

BELGRADE AND SARAJEVO. ANALYSIS OF DARK TOURISM SPECTRUM AND SUPPLY IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

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Abstract

In the early 1990s, the Balkans faced some of the most violent military confrontations since the end of the Second World War. As a result of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the borders have been redesigned on the map of Europe and new states have emerged. Some of these countries have succeeded in becoming members of Euro-Atlantic structures. While Montenegro and North Macedonia became NATO members, and Slovenia and Croatia have integrated into both NATO and the European Union, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina continue to be affected by frozen conflicts and interethnic tensions. The research aims to analyze the evolution of tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, focusing on the tourist potential of the capitals of these states, Sarajevo and Belgrade, respectively. The novelty of the research is to identify and analyze the potential of dark tourism in Sarajevo and Belgrade. The methodology used implied field research in both countries, in order to identify the tourism potential - with emphasis on dark tourism heritage on both countries. Also, the touristic offer in the two cities was analyzed, focusing on the dark tourism spectrum proposed by Philip R. Stone in 2006.

Keywords: Dark tourism spectrum, Touristic supply, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Post-conflict societies, Western Balkans

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1. Introduction. The Western Balkans in post-conflict period

The Western Balkans is a relatively recent concept that has been used by international institutions (especially the European Union and NATO) to define that geographic area occupied by the Balkan Peninsula states that are not yet members of the Euro-Atlantic institutions (Bugajski, 2010). The Western Balkans represents a geopolitical space in which the interests of the great powers intersected. As a result, the last centuries have been marked by many violent conflicts, frequent border changes, massive displacements of the population, or sudden changes in ethnic composition.

As Jezernik (2007) notes, the use of the term Balkans has involved a negative connotation, synonymous with the economic and cultural backwardness of the states in this region, compared to those in the West. In the Western Balkans, successive stages of geopolitical evolution have triggered a special connection between the human community and the territory, the latter having a strong symbolic and spiritual significance, making the emergence and perpetuation of conflicts to have a particular dynamic.

The violent conflicts that led to the dissolution of Yugoslavia have generated economic development gaps compared to the rest of the Southeast European countries. The region's infrastructure has been heavily affected. Substantial foreign investment was needed for reconstruction (DCI Interagency Balkans Task Force, 1995), and social and ethnic tensions remained latent. When military conflicts stopped on the territory of the Western Balkans, tourism, like other economic sectors, began to recover. As the war changed the urban landscape (the city of Sarajevo being one of the best examples), new spaces with a strong emotional significance have emerged, being redeemable through the development of dark tourism.

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This niche tourism, dark tourism, has begun to develop and attract more and more people interested in visiting places of death or associated with war-related death and suffering, having the opportunity to listen to the experiences of witnesses and survivors (BalkanInsight, 2008). Other categories of tourists, especially those traveling for educational or professional reasons, are becoming more and more attracted to such places, being interested in the post-conflict evolution of these spaces. Also, by travelling here, they try to better understand the mechanisms and events that have triggered confrontations in the former Yugoslavia. Researchers in social sciences, war journalists, professionals working in international governmental and non-governmental institutions, or students in international relations and conflict management have begun to show an increased interest in visiting the Western Balkans (Antoniou, 2015).

At the same time, it should be noted that it is very difficult to quantify and highlight the number of those who travel to these regions strictly for professional reasons, their number being difficult to estimate. These difficulties are often caused by the fact that visiting attractions in the sphere of dark tourism is related to visiting natural or anthropic attractions that are not related to war, violence or suffering.

The article addresses the dark tourism potential in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, with emphasis on tourist attractions and tourism promotion packages falling under the dark tourism spectrum of the capitals of the two states (Sarajevo and Belgrade). In order to achieve the research goals, the article was structured as follows: a first introductory section, followed by a section dedicated to the study of the literature, then another section describing the methodology used, followed by another section presenting the results of the research. Our research shows that in post-conflict societies in the Western Balkans, which have a high potential for developing dark tourism, the authorities are failing to generate public policies that could develop dark tourism in order to satisfy the tourism demand. The dark tourism spectrum proposed in this research highlights the existence of many tourist attractions with a high degree of authenticity, some of which are already included in the offer of travel agencies. Notable differences are also recorded between Sarajevo and Belgrade. While Sarajevo, thanks to private initiatives, succeeds in satisfying a substantial part of the demand, Belgrade, as a result of the desire for post-conflict urban regeneration, neglects to a great extent the potential of dark tourism.

2. Literature review

Two decades passed since dark tourism was proposed (Light, 2017). Academic interest in dark tourism is likely to have its origins, according to Stone and Sharpley (2008) in the work of the British John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth. The latter, which Wight (2006) places among the precursors of the concept, stated that the notion of dark tourism was introduced by Lennon and Folley in 2000 in the book *Dark Tourism. The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, applying its tourist sites and resources with a dark character, which implies an eclectic variety of typological cases: massacres, assassinations, disasters, accidents, etc. On the other hand, Lennon and Folley's research occurred during the period when another specialist in the field (Seaton, 1996) launched the concept of *thanatourism*, the term being borrowed from the god Thanatos (Cismaru, 2011), which personifies death in the Ancient Greece (Brown, 1960). The two concepts belong to a contemporary postmodern phenomenology according to some authors (Lennon and Folley, 2000: 3; Blom, 2000).

2.1 Definitions

The article *Guided by the Dark: from Thanatopsis to Thanatourism* in which Seaton proposes the term *thanatourism* analyzes the historical development of the thanatologic elements (*thanatopsis* - the contemplation of death) in tourism. The author defines the term thanatourism as that journey into a location driven by the total or partial motivation to encounter symbolic or real death, in particular, but not exclusively, violent death (Seaton 1996: 240). The close connection with death, as the author has attempted to define the concept, proves that it is narrower than dark tourism.

According to Light (2017), there are some differences between dark tourism and thanatourism. *Dark tourism* tends to be used as an umbrella term for any form of tourism that, in one way or another, is related to death, suffering, atrocities, tragedies or crimes, being a recent concept. On the other hand, thanatourism is a slightly more concise concept, referring to travel practices motivated by the specific desire to encounter death. However, it is almost impossible to analyze one concept without the other.

Dark tourism is *the activity that confronts the tourist with death, disasters and violence, involving a higher or lower dose of macabre, pain and suffering, with an emotional impact on the lives of individuals, both for recreational purposes and for commemoration and education*. In line with the previous definition, Stone and Sharpley (2008) consider the consumption of dark tourism to be of great help to individuals as it causes them to face some issues of personal importance. Therefore, dark tourism may have more to do with life and living, rather than with people and death. For example, dark tourism in the Japanese space has an educational, commemorative, and awareness-raising role in the sensitivity of the relationship between peace and war (Yoshida, Bui and Lee, 2016), and less of leisure.

2.2 Terminology and the spectrum of dark tourism

From a terminological point of view, dark tourism has been called in many ways. The dark tourism, which functions as a conceptual umbrella (Light, 2017), is found in the literature in a multitude of contextual names: penal/prison tourism (Strange and Kempa, 2003), fright tourism (Bristow and Newman, 2005) genocide tourism (Beech, 2009), grief tourism (Trotta, 2006), disaster tourism (Miller, 2008), pagan tourism (Laws, 2013), suicide tourism (Dyer, 2003), atomic tourism (Tufnell, 2012), conflict heritage tourism (Mansfeld and Korman, 2015), difficult heritage tourism (Logan and Reeves, 2011), dystopian dark tourism (Podoshen et al., 2015). On the other hand, viewed from a thanatological perspective, several semantic names have been attributed to dark tourism: thanatourism (Seaton, 1996; Slade, 2003; Hartmann, 2014), morbid tourism (Blom, 2000), black-spot (Rojek, 1993), milking the macabre (Dann, 1998: 35).

A substantial critique was addressed to the framework terminology: dark tourism. The fact that this form of tourism is described as "*dark*", in the dark or black, makes it different from the "*light*", soft or weak forms. This leads to an increased interest of researchers for a *spectrum* of dark tourism. Making a parallel with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, which only interprets and reproduces events *associated* with death and disasters, Miles (2002) appreciates that the museum in Auschwitz is a place *of or marked* by death, disaster and deprivation, because there have really been some atrocities. Therefore, the last place is more important than the former because it is *authentic* and therefore "much darker" (Miles, 2002:1175). The author proposes to differentiate dark places from their level of authenticity, arguing in favor of a three-dimensional spectrum: dark, darker, darkest.

If Miles proposed a differentiation of dark tourist sites according to a spectrum of authenticity, Stone (2006) proposes a spectrum of six value groups. The degrees of darkness proposed by Stone's (2006) look at the *perceived level of the macabre*. The spectrum goes from the *darkest* and goes to the *lightest* dark tourist product. The brightest dark tourist products are dominated by infrastructure specifically designed for education or for commercial purposes. In this second category, the sites are marked by a strong political influence of presentation and interpretation. Like Miles, Stone sets the essence of the spectrum, the *authenticity* and the *degree of technical adaptation* for tourism and recreation. Following recent studies, which had as a tool to explain dark tourism and liturgy, Light (2017) draws up a long list of places for visits related to death, disasters and atrocities: places associated with the war, places associated with the Holocaust, prisons, spaces marked by Genocide, slavery-related spaces and slave trade, places currently marked by war, places affected by natural disasters, cemeteries, places of individual or mass crimes (in the context of non-war), areas marked by communism in Central-Eastern Europe, Ground Zero (New York), Chernobyl, the places where some famous personalities found their end, tours marked by ghosts or strange / inexplicable phenomena, "Body Worlds" exhibitions, places based on dark tourism as a mean of recreation and other places framed in dark tourism but complex in their nature.

3. Methodology

In conducting this research, a first stage was the consultation of the literature and the documentation on the evolution of concepts in the sphere of dark tourism and the evolution of this type of niche tourism. The next step was to identify the touristic potential that can be exploitable from the perspective of the dark tourism in the Western Balkan states and, mostly, in the two capital cities of Sarajevo and Belgrade, this step being the basis for field research.

The purpose of field research was to observe how tourists perceive the dark patrimony and its capitalization in Sarajevo and Belgrade. This stage consisted, on the one hand, in visiting the main objectives of dark tourism (identified by theoretical analysis) and, on the other hand, in interviewing local people, students or representatives of international governmental organizations which are operating in the region. Following these discussions, we have succeeded in identifying new objectives in the sphere of dark tourism, less known and promoted in tourist offerings, but with important significance and symbolism for locals.

In order to obtain statistical data on the number of foreign tourists, have been used both the World Tourism Organization reports and the information provided by the Belgrade tourism organization and other databases, such as the CIA World Factbook and Eurostat.

Another methodological aspect was the direct observation of the development of the tourist infrastructure and the ways of promoting this niche tourism by identifying and analyzing the main tourist packages with the theme of dark tourism provided by the local tourism agencies.

Taking into account the literature, the observations from the field research and the official websites of the targeted tourist attractions, the main objective of the present study has been to identify, in a first phase, the main sites of dark tourism in Sarajevo and Belgrade. After identifying them and applying the criteria used by Stone and Miles, in the second stage, using the degrees of darkness proposed by the mentioned authors, we made a hierarchy of these sites according to the chronological distance (Miles, 2002) and the perceived level of macabre (Stone, 2006).

The hierarchy of the range of tourist attractions based on the dark tourist spectrum and the correlation with the existing tourism offer, we believe it can help shape strategies that will better capitalize on the dark tourist potential in both the research countries and other states which has such tourist attractions and can generate new ideas for tourist packages that local authorities or private tourism agencies in Sarajevo and Belgrade will develop. Moreover, it could be a useful tool for guidance to visitors interested in dark tourism in the Western Balkans, making it easier for them to choose the landmarks they want to visit, in line with the experiences they want to experience.

4. Results

4.1 Western Balkans: short economic and social characterization

From a socio-economic point of view, the states of the former Yugoslavia, plus Albania, are distinguished by a series of indicators that situates them at the end of the ranking compared to the other European states (CIA World Factbook, 2023). Considering the data presented in table 1, it can be noticed that, without exception, all the states that were part of the former Yugoslavia, plus Albania and Kosovo, record GDP/country values well below the European Union (EU) average. Therefore, none of these states are in the top 20 European countries in terms of economic welfare.

Table 1. Countries of Former Yugoslavia and Albania (2021)

Country	Area (km ²)	Population (mil.)	GDP/capita (\$)	Unemployment (%)
<i>Albania</i>	28748	3,10	14500	11,8
<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	51197	3,80	15700	15,2
<i>Croatia</i>	56594	4,17	31600	8,7
<i>Kosovo</i>	10887	1,96	11900	30,5
<i>North Macedonia</i>	25713	2,13	16500	16,2
<i>Montenegro</i>	13812	0,60	20600	18,5
<i>Serbia</i>	77474	6,69	19800	11,8
<i>Slovenia</i>	20273	2,10	40000	4,4
<i>E.U.</i>	4236351	450,86	44100	6,7

Source: CIA World Factbook, 2023

The unemployment rate in these states exceeds 8% of the total working-age population, excluding Slovenia, and in Kosovo, the unemployment rate even surpasses 30%. According to the CIA World Factbook, these values place Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and North Macedonia in the top four positions in Europe, and this is a real concern about the socio-economic future of these

states, especially since the young people, due to lack of realistic prospects, prefer to emigrate to the Central and Western European countries.

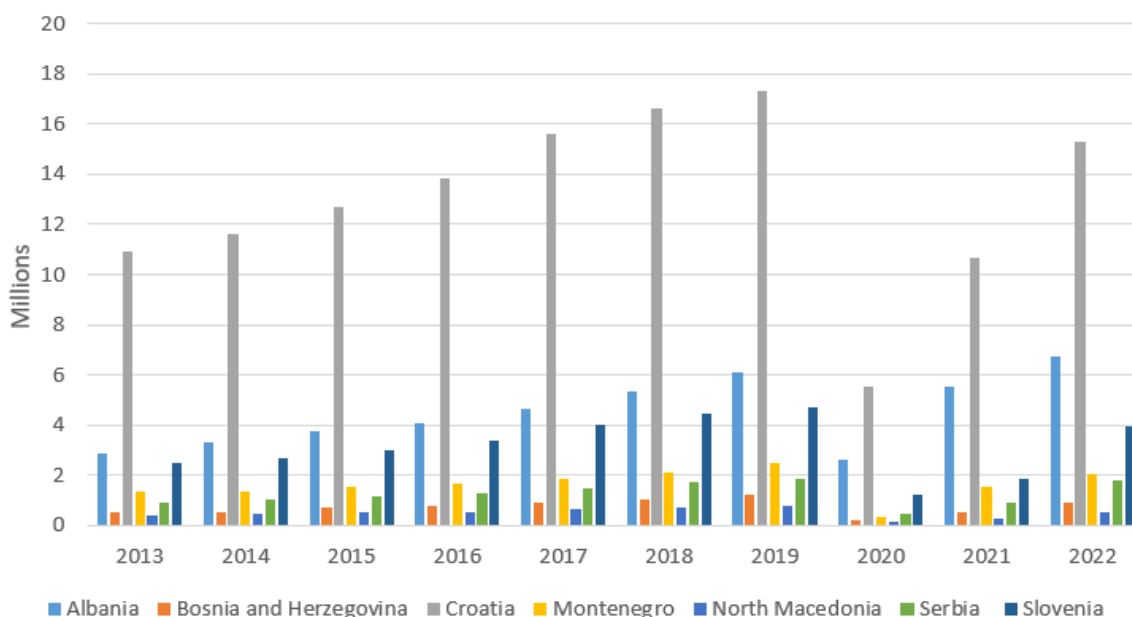


Figure 1. Evolution of the number of foreign tourists (2013-2022)

Source: World Tourism Organization, 2023

In terms of the number of tourists, there is a steady increase between 2013-2019. All the states that were part of the former Yugoslavia and Albania registered significant increases in the flow of foreign tourists. In the mentioned interval, the number of foreign tourists visiting Serbia doubled from 920 thousand to 1.84 million, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the increase exceeded 100%. The number of tourists registered in 2019 was 1.2 million, compared to 530 thousand in 2013. The highest number of foreign tourists was attracted by Croatia, which in 2019 received over 17.3 million tourists. Accession to the European Union on 1st of July 2013 is an advantage, for Croatia and also for Slovenia, by facilitating the attraction of tourists from other EU Member States. Although in the period 2020-2021, the number of international tourists significantly decreased throughout the region due to the negative effects of the pandemics, starting in 2022, there has been a noticeable and rapid recovery in the tourism sector, with some countries approaching the levels recorded in the pre-pandemic period. (World Tourism Organization, 2023).

4.2 Identification and classification of dark tourism sites in Sarajevo and Belgrade

a). *Based on the chronological distance criterion.* Miles (2002) considers that an important criterion for differentiating the darkest from the least dark tourist sites is the time interval (*chronological distance*) that has elapsed since the event that generated a dark tourist attraction took place. Basically, the more recent an event is, and we can still find witnesses that can give it extra authenticity, the more it can be placed towards the darker end of the spectrum. Thus, given the field research and the data obtained from the official websites of tourist sites, we can identify four major categories of dark tourism attractions in Sarajevo:

- Over the past 25 years, Sarajevo has become a pole of attraction for visitors interested in war tourism. In the absence of 1. *Ottoman Empire tourist attractions in Sarajevo.* The most important objective is the *Alifakovac Cemetery*. This cemetery offers one of the best sightseeing places in Sarajevo. It is often used by travel guides to explain to tourists the geography of the Sarajevo siege from 1992-1996. At the same time, the Alifakovac Cemetery is considered to be one of the oldest, most beautiful and interesting cemeteries across the country (Destination Sarajevo, 2017).
- *Tourist attractions from the early twentieth century.* For the West, the Balkans already had a negative perception, caused by the conflicts and political instability of the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was assassinated with his wife by a group of Bosnian Serbs, leading to the outbreak of World War I. This symbolic moment will further strengthen the negative perception of the whole region. The assassination took place near the *Latin Bridge*, where a commemorative plaque and a museum dedicated to this event can be found today. Also, the *Mausoleum of Gavrilo Princip* and *The Chapel of the Vidovdan Heroes* can be found in Sarajevo. The Chapel was built and dedicated to memorialize the perpetrators who were part of the assassination plot that killed Franz Ferdinand. Those who had participated became national heroes in the newly-founded Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and starting from 1920, their post-mortem remains will be recovered and buried here. (Destination Sarajevo, 2017).

- *Tourist Attractions during the Second World War.* The most important point that reminds of the horrors that occurred in Sarajevo during the Second World War is the *Vraca Memorial Park*. The perimeter of the current park is located in the southern part of the city and has been used as a camp, execution site and cemetery throughout the entire World War II period. The park and the memorial inside it were inaugurated in 1981. They were devoted to the memory of the 11,000 Sarajevo citizens who were executed and buried here or who have lost their lives elsewhere in the city fighting the fascist regime. Although the park was declared a national monument in 2005, this site has been long neglected by the authorities, being heavily affected by the war that devastated the city between 1992 and 1995 (Sarajevo Times, 2016). In 2019, the first phase of the park's renovation process was completed, and the Eternal Flame, a symbol of the fight against fascism, was lit for the first time in 27 years (Destination Sarajevo, 2019).
- *Sightseeing attractions during the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1995/1996).* Between 1992 and 1995, the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the scene on which the bloodiest civil war in Europe, after the Second World War, took place. At a time when the whole of Europe still enjoyed the euphoria of the end of the Cold War, and optimistic theories about the future of liberal democracy and peace were strongly promoted, the toughness of the confrontations in Bosnia and Herzegovina was shocking. The siege of Sarajevo, the longest siege of the modern era, is a concrete example of geography of the siege. The atrocities committed between 1992-1995 left traces in the memory of the inhabitants and on the walls of numerous buildings, *the traces of bombing becoming an integral part of the urban architecture*. Concrete investment by the authorities, private agencies have begun to design tourist circuits through which the potential of dark tourism in Sarajevo can be promoted. At the same time, private museums began to appear in war-related symbolic places. (Naef, 2013). On the other hand, analyzing the tourist offer of the Sarajevo agencies promoting war tourism and corroborating our direct observations resulting from field research, we can list the following tourist objectives as having a high potential for being valued through the dark tourism:
 - *Kovači Cemetery* is the main cemetery of Bosnian Muslim heroes who lost their lives during the war. In the three years of siege, about 10,000 people lost their lives, including 1,500 children. It also houses the tomb of the first independent president of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alja Itzbegovic (BalkanInsight, 2010);
 - *Sarajevo Memorial for Children Killed during Siege.* Inaugurated in 2010 in the center of Sarajevo, the memorial consists from a sculpture plus a row of rotating drums containing 500 names of the children killed in the 1992-1995 war;
 - *Museum of Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide 1992-1995* inaugurated in 2016, helps tourists understand the realities of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 1990s. Among the exhibits are clothes and objects that have been found in common graves across the country;
 - *Markale Market* is a place of significant symbolic importance in Sarajevo. It is famous for the two bombardments targeting civilians (February 1994 and August 1995), which caused more than 110 deaths, and more than 200 people injured (Fish, 2004);
 - *Suada and Olga Bridge*, also known as *Romeo and Juliet Bridge*, is a bridge across the Miljacka river, named after the first victims shot at the beginning of the Siege of Sarajevo;

- *Mezarje Stadium*, formerly a place of joy, used at the Sarajevo Olympics in 1984, has been transformed into a place of suffering, as many of the 1992-1995 siege victims are buried here. Currently, the stadium is, in fact, a cemetery;
- *Zmaja od Bosne Street and Meša Selimović Boulevard* informally known as Sniper Alley, represent the city's main thoroughfare, being one of the prime targets for snipers positioned in tall buildings or on nearby hills. Crossing this street posed a significant risk for Sarajevo's residents during the war, and bullet traces are still visible on the facades of the buildings that line this boulevard;
- *The Tunnel of Hope Museum* is one of the main attractions of the war tours. With a length of 800 meters, it became operational in July 1993. It was built by Muslim Bosniaks to break the siege of the city, which was surrounded by the Serbian forces, representing the only link between the besieged citizens and the rest of the world during the war. After the war, the entrance to the tunnel was turned into a museum, one of Sarajevo's most visited and appreciated objectives. This tourist attraction presents a high level of authenticity, the museum being located right in the building that represented the tunnel access entrance (Naef, 2013);

Table 2. The main dark tourist sites in Sarajevo

Objective	Site of death and suffering	Site associated with death and suffering	The purpose / presence of tourist infrastructure
<i>Alifakovac Cemetery</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Kovači Cemetery</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Mausoleum of Gavrilo Princip (The Chapel of the Vidovdan Heroes)</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Sarajevo Memorial for Children Killed during Siege (1992-1995)</i>		YES	commemorative/NO
<i>Museum of the Assassination of Franz Ferdinand (Sarajevo Museum 1878-1918 /Latin Bridge)</i>	YES		educational, commemorative, commercial/YES
<i>Museum of Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide 1992-1995</i>		YES	educational, commemorative, commercial/YES
<i>History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>		YES	educational/YES
<i>Vraca Memorial Park</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Markale Market</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Suada and Olga Bridge</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Mezarje Stadium</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Zmaja od Bosne street and Meša Selimović Boulevard (Sniper Alley)</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>Tunnel of Hope Museum</i>		YES	educational, commercial/YES

Source: Developed by author

Given these data, we must bear in mind that, given the major damage suffered by the city of Sarajevo during the war period, the list we have made is not comprehensive, the tourist potential of dark sites being found in many other urban areas where war, violence and suffering have put their mark on the landscape. We believe that the objectives identified and indicated in Table no. 2 provide a solid starting point for generating tourist circuits for dark tourism. Except for a few, the dark targets above are authentic places, where death and suffering were present, many cemeteries being an expression of this fact.

Tourists' interest in tours dedicated to the war indicates that Sarajevo is perceived as a place of dark tourism, and private initiatives such as the owners of the house through which access to the tunnel of hope - nowadays, a highly visited museum - are gaining access, increasing this perception.

In the second case of Belgrade, classification according to the chronological distance indicates that dark sites can fall into three major categories:

- *Tourist attractions during the Second World War.* This category includes those sites that recall the Nazi occupation period. These are, on the one hand, the *Memorial of the Victims of the Sajmište Concentration Camp*, built in 1995 on the site of the former Sajmište concentration camp dating back to the Second World War and, on the other hand, by the *Museum of the Concentration Camp Banjica*. The Foundation's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe estimates that about 8,000 Serbian Jews were killed in 1942 at the Sajmište camp in the Zemun neighborhood in New Belgrade. Unlike Banjica, where a museum has been set up to provide information to those interested about the events that took place in this area during the Second World War, Sajmište has no tourist infrastructure. Created in July 1941, the Banjica concentration camp was a transit area for 24 000 prisoners (most of them Serbs), out of which 4 200 were killed here. In 1969, the first permanent exhibition was inaugurated, so that in 1981 and 2001 the museum was enlarged as research on the history of the events that took place here expanded (Belgrade City Museum, 2017).
- *Tourist attractions during the Cold War.* The most visited spot of Belgrade, which falls under the spectrum of dark tourism, is the House of Flowers Mausoleum and the Museum of Yugoslav History (Belgrade Tourism Organisation, 2017). Nearly 16 million people have visited this tourist ensemble in its 30 years since the inauguration. The main attraction point is the tomb of former Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito. Rabotic (2012) includes Josip Broz Tito's mausoleum in the patrimony of communism, considered by Light (2017) an intrinsic part of dark tourism, and its potential belongs also to the nostalgic tourism category. This is evidenced by the increase in the number of visitors, especially around the birthday of the former Yugoslav leader, many tourists coming from the former Yugoslav states. Rabotic (2012) notes that, although initially the darkness of this tourist attraction was high, more than three centuries after Tito's death, the mausoleum passed into a brighter area of the dark spectrum, following the motivation of those who visit this place. Thus, knowing the life of the Yugoslav leader and his accomplishments are the most important reasons for tourists who visit this place.
- *Tourist attractions during NATO bombing over Serbia (1999).* NATO bombs launched in March 1999 as a result of the Serb army offensive in Kosovo province focused on Serbia-wide military targets and infrastructure elements. These attacks have caused loss of life, material damage, and have remained alive in the collective memory of those who have witnessed. Among the objectives falling under this category, it is worth mentioning:
 - *The Former Yugoslav Ministry of Defence building*, located in the center of Belgrade on one of the most widely circulated thoroughfares. It has been preserved for many years in the state of degradation resulting from the bombings. Between 1999 and 2015, the building became a symbol of the suffering of the Serbian people as a result of the violence of NATO attacks. As a result, the building was included in the tourist circuit. After much debate about its future, in 2015, a reconstruction process was initiated, leading to the demolition of one of the building's sections, which prompted a strong reaction from civil society. In 2017, an association in Serbia launched an initiative to include it in the UNESCO World Heritage (Ejdus, 2017);
 - *The Memorial in Tašmajdan Park*, near Belgrade's radio-TV headquarters (building bombed in April 1999 by NATO forces). 16 people lost their lives and the building was heavily damaged (Paletta, 2016), the memorial being now dedicated to the dead children during the bombings;
 - *The Aviation Museum*, located near the airport, houses fragments of NATO airplanes shot down by Serbian anti-air defense. Similar fragments are, along with other information about the events of the spring of 1999, at the *Serbian Military Museum* near Kalemegdan.

Table 3. The main dark tourist sites in Belgrade

Objective	Site of death and suffering	Site associated with death and suffering	The purpose / presence of tourist infrastructure
<i>Former Yugoslav Minister of Defence building</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>House of Flowers Mausoleum and the Museum of Yugoslav History</i>	YES		commemorative, educational, commercial/YES

Objective	Site of death and suffering	Site associated with death and suffering	The purpose / presence of tourist infrastructure
<i>The Memorial in Tašmajdan Park</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>The Memorial of the Victims of the Sajmište Concentration Camp</i>	YES		commemorative/NO
<i>The Aviation Museum</i>		YES	educational and commercial/YES
<i>The Museum of the Concentration Camp Banjica</i>	YES		comemorative and educational/YES
<i>The Serbian Military Museum</i>		YES	educational and commercial/YES

Source: Developed by author

b). After the perceived level of the macabre. Considering the identified objectives and their characteristics, following the application of the criteria proposed by Stone (2006) using the degrees / spectrum of the tourist darkness, the following structure (tables 4 and 5) of the sites results according to the perceived level of the macabre.

Table 4. The dark sites in Sarajevo according to the perceived level of the macabre

Spectrum	Objective	Particularity
DARKEST	<i>Museum of Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide 1992-1995</i>	- among the exhibits are clothes and objects found in common graves across the country.
	<i>Mezarje Stadium</i>	- the victims of the 1992-1995 siege are buried here; currently the stadium is actually a cemetery.
	<i>Kovači Cemetery</i>	- includes Muslim Bosnian heroes who died in the war (1992-1995): 10,000 people, including 1,500 children.
	<i>Vraca Memorial Park</i>	- here were killed about 11,000 people, victims of the battles and executions of the fascist regime.
DARKER	<i>Suada and Olga Bridge</i>	- this is the place that marks the start of the Sarajevo siege (the first victims of snipers have lost their lives here).
	<i>Markale Market</i>	- over 110 people have lost their lives here, and over 200 people were injured in 1994 and 1995
	<i>Sarajevo Memorial for Children Killed during Siege (1992-1995)</i>	- commemorates the children across the country who were killed in the war.
DARK	<i>Mausoleum of Gavrilo Princip (The Chapel of the Vidovdan Heroes)</i>	- commemorating the memory of those who assassinated Franz Ferdinand;
	<i>Museum of the Assassination of Franz Ferdinand (Sarajevo Museum 1878-1918 /Latin Bridge)</i>	- the assassination took place at the Latin Bridge, where there is a commemorative plaque and a museum dedicated to the event.
	<i>Zmaja od Bosne street and Meša Selimović Boulevard (Sniper Alley)</i>	- one of the main targets of snipers during the war; - buildings still have bullet traces.
LIGHT	<i>Tunnel of Hope Museum</i>	- built by Muslim Bosniaks to break the siege of the city, which was surrounded by the Serbian forces.
	<i>Alifakovac Cemetery</i>	- sightseeing point over the city.

Source: Developed by author

According to the author, the areas of dark tourism for leisure (Dark Fun Factories) are *lights*, Dark Exhibitions are *lighter*, Dark Dungeons are *light*, Dark Resting Places or cemeteries are the dark altars where some personalities died (Dark Shrines) are *darker and/or dark*, black sites of conflict, such as

battlefields (Dark Conflict Sites), are *darker*, Dark Camps of Genocide are *darkest*. As Stone itself (2006) recognizes for our previous structure and our structure applied to the analyzed cases has certain limits. However, this typology, says the author, should make it much easier to purchase a trip that involves visiting places marked by or associated with death or disasters.

Table no. 4 shows that for Sarajevo no sites of dark tourism were identified that could fit into the bright end of the spectrum. Instead, the Museum of Crime against Humanity and Genocide (1992-1995), Mezarje Stadium, Kovaci Cemetery and Markale Square are framed in the darkest of the spectrum, as these are *sites of violent death*. For some of them, authenticity is enhanced by the lack of tourist infrastructure to accommodate these spaces.

Unlike Sarajevo, where the sites in the darker half of the spectrum predominate in Belgrade, their weight is balanced. As in the case of Sarajevo, there are no sites that fall into the bright end of the spectrum.

Table 5. The dark sites in Belgrade according to the perceived level of the macabre

Spectrum	Objective	Particularity
DARKEST	<i>The Museum of the Concentration Camp Banjica</i>	- created in July 1941, the Banjica camp was a transit area for 24 000 prisoners, out of which 4 200 were killed here.
	<i>The Memorial of the Victims of the Sajmište Concentration Camp</i>	- concentration camp during World War II; - there is no tourist infrastructure.
DARKER	<i>The Memorial in Tašmajdan Park</i>	- dedicated to children killed during NATO bombing.
DARK	<i>Former Yugoslav Minister of Defence building</i>	- symbol of the suffering caused to the Serbian people by the brutality and violence of NATO's air strikes.
LIGHT	<i>House of Flowers Mausoleum and the Museum of Yugoslav History</i>	- here is the tomb of former Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito.
LIGHTER	<i>The Serbian Military Museum The Aviation Museum</i>	- fragments of NATO airplanes shot down by Serbian anti-aircraft defense can be found here.

Source: Developed by author

4.3 Analyzing and comparing the offer of dark tourism in Sarajevo and Belgrade

In order to identify how tourism sites are promoted by local tourism agencies in the two Balkan capitals, the websites of travel agencies in Sarajevo and Belgrade were used as well as the direct observations resulting from fieldwork.

Sarajevo Funky Tours organizes a series of tours of war tourism and genocide. Thus, the tour called *Sarajevo Total Siege Tour (War Tunnel incl.)* lasts about four hours, begins by visiting the Tunnel of Hope and continues to visit other sights that reflect the siege of Sarajevo. Another tour of this company is called the *Sarajevo War Tunnel Tour*, which also starts by visiting the Tunnel of Hope and continues to visit the Snipers Alley and other sightseeing spots that facilitate understanding of the geography of the Sarajevo siege from 1992-1995. For each of these tours, tourists pay about 25 Euros. A third tour, falling under the theme of war tourism and genocide, is *Srebrenica Genocide (Never Forget July 11th 1995)*. As part of this tour, tourists are guaranteed a 60 Euro round trip from Sarajevo to Srebrenica. In July 1995, in Srebrenica, the largest post-World War II genocide took place, where more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were killed by units of the Republika Srpska army units headed by the general Ratko Mladic (Sarajevo Funky Tours, 2023).

Another agency, among the first in Sarajevo to organize war tours, is Insider City Tours & Excursions. The tour called *Times of Misfortune* is one of the most appreciated by tourists visiting Sarajevo (Naef, 2013). The tour takes about three hours, during which tourists have the opportunity to get to know the events that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1992-1995.

Also, tourists visit the main symbolic sites for that period and find out how the locals lived in the absence of food, but also in the absence of drinking water and electricity during the siege (Sarajevo Travel). The same agency also runs a tour called *Sarajevo Assassination*. This time, the purpose is to bring tourists into the atmosphere of 1914, the year when the First World War broke out, after the

murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife. The tour lasts three hours and focuses on visiting the Archbishop's Museum of Franz Ferdinand's murder and the Latin Bridge, including other nearby historical and cultural objectives.

In recent years, a growing number of travel agencies, which promote such tours, have begun to work on this niche segment. (Sarajevo Travel, 2017).

In Sarajevo, war tourism is on the rise, and this is evidenced by the emergence of a growing number of travel agencies promoting such products, unlike Belgrade, where such tours, highlighting the dark tourist elements of the city, are lacking in the agencies' offer. In the following, we will compare the situation in the two cities, and we will list the reasons why the dark tourism sites in Belgrade are not promoted in tourist packages exclusively dedicated to this type of niche tourism.

Analyzing the dark tourism patrimony of Sarajevo and Belgrade and tours organized by local tourism agencies, we can outline the following issues regarding the discrepancies between the two cities:

- In Sarajevo, dark tourism sites are much more numerous and better preserved than in Belgrade. This is a direct effect of *the intensity and duration of the conflicts* that affected the two cities. If the siege of Sarajevo stretched over three years (1992-1995), during which both military buildings and targets, as well as civilian buildings suffered catastrophic destruction, the NATO campaign against Serbia spread over three months (March-June 1999), focusing in particular on military and logistics objectives, which limited the level of destruction and damage. As a result, in Belgrade, sites belonging to dark tourism are less numerous;
- Another effect of the different intensity and duration of the two conflicts is *the number of those who have lost their lives*. If on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, international human rights organizations estimate that more than 100,000 people have lost their lives, in Serbia, their number is estimated to be only 1 500 (Human Rights Watch, 2000). As a result, on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of cemeteries and memorials is much higher.
- Another aspect that distinguishes the two cities is given by *the speed and scale of the reconstruction work*. While in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, implicitly, in Sarajevo, the renovation of buildings has been heavily delayed for bureaucratic reasons, in Serbia the authorities have carried out a massive reconstruction process. As Ejdas (2017) claims, much of the buildings bombed in Belgrade had been repaired or rebuilt by 2015, along with 57 of the 58 bridges destroyed throughout Serbia. The same author asserts that public authorities rarely leave intact ruins, precisely because restoration is an important part of the healing process. Unlike the situation in Serbia in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the division of the country into the Srpska Republic and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has generated an administrative and bureaucratic blockage of the reconstruction process;
 - Last but not least, spatial focusing has made it easier for tourists to access packages dedicated to dark tourism. What we find, following the location of the sites identified in the two cities, is that while in Sarajevo they are predominantly located in Belgrade, the identified objectives are much more dispersed.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of patrimony elements belonging to the dark tourism spectrum from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, with emphasis on those located in the capitals of the two states, Sarajevo and Belgrade respectively, *demonstrates their diversity both in terms of the historical phases represented* (implicitly, of the chronological distance elapsed since the occurrence of the events up to now) *as well as from the point of view of the types of tourist sites present* concentration camps, cemeteries, ruins bombardments, theme museums, memories of pain and suffering, mausoleums, etc.

Their capitalization from the tourist point of view remains, however, a very little or not at all, from the perspective of governmental or local policies. Often, *tourist sites associated with the dark tourism phenomenon continue to be promoted only by the private environment* (private museums - as is the case with the Sarajevo Hope Tunnel Museum or exclusively by travel agencies). The reasons for this are different for the two analyzed countries. In Serbia, much of the infrastructure and buildings damaged by NATO bombing have been rebuilt (the Avala television tower, China embassy building, etc.) for

economic, aesthetic reasons or because they risk becoming a public danger, In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the reasons are bureaucracy and the way power has been divided from the institutional point of view (between Serbs, Bosnian Muslims and Croats) and is a barrier into taking coherent and concrete measures to promote dark tourism or restoration and arrangement of spaces with symbolic load only for a certain ethnicity

The economic situation of the two states suffers from the fact that the political situation of the Western Balkans continues to be a sensitive one, and the process of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia's accession to the European Union is not making significant progress. In this context, the economic indicators of the two countries continue to register lower values than those of the neighboring EU Member States, and tourism could represent a real opportunity for socio-economic development. In view of the above arguments, the two states, and in particular Bosnia and Herzegovina, can try to make more effective use of the potential offered by the dark tourism sites, starting from the dark tourism prospect proposed in this research.

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that although the more effective promotion of dark tourism sites can be reflected in investment in tourism infrastructure, in reducing unemployment among the population (especially young people with foreign language skills) and in increasing the number of tourists and of travel receipts, the transformation of sites whose primary purpose was educational and commemorating in objectives with a higher commercial role can reduce the emotion and the message transmitted by them, leading to their migration on the level of the perceived level of the macabre from the darker spectrum of the spectrum to a less dark one, as noted, for example, in the case of the mausoleum dedicated to former Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito.

The main results of this study are represented by the proposal of a spectrum of dark tourism in the two cities, Sarajevo and Belgrade respectively. It was based on a prioritization of the tourism objectives of dark tourism. Our approach has a real practical applicability and helps to improve the tourist offer of the two cities, synchronizing what already exists on the tourist market with those components less capitalized but which can be included in the offer and can generate new tourist products. Last but not least, spectrum and analysis can be a useful tool for public authorities in the two cities to formulate public policies that can help develop this type of tourism

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