

original scientific article  
received: 2015-04-22

DOI 10.19233.ASHS.2016.20

## MEMORIES OF WAR AND WARFARE TOURISM IN CROATIA

Metod ŠULIGOJ

University of Primorska, Faculty of tourism studies - Turistica, Obala 11a, Portorož  
e-mail: metod.suligoj@fts.upr.si

### ABSTRACT

*The main objective of the paper is to clarify the nature of the phenomenon of warfare tourism in relation to the homeland war through empirical research focusing on the perspective of young Croatian residents. A total of 292 filled questionnaires were prepared for the analyses – Ward's principal component score method, Independent Sample test and descriptive analyze were employed in this paper. We found out that only a small share of youths see warfare sites visitation directly as being a part of tourism; remembrance and educational purposes were at the top of identified reasons. Hence, two clusters of youths could be identified – supporters of remembrance and skeptics.*

**Keywords:** warfare heritage, dark tourism, warfare tourism, Croatia, homeland war

## RICORDI DI GUERRA E TURISMO DI GUERRA IN CROAZIA

### SINTESI

*L'obiettivo di ricerca principale è di chiarire la natura del fenomeno del turismo di guerra riguardo alla Guerra della Patria in Croazia. La ricerca empirica è stata concentrata sulla prospettiva dei suoi giovani residenti. Un totale di 292 questionari compilati sono stati preparati per l'analisi empirica – nella ricerca sono stati usati il metodo delle componenti principali di Ward, il test T per campioni indipendenti e la statistica descrittiva. Abbiamo constatato che solo una piccola quota di giovani vede la visita dei siti di guerra come una parte del turismo; la preservazione del ricordo e l'educazione sono state le più importanti tra le ragioni identificate. Sono stati inoltre identificati due gruppi di giovani diversi – sostenitori della preservazione del ricordo e scettici.*

**Parole chiave:** patrimonio della guerra, turismo nero, turismo di guerra, Croazia, guerra della patria

## INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of mankind, people have always been interested in site and event visitations or other attractions that are linked in any way with disaster, suffering, violence or death (Stone, 2005; Stone, Sharpley, 2008, 574; Stone, 2011a, 2). This is today denoted as *dark tourism* which should be understood as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon where some semantic and terminological views should be pointed out first. One of the earliest attempts to classify suffering- or death-related tourist activity resulted as *holidays in hell* (O'Rourke, 1988; Pelton, 2003). Rojek (1993) introduced the terms *fatal attractions* and *black spots*, but there are also other terms in use, like *thanatourism* (Seaton, 1996; Seaton, 1999; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2007; Strange, Kempa, 2003; Naef, 2013a), *morbid tourism* and an *attraction-focused artificial morbidity-related tourism* (Blom, 2000), *fatal attractions* (Ryan, 2002), *sombre tourism* (Butcher, 2003; Hughes, 2008), *fright tourism* (Bristow and Newman, 2004), *atrocities tourism* (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005), *grief tourism* (Grief Tourism, 2009), *trauma tourism* (Clark, 2006), *phoenix tourism* (not proposed as a type of tourism) (Causevic, Lynch, 2011), *tourism of memory* (Hertzog, 2012) or *memorable tourism* (Kim, 2013) which are not synonyms. However, Foley and Lennon (1996) and Lennon and Foley (2000), on the basis of preliminary works, have defined the phenomenon (term) called *dark tourism* and as a result have corroborated the concept as a research area<sup>1</sup>, where war related sites represent its core component.

Croatia, as one of the recognisable Mediterranean countries, is highly dependent on tourism, where one of the most significant problems is that mainland Croatia (with the exception of the City of Zagreb) is not so recognisable for its tourism offering. Furthermore, some of the mainland areas were strongly affected by the 1990s war, what is another problem concerning tourism development. During the war 15% of housing units and 2,423 cultural heritage sites (including 495 sacral structures), 334 schools, many hospitals and traffic infrastructure were destroyed or damaged (Beskrajna obnova od rata, 2010). Similarly Karač (1997, 48), Baillie (2012) and Živić (2008, 41) claim that no other European city since WWII had sustained as much warfare destruction of cultural heritage and properties as Vukovar. On the other hand, Hasic (2004, 2006), Šundalić & Barković (2008), Goulding & Domic (2009) argue that the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were very cruel with the most rapid, forced movement of the population. However, these conflicts did not present the most intensive killing campaigns and constant human suffering, worst destruction of physical infrastructure and the destruction of all societal systems since WWII. In addition, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century different wars and to-

talitarian regimes have impacted negatively on people of different nationality, and political and religious orientation. Consequently, continental Croatia as well as coastal part and islands offer war remains, prisons and labour/concentration camp buildings, monuments, and cemeteries, combined with different stories of affected people. Could these sites be a (warfare) tourism asset? Should Croats hide this part of their national past? What do young Croatian residents, who do not have direct homeland war experiences, think about that? Accordingly, the main objective of this study is to further clarify the nature of the phenomenon of warfare tourism in relation to the homeland war through empirical research focusing on the perspective of young Croats. Such a local resident-, consumer-family/relatives-oriented approach is still needed in dark tourism studies where conceptual researches are still dominant (Seaton, Lennon, 2004; Stone, Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2010; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Kidron, 2013). This paper with the multidisciplinary approach highlights only a variation of dark tourism – war related tourism or *warfare tourism*.

## FROM DARK TOURISM TO WARFARE TOURISM

As mentioned in the previous part, there are still many terminological ambiguities related to dark tourism which call for an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary research approach. Hence, this paper does not wish to enter into a semantic or philosophical debate over the terms, but rather to acknowledge a commonly accepted general meaning of the term, as applied to tourism, although it may be theoretically limited, fragile and thus indeterminate (Seaton, Lennon, 2004; Stone, Sharpley, 2008, 575; Sharpley, Stone, 2009; Jamal, Lelo, 2011; Stone, 2011a). In accordance with this basis, dark tourism may simply be related to sites of remembrance, education or entertainment (Foley, Lennon, 1997; Wise, Mulec, 2012) and it could also be an area for political manipulation or economic gain (Ashworth, Hartmann, 2005; Stone, 2006, 148; Stone, Sharpley, 2008).

According to Smith (1998; see also Weaver, 2000; Wiedenhoft Murphy, 2010), Henderson (2000) and Ryan (2007), warfare sites and events probably present the world's largest and the most recognisable single category of tourist attractions. Massive visitation of warfare sites began in 1816 after the battle of Waterloo (Seaton, 1999; Smith, 1998; Knox, 2006), although intensive development of battlefield tourism was initiated not earlier than the end of WWI (Winter, 2009a; Winter, 2009b; Winter, 2011; Hertzog, 2012). Today WWI and WWII offer many sites, especially in Europe and Asia (Siegenthaler, 2002), such as Gallipoli in Turkey (Slade, 2003; Basarin, 2011; Ozer, Ersoy & Tuzunkan, 2012; McKay, 2013), WWI's Western front battlefield (Iles, 2006; Win-

1 The field of dark tourism may be considered as a micro niche of special interest tourism (Novelli, 2005; Minić, 2012).

ter, 2009a; Winter, 2009b; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011; Hertzog, 2012), Italian front (Zilli, 2015; Klemenčič, Koderman, 2015), Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Siegenthaler, 2002; Cooper, 2006), Auschwitz-Birkenau and other holocaust sites (Ashworth, 1996; Miles, 2002; Ashworth, 2002; Thurnell-Read, 2009; Biran et al., 2011; Cohen, 2011; Kidron, 2013). Moreover, among many other sites, we also have to mention sites linked with the Vietnam War (Henderson, 2000; 2013; Suntiul, 2013), the Balkan conflict (Dann, 1998; Goulding, Domic, 2009; Causevic, Lynch, 2011; Baillie, 2012; Naef, 2012; Wise, Mulec, 2012; Naef, 2013a; Naef, 2013b) and the Cambodian conflict (Hughes, 2008), as parts of contemporary history and consequently especially interesting for tourists<sup>2</sup>.

All stated authentic sites have distinct conservation, educational and commemorative meaning (the aspect of entertainment may be even obtrusive – see Stone, 2012 and Winter, 2011), which, according to Miles (2002), Robb (2009, 56), Hertzog (2012) and Kidron (2013, 178), must engender a degree of empathy between the visitor and the (past) victim. While remembering the dead, the sites also commemorate the survivors of the war (Winter, 2009a) and demonstrate the ambiguity in the tension between history or historical reality and memory or imaginary construction, “a horrific battleground and a place of leisure, fratricide and unity, emancipation and state-rights, celebration and regret” (Chronis, 2012, 1798). Consequently, Ashworth (1996), Beech (2000), Henderson (2000), Austin (2002), Siegenthaler (2002), Ashworth & Hartmann, (2005), Wight & Lennon (2007), Goulding & Domic (2009), Stone (2010) highlighted the same representative cases of warfare sites, which are very sensitive from an interpretational point of view because they offer the opportunity to write (make) or re-write (change) the history of people’s lives, sufferings and deaths, to provide some kind of political description of past events<sup>3</sup> or, according to Ivanov (2009), those sites may be used as a tool for propaganda of the achievements of the regime. Hence, Goulding and Domic (2009, 99; see also Rivera, 2008) claim that the case of Croatia shows that the “past can also be used as a vehicle to create a greater sense of nationalism and social bonding”. This is particularly hazardous because the post-modern tourist does not (critically) seek only cases/sites with the authentic values<sup>4</sup> (Blom, 2000, 31; McKay, 2013), although this cannot be generalized – see Cohen (2011) and Kidron (2013).

The bondage between tourism and memories of war was recognised by Slade (2003) and Winter (2009b)

who put forward the battlefield of Gallipoli, which has de facto psychological and cultural origins and a strong nationalistic hint (Slade, 2003). Moreover, this destination has significant impact on the construction of nationhood and notions of mythmaking for most visitors from Australia and New Zealand where many of them are not interested in death itself (Slade, 2003). Basarin’s (2011) findings indicate that the antecedents of values and motives have important implications for the appreciation of the visitors of the commemoration in Gallipoli and on its associated attributes including the emotional experience. McKay (2013), according to many authors, sees every exposure and excessive sentimentalization of the battlefield of Gallipoli and WWI as a symptom of a systemic and unrelenting militarisation of Australian history and culture, especially in relation to the youth; this is a phenomenon of *touristification* of traumascapes (Naef, 2013b, 51) or the creation of spectacular, fantastic scenes which are unlikely to do justice to the pain of others and present some kind of recreational, voyeuristic allure of violence (Robb, 2009, 54; Causevic, Lynch, 2008). On the other hand, for many of these conflict-affected states or regions, tourism is often a potential contributor to socio-economic development and regeneration, and the vector for their integration into the global economy (Novelli, Morgan & Nibigira, 2012, 1447; Wiedenhoft Murphy, 2010, 573, 541; Weaver, 2000, 155). Wiedenhoft Murphy (2010, 555), in the case of Belfast, found that tourism in “post conflict societies both builds peace and reproduces some processes of past conflict”. Similarly, according to many authors, the case of the Croatian city of Vukovar shows this very controversial and problematic post-conflict situation (see Šundalić, Barković, 2008). Naef (2013a, 4, 8) and Baillie (2012) claim that, contrary to famous Dubrovnik which was also affected by the homeland war, suburban Vukovar was never an recognizable tourist destination, but the current situation in tourism which accompanies the creation of memorials is often seen as “nationalistic” tourism, a “*facet intrinsically linked to the symbolic/iconic status of the city*”. Divided memorials help to foster and maintain mental barriers between Croats and the Serbian minority. In this context Lennon and Foley (2000) claim that sites/events which have a longer history are “less dark” than those which are more recent, although Causevic and Lynch (2011, 782), in the case of the memory of the battle of Kosovo, refute this claim.

Many scholars like Minić (2012, 84), Henderson (2000), Seaton & Lennon (2004), Wight & Lennon (2007), Logan & Reeves (2009), Walter (2009), Biran et

2 There are many other “dark sites” and many of them are not commemorated or commercialized.

3 Interpretation as an important issue is stressed also in the paper of Linenthal (2001), Wight & Lennon (2007), Causevic & Lynch (2008), Hughes (2008); Robb (2009), Stone (2006a; 2011b; 2010; 2012), Wiedenhoft Murphy (2010); Causevic & Lynch (2011), Hertzog (2012), Naef (2013b).

4 The use of original objects, such as weapons, torture devices, buildings and similar located on the territory of the conflict represent an authentic and endemic cases of warfare tourism. On the other side, we can find various (military) parks, events, exhibitions, performances and simulations in areas that are not related to the conflicts.

al. (2011), Lee et al. (2012), Ozer, Ersoy & Tuzunkan (2012) and Stone (2012, 1580) argues that dark tourism is only culture's subtype and a special form of expression or part of heritage. In this context, war related sites could have the same meaning. Although visitors of war-related sites could be people predominantly keen on military history, their stories demonstrate the approaches in which battlefield tours offer opportunities for corroboration/validation, for deliberation of death, suffering, war and commemoration; it offers the opportunity to mark the commemoration and transfer of narratives and their meaning from one generation to another in order to preserve (individual and collective) memory (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011, 866, 867; Cooper, 2006; Iles, 2006). The relevant question here is, what is the perspective of young people with regard to war-related sites? The findings of the research of Kang et al. (2012, 262) indicate that educational programs and activities performed by educational institutions do not have always a positive effect when it comes to on-site (warfare) experiences. In addition, Thurnell-Read (2009), in the case of young visitors of Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, highlights the way in which singer visitor seek to actively employ with the site/event and aspects of the motivations (reasons) for the visit: (1) achieving a deeper comprehension of the authentic historical facts of the dark past (holocaust) and, (2) the affirmation of ambivalently of humanist values, with reference to contemporary society. Those findings should impact on the creation of special programmes/offers and on marketing activities. Kim (2013) in his work studied memorable tourism experiences of Taiwanese and USA college students, where he found that the design and promotion of dark tourism programmes for each of the two groups should not be the same.

In previous parts of the paper, many relevant assumptions and questions have been pointed out. One of the main issues is that we do not know how the young residents of Croatia understand warfare tourism in relation to the 1990s war. Consequently, based on the meta analyze, this study proposes the following hypothesis:

Young residents of Croatia mainly visit and recognize warfare sites/events as part of tourism, but on the other hand, they do not have the same perceptions about the homeland war as being part of warfare tourism. They can be divided in two or more statistically significantly different groups.

## METHODOLOGY

### Instrumentation

First, a preliminary web questionnaire pertaining to youths' perceptions was initially developed from the relevant research, i. e. Kim (2009); Stone (2010); Biran et al. (2011), which were focused on different parts of dark tourism. Second, the developed questionnaire was test-

ed in a two-step process: (1) initial technical testing on a sample of 500 computer-completed questionnaires by using a specialized web application; (2) a pilot survey simulation and group interview with 10 Croatian post-graduate students were conducted. Based on the findings, the questionnaire was improved in a technical and substantive sense.

The questionnaire in Croatian language opened with a dichotomous item addressing students' past visitations to warfare sites/events. On the principle of contingency question, a set of sub-items regarding students' reasons for visiting or non-visiting Croatian homeland war sites/events (as multiple choice type items) followed. In addition, the question with items measured on a five-point Likert-type scale was determined: 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree; a set of statement designed to clarify their understanding of homeland war sites/events, offers an opportunity for expression of the respondent's opinion on visiting significant buildings, monuments, museums, etc. and attending events related to the war in Croatia in the 1990s which could be understood as:

- Q1a preserving the memory of the courage of the participants and victims of war;
- Q1b visiting of the national cultural heritage sites;
- Q1c strengthening of national identity;
- Q1d contemporary politicization of history;
- Q1e an example of a special form of tourism, so-called dark tourism.

SPSS 20.0 software was chosen as a mechanism to collate survey data, as well as to analyze and present the results. The hierarchical clustering method was used to identify clusters, which were additionally compared by the t-test. The descriptive comparison between clusters was undertaken to analyze and describe the groups' characteristics.

### Respondents and sampling

Eight public tourism- and/or business-oriented university departments and faculties were invited to participate in the study and all, except the University of Dubrovnik, responded to the invitation. In addition, using a Monte Carlo sampling approach we contacted six public Universities of applied sciences inviting them to participate in the study, and four responded to the invitation (from Požega, Čakovec, Karlovac and Knin). The surveying initiative ran in the late spring 2014. Data for this study were collected from the undergraduate students of tourism- and/or business-oriented university departments, faculties or universities of applied sciences in Croatia, which voluntarily responded to the web questionnaire immediately after class periods at the university or later at home (they received the invitation, basic information and link to the questionnaire from the teaching staff). In total, 361 questionnaires were recorded in the system. Of these, 19% questionnaires with incomplete and missing important questions were



removed. The remaining questionnaires were coded for data analysis.

Respondents belong to the postwar generation<sup>5</sup> since they were mainly aged between 18 and 27 years. Among the respondents, 69.4% of the sample was female and 30.6%, male, coming from all Croatian Counties, although the largest proportion came from Osječko-Baranjska County (14.8%). Respondents were relatively evenly spread across all age groups with the largest proportion, just over a quarter (26.8%), were 19 years old, followed by 21-year-olds (25.1%) and 22-year-olds (17.2%), with all other groups representing shares of less than 15% each (6.2% had more than 27 years<sup>6</sup>). Most of the respondents (92%) were of Croatian nationality, 2.8% of Serbian nationality and 2.1% were Bosniaks. The others represent less than 3% all together.

#### ATTITUDE TO WARFARE TOURISM IN CROATIA

A descriptive analysis shows that 87.50% of young residents of Croatia visited one or more times (any) warfare site, and 56.20% attended events related to the (any) war. Fully 73% of respondents would visit a building, monument, museum and similar or attend events that are related to the homeland war in Croatia. Evidenced the top five main reasons for the site visitation are: (1) better understanding of everything that happened during homeland war (27,15 %); (2) empathy with victims and survivors of the homeland war (20,16 %); (3) learning more about homeland war (20,16 %); (4) to pay tribute to all victims of the homeland war (15,97 %); (5) the memory on the victims of my family and relatives (7,58 %)<sup>7</sup>. Listed reasons originate in the abovementioned dark tourism theory: remembrance (see No. 2,

4 and 5) and education (see No. 1 and 3) are the main groups of reasons; however, only a small share of young respondents (directly) sees sites visitations as tourist activity (2,40 %). On the other hand respondents do not see warfare sites/events visitation as some kind of recreational, voyeuristic allure of violence, which denies the allegations of Robb (2009). These findings are related to the initial part of the hypothesis and are crucial for the continuation of the research. After that, we undertook a hierarchical cluster analysis of the five statements (clustering variables) to identify groups with different views and attitude toward warfare tourism. However, we calculated Cronbach's  $\alpha$  to test for reliability, first. For all five variables, the coefficient was 0.640, showing an acceptable reliable set of variables where  $0.600 \leq \alpha < 0.700$ . We also calculated the 95% confidence intervals for the means as well<sup>8</sup>.

The Euclidian distances as a measure of the distance between the cases, and Ward's principal component score method as the procedure of the cluster creation were employed. Clusters can be identified by analysis of agglomeration schedule and dendrogram, which shows us the links between variables, while their structure gives us clues as to which variables form coherent clusters. In our case, it was found that two clusters of youths could be identified – see Figure 1 in the Appendix.

Cluster 1 members present the majority of the entire sample (Table 1) and score relatively highly on supporting the opinion that warfare sites/events could be intended for visitation, although even here there are differences related to perception; average ratings for all items are shown in the Table 2. Here we can see again that young residents of Croatia have problems with understanding warfare sites/events visits as tourist activity,

**Table 1: Clusters of young residents of Croatia**

Characteristic	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
Name	<i>supporters of remembrance</i>	<i>Skeptics</i>
n (%)	217 (74.3%)	75 (34.6%)
Gender	mainly female (67.3%)	mainly female (76.0%)
Nationality	Croatian (93.5%)	Croatian (82.7%)
Age	19 or 20 years old (45.6%)	21 or 22 years old (53.3%)
Visiting warfare sites means... Warfare event attendance means...	...preserving the memory of the 1990s war; ...part of Croatian national heritage and a way of strengthening national identity	...not an element of strengthening of national identity
Warfare sites/events as tourists sites/ events	Indecisive	Indecisive

5 Memories of the second generation are those of their parents and their generation, and are transmitted in order to influence descendants' understanding of the 1990s war (for general description see Walter, 2009 and Stone, 2012).

6 This paper does not wish to enter into a debate over the heterogeneous definitions of youth.

7 Respondents could choose no more than three of ten offered options.

8 Sig. (2-tailed) amounted 0.000 for all variables.

**Table 2: Difference between clusters – Independent Sample test**

Variable	Cluster	N	Mean	std.dev.	sig.	T	Sig. (2-tailed)	Df
Q1a	1	217	4,48	0,536	0,000	7,933	0,000	86,351
	2	75	3,43	1,105				
Q1b	1	217	4,08	0,771	0,001	6,671	0,000	113,822
	2	75	3,31	0,900				
Q1c	1	217	4,06	0,691	0,002	17,862	0,000	125,400
	2	75	2,37	0,712				
Q1d	1	217	3,29	1,029	0,012	1,721	0,088	138,501
	2	75	3,07	0,949				
Q1e	1	217	3,46	1,178	0,001	-0,666	0,506	172,721
	2	75	3,55	0,874				

although all other reasons originate in the dark tourism theory. Hence, data show a distinct asymmetrical distribution of ratings where cluster members mostly agree with the items ( $M_o = 4$ ). However, lower proportions of higher values in the last two variables are evident. Consequently, we could define this group of young residents as *supporters of remembrance* which only indirectly support warfare tourism. Cluster members obviously want to preserve the memory of the 1990s war; recognition in site/event visitation of Croatian national heritage and a way of strengthening national identity are an entirely reasonable consequence of such thinking.

Cluster 2 is much smaller than the first one and includes mainly female students (Table 1). They do not identify visiting warfare sites/events as a tourist activity, where we have to take in to account that they are not categorically against it (the mean value of this variable is even higher – see Table 2). Descriptive analysis confirms a symmetrical central distribution of ratings where cluster members are mostly neutral ( $M_o = 3$ ) with slightly more of those who do agree/agree completely, compared with those who do not agree/do not agree completely with the items. In this context we cannot call them opponents but only *skeptics*. However, this skepticism definitely separates them from the Cluster 1 members. Central orientation shows consistency of views as well, since respondents on average do not recognize even the indirect elements of warfare tourism.

We carried out the t-test method for independent samples to determine the difference in youths' views in different clusters. The t-test confirmed a statistically significant difference between the mean values of Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 when  $p = 0.05$  (Table 2): variables Q1a, Q1b and Q1c show significant difference, where members of Cluster 2 mainly do not see visiting warfare sites/events as an element of strengthening of the national identity. Hence, members of Cluster 1 and 2, taking into

account variables Q1d and Q1e, are not significantly different. Despite some foresights that the answers were impacted by gender, place of residence (county) or nationality (especially minorities), the Spearman's correlation coefficients do not show any significant correlation of them with the selected variables and clusters. The reasons would be therefore reasonable to find with in-depth qualitative research, as they probably arise from the divisions of the Croatian society.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Warfare tourism has been and remains an under-researched theme in Croatia and yet, according to Novelli, Morgan and Nibigira (2012, 1465), it is also less susceptible to any global economic downturn. At the same time, increased international tourism in the country "could boost the wider economy, promote social and business opportunities and encourage interactions between residents of the war-affected areas" (see also Wise, Mulec, 2012). That was the basis for our research work and should serve as guidance for future research as well. Empirical results show that our presumptions were inappropriate. A major proportion of young residents of Croatia visit warfare sites and attend events that are related to the war in Croatia in the 1990s, but only a small share of them see these activities directly as being a part of tourism; remembrance and educational purposes were the foremost of the reasons identified. The others recognized warfare sites and events mainly as part of dark tourism, but at the same time they indicated that such sites and events held no interest for them. Hence, respondents do not have the same views about warfare tourism in Croatia. *Supporters of remembrance* recognize only the indirect elements of warfare tourism and do not see site/event visitations as a tourist activity, while *skeptics* on average do not recognize even the

indirect elements. Here we can see that warfare sites/events visitation is not warfare tourism *per se*, resulting in a partial rejection of the hypothesis. Consequently, terms like memorable tourism (Kim, 2013), tourism of memory (Hertzog, 2012) or even heritage tourism would probably be more appropriate, although the term *tourism* is perhaps the most problematic. The lack of a unified term, mentioned in introductory part, is shown as problematic in this research as well.

The results of our research are representative for the involved population, which is one of the survey's limitations (it can be seen as a research of specific social segment). Another limitation is the exclusive involvement of respondents who have access to information technology, although today this should not be a big problem. Hence, neither the potential impact of the general apathy of the young generation nor the socio-economic situation in the country have been observed. As we mentioned before, by using the qualitative approach we could clarify some quantitative outputs which remained unexplained; on the other hand, this could be potentially solved with an additional set of quantitative variables as well. The University of Dubrovnik and its students were not included in the research, which is unfortunate, given the town's worldwide distinctiveness and the extent to which it was affected by the 1990s war.

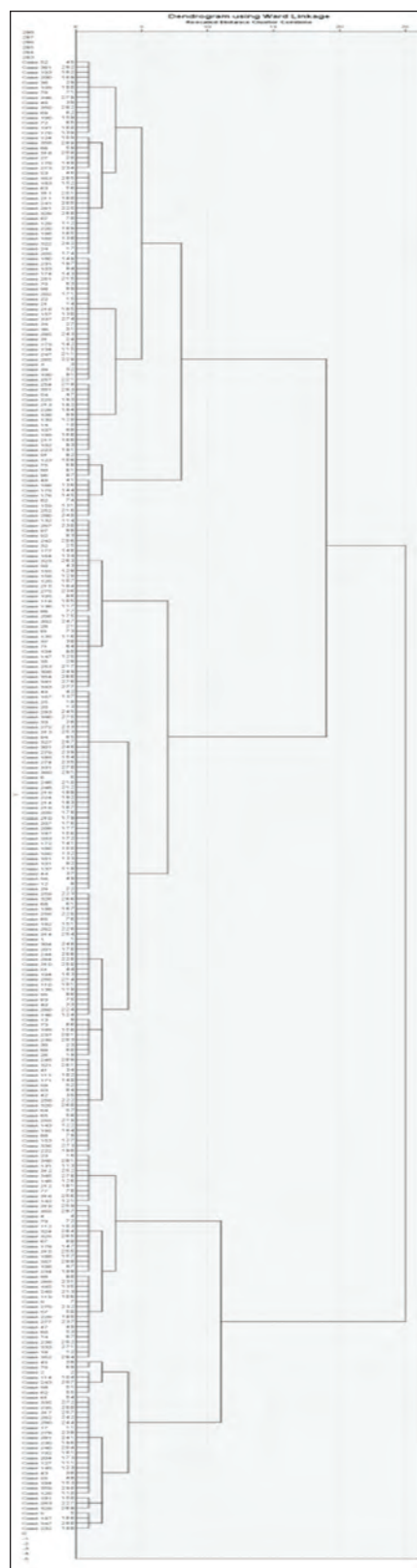
In consideration of difficult circumstances, when it seems that in some Croatian counties conflict is still smouldering somewhere in the background, the findings of the research were somehow predictable. On the other hand, the restraint of young residents, future managers, developers and operators in Croatian tourism is still surprising. In the case of Croatia we could confirm Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood's (2011, 867) assertions that visitation of war-related sites offers the opportunity to mark the "commemoration and trans-

mission of meaning from one generation to another in order to preserve (collective) memory", similarly noted as well by Winter (2009a and 2011), Stone (2012), Hertzog (2012), Foley & Lennon (1997), Slade (2003) and others. Finally, according to Kang and colleagues (2012), educational programs performed by educational institutions regarding warfare tourism do not necessarily have a positive effect on youths. We can gather that Croatian educational institutions in general do not teach that warfare sites/events visitation could be a special form of tourism (see Rivera, 2008); they are mainly focused on maintaining and strengthening national memory and identity. Consequently, residents of Croatia are failing to tap into this supplementary tourism potential, especially considering the fact that warfare sites probably present the world's largest and the most recognisable single category of tourist attractions (Smith, 1998; Henderson, 2000; Ryan, 2007). Examples of the former Nazi concentration camps show that with their inclusion into the tourist offer, their core value was not reduced. That is why it is necessary to continue investigating the various aspects of warfare tourism in Croatia and disseminating findings.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is particularly grateful to the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports and the Agency for Mobility and EU programmes for their financial support research project. The author also wishes to thank Professor Dora Smolčić Jurdana, PhD, (Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management Opatija, University of Rijeka) as well as all Croatian institutions, professors and students who participated in the research. Finally, the author is also grateful to the anonymous referees for their useful and insightful comments.

## APPENDIX

*Figure 1: Dendrogram*



## SPOMINI NA VOJNO IN Z VOJNO POVEZANI TURIZEM NA HRVAŠKEM

*Metod ŠULIGOJ*Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za turistične študije - Turistica, Obala 11a, Portorož  
e-mail: metod.suligoj@fts.upr.si

## POVZETEK

*Hrvaška je močno odvisna od turizma, a ima na območjih, ki so bila prizadeta v vojni v devetdesetih letih, občutne razvojne probleme. Danes so ostanki te vojne vidni na skoraj celotnem državnem ozemlju. Glavni cilj študije je predstaviti fenomen z vojno povezanega turizma v navezavi na hrvaško domovinsko vojno. Empirična raziskava je bila osredotočena na perspektivo njenih mladih prebivalcev. Izhajali smo iz splošnega pomena, povezanega z zaščito, izobraževanjem in ohranjanjem spomina, ki kaže na razpetost med zgodovino ali zgodovinsko realnostjo in spominom ali imaginarno konstrukcijo. 292 izpolnjenih vprašalnikov je bilo pripravljenih za empirično analizo – Wardova metoda glavnih komponent, test neodvisnih vzorcev in deskriptivna analiza so bili uporabljeni v raziskavi. Ugotovili smo, da le majhen delež mladih razume obiskovanje z vojno povezanih mest kot del turizma; ohranjanje spomina in izobraževanje sta bila na vrhu ugotovljenih razlogov. To pomeni, da obiskovanje z vojno povezanih mest še ni samo po sebi z vojno povezani turizem. Nadalje smo identificirali dve skupini mladih – podpornike ohranjanja spomina in skeptike. V sklepnih ugotovitvah so izpostavljene nekatere omejitve in predlogi za nadaljnje raziskave.*

**Ključne besede:** vojna dediščina, mračni turizem, z vojno povezani turizem, Hrvaška, domovinska vojna

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ashworth, G. (1996):** Holocaust tourism and Jewish culture: the lessons of Kraków-Kazimierz. In: M. Robinson, N. Evans & P. Callaghan (eds.): *Tourism and Cultural Change* (pp. 1-12). Sunderland: Business Education Publishers.
- Ashworth, G. (2002).** Holocaust tourism: The experience of Krakow-Kazimierz. *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 11, 4, 363–367. doi:10.1080/10382040208667504.
- Ashworth, G., Hartmann, R. (2005):** The management of horror and human tragedy. In: Ashworth, G. & R. Hartmann (eds.): *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism*. New York, Cognizant Communications Corporation, 253–262.
- Austin, N. K. (2002):** Managing heritage attractions: marketing challenges at sensitive historic sites. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 6, 4, 447–457. doi:10.1002/jtr.403.
- Basarin, V. J. (2011):** Battlefield Tourism – Anzac Day Commemorations at Gallipoli: An Empirical Analysis. Doctoral thesis. Melbourne, Deakin University.
- Beech, J. (2000):** The Enigma of Holocaust Sites as Tourist Attractions – The Case of Buchenwald. *Managing Leisure*, 5, 1, 29–41. doi:10.1080/136067100375722.
- Baillie, B. (2012):** Vukovar's Divided Memory: The Reification of Ethnicity through Memorialisation. *Electronic Working Papers Series, Divided Cities/Contested States*. [http://www.conflictincities.org/PDFs/WorkingPaper25\(DividedMemory\).pdf](http://www.conflictincities.org/PDFs/WorkingPaper25(DividedMemory).pdf) (22. 2. 2014).
- Beskrajna obnova od rata (2010):** Limun. <http://limun.hr/main.aspx?id=629117&Page=1> (22. 2. 2014).
- Biran, A., Poria, Y. & G. Oren (2011):** Experiences at (Dark) Heritage Sites. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, 3, 820–841. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.001.
- Blom, T. (2000):** Morbid tourism – a postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 54, 1, 29–36. doi:10.1080/002919500423564.
- Bristow, R. S., Newman, M. (2004):** Myth vs. Fact: An Exploration of Fright Tourism. In: Bricker, K. & S. J. Millington (eds.): *Proceedings of the 2004 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium*. Bolton Landing, New York, March 31 – April 2 2004. Bolton Landing, USDA Forest Service, Northeastern Research Station, 215–221.
- Butcher, J. (2003):** The moralisation of tourism: Sun, sand . . . and saving the world? London & New York, Routledge.
- Causevic, S., Lynch, P. (2011):** Phoenix tourism, Post-Conflict Tourism Role. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, 3, 780–800. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.004.
- Causevic, S., Lynch, P. (2008).** Tourism development and contested communities. *EspacesTemps.net*. <http://www.espacestemp.net/articles/tourism-development-and-contested-communities/> (28. 2. 2014).
- Chronis, A. (2012):** Between place and story: Gettysburg as tourism imaginary. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39, 4, 1797–1816. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2012.05.028.
- Clark, L. B. (2006):** Placed and Displaced: Trauma Memorials. In: L. Hill & H. Paris (eds.): *Performance and Place*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 129–138.
- Cohen, E. H. (2011):** Educational dark Tourism at an in populo site: the Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, 1, 193–209. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2010.08.003.
- Cooper, M. (2006):** The Pacific War Battlefields: Tourist Attractions or War Memorials? *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8, 3, 213–222. doi:10.1002/jtr.566.
- Dann, G. (1998):** The dark side of tourism. *Etudes et Rapports, Série L, Sociology/Psychology/Philosophy/Anthropology* (Vol. 14). Aix-en-Provence, Centre International de Recherches et d'Etudes Touristiques.
- Dunkley, R. A., Morgan, N. & S. Westwood (2007):** A shot in the dark? Developing a new conceptual framework for thanatourism. *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality*, 1, 1, 54–63.
- Dunkley, R. A., Morgan, N. & S. Westwood (2011):** Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32, 4, 860–868. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2010.07.011.
- Foley, M., Lennon, J. (1996):** Editorial: Heart of darkness. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2 4, 195–197. doi:10.1080/13527259608722174.
- Foley, M., Lennon, J. (1997):** Dark Tourism – An Ethical Dilemma. In: Foley, M., Lennon, J. & G. A. Maxwell (eds.): *Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management: Issues in Strategy and Culture*. Scarborough, Cassell, 143–164.
- Goulding, C., Domic, D. (2009):** Heritage, identity and ideological manipulation: The case of Croatia. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36, 1, 85–102. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2008.10.004.
- Grief Tourism (2013):** Grief Tourism definition. <http://www.grief-tourism.com/grief-tourism-definition/> (23. 2. 2014).
- Hasic, T. (2004):** Ethnic Conflict and the Right to Return of Limbo Diasporas: Multifaceted Reflections on the Case of BiH. *Migracijske i etničke teme*, 20, 1, 29–49.
- Hasic, T. (2006):** Management of Complexities in Post-War Reconstruction (BiH and the International Community). *The South East European Journal of Economics and Business*, 1, 1, 6–17.
- Henderson, J. (2000):** War as a tourist attraction: the case of Vietnam. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2, 3, 269–280. doi:10.1002/1522-1970(200007/08).
- Hertzog, A. (2012):** War Battlefields, tourism and imagination. *Via@, Tourist imaginaries*, 1, 2012. [http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article6\\_EN.php](http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article6_EN.php) (2. 2. 2014).

- Hughes, R. (2008):** Dutiful Tourism: Encountering the Cambodian Genocide. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 49, 3, 318–30. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8373.2008.00380.x.
- Iles, J. (2006):** Recalling the Ghosts of War: Performing Tourism on the Battlefields of the Western Front. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 26, 2, 162–180.
- Ivanov, S. (2009):** Opportunities for developing communist heritage tourism in Bulgaria. *Tourism*, 57, 2, 177–192.
- Jamal, T., Lelo, L. (2011):** Exploring the conceptual and analytical framing of dark tourism: From darkness to intentionality. In: Sharpley, R. & P. R. Stone (eds.): *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives*. Abingdon & Oxon, Routledge (29–42).
- Kang, E.-J., Scott, N., Lee, T. J. & R. Ballantyne (2012):** Benefits of visiting a 'dark tourism' site: The case of the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Peace Park, Korea. *Tourism Management*, 33, 2, 257–265. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2011.03.004.
- Karač, Z. (1997):** 'UNESCO's 'Project Vukovar'. In: Biškupić, B. (ed.): *De la colombe a la paix. Quatre joyaux culturels de la Croatie*. Osijek, Vinkovci, Ilok et Vukovar. Zagreb, Ministry of Culture, 48–51.
- Kidron, C. A. (2013):** Being there together: Dark family tourism and the emotive experience of co-presence in the holocaust past. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 41, 175–194. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.009.
- Kim, J.-H., (2013):** A cross-cultural comparison of memorable tourism experiences of American and Taiwanese college students. *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism & Hospitality Research*, 24, 3, 337–351. doi:10.1080/13032917.2012.762586.
- Klemenčič, M., Koderman, M. (2015):** The Isonzo/Soča Front and Its Potentials for Development of Tourism. In: Gosar, A., Koderman, M. & M. Rodela (eds.): *Dark tourism: post-WWI destinations of human tragedies and opportunities for tourism development: proceedings of the international workshop*. Koper, University of Primorska Press, 45–51.
- Knox, D. (2006):** The sacralised landscapes of Glencoe: from massacre to mass tourism, and back again. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8, 3, 185–197. doi:10.1002/jtr.568.
- Lee, C.-K., Bendle, L. J., Yoon, Y.-S. & M.-J. Kim (2012):** Thanatourism or Peace Tourism: Perceived Value at a North Korean Resort from an Indigenous Perspective. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 14, 1. doi:10.1002/jtr.836.
- Lennon, J., Foley, M. (2000):** *Dark Tourism – The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London, Continuum.
- Linenthal, E. T. (2001):** Heritage and History: The Dilemmas of Interpretation. In: Sutton, R. (ed.): *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*. Washington, D.C., Eastern National, 37–52.
- Logan, W., Reeves, K. (2009):** Introduction: Remembering places of pain and shame. In: Logan, W. & K. Reeves (eds.): *Places of pain and shame: Dealing with 'difficult past'*. London, Routledge, 1–14.
- McKay, J. (2013):** A Critique of the Militarisation of Australian History and Culture Thesis: The Case of Anzac Battlefield Tourism. *PORTAL, Journal of Multi-disciplinary International Studies*, 10, 1, 1–25. <http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/portal/article/view/2371> (22. 2. 2014).
- Miles, W. (2002):** Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29, 4, 1175–1178. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00054-3.
- Minić, N. (2012):** Development of "dark" tourism in the contemporary society. *Zbornik radova Geografskog instituta "Jovan Cvijić" SANU*, 62, 3, 81–103. doi:10.2298/IJGI1203081M.
- Naef, P. (2012):** Travelling through a powder keg: War and Tourist Imaginary in Sarajevo. *Via@, Tourist imaginaries*, 1, 2012. [http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article5\\_EN.php](http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article5_EN.php) (22. 2. 2014).
- Naef, P. (2013a):** "Souvenirs" from Vukovar: Tourism and Memory within the Post-Yugoslav Region. *Via@, international interdisciplinary review of tourism*, 1, 2013. [http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article19\\_EN.php](http://www.viatourismreview.net/Article19_EN.php) (22. 2. 2014).
- Naef, P. (2013b):** Touring the Traumascape: "War Tours" in Sarajevo. In: Collins, C.A. & J. E. Clark (eds.): *Speaking the Unspeakable*. Oxford, Inter-Disciplinary Press, 51–70.
- Novelli, M. (2005):** *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. Oxford, Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Novelli, M., Morgan, N. & C. Nibigira (2012):** Tourism in a post-conflict situation of fragility. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39, 3, 1446–1469. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2012.03.003.
- O'Rourke, P. (1988):** *Holidays in Hell*. London, Picador.
- Ozer, S. U., Ersoy, G. K. & D. Tuzunkan (2012):** Dark tourism in Gallipoli: Forecast Analysis to Determine Potential of Australian Visitors. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 41, 2012, 386–393. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.04.045.
- Pelton, R. Y. (2003):** *The World's Most Dangerous Places*. London, Harper Resource.
- Rivera, L. A. (2008):** Managing "Spoiled" National Identity: War, Tourism, and Memory in Croatia. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 4, 613–634. doi: 10.1177/000312240807300405.
- Robb, M. E. (2009):** Violence and Recreation: Vacationing in the Realm of Dark Tourism. *Anthropology and Humanism*, 34, 1, 51–60. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1409.2009.01023.x.
- Rojek, C. (1993):** *Ways of escape: modern transformations in leisure and travel*. Basingstoke, Macmillian.
- Ryan, C. (2002):** *The Tourist Experience*. Florence & Kentucky, Cengage Learning Business Press.
- Ryan, C. (2007):** *Battlefield Tourism*. Oxford, Elsevier.

- Seaton, A. (1996):** Guided by the dark: from thanatopsis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2, 4, 234–244. doi:10.1080/13527259608722178.
- Seaton, A. (1999):** War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26, 1: 130–158. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00057-7.
- Seaton, A., Lennon, J. (2004):** Thanatourism in the Early 21st Century: Moral Panics, Ulterior Motives and Alterior Desires. In: Singh, T. V. (ed.): *New Horizons in Tourism – Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices*. Wallingford, CABI Publishing, 63–82.
- Sharpley, R., Stone, P. R. (2009):** *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. Bristol, Channel View Publications.
- Siegenthaler, P. (2002):** Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese guidebooks. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 4, 1111–1137. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00027-0.
- Slade, P. (2003):** Gallipoli Thanatourism: The Meaning of ANZAC. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30, 4, 779–794. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(03)00025-2.
- Smith, V. L. (1998):** War and tourism: an American ethnography. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25, 1, 202–227. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(97)00086-8.
- Stone, P. R. (2005):** Dark tourism: an old concept in a new world. *Tourism Magazine*. [http://works.bepress.com/philip\\_stone/26](http://works.bepress.com/philip_stone/26) (1. 3. 2014).
- Stone, P. R. (2006):** A Dark Tourism Spectrum: towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal*, 54, 2, 145–160.
- Stone, P., Sharpley, R. (2008):** Consuming dark tourism: A Thanatological Perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35, 2, 574–595. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2008.02.003.
- Stone, P. R. (2010):** Death, Dying and Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. Doctoral dissertation. Lancashire, University of Central Lancashire.
- Stone, P. R. (2011a):** Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society: Mediating Life and Death Narratives. *Twilight Tourism: An International Symposium*. Taipei, January 2011, University of Taiwan. [http://works.bepress.com/philip\\_stone/29](http://works.bepress.com/philip_stone/29) (1. 2. 2014).
- Stone, P. R. (2011b):** Dark tourism: towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 1, 3/4, 318–332.
- Stone, P. R. (2012):** Dark Tourism and Significant other Death: Towards a Model of Mortality Mediation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39, 3, 1565–1587. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2012.04.007.
- Strange, C., Kempa, M. (2003):** Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30, 2, 386–405. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00102-0.
- Suntikul, W. (2013):** Thai tourism and the legacy of the Vietnam War. In: Butler, R. & W. Suntikul (eds.): *Tourism and War*. Abingdon & Oxon, Routledge, 92–105.
- Šundalić, A., Barković, I. (2008):** Razvojne perspektive Vukovarsko-Srijemske županije u uvjetima socialnog kapitala. *Društvena istraživanja*, 17, 1-2, 77–99.
- Thurnell-Read, T. P. (2009):** Engaging Auschwitz: an analysis of young travellers' experiences of Holocaust Tourism. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 1, 1, 26–52.
- Walter, T. (2009):** Dark Tourism: Mediating Between the Dead and the Living. In: Sharpley, R. & P. R. Stone (eds.): *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, *Aspect of Tourism Series*. Bristol, Channel View Publications, 39–55.
- Weaver, D. B. (2000):** The Exploratory War-distorted Destination Life Cycle. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2, 3, 151–161. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1522-1970(200005/06)2:3<151::AID-JTR196>3.0.CO;2-G.
- Wiedenhoft Murphy, W. A. (2010):** Touring the Troubles in West Belfast: Building Peace or Reproducing Conflict? *Peace & Change*, 35, 4, 537–560. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0130.2010.00655.x.
- Wight, C., Lennon, J. (2007):** Selective interpretation and eclectic human heritage in Lithuania. *Tourism Management*, 28, 2, 519–529. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2006.03.006.
- Winter, C. (2009a):** *The Shrine of Remembrance Melbourne: a Short Study of Visitors' Experiences*. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11, 6, 553–565. doi:10.1002/jtr.728.
- Winter, C. (2009b):** Tourism, social memory and the Great War. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36, 4, 607–626. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2009.05.002.
- Winter, C. (2011):** Battlefield Visitor Motivations: Explorations in the Great War Town of Ieper, Belgium. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13, 2, 164–176. doi: 10.1002/jtr.806.
- Wise, N. A., Mulec, I. (2012):** Headlining Dubrovnik's tourism image: Transitioning representations/narratives of war and heritage preservation, 1991–2010. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 37, 1, 57–69. doi:10.1080/02508281.2012.11081688.
- Zilli, S. (2015):** The First World War and the Use of Memory in the Landscape of the Isonzo/Soča Front. In: Gosar, A., Koderman, M. & M. Rodela (eds.): *Dark tourism: post-WWI destinations of human tragedies and opportunities for tourism development: proceedings of the international workshop*. Koper, University of Primorska Press, 77–85.
- Živić, D. (2008):** Posljedice srbijanske agresije kao odrednica poslijeratne obnove i razvitka Vukovara. *Društvena istraživanja*, 17, 1–2, 27–50.