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University of Zadar
Odjel za turizam i komunikacijske znanosti
Department of Tourism and Communication Sciences

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Linked Factors as Predictors of the Practice of Public Relations on the Internet: A Study of Croatian Organizations

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Abstract

A change from traditional interactions between organizations and the public to interactions via the Internet needs further exploration in order to understand factors that might influence public relations activities of organizations on the Internet. This study investigates responses of 111 Croatian PR professionals to a survey about the influence of organization-linked factors on the choice of public relations models on the Internet. The results confirm that the social orientation level of top management members, availability of resources to operate, a previous negative experience with the public and practitioners' knowledge of research methods and techniques are influential predictors of the choice of the public relations models on the Internet. The findings also validate the contention that the organizations' selection of the public relations models depends on practitioners' formal education in PR and the experience in dealing with conflict, PR unit size, its location and role in the formulation of PR strategies. It is also shown that organizational culture, a management style, a support for and understanding of the PR function by top management, an existence

of a risk and issue management programs or staff, a PR unit's involvement in organization-wide decisions, a legal department (counselor) support and a number of PR practioners with a higher education degree are not able to predict organizations' decision to use a particular model of public relations.

Keywords: public relations, models, organization-linked factors, the Internet

Introduction

The online environment is much more complex, diverse and dynamic than the traditional media sphere. The Internet has led to decentralization of information and power: a communicator is no longer in a privileged position, as is the case in the traditional mass communication sphere, neither is the public a passive consumer of pre-selected and arranged contents according to the criterion of media professionals anymore. The public has the opportunity to comment information, express opinions and reactions, discuss with their authors, refer them to new sources, similar and different information and thus participate in their creation (Zgrabljić Rotar, 2011, 49).

In the field of public relations, the use of the Internet makes it possible for public relations professionals to communicate with various stakeholders without the gate-keeping function of other mass media. One of the most distinctive features of the Internet in public relations is that it gives an organization ability to build an interactive relationship with its stakeholders. Now, public relations practitioners have the opportunity to gather information, monitor public opinion, and engage in a direct dialogue with the public (McAllister & Taylor, 2007). While many authors argue that the Internet creates a new communication landscape that facilitates two-way communication between an organization and the public (Holtz, 2002; McAllister & Taylor, 2007; Philips & Young, 2009; Grunig, 2009), there is still a lack of empirical data on the extent and ways in which public relations practitioners use the Internet (MacNamara, 2010, 4). The majority of studies, so far, have suggested that most public relations practitioners, regardless of the benefits and opportunities of the Internet, have not been using it in full measure (Kirat, 2007; McAllister & Taylor, 2007; Kelleher, 2008). The Internet, by itself, does not lead to new forms of communication, and public relations units do not exist separately from organizations. In order to improve the efficiency of PR in organizations, it is necessary to understand the factors influencing their performance. Relevant literature is limited regarding the impacts upon the performance of PR in cyberspace. Hence, the purpose of this study is to determine what factors influence and restrict the choice and use of public relations models in Croatian cyberspace**.** The research question is presented as follows:

RQ: What organization-linked factors influence the performance of PR in Croatian cyberspace?

Although often criticized, the theoretical framework is based on the work of Grunig and Hunt "Managing Public Relations" (1984) describing four models of public relations. There are several reasons for their re-actualization. The Internet, with the development of web technologies, is the only medium that allows the use of all four models of public relations (Ingenhoff & Koelling, 2009, 67). Its dialogic, interactive, and global properties make it perfectly suited for a two-way symmetric paradigm of public relations and to overcome the contextual conditions that limit the application of the models in practice (Grunig, 2009, 6). Studies specifically using Grunig and Hunt's four models to analyze online public relations are seemingly non-existent in Croatia. This research contributes to understanding and possibly prediction of public relations models in cyberspace by documenting the influential factors through a literature review and through surveying public relations practitioners in Croatia.

Theoretical background

Over the last few years, public relations has evolved into an independent discipline of theory and practice. A long-term success of organizations and the growth of competitiveness nowadays cannot be envisaged without public relations. More and more organizations have recognized the necessity of PR and are making use of it on a professional basis. Despite of that, there is still not one single generally accepted definition of public relations. Public relations has been defined by different authors in various ways. However, common to all of these definitions is an emphasis on communication.

Model building in public relations has been one of the most pervasive methods for comparing public relations practices. Many studies in the field of public relations have used models based on the original work of J. E. Grunig and T. Hunt (1984). Considering the historical evolution of public relations, they define four models of public relations: press agentry, public information, a two-way asymmetrical model and a two-way symmetrical model. Although these models were originally conceived as a means of explaining the historical evolution of PR, the authors maintain that these models also provide a means of explaining differences in the way in which PR is practised in organisations. For the purposes of this paper, it is appropriate to define these models clearly, since subsequent discussion depends on these definitions.

The first model, *press agentry* is propaganda where telling the truth is not important. The primary goal is to obtain media attention in almost any possible way (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Organizations seek favorable publicity from media sources, and attempt either to prevent negative publicity or to respond to negative publicity with the objective of neutralizing it. Communication is always one-way. Organizations neither seek out nor utilize communications and information from the public and have no active intention of learning public's reaction. It is the least effective and least ethical model (Gordon & Kelly, 1998). The second model, *public information* is also based on a one-way communication stream from an organization to its publics. The aim is to provide the public with live information for a main purpose of informing and a lesser goal of persuading. This model differs from the press agentry model only in that public relations performs as "journalists-in-residence" who create and provide relatively accurate information about the organization through mass media and controlled media such as newsletters, brochures and a direct mail (Grunig, 1992, 18). In practice, however, this model does not volunteer negative information to the public. Communication programs do not use research and strategic planning (Grunig, 1992), but follow a journalistic model of preparing informational material for largely unknown publics.

The other two models employ two-way communication – in other words, communication flows both to and from publics and public relations practitioners are both talking and listening. A *two-way asymmetrical* model of public relations has scientific persuasion as its goal. In this model, communication is two-way but unbalanced. Organizations put out information and receive feedback from the public but do not necessarily respond to that feedback in the way the public has requested. Under this model, organizations conduct research and gather information from and about publics for identifying messages that are likely to persuade the public to act as the organizations wish (Grunig, 1992, 18). This approach is not about collaborating on goals, plans, or actions, but rather about eliciting and controlling preferred stakeholder attitudes and behaviors. A t*wo-way symmetrical model,* in contrast, has its goal in mutual understanding and a beneficial relationship between an organization and its public (Grunig, 2000). It is based on a research and uses communication to manage conflict and improve understanding with strategic publics (Grunig, 1992, 18). The model advocates a free and equal information flow between the organization and its publics – more attention is paid to the use of dialogue and negotiation. This approach reflects organizations' desire to create information and feedback loops and to form interactive, strategic partnerships with key stakeholder groups.

Publics are not merely heard; their interests and views are incorporated in strategic decision-making processes. This may result in either the organization or its public being persuaded to change its position. However, the model is regarded as equally effective if neither group changes, as long as both communicate well enough to understand the position of the other (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, 23). Although all four models, depending on the problem and the situation, can be effective, two-way symmetrical communication, based on the assumption of listening, negotiation and compromise, is considered the best practice. It produces better long-term relationships with the public than other models of public relations (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002, 15).

The practice of PR is influenced by needs and idiosyncrasies of an organization. PR practitioners not only play different roles in different organizational environments (Hogg and Doolan, 1999), but also practice public relations differently depending on a number of organization-linked factors. Public relations literature includes many variables that make good candidates as factors influencing public relations practitioners and their practice. However, there is no list of universally acceptable factors.

Top management is in the focus of many theoretical discussions and a public relations research. The perceived importance of the public relations function by top managers will determine their position in the organizational hierarchy and the type of program that will dominate in practice. Understanding of what public relations can do, will dictate their purpose. Grunig J. (1992, 493) claims that the top management support for and understanding of the public relations function coincides with the use of sophisticated two-way models of public relations. Pollack R. A. (1986, 87) is of the same opinion when she claims that the top management support creates a suitable atmosphere for the practice of two-way symmetrical public relations. According to Rhee (2002, 165), the level of the top management support for public relations impacts the way in which they will be organized, the extent to which they will be involved in the strategic decision-making, and the choice of public relations models.

Researches on the influence of top management philosophy suggest that top executives with a strong social orientation would place greater importance on communication and be more concerned about the views held by their primary publics (Miles, 1987). Given that the social orientation level of top management members influences organization's strategies towards its publics, it is conceivable that it influences the way an organization practices public relations. Top managers with a strong social orientation try to achieve legitimacy through collaboration with multiple stakeholders (Meznar and Nigh, 1995). This philosophy is based on trust and open communication with various publics. A management style (democratic vs. autocratic) of top executives can also greatly influence the public relations practice of organizations. Hage (1980, 143) indicates that organizations with liberal ideology (democratic style) are very sensitive to the external environment. McMillan (1984) found a link between conservative managers and the use of the two-way asymmetric model while R. Pollack (1986) found a positive correlation between valuing a strong central authority (autocratic style) and the use of public information and press agentry models. These results suggest that organizations with top management made up of individuals who encourage liberal values (democratic management style) are more likely to be open to the external publics. A democratic management style involves two-way communication that motivates both, groups and individuals (Sikavica and Bahtijarević - Siber, 2004, 352).

Dant and Schul (1992) suggest that an organization's history can influence its interactions with publics. Organizations that have had a negative experience with the public in the past often create a perception of the situation based on these experiences. The negative experience often leads to fear, lack of trust and risk avoidance. Engaging in a dialogue and negotiations is something one approaches with fear and hesitation. As the result of the negative experience, organizations will either try to avoid any form of two-way communication, or endeavor to establish control over the discussion using an aggressive communication style. The existence of an organization's legal department could be another potential influencing variable. When organizations are under threat or handling crises there is often a tendency to turn to a legal counsel. Legal concerns normally revolve around liability. Fearing that what is said might be misunderstood, the instinct is to close down communication with *no comment* (Tomić, 2008, 203). Although public relations practitioners are aware that *no comment* means that an organization is hiding something and that expressions and demonstrable actions of sensitivity, concern and responsibility enhance reputation (Gregory, 2004, 64), public relations professionals might avoid dialogue and openness with the public due to the lack of getting legal advice.

Sriramesh et al. (1996), Vasquez and Taylor (1999) and Grunig et al. (2002) wrote that organizational culture influences all decisions made in an organization, including how the organization practices public relations. Reducing typologies of organizational culture into a continuum between authoritarian and participative cultures, Sriramesh (1996) found that authoritarian cultures usually use a closed -system approach to management while participative cultures tend to use an open-systems approach. In authoritative cultures, communication is mostly one-way. By contrast, organizations with participatory culture demonstrate greater use of two-way communication (Grunig et al, 2002, 496). The existence of effective risk and issue management programs or staff in an organization may help to make the top management members and public relations staff well aware of the status and importance of organization's publics. An organization that recognizes the value of utilizing issue management is also likely to recognize the value of positive relationships with publics and thus will be more willing than other organizations to strategically adapt in some way to changes in its external environment instead of reacting to changes (Benoit and Brinson, 1994; Heath and Nelson, 1986)

Several studies have suggested that public relations activities vary depending on PR practitioners' formal education in public relations. J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1989) and Zoch et al. (1997) indicated that the practice of the two-way symmetrical model is significantly related to practitioners' educational background in

PR. A positive correlation was also found between the choice of public relations models and a number of practitioners who have a college degree in a unit (Grunig et al., 1989, 50). The involvement of the PR unit in major decisions made by an organization and its role in the formulation of PR strategies are also factors that have an impact on the use of two-way symmetrical communication and define excellence of the public relations unit (Simcic Brønn, 2001; Steyn, 2007, 167; Yang, 2007; Grunig, 2009; Seitel, 2011, 51). Participation of public relations in the strategic decision -making and strategy formulation depends on the unit's ability to do research. Results of studies show that there is a strong link between the practitioners' knowledge in applying research methods and techniques and the strategic position of the public relations unit (Dozier, 1990, 78).

A practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict is another factor that can influence the public relations practice. An experience in dealing with conflict can empower public relations managers to become an effective part of the communication process in the management decision-making group (Grunig and Grunig, 1992; Plowman, 1998). The power of the PR unit is represented by the value and support that the unit receives from the top management. Much of this value and support for public relations managers can come from the use of skills attained from experience to resolve conflicts or problems with the organization's environment (Plowman, 1998).

The amount of available resources to operate (such as time, funds and staff) also has a significant impact on organization's communication behavior. L. Grunig's (1992, 524) research showed that many practitioners, due to lack of time, funds and staff members, often ignored public pressure. More resources, according to Davis (2009, 34), means "... more media contacts, greater output of information subsidies, multiple modes of communication and continuous media operations". Several studies have suggested that public relations activities vary depending on the size of the public relations unit. Schneider (1985) found a correlation between the size of the public relations unit with the use of a two-way asymmetrical model. Yang and Chiou (2010, 225), in addition, have found that public relations experts in smaller units are more likely to act as a communications technician, while experts in larger units will be more inclined to act as a communications manager.

Based on a research documenting the negative influences on the public relations unit placed under a corporation's marketing umbrella, the location of the public relations unit in the corporate hierarchy may influence the unit's potential to influence an organization to practice open communications and to accommodate certain publics. Sublimation to another management function typically results only in attention to the stakeholder category of an interest in that function. Grunig and Grunig, (2006, 12) point out that sublimation to marketing usually resulted in asymmetrical communication. According to Kristensen (2010, 144) and Hon (2007) the PR unit‘s influence in institution-wide decisions in relation to other units might be another potential factor influencing organizations' PR activities.

Research hypotheses

On the basis of the literature review, the present study has investigated the influence of the following organization-linked factors (independent variables):

(1) organizational culture,
(2) management style,
(3) social orientation level of top management members
(4) support for and understanding of the PR function by top management
(5) organization's previous negative experience with public,
(6) legal department (counselor) support,
(7) existence of risk and issue management programs or staff,
(8) number of higher educated practitioners,
(9) practitioners' research methods and knowledge techniques,
(10) practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict,
(11) amount of available resources to operate,
(12) involvement of PR in major decisions,

(13) PR unit 's influence in relation to other units,
(14) formal education in public relations,
(15) PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies,
(16) location of public relations unit and
(17) PR unit size.

This research assumes that organization-linked factors (independent variables), derived from the literature review, will to a certain extent predict the choice of the models of public relations on the Internet (dependents variables).

Methods

Sample

Survey participants were invited to participate via e-mail. An invitation was sent to 419 e-mail addresses (selected from the Croatian PR association directory) on January 15, 2011. One hundred and eleven practitioners responded, yielding a 26.49% valid response rate. The survey respondents were essentially defined as top public relations managers (i.e., head of the public relations unit). Members of the public relations units designated by top public relations managers were also considered as acceptable respondents, because it is assumed that a top PR manager will designate individuals who can provide the appropriate answers. Given the structure of the questionnaire, public relations practitioners and members of PR agencies (counselling firms) were excluded.

The largest group of practitioners (52%) falls in the age group 30-39, followed by those in the age group 40-49 (28%). Of the remaining 20%, only 8% were 50 years old or older and 12% were in the 20-29 age group. Of 111 respondents (84 women and 27 men), 75% of them have a tertiary university qualification. The majority of respondents (82) come from organisations with more than 100 employees (34% with 100-500, 14% with 501-1000 and 26 % with more than 1000 employees). Almost half of the respondents (49%) were employed in private organizations, 36% in public and 15% in organizations without ownership (associations, civic organisations, etc).

Instruments

The study employed a web survey of public relations practitioners. The questionnaire was constructed on the first author's website (http://bernardmi.netne.net/questionnaire.html). A built-in control mechanism warned respondents about unanswered questions and prevented them to press the *submit* button. Before the survey was administered, a pilot test of the survey instrument was conducted across a sample of eight respondents from the same population to ensure that questions were easy to understand and answer, and clear in conveying meaning.

Structural measures of the models of PR in Croatian cyberspace

Public relations models were measured using 18 statements (items) borrowed and adapted from previous studies (Kim & Hon, 1998, 166 and Lim, Goh and Sriramesh, 2005, 331). The statements were translated by the first author of this paper, and then reverse-translated by a Croatian English-teacher and an English-speaking person to achieve maximum veracity to the English original. Respondents were asked to indicate their attitude and perceptions on a 5-point Likert type scale toward the current activities (elements of PR models) performed by their PR unit on the Internet, where 1 represented strongly disagree and 5 represented strongly agree. The statements addressed the press agentry (items 1–3), public information (items 4-7.), two-way asymmetrical (items 8-14), and two-way symmetrical (items 15-18) models. The public relations models were measured by asking the respondents to indicate on a five-point scale (from 1=completely disagree to 5=completely agree) the extent to which they agree with the statement that the current purpose of the Internet's use in their organization is to...:

(1) get publicity for their organization,
(2) determine how effective the PR programme has been measuring the amount of registered 'hits' on the organization's website;
(3) prevent /neutralize unfavourable publicity;
(4) disseminate accurate information but not to volunteer unfavourable information;
(5) design an easy to use and functional website (i.e. navigational capability);
(6) keep a news-clipping file /to publish news stories;
(7) disseminate neutral of information (rather than those in favour of the organization);
(8) change public opinion about the organization;
(9) conduct research in order to design a website which could be used to persuade the public;
(10) change the public's attitudes towards the organization;
(11) conduct or study attitude surveys to make sure the organization and its policies are described in ways their publics would be most likely to accept;
(12) conduct research to determine public attitudes before starting PR programmes;
(13) persuade publics to behave in the way the organization wants them to behave;
(14) determine how effective the PR programme has been in changing public's attitudes towards the organisation (after it has been completed);
(15) create dialogue (interactive communication) between the organisation and its public;
(16) solicit feedback from the public in order to change the behaviour of the organization;
(17) negotiate conflicts with theeir publics (or vice versa);
(18) do surveys to develop mutual understanding between their management and the public that the organisation affects.

Factor analysis using principal components analysis and varimax rotation was performed. The scale had good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.86). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test (k = 0.824) and Bartlett's test of sphericity (c^2 = 933.090, df =

153, p < 0.01) were both satisfactory. The analysis was conducted by respecting the rule of a minimum of 3 variables per factor and a factor loading of 0.50 or better for an item to be considered a part of a factor (be to retain). Five factors met the Kaiser-Guttman retention criterion of eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Cattell's scree test also suggested a five-factor solution. The total item variance explained by the five-factor solution was 69.60%. One of the five factors had only two variables that loaded on it suggesting that it should not be considered a stable factor. When a four factor model with varimax rotation was completed, only one variable on factor fourth met the criteria used for an item to be retained. Therefore, we decided, to carry out a factor analysis restricting the number of factors to three. Three items (5, 6 and 17) loaded on more than one factor and two (2 and 7) did not have a significant loading on any factor, therefore they were dropped. When completing the three-factor model without those variables once again, item 8 loaded highly on two factors. Due to its failure to load reliably on a single factor, the analysis was repeated after the variable was eliminated. Finally, a satisfying three-component factor solution was obtained with all items having factor loadings equal or greater than 0.50 (see table 1).

Table 1. *Factor structure matrix after the varimax rotation - 3 factor loading (cleaned)*

The current purpose of the Internet's use in our organisation is to…	Component		
	1	2	3
(12) conduct research to determine public attitudes before starting PR programmes	0.826		
(11) conduct or study attitude surveys to make sure we describe our organization and its policies in ways our publics would be most likely to accept	0.744		
(14) determine how effective the PR programme has been in changing public's attitudes towards the organisation (after it has been completed)	0.734		

(9) conduct research in order to design a website to persuade the public	0.694		
(13) persuade publics to behave in the way our organisation wants them to behave	0.689		
(4) disseminate accurate information but not to volunteer unfavourable information		0.825	
(1) get publicity for our organization		0.786	
(10) change our public's attitudes towards the organisation		0.704	
(3) prevent/neutralize unfavourable publicity		0.592	
(15) create dialogue (interactive communication) between the organisation and its public			0.884
(16) solicit feedback from the public in order to change the behaviour of the organisation			0.864
(18) do surveys to develop mutual understanding between our management and the public that the organisation affects			0.615
Note: Rotation converged in 4 iterations			

Out of four possible models from literature, only three factors (models) were identified. The first factor was labelled as the *two-way asymmetrical model* because it consisted of 5 variables (items 9, 11, 12, 13 14) defining the two way asymmetrical model. Factor 2 consists of variables (items 1, 3, 4 and 10) which are in general related to the public information model and the press agentry model. This factor was labelled as the *news bureau model*. The third factor is defined by three variables (items 15, 16 and 18) and was labelled as the *two-way symmetrical* model, because all these variables related to the two-way symmetrical model. Cronbach's coefficient alphas were calculated to examine the internal consistency of the *two-way asymmetrical subscale (factor 1* - α = 0.824*)*, the *news bureau subscale (factor*2 - α = 0.764*)*, and *the two-way symmetrical subscale (factor 3* - α = 0.794*)*. Acceptable coefficient alphas were obtained for all factors, supporting their internal consistency.

Structural measures of factors influencing PR practice

The index of collectivistic organizational culture includes the following items*:*
a) group welfare is more important than individual reward,
b) group success is more important than individual success,
c) being accepted by members of the work group is very important, d) managers should encourage group loyalty even if individual goals suffer and e) individuals may be expected to give up their goals in order to benefit group success.

The items have been taken and adapted from Dorfman and Howell (1988). All the items use a standard 5-point agreement scale. Possible total scores range from 4 to 20 with higher scores indicating greater level of collectivism. The democratic management style index consists of 4 questions taken from Sriramesh et al. (1996): *In my organization…:*
a) most decisions in my company are made after thorough discussion between all people who will be affected in a major way;
b) senior managers believe in the sharing of power and responsibility with lower level employees;
c) most employees in my company share a common sense of the company's mission that most think is worth striving to achieve and
d) senior managers care deeply about other employees.
A 5-item scale (from 1=completely disagree to 5=completely agree) was used for recording answers. The index is obtained by summing the values. Larger score indicates a higher degree of democratic management style.

The social orientation level of top management members was measured by a 5-item scale ranging from 1=completely disagree to 5=completely agree. The scale, constructed by J. Choi

(2007), consists of 6 statements: *Our top management thinks that ...*
a) society has the right to make certain demands from a private corporation;
b) a corporation has a responsibility to respond to social change;
c) a corporation has a duty to adapt it policies and practices in response to social expectation;
d) corporations should bring social responsibility into their day to day operations;
e) corporations should make social responsibility a part of business decisions and
f) corporations must set social goals just as they set business goals.

Possible index values range from 6 to 30 with higher scores indicating greater level of social orientation. The level of support for and understanding of the PR function by top management is obtained by summing the value *of* the rating for each of the following statements (items): *the top executives (managers) in my organization...*
a) have an understanding of the public relations function,
b) support the public relations function,
c) fully understands the role of public relations department and
d) consider public relations function important to the success of our organization.

Respondents were given a 5 point scale with 1=completely disagree and 5=completely agree. The index is obtained by summing the values (possible total scores range from 4 to 20). Larger scores indicate a higher level of support and understanding of the PR function by top management.

The organization's previous negative experience with the public was measured by asking the respondents to indicate on a five-point scale whether they agree or disagree with the statement: "*My organization didn't have negative experiences with the public in the past*". As an indicator of the support of the legal department (counsellor), respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which the organization's legal department provides legal support in complex situations, with 3 offered answers: *never, sometime and always*. The existence of risk and issue management programs or staff was dichotomized into either *yes* or *no*. As an indicator of the role of the PR unit in the formulation of public relations strategies, the following question was used "In your organization, PR strategy is formulated by..." with four offered answers: *top-management and then implemented by the public relations staff, top management after consulting with the public relations staff, public relations staff but reviewed by management* and *solely the public relations staff.*

The share of employees with formal education in the public relations unit was assessed with a question with 5 offered answers*: none, a few, about the half, the majority, all.* To determine the location of the PR unit in the organizational structure, a question with the following answers was used: *stand-alone unit, within the marketing unit, within another unit* and *the unit is not formally established.* The size of the PR unit was measured by the number of workers in the unit. As an indicator of the influence of the PR unit in institution-wide decisions in relation to other units a question was used with the following 5 answers: *much less, somewhat less, about the same, somewhat more, much more influence.* For the last six questions in this part of the questionnaire the respondents were asked to assess on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) the extent to which they agree with the statement that their unit had enough higher educated workers, enough experience in conflict resolution, sufficient trained staff in applying research methods, sufficient resources to operate and that their unit is involved in all major decisions made by their organization.

Data analysis procedure

The researchers used the IBM SPSS 19 to analyze data. Descriptive statistics were used to summarize the demographic data. Regression analysis with optimal scaling (also known by the acronym CATREG) was adopted to examine which factors predict the choice of the PR models of Croatian organizations on the Internet. CATREG extends the standard approach by simultaneously scaling nominal, ordinal, and numerical variables. The procedure quantifies categorical variables so that the quantifications reflect characteristics of the original categories. The procedure treats quantified categorical variables in the same way as numerical variables. The contribution of each predictor variable is expressed by a regression coefficient (β) which measures the average amount the dependent variable changes for a one-unit change in the independent variable (Kocklauner, 2000, 125; Meulman, 1997).

Results

Before entering all independent variables for regression analysis, correlations among them were analyzed to check multicollinearity. The correlation coefficient greater than 0.8 between any two variables is an indication of multicollinearity (Field, 2005). Since the highest correlation coefficient is r=0.72 which is less than 0.8, there is no evidence of multicollinearity among the independent variables in this research (see table 2).

Table 2. *Correlation Matrix (*Pearson's *correlation coefficients between independent variables)*

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17
V1	1.00																
V2	0.52*	1.00															
V3	0.51*	0.61*	1.00														
V4	0.59*	0.44*	0.46*	1.00													
V5	0.31*	0.40*	0.50*	0.49*	1.00												
V6	0.26*	0.32*	0.38*	0.31*	0.68*	1.00											
V7	0.34*	0.47*	0.52*	0.31*	0.37*	0.28*	1.00										
V8	0.17**	0.09	0.24*	0.15	0.31*	0.27*	0.08*	1.00									
V9	-0.22**	-0.32*	-0.21**	-0.18**	-0.13	-0.13	-0.33	-0.24**	1.00								
V10	0.18**	0.06	0.06	0.21**	0.11	0.06	0.08	0.07	-0.19**	1.00							
V11	0.11	0.26**	0.08	0.12	0.13	0.06	0.20**	0.05	-0.01	-0.21**	1.00						

V12	0.09	0.01	-0.03	0.03	0.02	0.22**	0.04	-0.17**	0.24**	-0.08	-0.02**	1.00					
V13	-0.12	-0.13	-0.22*	-0.20**	-0.28*	-0.17	-0.14	-0.09	0.14	-0.13	-0.17	0.16	1.00				
V14	0.18**	0.35*	0.45*	0.18**	0.35*	0.37*	0.30*	0.21**	-0.08	-0.07	0.28	-0.05	-0.17**	1.00			
V15	0.36	0.47*	0.59*	0.45*	0.67*	0.51*	0.43*	0.20**	-0.24**	-0.07	0.35	-0.11	-0.25	0.56*	1.00		
V16	0.18**	0.36*	0.46*	0.33*	0.52*	0.33*	0.35*	0.18**	-0.16	0.02	0.27	-0.05	-0.26	0.49*	0.70*	1.00	
V17	0.35	0.49*	0.52*	0.48*	0.63*	0.50*	0.38*	0.21**	-0.25**	0.08	0.22	-0.04	-0.17	0.42	0.72*	0.69*	1.00

* Significant at the 0.01 level

** Significant at the 0.05 level

The regression model in table 3 shows the predictors of the choice of the two-way symmetrical model. The total amount of variance explained in the criterion variable was 64.4%. The overall relationship proved to be statistically significant ($R = 0.803$, $F = 2.021$, $p = 0.005$). In general, the results show that the choice of the two-way symmetrical model of public relations on the Internet can be predicted on the basis of certain organizational characteristics.

Table 3. *Regression of independent variables on a two-way symmetrical model*

Variables		Beta (ß)	Std. Error	F	p value
V1	organizational culture (collectivistic)	0.155	0.298	0.269	0.765
V2	management style (democratic)	0.228	0.3461	0.436	0.512
V3	social orientation level of top management members	0.393	0.222	3.125	0.033
V4	support for and understanding of the PR function by top management	-0.340	0.407	0.697	0.558
V5	organization's previous negative experience with public	0.383	0.140	7.515	0.000
V6	support of the legal department (counsellor)	0.178	0.131	1.853	0.179

V7	existence of risk and issue management programs or staff	0.061	0.103	0.350	0.556
V8	PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies	0.356	0.172	4.302	0.008
V9	location (organization) of public relations unit	0.066	0.139	0.222	0.881
V10	PR unit size(number of employee)	0.104	0.124	0.705	0.553
V11	formal education in public relations	0.245	0.153	2.556	0.048
V12	number of practitioners with college degrees/ higher educated workers	0.259	0.203	1.614	0.183
V13	staff trained in applying research methods and techniques	0.340	0.192	3.148	0.021
V14	practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict	0.338	0.192	3.092	0.022
V15	amount of available resources (funding, time and staff) to operate	0.268	0.163	2.678	0.040
V16	involvement of PR in major decisions made by their organization	0.256	0.209	1.504	0.213
V17	PR unit's influence in institution-wide decisions in relation to other units	0.242	0.189	1.639	0.177

Note: R (multiple correlation coefficient) = 0.803; R^2 (coefficient of determination) = 0.644; F = 2.021; Sig. = 0.005

An overview of each individual predictor shows that *amount of available resources to operate* (b=0.27, p=0.04), *formal education in public relations* (b= 0.245, p=0.048), *experience level in dealing with conflict* (b=0.338, p=0.022), *PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies* (b= 0.356, p=0,008), *staff training in applying research methods and techniques* (b=0.34, p=0.02), *previous negative experience with public* (b=0.383, p=0.000) and *social orientation level of top management's member*s (b=0.393, p=0.033) are positively related to the choice of the two-way symmetric model on the Internet. The most significant predictors are the social *orientation level of top management's members* (b=0.39), and somewhat weaker *previous negative experience with public* (b=0.38).

In the following analysis, we tried to identify the variables that best predict the choice of the *news bureau* model. The steps were identical to those in the previous analysis. Table 4 shows the predictors of the choice of the news bureau model. Together they explain 62% of the variance. The multiple correlation coefficient is 0.800 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (R = 0.800, F = 1.979, p = 0.006). This means that the tested variables, to a certain extent, can be predictor variables of the choice of the *news bureau* model. *Social orientation level of top management's members* (b=0.577, p=0.00), *previous negative experience with public* (b=0.281, p=0.005), *PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies* (b=0.391, p=0.006) are statistically significant predictors at the 0.01 level, while *practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict* (b=0.368, p=0.034) and *staff trained in applying research methods and techniques* (b=0.381, p=0.014) are statistically significant predictors at the 0.05 level.

Table 4. *Regression of independent variables on a news bureau model*

Variables		Beta (ß)	Std. Error	F	p value
V1	organizational culture (collectivistic)	0.178	0.299	0.352	0.555
V2	management style (democratic)	0.063	0.402	0.024	0.877
V3	social orientation level of top management members	0.577	0.233	6.158	0.000
V4	support for and understanding of the PR function by top management	-0.189	0.369	0.261	0.853
V5	organization's previous negative experience with public	0.281	0.137	4.187	0.005
V6	support of the legal department (counsellor)	0.188	0.147	1.635	0.206
V7	existence of risk and issue management programs or staff	0.233	0.146	2.573	0.114
V8	PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies	0.391	0.182	4.623	0.006
V9	location (organization) of public relations unit	0.154	0.147	1.093	0.359

V10	PR unit size(number of employee)	0.248	0.131	3.566	0.119
V11	formal education in public relations	0.183	0.151	1.464	0.225
V12	number of practitioners with college degrees/ higher educated workers	0.243	0.222	1.202	0.320
V13	staff trained in applying research methods and techniques	0.381	0.207	3.405	0.014
V14	practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict	0.368	0.220	2.804	0.034
V15	amount of available resources (funding, time and staff) to operate	0.057	0.158	0.131	0.970
V16	involvement of PR in major decisions made by their organization	0.061	0.190	0.104	0.981
V17	PR unit's influence in institution-wide decisions in relation to other units	0.144	0.156	0.853	0.498
Note: R (multiple correlation coefficient) = 0.800; R^2 (coefficient of determination) = 0.620; F = 1.979; Sig. = 0.006					

Finally, in our third analysis, we wanted to find out the most significant variables in explaining the choice of the two-way asymmetrical model of public relations on the Internet. According to data in table 5, the most significant predictors of the summative measure of the two-way asymmetric model are: *formal education in public relations* (b=0.384, p=0.002), *location (organization) of public relations unit* (b=0.312, p=0.023) and *PR unit size (average number of employee)* (b=0.282, p=0.008). The set of independent (predictor) variables explains 61.4% of variance in the criterion variable. The multiple correlation coefficient is 0.783 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (F = 1.908, p = 0.009). The results show that the choice of the two-way asymmetrical model of public relations on the Internet can be predicted solely on the basis of some tested variables. *Education in public relations* has the highest value of beta weight. The other two predictor variables have a lower value, particularly in the case for the *number of employees in the unit*.

Table 5. *Regression of independent variables on a two-way asymmetric model*

Variables		Beta (ß)	Std. Error	F	p value
V1	organizational culture (collectivistic)	-0.256	0.365	0.491	0.690
V2	management style (democratic)	0.264	0.320	0.681	0.413
V3	social orientation level of top management members	0.019	0.372	0.003	0.959
V4	support for and understanding of the PR function by top management	0.283	0.253	1.250	0.294
V5	organization's previous negative experience with public	0.161	0.133	1.458	0.226
V6	support of the legal department (counsellor)	0.258	0.136	3.602	0.063
V7	existence of risk and issue management programs or staff	0.116	0.113	1.058	0.308
V8	PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies	0.203	0.167	1.468	0.232
V9	location (organization) of public relations unit	0.312	0.168	3.424	0.023
V10	PR unit size(number of employee)	0.282	0.136	4.274	0.008
V11	formal education in public relations	0.384	0.177	4.710	0.002
V12	number of practitioners with college degrees/ higher educated workers	0.148	0.196	0.568	0.687
V13	staff trained in applying research methods and techniques	0.235	0.182	1.664	0.170
V14	practitioners' experience level in dealing with conflict	0.210	0.190	1.223	0.310
V15	amount of available resources (funding, time and staff) to operate	0.284	0.183	2.422	0.058
V16	involvement of PR in major decisions made by their organization	0.297	0.201	2.188	0.081
V17	PR unit's influence in institution-wide decisions in relation to other units	0.260	0.167	2.428	0.057

Note: R (multiple correlation coefficient) = 0.783; R^2 (coefficient of determination) = 0.614; F = 1.908; Sig. = 0.009

Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to verify the role of some factors in explaining the choice of public relations models in Croatian cyberspace. In order to determine which factors contribute to the choice of each of the three models separately, regression analysis with optimal scaling was conducted. The models were treated as criterion, and the organization-linked factors as predictor variables. Thus we got the answer which factors and to what extent they explain the choice of public relations models and how much of variance of choice can be explained by differences in organization-linked characteristics.

Regression analysis of the two-way symmetric model shows that all the variables explained about 64% of the variance, which is a sufficiently large percentage to claim that at least some of our variables are strong predictors of the choice of the two-way symmetrical model. The findings reveal that the *social orientation level of top management members* is the most potent contributor to the prediction of the two-way symmetric model. A good prediction also makes the *organization's previous negative experience with the public.* It is obvious that organizations that seek harmonious relations and relate responsibly to their environment are more likely to use the two-way symmetrical model. Furthermore, those who have experienced a negative experience with the public in the past are willing to engage in dialogue, which will allow them to put similar trouble aside. This suggests that negative experiences help increase awareness of the positive implications of the use of the two-way symmetric public relations.

PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies is also identified as a predictor of the two-way symmetrical model. This finding agrees with the works of Broom and Dozier (1985), Grunig and Schneider Grunig (1989) and White and Dozier (1992) that discovered that a top management team is a key to success in establishing two-way symmetrical communication programs and in defining just how broad-based PR is going to be. They argued that the top management team is instrumental in determining public relations strategies and therefore is instrumental in defining the focus, scope and structure of PR. Isolating public relations from the top management team limits the profession to developing 'reactive' PR strategies because PR units rarely rise above the role of communication technicians. *Training in applying research methods and techniques* is also found to be a significant predictor of the choice, which is not suprising. The two-way symmetrical model is a more complex form of public relations that seeks to balance the interests of the organization and public. In the model, the emphasis is on encouraging and creating understanding, which involves changing attitudes, awareness and behavior. Although these changes can sometimes be easily recognized, achieving these goals and quantifying the level of change usually require research.

Also consistent with Grunig and Grunig (1992) and Plowman (1998), *the experience level in dealing with conflict* is a statistically significant predictor of the two-way symmetrical model. Overall balance between the organization and the public rarely exists, especially when their interests are different. A conflict is an integral part of an organization's life. A resolution can be reached gradually, by learning how to resolve issues through negotiations in the spirit of mutual respect. The conflict cannot be resolved constructively without positive interactions and the avoidance of creating winners and losers. Therefore, it seems logical that organizations, whose PR units have an experience in conflict resolution, tend to use the Internet to create the atmosphere of an open dialogue with the public, which can lead to better relationships.

Resources to operate also make a significant contribution to the prediction of the two-way symmetric model choice, even slightly better than *formal education in public relations*. This positive relationship indicates that the establishment of open, two-way communication with the public is under the direct influence of the available amount of financial resources, time, and/or staff that the PR unit can mobilize to engage in such activities, as well as the formal education of the PR staff, which is not surprising because the two-way symmetrical concept, as an advanced stage of public relations, requires the use of strong analytical and communication skills. Without an adequate level of knowledge of public relations theory, public relations can hardly be understood as a two-way communication process.

Similar results were obtained in explaining the choice of the *news bureau* model. The total percentage of explained variance is somewhat smaller than in the two-way symmetrical model (about 62%). Here too, the *social orientation level of top management members* is a significant predictor (it also performs the best prediction in the regression model - beta 0.578). The *previous negative experience with the public also makes* a significant contribution to the prediction of the news bureau model use, but lower when compared to the two-way symmetrical model.

The relation between the news bureau model and the *social orientation level of top management members* as well as the *previous negative experience with the public* is somehow surprising given that both variables are also predictors of the two-way symmetrical model. A possible explanation for a greater contribution of the *social orientation level of top management members* and of the *previous negative experience with the public* in choosing the news bureau model could be that the model, among others, includes the consistent release of objective and accurate information. Namely, socially orientated top management members, although prone to cooperation and to establish harmony between the organization and society (the principle of mutual benefit), will sometimes hesitate between a reactive or proactive attitude because of the previously negative experience. Fearful of a re-failure and aware of the dangers that a dialogue (proactive stance) can bring, they will decide to publish only objective and accurate information (reactive stance), in order to respond to the request, pressure, etc.

The *PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies*, *knowledge (training) in applying research methods and techniques* and *experience level in dealing with conflict* are also found to be significant predictors of the choice of the news bureau model. It is evident that public relations units when dealing with different conflict situations, and based on their own prior experience, are also using the news bureau model besides the two-way symmetric model. That leads us to the conclusion that depending on the situation, it is desirable to combine different communication styles, but also that two-way communication does not always ensure successful conflict resolution which is in line with the results of previous studies that have shown that in some cases, two-way communication can infact worsen the outcome (Krauss and Morselli, 2000). Depending on the situation, the public relations unit will also disseminate information (with or without an emotional charge) and depending on the structured message, will rely either on the rational interpretation of information by the public or on the emotions of the public.

At first sight, based on a quick and superficial judgement, the relation between *training in applying research methods and techniques* and the news bureau model can appear unacceptable. However, if we start from the basic assumption that conducting evaluation researches with identical methodologies as in traditional media can cause larger errors in the measurements, then the connection between research methods and the *news bureau* model is more than clear. The *news bureau* model is a one-way model in which, a research is usually limited to descriptive summation (for example, to determine the number of people who visit the Web site) or to determine the degree of intelligibility of information (press releases on the internet). However, many practitioners in public relations began their professional career before the digital age and are not comfortable with the internet environment. As digital immigrants they are forced to adapt to the rapid changes in communications and information technologies. Monitoring an on-line media release requires a shift away from the traditional metrics.

If the goal of on-line public relations is to increase the number of visits to a website, using web analytics tools it is possible to monitor what is happening and where the traffic is coming from. For example, on a blog, using frequency of comments, it is possible to determine how much an organization is interesting to the public, which may be an effective indicator of attention attraction (publicity) or changing attitudes. If the number of commentators is large, it is obvious that something must be happening. Using *Google Trends*, for example, it is possible to monitor trends and evaluate the popularity of search terms, while *blogpulse.com* monitors what people are talking about (blog trends). Although they will not reveal whether the exchange is positive or negative, they will reveal the frequency of conversation.

The results of the analysis also indicate that the *PR unit's role in the formulation of PR strategies* has a significant impact on the choice of the news bureau model. However, the impact is mostly indirect. In organizations where PR units are not involved or do not cooperate with the top management in the formulation of PR strategies, public relations activities are of a lower order and are practiced as a reactive activity (reacting to events, usually defensively). The public relations unit's assignment is to make public what has already happened. It is a one-way activity. Public relations units are telling the world what the organization has done or is doing, without taking into account the views of others. They perform routine daily tasks: creating publications, press releases, news stories, reports, speeches, etc. Public relations are just a tactical communication tool used when adding ''gloss'' to information.

Finally, regression analysis of the two-way asymmetric model shows that the percentage of explained variance is lower than in the first two models (0.61). In this model, only three variables significantly predict its choice. The best predictor of the two-way asymmetrical model is *formal education in public relations*. The *location of public relations unit* also makes significant contribution to the prediction of the choice of the two-way symmetric model choice as well as the *size of public relations* unit.

This finding could be attributed to the fact that the purpose of the two-way asymmetrical model is scientific persuasion. In the model, communication flows in two directions, to and from the public, and PR practitioners speak and listen. Knowledge based on formal education in public relations is obviously an element that helps public relations professionals in persuading the public to accept the point of view of the organization and to behave in a way that supports the organization. This is in line with Grunig and Grunig's (1992) claim that public relations can be the professional and management function only if public relations practitioners have necessary theoretical knowledge, which includes education for that profession. The two way models, according to the authors, are the opposite ends of a continuum which they define as professional public relations.

As for the location of the public relations unit, the choice of the two-way asymmetric model is stronger in those organizations where public relations are not organized as an independent organizational unit. When structured under other organizational units (marketing, legal, services ...), public relations are often only a support tool of those organizational units, and they deal only with the public of interest for the unit in which they are located. In such a paradigm, according to Grunig (2009, 4), it is often believed that the public can be persuaded, that is, that it is possible to influence their knowledge, attitudes and behaviours by means of communication that is designed to promote the interests of the organization with little or no concern for the public interest. The size of the public relations unit is also a factor that influences the decision of the choice of the two-way asymmetric model. This is not surprising since the rise in the number of employees (practitioners) leads to specialization and professionalization of the staff, which are prerequisites for the advanced two-way practice of public relations. This result is similar to results found by Schneider (1985, 573) of a positive correlation between the size of public relations unit and the use of the two-way models (asymmetric and symmetric) in mixed mechanical - organic organizations.

Limitations

In order to fully consider the potential of this study, several limitations must be addressed. The size and convenience of the sample limits generalizability of these findings. Organizations of different sizes, types of ownership and sectors were not equally covered. There are likely some limitations in the selection of the independent variables (factors) too. The practice of public relations is complex and is influenced by many factors. In this study, only a limited number of independent variables have been tested. Other important variables, and their relationships to cyberspace public relations models, may need to be tested (i.e. the personal characteristics and abilities of practitioners themselves).

The additional limitation is the fact that public relations is still a young industry in Croatia. Not all the participants in this study have an appropriate concept of PR. In other words, some answers from certain items of the questionnaire could be limited because of the participants' limited perceptions of PR. Furthermore, the collected responses represent public relations practitioners' subjective assessments that do not necessarily reflect reality. The assessment of non-public relations members (top managers or other members of the organization), for certain variables could be more objective and closer to reality.

The lack of a previous research with which the results of this study could be compared is another limitation of this study. During the preparation of the questionnaire, numerous studies were consulted, mostly conducted in the U.S. or in other foreign countries that are culturally and developmentally different from us. For this reason, the interpretation of the research results is somewhat difficult due to inability to compare the results and to draw conclusions by comparing them. Using online surveys to collect information also entails certain limitations. It is not possible to check the understanding of instructions or monitor the behaviour of participants in completing the survey. It is difficult to verify the identity of participants, their age and gender. In addition, the anonymous nature of the Internet allows people to participate negligent or malevolent. It should be noted that the response rate to the questionnaire was low, which makes the interpretation of the data insufficiently precise, but still indicative. In the future, other survey methods, or qualitative interviews, should be considered as additional methods.

Conclusion

This research studies what organization-linked factors are associated with (predict) the choice of the public relations models in cyberspace by Croatian organizations. The results show that the tested set of variables is significant in predicting the choice of each model. The influence on the choice of the two-way symmetric model and the news bureau model exert: an experience in dealing with conflict, PR's role in the formulation of PR strategies, research methods and knowledge techniques, the social orientation level of top management members and a previous negative experience of the organization with the public. The amount of resources to operate and staff formal education in public relations also exerts a direct influence on the choice of the two-way symmetrical model. Only three variables emerged as predictors of the choice of the two-way asymmetric model: formal education in public relations, the size and location (organization) of the PR unit.

Although satisfactory models were obtained in which some clear relationships between the factors and the models were found, and even predictive power of certain factors, the results of this study revealed a weak correlation between the models and the tested factors. Moreover, the results show that most of the factors can be considered to be universal. Nevertheless, on the basis of the obtained research results, we can conclude with a measure of caution, that there are at least some variables that influence their choice. The relationship between the models of public relations and factors influencing their choice on the Internet in this study is only partially resolved.

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Sažetak

U radu su prikazani rezultati istraživanja koje je provedeno s ciljem utvrđivanja organizacijskih čimbenika povezanih s odabirom modela odnosa s javnošću na internetu. Istraživanje je provedeno na uzorku od 111 ispitanika, zaposlenih u službama za odnose s javnošću. Rezultati provedene regresijske analize su pokazali da su prosocijalna orijentiranost vrhovnog rukovodstva, količina raspoloživih resursa za rad, prethodno negativno iskustvo organizacije s javnošću te razina poznavanja metoda i tehnika istraživanja utjecajni prediktori odabira modela odnosa s javnošću na internetu. Značajnim prediktorima utvrđeni su i formalno obrazovanje iz odnosa s javnošću, iskustvo u rješavanju konfliktnih situacija, veličina i ustroj službe za odnose s javnošću te uloga službe za odnose s javnošću u formulaciji strategije odnosa s javnošću. Suprotno očekivanjima, zasnovanim na općim teorijskim postavkama i istraživanjima, organizacijska kultura, stil upravljanja, razumijevanje i potpora odnosima s javnošću od strane vrhovnog rukovodstva, postojanje programa i/ili osoblja zaduženo za upravljanje spornim pitanjima, uključenost PR službe u donošenju važnih odluka u organizaciji, potpora pravne službe (savjetnika) i broj visoko obrazovanih u PR službi nisu se pokazali značajnim.

Ključne riječi: odnosi s javnošću, modeli, organizacijski čimbenici, internet

Obilježja i dosezi razvoja memorijalnog turizma u Hrvatskoj

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Summary

During the past two decades, human suffering, disaster, tragedy and untimely death have become standard components of dark tourism products. The increasing popularity of places being marked as memorial sites has turned death- and tragedy-related monuments and events into a commodity that can be sold and bought in the market. A growing body of literature reveals a strong relationship between travel, collective remembrance and the commodification of death wrapped into a tourist attraction that provides various death-related tourist experiences. Yet, development of memorial tourism within the framework of dark tourism raises many questions regarding the ethics and epistemology of the commodification of empathy related to mass human tragedies occurred in the past. Besides analyzing the characteristics and success of internationally recognized memorial sites, this paper deals with a comparative analysis of the three most popular memorial sites in Croatia: 1) Jasenovac used as Second World War concentration camp, 2) Goli otok (Naked island) that served as a political prison during the Yugoslav communist era, and 3) Vukovar known as 'hero town', a symbol of Croatian resistance against military occupation during the Homeland war. All three sites have shown some strengths as well as weaknesses regarding the memorial tourism offer. The conclusion is that the leading memorial sites in Croatia, concerning the number of visitors, their revenues and impacts on society, are far behind the world leading sites in this segment, but certainly represent an attractive non-conventional tourist offer for which international demand is showing a clear growth trend.

Keywords: dark tourism, memorial tourism, memorial sites, commodification, Croatia

Uvod

Krajem 20. stoljeća tematska turistička putovanja poprimila su obilježja atraktivnog, a samim time i vrlo traženog, turističkog proizvoda. Odraz je to sazrijevanja i raslojavanja turističkog tržišta, kao i odmicanja od nediferenciranoga masovnog turizma prema usko specijaliziranim i jasno definiranim tržišnim segmentima (nišama). Segmentacija tržišta prema tematici turističkih putovanja proizašla je iz evolucije turističkih motiva na strani potražnje, ali i potrebe za kreiranjem identiteta turističkih destinacija u cilju bolje prepoznatljivosti i podizanja konkurentnosti na tržištu. Na tim osnovama, u fokusu ovog istraživanja nalazi se memorijalni turizam promatran kao segment tzv. 'mračnog turizma', koji karakteriziraju određene posebnosti, ali i paradoksi. Suprotno tradicionalnom poimanju (masovnih) turističkih putovanja koja su najčešće obilježena odmorom, zabavom i rekreacijom, u bogatom spektru turističkih motiva nalazi se i želja ljudi za posjećivanjem onih turističkih destinacija i lokaliteta koji su na bilo koji način obilježeni ljudskom patnjom i tragedijom širih razmjera.

Cilj je rada istražiti obilježja i dosege razvoja memorijalnog turizma u Hrvatskoj, komparirajući obilježja i dostupne pokazatelje o razvoju turizma u Jasenovcu, Golom otoku i Vukovaru. Ova su tri lokaliteta odabrana jer pobuđuju najviše interesa kako domaće, tako i međunarodne javnosti u pogledu velikog broja ljudskih žrtava, zbog čega imaju velik potencijal za intenzivniji razvoj memorijalnog turizma. Kako se razvoj memorijalnog turizma temelji na resursima koji nisu primarno namijenjeni gospodarskoj eksploataciji, u radu se preispituje opravdanost i mogućnosti korištenja istih u turističke svrhe pri čemu se nastoje harmonizirati ekonomski, društveni i obrazovni interesi koji proizlaze iz takvih turističkih posjeta.

Definicija, pojava i obilježja memorijalnog turizma

Prema tematici putovanja i motivima koji potiču ljude na turistička kretanja u destinacije i lokalitete koji su u bližoj ili daljoj povijesti bili obilježeni smrću, nasiljem, stradanjima i patnjom ljudi, memorijalni turizam okvirno pripada tzv. 'mračnom turizmu' (engl. dark tourism). Kao jedan od tržišno definiranih specifičnih oblika turizma (engl. special interest tourism), mračni se turizam po mnogo čemu razlikuje od ostalih oblika turističkih kretanja. Među ključnim razlikama su svakako višedimenzionalnost motivacije za posjetom lokaliteta i atrakcija obilježenih ljudskim tragedijama, kao i društvena osjetljivost resursa koji čine osnovu za njegov razvoj. Višedimenzionalnost motivacije ogleda se u različitosti poimanja tragedije koja je povezana s ljudskom patnjom, različitosti psiholoških stanja posjetitelja i unutrašnjih poriva za posjetom mjesta povezanih s tragedijama, različitim stavovima o okolnostima u kojima je tragedija nastala, kao i mogućnostima promatranja tragedije s različitih stajališta i na različitim razinama osobne uključenosti. Društvena osjetljivost resursa na kojima se temelji razvoj 'mračnog turizma' ukazuje na potrebu za postizanjem općeg konsenzusa oko uporabe (društveno i politički) osjetljivih povijesnih činjenica, lokaliteta i predmeta u definiranju statičkih i dinamičkih komponenti (mračne) turističke ponude. Upravo na temelju tih, ali i drugih vezanih obilježja, brojni su autori pokušali definirati 'mračni turizam', dajući vlastito viđenje ove pojave (fenomena) iz različitih kutova promatranja.

Premda putovanja povezana sa smrću, nasiljem, stradanjima i ljudskom patnjom sežu u daleku prošlost pa čak i do vremena gladijatorskih borbi u starom Rimu (Stone i Sharpley, 2008: 574), dostupna literatura na temu mračnog turizma potvrđuje da je riječ o novijem trendu turističkih putovanja koja su postala popularna tek sredinom 1990-ih godina (Kang i dr., 2010: 752). Time se ne poriče niti umanjuje važnost činjenice da je takvih putovanja bilo i ranije, ali je tek u novije doba 'mračni turizam' postao jasno oblikovan i tražen turistički proizvod. Evolucijom tržišta turističke potražnje i kreiranjem turističkih proizvoda prilagođenih širem krugu posjetitelja koji, pojednostavljeno rečeno, dublje i intenzivnije promišljaju o životu i smrti tražeći lokalitete gdje su se dogodile tragedije širih razmjera, mračni turizam dobio je svoje praktične i teorijske obrise i time postao predmetom brojnih znanstvenih istraživanja. Važno je pritom spomenuti da se proučavanje ove pojave nije zadržalo samo na povremenim analizama i tematskim istraživanjima, već je potaknulo i osnivanje znanstvenog Instituta za istraživanje 'mračnog turizma' pri University of Central Lancashire (UK) 2005. godine, čime je ovaj specifični oblik turizma dobio svoju referentnu instituciju na globalnoj razini.

Sintagmu 'mračni turizam' po prvi puta su u znanstvene svrhe koristili Foley i Lennon (1996: 198) u svom radu o medijskoj fascinaciji ubojstvom američkog predsjednika J. F. Kennedyja 1963. godine, a definirali su ga kao pojavu koja objedinjava prezentaciju (ponude) i konzumaciju (od strane posjetitelja) lokaliteta povezanih sa smrću i katastrofama. Nešto jednostavniju definiciju 'mračnog turizma' ponudio je Stone (2006: 146) koji objašnjava da su to putovanja u destinacije povezane sa smrću, patnjom i zvjerstvima. Pridodavanjem dinamičke komponente samoj pojavi, Tarlow (2005: 48) definira 'mračni turizam' kao posjećivanje mjesta gdje su se dogodile povijesno važne pogibije i koje su nastavile utjecati na naše živote. Takav pristup podrazumijeva povezivanje tragičnih događanja iz prošlosti s obrisima vremena u kojem suvremeni posjetitelj živi i radi, što mu se na razumljiv i prihvatljiv način prezentira i interpretira u okviru elemenata mračne turističke ponude. Vezano uz prethodno, zanimljiva je i definicija Lennona i Foleya (2002: 12) koji 'mračni turizam' poistovjećuju s događanjima koja su se zbila u bližoj prošlosti, a koja potiču posjetitelja da (pre)ispituje pojave modernog doba u povijesnom kontekstu. Iako pristupa i definicija ima još, može se zaključiti da je 'mračni turizam' prepoznat kao skup turističkih kretanja u kojem su glavni motivi posjeta nekoj destinaciji ili izdvojenom lokalitetu, u suštini obrazovanje i empatijski odnos prema tragediji, patnji i ljudskim žrtvama koje su posljedica društvenih sukoba, prirodnih katastrofa ili nesretnih slučajeva, ali se isto tako među sekundarnim motivima mogu pojaviti politika, (re)socijalizacija, (re)integracija pa čak i zabava (npr. turistički razgledi mističnih kutaka gradova Europe i dr.).

Premda je sintagma 'mračni turizam' nespretna za korištenje sa stajališta teorije turizma jer u sebi ne konkretizira motiv turističkog putovanja, što je zapravo suština postojanja i razvoja specifičnih oblika turizma, ona je znanstveno i tržišno prihvaćena jer svojim jezičnim obuhvatom i značenjem pokriva gotovo sve aspekte ljudske tragedije i s njom povezana turistička kretanja. Kao što ni neki drugi specifični oblici turizma u svojim nazivima nemaju konkretiziran motiv putovanja (poput seoskog ili ekoturizma), za koje već postoji razvijeno tržište i potencijal za daljnji razvoj, tako je i u slučaju 'mračnog turizma' riječ o znanstveno i tržišno definiranom segmentu koji objedinjuje sva turistička kretanja motivirana ljudskom tragedijom ili patnjom, a koje po svojoj naravi pripadaju mračnoj strani života.

U nastojanjima da se naglase motivi putovanja u okviru mračnog turizma, a samim time i jasnije definiraju tržišni segmenti unutar njega, brojni su autori pokušali dodavati nove pridjeve pojmu turizam pa među takvim sintagmama vrijedi spomenuti 'turizam crnih mjesta' (engl. black-spot tourism; Rojek, 1993: 63), 'tanaturizam' (engl. thanatourism; Seaton, 1996: 234), 'morbidni turizam' (engl. morbid tourism; Blom, 2000: 29), 'turizam ropstva' (engl. slavery tourism; Dann i Seaton, 2009: 13), 'memorijalni turizam' (fr. tourisme de mémoire; Urbain, 2003), 'turizam zvjerstava' (engl. atrocity tourism; Ashworth i Hartmann, 2005: 12), ali i čitav niz pojavnih oblika 'turizma žalosti' (engl. grief tourism; Trotta, 2013) u kojima se navode 'turizam ratišta' (engl. battlefield tourism), 'turizam groblja' (engl. graveyard tourism), 'turizam katastrofa' (engl. disaster tourism), 'turizam duhova' (engl. ghost tourism), 'turizam holokausta' (engl. Holokaust tourism) i 'zatvorski turizam' (engl. prison tourism).

Za potrebe izrade ovog rada ciljano je korištena sintagma 'memorijalni turizam' (engl. memorial tourism, tourism of memory ili remembrance tourism; Hertzog, 2014: 96), čiji je tematski obuhvat, u odnosu na 'mračni turizam', ponešto sužen, a odnosi se na putovanja primarno motivirana obrazovanjem, empatijom i sjećanjem na masovne žrtve ratnih sukoba (terorističkih napada i političkih progona) te prirodnih i drugih katastrofa. U tom smislu, memorijalni je turizam moguće podijeliti na dva osnovna segmenta i to na 1) onaj vezan uz stradanja ljudi kao posljedica društvenih sukoba i 2) onaj vezan uz stradanja ljudi kao posljedica katastrofe. Za razliku od 'mračnog turizma' koji u kontekstu ovog rada predstavlja širi okvir, memorijalni turizam ne obuhvaća atrakcije, lokalitete i događanja kao što su mjesta stradavanja pojedinaca (npr. poznatih ličnosti), mjesta odvijanja morbidnih rituala u vjerske svrhe, opskurna mjesta s mističnim događanjima u svrhu zabave itd.

U znanstvenoj se literaturi memorijalni turizam kao sintagma relativno rijetko pojavljuje, a njeno se korištenje u najvećem broju slučajeva veže uz turističke posjete lokalitetima u spomen na masovne žrtve velikih ratova i političkih progona. Češće se takva turistička kretanja svrstavaju u širi kontekst 'mračnog turizma'. Primjera lokaliteta čije zajednice njeguju kulturu kolektivnog sjećanja ima nažalost mnogo diljem svijeta pa se, samo primjera radi, mogu istaknuti samo neki koji su obrađeni u znanstvenoj literaturi s područja turizma. Kronološki poredani po epohama obilježenih sukobima, odabrani su sljedeći primjeri iz različitih dijelova svijeta: Memorijalni centar Thiepval u Francuskoj u spomen na britanske i južnoafričke vojnike koji su poginuli u Bitci na Sommi u Prvom svjetskom ratu (Hertzog, 2012: 3), Memorijalni centar i muzej Auschwitz-Birkenau u sjećanje na masovne žrtve holokausta u Drugom svjetskom ratu (Miles, 2002: 1175), zatim Memorijalno groblje Hang Duong i pripadajući zatvor Phu Hai u Vijetnamu u spomen na žrtve nasilne francuske kolonizacije u 19. stoljeću i Vijetnamskog rata od 1955. do 1975. godine (Hayward i Tran, 2014), Memorijalni centar u Srebrenici u spomen na masovne žrtve iz 1995. godine za vrijeme Rata u Bosni i Hercegovini (Causevic i Lynch, 2011: 780), kao i vrlo posjećen Memorijalni centar i muzej izgrađen na lokalitetu nekadašnjeg Svjetskog trgovinskog centra u New Yorku, poznatiji kao Ground Zero, u spomen na žrtve terorističkog napada u rujnu 2001. godine (Lisle, 2004: 3). Nekadašnjih vrlo burnih ratnih lokaliteta, a danas turistički vrlo posjećenih memorijalnih centara, ima još, a oni najposjećeniji su nažalost i oni na kojima su razmjeri sukoba bili veliki i s velikim brojem žrtava.

S obzirom da je u fokusu ovog rada razvoj memorijalnog turizma u Hrvatskoj valja odmah naglasiti da se na teritoriju današnje Hrvatske nalazi velik broj gradova, općina, sela i posebnih lokaliteta koji su velikim slovima zapisani u analima ratnih zbivanja i u kojima postoji bogata kulturno-povijesna ostavština, memorijalni centri, spomen područja i spomen domovi, a u sjećanje na žrtve se održavaju (re)inscenacije povijesnih bitaka, komemoracije, memorijalne utrke, memorijalni turniri itd. Turistički najzanimljivije atrakcije vezane uz ratna zbivanja na području Hrvatske vežu se uz obrane od Tatara, Mletaka i Osmanlija s kraja srednjeg i početka novog vijeka, a glavninu turističke ponude čine danas dobro očuvane srednjovjekovne stare gradske jezgre (npr. Trogira ili Varaždina), zidine (npr. Dubrovnika ili Stona), tvrđave (npr. Nehaj u Senju ili Slavonski Brod) i povijesno-scenski spektakli (npr. Sinjska alka ili Sisački viteški turnir). S obzirom da su sve te danas turističke atrakcije vezane uz daleku povijest, posjetitelji današnjeg vremena boraveći na tim lokalitetima iste promatraju s povijesnim odmakom i nemaju empatijski odnos prema stradalim sudionicima iz tog doba jer ne postoji ‘živuća veza’ s tim vremenom. Međutim, sukobi i progoni koji su se dogodili od početka Drugog svjetskog rata pa sve do završetka Domovinskog rata i danas imaju živućih svjedoka koji posjećuju bivša ratna, a danas memorijalna mjesta, iz poštovanja i empatije prema stradalima i njihovim obiteljima. Za potrebe komparacije obilježja i dosege razvoja memorijalnog turizma iz skupine lokaliteta novije hrvatske povijesti izabrani su: 1) Jasenovac sa svojim Memorijalnim muzejom i Obrazovnim centrom u znak sjećanja na žrtve iz Drugog svjetskog rata (Mataušić, 2003), zatim 2) Goli otok s Memorijalnim centrom u spomen na žrtve progona političkih neistomišljenika nakon Drugog svjetskog rata (Kosić, 2009) i 3) grad Vukovar s nekoliko važnih memorijalnih objekata i lokaliteta na području grada u spomen na masovne žrtve iz Domovinskog rata (Opačić, 2003; Drvenkar i dr., 2014). Iako svi ovi lokaliteti imaju zajednički nazivnik kada je riječ o razvoju memorijalnog turizma, svaki od njih ima svoj povijesni kontekst, ali i suvremenu turističku interpretaciju.

Za razliku od turističkih putovanja motivirana empatijom prema žrtvama ratnih stradanja koja su konstantno podložna (najčešće političkim) raspravama i preispitivanjima povijesnih činjenica o uzrocima i posljedicama sukoba te o kolektivnoj ili individualnoj odgovornosti sudionika, drugi segment memorijalnog turizma se odnosi na turistička putovanja koja su motivirana empatijom prema masovnim žrtvama prirodnih i drugih katastrofa, kod kojih je dvojbenih pitanja relativno malo. U ovaj segment spadaju lokaliteti koji su bili zahvaćeni prirodnim katastrofama, a danas privlače brojne posjetitelje, su primjerice Phuket na Tajlandu globalno poznat po brojnim žrtvama razornog tsunamija krajem 2004. godine (Rittichainuwat, 2008: 422), zatim New Orleans u SAD-u koji je bio pogođen uraganom Katrina u ljeto 2005. godine iza kojeg su ostale mnoge žrtve i ogromna materijalna šteta (Pezzullo, 2009: 100), kao i Port-au-Prince na Haitiju gdje se nalazi memorijalno područje u spomen na masovne žrtve razornog potresa iz 2010. godine (Cole i Morgan, 2010: 208). U konačnici, u obuhvat razmatranja memorijalnog turizma mogu se uvrstiti i žrtve incidenata koji su nastali ljudskim djelovanjem, a nisu proizašli iz sukoba. Jedno od danas turistički najintrigantnijih mjesta na kojima se dogodila tzv. industrijska katastrofa je grad Černobil (točnije Pripyat) u Ukrajini u kojem je u travnju 1986. godine došlo do eksplozije jednog od reaktora nuklearne elektrane uslijed čega je gama radijacijom kontaminiran velik broj ljudi i okoliš interkontinentalnih razmjera. Iako su ukrajinske vlasti zabranile turističke obilaske lokaliteta 2011. godine, oni se, zbog velikog interesa turista, i dalje ilegalno organiziraju (Stone, 2013: 79). Među katastrofe s brojnim ljudskim žrtvama mogu se ubrojiti i potonuća velikih brodova, npr. Titanica (1914.) nakon kojeg je uređeno više memorijalnih mjesta u Belfastu, Washingtonu, New Yorku, Southamptonu, Cobhu, Bransonu i dr., a koja danas spadaju u vrlo posjećene turističke lokalitete. Turističkoj popularnosti ovih mjesta doprinio je i film Titanic iz 1997. godine, remek djelo koje spada u jedan od najgledanijih i Oskarom najnagrađivanijih filmova svih vremena (Brown i dr., 2013: 599). Premda manjeg značaja za turističke posjete, u ovu kategoriju mogu se još ubrojiti i velike zrakoplovne (npr. Tenerife 1977. godine) te željezničke nesreće (npr. Sri Lanka 2004. godine). S obzirom na to da Hrvatska nema lokaliteta na kojima su se dogodile prirodne, industrijske ili prometne katastrofe pa čak ni nesreće većih razmjera, ovi segmenti memorijalnog turizma ispušteni su iz obuhvata ovog rada.

Turistička motivacija i komodifikacija empatije u memorijalnom turizmu

Iz dostupnog znanstvenog opusa na temu memorijalnog turizma razvidno je opće suglasje među autorima oko toga da je razumijevanje memorijalnog turizma usko povezano s razumijevanjem motivacije ljudi da posjećuju mjesta obilježena ljudskim tragedijama širih razmjera (primjerice Seaton, 1996; Lennon i Foley, 2000; Yuill, 2003). Odmah potom, suglasni su i da analiza motivacije za putovanjem i boravkom posjetitelja na takvim lokalitetima seže daleko izvan opsega svakog pojedinog rada i istraživanja te da je dosadašnji interes akademske zajednice, iako ekstenzivan, tek na početku sveobuhvatnog razumijevanja potražnje za memorijalnim turizmom.

Jedan od ključnih aspekata u istraživanju memorijalnog turizma odnosi se na analizu intenziteta i sadržaja motivacije ljudi koji posjećuju memorijalne lokalitete. Kao polazište za takvu analizu može se upotrijebiti MacCannellova (1989; Sharpley i Telfer, 2014: 368) tvrdnja u kojoj ističe da su turisti za putovanja općenito motivirani stanjem u kojem se suvremeno društvo nalazi i, umjesto traženja nečeg nestvarnog, oni na svojim putovanjima traže doživljaje temeljene na realnosti i autentičnosti. Upravo zbog osjetljivosti načina i sadržaja prezentacije, odnosno interpretacije povijesnih činjenica koje čine atrakcijsku osnovu memorijalnog turističkog proizvoda, realnost i autentičnost postaju presudni elementi za uspješnost razvoja ovog oblika turizma.

Kao što je u uvodnom dijelu već istaknuto, višedimenzionalnost motivacije ogleda se u različitosti poimanja tragedije koja je povezana s ljudskom patnjom. Dok jedni tragediju doživljavaju kao situaciju koja se događa nekom drugom, drugi tragediju vide kao pouku iz koje valja učiti. Iz toga proizlazi da tragediju prije svega treba razumjeti kako bi se u društvu potaknule pozitivne promjene. Ako znamo uzroke i posljedice tragedija, onda tragične situacije možemo prevenirati i u mnogim slučajevima izbjeći. Nadalje, različitost motivacije proizlazi i iz različitih psiholoških stanja posjetitelja i unutrašnjih poriva za posjetom mjesta povezanih s tragedijama. Posjetitelji memorijalnih lokaliteta često su ljudi neposredno povezani s tragedijom, bilo da su sami preživjeli stradavanje ili su u tim tragedijama stradali njihovi bližnji. Na osnovama takvog psihološkog stanja, posjetitelji nastoje u duhovnom smislu povezati se sa stradalima, ali i drugima oko sebe dati do znanja kolika je njihova osobna patnja povezana s tragedijom koja se dogodila u prošlosti. Nadalje, različitost motivacije proizlazi i iz različitih stavova o okolnostima u kojima je tragedija nastala, osobito kada je riječ o stradanjima ljudi koja su posljedica društvenih sukoba širih razmjera poput ratova, progona, masovnih prosvjeda i dr. U konačnici, razlike u intenzitetu i smjeru motivacije proizlaze iz sposobnosti pojedinaca da tragediju promatraju s različitih stajališta i na različitim razinama osobne uključenosti. Dok jedni imaju sposobnost samokontrole i memorijalne lokalitete posjećuju s emocionalnim odstojanjem, drugi takve lokalitete posjećuju duboko potreseni što se može odražavati i na ostale posjetitelje.

Kada se u problematiku istraživanja motivacije za memorijalnim turizmom uvede element potrošnje odnosno potrošačkog ponašanja, dolazi se do vrijednih spoznaja o različitosti učinaka koji se generiraju po osnovi takvih posjeta. U svom radu o tipologiji mračnog turizma Sharpley (2005: 221) ističe da motivacija posjetitelja može imati različite 'nijanse tame' s obzirom na njihovo potrošačko ponašanje na lokalitetima koje posjećuju. Tako primjerice turist koji posjećuje Mauzolej obitelji Račić u Cavtatu ili onaj koji posjećuje arkade zagrebačkog groblja Mirogoj ne moraju nužno biti motivirani smrću ljudi koji tamo počivaju, nego su možebitno ljubitelji kiparskog opusa Ivana Meštrovića ili arhitektonskog umijeća Hermana Bolléa kao poklonika historicizma. Iz tih se primjera može iščitati prisutnost raznih motiva kao što su obiteljski, kulturno-umjetnički, obrazovni, ambijentalni ili jednostavno oni turistički, a koji uvelike oblikuju i usmjeravaju ponašanje posjetitelja tijekom svog privremenog boravka.

Na temelju Holtove (1995: 2) tipologije potrošačke prakse, Sharpley (2005: 222) je, istražujući spektar motivacije koja potiče ljude na posjete mjesta obilježenih ljudskom smrću, definirao četiri skupine tipičnog ponašanja turista kada su u pitanju mračne turističke atrakcije. Te četiri skupine čine matricu (Prikaz 1.) u kojoj su razvidne četiri nijanse tame koje su determinirane različitom svrhom i sadržajem posjete, a koje se u više segmenata isprepliću s obuhvatom memorijalnog turizma.

Prikaz 1. *Matrica povezanosti svrhe i sadržaja turističke posjete lokalitetima obilježenim ljudskim stradanjima*

SADRŽAJ POSJETE	SVRHA POSJETE: Introspekcija	SVRHA POSJETE: Ekstrovertiranost
Usmjerenost na objekte	DOŽIVLJAJ Posjete memorijalnim grobljima i lokalitetima, poprištima velikih bitaka, kao i muzejima i atrakcijama vezanim uz ratove, omogućavaju pojedincu emocionalnu razmjenu s lokalitetom, kao i preispitivanje vlastitog postojanja i uloge u društvu. Takvi doživljaji pripadaju temeljnim domenama ljudske psihe i imaju snažan utjecaj na egzistencijalna, ontologijska i duhovna pitanja pojedinca. U takvim slučajevima, objekti fascinacije nisu način i okolnosti pogibelji, već posljedice koje proizlaze iz (masovne ili individualne) smrti.	POVEZANOST U ovom kontekstu postoje dvije nijanse integracije posjetitelja s mjestom koje posjećuju. *Svjetlija* nijansa integracije ne nastaje na temelju fascinacije smrću, već širim kontekstom u kojem se smrt dogodila. U onim destinacijama gdje je to moguće, turisti žele 'uroniti' u priču i iskusiti na vlastitoj koži tuđu tragičnu sudbinu, naravno u bezopasnim i kontroliranim uvjetima. *Tamnija* nijansa integracije odnosi se na putovanja na točno ona mjesta na kojima su se odvile scene stradavanja ljudi ili se odvijaju preuranjene smrti (npr. smaknuća ili eutanazije).
Usmjerenost na interakciju	MANIFESTACIJ AIako je ljudska tragedija inicijalni motiv posjete, dominantan faktor je zapravo njeno obilježavanje u formi kolektivne proslave, sjećanja ili oplakivanja. Moguća su jednokratna događanja kao što su sprovodi poznatih ličnosti ili kontinuirano obilježavanje smrti važnih osoba iz javnog života. Sličan doživljaj moguće je osjetiti bez prisustvovanja konkretnom događanju jer na primjer, naknadnim posjetom grobnice poznate ličnosti turist dijeli isto iskustvo s tisućama posjetitelja koji su isti grob već posjetili ili tek namjeravaju.	PRIPADNOST Želja za pripadnošću određenoj društvenoj skupini u pojedincu stvara potrebu za odlaskom na turistička putovanja koja su potencijalno opasna po život, kao i povratak u domicil sa zanimljivom pričom o preživljavanju. Putovanja opasnim područjima i boravak na lokalitetima koji su obilježeni masovnim stradanjima u određenim društvenim krugovima stvara interes za privlačenje pojedinaca koji su bili na takvim mjestima. Motivacija za takva putovanja je u njihovoj popularnosti, a ne u interesu turista za preispitivanjem smrti ili suosjećanje.

Izvor: prilagođeno prema Sharpleyu i Stoneu (2009: 17)

Memorijalni turizam, prema Urbainu (2003), nije samo turizam povijesnih događanja i inventarizacija činjenica koje se vežu uz uzroke i posljedice takvih zbivanja, već je riječ o turizmu u sadašnjosti u okviru kojeg se povijesna događanja nastoje prilagoditi suvremenom trenutku, u smislu njihove prezentacije i interpretacije. Kao nastavak na tu misao Hertzog (2012: 7) dodaje da važnost turizma ne počiva samo na stvaranju veze sadašnjeg trenutka s tragičnom prošlošću i rekonstrukciji tragičnih zbivanja na nekom lokalitetu, već i na konceptualizaciji turizma kao važnog činitelja u stvaranju snažnijih veza među živućim ljudima. Stoga se može zaključiti da temelj turističke motivacije u domeni memorijalnog turizma počiva na kulturi kolektivnog sjećanja na žrtve raznih tragedija koje su se događale tijekom bliže ili dalje povijesti, kao i na pripadajućim popratnim elementima poput psihološkog stanja pojedinca, njegove osobne uključenosti u proces žalovanja ili empatije, percepciji uzroka i posljedica tragedije i dr.

Poveznica između tragedije i potrošnje, odnosno profita je višeslojna i može imati različite konotacije, od one krajnje pozitivne do one krajnje negativne, imajući u vidu transparentnost, namjeru i trenutak nastanka te poveznice. Nije rijedak slučaj da su se pojedinci, grupe ili poduzeća, uvjetno rečeno, obogatili na tuđoj tragediji, međutim u ovom radu fokus je stavljen na društveno prihvatljivoj marketizaciji tragedije u krajnje pozitivnom, humanom i konstruktivnom smislu, posebno vodeći računa o osjetljivosti tematike i resursa. Često se, naime, zbog društvene osjetljivosti resursa koji predstavljaju temelj razvoja memorijalnog turizma, postavlja pitanje opravdanosti kontinuiranog korištenja simbola tragedije, povijesnih činjenica, kolektivnog sjećanja ili jednostavno empatije prema stradalima, u komercijalne, odnosno profitne svrhe. Mnoga su dobra, imala ona primarno komercijalnu namjenu ili ne, kroz vrijeme dobila svoju tržišnu vrijednost jer je stvorena kritična masa potražnje koja je nametnula potrebu za njenim preoblikovanjem u komercijalno dobro. Takvo pretvaranje neprivrednih dobara u privredna u antropološkom se diskursu naziva komodifikacija, a u teoriji ekonomike turizma konverzija. Prema Peračkoviću (2008: 977), komodifikacija je proces pretvaranja prirode, stvari, ljudi, odnosa, značenja i nematerijalnih resursa u robu na tržištu pa čak i samoga ljudskog života. S obzirom na to da se smrt općenito smatra sastavnim dijelom života, njena komodifikacija odnosno pretvaranje u turistički resurs prihvatljivo je iz više razloga, ali se u isto vrijeme smatra i kontroverznom temom budući da tematika izravno utječe na emotivno stanje ljudi. Iako prizemna percepcija opravdava komodifikaciju smrti u smislu obrazovanja i buđenja svijesti o toleranciji među ljudima, osobito mlađih naraštaja, prema Institutu za istraživanje mračnog turizma (2015), i dalje postoje otvorena pitanja temeljnih odnosa između suvremenog društva i komodifikacije smrti. Među tim otvorenim pitanjima različiti autori ističu npr. pitanje etičnosti eksplicitnih reinscenacija tragičnih događanja, kao i prikazivanja posljedica nasilja u turističke svrhe (Sather-Wagstaff, 2008: 80), zatim opasnost od moguće trivijalizacije važnih povijesnih činjenica kroz masovnu turističku potrošnju (Strange i Kempa, 2003: 387) pretvarajući mjesta masovnih stradanja u tematske parkove (Johnston et al., 2013: 269), kao i opasnost od pojave kulturne erozije zbog pretvaranja smrti u potrošačko dobro (Quinn, 2008: 19 prema Sandel, 1998). Za isticanje zajedničkog nazivnika svih prethodno navedenih, ali i drugih dilema vezanih uz komodifikaciju smrti, može nam poslužiti razmišljanje Dalea i Robinsona (2011: 207) koji ističu da su, zbog pretvaranja smrti i tragedije u potrošačko dobro, zvjerstva počinjena nad drugim ljudima često puta ili podcijenjena ili pretjerano komercijalizirana, što u konačnici rezultira gubitkom povijesnog konteksta prerano izgubljenih života. Upravo zbog osjetljivosti tematike koja se želi komodificirati kroz turističku ponudu, smatra se nužnim zauzeti interdisciplinaran pristup u obradi i interpretaciji povijesnih činjenica, kao i njihovoj prilagodbi kontekstu memorijalne turističke ponude.

Unatoč negativnim prizvucima koji prate izraze komodifikacije smrti odnosno komodifikacije empatije, može se zaključiti kako je komodifikacija povijesnih činjenica vezanih uz stradavanje ljudi u velikoj većini slučajeva ipak opravdana i društveno prihvaćena. Na lokalitetima na kojima postoje memorijalni objekti i gdje se održavaju razni oblici manifestacija u spomen na stradale u tragičnim događanjima, ukupnost ekonomskih učinaka koja proizlaze iz takve komodifikacije predstavlja važan izvor gospodarske, ali i društvene opstojnosti lokaliteta. Osim stjecanja prihoda i zapošljavanja mahom lokalnog stanovništva, komodifikacija povijesno osjetljivih činjenica vezanih uz tragična događanja osigurava svojevrsnu atraktivnost tih lokaliteta te kontinuitet broja dolazaka posjetitelja koji kroz osobno uključivanje u učenje o razmjerima i posljedicama tragičnih događanja mogu na dostojanstven način izraziti empatiju prema stradalima i njihovim bližnjima, ali i steći važna znanja. Bez obzira što se konkretno nalazi u samoj srži motivacije za posjetom takvih lokaliteta, sveukupna potrošnja koja se realizira posjetom takvih lokaliteta s jedne strane omogućava izgradnju i održavanje memorijalnih i pratećih objekata, a s druge strane omogućava kontinuitet istraživanja povijesti vezanih uz događanja na tim prostorima te opremanje objekata obrazovnim sadržajima za sadašnje i buduće generacije.

Memorijalni lokaliteti u kontekstu turističke ponude

Na svijetu je vjerojatno vrlo malo lokaliteta na kojima su stradale velike mase ljudi, a da nisu na odgovarajući način obilježeni memorijalnim objektima i pripadajućim manifestacijama u spomen na stradale. Poznatih lokaliteta tragičnih stradavanja ljudi nažalost je mnogo diljem svijeta, a u pravilu je riječ o poprištima velikih ratnih sukoba ili je riječ o lokalitetima na kojima je stradalo mnogo ljudi uslijed progona, terorizma ili velikih nesreća. Dok su se velike nesreće događale tek sporadično i u pravilu nisu bile rezultat loše namjere, s druge strane ratovi, teroristički napadi i progoni ljudi u svojoj pojavnosti imaju uporište u mračnoj strani ljudske prirode uslijed čega i lokaliteti, na kojima se obilježavaju tragična događanja iz povijesti, imaju poseban značaj za suvremeno društvo. Nažalost, svi su veliki sukobi za sobom ostavili neizbrisiv trag brojeći tisuće pa čak i milijune poginulih, ranjenih, mučenih, zatvorenih i nestalih žrtava, a materijalne i društvene štete na poprištima tih događanja poprimile su često puta i epohalne razmjere. Kako je na tim prostorima velik broj ljudi bio zahvaćen ratnim utjecajima i stradanjima, preživjeli te rodbina i prijatelji stradalih danas čine najveću pokretačku snagu da se na poprištima velikih sukoba izgrade i za buduće generacije urede odgovarajući memorijalni objekti. U tome značajnu ulogu imaju i znanstvenici koji izučavaju povijest, etnologiju, antropologiju, psihologiju, kulturu i turizam te drugi entuzijasti, volonteri i posjetitelji memorijalnih lokaliteta koji svojim radom, motivacijom, empatijom i potrošnjom dodatno podupiru očuvanje, kako je Ashworth (2008: 242) naziva, osjetljive baštine proizašle iz nasilja.

Prema Opačiću (2003), mnogi primjeri iz svijeta pokazuju nam da se i mjesta velikih tragedija i stradanja mogu pretvoriti u važna, često nezaobilazna turistička odredišta pojedinih država ukoliko se njihov turistički potencijal odgovarajuće pretvori u proizvod. Međutim, treba odmah naglasiti da je stvaranje memorijalnog turističkog proizvoda prilično zahtjevno s obzirom na osjetljivost tematike i niza povijesnih činjenica koje predstavljaju glavnu poveznicu između prošlosti i sadašnjosti odnosno žrtava i posjetitelja. Stoga su osmišljavanje i uređivanje memorijalnih lokaliteta te neprestana briga o očuvanju i osuvremenjivanju povijesnih činjenica i materijalnog naslijeđa o stradanjima ljudi, temeljni preduvjet za razvoj ponude memorijalnog turizma. U konceptualizaciji odnosa prema ‘onim lokalitetima’, koji su po nekim ključnim obilježjima ‘drugačiji’ od ostalih lokaliteta, ali i u konceptualizaciji njihovog kulturno-povijesnog i turističkog identiteta, u teoriji se često koristi termin ‘heterotopija’, koju je osmislio Foucault (1966), a odnosi se na ona mjesta gdje su prekoračene granice društvene prihvatljivosti. To su, prema Stoneu (2013: 80), mjesta kontradikcije i podijeljenosti, stvarna mjesta s imaginarnim značajem, mjesta obilježena krizom i devijacijom ponašanja, mjesta koja se ne mogu slobodno posjetiti. Bez obzira na povijesni kontekst i težinu tragedije, sva ta mjesta mogu postati i jesu dio suvremene turističke ponude.

U svrhu razlikovanja pojedinih lokaliteta mračnog turizma i pripadajućih segmenata posjetitelja, a uzimajući u obzir gradaciju mračne strane ljudskog ponašanja i s njime povezanih zločina, nužno je razlikovati lokalitete koji iziskuju krajnju ozbiljnost u shvaćanju tragedija koje su se na njima u povijesti dogodila, od onih lokaliteta koji su također bili poprištem ljudske patnje i stradanja, ali su s vremenom poprimili svojevrstan zabavni karakter. Iz perspektive razvoja memorijalnog turizma i u kontekstu ovog rada, dobri primjeri kontrasta su dvije bivše kaznionice Alcatraz (SAD) i Robben Island (JAR) opisanih u radu Strange i Kempa (2003: 388). Obje su kaznionice bile predmeti filmskih ekranizacija i snažne medijske pozornosti, međutim suvremena interpretacija sadržaja zloglasnog Alcatraza više nema naglasak na obrazovnoj komponenti koliko na zabavnoj i komercijalnoj. Za razliku od Alcatraza koji je bio kaznionica za klasične prijestupnike i prema kojima posjetitelji uglavnom nemaju neku posebnu empatiju, Robben Island je mnogo tamniji primjer memorijalnog lokaliteta jer je služio kao kaznionica za političke neistomišljenike prema kojima je i dan danas vlada jaka empatija od strane posjetitelja.

Nadalje, autentičnost mjesta i vrijeme također su determinirajuće karakteristike prema kojima se mogu nijansirati lokaliteti memorijalnog turizma. Važno je uočiti razliku između lokaliteta koji su stvarna mjesta smrti i patnje od lokaliteta koji su samo tematski povezani s originalnim mjestima tragičnih događanja. Tako je bivši nacistički koncentracijski logor Auschwitz – Birkenau u Poljskoj daleko mračnija destinacija, nego što je njegov američki izdanak Memorijalni muzej Holokausta u Washingtonu. Prema tome, turistički proizvod je bljeđi što se prostorno i vremenski odmiče od samog povijesnog događanja kojeg predstavlja jer će posjetitelji steći puno intenzivnije iskustvo ako se nalaze na autentičnoj lokaciji tragedije odnosno ako je nedavni tragični događaj još uvijek svjež u sjećaju preživjelih, svjedoka ili rodbine i prijatelja stradalih.

Zbog razlika u uzrocima tragičnih događanja, proteku vremena od kad su ona nastala do danas, zatim težini tragičnih događanja, odnosno broju žrtava kao i stupnju utjecaja tih tragičnih događanja na međunarodnu zajednicu, memorijalni lokaliteti i njihovi turistički proizvodi će imati međusobno drugačiji tematski okvir i dizajn. U tu svrhu poslužit će prikaz Stonea koji potencijalni spektar ponude mračnog turizma sumira na temelju tamnije i svjetlije nijanse proizvoda (Slika 1.).

Slika 1. *Spektar nijansi mračnog turističkog proizvoda*

Velik politički utjecaj i ideologija	Mali politički utjecaj i ideologija
Lokaliteti na kojima se dogodila smrt i patnja	Lokaliteti koji se povezuju sa smrću i patnjom
Najtamnije · Tamnije · Tamno	Svijetlo · Svjetlije · Najsvjetlije
Orijentacija na obrazovanje	Orijentacija na zabavu
Usmjerenost na povijest (konzervacija)	Usmjerenost na ostavštinu (komercijalizacija)
Očekivana autentična interpretacija proizvoda	Očekivana patvorena interpretacija proizvoda
Autentičan lokalitet	Patvoren lokalitet
Kraći protek vremena od tragičnog događanja	Dugi protek vremena od tragičnog događanja
Ostala ponuda bez konkretne namjene	Ostala ponuda s konkretnom namjenom
Slabije razvijena turistička infrastruktura	Snažnije razvijena turistička infrastruktura)

Izvor: Stone (2006: 151)

Prema takvom nijansiranju mračnog turističkog proizvoda, moguće je oblikovati sedam izvora ponude mračnih turističkih atrakcija, od onih najsvjetlije tematike do onih najtamnijih: 1) *mračni tematski parkovi* – producentske kuće koje na zabavan način utjelovljuju mistične i jezovite priče iz većih gradova, 2) *izložbe mračne tematike* – nude ozbiljniju tematiku prikazivanja odvijanja tragedije i smrti na konkretan i eksplicitan način, često izvan autentičnog mjesta tragičnog događanja na koji se izložba odnosi, 3) *tamnice i kaznionice* – jezovita mjesta iz bliže povijesti u kojima posjetitelji mogu na neposredan način upoznati načine procesuiranja i egzekucije političkih i drugih prijestupnika, 4) *groblja i druga vječna počivališta* – mjesta koja iziskuju poštovanje, a privlače svojom poviješću, znamenitošću, arhitekturom i hortikulturom, 5) *posvećena mjesta* – posebno izgrađeni lokaliteti i objekti vjerskog i sekularnog odnosa prema mrtvima, 6) *poprišta velikih sukoba* – lokaliteti koji su duboko obilježeni ratnim stradanjima i na kojima su izgrađeni memorijalni i drugi objekti za prihvat velikog broja posjetitelja te 7) *koncentracijski logori* – povijesna mjesta i objekti ciljano izgrađeni u svrhu masovnog ubijanja ljudi (genocida, masakra i drugih oblika zvjerstva), a podrazumijevaju razne oblike eksplicitne interpretacije smrti kroz interaktivne izložbe i muzejske postave (Stone, 2006: 152). U kontekstu ovog rada, sve predložene nijanse i izvori ponude, osim onih najsvjetlijih u cilju zabave, mogu činiti atrakcijsku osnovu memorijalnog turizma i moguće ih je primijeniti u razvojnim konceptima destinacija koje su se za ovakav oblik turizma opredijelili.

Svjetski poznati memorijalni lokaliteti danas su nezaobilazne točke posjete u okviru različitih turističkih tura i studijskih putovanja. Prema britanskom Telegraphu (2014), ali i brojnim drugim relevantnim izvorima, među globalno najpopularnijim memorijalnim lokalitetima najčešće se spominju: Auschwitz (Krakow, Poljska), Alcatraz (San Francisco, SAD) i Ground Zero (New York, SAD), Chernobyl (Pripyat, Ukrajina), Muzej genocida Toul Sleng (Choeung Ek, Kambodža), Hiroshima (Japan), bojna polja Hastings, Bosworth i Culloden (UK), Gettysburg (SAD) i Waterloo (Belgija) i dr. U cilju isticanja vrijednosti takvih lokaliteta za suvremenu turističku ponudu, u nastavku je podrobnije obrađeno nekoliko lokaliteta. Daleko najpoznatiji i najposjećeniji memorijalni lokalitet na svijetu je 'kamp smrti' Auschwitz – Birkenau, koji se nalazi pored poljskog gradića Oswiecima, a danas predstavlja muzej i memorijalni centar u sjećanje na preko 1,1 milijun žrtava holokausta tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata. Prema Izvješću muzeja, u 2014. godini posjetilo ga je više od 1,5 milijuna posjetitelja (iz Hrvatske oko 6,250), a u istoj godini muzej je ostvario vlastiti prihod od 6,7 milijuna eura, uz još 5,4 milijuna eura dotacija i donacija iz različitih izvora (Państwowe muzej, 2015: 19,57). Sljedeći iznimno popularan memorijalni lokalitet je japanski grad Hiroshima s pripadajućim Memorijalnim muzejom mira u spomen na 150.000 ljudi izravno stradalih od posljedica nuklearnog razaranja tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata. Muzej je otvoren prije punih 60 godina, a od 1996. godine je uvršten na UNESCO-v Popis svjetske kulturne baštine. Godine 2013. godine posjetilo ga je nešto manje od 1,4 milijuna posjetitelja, od čega 200.000 stranih (The Japan Times, 2014). Prethodno spomenute bivše kaznionice Alcatraz i Robben Island danas su također vrlo posjećeni memorijalni lokaliteti. Iako je Alcatraz početkom 20. stoljeća služio kao vojni zatvor, on je kasnije pretvoren u opću kaznionicu u kojoj je sredinom 1960-ih godina kaznu služio i dobro poznati pripadnik mafije Al Capone (Stragne i Kempa, 2003: 390). Prema jedinom koncesionaru koji brodovima povezuje San Francisco i Alcatraz, lokalitet godišnje posjeti više od 1,3 milijuna posjetitelja (Alcatraz Cruises, 2015). Robben Island, nekadašnja zloglasna kaznionica iz razdoblja apartheida, u kojoj je kaznu služio i bivši predsjednik JAR-a Nelson Mandela, od 1999. godine je uvršten na UNESCO-v Popis svjetske kulturne baštine (Corsane, 2007: 399). Iako neki izvori prenose da je sredinom 2000-tih godina broj posjetitelja na Robben Islandu bio oko pola milijuna godišnje (Fleminger, 2008: 132), službeni podaci Robben Island Muzeja ističu da ga je 2011. godine posjetilo oko 220.000 posjetitelja (Robben Island Musem, 2012: 1). Iz perspektive novije svjetske povijesti zanimljiv je i utjecaj memorijalnog lokaliteta Ground Zero u New Yorku izgrađenog i otvorenog u rujnu 2011. godine na 10. obljetnicu terorističkog napada prilikom kojeg su srušeni tornjevi Svjetskog trgovinskog centra pri čemu je stradalo oko 3.000 ljudi. Prema službenim podacima, memorijalni je lokalitet od njegova otvorenja do danas posjetilo više od 18 milijuna posjetitelja, dok je Memorijalni muzej od njegova otvorenja u svibnju 2014. godine do veljače 2015. godine posjetilo oko 2 milijuna posjetitelja (National September 11 Memorial & Museum at the World Trade Center, 2015).

Povijest Hrvatske duboko je prožeta brojnim političkim i društvenim previranjima koja su nerijetko prerasla u ratne sukobe i progonstva. Zbog brojnih vojnih i civilnih žrtava koje su svoje živote položili za slobodu (u bilo kojem smislu), u Hrvatskoj se danas nalaze brojni memorijalni lokaliteti na kojima se iskazuje individualna i kolektivna empatija te oplakuju stradali. Zbog velikog broja žrtava nastalih kao posljedica jezive okrutnosti počinjene nad ljudima, a čemu svjedoče preživjeli i brojni povijesni ostaci iz tih vremena, mjesta posebnog pijeteta u Hrvatskoj poprimili su Jasenovac, Goli otok i Vukovar. Upravo ti lokaliteti će u nastavku ovog rada biti predmetom promatranja jer pobuđuju najviše interesa kako domaće, tako i međunarodne javnosti, uslijed čega imaju velik potencijal za daljnji razvoj memorijalnog turizma u Hrvatskoj.

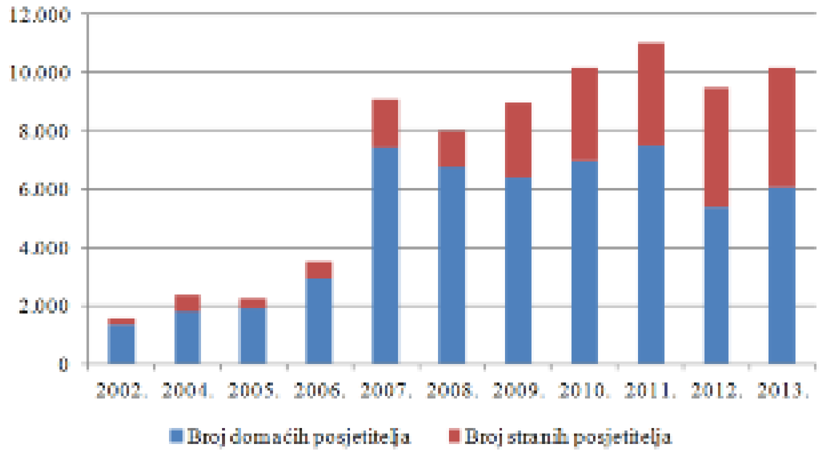
Turistička obilježja i potencijali memorijalnih lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj

1) Jasenovac (1941.-1945.)

Prema broju žrtava Drugi svjetski rat je svakako jedan od najkrvavijih međunarodnih ratova ikad vođenih. Sumirajući broj poginulih tijekom rata, kao i one koji su umrli od posljedica rata nakon što je on završio, procjenjuje se da je u Drugom svjetskom ratu život izgubilo oko 60 milijuna ljudi (3% svjetske populacije iz 1939. godine), pretežno Europljana. Od ukupnog broja poginulih u tom ratu dvije trećine bile su civilne žrtve, a jednu trećinu čine stradali vojnici i ratni zarobljenici (Lewis, 2008: 266). Kada je riječ o broju ratnih žrtava na području nekadašnje Jugoslavije, Matković (2013: 161) ističe da je to jedno od najkontroverznijih tema moderne povijesti Balkana. Odmah po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata, na Pariškoj mirovnoj konferenciji 1947. godine iznesen je podatak da je oko 1,7 milijuna stanovnika tadašnje Jugoslavije poginulo u ratu između 1941. i 1945. godine. Međutim, rezultati opsežnog istraživanja završenog 1964. godine pokazali su da je ukupan demografski gubitak Jugoslavije tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata bio oko milijun stanovnika, od čega su 597.323 bile izravne 'žrtve fašističkog terora'. Samo u Hrvatskoj zabilježeno je 194.749 stradalih, što čini udio od 33% ukupno stradalih u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji (Žerjavić, 1992: 35). Ratne operacije tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata na području cijele Hrvatske uključile su dugačak niz lokaliteta obilježenih memorijalnim objektima i spomen pločama na stradale. Iako se u službenim dokumentima Republike Hrvatske (Hrvatski sabor, 1999) spominje oko 700 masovnih grobnica iz Drugog svjetskog rata, najzloglasniji lokaliteti iz Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hrvatske su svakako Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška, Sisak, Jastrebarsko i Jadovno.

Jasenovac, mjesto na Savi nedaleko grada Novske, jedan je od najzloglasnijih koncentracijskih logora iz Drugog svjetskog rata pod upravom pronacističke ustaške obrane. Prema podacima Javne uprave Spomen područja Jasenovac prikupljenih do ožujka 2013. godine, tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata na tom je području poginulo ukupno 83.145 žrtava, od čega muškarci čine udio od 48%, žene 28% i djeca do 14 godina starosti 24% (JUSP Jasenovac, 2013). Iako su to podaci Poimeničnog popisa žrtava za koje se može s potpunom sigurnošću utvrditi da su pogubljeni u Jasenovcu, ukupan broj žrtava i dalje ostaje nepoznat, a procjenjuje se na oko 100.000. Zbog razotkrivanja i prokazivanja nacističke ideologije i velikog broja poginulih tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata, u Jasenovcu je 1968. godine osnovano je Spomen područje s Memorijalnim muzejom koji je krajem 2006. godine dobio svoj današnji muzejski postav. Realizacijom projekta izrade novog muzejskog postava, Spomen područje dobiva na značaju te ga prati i izražen rast broja posjetitelja. Tako je prema podacima Muzejskog dokumentacijskog centra, kao središnje točke hrvatske muzejske zajednice, zabilježeno utrostručenje broja posjetitelja Spomen područja Jasenovac u 2007. godini u odnosu na godinu prije (Grafikon 1.).

Grafikon 1. *Broj domaćih i stranih posjetitelja na Spomen području Jasenovac u razdoblju od 2002. do 2013. godine*



Izvor: Muzejski dokumentacijski centar, izvješća o radu Spomen područja Jasenovac po godinama, www.mdc.hr

Sveukupna djelatnost Spomen područja Jasenovac financira se iz nekoliko izvora, među kojima je najizdašniji izvor proračun Republike Hrvatske. Djelatnost obuhvaća rad Memorijalnog muzeja i Obrazovnog centra, izdavaštvo, međunarodnu suradnju te brigu o vanjskom uređenju i opremanju Spomen područja. Prema službenim podacima, ukupni prihodi Spomen područja u 2013. godini iznosili su ukupno 3,6 milijuna kuna, od čega je 2,3 milijuna kuna doznačilo Ministarstvo kulture RH, 980.000 kuna je donirao Grad Zagreb, 208.656 kuna Hrvatski sabor, 107.101 kuna Hrvatski zavod za zapošljavanje, 15.150 kuna Holocaust Education Trust iz Irske te ostali prihodi u iznosu od 12.855 kuna (Memorijalni muzej Spomen područje Jasenovac, 2014: 19).

Uvidom u kretanje broja posjetitelja i prihoda Spomen područja, kao i sagledavanjem šireg turističkog područja, može se istaknuti kako u Jasenovcu postoje dobri uvjeti za daljnji razvoj memorijalnog turizma. S obzirom na činjenicu da u svijetu raste svijest i potreba za obrazovanjem mladih u pogledu međusobne tolerancije, Spomen područje Jasenovac ne može izgubiti na svojoj važnosti, ali će uspjeh njegova djelovanja i ekonomska održivost upravljanja uvelike ovisiti o proširenju i internacionalizaciji svih aktivnosti, kao i snažnije uključivanje u međunarodne projekte vezane uz teme očuvanja kulturne baštine, holokausta i mračnog turizma. Vrijedna iskustva oko načina uređenja prostora i upravljanja razvojem Spomen područja Jasenovac, treba konstantno prikupljati kroz suradnju s nekoliko kvalitetno opremljenih i uređenih europskih koncentracijskih logora iz Drugog svjetskog rata kao što su Auschwitz – Birkenau, Treblinka, Majdanek, Buchenwald, Dachau, Sachsenhausen i dr. U daljnji razvoj memorijalnog turizma nužno je uključiti sve ključne dionike kao što su regionalna i lokalne vlasti, sustav turističkih zajednica, kulturno-umjetnička društva, kao i pružatelje raznih turističkih usluga kojima bi se osigurao dugotrajniji boravak (smještaj, prehranu prijevoz, turističko posredovanje, vođenje, prirodne i društvene atrakcije i dr.).

2) Goli otok (1948.-1988.)

Najbolji kandidat za hrvatsku destinaciju memorijalnog turizma u formi 'tamnice i kaznionice' je Goli otok i s njime tematski povezan otok Sv. Grgur, oba smješteni u Kvarnerskom arhipelagu u blizini otoka Raba (najbliža Općina Lopar). Osim što se nalaze na povoljnom geografskom prostoru u regiji intenzivnog razvoja turizma, oba otoka su prometno pristupačni jer imaju izgrađenu osnovnu prometnu infrastrukturu. Poput u radu spomenutog Robben Islanda u JAR, Goli otok i Sv. Grgur su u doba bivše Jugoslavije najprije služili kao kazneno-popravne ustanove za političke zatvorenike, a kasnije i za druge osuđene kriminalce i maloljetnike. Sukob između Tita i 'informbiroovaca' rezultirao je osnivanjem ženske kaznionice na Sv. Grguru te muškom kaznionicom na Golom otoku na kojima je tijekom 40 godina bilo zatvoreno i mučeno oko 16.100 ljudi, od čega 94% muškaraca i 6% žena. Otoci i pripadajuća infrastruktura obje kaznionice služili su kao mjesta brutalnog 'preodgoja' političkih zatvorenika od 1948. do 1958. godine, da bi sve do 1988. godine služila kao opća kaznionica kada su konačno zatvoreni i napušteni (Udruga Goli otok, 2011).

Takozvani 'preodgoj' političkih zatvorenika duga je i mučna priča koja s vremenom polako pada u zaborav, no postoji nekoliko entuzijasta koji ulažu napore kako bi se sačuvala osjetljiva baština mračne prošlosti otoka, a područje barem načelno zaštitilo. Kako su Goli otok i svi objekti koji se tamo nalaze još uvijek u vlasništvu Republike Hrvatske, a sredstava iz javnih izvora za pokretanje projekta revitalizacije i uređenja turističke ponude nema, bez suglasnosti vlasnika lokalne vlasti ne mogu ništa napraviti (pa čak ni obaviti predradnje u cilju pružanja sigurnosti za posjetitelje koji ulaze u napuštene objekte) pa se ni u dogledno vrijeme vjerojatno ništa neće promijeniti. Ograničavajući čimbenik daljnjeg razvoja su neriješeni imovinsko-pravni odnosi jer je najprije država prenijela pravo korištenja nekretnina na općinu Rab, a kasnije je i nekolicina mještana iz Lopara pokrenula sudski spor u kojem traže povrat nacionaliziranog zemljišta oduzetog nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata. Udruga Goli otok 'Ante Zemljar' iz Zagreba i Općina Lopar još su 2004. godine pokrenuli inicijativu o osnivanju Spomen područja Goli otok, a ekipa riječkog Multimedijalnog centra snimila je nekoliko dokumentarnih filmova tijekom 'lutanja' po otocima te razvila projekt 'Goli otok – Novi hrvatski turizam' koji nudi rješenje turističkog razvoja otoka kroz umjetnički turizam. Zamisao je da se otoci proglase svojevrsnim umjetničkim kolonijama i da za vrijeme sezone umjesto sporadičnih turista ugosti domaće i strane umjetnike te ljubitelje umjetnosti (Čargonja, 2001: 63). Unatoč iskazanom entuzijazmu pojedinaca okupljenih u udrugu i konkretnoj viziji lokalnih vlasti u formiranju turističke ponude, ništa se od tih projekata do danas nije uspjelo realizirati.

S obzirom da ne postoji statistički sustav praćenja broja posjetitelja Golog otoka, nemoguće je ocijeniti pravu turističku vrijednost lokaliteta. Međutim, lokalni će se brodski prijevoznici iz Lopara složiti da za otokom vlada solidno zanimanje kako domaćih, tako i stranih posjetitelja. Prema neslužbenom izvoru, Goli otok u vrućim ljetnim mjesecima dnevno posjeti oko 1.200 turista koji stižu u organiziranim grupama, najčešće iz Lopara, ali puno je i onih u vlastitom aranžmanu (Brajčić, 2012). Dok se danas na

Sv. Grguru mogu vidjeti još samo slabo uočljive ruševine kamenih objekata kaznionice, na Golom otoku ipak postoji čitav niz devastiranih, ali postojanih objekata kaznionice i cestica koje ih povezuju te lučko pristanište koje je u mogućnosti izvršiti prihvat i većih brodova. Osim objekata kaznionice i prometne infrastrukture, na Golom se otoku nalazi i minimalna turistička infrastruktura koja se sastoji od restorana u pristaništu, nekadašnjeg boćališta pretvorenog u kino, štanda sa suvenirima i improviziranog turističkog vlakića kojim lokalni poduzetnik prevozi posjetitelje po kompleksu kaznionice.

Kako bi se procijenio potencijal turističke potražnje za Golim otokom, moguće je osvrnuti se na ostvareni turistički promet u Općini Lopar. Prema Državnom zavodu za statistiku, u 2014. godini Općina Lopar je ostvarila gotovo 83.000 dolazaka i 634.000 noćenja turista pri čemu je u oba slučaja strana potražnja činila udio od 96%. Imajući u vidu da je Lopar poznat po brojnim pješčanim plažama i sadržajnoj turističkoj ponudi, mnogi posjetitelji iz drugih mjesta na otoku Rabu dolaze u Lopar pa se prethodno spomenutoj potražnji može pridodati još 151.500 dolazaka i 1.089.000 noćenja turista (Državni zavod za statistiku, 2015).

Tablica 1. *Ostvareni broj dolazaka i noćenja turista u Općini Lopar i ostalim mjestima na otoku Rabu u razdoblju*

Godina	Dolasci turista u Općini Lopar	Dolasci turista u ostalim mjestima na otoku Rabu	Noćenja turista u Općini Lopar	Noćenja turista u ostalim mjestima na otoku Rabu
2005.	233.246		1.589.141	
2006.	232.111		1.600.322	
2007.	79.224	169.980	596.962	1.098.419
2008.	75.192	170.347	579.917	1.133.917
2009.	75.099	159.237	570.053	1.074.560
2010.	74.234	138.599	565.376	1.020.431
2011.	78.045	143.864	578.127	1.025.086
2012.	83.789	147.750	624.268	1.054.672

2013.	84.059	151.056	649.582	1.083.297
2014.	82.925	151.501	633.684	1.089.036

* Napomena: Podaci do 2006. godine su se prikazivali kumulativno za sva naselja na otoku Rabu
Izvor: Državni zavod za statistiku, turizam u primorskim gradovima i općinama po godinama

Iz podataka DZS-a za proteklo desetogodišnje razdoblje je vidljivo da je riječ o velikoj i konstantnoj potražnji od prosječnih 230.000 turističkih dolazaka iz koje bi se, pored postojećeg broja posjetitelja koji nekontrolirano dolazi na Goli otok, sasvim sigurno pronašla i dodatna potražnja, ne zaboravljajući pritom i posjetitelje iz mjesta na kopnu i otoku Krku te nautičare. S druge strane, arhitekt Vladi Bralić u svom intervjuu tvrdi da je prenamjeni Golog otoka potrebno pristupiti pažljivo, prije svega kulturno. To znači da se svi razvojni planovi otoka moraju nužno temeljiti na konceptu zaštite i prezentacije površina i građevine nekadašnjeg logora koji predstavljaju vrijedne materijalne dokaze i upućuju na povijesni kontekst ljudske patnje i stradanja. Takav koncept može biti fenomenalno kompatibilan s budućim komercijalnim i turističkim razvojem otoka (Körbler, 2014). Može se stoga zaključiti da bi nakon cjelovitog uređenja kompleksa kaznionice te izgradnje dodatnih kulturno-obrazovnih i drugih turističkih sadržaja potražnja za Golim otokom mogla dostići i više od 100.000 posjetitelja godišnje, što bi sasvim sigurno bila dovoljna ekonomska baza za isplativost i održivost projekta turističke revitalizacije lokaliteta.

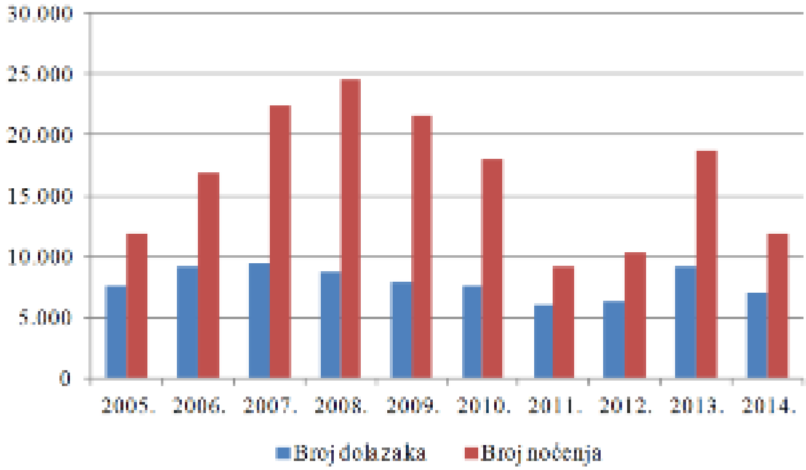
3) Vukovar (1991.-1998.)

Uslijed burnih događanja od početka Domovinskog rata pa sve do završetka Mirne reintegracije Hrvatskog Podunavlja, područje grada Vukovara nažalost je trajno obilježeno brojnim ‘ratnim ožiljcima’ koji se sumiraju na ukupno sedam glavnih lokaliteta koji danas čine čvrstu osnovu za razvoj memorijalnog turizma. Prema Turističkoj zajednici grada Vukovara (2015), svi ti lokaliteti danas su tematski povezani u jedinstvenu cjelinu pod nazivom 'Vukovarski nokturno' koja posjetiteljima omogućava cjelovito sagledavanje najmračnije strane ljudske prirode koja teži smrti i destrukciji, ali ujedno daje i uvid u svu razornost ratnih događanja i posljedica koje iz njih proizlaze. Prvi među tim lokalitetima je nekada omiljena meta neprijateljskog topništva, a danas najviši simbol otpora, pobjede i života – Vukovarski vodotoranj. Sagrađen na istočnom ulazu u gradski perivoj, na vrhu tornja je do rata funkcionirao ugostiteljski objekt s kojeg se pružao pogled na grad, rijeku Dunav i srijemske vinograde. Drugi lokalitet je Memorijalno groblje žrtava iz Domovinskog rata s 938 bijelih križeva koji lokaciju čine najvećom europskom masovnom grobnicom nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Treći lokalitet je Spomen dom Ovčara, otvoren 2006. godine, posebno je sveto i dirljivo mjesto na kojem se izražava kolektivna empatija prema ubijenim ranjenicima i medicinskom osoblju vukovarske bolnice. U blizini Spomen doma (nekadašnje farme grofovske obitelji Eltz, kasnije VUPIK-a), danas na svega nekoliko kilometara udaljenom mjestu masovnih smaknuća i nad tužnim uspomenama stražari crni obelisk, simbol sjećanja i zahvalnosti sunarodnjaka. Četvrti lokalitet nosi naziv Mjesto sjećanja – Vukovarska bolnica 1991., a nudi multimedijalnu rekonstrukciju života ranjenika i bolničkog osoblja za vrijeme višemjesečne okupacije grada. Peti lokalitet nalazi se u vukovarskoj vojarni 204. brigade hrvatske vojske u kojoj se nalazi Memorijalni centar Domovinskog rata, a sadržajno je usmjeren na izučavanje kronologije događanja u Domovinskom ratu na cjelokupnom području Republike Hrvatske. Centar održava velik broj izložbi i raspolaže bogatim fondom eksponata, interpretacija i replika. Šesti lokalitet je Spomen dom hrvatskih branitelja na Trpinjskoj cesti, koji je zapravo bivša zgrada pošte koja je u vrijeme Domovinskog rata služila kao zapovjedništvo obrane grada. Posljednji sedmi lokalitet kao epitom cjelokupnoj tamnoj priči o stradavanjima nedužnih u gradu Vukovaru odlično utjelovljuje spomenik posvećen svima koji su dali život u borbi za neovisnu Hrvatsku, Križ na ušću Vuke u Dunav.

Premda današnji stanovnici Vukovara i lokalni turistički djelatnici ne vole stavljati 'Vukovarski nokturno' u prvi plan kada je riječ o turističkoj promociji destinacije, neosporna je činjenica da su upravo kulturno-povijesni elementi proizašli iz Domovinskog rata najsnažniji privlačni element turističke ponude grada. Sagledavanjem sveukupne resursne osnove i mogućnosti za daljnji razvoj turizma u gradu Vukovaru i okolici, uz 'Vukovarski nokturno' vrijedi spomenuti baroknu arhitekturu užeg središta grada, potpuno preuređen Dvorac Eltz izgrađen u baroknom stilu, stari Vodotoranj, rodnu kuću slavnog nobelovca Lavoslava Ružičke, Arheološko nalazište i Muzej Vučedolske kulture, Park šumu Adica, kao i brojne druge znamenitosti te kulturne i sportske manifestacije.

U želji da se kvantificira potražnja koja dolazi u grad Vukovar, važno je sagledati turiste koji odsjedaju u komercijalnim objektima, turiste koji odsjedaju kod rodbine i prijatelja te brojne izletnike koji dolaze cestovnim i one koji dolaze riječnim putovima. Prema podacima Državnog zavoda za statistiku, kretanje turističkog prometa u Vukovaru tijekom posljednjih 10 godina znatno oscilira, što je vidljivo na Grafikonu 2. Jedan od možda najsnažnijih utjecaja na kretanje turističke potražnje u tom razdoblju imala je svjetska gospodarska kriza uslijed koje je došlo do znatnijeg pada domaće turističke potražnje te preusmjeravanja inozemnih turističkih tokova prema drugim destinacijama u Hrvatskoj.

Grafikon 2. *Broj dolazaka i noćenja turista u Vukovaru u razdoblju od 2005. do 2014. godine*



Izvor: Državni zavod za statistiku, turizam – kumulativni podaci po godinama, Zagreb

Atraktivnosti i posjećenosti grada sasvim sigurno doprinosi i postojanje putničkog pristaništa Vukovar na podunavskoj ruti krstarenja (paneuropski riječni Koridor VII). Prema Banu (1998: 256), pristaništa s povijesnim i kulturnim vrijednostima imaju značajnu ulogu u krstarenju rijekama koja odišu smirenom i laganom atmosferom. S obzirom na bogatu kulturno-povijesnu baštinu i razvijenu riječnu pristanišnu infrastrukturu, rijeka Dunav za grad Vukovar predstavlja jedan od ključnih izvora turističke potražnje. Prema službenoj statistici koju vodi Lučka uprava, putničko pristanište Vukovar najznačajnija je riječna putnička luka u Hrvatskoj u kojoj je 2014. godine izvršen prihvat 256 turističkih brodova (Lučka uprava Vukovar, 2014). Uzimajući u obzir prosječnu veličinu brodova po broju putnika koji krstare europskim rijekama od 143 putnika po brodu (Institut za turizam, 2014), tada govorimo o veličini nautičke turističke potražnje od oko 35.000 posjetitelja koja po broju osoba nadmašuje broj turista koji su koristili komercijalne smještajne objekte. Pritom vrijedi istaknuti kako u strukturi potražnje po zemljama iz kojih dolaze u Hrvatsku glavninu putnika čine Amerikanci (67%), Francuzi (7%), Britanci (6%), Nijemci (4%) i ostali (15%) (Institut za turizam, 2014).

Na temelju analize raspoloživih resursa i pokazatelja razvoja turizma u gradu Vukovaru može se zaključiti kako su memorijalni lokaliteti i pripadajuća turistička ponuda daleko najrazvijeniji u Hrvatskoj, čime grad Vukovar postaje svojevrsni *benchmark* u razvoju ovog oblika turizma i to ne samo u Hrvatskoj, već i u široj regiji. Kada bi se zbroju prethodno iznesenih pokazatelja pridodali podaci od 65.700 posjetitelja Mjesta sjećanja – Vukovarske bolnice 1991. 2012. godine (Muzejski dokumentacijski centar, 2012), dolazi se do podatka od oko 115.000 registriranih posjetitelja godišnje u gradu Vukovaru, čemu još treba pridodati i one posjetitelje koji dolaze u grad, a nisu zahvaćeni nekim od sustava statističkog praćenja.

Zaključak

Memorijalni turizam, kao dominantan segment mračnog turizma, rastući je po broju turista koji diljem svijeta posjećuju memorijalne lokalitete motivirani djelomično ili u potpunosti individualnim ili kolektivnim sjećanjem, obrazovanjem i empatijom prema masovnim stradanjima u pravilu nedužnih ljudi tijekom društvenih sukoba i drugih tragičnih događanja. Koncept memorijalnog turizma osmišljen prije svega kao multidisciplinarno sredstvo trajnog oživljavanja povijesnih činjenica vezanih uz sukobe i ljudske tragedije širih razmjera, prvenstveno u svrhu obrazovanja mladih generacija da ne ponavljaju katastrofalne pogreške svojih predaka. Društvena osjetljivost povijesnih činjenica i drugih resursa koji se koriste za razvoj memorijalnog turizma, ukazuje na stalnu potrebu za prikupljanjem, sistematizacijom i očuvanjem materijalne i nematerijalne povijesne građe koncentrirane na pomno osmišljenim i uređenim memorijalnim lokalitetima. Kako bi se osigurao spoj prošlosti i budućnosti, suvremena uloga memorijalnog turizma se ne zadržava samo u području prezentacije povijesne faktografije tragičnih događanja suvremenom posjetitelju, već se kvalitetnom prezentacijom povijesnih činjenica nastoje interpretirati suvremeni društveni odnosi i promovirati tolerancija među ljudima. Pritom, jedan od najosjetljivijih aspekata razvoja memorijalnog turizma je neizbježno poticanje raznih komercijalnih djelatnosti po osnovi marketizacije povijesno osjetljivih činjenica, tragedije i pripadajuće empatije prema stradalima. Unatoč negativnim prizvucima koji prate izraze komodifikacije smrti, odnosno komodifikacije empatije može se zaključiti kako je komodifikacija povijesnih činjenica vezanih uz stradavanje ljudi u velikoj većini slučajeva ipak opravdana i društveno prihvaćena djelatnost.

Na osnovama brojnih primjera uspješnih memorijalnih lokaliteta u svijetu, znanstvena istraživanja u ovom području dokazala su kako razvoj memorijalnog turizma može generirati brojne pozitivne društvene i ekonomske učinke. Na osnovama tih nalaza u ovom radu je provedena komparativna analiza obilježja i trendova triju memorijalna lokaliteta iz različitih krajeva i razdoblja modernije hrvatske povijesti, a to su Jasenovac, Goli otok i Vukovar. Osim što imaju prepoznatljiv imidž mjesta stradavanja i patnji velikog broja ljudi, ovi lokaliteti su ujedno i najposjećeniji memorijalni lokaliteti u Hrvatskoj čime zaslužuju dodatnu pozornost. Jasenovac je relativno malen i prema lokaciji prilično izoliran lokalitet koji, osim bogate muzejske zbirke, ne posjeduje komplementarne turističke resurse za intenzivniji razvoj turizma u budućnosti. Zbog svoje slabe posjećenosti, najveća tržišna šansa mu je u uključivanju u međunarodne kulturno-povijesne tematske rute vezane uz Drugi svjetski rat. Goli otok je prostorno izoliran otočni lokalitet u blizini jakih turističkih destinacija hrvatskog dijela Jadrana koji, unatoč bogatoj povijesti i velikoj potencijalnoj turističkoj potražnji u neposrednoj blizini, ne uspijeva ostvariti zapaženiju posjećenost zbog potpunog izostanka prezentacije i interpretacije sadržaja uslijed neriješenih vlasničkih odnosa nad objektima. Za razliku od Jasenovca i Golog otoka, grad Vukovar danas ima znatno bogatiju ne samo memorijalnu, već i opću turističku ponudu koja se nalazi *'in situ'* i omogućava sadržajniji boravak posjetitelja, kao i njihovo duže zadržavanje u destinaciji. U konačnici, može se zaključiti kako su vodeći lokaliteti memorijalnog turizma u Hrvatskoj po broju posjeta, ostvarenim prihodima i utjecajima na društvo daleko iza svjetskih lidera u tom segmentu, ali zasigurno predstavljaju tematski definiranu dodatnu turističku ponudu za kojom na međunarodnoj razini potražnja kontinuirano raste.

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Sažetak

Tijekom posljednja dva desetljeća ljudska patnja, katastrofe, tragedije i prerana smrt postale su uobičajene komponente mračnog turističkog proizvoda. Sve veća popularnost mjesta označenih kao memorijalni lokaliteti pretvorila je spomen obilježja i događanja povezana sa smrću i tragedijom, u dobro koje se može prodati i kupiti na tržištu. Rastući opus literature u ovom području otkriva snažnu vezu između putovanja, kolektivnog sjećanja i komodifikacije smrti zapakiranu kao specifičnu turističku atrakciju koja pruža raznolika turistička iskustva povezana sa smrću ljudi. Ipak, razvoj memorijalnog turizma u okviru mračnog turizma još uvijek otvara mnoga pitanja u vezi etike i epistemologije procesa komodifikacije empatije koja se veže uz masovne ljudske tragedije iz prošlosti.

Pored analize obilježja i uspjeha međunarodno etabliranih memorijalnih lokaliteta, ovaj rad sadrži komparativnu analizu triju najpopularnijih memorijalnih lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj: 1) Jasenovac kao bivši koncentracijski logor iz Drugog svjetskog rata, 2) Goli otok kao bivša politička kaznionica iz vremena jugoslavenske komunističke ere i 3) Vukovar poznat kao 'Grad heroj', simbol hrvatskog otpora protiv vojne okupacije u Domovinskom ratu. Sva tri lokaliteta su pokazala određene snage, ali i slabosti u smislu razvoja memorijalne turističke ponude. Zaključak rada je da su vodeći memorijalni lokaliteti u Hrvatskoj, razmatrajući broj posjetitelja, ostvarene prihode i utjecaj na društvo, daleko iza vodećih međunarodno etabliranih memorijalnih lokaliteta u tom tržišnom segmentu, ali svakako predstavljaju privlačnu nekonvencionalnu turističku ponudu za kojom inozemna potražnja pokazuje konstantno rastući interes.

Ključne riječi: mračni turizam, memorijalni turizam, memorijalni lokaliteti, komodifikacija, Hrvatska

Markedness of Language Signifiers as a Gender Sensitivity Indicator

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Prethodno priopćenje/
Preliminary paper

Sažetak

Neobilježene oblike u jeziku smo naviknuli percipirati kao primarne i dominantne zbog njihove uopćenosti te veće zastupljenosti unutar korpusa. Iz tog ih razloga doživljavamo kao prirodne i neutralne, dok obilježene susrećemo u konkretnijem i specifičnijem značenju. Upotreba muškog roda kao generičkog (neobilježenog) kod naziva profesija konkretizacije je diskriminirajućih društvenih stavova u prošlosti te dominantnih vrijednosti u društvu. Društvene borbe protiv diskriminacije kao izravan rezultat su imale tendenciju brisanja jezične diskriminacije, posebice u engleskom jeziku. S tim u vezi, javlja se sve veći broj neologizama koji putem medija nalaze svoj put do šire javnosti, a ona je pak ta koja neologizme prihvaća ili odbacuje za što razlozi mogu biti intrajezični i ekstrajezični. Za pretpostaviti je kako će društva s organiziranijim socio-ekonomskim sustavima biti osjetljivija na pitanja političke korektnosti na jezičnoj razini te da će bilježiti veći broj specifičnih, obilježenih termina. Premda upotreba pojedinog od njih može zaživjeti u upotrebi, njihova upotreba neće nužno biti atestirana i u rječnicima, a mi smo odlučili provjeriti na primjeru od pedesetak „općih“ naziva zanimanja u vodećim rječnicima hrvatskog i francuskog jezika hoće li oblici ženskog roda koji su u jeziku atestirani biti i leksikografski potvrđeni. Analizom navedenog korpusa smo došli do zaključka kako hrvatski jezik poznaje više posebnih oblika za profesije i funkcije u ženskom rodu negoli francuski jezik s obzirom na leksikografsku atestiranost.

Ključne riječi: obilježenost, politička korektnost, Jakobson, leksikografija

Introduction

Communication as a primarily social practice, which can be realized in various fields of human activities, is burdened with many contradictions. They above all lie in the fact that any form of communication from verbal to non-verbal is codified with if not static, then a rather inert system of signs that we use in our attempt to deal with a very dynamic and ever-changing social reality. On the other hand, the problem is even more complex if we consider and accept a relatively recent fact in the light of cognitive linguistics that language as the most perfect form of messaging possesses not just a communicative, but also a cognitive role. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume, that such discrepancies between dynamic social reality and inert language routine are transmitted into human (sub)consciousness, where particular linguistic signifiers latently continue to support undesiredlanguage contents already overridden by social practices. This approach which has revitalized the Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic determinism, i.e., the influence of language on thoughts, has manifested itself in several directions, although its origins are not necessarily purely linguistic. It rather finds its footing in the post-modern social movements aiming at the affirmation of all, until then, marginalized or unequally represented social groups, which, among other things, was also recognized in linguistic issues. Such an approach was primarily manifested through a prescriptivist language campaign advocating so-called political correctness, especially in feminist circles, with an attempt to remove from the English language all those petrified linguistic expressions indicating the supremacy of men as a reflection of obsolete social relations, generally not supported or justified in the current social reality. This all-American type of media campaign was primarily aimed at finding language solutions in the English language that would exclude the ʻmasculine' lexical forms and at replacing them with the neutral ones, equally referring to both men and women. Such a standpoint found its further justification in avoiding possible misunderstandings in employment policy as the generic masculine could have been easily and deliberately misinterpreted as specific, referring exclusively to men.

Naturally, the structural peculiarities of the English language allowed such intervention in the language primarily on the nominal level, but it was logical to expect that similar ideas would soon be taken over by normative linguists and activists in other countries who would try to adjust them to the specific features of their own languages. However, despite all the good will and compliance over value orientation, it caused resistance not only of ideological opponents, but in some cases of the language itself as such because of the multitude of its intrinsic limitations and structural differences.For example, unlike the English language which does not possess the concept of grammatical gender, the Croatian language, in most cases shows overlapping of both natural and grammatical gender in labelling human professions and it was logical that one of them, in this case, masculine gender, given the historical circumstances conditioned by the supremacy of men in the career choice, would emerge as the holder of the generic term for both sexes. Of course, it was possible only in the situations when women have reached such a level of social equality which enabled them to compete for the same jobs. These generic forms are generally considered as more frequent and 'unmarked' linguistic expressions, while those specific forms are considered less frequent and 'marked' and as such in semiotic terms viewed as the indicators of the dominant values of a particular culture.

However, since the Croatian language due to its complex structure and emphasised flexion transmits these differences on other morphosyntactic levels, which are much more complex than the nominal ones mainly present in the English language, it is expected that they will have to resort to other solutions, but also to recognize existing limitations. With this in mind, one can assume that there is a tendency, if not universally accepted consensus, that it is necessary at least in lexicography, i.e. in various forms of dictionaries to register not only generic, but also those specific forms for most of the existing professions. The aim of this paper was therefore to check whether there is and if so, with how much consistency such value and language preferences are implemented in Croatian and French lexicography on the examples of highly rated dictionaries, or what kind of limitations exist in both languages with respect to their own specific features.

Roman Jakobson and Markedness

The representatives of the Prague School, Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy, were the first to introduce the concept of markedness in 1930s. The opposition of markedness – unmarkedness is based on the presence, or respectively the absence of some properties in a particular linguistic form. Jakobson defines a „zero-sign“ as the unmarked form of a word, which would be the singular of nouns or the present tense of the verb in English. According to Chandler (2007: 94) marked form is more complex and includes the following features:

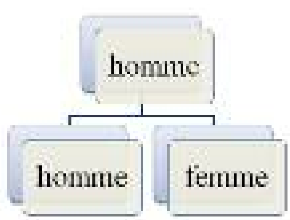
1) formal markedness: within the morphological oppositions markedness is based on the presence or absence of a certain formal feature. Marked signifier is formed by adding a distinctive feature to the unmarked signifier (for example, the marked form "unhappy" was created by adding a prefix *un*- to the unmarked signifier "happy").

2) distributional markedness: formally marked terms are less common in frequency.

We often perceive unmarked forms as primary forms, and the marked ones as secondary for the reason of their generality in use and the consequential greater presence within the corpus. This is why the unmarked form is perceived as normal and neutral. The relationship between marked and unmarked form is double-natured: it can be symmetrical (which is very often the case with adjectives formed by prefixation, e.g. opposition *happy – unhappy*), but also hierarchical (e.g. the use of the noun *mačka* in Croatian as the generic gender when not specifying the sex of the member of this species). While morphological marking can often imply a negative characteristic, as in the above mentioned adjective opposition, markedness of the other forms in language does not imply them (as the example, we can mention the pairs of denomination of male and female members of an animal species: *krava – bik, jelen – košuta, svinja – prasac,* etc.) According to Jakobson, the marked signifier is characterised by the higher precision, specificity and significant amount of additional information in comparison with the unmarked signifier.

Unmarked Forms as The Reflection of Dominant Cultural Values

The form for masculine gender is often used when referring to a female being. Maybe the best example is the generic use of the noun *čovjek* (engl.*man*, fr.*homme*) when used apart from its specific value (man, male).



Claire Michard (1996: 34) concludes from this choice of using the masculine gender as the generic one in French, that linguistic forms associated with the concepts of men and women within the discourse treat women as a relative, and men as an absolute human being. Binary opposition almost always outweigh in favour of the male, speaking to a certain extent that male is the standard and female is different (Chandler 2007: 98). In Croatian, English and French the category of female is mostly marked compared to the category of male. Marked forms are used in more concrete, specific and narrow sense, while unmarked forms are the reflection of dominant cultural values, of what is considered as common, normal and standard. The absolute term of profession or function is being formalised by the choice of masculine gender without referring to the sex. In contrast to this, when using the feminine form for the same profession, the meaning of sex will "violate" the meaning of the profession of function, relativize or narrow it (Michard 1996: 41). Therefore, the choice to use male form as the generic one will concretize the dominant relationships in the society.

Political Correctness and Social Sensitivity

Political correctness is primarily a social phenomenon, which is very often manifested in the linguistic field. The topics of its concern are mostly the reflection of neoliberal understandings with the goal of recognizing marginalised and non-dominant social groups. Political correctness was incorporated in a number of social movements, especially those aimed at providing resistance to the supremacy of certain cultural and social groups. The movement of American feminists is one of the good examples how a social movement or ideology can affect the language. Their intention was to get all or at least most general expressions that are in a way sexually coloured (containing lexical parts that suggest a male person in their form) replaced by another neutral term in order to correct former illogicality, which in their opinion presented the verbal remains of discriminatory social attitudes toward women in the past (Sušac 2006: 667). This resulted in the formation of neologisms, avoidance of the pronoun *he* for masculine singular when the sex is unknown and the introduction of neutral forms of plural, such as *them, they,* avoidance of the suffix *–man*, avoidance of the expressions pointing to the marital status, etc. Neologisms and language solutions of this kind through the media find their way to the general public, which accepts of refuses them. Although they can take hold in use, their use will not necessarily be attested in the dictionaries. For example, in *Dictionnaire de l'Académiefrançaise* we do not find the feminine form *uneécrivaine,* which is widely used in media, but the version *une femme écrivain* as the opposition to the noun *unécrivain*. We have the same situation with *une femme auteur*, as cited by the Academy, while in the media the noun *uneauteure* formed by suffixation is used. Insight in *Veliki rječnik hrvatskog jezika* from 2005 shows us that along with the entries for masculine forms, like *spisatelj, autor, profesoror liječnik,* feminine forms are orderly cited. However, the common practice in Croatian and French is to use semantically neutral forms in the masculine gender when the name of the profession is not used specifically and does not indicate the sex. At the same time, the feminine form will be marked, relativized and narrowed. Since neither Croatian nor French know the way to delete such forms of „discrimination" by some neutral solutions, it is at least possible to register these specifically masculine or feminine forms, which is done in dictionaries (Sušac 2006: 672).

It is logical to assume that every language will not have equally elaborated terminology for professions and that in some languages certain professions still have only masculine form. Here arises the question whether this is because the individual countries and societies have different priorities influenced by their socio-economic development, i.e. whether they have reached a level of social sensitivity to matters dealt with political correctness (Sušac 2006: 671). We tend to think that societies with more coherent social systems and with more developed economies will be more conscious in terms of political correctness and that efforts to attain equality among certain social groups shall be manifested in language. In this particular case we are talking about the use of the masculine denomination of a profession as unmarked form and about the absence of marked (feminine) form in general as the reflection of the former domination of certain professions reserved only for men, and respectively about the state of a given society. Naturally, the languages that do not possess the grammatical distinction between masculine/male and feminine/female forms are not applicable for such an observation, but they can be relevant for the examination of other cognitive conceptualizations. Namely, besides language determinism, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis also recognizes the phenomenon of language relativism, whichassumes that "people who speak languages with very different phonological, grammatical and semantic distinctions perceive and think about the world quite differently, their worldviews being shaped or determined by their languages" (Chandler 2007: 153). These issues exceed the objectives of this paper, but for the purpose of future research it will definitely be worth examining whether such languages or their common usage also demonstrate different aspects of gender related domination and social supremacy.

Masculine Form as the Unmarked Form

The reasons for the use of the masculine gender as a common gender in the profession terminology are multiple. Very often in the recruitment advertising only the masculine form is cited as semantically unmarked for "practical" reasons, while the feminine form is used only specifically. A possible justification for this practice is that the working position refers to the function, not to a particular person. Primarily, we are inclined to believe that the selection of the masculine form is a relic of the former discriminatory attitude towards women when a large number of jobs were performed by men only and the habit to use the term in the masculine gender kept up to date.

If we compare the situation in French and Croatian it is evident at first glance that Croatian language recognizes more special forms of terms for professions and functions in the feminine form. However, since 1930s French grammarians and linguists have been aware of discrimination conducted in that way so they have started to encourage the practice of the title feminization. At that time Damourette and Pichon wrote that the lightness with which the French language creates feminine forms should discourage women from using the profession in the masculine gender, because in this way they devalue their own efforts. Likewise, the most influential French grammar *Bon usage* recognises the need for feminisation, while Albert Dauzet in *Le Guide du bon usage* believes that the task of grammarians, writers and authors is to find language solutions and to inform the public. He also considers that French has all the necessary predispositions in order to make this happen (Cerquiglini 1999: 107). In fact, beside a small number of exceptions, morphological feminization is possible for all terms.

However, despite the more or less successful efforts for the feminization of professions to enter into wider use, the solutions resulted from this have encountered resistance for several reasons, very often by the members of the female sex. *Guide d'aide à la féminisation des noms de métiers, titres, grades et fonctions* (1999) published by National Institute of French Language and French National Centre for Scientific Research among others, states the following reasons for refusal resulting from language, although it should be stressed that socio-cultural reasons are also standing behind them:

1) Homonymy: A large number of female forms for professions, especially those formed by the suffix *–euse*, have the same form as the name of respective machines (for example, *balayeuse*). Feminine form of the noun marmot (small boy) is *marmotte*, which is also the name for *marmot* in French.

2) Euphony: common reason for refusal of neologisms is that „it doesn't sound good" to the speakers of a certain language. *Guide d'aide à la féminisation* mentions following examples: *sapeuse-pompière, directrice, proviseuse*...

3) Devalorisation: another reason for rejection of neologisms is that women themselves believe that the feminization of profession calls degrades them. Feminine forms such as *pharmacienne* were for a long time used to denote the wives of holder of a specific

profession or function and this is why they have pejorative connotations and are hard to accept. The fact that women themselves are more prone to this complaint further reduces the likelihood that language solutions will be used widely. "A key argument in the choice and success of individual language options it the one which says that it should be accepted by the population to which it relates. When it comes to racial sensitivity in early 80s in Croatia emerged a reaction to ethnonyme Cigani which has taken on a pejorative connotation and this is why it was replaced by more neutral expression *Romi* which was confirmed in linguistic practice and it can be seen as the classical example of political correctness" (Sušac 2006: 671).

Corpus Analysis

The objective was to check the extent to which the Croatian and French language dictionaries have registered various professions in the feminine gender. For comparison, 50 presumably most common (usual) occupations and professions were chosen and their existence checked in Vladimir Anić's Croatian dictionary *Veliki rječnik hrvatskog jezika* and the online version of the French dictionary *Dictionnaire de l'Académiefrançaise.*

	Fr. masc.	**Fr. fem.**	**Cro. masc.**	**Cro. fem.**
1	acteur	actrice	glumac	glumica
2	agriculteur	agricultrice	poljoprivrednik	poljoprivrednica
3	architecte		arhitekt	arhitektica
4	artiste	artiste	umjetnik	umjetnica
5	artisan		obrtnik	obrtnica
6	avocat	avocate	odvjetnik	odvjetnica
7	banquier	banquière	bankar	
8	basketteur	basketteuse	košarkaš	košarkašica
9	berger	bergère	pastir	pastirica
10	bijoutier	bijoutière	draguljar	
11	biologiste	biologiste	biolog	biologinja
12	boucher	bouchère	mesar	

13	boulanger	boulangère	pekar	pekarica
14	cardiologue		kardiolog	
15	chanteur	chanteuse	pjevač	pjevačica
16	chauffeur	chauffeur	vozač	vozačica
17	chimiste	chimiste	kemičar	kemičarka
18	chirurgien		kirurg	kirurginja
19	coiffeur	coiffeuse	frizer	
20	comptable	comptable	računovođa	računovotkinja
21	constructeur	constructrice	graditelj	graditeljica
22	dentiste		zubar	zubarica
23	dermatologue		dermatolog	dermatologinja
24	économiste		ekonomist	ekonomistkinja
25	ethnologue		etnolog	etnologinja
26	fermier	fermière	farmer	farmerica
27	footballeur	footbaleuse	nogometaš	nogometašica
28	forestier	forestière	šumar	šumarica
29	gardien	gardienne	čuvar	čuvarica
30	géographe		geograf	
31	guide	guide	vodič	
32	gynécologue		ginekolog	ginekologinja
33	historien	historienne	povjesničar	povjesničarka
34	informaticien	informaticienne	informatičar	informatičarka
35	inspecteur	inspectrice	inspektor	inspektorica
36	instituteur	institutrice	učitelj	učiteljica
37	journaliste		novinar	novinarka
38	médecin	femme médecin	liječnik	liječnica
39	organisateur	organisatrice	organizator	organizatorica
40	pâtissier	pâtissière	slastičar	slastičarka
41	pédiatre		pedijatar	pedijatrica
42	pharmacien	pharmacienne	ljekarnik	ljekarnica
43	photographe		fotograf	fotografkinja
44	pilote		pilot	pilotkinja
45	plombier		vodoinstalater	
46	poète		pjesnik	pjesnikinja
47	politicien	politicienne	političar	političarka

48	professeur	professeur	profesor	profesorica
49	psychiatre		psihijatar	psihijatrica
50	réalisateur	réalisatrice	redatelj	redateljica

The results show that the Academy's dictionary does not record 17, and Anić's 8 occupational titles in the feminine gender. With this the assumption that societies with more organized socio-economic systems will be more sensitive to issues of political correctness on the linguistic level has been invalidated, at least in the example of lexicographical incorporation of specific professions and occupations in the feminine gender.

In view of morphological differences, the analysis shows the examples of the feminine form formation in the French language by adding the suffixes –trice, -e, -ière, -euse, -ienne.The Academy's dictionary also registers the feminine forms that are completely identical with masculine forms, but they are cited in dictionaries with determinants, in example: *la guide, une artiste*, which, of course, is impossible in Croatian given its dominantly inflective or fusional structure.

Interesting is the fact that the Croatian dictionary does not register a common attested feminine form *frizerka*. It is possible that this was a random omission, especially due to the fact that it is a profession that is mostly practiced by members of the female sex. Furthermore, the Croatian dictionary does not cite attested forms in language like *mesarica or bankarica*, as it can be seen in the above table.

Conclusion

It is evident that the phenomenon of markedness as an indicator of masculine social domination can be recognized and observed only in the languages that intrinsically possess such morphological qualities to a higher or lesser extent. English, French and Croatian as the languages with different structural levels of grammatical gender formation have proven to be a good basis for such an analysis. Propelled by the political correctness campaign, the English language, with the lowest level of structural inflectiveness, has largely eliminated the distinctionof marked and unmarked forms by excluding a rather reduced nominal suffixation related to specific genders or by finding various neutral forms as alternatives. French and Croatian,on the contrary, cannot follow the same pattern of language normativism because of their grammatical genders,although being manifested in not completely identical forms. The French language possesses a higher level of gender grammaticalization compared to Croatian due to its possibility of attributing genders to nouns by both suffixation and articles. However, as a way of showing gender related sensitivity, the lexicographers in both languages have demonstrated a rather high tendency of registering specific and consequently marked forms related to job occupations in their latest dictionaries. Surprisingly, the Croatian dictionary, although with fewer structural possibilities, show larger consistency in registering feminine forms for most frequent professions. The discrepancy between a wider choice of grammatical possibilities and a smaller number of registered specific forms in French is further emphasised by the fact that such forms have already been verified in the language corpora, mostly in online newspaper articles, which can be easily verified by simple online word search. The reasons for such discrepancies can be manifold. Obviously, longer democratic tradition and presumably consequent gender sensitivity could not be confirmed through the analysis of chosen dictionaries in the observed languages. A higher opposition of French lexicographers towards registering gender related word formation in dictionaries might be explained as a higher sensitivity against all sorts of English language and culture influences, but it is just an assumption that can hardly be proven.

It is still unclear whether registering and thus emphasizing specific and mostly female/feminine gender forms are still needed for the sake of ‘equality’, because it can also enhance the awareness of them as marked and therefore ‘second-rated’. Although it may sound controversial, in a different kind of prescriptivist campaign one could suggest eliminating all kinds of specific forms and insisting only on generic ones both in lexicography and usage, without regard to their grammatical gender. Can they in such a way stop being conceptualized as feminine and masculine, if our minds and cognition are primarily at stake? The whole discourse of markedness seems to have found more prolific discourse in the domain of semiotics through the analysis of visual signifiers. Paradoxically, the world of advertising is abundant with examples where female signifiers prevail as unmarked and therefore indicating the (ab)use of female body as dominant and natural in our consumers' culture. Such 'values' can definitely be questioned without limitations imposed by linguistic features of verbal signs.

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Summary

We are used to perceive the unmarked forms as primary and dominant ones due to their generality and bigger presence within a corpus. That is why we understand them as natural and neutral, while the marked forms are present within a concrete and specific meaning. The use of masculine gender as generic (unmarked) in names of professions is a realisation of dominant social attitudes during the past and of dominant values in a society. Social movements against the discrimination had the tendency of linguistic discrimination effacement as a direct result, especially in English. Related to that, the high number of neologism appears. They find their way to the broader public through the media, while the public is the one who choose whether to accept or reject them. Reasons for this can be intralingual and extra lingual. We can assume that the societies with higher level of socio-economic development will be more sensitive with regard to political correctness in language and that they will record a bigger number of specific, marked terms. Although the use of each of them can be accepted by broader public, their use do not necessarily have to be registered in dictionaries. We decided to analyse the corpus of 50 „common" profession names to see whether the feminine gender forms used by public will be registered in dictionaries. The analysis has shown that Croatian recognises more specific forms for professions and functions in feminine gender in comparison to French in regard to their presence in dictionaries.

Keywords: markedness, political correctness, Jakobson, lexicography

Temelji kvantitativne analize u društvenim znanostima
Aleksandar Halmi, Alinea, Zagreb, 2013., 256 pp.

Objavljivanje knjige prof.dr.sc. Aleksandra Halmija ***Temelji kvantitativne analize u društvenim znanostima (1.izdanje)*** kao sveučilišnog priručnika odobrio je Senat Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, a sufinanciralo je Ministarstvo znanosti i tehnologije Republike Hrvatske. Drugo nepromijenjeno izdanje ove knjige tiskano je u rujnu 2013. godine u izdanju Alinee iz Zagreba. Recenzenti knjige su: prof.dr.sc. Dušan Milinković, prof.dr.sc. Vlatko Previšić, prof.dr.sc. Gojko Zovko. Knjiga je usmjerena na temeljne postupke kvantitativne analize koje mora poznavati svaki istraživač društvenih pojava, kako složenih tako i višedimenzionalnih..

U knjizi su obrađene sve one analitičke procedure od jednostavnih eksperimentalnih nacrta do složenih tehnika i metoda kao što su: multipla regresijska analiza, parcijalna korelacijska analiza, analiza putanje, multivarijantna analiza varijance i kovarijance, faktorska analiza, bigrupna i multipla diskriminativne analiza, taksonomska analiza i kanonička korelacija analiza. Sve navedene tehnike opisane su pomoću teorijskih prikaza analitičke procedure nadopunjene istraživačkim problemom iz prakse. Takvim načinom ostvaruje se jedinstvo te povezanost istraživanja i prakse. U knjizi se izbjegavao statistički i matematički formalizam, a numeričke primjere prate samo elementarne tehnike kao podlogu za složenije procedure za koje postoje razvijeni statistički paketi. Numerički primjeri navedeni u knjizi preuzeti su iz istraživačke prakse različitih područja društvenih znanosti.

Knjiga ima 256 stranica i sastoji se od šest poglavlja, zaključnog razmatranja, dva dodatka, kazala pojmova i literature.

Prvo poglavlje „Uvod u područje kvantitativne analize" pored uvoda, opisuje dvije tradicije nazvane aristotelovska i galilejevska. Iz aristotelovske tradicije razvio se pozitivizam s osnovnom idejom o jedinstvu metoda prirodnih i društvenih znanosti. Prema drugoj tradiciji egzaktne prirodne znanosti, posebno matematika i fizika, određuju metodološki standard kojime se mjeri stupanj razvitka ostalih znanosti, pa i društvenih znanosti. Iz galilejevske tradicije razvio se protupozitivizam, što autor i opisuje. Nadalje autor opisuje suprotnosti analitičkog i hermeneutičkog pristupa te kvantitativnu analizu u društvenim znanostima. Kvantitativni pristup proučavanju društvenih znanosti zauzeo je jedno od središnjih mjesta u novoj struji pozitivizma kada se u području društvenih znanosti postavilo pitanje preciznosti koje olakšava provjerljivost. Na kraju prvog poglavlja autor piše o kvantitativnom pristupu socijalnom radu koji je povezana s pokušajima utemeljenja socijalnog rada kao posebnog znanstvenog područja.

Dugo poglavlje „Empirijska istraživanja lokalnih zajednica – povijesni osvrt" pored uvoda sastoji se od opisa engleske škole „političke aritmetike" u kojoj je primijenjena „metoda intervjuiranja na veliko" da bi se istražila bijeda u istočnom Londonu. Autor dalje zanimljivo opisuje francusku školu „moralne statistike" koja ispituje utjecaje raznih prirodnih, demografskih i društvenih čimbenika na pojavu socijalnih problema. Pored francuske škole opisana je i njemačka sociografska škola koja istražuje obiteljski budžet te istraživanja u SAD-u vezana uz pitanje kriminaliteta, rasnih odnosa, socijalne dezorganizacije u određenoj sociokulturnoj sredini.

Treće poglavlje pod naslovom „Proces kvantitativnog istraživanja" detaljno opisuje logički slijed postupaka koji treba provesti kako bi došli do pouzdanih informacija koje nam pomažu u donošenju odluka (definiranje problema i ciljeva istraživanja, postavljanje hipoteza, izvor podataka i nacrt istraživanja, metode i obrasci za prikupljanje podataka, određivanje uzoraka, analiza podataka i interpretacija rezultata, sastavljanje istraživačkog izvještaja). U potpoglavlju „Mjere varijabli" autor detaljno opisuje odabir mjernih instrumenata te metrijske značajke mjernih instrumenata, a to su: valjanost, pouzdanost, objektivnost, diskriminancijska vrijednost, baždarenost, praktičnost i ekonomičnost.

Autor u četvrtom poglavlju „Tipovi i nacrti istraživanja u društvenim znanostima" pored opisa tri temeljna tipa istraživanja: temeljna istraživanja, primijenjena istraživanja i procjenjivačka istraživanja opisuje detaljno sve bitne komponente nacrta istraživanja. Odabir nacrta istraživanja je od vitalnog značenja jer o tome ovisi određivanje valjanosti hipoteza i autor to detaljno opisuje na osnovi bogate istraživačke prakse. U radu je tako opisano više nacrta istraživanja: eksplorativni, deskriptivni, eksplanatorni, sukcesivni, kontrolni, eksperimentalni, korelacijski, longitudinalni, faktorski, hijerarhijski i multivarijantni.

U petom poglavlju pod naslovom „Eksperimentalna istraživanja i analitički postupci" autor definira strukturu i nacrt eksperimenta preko problema, hipoteza, varijabli, ispitanika, provođenja eksperimenta i statističkih metoda. Autor definira obilježja pravog eksperimenta i varijabilitet pojava, te opisuje kada se može upotrijebiti Studentov t-test, a kada analiza varijance i kovarijance kroz primjere. Obrađivana je multivarijantna analiza varijance tzv. MANOVA koja je metodološki temelj za različita istraživanja iz područja društvenih znanosti te se primjenjuje u svim situacijama kada se istodobno istražuje veći broj varijabli koje su u međusobnim korelacijama.

„Neke metode za analizu kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih promjena" naslov je šestog poglavlja. U ovom zadnjem poglavlju autor opisuje mogućnosti transformacije struktura djelovanjem na njihove elemente te metode za analizu kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih promjena. Metode za analizu kvantitativnih promjena ostaju u okvirima ANOVE, tj. razmatraju se brojne suvremene, ali i tradicijske metode koje sve zajedno imaju obilježja linearnog stohastičkog modela poput analize vremenskih nizova, metode za kanoničku analizu kvantitativnih promjena, metode za testiranje značajnosti razlika kvantitativnih promjena dva nezavisna uzorka i malih zavisnih uzoraka, kombiniranih testova za analizu kvantitativnih promjena, mjerenje obujma učinaka kvantitativnih promjena, taksonomske analize.

Primjeri korišteni u ovoj knjizi preuzeti su iz istraživanja iz područja socijalnog rada, autora zanima pozitivistički smjer socijalnog rada u njegovoj kvantitativnoj varijanti gdje se istraživačkim metodama pridaje značaj kako upravo one određuju i sam predmet socijalnog rada.

Socijalni rad razvija široko prihvaćenu varijantu empirijskih istraživanja u kojima osjetilno iskustvo postaje temelj spoznaje, a njegova korisnost u praksi je uvjet daljnjeg razvitka teorije društvene strukture. Ovo izvorno znanstveno djelo o temeljima kvantitativne analize pripada području metodologije znanstvenih istraživanja koje je značajno za sva područja društvenih znanosti. Ovo djelo je pisano i na temeljima suvremene svjetske literature iz ovog područja te pripada među malobrojne knjige objavljene u Republici Hrvatskoj u kojima se razmatraju i povezuju problemi iz statističke analize podataka i znanstvene metodologije.

Knjiga *Temelji kvantitativne analize u društvenim znanostima* tiskana je kao udžbenik Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, a korisna je i za studente ostalih sveučilišta koja se bave istraživačkim radom, kao i sve istraživače. Opisana knjiga koristi se i kao udžbenik na diplomskim studijima Odjela za turizam i komunikacijske znanosti Sveučilišta u Zadru za kolegij Metodologija znanstveno-istraživačkog rada.

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Overview of the media culture workshop in Slavonski Brod. http://mediji.hr/osvrt-radionice-medijske-kulture-u-slavonskom-brodu/. (Visited: 26.03.2012.)

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All papers go through a review process. Final decision on paper category will be brought by editorial board, taking into account the opinion of the reviewers. Rejected papers will not be returned to authors.