stalin openly disapproved of Tito, therefore causing even this part of the Italian community to leave Yugoslavia as morally and politically they did not fit in line with the current political climate and the political chief of the country.

Arriving in Italy, many of the ones who fled the Yugoslavian regime were not fully recognized by the population, they were considered different and without a true identity, they were also immediately stigmatized as fascists because they decided to flee a communist party, therefore creating also a political friction in an already tens environment.

It should be considered that Italy was already an exhausted country because of the second world war and the resources to help this mass of people, that arrived from both the Istria-Dalmatia and the ex-Italian colonies, was not enough. Because of the difficult

accommodations and the tense atmosphere, many Italians took the transoceanic route and left Italy for other continents.

The government managed to create a massive assistance program that consisted also of colleges for minors, reserved spots in the public administration, subsidies, and the creation of neighborhoods in 42 Italian cities. This process of inclusion was helped by the economic boom of the 1950's.

The exodus is a part of many families in Trieste, mine included, but it is a subject that is hardly tackled in the family and social environment. It is a silent truth that affected the lives of many but that, mostly because of pride, not many want to dig back up and share. In present times the conversation has widened and many more memories and stories manage to reach the surface of many people who experienced this traumatic event.

### **4.3 Living and Leaving Zabodaski**

#### *4.3.1 The family bay*

My grandfather experienced the Exodus while living in the bay of Zabodaski, where the family home is still located.

The small bay that is so near and dear to my heart, as it still remains the home of all my summer vacations since I was just a newborn, is located between two punte: punta Bianca and punta Pinezic, in front of it we see its most eye-catching characteristic, the Scoglio of Zabodaski, a small rocky island that, as my grandmother always used to tell me, resembled a big whale about to submerge itself after having taken a big breath. The Scoglio of Zabodaski, mostly familiarly known as Scoietto, is the main view from the family house and has therefore a big collection of photos that show it throughout the years, not much changes on it but to the trained eye of the ones who used to look at it all day long, you could see some rocks that have fallen in the water below and have left some scars on the shore, some other boulders have rolled a little bit downward creating a new white spot on it; sometimes, in years past, people used to bring their sheep to

roam on it, the white animals camouflaged themselves and looked as if some white rocks just started to move by themselves on the island.

The whole narration of his departure is not very well known in my family, as said before not many are willing to openly talk about it: my grandfather died when his three children were just reaching adulthood, they were just starting to gain interest in the matter and did not think about not having the possibility of asking their dad in later days, my father told me that as much as he wanted to know more when he started to realize that he would have not be able to asking him later, he also realized that he did not want to make my grandfather recall such a traumatic event in the last periods of his life. The exodus is never talked about lightly and many children that escaped from Yugoslavia, also experienced at least the end of the second world together with the misery and violence that came with it: even if placed far from the city of Lussino, Zabodaski bay was still bombarded, and the city itself experienced great damages from the dropping of bombs on it.

#### *4.3.2 Living in Zabodaski*

My great grandmother and grandfather, together with his brothers and sisters, decided to flee Lussino and stay in the “casetta”, a small vacation house that mostly everyone in Lussino used to have because even though the sea was always crystal clear, it was way better and different to bathe oneself in the truly untouched waters outside of Lussino. Life on an island can be by itself pretty difficult, many times relatives from the cities sent items to their families in Lussino but during a war this service became more intermittent and harder to achieve as in cities like Trieste, where many people whose origins are from Lussino used to live, experienced a lack of basic goods, and rendered life in it sometimes unbearable.

The stories told by PierPaolo Luzzato Fegiz in his book “Lettere da Zabodaski” are similar to the experiences my grandfather had but the ones that I know and had been told in my family were told from a child perspective. My grandfather, Vittorio, was five when the second world war started and he left Lussino for Zabodaski, together with his brothers and sisters, a year later while his father was at war. Life for a child during those times was hard and scary but in Zabodaski a small community of children was slowly

created by all the people who moved there in order to protect their families. Fegitz's children and my grandfather himself and his brothers often played together, the activities to do were not many but, as it is known, children imagination is more than enough and the crystal-clear waters and harsh bushes were enough of a playground for them.

The relationship of these kids with the environment of the island is also described by Elsa Bragato in her books, her world were the fields outside of Lussino and her, as well as the kids in Zabodaski, greatly enjoyed the presence of sheep roaming around, especially during Easter time where lambs were born and they, for the time given before Eastern lunch, were treated like little pets and stuffed animals, cuddled and kissed like they would with house cats.

Children know their surroundings like the palms of their hands but during the war sometimes even the wild bushes of Zabodaski were not free from danger. The human hand of violence was sometimes seen in the holes in the terrain that were left behind by bombings and metallic unexploded weaponry could sometimes be spotted. In those cases, parents were called and the area surrounding it was deemed off limits for their safety, but it was with a heavy heart that that decision was made because it meant that nature was not safe anymore, it was not untouched but heavily scarred by human's acts of violence. My grandfather left Lussino for Zabodaski when he was just a child, he lived his childhood during a war, his mother was the only parent he really knew as his father was working on army ships and later was declared missing and therefore dead. Living in Zabodaski is by itself hard, our house is not on a road, you can only access it by foot and the fastest way to get food was going to Canidole by boat, this meant that by grandmother had to leave the kids by themselves, playing with the others that were in the area, and go and buy the few things that one could find on the small island that was spared by bombs.

Everyone tried to help one another keeping in mind that the soil in Zabodaski is not particularly fertile and water is scarce, the farm that we have talked about previously helped the population that lived in the bay of Zabodaski maybe more than anyone else as they managed to give fruits and vegetables to everyone that was living there during war time. Sometimes their trip was stopped by someone yelling at them from a house



that planes were spotted, this meant that they had to run back home on the dirt road studded with sharp rocks, in fear of a bombing.



Figure 14 Aerial photo and journal entry recording the bombings on the island

sortie.                      16<sup>th</sup> JANUARY, 1945.                      AIRCRAFT. Z.

let ÷ LOSSINO NAVAL GUNS.

Lossino once again - the southern gun position this time. We had an escort of Mustangs going as anti-flak, resulting in only scant light flak being seen. Bob cocked as everyone does at some time, and pressed the rocket button instead of the camera switch. So our rockets fell short. The position seemed prettylobbered all the same.

The piece of land in front of the family house also managed to let some potatoes grow, it is hard to believe now seeing the dry soil and high grass that it was once a treasure for my family that gave them something to feed upon during hard times; not much was cultivated, potatoes were the main vegetable that tended to survive the harsh conditions but it was enough and it was more than many could hope for.

My grandfather used to go by foot to the farm and fill up buckets of milk that he then brought back to the house together with his older brother Livio, the youngest of the children was two and therefore milk was still considered fundamental for their diet, because of this these trips to fetch both cow and sheep milk were made often also to other houses that had the luck of owning those animals.

Most of their diet consisted of fish that everyone fished from the shores of the bay or from the little rowing boats that were taken more afar in order to possibly achieve bigger catches, it was enough to feed but not always enough to satisfy all the children that lived in the one-bedroom house. And sometimes it was not enough not even to eat, my grandmother, it is said, once reached swimming the rock of Zabodaski just in order to get some seagull eggs because the population of birds tended to brood on the untouched little island with impervious white rocky shores.

Sometimes children stole from the other houses, my grandfather and brothers always pride themselves in never had done such a thing but they place no blame on the kids that used to: in a period where it was a treat even to eat dried figs, they understood that sometimes children wanted something more and, maybe even for envy, climbed on the few fruit trees in the area in order to reach and take the sweet fruits that felt like candy to them. The trees surrounding the house were used to lit the small heater that was also used to cook, the practice of cutting down trees on the land of the cassette was something that most people from Lussino used to do, it was the double use of the property of the land: having a place to go to during the summer times and being able to gather resources such as wood for the homes in Lussino.

### *4.3.3 Leaving Zabodaski*

Sailing was in my family's veins, the first transoceanic crossing of my great-grandfather happened when he was just 14 years old and it was still on a boat that my great-grandfather was presumed dead.

When it came time to leave, my great-grandmother saw the sea as the safest way to escape the island together with her children. The body of water that for so long has been one of the most important riches of the island now it became one of the preferred routes for the escape of many, if not of most. The luckiest could count on a motor boat but many had to resort to rowing or sailing boats, the typical Passere, a sailing boat widely used on the island but of better use for shorter travels, not the ones that many had to endure in order to leave the island.

Many endured the flee by boat until they reached the coasts of Istria, from there many continued by foot or with some other resource if they managed to contact someone to help in order to reach Italy.

Others like Tarcisio and Fides Cuchic decided that it would have been safer for them to reach the coast of Ancona, Italy, 127 kilometers of the Adriatic Sea between the latter and Lussino. The crossing was made on a passera, with no compass or engine, only the rowing power of Tarcisio and an acquittance, Toni, and Fides' prayers for the presence of Bora wind in order to blow them safely towards the Italian coast.

"The sun was setting and the horizon was shimmering with gold while some stars were beginning to show their shine above the hills on the west: the mesmerizing scenery that we would never forget showed the deep contrast between nature and the fast and loud beat of our hearts."

While leaving the island, no matter how hard everyone tried to keep their eyes on the horizon, they looked back to it, on it they spotted for the last time the familiar vegetation, the houses of friends and family members, the rocks from which they used to dive when they were children; they knew that it might have been the last time that they could fill their lungs with the scent of Lussino and of the life that they were leaving behind.

Their trip lasted almost two days because of the lack of wind, they were rescued from an imminent night of strong Scirocco winds by the Italian Aldebaran ship that brought them to Manfredonia, Puglia.

They were saved both from the strength of the sea and from the life they no longer wanted to live in Lussino, in Yugoslavia: the couple now lives in California and Toni moved to Australia; another transoceanic testimony of the forced movement of people that many like them had to endure.

## **5. Changing Memories**

What we have left behind is not only our environment, our houses, our wealth: it was much more. It is a living part of ourselves that was left behind and, in its place, pain took over, our common pain that each of us fights and endures in their intimate self.

Elsa Bragato

My grandfather came back to Zabodaski and to Lussino in the late 1970, he left when he was a child and came back as a father, with three kids with him and a wife.

Coming back to a place you lived in always remains a bitter-sweet experience, the emotions that are attached to a certain place hardly ever go away and tend to come back all at once when visiting it again after a long time.

The little bay where my grandfather grows up stood still against the test of time, much of it was the same, the vegetation and the trees continued to grow, the sea was just as crystal clear as he remembered and the same birds continued to chirp in the sky above. He was now no longer a child, he used to live this place as a child would, now he returned and had to live this place as a father and teach his children how to live in it and enjoy it as he managed to do, this time in peaceful times and not times of scarcity and violence.

While not much of nature per se had changed, something else did and my father quickly caught up to it: the silence was almost overwhelming. An already isolated area was now deserted, none of the houses that were near by the one where my grandfather lived were

inhabited, mostly everyone fled from the area and only a few people remained; the community that was once present and managed to help each other in hard times had crumbled. This lack of people created an even more isolated environment, with now only a few people living in the area permanently there was no possibility to create the web of connections that was once present and this caused a shift in the way the bay was lived by family as it would become a family-only environment with the lack of the possibility of making friends, especially for the children.

Managing to get back to Zabodaski was not an easy task because of the strict border restrictions, little by little, as the years passed, Yugoslavia opened their doors more and more to international visitors and tourism returned to the island even though not with the numbers we know now but with very sporadic and adventurous tourist enchanted by the beautiful sea and beaches of the island.

With the resurgence of sporadic tourism, the bay was still mostly deserted but a family from Milan one day discovered it and fell in love with it, so much so that they returned often and began to have a relationship with my family. This new connection was something new for my family but it also created a peculiar situation in which my family was considered the one who had the knowledge of the area while at the same time being extraneous to it because of the long absence from the bay; while still being more knowledgeable than the family of tourists from Milan, my family still managed to feel out of place much like them because of the differences in the society they were living in at the moment while on the island.

## **5.1 La Comunità di Lussinpiccolo**

A lot of the population of Lussino left the island and scattered around the world, sometimes coming back to the island and sometimes never visiting it again, many lived only of memories, sometimes shared with other refugees that they encountered in the city that they now live in. One way in which a lot of the community of Lussino manages to stay united is the Comunità di Lussinpiccolo, the Italian representative for everyone from Lussino or of Lussino descent; one of the means of unity that three times a year

manages to inform the community is the “Foglio of Lussino”, quarterly newspaper that deals with anything that concerns Lussino and brings it around the world to any member of the community.

I had the opportunity of working with the Comunità di Lussinpiccolo, writing a number of articles for the future editions of the Foglio and discussing with the president, Licia Giadrossi, and other members the future of the island as well as its past. All the members of the Comunità have a deep connection with the island and a passion that they want to keep alive in every way they can, they all believe in the importance of remembering and sharing the story of the island, the exodus is something that impacted all the lives of their families and they want to now keep the memory of Lussino alive and share it with anyone who is willing to listen and learn about it.

## **5.2 L'isola**

While discussing with them about materials concerning the island of Lussino, the book “L'Isola” by Giani Stuparich was quoted several times. The book, considered the most important work of the author, other than “Un anno di scuola”, has a hidden protagonist that is the island of Lussino. The events of “L'Isola” last no more than a few days in which, the father of Stuparich, now aware of the gravity of his illness, visits again but this time together with his son the island on which he was born; the narration is always aware of the condition of the father, putting it often in contrast with the idyllic nature that surrounds them and the people that interact with them and, most of all, the memories that the father has of the days gone by that he spent in Lussino. If someone knows Lussino, they are able to trace back most of the places described in the book but in reality this absence of the name in the work leaves the reader only with Stuparich, his father, and the condition of the latter that even if hidden in the best of the father's abilities is always caught on by his son that throughout the book is unable to enjoy anything about this, eventually, last trip to Lussino in which he mostly is able to see the negative aspects of the life on the island due to the deep apprehension felt by him towards the worsening health of his father. The book is considered of great importance

for the Comunità not only for the different view that it gives to the island of Lussino but also for the great reach that the book had in the literary community, being translated in five languages and consolidating the literary talent of the author.

### **5.3 Elsa Bragato**

While participating in the meeting of the Comunità the name of one author in particular kept coming up when discussing the most important examples of literature from Lussino.

Elsa Bragato was born in Lussino on the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1908 and died in Trieste on the 13<sup>th</sup> December. She is considered as the example of someone who wanted to maintain her memory of the island, an author that is recognized in the Comunità as one of the most loved by the people and whose books remain among the favorites for the glimpse, they give of the life on Lussino before the exodus both in its joys and its sorrows.

Reading the books of Elsa Bragato was of great inspiration for this thesis, her works focused mainly on her island and the life on it, as noted by all authors that prefaced her books, her work, while being a colorful account of her life before the Exodus, never falls into the nostalgic and into thoughts of how life could have been; her goal is to remember and to put into paper what she remembers, she wants her memories to be shared in order for everyone to remember but most of all for her to remember and heal from the pain of the Exodus.

Elsa Bragato left her island mostly physically, her mind and soul returned often to Lussino even when she was unable to visit her island, she traveled back both to memories and to places in order not to see the island so dear to her heart, fade away, forgotten and without her. She was a woman that did not want to forget, her writing talent that remained undiscovered for many years but it was her main outlet not only of creativity but also of memory. Born and raised in Lussino, she always felt as if she has left a part of her life on the island and wanted, with her writing, to bring it back to life as much as she could in order to never forget how it felt and how it was living in Lussino.

The four books of the author “Una volta a Lussin”, “Arie di Lussino”, “Lussin sempre Lussin”, and “Una volta a Lussin” are all collections of her writings, short stories that she wrote in her adult life and that were made first and foremost for her, it was only after a few of them were published in the newspaper “Voce Giuliana”, that Guido Miglia, journalist and writer, pushed Bragato to publish these compilations as self-standing books, seeing in her material the potential of being deeply appreciated by anyone both from Lussino and not.

### 5.3.1 *Una volta a Lussin*



Figure 15 Bookcover of "Una volta, a Lussin..." with watercolors drawing made by E. Bragato

In “Valdargento” the author talks about how when summer came, the people of Lussino suddenly felt claustrophobic, the city too small and the air too hot to continue staying there; this is way almost everyone used to have a separate house dislocated from the city, usually facing some bay and bathed in the greenery of the island. These houses were the so called “casette”, small houses, that were used only for vacation purposes, the house of Zabodaski that my family continues to visit every year is one of those summer homes that was then used as a refuge during the second world war, a harsh change but one needed in order to escape from any possible bomb dropped on the city of Lussino.

Elsa Bragato while describing the bay of Valdargento, jokingly talks about how every tree and every rock had its purpose and was just perfect for each member of her family; reading this piece really connected me with her experience as it is fascinating to me to see how we saw “our” bays in the same way from some perspectives. She talks about the presence of “smooth rocks for her mother to rest her feet”, or “water not shallow enough for children to swim safely”, as well as “water deep enough for the youth to dive from a rock diving board”; when reading these words I was able to picture the rock



in my mind and understood perfectly what kind of rock she was talking about and the position her mother would have taken while refreshing herself, those kind of smooth but not slippery stones that are not fully submerged and are perfect for laying down on them and just enjoy both the breeze of the sea wind and the sea itself. While reading about it I started to think about the things that indeed I would describe as costume made that are present in Zabodaski and that through my human eyes I see as perfectly fit for the comfort of me and my family, Elsa herself wants to project a little irony on how these bays and houses were lived and I cannot help it but they feel as if we were feeling very similar things and living similar experience, even taken into consideration the time gap between me and her.

Elsa Bragato also devotes some of her writings to “Brizina” the part of Lussino in which she was born, she underlines the importance that it had in her upbringing as it was a dislocated part of town that allowed for her and all other kids to have the countryside as their playground. She expresses a great sense of pride for her upbringing, that she shows in the story “Esser de Brizina”, where when faced with the opinions of others that, after fleeing the island, considered their life and their Exodus as more dramatic than hers; she therefore wants to emphasize the beauty of her neighborhood and the freedom that it allowed for her and others. While this sense of distance from the noise of the city was considered for the author as something that enriched her, she also talks about how her mother lived this distance as isolation; but while describing to us what living in Brizina was like and how differently her mother felt towards it, she crashes the idyllic images of her wild, free, and happy childhood with her next story “Non c’è più” where she recalls what she eventually found in place of her home and “dolaz” when she came back to Lussino in the 1970’s. The “dolaz” typically is the part of land in front of the house, usually cultivated or at least curated with aromatic plants and flowers, when Elsa Bragato came back to the island the piece of land that was so dearly tended by her father was no longer there, forever wounded and defaced by the bombs that were dropped on the city and the surrounding areas during the second world war: She discusses on how all her family’s treasures were destroyed during these bombings, not only the “dolaz” but the olive trees that were dear to her grand-father and the bushes, “ugrade” in which she and her friends used to jump in, in a game that was considered wild and brutal by

many kids from the city but that was lived by the children from Brizina as proof of their strength and great fun. Where once laid all her memories and properties now a concrete road lets tourist reach the peak of the city of Lussino, “it cut through our remote corner, it looks like a long, painful wound”, the people that go through it now could never now of the importance that the land there are passing on has for the family of Elsa Bragato, they will only see the road and the beautiful scenery that surrounds them but they will never see the hills and “masiere” that once painted the landscape and that now lay in mounds on the side of the streets after the land was flatten to be poured with concrete, these pieces of memories lay as “trash abandoned on the side of the road [...] stained with red soil, like dried blood”.

### 5.3.2 *Arie di Lussino*



Figure 16 Bookcover of "*Arie di Lussino*" with watercolors drawing made by E. Bragato

The new road that now slashes Brizina is again present in her story “Altri tempi altri odori”, present in her second book. Here the road is wandered by a British friend of Elsa Bragato that she met when she was already in Trieste and that during one of the many times in which she talked about her island, became interested in visiting it together with her husband guided by the words of Bragato that suggested the best places to visit both more and less accessible. When the British couple returned to Trieste after the Dalmatian vacation, the author found herself in front of a description of the island that she was unable to recognize and track down: the new road that e city of Lussino, the one that is now where Brizina was, and is able to connect easily even the places that Bragato noted as more difficult to reach, everything was accessible and only a few minutes-drive was needed to arrive in bays that once needed a good length of walking time to arrive to, and these places were now different, transformed by new hotels and restaurants and new tourists that bathed and stayed on the once deserted beaches. Not only the senary was changed, the couple notes also the smells that hugged some of the places they visited, but this smell was not

the one expected by Elsa Bragato but rather an aroma of grilled meat coming from the many restaurants that specialized in meat grilling and that can only raise a smile and a sense of irony in the author that in this affirmation saw the complete transformation of the atmosphere that she so well knew: no longer the perfume of the myrtle in bloom, the cyclamens, or the saltiness of the air but rather the one of grilled skewers, something that belongs to a culinary tradition of inner Croatia, brought to the island through the internal migration encouraged by the Yugoslavia government.

While the British tourist had no problem navigating the roads on the island, for Elsa Bragato for whom these roads were new and never travelled, they revealed themselves as hard to navigate because of the discrepancy between what was now the correct way to take and the one that the mind of the author was tracing, the ones that she so often walked as a child. This difficulty in navigation is described in “Valdisole” where the author describes her impressions when she finally managed to reach the bay Valdisole after the long absence from Lussino; the once so loved stretch of beach and land is now introduced by a parking lot, so out of place if compared by what is in the author’s mind and that she is now looking for in the myriad of tourists that now invade the beach, she continues glancing around, looking for the reference points that made Valdisole the bay of her memories: the high pine trees, the masiere, the cows of Omero that as a child she was introduced to; none of these protagonists of the land of her recollections were present in the modern Valdisole, she slowly but surely begins to see only what remains of them, only skeletons on the land, traces of what once was and now fallen to make space for modernity. Only stumps remain of the pine trees, cut down and no longer providing shade to the small street that once stood between them, the stones that made the masiere are now scattered around, the land where the cows of Omero used to roam has now become an extension of the beach that, filled with tourists, is the source of an intense chattering noise that almost silences the one of the cicadas. The excursion of Elsa Bragato continues, hopeful to find again at least some of the things that in her mind made Valdisole what it is in her mind but not even the sea is as it was, a sewage discharge tints the extremity of the bay of a darker color and the cave, or better a cavity in the rocks of the low cliffside, that used to enhance the splashes of the waves, and that

was one of the hidden treasures of the bay when she was a kid, is no longer there but in its place there is a sign that celebrates the future plans for the construction of new hotels and vacation residencies.



*Figure 17 Postcard depicting the modernization of tourism of the beaches*

Why even get mad, asks the author to herself, aware that everything is destined to change but deep down she wants to maintain her memory rather than the reality as she is unable to see herself and her island in it, she shields her vision of Valdisole deep down and tries not to bring it up again in order not to spoil it with these new memories; only once the wall that she managed to build between present and past will be breached, when she overhears a simple conversation dealing of man by the name of Miro that used to live somewhere near Lussino, Elsa Bragato is unable to refrain her brain and understand that the man is indeed Omero, the gentle farmer that so dearly loved her cows and she so fondly remembers as one the most characteristic aspects of Valdisole and with that the memories of her Valdisole flood back into her mind in a “intact and enchanted silence”.

## **6. Present Realities**

When you arrive in Lussinpiccolo, you will most likely park your car next to the old shipyards and continue by foot to reach the main square of the town. The town has very little shade, only a few Oleander trees splash with the pink and violet color of their flowers the pavement of the pedestrian road but are unable to provide sufficient repair from the hot summer sun that reflects off the white stones that pave the way and into the building that face it. The best way to escape from the heat is to turn as soon as one can in one of the small streets that run parallel to the seafront, the hot air of some air conditioning system might sometimes blow in your face but the buildings that stand so close to one another are able to create shade on the road that will protect you from the sun during your walk. Being so narrow, these roads can sometimes resemble some Venetian roads that one might fortuitously enter while exploring the city, the feeling of cold humidity that remains trapped in between the buildings stays on one skin until it is once again touched by the sun but it is able to refresh the walker for the brief stay in one of those narrow and shady streets. Many house doors face these streets and are often left open to allow the faint wind to enter the building and let the warmth leave it, most of the times you cannot see much but a flight of stairs that stands in a dark entryway, some beach towels left on the railing in order to dry and be used the following day.

### **6.1 Lussino's Acqua Alta**

But if you were to continue by the seafront your eyes would most likely glance over the many villas and buildings, known commonly as the “prima fila”, front row, the most wanted housing in the city. The houses that now are separated from the sea by a road

and the pier were once directly facing the water with private piers where residents could dock their “passere”, the typical sailing boat in Lussino.



Figure 18 Postcard in which it is visible how close buildings were to the water in the "prima fila"

But these decorated houses are now mostly uninhabited, being a tourist, it would be hard to understand why these beautiful buildings were left to rot, even if the population of Lussino is getting smaller it is a flourishing tourist destination and they would make great accommodations for anyone visiting. Unfortunately, most of the villas experience flooding during days in which strong Ostro, West blowing wind, puffs over the town. This problem caught the eye of the MOSE (Modello Sperimentale Elettromeccanico) committee that saw in Lussinpiccolo a similar situation to the one in Venice, the city in which their MOSE system is at the moment in use. Venice's Acqua Alta is a recurrent phenomenon of high tides that cause the city to be flooded for several days every year; the driven factors are mostly the gravitational pull, the shallow Adriatic Sea basin, the presence of strong South or North-East winds such as Scirocco and Bora that, combined with heavy rainfall, can exacerbate the phenomenon. The system of defense that is now

in use in the city in order to prevent the Acqua Alta is the MOSE system that consists of modular barriers located at the lagoon inlets. The project uses sensors to monitor tidal conditions and weather, enabling precise barrier activation that are raised using compressed air.

The MOSE committee therefore decided to visit the city of Lussinpiccolo in order to discuss what could be done to help the city overcome this problem, they met with the president of the Italian community of Lussinpiccolo, Sanjin Zoretic, and performed an on sight investigation, sailing through the different entrances to the bay, the ones that during days of strong winds from the West bring high waves that are able to submerge part of the walkable seafront of the city and the floors how many houses. The proposed idea was the creation of movable dams like the ones that try to protect the city of Venice from the repeated phenomenon of the Acqua Alta, Sanjin Zoretic expressed interest for this MOSE like project but underlined the fact that most of the cases of Acqua Alta in the city are caused by water infiltrating through the pavements, “it comes up from the floor, all these houses used to be water-front, when the project of enlarging the pavement was approved something must have been overseen because the problems that we are facing now are, most likely, structural ones more than tide related”. Even if the characteristics of the two cities, Lussinpiccolo and Venice, are not the same a collaboration would most likely bring innovations on the island that will better the Acqua Alta situation and will be accepted with open arms as underlined by the mayor of the town, Ana Kucic. The relationship that was then created with their visit in March 2023 to the island was also helped being born by the Adriatic Europe Project that brought together the north-eastern regions of Italy with Slovenia and Croatia.

## 6.2 The Italian Community of Lussinpiccolo

One of the villas that is affected by this water problems is Villa Perla, the current headquarters of the Italian Community of Lussinpiccolo, that was restored in 2010 in order to accommodate the needs of the Community and create a meeting point for the many community activities that are able to congregate together anyone of Italian descent. During my last visit of Lussino I had the pleasure of talking with the president of the Italian community of Lussino in order to better understand how it has evolved and how is



*Figure 19 Passera sailing in front of Villa Perla*

changing together with the

population of the city. The Italian community of Lussino managed to create a space for any generation, and this is certainly one of the goals of the associations that wants to maintain their presence in the city.

“One of the biggest problems is that the people that recognize themselves as Italians are of the older generation and it is hard for younger people to see themselves as something other than Croatian. At the same time young people understand their heritage and many times seek places to express their interest in it with their peers.” For the community it is not easy to keep the number of members on the rise, keeping in mind that the older generations diminish year after year, but thanks to the many project that focus on the younger and the youngest generation, they are able to keep their numbers in the positive and the community is able to steadily flourish.



The Italian community of Lussinpiccolo has 12 employees and 492 members, 109 of which are Italians and for 143 of which consider Italian their first language. These numbers are important for a community that exists in a small reality such as Lussinpiccolo that counts a steadily lowering population that went from 8000 in 2011 to 7500 in 2021; the hope is for the town to reverse this trend and the presence of thriving communities such as the Italian one can be pivot for a change of perspective for the city especially by giving new opportunities for younger generations that may see little future in the city.

“We want to appeal to the younger generation but sometimes it is hard to do so, we have now created a football team that managed to place third in the local PIRANO tournament and the new theater play production can count on some young actors that are already eager to participate to next year’s project”. While talking with Sanjin Zoretic it was evident that creating connections with young people can be challenging, especially taking into consideration that the main link with Italian culture that many of them have is through their grandparents; because of this it is hard for them to see themselves as connected to a community that can be easily perceived as an looking back to the past rather than at the future, but thanks to the constant innovation that various members of the community and its president want to apply to city and the new activities created by them, they manage to have an appeal to younger generations, creating a safe space where people can embrace their past and present cultures while interacting with others that are similar to them and that share familiar realities that are part of their heritage.

One of the goals of the Italian Community is to make the city of Lussinpiccolo shine and enlarge its horizons, while it is still a vibrant city during the summer times, the flow of people that visit it do so only in the hot season, slighting it during colder seasons such as Autumn and Winter: “Tourism is the main resource for the city and the island, we are now trying to create real connections that will not only focus on the summer season.” Thanks to the cooperation that are being created through the project GO2025, that sees the cities of Gorizia, in Italy, Friuli Venezia Giulia, and Nova Gorizia, Slovenia, linked once more in a European effort to connect and minimize differences

and borders, Lussino aims at creating steady transportation routes that last year-round and that continue the creation of bridges between Italy, Croatia, and Slovenia.

Among these projects there is the expansion of the existing sea route that connects Lussinpiccolo to Trieste, Italy, and Rovigno, Slovenia, every summer and that consists of two weekly trips that connect the three cities twice a day; “we are hoping to maintain this connection year-round in order to expand the visits to the city to all seasons” possibly expanding on the differentiation of the activities that can be done on the island and in the city. “We are also starting to discuss the establishment of a yearlong light aircraft rout from the Nicelli Airport on the Lido of Venice to the Airport of Lussino” until now the airport that is present on the island was used for private flights and security uses but this change in users could be a new and exciting way to reach the island in record times.

When talking with Sanjin Zoretic, we often came back to the topic of the changing society on Lussino and their effort to accommodate everyone in order to let the community flourish. But even though the younger generations are more difficult to reach, the youngest generation is already under the community’s wing. The kindergarten of the Italian Community of Lussino is an important asset for the city as it is able to accommodate more than 20 children every year, all activities are carried out in Italian in the community’s headquarters where children gather every weekday on the second floor of Villa Perla to take part in the endeavors of the day.

“The presence of another kindergarten in town is very much appreciated by the people of Lussino, it is an important asset that is able to help many”, children and families not only have access to a service that can be of fundamental importance for the wellbeing of any community, but they also are able connect or reconnect more with the Italian culture and be part of a community that wants to be more and more present in the life on the island.

When talking with Mrs. Elena, the secretary of the Community, she underlined to me the importance that her upbringing had on her education since a very young age “My father was Italian and he talked to me in Italian, my mother was from a village near Lussino and she talked in Croatian to me, I was able to understand both languages and speak them as well, it was something that defined me and still does, working with the

Community is part of who I am.” Elena lived her whole life mixing with these different cultures and has been taught to appreciate them equally. “When I was very young, Italian was the language that was taught in schools but when Yugoslavia was established, all the schools changed to speaking and teaching Croatian; I had no problem about it but many of my class mates could not keep up with the change, many of them never spoke Croatian in their lives and only sometimes heard it talked. For them it was a nightmare, I understood the importance of what my parents taught me, I was not lost, my life in school remained the same and I always thanked my parents for their teachings that allowed me to appreciate everything that was around me”.

The end of the use of the Italian language in schools coincides with the end of the Italian Culture Club that was established in 1948 on the island; three main schools were present, one in Lussino, one in Ossero and one in Neresine, during the exodus all their activities were stopped or changed to follow Yugoslavian standards, making them lose their Italian roots and close eventually in 1951/52. The Italian Culture Club of Lussino lost its presence on the island but was absorbed by the Italian Culture Club of Fiume. The Club maintained itself with lesser power but continued its mission to preserve the presence of the Italian culture; in 1991 this mission was incorporated into the Italian Union that has, ever since, continued its work on the Istro-Dalmatian territory. The Italian Union was recognized in 1996 as the accepted organization of the national Italian community thanks to the “Treaty between the Italian and Croatian Republic on the rights of minorities”. The Union counts 46 Italian Communities in Croatia: 42 in the Istria region, 4 in the Liburnica region including the Lussinpiccolo Community, 3 in Slavonia, 2 in Dalmatia and 1 in Zagabria. The mission of the community is to educate about and preserve the Italian culture and language, they do so also through many institutions throughout the territories of Slovenia and Croatia, such as the History research center of Rovigno, the Geography research center of Pirano, the italianistic department in the University of both Fiume and Capodistria. Many other non-academic institutions also exist such as the publishing house EDIT, based in Fiume, and the different radio and television programs broadcasted both in Slovenia and Croatia, the Italian community of Lussino also broadcasts three times a day a news bulletin in Italian on Radio Jadranka, read also by the president of the community Sanjin Zoretic.



*Figure 20 Sanjin Zoretic during our meeting in Villa Perla*



*Figure 21 Photo of the "Festival of Italian minorities: Cherso-Fiume route, sailing through the Quarnero" 20th May 1951*

### 6.3 Beachfront Transformation

The community evolved together with society and put on efforts to persevere its traditions, the challenges that the country faces now are also of climate nature, when talking with the president of the community of Lussino, when asked how the islanders feel about climate change the answer was that most people do not know much about the problem and do not see it as something that could affect their lives: “there is no education on the matter, even the younger generation does not seem too interested on the matter” notes Sanjin Zoretic. While talking with some members of the community it was underlined how a lot of the island traditions of environmental respect and appreciation were lost during and after the internal migration that was supported by the Yugoslavia government: “sometimes it is hard for someone who was not born on the island to understand its environment and its equilibrium, not everyone wants to learn how to respect it”. One of the examples that is often brought up during these conversation about the changing environment of the island is the great concreting of the bay of Cigale. Cigale has always been mostly frequented by tourists, it is the place where the first tourist hotel of the town was built and it was modified to cater to tourist’s likes, “people from Lussino and nearby villages never went to Cigale, it was for the ones that came here to vacation, not for the locals, we know better bays and we were never envious of them” Mrs. Elena told me “my father never brought us to Cigale, it was too noisy and filled with people, people from around here tend to prefer more isolated beaches... but we sometimes went to Cigale just to people-watch, it was fun seeing of rich people go about their day and see how differently they enjoy the sea”. In Croatia, the privatization of beaches is not allowed, only in a few occasions it is granted the ability for hotels or beach bars to rent out sunbeds and similar beach accessories but they are unable to deny entry to such beach to anyone who just wants to throw a towel down and go for a swim. The illegality of privatization makes it almost impossible for tourists to encounter the long stretches of beach that one can see in Italy for example, where you have to pay a quota in order to be granted access to the sandy shores filled with sun umbrellas and beach beds, in Croatia you have to find beaches by

yourself and most of the times you would not be laying down on soft golden sand but rather round, hard pebbles. The recent boom in tourism has given the Croatian government the jump starts to begin thinking on how to accommodate usually richer tourist that demand a level of comfort that one cannot easily find on the coast of the country, this has sparked new and controversial conversations about the possibility of privatizing some parts of the rocky and pebbly shores. Architect Nikola Bašić, who designed the Sea Organ in Zara and the luxurious eco-chic Villa Nai on Dugi Otok, is skeptical. “The draft law is pro-concession and advocates a more intensive use of the coast as a productive resource. Concessions, including short-term five-year concessions, would allow the right to build on the maritime domain, even in areas of protected nature. The Croatian coast is succumbing to real-estate fever that would turn it into an uninterrupted concrete carpet.” Bašić, smartly underlines how the coast will become a concrete carpet, because due to the lack of sand on Croatia beaches, the only way for them to accommodate any comforts is to fill everything with concrete, creating an even surface where any and all beach furniture can be placed with ease to appease the comforts needed by the ones that pay more and reside in the higher hand hotels of the country. He also adds that “Historic coastal cities are increasingly subject to gentrification and commodification, with devastating consequences on their social and cultural identity”. And if the romantic harbor towns with their timeless traditions, unspoilt nature and secret beaches that are attracting holidaymakers here in the first place, they certainly need protecting.

The change that the Croatia coast might face could transform it in the beach dystopia that we too often see in Italy where each region has been given the right to decide autonomously how much of the coast to privatize and how much of it to leave free for the public. While in many areas of Italy this has become the norm, with regions such as Liguria having stretches of beach that are 100% privatize, such as the one in Gatteo, the environmentalist association Legambiente has often tried to speak up on the matter feeding on the public discontent of having to pay to enjoy a public space. Legambiente in their dossier “Rapporto Spiagge 2022” argues that in many regions the beaches that are free of fee are the ones next to “discharge of rivers, ditches, or sewers, where people can lie down to sunbathe but swimming is prohibited because the sea is polluted.”

In contrast with Italy, Croatia has at the moment a great "Coastal Protected Area" of high natural, cultural, and historical value because of the established ban on constructing any structure with a minimum distance of 1km and expanding in any way constructions that are within the 100-meter coastal strip. Among the principles expressed by Croatian regulations, the importance of free accessibility to the coast and the preservation of uninhabited islands without the possibility of construction is highlighted but it is happening more and more that a soft privatization is starting to come into place in the state. But the imminent problem has been more and more discussed, in one instance in 2021 a local family reported that had been chased away from a tiny islet near Korcula, the family for years visited the islet that was uninhabited apart from a light house, but in the summer of that year a group of guests was renting the lighthouse and became confrontational with the family, telling them to leave. The year after others had the same experience that prompted the UK Telegraph newspaper to publish an article regarding the changing tourism in Croatia and the new regulations that might be put into place.

#### **6.4 Digital Exploration**

The bay of Zabodaski where my family house is located used to be an isolated stretch of beach, my family hardly saw tourists, but with the boom in visitors that Croatia has started to see during the start of the millennium more and more people started to reach the beach; while not particularly hidden the lack of post-signs makes it a destination mostly reached by word of mouth. When, out of curiosity, our family placidly investigated why more and more tourists were choosing the beach of Zabodaski as their destination we input its name on the Google search engine and found that it has dozen of five-star reviews on Google Maps, with several pictures posted of the beautiful memories people made while bathing in the crystal-clear waters of the bay. Traveling has changed with the introduction of the internet in our daily lives and because of applications and sites such as Google Maps, people has started more and more to reach places that were once considered remote and inaccessible. While traveling with my

family at the beginning of the century the usual set up in our car consisted of my father behind the wheel and my mother in the passenger seat, holding a foldable map of the region or country we were visiting; during stops it was a fun activity for the kids to explore those complicated and road filled maps that were stacked into the dashboard. With the passing of time, technology progressed and from GPS navigators we passed to the use of our mobile phones and the famous online mapping service for navigation, directions, and location information Google Maps: it is now enough to input the location one wanted to reach and any desired destination can be attained without having to understand and constantly look down on printed maps. But Google Maps is not only used to reach a destination, it is able to tell anyone about the best locations, restaurants, attractions, and more to visit in the location one is at but while these type of guides were available even in paperback form one had to trust the author of it with any suggestions, now, thanks to reviews and photographs that anyone can upload to the site, everyone can have an idea of how a place is and can weight for themselves if it is worth it to visit it or not, knowing how other people enjoyed it or not. If you were in Lussino right now, just by typing in the Google Maps input bar “remote beaches”, many results will pop up, from the ones closer to you to the best reviewed ones; it was once difficult to know a remote location as the name suggests, being remote it is usually hard to access or not well signaled and therefore tends to remain a hidden gem to be discovered by exploration rather than by digital navigation. Google Maps is also able to overcome the language barrier that many times stopped tourists from understanding where to go or from knowing if a place was worth visiting or not, everything on the site or the app is written in the language of the user and there for the user is able to navigate without any obstacles any place their hearts desire.

While resources such as Google Maps are a precious gift for any tourist, they can be a double-edged sword for the locals: on the one hand the accessibility to knowledge on the place visited caused many to explore it more and lets many establishments to be literally put on the map, but the total accessibility to even more remote area can cause environmental damage in the form of over-tourism or pollution. It should also be noted that by being excluded from being placed on Google Maps can cause establishments not



to be trusted and entire towns or monuments to be snubbed as the security that one perceives from the use of Google Maps and its reviews lacks in those cases.

Via Local Guide Connect, a Google service to connect local Google Maps guides and people who interact with the Google App system, we have the testimony of Atabo David that started to contribute to Google Maps by promoting local destinations in Nigeria, shows the ways local communities can earn from Google Maps and tourists looking for more remote destinations. He realized that by putting local villages and destinations on the map there was a potential for impactful sustainable development, and by initiating the project “ComeMakeWeGoAfrica” he leveraged on Google Maps and other digital resources in order to highlight lesser-known African destination, the aim was also to counter over-tourism and poverty by aiming economic growth in local communities. Due to the efforts of Atabo David and his "ComeMakeWeGoAfrica" initiative, there has been a noticeable rise in the visibility, reach, and visits to the villages that were promoted through various campaigns and activities.

But the accessibility that Google Maps gives to the territory is not always transparent nor efficient.

The town of Baunei in Sardinia, Italy, made headlines on international publications for the number of lost tourists that were unable to reach their destination and therefore called for emergency rescue because of their excessive faith in Google Maps; when exploring less accessible locations relying solely on technology can be tricky, many roads are dirt roads without many signposts and a lot of choices have to be made relying also on one's intuition and orientation. This situation has led the town and surrounding towns' administration to advise tourists, via signs, not to use Google Maps but rather trust the new signposts that have been updated and made more visible. Because of this supposed ban on Google Maps the town gained international attention and sparked a small conversation on how the difficulty of tracking roads on Google Maps is a problem that is more widespread than believed.

This total reliance on the App is also noted by citizens of cities and towns around the world that have seen their neighborhoods infested with cars that would take silent and isolated roads in order to cut off traffic and reach their destination faster, this has caused many parts of towns to change drastically: they were no longer placid suburban roads

used by residents and guests, roads became filled with parked and moving cars that added to the noise and pollution of the area, disturbing the peace of residential areas. Apparently, this issue has been also caused by the new green feature that Google Maps provides, the app offers eco-friendly routing in some countries, that displays fuel or energy efficiency estimates for routes based on your vehicle's engine type. This feature considers factors like real-time traffic and road conditions to suggest both the fastest and most efficient routes. These routes sometimes overlap with residential areas that were previously not usually suggested by the system.

While being put on the map can be a double-edged sword that can improve as much as destroy a living habitat, not being placed on the map can be the cause of the death of a community. Areas such as Brazil Favela or Makoko, one of the largest lagoon settlements in Lagos, are not tracked by Google Maps because of the lack of addresses or the inaccessibility of the areas. This lack of representation causes many other services that rely on Google Maps not to be accessible to the communities that live in those area, the popular mobility app Uber that has replaced taxis all over the world, cannot be used if the driver cannot rely on Google Maps as the two apps work together as one “anything that relies on maps, they are completely out of grid”. These different scenarios show how technology has changed the way we approach places and how they were able to sneak up even in unfamiliar places that were less considered by the vast population.

## **6.5 A Change in Habits**

Since Croatia has entered the European Union, its tourism has also begun to change, from this year, 2023, the country has officially entered the Schengen area and has embraced the Euro over the Kuna, the former currency. The end of the border controls from Slovenia to Croatia has made the trip to the country easier and quicker, from talking with Italian tourists coming from regions of the north-east such as Friuli Venezia Giulia or Veneto, many had stated that “knowing that we will no longer be waiting in a queue in order to enter Croatia has convinced us to make some weekend

trips to the coast without fearing to be stuck in the car for too long” but at the same time, while making entering the country easier and more accessible, the currency change has created some annoyance from tourists and locals alike. When talking with the Italian Community of Lussinpiccolo many expressed their discontent with the rise in prices that Croatia has been witnessing since the Euro has been implemented in the country “We have seen a surge in prices in everyday items but for now our wages and pensions are remaining low if not lower than before”.

Locals are starting to get accustomed to this change but tourists are still shocked by the differences in prices that the country has witnessed from one year to another “We were once considered a low-price destination where everyone could afford to travel, right now the situation is changing but we are hoping for it to even itself out” said the president of the Italian community of Lussinpiccolo; while the mobility accessibility of the country has increased, the surge in prices has created some confusion among tourists that have been, unfortunately, warned of the changes in many Italian newspapers, creating a sort of panic, naming Croatia as a new high-end destination, making everyone aware of the risk of spending more than expected during their vacation stay. These articles and titles have fortunately not much grasp on the population that has been visiting the country for years on end “We are yet to see a decrease in tourism but we are seeing less people dining out for example” confirmed Sanjin Zoretic.

When walking down the pier of Lussinpiccolo one common occurrence were waiters calling you down, offering you a table to dine and explaining to you the menu of the day, the most marketed dishes were of course fish ones, considered the most typical of the culinary tradition of the island. “Once everyone tried to talk to tourists in Italian, since we have entered the European Union the Italian language is less and less used, English has become the idiom of choice with any foreign, it feels different now, it seems like that as long as it is not useful the language is left behind” notes Sanjin Zoretic, the president of the Italian Community, that notes how it is now even harder to preserve the Italian language in a changing society that wants to open itself up to a more European landscape. While only a glimpse in the changing society, the dining tradition of the island is still a mirror for the direction it is taking. “Our culinary tradition is representative of the life on island as it once was, it is resourceful and relies on what

one could find on the land or on the sea” this is how it was described to me by the Chef Adrijano Nicolic who I met in the restaurant Za Kantuni, literally translated to around the corner, in order to escape from the hot sun that in the days of my visit was shining on the town; the restaurant is not on the seafront of Lussinpiccolo but rather in one of those small streets that once can take in order to enjoy a little shade, the big terrace enjoys a constant stream of light wind that makes it a chillier dining location in contrast with any other restaurant on the seafront. Za Kantuni has been the restaurant in which Chef Nicolic has worked for many years, he gladly showed me around introducing me to most of the staff and testing me on different traditional dishes “Do you know what that is?” he asked as he pointed to a big cast iron pot, one traditionally used in the preparation of different meat and fish dishes on the grill, known as “peka”, he gladly nodded to my affirmative response “not many still use it, it is traditional around here but restaurants started to use less and less along the years, it is difficult to master maybe that is why not many want to tackle it”. Nicolic has been cooking his whole life, traveling together with his passion and bringing the flavors of the island around Europe and this passion is noticeable when talking with him, his constant studies on the culinary tradition of the island focus from its Greek beginnings to the oral recipes that are still circulating to this day among the older generations.

“People, of course, ate and lived with what they could grow, catch and forage. Most of the traditional dishes are fish or sheep meat based, they were rich in flavor but not in ingredients, Lussino is not an island made for big cultivations, it’s a rough land.” While talking he showed hundreds of traditional recipes that he has stored in several books and annotations, many of the dishes described are still cooked today and present many family variants. “The beauty of cooking with fish is that you cannot plan in advance what to prepare, you have to rely on what you or the fishermen catch on that day, and you have to try to make the best of any of it”. This reliance on the skill and fortune of fishermen has been mostly lost because of fish farming, it is not no longer how it used to be, it is normal now to enter the fish market and find a myriad of fish, even after a stormy day, it was not like this even a few years ago.”



*Figure 22 Chef Nicolic in front of the restaurant Za Kantuni*

### 6.5.1 In abundant waters

When you enter the fish market of Lussino, that is placed in front of the main square of the town, your shoes will meet with the slippery stone floor that is always wet from the slowly melting ice that keeps the fish fresh or the water used when the ladies that tend to counters clean it up for their clients.



Figure 23 Postcard depicting the harbour and the fish market of Lussino

The market is a woman only space, every counter has one or more women behind it, calling you over to look at the beautiful specimens that the company they represent has caught that day or they are farming, they will describe it to you and tell you what dishes you could do with them in order to inspire anyone unsure of their possible purchase. While always diversified, sometimes there would be a particularly large catch that would become the spectacle of the fish market for the day, for example some exceptional Dentice (Red Snapper) or a more rare Octopus, nevertheless when I was younger many of the ice boxes on the counters were filled with a mix of fish of low

value that were often labeled only with a sign with “brodetto” written on it. The fishes present in the boxes were considered poor or at least not fine enough to be considered a dish on their own but put together they made of the most loved foods on the island, usually eaten with a side of polenta, the so called Brodetto. These fishes were the ones that many times ended up in the nets of fisherman by mistake, not the ones for which these nets were tossed such as the precious Orate and that could be sold to restaurants in order to increase their monetary gain for the day. In a sort of way walking in the fish market is able to connect you with the island, it is a vibrant place that reflects what is happening in the environment, produce changes not only because of seasonality but also because of the weather, after a storm you would not be able to find much fish on the counters but the abundance one could witness in days where the fishing was good was fascinating. While until a few years ago most of the fish was wild caught with a few exceptions, right now more and more farmed fish can be seen in the market and one of the first local companies that started to operate in the Lussino fish market is More-Losinj acquiring a counter that specialized in the sale of their products. The company, funded in 1986 and at the time focused on the marketing of local caught fish, started in 1999 to farm Orate and Branzini, while they began with 10 nets, they have now achieved to manage 48 nets in total, 3 of which bought thanks to European funds. With the increase of regulations and the diminishing number of fish present in the Mediterranean Sea, wild caught fish can cost more than two times than farmed one, making the latter the preferred purchase for most restaurants. For some this switch from wild caught to farmed animals is a disrespect to traditions and a loss of them, while it can be understandable that seeing traditional fishing techniques lost can be frustrating, most fishing companies have evolved with the times and are private citizens the ones that are able to bring along traditions such as fishing with the “tonia”, just a hook and weight tied to a fishing line that itself is wrapped around a cork tile; this fishing equipment was utilized by many on the island and is considered a skillful ability to master.

Studies aimed at the understanding European consumers’ perceptions of wild caught and farmed fish found that the knowledge surrounding aquaculture is limited and often stigmatized; farmed fish are often considered less fresh in contrast to wild caught ones

even though the distribution channels are often the same. At the same time the fear for pollution and heavy metals present in wild caught fish can cause some consumers to avoid it even though the risks for farmed and wild fish are approximately similar, with farmed fish being more checked and controlled. Studies show that more education regarding the safety of both production chains and underline the importance from fish farming industries to enhance their transparency and communication with the public. Aquaculture production is subject to licensing and monitoring procedures in EU countries, all companies must comply with EU and national laws that protects human and animal health as well as the environment. The welfare of farmed fish is starting to become of significant concern together with the sustainability aspects. In order to guarantee welfare and sustainability companies avoid the use of non-native species, seek alternative feeds for carnivorous fish, implement effective disease management and use veterinary medicines with minimal environmental impact.

As the global population increases and so does the demand for fish, aquaculture is expected to become more and more essential and their production numbers to rise constantly. Modern commercial fishing employ highly efficient methods of pursuit as well as monitoring, nevertheless when a fish population is harvested beyond their sustainable limits, we can still witness cases of species being over-harvested or over-exploited. Currently, 52% of fish stocks are fished at their maximum sustainable levels, if we continue with this trend this 52% of fish stock might become over-harvested in the future.

Aquaculture on the other hand still raises questions and eyebrows when mentioned as a sustainable alternative to wild catch fishing. Some costal ecosystems, such as mangrove forests in Asia, are disrupted to make space for farming ponds and chemical pollutants such as antibiotics can contributed to microbial imbalance as well as antibiotic resistance. Excessive nutrient release can also cause eutrophication and oxygen depletion. The possibility of farmed fish of escaping and mating with wild fish poses also threats of disease transferring. For these reasons aquaculture is still sometimes considered as damaging both environmentally and health wise but, at the same time, it should be taken into consideration that it offers a valid alternative to reliance on overharvested wild fish stock, it provides fish protein to local populations, and can



potentially aid in species replenishment. In order to promote sustainable aquaculture, integrated management programs combining effective protocols and legislations must be developed and enforced.

## **6.6 Future and Tradition**

This feeling of disrespect towards traditions and resources is often underlined by the population of the island, while tourism is understood as a fundamental resource for everyone involved the changes that it can bring with itself can feel like a loss of authenticity and can sometimes cause abrupt changes both on the environment and the habits that the island has. It can feel as if Lussino is only alive during the summer times, forgetting about the beauty that a gray sky or a cold day when the Bora wind blows. If one has the luck of visiting the island in autumn or in the winter, there is a sense of solitude that fills the air, there is almost no one around, not in the city nor in the beaches, it is quite if not silent, cicadas no longer sing and the resounding sound is the one of the waves that crush on the coast. The peace that one can feel during those seasons might be disrupted if tourism was to be implemented more during those times of the year, at the same time tourism is the livelihood of a great part of the population of the island and being able to prolong this income could be an increase for the wealth of many seasonal workers. There is a sense of internal battle when thinking about the possible future of the island as it is understandable that changes have to occur in order for it to maintain its pace with changing times, at the same time the sense of imminent and permanent transformation can clench at one's heart and create a strong sense of already missing something that is still present: what is tourism will be present year-round? Will the change be so great that the island that once was will be no longer recognizable? Will aquaculture change the feelings that I have when walking inside the fish market in Lussino? These unknowns sometimes hunt my mind as well as the one of other people on the island, the feeling of seeing something that someone knows so deeply change comes with a sense of dread for what it was but it is impossible to stop something that is bigger than oneself, just like with changes that arrive with climate

change, one can adapt and persevere but it is eventual that one day or another we will need to leave behind what we were accustomed to, and these changes will be seen on the island of Lussino as well. The hope for the future is one of a deeper understanding of what the island is, changes are imminent and can indeed bring so many positives to the population that lives on it; a deeper and more understanding education regarding what these changes are and how to control them is the only way in which it could be possible to preserve the memory that everyone has of Lussino and that everyone will have of it. There is no one perfect way to remember a place as everything is made of sensations, feelings and memories made either in solitude or with others, even the smallest change can cause a change in what is perceived, the simple act of cutting a tree or moving a stone can change the identity of a place for ever in the eyes of the person that treasures a memory of it. The island of Lussino is part of myself and will forever remain part of myself in the future, while I will always feel the urge to fight against anything that could hurt the island and its equilibrium, the only possible way to accept its future is to embrace changes that are part of the natural evolution that comes with the passing of time.

The island of Lussino wants to maintain its identity and everyone that is part of it will always have its best interest in mind, the hope is for this identity to be maintained and for it not to be destroyed by what the future has in store for it.

## Conclusions

With this thesis I wanted to explore the deep relation that connects nature and humans, my aim was to show that memories are a deeply fundamental part of this connection and the island of Lussino became the perfect stage for this discussion.

We started this journey from the island in my family car, driving through the island of Cherso and Lussino where we started to understand the deep connection that the island has with its population, showing the different anthropological changes that it endured, from more ancient to more modern ones. These transformations come centuries of human presence on the island, from the city of Ossero where the Romans dig and divided the island in order to create an easier connection for marketing and civil purposes, to the dry walls of the “masiere” that still today create the neat and characteristic mosaic of olive trees and barren land that is painted throughout the landscape. Modern human technology has also managed to make its mark on an island that at first glimpse might seem as if stuck in older times, examples of this is the Orlec-Trinket solar plant complex that will be the more visible piece of modern technological environmental adaptation that one will see on the island. At the same time, while humans morphed and influenced the nature and the landscape of Lussino, it was nature itself that allowed for many civilizations and populations to thrive on the island; if it was not for the natural protection of the now harbor of Lussino from the strong Bora and Scirocco wind, the city and the commerce and industry surrounding it would have had a much harder time evolving and consolidating the settlement that then became the city of Lussino; And it is because of nature itself that the island of Lussino managed to establish its most longeval asset to date: tourism. It is thanks to the clean air and crystal seas that Lussino caught the eye of the Austro-Hungarian public, that was drawn to the healing properties of the island, and it is thanks to this jump start in the world of tourism

that Lussino started to see its first hotels and resorts that to this day are present on the island.

The beginning of this exploration starts on the island of Lussino but in order to understand islands we sailed to oceans further away to encounter SIDS (small island developing states) and the environmental and climate challenges that they face today and will face in the future. In order to fully understand SIDS and their possibility to adapt to climate change we tackled the concept of environmental knowledge, an example of the resilience and adaptability of islands that we can track back also to the island of Lussino when we learned the fragile and ordered equilibrium created by the partnership between humans and sheep, let free to roam near olive trees in order to free them of any weeds and, at the same time fertilize them. The conversation regarding SIDS was also fundamental in order to jump start the introduction of the concept of migration and mobility that for the island of Lussino is one of its most fundamental points in history. The Exodus was the forced movement of Italian people and people of Italian descent from the territories of modern Croatia after the establishment of Yugoslavia, this tragic event created a scar into the hearts of the many that left and caused for many of them to live the rest of their lives with only a memory of the island of Lussino. It is because of the Exodus that the concept of memory became so central for this thesis, the image of the island inside of minds of the people affected by this event turned into the only image that they could have of their homeland, Lussino remained stuck in time in the moment that they left for them; unable to visit the island until Yugoslavia lessened the restriction for entry to foreigners, they could not have predicted nor imagined the changes that were taking place and that therefore transformed the landscape that they considered home. But the image in their mind is not only the one that came back to their memories but the one that they shared with their families, friends, and any one that was interested in knowing more about the island that they were forced to leave; it was only when they managed to step foot again on the shores of Lussino that reality hit them with the feeling that by leaving, their desires and sensitivity towards the land left with them and left it the hands of change and progress that they were unable to stop. Elsa Bragato, considered the most prolific author from Lussino by many of the people that know her and admire her, is one of the people that

kept so close to her heart the image that she had in herself of Lussino, an image that she expressed in many ways, not only through her writing works but also through her watercolor art that is present in all the cover of her books and introduce with simple everyday objects or locations the warmth of the memories that Bragato had towards a lost every-day life and routine on the island. Her stories are able to bring back the writers to her younger days and live with her the nature and society of the island, her aim was always to remember without feeling trapped by nostalgia or anger towards what she left behind, but, from time to time, she shows us the new Lussino, what she found when going back, and the sense of surprise and sadness that traveled through her when she no longer found her reference points and the places that were fundamental in her childhood and the memories she had of it. Her works are often talked about when exploring the concept of memory towards Lussino and the Comunità Italiana di Lussinpiccolo helped me in understanding her more through the talks we had and the materials they gave me, among which the new compound of all her books published by the Comunità itself. And it is through the help of this association that I managed to meet not only chef Adrijano Nicolic that showed me the equilibrium that its involved in the local cuisine, so deeply influenced by the management of resources and, today, by new methods of fishing that are changing what one can see in the kitchens of Lussino; but also Sanjin Zoretic, the president of the Italian Community of Lussinpiccolo, that through our interview showed me the signs of a changing society on the island as well as the new projects and aims that the Community has for Lussino.

At the heart of this thesis lies a central question that guided the entire trajectory of this thesis: how does the perception of nature evolve in the context of significant environmental changes, and how do these changes get mixed with human sentiments and collective memory? It is with this question in mind that we explored Lussino's environment, history, and culture, and in each of these explorations we dug into different layers of answers to this question and created bridges that connected my personal experiences, family narrative, and the larger narrative of environmental change.

Lussino therefore served both as the microcosm and the macrocosm of this investigation, we understood that Lussino is not an isolated piece of land in the Mediterranean Sea but rather a microcosm that wants to represent the complexities of societal human interactions with their natural surroundings, as well as the influence that they have on one another. The island, and the memory of the Exodus, were encountered not only in their geographical and historical form but they also became the illustrations of the interplay between environmental transformations and human emotions able to resonate beyond geographical borders. Through the analysis of these illustrations, we explored how the memories of a place could be both a lighthouse guiding back the minds of people to their homeland, as well as a testament to the fragility of human existence in the face of environmental change.

In a world marked by accelerating environmental transformations, the intertwining of human sentiments, collective memories, and changes in nature, becomes of relevance and of creates a space for concrete discussion of these changes that even if perceived as abstract are tangible threats reshaping the landscape that we all call home. Lussino is the landscape I call home, and therefore this thesis deeply resonates with me on a personal level; the question that created all the discussions that we followed during this thesis, sparks from my personal experience of being told stories about the island, of how it was in days gone by and the importance that it had and still has for many of the members of my family being the place where the roots of them are, the place of birth of my grandfather and the place he called home until the Exodus. But these family memories have always brought with them a bitter sweet taste, they were clear and warm images of how nature and life on the island was before modernity started to infiltrate, but they were also the images of a landscape in constant transformation: by being able to imagine what once was, it was easier for me to imagine what will one day be, the changes that the island will still endure and the things that will be left behind. All of these thought of a near future in which the island of Lussino will once again change and I will be the one to tell how it once was, fueled the sense of environmental anxiety that often can creep up on me, but through the better understanding of Lussino and the people that live and lived on it that I explored throughout this thesis, these feeling were in some way validated, not because I lost all hope but because I understood that these

feelings of attachment and care for place that are part of one's life are shared by many and the fear of losing these places is what makes them so special and so important to preserve; this anxiety is an emotional response to changing nature and it is part of the experience of many people that are involved with issues such as climate change or value the environment to its core, and while we should not succumb to this sense of existential dread towards a changing landscape we can still see it as a fundamental part of our humanity and of what makes us humans.

I believe my thesis to be a contribution to the field of environmental humanities, by exploring the nuanced layers of Lussino's history, culture, and environmental transformation, this thesis underlines the importance of preserving the memories associated with places of environmental significance, as well as the places themselves. Lussino serves as an example of how collective memory can be intertwined with the natural world and it reiterates the idea that the preservation of memory is vital in maintaining the humanity connected to them. This research wants to highlight the need to document, understand, and protect the narrative and emotions that are interlaced into the landscape we live in, it offers a framework for future studies in environmental humanities, encouraging to explore the emotional and cultural dimension of human-nature interaction, with a specific focus on collective memory. One of the implications of this research lies in the validations of human emotions in the context of environmental change. Recognizing and acknowledging these emotions is paramount in better understanding our relation with the natural world and it underlines the need for a more holistic approach to environmental conservation that takes into account not only ecological factors but also the emotional ones that come into play when discussing changes on the environment.

Lussino's history, marked by the trauma of the Exodus, highlights the resilience of culture and the capacity of communities to adapt to profound change; we saw this resilience when discussing SIDS as well, underlining the importance of taking into consideration not only the vulnerability of the populations affected by climate change but also their strength and adaptability. Collective memory stands high as one of the enduring powers in shaping the existence of a place and its people, underscoring the

importance of cultural preservation in order to fuel traditional environmental knowledge. In a rapidly changing world, where cultural heritage is often threatened, this thesis highlights the significance of safeguarding cultural traditions and narrative that define communities, encouraging the preservation of cultural practices that connect individuals to their roots, providing a sense of continuity in the middle of climate change.

The implications of this research can extend also to the realms of education and public awareness, on the island of Lussino as well as on many SIDS the general population is not aware of climate change and the direct repercussions that can have on their homeland. This thesis therefore calls for a more inclusive approach to environmental discourse, one that integrates the perspective of diverse communities and individuals that are direct witnesses of environmental change without, at times, being aware of it. It should also be emphasized the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration in addressing complex environmental challenges, bridging the gap between anthropology, literature, environmental sciences, and other disciplines in order to offer a more comprehensive view of the intricate relationship between humans and nature.

By scrutinizing the unique case of Lussino, I wanted to cast a spotlight on the universal themes that resonate in similar settings and to similar people around the world; islands have always been natural laboratories for studying environmental transformations because of their isolation and vulnerable ecosystem, in the case of Lussino we managed to focus ourselves also on the study of human transformations.

My hope in these final pages of my thesis is to leave the reader with new inspirations and perspectives towards the future, the island of Lussino is my special place, the land in which many of the happiest memories of my childhood and adolescence, it is there that I feel completely engulfed in nature and feel connected to it on a level different from many others, when I am in Lussino I can feel that the feet that are touching the red ground are indeed connected to their roots, both the ones of my family and the ones of my connection with the environment. But while Lussino is my special place, I am sure that anyone who is reading these words right now has an important somewhere, a place that had popped up inside their minds when talking about the memories, feelings, and a deeper connection between oneself and nature that one can feel, as well as the fear of



not seeing this place again, or seeing it changed once revisited. When I think about Lussino, the images in my mind have a warm aura, a sort of glistening filter is applied to all the memories I have of spending time on the island, when I see myself in these memories I am often smiling, if not laughing with glee, surrounded by my family or just by myself, those images make me feel good, they make me feel weightless, and they make me want to go back, they make me want to feel again the fresh air coming from the sea when stepping out of my car after the long drive to arrive in Zabodaski; and if these memories sound a little too movie like, the images that used to infiltrate inside my mind when thinking of losing what I know best and seeing it changed are truly too dramatic, with grey and black skies, all the green on the island turned brown and tan, the sea no longer crystal clear but oily and dark with fishes no longer visible by the surface. Both of these images are not true to life, my happy memories are exaggerated in beauty and my fears are darkened in doom, but both exist inside my mind and influence the feelings I feel towards the island of Lussino and its future; Elsa Bragato, while describing the changed island she encountered once she came back, admits in trying to cover at the best of her abilities the images, maybe similar to mine, of a transformed-for-the-worst island, but she never let herself fall trap to this feeling of impending doom, she decided to treasure her memories and accept the changes that her island endured, she took the active decision to live with her island, accept her transformations, and still love it like she once did. I do believe that Elsa Bragato's approach can be a healing one, able to reconcile the memories and the realities in a changing world, and this might be the final message of this thesis, the need to find a place of equilibrium between what we feel and desire and what is engraved inside our minds, and the reality that the place is in, the changing transformations that are happening right now on its grounds; we cannot hope to stop any and all transformations, as we saw throughout this thesis, Lussino has been affected by the human presence since the Greeks and the Romans, these populations had an impact on the island, an impact that indeed transformed, therefore we cannot put all changes in the same box, one that we want to hid as far as possible in a remote location. The actions of humans have always transformed our land, change is natural for us a species, we are able to change ourselves and change what surrounds us, the dawn of the Anthropocene has

showed the scope in which humans can indeed change nature and the dramatic effects that their actions can have on the fragile equilibrium of change and of co-habitation between people and nature. But it is with respect towards the land that we have to act, a respect that is innate for the places that are dear to us but that should enlarge to all nature in its entirety; we cannot leave only of memories and we must act in a way that can preserve these memories but rather than opposing every and all change, accept that the memories and images that we have are unique to us and, in the name of love for these important locations, understand that they are not the ones of the land itself, we need to be ready to accept respectful change while continuing to fight against destructive transformations. We, the ones that have a place inside our heart that fills us up with tingles and warmth, should be the first to advocate for respect, we are the ones that, through love, understand the land and appreciate it, we should not stand still in front of what we know is out of place but, at the same time, understand that we cannot place this place inside a bubble, keeping it just as we like it, without keeping into consideration the desires of the land itself.

## **Acknowledgments**

I want to express my sincere gratitude to professor Shaul Bassi for his invaluable guidance, unwavering support, expertise, knowledge, and understanding of the emotional importance that this subject had for me, throughout the entire research and writing process of this thesis.

I would also like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to professor Sabrina Marchetti for her knowledge, guidance, patience, and insightful suggestions.

My sincere thanks also go to the Comunità di Lussino and all its member that guided me throughout this thesis thanks to their knowledge and deep understanding of the island.

This thanks also extends to the Italian Community of Lussinpiccolo and its president Sanjin Zoretic for their generous willingness to share their experiences and knowledge, and for welcoming me with openness.

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Italian name	Croatia name	English name
Arbe	Rab	Rab
Bicovo	Biokovo	Biokovo
Brestova	Brestova	Brestova
Caisole	Beli	Beli
Cherso	Cres	Cres

Cigale	Cikat	Cikat
Cirquenizza	Crikvenica	Crikvenica
Ciunski or Chiusi	Ciunski	Ciunski
Croazia	Hervatska	Croatia
Fiume	Rijeka	Rijeka
Grande Cappella	Velika Kapela	Velika Kapela
Isola Calva	Goli Otoc	Goli Otoc
Istria	Istra	Istria
Lussingrande	Veli Losinji	Veli Losinji
Lussino	Losinji	Losinji
Lussinpiccolo	Mali Losinji	Mali Losinji
Neresine	Nerezine	Nerezine
Ossero	Oser	Oser
Provicchio	Privlic	Privlic
Quarnero	Kvarner	Kvarner
Quarnerolo	Kvarner	Kvarner
Segna	Senj	Senj
Spalato	Split	Split
Trieste	Trst	Trieste
Val d'argento	Sunčana uvala	Sunčana uvala
Veglia	Krk	Krk
Vienna	Beč	Vienna
Zabodaski	Zabodaski	Zabodaski