

A Battle of Memory and Image

War Tourism as Reconstruction Strategy in Sarajevo

Saraybosna
savaş turizmi
etnik çatışma
aidiyet
kültürel bellek
Sarajevo
war tourism
ethnic conflict
sense of belonging
cultural memory

Avrupa'nın Kudüs'ü olarak bilinen Saraybosna, turistik açıdan Balkanların en çekici yerlerinden biridir. Jeopolitik konumu, görkemli peyzajı ve farklı dönemlerin mimari tasvirlerini içeren zengin tarihi ve kültürel mirası, şehri otantik ve canlı bir yaşam alanına dönüştürmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, 1990'ların Bosna Savaşı, kentsel peyzajda derin izler bırakmıştır ve savaşın izleri günümüz kentine net bir şekilde yansımaktadır. Şehir, savaşın sona erdiği 1995'ten bu yana yavaş yavaş toparlanmayı başarmıştır, ancak savaş sonrası yeniden yapılanma sürecinde kentsel dokunun fiziksel bir olgudan daha fazlası olduğu göz ardı edilmiş gözükmemektedir. Bu kapsamda, bu çalışmanın amacı, Saraybosna özelinde savaş sonrası turizm endüstrisinin süreç ve sonuçlarını mekânsal, kültürel, sosyo-politik ve ekonomik olarak incelemektir. Çalışma, savaşın bir cazibe merkezi olarak temsilini araştırarak, kentte aidiyetin fiziksel izdüşümlerini ve bunların günümüz anlatılarına nasıl yansıdığını değerlendirmektedir. Araştırma, kişisel ve kolektif algıları esas alarak karşılaştırmalı tarihsel kentsel analize dayanmaktadır ve buna ilişkin kentlilerle 11 derinlemesine görüşme yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar, mevcut kent peyzajına entegre edilmiş savaş sonrası yeni fiziksel (yeniden inşa stratejileri ve politikaları) ve sosyal (kentlilerin algısı) boyutların savaş turizmi vizyonunu desteklediğini göstermektedir.

Sarajevo, known as 'the Jerusalem of Europe', is one of the most attractive tourist destinations in the Balkan region. Its geo-political position, tremendous landscape and rich historical and cultural heritage including architectural portrayals of different eras turns the city into an authentic, vibrant place of living. Alongside, the 1990s' Bosnian War left heavy traces in the urban landscape and signs of the conflict are clearly traceable in today's Sarajevo. The city has managed to recover slowly since the war ended in 1995, but the urban fabric seems to be avoided during the implementation of post-war reconstruction applications. The study investigates the representation of war as a tourist attraction, evaluating the physical expressions of belonging in the city and how this is reflected in today's narratives. In this scope, the main objective of this paper is to examine the process and outcomes of the post-war tourism industry in spatial, cultural, socio-political and economical manner in the case of Sarajevo. The research is based on a comparative historical urban analysis to illustrate the impact of war tourism in the city and 11 in-depth interviews to narrate the related personal and collective memories. Results show that the new post-war physical (reconstruction strategy policies) and social (citizens' perception) layer integrated in the existing townscape emboldens the vision of war tourism.

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This paper approaches socio-political and socio-cultural borders that have emerged from the Balkan conflict during the 1990s and highlights how these boundaries, intentionally or unintentionally, are utilized to encourage tourism. The tourism industry exploits the temporal boundary of memory by connecting the past with the present through a diversity of representations in the urban landscape of Sarajevo. The discussion regarding these issues has been framed within the urban discourse which requires an embrace of inquiries, approaching the subject sensitively, multi-faceted and concerning boundaries and culture within a post-conflict urban setting.

INTRODUCTION

The tourism sector is characterised as being a one of the fastest growing sectors worldwide that has attracted immensely the interest of both developed and developing countries. It is expected that within ten years, the number of international tourists will reach 1.8 billion worldwide (UNWTO, 2020) and 46 percent of international travels are cultural trips (UNWTO, 2018). Motivation of respect for history and commemoration and the curiosity towards human experiences increases the interest in national and international travels to war sites (Alaeddinoğlu & Aliagaoglu, 2007; Okuyucu & Erol, 2018). Within the scope of special interest for culture-based tourism, the concept of war tourism -which has been developing rapidly since the mid-1990s- has gained importance in the recent years. The notion of war tourism was introduced by Foley & Lennon (1996) and defined as attractions that are somehow related to death (Akyurt Kurnaz et al., 2013, p.58). The concept was previously mentioned by Seaton (1996) as 'Thanatourism' and described as the travel to places in reference to symbolic or actual places of death and disaster. Visiting these places, the tourists encounter death for real or symbolically and affiliate themselves with the event

(Seaton, 1999). As a matter of fact, war tourism offers tourists the opportunity to get closer to human experiences that are screened off in everyday public space within a safe, defined and socially accepted environment (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Many places that are subject to war tourism are often affiliated to cultural heritage (Alaeddinoğlu & Aliagaoglu, 2007). Besides the interest of tourists, locals engaged in war benefit from war tourism as a tool for preserving historical and collective memory, raising awareness, promoting reconciliation and creating economic opportunities. The attention brought by locals and tourism can lead to increased efforts in preserving and maintaining these sites, ensuring their long-term conservation and historical significance.

Bollens (2007) extensively mentions about the political, social and spatial dynamics of historically significant cities facing conflicts and post-war territorial disputes, which intersects with or have implications for tourism. His work includes various destinations throughout the world such as Jerusalem, Nicosia, Belfast, Barcelona and Johannesburg. Likewise, Sarajevo -the capital city of Bosnia and Hercegovina- have faced similar post-conflict complexities and has always been a popular tourist destination. Its geo-political position, tremendous landscape and rich historical and cultural heritage including architectural portrayals of different eras turns the city into an authentic, vibrant place of living. Alongside its multicultural character, distinctive natural landscape and biodiversity, its tangible and intangible historical and cultural landscape, the city has been often mentioned with its civil war during the 1990s.

The city's multi-dimensional tourism with its continuity throughout the year significantly contributes to the economy of present Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to visitors' evaluation¹, about 40 percent of top ten attractions in Sarajevo are related to war. On the other hand, war

tourism merits to be studied from the witnesses' perspective, because "it reflects how people have gradually emerged from the shadow of war and gained the courage to face history" (Lee, 2016, p.698). Thus, both the visitors', as well as the citizens' perception is noteworthy to emphasize on while evaluating attributes of war tourism. Almost three decades after war, the scars of war are still clearly visible in the city and people's memory. The study analyses the post-war reconstruction management and the adaptation structure of war-related tourism in the post-conflict context of Sarajevo. Moreover, the paper presents tourism-oriented narratives and evaluates the economic, political, cultural and socio-spatial outcomes of this process based on 11 in-depth interviews with residents of various ethnic backgrounds (Table 1). As a part of a doctoral research², the semi-structured interviews aim to examine the concept of place attachment with a particular focus on cultural diversity in the city of Sarajevo. The interviews cover questions regarding experiences with war, evaluation of social interactions on urban space in Sarajevo and personal attitudes towards war tourism in the city. This qualitative approach provides, among other aspects, in-depth understandings of the tourism-based factors of place attachment relevant for the Bosnian context.

Participants' Profile	N=11	%
Gender		
Male	5	45
Female	6	55
Age		
18-27	4	36
28-40	4	36
41-71	3	28
Ethnic Identity		
Bosniak	5	46
Croat	3	27
Serb	3	27
Education		
High School	4	36
Bachelor's	5	46
Master's	1	9
Doctorate	1	9
Occupation		
Student	2	18
Public sector	2	18
Private sector	3	28
Own company	1	9
NGO	1	9
Retired	2	18

Table 1. Interview Participants' demographic information.

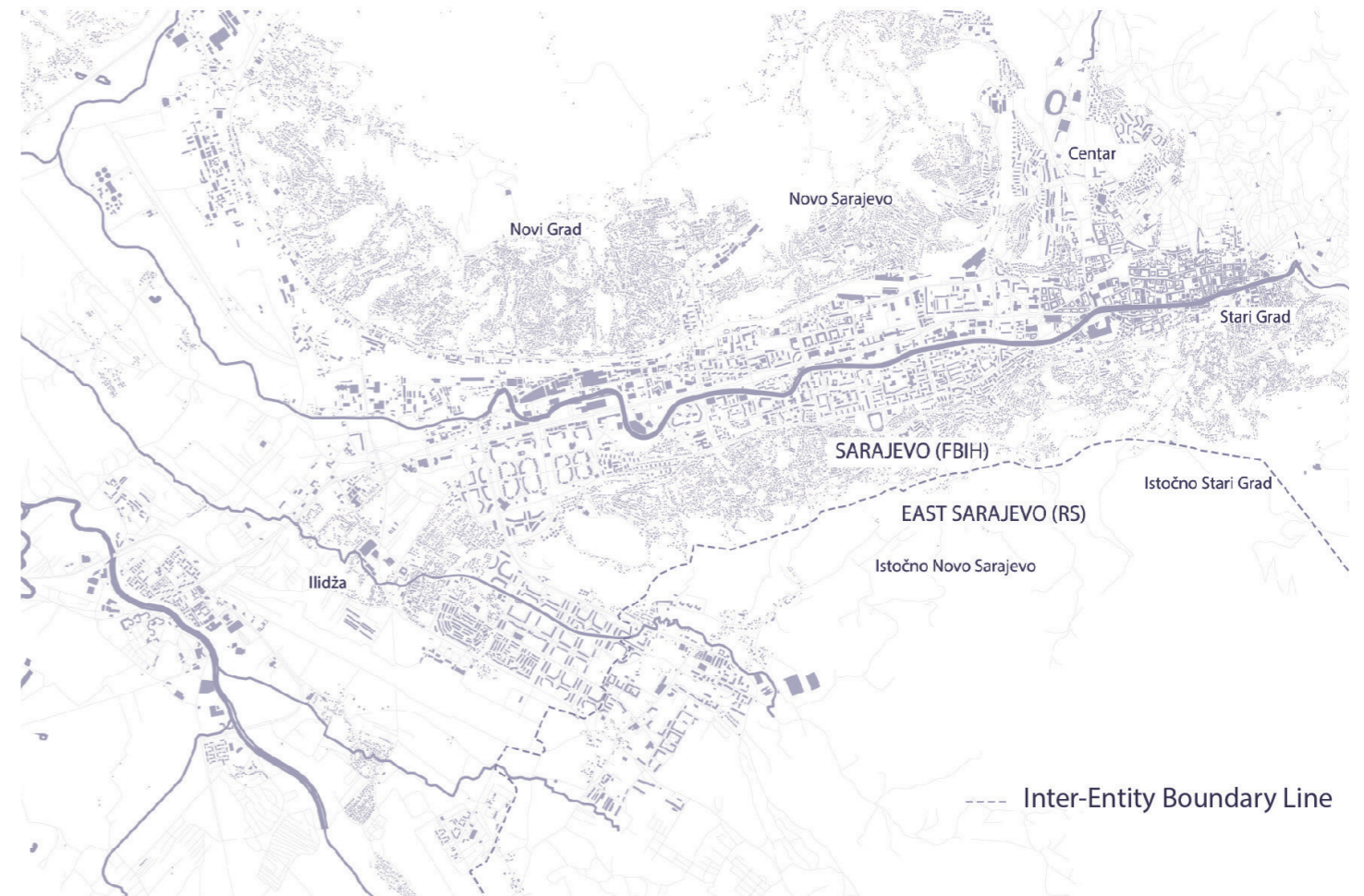


Fig.1 – Map of Sarajevo according to the Dayton Peace Agreement's political boundary line

According to the findings, war tourism has been evaluated as very important in the (trans)formation of place attachment, which is assessed as the personal and collective identity involving the connectedness and responsibility towards the tangible and intangible cultural aspects evolved through present and past experiences with and perceptions of the war.

POST-WAR SARAJEVO AND THE RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS

The first bombs fell in Sarajevo when Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognised as independent state in April 1992. This meant for the city a 1425-day siege, the longest one in modern history. The city went through the turbulent event of war united in poverty, unemployment and corruption. When the war came to an end with the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement in

December 1995, prospects for the city were dark. Sarajevo was known as the city with too much history and too little future. The country faced a simultaneous movement (the so called 'triple transition') from war to peace, from communism to democracy and from socialism to a free-market economy (Lamphere-Englund, 2015, p.3). Consequently, despite the reconstruction of the physical destruction, the peace-building mission had the primary goal to promote a prompt political and economic liberalisation. The Dayton Peace Agreement consolidated arrangements for power-sharing between the divided ethnic groups (Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs) with the intention to be temporary. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been divided into three territorial entities: the multi-ethnic Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter FBiH) in the south, the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska (hereafter RS) in the north and east, and the independent district of Brčko in the north. Sarajevo became the capital

city of the FBiH. The Inter Entity Boundary Line (hereafter IEBL) -which politically divided Sarajevo (FBiH) and East Sarajevo (RS)- was a part of this partition and has been stipulated in annex 2 of the agreement (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Although there is no physical border, the boundary line separates the facilities and interactions in the urban area (Fig.1).

Other than political outcomes, the conflict instigated social, spatial, economical and symbolical consequences. In the post-war period the housing sector showed huge devastation due to the siege. The urban centre of Sarajevo was destroyed which caused migration, densification and urban sprawl. The rate of building damages in three out of the four municipalities of Sarajevo were between 74 and 96 percent (IMG, 1999; Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Furthermore, about 80 percent of the basic utilities in the city were disabled (Kotzen & Garcia, 2014; Lamphere-Englund, 2015). The internal and external

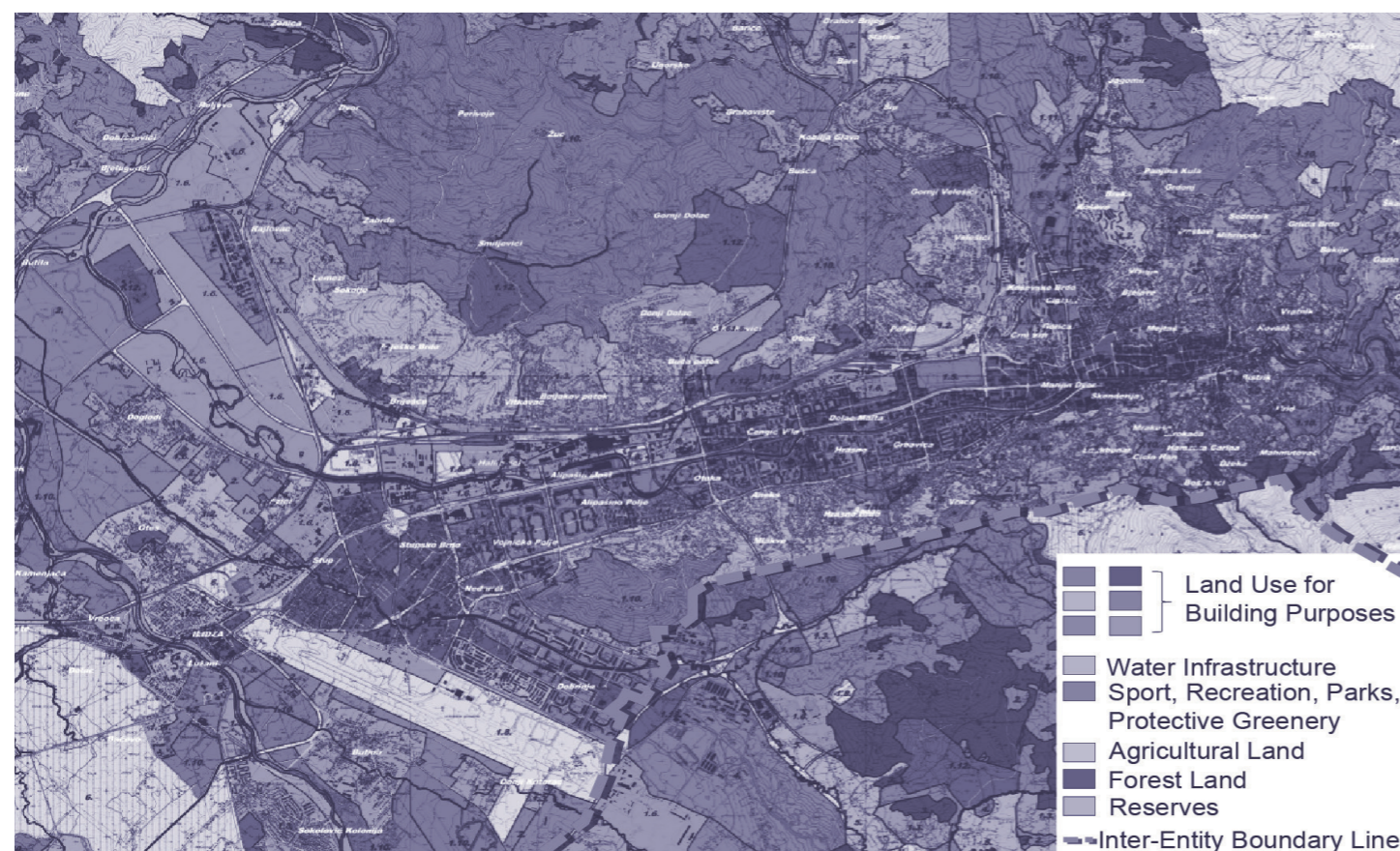


Fig.2 – Urban Plan of the City of Sarajevo 1986-2015 showing the disintegration of the IEBL (adapted from ZPR KS, 2021).

portraiture of the state got harmed and Bosnia and Hercegovina had to forge a new national identity fostering the centuries' old diversity. The portrayal of a war-torn Sarajevo through media images and videos has posed challenges in shaping the city's new identity. Overall, rehabilitation of the city in technical, institutional, environmental and economic matter was required considering the socio-cultural sensitivity.

Dayton's Reconstruction Strategy

The Dayton Peace Agreement contains 11 annexes concerning both military and civil stipulations. Annexes 8 and 9 of the agreement basically address general provisions about physical reconstruction and heritage protection. However, the reconstruction process has been carried out in four stages with no single integrated plan. The city constituted four plans on cantonal³ level; (1) Urban Plan of the City of Sarajevo for Urban Area for the period from 1986 to

2015; (2) Canton Environmental Action Plan 2006; (3) Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy until 2015 and; (4) Spatial Plan of Sarajevo Canton for the period from 2003 to 2023 (OWHC, 2018). The constitution of these plans led to an inconsistent development and created conflicts during the reconstruction process. For example, despite the introduction of the cantonal plan in 2006, the plan of 1986 was still in force -even though being revised in 1990 and 1998- and guided the main organization of Sarajevo's central urban area. Although, morphological transformations occurred and are designated due to new urban developments in the centre (e.g. shopping malls, office towers) by foreigner investors (Martín-Díaz, 2014; Gül & Dee, 2015). Secondly, the IEBL aroused separate councils and planning offices for the physical reconstruction. The urban plan of 1986 had classified zones that became part of the RS (Fig.2), while new plans were prepared in the RS and eliminated in the urban plan of 1986. Along with these authorities, various responsible local and international actors took

a role in different phases of the reconstruction. Among leading organisations, UN forces acted on the importance of political reform and the World Bank assisted mainly the economic recovery and normalisation.

Infrastructural reconstruction and the containment of conflict 1995-2000

The first phase of the reconstruction included the deployment of NATO forces to contain the conflict against a possible resurgence of armed conflict. The priority was to restore the war-torn basic infrastructure in the city (e.g. water, electricity, telecommunication) to meet the basic needs of residents.

International protectorate against nationalist obstructions 1997-2006

Besides primary physical repairs, shelter and property restitution were fraught with confronting the occupation of vacant houses owned by people who have left the city, as well as the transition from collective to individual property rights. During this phase, an evolution of the role of the High Representative and increasing involvement of international actors in domestic state affairs slowly inaugurated.

State-building improvements 2000-2006

A new stage of urban renewal has been reached through the engagement of international actors to accomplish the transformation from an aid-dependent system to a self-sustaining economy. Nevertheless, power sharing of and consensus between the ethnically representative organs did not work at all. Consequently, institutionalisation and state level corporation to (re)form laws and legislations regarding reconstruction were unable to develop healthy (Marko, 2005; Causevic & Lynch, 2013, p.147-148). The insufficient cooperation reflected in the residents' opinions; nearly 90 percent of the residents of Canton Sarajevo did not feel represented (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Regarding the cultural heritage, significant funds were provided for the reconstruction of existing buildings and new public and religious buildings; "the increased presence of Islamic structures, from schools and mosques to Islamic-bank funded shopping centres such as the BBI Centar, contribute to the so-called "greening" or Islamization of Sarajevo" (Lamphere-Englund, 2015, p.6).

Withdrawal of international donors and deterioration in reconstruction and state reforms and 2006-present

Although their collaboration was planned to be temporary, international donorships provided a basis for the development of a market economy which created possibilities for long-term engagement. In this manner, a part of the shareholders transformed into private investors and this had a profound impact in forming the major structures and contemporary public spaces in the city (Zivali Turhan & Ayataç, 2020). Instead of integrated economic program or manufacturing facilities, Sarajevo became represented by massive shopping malls not corresponding to the needs of the residents, while markets in the suburban areas filled the void in the informal economy.

All by all, the post-war urban planning in Sarajevo did not directly react to the major needs and the reconstruction phases were missing a coherent and sufficient vision and urban programming. Moreover, "no single master plan for the city's reconstruction was created, representing a split with the modernization plans of the previous century" (Kotzen & Garcia, 2014). Authorities oversaw an inefficient and insufficient level of urbanization and destruction of public spaces. Corruption had occurred as the major problem, caused by a lack of recruitment and implementation control. Planning permissions have been granted for large buildings and shopping centres without justification. The existing culture and the changing demographics

(due to the displacement) were neglected in the reconstruction phase.

In the extent of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the 1999 Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy until 2015 aimed to develop the city towards a European metropolis, strengthening the east-west connection. Due to international aid and investments, the emphasis on the economically oriented sectors increased, fostering new economic conditions and directions for locals and foreigners. This next post-war recovery phase encouraged the growth of tourism after 2015 (Fig.3). This is not surprising, as the increasing internationalisation (both in terms of labour and capital), the degree of power-sharing between the public and private sector and the transformation of industrial and urban cultures and consumption played a major role in the formation of contemporary urban reconstruction that can be observed in cities in the entire Central and Eastern European region (Sýkora, 1994; Szelényi, 1996). In the larger region, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia has undergone similar significant changes since the 1990s. Although, the historical contexts and their specific challenges have influenced their trajectories of urban reconstruction in distinct ways. In Sarajevo, the focus of reconstruction has been on restoring war-damaged infrastructure, preserving historical sites. and promoting a sense of

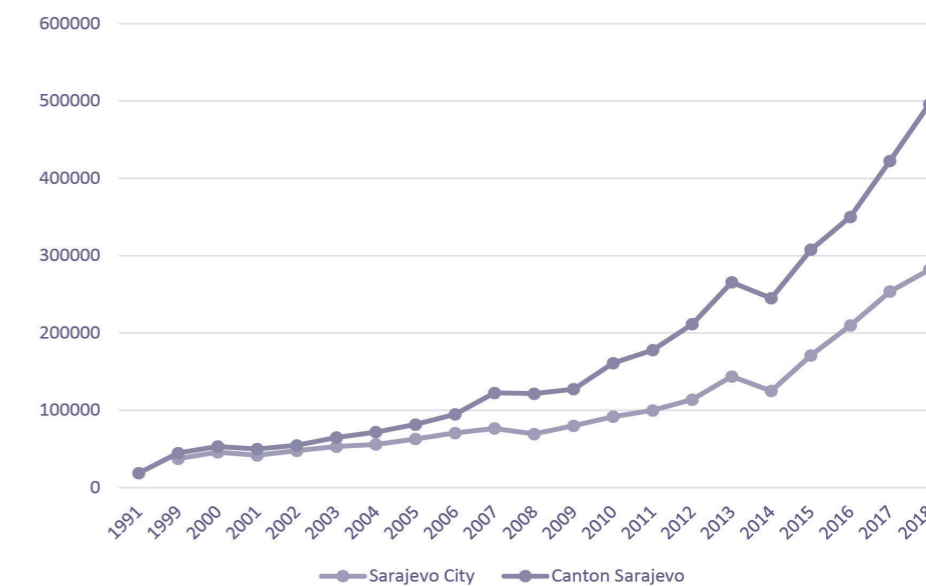


Fig.3 – International tourism indicators for Sarajevo between 1991-2018 (ZPR KS, 2010; 2015; 2019).

shared identity and memory. Additionally, the (temporary) return from displacement of qualified Bosnians changed the diaspora patterns and tourist indications in the city:

"I have returned in the late 2000s from Germany. A couple of my colleagues also came as expat to live in Sarajevo. The city became a point of civilized attraction with cheap living conditions for expats, due to the war. Since then, the increase in foreign tourists is clearly noticeable. The city has directly reacted to this socio-cultural potential and the tourism sector got more institutionalized." (A.S., male, 35 years)

Today, Sarajevo is the most popular tourist destination in the country due to its geographical position. In Sarajevo, the nature of the tourism products and presentations has transformed by building the tourism sector around the theme of war (Naef, 2014; 2016). Eventually, in post-conflict contexts it is expected that the tourism potential of post-war sites will increase, as it may play a role to overcome or reduce long-term post-war traumas and difficulties (Smith, 1998). The transformation and reconstruction efforts undertaken (with the Sarajevo Reconstruction Fund established in 2000 and guidance of the Dayton Peace Agreement) attracted tourists interested in witnessing the city's journey towards healing and rebuilding, as well as engaging with the war's history through reconstruction of historical sites contributing to the tourism potential of the city. It seems that the citizens benefit from the interaction with tourists and consider encountering as a tool to process these difficulties:

"Sarajevo is a great city to visit as war zone for tourist. The prices are moderate. It is not strange that inhabitants are open for a talk with tourists. They are pleased to welcome foreigners, as they can finally 'share their story', even almost 30 years has passed. It is a long process; lessons are still not learnt. Outsiders should not blame people in this country. It takes a long time to process the events

of war, from the governing level to the individual. We are still in struggle to find the right balance between our identity and its representation." (M.C., male, 30 years)

Memorialization Based Recovery

Culture determines and defines social life and builds social capital. Hence, culture and heritage are essential in creating the city's identity and image. Sarajevo represents the immense cultural heritage destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mileusnić, 1994; Riedlmayer, 2002). Moreover, Hadžimuhamedović (2019) defends that "the destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia was not simply a collateral outcome of the 1990s war. It was large-scale, systematic and co-orchestrated with other forms of human suffering." Until the war, Sarajevo promoted art and music to develop authentic cultural tourism yields. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its individual regions are extremely varied and reflects the very dynamic historical-geographical processes over centuries (Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Naef, 2013; Naef & Ploner, 2016). Other than the tangible heritage, cultural traditions and expressions embody the resilience and cultural identity of the local community. Traditional craftsmanship and artisanal skills (e.g. woodworking,

metalworking) have been preserved and revitalized, representing an important post-war intangible heritage. Additionally, Sarajevo's cultural scene has witnessed the emergence of new performances and festivals that celebrate the city's diversity and serve as platforms for artistic expression. Ethno-cultural events (e.g. Sarajevo Film Festival, Jazz Festival, Bašćaršija Night, Sarajevo Winter Festival) are also very characteristic and significantly enriches today's tourist offer. Although, as mentioned previously, post-Dayton reconstruction policies did not take the existing cultural context and changing cultural dynamics in consideration, but focused on the emergence of physical stability and recovery. Some of the cultural public buildings (e.g. major sport complexes, theatres, museums) were rebuilt, but (deliberate) poor management and non-funding of the creative industry by governing bodies have led to a closure of many cultural buildings.

The impact of war on tourism seems to be negative in the short term (Mihalič, 1996, p.244; Radnić & Ivandić, 1999), "although in the long run war may have a positive impact as it attracts additional tourists to the scene of the war" (Weaver, 2000). Correspondingly, the country saw a potential in the increasing demand for travel to war sites. Memorialization of the war became a powerful tool in reshaping the

city of Sarajevo and representing it to the outer world. Creating a war-based tourism was not the primary objective of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Although, the way the post-war Bosnian tourism sector has developed, manifested parallel to the conditions of the agreement (Causevic & Lynch, 2013: p.154). Since authorities and (private) investors saw a chance to promote tourism targeting the present history and memory, the priority converted from emphasizing the national identity to encouraging tourism (and thus the economy) through a politicised nature of developments. The relationship between national identity and war tourism is intricate and multifaceted, highlighting the need for a comprehensive understanding of their interplay. War tourism provided an avenue for visitors to engage with the national identity of Sarajevo by exploring war-related sites and narratives associated with the war. On the other hand, the experiences and stories shared through war tourism contributed to a shared national narrative and reinforced the sense of identity among the local community.

The integration of the urban heritage became an important component in creating the stimulation of war tourism. In post-conflict Sarajevo, the scars of the war were observable through the entire urban landscape, but particularly on the Sniper Alley (officially Meša Selimović Boulevard and Zmaja od Bosne Street), which runs through the heart of the city and parallel to the Miljacka River (Fig.4). This main artery connects the industrial area of the city with the historical-touristic places. The street posed significant danger during the war as citizens crossing it were targeted by snipers in the surrounding mountains. After war, most of the reconstruction practises have been implemented along and around this alley.

New urban projects

The aim to create a profitable business environment in the later phases of the reconstruction process, tourism related new

urban projects were considerably important. About 15 percent of the new urban projects were related to symbolic projects, temples and monuments. To give a boost to the sector, new hotel projects were implemented. The reconstruction of existing or new heritage were (partly) funded and supported by countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey or Malaysia (Martín-Díaz, 2014). Contemporary commercial buildings (e.g. Avaz Tower, Sarajevo City Center) created a new alternative for leisure activities, which motivated certain groups of people to take distance from the city identity predominantly shaped by the narrative of war:

"As much as I love the old part of the city, for leisure activities I prefer to go to new places. These places have less history, so I can create the history on my own. In Sarajevo, history is not always something a subject to be proud of. Maybe because I did not witness the war events, but I heard a lot of stories about it. I respect it, but we must respond to the contemporary needs and clearly these needs do not prioritize the scars of war, at least for people from my generation." (A.L., female, 23 years)

War-affected cultural sites

Besides the destruction of exclusive residential buildings, significant damage has been

claimed upon numerous sites containing religious, historical and signature buildings. The destruction of the cultural heritage targeted to devastate single buildings on the site, but at the same time to affect the entire urban sphere. These cultural sites represent various periods of Sarajevo; Ottoman and Islamic heritage, Catholic Archbishopric heritage, Austro-Hungarian heritage and Orthodox heritage. Many original documents are lost together with the destruction of these sites. For example, the manuscript collection of the Institute for Oriental Studies, which contained thousands of Bosnian, Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts may count as one of the most immense cultural losses in the country. Similarly, Vijećnica (Sarajevo's National Library and Townhall) built in Moorish-style architecture during the Austro-Hungarian period lost thousands of original documents when it burned to the ground during war. Careva Džamija (Emperor's Mosque) is the first mosque to be built after the establishment of Ottoman Sarajevo. The mosque is part of a complex that includes a hammam, library and residence. The mosque and its cemetery were heavily damaged during war. Despite the fact that the site has (partly) been rebuilt in recent years, numerous bullet holes in walls are still visible (Fig.5). Based on the interview respondents about reconstruction strategies, implementations and

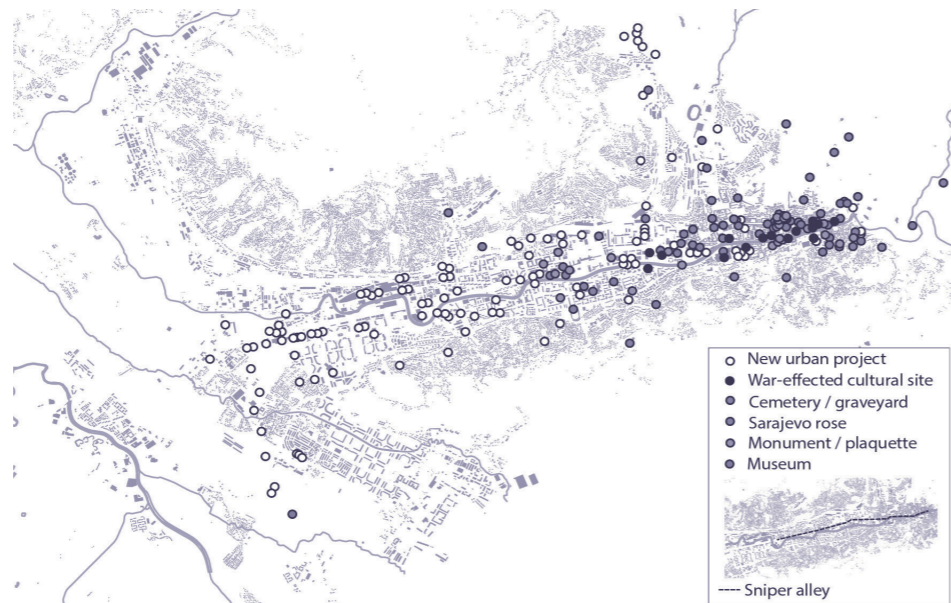


Fig.4 – Tangible traces of war in the urban layout of Sarajevo (adapted from: Ristić, 2013; Martín-Díaz, 2014).



Fig.5 – War traces are still observable on Careva Džamija (Emperor's Mosque) (personal archive Zivali, T., 2015).



their reflection on the city, it seems that the symbolic role of religious buildings and the use of public spaces have partly changed. In pre-war Sarajevo, religious buildings stand for local diversity and common space. After war, this kind of cultural property became more community specific, but at the same time more prominent as international attraction point:

“Many of my Muslim and non-Muslim friends spend time in the avlija (inner garden) of Begova džamija, which is situated very central in the city. Since my high school years, it was our meeting point. After the war we preferred to choose other places to meet. For us (Muslims), Begova has

Fig.6 – Most popular war related museums in Sarajevo⁴ - a. Tunel Spasa (Tunnel of Hope) (personal archive Zivali, T., 2012); b. War Childhood Museum (Sarajevo Travel, 2021); c. War Hostel (Emric, A., 2018 on Aljazeera).



Fig.7 – Kovači Martyrs Cemetery is an example of a city park transformed into a newly designed public graveyard (Büker, M., 2009 on Wikimedia Commons).

been a place for religious purposes only. So mostly, you see Muslim people around. But nowadays, there are also a lot of foreigners, mainly tourists, who spend their time at the avlija to rest” (L.S., female, 39 years).

Museums

Another target of destruction were exhibition institutions. Some of these buildings were already functioning as museum, but some buildings have been transformed into museums to exhibit the war. The pavilions of the Zemaljski Muzej (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina) received major damage. Several parts of the complex totally burned down. A part of the exhibition showcases and documents have been preserved. After war, the museum reopened and closed several times due to non-funding. The Tunel Spasa (Tunnel of Hope) (Fig.6a) was dug by the Bosnian army and served to supply Sarajevo during the siege and was the only (relatively) secured route to the rest of the territory controlled by the Bosnian forces. Primary needs such as food, medicine and other goods were smuggled into the city through this tunnel. After the war ended, the tunnel lost its utility and collapsed. There remained only the part which was leading to a private house. The house owners turned the existing structure into a museum. The War Childhood Museum (Fig.6b) is another example that sheds light on the scarcity of goods during the war. The collection presents personal items (e.g. toys, letters, shoes) showing how children grew up and spent their time. The War Hostel (Fig.6c) stands on the site of a family house of which the owners survived the siege. Here you will get a real glimpse of how people lived under real war conditions (with a realistic and original war décor and items in the rooms) in Sarajevo. A relative of the hotel manager explains that the facility is not only established to offer a point of attraction in the town, but to represent the true emotions of the city through experiencing the war in a tangible environment:

“I did witness just a small part of



Fig.8 – Most popular memorial sights⁵ - a. ‘Nermine, dođi’ Statue (Grabovic, N., 2017); b. Sarajevo Memorial for Children (Vos, L., 2021); c. Rose of Sarajevo (Atlas Obscura, 2021).

the war. Listening to war stories is one thing, but seeing them, touching them is totally different. I have the feeling that I can finally share the sadness of the city has been gone through, the pain of many of us”. (B.L., female, 66 years)

Cemeteries / graveyards

Memorialisation forms, functions and intentions added a new layer of public space in Sarajevo’s urban layout. Numerous cemeteries and graveyards through the city became one of the sensational places referring to the war. In fact, many existing green spaces have been transformed into graveyards and herewith, a new function was designate to public spaces (Zivali, 2013). Kovači Martyrs Cemetery in the old town is one of the main cemeteries (Fig.7) viewing the commercial quarter Baščaršija. As this cemetery is -among others- prominently situated in the city centre, it raises critical questions regarding the urban layout and identity:

“Some years ago, a group of international researchers came to do a cooperative workshop here. I was

their tour guide for a couple of days before their actual work began. They were very impressed when they saw the graveyards in the middle of the city. One of them asked me why we insist on commemorating the war in such a way. ‘Isn’t it much easier just to (re)move the graves?’ was the question asked to me. It is not to refresh our memories or emotions of loss and pain. The dead are a part of this city. Maybe they are the ones who deserve to be here the most.” (I.V., male, 38 years)

Monuments and plaquettes

The continuing interest in ‘the war’ is evident through the presence of many monuments and commemorations. The ‘Nermine, dođi’ sculpture (Fig.8a) represents a video scene (recorded during the war) when father Ramo calls upon his son Nermin to surrender and that Serbian troops do not want ‘anything’ from them and promising their release. Unfortunately, the remains of Ramo and his son were found in 2008 in a mass grave near Srebrenica. The sculpture has been designed and situated in Veliki Park (Great Park) in commemoration of

this event. However, it has been repeatedly torn apart by ethnic extremists as an act of protest. Situated in the same city park, Sarajevo Memorial for Children (Fig.8b) is a significant but obscure monument standing as a testament for the children who died during the siege:

"This is one of the most benign monuments in the city, as it would be easy to miss it if you do not know its meaning. Many people, including some tourists pass by. It looks like an ordinary fountain until you read the inscription. I prefer to look to it as an ordinary monument instead of a commemoration of war." (T.A., male, 19 years old)

Scattered through the city, the 'Roses of Sarajevo' (Fig.8c) are scars from grenade explosions, marked with blood-red paint. Following the marks provide a basic but sufficient passage to visit the main war attractions:

"You can directly recognize tourists in this city. If you see someone looking

up to the facades of buildings or looking down and take a look at the 'roses', you definitely know it is a tourist. Most of the inhabitants walk by, they are used to the red marks, but foreigners find it impressive, because the marks on the ground explain themselves. Most of the walking tours in the centre are arranged according to these marks." (M.E., male, 63 years).

Intangible and informal memorialization

The problems plaguing post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina extend beyond the context in which the tourism industry develops in sense of the built environment. Besides physical remarks in the urban landscape of Sarajevo, intangible and informal traces of war are also a part of the warscape. For example, tourists can buy -among the famous džezva (traditional copper coffee pot) and colourful carpets handmade crafted

grenade cases and bullet shells in various sizes in the old commercial quarter Baščaršija (Fig.9b). This type of craftsmanship play a major role in the story that portrays the country to tourists. Although, not all of them conceive this approach as acceptable:

"Some tourists are surprised with the fact that they can buy souvenirs featuring war motives. The shops in Baščaršija (old town) sell souvenirs like carved and decorated bullet shells and grenades. Many tourists think that it is just an attractor, but react surprised when they become to know that they are materials being used during war time. For some it is a great souvenir, while others think it is a reminder of hard times and just provokes negative thoughts about war." (I.V., male, 38 years)

There are also many paintings as public messages in Sarajevo that refer to the war. For example, in an alley in the old town there exists a painting depicting a soldier defending his city. The

accompanying text reads: 'I love this city, I defend this city' (Fig.9c). This type of public expression has transformed into artistry through years and created a distinctive field to coalesce:

"My friends and I have a platform where we create and share public art. With this, we try to reach the city beyond traditional urban boundaries. We work together with NGO's. cultural centres and various institutes. But in particular the youth is very important for us. They tend to leave the city, but by increasing the awareness, we can increase their attachment to Sarajevo." (A.C., female, 33 years).

The commemoration of the war in forms of art has not been expressed only in the urban layout of the city, but also with national holidays, yearly events and practices. Except of Independence Day (1st of March) and Statehood Day (25th of November), there are various unofficial days in remembrance of the Bosnian war and its victims. Much national and international

attention has been paid to the memorial event "Red Line" with 11,541 red chairs lined up along Tito Boulevard (Fig.9a). The event was held on the sixth of April in 2012 in memory of the citizens who died during the war. Similar events have been held in various cities in the country.

According to MacCannell (1973), tourists seek the "real, experienced life" of the locals, willing to pay for activities that interactively bring them closer to the visited "other". It seems that the personal stories are the most attractive ones. Parallel to this, Causevic & Lynch (2011) argue that individuals such as tour guides are also willing to share their side of the narrative:

"There is lots of emotions, such as sadness, frustration, confusion and disappointment inside us. We were not able to share the frustration during war time, this caused serious post-traumatic situation. Traces of war in the city is an expression of our anger. With tourists we have moments we

can bring out our dimmed voices." (A. D., female, 33 years)

In this manner, investments are made for touristification and advertisement of the war sites (Fig.10).

"I have been running this tour agency for over 20 years. I can see a clear change in behaviour and demand of 'the tourist'. In pre-war Sarajevo, the city was known for its Franz Ferdinand and Olympic Games. The city has attracted many tourist (especially from outside the Balkans) after the Olympic events during the 80s. Winter sports and winter tourism increased, but again drastically decreased during war time. After war, winter and cultural tourism have been promoted through the advertisement of war." (I.V., male, 38 years)

CONCLUSION

Sarajevo is the historical symbol of the once divided Europe and a melting pot of the East and West united in diversity. This identity positioned Bosnia and Herzegovina



Fig.9 – Well-known intangible and informal forms of memorialization - a. Sarajevo Red Line (Wikimedia Commons, 2012); b. Decorated bullet shells (Anadolu Agency, 2018); c. 'I love this city, I defend this city' graffiti (Flickr, 2012).



Fig.10 –a. Promotion flyer of the film festival event in 1993; b. Promotion flyer for a war tour in Sarajevo (Sarajevo Tourism Office in Naef, 2012: 4).

as a vulnerable state through its history. One of the key experiences that fostered this fragility is doubtless the Bosnian War during the 1990s. The post-war Dayton Peace Agreement was inaugurated as political compromise to create a new state identity and stabilize the economic, socio-cultural and political values. Regarding reconstruction approaches, various strategies have been adopted; the emergence in physical reconstruction and containment in conflict in the early post-war years; shelter and property restitutions and international protectorate; rebuilding of government institutions from the early 2000s onwards; and gradual withdrawal of international donors. Although, early institutional development and sufficient funding provision at the local level could have resulted in better planning and coordination. In this manner, a more formal incorporation of cultural tourism should have been employed with prior consideration of the current issues and constraints in Sarajevo during the Dayton's reconstruction phases.

While it was not stated as a major subject, the reconstruction of the city through protection, state-building, reorganization of land and economic targets opened doors for tourism with war as main attraction in the sector. The change to a different type of tourism has determined the new image/identity of the city. Today, a large number of tourists is visiting Sarajevo by the stimulation of war. In this sense, war-based tourism created many new opportunities for revival and recovery of socio-spatial tissue and helped to generate income for the city and (re) created job opportunities for the local community, especially in the field of tourism, craftsmanship and outsourcing creating a favourable workforce environment for external companies and competitive labour opportunities for locals.

Based on the interviews, personal attitudes towards war tourism can be classified into three categories: war tourism as a source of moral awareness; war tourism as a

primarily source of economic development; war tourism as an ethic failure and humiliation towards the Bosnian cultural and natural values. These dimensions reveal the perspective and the degree and form of attachment of the residents to the city. Additional research emphasizing on the tourists' perceptions could serve as a contribution to this classification. Further investigation could delve into exploring the innovative utilization of rituals, social activities, and how the emergence of new cultures in Sarajevo can effectively mitigate the lingering effects of the city's dark past. With this, it may strategically promote alternative directions for its socio-cultural development.

Another important factor in the reconstruction (and thus the recreation of the cultural identity) processes is the cultural heritage itself. Literature shows that in the context of Sarajevo, there are basically two categories in the heritage management process; the pre-existing cultural heritage constituted before the conflict, and the heritage created by the conflict. In this manner, there is a clear differentiation between the rehabilitated and the new heritage. The dissolution of Yugoslavia did not perse dissolve -but rather transformed- the cultural values of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war of the nineties has become a part of their culture. The urban metamorphosis seems to have developed a third type of 'hybrid' heritage in which structures already were existing but lost their symbolic value and/or significance as cultural heritage, which have strengthened the moral awareness of 'do forgive, do not forget'.

Unforeseen and present global events are directly affecting the familiarity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, rather than the war. For example, the pandemic which emerged from 2019 on, offered the possibility to work remotely. A significant number of displaced Bosnians (especially in Western European countries) chose to return (temporary) and work from their home country. Many juniors,

the so-called 'digital nomads', saw remote working as an opportunity to return and have established small businesses (especially in the IT-sector) in Sarajevo. Short-term and long-term prospects and impacts on the socio-economic area may offer the potential to a shift from tourism-based economy to an entrepreneurial economy. Another current issue concerns the changing demographics of the country. Subjects as brain drain and migration are main concerns the capital city must deal with. Many young people leave the city due to low job opportunities. On the other hand, migration flows are affecting Bosnia and Herzegovina due to its geo-political position in Europe. A large number of (especially Middle Eastern) migrants move through the country towards the Western countries. Appropriate procedures and behaviour towards these new coming groups are essential in the formation of a moral and national identity, as Sarajevo has experienced similar difficulties and challenges as these refugees do experience today.

Results show that the new post-war physical (reconstruction strategy policies) and social (citizens' perception) layer integrated in the existing townscape emboldens the vision of war tourism, which can be comprehend as the intended outcome of purpose of promoting and engaging tourism activities related to war-affected areas in Sarajevo. Yet, long-term revitalization of both the physical and social structure of the city requires to integrate present city dynamics and thus react to the above-mentioned contemporary nomadism and migration-related issues instead of neglecting them. Building upon this study, further research regarding local and national policy interventions and a clear-cut management strategy in especially economy-related sectors can form the base in the process of future policymaking. Then indeed, appropriation of war tourism may open doors to a refreshed new image of the city with the war as a part of the history, representing one of the most vibrant countries of the Balkans.

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NOTES

1. 4. 5. Sarajevo's most popular attractions (1), most popular war related museum attractions (4), most popular memorial attractions (5) according to the travelers' rankings on; tripadvisor.com, booking.com, google.com, getyourguide.com, culturetrip.com, trip.com, lonelyplanet.com, Travelocity.com, expedia.com, viator.com.

2. The PhD research entitled "Cultural Encounters in the Multi-Ethnic Setting: An Ethnographic Study of Belonging in the Urban Landscape of Sarajevo" conducted at Istanbul Technical University, department of Urban and Regional Planning aims to examine and reframe the theoretical basis of Place Attachment in reference to Ethnic Diversity, and to evaluate the theoretical framework through citizens' narrative.

3. Canton Sarajevo represents the metropolitan area of the country's capital city, including nine municipalities, of which four of them forms Sarajevo City.