



ANNALES

**Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterraneei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies**

Series Historia et Sociologia, 36, 2026, 2

**UREDNIŠKI ODBOR/
COMITATO DI REDAZIONE/
BOARD OF EDITORS:**

Roderick Bailey (UK), Gorazd Bajc, Simona Bergoč, Furio Bianco (IT), Aleksandr Cherkasov (RUS), Lucija Čok, Lovorka Čoralčić (HR), Darko Darovec, Devan Jagodic (IT), Aleksej Kalc, Urška Lampe, Avgust Lešnik, John Jeffries Martin (USA), Robert Matijašič (HR), Darja Mihelič, Vesna Mikolič, Luciano Monzali (IT), Edward Muir (USA), Vojislav Pavlović (SRB), Peter Pirker (AUT), Claudio Povolo (IT), Marijan Premovič (MNE), Andrej Rahten, Žiga Oman, Vida Rožac Darovec, Mateja Sedmak, Lenart Škof, Polona Tratnik, Boštjan Udovič, Marta Verginella, Špela Verovšek, Tomislav Vignjevič, Paolo Wulzer (IT), Salvator Žitko

**Glavni urednik/Redattore capo/
Editor in chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Odgovorni urednik/Redattore
responsabile/Responsible Editor:**

Salvator Žitko

Uredniki/Redattori/Editors:

Urška Lampe, Boštjan Udovič, Žiga Oman, Veronika Kos

Prevajalka/Traduttrice/Translator:

Cecilia Furioso Cenci (it.)

**Oblikovalec/Progetto grafico/
Graphic design:**

Dušan Podgornik, Darko Darovec

Tisk/Stampa/Print:

Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Založnika/Editori/Published by:

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria® / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente®

**Sedež uredništva/Sede della redazione/
Address of Editorial Board:**

SI-6000 Koper/Capodistria, Garibaldijeva/Via Garibaldi 18
e-mail: annaleszdjp@gmail.com, **internet:** https://zdjp.si

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 30. 06. 2026.

**Sofinancirajo/Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS)

Annales - Series Historia et Sociologia izhaja štirikrat letno.

Maloprodajna cena tega zvezka je 11 EUR.

Naklada/Tiratura/Circulation: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Revija *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / *La rivista Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* è inserita nei seguenti data base / *Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:* Clarivate Analytics (USA): Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) in/and Current Contents / Arts & Humanities; IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); Sociological Abstracts (USA); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

To delo je objavljeno pod licenco / *Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza* / *This work is licensed under a Creative Commons BY 4.0.*



Navodila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <https://zdjp.si>.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: https://zdjp.si/it.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website https://zdjp.si/en/.



VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Marjan Horvat:** From Memory Regimes to Discursive Modes: A Theory-Driven Framework for Analysing Cultural Memory in Hybrid Public Spheres 163
Dai regimi della memoria alle modalità discorsive: un quadro teoricamente orientato per l'analisi della memoria culturale nelle sfere pubbliche ibride
Od spominskih režimov k diskurzivnim modusom: teoretsko-konceptualni okvir za analizo kulturnega spomina v hibridni javni sferi
- Marjan Horvat, Jure Koradžija, Jan Babnik, Tadej Škvorc, Darko Darovec, Žiga Oman, Urška Lampe, Angelika Ergaver & Marko Robnik Šikonja:** Mapping Contested Cultural Memory: An LLM-Supported Approach to Analysing Narrative Structures, Discursive Modes and Discourse Functions 183
Mappare la memoria culturale contesa: un approccio supportato da LLM all'analisi delle strutture narrative, delle modalità discorsive e delle funzioni discorsive
Kartiranje spornega kulturnega spomina: LLM-podprti pristop k analizi narativnih struktur, diskurzivnih modusov in diskurzivnih funkcij
- Jan Babnik & Polona Tratnik:** Political Memory as Agonistic Practice on Social Media: Semio-Somatic Memory, Multimodality, and Affordances Theorized Through the Digital Circulation of the Slogan "Smrt fašizmu, svoboda narodu" 205
La memoria politica come pratica agonistica sui social media: memoria semio-somatica, multimodalità e affordance teorizzate attraverso la circolazione digitale dello slogan "Morte al fascismo, libertà ai popoli"
Politični spomin kot agonistična praksa na družbenih omrežjih: semio-somatski spomin, multimodalnost in platformne zmožnosti delovanja, teoretizirane skozi digitalno kroženje slogana »Smrt fašizmu, svoboda narodu«
- Urška Lampe, Marjan Horvat, Jure Koradžija, Angelika Ergaver & Darko Darovec:** Agonistic Engagement in Memory Politics: Media Arenas, Normative Orientations, and Debates on the *Giorno del Ricordo* in Italy and Slovenia 227
Impegno agonistico nella politica della memoria: arene mediatiche, orientamenti normativi e dibattiti sul Giorno del Ricordo in Italia e Slovenia
Agonistično angažiranje v spominski politiki: medijske arene, normativne usmeritve in razprave o Giorno del Ricordo v Italiji in Sloveniji
- Marjan Horvat & Jure Koradžija:** Conflict, Antagonistic Tone, and Deliberative Quality in Online Memory Debates: Europe Day and the Fall of the Berlin Wall on Twitter/X 247
Conflitto, tono antagonistico e qualità deliberativa nei dibattiti online sulla memoria: la Giornata dell'Europa e la caduta del Muro di Berlino su Twitter/X
Konflikt, antagonistični ton in deliberativna kakovost v spletnih razpravah o spominu: dan Evrope in padec Berlinskega zidu na Twitterju/X
- Tadej Škvorc, Marjan Horvat, Jure Koradžija & Marko Robnik Šikonja:** Towards Future Artificial Intelligence Agents for Improved Political Discourse Quality with Large Language Models 267
Verso futuri agenti di intelligenza artificiale per migliorare la qualità del discorso politico con i grandi modelli linguistici
Začetek razvoja agentov umetne inteligence za izboljšano kakovost političnega diskurza z velikimi jezikovnimi modeli

Nadja Penko Seidl: Predlog metodologije za vrednotenje prepoznavnosti krajine na regionalni ravni 289	Vesna Kilibarda & Olivera Popović: I temi di argomento montenegrino di Umberto Saba 317
<i>Proposta di metodologia per la valutazione della riconoscibilità del paesaggio a livello regionale</i>	<i>Montenegrin Themes in the Works of Umberto Saba</i>
<i>Methodological Approach for Landscape Identity Evaluation at the Regional Level</i>	<i>Črnogorska tematika v delih Umberta Sabe</i>
Andrej Gaspari & Miha Hren: Enigma M4 from the German Minesweeper R15 in the Upper Adriatic: High-Resolution microCT Investigation of the Last Settings 305	IN MEMORIAM
<i>Enigma M4 del dragamine tedesco R15 nell'Alto Adriatico: indagine microCT ad alta risoluzione delle ultime impostazioni</i>	Dr. Branko Marušič (1938–2026)
<i>Enigma M4 z nemškega minolovca R15 iz severnega Jadrana: visokoločljivostna mikroCT-preiskava zadnjih nastavitev</i>	(Salvator Žitko) 331
	Prof. Furio Bianco (1943–2026)
	(Claudio Povoło) 333
	<i>Kazalo k slikam na ovitku</i> 335
	<i>Indice delle foto di copertina</i> 335
	<i>Index to images on the cover</i> 335

AGONISTIC ENGAGEMENT IN MEMORY POLITICS: MEDIA ARENAS, NORMATIVE ORIENTATIONS, AND DEBATES ON THE *GIORNO DEL RICORDO* IN ITALY AND SLOVENIA

Urška LAMPE

Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenia
e-mail: urska.lampe@irris.eu

Marjan HORVAT

Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenia
e-mail: marjan.horvat@irris.eu

Jure KORAŽIJA

Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenia
e-mail: jure.korazija@irris.eu

Angelika ERGAYER

Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenia
e-mail: angelika.ergayer@irris.eu

Darko DAROVEC

Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenia
e-mail: darko.darovec@irris.eu

ABSTRACT

*The article examines agonistic engagement in debates on the *Giorno del ricordo* in Italy and Slovenia across three communication environments: X, online news, and survey responses. Drawing on agonistic memory theory and discourse-quality indicators, it analyses how contested memories are articulated as antagonistic, agonistic, or deliberation-compatible discourse. The findings show that X is dominated by conflict and contains little agonistic engagement, whereas Slovenian online news displays stronger agonistic framing than Italian news. Survey responses reveal a gap between respondents' declared support for plural, respectful debate and the more antagonistic dynamics of social media.*

Keywords: agonistic memory, memory politics, *Giorno del ricordo*, Italy, Slovenia, X, online news, contested memories

IMPEGNO AGONISTICO NELLA POLITICA DELLA MEMORIA: ARENE MEDIATICHE, ORIENTAMENTI NORMATIVI E DIBATTITI SUL *GIORNO DEL RICORDO* IN ITALIA E SLOVENIA

SINTESI

*L'articolo analizza l'impegno agonistico nei dibattiti sul *Giorno del ricordo* in Italia e Slovenia attraverso tre ambienti comunicativi: X, notizie online e risposte a un questionario. Basandosi sulla teoria della memoria agonistica e su indicatori della qualità del discorso, esamina come memorie contese vengano articolate in forme antagonistiche, agonistiche o compatibili con la deliberazione. I risultati mostrano che X è dominato dal conflitto e presenta scarso agonismo, mentre le notizie online slovene mostrano un inquadramento più agonistico di quelle italiane. Il questionario evidenzia uno scarto tra norme dichiarate e pratiche digitali.*

Parole chiave: memoria agonistica, politica della memoria, *Giorno del ricordo*, Italia, Slovenia, X, notizie online, memorie contese

INTRODUCTION

The Second World War left a wide range of long-term impact on Europe and around the world, continuing to shape politics, social relations, and everyday life.¹ This has generated extensive research on cultures of remembrance (Assmann, 2011; Olick, 2007), particularly on conflicting memories that persist within and across communities as a consequence of wartime divisions and complex post-war dynamics (Verovšek, 2021; Wüstenberg, 2017). Conflicting narratives continue to coexist, periodically reactivated by political contestation and historiographical disputes. Historical, social, and political factors condition whether such divisions are gradually mitigated or further entrenched. These struggles can be understood as competition among social groups over what “really happened” (the contested past; cf. Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003), where interpretations of the past carry strategic, political, and ethical implications.

A particularly salient example is the *Giorno del ricordo*, a national memorial day in Italy commemorated on 10 February since 2004. On this day, Italy commemorates victims of the so-called *foibe* killings (mass killings by the Yugoslav army after the liberation of Trieste in 1945) and the Istrian-Dalmatian exodus, which led to the emigration of about 220,000 to 270,000 (cf. D’Alessio, 2012, 295) Italians from Yugoslavia after the war. The commemoration remains among the most discussed sites of remembrance in Italy and in the Italo-Slovenian borderland (cf. Pagella politica, 2020; 2021; 2022).

Within this article, we adopt the agonistic memory approach as a framework with which to analyse contested commemorations. The broader theoretical basis for this approach has been developed elsewhere through a framework that shifts attention from memory regimes to discursive modes of memory (Horvat, 2026). This article builds on that conceptual framework by operationalising agonistic engagement for the empirical analysis of the *Giorno del ricordo* across different communicative arenas. Following Mouffe (1999; 2013), we distinguish between two modes of political conflict. In antagonism, opponents are constructed as enemies to be excluded and delegitimised. In agonism, by contrast, opponents remain legitimate

adversaries within a shared democratic horizon. In contested memory contexts, this approach enables us to treat polarised narratives not only as sources of division but also as potential resources for democratic engagement. This perspective has been further developed in agonistic memory studies (cf. Bull & Hansen, 2016; Berger & Kansteiner, 2021).

Despite the expanding literature on agonistic memory and digitally mediated memory conflicts, we still lack systematic, comparative evidence on how agonistic engagement is actually articulated across different media arenas. Much of the existing work either remains primarily normative, specifying what agonistic remembrance should look like, or examines single arenas in isolation, for example social media or journalistic discourse. In addition, empirical studies rarely connect mediated patterns to broader public normative orientations. Our study addresses these gaps by operationalising agonistic engagement through transparent indicator sets and rule-based typologies across X and online news, and by benchmarking these mediated patterns against citizens’ normative orientations measured in a cross-national non-structured survey.

Building on this conceptual framework, our research takes a step further by combining the theoretical contribution of agonistic memory with computational methods to systematically examine how contested memories are articulated in both traditional and online arenas. Rather than treating agonism as a purely normative ideal, we approach it as an empirical phenomenon that can be identified, described, and compared across media environments. We use a combination of LLM-assisted techniques² to detect and map agonistic elements in a large corpus of online news articles and X posts about the *Giorno del ricordo* in Slovenia and Italy. This includes detecting and comparing agonistic cues in X posts and in online news reporting. Finally, we complement these analyses with a survey capturing citizens’ orientations toward key agonistic principles, aligned with our indicator frameworks. This triangulation of methods allows us to assess not only where agonistic engagement emerges in mediated discourse, but also how it relates to broader public dispositions. We operationalise these aims in two research questions outlined below.

1 The authors acknowledge funding from the European Union’s Horizon Europe programme under grant agreement ID 101094752: *Social Media for Democracy* (SoMe4Dem). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or Horizon Europe. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them. The article is also the result of the research project *From Contested Memories towards Multidirectional Communities: a Case Study of the Italo-Slovenian Borderland* (ARIS N6-0463) and research programme *Practices of Dispute Resolution between Customary and Written Law in the Area of Present-day Slovenia and Neighbouring Countries* (ARIS P6-0435), co-funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

2 By large-language-model-assisted techniques (LLM-assisted techniques), we refer to the use of a generative language model to support the systematic annotation of textual data according to predefined coding schemes. More specifically, we used an LLM to classify X posts and online news articles on the basis of theoretically derived indicators. The coding procedure was validated against expert-coded samples, as described in the methodology section.

RQ1: To what extent do debates about the *Giorno del ricordo* contain agonistic engagement, and how does this vary across X and online news in Slovenia and Italy?

To address RQ1, we provide a corpus-level mapping of agonistic engagement across both media arenas and countries by applying the rule-based typologies specified in Table 1 (X discourse types) and Table 2 (news profiles). On X, each post is coded on six binary indicators (conflict, incivility, respect, reciprocity, justification, constructiveness) and then assigned to a single discourse type using the decision rules in Table 1, separating antagonistic escalation (uncivil conflict) from non-antagonistic conflict, weak agonism, agonism with deliberative cues, agonism with constructiveness, and non-conflictual civil communication. In online news, each text is coded on four framing markers (G1–G4) and assigned to a single profile in Table 2, distinguishing non-agonistic/descriptive coverage from procedural-only neutrality, core agonism (legitimation of the opponent), stronger agonistic profiles combining plurality and/or bridging, and strong agonism (all markers present).

RQ2: How are memory-related discourses on the *Giorno del ricordo* shaped by the affordances, audiences, and normative expectations of different communication environments in Slovenia and Italy?

To address RQ2, we triangulate the media-based typology results with survey measures of respondents' normative orientations (cf. Table 3 and Table 4). Particular attention was paid to the presence and proportion of agonistic discourse, in order to evaluate the agonistic potential of each communication environment (news articles, social media/X, survey). This facilitates an assessment of how actors adapt their modes of engagement and argumentation to specific (media) contexts. By comparing the Italian and Slovenian national contexts, we identify similarities and differences in agonistic attitudes toward the *Giorno del ricordo* and assess how national frameworks influence the public performance of memory politics.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Giorno del ricordo and political polarisation

After the Second World War, Fascist veterans in the postwar Italian democratic republic were free to narrate their war experiences but were marginalised by the prevailing anti-fascist rhetoric of public discourse (D'Alessio, 2012, 303). This had the paradoxical effect of leaving largely unaddressed Italian responsibility for what occurred during the

Second World War, as observed by historian Vanni D'Alessio (2012, 303), that raising the role of fascism in Italy "would probably have had the effect to reconsider the Italian responsibilities in the Second World War, the question of Italian aggression on Yugoslavia, and the case of unprosecuted Italian war criminals". This omission has had a lasting impact on the perception of fascism in contemporary Italy. Filippo Focardi (2016), one of Italy's leading experts on cultural memory of the Second World War and (anti)fascism, observes that after decades of a political "war of memory" marked by clashes and mediation, Italian public memory has become "self-centred, victimising and auto-celebratory" (Focardi, 2016, 193).

Until the 1990s, the historical narrative and public discourse mostly omitted the events related to the end of the Second World War in the borderland region of Venezia Giulia. Due to the need to maintain good relations with neighbouring Yugoslavia, these events – especially the mass killings (*foibe*) and the Istrian exodus – did not emerge in the historiographical narrative and public discourse until the collapse of Yugoslavia. However, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the memory of those events occupied an increasingly prominent position in Italian public debate. In the space of two decades, an episode that had previously played a marginal role in Italy's wartime history, was transformed into a central national myth, increasingly placed alongside the memory of the *Shoah* (Tenca Montini, 2014; Knittel, 2015; Gobetti, 2021). Revisionist attempts, mainly on the part of the political right, have sought to portray the *foibe* as a forgotten episode in Italian history, the memory of which had been suppressed in the postwar period by the Communists (cf. Ballinger, 2000; 2004). At the discursive level, the Italian political right in particular, often frames the *foibe* as a symbol of national victimhood. As argued by Tenca Montini, the narrative is based on a limited range of simple assertions: (1) the total innocence of the victims, killed simply for their loyalty to their national group, (2) the brutality of the executioners and a supposed (3) forty-year "conspiracy of silence", which now justifies the exposure of the topic (Tenca Montini, 2014, 183–184).

In response, some intellectuals and politicians from the moderate left initially placed blame on their own side for the "silence". As such, we can understand the circumstances that facilitated the proclamation of the *Giorno del ricordo* in 2004.³ As Tenca Montini (2014, 183) argues, recognition of the mass killings allowed the left to distance itself from the Communist legacy and to reject accusations traditionally levelled at communists of

³ For details on *Giorno del ricordo* and the relationship between public discourse and history cf. Orlić (2015).

“national nihilism.” In fact, the law proclaiming the *Giorno del ricordo* was passed with an overwhelming parliamentary majority of 502 votes, opposed only by the *Partito della Rifondazione Comunista* (PRC) and *Partito dei Comunisti Italiani* (PdCI), i.e. the successors of the historical Communist Party of Italy.

The National Memorial Day is held annually on February 10. The date chosen is no coincidence: it marks the signing of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, by which Italy ceded most of Istria and parts of the Slovene-populated Littoral region to Yugoslavia, while the Free Territory of Trieste was created as a separate entity. This date thus symbolises both the end of Italian rule in large parts of the eastern Adriatic territories and the beginning of the mass exodus of a significant portion of their Italian-speaking population (partly regulated through the legal mechanism of the so-called “option” for Italian citizenship established by the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, cf. Kosmač, 2015; 2017). Consequently, the *Giorno del ricordo* quickly evolved from a national into a transnational issue, as it directly concerns the Italo-Slovenian-Croatian borderlands, a region historically characterised by ethnically and linguistically mixed communities.⁴ Yet the Slovenian government rarely launches an official protest regarding the narrative around the *Giorno del ricordo*, which openly criminalises the Yugoslav partisan liberation struggle and especially the Slovenian Partisans. However, events surrounding the *Giorno del ricordo* and media reports thereof have a direct impact on the lives of the Slovenian minority in Italy. This includes the fact that the central memorial site, declared a national monument in 1992, is the site of an annual national ceremony on the *Giorno del ricordo* at the memorial *Foiba of Basovizza*, located in Basovizza, a borderland village near Trieste largely populated by the Slovenian minority. In parallel to the general debate on the suitability of the site, which has been ongoing for years, another notable fact is that just a distance of one km from the foiba memorial stands another monument, this one commemorating the “heroes of Bazovica” – Slovenians, who were executed by the fascist militia on September 6, 1930, after the First Trieste Trial (cf. Dato, 2010). They are considered a symbol of opposition and resistance to the fascist regime and September 6 is still today the most important day of remembrance of the Slovenian minority in Italy.

Over the past twenty years, debates around the *Giorno del ricordo* have grown increasingly polarised, especially in the Italian public sphere. As Andrea Enrici explains, “[w]hile *Il Giorno del Ricordo* was initially introduced as a day of remembrance for

innocent victims, it has, over time, been shaped by a political agenda that decontextualises the violence committed by Tito’s partisans.” As he continues, portraying Yugoslav partisans as war criminals has been instrumental in criminalising the Resistance itself, with a clear goal of discrediting the Italian partisans (Enrici, 2025). According to the historian Eric Gobetti, the debate around the *Giorno del ricordo* has been placed in a much broader context of a long-term attempt to rehabilitate fascism, conveying the image of a fascism with a ‘human face’ (cf. Gobetti, 2025). On the other hand, some left-wing political parties and their representatives express criticism of the way the Day of Remembrance is celebrated, emphasising the need for a more comprehensive historical context and warning of the danger of the political instrumentalisation of this day. Strong opposition about events related to the day is expressed in particular by the bearers of anti-fascist memory and narrative in Italy – the National Association of Italian Partisans (*Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d’Italia* – ANPI). Each year, this creates a sharp polarisation in opinions toward the *Giorno del ricordo* in the public sphere.

While most scholarship has focused on discursive and historiographical debates (Pirjevec, 2009; Gobetti, 2021), limited research has analysed the social media debates. A notable exception is *Pagella Politica*’s monitoring of politicians’ social media activity between 2020 and 2022 on two days of remembrance: *Giorno della Memoria* (Holocaust Remembrance Day, January 27) and *Giorno del ricordo* (February 10) (cf. *Pagella politica*, 2020; 2021; 2022). The analysis showed that, in general, right-oriented politicians are much more engaged on social networks than other politicians on the *Giorno del ricordo*, compared to the Holocaust Remembrance Day. Engagement levels fluctuated due to political dynamics and the Covid-19 pandemic, but the findings suggest that the commemoration is particularly amplified within right-wing digital discourse.

The *Giorno del ricordo* illustrates how contested memories of the Second World War continue to fuel political and social polarisation in both Italy and the Italo-Slovenian borderland. Previous scholarship has highlighted the transformation of the events into a powerful national myth, the political instrumentalisation of remembrance, and the persistent silencing of alternative perspectives, while recent monitoring of online debates points to their amplification in the digital spheres. Yet relatively little attention has been paid to how such conflicts unfold across different media environments or how polarised narratives might nevertheless contain agonistic elements of recognition and openness.

4 For a discussion of the region’s historical complexity and cultural hybridity, particularly in the post-Second World War period and in relation to the Istrian exodus, cf. Hrobat Virloget (2015). For more details on contested (collective) memories in Italo-Slovenian borderland cf. Širok (2010; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c), Cattunar (2012; 2014) and Klabjan (2012; 2017).

Agonism as discursive mode: From theory to operationalisation

Building on the case outlined above, we treat the *Giorno del ricordo* as an instance of contested memory. Rawski (2024, 1) defines this type of memory as “any dispute over the legitimacy of specific sets of meanings and symbols related to significant events of the past, which play an important role in identity-formation for more than one social group in the present.” In such disputes, the analytical object is not only historical reference or accuracy per se, but the public struggle over interpretations, symbols, and claims of responsibility within the shared political space (Meyer, 2008).

In such settings, where identities, moral claims and competitive notions of victimhood are at stake, the public discourse is often antagonistic. Antagonistic memory is typically marked by binary oppositions, competitive victimhood, and moral exclusion of the other side (Berger & Kansteiner, 2021), and this mode of discussion can often be amplified by digital media dynamics such as selective exposure, echo chambers, and toxic polarisation (Törnberg, 2022). An agonistic approach, advanced in particular by Bull & Hansen (2016), offers a productive alternative to antagonism by distinguishing adversaries from enemies and by recognising conflict as a legitimate form of democratic contestation rather than a pathology to be eliminated (Mouffe, 1999; 2013). Applied to memory politics, this perspective suggests that competing interpretations of the past are not necessarily destructive; under certain conditions, they can constitute arenas of plural coexistence in which disagreement is publicly articulated without enforcing closure. In this context, there has been an increasing body of research on how to employ an agonistic approach in memory debates (Berger & Kansteiner, 2021), for instance by linking oral history and agonistic memory to the contested past (Reynolds, 2021), through specific case studies on how to deal with the past (Castro de Azevedo, 2025) or with contentious heritage (Deufel, 2017; Kisić, 2021).

The central analytical question is not whether memory conflicts will disappear, but whether they are structured as antagonistic struggles or as agonistic contests among legitimate opponents. In this sense, Bull and Hansen specify how remembering can be organised so that conflict remains democratically productive. They outline four features of agonistic remembering: (i) resisting reductive “good versus evil” binaries by situating wrongdoing in specific historical circumstances and socio-political struggles; (ii) drawing on testimonies from both victims and perpetrators, alongside other implicated positions such as witnesses and bystanders; (iii) recognising

the political significance of emotions by regarding empathy as an initial step toward forms of remembrance that foster critical understanding, while also acknowledging the legitimacy of civic and political passions; and (iv) reconstructing historical context and struggle by tracing the socio-political dynamics and narrative formations through which mass crimes are perpetrated (Bull & Hansen, 2016, 10).

Bull & Hansen (2016) developed this categorisation within memory studies. However, to link agonistic memory with the domain of political science and to analyse how debates about contested commemoration are conducted across online and offline arenas, a broader approach is useful, one that foregrounds interactional quality and communicative practices. For this purpose, we draw on a deliberative-democratic framework as a measurement toolkit for observable interactional cues. It should be noted that, referencing Habermas’s deliberative model of the public sphere, Bull and Hansen argue that a deliberative approach to memory risks the silencing of dissensus and conflict, since consensus-building can underestimate the importance of affect, identity, and antagonism in the political realm, whereas agonistic memory “does not aim to overcome conflict but to make it productive” (Bull & Hansen, 2016, 30).

However, this does not mean that deliberative-democratic approaches are irrelevant for the empirical study of contested memory. As argued elsewhere (Horvat, 2026), at the level of discourse quality, deliberative-democratic methods that focus on procedural features and are operationalised through Discourse Quality Index indicators can be productively adapted to contested memory debates. In our approach, agonism is treated as one discursive mode alongside antagonistic and deliberative modes, and can be measured through observable signals. This allows us to move beyond the binary of “enemy” versus “adversary” by identifying and measuring specific moves that acknowledge disagreement while sustaining minimal mutual recognition, such as respectful engagement, reciprocity, reason-giving, and constructive orientation. In other words, combining an agonistic lens with deliberative quality markers helps us identify discursive “bridges” across deep divisions, a move through which conflict becomes manageable without eliminating disagreement (Bächtiger & Dryzek, 2024), and a transformative moment that enables communication across divides. Identifying such moments resonates with micro-analytical approaches that study shifts between low- and high-quality interaction in divided settings (cf. Steiner et al., 2017). In contested memory politics, these are particularly important as they represent rare but meaningful instances in which polarisation does

not merely reproduce itself, but generates openings for recognition, pluralism, and constructive contestation. Importantly, we operationalise the distinction between agonistic memory through specific markers: agonistic engagement is captured primarily through pluralising, de-polarising remembrance (e.g., acknowledging multi-sided suffering, resisting instrumentalisation) that keeps the contestation “in play” while sustaining mutual respect.

To examine agonistic potential across the full corpus, we translate the above concepts into comparable empirical signals across three data sources. On X, we focus on the communicative conditions under which conflict becomes compatible with agonistic engagement. This part of the framework draws on established deliberative democracy indicators (Steenbergen et al., 2003; Bächtiger et al., 2009), as well as work on identifying conflict in online political communication (Canute et al., 2023). For the operationalisation of deliberative-quality signals on X, we rely on the Corpus for the Linguistic Analysis of Political Talk ONLINE (CLAPTON), which provides a framework for capturing features such as constructiveness, justification, relevance, reciprocity, empathy, and incivility in political discussions (Jaidka, 2022). We adapt and tailor this coding scheme to the specificities of the *Giorno del ricordo* debates in our datasets.

For online news, we apply a specific agonism-focused coding scheme that captures whether texts present opposing positions as legitimate and whether they introduce plural perspectives and bridge-building frames. Here, agonism is approximated less through conversational exchange and more through framing practices that either reinforce binary delegitimation or open space for adversarial coexistence.

Finally, we complement these indicator-based measures with a survey capturing respondents’ normative orientations toward key agonistic principles, such as willingness to listen to those who disagree, tolerance for plural interpretations, acknowledgement of others’ suffering, and preferences for common ground and solution-oriented discussion. By aligning these normative orientations with observable patterns, identified through our measures on X and online articles, we assess how mediated practices relate to broader dialogical dispositions of the public in Slovenia and Italy.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Data and corpora

We analyse debates on the *Giorno del ricordo* in Slovenia and Italy using two media corpora, X posts and online news articles, collected for the period from 2022 to 2024, complemented by a cross-national survey

(December 2025–February 2026). This section describes sampling, time windows, inclusion criteria, and basic corpus statistics.

We collected X posts using Zeeschuimer v1.11.3 (2024), a browser extension developed by the Digital Methods Initiative that captures items visible in the platform’s public web interface for research purposes. We queried conceptually equivalent, event-related keywords in Italian and Slovene.⁵ For each year from 2022 to 2024, we collected all posts returned by the tool that matched the keyword queries and were published within a 20-day window (ten days before and ten days after the commemoration date). The resulting corpus is highly imbalanced, comprising 23,389 Italian posts and 198 Slovene posts; we therefore interpret cross-national comparisons for X as primarily descriptive and treat estimates for Slovenia with caution due to the small N (and avoid fine-grained breakdowns for the Slovene X subset).

We collected online news articles using Media Cloud, applying the same event-related keyword logic for each year from 2022 to 2024. Because Media Cloud coverage of Slovenian outlets is limited and the Slovenian news corpus is comparatively small, we complemented the Media Cloud dataset with an additional set of Slovenian articles gathered manually from publicly accessible online sources. Manual collection followed a documented protocol: we searched outlet archives and the open web using the keywords and removed duplicates across sources. The final news corpus comprised 1,390 Italian articles and 148 Slovene articles.

The cross-national survey was designed by the members of the research group. It was designed in the open-source tool 1KA, which provides an online survey service. The link to the survey was shared on social media (Facebook, Instagram) and through private correspondence on the part of researchers (e-mail, etc.). The survey was active from December 16, 2025, to February 3, 2026. To support cross-national comparability, the survey was available in two equivalent translations (Slovenian and Italian), with respondents choosing their preferred language. The survey was fully completed by 68 respondents (22% of all those who accessed the questionnaire). In this article, we analysed 42 responses from those who chose Italian as their mother tongue and 22 responses from respondents who chose Slovenian as their mother tongue. The remaining completed responses were excluded from the language-based comparison because respondents either reported another mother tongue or did not provide this information. The subsample included 37 women and 27 men. Among respondents who provided a usable age response, the average age was 43.6 years,

⁵ Italian keywords: *Giorno del ricordo, foibe, esodo, esuli, 10 febbraio, Basovizza, monumento di Basovizza*; Slovene keywords: *Dan spomina na fojbe, fojbe, eksodus, ezuli, 10. februar, Bazovica, šoht, bazoviški šoht*.

Table 1: Rule-based typology for assigning each X post to a single discourse label based on six binary indicators (Conflict, Uncivil, Respect, Reciprocity, Constructiveness, Justification). “x” denotes either 0 or 1, because the final assignment is determined by the precedence and the extra-condition rules.

Conflict	Uncivil	Respect	Reciprocity	Constructive	Justification	Label	Extra condition / rule
0	0	x	x	x	x	Non-conflictual (e.g., informative)	Respectful, Reciprocity, Constructiveness AND Justification = 0 OR 1
x	1	x	x	x	x	Antagonistic conflict	Uncivil = 1 overrides everything
1	0	0	x	x	x	Non-antagonistic conflict	-
1	0	1	0	0	0	Agonism (weak)	(= 101000)
1	0	1	x	1	x	Agonism + Constructive	(= 101x1x)
1	0	1	x	0	x	Agonism + deliberation	(Reciprocity = 1 OR Justification = 1)
0	0	1	x	x	x	Deliberation	(Reciprocity = 1 OR Constructiveness = 1 OR Justification = 1)

with an age range from 19 to 74 years. Age was calculated by treating four-digit responses as year of birth and two-digit responses as reported age, while non-responses and “I do not know” answers were excluded. The Italian-mother-tongue group included 23 women and 19 men, with an average age of 42.6 years among valid age responses. The Slovenian-mother-tongue group included 14 women and 8 men, with an average age of 45.3 years among valid age responses. Regarding educational attainment, of those who answered, 48 respondents, or 75.0% reported university-level education or higher, while 16 respondents, or 25.0%, reported secondary education as their highest completed level.⁶

Indicators and typology of agonistic categories: X

X posts were coded with a multi-label scheme in which each indicator is evaluated independently as a binary variable. Our coding scheme draws on DQI-inspired discourse-quality indicators (Steenbergen et al., 2003; Bächtiger et al., 2009) and related frameworks for online political discourse (Jaidka, 2022), and adds an explicit Conflict indicator to distinguish disagreement-oriented posts from descriptive or commemorative content. In total, the scheme includes eight indicators: Conflict, Incivility, Respectfulness, Reciprocity, two Constructiveness subtypes (Common ground and Solutions/Next steps), and two Justification subtypes (Justification–Reason and Justification–Personal experi-

ence). During prompt development and validation, the original Constructiveness indicator proved both conceptually too broad and the weakest-performing item in the X scheme. We therefore replaced it with two more specific indicators, Common ground and Solutions/Next steps. For typology assignment, we use a binary Constructiveness flag coded 1 if either Common ground and/or Solutions/Next steps is present, and we collapse the two justification subtypes into a single binary indicator, Justification (coded 1 if Justification–Reason and/or Justification–Personal experience is present). We retain the subtype labels for descriptive analyses.⁷

Each post was then assigned to one discourse type using the decision rules in Table 1, following the DQI-based discourse-typology approach proposed by Bächtiger et al. (2009). Non-conflictual and civil (e.g., informative) includes posts that are non-conflictual and civil, but do not display deliberative cues (e.g., announcements, reporting, or descriptive commemoration-related content). Antagonistic conflict includes posts that contain uncivil expressions (insults, slurs, degrading stereotypes, or threats), irrespective of whether they also contain justification, reciprocity, or constructive elements (i.e., incivility takes precedence). Non-antagonistic conflict captures conflictual posts that are civil but not respectful (i.e., no incivility, yet no minimal recognition of the other side), such as critique or blame expressed without explicit acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the opposing

⁶ To consult the entire questionnaire, cf. Koražija et al. (2026).

⁷ The full annotated dataset (including all indicators and subtypes) is available in Koražija et al. (2026).

Table 2: Agonism markers and derived news profiles (G1–G4). Online news texts are coded on four binary indicators capturing agonism-relevant framing: recognition of plurality (G1), legitimization of the opponent (G2), bridging elements (G3), and restrained language (G4), where 1 indicates presence and 0 absence. “x” denotes either 0 or 1, because the profile is determined by the defining condition(s) in each row.

G1 (Recognition of plurality)	G2 (Legitimation of the opponent)	G3 (Bridging elements)	G4 (Restrained language)	Profile
0	0	0	0	No agonism / descriptive
0	0	0	1	Procedural-only neutrality (G4 only)
1	0	x	x	Non-core (G1 only; no opponent legitimization)
0	1	0	0	Core only (thin; G2 only)
x	1	0	x	Core + X (G2 + at least one of G1 or G4; no bridges)
1	1	1	0	Strong core + bridges + plurality (without G4)
1	1	1	1	Strong agonism

position. Agonism (weak) includes conflictual posts that maintain a respectful tone but contain no reciprocity, constructiveness, or justification. Agonism + constructiveness includes conflictual posts with a respectful tone that also contain explicit constructive moves, such as proposing de-escalatory steps, suggesting dialogue-oriented practices, or articulating common-ground remembrance. Agonism (+ deliberation) includes conflictual and respectful posts that additionally feature deliberative moves, such as reciprocity and/or explicit justification. Deliberation includes respectful, non-conflictual posts that nevertheless contain deliberative elements (reciprocity and/or justification) and/or constructive moves (e.g., proposals for dialogue or forward-looking steps).

Indicators and coding: news (G1–G4 agonism markers)

For online news, we apply an agonism-focused coding scheme capturing plural perspectives, legitimization of opposing positions, bridge-building frames, and restrained style. This allows us to assess how journalistic discourse frames contested memories as antagonistic boundary-drawing or as legitimate adversarial contestation (cf. Table 2).

Each text was coded on four binary indicators, where 1 indicates the presence of the feature and 0 indicates its absence. Recognition of plurality (G1) captures whether the text acknowledges the legitimacy of multiple positions, experiences, or memories. This includes explicit recognition that more than one side can have valid claims or that different historical or political experiences can

coexist without being reduced to a single moral hierarchy. Legitimation of the opponent (G2) captures whether the text criticises an opponent while maintaining the opponent as a legitimate participant in the political or moral community. This indicator is treated as the core indicator of agonism in this framework because it operationalises the key distinction between adversary and enemy (Mouffe, 1999). Bridging elements (G3) capture whether the text attempts to connect different traumas, values, or historical experiences. This includes rhetorical moves that link narratives across groups, acknowledge reciprocal suffering, or otherwise construct an explicit bridge between competing collective memories or identities. Restrained language (G4) captures whether the text avoids stereotypes, insults, and absolute generalisations, such as totalising expressions that portray one side as uniformly or inherently culpable. This indicator does not require explicit respect or agreement, but rather a restrained style of presentation.⁸

Based on combinations of these indicators, texts were classified into the following categories. Strong agonism is defined as the joint presence of all four indicators, G1, G2, G3, and G4. This category represents texts that recognise plurality, legitimising the opponent, include bridging elements, and maintain restrained language. Core + X (no bridges) is defined as the presence of G2 together with at least one additional marker (G1 and/or G4), while explicitly lacking bridging elements (G3 = 0). This category captures texts centred on opponent legitimization with added pluralist and/or stylistic support, but without bridging moves across competing memories or identities. Because G2 is central,

⁸ For the full coding scheme and the corresponding prompt cf. Koradžija et al. (2026, Appendix A).

this category represents a broad set of agonistic texts beyond the strongest form. Core only (thin) is defined as G2 only, without G1, G3, or G4. This captures minimal agonism in which the opponent is treated as legitimate, but there is no explicit recognition of plurality, bridging, or restrained language beyond what is implied by G2. Strong core plus bridges plus plurality is defined as the presence of G1, G2, and G3 without G4. This category captures texts that perform a substantive bridging and plurality move while not meeting the restrained language criterion. Procedural only neutrality is defined as G4 only. This category captures texts that are restrained in style but do not show plurality recognition, opponent legitimation, or bridging. It reflects neutrality in tone rather than agonism in substance. No agonism / descriptive is defined as the absence of all four indicators, meaning G1, G2, G3, and G4 all equal to 0. These texts do not contain the features used to operationalise agonistic discourse in this framework and are treated as descriptive or non-agonistic within this typology. This typology is designed to distinguish between different strengths and forms of agonism, anchored in the core requirement of opponent legitimation, and to separate these from texts that are stylistically restrained but not agonistic, and from texts with no agonistic features.

Survey comparability to indicators

We fielded a cross-national online survey to capture respondents’ normative orientations toward key agonistic principles. The responses were not treated as ground truth for discourse quality or as behavioural validation of platform indicators. Instead, survey measures served as a benchmark for locating norm–practice gaps between respondents’ orientations, observed interaction on X, and journalistic framing in online news.

For X, Table 3 maps platform indicators to conceptually corresponding survey items. Conflict is approximated by the perceived legitimacy of clearly expressing disagreement (Q10), while Uncivil is benchmarked by tolerance of harsh or provocative language (Q11). Respect/Reciprocity is approximated by openness to listening to those who disagree (Q12), complemented by a reverse-coded closure item capturing unwillingness to discuss these events with certain individuals (Q3). For Justification, we align survey items on argument-based debate and fact-based discussion (Q15, Q13) with the broad reason-giving indicator used in the platform coding; any subtype distinctions in the platform data (e.g., reason, experience, links) are analysed separately. Finally, we disaggregate constructiveness into two analytically distinct components: CommonGround

Table 3: Mapping between X discourse indicators and survey items. The table links platform-based indicators used to code X posts to conceptually corresponding survey questions capturing citizens’ normative orientations (used as a benchmark for norm–practice gaps rather than behavioural validation).

X indicator (practice)	Survey item(s) (Q numbers)	Measures in the survey
Conflict (explicit disagreement / conflict)	Q10: “... important that I can clearly express disagreement when I think an interpretation is wrong.”	Legitimacy of expressing disagreement
Uncivil (incivility: harsh/abusive language, insults, slurs, threats, degrading stereotypes)	Q11: “Using harsher and provocative expressions ... is sometimes necessary ...”	Tolerance/acceptance of harsh language
Respect+Reciprocity (respectful engagement + recognition; listening/responding/questions)	Q12: “For substantive debate it is important to listen to those who disagree.” + (reverse/closure proxy) Q3: “With some individuals it is impossible to discuss these events.”	Openness to dialogue / recognition-oriented engagement (vs. exclusion/closure)
Justification_reason (reason-giving / argument-based justification)	Q15: “Debates should be based on arguments and not on emotions.” Q13: “Debates are more constructive if based on verified facts.”	Justification norm (reason-giving)
Constructiveness / CommonGround (depolarising memory: recognising more than one side’s suffering; plural interpretations; inclusive remembrance / anti-instrumentalisation)	Q7: “Remember our victims while acknowledging others’ suffering.” Q4: “There are multiple interpretations of post-WWII events.” Q6: “Different interpretations of history can coexist.” Q8: “Public debate should show multiple perspectives.” Q18: “On this day we should also talk about suffering under Italian fascism.”	Norms of pluralism + mutual recognition + inclusive remembrance (“common ground”)
Constructiveness / SolutionsNextStep (concrete peaceful steps: dialogue, education, commemorative practices, institutional steps)	Q14: “Debates are more constructive if they offer concrete proposals for joint reflection.” Q19: “Governments should form a new joint commission ...”	Solutions orientation / willingness to take constructive next steps (incl. institutional measures)

Table 4: Mapping between news agonism markers (G1–G3) and survey items. The table links content-coded news indicators to the closest survey questions for cross-arena benchmarking; restrained language (G4) is not mapped because it has no direct survey equivalent.

News indicator (G)	Survey item(s) (Q numbers)	Measures in the survey
G1 — Recognition of plurality	Q4: “There are multiple interpretations of post-WWII historical events.”; Q6: “Different interpretations of history can coexist.”; Q8: “Public debate should encourage discussions showing multiple perspectives.”	Pluralism norm / preference for plural framing
G2 — Legitimation of the opponent	Q12: “For substantive debate it is important to listen to those who disagree with us.”; Q3 (reverse/closure proxy): “With some individuals it is impossible to discuss these events.”	Recognition-oriented engagement (openness to engage vs. exclusion/closure)
G3 — Bridging elements	Q7: “Remember our victims while acknowledging others’ suffering.”; Q18: “On <i>Giorno del ricordo</i> we should also talk about suffering/victims under Italian fascism.”	Bridge / mutual-acknowledgement norm (inclusive remembrance across groups)

captures pluralist and inclusive remembrance through recognition of multiple interpretations and mutual suffering (Q4, Q6–Q8, Q18), whereas SolutionsNextStep captures support for concrete, peaceful next steps that can improve understanding or coexistence, including institutional measures (Q14, Q19).

For online news, Table 4 maps the agonism markers (G1 to G4) to the closest survey items. Recognition of plurality in news (G1) is aligned with survey items capturing pluralism norms and support for multi-perspective public debate (Q4, Q6, Q8). Legitimation of the opponent (G2), the core agonism marker in our framework, is linked to respondents’ willingness to listen across disagreement and the reverse “closure” item indicating exclusionary attitudes (Q12 and Q3). Bridging elements (G3) correspond to norms of mutual acknowledgement and inclusive remembrance across groups (Q7 and Q18). Restrained language (G4) has no direct survey equivalent and is therefore not mapped.

Evaluation and robustness checks

To create ground truth data for evaluation and prompt development, we drew a random sample from the X and news-article corpora (N=200 and N=30, respectively), which were independently coded by two expert annotators. Inter-annotator agreement on the initial independent coding was moderate overall, with some indicators on the lower end, but

sufficient to support adjudication through structured discussion. Across the X dataset, observed (percent) agreement ranged from 68.0% to 97.0%, Cohen’s κ ranged from 0.00 to 0.82, and Gwet’s AC⁹ ranged from 0.45 to 0.97. For news articles, observed agreement ranged from 73.0% to 90.0%, Cohen’s κ from 0.32 to 0.71, and Gwet’s AC from 0.58 to 0.85 across the four indicators.¹⁰ We therefore constructed an adjudicated ground truth, where for each item and label, disagreements were reviewed and resolved until a final consensus label set was reached.

We used GPT-5.2 via the API for LLM-assisted annotation. The model was selected because it represented a state-of-the-art option at the time of analysis and because it supports fully deterministic inference settings. Specifically, we set the temperature to 0, which constrains the model to produce identical outputs for identical inputs, thereby strengthening the reproducibility of the annotation procedure. We began with prompts that mirrored the codebooks intended for human annotators and then followed an iterative prompt-tuning process. In this process, we tested candidate prompts on the ground-truth sample, assessed agreement against expert annotations, and refined definitions and decision rules until performance stabilised at an acceptable level. For the X prompt, we additionally introduced a small set of few-shot examples targeting edge cases and the weakest-performing indicators (for the full prompt, cf. Koražija et al., 2026, Appendix B).

9 Several indicators are rare in our samples, producing highly skewed distributions (most items are coded 0, with relatively few 1s). Under such conditions, Cohen’s κ can be deflated despite high observed agreement, making κ alone potentially misleading (Zec et al., 2017). We therefore report Gwet’s AC1 alongside κ , as it is commonly regarded as less sensitive to imbalance-driven deflation and provides a more robust reliability estimate under such conditions (Gwet, 2014).

10 Expert–expert inter-rater reliability (prior to adjudication). X posts (N=200): Conflict (Percent agreement=0.880; κ =0.710; AC=0.790), Respectfulness (0.755; 0.450; 0.560), Incivility (0.875; 0.660; 0.800), Reciprocity (0.955; 0.390; 0.950), Constructiveness_old (0.680; 0.270; 0.450), Justification_reason (0.770; 0.460; 0.600), Justification_experience (0.970; 0.000; 0.970). News articles (N=30): G1: Recognition of plurality (Percent agreement=0.800; κ =0.460; AC=0.690), G2: Legitimation of the opponent (0.870; 0.580; 0.800), G3: Bridging elements (0.900; 0.710; 0.850), G4: Restrained language (0.730; 0.320; 0.580).

Because the original X ground-truth sample contained too few instances of Justification - experience to meaningfully evaluate agreement for that label, we added a set of six synthetic X posts designed to express first-hand experience explicitly used as justification. These were generated by prompting GPT-5.2 using real comments as templates and providing a broader sample of authentic comments to preserve topical and stylistic context. Both expert annotators coded the synthetic comments, and the resulting labels were integrated via the same adjudication procedure as the rest of the ground truth. This augmentation explains the difference between the expert-expert X sample size (N=200) and the GT-LLM X evaluation size (N=206). Across the X dataset (N=206), observed agreement between the ground truth and GPT-5.2 ranged from 78.6% to 97.6%, with Cohen's κ from 0.51 to 0.79 and Gwet's AC1 from 0.50 to 0.79 across indicators. For news articles (N=30), observed agreement ranged from 70.0% to 87.0%, with Cohen's κ from 0.42 to 0.59 and Gwet's AC1 from 0.42 to 0.80 across the four agonistic-discourse indicators.¹¹

During this validation process, the original X Constructiveness indicator proved both conceptually too heterogeneous and the weakest performing item. To improve interpretability and reliability without disrupting the remainder of the X measurement pipeline, we replaced Constructiveness with two more specific binary indicators, Common ground and Solutions/Next steps, and validated these in a targeted re-annotation of the same X ground-truth sample (N = 200). Both expert annotators coded all 200 items again for the two new indicators and disagreements were resolved through the same adjudication procedure. In the expert-expert coding, agreement was 89.4% for Common ground (Cohen's κ = 0.65; Gwet's AC = 0.84) and 97.5% for Solutions/Next steps (Cohen's κ = 0.77; Gwet's AC = 0.97). We then evaluated a dedicated prompt that classified only these two indicators. Agreement between the adjudicated ground truth and GPT-5.2 was 84.4% for Common ground (Cohen's κ = 0.52; Gwet's AC1 = 0.77) and 95.0% for Solutions/Next steps (Cohen's κ = 0.56; Gwet's AC1 = 0.94). After validation, the original Constructiveness indicator was dropped and replaced with these two indicators in the X annotation pipeline; for typology assignment, Constructiveness is operationalised as present when either Common ground and/or Solutions/Next steps is present.

11 Ground truth-LLM inter-rater reliability (GPT-5.2 vs adjudicated ground truth). X posts (N=206): Conflict (Percent agreement=0.908; κ =0.789; AC=0.789), Respectfulness (0.893; 0.745; 0.744), Incivility (0.903; 0.761; 0.760), Reciprocity (0.976; 0.604; 0.603), Constructiveness_old (0.786; 0.508; 0.501), Justification_reason (0.806; 0.597; 0.591), Justification_experience (0.976; 0.693; 0.693). News articles (N=30): G1 (Percent agreement=0.867; κ =0.586; AC=0.804), G2 (0.767; 0.462; 0.607), G3 (0.833; 0.444; 0.762), G4 (0.700; 0.416; 0.416).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Discourse-type distributions and agonistic engagement in X corpora (Italy-Slovenia)

As we have seen, the two Twitter/X datasets are highly imbalanced. The dataset for Italy contains 23,389 entries (N = 23,389), while the dataset for Slovenia contains 198 entries (N = 198). Charts 1 and 2 report the distribution of discourse types in both datasets. In the Italian dataset, the two most prevalent discourse types are Non-antagonistic conflict (31.6%) and Antagonistic conflict (29.9%). The third largest category is Non-conflictual content (24.3%), followed by Deliberation (6.0%). The remaining categories occur at comparatively low levels: Agonism + Constructive (3.4%), Agonism + Deliberation (2.7%), and Agonism (weak) (2.1%).

In the Slovene dataset, Antagonistic conflict is the most prevalent discourse type (37.9%), followed by Non-antagonistic conflict (34.8%). Non-conflictual (e.g., informative) content accounts for 20.7%. The remaining categories are observed at low levels: Agonism + Constructive (3.0%), Deliberation (2.0%), Agonism (weak) (1.0%), and Agonism + Deliberation (0.5%).

Overall, as we can see, both datasets are dominated by conflict: combining non-antagonistic conflict and antagonistic conflict yields 61.5% of X posts in Italy and 72.7% in Slovenia. Furthermore, we can observe that three larger groups predominate in both datasets (antagonistic conflict, non-antagonistic conflict and non-conflictual), while the remaining four groups (agonism + constructive, agonism (weak), deliberation and agonism + deliberation) share a smaller portion. Those groups are consistently more prevalent in Italy than in Slovenia (14.2% in Italy vs. 6.5% in Slovenia).

To facilitate interpretation, we separated the relevant discursive groups into an agonistic and a non-agonistic cluster. For Italy, the non-agonistic cluster amounts to 91.8% vs. 8.2% of the agonistic cluster. For Slovenia, the non-agonistic cluster amounts to 95.4% vs. 4.5% of the agonistic cluster. Related to RQ1, we can identify agonistic engagement within the dataset in three discourse types: agonism + constructive, agonism (weak) and agonism + deliberation. This represents 8.2% of the Italian dataset (N=1921) and 4.5% of the Slovenian (N = 9). We can therefore see that despite the very different sizes of the datasets, the results are very comparable in terms of agonistic and non-agonistic

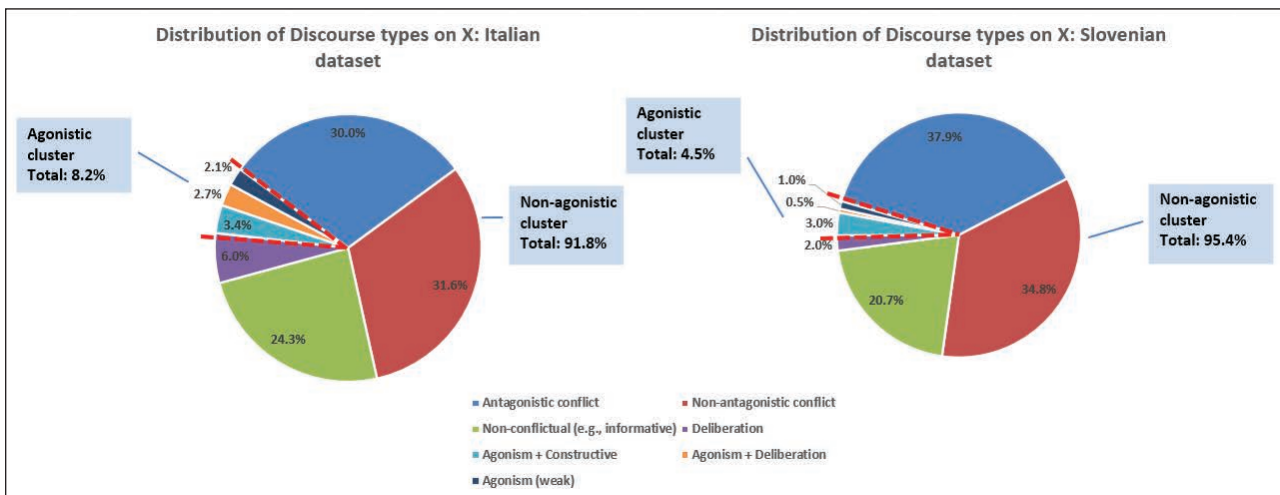


Chart 1 & 2: Comparative Distribution of Discourse Types on X in the Italian and Slovene Datasets.

discourse in the Slovenian and Italian X dataset, when it comes to discussions related to the *Giorno del ricordo* and the related historical events, only a very small proportion of discourse on X is agonistic in nature, both in Slovenia and Italy. To better understand what this means in a broader discursive landscape, we will proceed to the distribution of discourse in online news.

Discourse-type distributions and agonistic engagement in news corpora (Italy–Slovenia)

In analysing the news article dataset, we have focused on agonistic discourse by identifying forms of public argument in which disagreement and conflict are present, but the opponent is treated as a legitimate adversary rather than an enemy. For this reason, the typology used is an agonism-oriented typology that distinguishes different intensities and forms of agonism and separates them from texts without agonistic features.

While the data for distribution within X was very similar, here it differs significantly. The Italian news dataset is concentrated in categories that do not meet the core agonism requirement. The category no agonism accounts for 32.6%, and procedural only neutrality accounts for 31.2%. The remaining categories are smaller: strong agonism 11.7%, core plus X 10.9%, core only 7.4%, strong core plus bridges plus plural (no G4) 3.7%, and non core 2.5%. The Slovene news article dataset shows a markedly different composition. Strong agonism is the largest category at 44.9%, followed by core plus X at 20.4%. Categories without agonistic indicators are less prevalent than in Italy: no agonism or descriptive is 10.9%, and procedural only neutrality is 9.5%. The remaining categories are smaller: core

only 6.1%, strong core plus bridges plus plural (no G4) 5.4%, and non core 2.7%.

We can see that, unlike social media/X, the presence of agonism in Italian and Slovenian online media is significantly different. As shown in the Charts, the fundamental difference is that agonistic discourse prevails in Slovenian online media (76.88%), while in the Italian context, agonistic discourse accounts for only 33.69%. This is certainly to be expected, since articles in Slovenian online media are usually designed to call on the Italian political and media arenas to contextualise events rather than simply presenting a unilateral view (G1). In addition, the majority of those articles also link narratives across groups and acknowledge reciprocal suffering or otherwise construct an explicit bridge between the conflicting narratives (G4). The predominance of this type of discourse is evident from the fact that most articles within the Slovenian agonistic discourse (44.9% or 58.4% of the whole agonistic cluster) fall into the “strong agonism” group, which is characterised by the presence of all indicators (G1–G4).

Discourse-type distributions and agonistic engagement in survey results

In order to address RQ2, we fielded a cross-national online survey to capture respondents’ normative orientations toward key agonistic principles. The survey was active from December 16, 2025, to February 3, 2026, and available in two equivalent translations (Slovenian and Italian), with respondents choosing their preferred language. A total of 309 people opened the survey, with 86 people partially and 68 people (22%) fully completing it. A total of 47% (N = 40) of respondents were female and 31%

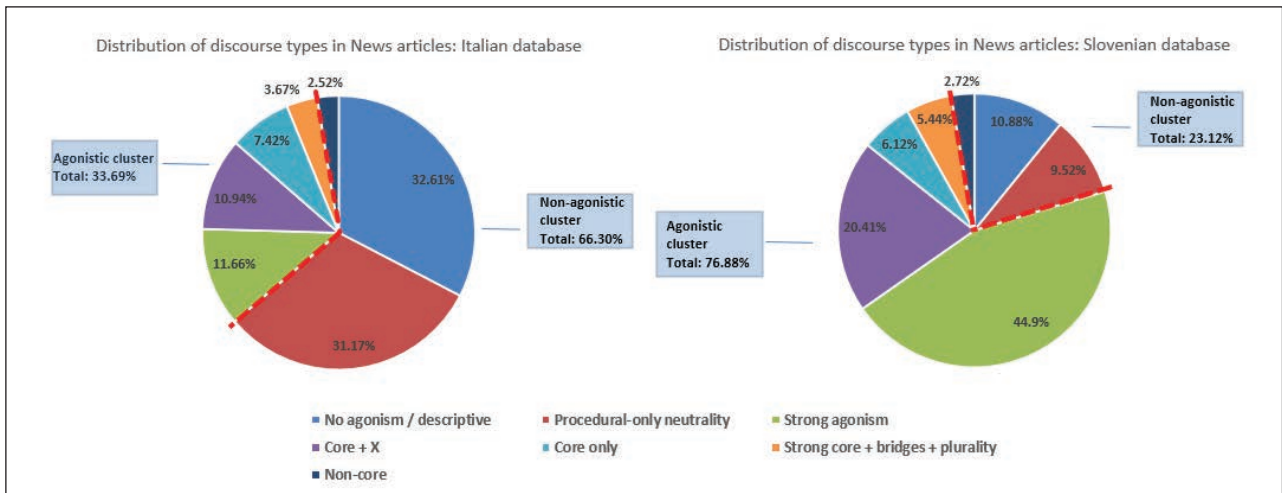


Chart 3 & 4: Comparative Distribution of Discourse Types in Online News Articles in the Italian and Slovene Datasets.

(N = 27) were male. We used an anonymous survey precisely in order to best compare people’s behaviour on social networks with how they respond when asked directly, but still anonymously. The data obtained is therefore most comparable to the data in the X dataset, as the data in the online news dataset does not reflect the attitudes of the general population, but primarily those of journalists and writers. The results obtained are not representative due to the not structured and small sample size (N = 68), which is why the comparison will be based on social media activity and respondents to the survey and cannot be generalised.

We first divided the survey results into two groups of respondents based on Q29: those who declared Slovenian is their mother tongue (N = 22)

and those who identified Italian as their mother tongue (N = 42). By this division we “assumed” that those respondents that defined that Slovenian is their mother tongue, are “nationally Slovenian”, while those with the Italian mother tongue are “nationally Italians”. For presentation, we recoded the original 6-point Likert responses into a binary measure (Agree vs Disagree), with non-responses coded as Missing. After that we decided to find out the antagonistic narrative within both groups, based on responses to the adequate question (Q11). Within the question, we measured how acceptable it is for people – when asked directly – to use offensive and provocative language when discussing the issues related to the *Giorno del ricordo*. Compared to X data, we can see that when respondents

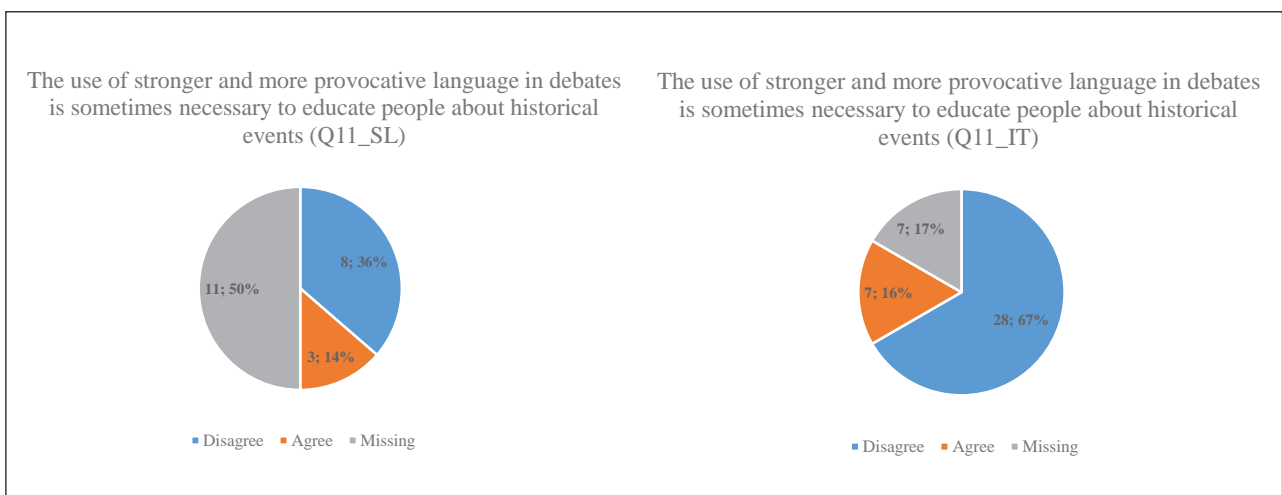


Chart 5 & 6: Comparative Distribution of Acceptance of Provocative/Offensive Language (Q11) among Italian and Slovene Survey Respondents.

were asked directly – although anonymously –, they report they are less in favour of engaging in antagonistic discourse and using insults than when interacting on X. It should however be emphasised that the Slovenian chart shows a very high percentage of missing answers – 50% –, compared to 17% in the Italian chart.

Compared to the data for X in charts 1 and 2, we can see that the antagonistic group (answer “I agree”) is smaller among the survey responses. Among the respondents who actually gave an answer, 20% of Italians and 27% of Slovenians are inclined toward antagonistic discourse. What is particularly interesting is that the ratio between Italy and Slovenia remains similar to that for X: Slovenian respondents are more inclined towards antagonism. The reason for this is probably quite similar to that for X networks: in Slovenia, the approach to this issue is more antagonistic, since the very content of the *Giorno del ricordo*, which – although indirectly – attacks Yugoslav and Slovenian partisans and condemns them for crimes, calls for a defensive position. This can often be very antagonistic (“attacking back”). However, it is important to emphasise again, that there is a high percentage of missing answers.

We tried to identify the conflictual group (question Q10), asking respondents whether they consider it important to be able to express clear disagreement if they believe that a certain interpretation of events is wrong. Here we can observe an overlapping of results: 67% of ‘Italian’ respondents and 63% of ‘Slovenian’ respondents agree that it is important for them to be able to express their opinion if they believe that others are not interpreting events correctly.

When comparing these data with the social media dataset, we first had to combine the data that indicated conflict on X. Specifically, we combined the following groups: non-antagonistic conflict, antagonistic conflict and all three agonism groups. We omitted deliberation and non-conflicting content, bearing in mind that most non-conflicting content on X is informative in nature and merely reports on events – something we did not measure among survey respondents. The result for Italy amounts to 69.7%, for Slovenia 77.2%. What we can observe is that the X and the survey results are fully comparable, with a small distinction: ‘Italians’ in the survey were more eager to debate the topic, while in the case of X, Slovenians were less reluctant to engage in conflict.

Finally, we will focus on question Q12, which measured openness to listening to those with whom they disagree. 76% of ‘Italian’ respondents and 59% of ‘Slovenian’ respondents in the survey are prepared to listen to the other party, even if in conflict or disagreement. What comes out from these results is that when respondents are asked directly, albeit anonymously, they are in practice very receptive to listening to the arguments of the opposing side.

Question Q12 gives us a direct comparison with the agonistic cluster in both previous datasets: social media (Charts 1 and 2) and the online news dataset (Charts 3 and 4). In fact, if we look at Tables 1 and 2, this indicator is always present in any agonistic discourse (“respect” marked with 1 in Table 1, and G2 marked with 1 in Table 2). Question Q12 – in combination with question Q11 – can thus also be employed to identify agonistic discourse among respondents:

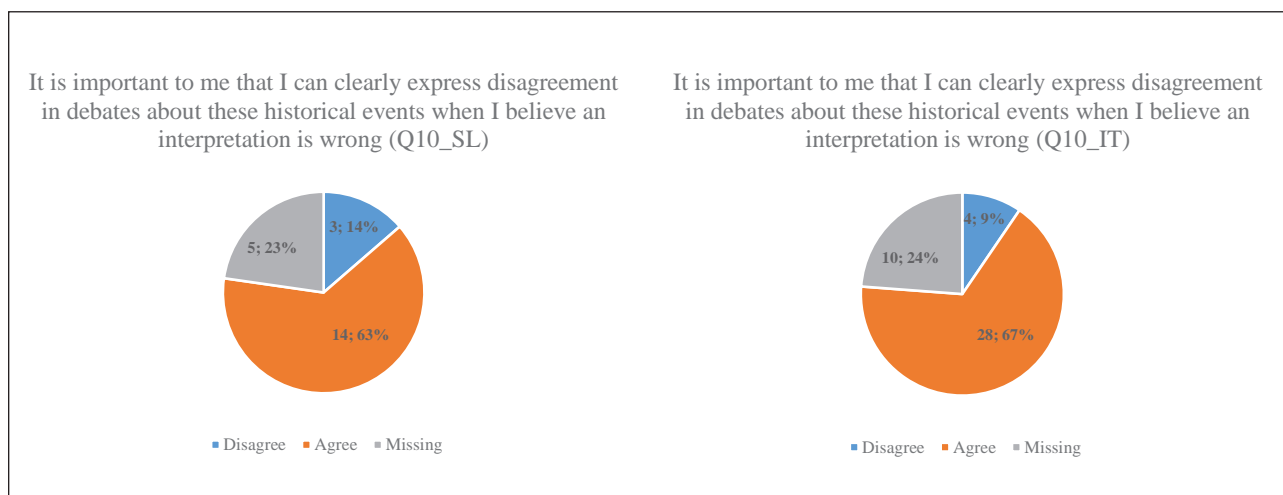


Chart 7 & 8: Comparative Distribution of Support for Expressing Clear Disagreement (Q10) among Italian and Slovene Survey Respondents.

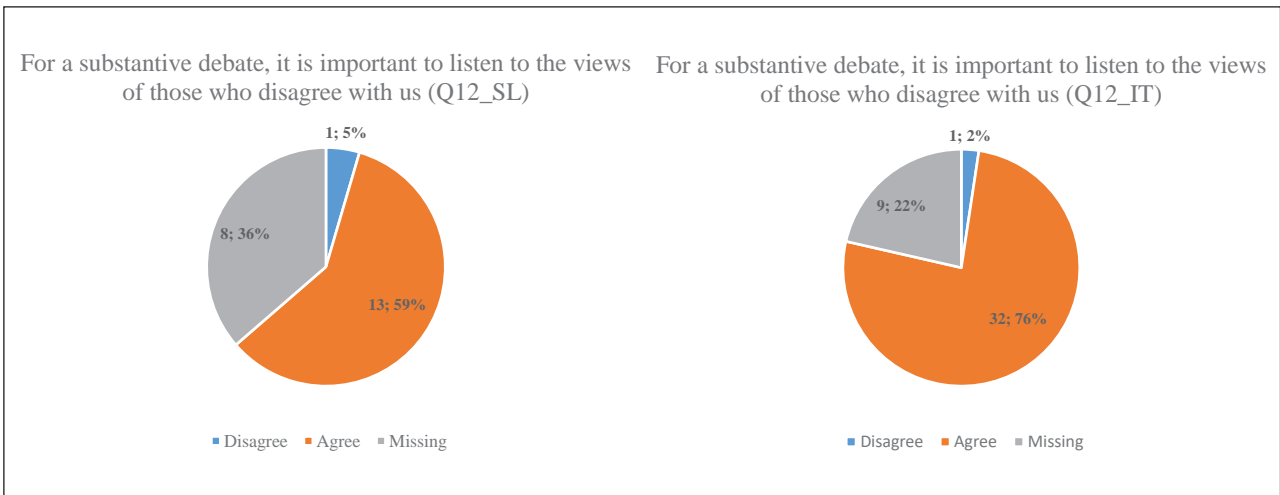


Chart 9 & 10: Comparative distribution of openness to listening to those with whom we disagree with (Q12) among Italian and Slovene survey respondents.

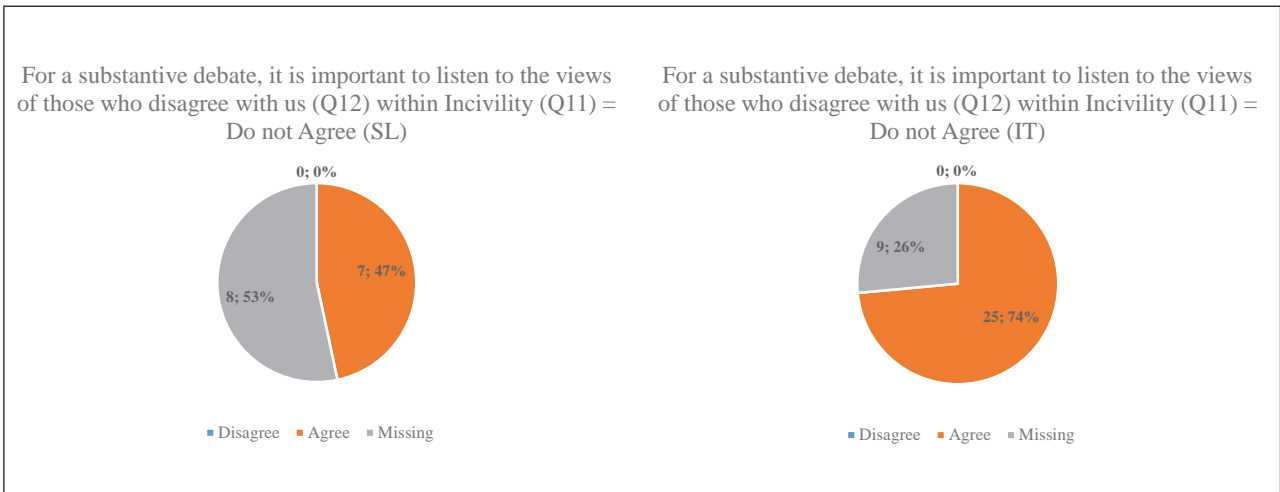


Chart 11 & 12: Comparative distribution of openness to listening to those with whom we disagree (Q12) among non-antagonistic respondents (Q11=Disagree) in Italy and Slovenia.

Q11: *The use of stronger and more provocative language in debates is sometimes necessary to educate people about historical events.*

Q12: *For a substantive debate, it is important to listen to the views of those who do not agree with us.*

We measured antagonistic conflict with question Q11. All respondents who did not agree with the statement (answer “I don’t agree” from 1 to 3) were classified as belonging to the non-antagonistic group. We then took only the responses from this non-antagonistic group and examined their responses to question Q12. With question Q12, we measured both conflict (“views of those who do not

agree with us”) and respectfulness and willingness to engage in dialogue, if we want the discussion to be substantive and constructive.

As Charts 11 and 12 show, all responses in both groups agree that it is important to listen to the views of those who disagree with them and are therefore prone to agonism. None of those for whom we have data disagreed with this. We have thus successfully identified the agonistic cluster among the respondents to the questionnaire. This amounts to 74% for the Italian group and 47% for the Slovenian group, although it should be noted that there are considerably more “missing” answers in the Slovenian cluster.

CONCLUSIONS: AGONISTIC ENGAGEMENT IN DIFFERENT COMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENTS IN SLOVENIA AND ITALY

Based on the results obtained, we can observe that agonistic discourse is differently prevalent within the three communication environments analysed in this paper. What unites the analysis of the Slovenian and Italian case studies is the fact that agonistic discourse is by far the least prevalent on X. Debates on social networks are therefore generally much more prone to conflict, also antagonistic conflict, as Charts 1 and 2 demonstrate. The other two groups show a rather diverse picture depending on the national context. In general, Slovenian media outlets pay much less attention to events and discussions in Italy surrounding the *Giorno del ricordo*, as evidenced by the much smaller dataset for Slovenia (N = 198). This is to be expected, as national media do not usually follow commemorative ceremonies in other countries closely, if at all. Nevertheless, the presence of online news on the topic is still quite substantial, showing that the *Giorno del ricordo* is notably discussed in the Slovenian online media. To some extent this is expected, since the narrative addresses events in which Slovenian and Yugoslav partisans play one of the key – antagonistic – roles. Nevertheless, agonistic discourse largely prevails in the Slovenian dataset (Chart 4), especially when compared to the Italian national context (Chart 3). Furthermore, the majority of this discourse is characterised as strong agonism. Online media in Slovenia most often do not take an antagonistic stance, but call for broader contextualisation and recognition of the dynamics that led to post-war reprisals (borderland fascism and fascist crimes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia during the Second World War). Instead, they call for more balanced debates that would not divide but seek ways to bridge past divisions.

In Italy, on the other hand, agonism in online media is not as prevalent as in Slovenia, since Italian online media do not seek to problematise or contextualise issues of the official narrative surrounding the *Giorno del ricordo*. This is not expected in the Italian national discourse either. Nevertheless, there is an important proportion of this discourse (33.66 %), indicating that even in Italy there is a desire for more agonistic and thus constructive debate in online media when it comes to the *Giorno del ricordo*. Finally, it is particularly interesting to see how people responded to the survey. As we have seen, all respondents who answered the question and are not recorded as missing, were entirely in favour of agonistic discourse. This percentage is 74% among Italian

respondents and lower among Slovenian respondents (47%) due to a higher percentage of missing responses. In general, however, the data show that when asked directly, people are more inclined toward agonism, especially when compared to their behaviour on X, where the proportion of agonism is very small.

In conclusion, the findings demonstrate that the prevalence and intensity of agonistic discourse vary significantly across communication environments and national contexts. While X in both Slovenia and Italy is characterised by a markedly low presence of agonistic discourse and a higher propensity toward antagonistic conflict, online media spaces offer a more nuanced picture. In Slovenia, despite a smaller dataset, agonistic discourse – particularly strong agonism – clearly prevails, reflecting efforts to contextualise historical events and encourage more balanced and dialogical interpretations of the *Giorno del ricordo*. In contrast, Italian online media display a lower degree of agonistic engagement, largely aligning with the official national narrative, though traces of constructive debate remain visible. The survey results further highlight an important discrepancy between expressed attitudes and actual communicative practices. When asked directly, respondents in both countries overwhelmingly endorsed agonistic engagement, suggesting a normative preference for constructive and pluralistic debate. However, this stands in stark contrast to the limited presence of agonism observed on X. Taken together, the results point to a gap between individuals' declared support for agonistic discourse and the dynamics of digital communication environments, underscoring the structural and contextual factors that shape how public debates unfold.

The theoretical contribution of these findings is to conceptualise agonistic memory not only as a normative orientation toward plural remembrance, but also as an empirically observable discursive mode. By translating the distinction between different modes of engagement into operational indicators, the article shows how the same contested commemoration can be enacted differently across platforms, genres, and national contexts. In this sense, the analysis extends the agonistic memory approach by demonstrating how it can be used to diagnose the conditions under which memory conflict becomes antagonistic, agonistic, or potentially deliberation-compatible.

DATA AVAILABILITY

An anonymised, feature-only dataset supporting the findings of this study (computed/annotated indicators such as conflict, DQI scores

and discourse-type) is available via Zenodo. The record also includes the coding schemes, the LLM prompts, and the opinion poll questionnaire (cf. Koražija *et al.*, 2026).

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors declare that they have no competing interests related to this work. There are no financial, personal, or professional relationships that could be perceived as influencing this research or its findings.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Conceptualisation: MH, JK, UL

Methodology: MH, JK, UL, AE

Formal analysis: JK, UL, MH

Investigation: JK, UL, MH, DD

Data curation: JK

Software: JK

Visualisation: JK

Writing – original draft: MH, JK, UL (equal contribution)

Writing – review & editing: all authors (JK, MH, UL, AE, DD)

AGONISTIČNO ANGAŽIRANJE V SPOMINSKI POLITIKI:
MEDIJSKE ARENE, NORMATIVNE USMERITVE IN RAZPRAVE
O *GIORNO DEL RICORDO* V ITALIJI IN SLOVENIJI

Urška LAMPE

Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenija
e-mail: urska.lampe@irris.eu

Marjan HORVAT

Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenija
e-mail: marjan.horvat@irris.eu

Jure KORAŽIJA

Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenija
e-mail: jure.korazija@irris.eu

Angelika ERGAVER

Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenija
e-mail: angelika.ergaver@irris.eu

Darko DAROVEC

Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, Čentur 1f, 6273 Marezige, Slovenija
e-mail: darko.darovec@irris.eu

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava agonistično angažiranje v razpravah o Dnevu spomina (*Giorno del ricordo*) v Italiji in Sloveniji ter primerja tri komunikacijska okolja: objave na X, spletne novičarske članke in anketne odgovore. Izhaja iz teorije agonističnega spomina in kazalnikov kakovosti diskurza, s katerimi analizira, kako se sporne interpretacije preteklosti oblikujejo kot antagonistični, agonistični ali deliberativno združljivi diskurz. Empirična analiza pokaže, da so razprave na X v obeh nacionalnih kontekstih izrazito konfliktne in vsebujejo malo agonističnega angažiranja. Nasprotno pa spletni mediji, zlasti v Sloveniji, pogosteje vključujejo pluralnost perspektiv, priznavanje nasprotnih stališč in povezovalne okvire. Italijanski spletni mediji v večji meri sledijo uradni nacionalni pripovedi, čeprav tudi tam obstajajo elementi konstruktivne razprave. Anketni podatki razkrivajo pomemben razkorak med deklarirano podporo spoštljivemu, pluralnemu dialogu in dejanskimi komunikacijskimi praksami na družbenih omrežjih. Članek tako pokaže, da agonistični spomin ni le normativni ideal, temveč tudi empirično prepoznaven diskurzivni način, katerega pojavnost je odvisna od medijskega okolja, občinstva in nacionalnega konteksta.

Ključne besede: agonistični spomin, spominska politika, *Giorno del ricordo*, Italija, Slovenija, X, spletni mediji, nasprotujoči si spomini

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Assmann, Aleida (2011):** Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bächtiger, André & John S. Dryzek (2024):** Deliberative Democracy for Diabolical Times: Confronting Populism, Extremism, Denial, and Authoritarianism. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bächtiger, André, Shikano, Susumu, Pedrini, Seraina & Mirjam Ryser (2009):** Measuring Deliberation 2.0: Standards, Discourse Types, and Sequenzialization. Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Potsdam, Germany.
- Ballinger, Pamela (2000):** Who Defines and Remembers Genocide after the Cold War? Contested Memories of Partisan Massacre in Venezia Giulia in 1943–1945. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2, 1, 11–30.
- Ballinger, Pamela (2004):** Exhumed Histories: Trieste and the Politics of (Exclusive) Victimhood. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 6, 2, 145–159.
- Berger, Stefan & Wulf Kansteiner (eds.) (2021):** Agonistic Memory and the Legacy of 20th Century Wars in Europe. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bull, Anna Cento & Hans Lauge Hansen (2016):** On Agonistic Memory. *Memory Studies*, 9, 4, 390–404.
- Canute, Matt, Jin, Mali, Holtzclaw, Hannah, Lusoli, Alberto, Adams, Philippa, Pandya, Mugdha, Taboada, Maite, Maynard, Diana & Wendy Hui Kyong Chun (2023):** Dimensions of Online Conflict: Towards Modeling Agonism. In: Bouamor, Houda, Pino, Juan & Kalika Bali (eds.): Findings of the Association for Computational Linguistics. Singapore, Association for Computational Linguistics, 12194–12209.
- Castro de Azevedo, Alana (2025):** When ‘Memory Work’ Becomes ‘Memory Protest’: Exploring Ant/Agonistic Conflicts in Memory Initiatives. PhD Thesis. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Cattunar, Alessandro (2012):** Le fonti orali sulla frontiera italo-slovena: proposte per una ricerca sulle identità dei confini e sui confini fra le identità. *Acta Histriae*, 20, 1-2, 151–174.
- Cattunar, Alessandro (2014):** Il confine delle memorie. Storie di vita e narrazioni pubbliche tra Italia e Jugoslavia (1922–1955). Firenze, Le Monnier-Mondadori education.
- D’Alessio, Vanni (2012):** Rituality, Ideology and Emotions. Practices of Commemoration of the Giorno del Ricordo in Trieste. In: Pauković, Davor, Pavlaković, Vjeran & Višeslav Raos (eds.): Confronting the Past: European Experiences. Zagreb, Political Science Research Centre, 285–309.
- Dato, Gaetano (2010):** Le celebrazioni per gli eroi di Bazovica (1945–1948): alcuni risultati di una ricerca in corso. *Acta Histriae*, 18, 3, 471–498.
- Deufel, Nicole (2017):** Agonistic Interpretation: A New Paradigm in Response to Current Developments. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 26, 2, 90–109.
- Enrici, Andrea (2025):** Remembrance or Revisionism? *IPS-Journal*, 7. 2. 2025, <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/democracy-and-society/remembrance-or-revisionism-8071/> (last access: 2025-04-24).
- Focardi, Filippo (2016):** Il cattivo tedesco e il bravo italiano: La rimozione delle colpe della seconda guerra mondiale. Roma – Bari, Laterza.
- Gobetti, Eric (2021):** E allora le foibe?. Bari, Editori Laterza.
- Gobetti, Eric (2025):** La guerra contro la guerra di Liberazione. *MicroMega*, 21. 4. 2025, https://www.micromega.net/la-guerra-contro-la-guerra-di-liberazione-resistenza?fbclid=IwY2xjawJ27c1leHRuA2FlbQIxMQABHk90pxBCFVJCsU5n6fLwACuuvNjvb-Ja41VlscTbS_FWGsBDOXQXO2uXcPAX3_aem_hjtCAuuSazYjYkQR8Ri30Q (last access: 2025-04-24).
- Gwet, Kilem Li (2014):** Handbook of Inter-Rater Reliability: The Definitive Guide to Measuring the Extent of Agreement Among Raters. 4th ed. Gaithersburg, MD, Advanced Analytics, LLC.
- Hodgkin, Katharine & Susannah Radstone (eds.) (2003):** Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory. London – New York, Routledge.
- Horvat, Marjan (2026):** From Memory Regimes to Discursive Modes: A Theory-driven Framework for Analysing Cultural Memory in Hybrid Public Spheres. Zenodo, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18787238> (last access: 2026-03-12).
- Hrobat Virloget, Katja (2015):** Brema preteklosti. Spomini na sobivanje in migracije v slovenski Istri po drugi svetovni vojni. *Acta Histriae*, 23, 3, 531–554.
- Jaidka, Kokil (2022):** Developing A Multilabel Corpus for the Quality Assessment of Online Political Talk. In: Calzolari, Nicoletta, Béchet, Frédéric ... & Stelios Piperidis (eds.): Proceedings of the Thirteenth Language Resources and Evaluation Conference. Marseille, European Language Resources Association, 5503–5510.
- Kisić, Višnja (2021):** Heritage Research in the 21st Century: Departing from the Useful Futures of Sustainable Development. In: Stegmeijer, Eva & Loes Veldpaus (eds.): A Research Agenda for Heritage Planning: Perspectives from Europe. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing, 21–38.
- Klabjan, Borut (2012):** “Partizanska pokrajina”: Partizanski spomeniki in komemoriranje partizanov na Tržaškem. *Acta Histriae*, 20, 4, 669–692.
- Klabjan, Borut (2017):** “Our Victims Define Our Borders”: Commemorating Yugoslav Partisans in the Italo-Yugoslav Borderland. *East European Politics and Societies*, 31, 2, 290–310.

Knittel, Susanne C. (2015): "Basta con le rimozi-
oni!" Le foibe nella televisione italiana. In: Jansen,
Monica & Maria Bonaria Urban (eds.): Television-
ismo: Narrazioni televisive della storia italiana negli
anni della seconda Repubblica. Venezia, Edizioni Ca'
Foscari, 69–82.

**Koražija, Jure, Lampe, Urška, Horvat, Marjan,
Ergaver, Angelika & Darko Darovec (2026):** "Agonis-
tic Engagement in Memory Politics (Slovenia & Italy,
2022–2024): Annotated X and News Data, Coding
Schemes, and LLM Prompts". Zenodo, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18767959> (last access: 2026-03-12).

Kosmač, Miha (2015): Organizirana izselitev
prebivalstva iz Pulja: problematika meje in "obramba
italijanstva". Acta Histriae, 23, 3, 511–530.

Kosmač, Miha (2017): "Etnično homogena
Evropa": preselitve prebivalstva v Istri in Sudetih
1945–1948. Koper, Annales ZRS.

Meyer, Erik (2008): Memory and Politics. In: Erll,
Astrid & Ansgar Nünning (eds.): Cultural Memory
Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Hand-
book. Berlin – New York, de Gruyter, 173–180.

Mouffe, Chantal (1999): Deliberative Democ-
racy or Agonistic Pluralism. Social Research, 66, 3,
745–758.

Mouffe, Chantal (2013): Agonistics: Thinking the
World Politically. London – New York, Verso.

Olick, Jeffrey K. (2007): The Politics of Regret:
On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility.
New York – London, Routledge.

Orlić, Mila (2015): Se la memoria (non) mi in-
ganna ... L'Italia e il "confine orientale": riflessioni
sulla storia e sul suo uso pubblico. Acta Histriae, 23,
3, 475–486.

Pagella politica (2020): Sui social i politici par-
lano delle foibe molto più che della Shoah. Pagella
politica, 12. 2. 2020, <https://pagellapolitica.it/articoli/sui-social-i-politici-parlano-delle-foibe-molto-piu-che-della-shoah> (last access: 2025-04-24).

Pagella politica (2021): Sui social dei politici le
foibe sono passate di moda. Pagella politica, 16. 2.
2021, <https://pagellapolitica.it/articoli/sui-social-dei-politici-le-foibe-sono-passate-di-moda> (last access: 2025-04-24).

Pagella politica (2022): Solo Salvini e Meloni
ricordano più le foibe della Shoah sui social. Pagella
politica, 11. 2. 2022, <https://pagellapolitica.it/articoli/solo-salvini-e-meloni-ricordano-piu-le-foibe-della-shoah-sui-social> (last access: 2025-04-24).

Pirjevec, Jože (2009): Foibe. Una storia d'Italia. To-
rino, Einaudi.

Rawski, Tomasz (2024): Contested Memory. In:
Betti, Lucas M. & Martin Pogačar (eds.): The Palgrave
Encyclopedia of Memory Studies. Cham, Springer Nature
Switzerland, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-93789-8_84-1 (last access: 2025-04-24).

Reynolds, Chris (2021): The Symbiosis of Oral His-
tory and Agonistic Memory: Voices of 68 and the Legacy
of the Past in Northern Ireland. Journal of the British
Academy, 9, s3, 73–94.

**Steenbergen, Marco R., Bächtiger, André, Spöndli,
Markus & Jürg Steiner (2003):** Measuring Political
Deliberation: A Discourse Quality Index. Comparative
European Politics, 1, 1, 21–48.

**Steiner, Jürg, Jaramillo, Maria Clara, Maia, Rousiley
& Simona Mameli (2017):** Deliberation Across Deeply
Divided Societies: Transformative Moments. Cambridge,
Cambridge University Press.

Širok, Kaja (2010): Spomin in pozaba na obmejnem
območju: predstave o goriški preteklosti. Acta Histriae,
18, 1-2, 337–358.

Širok, Kaja (2012a): Kolektivni spomin, pričevalec
in zgodovina: diskurzivne konstrukcije preteklosti. Acta
Histriae, 20, 1-2, 137–150.

Širok, Kaja (2012b): Identitete, zgodovina in
dediščina prostora – prakse spominjanja in komemo-
racije na goriškem v XX. stoletju. Acta Histriae, 20, 4,
631–646.

Širok, Kaja (2012c): Kalejdoskop goriške preteklosti.
Zgodbe o spominu in pozabi. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Tenca Montini, Federico (2014): Fenomenologia di
un martirologio mediatico. Le foibe nella rappresen-
tazione pubblica dagli anni Novanta ad oggi. Udine, Kappa
vu.

Törnberg, Petter (2022): How Digital Media Drive
Affective Polarization through Partisan Sorting. Proceed-
ings of the National Academy of Sciences, 119, 42.
<https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2207159119>
(last access: 2025-04-24).

Verovšek, Peter (2021): Caught between 1945 and
1989: Collective Memory and the Rise of Illiberal De-
mocracy in Postcommunist Europe. Journal of European
Public Policy, 28, 6, 840–857.

Wüstenberg, Jenny (2017): Civil Society and
Memory in Postwar Germany. Cambridge, Cambridge
University Press.

**Zec, Slavica, Soriani, Nicola, Comoretto, Rosanna &
Baldi, Ileana (2017):** High Agreement and High Preva-
lence: The Paradox of Cohen's Kappa. The Open Nursing
Journal, 11, 211–218.