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Preserving cultural assets of others: Jewish heritage sites in Macedonian cities

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ABSTRACT

Issues arise when trying to understand the motivation of policymakers to preserve the assets of cultures that do not belong to the mainstream population. Tunbridge and Ashworth's seminal study on 'Dissonant Heritage' and Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS model) provide a basis to evaluate both the motivations and the existence of a cultural dissonance. As there is a growing worldwide trend towards preserving and developing Jewish heritage tourism (JHT) this study examines Jewish heritage sites in three Macedonian cities endowed with rich Jewish history. Unlike previous studies concentrating on the notion of dissonant heritage, this research focuses on the motivation for preserving such sites, an issue hardly tackled before. Previous studies suggested the prevalence of six possible motives: guilt, facing harsh history, emphasis on dark tourism, revival of a harmonious past, respect, and economic benefits. Data were obtained via face-to-face interviews conducted with policy-makers from central and local governments. The interviews were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively in order to determine the leading motives for preservation. The findings indicate that by establishing and maintaining Jewish Heritage sites, stakeholders reflect sentiments of respect and admiration for the perished Jewish community and a longing for the revival of an elusive harmonious past. The potential economic benefits and dark tourism surfaced only as minor motives. Practically, JH preservation is used to revive dialogue with a forgotten past that may also contribute to urban tourism development in the future. Conceptually, the interviews did not reveal any indication of heritage dissonance, a finding that stands in sharp contrast to the dissonant heritage theory.

摘要

本研究的目的是分析政策制定者保护非主流文化资产的动机。本文利用了坦布奇 (Tunbridge) 与艾斯伍斯 (Ashworth) 的经典研究《非和谐遗产》和贝纳特 (Bennett) 的《跨文化敏感度发展模型》评价了保护非主流文化遗产的动机和文化不协调现象的存在方式。随着全球范围内保护与开发犹太人遗产旅游趋势的快速发展, 本研究研究了三个马其顿城市的犹太人遗产场所, 这些遗产场所都具有丰富的犹太人历史内涵。与以往研究强调非主流遗产的概念有

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关键词

犹太人遗产旅游; 不和谐遗产; 动机; 城市旅游; 马其顿地区; 黑暗旅游

所不同, 本文重在研究保护这些场所的动机, 这个问题以前鲜有涉及。以往的研究表明以下六个动机普遍存在:原罪、面对艰难历史、强调黑暗旅游、再现和谐的去、尊重犹太文化和经济利益。通过对中央与地方政策制定者进行面对面的访谈收集数据, 采用定量与定性的方法分析访谈数据以确定保护这些遗产场所的动机。结果表明, 通过建立和维护这些遗产场所, 利益相关者表达了尊重犹太人遗产场所的看法, 崇拜消亡的犹太人社区, 渴望重现一个难以寻觅的和谐的去。获取潜在的经济收益和发展黑暗旅游只作为次要的动机出现。保护犹太人遗产在实务上是用来重现与一个被遗忘的去进行对话, 可能有助于未来的城市旅游发展。在理论上这些访谈并没有揭示出任何遗产不和谐的去, 这个结果与非和谐遗产理论迥然不同。

1. Introduction

Currently, cities, especially in Europe, are engaged in developing their Jewish heritage (JH) resources (Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015; Krakover, 2013a, 2017; Sandri, 2013). This trend raises questions with respect to the motivation of the decision-makers and stakeholders. While visitors' motivation for tourism is a widely explored topic (Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006), the motivations of local societies to preserve heritage sites related to others' culture has hardly been treated (Gruber, 2002). On the contrary, studies treating preservation of tangible heritage assets followed Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) emphasizing the psychological reluctance of dominant groups to preserve assets associated with minorities (Bruce & Creighton, 2006; Chhabra, 2012; Pavličić, 2016).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) led the research on this socio-psychological tendency by raising the problem of generating dissonance towards foreign heritage vis-à-vis tourism managers and local residents while investing in the revival of such assets (Ashworth, 1996, 2002, 2003). Hartmann (2014) took it a step further, contemplating the idea of associating dissonance feelings with dark tourism (DT), specifically when related to sites of war, massacre, or other atrocities. While the dissonance heritage (Bruce & Creighton, 2006; Pavličić, 2016), as well as DT (Collins-Kreiner, 2016; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone & Sharp-ley, 2008) has been widely studied and reported in the academic literature, studies with respect to preservationist motivations are rather limited to Gruber's (2002) 'Virtually Jewish' book.

The primary objective of this study is to provide evidence on the prevailing motivations to preserve others' cultural relics. Though, in passing, light will be shed on the dissonance question as well. Issues revolving around motivations, dissonance, and DT in developing JH resources are to be studied in three cities in Macedonia – in the capital city of Skopje, and in the two regional cities of Bitola and Štip, cities endowed with a rich Jewish history.

Macedonia represents a suitable testing ground for investigating motivations for JH preservation. On one hand, it allows generalizations since it resembles other places in Europe where Jewish physical remnants are renovated or rebuilt even though there are no Jews, except for descendants of Holocaust survivors. On the other hand, it represents a society whose population is split into two groups, two-thirds are affiliated with the Orthodox Church and the rest are Muslims (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017, p. 67). No cases of such population composition have been studied so far. Another relevant note related to local history is the fact that during World War II, control over most

of today's Macedonia was transferred by the German Nazi regime to Bulgaria whose forces collaborated with the Germans in transporting almost all Macedonian Jews to their death in Treblinka (Matkovski, 1959). Another reason for focusing on Macedonia is the fact that as a newly established country and an emerging economy, virtually no academic studies have so far been carried out on the revival of Jewish heritage tourism (JHT) in the country. There are neither specific strategic plans nor marketing materials that provide clear insights into the issue of motivations for investing in JHS in Macedonia.

This article investigates the main motives for preservation and attempts to disentangle six motivations mentioned in previous studies without being validated.

The literature review analyses cultural dissonance and motivation for developing JHT. The next section briefs the reader on the history of Jewish presence in Macedonia, along with the impact of urban tourism on Macedonian cities. The research methodology, encompassing the research area, aims, and methods are addressed in the next section. This is followed by the main findings on the motives for JHT development and a concluding discussion section.

2. Literature review

This section is devoted mainly to studies investigating motivations to preserve heritage resources belonging to a culture other than that shared by the dominant groups in society. However, since such heritage preservation has been defined as generating 'dissonant heritage', the literature review commences with a discussion of the concept of 'cultural dissonance' and proceeds with a review of the scattered information available on motivations for the development of others' cultural heritage relics.

2.1. Cultural dissonance

At present, due to geopolitical shifts and peoples' movement throughout history (Livi-Bacci, 2012), almost all countries are dotted with assets and relics related to cultures foreign to that shared by the majority of the local population. As will be shown next, literature on dissonant heritage suggests that the relationship of the local people and their political leaders to such heritage assets and relics vary along a wide range of feelings and behaviors. Dissonant heritage is defined as conflictual feelings, tension, or discordance with regard to presentation of structures or symbols associated with a culture or religion which is not your own. Such feelings tend to intensify towards structures or symbols identified with minority groups in society. This sort of conflictual feelings may lead individuals or groups within the majority to take action against the presentation or preservation of such artifacts, especially when investments of local funds are involved (Graham & Howard, 2008; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

The severity of action taken against minorities' cultural assets varies along a wide spectrum from physical destruction and erasure to disinheritance and superficial tolerance on one hand, and to acceptance and even adaptation, on the other (Graham & Howard, 2008; Lehrer, 2015). Destruction of other's heritage site has been practiced throughout history and prevails to these days. Well-known examples are the Kristallnacht synagogues burning in Germany in the 1930s (Mara, 2010), and more recently, the destruction of the Afghan statue of Buddha and Nineveh's antiquity in Syria (Bauer, 2015).

Often brutal destruction is replaced by tendencies of disinheritance. This usually involves transformation of the narrative and utilization of sites, spaces and buildings constructed or used by one culture to represent the culture of the current population (Graham & Howard, 2008; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2005; Landzelius, 2003). Well-known historical examples are the Hagia Sophia Byzantine church in Istanbul converted to a mosque (Kirimatayif, 2001), and the great mosque in Cordoba converted to a church (Harris, 1997). Conversion of churches to mosques in Turkish Cyprus is a more recent example (Kliot & Mansfeld, 1997). However, disinheritance may take on different degrees of severity. It may take the form of complete erasure of symbols and the exclusion of people on the one hand or giving room to the usage of previous cultures in one way or another (Hannam, 2006). During these two phases, although some members of the community may advocate preservation of some symbols of the minority's heritage, most of the public and its leaders do not develop motivations for change; therefore, symptoms of heritage dissonance are not expected.

Ironically, feelings of dissonance characterize periods of growing tolerance (Hayden, 2016). During such periods, on one hand, individuals and pressure groups press for more detailed and more accurate commemoration of local histories even if such remembrance sheds some dark spots on the currently leading culture (Lemelin et al., 2013). However, on the other hand, when tendencies for the preservation of others' cultures intensify, dissonance feelings at other sections of the dominant society may reach their maximum. Due to this dialectic approach concerning the accurate treatment of history on one hand and 'why do we need opening Pandora boxes' on the other hand, this phase provides a most fertile and intriguing background for researching preservationist motivations.

Before moving to discuss motivations, it is clear that increasing tolerance may lead to phases of acceptance and adaptation (Lehrer, 2015; Sandri, 2013) wherein dissonance feelings decrease or disappear. It should be noted, however, that although these ways of behavior may prevail among the general public, there may always be some extremist groups who disagree and still reject or feel dissonance with respect to the preservation of others' cultural assets.

It is interesting to note that, in the arena of sociology, Milton Bennett (1986, 1993, 2004, 2013) has developed concepts parallel to the terminology used in the literature of tourism on dissonant heritage. Bennett puts together a developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS), which provides a framework explaining how people experience and engage cultural difference in a continuum along various stages of development. The model is based on observations in both academic and corporate settings examining how people are becoming more competent intercultural communicators. It combines concepts from different fields such as constructivist psychology and communication theory.

This continuum goes through six stages, starting with ethnocentrism, characterized mainly by denial of the other and defense, and ending in ethnorelativism, characterized mainly by cultural integration. These stages are: denial of cultural difference, defense against cultural difference, minimization of cultural difference, acceptance of cultural difference, adaptation to cultural difference, and integration of cultural difference (Bennett, 1993).

This model and the range of behaviors towards minority's cultural assets are used to analyze the findings regarding JHT assets in Macedonia.

2.2. Motivations for developing JHT

Motivation is a concept vastly studied in psychology (Reeve, 2015). It is strongly associated with personal rewards (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999). Here it is discussed only in relation to possible motivations for being involved in preserving historic sites related to the heritage of a minority culture. In the field of tourism, the motivation for action related to the development of attractions is discussed in studies investigating stakeholder attitudes (Waligo, Clarke, & Hawkins, 2013). Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher (2005) study on stakeholder collaboration in Luang Prabang highlights the importance of motivation in developing heritage sites. These studies include motivation as a general factor impacting collaboration among stakeholders. In contrast to those studies, this paper concentrates on particular motivations and rewards driving policy-makers to preserve heritage sites unrelated to the dominant local culture.

It should be noted, when central or local government policy-makers are engaged in such preservation efforts, it signifies that they are not afraid of allegations of being responsible for making investments evoking feelings of dissonance among the local population. On the contrary, this signifies that according to their discretion such investments will yield positive rewards, not penalties, in terms of public support.

Another point to consider relates to the expectation for economic returns. During the 1980s, the demand for urban tourism destinations began to increase rapidly (Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Law, 1996). Cities became tourist destinations to be explored by and of themselves rather than serving merely as starting points for rural tourism or nature excursions. As a result, local and central governments came to realize the economic potential of the tourism sector and began allocating funds for urban tourism projects. By the end of the 1990s, tourism strategies of urban renewal and economic development became popular in many cities around the world (Ben-Dahlia, Collins-Kreiner, & Churchman, 2013; Judd, 1999; Law, 1996; Russo & Van Den Borg, 2002). Nowadays, urban tourism contributes greatly to the economic welfare of cities and it shapes their urban landscape (Selby, 2004).

Since preservation of heritage sites for the sake of promoting tourism in cities is perceived as a generator of economic returns, the economic factor should always be kept in mind as a motivating generator. However, in a survey of 20 cities and towns partnering the Network of Jewish Quarters in Spain (Krakover, 2013a; Redjuderias, 2017), only the representative of one city has plainly admitted that the motivation for developing JHT is the economic factor (Krakover, 2013b). Other motivations that rose in that study were associated with two opposing historic factors. One argument emphasized the positive side of the Spanish Golden Ages when allegedly the three cultures of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism lived in harmony. This is driven by the motivation to glorify the city by shedding light on a positive historical period. The other argument is linked to the dark side of evils committed against the local Jewish population when they were expelled from Spain in 1492. The motivation related to these evils was expressed in terms of the educational needs to face historic events harsh as they may be despite the inconvenience they may cause. This argument closely resembles motivation of guilt ventilation suggested by Ashworth (2003) referring to JHT revival in Krakow-Kazimiers.

Another motivation which should not be ruled out is altruism, meaning giving with no expectations of personal rewards. Gruber (2002) noticed that, in the first decades following World War II, individuals in Poland were collecting evidence and documenting the

Jewish past of their towns and villages, even at the risk of encounters with the regime. They did it out of self-interest and curiosity about a population that vanished.

Jewish monuments and other relics at places of population expulsion and termination are logically connected to 'Dark Tourism' (Hartmann, 2014), which is defined as places attracting visitors in spite of, or due to, the commemoration of evils, horror, and atrocities (Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Not all Jewish monuments fit this definition. For instance, several magnificent synagogues that survived World War II were not necessarily sites of atrocious events. Some sites and relics may be dyed in different shades of dark or gray tourism (Stone, 2006; Strange & Kempa, 2003). Recent Jewish history, however, in most of Europe is so closely tied to their vicious fate that many, if not all of the Jewish sites, reflect DT in one way or another (Biran, Poria, & Oren, 2011; Collins-Kreiner, 2016; Hartmann, 2014; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014). This justifies inclusion of DT in the list of motivations to preserve Jewish heritage sites (JHSs).

3. Background material

3.1. Jewish presence in Macedonia

The Jewish presence in Macedonia dates from the Roman times, second to third century AD, with archeological evidence of a synagogue located in the remains of Stobi (Hengel, 1966; Ovadiah, 2015; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi, 1971). The Jewish community remained throughout the Slavic and Byzantine eras. Expulsion decrees issued by the Monarchs of Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1497, combined with the fear of the Inquisition, resulted in about 90,000 Jewish migrants settling in the Balkans alongside the westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire (Hupchick, 2002). These were Ladino-speaking Sephardim Jews who flourished economically and socially in Macedonia, Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. By 1910, on the eve of the Balkan wars, some 10,000 Sephardi Jews lived in Macedonia and formed their main communities and institutions in the cities of Skopje (Frank, 2010), Bitola, and Štip.

Jews and gentiles in Macedonia lived peacefully with mutual respect until 11 March 1943 when, after 450 years of co-existence, they became victims of the Holocaust. Almost all Jews living in Macedonia at that time – 3242 from Skopje, 3351 from Bitola, and 551 from Štip – were deported to their execution in the concentration camp of Treblinka, Poland. At the end of World War II, only 140 Jews, mostly Partisans, survived, later most of them immigrated to Israel. Today, the Jewish community of Macedonia numbers 250, out of which about two-thirds belong to assimilated families.

3.2. Urban tourism in Macedonian cities

As an emerging independent political entity, Macedonia identified tourism as one of the areas that may contribute to economic development. In 2016, more than 850,000 tourists visited Macedonia and 2.4 million overnights were registered (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017). According to Petrevska and Collins-Kreiner (2016), Macedonia is in the 'development' stage of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler, 1980), and has reached a state of tourism maturity. This enables the country to focus on identifying new approaches for further sustaining and boosting urban tourism development.

Due to the fact that the country suffers from economic problems (unemployment rate of 23.1%, GPD per capita of 4150 EUR, an average net income of 360 EUR – State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017), cities in Macedonia having JH resources are ready to invest current capital in order to preserve these past relics for the use of future visitors (Graham & Howard, 2008). Such urban strategy does not go without risk of overestimating the impact of such resources (McKercher, 2006). Furthermore, preservation of a specific culture may affect the future of the city's place identity (Ashworth, 2003; Krakover, 2017).

Based on experience of other cities such as Krakow (Sandri, 2013) and Budapest (Smith and Zatori (2015), urban heritage reconstruction, including JH, is highly correlated with a substantial increase in the number of visitors, injection of hard currency to the local economy, alongside with a considerable impact on the city's place identity (Lehrer, 2015).

4. Methods and methodology

4.1. Research area and its Jewish memorials

The selected research area is composed of the three cities endowed with JH: Skopje, Bitola, and Štip (Figure 1). Each of them has its own story and specific JH resources attracting public preservation investments.

Skopje is the capital of Macedonia with a population of 544,086 inhabitants in 2015 (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017, p. 14). It is the economic and



Figure 1. Research sites.



Figure 2. Holocaust Memorial Center for the Jews of Macedonia in Skopje.

administrative center of Macedonia and has a large ethnic diversity. The current Macedonian Jewish community is located in Skopje. At the end of the seventeenth century under the Ottoman rule, approximately 3000 Jews lived in this city (Strom, 1992, p. 17). Today there are around 200 Jews residing in Skopje.

Two main JHSs in Skopje are associated today with developing JHT: (1) *The Holocaust Memorial Centre of the Jews from Macedonia*, a \$23 million stone-and-glass building opened in 2011. It is located in the city center at the heart of the old Jewish quarter and fully managed by the Holocaust Fund of the Jews from Macedonia (Figure 2). (2) *The Beit Yaakov Synagogue* which is located within a three-story building of the Jewish community center built in 2000 when the first Jewish service was held in Macedonia since 1951. It replaced the abandoned pre-war synagogue, which was destroyed in the 1963 earthquake.

Bitola, known before 1913 as Monastir, is a city in the southwestern part of Macedonia with a population of 92,329 inhabitants (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017, p. 14). It is one of the oldest towns in Macedonia and is the second largest city in the country serving as an economic and industrial center. Bitola was a lively center with a long history of Jews living in the city. At the turn of the twentieth century, Jews in Bitola reached nearly 11,000. In 1915, during World War I, Bitola was occupied by Bulgaria for a year when in 1916 it was taken over by Serbia. Thereafter, for almost two years Bulgarian and German troops bombed, burned and destroyed the city. More than 6000 Jews emigrated and lived like refugees in the surrounding areas. When the war was over, just over 3000 Jews returned to Bitola.

The Jews in Bitola had profound religious life centered around three synagogues: the 'Kahal Kadosh Portugal' and the 'Kahal Kadosh Aragon' synagogues that were destroyed in World War II along with most other evidence of previous Jewish life; and the 'Ozer Dalim' Synagogue which after the deportation of Jews in March 1943 was turned into an apartment building. Today, the external structure of this synagogue stands still in a very bad shape. In 2015, a commemorative plaque was unveiled on columns that remained from the 'Kahal Kadosh Portugal' synagogue, situated in the city park known as *The Columns*.

There are several other JHS in Bitola: *The Monument of Deported Jews*, the *Old Jewish Houses in Sirok Sokak* (Wide Alley), a small plate with an inscription commemorating the location of another *Synagogue*, a statue commemorating the locally born Jewish partisan Ester Ovadiah, and the re-exposed *Jewish cemetery with a small museum named Memorial Park of the Jews from Bitola* (Figure 3). In 1997, a civic initiative was raised to restore the cemetery and to create a memorial park named 'Park of the living memories'. Although not finished, this site attracts visitors, particularly Israeli tourists, who visit the museum exhibition devoted to the Jewish ethnic culture. The museum is housed in one of the rooms of the Portal of the Jewish cemetery.

Štip is the largest city in the eastern part of Macedonia with a population of 48,657 inhabitants in 2015 (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017, p. 15). This city serves as a cultural and economic center of the eastern part being the largest textile production center in the country. Aside from Bitola and Skopje, Štip is the third place in Macedonia with a large Jewish community existing there for centuries. Before World War II, around 140 Jewish families lived in Štip (Group of Authors, 1999). After the deportation in 1943, out of 131 families, only one family was registered in the city up to 2009, while today no Jews permanently live in Štip.

There are two JHS in Štip associated with developing JHT: (1) The Monument of Deported Jews ('Line of Life') which was built in 1985 as an artistic monument in honor of 551 Jews deported from Štip (Figure 4); and (2) The Jewish cemetery, which following a renovation project may serve as a starting point for preserving the memory of the local Jewish community. Unlike the Monument of Deported Jews, the cemetery is not mentioned yet in any official tourist promotion material.

4.2. Research aims and methods

The study has two primary aims: (1) to identify the prevailing motivations for preserving the aforementioned JHSs; (2) to shed light on the dissonant heritage question and DT

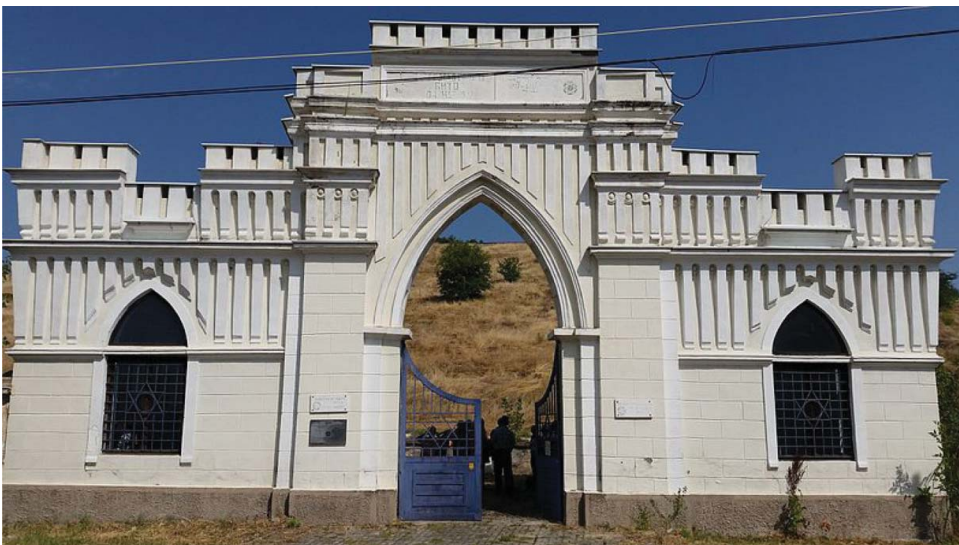


Figure 3. Jewish cemetery (portal) in Bitola.



Figure 4. Monument of the deported Jews from Štip.

perceptions. To achieve these objectives, the study is based on a mixed research method incorporating qualitative and quantitative information obtain via interviews and secondary sources. A total of 18 interviews were held with a conversation time ranging from 20 to 120 minutes (Table 1). The interviews were conducted in June 2016 using the Macedonian language.

Table 1. Interviewee data per sample location.

Interviewee data	Skopje	Štip	Bitola
Position	Two members of the Council (local) Three directors (central) One Head of Department (central) One State Advisor for tourism (central)	Three members of the Council One president of the Council One Mayor One Officer responsible for local economic development (tourism department)	One member of the Council One president of the Council One municipal councilor for culture One Head of Department One Lead project coordinator
Total	7	6	5
Age	Between 35 and 49 (average: 44)	Between 30 and 56 (average: 34)	Between 36 and 56 (average: 49)
Sex	Two female (29%) Five male (71%)	One female (17%) Five male (83%)	Four female (80%) One male (20%)
Religion	86% Orthodox Christians 14% Muslims	100% Orthodox Christians	100% Orthodox Christians
Jewish connection	100% Report no Family Connection	100% Report no Family Connection	80% Report no Family Connection
Time for interviewing	40–120 min (average: 62 min)	25–75 min (average: 41 min)	20–65 min (average: 40 min)

The target group consisted of key stakeholders from the central and local government levels who were identified as the main policy-makers for investing in the development and preservation of JHSs. Specifically, they are presidents and members of the city council, a Mayor, municipal heads for tourism development offices, municipal councilor for culture, state advisor for tourism, a representative from the National Agency for tourism, executive director of the chamber of tourism, and the director of the Commission for relationship with religious groups and communities. In the case of Skopje, the interviewees at the local level were members of the city council and they gave responses just for Skopje as one of the sampled locations. The interviewees at the central government level – holding positions in central institutions in Skopje – were simultaneously able to provide responses for Macedonia in general and for Skopje in particular. Information about the interviewees is summarized in [Table 1](#).

In addition to the target group, five interviews were undertaken with persons on different positions referred to as sources of information. They included: a former Honorable Consul of Israel to Macedonia, a former Minister of finance in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, a CEO of the Holocaust Fund of the Jews from Macedonia, a historian at the museum of Bitola and an archeologist at the Jewish cemetery in Bitola.

The interviews were undertaken by open-ended questions allowing the respondents to talk freely with minimal intervention. All questions were conceived before entering the interview process. The research questions were tailored to suit the research aims. For this purpose, an interview protocol was prepared ([Appendix 1](#)). This served, first, as a framework leading the interviewing procedure without exposing it to the interviewees; and second, as a guide for qualitative and quantitative summary of the interviews once they ended.

During the interviewing procedure, full notes were taken upon which a qualitative data analysis was conducted. This is based on concise summarization and compilation of sentences used by the respondents to describe their attitude towards the preservation of JHSs. Sentences rather than single keywords were used since the actual wording of the pre-selected motivations was not revealed to the interviewees. As a result they used varied terminology. A sample of the sentences used is quoted later with the results.

Simultaneously, consultation of secondary sources of information was conducted. It included a review of literature, such as historical and recent statistical data on the demography and the economy of the country at large and each sampled location, as well as materials that directly or indirectly deal with tourism, Jewish history and JH tours. Furthermore, brochures, maps, and websites were studied to add information regarding the broader context. Information collected via these procedures enabled triangulation and validation of data on JHSs in Macedonia. Triangulation of the results vis-à-vis external documentation was doomed impossible due to scarcity of planning papers, strategic programs, and marketing material regarding JHT.

Based on the literature, the study assessed several motivations for developing JHT in Macedonia, each of which constitutes a research query. The first three research queries (Q_1 – Q_3) address motivations for investing in the preservation of JHSs driven by negative connotations, the second group of two research queries (Q_4 , Q_5) address the motivations driven by positive connotations, while the last research query (Q_6) refers to the seemingly neutral motive of economic development benefits.

The following particular research queries were investigated for identifying the main motives in shaping JHT development in cities in Macedonia:

Q₁: Motivation driven by guilt such as that mentioned by Ashworth (2003) as 'atonement for active or passive collaboration in genocide' or other atrocities such as the expulsion of Jews (Krakover, 2013b);

Q₂: Interest in national history, i.e. motivation driven by readiness to face harsh history (Krakover, 2013b);

Q₃: A part of the growing interest in DT of visiting sites that are connected to the Jewish Holocaust (Biran et al., 2011; Collins-Kreiner, 2016; Hartmann, 2014; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014);

Q₄: Revival of a harmonious past when people of different affiliations were living in harmony (Krakover, 2013b);

Q₅: Respect towards Jews. According to Papo (2016), this kind of behavior is prevalent in the Balkan states as a tool in the struggle for hegemony and power among the larger religious segments of society. This motive, however, may stem from other historic memories; and,

Q₆: Economic motivation to have more points of interest for attracting tourists to visit the city, especially Jewish visitors as a special interest group (Dinis & Krakover, 2016; Krakover, 2017).

It should be noted that there might be some overlapping between motivations. However, these motives surfaced in previous studies as independent driving forces and interviewees were triggered to relate to each one of them independently.

The sentences used, their repetition, and their vigor of expression lead to a subjective assessment of the degree at which each of the interviewees support each one of the motivations. They were classified into 'Yes' or 'No' for supporting or rejecting a motivation, into 'Partial' support, and 'Do not Know' in case the respondent indicating no knowledge of the theme involved. This enabled calculating an average response rate as a simple average of all respondents for each case study. The quantitative findings are reported in Table 2 for Macedonia at large and separately for each of the three cities.

5. Findings: motives for Jewish heritage tourism development

Following the aforementioned methodological procedures it was found that the two motives embedded in research queries Q₄ and Q₅ have surfaced as the main decision guiding logic common to all three case studies. Decision-makers in Macedonia chose to emphasize that their support for investing in JHSs is being driven mainly by two positively connoted motives: respect to the former Jewish residents and a vision concerning the revival of a harmonious past. The following sub-sections present all motives from the more common to the least. Each motive is supported by a sample of characteristic statements made by the respondent.

Table 2. Comparative analysis of all case studies.

Aspect	Research questions	Skopje* (n = 7)		Štip (n = 6)	Bitola (n = 5)	Σn = 18**	
Negative	Q ₁ : Guilt	Qn	Local: No = 43% No response = 57%	Central: No = 40% No response = 60%	Yes = 17% No = 50% No response = 33%	No = 40% No response = 60%	
		Ql	No presence	No presence	No presence	No presence	No presence
	Q ₂ : Facing harsh history	Qn	Local: Yes = 14% No response = 86%	Central: Yes = 20% No response = 80%	No = 17% ***Partially = 34% No response = 49%	Yes = 17% Partially taken as half yes, half no No response is ignored	
Positive	Q ₃ : Dark tourism	Ql	Only one respondent gave an open discussion that it was a deliberate decision to face harsh history for the case of Skopje and Macedonia			No clear statement	Slightly present
		Qn	Local: Yes = 14% No = 43% Do not know = 14% No response = 29%	Central: Yes = 20% No = 40% Do not know = 20% No response = 20%	Yes = 17% No = 17% Partially = 50% Do not know = 16%	Yes = 20% No = 40% Partially = 20% Do not know = 20%	No = 35%
	Ql	No dark tourism may be developed in the case of Skopje, nor in Macedonia in general			Partially, if numerous preconditions are previously fulfilled	No possibilities for dark tourism development	No presence
Neutral	Q ₄ : Revival of harmonious past	Qn	Local: Yes = 100%	Central: Yes = 100%	Yes = 67% No response = 37%	Yes = 80% No response = 20%	Yes = 87%
		Ql	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive 2
	Q ₅ : Respect	Qn	Local: Yes = 100%	Central: Yes = 100%	Yes = 100%	Yes = 80% No response = 20%	Yes = 95%
Neutral	Q ₆ : Economic benefits	Ql	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive	Main motive 1
		Qn	Local: No = 71% No response = 29%	Central: No = 60% No response = 40%	No = 17% Partially = 50% No response = 33%	Yes = 100%	No = 43%
	Ql	Investment in JH is not lead by economic motive			Partially agree that JH sites may be developed as points of interest or tourist attractions, but only if being a part of a much larger context (e. g. cultural tourism)	Main motive	Only in small cities (as Štip and Bitola). economic benefit may be a kind of a leading motive for investment in JH

Note: Qn – Quantitative findings; Ql – qualitative assessment.

*Out of total seven respondents, two were at local level, and five at central level. However, the respondents at central level simultaneously gave opinion for Skopje as a sample location, and for Macedonia in general. That is the main and only reason for mismatching the number of responses on each research question.

**Given the similar number of respondents, the average response rate has been calculated as a simple average of the three/four case studies.

***For the sake of quantitative comparisons, the percentage partially agreeing with a motivation was divided equally between Yes and No. No response was ignored.

5.1. Respect (Q₅)

Respect to the former Jewish residents: This kind of logic appears to summarize the main motive in Skopje. The following sentences represent this motive: 'The story [of the local Jews] must be told'; 'The Memorial Center in Skopje serves to honor and commemorate the Macedonian Jews'; 'A personalization of the Jewish tragedy is what gives the power to the story', and 'Macedonia honors the dead Jews by setting an example to which other nations could and should aspire'.

Showing *respect* is strongly supported by 80% of the respondents in the Bitola case study. Their respect is represented by the following sayings: 'To keep and remember'; 'Never to forget the memories'; 'To pay respect'. In short, a repeated theme reflecting respect is expressed by the sentence: 'The [local] Jewish story must be told and remembered'.

Like for Skopje, showing *respect* was also the main motive in the Štip case study. When mentioning the Jews' tragic history, it was met with lots of sympathy and reverence regarding these former highly respected citizens. All interviewees left the impression that they still cherish the good memories Jews left behind. For example: 'It shouldn't be forgotten since it shouldn't be repeated'; and 'we want to pay respect to those citizens who acted as role models and left footprints on Štip's cultural and economic development'.

In terms of triangulation, a recently prepared tourism planning proposal for Štip included reference to JHT with suggestion to plant a tree for each one of the local Jews perished in the Holocaust, a proposal closely reflect the motive of respect.

5.2. Revival of a harmonious past (Q₄)

The revival of a harmonious past when different affiliations were living along in harmony: This sentence summarizes an additional leading motive repeated in the three cities. In Skopje, this motive was chosen by all respondents both at the local and national levels. Jews lived in Skopje for centuries mostly concentrated in a well-established neighborhood and became a vital part of the local community. This leading motive was expressed as follows: 'To preserve the memory of the Jews of Macedonia, not only to commemorate their death, but also their lives and the civilization that perished with them'; 'To keep the memory of the Jews, their traditions, and their two-millennium-long contribution to co-existence with all segments of society'; 'There is a long history of cohabitation between Jews and Macedonians', and 'Despite the modest and limited investments in JHSs, this is a pay-back to Jews' loyalty as citizens'.

In Bitola, this is a strong motive pointed out by 80% of the interviewees, which was expressed in the following examples: 'The Jews were very important in the life and culture of Bitola' and 'The Jews played an important role in the historic past of Bitola'.

In Štip, this is the second most important motive selected by 67% of the respondents. Here, investing in JH is justified with the presumption of keeping the good memory of a community that lived along with the locals in the past. This research query is supported with the following quotes: 'We want to preserve the memories for the next generations about a noble, honest and friendly community' and 'The Monument of Deported Jews testifies for a harmonious time when Jews left cultural footprints in the municipality'.

5.3. Economic benefits (Q_6)

Economic return on investments was not mentioned as a motive with respect to investment in JHSs in Skopje. Education, not tourist valorization, is the lead objective stated in the working program of the main JHS in Skopje/Macedonia – the Jewish Memorial center. This is an important element in terms of triangulation of the results. The fact that this is the most remarkable JHS in Skopje/Macedonia and yet can be visited free of charge provides strong evidence that financial benefits were not considered as a serious motive.

In Štip, half of the respondents partially considered the economic return to investments as a motive for investing in JHSs. Namely, they partially agree that JHSs may be developed as points of interest for tourist attraction, but only in the context of a much larger framework such as cultural tourism. However, the unavailability of data for the number of visitors to JHSs hinders a more in-depth analysis of the utilization of investments in JH for the benefit of the tourism industry. In terms of triangulation, the same proposal referred to earlier was prepared mainly for economic development purposes.

The Bitola case revealed a different picture regarding the main motive for investments in JHT. In this city, all respondents pointed out economic benefits as the reason for making investments in such sites. This is supported with the following statements: 'The local self-government unit (LSGU) will support every activity related to JH that brings positive benefits to the citizens in the form of economic well-being'; 'To create a complex that will be a reminder of the past..., and at the same time to develop the place into a tourist attraction out of which local people will benefit'; 'To build a home of living memories that will be self-sustainable, leading to local economic development'; and 'By making Bitola recognizable with the JH tourist sites, the municipality will grow economically'.

Such a unanimous agreement may be explained by the worsening economic situation of this city. Bitola has lost the glamour it used to have in the past due to local economic crisis intensified by political crises present at local and central levels. Business environment is stagnating, private initiative is collapsing and the local inhabitants' spirit is falling. With the opening of the Jewish Memorial Park, the locals see opportunities for new economic injection, which may bring positive impacts, not only on the local level but on the regional level as well. Due to the complexity and scale of the project, new job places (direct and indirect) are expected. Bitola may become a recognizable JHT destination if the Cemetery and the Park are included in the tourist map along with other attractions. In case the LSGU makes decisions for financial support of the project, the city council members declared their open support.

5.4. Dark tourism (Q_3)

After an explanatory note about the meaning of DT, respondents were asked to indicate to what extent JHSs are related to this concept. Data presented in Table 2 show that while there are some answers classified as 'Yes' and 'Partially agree', which sum up to 27% of the respondents, these are outnumbered by 'No's which constitute about 44% of the sample. The rest responded with 'Do not know'. In terms of a qualitative assessment, in the case of Skopje, Bitola, and Macedonia at large it is clear that the overall conclusion is that JHT cannot be associated with DT. In the case of Štip, opinions are equally split between 'Yes' and 'No' regarding association of local JHT to the concept of DT.

The reason for disassociation of the local Jewish history with DT was not fully investigated during the interview sessions. Nevertheless, subjective assessment of the interviews combined with other evidence suggests that the main reason for objecting this notion by the majority of the respondents is related to the lack of a significant local horror story that may serve as a base for developing DT.

Namely, the Memorial Center in Skopje is generally used for educational purposes in the line of everyday life of Jews in Macedonia and less about the Holocaust. It has informational displays featuring images, photographs, texts, and maps, and is much more focused on the history of Jewish life rather than their tragic end. In general, the Memorial Center does not stress the connection between Jews and DT.

Just one respondent argued that Bitola has the potential for developing DT in connection with the local Jewish history. Despite the tragic abrupt disappearance of more than 3000 Jewish citizens deported to their death in Treblinka, some interviewees were explicit that this cannot be used as a starting point for the theme of DT. In the same vein, the cemetery cannot stand as a solo site for developing DT, unless there is a story of a much broader context.

The general attitude in Štip is that memorial landmarks present memories of tragic events, but the local Jews' tragedy did not take place on the city's soil. Of the two JH landmarks, the Jewish cemetery is a graveyard of Jews that lived and worked in Štip but it has nothing to do with the Holocaust. After 1943, no Jews were buried there. Hence, it serves only as a memory of those who were part of a joint community in the past. The recent restoration of the Jewish cemetery is not linked to DT at all. The other landmark, The Monument of Deported Jews, which is actually the only site that is related to the dark side of deportation currently stands only as a silent modest reminder of the tragedy. Also, the local history museum displays an exhibition of the perished Jews on the date of the International Holocaust Remembrance day. Hence, respondents were equally split whether or not Štip's JHT may be associated with DT.

5.5. Guilt (Q₁) or facing harsh history (Q₂)

No evidence was found of the motivation driven by guilt (Q₁) or 'atonement for active or passive collaboration in genocide' (Ashworth, 2003). It appears that the respondents felt no guilt for the Holocaust since Macedonia was under Bulgarian occupation at the time it happened.

However, a slight presence of guilt surfaced when investigating the interest in national history (Q₂), i.e. motivation to face harsh history. One respondent in Štip admitted planning JHT was a partially deliberate decision to face harsh chapters in national history. Subjective interpretation of the interviews suggests that respondents were not ready to recall the dark side of history associated with the Jewish community and preferred to evade these two motivations.

Comparative analysis of all case studies presented in Table 2 makes it possible to conclude that the same two positive research queries (Q₄ and Q₅) are confirmed for all three case studies. The respondents from all sampled locations gave preference to the positive connotations by expressing respect for the spiritual, cultural, and intellectual contributions of the Jews and by their readiness to invest in the commemoration of a respectful and harmonious coexistence in the past.

6. Concluding discussion

6.1. Main findings

The primary objective of this study is to provide evidence on prevailing motivations to preserve cultural relics associated with a minority group. The results indicate that decision-makers in Macedonia chose to emphasize motivations carrying positive connotations rather than negative ones. They were found to say they support initiatives for investing in JHSs due to two main motives: expression of respect towards former Jewish citizens, and revival of what they view as a harmonious past when people of different affiliations were living in harmony.

At the same time, these decision-makers were found to distance themselves from motivations having negative connotations of guilt and facing harsh history as reasons to justify their action for preservation or establishment of JHT. However, when it came to DT – which carries a sort of indirect negative connotation – some of the respondents were ready to admit that the local Jewish story does belong to this type of tourism. Basically, these respondents agree that the fate of their neighbor Jews should be considered as harsh history though it is not our guilt.

The neutral ‘economic benefits’ motivation surfaced as important motive for developing JHT mainly in the smaller cities – as it was the main motive in Bitola and third motive in Štip – but not at all in the case of Skopje. It appears that the size of the city matters when investigating whether investments in preserving other people’s heritage are led by aspiration for economic benefits. Despite full awareness to the potential of JHT to promote economic development, the investigation revealed that most of the respondents refrained from emphasizing this factor as their motive for preservation of JHSs.

6.2. Discussion

The discussion section starts with analyzing the particular researched motive, it moves to discuss the conceptual issues of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) and Macedonian stage on Bennet’s (1993) DMIS model. Finally, all is placed in the context of heritage tourism development in urban areas (Fainstain & Judd, 1999).

The aforementioned finding that respondents are reluctant to talk about economic benefits as their motive for investment in JHT is in line with Krakover’s (2013b) findings in Spain where only one tourism official out of 20 mentioned the economic motive as the main factor. The reason for shying away from mentioning this motive requires further research. The case of Macedonia, as a developing country, seems to provide a clue; officials of affluent places seem to feel uncomfortable of listing the economic benefit motive as their main driving force. In contrast, decision-makers’ of smaller cities, where economic opportunities are less abundant, seem to place economic development higher on their openly discussed agendas. It appears that the economic motive is important – and potentially a positive driving force – in regions or states with limited economic opportunities. In such places, however, JHT may turn out as a product characterized as ‘phantom demand’, a term coined by McKercher (2006) to indicate unrealistic expectation for significant economic returns to investment (Dinis & Krakover, 2016).

The high frequency of using ‘harmonious past’ as a main motive also fits Krakover’s (2013b) findings in Spain. However, while in Spain ‘facing harsh history’ also surfaced as a

main motive, in Macedonia it was hardly mentioned. This might be explained by the different history of the two countries towards their Jews and the timing of the harsh events. The different history may also be held responsible for the frequent use of 'respect' towards the Jewish citizens as a main motive in Macedonia as well as the complete denial of 'guilt' as a factor. This last point stands in contrast to Ashworth's (2003) assertion that JHSs preservation in Poland was taken as action of atonement, a contrast stressing again the potential of looking for possible explanations in the realm of different histories.

It appears that Macedonians born after World War II possess neither cognitive feelings of guilt nor interpretation of horrors executed against Jews as unpleasant historic moments. This may be attributed to the fact that atrocities at that period were committed by Bulgarians who were given control over Macedonia by the Nazi regime. The Memorial center in Skopje indeed exhibits a Bulgarian National Railway train wagon as a pointing finger to the nation responsible for the deportation of the Jews.

One of the more interesting findings was the fact that despite the awareness of the Macedonian decision-makers to DT as an emerging concept (Biran et al., 2011; Collins-Kreiner, 2016; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014), yet JHSs were not perceived by most of the respondents as part of this kind of tourism. Reasons for this may range from a misunderstanding of the concept to distancing themselves from such labels since the execution of the local Jews was done outside of Macedonia by others. At the same time, many Macedonian fought against the Nazi regime as Partisans, including a Jewish girl, Estrea Haima Ovdiah-Mara, honored as Macedonian heroin (Popovski, 1973). Thus, stakeholders and decision-makers in Macedonia do not conceive their land and people as having any connection with a significant dark story that may serve as a base for DT.

Regarding the conceptual framework, it is of note that the findings revealed no hint of dissonance among the Macedonian decision-makers vis-à-vis the preservation of JHSs. This finding stands in sharp contradiction to the dissonant heritage notion suggested by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and subsequent case studies proving existence of dissonance of various levels (Chhabra, 2012; Lemelin et al., 2013; Pavličić, 2016). None of the interviewees expressed any feeling of dissonance towards the preservation of JHSs in Macedonia. On the contrary, the respondents in Macedonia took pride in preserving JHSs because in their perception Jews were respected citizens living in harmonious cohabitation with the rest of the Macedonians. The reason for this gap between the literature and the reported finding deserves further research.

The results indicate, however, that unlike the case of Krakow-Kazimiers, where it is reported that local gentiles are referring to Jewish culture – such as klezmer music – as their own (Lehrer, 2015; Sandri, 2013), in Macedonia this is not the case. There were expressions of respect and remembrance of a harmonious life but none of the respondents indicated that the Jewish culture has been assimilated within the Macedonian one.

The conceptual framework of DMIS (Bennet, 1993, 2004, 2013) enables placing the Macedonian situation on the fourth stage of the DMIS model. This stage is termed as acceptance of cultural difference. This means that Macedonians do recognize that Jewish culture differs from their national culture however this is honored and accepted. The interviews conducted reveal that this situation does not sound as a newly achieved stage but rather as the situation prevailing long time before World War II. It appears that the preservation of JHT by Macedonian decision-makers rests on this older times, or historic, 'acceptance'.

Although the interviewed officials seem to go one step further by demonstrating their sympathy with the other culture, they still do not reach the next stage in the DMIS model, that of adaptation to cultural differences, simply because the other culture does not really exist in Macedonia anymore. Another comment is in line; the DMIS model suggests stages of development through time while this study represents a snapshot study; therefore, the investigation of the historical trend line should be left for another research.

Finally, it should be reminded that the preservation activities discussed in this study take place within the physical and social fabric of the urban arena. Preservation of relics, sometimes by reconstruction, changes the physical landscape of the city. Some view this change as enrichment while others may view it as an act of changing the characteristics of the city, or even its place identity (Ashworth, 2003; Krakover, 2017). Macedonian cities appear to undergo processes observed in other urban areas – such as Krakow, Toledo, Budapest, and Sarajevo – whereby the past of the city shapes its future in terms of developing heritage products for tourism consumption (Graham & Howard, 2008; Krakover, 2013a, 2017; Sandri, 2013; Smith & Zatori, 2015). This process goes in tandem with different tourism promotion strategies aimed for urban renewal and economic development, which became popular in many cities around the world (Ben-Dahlia et al., 2013; Judd, 1999; Law, 1996; Russo & Van Den Borg, 2002; Selby, 2004).

Long-term planning imposes the need of creating clearly defined and recognizable offer by designing niche tourist products (Novelli, 2005), including JHT (Dinis & Krakover, 2016). The investigated Macedonian cities have potential of promoting and offering their Jewish story as part of their heritage. In particular, small cities' decision-makers feel they must focus on introducing JHT products, which may consequently lead to increasing visitors' consumption, creating employment, as well as raising awareness of residents for the JH they locally possess. By developing JHT, a new value may be added to their modest tourism offer, which may serve as a way out in overcoming severe economic problems.

6.3. Limitations and future research

A motive that has surfaced during the interviews, without being a part of our research queries, is the role of the world Jewry in general and the impact of bilateral relationships with the State of Israel in particular. Some of the interviewees have mentioned these ties as motives for further investment in preserving JHS. It appears that in the case of Macedonia, the central authorities played a crucial role in supporting and intensifying processes initiated by the Jewish diaspora, funneled through the dwindled Jewish community of Macedonia, in order to preserve Jewish cultural heritage assets. The local authorities played a lesser role. Nevertheless, they also applied preservation policies in consensus with the central decision-makers. The presence of multiple strong motives clearly indicates the determination for protection and revitalization of Jewish monuments, which may consequently lead to JHT development in Macedonia.

It should be further noted that all interviewees were born after World War II into cities with no Jews. Their evident respect toward the Jewish population that had vanished and their longing for a harmonious past must therefore rely on second-hand sources of information.

The research was limited by several other factors that can also serve as productive starting points for future work. First, it was done only in Macedonia so it may be expanded to

other countries, such as Ukraine, where JHT is emerging in the last decades (Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015). Second, this research focuses only on stakeholders' and decision-makers' perspectives. This might be the reason for avoiding feelings of dissonance. Future research should include other segments of society. Among these segments higher levels of dissonant attitude toward investment in others' cultural assets may be expected (Chhabra, 2012; Chhabra & Zhao, 2015). Third, methodologically, quantification of the interview results relied on subjective judgment of the researcher concerning the attitude of each respondent towards each motive. A follow-up study may use more sophisticated set of questions psychologically tailored to retrieve a rubric of keywords used for coding of the results and counting their frequency.

Practically, it is recommended to consider developing JHT as a national rather than a local product the way it is done in Spain (Krakover, 2013a). Such a program may be beneficial towards strengthening the local and national economy, increasing visitors' consumption, creating employment, as well as increasing the awareness of residents to the JH assets which they possess.

Notwithstanding the difficulties involved in identifying the main motives for preserving JHS in Macedonia, this article sets the stage for further explorations into the motivations to preserve others' cultural heritage relics.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendix 1. Researcher interview protocol (not to be exposed to the interviewees)

Step 1: Introduction (1–2 min)

- To make it clear that the data are collected for research purposes, unidentified interviewees, whatever they say may be cited with full confidentiality.

Step 2: Focus of the study (1–2 min)

- To explain the focus of the study on Jewish heritage sites (JHS) and Jewish heritage tourism (JHT).

Step 3: Familiarity with JHS (1–2 min)

- To ask the respondents to list the JHS they are familiar with in this city (for local government policy-makers) and in Macedonia (for central government policy-makers).

Step 4: Roles (2 min)

- What is/was your role in developing the JHS from policy to decision-making stages?

Step 5: Motivation (research queries) (5–10 min)

- What are the reasons for developing JHT?
 - Why investing money in preserving the cultural assets of a minority that almost disappeared?
 - Whose money was used for these purposes? (Government, foundations, organizations, etc.)
 - Was the money given especially for JH projects?
 - Who makes these decisions and why?
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Quantitative summary

- Q₁: Guilt
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know
- Q₂: Facing harsh history
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know
- Q₃: Dark tourism
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know
- Q₄: Revival of the harmonious past
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know
- Q₅: Respect
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know

Qualitative summary

- To investigate the presence of guilt for the Jews tragedy.
- To investigate whether it was a deliberate decision to face chapters in national history harsh as they may be.
- To investigate the utilization of the dark tourism concept as reason for investing in sites connected to a Jewish Holocaust.
- To investigate the revival of an ideal past when people of different affiliations were living in harmony.
- To investigate the display of respect motivation towards Jews living in the city or country.

(continued)

Q₆: Economic motivation – To investigate whether JHS is expected to yield economic benefits, so they are developed as points of interest or tourist attractions.
Yes; No; Partially; Do not know

Step 6: Dark tourism (5–10 min)

– Briefly to describe the concept of dark tourism, before starting the investigation.

– Do you think that visitors to JHT sites are part of dark tourism phenomena regarding their motivations for visit? (Demand)

– Do you think that the development of JHS is also part of this phenomena (Supply)

Step 7: Opposing investment in JHS (3–5 min)

– Exploring whether there were people opposing investment in JHS.

– Were the decisions on investing debated? Opposed? By whom?

– What were the reasons?

Step 8: Ex-facto justification (3–5 min)

– Was it worthwhile investing in JHS?

Step 9: Interviewee data (1 min)

Position	Age	Sex	Religion	Jewish connection
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